LORD LINDSAY AND JAMES DENNISTOUN
TWO SCOTTISH ART-HISTORIANS AND COLLECTORS OF EARLY ITALIAN ART

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PhD
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1976

ABSTRACT

When in 1886 J.A. Symonds denounced Italian seicento art as the embodiment of a "hysterical, dogmatic, hypocritical and sacerdotal" religion - "not Christianity indeed, but Catholicism galvanised by terror into reactionary movement" - and went on to suggest that "nothing short of the substitution of Catholicism for science and of Jesuitry for truth in the European mind" would "work a general revolution" of taste in favour of the Eclectic artists, he had apparently forgotten the quite different situation which had prevailed only half a century earlier.* Then accusations of Popery were more frequently directed at the determined minority of writers and collectors who had ventured to express admiration for the devotional style of fifteenth century Italian artists such as Fra Angelico. And indeed it had been largely due to the impact of De La Poésie Chrétienne, a volume published in 1836 by A. Rio, an extreme French Roman Catholic Royalist, that a taste for some aspects of pre-Renaissance Italian art had developed in Britain beyond detached antiquarian curiosity to a pleasantly nostalgic and melancholy awareness of its spiritual purity, uncontaminated by the antagonistic forces of scientific naturalism and paganism which together later threatened to overwhelm it.

These underlying links between religious sentiment and artistic appreciation during a period of the 19th century which was greatly preoccupied with the question of Papal aggression may be

*Note: See J.A. Symonds, Renaissance in Italy. The Catholic Reaction, Part II, London 1886 (1898 ed.) pp. 232-236.

relatively familiar, yet we still have remarkably little first hand information about many of the most influential mid 19th century art-historians and collectors. The purpose of this study is therefore to investigate, from the evidence of their unpublished papers, the experiences and developing taste of two of the first British critics to write sympathetically about early Italian art, Lord Lindsay and James Dennistoun, both of whom also deserve our attention as discerning picture collectors. Each of these writers was acutely aware of the difficulty confronting a convinced Anglican who wished to justify his admiration for the spiritual and artistic qualities of pre Reformation art

For Lindsay the solution lay in the dialectics of a complex philosophical thesis which he entitled Progression by Antagonism. Dennistoun took refuge, more soberly, in the argument of historical relativism, and thereby helped to clear the way for the more objective critical approach of connoisseurs such as Crowe and Cavalcaselle, contemporaries of Symonds, in the next generation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was my friend Mr. Malcolm Waddingham who first suggested that I might usefully do some research on the collecting of Italian pictures in Scotland, and on the changing patterns of artistic taste reflected in the formation of these collections. Once I began to investigate this subject, I discovered that I was in fact following a path that had already been opened up by Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse during his brief stay in Scotland from 1949-1952, and I must record my deep gratitude for his friendly encouragement and patient help. It did not take me long to uncover an almost overwhelming quantity of unpublished manuscript material relating to picture collectors and art dealers active in Scotland during the nineteenth century; and at this point I was fortunate enough to be rescued by Professor Francis Haskell, who wisely advised me to limit this particular study to only two collectors, Lord Lindsay and James Dennistoun, who had also made their mark as art historical writers. Thereafter Francis Haskell continued to take a most stimulating interest in the progress of my research, invited me to Oxford to meet like-minded colleagues and pupils such as Mr. Christopher Lloyd and Miss Tanya Ledger, and generously offered to read and criticise the first draft of my manuscript. By then an edition of his own brilliant and amusing lectures on aspects of nineteenth century taste had just been published under the title Rediscoveries in Art, London 1976; and although it was too late for me to include any specific acknowledgements to it in this study, the influence of

Francis Haskell's ideas on my own work will be readily apparent.

But none of this activity would have been possible without the cooperation of the owners of the manuscript material on which this study is based. Here I must single out the late David, Earl of Crawford, who not only gave me free access to his archives, and a good deal of warm hospitality besides, but also took an almost paternal interest in my progress.

Finally, I must acknowledge the kind and patient support of my supervisors in Edinburgh, Professor Giles Robertson and Mr. Basil Skinner; of many of my colleagues at the National Gallery of Scotland, including Mr. David Baxandall, Mr. Keith Andrews, and Dr. Lindsay Errington; of Mr. Nicolas Barker who is preparing a special study of Lord Lindsay as a book collector and who was sometimes able to help me decipher Lord Lindsay's dreadful handwriting; and of the many archivists and librarians I consulted, above all Miss Glenise Matheson, Keeper of Manuscripts at the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

CONTENTS

		Page
Abstract of Thesis		2
Acknowledgements		4
Chapter I	Lindsay in France and Italy 1828-30.	9
Chapter II	Lindsay returns to Italy in 1839. Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne. First impressions of Munich	27
Chapter III	Lindsay's scheme of the Poetry and Prose of Painting. Revisits Italy 1840.	47
Chapter IV	Italy 1842. Rome - Naples - Assisi - Arezzo - Siena. Lindsay's preparations for a book on early Christian Art.	75
Chapter V	Kugler's Handbook ... and Lindsay's General Classification of Schools and Artists.	107
Chapter VI	Italy and Germany 1842. Florence - Bologna - Ravenna - Parma - Venice - Milan - Munich.	114
Chapter VII	Progression by Antagonism and Sketches of the History of Christian Art. Reviews by John Ruskin and Nicholas Wiseman.	141

		Page
Chapter VIII	James Dennistoun's first Grand Tour 1825.	175
Chapter IX	Dennistoun's second European tour 1836-1839. His first steps as a collector	189
Chapter X	Dennistoun discovers the Umbrian school of painting. Further travels in Italy 1843-1846. The Fesch sale in Rome.	209
Chapter XI	Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. Reviews by Edward Cheney and Sir William Stirling. Dennistoun's later activities as a collector.	241
Chapter XII	Lord Lindsay as a collector of books and paintings.	293
Appendix 1	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Col. James Lindsay, 31 December 1839.	369
Appendix 2	Letter, Lord Lindsay to his mother, 13 May 1840.	374
Appendix 3	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Anne Lindsay, Easter Monday /28 March/ 1842.	377
Appendix 4	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Anne Lindsay, 7 May 1842.	434
Appendix 5	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Anne Lindsay, 16 May 1842.	446
Appendix 6	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Anne Lindsay, 3 June 1842.	478

		Page
Appendix 7	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Anne Lindsay, 19 June 1842.	505
Appendix 8	Letter, Lord Lindsay to Anne Lindsay, 3 July 1842.	527
Appendix 9	Series of letters about Progression by Antagonism and Sketches of the History of Christian Art, dating from 1842-6.	535
Appendix 10	James Dennistoun's picture sale catalogue, Christie's 14 June 1855; and a location index.	565
Bibliography		585

I

Alexander William, Lord Lindsay, the eldest son of James later 24th Earl of Crawford and 7th Earl of Balcarres, and of Maria Pennington, heiress to the 1st Baron Muncaster, was born on 16 October, 1812. By the time he succeeded his father as 25th Earl of Crawford in 1869 he had acquired a considerable personal reputation as a scholar and writer, and also as a collector of books and works of art. The publication for which he is chiefly remembered today is his three volume Sketches of the History of Christian Art, (John Murray, London, 1847), but even this work received virtually no attention from the time of his death in 1880 until 1947 when John Steegman published a rather perceptive analysis and rescued it from oblivion.(1) The Sketches .... were preceded by a philosophical essay entitled Progression by Antagonism, published separately in 1846, and this provides the central principle of which the Sketches of the History of Christian Art was supposed to be a specific illustration. Lord Lindsay had indeed originally planned to print the essay at the beginning of the Sketches ...., and it was only at the very last moment that he reluctantly decided to divide the work. The ambition to write an art historical work, centred on a strong philosophical principle, was first conceived by Lindsay in 1839, after making a tour in Italy with his future parents-in-law, Colonel and Mrs. Lindsay of Balcarres (Fife).(2) During this journey and at their suggestion, he had read and been greatly moved by a book entitled De La Poésie Chrétienne, written by A.F. Rio, a French Roman Catholic of Breton

origin;[3] and this not only inspired Lindsay to make his own detailed survey of early Italian art, but also provides us with the central clue to any understanding of the aesthetic viewpoint which he finally adopted in his Sketches of the History of Christian Art.

Until the publication of De La Poésie Chrétienne in 1836, the subject of early Italian painting, although not entirely neglected, was usually discussed in Britain in a strictly antiquarian spirit. For most British scholars and collectors (with the notable exception of Charles Eastlake, later Director of the National Gallery in London)[4] had apparently failed to appreciate the importance of German art historical criticism in the first quarter of the century; they had therefore been unaffected by the recent efforts of William Heinrich Wackenroder,[5] Friedrich Schlegel,[6] and Baron Karl Friedrich von Rumohr[7] to lead the way towards a new acceptance of the Italian, Flemish and German primitives as works of art to be admired on their own terms, rather than as mere historical specimens of the early development of painting. It was primarily through the writings of Rio, who was later to acknowledge von Rumohr as "mon véritable initiateur"[8], that these ideas eventually reached British readers such as Lord Lindsay.

But Rio's aesthetic position was even more extreme and uncompromising than that of his German mentors. His nostalgic belief in the pure and undiluted Christian quality of early Italian art was accompanied by a feeling of revulsion not only for the seicento eclectics, whom Schlegel had already attempted to knock down from

their eighteenth century pedestal, but also for the hitherto unchallenged supremacy of Italian Renaissance art inasmuch as it ultimately represented the disastrous victory, which by the nineteenth century had still not been reversed, of pagan and progressive views over a Christian civilisation.

Writers before Rio had not usually attempted to distinguish the individual merits and artistic values of early Italian artists in any terms other than those of chronological and technical progression towards the ultimate achievement of Raphael. But Rio draws a sharp moral distinctions between those fifteenth century artists, such as Masaccio and Uccello, who succumbed to naturalistic and classical influences and those more retardataire artists such as Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, as well as certain later Umbrian painters including Perugino, whose inspiration was thought to be strictly Christian. By an extension of this argument, a firm division is also established between the purity of Raphael's early style and the latent mannerism of his Roman period. Rio attributes the pagan quality of Renaissance art to the ill effects of Medici patronage, and we are left in no doubt that his own sympathies were with the Dominican friar, Savonarola, who had fearlessly preached the message that a truly Christian society would only be restored if men turned their eyes back to the ideals of an earlier era uncontaminated by progressive theories.

But to fully appreciate the emotional and intellectual impact of these intoxicating ideas on Lord Lindsay in 1839, it is necessary to take a brief look at his earlier education and experiences. In the

immediately preceding years from October 1830 when he had gone up to Trinity College, Cambridge, as an undergraduate, until March 1839 when he joined Colonel and Mrs. Lindsay in Rome, Lindsay had found relatively little time to pursue art historical studies or to reflect in critical terms on aesthetic questions. His main energies had been devoted to his formal university education; to his exhaustive antiquarian researches on the clan history of the Lindsays, the results of which were eventually published in 1839;[9] and finally to his careful preparations for a tour of Egypt and the Holy Land which he made between November 1836 and September 1837 and of which he subsequently published a popular account in 1838.[10] It is therefore necessary to go back to the two years after Lindsay left Eton in 1828, aged only sixteen, to trace the early origins of his interest in art, which developed both from his intensive reading and from his travels, first in France in 1828-9, and then in the Low Countries, Germany and Italy in 1829-30.

Lindsay's first visit to France was spent mainly in Paris in the care of his tutor, Mr. Frederick Pratt, and under the further guidance of his French drawing master, Jean Broc (1771-1850) who had been a pupil of David and who, as Lindsay wryly observed in his journal, "draws on geometrical principles and talks a vast deal about Raphael ... /but/ has a sovereign contempt for Salvator Rosa". Lindsay and Pratt had arrived in Paris on 1 June and the very next day they took the first step towards a systematic study of the pictures of all the different schools in the Louvre which they did not finally complete until February 1829. They began, as Lindsay dutifully reported to

his father on 4 June, by examining the "early masters of the 13th and 14th centuries from Cimabue and J. Van Eyck upwards". But on subsequent visits it was Raphael's La Belle Jardinière, and N. Poussin's Déluge which he singled out for particular praise although he also records his appreciation of Van Eyck's Virgin and Child with angels on account of its "flesh tints" and of G. Dou's Dropsical Woman as "the most highly finished picture I ever saw". Thirty six years later, perhaps with the benefit of hindsight, he was to claim that Fra Angelico's Coronation of the Virgin, which had indeed already been engraved by Schlegel as early as 1817,(11) deeply impressed him at this time "with the beauty and interest of the early Tuscan painters", but there is absolutely no reference to it in his early diaries and letters. Lindsay and Pratt did not of course confine themselves to the Louvre. They were also allowed to see the principle private collections such as those of Marshal Soult where Lindsay singled out Murillo's Prodigal Son and a picture by Morales, and of the Italian collector, the Marquis Sommariva, where he was struck by two works of Carlo Dolci and a Guido Reni Ascension.(12)

The most noticeable and immediate effect on Lindsay of his intensive study of pictures in and around Paris was a renewed interest, which amounted to a curatorial concern, for his own family's picture collection which was then divided between Haigh Hall, Wigan, and Berkeley Square, London. Besides family portraits, it contained good quality works by Dutch artists such as Bloemaert, Hobbema, and Rembrandt, and Lindsay began to compile a catalogue of them which he completed after he returned home in 1829. However it was

in the field of old master prints that Lindsay showed most enterprise and sense of purpose during his first visit to Paris. At Eton he had already started to take a serious interest in collecting old printed books, and he certainly continued to buy incunabula in Paris under the indulgent supervision of Mr. Pratt. But now he extended his range of acquisitions to include prints, and bought examples by Durer, Lucas van Leyden, Aldegrever, Agostino Veneziano, H.S. Beham, Rembrandt, Castiglione, Salvator Rosa, and Stefano della Bella, as well as landscapes and genre scenes by Netherlandish artists he would later come to despise, such as Berchem, Bega, A. van Ostade, Potter and A. & J. Van de Velde. Lindsay's plan, which had been directly inspired by his regular visits to the well ordered print room in the Bibliothèque du Roi, was to add his small portfolio of prints to those already in his father's collection so as "to form a little history of the art of engraving, beginning from the early periods, giving generally one of each great master".(13)

Apart from its intrinsic interest, Lindsay's early burst of enthusiasm for the fine arts is worth our attention on account of the violent reaction which his letters home had by now provoked from his father, amounting to a direct challenge (which Lindsay surely never forgot) to find a moral and social justification for his art historical interests and for his "solitary and unprofitable amusements".(14) After reminding Lindsay of his "higher order of intellectual powers", Earl James went on to suggest that "It should therefore become an object of deep interest to you as well as to your friends, that your talents, and powers of application, are applied to the proper objects,

as you well know, that the Talent was never intended to be wrapt in a napkin, nor the Lighted Candle meant to be hid under a Bushel, which clearly points out, that Learning is only useful, as it benefits the human race, and that when science is only employed in solitary amusements and the nice discriminations of unimportant subjects, the Talent is indeed wrapt up in a napkin, and the Light hid under a Bushel. Now to give a practical example of what I mean, " (Earl James then continued), "let us take Pictures .... No doubt they are a most beautiful and ornamental piece of furniture, proper to adorn the dwellings of the wealthy, and being among the highest order of mecanic (sic) art and combined with a great deal of mental association, they are consequently most pleasing and most gratifying; but with regard to the nice distinction of names, it matters very little whether the picture is painted by a Vanderveld or a Vandervert, the world in general care very little about it, and understand it less; the name of the Painter ought to give no additional value to the Picture, which ought to be judged solely by its intrinsic merit ..... I therefore think for the above reasons that the nice and laborious enquiry about the names of painters is in a great measure lost time, and as a pursuit not worth much laborious investigation being altogether unprofitable, and not tending to any good beyond Curiosity."

It is difficult to imagine the emotional impact of such a letter on a young man who had not yet even gone up to University. Perhaps Lindsay appreciated his father's kind intentions. He certainly replied to him in moderate and respectful terms; but afterwards he

seems to have carried on with his antiquarian and art historical studies entirely as before. It was not however until he had read Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne ten years later that he at last found an absolute answer to his father's mechanical view of artistic creation.

Lindsay and Pratt returned home from France in April 1829, but less than five months later they again left England for another extended foreign tour. We can follow their movements as well as the direction of their interests from Lindsay's well kept journal which begins from the moment they arrived in Bruges on 21 August; on the other hand Lindsay's letters home, as well as those from his tutor, are remarkably uninformative, no doubt because neither of them can have wanted to provoke any further moral outbursts from Earl James about the necessity of acquiring "Modern knowledge"!

In Bruges Lindsay eagerly sought out the celebrated pictures by Memling in the Hospital of St. John. Their route then took them through Ghent, Brussels and Aix-la-Chapelle to Cologne, where they visited the Wallraff gallery, and Lindsay particularly admired Durer's picture of a Piper and Drummer. Then in the gallery at Mainz he again singled out a work by Durer, the Adam and Eve dated 1507, before hurrying on to Darmstadt, Heidelberg, Carlsruhe, Baden and Strasbourg, and ultimately arriving at Lake Maggiore on 12 October. Here, in the Borromeo collection of Isola Bella, Lindsay took note of Camillo Procaccini's sketch of the Martyrdom of St Agnes and a picture of Joseph interpreting the baker's dream by Il Genevosino. Two days later the travellers reached Milan, having

stopped en route to see the church at Rho with its frescoes by Morazzone. In Milan Lindsay mainly concentrated on the obvious tourist attractions such as the Duomo, Leonardo da Vinci's fresco of the Last Supper, Raphael's Cartoon in the Ambrosiana, and Titian's Mocking of Christ, now in the Louvre but then still in S. Maria delle Grazie · He also made a point of seeing Luini's frescoes in S. Ambrogio; and later in the Brera Museum he again showed particular interest in this artist's work. Most of the other pictures he noted in the Brera were either High Renaissance works such as Raphael's Marriage of the Virgin or seventeenth century pictures in the grand manner by Guercino, S. Rosa, Dughet, Van Dyck and Rubens; but he did also observe that "one of the large rooms is full of very curious old pictures", including a Crivelli, which he found "most beautifully done, the draperies and all the accessories being finished with the greatest accuracy".

From Milan Lindsay and Pratt moved on to Como, Bergamo and Brescia. Here, on 19th October, Lindsay took his first rather impulsive step as a picture collector, and he records in his journal that "After an excellent dinner at Le Due Torre we sallied out and I picked up a curious old Greek picture of the Virgin and Child". But he had evidently dined too well, for he later discovered that his picture was in fact by a late imitator of the Byzantine style, of rather less antiquarian interest than he had been led to believe.(15)

After Brescia, the two travellers went on to Verona and then to Padua. In Verona they saw the Cathedral but failed to visit the

interesting medieval church of St. Zeno. In Padua they again explored the Cathedral as well as the Basilica of S. Antonio with its "curious frescoes". They also went to the Church of the Eremitani where Lindsay noted the frescoes by Guariento, but rather curiously failed to make any reference to the now much more celebrated frescoes painted there by Mantegna. He also overlooked Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, which stands immediately adjacent. Although it was still privately owned and perhaps of difficult access, other adventurous and maybe more persistent travellers such as David Wilkie, the Scottish artist, and his friends William Hilton and Thomas Phillips had managed to see it only a few years earlier.(16)

By 24 October Lindsay and Pratt were in Venice. They saw the pictures in the Accademia and in the Manfrini collection, as well as the Tintoretto cycle in the Scuola di San Rocco and the P. Veronese Darius at the feet of Alexander then in the Pisani Palace, and now in the National Gallery, London. Lindsay's greatest enthusiasm, however, seems to have been reserved for Giovanni Bellini's Virgin and Child with Saints in S. Maria dei Frari. Then, just before leaving the city on 28 October, he bought "a little picture of Gent. Bellini" said to have come from the Grimani collection; but this acquisition can no longer be traced and was probably of little value.

Lindsay's next objective was Bologna where he arrived, together with his tutor, on 30 October after making brief halts at Ferrara and Rovigo. Visiting the Accademia, he apparently had no difficulty in appreciating the seventeenth century pictures by the local

Bolognese artists, about which he was later to become so critical after he had read Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne; and on this occasion, after studying Raphael's St. Cecilia, he particularly focused his attention on Guido Reni's Massacre of the Innocents, and on the Martyrdom of St Agnes and the Madonna of the Rosary by Domenichino.

Lindsay and Pratt had a more leisurely stay in Florence, where they remained from 3 November to 10 December. Nevertheless Lindsay lost little time before going to see the Uffizi collection. At first he ignored the pictures by Raphael, leaving them until a subsequent visit ten days later, and filled his journal instead with a breathless account of other equally celebrated masterpieces: "Venus de Medicis exquisite, Parmigiano's Holy Family beautiful. Herodias with John Baptist's head beautifully painted by L. Vinci but unpleasant. 3 pictures of Adoration, Circumcision and Ascension in one frame by Mantegna wonderful finesse - and high finished - ditto in Adoration of Magi by A. Durer. Two Venuses by Titian .... Madonna by Guido. M Angelo's Holy Family may be amusing and instructive to a connoisseur in anatomy etc. perhaps, but is not pleasing to me - Correggio's fine." Lindsay's appreciation of Mantegna, Durer, and the Herodias by Luini (not as he thought by Leonardo), expressed in terms more generally associated with an eighteenth century connoisseur's view of Dutch cabinet painting, strikes a rather curious note; and it was Michelangelo's tondo which had provoked him into making one of his first entirely personal and spontaneous outbursts.

In the gallery of the Palazzo Pitti Lindsay concentrated on the

High Renaissance and the seventeenth century, and made notes on works by Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolomeo, Titian, S. Rosa, C. Allori and Guido Reni. It was in the same spirit that he sought out Volterrano's Assumption in S. Annunziata and Giordano's fresco decorations in the Palazzo Riccardi. And although he made no effort to see the Gozzoli frescoes during his visit to the Riccardi Palace, he did look at some works of art dating from the era before the High Renaissance. For instance, he went to S. Croce and saw T. Gaddi's frescoes in the Baroncelli chapel as well as the altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin attributed to the school of Giotto. In S. Maria Novella he noticed Duccio's Ruccellai Madonna (now in the Uffizi) which at that time was, as he recorded, "thought to be ye first work Cimabue ever did in Florence and very interesting as such." In the choir of this church Lindsay also studied D. Ghirlandaio's frescoes representing the Life of the Virgin but was more stimulated by Nardo di Cione's frescoes in the Strozzi chapel, then attributed to Orcagna, which he found "particularly curious as the different punishments are taken from Dante etc.". Then too, in the Accademia, his antiquarian interest was aroused by "the collection of old paintings among which are some of Cimabue and Giotto ....."; while in the chapter house of S. Marco he comments on the unusual iconography of Fra Angelico's large fresco of the Crucifixion where the repentant thief is represented with a halo.

Nor did Lindsay forget to see the principal works of sculpture in Florence. He studied the celebrated Medici tombs by Michelangelo,

but then comments, with at least equal approval, on the beauty of the bas reliefs on Donatello's bronze pulpits in the nave of S. Lorenzo. He also took note of Ghiberti's Baptistry doors and the sculptures by Ghiberti, Donatello and Verrocchio on the outside of Orsanmichele. Then again, in Siena where he arrived with Pratt on 12 December, he paid particular attention to N. Pisano's pulpit in the Duomo. Here he also saw Duccio's Maestà, by this time a sadly neglected masterpiece, before moving on to look at Pintoricchio's frescoes which had just been engraved by Lasinio.(17) Finally, in the church of S. Domenico, he found the much engraved picture of the Madonna and Child by Guido of Siena which was widely, but incorrectly, thought to date from 1221, "about 19 years before Cimabue's birth, and exceeding interesting on account of ye history of ye art."

Lindsay and Pratt reached Rome on 16 December and settled down there for a stay of over two months. Here Lindsay systematically looked at the Roman antiquities, the principal churches and most of the important picture collections including the Borghese, Colonna, Corsini, Doria and Vatican galleries. He also paid several visits to Cardinal Fesch's collection where he was attracted by "a curious picture by Beato Angelico", undoubtedly the Last Judgment (now in West Berlin)(18) which, as we shall see, he himself later attempted to acquire for his own collection.

From about 28 February 1830 until 17 March Lindsay and Pratt were in Naples where Lindsay's chief enthusiasm seems to have been for the pictures of Ribera, and in particular for his Moses and Elijah

in the church of S. Martino.(19) They were back in Rome in time for the Good Friday ceremonies in the Sistine Chapel on 8 April. Then, before leaving for the homeward journey, Lindsay rapidly completed his sightseeing programme with visits to Raphael's Galatea in the Farnesina, Guido Reni's Aurora in the Rospigliosi Palace, and Domenichino's frescoes at Grottaferrata.

The journey back to the north of Italy took Lindsay and Pratt to Spoleto, where they saw Filippo Lippi's frescoes in the Cathedral, before proceeding to Perugia, where they were again able to visit the Cathedral, but apparently nothing else. By 2 May they had already passed through Florence and reached Pisa. Lindsay admired the "beautiful, high, and elegant" architecture of the Campo Santo and also wrote a long memorandum on the frescoes. His inspection of the Duomo was more rapid and he then turned his critical eye to the Baptistry: "The Baptistry - German Gothick!!! (what next?) is adorned with the same endless profusion of columns as the Duomo ... The Pulpit of Nicola Pisano's workmanship is beautiful."

From Pisa they travelled quickly through Lucca, Genoa, Nice, Marseilles, Aix-en-Provence and Avignon. Then, after a stop in Paris, they crossed the channel arriving at Dover on 9 June. Lindsay had obviously benefited enormously from his first tour of Italy. His kindly tutor had allowed him to develop his artistic and historical interests without insisting on too much "modern knowledge", and Lindsay had taken advantage of this freedom to prove himself a remarkedly perceptive young traveller. It is worth remembering that

Rio, who was also completing his first Italian journey at the very same moment, was at this stage, to judge from the evidence of his autobiography, still much less well equipped than Lindsay to appreciate and assimilate the significance and the range of Italy's artistic monuments.(20) But whereas Rio was able to continue his artistic education with further Italian visits in 1831 and 1834, and with von Rumohr's Italienische Forschungen to guide him, Lindsay had to wait another nine years before returning to the peninsula; and by then Rio's book De La Poésie Chrétienne was already beginning to circulate among his friends.

NOTES

1. Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, X, 1947, pp. 123-131.

2. James Lindsay (1793-1855) was the son of Lord Lindsay's uncle, Robert Lindsay (1754-1836), who had bought Balcarres, Fife, from Lord Lindsay's grandfather, Alexander, 6th Earl of Balcarres (1752-1825) of Haigh Hall, Wigan. James Lindsay's second wife was Anne, daughter of Sir Coutts Trotter of Westville, Lincolnshire. Their daughter, Margaret, married Lord Lindsay in 1846. Their other children were Coutts, who inherited his grandfather's baronetcy; Robert James who became Baron Wantage; and Mary Anne who married Robert Holford of Westonbirt in 1854.

3. A.F. Rio, De La Poésie Chrétienne dans son principe, dans sa matière et dans ses formes; Forme de l'Art, Seconde Partie, Paris 1836.

4. See, for instance, his essay How to Observe, said to have been written in 1835 and first published in Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts, second series, - with a memoir compiled by Lady Eastlake, London 1870, pp. 199-300. See also his review of J.D. Passavant's Rafael von Urbino, Leipzig 1839, in The Quarterly Review, June 1840, pp. 1-48.

5. For Wackenroder's contribution see Keith Andrews, The Nazarenes. A Brotherhood of German Painters in Rome, Oxford 1964, pp. 13 ff.

6 For Schlegel's contribution see Andrews op.cit., pp. 16 ff.

7. For von Rumohr's contribution see Andrews op.cit., pp. 39-40.

8. A.F. Rio, Epilogue à l'art chrétien, Paris 1892, II p. 121. See further pp. 111 ff.

9. Lives of the Lindsays, privately printed 1839.

10. Letters on Egypt, Edom and The Holy Land, London 1838.

11. For Lindsay's claim, see the letter to his son dated Florence, February 1865, part of which is transcribed in Chapter XII. For Schlegel's engraving see his Mariae Krönung und die Wunder des heiligen Dominicus von Johann von Fiesole, 1817.

12. For Sommariva's collection see F. Haskell, An Italian Patron of French Neo-Classic Art. The Zaharoff Lecture, Oxford 1972; and also in The Burlington Magazine, October 1972, pp. 691-695.

13. Letter to his mother, dated Paris 1 February 1829.

14. Letter dated Haigh 6 January 1829.

15. This picture cannot now be identified.

16. For the Italian tour of Hilton and Phillips in 1825 see M. Pointon in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXXV, 1972, pp. 339-358. For Wilkie's visit to the Arena Chapel in 1826 see A. Cunningham, The Life of Sir David Wilkie, London 1843, II pp. 369-370. They were followed by Maria, Lady Callcott, who made a tour of Italy in 1827-8 and then published the first illustrated account of the frescoes, entitled Description of the Chapel of The Annunziata dell' Arena; or Giotto's Chapel in Padua, London 1835. This was quickly followed by P. Selvatico, Sulla Capellina degli Scrovegni nell' Arena di Padova e sui freschi di

Giotto in essa dipinti, Padua 1836.

17. G.P. Lasinio, Raccolta delle più celebri pitture esistenti nella città di Siena, Florence 1825.

18. Dahlem Museum, West Berlin, inv. 60A.

19. Reproduced by E. du Gué Trapier, Ribera, New York 1952, pp. 154-155 figs. 109-110.

20. See A.F. Rio, Epilogue à l'art chrétien, Paris 1892, I pp. 335 ff.

II

Lindsay arrived in Rome for his second tour of Italy on 11 March 1839, having travelled by sea from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia, and he at once joined forces with Colonel and Mrs. Lindsay (referred to hereafter as James and Anne) and their children. There was little time for relaxation after the journey and the very next day Lindsay found himself included in a party invited to the Villa Ludovisi to see Guercino's Aurora. But after this initial excitement life soon settled down to a more peaceful tempo until, on 21 March, Lindsay set off on an expedition to Naples together with James, Anne and their son Coutts, but without the three younger children, including Lindsay's future wife Margaret, who were left behind in Rome. After a month in Naples they then began a leisurely excursion to see Amalfi, Salerno and Paestum during which James, Anne and Coutts were usually quite content to spend the time sketching, while Lindsay sat in the shade reading aloud to them from Sir Joshua Reynolds' Discourses. This idyllic existence was allowed to continue until 3 May when they returned once again to Naples and began to concentrate on the more local sites.

They first went to Pompeii where Lindsay amused his friends by reading the principal scenes from Edward Bulwer's The last days of Pompeii (1834). In a rather more serious mood they also visited some of the less fashionable Gothic antiquities in Naples, which had been brought to the attention of James and Anne by their friend Félicie de Fauveau, the French sculptress who, as a fervent Royalist, had been living in exile in Florence since 1836. By this date she was already

a friend and admirer of A.F. Rio, and shared both his religious faith and his passion for early Italian art. Indeed she is said to have gone so far as to accuse Raphael "d'être venu au monde pour tuer la peinture,"(1) an extreme position even by Rio's standards. After seeing the Gothic tombs in S. Chiara, and learning of the destruction there of frescoes traditionally attributed to Giotto, Lindsay was stimulated to write a relatively lively entry in what had so far been an uninspired travel journal. "There is a treasure of ancient Gothic tombs of the middle ages at Naples, antiquities rarely visited and almost unknown to the English. We owe much gratitude to our friend Mlle de Fauveau, the accomplished Florentine sculptress, for directing our attention to them; the tombs of Queen Joan and of Caraccioli in Sta Chiara are the most remarkable; many of the figures are full of sweetness and majesty. The paintings of Giotto that were once to be seen in this church are now lost for ever, painted over by some glaring dauber of the later Neapolitan school. It was in /1329/* that Giotto, the great reviver and missionary of painting, visited Naples. He executed various works there, and left many disciples behind him, specimens of whose talent are to be seen in the Museo. These again instructed other artists and the succession was thus continued for many generations. But the spirit of lofty and religious enthusiasm which was the characteristic of the early Florentine, Siennese and Umbrian schools was comparatively foreign to the Neapolitan."(2) This paragraph is the first clear indication in Lindsay's surviving papers that the seeds of his subsequent romantic love for early Italian art had by now been sown.

* Note: This space was left blank in the original.

On 6 May the Lindsays set off on the return journey to Rome where they arrived four days later, having stopped en route at Monte Cassino to see Giordano's ceiling in the ~~chapel~~ church of the convent. In Rome they lost little time before visiting the studio of the English artist George Richmond (1777-1853) who had been commissioned by Lindsay to make a watercolour of his four young cousins.(3) Then they all went on to August Kestner to see a drawing he had been making of Anne; but in spite of Kestner's friendly contacts with such varied and colourful artistic personalities as Friedrich Overbeck, the Nazarene painter, Franz and Johannes Riepenhausen who are mainly remembered today for their work as book illustrators, and Lady Callcott, the successful English writer and connoisseur of early Italian art, he appears to have made no lasting impression on the young Lord Lindsay, who merely records his pleasure on finding the German artist's house "full of articles of taste and antiquarian curiosities" including two Madonnas attributed to Timoteo Viti.(4) The remainder of Lindsay's stay in Rome was taken up with equally casual pursuits. He visited the studio of the British sculptor Joseph Gott, and he explored the Etruscan vase shops. We also learn from his journal of an outing to the Vatican museum to see again "the Apollo, Laocoon, and the beautiful Communion of St Jerome (the kneeling angel exquisite) - Raphael's Coronoation of the Virgin, which might be a Perugino - and the frescoes."

Eventually the entire family left Rome on Friday 17 May. They stopped two days later at Spoleto and Lindsay records that "after reading the service /we/ walked out to the Cathedral, where we

admired the beautiful reception of the Virgin in heaven by F. Lippi." Then, after a beautiful drive to Foligno, they went for an evening walk along the ramparts, and while the children played in the moat, Lindsay, James and Anne were educated by Coutts' tutor Dr. Urlich, who had been hired in Rome, "about the old religious schools of painting, Overbeke etc."

As the tone of this conversation might suggest, Lindsay had by now just started reading a copy of Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne which had been lent to Anne by Félicie de Fauveau, and its direct influence on his aesthetic way of thinking is already clearly perceptible by the time the party reached Assisi on the evening of 20 May. Lindsay records that after the children and servants had been sent ahead to Perugia, he with James and Anne "halted at S. Maria degli Angeli, and after visiting the church built over the house where St. Francis received his first call, and admiring a beautiful fresco of Overbeke's, quite in the spirit of the école mystique[5] - drove up to Assisi, the picturesque old convent of the Franciscans, and peculiarly interesting in the history of art as the cradle of that pure and religious school of painting, which beginning with Giotto - and carried on by Fra Angelico, Bened. Gozzoli, and Perugino, found its highest development in Raphael." Lindsay then feels obliged to add, but not without a note of surprise, that "Rio, whose book we have with us, considers his /Raphael's/ later productions a falling away from its holy doctrines;" and, although he was perhaps not yet entirely convinced by this particular idea, he gladly acknowledges that "Rio's is a beautiful book, and fills one with new

ideas".

After seeing the Basilica of S. Franceso, Lindsay together with James and Anne travelled on to Perugia which at once struck him as a "particularly clean, handsome, and aristocratic town." It is not clear whether his decision to visit the Perugino frescoes in the Sala del Cambio was directly inspired by Rio's account, but he certainly expresses his appreciation of them in terms which are remarkably similar to those of the French writer: "... One can form no idea of him /Perugino/ as a painter without coming here; the figures of David, Solomon, and the Sibyls are very, very beautiful. The shepherd kneeling with his back turned, in the Adoration of the Shepherds, and indeed the whole picture we thought inimitably simple and beautiful."

During the drive on the following day Lindsay began by reading aloud "some of my favourite passages in Childe Harold." But after a meal at Castiglione, he could not resist turning his attention back to De La Poésie Chrétienne; and on their arrival at Arezzo that evening he was still so preoccupied with Rio that "instead of walking out" he elected to remain at home and make notes on what he had read.

The party reached Florence on Wednesday 22 May and the very next afternoon Lindsay had an opportunity to meet Félicie de Fauveau, who came to tea, and invited him to visit her studio. There he admired the nobility in her head of Judith parlant aux Béthuliens which was later to be rejected at the Salon of 1841, but records his opinion that on the whole she was "too fond of starving and attenuating her

heroes and heroines." Earlier the same day he had already been to to the Uffizi and discovered the extent to which his aesthetic standards had changed since his last visit nine years before. "My taste much changed since I used to frequent the Tribune - then Leonardo's Herodias and one or two of Raphael's last manner were my chief favourites. We stood long before Rod. Ghirlandaio's two admirable pictures, especially the raising of the child by S. Zenobio, a wonderful picture in every respect - composition, drawing, and colouring, all in perfection. There are many figures - none superfluous, because all expressive - Fra Angelico's Holy Family surrounded by angels also detained us long; no painter not excepting Raphael himself, has invested his ideas with so much of heaven: one of the two saints on the volets the St. John particularly pleased us."

A few days later Lindsay went to the Accademia with Anne, and here too Rio's critical language affected their response. Lindsay refers in his journal to this "most interesting collection of ancient pictures of our beloved école mystique - a treasure for the early history of art: many by Fra Angelico - a portrait of Savanarola too (I forget by whom) very interesting - a beautiful picture of the Virgin's appearance to St. Bernard by Giottino: - but we had only time for a hurried walk round the rooms." On another occasion he revisited S. Maria Novella and studied the Nardo di Cione frescoes in the Strozzi chapel which he had already admired in 1830; but on this occasion he also looked at the frescoes in the Chapter House by Andrea da Firenze which Rio, following Vasari, led him to believe were by Simone Martini.[6] He went also to the Riccardi Palace to

see the Benozzo Gozzoli frescoes which he had overlooked in 1830, and describes them, rather oddly, as "quite refreshing"; but he registered no reaction to Rio's suggested comparison between some of Gozzoli's figures and the bas reliefs on the Parthenon.(7) Then too he went to the church of the Carmine to study Masaccio's "famous" fresco in the Brancacci chapel He describes it as "wonderful as a composition and in point of drawing but I thought it deficient in the higher elements and purpose of art."

And by now Lindsay was no longer in doubt as to what the higher purposes of art should be. He had indeed found in Rio's book an answer to the challenging views his father had expressed so vehemently in 1829. As he wrote home to his mother on 29 May 1839, "Now that I understand a little more of painting and its connection with morals and manners I take a pleasure far greater than I did when here before in the marvels of art with which Italy teems, particularly the ancient frescoes of the 14th century, when painting was a branch of religion."

Lindsay's last act before leaving Florence on 29 May was to buy his own copy of De La Poésie Chrétienne. This together with the Life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary by the Comte de Montalembert, Rio's closest friend and admirer(8) (which Félice de Fauveau had lent Anne), provided his chief reading material on the extended journey to Salzburg, although as a concession to the demands of "modern knowledge" he also took a textbook on Political Economy. The Political Economy caused him much distress - "I cannot take it in" - but he found relief in Montalembert's book which he described as "interesting in matter and language beautiful - but the spirit as superstitious as if the author

had lived in the 12th century."

The Lindsays route took them through Bologna where they halted for the night of 30 May. On this occasion Lindsay was content to bypass the seicento pictures which had so impressed him in 1830. Instead, encouraged perhaps by Rio's enthusiastic account, he concentrated, at least in his journal, on the works of Francia: "After breakfast visited the chapel of the Bentivoglios ... to see the picture which established Francia's reputation - then to the chapel of S Cecilia ... to admire the frescoes depicting her life, on which his fame chiefly rests. They are sadly decayed, but very beautiful, particularly that of the marriage. This chapel is for Francia and his school, what the Vatican is for Raphael." In the Accademia he found further examples of Francia's work, but was also deeply moved by Timoteo Viti's Magdalen, and notes: "... she is represented at the mouth of her cave and very young - too young almost to have sinned as the real Mary Magdalen is erroneously reputed to have done, and with such a sweet expression. We could hardly tear ourselves away from her."

In the Palace at Modena Lindsay was again attracted to pictures from the school of Francia, and noted in particular an Assumption of the Virgin by Giulio and Giacomo Francia, which he mistook for the work of their more illustrious father. It is fair to add that Lindsay had still not entirely lost his capacity to find merit in the Bolognese seicento artists, and the other picture to which he was specially drawn in Modena was a Crucifixion by Guido Reni, now in the Galleria Estense.

By the evening of 2 June the party had reached Mantua which Lindsay found a "marshy dreary decaying place." The next morning he looked round the Palazzo Ducale, where he concentrated on the rather second rate frescoes by the studio of G. Romano, yet apparently failed to see Mantegna's outstanding frescoes in the Camera ~~dei~~ degli Sposi. Here he was perhaps the victim of his current dependence on Rio who had also completely ignored these frescoes in De La Poésie Chrétienne.

The next halt was at Verona where the Lindsays visited S Anastasio and the Cathedral before going on to S. Zeno. Lindsay was particularly interested in the "very curious" bronze gates "executed in the infancy of the art and rude to a degree - exhibiting designs from the old and new testament." They left Verona on 4 June and then followed the course of the river Adige until they reached Ala, just within the Tyrol, where they stopped for the night. By the 13 June they were at Salzburg, and they reached Munich four days later, quite unprepared for the impact of King Ludwig of Bavaria's recent efforts to propagate a new national art and to turn the city into a major cultural centre, by commissioning a varied succession of public buildings in the style of Greek temples, Byzantine and Romanesque churches and Gothic houses. As Keith Andrews has recently pointed out, these buildings "stood for whole periods of the past, such as Classical Antiquity or the Middle Ages, and they were to have a moral significance besides, as witnesses to the superiority of past civilisations."(9)

The days spent in Munich were the most momentous of the whole trip so far as Lindsay was concerned and he could hardly contain his enthusiasm. He examined King Louis of Bavaria's collection of antique sculpture and records a particular interest in the Aegina marbles: "grace and ideal beauty had not then dawned, but they are full of life and vigour, and speak home to the heart like an old ballad ...". He was equally impressed by the King's collection of old master paintings which included early Flemish and German works acquired in 1827 from Supliz and Melchior Boisserée[10] and notes in his journal: "... of these all seem to be good, many very beautiful - the collection of Rubenses especially is said to be unrivalled, but the most interesting to me were the series of ancient German masters from the rise of painting in this country till the 16th century ...". Yet, in fact, most of the pictures which Lindsay then specifically identifies as among the most striking were the Flemish works such as R. Van der Weyden's Adoration of the Magi (which had caught the imagination of Goethe a generation earlier when it was exhibited at Heidelberg), and Memling's Seven Joys of Mary of which he at once bought a reproductive line engraving at Hermann's print shop.

However, quite contrary to Lindsay's expectations, it was the contemporary fresco paintings by the "Nazarene" artists such as Cornelius and Schnorr which most excited him. Cornelius had been brought to Munich in 1819 to decorate the Glyptothek and had then been occupied from 1830 onwards in a vain attempt to vie with Signorelli and Michelangelo in interpreting the Creation and the Last Judgement in the Ludwigskirche. Meanwhile, in 1827, Schnorr had followed

Cornelius to Munich where King Ludwig had engaged him to decorate part of the Residenz, a miniature imitation of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, with scenes from the Nibelungen Saga.(11) "I at least have been quite taken by surprise" Lindsay confessed in his journal after seeing these works, "I had heard and read indeed, that Munich, a place till the last thirty years utterly void of interest, was becoming under King Louis's auspices, one of the most remarkable towns in Europe, but I always thought the accounts exaggerated .... Art, I fancied (in its higher departments, I mean - fresco, religious painting etc.) was extinct for ever - gladly, gladly do I find myself mistaken." He had also seen the frescoes in the Aller Heiliger by Heinrich Maria von Hess (1798-1863) and found them so "full of sweetness, tenderness, purity and holiness," that he had ordered the set of reproductive prints by G. Schreiner. Indeed he preferred Hess to Cornelius, for although he was impressed by the latter artist's Last Judgment in St. Ludwig's church on account of its "grandeur and severity", he had found his ceiling frescoes in the Glyptothek "rather theatrical and his colouring too russet."

From Munich the Lindsays travelled quickly through Constance, Zurich, Berne, and Friburg to Lausanne, where they arrived at the end of June. Here James arranged to rent a villa, the Grande Elysée, where Anne and the children were to spend the remainder of the summer, after he and Lindsay had returned to England in July. Lindsay, in the meantime, was at last completing his detailed study of De La Poésie Chrétienne. He also now found time to write his mother a long ecstatic letter describing his burning enthusiasm for the works of art in Munich and his admiration for the patronage of King

Ludwig:

"Lausanne 29 June
1839

..... Munich, Constance, Zurich, Berne, Friburg, Lausanne - such has been our route since my last letter. I then told you we were going to Munich - my head has been full of its marvels ever since, and you must not be surprised if I talk of nothing else till the close of this letter, or for several weeks after I resubside into my armchair by the fireside at Haigh. A place till the last few years utterly void of interest, Munich is just now (and will be for ever henceforward) one of the most remarkable towns in Europe. Louis King of Bavaria has made it so; devoted to the arts from his youth, of an exquisite taste, and moreover himself a poet of no mean genius, he determined when Crown Prince, to make his capital the sanctuary of modern art - and he has succeeded; we have been equally pleased and astonished at the result of his exertions. But not of modern art alone - truly appreciating the debt we owe to antiquity, or in other words the necessity of intimate familiarity with the minds of those who have preceded us, would we have our works rank with theirs in the estimation of posterity, he collected before his accession a small but admirable gallery of statues, including the famous Agina marbles, the Barberini Faun, and the finest existing fragment of the well known group of Niobe, besides others of nearly equal beauty; - these he has now disposed in a noble edifice of Ionic architecture - the interior decorations of which are perhaps unrivalled for delicacy and taste .... Again, out of seven or eight thousand pictures of the old masters in

his possession, he has selected and brought to Munich about 1500, for which he has built a similar receptacle. Of these all seem to be good, many very beautiful - perhaps the most interesting are a series of the ancient German masters from the rise of painting in that country till the 16th century. There are also several of the finest Raphaels and many first rate works in their respective styles by Rubens and Van Dyke.

But not satisfied with amassing treasures of ancient art, King Louis determined on showing the world that if genius were given a field to display itself upon, powers unthought of would be elicited, and the nineteenth century might do homage to an exhibition of talent which would have done honour to the day of Raphael. He invited to Munich architects, painters, sculptors ... commissioned the former to build and the latter to decorate when completed - palaces, churches, galleries - the chief of these decorations being in paintings in fresco, such as Raphael and Michael Angelo were employed upon at Rome, the highest walk of painting though for 200 years past disused and forgotten. I have already mentioned the galleries of sculpture and painting; they are among the most admirable of these new buildings; the former is quite completed, frescoes, arabesques, sculptures etc - in the latter a long gallery opening on the picture room on one side, and open to the day on the other, is painted with the history of the chief artists of Italy and Germany from Cimabue downwards - beautiful composition and admirably executed. The new Palace, exteriorly imitated from the Pitti Palace at Florence, is internally the most elegant I think I ever saw; the rooms are painted with flowers,

garlands, etc somewhat in the style of Poussin, exquisitely light and airy embracing in a sort of framework the larger frescoes, friezes, and bas reliefs. The paintings of the King's apartments are chiefly scenes from Homer, Aschylus, and the old Greek poets; those of the Queen's (which we could not see) from the ancient German poets and Minne (or love) singers. - All are beautiful, but those on the ground floor - from the Nibelungen Lied, an ancient heroic poem, the Iliad of Germany, are grand as well as beautiful - a noble national monument - full of the old German, let me say Gothic spirit of chivalry and heroism - well done, Professor Schnorr!

But mere heathen and heroic painting is not the highest branch of that art, which always, at least in its elder and loftier aspirations, identified itself with Christianity; and whose votaries considered themselves and were considered by their countrymen as no less preachers and advocates of religion than the divine philosopher or poet - and truly they were such; many of them never took up their pencil without a preliminary prayer, like Milton's, for inspiration from heaven. This pure and ancient school fell asleep in the 16th century - none of the later painters having painted sacred subjects with that peculiar feeling that breathes like a perfume or a beautiful strain of music through the works of those old masters. But their spirit has revived in these our days and Munich seems to be the principal field of its influence. King Louis builds churches and then gives over the bare walls to the painter to decorate them as his taste dictates; several are in progress, but one only has been completed - that of All Saints - built after the model of a chapel at Palermo of

Norman architecture and of the 12th century; the frescoes, all by Hesse and his pupils, are on a gold ground in imitation of mosaic, and the effect is at once brilliant and beautiful; they represent scenes from the O and N. Testament - full of sweetness, tenderness, purity, and holiness - the composition, drawing, and colouring alike admirable; they have an effect upon one as thrilling and as heartwarming as the finest poetry - many of the separate figures of apostles and prophets might have been painted by Raphael himself. We were much struck with the due subordination observed in the idea and attitude of the Virgin, who is represented in the altarpiece, her hands joined and her eyes uplifted in prayer to heaven, where are seen the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost as they are usually represented in R. Catholic paintings, the former as a venerable old man, which is certainly objectionable, otherwise I saw little which might not have been introduced in a Protestant church: the Virgin's face especially is the perfection of dignity, purity, and loveliness. The numerous texts inscribed over the different frescoes and in different parts of the church are admirably chosen and all point to the Saviour. Take it altogether, I think I never saw such a gem in its way as this little church, or paintings that leave a more delicious impression on the mind than these with w^{ch} Hesse has adorned it. He has evidently drunk deeply of the spirit of the old Christian painters and retaining all that was excellent, avoided all that was mistaken in their notions - those of the times they lived in. Cornelius, another painter of equal though a very different order of genius - the first apparently in popular repute at Munich - is painting the Last Judgment in a church of much greater

dimensions than that of All Saints - it is a noble work, but his ~~compositions~~ compositions do not go to the heart like Hesse's - grandeur and severity is their character. Another lost art, painting on glass, has also been revived by King Louis in all its brilliancy of colouring and more than its original beauty of composition. Of the windows of a third new church, just completed (of Gothic architecture) seven are finished - the designs by Hesse, the execution by Frank of Benedictbeuern - nothing can be more exquisite.

In short, what this king has done is marvellous. A man of grand ideas, he has realised them in a style that only a king could compass. Calling round him the master minds of Germany, he has with a noble confidence given them as it were carte blanche as to their exertions, and the result is that which genius unfettered is always sure of attaining - complete success. And the rapidity too with which all this has been effected is of itself a marvel - and yet (unlike Louis Philippe's trickery at Versailles) everything is substantial and will last for ages. It reminds one involuntarily of Aladdin's lamp. To give you an idea of the extent of his undertakings and of the influence they exercise on art in Germany, it will be enough to say that there are now living at Munich all I believe, or almost all in his employ, or studying under those who are so - no less than 500 artists! - of whom 490 will be forgotten. All I have said I say only of the frescoes - so far as one can judge from the pictures at the exhibition and at the picture dealers, the oil pictures of this Munich school are far inferior to ours. They sell high however. We saw several very trashy landscapes which had just been purchased for £60 or £70 apiece. And now you

will ask, how have all these wonders been accomplished? Who has paid the piper? Have the people suffered in consequence? These questions, especially the last, I cannot fully answer; they certainly grumble, but so far as I can gather, it is merely because the pavement of the street here and there wants mending, and suchlike grievances. The King, at least, has devoted his whole private fortune to these great works. Never was I more delighted with any place - agreeably surprised we all were, J. A. & I, for we arrived with great doubts whether we sd be pleased or not - you dear Min, and my father especially, would be charmed with Munich - I wish I cd induce you to visit it - ....."

NOTES

1. See Luc Benoist, La sculpture romantique, Paris 1928, pp. 89 ff. See also J. Gigoux, Causeries sur les artistes de mon temps, Paris 1885, pp. 212-215 and S Lami, Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française, XIX^e siècle, Paris 1916, II pp. 346-348.

2. For the basis of these statements see G. Vasari, Le Vite de' più eccelenti Pittori Scultori ed Architettori, Florence 1878-85 (ed. G. Milanesi 1906), I pp. 388-391.

3. Private collection. Watercolour 26½ x 33 ins. Exhibited R.A. London 1840 (547).

4. August Kestner (1777-1853) was Secretary and later Minister to the Hanoverian Embassy in Rome from 1817. He was also an amateur artist and the author of Römische Studien, Berlin 1850. For his friendship with Overbeck see Andrews op. cit. p. 4. For his friendship with Franz and Johannes Riepenhausen (the authors of Geschichte der Mahlerei in Italien, Tubingen 1810, the first illustrated book to concentrate exclusively on the Italian primitives) see Römischen Studien, Berlin 1850, pp. 110-113, M. Jorns, August Kestner und seine Zeit, Hanover 1964, and C. Lloyd, Art and its Images. An exhibition of printed books containing engraved illustrations after Italian painting. Bodleian Library, Oxford 1975, pp. 33-35 No. 6. For his friendship with Lady Callcott, for whom see also chapter 1 note 16, see R. Gotch, Maria, Lady Callcott, London

1937, p. 267. Kestner later described his collection, with particular reference to one of the Madonna's by Timoteo Viti which Lindsay admired, in a letter to Lady Callcott, dated Rome 25 July 1836, now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library. "I have certainly the first Madonna in Rome, excepted those of Raphael; it is a colossal one by Timoteo della Viti, scolar of Francesco Francia and friend of Raphael - to which is belonging an Angel in the same size, both from an Annunciation. This very year I got some splendid portraits out of the Venetian School, similar by Van Dyck, two by Cossa Ferrarese, and I got six Giottos, representing the life of S. Francesco."

5. The Miracle of the Roses, on the entrance to St. Francis' small Portiuncula chapel.

6. See Vasari op.cit. I pp. 549 ff. and A. Rio, De La Poésie Chrétienne, Paris 1836, p. 55.

7. Rio op.cit. p. 202.

8 Histoire de Sainte Elizabeth de Hongrie, Paris 1836. Montalembert had also published an interesting volume of essays under the title Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art, Paris 1839. This included a detailed review of Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne, written in July 1837 (see pp. 71-134); and a Tableau Chronologique des Ecoles Catholiques de Peinture en Italie (see pp. 135-158).

9. Andrews op.cit. pp. 55-56.

10. See Andrews op.cit. p. 16. See also E. Firmenich - Richartz, Die Bruder Boisserée, 1916 and S Sulzberger, La Réhabilitation

des primitifs flamands, 1802-1867, Brussels 1961, pp. 53 ff.

11. For the activities of Cornelius and Schnorr in Munich, see Andrews op.cit. pp. 55-59 and pp. 62-64.

III

On his safe return home from Munich, Lindsay lost little time finding illustrated books for his library related to his new preoccupation with early Christian art. The most important acquisitions were probably L'Etruria Pittrice 1791, notable for its engraved plates illustrating the development and progress of Tuscan painting from the 11th to the 18th century,[1] and an edition of Carlo Lasinio's etchings of the frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa, first published in Florence in 1812.[2] These "are to be studied carefully with our friend Rio," suggested Lindsay, in a letter dated 26 October 1839 and addressed to Anne who by then was back in Florence. Lindsay was also able to tell her of the safe arrival of the prints he had bought from Mr. Hermann in Munich. "Hesse's name and Overbeke's are pretty well known at Haigh by this time, I guess! And that immense print after Hemmelinck is almost an equal favourite."

Among his other recent acquisitions there was a volume of lithographs of the ancient German paintings in Munich, a copy of the Musée Français first published in 1803 and dedicated to Napoleon,[3] and the original Roman edition of Piranesi's Views of Rome together with all the additional plates. Lindsay appeared to have every reason to be thoroughly satisfied with the books he had found. Yet, the Musée Français, with its comprehensive, but aesthetically undiscriminating corpus of engravings after the French national collection in the Louvre, soon began to have the opposite effect on him, and in spite of the high quality of its plates he found himself becoming

increasingly irritated and offended by its arrangement of "drunken scenes of Ostade and Teniers, the degradation of painting, interspersed between subjects the highest and holiest." A casual remark by Coutts, to the effect that one of Paul Potter's cattle pieces was generally reckoned the fourth finest picture in the world, merely fanned the flames of Lindsay's disgust and prompted him to devise a complicated "scheme of the poetry and prose of painting" which he immediately expounded in a long letter addressed to James dated 31 December 1839 (see Appendix I).

Lindsay's basic idea, which was clearly inspired by further reflection on De La Poésie Chrétienne, was that "precedence in art, or in literature ... is to be regulated by the moral elevation of the artist - by the nobler or more degraded aspect in which he views the works of God - and by the degree in which his influence is a blessing to his fellow creatures or the reverse." He then proceeds to postulate "three distinct existences" defined as Humanity, Nature, and the Degradation of Humanity, and goes on to redivide Humanity and Nature into "the two grand classes of Poetry and Prose." The highest class of Poetry is described as "Religion ... Man in his intercourse with God" and as prime examples Lindsay cites Giotto, Fra Angelico, Perugino, Raphael, Michelangelo, Fra Bartolomeo, Leonardo da Vinci, Overbeck and Hess. It seems unlikely that Rio would have quarrelled with this selection of Christian artists except perhaps over the inclusion of Michelangelo about whose work he had not yet published an opinion, but about whom he was later to be decidedly critical.(4)

In Lindsay's opinion the absolute contrast to the productions of these religious artists was to be found in the work of "Ostade, Teniers, Jan Steen ed id genus omne" which he placed in the category of "Lower Life - the Degradation of Humanity below the beasts that perish - the predominance of the animal and earthly propensities of man above the spiritual and heavenly - coarsely and unfeelingly exhibited... "

Between these two extremes Lindsay placed the lesser classes of Poetry such as Historical and Ideal Portraits, Ideal or Poetical Landscape, Scenes of Common Life showing the virtuous side of human nature "as by Wilkie in his best pictures", and Mythology. Below this followed the class of Prose, consisting of the Common Portrait, the Common Landscape showing nature in her "unadorned reality" and Still Life.

Anne, replying to Lindsay's provocative letter, expressed some understandable reservations about what she light heartedly describes as his "magnanimous contempt" of the whole Dutch school. But Lindsay would not allow himself to be humoured. He promptly complained that he had been misunderstood, and reminded Anne of the distinction he had drawn between the work of a still life painter such as Van Huysum compared to the "exhibition of mere moral deformity" found in the work of a genre painter such as Teniers. "Is not a flower, a butterfly, a ladybird, fresh and pure from God's hands, a more interesting and elevating subject of sympathy and contemplation than the drunken boors in which that portion of the Dutch school which I have as you maintain, unduly depreciated,

delight in?" he demanded insistently.(5)

Lindsay did however take this opportunity to modify these views in one important respect. "In drawing up my scheme, I only contemplated settling the precedency of the several departments of art by a reference to their moral elevation, and the consequent precedency of those painters who are acknowledged Masters in those several departments - never intending that an indifferent religious painter should, in reference to his individual merits, be placed above a master in landscape - Baroccio for instance, above Claude."

It was at this precise moment in Lindsay's life that he at last found sufficient confidence to resist, with absolute finality, persistent parental pressures that he should step into the public arena and stand for election to Parliament. "The cultivation of the intellect requires a private life" he confided to Anne on 23 January and went on to describe all his personal ambitions in the intellectual field. "As regards the future I have many schemes - grand noble schemes, floating before me, and which, please God to spare me, I hope to fix and realise - the Providential History of Man (which I told you I planned at Thebes sitting on the broken obelisk) - a Poem (I feel it in me, dear Anne, and I do not forget my Nascitur Poeta) - a work on Art to lead men to the true moral and religious dignity and object ... - and another on Love - that of God to Man, as provocative of love to God and to our neighbour."

It was in this frame of mind that Lindsay set off for another visit to Italy on 9 March 1840. He had been invited to stay with James and

Anne at the Villa Torregiani which they had rented in Florence. He soon settled happily into the quiet routine of his hosts who, on the whole, preferred their own company to that of the English community in the town. There were of course still regular visits from Félicie de Fauveau who was now making a bust of Anne and who encouraged the whole family in their enthusiasm for early Italian paintings. Lindsay was particularly interested in the tracings she had made of heads from frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli, Fra Angelico and Ghirlandaio. He also enjoyed accompanying Anne on her regular visits to the Church of the Carmine where, under the guidance of Marini whom she had engaged as her drawing master, she was making modest copies of Masaccio's frescoes, in spite of the fact that Rio had recognised in them the seeds of "le naturalisme qui commençait à dominer l'école florentine"(6). Otherwise he was usually content to stay at home, improving his knowledge of the Italian language, reading Shelley's letters, or looking through the plates of the French writer Seroux d'Agincourt's six volume Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens depuis sa décadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVIe. Seroux d'Agincourt had settled in Rome in 1779, and had at once begun to prepare this illustrated history of Italian art, but owing to the confusion following the French Revolution even the first part was not published until 1810/11, and the set was only completed in 1823. Seroux d'Agincourt's strictly empirical methods cannot have particularly appealed to Lindsay, yet he did not fail to appreciate the importance of the vast corpus of reproductive etchings, often of little known and previously unpublished early works of art.



On the 9 April this leisurely existence was interrupted, and the Lindsays all set off on a six day excursion to Pistoia, Lucca and Pisa. At Pistoia the principal attraction was the altarpiece commissioned from Verrocchio, but usually attibuted to talented workshop assistants, such as Lorenzo di Credi. They then spent the night in Lucca, and the following morning went over the Cathedral. Here, D. Ghirlandaio's Virgin and Saints was overshadowed in their estimation by Fra Bartolomeo's altarpiece of the Madonna and Child with St Stephen and St John Baptist, which Rio had already hailed as a chef d'oeuvre worthy of comparison with the best of Raphael's work.(7) Lindsay's reaction is arguably even more romantic and sentimental than Rio's. "There is here a very fine Virgin and Saints by Domenico Ghirlandaio, but it should be seen before the exquisite Madonna of Fra Bartolommeo /sic/, from which we could hardly tear ourselves away, its beauty sinks so into the heart, - and the organ and chanting were going on all the time, a fitting accompaniment to the sweet thoughts it originated. The composition is very simple. The Madonna with her infant son is seated on a throne in the open air, at the foot of which sits a sweet little angel playing on the viol; her face is most lovely - the infant Saviour is the least good; on her right stands St Stephen with stones lying on his head, the usual emblem to signify the manner of his martyrdom, - at her left, St John the Baptist, - he is full of beauty - quite a son of the desert, with a face of emaciation and holiness, his hair loosely falling. All the figures are en rapport with each other, and the rich sunset sky adds to the harmony It is by far the most pleasing Fra Bartolommeo /sic/ we ever saw; his

general character is grandeur, but sweetness and grace breathe here."

Lindsay's journal then continues with an account of Fra Bartolomeo's Madonna della Misericordia in S. Romano, to which Rio's book had also directed his attention, but which he felt lacked the "exquisite feeling" of the picture he had just seen in the Cathedral. Before leaving Lucca in the late afternoon there was also just time for him to visit the Ducal collection where he found N. Poussin's Massacre of the Innocents (now in Chantilly) "heartrending" and also singled out for their particular interest Gherardo della Notte's Christ before Caiaphas and Francia's Altarpiece of the Virgin and Child with St Anne, both of which are now in the National Gallery, London. (8)

On the way to Pisa the Lindsays made a short detour to the baths of S. Juliano to call on the Hungarian painter Karlo Markó (1791-1860) whom they had previously met in Florence. James was so pleased with "a beautiful Poussinesque sketch" which stood unfinished on an easel that he persuaded the artist to complete it for him. Lindsay too was impressed by Markó, especially in view of "a remark he made touching his custom of introducing some little scene from scripture in almost all his landscapes"; and the following year Lindsay was himself to commission two pictures from him.

In Pisa the next morning they spent most of their time at the Campo Santo. Lindsay was enraptured above all with Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes, as well as with those representing scenes from the life of St. Ranier which, on Vasari's authority, were then believed to be by Simone Martini, but which are now given to Andrea da Firenze

and Antonio Veneziano.[9] Following Rio, the Lindsays located Traini's picture of St. Thomas Aquinas victorious over heresy in the church of S. Caterina,[10] but failed to gain access to further pictures in the sacristy which Félicie de Fauveau had recommended them to see. In S. Paolo they eventually found the Virgin and Saints by Turino Vanni which Lindsay described as "stiff and dingy ... /but/ not devoid of expression"; on the other hand they found no trace of "the saints by Lippo and Simone Memmi spoken of by Valery."[11] At this date, Valery's Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie was still much the best guide for those who had become impatient with Mariana Starke's outmoded concepts of taste;[12] it was not until two years later that John Murray published Sir Francis Palgrave's Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy which was destined to have such a profound influence on the next generation of travellers. In S. Frediano they again turned to Valery's account with its reference to a St. Bridget by Tiarini;[13] but Lindsay confusing Tiarini with Traini was surprised to find that it "looks (so far as we could see it) quite modern."

Back in Florence they were able to relax again. Lindsay began to read an Italian translation of the Liverpool historian, William Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici,[14] and he was able to refresh his memory of the Pisan Camp Santo from a copy of Lasinio's etchings, even if they were only late impressions "terribly retouched". Then on 30 April the party set off on another expedition, which would include visits to Vallombrosa, Siena and S. Gimignano.

At Vallombrosa the convent contained little to hold their attention, so after a walk under "the Etrurian Shades" Lindsay sat down with Anne and read aloud from Beckford's description of the place.(15) They then proceeded to Camaldoli and thence to Laverna where they were all greatly affected by its romantic associations with the life of St Francis; and Lindsay was inspired to write a long but vivid passage in his journal. "After breakfast, under the escort of one of the monks, we visited the loca sancta, for every step here is on holy ground, - a tradition of St Francis is attached to every cave and crevice of the mountain. And really, while creeping among the damp chilly chasms, treading the narrow precipice-hung paths, and hearing the various traditions, that this was the bed of St Francis - here he received the stigmata, there Satan attempted to hurl him down the abyss etc. it is next to impossible to resist the religio loci, or to withold credence to legends told with such simplicity and faith, and so perfectly in harmony with the scene around one. There is something in fact unearthly and awful about the whole place, - it breathes of the supernatural; one feels that, if anywhere, saints and devils must have met in conflict here, - and certainly, when they told us, as we looked up from the bottom of one of the deep chasms at the light streaming in through the broken jagged rocks, that these convulsions had all taken place at Our Saviour's crucifixion, I am sure there was not one of us whose heart did not respond, "It might have been so!" and acknowledge how much the idea added to the impression of the moment. But it was only when, leaving the convent . . , we climbed to the top of the rock and explored it in every direction,

that we discovered the peculiar beauty of this extraordinary place, and acknowledged that rumour, and especially our friend Félicie had not exaggerated it." Lindsay then describes how sitting down to rest, "and one of us having a prayer-book in his pocket, we read as if by unanimous consent, the 104th psalm in this fitting temple for the praise of God, and with the deep feeling that in its simple yet lofty beauty our hearts found at last a satisfactory expression for the yearning emotions that had swelled within them during this happy morning." After voicing such sentiments, he even felt obliged to apologise for turning from nature to a description of the works of art they had also seen: "I feel it almost a profanation .... even though the artist be Luca della Robbia!" They had admired his Annunciation, Ascension and a Holy Family and had all agreed that these works gained from "the contrast between their calm repose and holy simplicity, and the savage aspect of the scenery without, and the wild exciting legends with which the place is storied."

They spent the night in Arezzo, and the next morning, before leaving for Siena where they were due to join forces with Félicie de Fauveau and her elderly mother, they quickly explored the Cathedral. Here they eventually concentrated on the impressive mausoleum of Guido Tarlati, after their efforts to locate Piero della Francesca's fresco of Mary Magdalene had for some reason proved unsuccessful. The idea of seeking compensation in the church of S. Francesco, with its far more important cycle of frescoes by Piero, does not seem to have arisen.

In his journal Lindsay prefaces his careful description of the works of art in Siena with a brief essay vindicating the importance of the Sienese school, which Vasari, for reasons of local pride, had deliberately underestimated. But in his assessment of Guido da Siena, Duccio, Simone Martini, Ambrogio and Pietro Lorenzetti, Taddeo and Domenico Bartolo, Matteo da Siena, and even Pacchiarotto, Lindsay produced little more than a precis of what he had already read in Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne. He was still far too intoxicated by the mystical beauty of the early paintings in Siena, some of which he was seeing for the first time, to take a very independent or critical view of the stylistic and documentary evidence on which the traditional chronology and attributions were based, or to appreciate the extent to which Rio had underestimated the vitality of the fifteenth century Sienese school.

He was particularly stimulated by his tour of the Duomo, but begins relatively calmly, pointing out that the facade, although "picturesque and impressive", is nevertheless "a barbarious mixture of most incongruous styles". Then, inside the cathedral, he turned to Duccio's Maestà and gave it considerably more attention than when he had last seen it in 1829. He now describes it as "black and dingy but of much merit" and noted the "extremely expressive and well painted" subsidiary panels showing scenes from the life of Christ, especially those of the Agony in the garden, Christ before Pilate, The Supper at Emmaus and The Crucifixion. He also observes that "the colouring is very dark resembling that of the Greeks" and adds that "the perspective of the background struck us as remarkable for that

period".

However Lindsay's deepest emotions were not aroused by the Maestà of Duccio in the same way that they were by Pintoricchio's frescoes in the Libreria Piccolomini, which left him in a "glow of delight;" here once again he found himself in full agreement with Rio, who, he noted, had "justly" described them as "les dix chants d'un magnifique épopée"(16). Yet, oddly enough, it was not these frescoes but a bas relief on the base of one of the interior columns of the great door of the Cathedral which eventually, and rather inappropriately, stimulated Lindsay to another flight of rhetoric. "Another gem of feeling, which we should have overlooked probably but for our kind friend Félicie, is a basrelief sculptured on the base of one of the columns of the great door of the Cathedral, inside: it is coarse in execution, but the idea is full of beauty and new to us in art - to wit, S. John's approach to the Virgin, as his adopted mother, after the Crucifixion; his bending filial attitude of respect and sorrowful sympathy speaks volumes. Many would laugh at us in this and similar instances for reading all these emotions in a few coarse and illdrawn stories of the chisel or the brush - but (as in the parallel case of the Egyptian sculptures), in spite of every deficiency in drawing, perspective etc. there is a spirit in these old tablets of the heart which calls on you from the inanimate walls, and discourses most eloquent music - only, like that fabled of the spheres, the ear must first be attuned to hear it. There is indeed a wealth of imagination stored up in these old sculptures and frescoes, at first sight so unpromising; they remind me of the beneficient fairies in the nursery

tales, who often appear disguised as ugly old women, but bestow pearls and rubies on the discreet maidens who accost them /and/ treat them with becoming respect and kindness. Let any young painter or sculptor, thoroughly accomplished in the mechanism of his art, in which these his predecessors were so deficient, but (and this is the secret) drawing his inspiration from Christianity and the Gothic nationality of modern Europe - let any young painter or sculptor, I say, come to Italy so prepared - tossing to the winds all the jargon of the schools, content to feel and yield to the impulses of a high and pure and holy nature - and disposed, with God's blessing, like Fra Angelico or Perugino, to exercise his art, as the bondsman of love, to the advancement of his Redeemer's glory and the good of mankind - let him do so, I repeat, and commune with these forgotten relics of an earlier simpler and more believing age - talk to the spirit that dwells in them in its own universal language, ask it questions, and by the strong constraining spell of mind on mind compel an answer - and he will gain more than a mere response, - that spirit will pass into his own bosom - his eyes will be touched as with the magician's salve in the Arabian tale, and he will find himself in a world of undreamt of beauty - unseen hitherto, only because inadequately bodied forth, - a world peopled with bright spirits, beings of the mind as yet only half born (as it were) but which will throng around him on every side .... Let a few such youngsters arise in England, and we may yet have a school to rival Florence or Siena. Our neighbours in Germany have already started on these principles - when, oh! when shall we do the like? Not that there may not be found many old bas

reliefs to which this digression would be infinitely more appropriate than the rude forgotten scratches that I have now been pondering over, and to which, or rather to the Cathedral than contains them I must now return ..."

During the course of the same morning Lindsay had already been round the Palazzo Pubblico, "a perfect museum of frescoes", which he had not managed to see on his previous visit to Siena in December 1829. He began by looking at the frescoes by T. Bartoli in the chapel, before inspecting the Maestà frescoed by Simone Martini. Lindsay however followed the error of Guglielmo Della Valle and Luigi Lanzi (and others) in assuming the original design to have been conceived by Mino in 1289; he even repeats Lanzi's observation that it exhibits "some advances to the new manner even previous to Giotto who in 1289 was only 13 years old."(17) After pausing in front of Simone Martini's Equestrian portrait of Guidoriccio da Fogliano he passed on to the frescoes by Spinello Aretino in the Sala di Balia, where he was particularly impressed by the compartment representing the Triumphal return of Pope Alexander III from Venice to Rome. Finally in the Sala della Pace he studied Ambrogio Lorenzetti's allegorical frescoes; but although he found "many of the individual figures are very beautiful" he had some difficulty in identifying the subjects and turned hopefully, but in vain, to Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne for guidance.

Lindsay completed what must have been an exhausting morning with a visit to the Accademia. Here he saw some of Ugolino's works

which struck him as "very Greek" and reminded him of Vasari's observation that this artist "held Cimabue in such veneration he would never change his manner for the newer style of Giotto." Confronted by Segna's Polyptych he was visually alert enough to become puzzled by Lanzi's incorrect assertion (based on Tizio) that Segna was the master of Duccio;[18] but instead of questioning the accuracy of Lanzi's source he simply concluded that "this cannot be the same Segna" ! Taddeo di Bartolo's Annunciation struck him as worthy of the praise Rio had accorded it.[19] He also admired Girolamo della Pacchia's Annunciation but mistook it for a work of Pacchiarotto. However the picture which appealed to him most, "for feeling I mean, and originality", was Giovanni di Paolo's Last Judgment which at that time was usually attributed (on the authority of Della Valle) to A. Lorenzetti, a view with which Lindsay did not disagree. He was specially pleased by the scene of "the recognition among the blessed in Paradise" observing, "here you have a meeting between an aged ~~monster~~ master and his two young pupils - there the fond embraces of two reunited sisters weeping for joy", and he praises the artist for his "sweet and loving imagination".

On 7 May the party, still including Félicie de Fauveau and her mother, left Siena for San Gimignano which Lindsay describes as "terra incognita", especially to the English, - and, he might have added, to his mentor Rio as well. Their principal object was the series of frescoes by Benozzo Gozzoli of the Life of St Augustine in the Church of S. Agostino which Félicie de Fauveau, characteristically,

had already visited several years earlier in order to make tracings and copies. On this occasion, she invited Lindsay to select a head for her to copy, and he eventually settled for two details from the seventh compartment representing Augustine's journey from Rome to Milan: the young man on a white horse "with a face full of goodness", and the face of an old man speaking among a group of people on the far left. Then, while Félicie and Anne sat sketching, Lindsay proceeded to write extremely detailed descriptions of each of the scenes in the series. His account, which fills 12 pages of his closely written journal, reveals an almost naive sense of empathy with the spirit of the narrative depicted but, apart from some remarks on the condition of the frescoes, tells us nothing about their artistic quality. But since it does tell us a great deal about the nature of Lindsay's enthusiasm for Gozzoli's work a relatively short quotation from it, relating to the first compartment, may still be of interest:

"Compartment first beginning on the left, represents his entrance at school. His father and mother (the latter a very graceful figure, with the expression of deep anxiety in her countenance) present him to the master, who receives him with a caress of both hands, though a little urchin hoisted on one of his schoolfellow's back for the application of the birch by the schoolmaster, argues him by no means a lax disciplinarian. The little fellow's posterity and legs are bare, and he looks round with a piteous imploring expression - nature itself. At the usher's side, and in his green robe (for the same figure, according to fashion universally prevalent in Benozzo's time,

is frequently reiterated in the same composition) stands little S. Augustine again, most sedulously and demurely conning his abecedario - the little rogue! for if we believe his own 'Confessions', with all his bright genius, he dearly loved play, and was up to any fun. Among a number of the boys, occupying the background of the picture, the youngest of them lifting up his little head from his book to listen to some mischief or other whispered him by a wag, a little senior to himself, particularly delighted us. Benozzo is never happier than in his delineations of children. Instead of a cramped stuffy apartment, the school is held under the airy arcades of a lofty building; these arcades support a broad balcony on which the windows of the second story open, as in our villino Torregiani at Florence: sunshine is shed profusely over the whole scene, and one of the blinds of these windows, half raised and casting a shade, is absolutely real - the deception is perfect. Beyond this building other edifices of various architecture, one especially in the Italian style of the middle ages, are seen, and figures in the vista."

If Lindsay's enjoyment of this scene now seems somewhat exaggerated, it should be remembered that some thirty five years later another writer, J.A. Symonds, whose temperament and ideology was quite different, also singled out this very same incident for special praise as "one of the most natural episodes in painting".(20)

The other works of art in S. Agostino were of less immediate interest so far as Lindsay was concerned. He did however take note of a Virgin and Child attributed to Simone Martini and reattributed it correctly to Lippo Memmi. But he failed to identify an altarpiece

by Pier Francesco Fiorentino which was inscribed Petrus Franciscus .... pinxit 1494 beyond the observation that "this could not have been Pier' della Francesca, who died about 1484 ....".

They also all visited the Palazzo Pubblico so as to see L. Memmi's signed Maestà, but under the false impression that it was a work by Giotto. Afterwards, they walked over to the adjoining parish church where Lindsay's greatest enthusiasm was for D. Ghirlandaio's frescoes from the Life of S. Fina which "go at once to the heart and print themselves there for ever." He found some merit in Barna da Siena's frescoes of scenes from the New Testament, particularly the "very naive and touching" Agony in the Garden; but he objected, not without good reason, that Bartolo di Fredi's Old Testament scenes "besides being inferior in themselves, have been retouched and are much injured". In the Sacristy he was greatly interested by Lorenzo di Nicolo's diptych of S. Bartolomeo, "the most elaborate and picturesque I ever saw, imitating, as usual the Gothic architecture;" and he ventured to suggest a possible attribution to Duccio on the strength of the dark tone of its colouring. The question of attribution arose again in front of Mainardi's Annunciation, frescoed in the Baptistry. Félicie de Fauveau was for once unable to supply the answer, and Lindsay concluded that it was "not by Benozzo but like his style".

Having introduced her friends to the little known treasures of San Gimignano, Félicie de Fauveau returned with her mother directly to Florence on 9 May. The Lindsays followed more slowly, and

stopped off at Volterra. Here, they all agreed, the finest picture was Domenico Ghirlandaio's Christ in glory with Saints, which they found in the Camaldolese convent of S. Salvadore.

On arriving back at the Villa Torregiani, Lindsay and James lost little time before engaging Anne's drawing master, Marini, to make them coloured drawings after selected details from the frescoes they had seen during their journey, and especially the Benozzo Gozzoli cycle in San Gimignano. Anne, meanwhile, returned to her own copying activities: by now she had moved on from the Carmine to the Nardo di Cione frescoes in S Maria Novella. Lindsay also chose this moment to write a long letter home to his mother, dated 13 May 1840 (see Appendix 2) outlining his plans to produce a book on Christian art. "Now if by directing attention to this highest walk of art I can lead the visitors of Italy to recognise its beauty and encourage English artists to join with their German brethren in the noble attempt to regenerate painting, I shall do society a benefit; for a picture speaks as influentially to the heart as a poem or a sermon, and Rio, whose work on these ancient artists has been constantly in our hands since last year (tho' we differ from him on many points) rightly entitles his work De la Poésie Chrétienne."

To give some substance to this new ambition Lindsay spent his final weeks in Florence attempting to study, in a more systematic manner than before, the pictures in the Uffizi and Pitti collections; and he also revisited many of the churches. We find him for instance in S. Ambrogio where Cosimo Rosselli's fresco of the Miracle of the

Holy Blood reminded him of Rio's observation that this artist's excellence varied in proportion to the influenced exercised on him by Fra Angelico and Masaccio.[21] "when he painted this fresco it was great, but his later works are very inferior", Lindsay concluded. A few days later he accompanied James and Anne round the church of S. Croce. They again used Rio's book as their guide and as a result were misled into accepting the Giottesque Baroncelli altarpiece as an undoubted autograph work by Giotto himself.[22] But they were, of course, in no position at this date to compare it, stylistically, with the frescoes in the Bardi and Peruzzi chapels, since these were still under whitewash.[23]

Much the most memorable of their excursions took place on 18 May when Félicie de Fauveau escorted James, Anne, and Lindsay to the convent of S. Marco. Félicie was armed with a general order of admittance which also enabled her to introduce Anne, in spite of the general rule strictly barring admission to women. Here, Lindsay was able to refresh his memory of Fra Angelico's large fresco of the Crucifixion, but on this occasion he was more affected by the fresco of the Annunciation at the top of the stairs on the first floor. "Nothing", he now insists "can surpass the young and holy, modest, innocent girlhood of Mary, breathing through the slight bending form, and expressing itself in her sweet reception of the divine message - mingled perhaps, as James remarked, with a slight emotion of curiosity; and the angel's reverential and thoroughly unearthly appearance (how connoisseurs would misinterpret and laugh at this epithet!) is quite in keeping. A thousand faults in drawing, etc. might be

pointed out - what then? A simplicity and purity of feeling characterise the whole scene, easy to feel, but difficult to describe." Lindsay then records that on leaving the convent, and after "setting down" Félicie de Fauveau, they drove impulsively to Nocchi's print shop and immediately "bought the engravings he is now publishing of B. Angelico's life of O. Saviour lucidate by him on the original pictures in the Belle Arti"; the complete edition of this popular work was not however finally published until 1843.(24)

Lindsay's final act before departing from Florence was also an acquisitive one. Visiting the Uffizi for the last time he saw a man working on "a beautiful copy" of Raphael's Madonna del Cardellino and felt tempted to buy it. Anne later agreed to return with him to give her independent opinion, and as soon as she had approved he immediately concluded the deal with the artist, Pietro Carloni. Apart from this, however, he had made no serious attempt to collect paintings in Florence, in spite of numerous visits to curiosity shops with James and Anne and at least one temptation when Nocchi offered them an Orcagna altarpiece.

The Lindsays finally left Florence on 30 May and set off on their journey to Lausanne, where they had arranged a return visit to the Villa Elysée. They were able to stop en route at Pisa for a quick visit to the Campo Santo, and they also made a detour to the studio of their friend Karl Marko at Bagni di Lucca. Here Lindsay generously commissioned a landscape, carefully stipulating that it should include "water, distant mountains and sunset, all of which he excels in".

They continued their journey via Genoa and Arona (avoiding Milan) before reaching Orta, where in the twenty chapels of the Sacro Monte they admired the naturalistic terracotta sculptures and the retardataire frescoes by the Fiammenghini and other artists, all representing scenes from the life of St Francis, and which Lindsay considered "the best thing of its sort I ever saw". In this response he proved himself a more imaginative critic than Charles Eastlake, in a similar situation some twenty years later, when he dismissed the even more celebrated Sacro Monte at Varallo as "an absurd exhibition of painted and clothed statues in the style of Madame Tussaud (but very inferior) except that the subjects are sacred."(25) Then on 12 June, after arriving safely at Lausanne, Lindsay at last found the leisure and peace he needed to discuss again with James and Anne his ideas for a book on Christian Art.

When these summer holidays were over, Lindsay returned to Haigh, taking his young sixteen year old cousin Coutts with him as his guest and pupil. By now he was preoccupied with the necessity of finding a suitably young and promising English artist whom he could inspire, by means of the book he proposed to write, with the spirit of early Christian art, and who might also then be encouraged to emulate the achievement of the German Nazarene painters. Coutts' physical proximity, as much as his bourgeoning artistic talents, may account for the extraordinary letter on the subject, dated 10 December 1840, which Lindsay addressed to Anne. "Dear Anne, here are we striving to revive the spirit of the past and restore the Arts to a

sense of their due vocation - but where (in England) shall I find the man to follow up my views - who will be my disciple? who will set the example! - for artists, poor devils, must follow the fashion and pander to the bad taste of the time till a better spirit is breathed into it - they must paint to live before they can live to paint. I want a man independent in every sense of the term - Why, Coutts is the man! give him only fair opportunities - enable him to acquire mastery over the mechanism of the art both in oils and fresco - store his mind well, and with the knowledge of human nature he will acquire in active life, and the inspiration of his own noble and Christianised heart within - with his singular talent of observation and his equanimity, (to return united with genius) I see no earthly reason why he should not be a second Benozzo Gozzoli - aye, or rival to anyone whose name we may rank still higher in the scale of excellence. And it wd. be a glorious vocation - how much good might thus be effected ....." How, one inevitably wonders in the light of these remarks, did Lindsay later react to Coutts' role in 1877 as founder and patron of the Grosvenor Gallery and his associations with the neo pagan aesthetic movement?

NOTES

1. M. Lastri, L'Etruria Pittrice ovvero Istoria della Pittura Toscana dai suoi monumenti che si esibiscono in stampa dal sec. X fino al presente, Florence 1791-95.
2. C. Lasinio, Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa intagliata dal Professore Cav. Carlo Lasinio conservatore del medesimo, Florence 1812.
3. S.C. Croze-Magnan, Le Musée Français, Paris 1803.
4. A.F. Rio, De L'Art Chrétien, Paris 1874, pp. 297 ff.
5. Letter dated Haigh 19 February 1840.
6. A.F. Rio, Da La Poésie Chrétienne, Paris 1836, p. 109.
7. Rio op.cit. p. 380.
8. Lindsay described the collection in his journal as follows: "We were charmed with the Duke's little gallery at the Palace, - the following are the pictures which most struck me. A Madonna by Raphael, exquisite; the same head as the M^{a} del Cardellino - another holy family, attributed to him, I thought much like a Parmigiano. Our Saviour's body in his mother's arms by Francia, very fine; his 'Virgin and Saints' I did not like so much, - the Virgin and S Elizabeth are represented on the same throne, and the infant Saviour attracted by an apple offered him by the latter - want of dignity and mutual intelligence. A strange picture of the Crucifixion by old Mantegna. Our Saviour healing the blind man, - the figure of the latter beautiful, by Lud. Caracci. Sampson, very fine by Guido.

Sibyl by Domenichino - the Massacre of the Innocents, N. Poussin, heartrending - Christ before Caiaphas, by Gerardo della Notte (Honthorst) - a wonderful effect of light - Anne thought O' Saviour's face too much abattu and deficient in dignity - the figure of Caiaphas, his face and upraised finger, admirable. Fine head, attributed to Holbein, but surely not. And lastly, a lovely little picture by Lucas van Leyden, which detained me far longer than many of the others. The Virgin and Saints are represented in the foreground of a sweet vernal landscape, - woody hills, crowned with towns and castles, and snowy mountains are seen in the distance. Draperies as flowing and free almost as the Italian, and the expression of the countenances, tho' less spiritual, holy, pure, and unworldly. The very old German painters have been favourites of mine from boyhood, and Lucas, judged by his best productions, may fairly be classed with them." Many of these pictures were sold by Phillips, London,on 5 June 1841 (sale catalogue at the Courtauld Institute, London); others were sold privately. Lindsay was extremely upset by the public and official indifference to the Lucca sale. On 28 May 1841 he wrote to Anne Lindsay from Haigh: "Ah the poor Lucca gallery! I don't see the Francia advertised, so I suppose that it has been secured for the National Gallery, that is some comfort. If they had but bought the whole en masse! There has been no such catch within the Nation's or Sovereign's grasp since Charles I bought the Mantua collection." /For this quotation I have relied on

an old family transcript; the original MS. letter can no longer be found./ Then on 24 June he wrote again to Anne on the same subject: "The Lucca Gallery, the Perugino, the Poussin! both which I would have bought if I had been present. I could not have anticipated such insensibility even from the cold blooded English. I feel personally aggrieved, for my faith in them has proved my loss. They have not even the grace to weep over poor Wilkie who in point of moral feeling and purpose was worth the whole broad-bottomed Dutch school lumped together - the Yahoo tribe, I mean, of Teniers, Ostade, Jan Steen etc - I delight in the landscapes. I feel all the venom gathering against which I spat at the said Dutchers two years ago. Admirable they are in their way undoubtedly but to think of a Lingelbac /sic/ selling for 5 or £600 and a Perugino for £200. However Charles Standish told me the Francia was secured for the National Gallery, that is a comfort!" The Francia was indeed acquired by the National Gallery in 1841 as Inv. 179 & 180 . The Honthorst did not enter the collection until 1922 as Inv. No. 3679.

9. See Vasari op.cit. I p. 552; and B. Berenson, Lists, London 1963, p. 5 and p. 17.

10. Rio op.cit. p. 85.

11. M. Valery, Voyages historiques et littéraires en Italie pendant les années 1826, 1827 et 1828 on l'indicateur italien, Paris 1831/3 (2nd ed. in a single volume, Brussels 1835), p. 313.

12. For Mariana Starke's old fashioned tastes see her Letters

from Italy ...., London 1815.

13. Valery op.cit p. 312.

14 W. Roscoe, The Life of Lorenzo de' Medici, called the Magnificent, Liverpool 1795. He was also author of The Life and Pontificate of Leo X, Liverpool 1805.

15. W. Beckford, Italy, with sketches of Spain and Portugal, London 1834, I pp. 213 ff.

16. Rio op.cit. p. 269.

17. See G. Della Valle, Lettere senesi di un socio dell' Accademia di Fossano sopra le Belle Arti, Venice/Rome 1782-6, I pp. 282-292; and L. Lanzi, Storia pittorica della Italia, Bassano 1795-6, ed. translated by T. Roscoe, London 1828, I p. 383. For further discussion of this controversy see J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, A. History of Painting in Italy, London 1864-66 (ed. Langton Douglas, 1903-14), III p. 34; and the note by G. Milanesi in his edition of Vasari op.cit I pp. 563-569. For a discussion of Della Valle and Lanzi as art historians see G. Previtali, La Fortuna dei Primitivi dal Vasari ai neoclassici, Turin 1964.

18. See Lanzi op.cit. p. 386. For further discussion of this question see G. Milanesi in his edition of Vasari op.cit. I p. 653 note 1.

19. Rio op.cit. p. 170.

20. J.A. Symonds, Renaissance in Italy. The Fine Arts, London 1877 (1909 edition), p. 177 note 1.

21. cf. Rio op.cit p. 126.

22. Rio op.cit. pp. 67-68.

23. Restoration of the Peruzzi chapel began the following year, 1841. See Crowe and Cavalcaselle op.cit. II p. 77.

24 La vita di Gesu Cristo dipinta da Fra Giovanni da Fiesole detto il Beato Angelico lucidata degli originali che si conservano nell' Imperiale e Reale Galleria Fiorentina delle Belle Arti disegnata ed incisa da G.B. Nocchi, Florence 1843.

25. Charles Eastlake, MS. notebook, 1861, I f. 7. The notebook is preserved in the library of the National Gallery, London. I am most grateful to the Director and the Keeper for kindly giving me permission to consult these archives.

IV

If Lindsay had attempted to write a book on early Italian art on the strength of his travels in 1840 it would undoubtedly have been a disaster. Although, in terms of taste, he was now "ahead" of most of his English contemporaries, his detailed knowledge and understanding of art historical questions was relatively slight, and he soon came to realise this himself, after writing up his travel notes and completely rereading Lanzi. He also came to the conclusion (as he wrote to James who was now at Balcarres) "that treating of painting isolately is insufficient and will never do, if an attempt is to be made to bring men back to its right object and principles; one must begin with the architecture of the Middle Ages - Sculpture and painting were its children and must be considered in relation to it and to each other."(1)

Lindsay therefore decided to return yet again to Italy with the entirely workmanlike purpose of making detailed notes on all the works of art he intended to discuss in his book. Accordingly he set off for Rome in November 1841, together with his younger brother Colin and his cousin Coutts. His notebooks from this journey have not apparently survived, but we can nevertheless follow the progress of his travels in great detail from the extremely long and carefully composed letters he sent home to Anne, and which he clearly intended that she should preserve. (See Appendix 3).(2)

Lindsay had reached Rome by the beginning of December and

at once set about finding tutors for the two boys in his charge. On the recommendation of August Kestner, whom he had first met in 1839, he engaged Johann Wittmer, a pupil of Cornelius' school and the son in law of Koch, as a drawing master for Coutts and was soon able to pass on an enthusiastic report to his friend and distant relative Jean Trotter: "Coutts' drawing master is an excellent one, a German painter of Cornelius' school, recommended me by Kestner, full of enthusiasm for ancient art. He is instructing Coutts in the muscles, anatomy etc., the thing I was so worried about - not to make him a professed anatomist, but to give him that general technical knowledge and facility of expressing his ideas which I am sure will be well bestowed upon him. It was at my earnest entreaty that James permitted this."(3) And Lindsay himself was to derive considerable benefit from Wittmer's extensive knowledge of the works of early Italian painters. Once the two boys had settled down to their studies, Lindsay at last felt free to prowl around the antiquarian bookshops and the auctioneers such as Archivi in the Corso, looking for works of art historical and iconographical interest. He had already armed himself with the new two volume edition of Vasari edited by G. Masselli (Florence 1832-1838). Now he was able to add a major iconographical source book, De Natalibus' Lives of the Saints, printed towards the end of the 15th century and giving as he once again confided to Jean Trotter, "all the legends in their unadorned simplicity - the very thing I wanted and had long been searching for as a vademecum in my fresco explorations."(4)

He also found two 14th century Italian pictures and had hopes of

acquiring them "as a pretty commencement for a small collection to show the progress and spirit of early art." But having no inclination for the inevitable round of bargaining, he delegated the task to Coutts "who delights in that sort of thing."(5) It is not absolutely clear from Lindsay's records if Coutts' negotiations were successful on this occasion, but by the time Lindsay wrote to Anne on 17 January he had definitely bought at least three early Italian pictures: a Crucifixion, by an unknown 14th century Florentine artist, which he notes "I really think is by Giottino";(6) a panel of St Lucy and St Agatha by Matteo di Giovanni which he referred to vaguely as "Siennese school",(7) a description which he also applied to a Coronation of the Virgin, now attributed to Niccolo di Tommaso.(8) He also bought a Flight into Egypt by Wittmer which, he assured Anne, "somewhat resembles Fra Angelico's".(9)

Wittmer was also commissioned to make copies of what Lindsay describes as "a most beautiful series of Byzantine compositions embroidered (from celebrated paintings on mosaic probably of the time) on the Dalmatica or robe with which St Leo invested Charlemagne at his Coronation .... it was worked at Constantinople and gives one a very high degree of the Greek art at that time."(10) Later he discovered that this celebrated sacerdotal robe in fact dates from as late as the 12th or early 13th century; and although this new knowledge did not in any way weaken his belief in the artistic superiority of Eastern over Western art in the ninth and tenth centuries, it did reinforce his equally firm conviction of the quality of the Byzantine revival under the Comneni.(11)

Lindsay's interest in the Dalmatica is but one of many instances of his appreciation of the importance and quality of Byzantine art which he felt had been seriously underestimated, even by those who were interested in the primitives. He also recognised in the Menologium M.S. Martyrology in the Vatican, which had been made for Basil II by artists from Constantinople at the end of the 10th century, "the types of almost all the compositions from evangelical history current among the Italian painters as late as the 14th or even 15th century", and informed Anne of his conviction that "Giotto and the revivers of painting" profited by the lessons learnt from Eastern art "far more than Rio or the world in general acknowledge". Rio was certainly guilty of a persistent tendency to undervalue the influence of the Byzantine school on the revival of Christian art in the West, which he described lugubriously and with undisguised prejudice as "l'intervention fatigante de cet art byzantin".(12) Undoubtedly his rigid Roman Catholic orthodoxy and his sense of identification with the past struggles of the Papacy against Eastern iconoclasts were the causes of his distorted outlook on this question, and he does indeed specifically suggest that "si les Grecs avaient vaincu, c'en était fait des belles destinées de l'Italie, c'en était fait de l'indépendance et de la gloire de la papauté, c'en était fait de l'art chrétien et de toutes ses merveilles; l'empreinte byzantine eût été partout, et peut-être non moins indélébile que chez les Russes où rien n'a pu l'effacer."(13) But Rio's position was by no means an isolated one, and it may fairly be said that apart from Seroux d'Agincourt's antiquarian interest in engraving Byzantine compositions, as part of

his methodological survey of art,[14] and also some perceptive comments on the influence of Byzantine designs made by Flaxman in his Lectures, Lindsay's claim to originality was not unjustified.[15]

In his letter to Anne, Lindsay also refers to the great mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore and St John Lateran "executed in the 13th century, when a revival took place in that branch of art as marked as that in sculpture under Nicola Pisano and in painting under Cimabue and Giotto." But at this stage of his research he had still not apparently discovered the full significance of the early twelfth century mosaics in S. Clemente, which he later described in his book as the first important example of this revival.[16] Lindsay had to wait until he reached Assisi to find early examples of the revival of the art of fresco painting following the dark ages. Meanwhile, a strictly antiquarian spirit led him to the 13th century frescoes "of the Greco-Italian school immediately anterior to Cimabue" in both S. Lorenzo fuori le mura and also in the chapel of S. Silvestro, attached to the church of Quattro Incoronati; and he describes these works, predictably enough, as representing "the lowest pitch of degradation".

Turning to a rather later period, Lindsay was enormously impressed by Masolino's frescoes of the Life of St Catherine in S. Clemente; but in common with Rio,[17] and following the authority of Vasari,[18] he attributed them to Masaccio. On the other hand, Fra Angelico's frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican disappointed him, and he complains that "they are like miniatures magnified". He went out of his way to see Pintoricchio's work in the

Borgia apartments at the Vatican, in S. Maria del Popolo and S. Maria in Aracoeli; and, like Rio, he also accepted the traditional attribution to Pintoricchio of Antoniazzo Romano's fresco in the apse of S. Croce representing the Invention of the True Cross.(19)

Unfortunately, Lindsay does not record his reaction to the frescoes on the lateral walls of the Sistine Chapel, except for the rather bald statement that they represent "the state of art immediately before the advent of Raphael and Michael Angelo". Rio had evidently failed to communicate his perceptive enthusiasm for Botticelli's three compositions and particularly the scene depicting the daughters of Jethro which at this time were otherwise almost invariably ignored.(20) Lindsay is also tantalisingly reticent both about Michelangelo's frescoes in the same chapel, and also Raphael's late work in the Stanze of the Vatican which Rio had so provocatively condemned;(21) his uncharacteristic silence is probably indicative of his own confusion and uncertainty.

There is no such hesitation in his response to the work of the Nazarene artists, Koch, Schnorr and Overbeck, in the Casino Massimo which they had decorated in surprisingly traditional style with scenes from Dante, Ariosto and Tasso.(22) Lindsay liked Koch's work best, the puritanical Overbeck's the least, observing rather perceptively that "scenes of bloodshed and dramatic passion are not his forte". Schnorr's frescoes he found "spirited yet feeble, like a woman's description of a battle, yet pleasing too ....", a by no means inappropriate reaction to the work of an artist who was better equipped, both in temperament and style, to express himself on a more intimate

scale.

Then early in January 1842 Lindsay and Coutts set out for Naples whence Colin, who had become "nervous" and unwell, was to be sent off home by ship. Lindsay's artistic guide in Naples was De Dominici's Vite de' Pittori Scultori ed Architetti Napolitani 1742/3. He had been lent a copy by Wittmer who also provided him with a list of frescoes by the early Neapolitan artists; for this was ground which had not been previously broken by Rio. In his "incessant rummage" for the early pictures and sculpture attributed by De Dominici to Tommaso di Stefano, Masuccio and others, Lindsay shows a rather uncritical inclination to accept the artistic personalities invented by the Neapolitan writer. His judgment also became seriously unbalanced when he arrived at the Cathedral to find the frescoes attributed to Tommaso di Stefano "in the act of being whitewashed"; for he describes them as "superior to Cimabue in everything but majesty - more cautious in composition, freer in the attitudes, with more variety, beauty and expression in the countenances."(23)

After these early works Lindsay observes a decline in Neapolitan art until the fifteenth century when it was revived by Colantonio and Zingaro. He was full of admiration for Colantonio's St Jerome which he saw in the gallery, and noted the "precision .... unsurpassed by any Dutch painter" with which the books and bindings in the saint's cell had been depicted; but he adds hastily that this realism was in "nowise offensive" because of the nobility and dignity of the figure of Jerome.

Lindsay's interest in Zingaro, whose work had been ignored by Vasari, was directly due to Wittmer. He looked at the frescoes of the Life of St Benedict in S. Severino and was at once struck by their "simplicity" and "truth"; and suggests that "in composition and expression he /Zingaro/ rivals Masaccio." At this point, unfortunately, his enthusiasm gained control of his critical powers and he goes on to indulge in a rather irrelevant comparison of these frescoes with the works of Benozzo Gozzoli! "In both", he writes, "is perceptible the influence of a Master exclusively religious, and of a predominant bent in the pupil's mind to the study of nature, animate and inanimate, yet coupled with perfect purity and simplicity of feeling." On the other hand the legends on which the fresco cycle was based elicited a rather different response: "A more puerile contemptible tissue of fables than the life it depicts was never strung together. It was written by Gregory the Great, and I brought it with me from Rome as a carriage companion - not one spark of genius or even invention, and utterly wanting in the charm which invests so many of these old legends ..."

He also describes a picture by Zingaro in the museum "in which he has introduced the portrait of his wife, I am ashamed to confess it, as the Madonna." He then observes that it is "in every respect more like one of Perugino's best manner, or even Raphael's than a production of the first half of the 15th century" and concludes that Zingaro "is far beyond his age". Yet it apparently never occurred to him to suspect that the tradition of the artist having died around 1456 might actually be incorrect. Here Lindsay proved himself less alert than the German writer Franz Kugler, who had been influenced

to good effect by von Rumohr's knowledge and method, and whose Handbook was published in an English language edition later in this very same year. Kugler's description of the S. Severino frescoes raises a further question about the accuracy of Lindsay's perceptions; for whereas Lindsay had referred to them as "untouched and undefaced" Kugler insisted that they had "suffered much, and in modern times have been barbarously retouched".(24)

By 17 January 1842 Lindsay and Coutts were back in Rome. Just over a month later, on 26 February, they set out again to explore the ground between Rome and Florence which they did not reach until just before Easter. At this point Lindsay wrote Anne a monumental letter which provides the main source of our present knowledge about what they saw. Their first important stop was at Viterbo where Lindsay was much impressed by Sebastiano del Piombo's Flagellation in the Church of the Osservanza and by his Pietà in S. Francesco. They then proceeded to Orvieto and were able to share the local population's enthusiasm for the Cathedral facade. Inside the Cathedral Lindsay was particularly interested by the fourteenth century frescoes in the Choir by Ugolino di Prete Ilario, in spite of their very mediocre artistic quality, "as the most complete series I ever met with of the history of the Virgin, scriptural and legendary, from the repulse of Joachim from the altar on account of his childlessness ..... to the Assumption and Coronation in heaven."

Signorelli's frescoes in the Cappella di S. Brizio also impressed him on account of their iconographical unity, but he objected that from an aesthetic viewpoint the arrangement was not good. Predict-

ably, he also took exception to the naked figures drawn "scrupulously from the models which were not always very select ones". He describes the men and women as "clumsily built, fat often as porpoises" and observes that "the attitudes are contorted and twisted in every direction in order to exhibit his powers in foreshortening etc and in his efforts to be expressive he often runs into caricature". Yet because he felt that "mind and feeling predominate throughout" he was disposed to find merit in other parts of the cycle, in the figure of Antichrist for instance, which he described as "a grand moral composition", and the Glory of the Blessed meeting in paradise where he liked the "symmetrical and graceful" composition. Lindsay's lengthy description eventually suggests that Signorelli's frescoes at Orvieto had met his moral standards; he certainly bestowed far more praise on them than Rio had felt able to offer. But it must also be said that Lindsay's analysis, for all its intensity and sympathy, tells us remarkably little about Signorelli's artistic development; and there is absolutely no attempt to discuss the style of the Orvieto frescoes in terms of their relationship with other works by the artist, such as the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel.

Turning then to Fra Angelico's majestic figure of Christ in the vault of the Cappella di S. Brizio, "his face turned in reproof towards the reprobate, sorrowful anger darkening the face of love", Lindsay was reminded of the picture of this subject in Cardinal Fesch's collection in Rome, and now in West Berlin, also then attributed to Fra Angelico, where in his opinion "the divine character and indelible impress of love" was more marked. But he had no reservations about

the choir of prophets which Fra Angelico had also painted on the vault: "The prophets are grand-prophets indeed; these are certainly Fra Angelico's chef d'oeuvres, at least for majesty and show how capable he was of treating the loftiest subjects as well as the tenderest and softest ..." After this Lindsay is obliged to recognise that the "apostles by Benozzo, are seen to great disadvantage opposite his master's works, but he was then, if not young in years, young in art and merely his master's assistant."

From Orvieto Lindsay and Coutts travelled on to Citta del Pieve, having been forced to abandon their original intention of cutting across to Spoleto or Foligno because of the lack of a passable road for their carriage. On their arrival at Perugino's birth-place they were taken "under the guidance of a very intelligent native" to see his fresco of the Adoration of the Magi in S. Maria dei Bianchi. Lindsay found it "full equal to the similar subject in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia" which he had seen in 1839; but by the time he had reached Florence a few weeks later, he concluded that neither of them "ranks in the highest class", having by this time "seen almost all his works".

Perugino's Deposition from the Cross, which Lindsay claimed to have himself discovered in the Church of the Servi just outside Citta della Pieve and which was "unnoticed even by his biographer Mezzanotte"[25], made a more lasting impression on him. Examining it by torchlight in "the substructions of a newly built gallery" he was able to make out the three Maries, "the very abandonment and conquest of sorrow"; and, perhaps forgiveably, he misread the date as 1514 instead of 1517.

The next day they stopped off at Panicale to see Perugino's fresco of St Sebastian, dating from 1505. Lindsay suggests that "the form has the loveliness and delicacy of a Grecian statue" and saw in the young saint's "sweet expression of faith and resignation" the triumph of the spirit over the flesh. Rejoining the highroad they continued their journey to Perugia, but after dining there pressed on to Foligno for the night. We find them the following morning in Montefalco examining the Benozzo Gozzoli frescoes of the life of St Francis which Vasari had failed to describe but to which von Rumohr[26] and Rio[27] had both already drawn attention. In common with these earlier nineteenth century writers, Lindsay was struck by the proximity of this early work by Gozzoli to the style of Fra Angelico in "drapery, colouring etc", but adds that it also has a dramatic quality specially characteristic of Gozzoli. However in the chapel of S. Girolamo in S. Francesco Lindsay reveals some confusion in his concept of Gozzoli's style, having managed to convince himself that this artist's trompe l'oeil polyptych of the Madonna and Child with St Francis and Jerome, which is actually signed and dated, was painted by Zingaro! Admittedly the inscribed date of 1452 troubled him a little, but it was the authenticity of the inscription rather than his own connoisseurship which he was most inclined to question. Lindsay also attempted another attribution during his tour of this church, unconvincingly recognising Pintoricchio's hand in Perugino's fresco of the Nativity, and claiming it as his chef d'oeuvre on account of its "simplicity, grace, freedom, mastery, harmony of colouring, unity of purpose and deep soulfelt religious feeling ..."

Lindsay and Coutts had a hair-raising journey back to Foligno; and their drunken driver ensured that they arrived back rather ahead of schedule after "several narrow escapes from being overturned". But Lindsay, apparently unperturbed, at once gave instructions that they should use up the remaining time by driving on to Spello, where they could see Pintoricchio's altarpiece in S. Andrea and his frescoes in the Collegiata di S. Maria. He found the picture in S. Andrea to be a work of "singular beauty" in spite of the fact that Rio had described it as a work "qui surprend bien désagréablement le voyageur qui, sur la parole de Lanzi arrive avec l'espoir d'admirer un chef d'oeuvre".(28) It was certainly Lanzi, rather than Vasari or Rio, who directed Lindsay and Coutts to the "sadly neglected" frescoes which they encountered in the Collegiata di S. Maria, all covered in cobwebs.(29) In the Nativity and the scene of Christ among the doctors, Lindsay was impressed by what he described as perhaps "the greatest union of excellencies" that Pintoricchio ever exhibited, although he voices one small ciriticsm in the suggestion that their "ornament takes away from their simplicity".

In Spoleto the following day Lindsay was able to refresh his memory of Filippo Lippi's frescoes in the Cathedral. In May 1839 he had unequivocally praised them, and in particular the scene of the Death of the Virgin and her reception into heaven. But by then he had still not read De La Poésie Chrétienne.(30) Now he refers to Lippi as "a coarse and vulgar painter", points out that in these frescoes "the expression throughout is earthly" and concludes that "in all the highest qualities of his art, he /Filippo Lippi/ falls short

of his purer minded contemporaries." There was no place in the *école mystique* for a monk who had abducted a nun and who had been on trial for fraud!

On this occasion it was Lo Spagna's detached fresco of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* in the Palazzo Pubblico at Spoleto which caught Lindsay's imagination. This was the first work by Perugino's well known pupil that he had ever seen and he now observes: "I never saw the infant Saviour as full of the Deity, even more so than in the Madonna del Cardellino - the Virgin's attitude is full of grace and ease, she has the same longish sleepy eye and faintly marked lofty eyebrows which distinguish the early Madonnas of Raphael ...." Inspired by this encounter he then attempted to locate the frescoes by the same artist "said by Valery to exist in the *église* de S. Giacomo."(31) The church turned out to be in a small village on the road to Foligno; and Lindsay found to his dismay that he had unknowingly driven past the very door in 1839! But now he made good his early omission and "an hour and a half flew by before we thought of reentering the carriage".

On the strength of these frescoes of scenes from the *Life of St James*, and in spite of the quite different mood evoked by the *Madonna* in the Palazzo at Spoleto, Lindsay now concluded that "the dramatic is evidently Spagna's forte," and returning to his old obsessions proceeded to measure this artist's merits in relation to those of Benozzo Gozzoli and Raphael! "In this dramatic tendency, as well as in some of his figures (the group of young attendants especially) he reminded us of our friend B. Gozzoli, like himself the

pupil of a painter exclusively religious and non-dramatic - otherwise however there is not much resemblance between them; Spagna has not that profuseness, that Shakespearean exuberancy, that sympathy with women and children, and with the whole world of nature animate and inanimate that attaches one to Benozzo. I do not in short love him so well - but on the other hand he is more classical (not in the antique sense), more perfect, more complete in every way; nothing could be added and nothing taken away from his composition without spoiling it, and in grace, expression etc. Raphael could not surpass him." Lindsay's sense of discovery in the church was of course greatly increased by the realisation that "neither Vasari, his commentator, Rumohr, nor (I think) Rio seems to have heard of these frescoes." This reference is incidentally of further interest as Lindsay's first specific acknowledgement of the fact that he had by now consulted von Rumohr's Italienische Forschungen.

Lindsay and Coutts then drove back to Foligno from San Giacomo di Spoleto to join forces with Wittmer who had just arrived from Rome. After dinner Lindsay managed to see an unspecified altarpiece by Niccolo de Foligno in which he detected "another hint added to many I have met with of a strong influence from Germany on Italian art in the 15th century." It was then time to drive on to Assisi. They arrived at dusk and Lindsay gives us a vivid description of their dramatic entry into the city. "I thought we should never reach the inn, such ups and downs, such turns and windings, such puttings on and takings off of the scarpa, such slippings of the horses, such clamour of the people, all wishing to assist in our entrance - it was

like that of the Grecian horse into Troy". Assisi, Lindsay then continues, "is altogether a ghostly place, and if you had seen it as we did that evening, during the walk we took immediately after our arrival, you would have confessed the justice of the epithet! We first walked down the street (hearing the people discoursing of our arrival as they dispersed homewards) to S. Chiara - under its massive flying buttresses and out at the gate - and then returning on our steps traversed the whole town as far as the Convent at its other extremity; by this time theinhabitants had almost all returned to their homes and the town was silent as death - long desolate streets, solemn and still like the corridors of a convent, lighted by single lamps placed at their distant angles, and echoing to our measured footfall as to the tread of a regiment, while if any one passed us, it was with the swift gliding noiseless motion of a spirit - then the lofty palaces towering above us, and the vast arched doors yawning like the mouths of hell out of whose blackness one expected demons to rush out on one - cannot you fancy them? At one moment we could hardly persuade ourselves we were not standing, its first discoverers, in some forgotten city of the middle ages, tenanted only by the shades of the departed - at another, turning a corner of the street, the broad lights cast across the blackness on the opposite walls, and the indistinct figures flitting across them, reflected from within some archway opening immediately on the owners dwelling room, made us fearfully fancy ourselves intruders on a Domdaniel of enchanters. As you may suppose much of these impressions were attributable to the circumstances of the hour and the excited state of our minds, but even by day time Assisi is scarcely less

strange and peculiar."

During this period Lindsay examined and took notes on "every individual fresco that could in any way be of interest with reference to early art." He was mainly interested in identifying the subjects depicted in the frescoes and in tracing their iconography; and records that this task presented him with surprisingly little difficulty "thanks to my previous study of Bonaventura's life of St Francis and of my legendary friend De Natalibus.". His task was further facilitated by his good fortune in "discovering and purchasing a complete series of drawings of every fresco in the upper and lower church at Assisi, a hundred in number, executed about 30 years ago with whatever advantage scaffolding etc could afford the artist!" He soon found that these outline drawings, made by G.B. Mariani, succeeded admirably in conveying the "composition and general idea" of the dimly lit frescoes, and his only reservation was that "the faces are not done justice to." For strictly iconographical study this limitation was of no consequence, but Lindsay also attempted, with much imaginative sympathy, to describe the individual emotions of the protagonists depicted in the main narrative fresco cycles, especially Giotto's scenes from the Life of St Francis in the upper church. For he considered that the revolutionary quality of Giotto's frescoes lay precisely in the fact that the artist "was obliged to create a new style in order to delineate feelings and sentiments unthought of, at least as yet unexpressed by the Greeks - to reflect in short the new spirit which had entered into the heart of the people."

Lindsay was well satisfied that Giotto had on the whole succeeded in achieving this objective, and he writes to Anne that "the expression whatever it be /is/ always appropriate, with the single exception of violent grief, in attempting to delineate which he falls into caricature." He had been particularly moved by Giotto's characterisation of "the monastic type and character" and even suggests that "he may be said to have created it."

Although Lindsay was aware of the doubts some modern writers such as von Rumohr and Rio had cast on the attribution to Giotto of these frescoes of the life of St. Francis, he remained convinced by the truth of Vasari's testimony.(32) However his confidence in this matter was based not on comparative stylistic analysis of the principal works attributed to Giotto - indeed he had still never seen the Arena Chapel in Padua - but rather on his deep appreciation of their originality and expressive power; and he therefore assures Anne that "the sparkle of fun and playful satire that not unfrequently breaks out would of itself satisfy me of Giotto's parentage."

He was also quite content to accept Vasari's attribution to Cimabue of the frescoes in the three groined vaults of the nave of the upper church: the Virgin and Child with Saints and Christ the Redeemer, and the Four Evangelists, (both now still attributed to Cimabue), and the Doctors of the Church (now attributed to Giotto and assistants).(33) He writes that "These are the finest works of Cimabue, the figures are full of dignity, but very Greek and strongly resemble the Saints and Doctors of the Menologion magnified - while in the

figure of our Saviour he has evidently inspired himself by the mosaics." On the other hand he was inclined to question Vasari's attribution to Cimabue both of the frescoes in the choir of the upper church (which he believed to be by Giunta Pisano), and also of the upper tiers of frescoes in the nave (on the grounds that they were too modern).(34) However by the time he came to publish his book he had changed his mind about the frescoes in the nave and concluded that here too Vasari was probably right after all.(35)

In the lower church he accepted Vasari's attribution to Giotto of the frescoes in the central vault depicting the Virtues and Apotheosis of St Francis but decided that their idea and "general purpose" was inspired not by Dante, "as commonly supposed", but by St. Bonaventura.(36) He also followed Vasari in attributing to Giotto's pupil, Puccio Capanna, most of the frescoes in the North transept with scenes from the Life and passion of Christ;(37) and again, like Vasari, he also singles out from this cycle, as a work by Cavallini, the celebrated and already much reproduced Crucifixion scene.(38) Although he noticed similarities in colouring between these works, attributed respectively to Capanna and Cavallini, it never occurred to him that they might actually all be by the same hand, and still less that they might be by the Sienese artist Pietro Lorenzetti. Turning then to the vault of the right hand transept he accepted von Rumohr's attribution to Giovanni da Milano of the frescoes which represent scenes from the Life of Christ and St Francis and which are now attributed to Giotto's assistants, having failed to notice that the German writer's view was based on a misinterpretation of Vasari's

evidence.[39] But he rightly sided with Carlo Fea, whose important book on the Basilica published in 1820 he must by now have consulted,[40] in attributing to Simone Martini the frescoes in the chapel of St Martin which Vasari had rather inconclusively credited to Capanna.[41] He admired the "soft and pleasing" colours and was understandably impressed by the extent to which their style "of thought and execution" differed from Giotto's. He rather evocatively suggests to Anne that whereas the "early Sienese paintings are indeed like flowers", the Florentine ones resemble trees.

After considering the work of all these artistic "innovators", Lindsay turned his attention to Lo Spagna's Madonna and Child with Saints dated 1516. He admits that a considerable gulf separated this rather traditional picture from the artist's much more dramatic frescoes in San Giacomo di Spoleto, dating from a decade later, and then makes a rather striking observation, which must also have been prompted by his study of Giotto: "I begin to doubt whether the dramatic talent can be well developed, in painting at least, without losing the power of concentrating spiritual emotions in the countenance." It was an idea he would later develop, with some insistence, in his book on Christian art, where the concept of Dramatic art originating from the school of Giotto was carefully distinguished from the concept of Contemplative art originating from the school of Siena.

Lindsay's intensive art historical investigations at Assisi did not, however, entirely immunise him from a romantic awareness of the religious associations of this holy place, and a desire to communicate these emotions to James and Anne. "How often I longed for you

and James!" he told Anne "... especially one morning while the service was being performed in the lower church." He writes of how "I ensconced myself in the shadow of one of the arches of the nave, gloomy as a sepulchre, where I could hear and see everything unseen myself, and fairly gave myself up to the impressions of the hour - there was nothing wanting - the faint light streaming through the windows, the kneeling figures all around - the perfume of incense that filled the air, the priests in their waving robes flitting backwards and forwards behind the grating of St Francis's tomb, the sun streaming full on Giotto's fresco of his glorification as the God of all this idolatry - the murmur from the Confessionals near one - and amidst all this the glorious roll of the chanting, now rising now falling like the ocean or the wind in the heart of a forest - and ever and anon swelling to a richness, a fulness, and a soaring power that seemed to upheave the massive arches of the building and carry us aloft a thousand fathoms towards heaven."

Leaving Assisi "for the world again", Lindsay and Coutts then made the short journey to Perugia where they energetically set out to find all the known works of Perugino. Lindsay felt obliged to admit that he found "little variety in them", and that "Pietro himself had not a particle of the Dramatist in him", but his admiration for the formal perfection of his compositions was boundless. Coutts, meanwhile, encouraged we may be sure by his elder cousin, suddenly found inspiration of a more original and unusual quality in Perugino's work, although it was Lindsay who in due course sent in a full report

to Anne [42] "I forgot to tell you" he wrote some two months later "of a very pretty scheme he /Coutts/ formed during our journey for a small family chapel, to be painted in fresco - this was after seeing that of the Exchange at Perugia; there are or rather were to be eight subjects, the last of which, next the altarwall on the left hand side, is to represent the family group, you and James and the children as pilgrims in a landscape on your journey to heaven. Two other subjects he evidently wishes to paint some day or other on the opposite walls of the great staircase at Haigh in order to typify the blessing of God on man and its withdrawal - on one side the prophet Elijah shewing to his servant the host of guardian angels encamped around them - on the other the departure of the same heavenly host from Jerusalem before its fall ...; both subjects are noble ones, but this wd be glorious - the dark night, the deep valley of Jehoshaphat - the temple faintly outlined, with its great doors open and the stream of light gushing out and the angels on their white horses, with their banners and their music, rising and ever rising, slowly and solemnly, a long continuous stream of glory into heaven. Wd it not be beautiful? Dear A - the Bible is full of magnificent subjects as yet un-exploited. One that I have always thought wd be most beautiful is the parting scene between David and old Barzillai on the banks of the Jordan."

By Wednesday 9 March we find Lindsay and Coutts in Cortona. They had gone there to look for the early works of Signorelli, but found nothing to equal his frescoes in Orvieto. They were also disappointed with the vast altarpiece in S. Domenico, then usually attributed on Vasari's authority to Fra Angelico, but in fact by

Lorenzo di Niccolo.[43] Lindsay found its conception "portentous" and noted that the colouring was unusually dark for Fra Angelico, but at this stage still did not question the attribution; later in his book he was to put forward the name of the Sienese artist Domenico di Bartolo.[44]

They reached Arezzo the same evening, and prepared to trace the decline of the Giottesque school which Lindsay believed had "expired there about the middle of the 15th century." Lindsay regarded Spinello Aretino as about the last "worthy descendant of Giotto" and he went to considerable trouble looking for his frescoes of the Fall of Lucifer which Vasari had seen in the church of S. Michele Archangelo. Although his cicerone had assured him that the church had been destroyed, Lindsay persisted and eventually found the remains of the fresco "on the wall of the bedroom of a poor contadina" who was the tenant of the house named Casa dei diavoli into which the old church had been converted! Lindsay records that "The fresco is almost gone, but we could still distinguish the demon's head and the attitude of the victorious angels, which has evidently been in L. Signorelli's memory when painting the similar composition at Orvieto." The three surviving fragments of this fresco are now divided between the museum at Arezzo and the National Gallery, London; they were rescued by Sir Henry Layard who bought them in 1855 and had them removed from their original site.[45]

Vasari proved a less reliable guide when Lindsay visited the Duomo to see the tomb of Pope Gregory X. For Vasari had attributed

it to the mid thirteenth century painter Margaritone; and it was not until 1864 that Crowe and Cavalcaselle pointed out that this was absurd and that the tomb must be by some pupil of Nicola Pisano.(46) Lindsay meanwhile, having noted its quality and the modernity of its style, but having failed to question the basis of Vasari's statement, came to the unfortunate conclusion that as a sculptor Margaritone was more advanced than any other in the thirteenth century, not excluding Nicola and Giovanni Pisano! Then, with the air of one who has just made an important discovery, he laments that "fame and oblivion should be such children of caprice!"

On the other hand it was directly as a result of his ever growing tendency to rely on Vasari in preference to the works of nineteenth century writers, such as von Rumohr and Rio, that Lindsay found himself in front of Piero della Francesca's frescoes in the church of S. Francesco. For although Vasari had described them in some detail,(47) they had been virtually ignored by almost all later writers.(48) The chief exception was Lanzi, who had confined himself to a favourable comment on their mechanical qualities of perspective and relief when compared with the earlier productions of the Giottesque school.(49) And it is also fair to add that Charles Eastlake, who in 1861 was to buy Piero's Baptism of Christ and his St Michael for the National Gallery in London, had already in 1840 briefly drawn attention to the S. Francesco frescoes in the course of his influential review of J.D. Passavant's book on Raphael.(50) When Lindsay found the frescoes, they were in distressing condition - he actually describes them as "absolutely in the last agonies of dissolution" - but he had no

difficulty in sharing Vasari's enthusiasm for them. He admired them not only on account of the artist's mastery of perspective but for their dramatic sense of movement - "in the processions you feel the march of a vast multitude" - combined with the truly classical quality of "graceful ease and repose which we have lost since the sixteenth century". Coutts too was inspired by the integrated composition of these monumental frescoes to compare them with the Elgin marbles, "hosts only being in motion instead of individual figures."

In view of Lindsay's new enthusiasm for Piero della Francesca, one might have expected him to arrange a brief detour to Borgo San Sepolcro to see the Misericordia altarpiece and Piero's fresco of the Resurrection of Christ. But instead he and Coutts now turned in a westerly direction to Siena. Here Lindsay was on relatively familiar ground, but he was anxious to make detailed notes of all the frescoes in the Palazzo Pubblico. Yet, in spite of the fact that he had only recently had the opportunity to study Simone Martini's work in Assisi, he still failed to recognise this hand in the Siena Maestà, and once again recorded it incorrectly as a work by Mino. On the other hand, his rapidly developing knowledge of Pintoricchio's stylistic evolution, and his recent memory of the artist's frescoes in Rome and in Spello, enabled him to assess the fresco cycle in the Piccolomini library at the Duomo with much greater confidence; and he now justifiably questioned the tradition, based on Vasari, that the frescoes had been designed by the young Raphael.(51) Such art historical questions were however soon brushed aside as he surrendered nostalgically to the courtly beauties of Pintoricchio's inventions: "How beautiful they

are, how dignified, how gentlemanlike! and every character is so justly discriminated, I mean of classes no less than individuals - the Pope, the Cardinal, the priest, the Emperor, the noble, the page, - the Turk too is done to the life - they live and breathe before you as in the pages of Walter Scott."

After this Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes of the Life of St Augustine in San Gimignano, which had so excited him in 1840, were now almost an anticlimax. In strictly artistic terms Lindsay still rated them as highly as before, but he found the change in subject matter from the "princes and gallant knights and fair ladies" of the Piccolomini chapel to the "substantial well fed burgesses and citizens" of S. Agostino too abrupt for his present mood.

Lindsay and Coutts had no sooner reached Florence than it was time for Coutts to return to England to enlist in the guards. He embarked at Leghorn on Good Friday, but not before Lindsay had fitted in a detour to Prato to see the frescoes in the Duomo by Filippo Lippi and Agnolo Gaddi, and to Pisa to refresh his memory of the Campo Santo. Then, back in Florence, Lindsay at last found time to write a long letter to Anne. He warmly pays tribute to Coutts, as an ideal travelling companion, and once again reverts to his preoccupation with the great artistic role he had conceived for his cousin. "Dear Anne dear James, it only depends on himself and you, his being the restorer of painting and the rival of the great old masters of the age of the Medici and Leo X."

NOTES

1. Letter dated Haigh 27 July 1841.

2. Throughout this chapter the source of each quotation is only indicated in the notes if it is not the letter dated Florence, Easter Monday /28 March/ 1842, a full transcription of which is provided as Appendix 3.

3. Letter dated 9 December 1841, preserved among the Crawford Mss. Miss Jean Trotter was a daughter of John Trotter of Dyrham Park, Herts, who was a brother of Sir Coutts Trotter, Anne Lindsay's father. She was therefore related to Lord Lindsay by his marriage to Margaret Lindsay. She seems to have first met him through James and Anne Lindsay. I am much indebted to Miss Glenise Matheson of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, for her help with this question.

4. See note 3 above. The passage then continues: "Butler's Lives omits the legends for the most part and thus wants all the Poetry of Hagiology - Ribadaneyra is too rational, he deals in morals and is too bulky; J. de Voraigne is a perfect mountain - whereas De Natalibus is not more than an inch and a half thick, is easily carried in the hand and does not seem to contain a single moral reflection from begining to end."

5. Letter dated 17 December 1841. The original Ms. has not apparently been preserved and I have relied on an old family transcript.

6. Private collection. Wood $17\frac{5}{8}$ x $11\frac{5}{8}$ ins. Scottish National

Portrait Gallery photographic survey negative B/4612.

7. Private collection. Two wooden panels joined together. Overall size $21\frac{3}{4}$ x 12 ins. Scottish National Portrait Gallery photographic survey negative B/4683.

8. Private collection A triptych with the Coronation of the Virgin. Wood 25 x 21 ins. Scottish National Portrait Gallery photographic survey negative B/4727.

9. This picture can no longer be traced.

10. Present whereabouts of the copy unknown Described in a letter to Anne Lindsay, dated Rome 27 January 1842.

11. See Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, I pp. 136-37.

12. Rio op.cit. p. 39.

13. Rio op.cit. p. 23.

14. For Serou x d'Agincourt see Chapter 3.

15. Lindsay subsequently acknowledged that he had been anticipated in this judgment by Flaxman. See Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, I p. 73 where he wrote: "I am happy to find myself .... confirmed in the view I have taken of Byzantine art, by Flaxman, who enumerates the "Greek Christian compositions" of "the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Nativity, the Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Glorification, and the Last Judgment, with some others," "as having been standards to the Italian painters, from which they scarcely ventured to deviate for ages," and "which amply prove that the sacred flame remained in Greece, which kindled light and life in the modern arts of Western Europe." Lectures p. 146. And

see thereafter pp. 242, sqq." For a recent assessment of Flaxman's views on art see D. Irwin in The Burlington Magazine, June 1959, pp. 212 ff.

16. Op.cit. I p. 119.

17. Op.cit. p. 108.

18. Op.cit. II p. 293.

19. Op.cit. p. 260.

20. Op.cit. p. 129: "Celui où il a réuni, non sans quelque confusion, les principaux traits de la vie de Moïse au début de sa mission, surpasse, pour la vivacité de l'expression, tous les ouvrages qui l'entourent; il y a surtout, dans l'épisode des filles de Jéthro, entourées de leurs brebis et chevaleresquement défendues par Moïse contre les brigands du désert, un mélange de poésie héroique et pastorale qui ne laisserait rien a désirer, si la figure du libérateur avait été aussi heureusement conçue que ce groupe de jeunes vierges dont l'attitude simple et animée, les tresses pendantes de beaux cheveux blonds et les longues robes blanches, enchaînent si fortement l'attention du spectateur, qu'il lui en reste à peine pour les autres parties de la composition." For Rio's appreciation of Botticelli see M. Levey in Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXIII, 1960, pp. 291-306.

21. Op.cit. pp. 297 ff. For instance on p. 298 he wrote: "... les admirateurs passionnés de sa première manière, loin d'admirer au même degré les produits postérieurs à l'époque où nous nous sommes arrêtés, ne les regardent qu'avec une sorte de

répugnance ou au moins avec froideur ..."

22. For the Casino Massimo commission see Andrews op cit. pp. 46 ff.

23. Letter to Anne, dated Rome 17 January 1842. This is also the source for Lindsay's other observations on Naples quoted in this chapter.

24. F Kugler, A Handbook of the History of Painting from the age of Constantine the Great to the present time. Part I. The Italian Schools of Painting. Edited with notes by C. Eastlake, London 1842, pp. 170-171. The frescoes were published for the first time in 1846; see S. d'Aloe Le Pitture dello Zingaro nel chiostro di S. Severino ..., Naples 1846.

25. A. Mezzanotte, Della Vita e delle Opere di Pietro Vannucci ... il Perugino, 1836.

26. K. von Rumohr, Italienische Forschungen, 1827-32 ed. J. Schlosser, Frankfurt 1930, pp. 384-385.

27. Op.cit. p. 200.

28. Op.cit. p. 270 Cf. also Lanzi (translated by Roscoe) op.cit. II p. 34.

29. Lanzi (translated by Roscoe) loc. cit.

30. Cf. Rio op.cit. pp. 115-118. For instance on p. 116 he remarked: "Avec un âme si dépourvue de délicatesse et de dignité, il n'était pas possible que Lippi s'elevât à la hauteur de ces peintres religieux, qui, dans le siècle précédant, avaient donné à l'art une si grande destination."

31. These frescoes are not described by Valery op.cit. and

Lindsay was evidently confused. But they had already been noted by both Orsini and Passavant; cf. the note by G. Milanesi in his edition of Vasari op.cit. III p. 593 note 2.

32. Vasari op.cit. I p. 377. Cf. von Rumohr op.cit. p. 269 and Rio op.cit. pp. 65-66.

33. Vasari op.cit. I pp. 252-253.

34. Vasari loc. cit.

35. Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, II p. 79 (note). Here, Lindsay's summary of von Rumohr's position appears to be based on a misunderstanding.

36. Vasari op.cit. I pp. 378 ff.

37. Vasari op.cit. I p. 403.

38. Vasari op.cit I p. 540.

39. Crowe and Cavalcaselle op.cit. II p. 37 note 2.

40. C. Fea, Descrizione ragionata della Sagrosanta Patriarcal Basilica .... di S. Francesco d'Assisi, Rome 1820, p. 11.

41. Vasari op.cit. I p. 404.

42. Letter to Anne, dated Florence 28 April 1842.

43. Vasari op.cit. II p. 514 (but see also Milanesi's note on pp. 532ff.)

44. Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, III pp. 164-165.

45. See M. Davies, National Gallery Catalogue. The Earlier Italian Schools, London 1961, pp. 500-01 Nos. 1216, 1216A and 1216B.

46. Op.cit. I pp. 167-168.

47. Op.cit. II pp. 495 ff.

48. For the critical reputation of Piero della Francesca see R. Longhi,

Piero della Francesca, Florence 1963, pp. 116-169.

49. Lanzi (translated by Roscoe) op.cit. II p. 25.

50. In The Quarterly Review, June 1840, pp. 7-9.

51. Vasari op.cit. III p. 494.

V

Lindsay, left on his own in Florence, soon settled down to some concentrated reading in preparation for the remainder of his tour. His surviving notes indicate that he now consulted not only the works of Vasari, Lanzi, von Rumohr, Rio and Valery which, as we have seen, had guided him so successfully through Umbria, but also Giovanni Rosini's comprehensive and extremely well illustrated, but perhaps rather unimaginative, Storia della Pittura Italiana .... published in twelve volumes 1839/54;(1) and Ernst Foerster's Handbuch für Reisende in Italien 1840 which Lindsay later described sympathetically as "a manual I would strongly recommend to every student traveller in Italy."(2) He also began to read the collection of documents and letters relating to art and artists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which had been edited by G. Gaye and published in Florence by Molini in 1839.(3)

Then on 16 April Lindsay walked into Molini's shop and found the first part of Franz Kugler's Handbook of the History of Painting from the age of Constantine the Great to the present time. Part I was subtitled The Italian Schools of Painting and the English language edition was edited by Charles Eastlake.(4) On acquiring this newly published book, Lindsay's first concern, understandably enough, was to see to what extent the German writer had trodden on ground which he had hoped to cover himself. He was extremely impressed by Kugler's achievement - as indeed he should have been since Kugler's connoisseurship was much more advanced than his own; but he was

equally convinced, as he wrote to Anne the very same day, that "there is no harm done" and that "on the contrary .... it will be a useful adjunct to my publication." For although Kugler's book had the advantage of being available in English, unlike most of the other influential works hitherto published on early Italian art, Lindsay felt it lacked popular appeal and would not attract "the uninitiated pure-spirited youthful English aristocracy (for whom I write)." He then goes on to describe it as flowing "on a continuous stream of criticism, unrelieved by break or rapid, anecdote or biography - criticism, criticism, criticism to the end!" In the same spirit he also points out that Kugler's book lacks any overall form or purpose: "He does not grasp and delineate his subject in bold prominent masses" and "there is no object proposed as a result of all this investigation - no enquiry how it may be turned to account." More specifically Lindsay complains of the author's "grievous fault" of "confining himself exclusively to painting" and of omitting "all reference to the sister arts and their respective influence on each other"; and he observes that "as regards mere assistance towards the interpretation of ancient art, with the exception of some valuable observations on the old Christian allegories, he leaves the whole rich domain of Hagiology .... untouched." The Handbook seems therefore merely to have provided Lindsay with a further stimulus to bring his own scheme to fruition, and he concludes his letter to Anne with the assurance: "I go to bed tonight trebly desirous of achieving my object, and trebly certain that (with God's blessing) I shall succeed."

Then, almost feverishly, he began to prepare a detailed scheme

of the form into which his own book would be moulded, and three weeks later, on 7 May 1842, he was ready to outline his plans to Anne (see Appendix 4). From this long and important letter it is clear that his motivating idea was still more or less the same as the one he had already voiced to James in 1839, and again to his mother in 1840, namely that there was a link between an artist's personal character and the quality and value of his work, and that modern painting could only be regenerated to its true Christian purpose by an awareness and study of "the early pure and lofty line of art, religious moral and patriotical, which reached its perfection in Ghiberti Donatello and Raphael." This idea was apparently derived from the belief, which Lindsay had not hitherto expressed in such singularly nationalistic terms, that "... Providence, in committing the pure faith to the custody of England and placing her on the throne of the civilised world, enjoins her to carry the spirit of Christianity into every department of genius, every walk of life".

Lindsay then goes on to describe in some detail the form his book would take. He divides "the rise, progress and fluctuations of Christian art" under twenty two heads, which are already remarkably close to the divisions in the General Classification of Schools and Artists to be printed in the first volume of his Sketches of the History of Christian Art in 1847, and we find here too the seeds of many of the most fundamental ideas which he developed in his essays on early Italian art. In the light of his recent researches in Rome he emphasises the importance of the artistic contribution of Byzantium to West European art, but does not ignore the vigour and freedom of

Teutonic or Northern culture and its contribution to the development of modern Europe from the time of the invasion of the Lombards in 568. He refers for the first time to his thesis that the revival of sculpture and painting in the West progressed in step with the development of Lombard architecture; and he also now reveals his preoccupation with the idea that Nicola Pisano's sculpture, Christian in spirit but based on the study of the antique, gave the first irresistible impulse to the revival of the Florentine and Sienese schools of painting. But it should be noted that at this date he still completely overlooked the significance of Gothic architecture in connection with the development of sculpture and painting; and, in spite of the fact that he had only just visited Orvieto and Assisi, he describes it, in disparaging terms which he later had to retract,[5] as "an exotic in Italy and wherever it has flourished, unfavourable to sculpture and painting."

We encounter at least one further point of divergence between the views Lindsay now expresses in 1842 and those he subsequently published in his book five years later. Writing to Anne in 1842, he is inclined to the view that Siena, under Mino and Duccio, led the revival of Italian painting inspired by Nicola Pisano; and he firmly rejects Dante's claim, subsequently endorsed by Vasari, that Cimabue was its first regenerator. He then describes Giotto as "the father of the Florentine school and indeed almost every other in Italy." He also goes on to refer to theimportant distinction, which had first struck him in Assisi, between the Florentine and Sienese traditions, suggesting that the school of Siena had a "peculiar tendency to the contemplative and allegorical" as opposed to the

"dramatic and epical" quality of Florentine art. Later, in his book, Lindsay again underlined this difference between the two traditions, but by then he had come to the revised conclusion that the main debt for the revival of painting was in fact owed to Giotto, on the grounds that the "progressive or dramatic principle" of Giottesque art "must necessarily take the lead" before the "contemplative" style of the Sienese could "do itself justice".(6) However he did not attempt to deny that Mino and Duccio had independently formed their new style before Giotto; and it must be remembered that he was still suffering from his long standing misapprehension that Simone Martini's Maestà in Siena was a work of Mino dating from 1289. The reason for Lindsay's change of emphasis on the question of Giotto's seminal importance is not recorded; but it may well have been due to the impact of all the Giottesque frescoes he was to see in Padua only a few weeks after sending this prospectus to Anne.

Lindsay continues his draft by singling out Orcagna as "an anomaly in his age" - a rather exaggerated view, but one he shared with most of his contemporaries, not excluding Rio.(7) His subsequent categories, from the "Revival of classic learning and (its abuse) of the spirit of paganism" and "Predominant tendency towards the antique, or external perfection" down to "Universal mannerism", raise no serious problems; they too are directly derived from Rio, apart from the addition of one or two artists, whom the Frenchman had ignored, such as Zingaro and Piero della Francesca. Then, at the very end, Lindsay turns to his interest in the modern Munich school and writes: "21. Revival by the Germans - Munich etc. 22. 'Go and

do thou likewise!' Parallel of the intellectual movement in Germany and England - analogous as regards literature - ought in the nature of things to extend to art - The Reformation not necessarily hurtful to art, rather the contrary - Had Overbeke and Co been of the English Church, need not have become Roman Catholics. We have a grand field open, picturesque riches of the Bible etc - to say nothing of the patriotic." Lindsay's remark about the Reformation reflects the beginning of a new preoccupation which was to haunt him more and more during the next five years: that the religious outlook of his mentor, Rio, although "admirable - for the French and Roman Catholics" was "(forgive me) rather narrow bottomed" and dogmatic. And, as he assured Anne, he had no wish to bring "the whole tribe of professed critics" on his shoulders.

Lindsay also promises her that in spite of indications to the contrary he did not contemplate a work "like Agincourt's[8] or Cicognara's[9] of 6 or 7 vols and a thumping folio of plates". On the contrary, he had in mind only a modest book which would take the form of a series of letters to a young artist or friend just gone out to Italy: "in my own secret heart it will be Coutts I address". This unusual form would, he believed, free him from the "responsibility of a professed historian" and would give him the scope to "offer a thousand hints, conjecture etc in an offhand way - to blend with criticism, description, anecdote, reminiscence, allusion ad infinitum - in short to range at freedom through the pleasant fields of fresco, roaring and lashing my tail ad libitum."

NOTES

1. This book covered the development of Italian art from its earliest origins up to Appiani.
2. Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, III p. 186 (note).
3. Carteggio d'Artisti, Florence 1839.
4. It was published in London by John Murray in 1842.
5. See Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, I p. 40 where he wrote at the end of Letter 1: "... it is a fact, that I hope to establish in the course of these Sketches, that Sculpture and Painting, both in the South and in the North, revived in strict alliance with Gothic Architecture - and that Painting, in particular, reached perfection in Italy long indeed after the extinction of that style South of the Alps, but still in the succession of a line of artists, few but faithful, whose sympathies induced them to stand apart from the throng that followed in the triumph of the comparatively anti-Christian Cinquecento."
6. Lindsay op. cit. II p. 163.
7. Op. cit. pp. 81-2.
8. For Seroux d'Agincourt see Chapter 3.
9. L. Cicognara, Storia della Scultura del suo risorgimento in Italia fino al Secolo di Canova, Prato 1827.

VI

Lindsay seems to have spent most of his time in Florence in the company of Anne's old drawing master, Marini, whom he had just commissioned to copy a head of Dante from the newly uncovered Giottesque frescoes in the Cappella del Podestà in the Bargello; and together they carefully examined all the main fresco cycles in the Florentine churches. Lindsay was particularly anxious to resolve the questions of attribution surrounding the series traditionally associated with Masaccio, Masolino and Filippino Lippi, in the Brancacci chapel of the church of the Carmine; but unfortunately he merely succeeded in confusing the issue still further. For instance he decided, without any real justification, that the scene of St Peter baptising should be attributed to Masolino and not Masaccio; and rather curiously allowed himself to be persuaded by Marini that Filippo Lippi not Filippino had finally completed the cycle!

By the middle of May Lindsay had completed his work in Florence and moved on to Bologna where his main objective was to test the local seicento "eclectic" artists against the new standards he had inherited from Rio. The experiment was not a success. During his earlier travels Lindsay had not shown any excessive tendency to overreact against traditional taste for the grand manner. But now (see Appendix 5) he writes almost hysterically to Anne: "I am sick, sick of Bologna. I have swallowed such a quantity of Caraccis, Guidos etc. for the last two or three days that I feel as if I should never get over it - I am poisoned." "I came here," he continues,

"with the most honest distrust of myself, the most determined resolution to try these gentlemen on their simple merits without reference to theory or predilection and I have adhered to this resolution; I have tried them fairly and found them wanting." Domenichino, Guercino and Albano perhaps offended him rather less than the Carracci because "they speak more to the heart, or at least mine"; and he admits that there is "deep feeling and solemnity" in Guido Reni's Crucifixion, in spite of the inferiority of the heads which showed a regrettable dependence on living models. But like Rio before him,(1) he was obliged to turn to Francia and Timoteo Viti for true mental and spiritual refreshment, and notes with relief that out of four students he had seen in the Accademia three were copying pictures by Francia.

However Lindsay's most interesting moment in Bologna came when he visited the Church of S. Maria di Mezzaratta with its frescoes by fourteenth century artists, many of which Vasari had attributed to Iacopo da Bologna.(2) Lindsay comments on their "remarkable originality" and their "strictly national" character, "without any apparent influence of the Giottesque in mind or manners" and concludes that "it is their originality and naivité that lends them their charm." He did not forget to find a place for this 'Primitive School of Bologna' when he finally published his General Classification of Schools and Artists in Sketches of the History of Christian Art; and he also discussed the early Bolognese artists at some length in the seventh Letter of this book.

After leaving Bologna Lindsay was able to make rather more

speedy progress, as he passed through Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Ancona, Loreto and Ravenna. There were usually only one or two pictures that he needed to see in each town; but they were worth the inconvenience of a detour because they often established an artist's claim to "a higher rank" than his more accessible works might have indicated. In the Duomo at Faenza, for instance, he found Innocenzo d'Imola's Virgin and child with attendant saints "infinitely superior to any of his other paintings that I have seen";[3] and, echoing Kugler, he compares it to Raphael's Madonna di Foligno in the Vatican,[4] especially in respect of the Virgin's face which although "very sweet and pure" is not quite "the virginal idea". At Forli Lindsay became absorbed by his "discovery" of the correct attribution for the frescoes in the church of SS Biagio and Girolamo which Vasari had ignored and which Valery had attributed to Mantegna.[5] Lindsay had recognised them as by M. Palmezzano on the evidence of a mutilated inscription and by stylistic comparison with other signed works in the same town, such as the Immaculate Conception in S. Mercuriale (which Valery had also misattributed, but in this case to Innocenzo d'Imola).[6] Before leaving Forli, Lindsay also looked at Guido Reni's Immaculate Conception[7] and Guercino's Virgin at prayer;[8] of the two he preferred the Guercino, a late work, which he admired for its "earnestness of purpose" and "calm simplicity".

In Rimini Lindsay's interest was centred on the church of S. Francesco, originally a Gothic structure, which Sigismund Malatesta had later had renewed by Alberti. He was fascinated by the "queer

effect of the struggle between the pointed and cinquecento architecture" which he felt provided a singular illustration of the "intellectual ferment then going on in Italy." He also noted Piero della Francesca's signed fresco representing Malatesta as St Sigismund and observes that "though very stiff, it is beautifully painted."

In Pesaro he sought out the "celebrated Coronation of the Virgin" by Giovanni Bellini, but condemned the picture because of the "inexplicable and unpardonable" idea of representing "this mystic scene in a room." Then in Fano he looked at Perugino's altarpiece in S. Maria Nuova and took an antiquarian interest in a signed Visitation in S. Paterniano by Giovanni Santi, the father of Raphael. But he was extremely disappointed by Domenichino's frescoes of the Life of the Virgin, in the Duomo, of which he had had rather surprisingly high expectations. He was particularly shocked by the scene of the Visitation, where the Virgin, "merely a pretty girl, without dignity," looks towards Elizabeth "as if she had a merry secret to impart to her." In Ancona he concentrated mainly on the Cathedral of S. Cyriaco and was impressed by its Byzantine architecture, "built at the moment when the Lombards adopted it about the beginning of the 11th century."

Ravenna detained him for rather longer. Although he complains of its unprepossessing external appearance and the fact that "I never saw a place in Italy in which religion seems so little thought of", he is able to assure Anne that a visit there was still "indispensable to form an accurate idea of the architecture of Christian art of the 5th,

6th, 7th and 8th centuries." He systematically toured the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, subsequently dedicated to Sts Nazaro and Celso, the Baptistry, S. Vitale, S. Apollinare di dentro, S. Apollinare in Classe and the tomb of Theodoric the Goth. In addition to the architecture and mosaics, he also expresses interest in the tombs which together "carry the history of sculpture through the entire period of the darker ages"; but he found little in the field of painting except the frescoes in Riminese trecento style in S. Maria di Porta fuori which were traditionally attributed to Giotto, a view with which he was rather surprisingly inclined to concur. Finally, before leaving Ravenna, Lindsay drove up to the pine forest and enjoyed himself in the recollection of its romantic associations with Boccaccio's story of Nastagio degli Onesti and the poem by Dryden which it had inspired.

By 26 May Lindsay was back in Bologna where he picked up some mail from James and Anne who had become decidedly anxious both about the apparent scale of the book he was preparing and by the extent of his present journeyings. He cannot have relaxed there for long since eight days later, when we find him in Rovigo held up for want of horses, he had already "done Modena, Parma, Mantua and Ferrara." He had discovered nothing new in Modena but managed to arouse the curiosity of the local inhabitants. "You would be amused, dear Anne", he writes on 3 June (see Appendix 6), "seeing me on my explorations - the laquais perhaps following me ... with the large folio De Natalibus under his arm - gloves I have long discarded - and as for being stared at I have long grown callous to

it, - the other day while making my notes of the sculptures outside the Cathedral at Modena I had about 20 people round me; sometimes the priests come to see what I am about - I always make a civil observation and then take no further notice of them and they generally soon go. The people take me for a queer fish, I fancy, but I don't care for that. The ciceronis too don't know what to make of me - I have regularly to break them in; it takes about an hour to do so generally - a quick curt yet courteous manner answers my purpose admirably, and I never allow myself to be diverted from my object. As for the custodes, they get terribly weary, cough, or rattle their keys, all to no purpose - I remain quite callous till they sit down in despair or resignation. Sometimes rather ludicrous incidents happen. The other day, intensely occupied with a picture in the choir of a church, I advanced into the middle of it; whether or not the stalls were filled with the canons before I entered, or whether they took their place while I was standing there in a state of abstraction, I know not, but you may imagine the start it gave me, the whole assembly suddenly bursting out into full chant, within 10 feet of me - believing myself alone. And I did not even blush. In short pro tempore my character seems totally changed, and I have become one of the most confident, self possessed, determined men of action in Europe."

Moving on to Parma, Lindsay was delighted to find it "a treasury of ancient art." Correggio's celebrated cupola evidently excited him far less than the thirteenth century frescoes in the Baptistry or even the rather provincial early fifteenth century frescoes in two chapels of the Duomo, where he rather overstretched his powers of

connoisseurship in observing a direct stylistic connection with the early frescoes he had only recently seen in S. Maria di Mezzaratta in Bologna. However Lindsay appreciated that Anne and James would be more interested to receive news of his reactions to Correggio, and he himself was open minded enough to admit that Parma was the only town where this artist could be "duly estimated". But he had little hesitation in concluding that Correggio's excellencies were of "the subordinate kind", amounting to little more than the "pursuit of grace"; and he found his works "cold and unimpressive in a moral point of view". Nevertheless he still very nearly succumbed to the picture of the Holy Family with St Jerome in spite of "the silly unmeaning smile on the Virgin's cheek"; for as he then admitted "the light of the sunniest Italian sky is shed so glowingly over this picture as to warm one's inmost being - a soft brilliancy which witches one into a momentary oblivion of truth and principle - a momentary belief that you are gazing on a vision of Calypso's isle." But, rather movingly, he brushes these delights aside as no more than the "trials of faith one has to go through in this pilgrimage through the Terra Santa of Art."

He then moved on to Mantua in order to make up his mind about the artistic status of Giulio Romano. He was not impressed. "All my impressions of him are confirmed; he is a coarse material painter, disqualified, both by his natural character and the society in which he lived, to excel in any line of art. The voluptuousness of Greece was refined and elegant, and similar qualities are stamped on her productions, but that of Italy and especially of Rome under

Leo X was gross in the extreme and a corresponding character attaches itself to his, Giulio's: to contemplate the antique ideal was not sufficient to counteract the coarse modern positive atmosphere in which he lived. Let any one wishing to know what the atmosphere was read Cellini's Memoirs and he will no longer wonder at the difference between Giulio and Fra Angelico - they explain the degeneracy of art. .... The vicious ultimate tendency of G. Romano's principles (they are indeed those of Raphael's later frescoes in the Vatican) is illustrated by his Fall of the Giants in the Palazzo del Te, and in the works of his pupils in the different churches, some of which are beyond conception horrible." If only by way of contrast, one might have expected Lindsay to show some enthusiasm for Mantegna's frescoes in the Camera dei Sposi which he did make a point of seeing on this occasion, having missed them in 1839. But on the whole, he found the life size portraits of the Gonzaga family "ugly and vulgar", although he did concede that they are also "truthful and full of character" and that "naked truth seems the distinguishing merit of Mantegna."

In Ferrara Lindsay discovered that he had previously "undervalued the merits of her artists whose work as seen in Rome and elsewhere are very inferior." Perhaps he was also encouraged by the recent efforts of C. Laderchi, an Italian follower of Rio, to emphasise the purist and mystical qualities of this school, in his catalogue of the Marchese Costabili's collection, published in 1838/9.[9] In particular Lindsay was very impressed by the frescoes in the Palazzo Schifanoja which he believed to be by Cosimo Tura and which do in fact show the immediate influence of his style. He observed, rather perceptively,

that Cosimo Tura's style had probably "undergone the influence of Florence as well as that of Padua", and he also rightly noted the affinities between C. Tura's work and that of Lorenzo Costa. Less persuasive was his rather unsound attempt to draw a direct connection between each of these two Ferrarese artists and Palmezzano whose frescoes he had studied in Forli and whom he now felt "must have originally been a pupil of Cosme's or at least of Costa's." But while he admired the "allegorical and dramatic" qualities of the school of C. Tura, he was almost unbelievably enthusiastic about the work of Mazzolino, Garofalo and Ortolano; and in spite of the fact that Rio had not yet canonised them with his approval, Lindsay suggested that they "establish their claim to rank among the purest advocates of Christian art in that day of declension to Paganism." Only Dosso Dossi "in his decadence" is excluded from this circle; and this was largely because Lindsay was under the misapprehension that Dossi was responsible for the unattributed frescoes on the ceiling of the old Ducal Palace which he ranked "among the most horrible disgusting exhibitions that the followers of M. Angelo ever bedaubed walls with."

Lindsay reached Padua on 4 June. He was now able to see for the first time Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, and spent five hours examining them. He was at once confirmed in his belief in the artist's "dramatic talent", and noted that the same "peculiar humour peeps out as at Assisi." But he was also struck by Giotto's "adherence in many instances to the Byzantine compositions and modes of representation", which provided further confirmation of his theory of the strength of Byzantine influence during the revival of

Italian art. This observation also led him to question Vasari's evidence about the date of the Arena Chapel frescoes.[10] "Vasari I am aware attributes these frescoes to the last years of Giotto's, but I begin to be very sceptical as to all testimonies other than co-temporary or purely traditional - to depend in short much more on internal evidence than assertions which unless supported by charter proof are worth but little." Lindsay goes on to express surprise at the tendency of modern writers to underrate these frescoes, conveniently forgetting his own failure to see them on his previous visit to Padua: "Rumohr in his brief allusion to them betrays such ignorance that I almost doubt his having been to Padua,[11] and even Rio cites a composition among them which does not exist."[12] In his Sketches of the History of Christian Art Lindsay attempted to make good this deficiency and gave a detailed description of each compartment in the cycle,[13] writing with more emotion than Lady Callcott in her much earlier, but dry and consciously detached, account of the chapel.[14]

Lindsay also took the opportunity to see the principal fresco cycles in Padua by Giotto's followers and was at once struck - to a far greater extent than Rio - by their importance as evidence of the vigorous continuation of Giotto's style in the region of Lombardy. Then, after making a careful examination, he became convinced that the four fresco cycles, located in the Baptistry, in the church of S. Antonio (chapels of S. Felice and S. Luca), and in the chapel of S. Giorgio attached to this church, were so closely connected in style that they were probably all by the same artist, Giusto de' Menabuoi, and informed Anne: "they exhibit such an identity of mind and so

many points of resemblance in execution that I cannot doubt their being in all that constitutes their merit, the work of one artist." Today the credit for these frescoes is usually assigned to two artists: the chapel of S. Giorgio and the chapel of S. Felice, in S. Antonio, to Altichiero, the other two cycles to Giusto de' Menabuoi. But in view of the fact that Giusto was clearly influenced by Altichiero, and also that both artists owe a common debt to Jacopo degl'Avanzi, it must be conceded that Lindsay's observations were in no way undiscerning.

He then went on to assess these frescoes in the more general terms of his scheme of progress and excellence. The following day, after writing movingly of the "delight these frescoes have given me", he continued: "... indeed, one after the other my heart was put into such a series of glows during my stay at Padua that it hardly beats calmly yet. I really do not think I have been run away with or that I overrate them. I revisited them all yesterday morning, correcting my notes on the spot (as I have done throughout with the principal objects of my researches) and I am really jealous of myself. But surely seeing is believing. Non dubitate therefore when I tell you they are all singularly dramatic; every variety of character - Emperor, Statesman, Knight, noble, private citizen and down are discriminated with a degree of truth that sometimes startles one; they are all portraits - much more knightly and Germanlike than you see in the Florentine frescoes; the principal characters are uniformly characteristic and the noblest in mien and look as well as most conspicuous in place; feeling grace and simplicity reign throughout -

the grouping and relief are admirable - there are crowds of figures but no confusion - each fresco generally speaking depicts one scene only of the drama, the colouring is soft and pleasing - the backgrounds are all of the most gorgeous and exquisite pointed architecture - they would form on that account alone a most beautiful series of engravings - this fondness for architecture is a characteristic that marks all the works of Giusto; in short I cannot but think he comes very near Masaccio in his peculiar excellencies while in originality and even composition he is superior to him ..."

Before leaving Padua Lindsay also went to see Mantegna's frescoes in the church of the Eremitani which he had overlooked on his previous visit in 1829, and to which he now reacted in much the same terms that he had used in front of the frescoes of the Gonzaga family in Mantua. He suggests that even the most successful scenes, the two representing St Christopher, succeed in little beyond the "mere delineation of naked truth", points out that the "hardness of his colouring adds to the impression that that truth makes on you", and finally damns the artist with faint praise in allowing that "his soldiers especially are inimitable - no one has caught the character of the coarse rude middle age mercenary with such felicity ...." He did however also concede that "Mantegna's last pictures are much softer than these" and recalled in particular the two late allegorical works in the Louvre, from the studiolo of Isabella d'Este, which had already elicited Schlegel's enthusiastic praise some forty years earlier, in 1802.(15)

In a more antiquarian mood Lindsay set out to find a representative work by Squarcione in whose studio Mantegna had been trained in Padua. He had obviously seen the short study of the artist which Selvatico had published in 1839,[16] and although he managed to see the two pictures by Squarcione in the Lazara collection, to which Selvatico had drawn attention (they are now in W. Berlin and in the civic museum at Padua), he was not satisfied. He described one as "perfectly Giottesque" and conceded that it might be "a production of his youth" which "gives no idea of his acquired style"; the other, in his view, was "palpably more modern". He felt equally frustrated after his visit to the suppressed monastery of S. Francesco, where Selvatico had located some of Squarcione's frescoes relating to the life of St Francis, and reports that the only frescoes he had found were in a wine cellar and had been completely destroyed by damp.

Lindsay had moved on to Venice by the second week of June and spent a full week there, working ten or twelve hours a day, before travelling back in a westerly direction towards Milan, with further stops at Treviso, Castelfranco, Bassano, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia and Bergamo. By the time he had halted overnight in Verona on 19 June he at last felt he had seen enough to send Anne another letter with a long and coherent, but still exhilarating, account of the Venetian school (see Appendix 7), even if he did admit to feeling a "little sickish" as a consequence of "the quantity I have gulped of Titians, Tintorettos and P. Veroneses". His judgement of the pictures he had seen in the Veneto is even more strongly coloured than usual by what he had previously read in Rio's De La Poésie

Chrétienne.[17] For instance he follows the French writer in dividing the artists active during Venice's artistic revival into "three distinct schools, that of the Vivarini, a family in whom the art was hereditary for nearly a century - that of John Bellini, including such by his pupils as adhered to and perpetuated till the middle of the 16th century, his peculiar religious style, - and that of his more vigorous and energetic pupils, Giorgione, Titian, Pordenone etc. in whose works religion is no longer recognisable as their life and inspiration". Like Rio he also emphasises the fact that "each of these three schools is distinguished by its colouring, which all through has been the peculiar glory of Venetian art." Rio had then gone on to suggest that there was "une affinité mystérieuse entre l'organe de la musique et celui qui préside à la combinaison des couleurs."[18] Lindsay, in his turn, describes Giovanni Bellini's mystical pictures as "a still music, a subtle essence of sound which fills the air as you gaze on his pictures." Lindsay then echoes Rio yet again when he emphasises the strong and constant Northern influence perceptible in early Venetian art, "beneficially in the colouring and landscape, perniciously in the narrow folds of drapery which too generally characterise the Venetian painters previously to the close of the 15th century."

But, wherever Rio was clearly prejudiced in his views, Lindsay was quite capable of adopting an independent line, as for instance in the perceptive interest he showed in "the successive influences that acting on the Vivarini form the history of their school". He particularly draws attention both to a picture in the Accademia of the Madonna enthroned between the four doctors of the church,

signed jointly by Antonio Vivarini and Giovanni d'Alemagna, and also to a polyptych of the Madonna and Child with Saints in the church of S. Zachariah by the same two artists, and describes them as "respectively the most majestic and most lovely productions of the school." He then goes on to apologise to Anne: "I cannot expect to give you an idea of the richness and beauty of these pictures, both in the heads of the principal personages and the exquisite finish of their details; the colouring is rich to a degree and the drapery free and flowing, while in the latter especially, the head of the Virgin breathes a loveliness and purity which entrances one; it gave me the same thrilling feeling as two or three of the old miraculous Madonnas of the 14th century which none of the later painters have equalled in their peculiar spiritual expression - they are like creatures revealed in dreams."

Lindsay next turns his attention to the birth of the Bellini school and, like Rio,[19] emphasises the direct seminal influence on Jacopo Bellini of the Umbrian artist Gentile da Fabriano who visited Venice around 1421; although by the time he came to write the Sketches of the History of Christian Art he seems to have revised his views on this question and suggests that the Bellini "inherited nothing from Gentile except a kindly sympathy towards Umbria ..."[20] While he was still in Venice, Lindsay's main interest was naturally focused on Jacopo Bellini's more illustrious son Giovanni whose religious works he found "admirable in their kind"; but he then feels obliged to qualify this further by adding: "He does not come up to Perugino (to whom in some respects he has much resemblance) either in the

perfect beauty of his heads or the charm of his composition, but the same pure and lofty spirit breathes from his works, and his colouring, though not so rich is still softer and more harmonious." Lindsay also comments on the extremely restricted range of subject matter represented in Bellini's work but insists that one never wearies of his repeated variant compositions of the Virgin and Child. Nevertheless he obviously went to some trouble to find examples of the artist's "more dramatical subjects" such as the Last Supper in S. Salvatore (now considered a studio work), and the St Jerome in S. Giovanni Crisostomo (which Rio had particularly liked); and then later, on his way from Venice to Milan, he of course also saw the Baptism of Christ in the church of S. Corona in Vicenza.

In attempting to trace the continuation of the "religious school" through the work of Cima, Carpaccio, Basaiti, Bissolo, Giovanni da Udine, Catena, Caroto and Girolamo da Santa Croce, Lindsay, like Rio before him, singled out Cima and Carpaccio on account of their superior quality. He admired Cima's pictures for their "pure feeling and holiness" and because "his Madonna's have a tinge of melancholy in their countenance which is very touching"; Rio, he felt, had "happily expressed their character in saying that they are less beautiful than Bellini's but more prophetic." But here Lindsay was writing under a serious misapprehension, to which his own visual responses should have alerted him. It was the melancholy air (la gravité mélancolique) of Giovanni Bellini's Madonna's, not Cima's, which had caught the imagination of Rio, in spite of the fact that "le type n'en est pas aussi beau que celui de l'école ombrienne".(21) Indeed Cima,

in the French writer's opinion, "ne parait pas avoir choisi ... La Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus pour sujet de prédilection; la grace n'était pas la qualité dominante de son princeau"; on the contrary he preferred to represent the more severe beauty of Christ and his unsmiling attendants, almost invariably "en rapport avec le mystère douloureux de la Rédemption."(22)

Carpaccio's paintings, which Rio had enjoyed as "poèmes épiques"(23), also appealed to Lindsay because of their "dramatic" quality and for their "chivalry and youthful freshness ... that stirs one's blood like a trumpet". He had in mind the series of pictures representing the Legend of St Ursula in the Accademia and those showing the Life of St George in S. Giorgio dei Schiavoni. Among the works of the other followers of Bellini which Lindsay singled out for special praise are Basaiti's Calling of the Children of Zebedee, as well as his Agony in the Garden; Bissolo's Christ crowning St Catherine; and Catena's Christ appearing to St Christina. These pictures were all to be seen in the Accademia, except for the Catena which he found in the church of S. Maria Mater Domini. But, unlike Rio, Lindsay did not take any real interest in the followers of the Bellini tradition who were principally active in Lombardy, such as Cariani and Previtali; and it is disappointing to find that he even managed to pass through Bergamo on his way to Milan without registering a single comment on L. Lotto.(24)

Lindsay found little pleasure in the works of the more progressive Venetian artists who had "thrown off the yoke of religious tradition",

although he concedes that they could often be contrasted most favourably with their equivalents in Florence, Rome, Parma and Bologna. He also found that occasionally, in their earliest works, artists such as Titian and Giorgione did remind him of "the older and purer time." As examples he cites Titian's Annunciation, presumably meaning the picture at Treviso, and Giorgione's altarpiece, in the nearby village of Castelfranco, which he found was "composed precisely in the ancient manner". Moreover in this picture Giorgione had clearly "done his utmost to invest the Madonna with her traditional character", even if the head "is certainly a portrait and not of a very good tempered lady into the bargain." On the other hand Lindsay found it was "quite torture" to then contemplate Titian's later religious works, such as the Assumption of the Virgin in the Frari, and he described the Virgin in this picture, most disparagingly, as a "swarthy wellfed coarse featured Venetian model - blown up to heaven in a gale of wind - her modesty evinced, not by the spiritual purity of the head and form, but by pressing her feet together to hinder her pettycoats from flying over her head." He was thus forced to the pessimistic conclusion that "all later painters seem to think that religious expression consists in physical exertion as if the Church Catholic were Jumpers or Irvingites."

It is hardly necessary to examine in detail Lindsay's predictable responses to the work of P. Veronese and Tintoretto. He objects that in all Tintoretto's pictures, religious or profane, "there is no selection, no ideal beauty, either of form or expression, but a simple copyism of vulgar nature; in short he is the vulgarest of the

school except Bassano, with whom indeed he has some strong sympathies." And he found nothing by P. Veronese in Venice to equal his Marriage at Cana in the Louvre; for he could see little merit either in his historical works such as Alexander in Darius' tent in the Pisani collection, and now in the National Gallery, London, or in his "hopeless allegories" in the Ducal Palace.

Sadly, all this rather rigid and narrowly determinist criticism quickly pales in comparison with the spontaneous and infectious manner in which John Ruskin would shortly proclaim his discovery of Tintoretto's paintings in the Scuola di San Rocco. Ruskin, by his own account, had gone to Italy for the first time in 1845 under the direct inspiration of De La Poésie Chrétienne;[25] and there is indeed some evidence of Rio's influence on him in his earnest efforts, during July of that year, to draw up, for the benefit of his parents, a "scale of painters" in which he designated the primary category "Pure Religious art. The School of Love", and where the hierarchy was based on "the amount of holy expression visible in the works of each, not by art."[26] But no sooner has Ruskin thus convinced his followers of the extent to which he too had succumbed to Rio's restricted vision of the école mystique - for his primary category consisted of Fra Angelico, Perugino, Pintoricchio, Francia, early Raphael, Duccio, Giovanni Bellini, Simone Martini, Taddeo Gaddi, Fra Bartolomeo, Lorenzo di Credi, and Buffalmacco - than he restlessly reasserts the independence of his visual responses, and with a staggering and delightful unpredictability, of which Lindsay was alas quite incapable, writes again only two months later to inform his parents: "I never

was so utterly crushed to the earth before any human intellect as I was today, before Tintoret . Just be so good as to take my list of painters, and put him in the school of Art at the top, top, top of everything, with a great big black line underneath him to stop him off from everybody ..."[27]

In the meantime, Lindsay's preoccupation with Venetian painting has almost overshadowed his pleasure in discovering the twelfth century mosaics representing the Crucifixion and Descent into Limbo on the entrance wall of the Cathedral on the island of Torcello in the Venetian lagoon. He had gone out to the island simply to see the architecture of its two churches and had no prior knowledge of the mosaics, yet he found them superior in quality to any of those in S. Marco, and they strongly confirmed his belief that "there were inventors and original thinkers in Greece even in the 12th century." The whole appearance and atmosphere of Torcello appealed to him, and filled him with a nostalgic sense of visiting "the source of a mighty river, or the original seat, the cradle of some illustrious family - theone still flourishing, the other still flowing on, though neither with that rapidity or brilliancy which distinguished its earlier career."

No sooner had Lindsay completed the journey from Venice to Milan than he had set off again, apparently indefatigable, on a quick excursion to see Cremona, Piacenza and Pavia. But these towns did not satisfy his high expectations. "Boccaccio Boccaccino's frescoes at Cremona, so highly praised by Rio,[28] disappointed me

on the whole. Guercino's celebrated cupola at Piacenza, reckoned at a par with his Aurora in the Ludovisi, his chef. d'oevre in his 2d style did not please me much - and as for the Certosa its cinquecento facade is its chief interest. In fact with the exception of 3 or 4 strong Peruginos and Luinis, which made amends for all the rest, I saw little real beauty on this cruise," he wrote to Anne on 3 July (see Appendix 8).

A day or two later Lindsay moved on to Munich, where he wished to assess the works of Hess, Cornelius and Schnorr while the memory of what he had seen in Italy was still fresh in his mind. His first visit was to see Hess's frescoes in the Allerheiliger which had made such an impression on him in 1839. Happily he found himself as "delighted as at first", only now as he informed Anne on 10 July (see Appendix 8) he also felt more "capable" of appreciating them. "The Allerheiliger is a perfect gem in every point of view - the influence of the old mosaics and paintings is evident in a thousand minute particulars, but nothing is servilely copied, they are rather recombinations and variations of the traditional ideas in the traditional style, by a painter at once thoroughly imbued with their spirit and independent of them ... Their charm lies in their singular sweetness and naive feeling - the style resembles that of the mosaics and Giotto - one classes them with works of the 14th century; and yet they have all the additional merit derived from study of the great painters of the 15th and 16th century .... they are not certainly equal to Perugino, Francia, or Luini, but no artist since the middle of the 16th century has come so near those masters; this I say of the

historical compositions - the single figures of patriarchs and prophets are of a still higher character, superior I should say to Fra Bartolomeo (whom he has evidently closely studied) and certainly equal, if not superior (in the prophetic character) to Raphael and Michael Angelo." Lindsay then went to see the work Hess was currently doing in the new Basilica of St Boniface, but found that these frescoes lacked the charm of "his more purely religious compositions."

Turning to Cornelius' frescoes of The Last Judgment in the church of St Ludwig, Lindsay adopts a rather more critical attitude, and perceptively draws attention to the fact that "the composition is a mixture of Orcagna's at Pisa and M. Angelo's at Rome, but has neither the solemn pathos of the former, nor the grand manner of the latter - all is confusion." But he still gladly concedes that Cornelius' "spirit .... is decidedly religious."

The greatest change which Lindsay noticed in Munich since his 1839 visit was in the state rooms of the Royal Palace. Schnorr's frescoes of scenes from the Life of Charlemagne, Barbarossa and Rudolf of Hapsburg struck him as "masterly", and he comments on noble spirit, "lofty patriotical, and eminently German".(29) They inspired him to dream yet again of the school of painting which he felt sure England could produce to rival that of Germany, not only in religious painting but also in the field of patriotic subjects. "We nobles of England are little sensible of the glory of our Norman ancestors ... they were the incarnation of chivalry, - their history is more heroic than that of any other people - and we I repeat, we,

the English aristocracy are their lineal heirs male and representatives - here is a field for fresco - both the general history of the national and the individual history of our separate families ...."

Preoccupied with such ideas, Lindsay found no time to record his general impressions of the old German paintings in the gallery. But he apparently made sufficient notes to feel confident of writing "a few interesting paragraphs" on the subject in his forthcoming book, a prophecy which he admirably fulfilled, even if his interest in Northern artists was mainly focused on the extent to which they influenced the Italians.

From the moment that he left Munich, Lindsay's letters home to Anne become progressively less expansive and informative.(30) Doubtless he was becoming a little weary; and in any case there was apparently rather less to excite him as he travelled quickly through Vienna, Prague, Dresden, Potsdam, Berlin and Lübeck. Much of what he did specifically admire was of the modern "religious school". For instance, in Vienna, he singles out an oil painting of the Institution of the Rosary by Kupelwieser which he had found in the church of the Dominicans. Then in Dresden he remarks on the contemporary frescoes of Vogel (at Pillnitz) and of Bendemann. But he did also find time here to express his intense dislike of Raphael's Sistine Madonna, and describes the attitude of the two angels as "positively offensive in connection with the subject." In Berlin he remarks briefly on the breadth and range of old masters in the gallery, and made a point of seeing Overbeck's Marriage of the Virgin.(31) Then

in Lübeck he saw the same artist's Triumphal Entry of Christ into Jerusalem which he unequivocally describes as "the loveliest modern oil painting I have seen."(32) Continuing his journey towards Calais he stopped in Hamburg to see Overbeck's Agony in the Garden;(33) and was pleased to find Cornelius' picture of The wise and foolish Virgins(34) exhibited in Düsseldorf. Finally he "begrimed" his imagination with Rubens in Antwerp, "washed it clean again" at Ghent with Van Eyck and again at Bruges with Memling, before proceeding to Calais, Dover and his London home in Berkeley Square where he arrived on 21 August 1842.

NOTES

1. Cf. Rio op.cit. pp. 246 ff.
2. Vasari op.cit. II pp. 140-141.
3. For a more detailed description see G. Milanesi in his edition of Vasari op.cit. V p. 186 note 5.
4. Kugler op.cit. p. 328 describes a picture by this artist in Berlin where "the Madonna enthroned on clouds is an imitation of Raphael's Madonna di Fuligno /sic/."
5. Valery op.cit. p. 325.
6. Valery loc. cit.
7. In the church of S. Biagio. See E. Baccheschi, L'Opera completa di Guido Reni, Milan 1971, p. 104 No. 136.
8. Also noted by Valery loc. cit. in the church of San Filippo Neri. It is now in the Pinacoteca Comunale, Forli, Inv. 86. See D. Mahon Il Guercino, Catalogo Critico dei Dipinti, Bologna, Palazzo del Archiginnasio, 1968, pp. 184-185 No. 83 illus.
9. C. Laderchi, Descrizione della Quadreria Costabili, Ferrara 1838-9. By 1843 Rio, in his turn, had recognised Laderchi as one of his "auxiliaires inappréciables" in Italy; see his Epilogue à l'Art Chrétien, Paris 1892, II p. 422.
10. Op.cit. I p. 400.
11. von Rumohr op.cit. p. 270.
12. Rio op.cit. p. 65.
13. Vol. II pp. 181 ff.
14. For Lady Callcott see Chapter 1 note 16.

15. F. von Schlegel, The Aesthetic and Miscellaneous Works (translated by E.J. Millington), London 1849, pp. 7-10. Cf. also Rio op.cit. pp. 449-452.

16. P. Selvatico, Il Pittore F. Squarcione, Padua 1839.

17. Op.cit. chapter X pp. 433 ff.

18. Op.cit. p. 523.

19. Cf. Rio op.cit. pp. 457-459.

20. Lindsay op.cit. II p. 354.

21. Op.cit. p. 474.

22. Op.cit. p. 491.

23. Op.cit. p. 497.

24. It must be said that Lorenzo Lotto also lay outside the scope of Rio's volume (1836), except for a brief comment on p. 517. But Rio soon made good this omission; see De L'Art Chrétien, Paris 1855, chapter XIV and De L'Art Chrétien, Paris 1874 (nouvelle édition, entièrement refondue et considérablement augmentée), III chapter XVII.

25. See J. Ruskin The Works, Vol. 35, (Library Edition, edited by E. Cook and A. Wedderburn), London 1903-12, p. 340.

26. Letter to his father, dated Parma 10 July /1845/. See H. Shapiro, Ruskin in Italy. Letters to his parents 1845, Oxford 1972, pp. 143-145.

27. Letter to his father, dated Venice 24 September /1845/. See Shapiro op.cit. pp. 211-212.

28. Op.cit. p. 240.

29. For Schnorr's unhappy involvement in this commission, see

Andrews op.cit. pp. 63-64.

30. Letters to Anne, dated Potsdam 2 August 1842, Hamburg 8 August 1842 and Bruges 19 August 1842. The remainder of this chapter is based on these three letters.

31. Now in the gallery at Potsdam.

32. Destroyed in 1942. Formerly in the church of St Mary at Lübeck. Reproduced by Andrews op.cit. plate 20.

33. Now in the Hamburger Kunsthalle, Inv. 2991.

34. Now in the Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf. See Andrews op.cit. p. 101 and plate 21.

VII

On returning to Haigh, Lindsay again buried himself in the works of Vasari, Cicognara, Seroux d'Agincourt, Rosini and Rio, and began to plan the final form of his projected book on Christian Art. Lindsay's closest advisers, James and Anne, must now have felt extremely confident of his ability to produce a work which would be no less perceptive and influential than Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne; the letters which he had sent them from Italy in 1842 would alone have been sufficient to demonstrate the vitality of his art historical observations and the freshness and originality of his taste, as well as his ability to communicate ideas with lucidity and an infectious spirit of enthusiasm. It must therefore have appeared to them that all Lindsay needed to do was to revise the General Classification of Art and Artists which he had sketched out in Florence the previous May, so as to incorporate what he had seen in the second part of his tour when he visited North Italian cities such as Bologna, Padua and Venice. He could then fill out this schematic framework with all the detailed historical information he had already accumulated. The only real difficulties would lie in the necessity of reinterpreting Rio's view of the école mystique in terms which would be acceptable to moderate members of the Church of England but which would not appear to lend support to the Puseyites. Lindsay himself had pointed out to Anne in November 1842: "My work will be hailed as a contribution to the cause of Puseyism, now peculiarly on the watch to Romanise art and make it subservient to its purposes",

but had assured her that he would "take care to mix the antidote with the draught which by the tincture of their opinions would become poison." (See Appendix 9).

But at first Lindsay's preparations must have seemed to be progressing quite normally along art historical lines and without any undue preoccupation with the religious question. We find him addressing routine requests for inaccessible books or reproductive engravings to James and Anne, who by the autumn of 1842 were back in Florence where they had rented another villa, the Casa Humbert, situated just opposite the Palazzo Pitti. He asks for Lasinio's engravings after Orcagna's tabernacle in Orsanmichele;(1) he wishes them to borrow Marini's unpublished engravings of Taddeo Gaddi's frescoes in S. Croce and make tracings of them for him; he orders the remaining plates from Nocchi's series of engravings after Fra Angelico;(2) and he desperately begs them to find him a copy of Della Valle's Lettere Sanesi "which I cannot get here".(3)

Meanwhile James and Anne were again in contact with Félicie de Fauveau, and spent part of the Christmas holiday discussing with her the General Classification of Schools and Artists which Lindsay had outlined in his letter of 7 May. And the very next day, the 28 December, we find Anne writing back to Lindsay at Haigh with a detailed summary both of Félicie's encouraging comments and also of her perceptive criticisms.

"Before I forget it dear Lindsay I wish to repeat to you some observations of Félicie's which I think you will like to hear. I was

reading to her last night a part of your letter from Florence 7 May in which you gave me a sketch of the general plan of your book. She was much pleased with it and takes a warm interest in it - almost all your positions she agreed entirely - with her little Oui - Oui - Oui which you know. Her first objection was as follows - after the Preliminary you consider the fluctuations of Xtian art historically

1. Introduction of Xtianity into Italy - first efforts of Xtian art etc. Mosaics. Influx of Teutonic nations etc.

2. Predominance in art of the Byzantine element during the intellectual education of the Teutonic race. Architecture - invention of the Cupola - Sculpture none -

here she paused saying "that is a mistake for there was sculpture altho' it escapes from the general eye, by not standing alone. It was - enclavée. There was sculpture, rude to be sure but still sculpture, in the capitols of the Columns, in the arches supported by distorted heads, in the figures of lambs or birds or monsters that abound among the architecture." She says that Sculpture Painting and Architecture are three sisters that are almost indivisible - at least they can never flourish apart - that as they grow old, now for instance, in their decadence, they are divided, but that when they first come to life it is always together - just as in all things just born, altho' nothing is perfect, the rudiments of every thing exists, so there were in those times the rude embryo of sculpture. She says "c'est dans le contrebalancement de ces trois arts qu'on trouve la beauté" - but I forget a good deal of her eloquent explanations. I wish you had heard them.

After this she sat contented and approving until she came to your no. 8 - Giotto the father of the Florentine school and indeed almost every other in Italy. She says - look at what Cimabue has done at Assisi and say if you are not taking from him honor due - she considers that he first broke thro' the Byzantine trammels - but this of course is a matter of opinion.

The next outcry arose from your saying that the Gothic or pointed arch is unfavourable to sculpture and painting. This she would not acknowledge. She says - look at Sienna - some other things she said about it that I have forgotten.

She next spoke of Michael Angelo and said that finding the contemplative part of art worn out and fallen into disrepute he had endeavoured to infuse new life into it by movement - and that thus he had failed in giving a religious character to his works - tranquility and repose being essential to that character. If he had lived earlier and had been contented with the traditional types he would have produced a stronger effect on the mind.

This is all that I can remember but I wish much that you would make some use of her great knowledge and taste on these matters; write questions and propositions to her, she will answer them with pleasure and her ideas are full of originality - some perhaps over fanciful - but you may chose among them. One observation she made last night about the sympathy between music and architecture struck me. The perfect chord - she said was composed of a fifth and a third and the spans in the arch were the same. "To the spring one fifth, to the top a third ..."

Although he was not accustomed to receiving reactions of this kind from outside the family circle (on this occasion it was of course not he, but Anne and James who had invited it), Lindsay nevertheless responded generously to Félicie de Fauveau's criticisms, even if he continued to differ from her on the question of the relative importance of Cimabue and Giotto as artistic innovators.

"The sketch I sent you ...," Lindsay replied to Anne on 18 January 1843, "was very rough and unlicked. Félicie's criticisms were nottheless very interesting to me, corroborating the more modified views I have since adopted. For instance, Ravenna, Pavia, etc. showed me that sculpture existed all through the dark ages - Orvieto and Assisi that Gothic architecture was as suitable to painting and sculpture as Lombard - while the sistership of the three arts I have long since recognised. Indeed one of my chief objects will be to shew how <u>each</u> in order of seniority has ever influenced the other two, either for good or evil ... Félicie's observation about M. Angelo's infusion of movement is valuable and I shall keep it in view. But I own I don't consider <u>Cimabue</u> the parent of modern art. His works at Assisi are very noble, but they are Byzantine in <u>idea</u>, only improved in form. I consider him like the mosaicists, Mino della Turrita, A. Tafi, Gaddo Gaddi etc. who flourished in the 13th century, to have begun Italian art by an attempt to infuse the new spirit into the traditional forms, - they were found inadequate - the tree burst the flowerpot. But I will say no more at present - only believe me I have the highest respect for Cimabue and will do him justice."

At the same time Lindsay also made it abundantly clear that he did not wish to continue a dialogue with Félicie de Fauvaeau on these matters. It was a question of his religious beliefs. "My only reason for being rather shy of consulting Félicie, as you suggest", he explained to Anne, "is the consciousness that I differ from her views as a R. Catholic so decidedly on many points, while I go along with her in others so far beyond the limits of Protestants, that I find myself constantly awkwardly situated in conversation or communication with her - though I know how liberal she is. This is the same with persons in other lines of thought and intercourse - they constantly pin one down to this or that particular point as of prime importance whilst in reality it can only be fairly judged in connection with all that precedes and all that follows it."

These observations provide an early indication of the intense manner in which Lindsay was to set about evaluating his views on art in the light of his religious philosophy. Anne however was not easily appeased by excuses of this kind, especially when in February 1843 she discovered that Rio was at that very moment filling his note-book in exemplary fashion with Félicie de Fauveau's ideas, for use in a forthcoming second volume. Unfortunately her ill-judged letter on this subject,[4] with its fascinating gossip about Rio's intimate friendship with the leaders of the Oxford Movement in England, can only have aggravated Lindsay's acute anxiety about this issue and strengthened his determination to prune his aesthetic ideas of all Roman or Puseyite associations.

"We have had a very pleasant visitor at Florence lately - but who I am afraid if you do not make the better haste may forestall you in many of your observations", she wrote. "I mean Rio who with his family is travelling in Italy picking up materials for another volume. We have seen him very often and there is much to like in him. I never saw a Frenchman do such ample justice to the English character - he speaks English as well as you do - he has written but not yet published a work on the influence of Catholicism (Roman) on art in England - particularly relating to Architecture[5] - he has also written a book called "la petite Chouannerie" in which he was personally engaged.[6] I daresay you have seen this reviewed. It is curious to hear him speak of puseyism and of his expectations from it. He has seen and conversed with many of the leaders of the party and they seem to have been much more open in their admissions to him than they are to the public. He leaves this next Saturday for Rome. Having travelled thro' all Germany, Dresden, Vienna etc to Venice where he passed some weeks in pursuit of his object. Here his great object seems to be to <u>suck</u> the <u>brains</u> of Mademoiselle de Fauveau who surprises me more & more by her original views and the great mass of information she possesses. I cannot tell you how <u>angry</u> both James and I have often felt at you for not making more use of her. I really think you were very foolish and as to your reason about catholic views, I cannot see that it was one at all, for you were not bound to her opinions but might receive them and modify them as best pleased you. She said to me more than once I am sorry Lord Lindsay did not come oftener to see me. I would

much have preferred giving him any little knowledge I possessed than giving it to Rio - but he apparently did not wish for it. Perhaps she was right. At any rate I feel so savage with you at this moment that it is lucky for you you are not here so that you escape a predestinate scratched face."[7]

Lindsay remained unmoved. "Dear Anne", he wrote in reply,[8] "I am as penitent as possible - And hold up my face to be scratched with all submission trusting that you will kiss and make it well afterwards. But indeed and indeed if you knew how impossible I felt it to suck her brains as you express it, you would forgive me. Everything conspired against it - First there was my shyness as a general drawback - then Coutts will tell you that when we went there it struck us both that Hippolyte, /Félicie's mother/, did not somehow fancy our visits - the impression probably was erroneous, but still it existed. Then when I went again by myself, I was shewn upstairs and had to stay a long time with other visitors in the room (conceive only!) till Madame de F. came, who then gave me leave as it were to pay my compliments to Félicie. Then again - it was very very foolish I dare say, but I really could not with my feelings about R. Catholicism and as a man of honour pick her brains of information. How could I explain or reconcile the delight I take in some of the legends of the Saints and the scorn with which I regard others - how without apparent obstinacy and real insincerity maintain views in conversation which on her principles are wrong but on mine true? I felt in a degree the same embarassment that a Puseyite must be sensible of in conversing with a Catholic - coincidence on so many points that it was hardly

possible to take my own consistent ground intelligibly to my adversary. I know Félicie is as liberal as possible, but then I am shy, and embarassed in speech even in my own language - and in short it was an impossibility - to me, alas, but I am not as other folks are and you must pity rather than blame me - not that I conceive you blame me, I don't mean that. Even when conversing with her I often thought 'what will she think of me when she reads my book!'. Had not all these causes /coalesced/* (and I may add too that I was then very nervous and out of spirits, so much so that nothing but a resolute will could have kept me to my work) I should have fished her to more effect."

Lindsay's determination to guard his Protestant position was also beginning to affect his attitude to Rio's aesthetic views. Anne had informed him that the French writer's current "hobby horse" was "the downfall of Michelangelo",(9) a much more extreme position than that of Félicie de Fauveau who, as we have already seen, had simply pointed out the extent to which Michelangelo's work lacked those qualities of tranquillity and repose which she regarded as the essentials of religious art. "So M. Rio means to attack M. Angelo. I agree with you", Lindsay commented, "that he had better take care lest he bruise his horns.(10) I have not yet in every particular made up my mind about MAngelo, and I fully admit that his was a deviation from the line of traditional Christian art; still, though bad at a Madonna, he is profoundly religious and lofty in his spirit; His Holy Family in the Tribune I will not stand up for, but the

* Note: The reading is very uncertain but the meaning is clear.

Sistine Chapel was the last grand protest of Christianity against Paganism South of the Alps, the dying blast or rather echo of Savonarola's trumpet - like Roland's at Fontarabia, the last and loudest, "prophetic and full of woe". Dante Savonarola and M. Angelo have the strongest resemblance in their real spiritual Christianity coupled with implicit faith in the Catholicity of the Church, while the two latter are almost protestant in their recognition of our Saviour as the prime object of worship. Savonarola certainly read Dante - M. Angelo in whose ears Savonarola's voice lingered half a century and more after his murder, constantly read his writings, especially named by Condivi as his favourite study together with Dante and the Bible - never was there such sympathy as between these three. And M. Angelo had the same tenderness of heart as Dante, though his imagination and reason were not perhaps so accurately balanced - read his life by Condivi and his letters to Vasari - they bring tears to ones eyes. Like his sweet friend Vittoria Colonna M. Angelo was a protestant in reason though he remained a Catholic in heart and imagination; perhaps this is the reason Rio etc do not appreciate him - purely imaginative minds would not, I think. The daring Northern reasoning element maintained a constant war within him with the imaginative contemplative southern one, and from this Whig and Toryism of intellect arose his greatness. All the greatest minds exhibit this alternation of repose and action, Bacon's, Dante's - you will smile when I add David's, Moses', Abraham's. I really don't know anyone whose character excites my love and admiration more than M. Angelo's -

it is so grand, so noble, so harmonious."

By February 1846 Lindsay had completed his manuscript of the Sketches .... comprising an introductory essay on Christian iconography, followed by the General Classification of Schools and Artists; and then ten letters or essays on Roman art, Byzantine art, Lombard and Gothic Architecture, Sculpture of the Lombards and the Italo-Byzantine Revivals, Niccola Pisano and his School, Giotto and his School, the School of Siena, the Semi-Byzantine succession at Florence, - Orcagna and Fra Angelico, the Primitive School of Bologna, and finally Sculpture and Painting North of the Alps. The final "Letter" seems to have been included so that Lindsay could remind us of the influence of the Northern school "more or less, upon every school of Italy during the Second and succeeding periods of European art ..."(11) Unfortunately he decided to close the book at this point without any subsequent discussion of the later fifteenth century Italian school and "the great struggle of the Cinquecento",(12) and his readers were therefore left in ignorance of his interesting observations and ideas about the work of painters such as Giovanni Bellini, Benozzo Gozzoli and Piero della Francesca, Raphael and Michelangelo. Instead he concludes abruptly with a brief exhortation to young contemporary artists and a moving appeal to the rulers of Italy "in behalf of the grand old frescoes which are either perishing unheeded before their eyes, or that lie entombed beneath the white-wash of barbarism longing for resucitation, pining for the light of day."(13)

Having followed Lindsay so closely on his tours through Italy and N. Europe we find little to surprise us in the strictly art historical passages of the ten essays which comprise the Sketches of the History of Christian Art. On the other hand the well researched iconographical section at the very beginning does require further comment, if only because it is headed in provocative terms Christian Mythology, Legends of Saints etc. The Materials of Christian Art during the Middle Ages. The explanation for Lindsay's deliberate use of the offensive phrase "Christian Mythology" undoubtedly lies in his staunch determination not to be mistaken either for a Roman Catholic who actually believed in all the medieval legends and devotional practices associated with them or even for another Mrs. Jameson whose aim, in his opinion, was to "give the legends in the most romantic and sentimental manner." He had indeed already warned Anne of this as early as 1844. It was his intention to approach the early Christian legends with complete detachment, and to confine his selection to some of the "most picture-esque/sic/ and then tell them plainly and simply without ornament or humbug." On no account would he "do them more than justice" or "recommend them beyond their due merit".(14)

The most puzzling aspect of the Sketches of the History of Christian Art was to be found, however, not in the iconographical references but in the extent to which the book is coloured by a metaphysical theory which Lindsay had begun to formulate in January 1843 at the very moment when Anne was bombarding him with news of Félicie de Fauveau and Rio. During 1842 Lindsay's

interpretation of art had become concentrated on three fundamental principles, and was, as he himself had insisted, in a letter to Anne dated 26 January 1843 (see Appendix 9), "simple enough when you have taken it in". Its three "characteristics" were, in his own words, "1st. The application of the fact of the mutual dependency of the 3 Arts to the whole history of the development. 2d The principle of the successive moral and intellectual influences, as preferred to that of local or temporal succession in the classification of schools and artists. 3. The distinction of the Italian schools and artists, the representatives and champions of the Eastern or Contemplative - and the Northern or active elements of the European character ...." But now he introduces a new embellishment and refers ominously to his theory of the "3 progressive epochs of Sense, Mind and Spirit." After further lively exchanges of correspondence with Anne during February and March 1843 (see Appendix 9), Lindsay finally developed this idea in his virtually incomprehensible essay, Progression by Antagonism, published in 1846. At first sight the theory appears to be only remotely connected with Lindsay's interest in Christian Art, notwithstanding his repeated assurances that it provides the key to a proper understanding of the Sketches .... or, more specifically, that "it affords the general principle of which the history of art is the individual exemplification".(15) It was for this reason that James and Anne, as well as Lindsay's publisher, John Murray, had all repeatedly urged him (see Appendix 9) to release it as a separate volume.(16) But, if we follow its elaborate analogies with enough insistence, it does at last reveal Lindsay's solution to the dilemma

faced by the convinced Protestant who found himself in sympathy with pre-Reformation Christian art, but at odds with the idolatry and superstition which had apparently inspired it. This question had begun to seriously torment him and, to judge from his private papers, brought him close to a mental breakdown, as euphoria succeeded despair. Yet his obsession was not entirely unjustified in view of the polemical exchanges which were by then taking place in artistic and religious circles.

One can find numerous instances of the absurd consequences of these tensions in the year 1844 alone: the fifteenth century Italian artist Cennino Cennini, whose technical treatise had just been translated into English, being denounced in The Quarterly Review as "a mariolater with Roman Catholic piety enough for Lord J/ohn/ Manners or the hagiologists of Littlemore";(17) the Cambridge Camden Society being reminded by Francis Close the evangelical vicar of Cheltenham that "The Restoration of Churches is the Restoration of Popery;"(18) and the same society being informed by Montalembert that "Catholic architecture, and Catholic art in all its branches, are but a frame for the sacred picture of truth ... /But/ without her - or with her, defaced and adulterated by insular pride - the most beautiful frame is fit for nought but the antiquary's shop ..."(19)

It was against this turbulent background that Lindsay decided to propound his aesthetic views as the consumation of a philosophical system which Ruskin was later to describe disparagingly as "the frankincensed clouds of Christian mythology," but which he himself

felt to be a theory "suited to the times".[20] As he had already explained in a letter to Anne, dated 29 April 1846, "It places morals on the soundest foundation, checking laxness on the one hand and asceticism on the other - it sets up a standard of perfection in our Incarnate Saviour - it vindicates the Trinity - it points to the Church of Engd as the fine Ark, checking Evangelicalism on one side and Puseyism on the other, I mean the extravagances of each - it reveals the secret of the constitution and glory of England - it substitutes Duty for Expediency in politics, on the principle that the National is as real an existence as the Individual Man, and similarly responsible, - while in history, civil and ecclesiastical, and in art, literature etc it ties together and gives a reason for a thousand detached facts and phenomena which float at large on the records of time and in the memories of men, unaccounted for and often uninteresting because unaccounted for. Such at least has been my own experience - this theory has been the answer to years of thought, during which I have sat and watched the shadows of the past and realities of the present revolving as it were around me in the vast circle of time - seeking all the while for the Causes and the Cause which give them life and motion, and when the answer came, it seemed to me like a revelation from above."

The following year Lindsay provided a brief but surprisingly coherent recapitulation of his complex theory in the first seven pages of his Sketches of the History of Christian Art, under the heading The Ideal and The Character and Dignity of Christian Art.[21] "The perfection of human nature" he begins, "implies the union of beauty

and strength in the Body, the balance of Imagination and Reason in the Intellect, and the submission of animal passions and intellectual pride to the will of God, in the spirit." He then goes on to suggest that "Man is, in the strictest sense of the word, a progressive being, and with many periods of inaction and retrogression, has still held, upon the whole, a steady course towards the great end of his existence, the re-union and re-harmonizing of the three elements of his being, dislocated by the Fall in the service of his God." He compares these component elements of each individual man and of all societies to three distinct historical periods, each firmly identified with one of the three elements: "The race of Ham ... gave the fullest expression to the animal energies"; then the Greeks "developed the intellectual faculties, Imagination and Reason ..."; finally "the race of Shem, the Jews, and the nationals of Christendom, their locum tenentes as the Spiritual Israel, have, by God's blessing, been elevated in Spirit to as near and intimate communion with Deity as is possible in this stage of being."

Up to this point Lindsay's long winded analogy raises no serious problems - indeed it amounts to very little - but he then extends it in general terms to the forms of artistic creation, and describes the three Arts as a "sort of earthly shadow" of the Trinity "in its relations with the Material Universe". "Now the peculiar interest and dignity of Art", Lindsay declares, "consists in her exact correspondence in her three departments with these three periods of development, and in the illustration she thus affords ... to the all important truth that men stand or fall according as they look up to

the Ideal or not"; the Architecture of Egypt expresses "the ideal of Sense or Matter"; the Sculpture of Greece is "the voice of Intellect and Thought, communing with itself in solitude, feeding on beauty and yearning after Truth", while "the Painting of Christendom - (and we must remember that the glories of Christianity, in the full extent of the term, are yet to come) - is that of an immortal Spirit, conversing with its God."

Architecture is then described as a symbol of "the Father, known to us chiefly by the harmony and proportion of what we term his attributes", Sculpture is compared with "the Son, the Incarnate Form or Outline (so to speak) of the Invisible and Infinite", and Painting is said to represent "the Holy Spirit, the smile of God illumining creation ...." Rio might well have been attracted by this evocation of the Trinity. Certainly, for all his professed detachment, Lindsay had still not advanced far beyond the simple proposition which Rio, as a practising Roman Catholic, had quite simply taken for granted, that Christian Art, even in its most primitive and undeveloped form, is by its very nature superior to art of pagan inspiration. "Herein then lies our advantage", Lindsay indeed also now insists, "not in our merit, not our genius, but in that we are Christians, that we start from a loftier platform, that we are raised by communion with God to a purer atmosphere, in which we see things in the light of Eternity, not simply as they are, but with their ulterior meanings, as shadows of deeper truths." The only hint of the storm ahead is to be found in Lindsay's apparently innocent and by no means unorthodox remark, which even Rio would

probably have left unchallenged, that "the glories of Christianity, in the full extent of the term, are yet to come."

But the significance and implications of this statement only become evident when we turn to Lindsay's application of the theory of Progression by Antagonism to his estimate of the works of individual artists in the ten essays which constitute the main body of the Sketches ... He writes of Nicola Pisano, for instance, as follows: "Niccola's peculiar praise is this, - that, in practice at least, if not in theory, he first established the principle that the study of nature, corrected by the ideal of the antique, and animated by the spirit of Christianity, personal and social, can alone lead to excellence in art, each of the three elements of human nature - Matter, Mind and Spirit - being thus brought into union and cooperation in the service of God, in due relative harmony and subordination. I cannot over-estimate the importance of this principle; it was on this that, consciously or unconsciously, Niccola himself worked, - it has been by following it that Donatello and Ghiberti, Leonardo, Raphael and Michael Angelo have risen to glory. The Sienese school and the Florentine, minds contemplative and dramatic, are alike beholden to it for whatever success has attended their efforts. Like a treble-stranded rope, it drags after it the triumphal car of Christian art. But if either of the strands be broken, if either of the three elements be pursued disjointedly from the other two, the result is, in each respective case, grossness, pedantry or weakness, - the exclusive imitation of Nature produces a Caravaggio, a Rubens, a Rembrandt - that of the Antique, a Pellegrino di Tibaldi and a David, - and though there be a native

chastity and taste in religion, which restrains those who worship it too abstractedly from Intellect and Sense, from running into such extremes, it cannot at least supply that mechanical apparatus which will enable them to soar, - such devotees must be content to gaze into heaven, like angels cropt of their wings."(22)

This passage brings us to the heart of the paradoxical situation in which Lindsay now found himself. He wished to applaud the pure religious spirit of the early Italian artists but, as a Protestant, he could not associate himself unreservedly with their far from rational religious faith, and as an arbitor of artistic merit he could not entirely overlook their technical limitations and imperfections. Nor could he bring himself to dismiss all pagan and classic art simply on the grounds that it expressed a humanist and unchristian philosophy. "Do not for a moment suppose me insensible to Classic Art," he reminds his readers, for "the memories of Greece and of the Palatine are very dear to me - I cannot speak coldly of the Elgin marbles, of the Apollo, the Venus, the Dying Gladiator, the Niobe, the Diana of Gabii, the Psyche of Naples ..."(23) It was to resolve this internal conflict, which was dividing the logic of his mind and the sensitivity of his eye from the yearnings of his soul, that he devised a determinist philosophy of historical evolution by which man progressively advances towards the truth by a dialectical process resulting from the antagonism of half-truths. This enabled him to take refuge in the dynamic ideal of a second regeneration of Catholic Christianity which he hoped would be realised in his own lifetime. Rio's nostalgic view of early Christian art, which tended to equate any subsequent technical and

intellectual progress with paganism, now struck Lindsay as unacceptably reactionary.

The value to Lindsay of his theory of Progression by Antagonism is most clearly seen in the context of his evaluation of Fra Angelico. Rio, followed by Montalembert, had simply regarded the Florentine monk as "le plus grand des peintres chrétiens, comme il en fut le plus saint", in spite of his naiveté and his bad perspective.(24) Lindsay felt they had unduly extolled a painter who had admittedly, for the last three hundred years, been equally unduly depreciated - "depreciated, through the amalgamation during those centuries of the principle of which he was the representative with baser, or at least less precious matter - extolled, through the recurrence to that principle, in its pure, unsophisticated essence, in the present, - in a word, to the simple Imaginative Christianity of the middle ages, as opposed to the complex Reasoning Christianity of recent times." He readily admits that "creeds ... are at issue" and that "no exclusive partisan, neither Catholic nor Protestant in the absolute sense of the terms, can fairly appreciate Fra Angelico."(25) But, reverting now to his theory of Progression, he concludes triumphantly that nevertheless "to those who regard society as progressive through the gradual development of the component elements of human nature, and who believe that Providence has accomodated the mind of man, individually, to the perception of half-truths only, in order to create that antagonism from which Truth is generated in the abstract, and by which the progression is effected, his rank and position in art are clear and definite. All that Spirit could achieve by herself,

anterior to that struggle with Intellect and Sense which she must in all cases pass through in order to work out her destiny, was accomplished by him. Last and most gifted of a long and imaginative race .... and flourishing at the moment when the transition was actually taking place from the youth to the early manhood of Europe, he gave full, unreserved, and enthusiastic expression to that Love and Hope which had winged the Faith of Christendom in her flight towards heaven for fourteen centuries, - to those yearnings of the Heart and the Imagination which ever precede, in Universal as well as Individual development, the severer and more chastened intelligence of Reason."

One further example of the application of Progression by Antagonism to the vexed question of Christian Art will be sufficient. It relates to the current revival of medieval church architecture and Augustus W. Pugin's worrying and acute observation that "those who think merely to build chancels, without reviving the ancient faith, will be miserably deceived in their expectations" and his uncompromising belief that "if the present revival of Catholic antiquity is suffered to proceed much farther, it will be seen that either the Common Prayer or the ancient models must be abandoned."(26) Pugin had underlined this Protestant dilemma by his conversion to the Roman Catholic faith; but Lindsay was able once again to resort to his theory of Progression. After summarising Pugin's position, he asks rhetorically, "But what is the alternative? the Meeting-house?" and then firmly replies "By no means. The Church of England is neither Catholic nor Protestant - she does not with the Catholics

exalt Imagination and repudiate Reason, nor with the Protestants exalt Reason and repudiate Imagination, but includes them both, harmoniously opposed, within her constitution, so as to preserve the balance of truth, and point out the true 'Via Media' between Superstition on the one hand and Scepticism on the other, thus approximating (in degree) to the Ideal of human nature, Christ Incarnate, of whom the Church is the Body and ought to be the Likeness and the Image. This then is the problem - England wants a new Architecture, expressive of the epoch, of her Anglican faith and of the human mind as balanced in her development, as heir of the past and trustee for the future - a modification, it may be, of the Gothic, but not otherwise so than as the Gothic was a modification of the Lombard, the Lombard of the Byzantine and Roman, the Byzantine and Roman of the Classic Greek, the Classic Greek of the Egyptian. We have a right to expect this from the importance of the epoch ...."[27]

Lindsay's rather narrow determinist view of historical and artistic evolution, which happily coincided with his absolute confidence in the importance of the epoch in which he found himself, may have succeeded in clearing him of any suspicion of harbouring outdated Roman Catholic or Puseyite sympathies, but it provoked the wrath of his two principal reviewers, John Ruskin, and Nicholas Wiseman, who only three years later was to be appointed Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Ruskin, whose early sympathy for Rio's concept of an *école mystique* has already been noted, now complained wittily of Lindsay's "triplicity".[28] And Wiseman, who had been one of the very first writers to publicly draw attention to the merits of *De La Poesie Chretienne*,[29] while at the same time resisting the obvious

temptation to embarass Protestant readers by underlining its insistent message that the only true religious art must be rooted to the medieval Roman Catholic faith, was now provoked into an angry expression of distaste for Lindsay's "irreverent eyes" and "flippant tongue".(30)

Although Ruskin readily acknowledged that Lindsay "never quits nor compromises his severe and reflective Protestantism", he nevertheless completely missed the point of the theory of Progression by Antagonism, and the direct connection between it and Lindsay's survival as an Anglican believer. "... the strife or antagonism which is throughout the subject of Lord Lindsay's proof," writes Ruskin, "is not, as he has stated it, between the moral, intellectual, and sensual elements, but between the upward and downward tendencies of all three - between the spirit of Man which goeth upward, and the Spirit of the Beast which goeth downward." He goes on to point out that the gulf between Christian and Pagan art is not gradual, or a question of degree, as Lindsay had apparently suggested, but one that was absolute and unbridgeable; and with an almost false naivete and a Protestant heartiness far removed from Rio's poetic musings proceeds to underline this message with much heavier guns. "The separation is not gradual, but instant and final - the difference not of degree, but of condition; it is the difference between the dead vapours rising from a stagnant pool, and the same vapours touched by a torch. But we would brace the weakness which Lord Lindsay has admitted in his own assertion of this great inflaming instant by confusing its fire with the mere phosphorescence of the marsh, and explaining as a successive development of the several human

faculties, what was indeed the bearing of them all at once, over a threshold strewed with the fragments of their idols, into the temple of the One God."

In the light of this rigid belief, Ruskin briskly dismisses Lindsay's estimation of Nicola Pisano's "treble-stranded genius" as no more than "mere Bolognese eclecticism in other terms", and almost angrily brushes aside his warnings against the current danger of overestimating the artistic achievement of Fra Angelico. But Ruskin takes care to dispose of any risk that his own unashamed devotion to Fra Angelico might be construed as 'Roman' in sentiment by reinterpreting Lindsay's observations on the work of the fifteenth century Dominican friar in terms which might equally well have applied to a nineteenth century English parson. Fra Angelico, he suggests, "was a man of (humanly speaking) perfect piety" who "never employed his art but as a means of expressing his love to God and man, and with the view, single, simple, and straightforward, of glory to the Creator, and good to the Creature." He then points out how "Every quality or subject of art by which these ends were not to be attained, or to be attained secondarily only, he rejected; from all study of art, as such, he withdrew; whatever might merely please the eye, or interest the intellect, he despised, and refused; he used his colours and lines, as David his harp, after a kingly fashion, for purposes of praise and not of science. To this grace and gift of holiness were added, those of a fervent imagination, vivid invention, keen sense of loveliness in lines and colours, unwearied energy, and to all these gifts the crowning one of quietness of life and mind, while

yet his convent cell was at first within view, and afterwards in the centre of a city which had led of all the world in Intellect, and in whose streets he might see daily and hourly the noblest setting of manly features." It would perhaps be well, Ruskin therefore concludes, "to wait until we find another man thus actuated, thus endowed, and thus circumstanced, before we speak of "unduely extolling" the works of Fra Angelico".

Although Wiseman's review of the Sketches ..., published in The Dublin Review, was written from a strictly Roman Catholic point of view, it showed a more perceptive appreciation than Ruskin's of the religious difficulties from which Lindsay, as an Anglican, had attempted to extricate himself. Ruskin had (perhaps even deliberately) failed to appreciate Lindsay's dialectics and insisted on reducing the standards of Christian art to the same fundamental difference which divided Christians from heathens; but Wiseman took advantage of Lindsay's nice distinctions, isolated the two most Protestant elements in his argument, his objective analysis of Christian iconography and his progressive belief in the possibility of a specifically Anglican revival of Christian art in the years ahead, and then cunningly placed these two elements of the Protestant position in deadly opposition to each other. "Protestantism", exclaims Wiseman, "is essentially irreverent, and Lord Lindsay's work, great as its merit, shows it. He begins it, by a long preface on "Christian Mythology!" And this is synonymous with "the materials of Christian art during the middle ages". Imagine the possibility of a school of art springing up among a sect, who, while they pretend to copy or rival old art, consider its

materials a mythology!"

Then, turning a little later to Lindsay's specific attack upon "the Catholic virtue of chastity", Wiseman finds yet further confirmation of "the utter hopelessness of the revival which he contemplates", and proceeds to deliver an almost unanswerable challenge. "Let any artist imbued with these notions sit down to meditate upon the countenance which he would give to a 'Virgin-Saint', whose chief characteristic must be the virtue thus unchristianly denounced beaming from every feature. As to his attempting to depict the queen of Virgins, to set forth the lily, after he has scorned its whiteness, we defy him. Furthermore, Protestantism presents no types of Christian art. It has destroyed the types of the past. It excludes as legendary all the most beautiful histories of the early saints; it has quenched all sympathy for the favourite themes of medieval painting, the Fathers of the desert, St. Benedict, and the great monastic heroes, and still more the inspirer, and the maturer of art, and of its poetry, the glorious St Francis of Asisium. And as to the present, it allows no communion with Saints in heaven, and consequently no interest in having their effigies before our eyes: no loving intercourse with blessed Spirits, and therefore no right to bring them visibly into action. All ecstasy, supernatural contemplation, vision and rapturous prayer, with the only approach to heavenly expression that earth can give; all miracles and marvellous occurrences, with the store of incident which they supply, all mingling in any one scene of the living and the Blessed, the past and the present - in fine, all the poetry of art is coldly cut out, nay, strangled and quenched by the

hard hand of protestantism." Christian art, Wiseman eventually concludes, "must spring up, either like the Phoenix from the ashes of its great predecessors, and this it may do in Italy, or like the first light, by creation from the void of a preceding chaos." But whereas "Protestantism has neither a smouldering spark nor a creative vigour to quicken it .... the Catholic Church has it everywhere, and therefore here."

The issues which divided Rio and Wiseman from Lindsay, and which caused similar misunderstandings between Lindsay and Ruskin, continued to smoulder on for the rest of the decade and even beyond. From now on, however, Lindsay who in 1846 had at last found some mental and emotional peace as a result of his marriage to his cousin Margaret, daughter of James and Anne, wisely kept his mind free from speculative controversies of this kind. Instead he reaffirmed his undiminished interest in art by starting to make a high quality picture collection for his new home at Dunecht, in Aberdeenshire. This collection was mainly formed during the years 1849 to 1875, and will be described in chapter XII. Meanwhile, we must turn our attention to James Dennistoun, who gave Lindsay much encouragement over the Sketches of the History of Christian Art during the crucial years of its preparation between 1843-7. By the time Lindsay's book was receiving critical attention, Dennistoun was himself struggling to complete his Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino and trying to come to terms with the philosophical and religious questions which Lindsay and his reviewers had merely exacerbated. But to fully appreciate

the development of Dennistoun's interest in this subject, it is necessary, as it was in Lindsay's case, to go back to a more formative stage in his education, when he first went to Italy in 1825 and when Rio's name was still not one to conjure with.

NOTES

1. G.P. Lasinio, Il Tabernacolo della Madonna di Orsanmichele lavoro insigne di Andrea Orcagna, Florence c. 1851.
2. Lindsay already had the earlier plates in the series; see Chapter 3 note 24.
3. G. Della Valle, Lettere senesi di un socio dell' Accademia di Fosano sopra le Belle Arti, Venice/Rome 1782-6.
4. Dated 16 February 1843.
5. So far as I can establish this was never published. Rio was however associated with an article entitled L'Angleterre et le Catholicisme in Le Correspondant, 25 May 1851; but this is not concerned with architectural matters.
6. A.F. Rio, La Petite Chouannerie, Histoire d'un college breton sous l'Empire, London 1842.
7. Anne Lindsay's letter then continues with further anecdotes about Rio: "One thing comforts me about Rio - he is going to lose his time and throw away his power in analysing and attacking the bad schools and proving that they ought not to be admired, for which purpose he visits every object in the decadence of art and criticises it. Now this will tire people, he had better show what is worthy of admiration and having given people a good taste the bad will fall by itself. His great hobby horse at present is the downfall of Michael Angelo - but he will break his horns against that Rock if he does not take care. He is full of Eloquence and enthusiasm and will talk by the hour and excite himself so that

he cannot sleep all night. His taste appears to me incorrect or rather so full of prepossession that he will go into raptures at any daub of the early times and can find no beauty in the best pictures painted after a certain date - it is amusing to see Félicie check his extasies and say - ne regardez pas cela il n'y a pas grand chose - on which he quietly withdraws - and begins to apostrophise another picture. Nevertheless he will write well and I should greatly wish you to be before hand with him. A part of his plan is to embody his ideas in a sort of tale. He will present an individual entering into life with the warmest admiration for all classical art and learning, travelling in Italy with these feelings and with great contempt for the religious school of art. Some great event happens in his life, Rio did not tell me what, which entirely changes his feelings, gives him another turn of mind and his second tour in Italy is described with all his new impressions and new delights. I think this may be a very bright notion if well worked out. His first object in entering a town is to get together all the legends and stories of saints, patriots etc and to make himself well acquainted with them so as to put himself as much as possible in sympathy with the painting. In this he does much as you do - but he intends writing his work in Italy that he may not get cold - great part of it he says at Venice where he has a great many followers and admirers - it is rather drôle to hear him talk of "Mon Ecole". He is a good specimen of a Frenchman but a Frenchman still."

8. Letter dated Haigh 28 February 1843.

9. See note 7 above.

10. Letter dated Haigh 28 February 1843; see note 8 above.

11. Lindsay op. cit. III p. 244.

12. Lindsay op. cit. III p. 415.

13. Lindsay op. cit. III p. 417.

14. Letter to Anne, dated 19 April 1844.

15. Letter to Anne, dated Paris 18 April 1846.

16. Lindsay's letters to John Murray are still preserved in the archives of this publishing house.

17. The Quarterly Review, December 1844, p. 77.

18. See O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church, Part I, London 1966, p. 221.

19. Letter of the Count de Montalembert to the Rev. Mr. Neale on the Architectural, Artistical and Archaeological Movements of the Puseyites, London 1844, p. 5.

20. See Ruskin's review of Progression by Antagonism and of Sketches of the History of Christian Art in The Quarterly Review, June 1847, pp. 1-57.

21. Op. cit. I pp. XI-XVII.

22. Op. cit. II pp. 102-103.

23. Op. cit. I pp. XIV-XV.

24. Le Comte de Montalembert, Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art, Paris 1839, pp. 95-96. His view of Fra Angelico was based on the principle that "pour le catholique, l'école qui a mieux compris cette relation entre la foi et l'art doit occuper la plus haute place dans la hiérarchie catholique, même quand

la combinaison de l'idée avec la forme n'a pas lieu d'une manière précisément conforme aux lois de l'optique ou de la géométrie". For Rio's view of Fra Angelico see De La Poésie Chrétienne, Paris 1836, pp. 190 ff. On p. 193 he wrote as follows: La componction du coeur, ses élans vers Dieu, le ravissement extatique, l'avant-goût de la béatitude céleste, tout cet ordre d'émotions profondes et exaltées que nul artiste ne peut rendre sans les avoir préablement éprouvées, furent comme le cycle mystérieux que le génie de frère Angélique se plaisait à parcourir, et qu'il recommençait avec le même amour quand il l'avait achevé."

25. Op.cit. III pp. 188-189.

26. A. Pugin, The Present State of Ecclesiastical Architecture, London 1843 (1969 reprint), pp. 137-138. Pugin's essay first appeared as two articles in The Dublin Review in May 1841 and February 1842. In the second article he discusses with enthusiasm the activities of the recently founded Camden Society. By this date Pugin had certainly read some of Montalembert's essays, as well as Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne; this is particularly evident from the second edition of Contrasts, London 1841, where he inserted the chapter "On the Revived Pagan Principle". Here he writes as follows: "In England ... the buildings have almost exclusively suffered through the destructive or Protestant principle; but this was not, as I have before remarked, in itself a cause, but the effect of Catholic degeneracy .... As all the matter of the first edition of this book referred

to this country, it is not altogether surprising that I should have overlooked the revival of Paganism, and attributed the loss of Catholic art exclusively to Protestant opinions: I now most readily retract my former error in this respect ... I was perfectly right in the abstract fact that the excellence of art was only to be found in Catholicism, but I did not draw a sufficient distinction between Catholicism in its own venerable garb, or as disguised in the modern externals of Pagan corruption ... It is only by communing with the spirit of past ages, as it is developed in the lives of the holy men of old, and in their wonderful monuments and works, that we can arrive at a just appreciation of the glories we have lost, or adopt the necessary means for their recovery .... Before true taste and Christian feelings can be revived, all the present and popular ideas on the subject must be utterly changed. Men must learn that the period hitherto called dark and ignorant far excelled our age in wisdom, that art ceased when it is said to have been revived, that superstition was piety, and bigotry faith." For further discussion of Pugin's Contrasts, but without reference to Rio and Montalembert, see P. Stanton, The Sources of Pugin's Contrasts in Concerning Architecture (ed. J. Summerson), London 1968, pp. 120-139.

27. Op.cit. II pp. 29-30 (note).

28. For Ruskin's review see The Quarterly Review, June 1847, pp. 1-57.

29. For Wiseman's review of Rio (written jointly with John Steinmetz)

see The Dublin Review, July 1836, pp. 435-60. Three years later Wiseman also published an article entitled Italian Guides and Tourists (The Dublin Review, January 1839), where the perceptive reader could have found useful and sympathetic references to such little known masterpieces of early Christian art as the mosaics in Ravenna, Nicola Pisano's pulpit at Pisa, Signorelli's frescoes in Orvieto, Piero della Francesca's works in Borgo San Sepolcro, and even, from a rather later date, Barocci's Last Supper in Urbino.

30. For Wiseman's review see The Dublin Review, June 1847, pp. 486-515.

VIII [1]

James Dennistoun was born in 1803, the eldest son of James Dennistoun of Colgrain and Camiseskan, Dunbartonshire,[2] and was brought up as a rather impoverished landed gentleman, a Tory and an Anglican, with some inherited sympathies for the Jacobite cause. He read law in Edinburgh and was called to the Scottish Bar but never seems to have practiced. He apparently preferred to live on an ever diminishing private income. His chief personal interests were those of an educated Scottish antiquarian, and he later demonstrated his considerable abilities in this field when he undertook editorial work for publications by the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs in Edinburgh. His initial interest in early Italian art was no more than an offshoot of his antiquarian curiosity and of his magpie tastes as a small collector, and it was only at a relatively late date, when he had already started work on the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, that he became interested in the aesthetic ideas of writers such as Rio. Thus, while in the case of Lord Lindsay it is both possible and useful to divide his development as a writer on art up to 1847 from his subsequent activities as a collector of pictures from the 1840s to the 1870s, in the case of Dennistoun this would be impossible and utterly misleading, because the two activities were inextricably interrelated, and took place together in a relatively concentrated period of time between 1825 and 1855.

Dennistoun first went abroad in 1825, at the age of twenty two,

in the company of three young Scottish friends, John Hamilton Gray of Carntyne, who later became a well known clergyman,[3] Alexander Dunlop of Keppoch who became a church lawyer and politician,[4] and Mark Napier who was later to write a celebrated biography of Montrose.[5] They travelled in a light hearted carefree manner like young eighteenth century milordi on the Grand Tour, and to judge from Dennistoun's extremely detailed and quite amusing journal,[6] showed no particular originality in the direction of their sight seeing, especially so far as early Italian pictures are concerned; it is not therefore necessary for us to follow their progress in any great detail. They embarked for Ostend on 17 July and visited Bruges, Ghent and Antwerp, before travelling across Germany and Switzerland and entering Italy by the Simplon pass on 20 September. During this early part of the journey Dennistoun records in his journal visits to conventional tourist sights such as the Cathedral in Bruges, the Church of St Bavon in Ghent and the Museum in Antwerp, and it is perhaps hardly surprising if he does not yet display any critical insight or strong personal preferences.

In Italy, however, his journal immediately becomes more lively and there is a vivid account of the renowned collection at the Villa Sommariva on Lake Como. "There are a considerable number of pictures in the great gallery, and in several rooms of the house - but they are not generally of interest or value and I was a little surprised that the Marchese should have filled his villa with modern works, whose claims to notice are founded rather upon size and flashy colours than upon intrinsic merit. Of these about the best was

Perseus and Andromeda by Mdme Mongez .... of which the design is far more spirited than the execution.[7] ... But I was charmed with the Last Adieu of Romeo and Juliet /by Francesco Hayez/ less from the merit of the picture as from the perfectly voluptuous expression of the kiss - for it is this interesting moment which the artist has chosen - it is indeed."[8] After lingering over this undeniably sensual work, Dennistoun turned his attention to the statuary which he felt "amply redeems the mediocrity of the paintings". He noted works by Thorwaldsen and Acquisti and Canova and "could not help regretting that the native lake of Canova should not possess a more favourable work of that great master than his Palamedes"; for he had found that "... the shoulders, broad and clumsy, had a twist which deformed the whole statue - and certainly the legs were not formed on the model of manly symmetry."[9]

By 27 September the party had reached Milan where they visited the Brera museum. "The engravings are not so numerous or select as I had expected; the galleries containing the sculpture, casts, and modern paintings does /sic/ not contain a single object worthy a look," writes Dennistoun. But he then concedes, "The gallery of ancient paintings is however tolerably good. It is rich in frescoes which were taken by order of Napoleon from the other suppressed convents of this city ... The greater number are by the Luini and Gaudenzio Ferrara /sic/. There are also a good many old pictures in the strange taste of the age and style; the best are by Crivelli, 1412.[10] Of the standard works many are above mediocrity - but few very fine." The "standard works" which he selected for particular praise included

Guido Reni's St Peter and St Paul, G.M. Crespi's Christ carrying the Cross, and Guercino's Abraham and Hagar which as we have already seen Lindsay had also admired.

In Milan Dennistoun's party broke up; Charles Fergusson of Kilkerran (who had joined them in Cologne)[11] and Mark Napier went to Geneva, Gray travelled to Venice by the direct route, while Dennistoun visited the Certosa di Pavia, Piacenza, and then Parma. In Parma he warmly admired the pictures by Correggio, Parmigianino and the Carracci which were exhibited in the gallery, and he also saw the Cathedral and the Church of the Madonna della Steccata. After travelling on to Modena he studied the pictures in the Ducal Palace and unhesitatingly singled out Guido Reni's St Roch[12] as "the finest painting here - and to my taste perhaps the most splendid I ever beheld." But, apart from the picture collection, he found little else of interest to him in Modena - "The Cathedral is not worth notice" - and moved on quickly through Mantua, Verona, Vicenza and Padua.

From Padua, where he failed to visit the Arena Chapel, he travelled to Venice where he arrived on 14 October and rejoined John Hamilton Gray. He briefly inspected the principal churches, the Ducal Palace, the Barbarigo and Grimani Palaces, and the Academy where he judged Titian's Assumption of the Virgin, which had been removed from the Church of the Frari eight years earlier, to be "the best picture by far in Venice". He also noted works in the city by Bassano, Tintoretto and Veronese, but makes no comment on any seventeenth or even eighteenth century Venetian painting, and also

seems to have completely ignored early Venetian artists such as the Vivarini, the Bellini and Cima.

In Bologna Dennistoun concentrated on the Gallery which, he observed, "excluding the room appropriated to ancient paintings of inferior merit contains an unusual proportion of excellent pictures." His greatest enthusiasm was of course for the works of the great seventeenth-century Bolognese masters, the three Carracci, Guido Reni, Domenichino and Guercino, but even these were overshadowed in his estimation by Raphael's picture of St Cecilia. He did also take note of two pictures dating from the generation before Raphael, Francia's Madonna and Child with St John and Perugino's Madonna and Child with St Michael and St John, and remarks, "Here is the best specimen I ever met with of the quaint style of Perrugino /sic/ ... the faces and hands are truly beautiful - the colouring and preservation admirable."

Dennistoun reached Florence on 21 October. In the Palazzo Pitti the picture he most admired was Raphael's Madonna della Sedia but he also gave special attention to Canova's Venus. Otherwise his attention was mainly confined to the work of seventeenth century artists such as Cigoli, Carlo Dolci, Salvator Rosa, Van Dyck and Rubens, who had all been popular with eighteenth century tourists as well. In his account of the Uffizi he reverently notes the antique sculpture collection in the Tribune which, he suggests, "may well be considered the sanctum sanctorum of art"; and he then mentions paintings by del Sarto, Titian, Correggio and Barocci. But he did

also show some historical awareness of early Florentine painting, and remarks on a room in the Accademia, which Lindsay was also to appreciate four years later, where "a series of pictures form a sort of chronology of painting from the 10th century down to the modern Florentine school. The second in the order of the painters is Cimabue, the third Giotto. There are not many works of great merit in this suite", he concludes, "but in itself it is at once interesting and unique."

From Florence he moved on to Naples, breaking the journey for a week in Rome from 10th to 16th November. His first action in Rome was to visit the Capitol and the museum there, and he notes: "The great attraction here is the 'dying Gladiator' - one of the choicest morsels of sculpture which has come down to us from antiquity ... Much as I admire the symmetry of the figure, and above all the expression of death triumphing over strength, which prevails throughout, from the lip to the fingers, I cannot agree with some persons in placing it before the Laocoon and Apollo ...." Then, on arrival in Naples, Dennistoun saw the Academy, the Museum, the Certosa, and the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. He then returned to Rome on 22 December in time for the Christmas celebrations and remained there until February 1826. During this period he conscientiously visited all the antiquities, the principal palaces and villas, and the Vatican museum, but showed less diligence in his appreciation of the great baroque churches, admitting rather shamefully and with true Protestant candour: "There is a tiresome monotony in the plans, the decorations, and appendages of Catholic Churches which often disgusts even when there is much to admire."

In his tour of the great paintings in Rome he of course made a particular point of seeing Raphael's principal works. He admired the Borghese Entombment and the Vatican Stanze but apparently found more difficulty in appreciating the Transfiguration, although he would have been aware of its great reputation throughout the eighteenth century. "Although I have seen several more pleasing pictures ....", he confides, "... none certainly with which I am acquainted shows more real genius. Yet its merit seems to me to consist far more in the conception and execution of the individual figures, than in the composition of the whole." He made a similar criticism of Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sistine Chapel which had been another highlight of the late eighteenth century grand tour. He found it rather more "wonderful than pleasing", and complained that "the details are much admired and I doubt not deservedly, but ... I take no delight in analysing a crowd of unconnected figures."

Dennistoun did not fail to study the idealised classical style of the great seventeenth-century masters. He admired Annibale Carracci's decorations in the Farnese Palace, and considered that Domenichino's Communion of St Jerome in the Vatican "displays a degree of stern nature, and bold expression very rarely attained in art." On the other hand he was disappointed by Guido Reni's Aurora ceiling because "There is too little dazzling brilliancy of effect." In a different mood Dennistoun also made enthusiastic notes about the wild manner of Gaspard Dughet and Salvator Rosa in the Doria gallery. He describes Dughet's landscapes, and then singles out

Rosa's Death of Abel and Belisarius as "splendid works, in which the wild compositions of the painter, are united with a force in the figures worthy of Buonarotti /sic/ himself." Yet, predictably at this date, his taste for the Grand Style of the seventeenth century Italian masters did not extend to a very deep appreciation of Caravaggio's unidealised and realistic manner. His description of the Doria collection contains no reference at all to the three important pictures there by this artist; but he does make passing reference to two works by Caravaggio in Roman collections, the Card Sharpers in the Sciarra collection[13] and the Vatican Deposition.

Dennistoun's greatest enthusiasm at this time was, however, not for any of the great works of the sixteenth or seventeenth century masters but for the highly finished and extremely fashionable sculpture of Canova. He looked over the late artist's studio, which was still a standard tourist attraction, and saw plaster models of numerous works, noting in particular a Penitent Magdalen made for Lord Liverpool which "is far more to my taste than Sommariva's kneeling before a skull, in which there is too much Catholic penance." He visited Thorwaldsen whom he described as "unquestionably now the first sculptor in Rome", and John Gibson whom he found working on the Psyche borne by Zephyrs which had been ordered by Sir George Beaumont. In also admiring Joseph Gott, still a quite young and comparatively unknown sculptor at this date, Dennistoun showed commendable judgment. "Gott is a Yorkshire man, of great promise", he suggests. "He seems to have an admirable and truly classical taste for compositions, and has a great many delightful sketches.

Besides several pretty fancies of loves and nymphs and such playful subjects, I particularly admired a groupe of the madness of Athenée ...[14] He has not executed many things as yet, but I most sincerely wish he may soon obtain an order upon which he may distinguish himself."

The Jacobite sympathies, traditional to Dennistoun's family, occasionally emerge in the journal during his time in Rome. For instance we learn that he particularly sought out Canova's monument to the House of Stuart in St Peter's, and there is a colourful description of a visit to Frascati where he and Gray and a few other compatriots saw the tomb of Charles Edward Stuart. "The sanctity of the spot did not prevent our singing a verse or two of 'Charley is my darling' - and after performing our several obeisances at the shrine, we retired, strengthened in our Jacobite predilections, happily without being worse subjects of our present august sovereign."

Back in Florence again, in February 1826, Dennistoun returned to Canova's Venus in the Pitti Palace and found that it "has not lost in comparison with any in Rome." He also took particular note of Carlo Dolci's Martyrdom of St Andrew and made the questionable observation that "in the landscape there is a dash of Salvator's style which contrasts finely with the soft touches of Carlo." In the Uffizi he again reveals his obsession with Salvator Rosa in the remark that Raphael's St John the Baptist in the wilderness "has somewhat of Salvator's wild fancy, and shows great effect of chiara oscura /sic/." He also visited the Laurentian library and admired a missal

"beautifully illuminated by the scholars of Perrugino /sic/."

From Florence Dennistoun moved on to Pisa where he explored the Campo Santo, but not without some sense of disappointment. "The walls all around are painted in fresco of great antiquity, which is curious as exhibiting the progress of that art," he records, but then feels obliged to add that "I found little to interest me in the details, and there is a sad deficiency of great names among the tenants of this elegant burying ground." From Pisa he then journeyed homewards through Genoa and the South of France.

On 21 March he reached Paris and went to see Sommariva's collection there. He found most merit in the sculptures of Canova, but made a notable and surprising exception of the Magdalen which was the most famous object in the entire collection.(15) Dennistoun describes the figure disparagingly as "a wretched beweeped hag, - her bones are cutting her skin, and her attitude the most constrained, inelegant and unhappy that can be conceived", and complains that "even the skin and hair have no high finish". He particularly objects to the gilt cross in the Magdalene's hands, "an error certainly in ... correct taste." Dennistoun's visit to Marshal Soult's collection proved less rewarding, and he complains that his appreciation of the Spanish pictures there was marred "in consequence of having neither custodé nor catalogue to assist my observations - and still more from the somewhat ungracious manner in which permission was given by the Maréchal - who I suspect is a rough diamond in nature as well as appearance."

In the Louvre Dennistoun particularly enjoyed seeing the Italian pictures, but devotes most of his descriptive powers to the French school, and especially the works of J.L. David which had only just been added to the collection. "His paintings have to me no attraction, - and I believe he has had the merit of forming the modern French style, than which I can conceive nothing so abhorrent to good taste .... As a historical painter he o'er steps the modesty of nature, and leaves ease and grace quite à côté. His battles are fought by naked men; ... his ladies are all Lady Macbeths, with dischevelled hair and swollen eyes". Dennistoun's absolute dislike of David's work, which he did not direct to any specific picture, also extended to the work of David's pupils. For instance he could find little merit in Girodet's Déluge and wrote that it "exhibits a groupe of five men, women and children dangling in the air, and all hanging from one unhappy arm, which would do well to yield to the weight and give the disjecta membra some chance of falling into a happier composition." After this it is no surprise to read his unsympathetic criticism of Géricault's Raft of Medusa. "The Medusa raft by I know not what Frenchman, is much admired by the ladies, - but I could see no beauty in a dozen of men, stark naked, who from the horrid colour of their skins, would seem to have been buried for a month."

Dennistoun returned to London on 5th April 1826 and after a few days seeing the city and visiting St Paul's, "ere recollection of St Peter's faded", he arrived back in Glasgow on 13th April. His travel journal shows him to have been a conscientious and quite intelligent but rather unoriginal sightseer. His critical comments

reflect a conviction of the supreme achievement of Raphael, an appreciation of the grand manner of the great classical artists of the seventeenth century, and a preference, above all, for elegant composition and careful execution of high finish, qualities which he found pre-eminently in Neo-classical sculpture. Although he did not entirely ignore the unpolished and comparatively crude works of the early Italian artists and was certainly aware of their historical value, he showed no real aesthetic pleasure in any works earlier than Perugino's, and there is nothing in this early journal to suggest that some ten years later he would begin to form a collection of paintings by the early primitive artists.

NOTES

1. This chapter and the following chapter are based on two articles I published in The Connoisseur, October 1973, pp. 90-97, and December 1973, pp. 240-249.

2. See Some Account of the Family of Dennistoun of Colgrain, privately printed 1859.

3. See Burke's Landed Gentry, 1848-63. See also the Autobiography of a Scotch Country Gentleman, the Rev. John Hamilton Gray of Carntyne, privately printed 1868.

4. Alexander Colquhoun - Stirling - Murray - Dunlop (1798-1870). See the Dictionary of National Biography.

5. Mark Napier (1798-1879). He published various historical works including The Life and Times of Montrose, Edinburgh 1840. According to the Dictionary of National Biography he was a Jacobite "of the old fashioned fanatical type." Dennistoun also had strong Jacobite sympathies.

6. Paul Grinke Mss.

7. I have not been able to trace the present location of this picture.

8. Dennistoun does not specify the artist responsible for the Romeo and Juliet, but Professor Francis Haskell has kindly identified it as a work by Francesco Hayez, now in the Villa Carlotta at Tremezzo. For Sommariva's collection see F. Haskell, An Italian Patron of French Neo-Classic Art. The Zaharoff Lecture, Oxford 1972.

9. Reproduced by Haskell op.cit. fig 5. Other works which

Dennistoun particularly noted included Thorwaldsen's Triumph of Alexander the Great (reproduced by Haskell op.cit. fig 15), Acquisti's Mars and Venus (reproduced by Haskell op.cit. fig 20) and casts of Canova's Terpsichore and Magdalene.

10. A reference to C. Crivelli's triptych Madonna enthroned between St Peter and Dominic, Venantius and Peter Martyr, dated 1482. Like many other travellers, Dennistoun had misread the date. In this connection see, for instance, M. Fabi, Novissima guida artistica, monumentale, scientifica di Milano e suoi dintorni, 1839 p. 46.

11. Sir Charles Dalrymple Fergusson 5th Bt. (1800-1849), of Kilkerran, Ayrshire. He became an Advocate in 1822.

12. Guido Reni, St Roch in Prison, Galleria Estense, Modena.

13. Now lost. It was particularly admired by Mrs. C.A. Eaton; see her Rome in the 19th century ... a series of letters written ... in the years 1817 and 1818, Rome 1820, III pp. 29-30. Unlike most tourists at this date, Mrs Eaton gave some attention to Caravaggio's work in Rome, and noted, for instance, the Doria Magdalen and the Borghese David with the head of Goliath. She appreciated the David for the "strong lights and nervous energy" but felt an absence of "elevation" (op.cit. III p. 49).

14. See Joseph Gott 1786-1860 Sculptor. Exhibition Catalogue, Leeds/Liverpool 1972, pp. 25 ff. No. G.17 as The Madness of Athamas.

15. Samuel Rogers, The Italian Journal, ed. J. Hale, London 1956, p. 195.

IX

On his return home in 1826, James Dennistoun did not pursue his artistic interests, but settled down to a quiet life of Scottish antiquarian research.[1] His editorial work on publications for the Bannatyne Club and the Maitland Club was interrupted only by one brief foray into contemporary politics, when in 1832 he published A Letter to the Lord Advocate on the Scottish Reform Bill, where he took a firm Tory line. In 1834 his father died and it became necessary to sell the family estate soon afterwards. Meanwhile, on March 2 1835, during a short trip to France and Switzerland, he was married in Berne to Isabella, eldest daughter of James Wolfe Murray, Lord Cringletie. A little more than one year later, in May 1836, James and Isabella felt free to set out on an extended tour of Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Italy and they did not return home again until October 1839.

During this journey James Dennistoun began to form his collection of early paintings, but his principal occupation was a fairly systematic search through the main public libraries on his route for material of Scottish historical interest. His extensive transcriptions are still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.[2] Of course the Dennistouns also found time for sightseeing, and he even began a journal, but it does not contain long descriptive accounts of galleries and picture collections, such as those found in the account of his first grand tour.[3]

Indeed we learn little from the journal about the Dennistouns'

opinions on the works of art they saw until they reached Nuremberg on October 8 1836. They remained there for four days, and although James mainly worked in the library, they did also visit the principal churches. Dennistoun records that "The Cathedral and Church of St. Laurence disappointed me - the old German painters are not to my taste - the sculptures of Stoss and Kraft[4] have little effect - even the Shrine of St. Sebald (in bronze by Vischer[5] 1509) scarcely equalled all I have read of it - and the windows are of moderate beauty". Nor was he impressed by "the glaring and gaudy but hard and monstrous pictures of the early German school exhibited in the Château and the Moritz Capelle"[6] /sic/, and he adds that they "did not tempt me to enter upon the study of so /rude/ a style of art".

The Dennistouns also visited some of the art dealers in and around Nuremberg. They noted "a tolerable collection of paintings of various schools" offered by the bookseller Campe,[7] but they were more impressed by the pictures belonging to Pickar[8] at Furth in spite of the "extravagant prices". From Nuremberg they moved to Ratisbon where they did actually buy some old master drawings but no details are recorded. After eleven days in Ratisbon which James spent in the library of the Scotch Convent of St. James, they reached Munich on October 25 1836. Here their long visit was overshadowed by the illness of Isabella who contracted cholera on January 1 1837. James, as well as working in the archives, also amused himself "hunting out objects of art and taste, generally under the auspices of M. de Montmorillon,[9] Professor of Drawing and picture dealer on commission - a most uncommonly obliging person". Montmorillon

sold him "a capital portrait of Ariosto by Titian, and a beautiful Holy Family by Pierino /sic/ del Vaga in the fine Raphael style, besides a considerable number of drawings by celebrated masters". The Perino del Vaga cannot be identified and was not apparently included in the 1855 sale after Dennistoun's death. The "Titian" which cost £15 was in the sale (lot 26) and was engraved for reproduction in Dennistoun's Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino (Vol. III p. 265); it was evidently a copy or version of the picture now in the National Gallery, London.(10) In Munich Dennistoun also "picked up drawings from Stöeger and others and various rococo articles, generally great bargains as these things go" and he notes: "All this gave me great amusement; more even than the public galleries of pictures and statuary". From this account it is hard to resist the impression that James Dennistoun's taste at this time was rather lacking in focus, and none of his acquisitions in Germany was apparently very successful.

It was however at this moment that he took the first small step towards the formation of a collection of cut-out illuminated manuscripts, which are still preserved together in his original album, with the notes which he later made under each sheet.(11) The illuminations in the album were clearly selected with the historical purpose of representing examples of different provincial schools and styles, and not on the strength of their aesthetic qualities. The sheet which Dennistoun bought in Munich in 1836 is a modest provincial sixteenth-century German illustration of Pilgrims on a journey.

On April 4 1837 the Dennistouns were at last able to leave Munich, and they then visited Augsburg, Baden, Berne and Montreux, before arriving at Geneva on May 2. Here they saw several private collections, including a small but select collection of Dutch and Flemish pictures belonging to Colonel Tronchin,[12] a cabinet of Dutch paintings belonging to M. Duval,[13] and Canova's Venus and Adonis at the Villa Favre.[14] They also saw pictures offered for sale by M. Fazy at the Château de Dardagny;[15] but it was, however, "Kuhn, a Jew, a very obliging honest person, and moderate in his prices", who tempted them into making some acquisitions, of which unfortunately no details are recorded.[16] The only painting in the Dennistoun sale with a Genevese provenance was a Holy Family by Maratta (lot 50) for which Isabella paid £10 and this cannot be traced. Two fourteenth-century miniatures of St. Luke and St. John which James Dennistoun attributed rather erratically to the "Greek school 10th century" are also said to have been acquired in Geneva.[17]

At this point James' journal comes to an abrupt end, but it is still possible to follow the rest of their journey from other sources, particularly a series of very detailed letters addressed to David Laing, the Edinburgh antiquarian, and bookseller.[18] The first surviving letter dated October 27 1837 was sent from Milan, apparently in response to a request from Laing for prints by Marcantonio Raimondi. Dennistoun asks Laing the price he is prepared to pay for the prints, and then goes on to describe his own recent travelling experiences. He writes of his frustration on finding all the libraries in Milan closed, and on a more cheerful note, he outlines the temptations

afforded by the flourishing Milanese art trade. "It is a common but an egregious mistake among persons who run through Italy with eyes only for the public galleries and pawnbrokers' stalls that no good pictures are now to be had there. I have seen here in private houses in the last three days pictures that would grace any public gallery in Europe, and which are to be bought probably on very easy terms by those who set properly about it". However, like many collectors, Dennistoun found that "my means are unfortunately quite disproportioned to my tastes or I might soon make many enviable acquisitions. The same may be said of other branches of art; I examined today a portfolio of drawings of the greatest masters chiefly of the 15th and 16th centuries better selected than I ever found in any public cabinet, and this in a print shop. These were dear; but when I settle for some time in a town I sooner or later find out ways and means of getting bargains ..." Much of this account may well have been idle boasting for Dennistoun apparently limited his acquisitions in Milan to some illuminated manuscripts, "monkish productions" of the fifteenth-century Lombard school.

From Milan the Dennistouns moved on to Modena and Bologna for further library research, and they then stopped for a short rest in Florence before travelling south to Rome. In Florence they bought another illuminated cut-out, which James later described in his album as "a showy specimen of the Florentine school, while passing from the manner of Beato Angelico into that introduced by Domenico Ghirlandaio". They arrived in Rome in November 1837, and again it is from a letter addressed to David Laing, and dated

January 27 1838 that we learn about their activities. "I occupy myself more on the objects of art than the Roman remains, although of course not to the exclusion of the latter. There are comparatively few English and little society, which is favourable to the employment of one's time, but after all it is quite extraordinary how little one can overtake. I have spent many mornings of late in the Vatican library struggling with the difficulties offered by a system of peculiar jealousy and mystery - by the want of any catalogue of printed works - and by the strict prohibition against opening the catalogues of MSS. to any stranger". Dennistoun also writes of visits to the archives of the Scots and English Colleges in Rome where he met the Abbe' Paul Macpherson[19] and Dr. (later Cardinal) Wiseman. He makes no reference to the acquisition of any works of art but does describe the artistic scene. "The sort of antiquities most in fashion here at present are Etruscan vases, found chiefly in the ancient Sabinia and Umbria where many excavations are carried out on speculation - the remains being sold at very high prices. Indeed most objects of art and antiquity here are very dear - but as there are scarcely any buyers this year I do not doubt a great reduction towards the end of the season".

During this year (1838) the Dennistouns went back to Florence and also saw Siena and Lucca. It was then that James bought some of the most important early Italian pictures and miniatures in his collection. For instance in Florence he bought for £10 the two Lorenzo Monaco predella panels of The Epiphany and The Visitation which are now in the Gambier-Parry collection at the Courtauld

Institute Gallery. James Dennistoun believed them to be by Taddeo Gaddi and in his Ms. catalogue they are described as "choice examples of the manner of Giotto by his best pupil".[20] It was also in Florence that he found two fifteenth-century Florentine cut-outs which he added to the album to "give an idea of the style of design in the convents after Beato Angelico di Fiesole had introduced a purer taste". Here too they had the good fortune to meet the Abate Celotti, the well-known dealer in books and manuscripts, who presented them with an illuminated miniature of the fourteenth-century French school.

In Siena James Dennistoun bought for £4, from the De Angelis collection, a predella panel of The Resurrection by Andrea Brescianino, which is now in an English private collection.[21] In Dennistoun's sale this picture was described as by Andrea del Sarto "in the Master's first manner"; it was bought by the Rev. W. Davenport - Bromley, another important English collector of early paintings.

From the custodian of the Gallery at Siena Dennistoun bought a very fine miniature of The Ascension, which is now in the Barber Institute, Birmingham, and which has recently been attributed to Liberale da Verona.[22] Dennistoun however believed it to be the work of Taddeo Bartolo. Originally it was included in his album of cut-outs, where he wrote a long note expressing his appreciation of its importance and quality. "The whole compass of Italian art contains nothing more majestically divine than the figure and expression of Christ, nothing more harmoniously beautiful than the gradation of accompanying cherubs. Such was the opinion of Overbeck and

Riegel, two of the most distinguished leaders of the new German catholic school, who often contemplated this wonderful miniature with delight". It is however not at all clear at what date Dennistoun wrote this note or when he first came to know Overbeck, and Cornelius' biographer Riegel.

In the autumn of 1838 the Dennistouns made a six week tour "among the mountains and small towns of central Italy" which, James informed David Laing, "are very rarely visited by English".(23) Unfortunately the details of their itinerary are not recorded. It would, for instance, have been interesting to know if at this early date James Dennistoun was already aware of the qualities of Piero della Francesca's frescoes at Arezzo of which he later wrote with such admiration in the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. It was during this tour that he made his most controversial acquisition, a picture which he believed to be a Portrait of Raphael by Giovanni Santi. It is now in the Thyssen collection, Lugano. Dennistoun was shown this picture in Citta di Castello by Signor Andreozzi, a local historian. He based his identification of the portrait on an inscription, on a white ledge beneath the figure, which was undoubtedly spurious and has since been removed. He was deceived by the inscription and was sufficiently impressed by the historical importance of his discovery to write a letter about it in 1841 addressed to the editor of the Art Union.(24) The authenticity of the picture was subsequently questioned by M. de Reumont in a letter addressed to the Kunstblatt which was published on September 26 1848. Dennistoun was so upset by this criticism that he took the picture abroad with him again the following

year in order to seek the approval of the German art historian J.D. Passavant.[25] The subsequent arguments, the testimony of G. Colombo who restored the picture for Dennistoun in Rome, and Dennistoun's own spirited defence of the picture can be followed in the Appendix to the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino.[26] Even today the identification of this picture remains problematical - in the Thyssen collection it is optimistically catalogued as a Portrait of Guidobaldo di Montefeltro by Piero della Francesca[27] - but the portrait does seem to be a perfectly genuine fifteenth-century Italian work, which was scarcely overpriced when Dennistoun bought it for 10 shillings and 10 pence plus £2 for the frame.

The Dennistouns were back in Rome by November 1838 and it was probably then that he bought a Book of Offices known as The Ghislieri Book of Hours from Prince Albani, for an undisclosed price. This book, which is now in the British Museum,[28] was undoubtedly his most exciting acquisition; it was written between 1492-1503 and is of exceptional importance not only on account of its fifteen historiated initials, mainly of half-length saints carrying on the series of the Kalendar, but because it contains five very fine full page miniatures drawn on separate leaves and then inserted. Two of these sheets are signed, a Nativity by Amico Aspertini, and a St. Sebastian by Perugino. Of the other three, an Annunciation has been attributed to the hand responsible for the historiated initials, a David, with a beautiful landscape background, has been given to Lorenzo Costa, while a St. Jerome of only slightly less quality is by an unknown Bolognese artist. This book has an artistic quality which far outweighs the historical interest of Dennistoun's album of cut-out

miniatures, but it only remained in his possession for about ten years. In 1847 he sold it for 700 guineas to Lord Ashburnham,[29] partly as a consequence of financial losses, but also, as he explained to Lord Lindsay, "because it was never seen in Scotland, by anyone who could appreciate it".[30]

On December 3 1838 Dennistoun again wrote from Rome to David Laing. He describes his efforts to form a collection of miniatures and missals and obviously hoped to tempt Laing to follow his example. "I have ... got together a very interesting series of miniature illuminations, illustrating the various schools from about 1000 to the days of Raffael after which this, the parent of oil painting, fell into disuse - in these are included several splendid missals, now of all the rarities in art the rarest and most prized. I however know where one or two are still for sale but at high prices of course". The letter also contains a clear statement about the method and purpose underlying his picture-collecting activity. "I have got now a small but very choice collection of Cabinet pictures, collected chiefly with the object of illustrating the progress of painting from the 13th century through the successive schools down to modern times - but my favourite style goes back to the 14th and 15th in which I expect little sympathy in Scotland. Rome is not a good field, but even here by watching one may make a hit with the knowledge I have attained of the holes and corners in which such things occasionally cast up. Most however of my pictures were got in Florence - a far better field ..." (From this account it appears that Dennistoun acquired rather more pictures in Florence than those we have already described; indeed

many of the other pictures which were in the sale of his collection and which are of unknown provenance might also have been bought at this time. These are listed in Appendix 10.)

Dennistoun's lengthy letter reveals the rather magpie approach to collecting which was so characteristic of nineteenth-century antiquarians, when he goes on to describe the acquisition of such diverse items as Scottish historical manuscripts, antique intaglios, and also Urbino china, a neglected subject about which he later wrote a useful chapter in his Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino.[31] "I have bought a very few intaglios; the one which seals this is an Etruscan scarabeus, representing a triga, or chariot with three horses - a rare subject. I could get you good intaglios about this size from 20/- to 60/- unset according to the execution, and sometimes perchance for less ... If you would like one or two specimens of the Urbino china of 1500 after the designs of the scholars of Raffael I could get you some, generally soup plates for about 15/- to 25/- each; but usually cracked ... I have been able to pick up but very few things regarding Scotland - and have never met with any pamphlets by the Scotch who frequented Italy in the 1500 and 1600".

Dennistoun also returns to the possibility of obtaining prints by Marcantonio for Laing's collection, and in this connection mentions, for the first time, his friendship with the German engraver, Lewis Gruner. "Although from not hearing any more from you I suppose you no longer wish any of the Marc Antonio engravings as to which you wrote me ... I think it worth while to recur to the subject in

consequence of having become acquainted with a German engraver, one of the best judges of that style of engraving and a most successful imitator of it, by name Gruner. If you really desire to make any acquisitions in that way I can have the benefit of his advice, which as he does not deal in prints will be quite impartial. I have ascertained that a copy of the rarest plate of Marc Antonio's Massacre of the Innocents whose only fault (if it be one) is being one of the very earliest and consequently a rather strong impression is for sale as a duplicate from the Corsini Palace ... for 100 scudi or nearly £22. Another of a different plate of the same subject for which Gruner for himself has offered 55 scudi (about £12) may be now had for 50 or 55, provided Gruner who has the first offer does not take it ... Some of the Germans here have been introducing again the style of Marc Antonio, and if you like I could get you a few specimens for very small prices, which are very beautiful. Gruner is now doing a set of 10 from some mosaics of Raffael's design[32] - and a work which is to give nearly 40 of Raffael's hitherto unedited works - but this will have letter press in German by Passavant.[33] He has also done some of Overbeck's works, a Prussian painter who has already obtained a European reputation as head of the new school, who design upon the same principles as the Schools of Perugino and Raffael, and succeed in that object, 'tho' not so well in imitating the ancient coloring. For my own part I never purchase prints - almost the only branch of the arts of which I have not specimens".

The remainder of the Dennistouns' tour was rather an anti-

climax so far as the acquisition of works of art was concerned. Before leaving Rome early in 1839 for the homeward journey he did however buy at least one more painting, a Madonna and Child attributed to Girolamo da Carpi which cost £15. He noted that "This charming specimen of the Ferrarese school bears on its original altar-frame the arms of Count Porcione of Mirandola, and is by one of the rarest masters of that place".(34) I have not succeeded in tracing this picture but since it fetched the comparatively high figure of £141 15s. at Dennistoun's sale (lot 52) it may have been of some quality.

The Dennistouns' route home was via Milan, Padua, Venice, Munich, and Nuremberg, and in each of these cities he bought further cut out miniatures for his album. The only sheets of any importance are a group of four miniatures of The Annunciation, The Epiphany, The Cloven Tongues, and The Vision of the Shepherds which he bought in Munich. He attributed them to the twelfth-century "Byzantine School, Cologne?" but they are probably thirteenth-century German. The present owner has convincingly suggested that they belong to a series of miniatures in the British Museum which were acquired, quite independently, from Joseph Lilly, a London bookseller, in 1849.(35) In Munich Dennistoun also finally succeeded in finding three Marcantonio prints for David Laing within that collector's modest price range, for a total of £5.

The Dennistouns were back in Scotland by October 1839. During this second grand tour James' interest in early works of art had developed rapidly, especially after he reached Italy in the autumn

of 1837. There is no evidence of any other collector or friend influencing his taste at this time, and unfortunately there is no record of which books and guides he was consulting. Certainly his response to early painting was primarily that of a historian and antiquarian, and it was no doubt in this spirit that he visited the hill towns of central Italy in 1838. However he had still not formulated the idea of himself writing a book on Italian art and history; for, as he himself later stated, the inspiration for his Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino was Charles Eastlake's review, published in 1840,[36] of Passavant's Rafael von Urbino.

NOTES

1. For James Dennistoun's publications see The Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland by David Moysie, edited by James Dennistoun for The Bannatyne Club, 1830; The Chartulary of Lennox, edited by James Dennistoun for The Maitland Club, 1833; The Lochlomond Expedition 1715, reprinted and illustrated from original documents, edited by James Dennistoun, 1834; and The Cochrane Correspondence regarding the Affairs of Glasgow 1745-6, edited by James Dennistoun for the Maitland Club, 1836.
2. Adv. Ms. 19.2.26.
3. The journal is in the collection of Paul Grinke who kindly made it available to me for study.
4. i.e. Veit Stoss the elder and Adam Kraft.
5. i.e. Peter Vischer the elder.
6. i.e. the Morizkapelle.
7. Is it possible that "the bookseller Campe" was related to Dr. Friedrich Campe of Nuremberg? Lugt lists two Dr. Friedrich Campe sales: at Boerner, Nuremberg, September 6 1847 and at Christie's May 18 1849.
8. I have found no other references to this dealer.
9. Louis Albert Montmorillon. See Thieme-Becker 1931.
10. Cecil Gould, National Gallery Catalogue, The Sixteenth Century Venetian School, London 1969 p. 114 Inv. 1944 Titian Portrait of a Man. The National Gallery picture was formerly considered

to be a Portrait of Ariosto. For other copies of this composition see also J.A. Crowe and G.B. Cavalcaselle, The Life and Times of Titian, 2nd edition London 1881, pp. 197 ff, and Harold E. Wethey, Titian. The Portraits, London 1971 p. 103 No. 40.

11. This album was formerly in the collection of Mrs. Hensley Henson at Auckland Castle, County Durham, and is now in a private collection. Mrs. Henson was the last Dennistoun of Dennistoun in the senior line.

12. Col. Henri Tronchin. Some of his pictures were inherited from François Tronchin, (1704-1798). I understand that Dr. Renée Loche is at present preparing a publication on F. Tronchin's picture collection.

13. Jean Francois André Duval. He was born at St. Petersburg in 1776 and left Russia in 1813, to live in Geneva where he died in 1854. Part of his collection was sold in London at Phillips, May 12 and 13 1846. Some pictures from his collection are now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Geneva. See also W. Deonna, Quelques oeuvres d'art provenant des collections Duval .. in Genava, 1932, pp. 184 ff. I am indebted to Dr. Renée Loche for this information and for an offprint of the article.

14. Guillaume Favre 1770-1851. For the Canova Venus and Adonis cf. W. Deonna, Le Legs Guillaume Favre au Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genava 1942, p. 162 note 4. I am indebted to Dr. Renée Loche for an offprint of this article.

15. Henri Fazy.

16. I have been unable to trace the identity of Kuhn with any precision, although Dr. Renée Loche kindly informs me that a certain A. Kuhn is found in a list of donors to the Museum in Geneva prior to 1906.

17. In his album under the St. Luke James Dennistoun notes "The school and period of art to which I have assigned them are confirmed by a facsimile and description of a St. Luke much resembling this, in Agincourt Storia dell'arte, Vol. VI, p. 149 and plate 47".

18. Laing Ms. Edinburgh University Library - La.IV.17.

19. For the Abbé Paul Macpherson, Rector of the Scottish College see W.E. Brown, Essay on the History of the Scots College in The Scots College, Rome 1930, pp. 1 ff.

20. Dennistoun's Ms. Catalogue (Grinke Mss.) . For the provenance and current attribution see A. Blunt, Provisional Catalogue of the Gambier Parry Collection, London 1967, p. 39 No. 122.

21. For De Angelis see Cesare Brandi La Regia Pinacoteca di Siena, Rome 1933, pp. 5 ff. I am much indebted to both Christopher Lloyd for kindly drawing my attention to this picture, and to the present owner for permission to reproduce it in the Connoisseur, December 1973, p. 242 fig. 3. For the history of the picture see: The Dennistoun sale at Christie's June 14 1855, lot 49, the Davenport-Bromley sale at Christies' June 12 1863, lot 48, the Sir John Ramsden sale, Christie's May 27 1932, lot 117; and Thos. Agnew & Sons Ltd. Catalogue April-May 1969 No. 28.

22. The miniature was sold at Sotheby's February 2 1960, lot 250 as by Sano di Pietro. For the attribution to Liberale da Verona see Carlo del Bravo, Arte Veneta, XVII, 1963, p. 48. I am indebted to Prof. H.A.D. Miles for these references.

23. Letter from James Dennistoun to David Laing from Rome dated December 3 1838 (Laing Mss.).

24. Letter to the Editor of the Art-Union dated November 9 1841. Published in The Art-Union, January 1 1842, p. 12.

25. In the Dennistoun Mss. at the National Library of Scotland (5525 f.9) there is a draft letter from James Dennistoun to J.D. Passavant, dated August 13 1849 and written from Marienberg. Dennistoun expresses his regret that his arrival in Germany should coincide with Passavant's departure. "I shall be sorry to carry back with me my head of Raffaele without showing it to you as without inspection it is difficult to meet such absurd and unfounded attacks on it as that by M. de Reumont, and as yet no one who has examined the picture has doubted its genuineness or intact state". Passavant did apparently see the picture eventually. cf. James Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, London 1851, II, Appendix V, p. 465.

26. J. Dennistoun op. cit. pp. 461 ff.

27. Cf. the catalogue Sammlung Thyssen - Bornemisza, 1971, p. 311 No. 249.

28. British Museum Department of Manuscripts, Yates Thompson Ms.

No. 29. Cf. Henry Yates Thompson, A Descriptive Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Manuscripts, 1907, pp. 145 ff.

29. For the sale, which was negotiated on Lord Ashburnham's behalf by John Holmes, see the Ashburnham Mss. 3584-3591 in the East Sussex County Record Office at Lewes. See also A.N.L. Munby, Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850, Oxford 1972, p. 125. Cf. also Dennistoun op. cit. I, p. 423.

30. Letter from James Dennistoun to Lord Lindsay dated August 12 1848, preserved in the Crawford Mss. at the John Rylands Library Manchester.

31. Dennistoun op. cit. III, pp. 382 ff.

32. Presumably a reference to The Mosaics of the Cupola in the Cappella Chigiana of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome: Designed by Raffaelle Sanzio d'Urbino, engraved and edited by Lewis Gruner, 11 plates. London 1850. Italian Edition, illustrated by Antonio Grifi, 10 plates, Roma 1839.

33. This work was never published.

34. Quoted from Dennistoun's Ms. Catalogue (Grinke Mss.).

35. British Museum Department of Manuscripts Add. 17687; I am much indebted to Miss J.M. Backhouse for helpful information about the provenances of the B.M. miniatures. Dennistoun notes in his album below his miniature of the Annunciation: "The elongated figures, angular draperies and animated movements are extremely characteristic of the School, as well as the air of the heads, the exaggerated features and the ground of burnished gold .... The nearly defaced German inscription

behind this one gives the following account of the book to which these had belonged, before they were barbarously extracted. "The worthy Mother Elizabeth Koglin has given this Psalter to the administration of the Monastery of the Kings, and has given instructions that whatever royal monastery shall possess it, no one shall send or take it from the administration without permission from the worthy mother: anno 1586"."

36. Dennistoun, op. cit. I, p. XIV. For C. Eastlake's review see The Quarterly Review, June 1840, pp. 1 ff.

X

Eastlake's review of Passavant's two volume monograph Rafael von Urbino, which was published in The Quarterly Review in June 1840, was presented in terms which could have been calculated to fire Dennistoun's imagination.(1) For he had begun by paying tribute to earlier 19th century writers such as von Rumohr who had been among the first to free art historical studies from the dominating influence of Vasari's Vite, and to base their conclusions instead on the fruits of original archival research, a method which, although still rare among writers on art, would have appealed immediately to an experienced antiquarian such as Dennistoun. Eastlake had then warmly recommended Passavant's book, in particular for its attempt to survey with chronological accuracy the early life and work of Raphael; and he went on to discuss the earlier artists active in Umbria before the time of Raphael, such as Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, Gentile da Fabriano, Piero della Francesca, Melozzo da Forli, Signorelli, Perugino and Pintoricchio. Finally, he also noted, - and it was at this point that Dennistoun's attention was specially aroused, - that "we find treated here with the attention it deserves for the first time .... the importance of Urbino, both in a political and social point of view, at the period when Raphael began his career."

After reading this article Dennistoun decided to make his own enquiries about five of the Dukes of Urbino. These were Federigo, Guidobaldo I and Francesco Maria I, who from 1443 to 1538 "formed the brightest era of Urbino, and included the most stirring period of

Italian history, the golden age of Italian art";[2] and Guidobaldo II and Francesco Maria II "who prolonged the independence of the duchy until 1631, when it lapsed to the Holy See."[3] His aim, in selecting the princely house of Urbino, was to blend "into one continuous narrative the incidents of war and politics, the development of letters and arts, with their influence on civilisation and national character ...."[4]

With this purpose in mind Dennistoun decided to make another extended tour of Italy in order to work systematically through the archives of the central Italian libraries in search of material connected with Urbino, and study in situ the works of the early artists active in Umbria. It seems probable, however, that he did not set out before the middle of 1842 or even early 1843, and most of the period before then was apparently spent in Scotland, where he must have been busily occupied with editorial work on The Coltness Collections which was published by the Maitland Club in 1842. He was certainly in Scotland in the autumn of 1841 when he corresponded with Lord Lindsay about matters of Scottish antiquarian interest. It was also in this year that he bought in Edinburgh, from the art dealer Count Galli, a large picture of the Nativity attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari which cannot now be traced but for which he paid the relatively high figure of £64.[5] At about the same time Dennistoun also bought a Virgin & Child by Cima which is now in the Detroit Institute of Fine Arts (Inv. 89.11).[6] The Dennistouns were again buying pictures in Edinburgh in January 1842 at the Johnston of Straiton sale, where they paid only 8 guineas for a Polyptych by Schiavone, now in the National Gallery, London

(Inv. 630),[7] and £6 for a picture of the Virgin and Child on a grassy bank, attributed to Titian, which I cannot identify.[8]

By April 1842, however, Dennistoun was actively preparing for a major expedition abroad, and in a letter to his Edinburgh friend David Laing, written on the 13th of the month[9] to acknowledge an enjoyable visit to Laing's rather modest picture collection, he announced his intention of travelling to Rome, either via Brussels, Frankfurt, Munich, Milan and Genoa, or else by Hamburg, Berlin, Leipzig, Dresden, Prague, Vienna, Trieste and Venice. Unfortunately, we do not know which route he eventually followed, but he and his wife had certainly arrived in Italy no later than the summer of 1843. For in June 1843 the Dennistouns had met Colonel and Mrs. Lindsay of Balcarres in Florence, and by then they had already been in Rome and spent several weeks in Pesaro, where James had been working in the library.[10]

But the earliest first hand account of Dennistoun's programme in Italy is to be found in a letter which he addressed to Lord Lindsay, from Florence on 4 July 1843, soon after he had been informed by Col. and Mrs. Lindsay that their future son in law was also engaged in writing a book on early Italian art.[11] Dennistoun begins by generously expressing pleasure in this news and then describes a five week tour he and his wife had just made to "the most interesting localities of Umbrian art" including Perugia, Gubbio, Senigallia, Pesaro, Rimini, Urbino, Citta di Castello, Borgo San Sepolcro, and Arezzo. "I had previously visited nearly every step of this road"

Dennistoun adds proudly but "one sees things more correctly for the second time".

More specific details of Dennistoun's travels in central Italy at this time can probably be deduced from a letter he wrote to Coutts Lindsay in 1851 advising him of the best route to follow on a journey between Rome and Venice, since it is clear that Dennistoun's recommendations were based on his own first hand experiences from c. 1843.[12] Coutts is advised to travel north from Rome via Civita Castellana, Narni and Todi. Then in Spoleto he should visit not only the Cathedral with its frescoes by Filippo Lippi, and the town hall (for works by Lo Spagna), but also the majolica collection belonging to Signor Serafino Fordelli. Travelling north out of Spoleto, he is then reminded to stop at S. Giacomo to see the little known frescoes by Lo Spagna in the church there before proceeding to Foligno where he could study numerous works by Niccolo da Foligno. On the way to Assisi Dennistoun advises stops both at Montefalco, for the frescoes by Gozzoli and Fra Angelico in S. Francesco, and also at Spello for the frescoes by Pintoricchio in the Collegiata di S. Maria. After Assisi Coutts is directed to Perugia, Cortona, and then Arezzo where Dennistoun perceptively singles out Piero della Francesca's frescoes in S. Francesco for particular attention. Up until this point Dennistoun's route was conventional enough, and as we have already seen Coutts had in fact already beaten a very similar path with Lord Lindsay in 1842. But whereas Lindsay and Coutts had then travelled from Arezzo to Siena, Dennistoun suggests that Coutts should instead turn eastwards towards Citta di Castello and Borgo S. Sepolcro before

crossing over the hills to Urbino. These towns were still not much visited by English tourists, and so far as I can tell from the extensive Crawford papers even Lord Lindsay never covered this ground.(13)

From Urbino, Dennistoun suggests that Coutts should go on to Fano in order to see the frescoes by Perugino and Giovanni Santi in the church of S. Maria Nuova. Then in Pesaro he is directed to the librarian Don Pietro Raffaele; in Rimini he is asked to check the date inscribed on Piero della Francesca's fresco, representing Sigismondo Malatesta, in the church of S. Francesco; but in Ravenna Dennistoun advises him to concentrate on the "curious architecture" because there are "no good pictures". From Ravenna Coutts might then travel on to Forli, Florence and Bologna. "All this you can post", Dennistoun reminds him, "except from Arezzo to Fossombrone and from Forli to Florence. If you have seen Florence before going South, you would go from Forli to Bologna direct."

After Bologna, Ferrara is singled out as "rich in art and little explored" and Coutts is also advised not to forget Padua. Here Dennistoun particularly mentions Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel and also recommends visits to the churches of S. Antonio and S. Giustina as well as to the Duomo; but rather surprisingly he omits any reference to either the frescoes by Giusto de Menabuoi in the Baptistry, or the frescoes by Altichiero in the Oratorio di S. Giorgio, to which Lord Lindsay on the other hand paid particular attention in 1842.

Dennistoun's travelogue does demonstrate the very thorough

knowledge which he had acquired of the main artistic monuments of central Italy. He himself apparently felt confident enough by the summer of 1843 to send Mr Murray, the publisher, two sets of corrections to the recently published Murray Handbooks for Northern Italy (1842) and for Central Italy (1843). It is from another letter to Murray dated 10th June 1844 that we learn of the Dennistouns' trip to Naples.(14) By this date they had already arrived and were planning to stay another four months before returning to Rome for the winter. Dennistoun again promises to send home notes on anything likely to be of use for the projected, but still unpublished, Murray Handbook of S Italy, but none of this material, if it were ever sent, has survived.

In spite of his academic preoccupations, as well as an apparent shortage of funds, Dennistoun remained almost as fascinated by the Italian art market in 1843-44 as he had been during his earlier tour of 1836-39. For instance in August 1843 he wrote from Florence to a friend in Rome at the Scots College, the Rev. James Hamilton, with an extremely detailed account of the works of art for sale in the city.(15) He describes Byzantine roba and sculpture by Luca della Robbia at Sorbi's shop, as well as further della Robbia's at more reasonable prices in a shop "opposite Molini's". Among the pictures he notes a fine altarpiece of the Madonna and Saints "size of life by Ales. Baldovinetti as I conceive", and "some half dozen of really admirable old tavole ... besides others daubed with varnish al uso Fiorentino!" But he complains that "Prices are however on the ascendant for such things and I hear that all the young dandy lords were picking up Giottesque scraps last winter for their weight in gold." He adds that

he has himself "almost given up looking after these things as I don't buy", partly because of the difficulties of transportation (a panel he had sent to Rome had been smashed), but also because he had been obliged to spend nearly £100 on a new carriage and harness, "those I had brought from Rome being too shabby and rozzo even for our philosophy".

In spite of the need for economies the Dennistouns found sufficient funds while at Florence in 1843 to commission from Insom a pair of alabaster portrait medallions of themselves which are now in a private collection.(16) It was also during this year that Dennistoun bought in Rome a Portrait of Prince Federico of Urbino which had formerly been in the Vatican library, and which he later gave to his Edinburgh friend, Andrew Coventry. In Pesaro he acquired a Portrait of Duke Francesco Maria II of Urbino attributed to the school of Baroccio.(17) Then in 1844 he bought in Rome a small panel of the Madonna and Child "on gold ground" which he later attributed to the "painter of the so called Perugino of Beckford in the National Gallery";(18) but although Beckford's picture is perfectly authentic, Dennistoun's was apparently not and Waagen subsquently put forward the name of Luigi Ingegno.(19) Later, in the summer of 1845, Dennistoun bought in Florence a Skirmish of Calvary from the school of S. Rosa,(20) and a Portrait of a lady attributed to Sustermans,(21) as well as a Portrait of Torquato Tasso by Allesandro Allori for which he paid £10.(22) None of these pictures can now be identified but the three portraits of Duke Federico, Duke Francesco Maria II, and the poet Torquato Tasso are all recorded in the reproductive plates from the Memoirs

of the Dukes of Urbino.[23]

These three portraits, and other pictures from Dennistoun's collection for which the exact date of acquisition is not recorded, but which were also subsequently illustrated in his book, may well have been specially bought with this particular reproductive purpose in mind. Among the pictures to which such a conjecture might apply are the Portrait of Bernardo Tasso by an unknown artist which was not apparently included in the 1855 sale of Dennistoun's collection; the small panel of the Madonna and Child with Saints, formerly in the Gerini collection, Florence, which Dennistoun attributed to Fra Angelico and which is still attributed to Angelico's workshop by its present owner, Count Seilern;[24] a panel of The Resurrection, also attributed by Dennistoun to Fra Angelico and which is now in the Louvre attributed to Andrea di Giusto;[25] a St. Roch from the school of Perugino which cannot be traced beyond the 1855 Dennistoun sale;[26] an Adoration of the Magi attributed to the school of Perugino which can be identified as the picture published in the Holford collection as Umbrian c. 1500;[27] and a Magdalen attributed by Dennistoun to Timoteo Viti, which cannot now be traced beyond the Davenport-Bromley collection.[28]

The Timoteo Viti was previously in the collection of M. Lauriani, librarian at the Vatican, who also sold Dennistoun at least two other pictures. One,acquired in 1845,was a fragment attributed to Simone Memmi, representing the Virgin and Child,in which according to Dennistoun's subsequent note, the "grand character and sweet

expression are combined with a more animated movement than is usual in that age".[29] The other, which Dennistoun bought in 1846, was a panel of the Nativity attributed then to Fra Angelico; Waagen later credited it to Lorenzo Monaco, but by the time it reappeared at the Davenport-Bromley sale in 1863 the attribution had been changed again, to Orcagna.[30] Neither of these pictures can now be identified.

Although all these acquisitions (even those which can be firmly rather than conjecturally traced to the years 1843-6) hardly suggest that Dennistoun had entirely given up collecting, they do indicate that on the whole he was now confining his choice to works relevant to his academic studies on the court of Urbino and the early artists active in Umbria, rather than attempting to form a more systematic and representative art historical collection of early Italian paintings as had been his quite specific aim during his earlier Italian tour, in 1838.[31] This impression is strongly reinforced by Dennistoun's failure to buy more than three rather minor pictures at the sale of Cardinal Fesch's pictures in Rome 1843-1845. Dennistoun had certainly seen the sale of the first and second parts of Fesch's collection in 1843 and 1844, since he wrote what he described to David Laing as an "amusing trashy" article on the subject for the Foreign Quarterly Review.[32] It was however the sale of the fourth part, starting on 17 March 1845 and containing the best Italian pictures, which should have most interested him. And if he had still been strongly inclined to add to his collection of early pictures, he could hardly have refrained from taking advantage of this very opportune occasion; for, as he himself told Laing, "many good and some

excellent Italian works sold for little more than the framing". Yet all that Dennistoun bought was a Portrait of a Cardinal, attributed to Velazquez, for which he paid £8 and which was subsequently sold for only 4 guineas after his death;(33) a School of Ferrara Holy Family with St Francis and Jerome;(34) and an unattributed half length portrait.(35)

Perhaps the best way of emphasising the incredible opportunity which Dennistoun allowed to pass is to enumerate some of the forty or so pictures which another British collector, the Rev. Walter Davenport-Bromley, bought at the sale for the relatively modest outlay of only 5000 scudi. That Davenport-Bromley's taste was in most respects quite consistent with Dennistoun's is illustrated by the fact that he later bought eight pictures from the 1855 sale of Dennistoun's collection.(36) The most expensive items which Davenport-Bromley bought at the Fesch sale, and which accounted for nearly half the money he spent, were three fragments from Sebastiano del Piombo's Visitation from S. Maria del Popolo; these are now at Alnwick Castle. A further twenty seven of the pictures he bought on this occasion can be traced to the 1863 sale of Davenport-Bromley's collection at Christie's, and the present whereabouts of many of them is also known, largely as a result of the exhaustive researches of Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse.(37) Many of these pictures certainly lay within the limited range of Dennistoun's financial resources. For instance Giotto's Death of the Virgin, now in the Dahlem museum, West Berlin (Inv. 1884), cost Davenport-Bromley only 121 scudi,(38) while the

large Lorenzo Monaco Coronation of the Virgin,[39] which later passed to the Gambier Parry collection and is now in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, cost only 101 scudi.[40]

The Fesch sale also contained many early Venetian works and Davenport-Bromley was able to buy several pictures by Crivelli. These included the St Dominic and St George now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Inv. 05.41.1 and 05.41.2),[41] a St James now in the Brooklyn museum,[42] a St Nicholas now in Cleveland (Inv. 52.111)[43] as well as a Bishop Saint now attributed to the Master of the Gardner Annunciation (sold Christie's 23 June 1967 (30)),[44] and a Virgin and Child signed by a pupil of Crivelli, Pietro Alamanno of Ascoli (with Matthiesen's London, 1946).[45]

Among the Florentine works which Dennistoun allowed Davenport-Bromley to acquire were the beautiful Cupid & Psyche cassone by Sellaio which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Inv. M.75),[46] and its companion, now in the Proehl collection, Amsterdam,[47] as well as the much less distinguished Triumphal Procession, attributed to Sellaio, in the National Gallery of Scotland (Inv. 1538).[48] The Fesch sale also included a tondo by Botticelli of the Virgin and Child, now in Baltimore (Inv. 38.226), for which Davenport-Bromley paid 198 scudi,[49] and an altarpiece by Cosimo Rosselli which is now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (Inv. 556).[50] Milanese pictures in the sale which were also acquired by Davenport-Bromley included an altarpiece of the Adoration of the Kings by Vincenzo Foppa, now in the National Gallery, London (Inv. 729)[51]

and a small Virgin and Child attributed to Leonardo da Vinci which excited the imagination of Rio, and which was last exhibited in Dallas in 1949 (from the Hermann collection).[52] The Fesch sale also offered a rare opportunity to acquire works of particular art historical value, being signed by comparatively rare masters, such as the Annunciation by Vicenzo Pagani di Monte Rubiano, now in the Paul Getty collection,[53] and a Virgin and Child with Saints by Giulio di Amendula which is now in the Stuttgart museum.[54] These, respectively, cost Davenport-Bromley 325 and 125 scudi.

Dennistoun's apparent loss of interest in acquiring original works of art, even when bargains such as these presented themselves, and at the very moment when Davenport-Bromley was so successfully experiencing this new found pleasure,[55] may, at least in part, have been due to his increasing preoccupation at this time with current developments in the techniques for reproducing pictures by the early masters in printed books. In a letter to David Laing, written from Florence on 29 July 1845, he passes over the still topical question of the Fesch pictures in a couple of sentences but then finds space for a lengthy and quite perceptive account of newly published books on Italian art.[56] After first drawing attention to the review of Gayé's Carteggio (1839-40) which he had just published in The Foreign Quarterly,[57] he goes on to discuss Rosini's Storia della Pittura Italiana (12 vols; 1839-54) and other illustrated works. "There is always something doing in the way of illustrating Italian History and art, as you may see in an article on Records of Early Italian Art I sent to the Fn. Quarterly of last January. Rossini's /sic/ great

work on Italian painting now coming out will in some degree supercede Agincourt[58] in respect to the honesty and correctness of the engravings, tho' not as to the criticism and accuracy of the text.[59] Padre Marchi's immense and most learned work on Xtian antiquities will form a Corpus on that subject admirably illustrated by engravings.[60] These of course are expensive works as are the Florence and Pitti Galleries.[61] In the Illustration of Early art (1200-1500) there is nothing so good as the plates from the Belle Arte gallery now publishing here,[62] and a set of the works of Beato Angelico[63] - the former in progress - the latter about £3. Nowadays nice attention begins to be paid to give the feeling as well as the correct design in illustrating such works by engravings - qualities the absence of which renders nearly all the illustrated works of 1600-1700 next to useless for criticism." Dennistoun is also able to report good progress with his own researches, and is enthusiastic about the volume of engraved reproductions which were to accompany the text of his book and which were being made with the advice and help of his friend L. Gruner. "I have got nearly a dozen engravings done or in progress .. which I flatter myself will please you."[64]

Dennistoun's correspondence from Italy in the mid 1840s tells us much less about which of the modern authorities on early art he consulted for the information and ideas contained in the text rather than for the reproductive engravings. But it is evident from his published review of Gaye's Carteggio that he was by now acquainted with the works of many of the most important foreign early 19th century writers on art such as Cancellieri, Fea, Pungileone, Ricci

and Vermiglioli in Italy; Orloff, Quatremère de Quincy, Rio and Viardot in France; and Blattner, Rehberg, Rumohr, Spath, and Waagen as well as Passavant in Germany.[65] (Rather curiously, however, he omits E. Foerster whose Handbuch für Reisende in Italien, Munich 1840, had already proved so useful to Lord Lindsay in Italy.)[66] But there is nothing in Dennistoun's private papers and correspondence to suggest that he was particularly preoccupied with the ideas of any of these writers except for Rio, with whom he had become personally acquainted no later than 1843.

The first indication that Dennistoun had assimilated some of Rio's ideas relating to Christian art is perhaps to be found in the letter which he wrote to Lindsay from Florence on 4 July 1843, to which reference has already been made. He expresses his "almost despairing respect at the almost total want of intelligence and sympathy .... for the higher and purer branches of art" among Englishmen, and then goes on to warmly encourage Lindsay in his own efforts to rectify this situation. "... I was very glad however to learn that you devote yourself to that style and period of art which is as yet generally unknown on our side of the channel, and contemptuously underrated by most of our countrymen who have seen the frescoes and panel paintings of the trecentisti and quattrocentisti in this country. They exercise their wit by bad jokes upon its stiff outlines and incorrect anatomy, totally unconscious that the ignorance they gibe belongs rather to themselves than the painters who strove to delineate sentiments - not vulgar or profane realities - which they are unable to appreciate. That the revival of a more correct taste has advanced

with rapid strides of late in Germany, Italy and I believe in France is clear enough - that in England men's minds are tardily awakening from centuries of blindness under the influence of the few writers who direct their energies in that way begins to appear - that the scope for higher art to be afforded by the houses of Pt./Parliament/ may be turned to good account I am willing to hope; but I am not so sanguine as to anticipate such a revolution of public feeling as will promote pure and Christian painting among a people whose climate, maritime position, commercial character and religion combine to turn them from the ideal to the useful, from spiritualism to Egotism. However one should never despair, and if we are to preach better things, let us trust that some of the seed may spring to vitality and bear seed ...." These observations on the purity of sentiment expressed in the works of the early Italian painters, and the puritanical quality of English artistic taste, mark a radical change from the detached antiquarian approach which Dennistoun had hitherto adopted; but it was one about which he himself had doubts, and by 1845 he was deliberately attempting to elicit a reaction from his friends on the subject of De La Poésie Chrétienne.

For instance, he wrote again to Lindsay, on 3 July 1845, and provokingly described the Italian edition of Rio's book /with editorial notes by von Rumohr/ as "well translated .... with an enthusiastic preface, like the original somewhat wordy for English ears."(67) He also wrote on the same subject to an English antiquarian colleague resident in Venice, Mr. Rawdon Brown, whom he had not yet actually met; and he can hardly have anticipated the tone of Rawdon Brown's unequivocal reply with its amusing but venomous anecdote of an

encounter which took place in Venice in around 1834 between Rio, who was then still preparing his book, and Edward Cheney of Badger Hall, Shropshire, whose tastes lay in the very different direction of G.B. Tiepolo.(68) This letter, dated 6 April 1846, is of interest, not only because of the effect it must have had in dampening any excessive admiration Dennistoun may have had for De La Poésie Chrétienne, and in alerting him to the extreme reactions which the book was capable of arousing, but also for the light it throws on the particular frame of mind in which Cheney must later have approached Dennistoun's own forthcoming Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, before reviewing it most unfavourably in The Quarterly Review five years later in 1851. "I do know the individual /Rio/ you mention" writes Rawdon Brown, "and consider him one of the most pestiferous, superficial, and conceited literary coxcombs, I ever came across, proclaiming a contempt for the knowledge and feeling entertained for ancient art by our countrymen, such as would amount to insolence, were it not neutralised and rendered an encomium by the man's own ignorance and 'slipsloppery', which last I can never forgive, since delighting as one must in the exquisite simplicity of the old, old masters, one was obliged to "throw them over" after this dogmatist's styling them the heads of the école naive!! Some years ago this nomenclator, when here one day, announced to my friend Edward Cheney that the chapter in his work upon Venice was completed! but, that he should like to pass along the grand canal in his company just to derive extra hints etc. Now you must know, that our purveyor of taste, catholicism, and sentiment, for the faubourg St. Germain, had already at that time

been in Venice, over and over again, and for months and months together, and bearing this in mind, value his profundity, when I assure you that after displaying the grossest ignorance about various structures, enough to make a "laquais de place" sick, he wound up, on passing the Ca' Foscari, by asking And what is that? You may imagine Cheney's horror! but not to injure the sale of the man's book, I should add that he remained here some while after this "naiveté" and doubtless his trash will prove quite treat enough for the Montalembert tea tables, or for Frenchmen in general .....; and then as for the religious point of view, young France is somewhat of the way of thinking of one of her diplomatists at Rome, who one evening observed: "J'aime le Saint-Père, j'aime le Sacré Collège, j'aime tout ça! c'est si rococo" and R's poesy is not even that, for its only mock rococo, ..."

Whatever his views on the limitations of Rio's book, Dennistoun certainly agreed with the French writer's criticisms of the lack of interest among British writers in the subject of early Christian art. In fact he was acutely concerned by the shortage of books of any kind in the English language devoted to the subject of the early Italian artists, and he had even referred to this question in The Foreign Quarterly Review in April 1845, drawing attention to the difficulties facing a young English artist coming to Italy to form his taste, without any advantage of a reading knowledge of foreign languages. As he rightly pointed out - and as we have seen Lord Lindsay had reached the same conclusion in 1842 - "The English version of Lanzi is insufficient to infuse a taste and knowledge of Italian painting into an

entire people, and Kugler's Handbook, in itself over appreciated, is useful to those only who are already versant in the subject."(69)

Dennistoun, therefore, firmly resolved that his own book on the Dukes of Urbino, however thoroughly researched, should be presented in a form which would attract the general reader. He emphasises this educative purpose when, in a letter to Lord Lindsay, he informs him that "My only aim is to make some of the pleasantest and finest passages of Italian study accessible to a class in Engd who cannot or will not have recourse to the originals - to those who know Italian literature my volumes will offer nothing more than a rapid and very slight tracing of what is well known to them. It is true that I have spent a great deal of time and no small trouble in recurring to original MSS and to archives and other less patent sources, but after all the results are little different from what I should have arrived at by following published authorities. My plan has afforded to myself infinitely more interest and has prolonged greatly a pleasant task, but to my readers much of it will be tempo perduto. After all the great thing is by making it readable to attract a few to look into the resources of Italian literature; and to make disquisitions on old art readable in England is I rather suspect not quite so easy as to get subscriptions for railway scrip ...."(70)

NOTES

1. For C. Eastlake's review see The Quarterly Review, June 1840, pp. 1 ff.
2. J. Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, London 1851, I, p. vi.
3. J. Dennistoun, loc. cit.
4. J. Dennistoun, op. cit., I p. iv.
5. The prices at which Dennistoun bought his pictures quoted throughout this study are recorded (except where otherwise stated) in a copy of the catalogue of the Dennistoun sale, Christie's 14 June 1855, annotated by a hand believed to be that of Dennistoun's widow. The annotated catalogue forms part of the Paul Grinke Mss. The Nativity by Gaudenzio Ferrari was lot 32 in this sale. The sale is referred to below as the Dennistoun sale.
6. Information from Dennistoun's Ms catalogue of some of the pictures in his collection (Grinke Mss). This picture was lot 33 in the Dennistoun sale.
7. James Johnston of Straiton sale, Tait, Edinburgh, 14 January 1842 (34). Then lot 20 in the Dennistoun sale.
8. James Johnston of Straiton sale (cf. note 7 above) lot 91. Then lot 45 in the Dennistoun sale.
9. Laing Mss. Edinburgh University Library. Dennistoun wrote to Laing: "... You have pictures for many tastes but were I to choose my favourites they would be your de Heere portrait and your Cuyp Interior." Neither of these pictures can be identified.

There is also remarkably little information as to how Laing formed his collections, but he travelled widely, and as a bookseller and then Signet Librarian he kept a close eye on sales at home, and in London. Five of Laing's pictures were bequeathed to the National Gallery of Scotland after his death in 1878. These were 1) Avercamp Winter landscape, (inv. 647) which he bought in Edinburgh for 7 guineas at the Thomas Sivright sale, 1 Feb. 1836 (2840); 2) studio of Piero di Cosimo Madonna & Child with St. John (tondo), (inv. 645); 3) studio of Lorenzo di Credi Holy Family (tondo), (inv. 646) which is shown in the background of a Portrait of Laing by William Fettes Douglas, painted for the RSA and presented in 1862 (now N.G. of Scotland, inv. 669); 4) John Runciman King Lear, (inv. 570), and 5) The Flight into Egypt, (inv. 648), which both reflect Laing's special interest in the history of Scottish painting. Another interesting acquisition was a Flight into Egypt, attributed to Squarcione, from the sale of Robert Jameson, Advocate, at Tait's Edinburgh 12-14 March 1835 (534), but this work cannot be identified. Laing was also interested in historical portraits, and left his own collection of 26 portraits to the Society of Antiquaries Edinburgh in the hope, expressed during his lifetime, that "it might serve as a commencement of a National Portrait Gallery". (See Notices of David Laing ed. T.V. Stevenson, Edinburgh 1878, p. 39. See further D. Thomson, The national collection of portraits in Pictures for Scotland, ed. C. Thompson, Edinburgh 1972, pp. 70-73.)

Laing's collection of old master prints, which was sold at

Sotheby's 21 Feb. 1880, included impressions by Mantegna, Durer, Lucas van Leyden, Cranach, Raimondi, Bonasone, Rembrandt and others. His collection of old master drawings was bequeathed to the Royal Scottish Academy, and most of this material was transferred to the National Gallery of Scotland in 1910. A residue which came to light later was transferred on extended loan in 1966. Among Laing's drawings were a number of early Italian works including examples by Lorenzo di Credi (D. 642), Benozzo Gozzoli (D. 1249), F. Granacci (attributed) (D. 680), Filippino Lippi (studio) (D.813), Mantegna (circle) (D. 809 and D.1529), and A. Pisanello (D.722). For full details see K. Andrews, National Gallery of Scotland Catalogue of Italian Drawings, Edinburgh 1968. See also G. Goudie, David Laing: a memoir of his life and literary work, Edinburgh 1913.

10. See letter from Mrs. Anne Lindsay to Lord Lindsay, dated Florence 24 June 1843, in the Crawford Mss. She writes: "... There is a Scotch gentleman here Mr. Dennistoun - a sensible well informed man who is writing a history of the Dukes of Urbino and of art in these days - from what I hear I don't think it will interfere with you - but you see the subject is beginning to interest many ..."

11. Crawford Mss.

12. James Dennistoun to Sir Coutts Lindsay, Edinburgh 15 Feb. 1851. Crawford Mss.

13. The record is reasonably complete up to and including his 1842 tour. But it is not impossible that Lindsay covered new ground after the publication of his Sketches ....

14. Murray Mss.

15. Ms. in archives of the Scots College, Rome. I have not succeeded in identifying the Rev. James Hamilton; the authorities at the Scots College have found no information in their files.

16. See Dennistoun's catalogue (Grinke Mss.; cf. note 6 above).

17. Lot 23 in the Dennistoun sale.

18. See Dennistoun's catalogue (Grinke Mss.; cf. note 6 above). Beckford's picture is in the National Gallery, London, Inv. 181.

19. Waagen's attribution, recorded in Dennistoun's catalogue (cf. note 18 above) was presumably communicated privately since this picture is not included in his published description of the collection. Cf. G.F. Waagen, Art Treasures in Great Britain, London 1854, III pp. 281-2.

20. See Dennistoun's catalogue (Grinke Mss.; cf. note 6 above). Not identifiable in Dennistoun sale.

21. Lot 82 in the Dennistoun sale.

22. Lot 25 in the Dennistoun sale.

23. Dennistoun op. cit., III plates 39, 40 and 44.

24. Lot 4 in the Dennistoun sale. See Count Seilern, Italian Pictures and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London 1959, p. 14, No. 70.

25. Lot 3 in the Dennistoun sale.

26. Lot 42 in the Dennistoun sale.

27. Lot 30 in the Dennistoun sale. Later Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12/13 June 1863 (51). Then Holford collection by 1924. See The Holford Collection, B.F.A.C., London 1924, p. 46, No. 19, pl. XXVII.

28. Lot 29 in the Dennistoun sale. Then Davenport-Bromley sale (cf. note 27 above) lot 136.

29. See Dennistoun's catalogue (Grinke Mss.; cf. note 6 above). Lot 12 in the Dennistoun sale.

30. See Dennistoun's catalogue (Grinke Mss.; cf. note 6 above). Waagen's attribution was presumably communicated privately since this picture is not included in his published description of the collection (cf. note 19 above). The picture was lot 14 in the Dennistoun sale; then Davenport-Bromley sale (cf. note 27 above) lot 46.

31. See letter from James Dennistoun to David Laing, Rome 3 Dec. 1838, in Laing Mss.

32. James Dennistoun to David Laing, Florence 29 July 1845, in Laing Mss. Dennistoun's article appeared in The Foreign Quarterly Review, April 1845, pp. 1 ff. Cf. also note 56 below.

33. Fesch sale, Rome, Part 4, 1845 (1067). Lot 69 in the Dennistoun sale.

34. Fesch sale, Rome, part 4, 1845 (1482). Lot 58 in the Dennistoun sale.

35. Fesch sale, Rome, Part 4, 1845 (1159). Not identifiable in the Dennistoun sale.

36. For the eight pictures acquired by the Rev. Walter Davenport-Bromley at the Dennistoun sale see the Davenport-Bromley sale, Christie's 12 and 13 June 1863, lots 8, 14, 15, 46, 48, 51, 83 and 136. Cf. also the Dennistoun sale lots 5, 9, 14, 29, 30, 33 and 49. The Rev. Walter Davenport was the youngest son

of Davies Davenport of Capesthorne and of Charlotte Sneyd. He graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1808 and became vicar of Fanshawe near Capesthorne. He married first Caroline Barbara daughter of John Gooch of Saxlingham, Archdeacon of Sudbury, and second Lady Louisa Mary Dawson. In 1822 after inheriting the Bromley family property of Baginton, he changed his name to Davenport-Bromley. (All this information kindly supplied by Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse.) G.F. Waagen, Art Treasures, London 1854, III p. 371 describes him as "an ardent admirer of all such pictures, be they of the 13th or 16th century, in which an unaffected and genuine feeling is expressed."

37. I am very deeply indebted to Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse who kindly put at my disposal all his unpublished information regarding the present whereabouts of these pictures and the prices Davenport-Bromley paid for them. This greatly supplemented what I had been able to piece together from my own resources.

38. Davenport-Bromley sale, Christie's 12 /13 June 1863 (173). This sale is subsequently referred to below as the Davenport-Bromley sale.

39. Lot 148 in the Davenport-Bromley sale as Giotto.

40. Thomas Gambier Parry's collection now belongs to the Courtauld Institute Gallery, London. For his activity as a collector see A. Blunt in the Burlington Magazine, March 1967, pp. 117 ff. For the Lorenzo Monaco Coronation, see A. Blunt, Provisional Catalogue of the Gambier Parry Collection, London 1967, p. 35, no. 116. Gambier Parry also bought another ex Fesch collection

picture at the Davenport-Bromley sale lot 131; this picture which is now in store at the Courtauld Institute Gallery is no. 50 in the 1897 Gambier Parry collection inventory. It is interesting to discover that Gambier Parry did not have an altogether favourable view of Davenport-Bromley's success as a collector. On his annotated copy of the Davenport-Bromley sale catalogue (Gambier Parry Mss. at Courtauld Institute Gallery), he noted: "Of this collection many pictures attributed to painters of great name were ugly and uninteresting and therefore sold for very little - some were excessively restored, and some improperly attributed to great painters - and 2 or 3 were inconveniently large for ordinary purchasers such as Nos. 162, 155. Hence the remarkably small prices. Those which I bought are in remarkably fine condition ..." Apart from the two Lorenzo Monaco panels which had been in Dennistoun's collection and which are discussed in Chapter IX, and the two ex Fesch collection pictures which Gambier Parry bought at the Davenport-Bromley sale and which are discussed in Chapter XI, he also acquired the following ex Davenport-Bromley sale pictures: lot 41 - Gherardo di Giovanni Head of an angel; lot 86 - B. Daddi Polyptych; lot 126 - Sienese c. 1340 St. Peter; lot 134 - Fra Angelico (circle) Dead Christ with Saints; and lot 174 - Master of S. Miniato Virgin and Child with St. John.

41. Lots 66 and 68 in Davenport-Bromley sale.

42. Lot 67 in Davenport-Bromley sale.

43. Lot 69 in Davenport-Bromley sale.

44. Lot 38 as Crivelli in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

45. Lot 64 as Crivelli in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

46. Lot 60 as Filippo Lippi in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

47. Lot 61 as Filippo Lippi in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

48. Lot 32 as Filippino Lippi in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

49. Lot 85 as Botticelli in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

50. Lot 79 in the Davenport-Bromley sale. Thomas Gambier Parry described this picture as "very coarse and ugly" on his copy of the sale catelogue. (Gambier Parry Mss. at Courtauld Institute Gallery).

51. Lot 155 as Il Bramantino in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

52. Lot 81 in the Davenport-Bromley sale. Exhibited Dallas Leonardo and his time, Dallas 1949, no. 100 illus.

53. Lot 45 in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

54. Lot 84 in the Davenport-Bromley sale.

55. Other pictures in the Davenport-Bromley sale, with a Fesch collection provenance, of which something is known include Lot 26 = Sir W. Farquhar sale, Christie's 2 June 1894 (145); lot 27 = Lord Southesk collection until burnt at Kinnaird in 1921; lot 108 = bought in at sale and now private collection (by inheritance) as Signorelli; lot 157 = M. Palmezzano Virgin and Child National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (inv. 117).

56. Laing Mss. See note 32 above. Although Dennistoun showed little interest in the Fesch sale in this letter to Laing, he did refer to more minor temptations: "... Generally good pictures get scarce, especially here which seems bare at this moment tho' of course there is always something to be done when one has time and a cool head. I profess to buy nothing having more

things than I can manage at home and no money; but sometimes one is tempted. Antiques in the way of gems are immensely risen at Rome. Perhaps you remember one I took home for you but which you did not like and took another instead. I exchanged it away in Rome for a picture for several times what it cost four years before. I have bought some fine bronze medals of 1450-1500, now very scarce and interesting for history as well as art; also some miniature illuminations of 1300 - very rare and in great request ...". Dennistoun also wrote to Lord Lindsay in the very same month with quite detailed information about the state of the Italian art market; he referred to the high price of the Last Judgment attributed to Fra Angelico in the Fesch sale in Rome (now W. Berlin museum) and of the Lombardi-Baldi collection pictures in Florence. The letter, dated Florence 3 July 1845, is in the Crawford Mss. ".... have you heard that one of the finest of the Beato's easel works at Fesch's sold for about 3,400 dollars, a trifle less than a half-crude Strumpet by Greuze and 1/6 of the price brought by a Metsu the size of your hand? There are several real gems of early art for sale collected by Metzger agent for the Duke of Bavaria's Italian purchases who is lately dead. Some of the best are gone, but there are still some gems at prices generally high. A delightful Hemmelink sold the other day for some £80, and there are several small bits by Beato, with a very fair specimen of him, a Virgin in the clouds on gold ground about 12 or 15 inches high - price 500 dollars and not dear. Generally there is very little

good to be bought at this moment, except a really admirable collection of panels from Cimabue in qua, 50 large and small, several being perfect Gothic altar pieces and all in fine order. The price is enormous 200,000 dollars, but I suppose, sooner or later it will be broken up and sold more reasonably. An original and capital portrait of Lorenzo the Magn^{t}. lately appeared, the only original I ever heard of, and had I not been now a days sans château and almost sans terre I should have procured the prize - as it is I urged Vivian /George Vivian/ to do so and it is now his ...." Dennistoun's letter also contains references to the recent discovery in Florence of Perugino's Cenacolo di Foligno which was later published as a Raphael (see P. Selvatico in La Rivista, 20 October 1845). Dennistoun writes: "It is baptised a Perugino by the oracles of Florence but is certainly not his tho' by one of his best scholars. I join with Mr. George Vivian (now here) in thinking it may be a Spagna ... ere I return it will probably be sold to some speculator." He also refers to Fra Angelico's fresco of the Crucifixion (now in the Louvre) which he claimed to have himself "discovered" in the refectory of S. Domenico below Fiesole.

57. The Foreign Quarterly Review, Jan. 1845, pp. 324 ff.

58. A reference to J. Seroux d'Agincourt, Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens depuis sa decadence au IVe siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVIe, Paris 1810-23.

59. A review of Rosini's book was published by P. Selvatico, Dell' arte moderna a Firenze. Cenni storico di Pietro Selvatico

Estense con appendice intorno alla Storia della Pittura del Professore Giovanni Rosini, Milan 1845, p. 48. Here, like Dennistoun, he praises the high quality of the reproductions but expresses reservations about the text of the first three volumes. The basis of Dennistoun's criticism of the text is not specified. Selvatico objected to Rosini's failure to take account of the style of artistic criticism, initiated by K. von Rumohr in Italienische Forschungen, Berlin 1827, by A. Rio in De la Poésie Chrétienne, Paris 1836 and by Le Comte de Montalembert, De la Peinture Chrétienne en Italie à l'occasion du livre de M. Rio, Paris 1837.

60. G. Marchi, Monumenti delle arti cristiane primitive .... 1844.

61. L'Imperiale e Reale Galleria Pitti illustrata per cura di Luigi Bardi, Florence 1837-42.

62. V. Marchese, Galleria dell' Imperiale e Reale Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze pubblicata con incisioni in rame ...., Florence 1845. See C. Lloyd, Art and its Images. An exhibition of printed books ..., Bodleian Library, Oxford, 1975, pp. 15-16. I am also indebted to Mr. Lloyd for assistance over footnotes 60-61 above, and 63 below.

63. La vita di Gesu Cristo dipinta da Fra Giovanni da Fiesole detto il Beato Angelico lucidata degli originali che si conservano nell' Imperiale e Reale Galleria Fiorentina delle Belle Arti disegnata ed incisa da G.B. Nocchi, Florence 1843.

64. Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. Engravings & Woodcuts, London 1851.

65. For bibliographical details see Dennistoun, op.cit., p. 325.

66. Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London

1847, III p. 186 described Foerster's Handbuch ... as "a manual I would strongly recommend to every student-traveller in Italy".

67. For this letter see also note 56 above. The relevant passage reads: "I have lost sight of Rio, since he went into Umbria two years ago to follow up his labors. He had an ungrateful task in hand, that of pursuing Xtian art through its decline. His Poésie de l'art has been well translated into Italian with an enthusiastic preface, like the original somewhat wordy for English ears." Dennistoun returned to the subject of Rio in a letter to Lord Lindsay dated Rothsay, 12 August 1848, in which he also refers to Lindsay's most recent visit to Italy in the winter of 1847 and the summer of 1848. "I trust that you have brought home copious and to yourself satisfactory notes for the continuation of your excellent work and that in due time we shall have the benefit of them. Yet I cannot help sympathising with you in the comparatively stale and unprofitable labour you have in working out the Iconage of Xtian art - an irksome task to which poor Rio always looked with a sort of repugnance which I think paralysed his pen. Do you know him? He is a person in whom I feel much interested and when I last saw him two years and half ago I had little hope of his being able to resume his favourite occupations so entirely were his nerves and constitution prostrated by pains of a neuralgic description."

68. National Library of Scotland Mss. Acc. 5524 (47).

69. The Foreign Quarterly Review, April 1845, p. 31. The English edition of Lanzi's The History of Painting in Italy was published

in London 1828, translated by Thomas Roscoe. The English edition of F. Kugler's Handbook was first published in London 1842.

70. For this letter in the Crawford Mss., and dated Florence 3 July 1845, see note 56 above.

XI

By September 1846 the Dennistouns were back in Britain, and soon took up permanent residence in George Street, Edinburgh. James' first preoccupation was not however the completion of his project on the Dukes of Urbino but rather the question of publishing new Mss material he had found relating to the Stuart princes in Italy. His article on this subject duly appeared in The Quarterly Review in December 1846. At this time he was also considering the completion of another article on "early Christian and monastic painting in Italy" which he had begun "some time ago", but as he warned Mr. Murray "I may perhaps delay finishing it until the publication of Lord Lindsay's work from which I have great expectations."(1) This projected study was indeed overtaken by Lindsay's Sketches of the History of Christian Art which appeared in 1847, and which Dennistoun found as praiseworthy as he had anticipated.(2) He then conceived the idea of using his art historical material in the form of a review of Lindsay's book; but The Quarterly had already engaged the young John Ruskin, and Dennistoun's subsequent approaches to The Edinburgh Review and Blackwoods Magazine were also rejected. On 25 March 1847 he felt obliged to write to Lindsay and admit his failure to obtain a commission for a review article. He expresses his intense disappointment, "not only because it would have been a labour of love, but in the belief that the friends of Xtian art ought at this moment to do all they can to obtain for the subject a favourable consideration in this country, when you have brought it before the public under auspices so favourable for

its popularity. Its just appreciation would be a more suitable term," he adds pessimistically, "for in no way can I hope to see it popularised in this cold material presbyterian land ...."[3]

Thereafter Dennistoun did at last turn his attention to the preparation of his book on the Dukes of Urbino. But during these years (c 1846-51) he still found time to develop and sharpen his taste and knowledge by keeping an eye on exhibitions and sales and the collecting activities of his friends. In 1847, for instance, he developed a sudden enthusiasm for Noel Paton's work, after seeing his Oberon and Titania on exhibition in Edinburgh.[4] He described it to Lord Lindsay as a "wonderful assemblage of playful and poetic fancies and fantasies, but all chastened by good taste and a feeling of beauty" and urged him to go to see it.[5]

By the end of March 1847 Dennistoun had formed a friendship with William Coningham, M.P. for Brighton, who had just formed one of the most select collections of pictures to be found anywhere in Britain.[6] It included numerous early Italian works, some of which have since found their way into the National Gallery, London, such as the two fragments of Adoring Saints by Lorenzo Monaco (Inv 215 and 216),[7] Antonello da Messina's St. Jerome (Inv 1418),[8] Mantegna's Christ on the Mount of Olives (Inv 1417),[9] Botticelli's Adoration of the Kings (Inv. 1033),[10] Pollaiuolo's Apollo and Daphne (Inv 928),[11] Lo Spagna's Christ on the Mount of Olives (Inv. 1032),[12] Cima's Madonna and Child (Inv. 634),[13] Moretto da Brescia's Madonna and Child with SS Hippolytus and Catherine of Alexandria (Inv. 1165) which

had previously been in Edward Solly's celebrated collection,[14] and Sebastiano del Piombo's Madonna and Child with Saints (Inv. 1450).[15] Among other early Italian pictures in the collection were Crivelli's Madonna and Child now in West Berlin (Inv. 1156A),[16] the Giovanni Bellini (and school) Virgin and Child in the Atlanta Museum of Art (K. 2188),[17] Fra Angelico and Filippo Lippi's Adoration of the Magi in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (K. 1425)[18] and Albertinelli's History of the Creation which was later bought at Coningham's sale by Thomas Gambier Parry.[19] There were also works by Titian,[20] Veronese,[21] Tintoretto,[22] and Rembrandt,[23] as well as El Greco's Portrait of Vincentio Anastagi now in the Frick Collection, New York.[24] Dennistoun was evidently thrilled by this collection of masterpieces,[25] although like most of his contemporaries except Sir William Stirling he probably ignored the El Greco, and again wrote enthusiastically to Lord Lindsay urging him to go and see Coningham: "He has a fine eye and was wonderfully successful in getting some rare works of the good time when in Italy a year ago."[26] Lindsay did not take up Dennistoun's pressing offer of an introduction to Coningham; but when the collection came up for sale at Christie's two years later he remembered to make a point of seeing it, and his annotated copy of the catalogue suggests that he fully shared Dennistoun's assessment of its quality.[27] Yet neither he nor Dennistoun apparently made any effort to bid for anything at the auction.

Dennistoun also corresponded regularly with Lord Northesk who was often in London, and able to report on some of the more interest-

ing sales of early pictures to which Dennistoun had probably first directed his attention. Rather surprisingly, there are no references, in the correspondence which survives, to the 1847 Ottley sale where Northesk bought a couple of pictures for his own collection.(28) But the two friends did discuss the 1847 sale of Edward Solly's pictures, and the sale exhibition at Kensington Palace, in 1848, of the Oettingen-Wallerstein collection.(29) Northesk was apparently tempted to make an offer for the whole of this collection and assured Dennistoun, on 16 January 1849, "I will take care to see the Wallerstein collection ... £4,500 seems little enough and almost within my own means".(30) Since £3,000, the sum Prince Albert had advanced to Prince Wallerstein, would probably have been enough to secure the collection, it appears that Northesk must have lost interest in acquiring it and the pictures became Prince Albert's absolute property in 1851. Then in 1852 Northesk was again in correspondence with Dennistoun and refers to "Galli's large round Painting which I remember to have been pleased with." Galli had apparently sent it to Glasgow; but Northesk assures his friend that "I would at once offer to buy it, did I not think that at this Period of the Year few purchasers are likely to present themselves."(31) Yet, on this occasion too, Northesk seems to have lost the initiative.

Meanwhile by 17 July 1849, following an introduction by his friend Gruner, Dennistoun had started a correspondence with Mr. Murray about the possibility of his publishing the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. But it is all too sadly evident, from their subsequent exchanges, that the author was experiencing considerable

difficulty in completing sufficient specimen chapters either to satisfy Mr. Murray or to do justice to himself. Above all, he was finding it almost impossible to reduce the miscellaneous mass of material he had gathered so as to give it some focus or coherence. A passage from a subsequent letter to Mr. Murray, dated 31 October, vividly illustrates Dennistoun's predicament.(32) "A glance at the Cat. of Prospectus which I believe Gruner handed you at first will show you the varied nature of the contents, and that no fair inference could be drawn from taking any one portion of the work. For instance the reign of Duke Federigo in 9 chapters - 1432-1482 - is chiefly a narrative of campaigns in Central Italy in which he was engaged, linked by a slender thread of general history and interrupted by no considerable episodes except an account of his palaces and library. Whereas that of his successor Guidobaldo - 1482-1508 - including the turning point of Italian history to which he frequently but slightly contributed, obliges me to enter much more at large upon the policy of the Peninsula, and of the contemporary popes especially the strange doings of the Borgias, while the gesta of the Duke recur but at intervals like an air almost lost in elaborate variations ....." /added italics/.

Eventually Murray must have tired of these negotiations, and the correspondence comes to an indeterminate end in March 1850. The book was finally published by Longmans in 1851, although Dennistoun was first required to advance £600 towards the costs. Financially this was a particularly difficult time for the Dennistouns - they had recently lost £6,000 in a bad investment in an Ayrshire iron company - and it was only through the generous intervention of his

Scottish friend Lord Northesk, whom he had met in Rome in c. 1845, that James was able to produce the necessary money for the publishers.(33)

The Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino was far from being the readable account of Italian art and literature which Dennistoun had apparently intended. Moreover the section devoted to painting is disappointingly short; it had been curtailed by the author as a rather over modest reaction to the prior publication not only of Lord Lindsay's Sketches of the History of Christian Art but also of Mrs. Jameson's popular iconographical work Sacred and Legendary Art, published in 1848. Nevertheless, even if the book itself had become unbalanced and overcluttered with political and military detail - Dennistoun's former travelling companion John Hamilton Gray described it rather unkindly as "a sort of rechauffe of Roscoe"(34) - it does provide us with a clear evaluation of the Umbrian school of painting, with useful accounts of the work of such artists as Gentile da Fabriano, Piero della Francesca, Francesco di Giorgio, Giovanni Santi and Raphael. The section on Piero della Francesca's frescoes in S. Francesco, Arezzo, would have seemed particularly original to a contemporary reader and must have given great satisfaction to Lindsay who, as we have seen, had also been moved by Piero's work during his 1842 tour. It may also be said that Dennistoun succeeded not only in his aim of redirecting attention to the individual artists who worked in Umbria but also in his determination to propagate the idea of an Umbrian school, which, largely because of the negative attitude adopted by Lanzi, had been ignored by almost all recent writers except Rio and

Passavant. Lanzi, Dennistoun accurately diagnosed, "allowed it no separate place among the fourteen schools under which he has arranged Italian painting, and, by scattering its most prominent names, has lost sight of certain characteristics which, rather than any common education, link its masters together."(35)

The Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino also contains another interesting chapter in which Dennistoun attempts to resolve the sensitive issue of the religious associations of early art which had already caused so much anguish to Lindsay and his critics. Since 1847 the controversies surrounding both the Tractarians and the position of the Roman Catholics in England, which were still inextricably bound up with popular sentiment on Christian art, had become even more acute. The situation had been seriously aggravated by Dr. Wiseman's aggressively worded pastoral address which was delivered in October 1850 following his elevation to Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Then came Lord John Russell's equally ill-conceived reply, in the form of a Letter dated 4 November 1850, in which he made light of "the danger to be apprehended from a foreign prince of no great power" when compared to "the danger within the gates from the unworthy sons of the Church of England herself."(36) Dennistoun took a keen interest in the implications of the controversy, and his own moderate religious attitude, expressed in a letter dated 2 December 1850 and addressed to his old friend the Rev. James Hamilton at the Scots College in Rome, throws some light on the uncomplicated but decidedly cautious view of Christian art which he was to publish in the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino the following year.(37) "... The whole of

England of all shades and sects (except that infinitessimally small fraction the Romanising Puseyites)", writes Dennistoun, "have suddenly, through the spectacles of Wiseman's first pastoral address and Lord John's letter, attained a unanimous conviction, that what we have for 50 years been calling the Catholic question is now narrowed to the simple alternative "either we burn you or you burn us", and the decision is naturally pretty generally against the latter part of the proposition .... How his Holiness is to get out of it is not for me to conjecture, but no doubt from being misled by a parcel of vain shallow hated Newmanites, the Papal Court has for once made a prodigious miscalculation and blunder. Why my friend Dr. Wiseman did not keep them right is my amazement, as the reaction against Puseyism among the Clergy has been for some time clear, while from the first it met with no sympathy among the Laity except a very few young Oxford students of some 15 years ago, and enthusiastic misses."

Nor had the aesthetic aspects of the religious questions been allowed to lie dormant in the four years which separated Lindsay's Sketches .... from Dennistoun's Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. Suddenly in March 1849 the evangelicals and 'muscular' Christians, who had hitherto shown remarkable restraint in their criticism of the philosophy of art emanating from Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne, entered the arena with a review from Charles Kingsley in Fraser's Magazine of Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art.[38] Kingsley, for his own polemical purposes, elected to consider Mrs. Jameson's contribution alongside Rio's book, and after congratulating the author

of Sacred and Legendary Art for her tactful restraint on sensitive doctrinal issues and for her success in "handling stories of whose facts she partly or wholly disbelieves", he then attempts to rally all but the most extreme Roman Catholic sympathisers into outright condemnation of Rio for his "manichean" tastes and his denial "that that which is natural, beautiful, human, belongs to God." He goes on to give his readers a superb parody of Rio's thesis: "M. Rio's theory (and he is the spokesman for a large party) is, unless we much misjudge him, this, - that the ante-Rafaellic is the only Christian art; and that all the excellencies of these early painters came from their Romanism; all their faults from his two great bugbears, - Byzantinism and Paganism. In his eyes, the Byzantine idea of art was Manichean; in which we fully coincide, but add, that the idea of the early Italian painters was almost equally so; and that almost all in them that was not Manichean they owe not to their Romanism or their Asceticism, but to their healthy layman's common sense, and to the influence of that very classical art which they are said to have been pious enough to despise." Within the next decade Kingsley had developed these prejudices into a wholehearted rejection of early Italian art as "unhealthy" and "unnatural" and wrote mockingly of his plans to "get up a Cinque Cento Club for the total abolition of Gothic art." He also maintained, "in direct opposition to Rio, that Rafaelle improved steadily all his life through, and that his noblest works are not those somewhat simpering Madonnas and somewhat impish Bambinos (very lovely though they are) but those great, coarse, naturalist, Protestant cartoons, which (with Andrea Mantegna's Heathen Triumph) Cromwell

saved for the British nation."[39]

With Roman Catholics, Puseyites, and Evangelicals all tending to entrench themselves in increasingly irreconcilable positions, and all refusing to show any expediency and lie low, Dennistoun managed to remain remarkably clear headed in his apologia of early Christian art in Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino. We find none of the complex philosophising which obscured Lindsay's argument, and equally none of the rhetoric and self contradiction with which Ruskin had disguised his own anxiety when reviewing Lindsay's book. Dennistoun makes no attempt to deny that an appreciation of much early Italian art depends on its religious content and a proper awareness of its "subtleties of feeling and expression" rather than preoccupation with its technical qualities.[40] Much unsympathetic criticism, he suggests, had been based on the wrong premises by writers who had been inclined to "look for perfection where only pathos should be sought". Nor does he try to conceal the fact that the medieval church had sought to attract the laity "to devotional observances through pictures and sculpture, to the exclusion of holy scriptures". But he quickly reminds his reader that "whatever may now be alleged against the dogmas or legends embodied by early artists, they were then usually received" and should therefore "be examined by the light then enjoyed, not by that shed upon them in after times of gospel freedom."

Dennistoun's strict application of the principle of historical relativism to the early Italian masters, whereby their work is placed in the morally neutral and irrevocably dead ground of the past, must

be carefully distinguished from the more subjective attitude to early Christian art which had been adopted by previous sympathetic Protestant writers such as Lindsay and Ruskin. When Lindsay referred to these pure spirited early painters as "angels cropt of their wings"[41] he, like Rio, was acknowledging the unquenchable potency of their images; and the same could equally well be said of Ruskin's moving reference in the first volume of Modern Painters (1843) to the work of Cimabue and Giotto as "the burning messages of prophecy, delivered by the stammering lips of infants."[42]

The logical consequence of Dennistoun's decision to return the early primitive artists deferentially to the graveyard of history, from which they had only recently been resurrected, was to also disassociate himself from any desire to encourage a contemporary "restoration of purist painting" which would be a "mockery" among "a generation whose faith has been remodelled, whose social and intellectual habits have been entirely revolutionised ..." But it is not clear whether Dennistoun, in expressing his distaste for "archaisms of style", was thinking primarily of the later followers of the German Nazarenes (he had earlier shown some enthusiasm for Overbeck and Cornelius, Veit and Schnorr,) or the English Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which had only just been founded three years earlier, because it would have been applicable to either.[43] The same argument could also have been used justifiably against Lindsay's determinist philosophy outlined in Progression by Antagonism. For Lindsay too had effectively denied a fully creative role to the pure spirited modern English youths on whom he had pinned his hope for a revived school of religious painting

in England. Their role was not to vigorously embrace the future, but rather to temper the mystical legacy of medieval Christendom with the antagonistic qualities of mind and sense so as to realise a new synthesis which would be deeply rooted in traditional values. Dennistoun must have been one of the first devotees of early Italian art to appreciate that the rediscovery of the primitives, which in the 1830s had played a major part in liberating artists from the 'grand style' and the imitative ritual of the old art academies, was itself breeding a new form of imitative eclecticism.

An indication of Dennistoun's acute anxiety about the religious implications of his interest in early Italian art is that in spite of having qualified his position with such diplomatic care and intellectual precision, he still found it necessary to point out, rather ungraciously, that "religious innovations" were not a necessary accompaniment of such tastes. And it was no doubt with the Puseyites and the members of the Ecclesiological Society (a reformed version of the Cambridge Camden Society) in mind that he went on to observe, in extremely blunt language, that although "the present reaction in favour of Romanist views prevalent in England ... takes naturally an aesthetic as well as theological direction" and although "the same qualities which render such persons impressionable to popish observances, predispose them to admire or imitate works of devotional art", there is nevertheless "no compulsory connection between these tendencies", and just as "conversion to pantheism is not a requisite for appreciating the Belvedere Apollo or the Medicean Venus" so equally a "serious Christian may surely appreciate the feelings of the

early masters, without bowing the knee to their Madonnas . . . ."

By making this long and apparently unnecessary digression, Dennistoun was in danger of undermining the credibility of his own neutral position by protesting too much. Even more extraordinary was his decision to cite the Rev. Hobart Seymour's recent volume A Pilgrimage to Rome, published in 1848, as an example of sound Protestant interest in the early Christian artists.(44) For Seymour had admitted that after encountering works attributed to Giotto, Fra Angelico, Francia, Perugino, Pintoricchio and early Raphael, and noting their effect on his "state of religious feeling", he had been awakened "to a consciousness of the tendencies of at least this school of painting, to draw and allure the mind by scarcely sensible degrees, toward that tone of feeling that so well consorts with some phases of the religion of Rome . . . ." Until then he had had no idea of "how painting could possibly exercise an influence almost magical, in alluring and seducing some persons to the church of Rome." The fact that Seymour resisted seduction into the church of Rome is immaterial; it was just this sort of aesthetic crisis which made Christian art suspect in some evangelical circles, and one is left with the faint suspicion that if Dennistoun felt it necessary to draw attention to Seymour's experiences it was because he too had negotiated an equally narrow path.

Indeed Dennistoun certainly showed himself a remarkably faithful disciple of Rio in his interpretation of the conflicting forces at work during the Italian Renaissance, and in his judgement of the

individual Umbrian artists active during the fifteenth century. He did, however, modify Rio's point of view in one important respect, by suggesting that although the "mystical purity" of Italian art in the fifteenth century was unquestionably tarnished by "classic taste and the study of antique sculpture" it may at least have been rescued from the subsequent fate of Spanish painting, which "debarred by the Inquisition from access to nude models, and elevated by no refined standard, oscillated between the extremes of gloomy asceticism and grovelling vulgarity." Dennistoun therefore counters Rio's melancholy nostalgia with the more optimistic verdict that "although the paganism of the Medici and Michael Angelo scared away the seraphic visions of monastic limners" it may also have "rescued Italy from religious prudery, and saved men from addressing their orisons to squalid beggars."

The reaction of Dennistoun's circle of personal friends to the publication of Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino was on the whole favourable. Lord Napier, for instance, writing to Sir William Stirling of Keir, records his surprise at finding the book's style "far above Dennistoun's conversation", but he did complain that "there is, of course, some enthusiasm for the old abstracted religious style and some undue depreciation of the naturalist and technical perfections ..." However he conceded that "on the whole he is not illiberal and his zeal is not so sentimental and vaporous as Lord Lindsay's, who in my poor judgement is the worst writer on Art I know, except Ruskin, and whom Dennistoun /sic/ raises to the skies".(45) Lord Napier never published his views on this question, but Sir William

Stirling, whose friendship with Dennistoun had ripened in 1848, reviewed the book favourably in The Examiner on 17 and 24 May 1851. He judged the section on art and artists of Urbino and Gubbio as "one of the best portions of his work" and admired the illustrations, many of which were by Gruner, for their "fitness, novelty, and beauty" and for "the style - with one or two exceptions - in which they have been engraved."(46)

On the other hand the review published in The Quarterly Review by Edward Cheney, who was not personally acquainted with the author, unequivocally demonstrated that Dennistoun's caution on the religious question had not been misplaced. For Cheney criticised him, in hostile terms, for plunging "into the depths of mystic criticism" and went on to attribute to him the very views from which he had taken such pains to disassociate himself, challenging him, for example, to prove an assertion he had never made about the connection between good morals and good drawing.(47)

Dennistoun was infuriated by Cheney's article. He pointed out to The Quarterly's publisher, Mr. Murray, that his own "warnings against following in the steps of early painters" had been "studiously suppressed"; and he then added, not without justification: "In truth my admiration of pre Raffaelite art is more qualified than that expressed by Lord Lindsay, Ruskin, and Mrs. Jameson and others, yet I am singled out as the scapegoat!"(48)

Cheney's outspoken criticisms were not, however, confined to questions of taste and the putative connection between artistic and

religious values. He also viciously attacked Dennistoun for using his book to publish pictures from his own private collection. "The trade of criticism has fallen into the hands of men who have an interest in raising their own or their friends' possessions into importance, and their aesthetical raptures are, in fact, the best advertisement. Barry, the painter, shrewdly observed that no opinion should be received with so much caution as that of a petty collector. Whatever high-sounding words may be for ever in his mouth, he is often ignorant of high art, nay, even hostile to it; his standard of merit being formed by the specimens his own petty museum contains. Mr. Dennistoun has been indefatigable in his researches, and we are obliged to him for a vast deal of valuable information, but we lost much of our respect for his judgement when we discovered that he is a small collector." Cheney's innuendoes were probably unjustified, but Dennistoun had certainly laid himself open to such an interpretation of his motives by an injudicious decision to reproduce the disputed Portrait of Raphael which he had bought in 1838.(49)

Meanwhile, having completed the manuscript of the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, Dennistoun had been abroad again with his wife. They were in Berlin by May 1851 and here they met Dr. Waagen and admired the early Italian and Flemish pictures in the museum.(50) Their tour also took them to Dresden, Prague, and Venice where they at last met Mr. Rawdon Brown who had been a regular correspondent with Dennistoun on various archival problems. They were also in Trieste and Vienna and returned home via Cologne. Two years later they went abroad again and Dennistoun succumbed once more to the

collecting bug. But freed now from all preoccupations with Umbrian art, he began to widen the range of his taste, and spent over £100 in Cologne[51] on seven pictures from the Weyer collection[52] attributed to German and Flemish masters such as Wilhelm of Cologne, D. Calcar, Van Eyck and the school of Memling. The "Van Eyck" is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, as by G. David and represents The Annunciation.[53] It may also have been at around this time that he acquired a Virgin and Child attributed to Hugo Van der Goes,(of unknown provenance), which was last seen in 1956 in an exhibition at Bruges.[54] Then in Brussels he paid £25 for a "Watteau" on which his widow was later to raise no more than thirty shillings at the sale of the collection in 1855.

Dennistoun's choice of a picture by Watteau seems entirely out of character. He presumably wished to demonstrate the Catholic range of his taste to men such as Rawdon Brown and Cheney. More particularly it seems quite likely that he was reacting, in a somewhat humourless but not uncharacteristic manner, to an amusing but provocative letter he had received a couple of years earlier from Rawdon Brown who had gleefully described his recent efforts to provoke his bête noire, Rio, with eulogies of the works of Watteau and Longhi! This letter, dated 19 March 1851, had been sent in reply to a letter from Dennistoun, introducing Sir Coutts Lindsay, who was then about to visit Italy.[55] Rawdon Brown had then replied: "I shall be delighted to talk about you, with Sir Coutts Lindsay but I am afraid we should not agree in matters of art, if he believes in all the living authorities quoted by his brother in law, many parts of

whose work however, especially concerning Padua, I fully appreciate, but to be expected to value the opinions of such persons as Mother Jameson and Félicie de Fauveau, and the quack Rio, and Bezzi is too monstrous: once upon a time I took an opportunity of disgusting Rio amazingly, for on his boreing about the "école naive", I told him I was all for the Ecole beste, and gravely extolled the merits of Watteau and Peter Longhi in opposition to those of the immediate successors of Cimabue and Giotto; this was of course a jest, but rather than share opinions with such pretenders there is no extreme one would not resort to: the other day I took up a modern edition of Shakspeare and found the Editor alluding to what Mrs. Jameson thought about some play!! Fancy Dr. Johnson in such company!"

It was also in 1853 that Dennistoun bought four Spanish pictures from the vast Louis Philippe sale at Christie's.(56) Here he was probably encouraged by his friend Sir William Stirling whose pioneering work on Spanish art, the Annals of the Artists of Spain, had been published in 1848, and who himself bought heavily for his own collection (which he had begun c. 1842) at this sale.(57) Much the most important of Dennistoun's four acquisitions, and notable for an absence of "squalid beggars", was Murillo's St. Augustine washing the feet of a pilgrim, from the Standish collection (which had been bequeathed to Louis Philippe); it is now in a Spanish private collection. By the middle of the 19th century Murillo's works were fashionable and much sought after; yet Dennistoun was still able to acquire this picture for only 30 guineas, since it had been catalogued as merely a school work, in spite of William Stirling's published reference to its autograph

quality.[58]

Dennistoun was not the only collector principally associated with early Italian art to acquire Spanish works at this sale. Davenport-Bromley, for instance, bought a St. Sebastian attributed to Pedro de Villegas and a Virgin and Child with St. Michael attributed to L. Vargas, both of which later passed into the collection of the 9th Earl of Southesk, of Kinnaird, Brechin, who also bought a number of early Italian and Flemish works in the 1850s and 1860s.[59] However Davenport-Bromley's attempt to acquire a Velasquez from the Standish collection was less successful; for this picture representing the Adoration of the Shepherds, which is now in Birmingham Art Gallery, is in fact by a Neapolitan artist.[60] Lord Elcho, (later 10th Earl of Wemyss),[61] who was subsequently to acquire a school of Botticelli Virgin and Child at the 1859 Northwick Park sale[62] and a magnificent Bonsignori Virgin and Child at the Prince Jerome Napoleon sale in 1872,[63] as well as other early Italian works,[64] also bought two Spanish pictures from the Louis Philippe collection: Murillo's St. Felix of Cantalicio which is still at Gosford,[65] and Zurbaran's vast Immaculate Conception which is now in the National Gallery of Scotland.[66] But like Davenport-Bromley he too, on another occasion, apparently mistook a Neapolitan work, in this case Cavallino's Drunkeness of Noah, which is of unknown provenance, for a work by Velasquez.[67] These collecting patterns together raise the question of the extent to which there was a connection in the mid 19th century between an interest in early Italian art and in the even more neglected subject of Spanish painting.

If, as seems probable, the appeal of Spanish painting to collectors such as Dennistoun, Davenport-Bromley, Southesk, and Elcho lay in its conservative style and religious spirit, the same argument could also be extended to explain the revival of interest during the 19th century in the art of the 17th century Lombard painters. Certainly Dennistoun unashamedly justified his acquisition at about this time of a Madonna and Child by Cavaliere Procaccini on the strength of its retardataire style and spirit, observing that it "has much of the feeling of a better period imitating the manner of Moretto and Correggio."(68) Dennistoun's interest in one of the Procaccini was also shared by his friend L. Gruner, who in 1845 sold Prince Albert a Holy Family by Giulio Cesare which is still in the Royal collection.(69) Nor should we forget that a generation earlier another great collector of early Italian art, Edward Solly, had bought an early Cerano altarpiece of Franciscan Saints which was acquired by the Berlin gallery in 1821 but was then destroyed in the last war.(70)

Some of Dennistoun's other late acquisitions are much harder to understand that the fruits of his sudden interest in Flemish primitives, French rococo, and Spanish and Milanese Counter Reformation art. In c. 1847/8, for instance, he paid £35 for a Wouvermans; in 1852 he gave £63 for a Falls of Tivoli by the Scottish artist, Andrew Wilson, and at about the same time he also paid £25 for a "Turner" (sold recently at Sotheby's)(71) which was to cause John Ruskin acute embarrrassment when he saw it in the Dennistouns' house late in 1853, shortly after he had delivered his Edinburgh lectures. "He thinks because he knows old Italian art that he must

know modern English, and has bought a vile daub under the name of Turner. I can't venture to tell him", Ruskin confessed to his father in a letter dated 27 November.(72)

Even Dennistoun's Italian pictures, which Ruskin genuinely admired, were insufficient to restore equilibrium to this unfortunate encounter between the two art historical writers. "Edinburgh people", observed Ruskin, "don't like old Italian pictures, I do - and he /Dennistoun/ is so grateful for my admiration that I daren't go near the house for fear of being pulled into damp rooms and not being able to get out again." Nor did the likelihood of also being incarcerated with Isabella Dennistoun add any further allure to the prospect. "Wife an enthusiast in point lace - Dangerous to approach the subject", Ruskin recorded darkly. And his caution was at once echoed by his wife, Effie, in a letter written three days later to their friend Mr. Rawdon Brown: "I liked him - he was quiet and gentlemanly, but Mrs. D - indeed Mr. Brown, I do not like to say anything against my own sex, but I don't admire Mrs. D."(73)

The energy, and sometimes rash exuberance which infected Dennistoun's picture collecting in the final years of his life was also channelled into a new literary project, the Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, Engraver, and of his Brother-in-law Andrew Lumisden, published in 1855 within a few days of the author's death. It was based on Mss. material inherited from his wife's grand-uncle Sir Thomas A. Strange, and Dennistoun's work on this project was largely inspired by a sense of family obligation and pride; nevertheless the

research did rather aptly enable him to return to his youthful preoccupation with the life of the Jacobite court exiled in Italy.(74)

During the 1850s Dennistoun also became actively involved in the controversies surrounding the management of the National Gallery in London. This issue (the details of which lie outside the scope of this study) also prompted him to write a valuable article in The Edinburgh Review of April 1853 in which he outlined the history of picture collecting in Europe, before indulging in a polemical attack on the current buying policy of the National Gallery, and a recital of opportunities missed by the British nation.(75) He describes the origins and growth of the old princely collections in the main European capitals and the continuation of this activity by some of the more vigorous public institutions. But looking back to pre Renaissance days, he also observes that "the spirit of early religious Art, and its productions, ill qualified these for becoming matters of ordinary traffic," and therefore points out that "it was accordingly only when the mission of painting had been extended - we do not with some critics say lowered - to mundane interests, such as history and portraiture, that pictures passed from hand to hand, or were brought together for the gratification of luxury or connaisseurship /sic/." Turning then to the dramatic change in the pattern of collecting which followed the Napoleonic invasions and the French Revolution, when large quantities of pictures, including religious works from suppressed churches and monasteries, became available for display in museums as well as private collections, Dennistoun pauses to consider the dilemma of "whether the convenience of classing and comparing pictures in a well

lighted gallery counterbalances the local, or it may be the intrinsic interest, of studying them in situ, and under the very circumstances for which the inventor's genius was called on to provide." Such a sensitive archaeological approach to works of art has, inevitably, always been rare among keen collectors; but it is entirely characteristic of the serious historical outlook which always governed Dennistoun's interest in artistic matters.

He then continues his article with a discussion of some of the more enterprising recent developments in the collecting field. Like Lindsay, he had been particularly impressed by the foresight of King Ludwig I of Bavaria in acquiring for Munich the Boisserée collection of early German and Flemish paintings and suggests that "Such a series is not only unique, but under no circumstances could it again be formed; so that .... no student of Teutonic aesthetics can fully master his subject without a prolonged stay in Munich." He is almost equally enthusiastic about the acquisition of a large part of the Solly collection for the gallery in Berlin, since "although inferior to that of Munich as regards the history of Teutonic painting, it has no rival in the early Italian schools."

Dennistoun was certainly self consciously aware of the extent to which he too had participated in the revolution in artistic taste which he had observed in some of the great European collections. His own collection was of course relatively modest, even if comparison is confined to other collections being formed in Great Britain at about this time, such as those of William Coningham, Walter Davenport-

Bromley[76] and Thomas Gambier Parry which have already been mentioned above, or that of the Rev. John Fuller Russell, a Tractarian sympathiser from Enfield, with pictures by such artists as Ugolino da Siena, Orcagna and Simone Martini,[77] or that of Alexander Barker whose taste seems to have been a generation in advance of his time, anticipating the predilections of the Aesthetic Movement, with his unusual and brilliant choice of works by Botticelli, Signorelli,and Piero della Francesca.[78] In Scotland, however, Dennistoun's collection was still virtually unique, except for a few early Italian pictures at Hamilton Palace of which he certainly knew,[79] and a few in the hands of his friend Lord Northesk.[80] Lord Lindsay, Lord Southesk, Lord Elcho (later Wemyss) and Lord Lothian[81] did not acquire the bulk of their collections until after Dennistoun's death. One of the few people to appreciate Scotland's loss when Dennistoun's collection was sold after his death in 1855, in accordance with his own instructions, was Sir William Stirling who observed that "The artists of Edinburgh will regret that no effort was made to secure to the National Gallery of that city a collection formed with such discriminating taste by one of the best writers on art whom Scotland has produced."[82] Even today it might still be said that the Scottish national collection is noticeably weak in precisely those areas where Dennistoun's collection was strong.

Nevertheless, by 1855, the main purpose of Dennistoun's collection had already been achieved. For he had collected works of art not so as to create a monument to his own taste or for the education of a future generation (he himself had no direct heir), but in order to

educate himself. He provides an exceptionally clear example of a collector who bought first and studied afterwards, and thereby came to discover, for instance, that the antiquarian curiosities he had so casually picked up for small sums in Italy in 1836-9 or in Edinburgh in 1841-2 had a deeper significance, from an aesthetic point of view, than he had originally appreciated. His most recent acquisitions in the 1850s rather suggest that had he lived for longer he might well have gone on to make some useful academic contribution to the study of early Flemish or of Spanish art. In this respect, as a writer who developed rather than sealed his taste by collecting, Dennistoun was the exact reverse of Lindsay who only began to seriously buy Italian pictures after he had "mastered" the field from an academic point of view, and whose main aim, as we shall see in the next chapter, was to leave a permanent legacy of taste and knowledge to his heirs.

It was because Dennistoun began life with an irresistible magpie instinct to collect almost anything that he later found himself in the right frame of mind to look at articles and books by writers such as Eastlake, von Rumohr and Rio. These publications, in their turn, inspired him to write the book which was to put Urbino back on the artistic and tourist map of Italy. The first signs of this achievement were already apparent in his own lifetime. In a letter to Cardinal Wiseman, dated 5 March 1853, Dennistoun refers to a rather charming report he had received from his friend the Abate Valenti, the librarian to Prince Albani at Urbino, who he says "speaks of the arrival of some English ladies attracted to Urbino after seeing my volumes, and evidently anticipates that his mountain home will become

a place of general resort for travellers."[83] Dennistoun could hardly have asked for a better or more prophetic epitaph.

NOTES

1. Letter dated Somerford Booths 1 October 1846; Murray Mss.

2. See, for instance, the dedication to Lord Lindsay of the Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino.

3. Letter dated Edinburgh 25 March 1847; Crawford Mss.

4. The reconciliation of Oberon and Titania is now in the National Gallery of Scotland; it won one of the premiums at the Westminster Hall competition.

5. Letter dated Edinburgh 8 March 1847; Crawford Mss. The only other contemporary paintings which Dennistoun appears to have admired were the works of the modern Belgian school, to judge from a letter he received from Sir Charles Eastlake dated London, 16 Oct. 1849. Eastlake wrote: "... I am not surprised at your admiration of the modern Belgian school. Whatever may be thought of their grand historical pictures their smaller works of less pretension as to subject and in the style of the Dutch masters are often exquisite and afford perhaps the only example of an almost unbroken connexion between the good days of painting and modern practice. I believe the secret, in this case, is that in such delicate works, finish, guided of course by keen artist-like observation, is sufficient for very satisfactory results, whereas in a larger scale such mere labour cannot be easily concealed and for many reasons would not answer. Even with regard to the materials of painting on a small scale there need never be any misgiving (utmost care in

preparation being supposed) since delicate works are delicately kept and require no extraordinary precautions to guard against the effects of time or exposed situations. Fresco painting is the only other branch of art in which there is no lost practice. Whoever could conceive design and compose as well as the old masters (which I grant is supposing much) would be able to paint at least as durably in fresco ...." National Library of Scotland Acc. 5525(6).

6. Mr. William Coningham was M.P. for Brighton, and from around 1847 he was also an active critic of the management of the National Gallery in London. His publications on this subject include The Picture Cleaning in the National Gallery with some Observations on the Royal Academy, 1847, Observations on the Official Report of Mr. Eastlake to the Trustees of the National Gallery, 1847, Strictures on the Minutes of the Trustees of the National Gallery, 1847. He was also an important witness to the Select Committee on the National Gallery in both 1850 and 1853. In 1853 Dennistoun also appeared before the Committee. Not much has yet been written about the circumstances surrounding the formation of Coningham's collection, although Professor Francis Haskell recently found some Mss. material which he has still to publish. According to the sale catalogue of Coningham's collection some of the pictures were acquired in Rome. This may have been around the years 1845-6. Certainly Coningham, together with the English dealer S. Woodburn, was in Florence in December 1845, and was keeping an eye on the

art market. On 7 December 1845 S. Woodburn, in a letter to the National Gallery in London (N-G. Mss), refers to a "collection of 58 Pictures formed with much judgement consisting of the early schools" and adds that "both me and Mr. Coningham was much pleased with them and would have bought some out at good prices but they will not sell any separately." This is presumably a reference to the Lombardi-Baldi collection which Dennistoun had mentioned in his letter to Lord Lindsay, dated Florence 3 July 1845 (see Chapter X above, note 56). In 1857 twenty-two of these pictures were acquired by the National Gallery, London; see M. Davies National Gallery Catalogue. The Earlier Italian Schools, London 1961, pp. 565-567.

7. These were presented to the National Gallery by Coningham in 1848.

8. See Coningham sale Christie's 9 June 1849, lot 29, as by J. van Eyck. This sale is subsequently referred to as the Coningham sale.

9. See Coningham sale, lot 58.

10. See Coningham sale, lot 38, as by Filippino Lippi.

11. See Coningham sale, lot 28.

12. See Coningham sale, lot 60, as by Raphael.

13. See Coningham sale, lot 41.

14. See Coningham sale, lot 53.

15. See Coningham sale, lot 61.

16. See Coningham sale, lot 59.

17. See Coningham sale, lot 47.

18. See Coningham sale, lot 34.

19. See Coningham sale, lot 44. Gambier Parry also bought lot 49, attributed to Gerino di Pistoia. It is now in the storerooms of the Courtauld Institute Gallery attributed to L'Ingegno.

20. Tarquin and Lucretia. See Coningham sale, lot 57; now Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (914).

21. The Death of Procris. See Coningham sale, lot 56; now Strasbourg Gallery.

22. Portrait of Martin Looten. See Coningham sale, lot 52; now Los Angeles County Museum. Cf. also Holford sale, Christie's 17 May 1928 (34).

23. Portrait of a Venetian. See Coningham sale, lot 8; now on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland from the Duke of Sutherland.

24. Portrait of Vincentio Anastagi. See Coningham sale, lot 51; now Frick Collection, New York. Coningham himself obviously had a high opinion of this work and after the sale wrote on 20 June 1849 to his friend Sir William Stirling who was then in Seville to tell him: "The Greco was not sufficiently estimated and sold for 118£ a sufficiently small sum for such a picture." Coningham then continues by informing Sir William that "My wife after a long illness, came to London just in time to take a last look of the pictures before they were sold. They were much admired, but those who have good taste have little money, and Ld Hertford will give more for a bawdy Greuze, than for a fine Titian." Sir William Stirling, who had just published Annals of the Artists of Spain in 1848, was one of the few British collectors capable of appreciating El Greco, and Coningham may well have hoped that

Stirling would buy the picture; indeed one still wonders why he did not. Coningham's letter is in the Stirling Mss.

25. Other pictures included the copy after Bellini's Feast of the Gods, now in the National Gallery of Scotland (inv. 458) and which was bought at the Coningham sale (lot 4) by Sir Charles Eastlake; the Martyrdom of St. Placidio attributed to Raphael (lot 42) which was in the collection of Mrs. Derek Fitzgerald in 1960 (exhibited R.A. London 1960 (316)); and two later imitations after Mantegna (lots 39 and 40) which are now in the National Gallery, London, (see M. Davies op. cit. pp. 341 ff. (inv. 1106 and 1381).); and a Circumcision (lot 46) by Mazzolino which was at Christie's 29 May 1959 (88).

26. Letter James Dennistoun to Lord Lindsay, dated 25 March 1847; Crawford Mss.

27. Lord Lindsay's annotated catalogue is in the Crawford Mss. He marked lots 29 (Antonello da Messina), 34 (Fra Angelico and Filippo Lippi), 38 (Botticelli), 39 and 40 (after Mantegna; cf. note 25 above), 46 (Mazzolino), 47 (Giovanni Bellini), 56 (P. Veronese), 58 (Mantegna), 59 (Crivelli), 60 (Lo Spagna) and 61 (Sebastiano del Piombo). The attributions in brackets are the current ones listed above, not those in the sale catalogue. Lindsay also noted some of the lots which cannot at present be identified, viz. 9, 11, 14, 20, 30 and 31.

28. He bought lot 26 attributed to Simone Memmi = Sotheby's 30 June, 1915 (119), and lot 31 attributed to Taddeo di Bartolo = follower of Duccio Annunciation, Nativity, Virgin and Child, in the Metro-

politan Museum, New York (Inv. 20.160). He also bought lots 39 and 42 on behalf of Sir. J.P. Boileau Bt. See E.K. Waterhouse, Some Notes on William Young Ottley's collection of Italian Primitives in Studies presented to E.R. Vincent, London 1962. pp. 272 ff. See also note 88 below.

29. For the Solly collection see the series of articles by F. Herrmann in The Connoisseur, 164, 1967 pp. 229-234; 165, 1967, pp. 12-18 and pp. 153-161; 166, 1967, pp. 10-18; 169, 1968, pp. 12-17. For Prince Albert and the Oettingen -Wallerstein collection see W. Ames, Prince Albert and Victorian Taste, London 1967, pp. 135 ff.

30. Letter Lord Northesk to J. Dennistoun, dated 16 Jan. 1849; Yale Mss.

31. Letter Lord Northesk to J. Dennistoun, dated Longwoods, 5 July 1852; Yale Mss.

32. Murray Mss.

33. See Dennistoun's correspondence with Lord Northesk in the Yale Mss. Transcriptions from some of these letters are to be found in the Lindsay Fleming papers in the National Library of Scotland Acc. 5525.

34. Letter from John Hamilton Gray to William Stirling, dated Bolsover Castle 18 May 1855; Stirling Mss. For William Roscoe see Chapter III note 14.

35. J. Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, London 1851, II, p. 174.

36. O. Chadwick, The Victorian Church Part I, London 1966, p. 297.

37. Ms. in Archives of the Scots College, Rome.

38. Frasers Magazine, March 1849, pp. 283 ff. For the Roman Catholic reaction to Mrs. Jameson cf. W. Russell's review of Sacred and Legendary Art and of its sequel Legends of the Monastic Orders (1850) in The Dublin Review, June 1851, pp. 453 ff. His final conclusion about Mrs. Jameson's work emphasises her Protestant status but also explains why Dennistoun felt it necessary to divorce the study of early Christian art from Roman Catholic associations. For Russell wrote: "As a contribution to the study of sacred art, we can scarcely exaggerate its value; and although its direct tendency is far from Catholic, and bears but remotely upon religious belief, we cannot help anticipating from its circulation, and from the tastes which it cannot fail to create, or to stimulate, the same results in influencing the religious opinions of its readers, to which the kindred study of sacred architecture, although undertaken with precisely the same views, has so largely and so notoriously contributed in England." (op.cit. p. 484).

39. Fraser's Magazine, April 1858, p. 421.

40. Dennistoun op. cit. II pp. 149 ff.

41. Lord Lindsay, Sketches in the History of Christian Art, London 1847, II pp. 102-3.

42. J. Ruskin, The Works (Library Edition edited by E. Cook and A. Wedderburn), London 1903-12, III p. 90.

43. In The Foreign Quarterly Review, April 1845, p. 34, Dennistoun had shown some admiration for the attitudes and way of life of

German artists in Rome, and wrote as follows: "Under this system, the German are plodding students, bound to each other, and to their common pursuit, by every tie of country and sympathy; whilst the English are loiterers, left to waste or misapply their opportunities. Under it, Overbeck and Cornelius, Veit and Schnorr, Schwanthaler and Gruner, have effected an entire renovation of art, and have enshrined their names in a niche far higher than their British contemporaries have, as yet, approached. But as this is not the place for discussing the relative merit of modern German and British art, we shall conclude with a single remark. There is surely less egotism in trying to comprehend the deep feeling of the early masters, than in sneering at "Perugino and the pasteboard school", more good sense in attempting to renovate the styles of Raffaelle and Ghirlandaio, than in talking about Michael Angelo, without daring to study him; or in imitating Veronese, without equalling Tiepolo. No man in his senses charges Laurence with servility to Sir Joshua, or Landseer with plagiarism from Schnyders; yet their approximation to these prototypes is surely not less decided than are the cartoons of Overbeck to those of Raffaelle. Man is proverbially an imitative creature, and if we are to follow the path which another has explored, why judge most harshly of such as aspire to tread in the footsteps of one whom all ages honour, and whom all but our countrymen appreciate?"
But by the time he came to write Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, ten years later, Dennistoun had clearly modified this point of view. The reasoning behind his warning against deliberate

archaisms of style (op. cit. II p. 167) is expounded in more detail in a later footnote which is easily overlooked (op. cit. II p. 232) where he wrote: "To recover the ground thus lost /since the time of Raphael's early style/ has been the peculiar aim of the modern German painters under Overbeck, Cornelius, and Hess. They started upon the principle that art ever tends to pass the bounds of taste and moderation; that the greatest masters were originally timid and simple, gradually advancing to a point of perfection, beyond which lie exaggeration and bad taste; whilst those bold spirits who reached this limit at a bound, have quickly overshot it. They consider that the works of the best Italian artists antecedent to Raffaele, such as Giotto, Fiesole, Perugino, or Francia, cannot fail to benefit beginners, since they tend to guard them against rashness, presumption, and carelessness; to maintain their purity of imagination, to develope their inward emotions, and to preserve a calm serenity of sentiment, inspired by religious influences; finally, to restrain those exaggerated displays of energy or grace which are the besetting error of youth. Such are the true aims of the existing German devotional school, as given by its accomplished illustrator, Count Raczynski, but which have been often distorted by the ignorance or prejudice of English critics. Were they to be tested by the success of those three masters whom we have named, they would merit sympathy and challenge applause. The conviction that they are fraught with danger to ordinary aspirants, and are little adapted to the times we live in, has induced me to record at p. 167 a warning

against their tendency."

44. M. Hobart Seymour, A Pilgrimage to Rome, London 1848, pp. 135 ff.

45. Letter from Lord Napier to Sir William Stirling, undated but annotated May or June 1851; Stirling Mss.

46. Reprinted in The Works of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Vol VI, Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses, London 1891, pp. 171 ff.

47. E. Cheney in The Quarterly Review, June 1851, p. 127: "We think Mr. Dennistoun would do well to leave aesthetics to German philosophers and their sympathising, and not always sober, audiences - they are not likely to find much favour in England, nor do they indeed accord well with the customary turn and tone of Mr Dennistoun's own mind and style. We should be very glad if he could prove that good morals and good drawing were connected, but we fear it is in vain to emulate the success of the great masters of the fifteenth century, by listening to a mass in the morning rather than attending the anatomy schools, and by invoking the assistance of the Virgin instead of hiring good models ...."

48. Letter from J. Dennistoun to John Murray, dated Sweethome, Bothwell, 15 Oct. 1851; in Murray Mss.

49. Dennistoun op. cit., II pp. 461 ff.

50. Information about the 1851 tour is mainly recorded in Mrs. Dennistoun's Journal of a Tour to Venice and Germany, formerly in the Paul Grinke Mss. but subsequently sold to a private collector before I was able to consult it. I have therefore relied on Lindsay Fleming's references to this journal (National Library

Scotland Acc. 5525).

51. The prices at which Dennistoun bought the pictures described below are recorded in a copy of the catalogue of the Dennistoun sale at Christie's, 14 June 1855, annotated by a hand believed to be that of Dennistoun's widow. The annotated catalogue forms part of the Paul Grinke Mss. See also Dennistoun's catalogue of some of the pictures in his collection (Grinke Mss).

52. For the Weyer collection see H. Vey, Johann Peter Weyer. Seine Gemaldesammlung und seine Kunstliebe in Wallraf - Richartz Jahrbuch, Cologne 1966, pp. 159 ff.

53. Inv 50 145. 9 a and b.

54. Exhibition catalogue L'Art flamand dans les collections britanniques, Bruges 1956 (17) as from Clarke collection, Haywards Heath. See also M. Friedländer, Die Altniederländische Malerei, Berlin 1925, III p. 86. I am indebted to Dr. Lorne Campbell for his kind help in tracing this picture.

55. National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5525 (9). Rawdon Brown and Dennistoun also corresponded at this time about Ruskin whose dogmatising they both disliked. In a letter dated Venice 19 April 1851 (National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5525 (9)) Rawdon Brown wrote to Dennistoun: "... I quite agree with you about Ruskin; and his dogmatising, when not ludicrous is offensive: He gravely told me on one occasion in rejoinder to a reply to a question he put me concerning the statue on the column of the Piazzetta which pairs with that of St. Marks lion, that it was NOT St. Theodore! The only comment I made on this contradiction purported that the

benighted pantaloons who placed the figure there in the 12th century, fancied that they meant it for Todaro, but that in that dark age there was a great dearth of statuary "Lamps". On another day he talked such trash about the beautiful church of the "Miracoli" that I could not help reading to him a passage of Louis Reybaud's in Jerome Paturot concerning that middle-age architect of the hairy school, who was on the point of throwing his employer out of the window upon the mere suspicion of his sympathising, however remotely, with the "revival". How ill judged it is of people not to enjoy what is beautiful in art of every period instead of curtailing their enjoyment by dining on partridge every day in the year . . ."

56. Louis Philippe sale Christie's 6-30 May 1853. The ex Standish collection pictures were sold on 28 and 30 May. The four pictures which Dennistoun bought were subsequently lots 65-68 inclusive in the 1855 Dennistoun sale. Of these lots 65, 66 and 67 cannot be identified with any certainty in the 1853 sale catalogue of the Standish pictures, and only Dennistoun sale lot 65 can be traced beyond 1855. This picture reappeared in the Ramsden sale Christie's 11 July 1930 (58) described as by Antolinez y Serabia, Copper 10 x 8 in.; there is an old photograph in the Witt Library, London. Lot 68 in the Dennistoun sale was lot 204 in the Louis Philippe (Standish collection) sale Christie's 30 May 1853; see also note 58 below for further references.

57. Among the pictures which Stirling acquired at the Louis Philippe and Standish collection sales at Christie's during May 1853 were

the following:

A. Cano Adam & Eve. Pollok House, Glasgow.

V. Carducho Self Portrait Pollok House.

E. Caxes St Julian of Cuenca. Pollok House.

A. Sanchez Coello "Don John of Austria". Pollok House.

J. Cossida (then att. to Berreguete) San Ildefonso receiving the chasuble. Pollok House.

G. de Crayer Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. Pollok House.

El Greco The sculptor, Pompeo Leoni. Private collection (see H. Wethey, El Greco and his school, Princeton 1962, no. 151).

El Greco "Portrait of his daughter" Pollok House.

El Greco Portrait of a bearded man. Pollok House.

El Greco Adoration of the name of Jesus. National Gallery, London inv. 6260.

F. de Herrera St Peter Keir.

F. de Herrera Adoration of the blessed sacrament. Pollok House.

L. Morales Pietà. Keir.

Master of Morrison triptych (then as Van Eyck school) Virgin & Child Keir sale, Sotheby's 3 July 1963 (61).

Juan de las Roelas Self portrait Keir.

L. Tristan Adoration of the Magi Pollok House.

L. de Vargas Madonna and Child. Keir.

Zurbaran St Rufina and St Justa. Keir sale, Sotheby's 3 July 1963 (70 & 71).

Zurbaran (then as Juan de Castillo) Virgin in glory. Keir sale, Sotheby's 3 July 1963 (69).

"Zurbaran" Our Lord with adoring angels. Keir.

Zurbaran (then as Unknown) The Sudarium. Private collection, U.S.A. (exhibited National Gallery of Scotland, Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya, Edinburgh 1951 no. 43).

58. W. Stirling op.cit. III p. 1433. He had seen the picture in Paris where it was also catalogued as a school work. He noted: "This fine specimen of Murillo's second style is, by an error of a kind very unusual in a French catalogue, ascribed only to the school of Murillo." See also C. Curtis, Velazquez and Murillo, London 1883 No. 259; and A.L. Mayer in Apollo, Oct. 1925, pp. 220-222. For the question of Murillo's popularity in England see E. Head, A Handbook of the History of the Spanish and French Schools of Painting, London 1848, p. 180, who remarks that "a sort of rage has prevailed for his works, which has led to the indiscriminate application of his name to productions utterly unworthy of his pencil."

59. The Villegas (probably Louis Philippe sale, Christie's 6 May 1853 (7)) was lot 57 in the Davenport-Bromley sale 12 and 13 June 1863. The L. Vargas (Louis Philippe sale Christie's 20 May 1853 (350) was lot 168 in the Davenport-Bromley sale and was bought by the Hon. John Carnegie who subsequently gave it to Lord Southesk. Apart from lot 57, Lord Southesk bought nine other pictures at the Davenport-Bromley sale. Of these lots 27 and 99 and 112 were apparently burnt in a fire at Kinnaird in 1921; lot 59 = Giovanni Bellini St. Jerome, Barber Institute, Birmingham; lot 64 = Pietro Alamanno of Ascoli Virgin and Child, Matthiesen, London 1946; lot 106 = Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino (attr.)

Virgin and Child, Lady Aberconway collection; lot 119 = Southesk sale Christie's 23 July 1948 (53). The remaining pictures were still in the Southesk collection in 1948: lot 25 = Pier Francesco Fiorentino Virgin and Child; lot 57 = Villegas St. Sebastian (see above); lot 113 = L. Veneziano Female Saint. In 1867 Lord Southesk bought from F.W. Burton a 15th century Florentine St. George and the Dragon, now in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (inv. 2124/4), which had also been in the Davenport-Bromley sale, lot 135. Southesk was also buying pictures from James Irvine, W. Spence, and Morris Moore. Irvine apparently sold him the L. Lotto Lady as Lucretia, now in the N.G. London (inv. 4256); see M Jaffé in Burlington Magazine, Dec. 1971, p. 696, and see also B.I. exhibition 1854,(46), where it was lent by Sir James Carnegie (later 9th Earl of Southesk) under an attribution to Giorgione. In 1865 Mr. Spence in Florence sold him a number of pictures which included Apollonio di Giovanni Rape of the Sabines, N.G. of Scotland, Edinburgh (inv. 1974); Florentine Triumph of a Roman general, N.G. of Scotland, Edinburgh (inv. 1975); Sellaio Diana and Actaeon, Yale University; Bicci di Lorenzo Assumption of Mary Magdalene, Southesk sale 23 July 1948 (50) as Agnolo di Taddeo Gaddi, bt. Agnews, and subsequently on the Florentine art market 1960, according to Prof. Sir Ellis Waterhouse. Morris Moore sold Southesk a Jacopo di Cione Crucifixion (attributed to Giotto) and a C. Rosselli Adoration of the Shepherds (attributed to Filippo Lippi), both of which were still in the collection in 1948. In 1854 Southesk acquired an altar-

piece of the Nativity by the workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, from the J.D. Gardner sale, Christie's 25 March 1854 (65), attributed to Memling; this picture is now in the Cloisters, New York (inv. 49.109).

60. Louis Philippe sale (Standish collection) Chrstie's 30 May 1853 (219) as Velasquez; Davenport-Bromley sale 1863 (82) as Velasquez; now Birmingham City Art Gallery, P. 7.49, as by the Master of the Birmingham Angel appearing to the shepherds.

61. For this collection see C. Thompson, Pictures from Gosford House, National Gallery of Scotland exhibition catalogue, Edinburgh 1957. See also Memoirs of the 10th Earl of Wemyss, privately printed 1910-14, Chapters XXVI and XXVII. The 10th Earl (1818-1914) was apparently active as a collector from his undergraduate days at Oxford, when he bought a Carlo Dolci St. Cecilia for his grandfather, until at least the 1870s. Some pictures were bought in Italy in 1842 and 1853. Many were bought from London dealers such as Anthony, Gruner, and Morris Moore.

62. Thompson op.cit., p. 10, no. 5. Lord Wemyss wrote of this picture: "Such is my admiration for the early Florentine school, so sublime in religious sentiment, so glorious in colour, so pure in design, that there is no Raphael for which I would give my Botticelli." (Memoirs, loc. cit.)

63. Thompson op.cit., p. 10, no. 3, plate 1.

64. Including Pollaiuolo's Portrait of a young lady, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Inv. 50.135.3), which was acquired by Wemyss as a Piero della Francesca and was later exhibited at

the B.I. 1863 (52) as Filippo Lippi; and a Masolino Annunciation, possibly the picture now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington.

65. Thompson op.cit., p. 16.

66. Inv. 340.

67. Thompson op.cit., p. 16, no. 19.

68. In Dennistoun's catalogue of some of the pictures in his collection, (Grinke Mss.), the full description reads: "Madonna and Child enthroned, with Saints and Cherubs below, by Cavaliere Procaccini. This finished sketch for an altarpiece has much of the feeling of a better period, imitating the manner of Moretto and Correggio. On canvas $21\frac{1}{2}$ x $15\frac{1}{2}$." This picture, which was not in the 1855 Dennistoun sale, cannot be identified.

69. See H. Brigstocke in the Burlington Magazine, Nov. 1974, p. 692. fig. 82.

70. See Brigstocke loc. cit.

71. Sotheby's 7 March 1973 (122) as Turner Fishing boats caught in a storm. The other pictures by Wouvermans and Wilson cannot be identified.

72. For Ruskin's letter, see M. Lutyens, Millais and The Ruskins, London 1967, p. 114.

73. For Effie Ruskin's letter dated Bowerswell, 30 November /1853/, see Lutyens op.cit. pp. 112-114.

74. See letter from Dennistoun to J. Hamilton Gray, dated Edinburgh 14 April 1851; National Library of Scotland Acc. 5525(9). "I am working hard to get the Strange Lumisden papers into shape - I feel a bit of an obligation to make a volume out of them, but

except on the score of clanship should not take the trouble ...."

75. The Edinburgh Review, April 1853, pp. 390 ff.

76. Of the pictures from the Davenport-Bromley sale in 1863 which were not formerly in the Fesch collection and which were not therefore described in Chapter X, lots 90, 91, 92, 95, 111, 118 and 138 were bought in and remained with the family; lots 25, 27, 57, 59, 64, 99, 106, 112, 113, 119, 135 and 168 later formed part of Lord Southesk's collection at Kinnaird, which is described in note 59 above; and a number of other lots can be identified as follows:

Lot 5 = Ugolino St. Bartholomew & St. Andrew, N.G. London, inv. 3473.

Lot 22 = B. Daddi St. John, Christie's 27 Nov. 1959 (6)

Lot 23 = B Daddi St. Peter, Christie's 27 Nov. 1959 (5) and then Sotheby's 26 March 1969 (48).

Lot 31 = Giovanni di Paolo Adoration of Magi, N.G. Washington inv. 13.

Lot 33 = Sassetta Journey of the Magi, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 43.98.1.

Lot 50 = Master of Griselda Legend Eunostos of Tangara, N.G. Washington K.1400.

Lot 52 = Duccio Crucifixion, Christie's 2 July 1976 (95).

Lot 62 = Giovanni Bellini Agony in the Garden, N.G. London inv. 726.

Lot 72/3 = Pesellino Triumphal Procession, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston.

Lot 75 = Florentine Virgin and Child, N.G. London, inv. 2508.

Lots 77/8 = Barna da Siena St. Ursula; Female Saint, Copenhagen Museum.

Lot 104 = L. Vargas Virgin and Child, Sotheby's 14 Oct. 1970 (3).

Lot 125 = E. Roberti St. Jerome, Sotheby's 11 June 1947 (5) bt. T. Barlow.

Lot 128 = Matteo da Giovanni Judith & Holofernes, Indiana Univ. K.496.

Lot 130 = Tuscan Thebaid, Christie's 28 June 1974 (47).

Lot 133 = Verrocchio workshop Virgin & Child, Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. 14.40.647.

Lot 149 = After Benozzo Gozzoli Virgin & Child, N.G. London, inv. 2863.

Lot 153 = B. Vivarini Virgin and Child, Westminster Abbey, London.

Lot 156 (Central panel & 2 small panels) = Mariotto di Nardo Coronation of Virgin (Altarpiece), Minneapolis Institute of Arts, inv. 65.37 and 66.7.

Lot 159 = Boltraffio Virgin and Child, N.G. London, inv. 728.

Lot 162 = G. Cotignola Altarpiece, Brera Museum, Milan.

Lots 163/4 = Biagio di Antonio Death of Hector: The Wooden Horse, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M.44 and M. 45.

Lot 169 = Florentine c. 1500 Madonna and Child, W. Berlin Museum, inv. 90A.

Lot 172 = Peselino Trinity, N.G. London, inv. 727.

77. The Rev. John Fuller Russell of Eagle House, near Enfield. For his friendship with Pusey and his interest in the Oxford Movement while an undergraduate at Cambridge, see H. Liddon, Life of

Edward Bouverie Pusey, London 1893-7, I pp. 400-408 and II pp. 141-145. He was described by G.F. Waagen, Art Treasures in Great Britain, London 1854, II p. 461 as "one of the most enthusiastic admirers of the grandeur and high significance of the ecclesiastic art from the 13th to the 15th century that I met with in England, being so much impressed with its purity and religious depth of feeling, that the art of the 16th century, with all that fuller development of chiaroscuro, perspective, etc., which too often usurped the place of the true religious aim, is only sparingly admitted into his collection . ."; and Waagen further observes that "So richly are his walls adorned with Italian specimens of the 14th century, that the spectator feels as if transported into a chapel at Siena or Florence." For later additions to the collection see also G.F. Waagen Galleries and Cabinets of Art ... (Supplement), London 1857, pp. 284 ff. Many of the pictures were acquired at the Ottley sale Foster's 30 June 1847, and the Blayds' sale Christie's 30 and 31 March 1849; others were acquired abroad (Berlin, Paris, Lisbon) in the early 1850s and at least one was bought from L. Gruner in 1856. On Fuller Russell's death the collection was sold at Christie's 18 April 1885. Among the Italian pictures the following may be identified:

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

Lot 94 as Giotto - Master of S. Lucchese Man of Sorrows, York City Art Gallery, inv. 727.

Lot 96 as Cavallini - Florentine 14th century Baptism of Christ, N.G. London, inv. 4208.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lots 110-122 = Ugolino da Siena Fragments from a dismembered Polyptych. See N.G. London, inv. 1188, 1189, 3375, 3376, 3377 and 4191; W. Berlin Museum inv. 1635; Lehman collection New York; Johnson Collection Philadelphia.

Lot 123 as Spinello Aretino = Orcagna The Crucifixion, N.G. London, inv. 1468.

I am indebted to Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse for his help, particularly in tracing lots 93, 97, 107 and 108.

78. Alexander Barker who was the son of a shoe maker was described by G.F. Waagen, Art Treasures in Great Britain, London 1854, II pp. 125 ff. as "one of those comparatively few Englishmen who possess a lively taste for the deep moral significance and the naive enthusiasm which distinguish the works of art of the fifteenth century, and who has succeeded in obtaining a number of genuine

and admirable specimens, chiefly by the most eminent masters of that period, of the Tuscan, Umbrian and Venetian schools, and of the school of Romagna ..." Waagen also listed some later additions to Barker's collection in Galleries and Cabinets of Art ... (Supplement), London 1857 pp. 71 ff. Barker continued to buy and sell pictures in the 1860s. After his death the collection was sold at Christie's 6/8 June 1874 and 21 June 1879. Among his more important Italian pictures (he also collected the works of Boucher!) were the following:

Alunno di Domenico Marriage Feast ....., Christie's 10 July 1931 (52).

Alunno di Domenico Fight Centaurs & Lapiths ..., Christie's 10 July 1931 (53).

Fra Angelico and Filippo Lippi Adoration of the Magi, N.G. Washington, K.1425.

Bacchiacca Portrait of a Man, Isaac Delgado Museum, New Orleans, K.1729.

Benvenuto di Giovanni Virgin & Child with Saints, N.G. London, inv. 909.

Botticelli Venus & Mars, N.G. London, inv 915.

Botticelli (follower) Allegory, N.G. London, inv. 916.

Botticelli (follower) Lady in profile, N.G. London, inv. 2082.

Botticelli Virgin & Child & St. John, Christie's 1 July 1966 (54).

Botticelli (attributed) Wedding Feast of Nastagio degli Onesti, Christie's 23 June 1967 (29).

Botticelli (attributed) Three scenes from the story of Nastagio degli Onesti, Prado, Madrid, inv. 2838, 2839 and 2840.

Catena Madonna & Child with Saints, Dresden, inv. 64A.

Crivelli St. Catherine, N.G. London, inv. 907A.

Crivelli St. Mary Magdalene, N.G. London, inv 907B.

Crivelli Immaculate Conception, N.G. London, inv. 906.

Crivelli Vision of the Blessed Gabriele, N.G. London, inv. 668

Crivelli Deposition, Detroit Institute of Arts, inv. 25.35.

Filippo Lippi Seven Saints, N.G. London, inv. 667.

D Ghirlandaio(follower) Virgin & Child & Saints, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M.75.

Lorenzo di Credi Virgin & Child, Dresden, inv. 14.

Lorenzo di Credi Virgin & Child & St. Sebastian, Dresden, inv. 15.

L'Ortolano Altarpiece. St Sebastian, Roch & Demetrius, N.G. London, inv 669.

Master of the Story of Griselda The Story of Patient Griselda, N.G. London, inv 912, 913, 914.

Nicola di Maestro Antonio d'Ancona Virgin & Child & Saints, Christie's 23 June 1967 (31).

Pesellino Virgin & Child, Dresden, inv. 7A.

Piero della Francesca Nativity, N.G. London, inv. 908.

Pintoricchio Scenes from the Odyssey, N.G. London, inv. 911.

E. Roberti Virgin & Child, W. Berlin Museum, inv. 112D.

C. Rosselli Miniature Altarpiece, Sir Thomas Barlow collection 1967.

Sellaio Story of Cupid & Psyche, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, M. 75; a companion piece in the Ernst Proehl coll. Amsterdam.

Signorelli Coriolanus, N.G. London, inv. 3929.

Signorelli Triumph of Chastity, N.G. London, inv. 910.

Signorelli (workshop) Pair of pilasters, Dresden Museum, inv. 36 & 37.

Schiavone (ascribed to) Virgin & Child, N.G. London, inv. 904.

Starnina Assumption of the Virgin, Sotheby's 10 Nov. 1954 (72).

C Tura Virgin: fragment of Annunciation, N.G. London, inv. 905.

79. The early pictures at Hamilton Palace included Botticini's Assumption of the Virgin (now N.G. London, inv 1126) which had been bought from Woodburn c. 1846 or a little later as by Botticelli; Filippino Lippi's Adoration of the Magi (now N.G. London, inv. 1124) inherited from William Beckford; Signorelli's Circumcision (now N.G. London, inv. 1128) which was in the collection at the time of Waagen's visit (op.cit., III p. 299); and Cima's St. Jerome (N.G. London, inv. 1120) which was inherited from Beckford.

80. Apart from his acquisitions at the Warner Ottley sale (see note 55 above), Lord Northesk also collected the following pictures:

Sano di Pietro Christ carrying the cross, Johnson collection, Philadelphia, inv. 1295 (see Northesk sale. Sotheby's 30 June 1915 (124) as Tuscan).

Sano di Pietro Christ in limbo, Fogg Museum, Boston (see Northesk sale Sotheby's 30 June 1915 (127)).

Pesellino Miracle of St. Sylvester, Worcester Art Museum, Mass., inv. 1916.12 (see Northesk sale Sotheby's 30 June 1915 (117)).

Masolino St. Peter & St. Paul; the Evangelist & St. Martin, 2 panels, Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, inv. 408 and 409 (see Northesk sale Sotheby's 30 June 1915 (111) as Tuscan).

Neroccio de Landi The Visit of Cleopatra to Anthony; The Battle of Actium, 2 panels, North Carolina Museum, K. 439 and 438. (see Northesk sale Sotheby's 13 July 1928 (21) as Matteo da Giovanni).

Pintorricchio Virgin & Child, Johnson collection, Philadelphia, inv. 1336 (see Northesk sale Sotheby's 30 June 1915 (122) as school of Perugino).

Bartolommeo di Giovanni St. Catherine, illus, in Burlington Magazine, April 1916, p. 3 (see Northesk sale Sotheby's 30 June 1915 (113)).

P. Veronese St. Lucy & Donor, N.G. Washington, inv. K.2073 (see Christie's 5 Feb. 1925 (128); cf. also F. Rusk Shapley, Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection Italian Schools XVI-XVIII century, London 1973, p. 40).

81. The 8th Marquis of Lothian's interest in early pictures was stimulated by reading Ruskin and Lord Lindsay's Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847, and he himself wrote a small book entitled Fragment of a Parallel between the History, Literature and Art of Italy in the Middle Ages, privately published in 1863. His acquisitions included a Cranach Venus and Cupid, of unknown provenance (N.G. Edinburgh, inv. 1942) a Man of Sorrows by Sellaio (N.G. Edinburgh, inv. 1941) which he bought as by Castagno (see Davenport-Bromley sale lot 124). According to a family inventory many of his pictures were bought in Florence in 1861 and these included a cassone front attributed to Apollonio di Giovanni of the Triumph of Love & Chastity, now also in the N.G. Edinburgh, inv. 1940, and Filippino Lippi's Coronation of the Virgin, now in the N.G. Washington, K.1242, and Piero di Cosimo's Vulcan & Aeolous, now in the N.G. Canada, inv. 4287. It is very probable that these and other pictures (e.g. Lothian sale Christie's 19 Oct. 1951 lots 20 and 43) were bought from W. Spence who wrote on 8 Feb. 1861 that he was

"now in treaty with Lord Lothian for several pictures." (This reference, from an unpublished letter from William Blundell Spence in Florence to his son William Campbell Spence, was kindly supplied by Mr. John Fleming who is preparing an article on Spence.) See also H. Brigstocke in Pictures for Scotland, The National Gallery of Scotland and its collection ..., ed. C. Thompson, Edinburgh 1972, pp. 111 ff.

82. W. Stirling-Maxwell in Frasers Magazine, June 1855. Reprinted in The Works of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Vol VI, Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses, London 1891, p. 168.

83. Letter from Dennistoun to Cardinal Wiseman, dated Edinburgh 5 March 1853; Ms. in the Westminster Cathedral Diocesan Archives, London.

XII

Inasmuch as a proper appreciation of Lord Lindsay's Sketches of the History of Christian Art depends on an understanding of the extent to which he regarded this study as merely a specific illustration of his all embracing determinist philosophy of history, so equally his attitude to collecting from the 1840s until the mid 1870s must also be considered in the much wider context of his determination to form a private museum and library which would represent all branches of science, literature and art, and all stages in the process of human intellectual progress. As he himself was to record nostalgically in 1865 "I had, in fact, in my earliest youth determined to assemble together the wisest and most graceful thinkers of all countries, ages, and pursuits, as agreeable companions, instructive teachers, and honoured guests, under the symbolical pavilion of the Lindsay's, who, with their friends, might thus converse hereafter, as in the School of Athens, with congenial associates in whatever branches of literature, art, or science, their genius or taste should severally direct them to ....."(1)

We should not, therefore, expect to find Lindsay's collection limited to the works of the fourteenth century masters about whom he had written so eloquently in 1847. But it still comes as a considerable surprise to find that between the late 1850s and the early 1870s he extended his range sufficiently to include works attributed to Bolognese seicento artists such as the Carracci, Guercino, and Guido Reni, and even a Dutch animal painting attributed to Paul Potter as well. For these were precisely the categories of painting which he had most

vehemently condemned when writing to his close friends in the 1840s after reading Rio's De La Poésie Chrétienne; and by the time he made these acquisitions they were no longer even fashionable, although this did of course mean they had suddenly become relatively cheap.

It was in 1833, when he was still only twenty-one years of age, that Lindsay was able to take the first substantial steps towards making his early dream a reality, after he had received an unexpected but substantial legacy from a relatively distant relation, Lady Mary Crawford (sister of George, 22nd Earl of Crawford), who had been attracted by his ardent enthusiasm for the clan history of the family. At first he concentrated on accumulating books, including incunabula, and it was only after the long European tour from which he returned in August 1842 that he began to make any serious effort to build up a collection of pictures. His earlier acquisitions before this date had been fairly insignificant, picked up in a casual manner during his successive wanderings abroad. In 1840, for instance, he had bought in Florence a copy of Raphael's Madonna del Cardellino,(2) and had also commissioned the Florentine painter A. Marini to draw him copies of some of Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in S. Gimignano. Two years later Marini had also made him a copy of the head of Dante in the newly uncovered Giottesque frescoes in the Bargello at Florence.(3) A little earlier in 1842, while Lindsay was in Rome, he had commissioned a copy of the Dalmatica di San Leone, a sacerdotal vestment in the Vatican,(4) and had also bought three original early Italian paintings, a 14th century Florentine school Crucifixion,(5) a Coronation of the Virgin now attributed tentatively to Niccolo di Tommaso,(6)

and a St. Lucy and St. Agatha by Matteo di Giovanni.[7] Then in Assisi he also acquired a complete series of copy drawings of every fresco in both the upper and lower churches of the Basilica made by G.B. Mariani,[8] a local artist.

But it is only after Lindsay had returned from these travels in the summer of 1842 and had heard that the celebrated Last Judgment attributed to Fra Angelico, then still in the Fesch collection (Rome) and now in West Berlin, might be for sale, that the full extent of his ambitions as a picture collector first became apparent. He had first admired the Fesch Fra Angelico in 1829 and now listed it as a major desideratum for his museum, at the same time idly boasting to Anne (who was soon to become his mother in law), "I would sell my Translations and Lives to the best bidder and pledge myself to write the Life and Panegyric of Adam Smith sooner than not possess it."[9] Yet when the actual moment came to make a firm offer he instructed his friend Miss Jean Trotter,[10] who happened to be in Rome and who had been making enquiries on his behalf, to limit her bid to a mere £150, or at the very most £200. This figure, which was of course ludicrously low and was quickly rejected, was based on the price that one of the Woodburn brothers (pioneer British dealers in early Italian art) was apparently then asking for a Fra Angelico of about the same size which, according to Lindsay, had "lain without a purchaser in their warehouse for at least five years".[11] When the Fesch picture was finally auctioned in Rome in 1845 it was bought in by the Prince de Canino and was then sold soon afterwards to Lord Ward.

After this early set back Lindsay elected to make a more modest

but also a more decisive beginning, and in April 1843 commissioned a full size copy of Perugino's Christ on the Mount of Olives (now in the Palazzo Pitti) from the Florentine artist Vincenzio Corsi at an agreed fee of £75. Lindsay's future father in law, James, who was staying in Florence at this time, had already told Lindsay of Corsi's proficiency and had himself just bought from him a copy of Perugino's Entombment (Uffizi). These two acquisitions were the start of a long and very happy association with the Florentine painter and were followed up by a succession of valuable commissions from Lindsay for full scale replicas of other major works of art in the Florentine museums and churches. They included Raphael's Vision of Ezekiel (Palazzo Pitti) in 1843, Lorenzo di Credi's Nativity (Accademia) in 1845, selected details from Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci chapel in the church of the Carmine in 1848, Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's St. Zenobius raising a child (Accademia) also in 1848, Fra Angelico's "S. Maria Nuova" Coronation of the Virgin (Uffizi) in 1849, Gentile da Fabriano's Adoration of the Magi (Uffizi) in 1867, Fra Angelico's "S. Trinità" Deposition (S. Marco) in 1867, Carlo Dolci's Poesia (then in the Corsini gallery) and Andrea del Sarto's Cenacolo di San Salvi in 1877.[12] Lindsay appears to have had no doubts as to the utility of these large scale replicas and in June 1848 assured his mother, with particular reference to the copies after Masaccio, that they "will be invaluable hereafter, and even in our own times for the frescoes have never been copied in large .... and may create new artists as of old they created Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael."[13]

During the years 1843-6 when he was mainly living at home and

writing his Sketches of the History of Christian Art, Lindsay made no apparent efforts to acquire original works of art to supplement the copies he was ordering from Corsi. The only original picture which he did buy before returning to Italy yet again for the winter of 1847-8 was a vast picture of Moses on Mount Sinai by Benjamin West measuring 18 feet by 12 feet for which he paid 200 guineas in November 1846 and which is now to be seen in the London Law Courts. He had stubbornly ignored the advice of his cousin, Coutts, who had made the alternative suggestion that, as a "noble experiment", he might employ George Richmond to paint a fresco. But soon afterwards Lindsay may have begun to feel a little ashamed of his lapse in taste, to judge from the letter he wrote to his mother in law on the subject, in which he reminded her that "I have considered it all along as a furniture picture agreeable to the eye as regards colouring, light, etc. but not to be subjected to the critical rules by which you would judge a work of high art."(14)

Absence abroad with his wife Margaret (Min) during the spring and early summer of 1847 deprived Lindsay of the opportunity of viewing the Solly and Ottley sales which took place at Christie's in May and June, and which included a number of highly desirable works by the early Italian artists.(15) They had gone to Paris and then moved on to Florence where Lindsay at last saw the Lombardi-Baldi collection which had already attracted the discerning attention of Coningham, Woodburn and Dennistoun. But, like them, Lindsay was disappointed to learn that the collection, which consisted of about 100 early Italian pictures, including some dating from the thirteenth century, could only

be bought en bloc for a sum approaching £12,000. This precluded any negotiations on his part, even if he did tell his mother rather grandly, and perhaps not altogether seriously, that he would have been prepared to part with as much as £3,500 for thirty unspecified items in the collection of his own choice.(16) Admitting defeat, he then resolved to refer the matter to the Commissioners of the National Gallery of London; and eventually in the autumn of 1857 they did succeed in acquiring twenty-two major works of art from the collection, including the vast altarpiece of the Coronation of the Virgin, in the style of Orcagna, for the sum of around £7,000.(17)

After returning to Britain in 1848 Lindsay seems to have shown no further interest in buying pictures until the Thomas Blayds' sale which took place at Christie's on 30 and 31 March 1849.(18) It was at this little publicised auction of a somewhat mediocre but not uninteresting collection that he first really took the plunge as a picture collector, buying twenty-six lots for a modest outlay of just under £200. Among his more successful acquisitions(19) must be counted a series of four predella panels now attributed to Luca di Tomme which may originally have belonged to a Polyptych now in the Siena museum;(20) they were sold in 1848 under an attribution to Giotto which Lindsay seems to have been inclined to accept. He also bought two predella panels by Signorelli representing The Meeting of Zachariah and Elizabeth, and The Birth of St John the Baptist;(21) a pair of portraits by B. Bruyn the elder which were catalogued at the sale as by Holbein;(22) a Veneto - Byzantine 17th century double triptych with Scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin;(23) a Meeting of Jeptha and his daughters

sold under the name of Orcagna but now attributed to Pietro di Domenico;[24] and a Madonna and Child sold under the name of Vivarini and recently attributed to the workshop of Girolamo di Giovanni da Camerino.[25] He also bid successfully for a number of cassone panels including a pair representing Solomon and the Queen of Sheba by a follower of Apollonio di Giovanni.[26] Yet he allowed himself to lose one of the very best items in the sale - three fragments from a dismembered polyptych by Simone Martini which are now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge - in spite of the fact that this lot fetched only £15.[27]

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

would give one a distaste for painting generally."[28]

This stern admonition does not appear to have seriously deterred Lindsay, and a month later, at the Campe sale, on 13 May 1849, we find him bidding in an equally opportunist manner for a picture of Esther and Ahasuerus attributed to Lucas van Leyden,[29] a Melancholia by Cranach,[30] and a Virgin and Child, now attributed to the Master of the Embroidered Foliage, which had been wrongly catalogued by the auctioneer as a work of Durer.[31] Together these three pictures cost £86- 2 -0d.

However the necessity of replying to his father in law's criticism did stimulate Lindsay to define his aims as a collector with unusual precision; and his long letter on this subject deserves our close attention not only on account of its revelations about the sheer scale and breadth of his ambitions, but also for its occasional omissions including the complete absence of a single reference to eighteenth century Italian art.

"Haigh 22 April /49

Dearest James

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

I do not wonder that it should appear to you as if my visit to town

and my purchase of these pictures were a spurt of miscalculating enthusiasm, of which I shall repent at leisure; but I do not think you will consider it such after I have explained the principle on which I have acted.

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

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

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

When I was a boy and youth - I mean till I was eighteen, I was unquestionably a bibliomaniac, though without the means of indulging the taste; (32) and the fever was still unsubdued at twenty-one, when Lady

(33)

Mary's succession opened upon me. I had however had many opportunities of reflecting upon the danger of indulging any exclusive mania, as exemplified in the case of great collectors - I therefore then determined to limit my purchases to works of real use, excluding systematically all books which were solely valuable on account of their scarcity. I drew up with great care and after many months' almost exclusive study an ideal or theoretical Catalogue of the library which I wished to possess - limiting, for example, my edition of each classic to the editio optima in lieu of the editio princeps which would have given me far greater pleasure, - rejecting all large paper copies and sumptuous bindings, and only admitting the principle of rarity, as I have just said, where the rare volumes were indispensable to my scheme on merits independent of that rarity - and these I considered fair game. I carried this plan out, and have never deviated from it except in a few exceptional instances of extraordinary bargains, the aggregate amount of which I do not believe exceeds a couple of hundred pounds. The result is, that I have formed a good working library, which has been of the most inestimable use to me, and which very rarely fails me when I need information in my different lines of study. It is still susceptible of improvement and addition - but for four or five years past I have purchased no books except the current literature of the day and such as I have needed for use on extraordinary occasions.

I now proceed to Art, under the department which you have mentioned of Coins, Prints, and Pictures - and to which I must add Sculpture - but I must first state that books being my first object and most necessary, I have till within the last four or five years, as above

implied, postponed my views upon those heads Such medals, for example, as I possess, were all bequeathed to my father by Lady Anne Barnard, formerly part of the collection of the Bishop of Limerick - I have never purchased any myself. My old prints similarly were collected when little more than a boy at Paris in 1828 and 1829, and I have been contented with those acquisitions ever since, with the exception of a few modern engravings necessary for me to possess in reference to my History of Christian Art.(34) Except in the Library department, I have in fact done little or nothing towards the realization of my proposed scheme.

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

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

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

3. To furnish a room with a selection of engravings, framed, after the example of the Cabinet d'Estampes in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris, illustrating the progress of Engraving, from the earliest wood-prints and Maso Finiguerra to the present time - one good specimen, that is to say, of each great artist, - of Martin Schoengauer, the Master of 1466, of Albert Durer, of Lucas van Leyden, of Mantegna, of Marc 'antonio, etc etc - to be arranged chronologically.

4 To form a gallery illustrative of the progress of Painting from the earliest times till now - but with especial reference to the period

between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.

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

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

In the first place, as you are well aware, the best works of the greatest masters are for the most part inaccessible to purchase, being either in churches or public galleries. Yet by these alone can the height and excellence of Art be known. I know what a prejudice exists against copies, and yet I do not think you will blame me when I avow that I prefer a good Copy of the best existing work of a great master to a second-rate or third-rate original - which is all, generally speaking, that is now attainable. Copies moreover are all that can be possibly obtained of some of the greatest masters, who worked almost entirely in fresco, for example Benozzo Gozzoli and Michael Angelo, - and many painters of whom original easel paintings may

be obtained, are only to be truly estimated by their frescoes - Nay the greatest achievements of painting are in fresco. My plan therefore is, to employ artists gifted with that peculiar genius which enters into, lives in, and reproduces, the ideas of others, without having any original conceptions of its own, to make accurate copies for me, the size of the originals, of some twenty of the most important frescoes of Italy, from Giotto to Leonardo, Raphael and M. Angelo - and also of the most important easel-paintings, Italian, Flemish, and German, which form epochs in Art - limiting my purchase of original paintings to such as will fill up the gaps in the series so formed, and illustrate the progress and history of painting during the period contemplated. Of this class of paintings are those I have just purchased - of little interest or beauty in themselves, viewed as an entire collection, but which will link in and add their quota to the gallery which I thus propose to form. It is as such only I value them - as component parts of a great future whole, - but, viewed at present in inevitable isolation, I do not wonder at your disesteem of them - while I believe notwithstanding that when that whole is completed you will feel differently. A very few good specimens of the more recent oil-painters I should also wish to possess, to complete my plan - but this would exclude Giorgione, Titian, Parmigianino, Cigoli, Vouet, Rembrandt, and some of the best masters of the Dutch school, - together with the old masters of the English, Vandyke, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Fuseli, Wright of Derby, West etc. of whom we already possess examples in their respective styles.

I have been working to this object for several years past, and

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

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

Some additional and considerable expenditure will necessarily be incurred in building (as I propose) a sort of quadrangular gallery for the reception of these paintings, and which would also serve for all the purposes of the Museum, with the exception of the Library. This building might be connected with conservatories etc - but all this is food for future consideration.(35)

I have already stated my first great principle - of forming a selection of good things in many departments instead of devoting all my energies to the perfection of one. I would now mention another which I have also held steadily in view hitherto and have no wish to deviate from - and this is - not to attempt to do all at once, but to diffuse my object over many years. In the very nature of things this must be so. The execution of the copies above mentioned must be a

work of time, and the collections from which in their dispersion I may hope to form my own come to the market only (generally speaking) at distant intervals. The great point is to keep a watchful eye on all that is going on, and to profit by opportunities. The dispersion of Mr. Blayds' collection is a case in point - and I hold that when such occasions occur (and they may probably multiply upon us now that all the foundations of Europe are out of course) I ought to avail myself of them, if possible, in the spirit of true economy - inasmuch as, by our recent experience, dozens of valuable works may at such fortunate moments be obtained for less price than would be paid for single ones bought piecemeal and by private bargain under ordinary circumstances. I confess I feel very desirous of being what you will probably deem extravagant at the present moment, but if I have never gambled, never raced, cost my father nothing beyond my education, refused any increase of income for years as long as Lady Mary's bequest lasted, spent my money hitherto on objects of substantial and permanent interest, and by which others may profit too, and lived in short as a Benedictine monk rather than a son of the nineteenth century, - this may be forgiven me - And in support of my opinion that this is a moment especially favourable for the purchase of pictures of the class I wish for, there is this further consideration, - that, though as yet the productions of early art are not esteemed at their due value in England, the taste is daily gaining ground and the price of such pictures rising, - and a few years hence such acquisitions as I have now made will be in all probability impossible. I have been my own enemy in this through my book on Christian Art. It is to future years when either the mercantile value

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

You will not I am sure misconstrue the spirit of this letter, or suppose that I am contentious where I ought to be deferential; on the contrary, you may estimate the impression that your letter has made

on me by the length and earnestness of this. Ever most affectionately

Yours

Lindsay

* I may illustrate this by mentioning the recent sale of a most valuable cabinet of coins, sold for extremely low prices a few years ago. Out of this I might have at once completed my proposed collection at a very small outlay - but I knowingly let it pass by, paintings having the prior claim."

Lindsay's justification for putting the main emphasis of his picture collection on full scale copies, on the grounds that first rate original works by the fifteenth and sixteenth century masters rarely came onto the market, was soon to be overtaken by events. For less than two months later, in June 1849, William Coningham's exceptionally well chosen collection of pictures by artists such as Mantegna, Botticelli and Cima came up for sale at Christie's.(36) But, although Lindsay viewed the sale, and carefully marked a catalogue, he made no effort to leave any bids, thereby reinforcing the suspicion that he was still more interested in bargains (prices at the Coningham sale were relatively high) than in works of outstanding quality.(37) Or perhaps he was just temporarily short of funds. This was apparently the difficulty five years later when a beautiful Crucifixion attributed to Duccio(38) came to light as lot 54 at the E. Joly de Bammeville sale on 12 June 1854,(39) and it was bought by the Rev. Walter Davenport-Bromley for £278- 5- 0d. with Lindsay as the disappointed under-bidder. All that Lindsay did manage to secure at this sale was a

group of miniatures attributed to Agnese Dolci which fetched £17- 6- 6;[40] but after the auction he also seems to have acquired a Venus reclining near a fountain by Cranach, which as lot 28 had fetched £15- 4- 6.[41] And it was also on this very same day that with a sudden switch of mood or taste he successfully offered 50 guineas at the Henry Clayton Freeling sale for a Landscape with cattle by Dujardin.[42]

Much of the credit for Lindsay's eventual achievement as a collector is probably due to William Spence, an English artist and dealer who was generally resident in Florence. Lindsay probably first came into contact with him in 1856 while he and his family were staying at the Villino Borghese. And although Spence was probably at his best in the company of admiring ladies - even the usually level headed Anne Lindsay conceded that he had "a very pretty voice and sings beautifully"[43] - he could also be impressive in more serious company and was certainly sensible enough to appreciate Lindsay's potential value as a client. Moreover Spence's stock was as versatile as his manner, and he was able to provide Lindsay and his wife with the majolica and decorative furnishings they needed for their new home at Dunecht in Aberdeenshire (Lindsay's father had given them £400 for this purpose) before tempting them with a selection of well chosen works of art.[44] In 1856 alone he sold them a fifteenth century Tuscan banner painting showing the Virgin interceding for the people of Florence which now belongs to the Metropolitan Museum, New York;[45] an altarpiece of the Madonna and Child with Tobias then attributed to Cosimo Rosselli and now thought to be by Francesco Botticini;[46] a fifteenth century panel showing the Death of St Ephraim and other

scenes from the lives of hermits which was then attributed to Lorenzetti on the strength of its retardataire style and traditional iconography;[47] a St Barbara then attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli and now given to Mainardi;[48] an exceptionally fine cabinet picture of St John the Baptist then attributed to the circle of Leonardo da Vinci and now associated with the name of Cesare da Sesto;[49] a small but lively oil sketch by Tintoretto for his picture of St Mark's body transported from Alexandria;[50] and a Deposition which was attributed, but rather over optimistically, to Annibale Carracci.[51]

Some of these acquisitions, especially the Tintoretto and the "Carracci", confirm the impression that Lindsay had relaxed the regard for the école mystique which had dominated his aesthetic responses during the 1840s. Then two years later, in March 1858, Lindsay and his wife, Min, again demonstrated the increasingly catholic range of their taste when they paid Mr Bruce, an Edinburgh picture restorer, the sum of £250 for a Flight into Egypt by Guido Reni now in the City Museum at Bradford, which was probably brought to Britain from the Palazzo Colonna in Rome early in the nineteenth century. Although the initiative in this case definitely came from his wife, Lindsay, who was obviously quite happy to have an authentic specimen of Guido Reni's style at a bargain price, readily acquiesced, and Min, spurred on no doubt by a strong rumour that the officers of the Royal Institution in Edinburgh were also considering it, settled the matter within the same week.[52]

Then in August 1859 Lindsay laid out the surprisingly large sum of £836-12- 0 on twelve pictures at the Northwick Park sale.[53] It

is probably fair to say that the money could have been spent better elsewhere, and Lindsay's acquisitions are mainly of interest as further examples of his attempt to widen the range of his collection. The two best pictures he bought were a small Holy Family which he believed to be by Ludovico Carracci but which is obviously French and by a close follower of Vouet,[54] and a portrait of Philip Sydney then attributed to Sir A Mor and now thought to be by Moreelse.[55] Of the remainder, a picture of The Patriarch Gennadius and Mahomet II outside Constantinople was sold under an attribution to Gentile Bellini but is now considered to be Flemish;[56] and a Vision of St Anthony of Padua which was sold as by Alonso Cano may be by Antonio Pereda.[57] But unfortunately a Landscape with St Hubert and the Stag, attributed to Gaspard Dughet, about which Lindsay was particularly enthusiastic, can no longer be traced beyond the Crawford sale at Christie's in 1946.[58] It has also proved impossible to identify other pictures acquired from the Northwick Park collection under attributions (probably incorrect) to Pordenone,[59] Domenichino,[60] Guercino,[61] and Velasquez;[62] these were also disposed of by Lindsay's descendants in 1946.

Lindsay himself appears to have had no reservations about the quality of the pictures he had acquired from Northwick Park.[63] His only regret was that he had been outbid by the National Gallery in London for an altarpiece by Girolamo da Treviso,[64] and for a picture of the Infancy of Jupiter now attributed to the studio of Giulio Romano.[65] At the same time he was extremely anxious in case news of his extravagance should reach his father who had already expressed concern

about the scale of his recent book buying exploits. We therefore find him desperately swearing his sister in law, May Holford, to secrecy; and he also had to confess somewhat shamefacedly that he had still not found the courage to tell his father about the Mazarine Bible which he had bought through Quaritch at the Cashel sale, the previous year, for £595: "I have always lived in trembling lest Lord Overstone who unluckily discovered that I had bought the Mazarine Bible some time ago, and can never let a joke die, should preach to him about it "[66]

In June 1863 the Davenport-Bromley collection came back onto the market[67] and gave Lindsay a second opportunity to secure the Duccio Crucifixion which he had lost at the de Bammeville sale.[68] On this occasion he was successful and only had to pay £262-10- 0, some £15 less than it had cost its previous owner.[69] He also bought for six guineas a panel of St Bartholomew and St Andrew from a dismembered altarpiece by Ugolino di Nerio; it is now in the National Gallery, London.[70] Perhaps it was as an antidote to these rather austere early 14th century Sienese paintings that Lindsay then bought in the very same year a Paul Potter (£70 from Bruce of Edinburgh),[71] a Crome (from P & D Colnaghi, London)[72] and the Head of an Apostle, by an artist close to Palma Vecchio, which he believed to be by Giorgione (£105 in London).[73] These last three acquisitions, none of which was very satisfactory from the point of view of aesthetic quality, as well as some of Lindsay's earlier efforts to buy post-Renaissance painting, illustrate the inevitable dangers associated with his ambition to form a museum which would represent the whole range of art historical progress, including styles for which he had no

particular sympathy and periods about which he had absolutely no specialised knowledge.

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It is important to remember that Lindsay's chief preoccupation during the mid 1850s and early 1860s was still the Biblioteca Lindesiana. The rising scale of his acquisitions in this field, and his regular commissions to booksellers such as Joseph Lilly, Charles Molini, and Bernard Quaritch, lies outside the scope of this study except inasmuch as art historical works were concerned. Even in this relatively restricted department, however, there is ample evidence that Lindsay was now making a major effort to fill out the library, and Charles Molini, the well known Italian bookseller in London, was to receive a rapid succession of substantial orders between November 1854 and May 1856. Of these, perhaps the most interesting was a request for an edition of Livio Mercuri's engravings after Giotto's frescoes in Assisi; and Lindsay's letter on this subject, dated Rome 28 May 1856, certainly reveals the very informed interest which he took in the technical difficulties of reproducing works of art, a subject that had also preoccupied his colleague, James Dennistoun, during the 1840s.

"Lord Lindsay encloses the advertisement of a publication about to come out, of engravings of the frescoes of Giotto at Assisi, with letter-press. Lord Lindsay, when at Assisi the other day, visited the artist (Livio Mercuri by name) who is employed by the Association, and certainly nothing can be more accurate than his drawings. The frescoes are first carefully traced on the walls - then finished cartoons

are made, the size of the originals - these are reduced by photography, and the engravings are made from the photographs. The work will be most valuable, in as much as the originals are gradually perishing, and except some very coarse engravings of the four largest frescoes in the lower church in Fea's description of Assisi published 30 or 40 years ago, there are no other engravings of the series. Lord Lindsay informed Signor Mercuri that he would subscribe for a copy (of the ordinary description), but through Mr Molini of London. He will therefore be much obliged by Mr Molini importing a copy for him. Mr. Molini will observe that the price within the Pontifical States is 2 scudi - but for foreigners 16 francs, a number : Ld Ly remarked to the artist that he thought this last price wd militate against the sale in England and France, being larger than in the case of the St Marco frescoes, the Gallery of the Academy etc published at Florence, and he recommended that this price should be reconsidered. Does Mr Molini agree in this opinion? Ld Lindsay would be glad of a reply (addressed "aux soins de Mess^{rs} Torlonia & Co. Rome") for if he has erred in this advice, he w^{d} wish to rectify the error. The plates, judging by the one L^{d} L^{y} saw, will be rather larger than those of the Florentine serials - and some of them will contain a good many figures - four especially, those of the lower church, are to be considerably larger than the others. They propose to print a thousand copies."

Further detailed evidence of Lindsay's ambition to form a comprehensive library of art historical books, with particular emphasis on reproductive engravings, is to be found in the relevant section of a long report or open letter which he drafted for the benefit of his son

and heir, and which he had conceived as a guide to the Biblioteca Lindesiana and to the systematic principles on which it was founded. In this fascinating document, which he completed in February 1865 during a leisurely stay at the Villa Caprini in Florence, Lindsay looks back on some of his recent achievements in this field and at the same time pinpoints a number of avenues which he had left open for future exploration.(74)

"The name of Lionardo naturally introduces us to the Fine Arts; and in this department, I am happy to say, the Library rises more nearly to the general average which I should wish it to attain. This has been owing to the special interest we have all, as a family, felt in the various branches - let me for once say of "Poesy" - which, in my Bibliographical Classification I have grouped together under that head. While containing some rare works on the theory of Art - among which I will mention some of the early works on Architecture of the 16th and 17th cent. and more particularly the 'Arte de la Pintura' of Pacheco, Seville, quarto 1649 - a perfect and beautiful copy, which I bought at M^r^ Ford's sale,(75) of a work so rare that Senor Cortes, the Director of the Academy at Seville never, during twenty years' search, met with a perfect copy, and M^r^ Williams of Seville(76) never saw any other except Senor Cortes' imperfect one(77) - while containing (I say) various books of this description, the Library is rich, for a private and English collection, in the history of Art and in the biography of artists, works (as a general rule) neither of absolute rarity nor of high price, but which it is extremely difficult to assemble together, owing to their having been published (many of them) in distant and

obscure towns of Italy, and considered of local rather than general interest Strictly speaking, according to the classification I am following, I ought to reserve mention of these historical and biographical volumes for a subsequent page, but as I have anticipated the subject I may go through with it, and add that the series of lives of the more celebrated Italian artists, collective and individual, is almost complete; while those of the Spanish, French, Flemish, Dutch, German, and English contemporaries are also present in considerable numbers. All these have served me well in my study on "Christian Art", and especially (in conjunction with personal inspection) in forming the detailed classification of the schools of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, which I prefixed to the volumes of that work already published. I may also notice here with much satisfaction, alike as a treasury of information and as a book of great rarity in a complete state, the "Kunst-Blatt" an artistic journal published in /Munich/*, between the years 1820 and 1858, in thirty-eight quarto volumes - being the copy which belonged to Professor Von der Hagen, and which has been (since I bought it) carefully collated, and all imperfections supplied. It would be almost hopeless (I am informed) to expect to see any other copy, complete as this, for sale.(78) Its importance in respect to the works of mediaeval art in Italy may be estimated by a glance at the writings of V. Rumohr, Kugler, and Waagen.

The Library possesses some of the principal collections of Engravings after the great works of Architecture and Sculpture, and

* Note : This word is omitted in the Ms.

after pictures preserved in public galleries; and many of the engraved series of Italian frescoes - some of them very rare. There are however many gaps in both these classes, which ought to be carefully filled up. Still, we have enough to exhibit and illustrate the entire progress of Italian and German art. I may mention Lasinio's engravings of the frescoes of the Campo Santo at Pisa for the pleasure of the remembrances which attach us to that sanctuary of beauty and peace, rather than on account of the rarity of the series in the original issue, as we possess it.[79] The "Etruria Pittrice", Florence, 2 vols. folio, 1791-5, may be noticed as a scarce collection, even in Italy.[80] The heads engraved from the frescoes of Masaccio and Giotto in the Carmine, by Patch, are a valuable and rare series,[81] and the engravings of the Loggie of Raphael by Volpato are in our copy of the earlier and best impressions. I shall mention some others after Raphael presently. Among the Raffaelleschi, I have a volume of drawings by Van Thulden, the pupil of Rubens, of the frescoes of Primaticcio at Fontainebleau, representing the history of Ulysses, now destroyed, and which are only known by a series of indifferent engravings after these very drawings. And in connection with English art, I may mention a series of drawings of the frescoes which, although covered over by the stalls, still exist on the walls of the chapel at Eton - executed apparently in the reign of Henry VII, and full of spirit and character, evidently representing the finest succession of native English painting. These drawings were made by a M^{r} Essex, with the view of publication, but he met with no encouragement, and after his death his portfolio was bought by M^{r} Kerslake, the bookseller, of

Bristol, from whom I purchased it for a mere trifle. I ought to have recorded previously a collection of drawings of the frescoes of the thirteenth and fourteenth century at Assisi - exhibiting the entire series (with scarcely an exception) of the paintings existing in the Upper and Lower Churches - a series executed about fifty years ago by a native artist, with the intention (never accomplished) of publication, and which I bought from him when staying for a few days in that most interesting old town in 1842.(82)

I had to look for some years before I obtained (at the sale at Alton Towers) my beautiful set of the 'Maria Krönung' or engravings of the Coronation of the Virgin, by Fra Angelico - the great altarpiece with its lovely predella, formerly in S./Domenico/, Fiesole, now in the Louvre Gallery - published with his criticisms upon it, by Augustus W. von Schlegel, in 1817, - a volume which did much towards restoring the works of the early masters to their due credit and appreciation. It was this Coronation of Fra Angelico which first impressed me with the beauty and interest of the early Tuscan painters, when it hung (in 1828-9) in the ante-room of the Louvre gallery among a number of inferior pictures of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries - all of which nevertheless interested me greatly - altarpieces and fragments of altarpieces which were not returned at the time of the general restitution of stolen property.

Books of common occurence, however costly or beautiful, such as the 'Musée Francais',(83) the 'Galleria del Palazzo Pitti', (the older one by Wicar(84) and the recent publication by Robillard), the Gallery of the Academy at Florence, Turin, Milan, Venice and

Bologna, the galleries of Dresden, Munich, Vienna (by Haas), and others, I ought to leave unmentioned, as the ordinary furniture of a well-appointed collection. But I may specify as of rarer occurence, a beautiful copy of the "Theatrum Artis Pictoriae', or engravings after the gallery of Vienna, by Prenner, Amsterdam, folio 1728, and the still more important series of engravings after the collection of the Medici at Florence, then as now preserved in the Palazzo Pitti, - a magnificent work, in four folio volumes, executed in 1720 and afterwards under the direction of Cosmo III, the last but one of the Medici, and distributed in presents - a series very seldom indeed to be met with, and which was not even in the rich artistic library of Conte Cicognara.(85) I should mention too that our copy of the Dresden Gallery (in four volumes, folio, 1753-7) possesses the two full-length portraits of Augustus III, King of Poland, and of Marie Joseph, Queen of Poland, engraved by Balechou and Daullé, which are of great rarity.(86) Among more modern works, not Galleries, I may notice our copy of Gruner's "Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of Churches and Palaces in Italy during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" with due honour, as being coloured throughout after the original drawings under M^r^ Gruner's own eye and with the utmost care, forming altogether a series of exquisite beauty; and which I purchased (through M^r^ Quaritch) from M^r^ Gruner himself.(87) Of equal beauty are the series of the great compositions of Raphael in the Vatican, the Dispute of the Sacrament, the School of Athens, and others, thirteen in number, engraved and exquisitely coloured after the originals, by Volpato, - a series which I bought at the sale in Paris, of the great

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

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

The value of these artistic books in forming the taste when young, and in assistance and suggestion to us when in riper years we dream

of emulating the ancients in their own immortal spheres, cannot be overestimated; and therefore, I repeat, our deficiencies in this department ought to be carefully and judiciously supplied.

We ought also to procure the Comte de Bastard's great work on illuminated MSS. - a distinct department of the Fine Arts .... I had the offer of a copy of great beauty for £250 about four years ago, which I was obliged to decline, in consequence of prior demands.(88) I have a volume (as you may recollect) of ancient miniatures, collected apparently by a German artist, one or two of which must be as old as the eleventh or twelfth century, while the majority appear to me to be from the hand of Fra Filippo Lippi - a very rare and precious collection.(89)

We have the great and beautiful work of Silvestre on 'Paléographie Universelle' or the history of Writing (and incidentally of Illumination) in all ages and countries, printed at Paris, in four volumes - folio 1839-41 - a magnificent copy of the rare original issue.(90) But this belongs rather to the distinct class of Bibliography ....

I have always looked upon a series of specimens of the great European engravers, from the fifteenth century downwards, as necessary to my scheme of collection; and I began forming one (as I mentioned in the Introduction to this Report) when a youth at Paris in 1828-9; but I could not afford to have so many irons in the fire, and I consider this series as still to be begun and prosecuted, either by myself or you, in future years. One or two chefs d'oeuvre of

each artist would accomplish my wish, in the symmetry which I wish to give to the Library in this respect. The Engravers I speak of are chiefly the great old masters who engraved their own compositions before the art sank into a mere handmaid to Painting ....

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

Costume likewise is an interesting branch of the Fine Arts. We see artistic taste displayed in the shape of vestments and the harmony of colours among races who have never produced a painter. The Scottish Highlanders, for example, were complimented by /...../* as an artistic people in virtue of their tartans. We have several of the early and rare collections of costumes, such as those of Weigel (published in 1577),(91) of Bruyn (in 1581),(92) of Amman (in 1586),(93) Franco's Costumes of Venice (1611),(94) and others; besides various modern and not very common books on the 'Vestiture' and 'Trajes' of Italy and Spain, and the 'Abiti Antichi e Moderni' of Vecellio, Venice, octavo, 1590, and Hollar's 'Ornatus Muliebris Anglicanus', London octavo 1640. Ferrario's immense work on costume is really not worth having - I have a copy in the house at this moment on inspection but which I am about to send away as utterly unsatisfactory - being, to use the old phrase, a very 'catchpenny'.(95) Much more valuable in point of fidelity are the "Costumes Historiques des 12^{e}, 13^{e}, 14^{e} et 15^{e} siècles "

* Note This word is omitted in the Ms.

by Mercuri and Bonnard, published, in three volumes, quarto, 1860; and the more magnificent and very valuable work of Von Hefner - Alteneck on mediaeval costume - the "Trachten des Christlichen Mittelalters", Frankfurt, three volumes, folio 1840-54, and of which our library possesses a beautiful copy."

Probably the only other British art historical writer with a library even approaching the importance of Lindsay's was Sir William Stirling of Keir. He had started to build up a working collection of specialised art books during the 1840s, while he was preparing his Annals of the Artists of Spain (1848), and he had then continued to expand it in a systematic manner during the 1850s. Although it was much narrower in scope than the art historical section of the Biblioteca Lindesiana, it contained numerous rarities in its chosen field: tracts and source books on Spanish and Italian art and architecture by writers such as Alberti, Dolce, Lomazzo, Juan de Herrera, Diego de Sagredo, Pachecho and Carducho; an impressive selection of works on the art of ornamental writing; and volumes of reproductive engravings after earlier Italian artists by Seroux d'Agincourt, and Carlo Lasinio (the proof plates of his Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa, Florence (1812)).[96] Stirling also painstakingly accumulated an exhaustive collection of individual reproductive prints after the works of Velasquez, and then in 1856 published his own catalogue of them.[97] He also made a similar collection of prints after Murillo, which he catalogued in 1873.[98]

One might reasonably have expected to find evidence of some social contact between Lindsay and Stirling, in view both of their

common interest in art history and bibliography, and also of their strong family links with Scotland. Lindsay would certainly have appreciated an opportunity to see Stirling's incomparable collection of original prints,[99] as well as his collection of paintings by little known Spanish artists;[100] and Stirling, in his turn, would probably have been one of the few people capable of understanding the value of Lindsay's gallery of copies of the Italian masters, to judge from his own commissions for copies after many of the outstanding masterpieces of Spanish art between 1847 and 1857.[101] But in fact these two great scholarly collectors never did find an opportunity to stimulate each other by an exchange of visits of this kind. The explanation probably lies largely in the attitude of Lindsay's immediate circle of friends, some of whom seem to have found Stirling a little too brash. In December 1846, for instance, we find James writing to his daughter, Min (Lindsay's wife), about a recent meeting with Stirling, whom he describes as "rather a conceited, desperately ugly, clever sort of man, conscious of having a large fortune at his back, and that the Ladies admire <u>him</u>;"[102] and it was therefore with evident relish that he then goes on to relate how his other daughter May, (who later married Robert Holford),[103] had "snubbed" him (Stirling).

The exercise of writing a report on the principles on which the Biblioteca Lindesiana was developing may well have brought home to Lindsay the extent to which his museum of pictures and prints still failed to match his achievements as a book collector. His ambition to buy old master prints never did take wing, but it was during the next eleven years, from c. 1864-75, that he bought many of his most

important paintings. During this period Lindsay often took his family to stay at the Villa Caprini in Florence, and there, predictably enough, he found that William Spence was still only too eager to offer him assistance in extending his picture collection. During the interval which had elapsed since Lindsay's visit to the city in 1856, Spence had already succeeded in making himself virtually indispensable to Anne Lindsay, whose husband had died in 1855, and he had eventually been well rewarded when her daughter, May Holford, elected to make generous use of his services in 1861.(104) Spence was therefore extremely well placed to renew business with Lindsay in 1864,(105) and quickly sold him a rather interesting Flemish school Portrait of Giovanni Bologna in his studio, which had apparently come from the Guadagni Palace in ~~Bologna~~ Florence.(106) This was then followed in 1865 by a small picture of the Crucifixion now attributed to Jacopo di Cione,(107) and a Florentine school fresco attributed to A. Pisano (sic).(108) Then in June 1866 Lindsay paid £204 for a half length male portrait by Van Dyck(109) and the substantial sum of 900 gold francs for a large altarpiece by L'Ortolano representing the Holy Family with St Catherine.(110) Yet it would be quite wrong to suppose that Lindsay indiscriminately accepted everything that Spence had to offer. At one time or another between 1857 and 1877 (the precise dates are not always recorded) a Portrait by L. Bassano,(111) a Portrait of Don John of Austria by Morone,(112) a Monk writing by Girolamo da Carpi,(113) and works attributed to a variety of other artists,(114) were all turned down.

Torello Bacci was another Florentine dealer with whom Lindsay established fruitful relations in the 1860s. Lindsay's acquisitions from

him in 1865 included two very fine cassoni painted by Filippino Lippi with Scenes from the life of Virginia and The death of Lucretia;[115] and two more cassoni panels showing the Rape of the Sabines and a scene of Romans celebrating, attributed to Dello Delli.[116] According to Bacci's receipt dated 17 January these had all been in the Lombardi-Baldi collection. Towards the end of the same month he also sold Lindsay a tondo representing Diana and Actaeon, attributed to Balducci;[117] a portrait of a girl then attributed to Pollaiuolo and now catalogued as from the circle of Ghirlandaio;[118] and these were followed up by a Tobias and the Angel then attributed to Matteo Rosselli, which can no longer be traced beyond the 1946 Crawford sale.[119]

Lindsay also purchased pictures in 1865 from a variety of other sources. A Madonna and Child attributed to Lorenzo di Credi[120] and a Madonna and Child with angels by Pintoricchio[121] were both apparently bought from the Marchese Frescobaldi in Florence.[122] A fresco fragment of the Virgin and Child enthroned, attributed to Domenico Veneziano, which is now in the National Gallery, London, came from the collection of L. Hombert in Florence.[123] A St Sebastian attributed to Perugino, now in Sao Paolo, came from a Signor Bruschetti in Milan.[124] And then in Florence again, one year later, the dealer Tito Gagliardi sold Lindsay an altarpiece of the Assumption of the Virgin, attributed to Gaudenzio Ferrari, for £175. It is now in the Ambrosiana collection, Milan, where it is catalogued under the name of the Pseudo Boccaccino.[125]

It was however the Lombardi-Baldi collection which provided

Lindsay's main direct source of pictures both in 1865/6, and then again in 1872 and in 1875. The residue of the collection was then being offered for sale through the agency of Metzger, the Florentine dealer, and in 1865 Lindsay took a St Jerome by Sellaio which was then attributed to Andrea del Castagno;[126] six small predella panels representing the Annunciation, Adoration of the Shepherds, Adoration of the Magi, The Presentation in the Temple, Christ among the Doctors, and The Baptism of Christ, which are now attributed to Mariotto di Nardo but which were then thought to be by A. Gaddi;[127] and a horizontal panel showing the Death of St Ephraim and other scenes from the lives of hermits, which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, but which, like the closely related panel acquired from Spence in 1856, was traditionally attributed to Lorenzetti.[128] At the same time he also bought from the same source a vast terracotta altarpiece by Lucca della Robbia.[129] In spite of Lindsay's emphasis on sculpture in his Sketches of the History of Christian Art, this was the only example of any significance which he acquired for his own collection.[130] Then in 1866 he took four panels of half length figures of the Apostles by Benozzo Gozzoli[131] and six years later he returned to Metzger to buy yet another Lombardi-Baldi collection picture, a Bicci di Lorenzo altarpiece which is now in Westminster Abbey.[132] With it, he also acquired a panel representing the Crucifixion by Ugolino di Nerio which by then had been incorrectly attached to the top of the Bicci di Lorenzo![133] Two small Bicci di Lorenzo panels representing The Angel of the Annunciation and The Virgin Annunciate also had to be separated from the Westminster Abbey picture to which

they were in no way related.(134)

It was also in 1872 that Lindsay bought the Lombardi-Baldi's thirteenth century triptych representing the Death of St Ephraim in the centre panel, and Scenes from the life of Christ in the wings. The central scene is of considerable iconographic interest as the earliest surviving painting representing hermits and anchorites gathering round the body of St. Ephraim, and it may well be based on a lost Byzantine prototype. This tabernacle was a particularly suitable acquisition for Lindsay's collection, in view of the fact that he already possessed two fifteenth century panels of the same subject, where the representation of the death of St. Ephraim followed the same Byzantine pattern.(135) After this thirteenth century triptych, as well as the Bicci di Lorenzo altarpiece, Lindsay's decision during the very same years to buy from Spence two small pictures attributed to Boucher seems even more remarkable.(136) But it may also have been at about this time that Lindsay acquired from Spence a large altarpiece of The Virgin & Child with St John and St Verdiana which is currently attributed to the Master of S. Spirito.(137)

By May 1874 Lindsay was back in Britain but continued to look for pictures. A London dealer, Raffaelle Pinti, now sold him a tondo of the Madonna and Child attributed to Botticelli, for the sum of £350.(138) He also took two views of Rome attributed to Poussin and two landscapes by Zuccarelli!(139) The Zuccarelli, which cost him £50, were the only eighteenth century Italian pictures in his collection, and together with the two Bouchers, acquired in 1872, were probably

selected for purely decorative purposes. Happily Lindsay's final addition to the collection, in 1875, was on an altogether more serious and impressive level: an altarpiece of the Madonna and Child with Saints by L. Signorelli which is now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and which, like so many of his best acquisitions, came from the Lombardi-Baldi collection in Florence.(140)

Large important works such as this Signorelli altarpiece, together with the Florentine fifteenth century banner picture in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and the pictures by Bicci di Lorenzo, Botticini, the Pseudo Boccaccino, and Guido Reni, as well as much smaller scale pictures of supreme artistic quality such as the Duccio, Cesare da Sesto and the Tintoretto, certainly entitle Lindsay to a place among the more successful and enterprising collectors of Italian art in the third quarter of the 19th century. Yet it is also difficult to escape the feeling that Lindsay's vision for the art historical department of his family museum, which he had first outlined in 1849, had not been quite adequately realised, even when full allowance is made for the series of copies by Corsi around which the original works of art were to be grouped. This impression is not simply based on the gaps in the historical sequence of the collection, for these could have been dealt with by Lindsay's heir; rather it is a question of the unexceptional quality of many of the other pictures he did buy, sometimes in a rather speculative mood, especially at the Blayds' and Northwick Park sales.

From the outset Lindsay's vision was of course quite unrealistic,

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

This predilection for abstract thought had, of course, already become apparent from his art historical studies during the 1840s, when he had allowed religious preoccupations to distort the structure of his Sketches of the History of Christian Art (1847). In the course of the next thirty years, when he was most active as a collector, Lindsay, in common with most of his contemporaries, steadily abandoned his obsession with the religious associations of early Italian painting, as well as his dream of a new modern style of Christian art. But, even in his full maturity, he was still easily intoxicated by a romantic historical sense of intellectual and artistic continuity and progress, and by the 1860s he had come to regard his own collecting activities, in the field both of books and pictures, as a direct continuation of the Renaissance tradition of private patronage established by the Medici princes in fifteenth century Florence. Eventually, in the library letter of 1865, addressed to his heir, he wrote a rather moving passage on this question which eloquently conveys the magnetic appeal of his ambitions for the Crawford family.(141) If today some of the sentiments voiced in the letter also strike us as pretentious, this was

perhaps an inevitable reflection of the supreme self confidence of the privileged and wealthy social class in which Lindsay found himself, as well as of the epoch during which he was destined to make his outstanding contribution.

"I have written you this letter, my dear Ludovic - not from Haigh or DunEcht, but from our villa at San Domenico below Etruscan Fiesole, where I hope ere many days to hail your advent from England. The sky is clear, the sun is shining, the air is delicate and perfumed with the early violet, while the scent of the nespole, so fragrant during the winter, is loathe to leave us - the birds are beginning to sing, although the snow lies still on the Vallombrosa mountains, - the bells of Florence come in musical chorus across the slopes, rising and falling with the cadence of the breeze, - the vale of the Arno, glittering with villas while in the sunshine, and bounded by grey receding hills, lies before me, expanding to the eye as I gaze down the gentle valley, the 'Vale of Fair Women' (as by its traditional name), which secludes our domain, watered by the Africo, and clad everlastingly in olive green, diversified with cypresses that point to the blue heavens with a finger more perennial and more eloquent than the obelisks of Thebes. All is as Gray painted it in one of his Latin poems, a farewell to Fiesole, a hundred years ago. And yet this scene and valley, so peaceful and secure, was once the refuge of the young and gay of Florence when the 'Black Death' reigned there and over all Italy in the fourteenth century, and when the conviti of Boccaccio passed the latter half of their 'Decameron' in a villa within these precincts, which some believe to be the one we now inhabit. But what is just now more

specially present to my thoughts is another and yet still a literary memory. Turning Northwards, I see from our garden, above us, and below the brow of Fiesole, the long line of the terraced gardens and villa of the Medici, the work of Michelozzo, where Cosimo and Lorenzo and their less worthy successors lived and died, and where the Platonic Academy held its meetings immortalised by Landino. I little thought in my boyhood when Cosimo and Lorenzo were the object of my worship at Eton, that I should one day dwell beside their favourite San Domenico, look up to their villa, and point to my son a parallel and a moral from their history. The parallel is this:- What commerce did, directly, for the Medici in the fifteenth century, commerce has done indirectly for our own family in the nineteenth. In the days of Cosimo, with above thirty baronies at our back and thousands of vassals ready to ride at our command, even against the royal banners, our revenues in actual coin (even including those received from the customs of sea-ports) were comparatively small, and would not have availed for the collection of books or pictures, even had the taste for such gear existed in those days in feudal Scotland. But now, when those thirty baronies are to ourselves as things of the past, and we have, as a Spaniard would say, but one 'hat' to boast of, at least in Scotland, the growth of trade and commerce has, by a strange recompense, afforded us, through the possession of coalfields in England, the means of doing that which our more powerful ancestors, the contemporaries of Cosimo, could not have compassed - of building up our old Library after the example of the Medici, and in the mode they would themselves have acted upon had they been now living. The moral on the other hand, to be derived

from the parallel is this:- It is the peculiarity of Britain that, beneath the shadow of her time-honoured constitution, land and commerce, aristocracy and democracy, authority and liberty, are reconciled and balanced under the mild control of a Limited Monarchy, crescent through a thousand years - to the effect of bestowing on her, through the harmony of this composition, a strength, vitality, and influence which no other land can boast of. It is the privilege of certain of her families specially to represent this harmony and reconciliation through their peculiar position as belonging on the one hand by birth, rank, and landed-proprietorship, to the former, and through the possession of mineral property, the sinews of manufactures and commerce, to the latter of these antagonist yet friendly interests. Such is our own case; and from this privilege there arise duties, which I trust you will recognise and carry out in active life more fully than I - seeking out these truths, and truth in general, in the cloisters of retreat - have been able to do. Such families are the <u>cardines</u>, the hinges of a society like ours in England, and, as such, are peculiarly bound to practise the cardinal virtues - of Justice, in weighing and deciding between contending claims and interests - of Prudence, in conciliating them - of Temperance, in political judgment and action, generally - and of Fortitude, in resisting every temptation to swerve from the steady and unselfish path of patriotism. The representatives of families of this stamp, belonging by the past to feudal, by the present to modern times, are bound by their position to be statesmen of a catholic, not a mere party type, friends at once to Order and to Progress, but to Progress tempered by Order, - in the conviction that

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

The Library which I thus bequeathe, restored and amplified, to the Lindsays has not been purchased at a sacrifice of objects which some of them may perhaps think more important than the acquisition of books or pictures, whether old or new, - on the contrary, everything has gone on, so far as I have been concerned, in the usual course, according to my father's plans for the development of his property, without a single let or hindrance on my account; nor have the interests of others in the way of advances or assistance ever been sacrificed to

claims of a similar nature promoted by myself. I have never advanced any such claims - I have had no debts paid for me - whatever has been done has been, one way or the other, from my own means - my allowance (although ample) has not exceeded that of the eldest sons of men of incomes much less than that of my father, - the sole difference is that, instead of spending my money in gambling and racing and other such toys that perish in the using, I have invested it to a great extent in collections which, in a merely pecuniary sense, will continually increase in value as years roll on, as public libraries multiply in the old and newer worlds, and as the wear and tear of time tells on books in common with all other destructible objects. I count myself therefore 'saskless' in this matter. It is true that circumstances may change - the breeze of prosperity may desert our sails, as has been the case with us more than once in past centuries - and the bark of our fortunes may have to struggle with a "sour blast" of ruin and suffering; but in that contingency the Library will have its market value, and (unless it be exile or confiscation that oppresses us) my present investment may prove a future blessing, a purse in hand wherewith to start afresh in the battle with fortune. And even then, if this should take place, I feel confident (from the family instinct within me) that some future Earl or Master of Crawford - yourself or your successors - will in course of time build up again the Lindesian Library, as I have done."

NOTES

1. Open letter concerning the Biblioteca Lindesiana from Lord Lindsay to his son, James Ludovic, dated Florence February 1865. I am indebted to Mr Nicolas Barker, who is making a special study of this library and of Lord Lindsay's activity as a book collector, for kindly making a copy of it available to me.
2. Present whereabouts of the copy unknown.
3. Present whereabouts of the copy unknown.
4. Present whereabouts of the copy unknown.
5. Private collection. Wood 17 5/8 x 11 5/8 ins. Scottish National Portrait Gallery (subsequently abbreviated as SNPG) photographic survey negative B/4612.
6. Private collection A triptych with the Coronation of the Virgin. Wood 25 x 21 ins. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4727.
7. Private collection. Two wooden panels joined together. Overall size 21 3/8 x 12 ins. SNPG survey negative B/4683.
8. Present whereabouts of these copies unknown.
9. Letter dated Haigh 10 September 1842.
10. For Miss Jean Trotter see Chapter IV note 3.
11. Letter to Jean Trotter dated Haigh 24th January 1843.
12. Unfortunately none of these copies can now be traced.
13. Letter dated Arth /in Switzerland/ 7 June 1848
14. Letter dated Haigh 28 November 1846.
15. For these two collections see Chapter XI notes 28 and 29.
16. Letter dated Arth 7 June 1848; see note 13 above. Lindsay

described the collection as follows: "I saw such an interesting gallery of pictures at Florence (I had seen it once before and liked it better the second time), exhibiting the history of art from the 13th century to the end of the 15th, genuine pictures, in the best condition, with beautiful ancient Gothic frames - about 100 in number, and many extremely beautiful - such a collection as I suppose will never be formed again, exhibiting the progress of painting through all its stages to the advent of Raphael - gathered from old churches, palaces of decayed nobles etc. and to be sold, not alas! piecemeal, but in the lump, the proprietors hoping that some public gallery will make the purchase. They demand £12,000 but would probably take half that sum, more especially in the present state of Europe ...."

17. For the National Gallery's negotiations see M. Davies, National Gallery Catalogue, The Earlier Italian Schools, London 1961, pp. 565-567.

18. Unfortunately nothing is known about Mr. Blayds. But an anonymous memorandum dated Rome 28 March 1852, preserved among the Crawford Mss. does suggest that many of the pictures in the Blayds' collection may have been bought, relatively recently and at high prices, in Rome. The document reads as follows: "Memo of Pictures sold to Mr. Blayds

No. 1. a small Tritico in Encausto ... repr. Madonna & Child - very valuable.

2. a Picture in tempera by Giotto - the death of the Madonna. 2 feet 11 Inches valued in Rome at £300.

3. Picture by Cimabue, Madonna blue drapery - formerly

in the Church at S. Pancrazio in Florence - valued at £100.

4. A Picture Gothic form - 4 feet 9 by Simon Memmi, the Virgin Mary with Angels on each side - valued at £150.

5. A Picture 4 ft 4 in Gothic form repg the Virgin Mary on a Throne by Antonio Veneziano - valued at £150.

6. A Picture 4 ft 6 in. Gothic form gold ground repg./.../by/Nucci/.

7. Tritico - gothic form - 2 ft 9 in repg. Archangelo Michele - Gentile da Fabriano. very rare.

8. Picture in Tempera 2 ft 7 in repg. the Virgin Mary and Infant with 4 Angels by Benvenuto di Siena.

9. A Picture by Alemanno d'Ascoli .... repg the Virgin on a Throne valued at £100.

10. A Picture in tempera 1½ feet by 4 ft 7 in repg. a Battle by Dello of Florence.

11. A Picture 5½ feet by 5 repg. Madonna on a Throne and Peter, S. Catherine & S. John Baptist by Lorenzo de Bicci - rare and valued at £300 - formerly in the Capone /sic/ Gallery at Florence.

12. A Picture 4 ft 4 by /...../ on gold ground repg. the Virgin on the side by Taddeo Bartoli.

13. Round picture repg. the Virgin adoring the Infant with St John & St Joseph by Lorenzo di Credi - formerly in the Caponi family at Florence valued at £100.

14. Round picture, diam 2 feet repg. the Virgin, Infant and S. John by Razza of Siena valued at £100.

15. A Picture Gold Ground 25 inches wide repg. the Virgin with her feet on a Cushion by Antonio Viviani.

16. A Picture 19 inches. the Virgin with the Infant and bird by Lippo Dalmasio.

17. A Picture on gold ground repg. the Virgin Infant and a

bird with open wings by Mariotto of Viterbo.

18. A Trittico gothic form in three compartments, repg. the Virgin, amber drapery, by Taddeo Gaddi.
/At this point there is a jump in the sequence to number 33 which perhaps suggests a further sheet of the Mss. is missing/.

33. A round Tavole repg. the Virgin with Infant & St John, on each side S. Andrew & S. Jerome by Pintoricchio.

34. A Picture Gold Ground repg. the Supper at Emmaus - School Greco Veneta - very valuable and rare.

There were two round Pictures, description of which I cannot find - one repg. the Virgin - and I believe Infant Child, with old frame by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio - the other the Madonna and several figures by Botticelli - each valued at £100.

Rome 28 March 1852."

19. In addition to those pictures described in the main text and in note 26 below, Lindsay bought the following from the Blayds' sale.

Lot 26 - School of Ghent, 15 panels with scenes from the life of Christ; Private collection. Each wood 10 x 6½ ins. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4646.

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

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

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

Lot 111 - Filippino Lippi, The Madonna & Child with the Infant St John, Crawford sale Christie's 11 Oct 1946 (101).

Lot 118 - Pierfrancesco Fiorentino, Virgin and Child, Private collection. Wood 25 x 18 ins. See R. Van Marle, The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting, The Hague, 1923-38, XIII p. 455.

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

Lot 131 - Flemish/Italian school, Luna, Crawford sale Christie's 11 Oct 1946 (62). A.C. Cooper (Christie's) photograph 141525.

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

Lot 163 Signorelli (school), Two scenes from the life of St George. Private collection. Wood $10\frac{1}{2}$ x 40 See Van Marle op.cit. XVI p. 144. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4728.

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

20. Lots 192-3 and 198-9. Four scenes from St Thomas' mission to India: the officer's hand brought to St Thomas in retribution; St Thomas in prison and baptizing Gondoforus, King of the Indies; the broken idol and St Thomas stabbed by the High Priest; Christ and St Thomas accosted by the messenger from Gondoforus. Each wood 12 x 11 ins. See B. Berenson, Lists, London 1968, p. 224 plates 366-367.

21. Lot 81. Private collection. Each wood $9\frac{1}{2}$ x $17\frac{3}{4}$ ins. See St John Gore, The Art of Painting in Florence & Siena from 1250 to 1500, Wildenstein, London 1965, p. 42 nos. 73-74 figs 69-70.

22. Lot 23. Private collection. Each wood $16\frac{5}{8}$ x $11\frac{3}{4}$ ins. SNPG photographic survey negatives B/4565-4566.

23. Lot 121. Private collection. Wood: overall height 23 ins; each wing c. 9 x 7½ ins. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4770.

24. Lot 108. Private collection. Wood 13½ x 32 ins. See Van Marle op.cit. XVI p. 519 fig 298.

25. Lot 115. Private collection Wood 26¼ x 16¼ ins. See B. Berenson Lists, London 1968, p. 193. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4682.

26. Lot 161. Private collection. Each wood 16½ x 56 ins. See E. Callmann, Apollonio di Giovanni, Oxford 1974, p. 65 plates 151-152. He also bought: Lot 65, a panel attributed to Dello, An engagement of knights - Anghiari Master, Battle of Pharsalus, Private collection. Wood 15½ x 54½ ins. See P. Schubring, Cassoni, Leipzig 1915, no. 112; and lot 148, attributed to Dello, A knight of the Caponi family on horseback with an attendant - from the Caponi Gallery at Florence - Paris Master, Private collection. Wood 16 x 19 ins. See Schubring op.cit. no. 183.

27. It was acquired after the sale by the Rev J Fuller Russell, whose activity as a collector is briefly described in Chapter XI footnote 77. From the pictures in the Blayds' sale Fuller Russell also eventually acquired Lot 104 - Niccolo di Pietro Gerini, The four crowned martyrs before Diocletian, Denver Art Museum, inv. K.17; Lot 175 - Giotto, The Virgin lying dead ... - Fuller Russell sale 18 April 1885 (98) bt Colnaghi, but present whereabouts unknown; and Lot 187 - Andrea Vanni, Adoration of the Magi, Isaac Delgado Museum, New Orleans, K.233. Another buyer at the Blayds' sale was Sir R. Adair who acquired lots 42, 73, 74, 80,

83, 95, 105, 110, 120, 124, 150, 151, 183 and 190; several of these pictures then reappeared at the Adair sale, Christie's 8 December 1950 as lots 106, 107, 113, 119, 132, 148 and 159. Of the remaining pictures in the Blayds' sale lot 17 = Christie's 20 Feb. 1953 (11) as Moroni; lot 176 has been connected with a C. Crivelli, St Bernard & St Clare, in the Worcester Art Museum, inv. 1940.33; and lot 194 may perhaps be identified as Piero di Cosimo, The Young St John the Baptist, Metropolitan Museum, New York, inv. 22.60.52.

28. Letter dated London 12 April 1849.

29. Lot 30 = Crawford sale Christie's 11 Oct 1946 (97).

30. Lot 40. Private collection. Wood 44½ x 28½ ins. Reproduced by D. Koepplin and T. Falk Lukas Cranach, Exhibition Catalogue, Basel 1974, I p. 292 no. 171 pl 133.

31. Lot 31. Private collection. Wood 36 x 30½ ins. Reproduced by M. Friedlander, Hugo van der Goes, Brussels 1969, IV no. 84c pl. 79, as by the Master of the Embroidered Foliage.

32. The history of the formation of Lord Lindsay's library is being studied by Mr Nicolas Barker, and I have therefore limited myself to a description of the strictly art-historical books he acquired. But it is important to bear in mind that from Lindsay's days at Eton onwards, book collecting was one of his principal preoccupations.

33. Lady Mary Crawford, sister of George 22nd Earl of Crawford. See page 294 above

34. For these acquisitions see Chapter I page 14.

35. This gallery was never built.

36. For the Coningham collection and its sale see Chapter XI note 6.

37. For Lindsay's annotated catalogue of the Coningham sale see Chapter XI note 27.

38. Last seen at Christie's 2 July 1976 (95) and illustrated in the sale catalogue.

39. E. Joly de Bammeville was a French Protestant with High church leanings, who visited Oxford in 1851 and became a Roman Catholic in November of that year. He was a friend of John Henry, later Cardinal, Newman (see J.H. Newman, Letters and Diaries, ed. C. Dessain, Oxford 1968, XVIII pp. 27, 191 and 193). For a brief character sketch of de Bammeville see also A. Pollen, John Hungerford Pollen, London 1912, p. 223 who wrote: "M. de Bammeville proved to be a most agreeable if eccentric companion; and his wife was as pleasant as himself. He soon became intimate with John Pollen, his brother, and his friends and figures in the journal as "Bumvil". He would arrive uninvited, expecting dinner or bed, as often as he failed to come by promise. He was a man of culture and accomplishment, played and sang fine music, and collected beautiful things; his hospitable house in London was filled with superb prints, and pictures well worth seeing; he was a keen judge of character, which he professed to read infallibly in handwriting; and his conversation on men and things was witty and acute ..." (I am very grateful to Professor Francis Haskell for providing me with these references.) It would appear that de Bammeville was active as a collector during

the 1840s: the Pintoricchio fresco with Scenes from the Odyssey (National Gallery, London, inv. 911) and the Signorelli frescoes of The Triumph of Chastity: Love disarmed and bound and of Coriolanus persuaded by his family to spare Rome (National Gallery, London, inv. 910 and 3929) were all transferred from the walls of the Palazzo del Magnifico, Siena, to the order of de Bammeville in 1842 or 1844 (see M. Davies, National Gallery Catalogue, The Earlier Italian Schools, London 1961, p. 438). In addition to the Duccio Crucifixion described in note 38 above, and two pictures acquired by Lord Lindsay described in notes 40 and 41 below, de Bammeville's sale included the following:

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

Lot 40 = Sodoma (ascribed) Madonna & Child, N.G. London, inv. 246.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Lot 56 = D. Ferrari Virgin & Child, Lord Lincoln's sale Christie's 4 June 1937 (29); I am indebted to Professor Sir Ellis Waterhouse for this sale reference.

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

41. Private collection. Wood 14 x 9½ ins. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4588.

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

43. Letter to her son Robert, dated Florence 4 May 1856 and preserved among the Crawford Mss.

44. Spence's letters to Lord Lindsay, together with some accounts and receipts, are preserved among the Crawford Mss. Unfortunately many of these documents are undated. Prices are sometimes quoted in sterling, sometimes in francs. I have not always managed to establish the rate of exchange, and it appears to have fluctuated quite considerably over the years with which we are concerned.

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

46. Private collection. Wood 57 x 66 ins. Reproduced by B. Berenson, Lists, London 1963, plate 1065. The price to Lindsay was 700 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

47. Private collection. Lord Lindsay later acquired another panel of the same subject and the same format (cf note 128 below) and

there is no apparent means of establishing which of them belonged to Spence. The two panels are reproduced by P. Schubring, Cassoni, Leipzig 1915, nos. 36 and 37 plate VI. For a recent discussion of these panels, with references to the earlier literature, see H. Brigstocke, in The Burlington Magazine, August 1976, pp. 585 ff. The price to Lindsay for Spence's panel was 210 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

48. Private collection. Wood $26\frac{3}{4}$ x $18\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Reproduced by B. Berenson, Lists, London 1963, plate 978. The price to Lindsay was 110 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

49. Private collection, on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland. Wood $9\frac{1}{2}$ x $9\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Reproduced by B. Berenson, Lists, London 1968, plate 1504 but with the wrong caption. The price to Lindsay was £80 (receipt dated "26 July"; although the year is not given it was probably 1856).

50. Private collection. Canvas $18\frac{5}{8}$ x $18\frac{1}{2}$ ins. Reproduced by B. Berenson, Lists, London 1957, plate 1294. The price to Lindsay was 18 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

51. Private collection. Canvas $10\frac{1}{4}$ x $26\frac{1}{4}$ ins. Exhibited Exhibition of Italian Art, 1200-1900, R.A. London 1930 (743). SNPG photographic survey negative B/4578. The price to Lindsay was 30 francs (receipt dated 6 May 1856).

52. Reproduced in The Burlington Magazine, June 1965, p. 330 fig 59. Lady Lindsay saw the picture first and wrote to her husband at Haigh from Veitch's Hotel, Edinburgh, on 12 March, with a detailed description, and the news that it was for sale at £250.

"I was disappointed at first for I expected a pale Guido but on looking more attentively I think it an extremely fine and beautifully painted picture and I feel no doubt whatever that the whole of the Virgin's figure is by Guido himself ... Other things in the picture I do not admire so much tho' I do not think they are incompatible with Guido's painting. Follow what I say with the engraving. The hand that raises the Virgin's veil is ill drawn and wonderfully like a hand drawn and painted by Caravaggio. The head of St Joseph is the same and very Neapolitan in its character and the lower part of the Angel not quite so fine or the bit of drapery round his loins. not so well painted as it might be. The lower part of the Virgin's robe is more like Caravaggio being hard and rather broken .... It belongs to a Mr Bruce, a picture cleaner, from the evidence around incapable of manufacturing a picture like that. The picture belonged to an English family of the name of Foster who came and settled in Edinburgh and commenced living an extremely fashionable life - but the winter was extremely cold, the 2 daughters fell ill and the gentleman became disgusted with the town and made a sudden determination to sell all his furniture and go away." Margaret Lindsay then goes on to relate a tradition that it had been acquired by Mr Foster's grandfather in Italy for £300, and concludes by assuring Lindsay that it "is in perfection condition, not rubbed by cleaning." Lord Lindsay replied at once, in a letter dated Haigh, 15 March. "Your description, your scepticism as regards the Caravaggesque character of part of the painting completely proves it to my apprehension to be a genuine Guido

and of his good time. Caravaggio belonged to an earlier period and a foreign school, but you know the Bolognese school were Eclectics, that is their principle was to study and appropriate whatever each of their great predecessors was most famous for - the design of M. Angelo, the colouring of Titian, the harmony of Raphael, the force and Nature of Caravaggio etc - an impossible theory; Guido in particular almost devoted himself during his early years to Caravaggio - many of his early pictures were wholly imbued with the features of his prototype; but in the best of that - or rather of the succeeding period his own characteristics are always dominant and Caravaggio's subdued. Just as you describe. I do not feel the least doubt that the picture is a genuine Guido belonging to a clearly defined date in his career which is called I think his 2 manner when he was passing from his early traditions and taking up the independent and individual position he afterwards occupied so nobly. His last style is very inferior. .... I observe that £300 would be about the sum that a picture of the sort would have been sold for at that time when every one of the Roman families was trying to get money, Colonna, Altieri, Borghese, Corsini etc. It must be worth much more now I should think, and at all events would be a most interesting specimen of Guido, the subject too being treated in an original manner. I can only trace 2 pictures of the subject ever done by him ...." On the 17 March, Margaret Lindsay wrote back to her husband with the news that she had "settled with Bruce for £250".

53. Northwick Park sale, Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, by Phillips

on 26 July 1859 and twenty one subsequent days.

54. Lot 544. Private collection. Wood 25 x 19½ ins. SNPG photographic survey (N.G. London negative).

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

56. Lot 1002. Private collection. Canvas 33 x 60 ins. Courtauld Institute, London, photographic survey negative B57/1351.

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

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

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

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

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

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

63. In addition to those already listed Lord Linday also acquired the following minor items:

Lot 1095 = Private collection. Copy of the figure of Bacchus

from Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne. Canvas $36\frac{1}{4}$ x $29\frac{1}{4}$ ins. SNPG photographic survey B/4577.

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

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

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

65. Lot 578. N.G. London inv. 624.

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

67. For the Rev Walter Davenport-Bromley's collection see Chapter X.

68. See notes 38 and 39 above.

69. It was lot 52 at the Davenport-Bromley sale.

70. Lot 5. N.G. London inv. 3473.

71. Present whereabouts unknown.

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

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

74. See note 1 above.

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

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

77. Lindsay had, however, overlooked a copy in the library of Sir

William Stirling of Keir. Stirling, the author of the pioneering work Annals of the Artists of Spain, London 1848, described his own copy of Pacheco in An essay towards a collection of books relating to the Arts of Design being a catalogue of those at Keir, 1850 (1860 edition), pp. 99-100 as follows: "One of the rarest Spanish books of the 17th century. The impression was probably not a large one, and most of the copies seem to have been destroyed by tear and wear in the studios of Spain, where the work was long the only handbook within the reach of the painters. The surviving copies are usually stained with oil, paint, and thumbing. The finest which I have ever seen are those in the possession of F.C. Ford, Esq. at Hevitre, Devon, and Don Valentine Carderera, at Madrid. Pacheco wrote a Prologo for his treatise, which, however, was suppressed. It was first printed by Cean Bermudez in his Dio. de las Bellas Artes, tom. iv, p. 14, from the author's original MS., formerly in the library of the Prince of Anglona, and now in one of the public libraries at Madrid. This Prologo, consisting of two leaves, executed in litho-typography, imitating Faxardo's types, is prefixed to the present copy. The fac-simile of Pacheco's signature was taken by me from the tract mentioned below. A portrait is also added, drawn on stone, from a small picture on panel, given me in1849, by Don Francisco Balmaseda, of Seville, and supposed by that gentleman, and some other "intelligentes" of Pacheco's native city, to be the painter's likeness from his own pencil. Of Prologo and portrait only twelve impressions were taken off, four of which I placed in the hands of the late Lord Ellesmere, the late Mr. Ford, and Sir Charles Eastlake, and in the British Museum - the possessors of the only

other copies of Pacheco's volume which I have heard of in England. The present copy has been rendered perfect by the addition of a title page and two leaves, and parts of some other leaves, executed in very admirable facsimile MS. by Mr. Bishop. Still rarer, perhaps, than the book itself, is the 4to. tract of 9 pages, without date, place, or printer's name, in which Pacheco published chap. xii. as a specimen of his lucubrations. Of this I have seen only a single copy, in the curious collection of the late Don Bartolomé José Gallardo, at the Dehesa del Barquillo, near Toledo."

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

79. Pitture a fresco del Campo Santo di Pisa intagliata dal Professore Cav. Carlo Lasinio ..., Florence 1812.

80. M. Lastri, L'Etruria Pittrice ovvero Istoria della Pittura Toscana dai suoi monumenti che si esibiscono in stampa dal sec x fino al presente, Florence 1791 and 1793.

81. T. Patch, The Life of Masaccio, Florence 1770.

82. The artist was G.B. Mariani; see Chapter 4. B. Berenson, Lists, London 1963, I p. 49 reproduces two drawings of the interior of San Francesco, Assisi, by L. Carpinelli and G.B. Mariani.

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

84. Tableaux, Statues, Bas-Reliefs, et Camées de la Galerie de

Florence, et du Palais Pitti dessinés par Wicar, gravées sous la direction de M Lacombe et M Marquelier.

85. I have failed to trace a single copy of this publication.

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

87. Published 1844.

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

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

90. J.B. Silvestre, Paléographie Universelle Collection de Fac-simile d'Ecritures de tous les peuples et de tous les temps, Paris 1839-41.

91. H. Weigel, Habitus praecipuorum populorum, 1577.

92. Abraham de Bruyn, Omnium pene Europae, Asiae, Africae, et Americae gentium habitus, Antwerp 1581.

93. J. Amman, In Frauwenzimmer Wirt ...., Frankfurt 1586.

94. Giacomo Franco, Habitu delle donne Veneziane, Venice 1610.

95. G. Ferrario Il costume antico e moderno, Milan 1816-34 (18 vols.).

96. See note 77 above.

97. Velazquez and his works; with a catalogue of the prints after them, London 1855.

98. William Stirling-Maxwell, Essay towards a Catalogue of Prints

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

99. Stirling's collection of prints was important largely on account of the set of working proofs for the Desastres de la guerra, by Goya. These, together with other important Goya prints from the same collection, are now in Boston; see E. Sayre The Changing Image, Prints by Francisco Goya, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1974. For further, more miscellaneous, prints from Sir William's collection see the Keir sale, Sotheby's 12 March 1964. For Sir William's collection of old master drawings see the Keir sale at Sotheby's 21 October 1963 and 5 May 1964. See further H. Wethey in The Art Bulletin, September 1952, pp. 217 ff. for drawings attributed to A. Cano; and E. Harris in Apollo, January 1964, pp. 73 ff. for drawings attributed to Juan de Alfaro and El Greco.

100. Many of Stirling's most interesting pictures had been acquired at the Louis Philippe and Standish collection sales during May 1853; see Chapter XI note 57 for full details. For further pictures from his collection which are now at Pollok House, Glasgow, see J. Caw Catalogue of Pictures at Pollok House, Glasgow 1936 and the current guide to The Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House, Glasgow n.d. See also E. Harris in Apollo, January 1964,

pp. 73 ff. Among the pictures at Pollok, not already described in Chapter XI, are two small canvases by Goya of boys playing at soldiers, which were acquired, (with two companion pieces now in a private collection) in Seville in 1842; an Allegory of Repentance by Antonio de Pereda, apparently of unknown provenance; and William Blake's Adam naming the beasts, Eve naming the birds, The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem, and The Canterbury Pilgrims, all of which Sir William had acquired at the Butts' sale Foster's in 1853, as well as an Entombment of unknown provenance. (Two further works by Blake which Sir William bought at the Butts' sale, The Temptation of Eve, and Our Lady with the Infant Jesus on a Lamb, were inherited by Captain Archibald Stirling. For Sir William's collection of works by Blake see also A. Gilchrist, Life of William Blake, "Pictor Ignotus", London 1863.) Other pictures from Sir William's collection were sold both privately and at Sotheby's 3 July 1963, including: El Greco's Lady with a flower in her hair (reproduced by E. Harris in Apollo, January 1964, p. 74 fig 2) and his Christ carrying the Cross (see H. Wethey, El Greco and his school, Princeton 1962, no. 50 fig 174); Goya's Young woman naked, against rocks, (executed on ivory), now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts inv. 63.1081, and his Majo and Maja seated, (executed in ivory) in the Stockholm museum inv. NMB 1879; and two pictures attributed to Zurbaran, a Marriage of St Catherine (exhibited National Gallery of Scotland, Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya, Edinburgh 1951 no. 42 plate VIII) and a St Catherine, Virgin & Martyr, acquired at the Soult sale, Paris 22 May 1852 (40), now in a private collection, Switzerland. A few relatively little known works collected by Sir William

still remain at Keir, including the following, under the owner's or the traditional attribution:

J. Antolinez A pet dog (Meade sale 6 March 1851 (250)) ·

Juan de Arellano Flowers in a vase ·

A. Cano "Self Portrait" ·

Juan Carreno de Miranda Don John of Austria ·

Juan del Castillo Vision of Fra Lorenzo ·

S. Gomez St Joseph ·

"F. de Herrera" /probably Seville 17th century school/ Portrait of an artist ·

P. Orrente Landscape with sheep ·

Juan Battista de Simo Portrait of Antonio de Palomino y Velasco (bought Valencia 1849) ·

Juan Fernandez de Navarrete "Self Portrait", (bought at Soult sale, Paris 19 May 1842 (4)).

"Juan de las Roelas" Virgin of the Immaculate Conception ·

Velazquez Figures in a landscape (exhibited National Gallery of of Scotland, Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya, Edinburgh 1951, no. 38 plate Xa) ·

"Velazquez" /perhaps school of Alejandro de Loarte/ Still Life (bought at Seville in 1845) ·

"Zurbaran" /probably by Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra/ Adoration of the Shepherds.

101. Stirling's collection of copies, now at Keir, included a series of large scale canvases by José Roldan, as well as watercolours by Joseph West and William Barclay. Roldan's copies were of A. Cano Our Lady of Belen Seville Cathedral; F. de Herrera St. Hesmenegildo Seville Museum; Juan de las Roelas The death

of St Isidoro Church of St. Isidoro, Seville; Zurbaran Apotheosis of St Thomas Aquinas Seville Museum; Valdes Leal Memento Mori (two pictures) Church of the Caridad, Seville. He also made a watercolour of the interior of this church. These copies were made between 1847-9. Barclay's copy was Murillo The Angel Kitchen of S. Diego of Alcala The Louvre, Paris, and it dates from 1857. Among West's copies, almost all of which are datable between 1849-1857 were the following: El Greco Burial of Count Orgaz Church of S. Tomé, Toledo; El Greco Espolio Toledo Cathedral; Murillo St Elizabeth of Hungary nursing the sick Prado, Madrid; Murillo Prodigal Son National Gallery of Art, Washington; Murillo Loaves and Fishes and S. Juan de Dios Church of the Caridad, Seville; Murillo Abraham and the Angels National Gallery of Canada; Murillo Liberation of St Peter Hermitage Museum, Leningrad; Murillo Pool of Bethesda National Gallery, London; Velazquez Jacob receiving Joseph's coat Escorial; Velazquez Las Meninas, Las hislanderas, and Declaration of Breda, all Prado, Madrid; and The High Altar of Toledo Cathedral. Other large copies on canvas after Murillo by an unknown hand include The Purisma of the Capuchines Seville Museum; The Gypsy Madonna Corsini Gallery, Rome; and two details (one at Pollok House) of Moses striking the rock Church of the Caridad, Seville.

102. Letter dated Balcarres 11 December 1846.

103. Robert Holford of Dorchester House, London, and Westonbirt, Gloucestershire. For his collection see The Holford Collection

(A Catalogue privately printed for Sir George Holford and members of the B.F.A.C. ....), London 1924.

104. May Holford gives a vivid description of her dealings with Spence in two letters to her mother dated Hotel de la Grande Bretagne, Florence, 16 November 1861 and Genoa, Hotel de la Ville 25 December 1861; these are among the Crawford Mss. In the first she wrote: "We have now been here a week tomorrow, and we have been hard at work visiting every shop and picture dealer in the town, always accompanied by Mr Spence, who arrives every morning soon after breakfast and remains till about 4 o'clock, when it becomes too dark to do anything, and I am thoroughly tired out. We have made some wonderfully good acquisitions and I look forward with so much pleasure to showing you them on our return home. Mr Spence has been of the greatest use to us, as he knows every collection, and every hole and corner of Florence and he is most kind in helping us to find all that we want .... I have been all over the Demidoff Villa this morning, where there are things that would take a good month to look well over, such a mixture of magnificence and bad taste I never saw - Félicie and Hippolyte went with us and Mr French, the Banker's son, a very agreeable young man. You cannot think how kind and civil everyone is, and from Robert's having built Dorchester House which seems to me to be quite as well known everywhere we go, as it is in England, everyone opens their houses and are so anxious that we should go and see them, and so willing to give us every help possible ... We have been twice to pay Mr Spence

a visit at his Villa at the top of Fiesole, such a charming villa. He has also got a beautiful house in Florence - I quite envy him. Tomorrow we go to see Mario's Villa Salviati and Prince Poniatowski's palace ....." In a subsequent letter of 25 December 1841 she wrote:

"... Mr Spence who dined with us, remained to talk over our day's work, and help us with our arrangements with the different tradesmen. I must say that nothing could be kinder or more helpful than he was to us, and I do not know how we should have got on without him. I think that our visit to Florence will have been of the greatest use to us - both in ideas and purchases for Dorchester House .... Through Mr Spence we got a picture which I admire very much, it is by Cotignola and the subject is the Virgin and child in her arms, she is sitting on a throne and a saint stands on each side of her, at her feet sit 3 little angels - these last are perfectly lovely. It is a very large picture and I think you will delight in it. I am sure you will wish to copy the little angels they are so beautiful. We also got from Mr Spence two other very pretty little pictures, one a little girl of the style of Velazquez and the other a small Bronzino - both very pretty We got 3 beautiful cassoni, gilt, with paintings on the sides, they are very difficult to be found now - and they are wonderfully effective as furniture ...."

105. Anne Lindsay, writing from the Hôtel de Florence, 25 Nov 1864, describes one of their visits to Spence at this time.

".. We went to Mr Spence's Florence lodging, where we saw

some really good things, but he does not intend parting with them. He thinks of taking them up to the Villa. He has got a room he calls his Tribune where all his best things are - two portraits by Vandyke are really à se mettre à genoux devant - one a lady and the other a gentleman of the Guadagni family - the woman is especially beautiful and we heard of course a great deal about the grande Duchesse Marie's anxiety to get hold of it." Two days later Anne Lindsay returned again to her preoccupation with Mr Spence and his circle in another letter to May Holford. "... I have hardly seen Virginia or Somers, they dined here once and were in great spirits having made some purchases that pleased them immensely. They have got one, indeed two, beautiful pictures - one a Ghirlandaio quite lovely - a Virgin enthroned with the Holy Child and Saints on each side. In colour and form nothing has pleased me more. They have got also some cabinets, majolica, a clock etc. Mr Spence is Lord Somers shadow - they go about all day together, and are inseparable. Virginia too passes the greater part of her day in going from one curiosity shop to another. There happen to be some people just now selling pictures and roba that have escaped the dealers, and Mr Spence has been most good natured about it - both to Somers and to Lindsay and Min. He really is very obliging - he gets as much interested in your purchases as if they were his own and becomes quite excited in your behalf."

106. Private collection. Canvas 54 x 60 ins. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4610. The price is not recorded and Spence's

receipt is missing from the Crawford Mss.

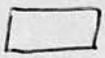
107. Private collection. Wood 27¾ x 17 5/8 ins. See Van Marle op. cit III p. 508. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4534. The price is not recorded, and Spence's receipt is missing from the Crawford Mss.

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

109. Crawford sale 11 October 1946 (168). The price was arranged in the following letter from Spence to Lindsay dated 8 May 1866. "I got notice from Mrs Lindsay that you are willing to take the Van Dyke for 5000 frs (£200). I had a Russian nobleman here who was anxious to have it also, but I had written to you first, as well as to other friends of mine, and in my last letter had raised the price to £300 - as Mr Kirkup said he thought £300 a very moderate price for such a picture. I therefore will let you have it for £204 5100 frs. I put on the extra hundred francs to be able to say truly you had passed the 5000 francs - which price might have been put down by the Russians and you would have lost the picture. I will forward it to you directly on receiving your instructions. It is very important to me, as I have bills too much in London due on the 1st June that the £204 be paid into my bankers Sir Charles Price and Co - No 8 King

William Street before that period, say the 25th Inst - and it is the want of ready money that has made me part with this picture, which I should not have been inclined to do otherwise ...."

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

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

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

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

114. These included the following:

Margaritone No description offered in 1859; Simone Martini "The Marriage of St Catherine with our Saviour ..." offered in 1859; Gozzoli 'Santa Lucia' offered in 1859; Botticelli 'Fragment of angels' offered in 1859; Signorelli St Joseph

offered in 1859; Amerigo Vespertini* "Altarpiece by very rare master, holy family, shepherds and glory of angels ... about 7 feet by 5" offered in 1866; Janet "2 very good portraits ... of Henry 3 and his wife" offered in 1866; Dosso Dossi 5 frescoes "Mythological subjects" offered in 1866; Gaddi "Presepio" offered in 1867; Santi di Tito "Taddeo Zuccheri shewing his design for the Cupola of Florence, life size on panel" offered in c. 1874; Reschi "Landscape with figures" offered in c. 1874; Netscher (school) "Portrait of an artist by himself" offered in c. 1874; Filippino Lippi Large cassone offered in 1877; Unknown Small cassone, Dante & Beatrice offered in 1877; Bellini Portrait Date of offer unknown.

115. Private Collection. Each wood 15½ x 65½ ins. Exhibited R.A. 1871 (271 and 272). See B. Berenson, Lists, London 1963, p. 108. SNPG photographic survey negatives B/4677-4678.

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

117. Private collection. Wood 22½ ins. diameter. Exhibited B.F.A.C. 1904 (59). See B. Berenson, Lists, London 1968, p. 24. SNPG photographic survey survey (N.G. London negative). The price to Lindsay was 550 francs - probably around £22 (undated receipt).

118. Private collection. Wood 15 7/8 x 11 ins. See Van Marle op. cit. XIII p 102. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4648. The price to Lindsay was 100 francs - probably around £4 (receipt dated 26 January 1865).

Note * Sic. Probably = Amico Aspertini

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

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

121. Private collection. Wood 50 x 32½ ins. Reproduced by Van Marle op.cit. XIV p. 258 fig 167. The original receipt has not apparently been preserved and the price is not recorded.

122. According to E. Callmann, (Apollonio di Giovanni, Oxford 1974, p. 70 no. 41 plates 184-5, 190-3 and 215-216) two cassone chests with scenes from the History of Darius and The Battle of Issus, were also acquired by the Crawford family from the Casa Frescobaldi, in 1872. But I have not found any documents relating to this transaction among Lord Lindsay's surviving papers.

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

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

125. Reproduced by A. Falchetti, La Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan

1969, p. 67 inv. 17. The price to Lindsay was £175 (receipt dated 22 August 1866).

126. Private collection. Wood 34 x 23 ins. See Van Marle op. cit. XII p. 410 and B. Berenson, Lists, London 1963, p. 196. SNPG photographic survey (N.G. London negative). The receipt is dated 17 Jan 1865; it includes numerous other items, and the individual prices are not given, but the total expenditure amounted to 4828 francs.

127. Private collection. Each $11\frac{1}{2}$ x $11\frac{1}{2}$ ins. (octagonal). See Berenson, Lists, London 1963, p. 129 and plates 523-4. The price to Lindsay was 180 francs (receipt dated 17 Jan 1865; see note 126 above.

128. See note 47 above.

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

130. The only other sculpture of any interest which Lindsay acquired was a marble bust of a female figure. It is obviously 19th century but Lindsay believed it to be by a fifteenth century Italian artist. He and his wife, Margaret, had picked it up cheaply in Paris on 17 June 1863. They believed it to be identical with a marble which Félicie de Fauveau had borrowed from a Florentine pawnbroker some twenty years earlier and which she had identified as a bust of Luisa Strozzi. The source of this story is a letter from Margaret Lindsay to her son James Ludovic, dated 17 June 1863, preserved in the Crawford Mss.

131. Private collection. Each wood 7 x 14 ins. Two of the panels exhibited New Gallery, London 1893/4 (9 and 10). See also Van Marle op.cit. p. 236. SNPG photographic survey (N.G. London negatives). The price to Lindsay was 500 francs - probably around £20 (receipt dated 29 June 1866).

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

133. Private collection. Wood 39 5/8 x 18 5/8 ins. See B. Berenson, Lists, London 1968, p. 437. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4746.

134. Private collection. Each wood 25 x 12 7/8 ins. SNPG photographic survey negative B/4550.

135. See G. Achenbach in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, XXV, 1944, pp. 129 ff. fig 3; J.R. Martin in Art Bulletin Vol 33, 1951, pp. 217 ff. fig 5; H. Brigstocke in The Burlington Magazine, August 1976, pp. 585 ff. The price to Lindsay was 700 lire (receipt dated 4 June 1872).

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

137. Now deposited in the Roman Catholic church in Richmond. Wood 60½ x 59½ ins. SNPG photographic survey (N.G. London negative). This picture was unquestionably in Spence's apartment in the Palazzo Giugni and appears in a small painting of these quarters which is to be published by Mr John Fleming. But there is no

record among the Crawford Mss. as to when it was acquired by (presumably) Lord Lindsay. The absence of documentation suggests it may have been a relatively late purchase; cf note 140 below where the case of a little documented late acquisition is described.

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

139. None of these pictures can now be traced.

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

141. See note 1 above.

Appendix 1 (see Chapter III)

Lord Lindsay to Col. James Lindsay Haigh, 31 Dec. 1839

"... A few weeks ago I received from London the books of prints which I told Anne I had bought there, the Musée Français, Etruria Pittrice, the engravings of the Campo Santo at Pisa etc - Piranesi and the large lithographs of the ancient German paintings at Munich I expect presently. With those that have arrived my father has been extremely interested and for some weeks past I have been supplying him every evening with a volume of prints (either of these or of former acquisitions) to look over - these have afforded me also much amusement between whiles - especially the prints of the Campo Santo frescoes, w^ch are beautiful - I mean the paintings - both in composition and form - accuracy of costume of course is not to be expected and the whole story is represented in one cadre, but what matters that? Rio's theory of the école Mystique though a little exaggerated, is certainly true. I have been disappointed rather with the Musée Français - not with the engravings, which are exquisite, but with the quality of the subjects engraved - there is a vast quantity, it appears to me, of inferiority - and certainly no Madonnas or Holy Families are endurable subsequent to Raphael's. But the arrangement of the Musée is so execrable, drunken scenes of Ostade and Teniers, the degradation of painting, interspersed between subjects the highest and holiest. Surely F. men have a very inadequate notion of art. You hear people talking of a Paul Potter as the 4th finest

picture in the world - if they mean that it wd fetch the highest price, three excepted, I sd bow in submission to the bad taste of mankind - but to tell me that the finest landscape ever painted is to be ranked in the scale of dignity with the worst Holy Family that ever escaped Raphael's hands, that I cannot assent to - But goodnight now, though I have more to say on this subject.

Musing in my armchair the other evening I drew up the following scheme of the poetry and prose of painting - for surely precedence in art, or in literature (which is merely another tongue of genius - the sentiments the same, the organ of expression different) is to be regulated by the moral elevation of the artist - by the nobler or more degraded aspect in which he views the works of God - and by the degree in which his influence is a blessing to his fellow creatures or the reverse. Considering then that Humanity, Nature, and the Degradation of Humanity (in other words the predominance of the animal propensities above the intellectual and spiritual) form three distinct existences - and redividing Humanity and Nature into the two grand classes of Poetry and Prose - I would class the great masters (I think of none else) as follows:-

POETRY

1. Religion .... Man in his intercourse with God Giotto, Fra Angelico, Perugino, Raphael, M'Angelo - (did it ever strike you how identical the character of these two are with those of their namesakes, the Archangels?) - Fra Bartolomeo, Leonardo - Overbeke, Hesse, etc.

2. History of Poetry - (for the Beings of the Mind exist to us quite

as influentially as those of real life) .... The repression of the grander passions elicited by the influence of man on man.

i. The nobler and purer - patriotism, self devotion etc

ii. The more selfish, though still dignified - the 'splendida peccata' of St Augustine

iii. Historical and Ideal Portrait ... The noblest or most influential characters (either of history or fancy) in repose - I mean, not in action, though ready for it - (Columbus' eye, for instance, flashing with the idea of a New World etc) - even a single such figure actually in action ascends into Class II .*

* (This does not of course apply to Intellectual portraiture (historical or ideal) in which thought is action, such as Milton composing Paradise Lost, (if such a picture exists) or C. Dolci's Poesia.)

(Here too I would rank that class of portraiture in which actual persons are so grouped and idealised that the picture becomes poetical and influences the heart accordingly. For instance Richmond's picture of the children.)

iv. Common Life: (Dramatically represented - I am afraid this class is hardly poetry and yet I cannot find it in my heart to degrade it to prose.)

1. The Domestic and Holy affections, or the virtuous side of human nature, naturally but feelingly represented, as by Wilkie in his best pictures.

2. The Degraded, when - and only when - that degradation is exhibited to excite sympathy or moral reformation, not ridicule, - as by Hogarth and his fellows, if he has one.

v. Ideal or Poetical Landscape - nature idealised - scenes on which you feel that the intrusion of vulgarity and vice would be insufferable - scenes which your imagination peoples, as you gaze on them with the loveliest forms of humanity - scenes which you involuntarily believe must be the haunts of those invisible beings, faintly shadowed by the ancients under the names of Dryads, Neads, Nympths etcetera but which we know to live move and breathe around us, the guardian angels of Creation.

Lastly, as undoubtedly poetical, though uninfluential on human affections, and therefore uncondusive to man's improvement.

vi. Mythology, and whatever is the mere heartless, though graceful, play of fancy.

(Most allegories must be contented to rank here: Flaxman's described by A. Cunningham etc like the Pilgrim's Progress and Faery Queen etc belong to Religion.)

PROSE

I. Common Portrait - under which may be ranked the utmost mere animal beauty.

II. Common Landscape. Nature in her unadorned reality - woods, trees, waters etcetera. Scenes in which vulgarity and vice (though unsightly in themselves) would not appear out of place - yet still fresh from creation.

III. Still Life. Animals, flowers, fruit, etcetera - fresh and undegraded from God's hand.

Lower Life - the Degradation of Humanity below the beasts that

perish - the predominance of the animal and earthly propensities of man above the spiritual and heavenly - coarsely and unfeelingly exhibited - Ostade, Teniers, Jan Steen, ' et id genera omne' -.

This is but a rough exposition of my idea. I have not properly tested it yet - there may be much to alter and amend but I think the outline is correct ....."

Appendix 2 (see Chapter III)

Lord Lindsay to his mother /Florence/ 13 May 1840

..... Minnie dear, I have a new subject fermenting in my mind and I think sooner or later it will bubble out into a book - but much study and thought will be previously requisite When Painting revived in Italy and Germany in the 13th and 14th centuries, it was purely devoted to religion - the Bible was the source of its inspirations, the old painters prayed and fasted and took the sacrament before commencing any new works and considered themselves (and with justice) as preachers appointed by God to concur with the Clergy in spreading the love of God among the people. This feeling, this spirit is embodied in all these ancient frescoes which are the glory of Italy - in the most ancient it penetrates to the heart through and in spite of a hundred deficiencies in composition, in drawing, in colouring - in the later, such as the best works by Perugino and the earlier ones of Raphael, it appears in equal purity and with the utmost mere mechanical perfection But long before Perugino's and Raphael's time and in consequence of the recovery of the Greek classics and the passion which then arose for pagan antiquity, a contrary antagonistic anti christian principle arose in art and this spirit of Paganism in the end proved victorious; ancient mythology, Cupids Venuses and Dianas became the order of the day - and if a Madonna or Holy Family were to be painted, the artist instead of imagining the spiritual beauty which must have rested like a perpetual sunbeam on the brow of "the handmaid of the Lord", painted his mistress in her character - in

short, with the single exception of Carlo Dolci, I scarcely recollect a single painter after Raphael who kept his pencil invariably pure and consecrated to the high and noble principles and vocation of the Fathers of the art. Even Raphael himself degenerated from the spiritual and holy purity of his earlier years, which you see so little in his latter works, which are generally so much more admired. The old school ended, I may say, with him and the spirit that animated it seems to have slumbered till the other day when Overbeke and Hesse took up the chain which for the last 250 years had lain rusting on the ground where he dropped it. In other words all modern painters and connoisseurs have taken the antique and the material as the sole criterion of excellence in art - utterly neglecting the Christian and the spiritual - and consequently all before the last manner of Raphael is neglected and despised, and our nobility go on commissioning and our artists go on painting the Gods and goddesses of a dead mythology - country girls and village women etc when they might, both as patron and painters, be improving their own hearts, benefiting the country and furthering the cause of Christianity and the happiness of mankind by following in the steps of Fra Angelico and Perugino and those who patronised them. Now if by directing attention to this highest walk of art I can lead the visitors of Italy to recognise its beauty and encourage English artists to join with their German brethren in the noble attempt to regenerate painting, I shall do society a benefit; for a picture speaks as influentially to the heart as a poem or a sermon, and Rio, whose work on these ancient artists has been constantly in our hands since last year (tho' we differ from him on many points)

rightly entitles his work "De la Poésie Chrétienne" .... I daresay you never heard of Benozzo Gozzoli - and 90 Englishment out of 100, who will talk to you by the hour of the Caraccis, Teniers, Ostade, and Rubens - will detect the slightest error in anatomy and have all the cant of connoisseurs at their fingers' ends - would stare if I told them that of all artists he best merits the title which Anne and I have unanimously given him of the Shakespeare of painting. One great object of the tour we have just made was to visit his frescoes at S. Gimignano, a little town absolutely unknown to the English, between Volterra and Sienna (sic), but one of the richest in art in Italy - almost every one of the great painters from Giotto and Perugino having been employed by the citizens to adorn its churches and public monuments - and yet of the 100 English 99 I daresay never heard its name. Rio only considers the ancient Italian school and that imperfectly, but Xtianity had its development in German art too, and there is much to be said respecting the materi al influence of those schools on each other etc. And I want too to lead people to the right appreciation of the different grades or ranks of art - a Paul Potter may be valued at 4000 pounds or £20,000, but it is not therefore (as somebody told me as the necessary consequence of such valuation) the 4th finest picture in the world. Well, I think I may do something in the cause. Vedremo, as the Italians say. But don't tell any one of all this - 'tis a whisper in your ear only. .....

Appendix 3 (see Chapter IV)

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay — Florence, Easter Monday 1842 /28 March/

Dearest Anne, I am like Noah's dove I cannot find rest for the sole of my foot. This morning, just as I walked out of my bedroom in anticipation of a day of repose, a note was put into my hand from Mrs Ellison, asking me to dinner - and I am going! But I see I must draw a line here as in Rome, and shall express myself accordingly this evening. Well, Coutts, dear boy, is fairly launched on his voyage of life: I have no fears, dear Anne, for God is at the helm and will direct his course aright. It is sad for him who is left behind standing on the shore and watching the receding sail, but thank heaven, the sea could not be calmer, the breeze more propitious. He goes in high spirits, with his heart full of I know not what aspirations - to be a great, a good man - to win bright honour with the sword, the pen and the pencil, and by all three to promote the glory of God and the good of mankind - it is a happy age and there is a buoyancy in its happiness that one feels no longer after five and twenty. I do not mean that one is less happy afterwards - on the contrary, for there is a feverishness in that buoyancy, and though after its departure the golden visions throng no longer around one spontaneously as at first, they are still within call and the music to which they move is even sweeter and more soothing. I grant you that we call them up seldomer. I feel sometimes, dear Anne, as an old man of 80 might - as if I were your and James's father, and that I could be well contented at once to lay down

my head (whence you must some day allow it to rest) in the dear old chapel at Balcarres. But those are foolish feelings and I rouse myself to the thought that I have much to do for which my peculiar habits of life and study have prepared me, much which I trust may be useful to my country, and when, as is often the case, my 'spirit's wing' droops within me, and I need a motive beyond mere duty, I find it in your and James's sympathy and love and know not what I should do without you - thank you a thousand times for all your kindness.

Forgive all this - and now let me redeem my promise and describe you our journey hither from Rome, premising however by a brief enumeration of the principal objects we examined there, Coutts and I, together.

I. The Roman Antiquities. II. The Greek and other classic sculptures; in these he took peculiar interest. III. The early Christian architecture - the basilicas, etc. IV The Mosaics in the nave and on the triumphal arch of S. Maggiore, the last production of pure Roman art, of the 4th or 5th century; and the paintings and mosaics from the Catacombs preserved in the Museum Christianum in the Vatican.

V. The Byzantine Mosaics, from the 5th to the 12th century. Some of them are very beautiful and full of grand ideas and allegories. They constitute indeed the paintings of the middle ages and are the noblest testimony to the genius and character of the Greeks of the lower empire too much undervalued by Gibbon. I must complete my acquaintance with them at Venice and I hope Ravenna.

VI. The MS. Bible of S. Paul's, executed by command, either of Charlemagne or of Carloman, and interesting as showing in its

miniatures the state of art among the Latins in the 9th century: - The Menologion MS Martyrology executed by the artists of Constantinople nearly at the same time, and preserved in the Vatican - interesting as containing the types of almost all the compositions from evangelical history current among the Italian painters as late as the 14th or even 15th century: - the fresco of S. Cecilia in the church dedicated to that saint, nearly of the same epoch: and the Dalmatica of St. Leo, of which I have had the copy made These 3 works of the Greeks, especially the last, contrasted with the first (Charlemagne's Bible) give a fair estimate of the comparative merits of Eastern and Western art at the commencement of the 10th century. Byzantium maintains her superiority throughout and I am convinced that Giotto and the revivers of painting profited by her lessons far more than Rio or the world in general acknowledge.

VII. The frescoes of the Greco-Italian school, immediately anterior to Cimabue - at St Lorenzo, S. Silvestro etc. the lowest pitch of degradation.

VIII. The great mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore, S. John Lateran etc. executed in the 13th century, when a revival took place in that branch of art as marked as that in sculpture under Nicola Pisano and in painting under Cimabue and Giotto. Two or three of these mosaics are most beautiful.

IX. Modern Sculpture - there is not much of it, of merit at least, at Rome.

X. The frescoes of the old Masters, successors of Cimabue. Except one of Giotto's in S. John Lateran, there are few or none anterior to

the 15th century. Those of most interest since that era are - Pope Nicholas V's chapel in the Vatican, painted by B. Angelico (history of S. Stephen and S. Laurence - good but not equal to his works either at Orvieto or S. Marco - they are like miniatures magnified): Masaccio's life of S. Catherine at S. Clemente, a work of his early youth and full of the sweetest feeling: we visited it again and again. The church too is the most interesting in Rome, preserving the ancient form of the Christian basilica unchanged - the outer court, portico, rail, ambones or reading desks, paschal candlestick, 'confession' or martyr's tomb, ciborium above it - the tribune with its mosaic (a beautiful one) and the bishop's throne - all intact since the 5th century. The history of the discovery of the Cross, at S. Croce - the life of S. Bernardino in the Araceli - the frescos of the Torre Borgia (now the Library) at the Vatican - and those in the S. Maria del Popolo, by Pinturicchio; the 2nd and 4th named of these are the best and very beautiful - but his chef d'oeuvres are at Montefalco, Spello and Siena. The frescoes by Cosimo Rosselli, Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, Ghirlandajo and Perugino in the Sistine Chapel, showing, with those just named, by Pinturicchio, the state of art immediately before the advent of Raphael and Michael Angelo:- Raphael's frescoes;- those of M. Angelo;- Annibal Caracci's at the Farnese palace:- and, finally, those of Koch, Schnorr and Overbeke, in the villa Massimi, interesting as the first attempts of the modern German School to revive the art: there are three rooms so painted with scenes from the three great Italian poets so selected as to give, according to the catalogue, the 'senso spirituale' of each . Koch's (he was father in law to our friend Wittmer) are from Dante,

Schnorr's from Ariosto, Overbeke's from Tasso; I liked the last least - scenes of bloodshed and dramatic passion are not his forte; Schnorr's are spirited yet feeble, like a woman's description of a battle, yet pleasing too, and show the dawn of the painter of the Nibelungen - the opening scene of Dante, and the entrance of Purgatory (Justice on her throne and Virgil and Dante on their knees before her), by Koch, I liked best.

XI. and last - the picture galleries, public and private, and such single pictures of fame as belong to the different churches.

Such was our stock of experience laid in before starting on our campaign. All these we saw thoroughly. And you must add to them by a retrospective glance of memory to my former communications, what we saw, during our trip to Naples.

We started on Saturday the 26th February - it seems six months ago! Cortini and Widmer /sic/ came to see us off - the latter was nearly crying, his eyes quite red and he could hardly speak. We left all parties pleased, had no trouble with Dier, finished off everything satisfactorily, and stepping into a carriage about 8 in the morning rolled away through the Palmira, the Piazza del Popolo and over the Campagna, gazing back every now and then at Rome till she was lost in the distance. At Baccano I looked longingly towards the fairy dell where you remember we had such a delightful ramble while dinner was preparing, but I had not time to revisit it, and as Widmer had not returned from England and Coutts and I were travelling quite alone, we could not have left the carriage, we managed for ourselves the whole way till we reached Foligno the second time, where he joined us from

Rome. Indeed we got on much better without him in the hill country.

The rest of the drive to Viterbo was beautiful. We reached it in exactly 8 hours and halted at the Aquila Nera, the best inn, I verily believe, in Italy. Here we rested all Sunday. In Viterbo there is nothing to see in the Fresco line except a chapel in S.M. della Verita painted by one Lorenzo di Viterbo, apparently of Masaccio's school, in the 15th century. It has been highly praised but above its merits. Two oil paintings by Sebastian del Piombo, the Flagellation and a Pietà are much more worth seeing. In the latter (in S. Francesco) the body of our Saviour lies extended on the ground, the Virgin kneeling behind it, her hands spread and her eyes raised to heaven, the pale moon gleaming over her and Jerusalem faintly seen in the background - the composition is beautiful, but Sebastian always fails in expression. But the views in and of Viterbo, as seen from different points within and around the city, are its chief attraction; it is full of character, and the people seem a fine independent race; not a man, woman, or child begged of us save one, the exception to prove the rule - a poor miserable cripple. Many picturesque specimens of middle age architecture unexpectedly meet the eye as you ramble through the streets and the country round seems very beautiful. I must not forget mentioning that we pilgrimised to the deposito or tomb of La bella Galiana, a noble maiden of Viterbo, so exquisitely beautiful that the Romans, in the 12th century, beseiged the town in order to obtain her in marriage: they were however obliged to withdraw, though not without stipulating as the condition of their retreat, that she should first be shown to them from one of the towers; she was brought out accord-

ingly and at that moment one of the Romans shot her dead with his crossbow. She was as modest and virtuous, says the inscription in her honour, as she was beautiful, poor thing. Coutts carried me almost by force to see (what I would not look at) the mummy of Santa Rosa, another Viterbese maiden, young and beautiful, who in the 13th century headed the Guelphs of her native city against Frederick 2, was exiled, returned in triumph after the Emperor's death and died under twenty, after (at least Valery says so) being canonised at Rome in her lifetime! Our ciceroni told us that she used to lead the people to battle and on one occasion issued out of the gates alone and put to flight the whole Ghibeline army who saw a host of angels attendant behind her.

We made a patto of a different description from that which proved so fatal to poor Galiana - on Sunday night, with the post master, to convey us to Orvieto and anywhere we chose afterwards for as long as we liked not exceeding forty miles a day. On Monday accordingly we started. After losing sight of Viterbo and the lake of Bolsena and leaving Monte Fiascone (((the wine of which is so famous ((you remember the story of the German bishop - (how like Mrs Smythe this parenthesis is) and so good that Coutts carried a bottle away with him for his private consumption, which broke in the pocket of the carriage to my great discomforture;))) - leaving Monte Fiascone to the left, I say - we proceeded in a north easterly direction for several miles over a wild dreary country, but with picturesque broken ground and the distant snow mountains always in sight - till we suddenly came in sight of Orvieto - not to our surprise and disappointment, perched on some crag of the Apennine but attually below us, in a deep valley.

However we soon learnt, after commencing the descent, to estimate it more correctly, I may say more respectfully. It has indeed a most singular appearance, being built on the summit of an enormous mass of sandstone rock, protruded perpendicularly from the earth, standing high and detached in the centre of the valley, its sides so perpendicular as to appear scarped and thus presenting the idea of absolute inaccessibility. We passed another immense rock of similar form, but unbuilt upon, to the left as we descended by a long road winding through olive groves. Orvieto was an ancient town of the Etrurians and named 'Urbs Vetus' 'the Ancient City' by the Romans. Viterbo I fancy must be the corruption of the same words reversed, Vetus Urbs: it shows how isolated communication was in those early days.

We started forthwith, on reaching the inn - not for the Cathedral, at least according to the notions of the natives, but for the 'facciata' they seem to have no idea beyond it - the interior of the building goes for nothing - we heard nothing but the facciata, the facciata the whole time we were there. And truly, it justifies their enthusiasm; its general effect is rich beyond imagination, owing to the mosaics and the sculpture with which it is covered and yet it is not gaudy; the doors especially are exquisite; the central displays the round, the side ones the pointed arch, but the same mouldings and ornaments are preserved in all three. The architects were the Sienese pupils of Giovanni son of Nicola Pisano, and Sienese artists seem to have been employed by preference throughout its erection. There is a most interesting history of this cathedral by one of its bishops, full of curious information relative to the manners and history of artists in the 13th and 14th

century, gathered from the archives of the cathedral. The celebrated bas reliefs of Giov. Pisano, detailing the Creation and Fall of man, the sacrifice of Cain and Abel (one presents a lamb the other a sheaf of corn, both kneeling at the same altar) - the murder of Abel and the last Judgement, are like everything I have seen of his, inferior to his father in grace, design etc. - but the subjects are selected and the story is told well, and I cannot help fancying that they suggested to M. Angelo his frescoes on the roof of the Sistine Chapel:- the order and the selection of subjects and the spirit which influenced that selection are anticipated here. These bas reliefs are full of ideas, which however I have not time or room to particularise. The interior of the cathedral is very imposing - massive pillars, supporting round arches, divide the nave from the aisles - the upper arches are pointed, as well as the great window of the tribune, filled with stained glass. The tribune is painted from top to bottom by Ugolino di Prete Ilario of Orvieto, a pupil of Ambrogio Lorenzetti of Siena, the contemporary of Simon Memmi and Giotto; the frescoes are not good, but interested me as the most complete series I ever met with of the history of the Virgin, scriptural and legendary, from the repulse of Joachim from the altar on account of his childlessness (the basement of the Catholic legend of the immaculate conception of St Anne) to her Assumption and Coronation in heaven. Twelve prophets, each holding a scroll inscribed with some prophecy relative to the Virgin (according to Catholic interpretation) or her son, - and twelve apostles, each similarly charged with an article of the creed, face each other in two divisions on the opposite walls: while lowest of all, and immediately

above the wooden stalls of the choir, runs a sort of dado of forty half lengths of the Doctors, Saints and Fathers who originated the various honourable titles of the Virgin, of which the historian of the cathedral gives a very curious list. Those frescoes are very faded, in some parts barely distinguishable. Ugolino is inferior to his master; he has no beauty or grace but still there is a degree of naivete and simple feeling that pleased me, and the composition is often very original and always different from that of the Giottesque school. The unity of design preserved throughout the chapel is pleasing too - everything tends to one object.

The frescoes of the great chapel which forms the Northern arm of the Cross, also by Ugolino, are almost obliterated, but those of the opposite chapel, in the Southern arm, are in excellent preservation, and the most interesting at Orvieto, as you may suppose when I add /that they are/ by Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli and Luca Signorelli! In front, as you enter, and over the altar, our Saviour appears in his character of universal Judge, attended on his right hand by the Virgin and the Apostles - on his left by the company of prophets; angels flying below him with trumpets summoning the dead to judgement. Introductory to this consummation, the first fresco to the left, as you enter the chapel, represents the Preaching and downfall of Antichrist, which in the Apocalypse immediately precedes the second advent of Christ - that on the walls of entrance opposite to the altar and above the door - the disorders in heaven and earth consequent on the dissolution of nature, and that on the right hand wall, opposite Antichrist, the Resurrection, while beyond these two last (Antichrist and the Resurrec-

tion) and on the opposite sides of the altar, as if in immediate respondence to the sentence of Christ, the condemned are being driven into Hell and the pardoned are crowned by angels in paradise. There is thus a progress of idea and unity of purpose throughout these frescoes - but the arrangement is not good. The 'Cristo Judice' is by Fra Angelico, who also painted the choir of prophets. The Saviour is seated on the Universe, a most majestic figure, his face turned in reproof towards the reprobate, sorrowful anger darkening the face of love, - in the same attitude as in a most beautiful picture at Rome in Card. Fesh's gallery which perhaps you may recollect - but I do not think that the divine character and indelible impress of love is so well marked in the fresco as in the picture. The prophets are grand-prophets indeed; these are certainly Fra Angelico's chef d'oeuvres, at least for majesty and show how capable he was of treating the loftiest subjects as well as the tenderest and softest, - for the latter we must go to S. Marco's. Having painted these he left Orvieto, probably disgusted at something, as he would never return. This was in 1447. The apostles, by Benozzo, are seen to great disadvantage opposite his master's works, but he was then, if not young in years, young in art and merely his master's assistant. After their departure many years passed by and the chapel still remained unfinished - Fra Angelico died - Perugino promised to come but broke his word - at last, after other abortive negotiations, Luca Signorelli was invited over and settled to work in 1499. He followed up the idea of the Last Judgment, finishing it according to the division of subjects I have mentioned above. It is impossible to estimate his merit without visiting Orvieto - his works

in the Sistine Chapel are inferior to these, and his oil paintings, with two or three exceptions, very poor. His distinguishing merit in the eyes of the historian of art is his having preceded Michael Angelo in anatomy etc. and doubtless he did much in that line and Michael Angelo profited by studying him. But some of these frescoes are very beautiful in other respects. The Antichrist for instance, one of the earlier I should think, as there are no muscular exhibitions in it, is a grand moral composition, full of character and expression; and in the Glory of the Blessed, meeting in Paradise and crowned by angels, the composition is peculiarly symmetrical and graceful. On the other hand he has drawn his naked figures scrupulously from the models, which were not always very select ones; there is thus a sad want of grace - his men and women are clumsily built, fat often as porpoises - the attitudes are contorted and twisted in every direction in order to exhibit his powers in foreshortening etc. and in his efforts to be expressive he often runs into caricature. Moreover he marks the muscles so strongly that they are unnaturally in action. Still, as first attempts in this line, they are excellent and interesting, and altogether mind and feeling predominate throughout his compositions. Under these large frescoes are a great number of others in very small compartments, representing all the incidents of classic stories which relate to the infernal regions, interspersed with portraits of Statius, Claudian, Virgil and even Dante. Most of these are concealed unluckily by the wooden stalls that run round the chapel. I am sorry I could not find one short series described by Della Valle, in which, if I mistake not, an allegory, is indicated, of the rescue of the human

soul from sin by the divine influence and its relapse.

There are other works of art in the cathedral, but as a general rule I will trouble you about nothing except the great objects of our excursion. After visiting the cathedral and the famous well of Orvieto there is nothing more to be seen - nor is the interior of the town picturesque - we therefore started on a walk round the city, or rather round the rocks on which it is built; no one should omit this - they are most picturesque in form, rising two or three hundred feet perpendicularly from the ground, riven with small crevices, tufted here and there with shrubs, and in several places with a profusion of wild aloes - and perforated by many caves, some natural others artificial. The path winds up and down under the cliffs, and the sides of the valley, precipitously descending, are covered with olive trees. Coutts and I found a quantity of long reeds there and spent a very pleasant half hour in darting with them, a sport we often enjoyed in the Campagna. You may judge what an out of the way place this was till lately, when I tell you that it is only 14 years ago that a <u>carozzabile</u> road was first made to it; till then all intercourse was carried on by mules. Few indeed visit it even now. We found the people very civil - the inn, a very primitive one but neat and clean - carpetless floors - immense beds, such as we used to lie on during Giovanni's midday halts - and very tolerable fare. I forgot to say that throughout our journey we enjoyed the most lovely weather, two afternoons only excepted - when there was nothing to see.

On Tuesday morning we started at ½ past 10 for Citta, formerly Castello della Pieve, the birthplace of Perugino, on our way to Perugia.

I had been anxious to cross to Spoleto or Foligno, but could hear of no roads passable for a carriage - we were obliged therefore to make a circumbendibus. We descended into the valley, crossed it and then commenced a winding ascent which lasted for 3 hours and a quarter along ridges of the mountains commanding extensive views of the valley of Orvieto below us and of the whole country beyond it; from the highest point the view was magnificent; we reached Pieve about 1 in the afternoon. The road is excellent and seems to have been only just made; it lies the whole way through woods of oak, alternating with extensive plantations of olive trees in the neighbourhood of the villages or farms. But the mists that filled the valley of Orvieto gave its character to this morning's journey; for many hours we thought little of Perugino or Luca Signorelli. I never in my life saw anything more gloriously beautiful. The first sight of them was on quitting the gates of Orvieto and descending the hill - it came on us like a thunderclap - the whole valley or rather plain, formed by the junction of the neighbouring valleys, presented one broad flat expanse of white vapour - an ocean bounded by a circle of islands, for the hills that confined it were each surrounded by its misty girdle - this ocean was not undulating or tumbling but flat and still except where it broke in mighty breakers, tossing high their fleecy heads on the sides of the hills. It was like nothing I ever saw before and comparable only to Niagara or Mount Blanc. Yet it had not the colour or motion or roar of the sea - nor did it resemble the clouds of heaven, being entirely white with the slightest possible shades of bluish gray - and flat, flat, flat: standing as we did just on its brink, the trees were seen fainter and fainter as

the bank shelved down, and the lowest visable looked like ghosts in the abyss. It was most glorious, and a thousand comparisons rushed into our minds as we gazed there - it was like the ocean as Ladestad descended into it, to the city of Bali - or after it had been churned into milk by Vishnu - or like the earth seething before the last general outburst of conflagration. Yet neither of these were satisfactory and I think we both ultimately acquiesced in its being the exact picture of the mist that God sent to water the earth at the close of the inanimate creation. There was the same calmness, stillness and sublimity. The view of the fortress of Orvieto glittering in the sun, with its base just washed by the mist billows, was most beautiful as we descended (wrapping ourselves well up) and plunged into the chilly region. We now traversed a wild wood, which belongs to nobody, anyone may hunt there, but the cinghiales have so multiplied lately that no one cares to molest them. Reaching the bottom of the valley, we crossed the river, and reascending on the opposite side, commenced the winding ascent I mentioned above, and which ere long brought us once more into the clear atmosphere above the mists. By this time the action of the sun had changed their character by disturbing their repose, and at the moment we reemerged, they presented the exact appearance of the Red Sea when crossed by the Israelites; we could trace unbroken the double line of separation formed by the mighty waves curling back their proud heads at the commands of God - the whole breadth of the valley was thus divided diagonally - displaying the vast gorge out of which the Israelites were passing in triumph. Presently, on looking back again, the whole was once more a rolling

sea - the deep had closed over the Egyptians.

But on attaining a still greater height, about 3 hours after starting, a spectacle still sublimer opened upon us. The valley lay around us nearly in a semicircle but far, far below, with a broad intervening descent of woody hills; fifty miles of it must have been within our range of vision, and the whole of this gulph was completely filled with a thick rolling tide of mist, undulating and tumbling as it rolled along and tossing up its fleecy spray so high that sometimes only a rocky cliff of the western mountains could be seen above it. Beyond it however these mountains formed for the most part a continuous barrier, between every break of which a smaller stream of mist descended to join the central tide. In the confusion and tumult it resembled the battle of Armageddon, but the utter silence that prevailed made us compare it rather to the vast silent river of time, swelled by the tributary streams of every century, rolling through the valley of the Shadow of Death to the Ocean of Eternity. By the time we had reached the highest point of the ascent, the mists were gradually beginning to rise from the earth and float along the mountain sides, losing their mystic character; here however a panoramic view of singular beauty arrested us From the central point on which we stood we saw in every direction mountains beyond mountains, the nearest divided from us by deep vallies, but the others peeping over each other's shoulders, behind and again behind, till lost in distance. These mountains are not bold or craggy, but of a softer character, and yet with a wild grace like an unclaimed but lovely girl; still from their number and the extent of vision, the view may fairly be described as sublime. The

sea must be visible on a very clear day, but the mists concealed it from us; we were too much obliged to them however for the spectacle of the morning to grumble at this, ... During the whole morning a continual struggle was going on between the mists and the sun, constantly illuminating patches of the hills or gilding the foam of the mists.

After commencing the descent towards Pieve we passed town after town to the right and left of the road, but separated from us by vallies, and at last began to think we should never reach it; the postillion himself had never been there before, and sometimes when stopping to ask the road I was irresistibly reminded of the journey of Emily and St. Aubin in the Mysteries of Udolpho (that charming book!). At last just after making up our minds that a town we saw at the distance of an hour and a half or two hours climb must be Pieve, a turn in the road discovered it to us close at hand - and certainly I seldom saw in even Italy a more picturesque line of buildings - the colouring too is singularly rich and beautiful - red, black yellow - every tint in short of the rainbow.

Entering the gate we drove up a very steep street, and after penetrating through a number of narrow alleys halted at the door of a most unpromising looking inn, where however we found very tolerable accommodation. But you may imagine its primitive character when on asking for milk, the hostess, a very intelligent young woman, could not at first recollect the word for a cow! It seems they never use milk at Pieve except when the goats are suckling their kids. On inquiry whether there were 'animali' in the beds, she replied 'not many' and she proved better than her word, for we found none. We started immediately under the guidance of a very intelligent native to see the celebrated fresco of Perugino here preserved. This was his birthplace, though

from his residence at Perugia, and Pieve being a dependency on the city, he was surnamed Perugino. But in all the paintings to which he affixed his name it is with the addition of De Castello or Del Castello Plebis (Plebis, Pievis, Pieve), showing that he entertained a filial regard for his native soil. This too is proved in a singular degree by the history of this very fresco which I should have come over from Perugia expressly to see, if by our new arrangement Pieve had not lain in my road. In 1504, when he was in the blaze of his glory, renowned all over Italy, the Syndic of the Disciplinati wrote to request him to paint in fresco the altarpiece of the chapel and name the sum for which he would do it; Perugino replied in a very characteristic and business-like letter that the price would be 200 florins anywhere else, but that being a native, he would do it for 100 - 25 to be paid in advance and the rest by yearly instalments. To this the Syndic replied with a request that he would reduce the sum to 75 florins! and Perugino assented, adding that as soon as they sent him a mule and pedone or footboy to lead it, he would start. He came accordingly and painted the fresco, but they never paid him the last instalment of his money and ultimately made over to him some wretched cabin or other as equivalent in value. Peruginos two letters were discovered a few years ago in a cupboard of the chapel which had been walled up along with several of the paintpots he had used while painting there; they are now preserved as precious relics. I must really copy you the letters - they are so characteristic:-

"Caro mio Signore, Per la pittura che vogliono fare nell' oratorio dei Disciplinati vi vorrebbero almeno 200 fiorini. Io me contentero di 100, come paesano, e 25 subito; gli altri in tre anni, venticinque l'anno; e se ditto contratto sta bene, mi mandi la poliza

(written agreement) e il danaro, e sarà fatto, e la saluto. Io Pietro Perugino, mano propria. Perugia, 20 Febr. 1504."

"Caro mio Signore, Sabata mi mandi la mula, insieme col pedone, che verrò a dipingere, e da fare la poliza per 75 fiorini, e cosi diminuero 25 fiorini e nulla più. Mi saluti la comonare e la saluto. Io Pietro pittore, mano propria. Perugia, 1 Marzo 1504."

This fresco represents the Adoration of the Kings; it is very pleasing - there is a grace and simplicity about it, and it is fully equal to the similar subject in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia; but now having seen almost all his works I do not think either this or that ranks in the highest class of them. His other paintings in Pieve are inferior, one excepted, a Deposition from the Cross, unnoticed even by his biographer Mezzanotte and which we discovered in the church of the Servi outside the town, but it can only be seen (and partially seen) by torchlight, being concealed by the substructions of a newly built gallery. The group of the Virgin kneeling, supported by the two Maries is beautiful - the very abandonment and conquest of sorrow - on the upper part I found the date 1514. It is far superior either to the Nativity at Pieve or Perugia, but is quite a wreck. In the course of our explorations we visited almost every part of the town; it commands noble views in every direction - of Chiusi, on a hill about 5 miles off - in another direction of Montepulciano - and more to the north east of the sweet lake of Perugia. The whole country here is covered with olives. We had a delightful even's stroll through the ravinelike walks that the broken ground in this country presents in such variety, and at last halting on a sort of tableland, enjoyed one of the loveliest sunsets

I ever beheld - the heavens all glowing with light broken clouds, weaving a sort of dance like fire-spirits in the sky. It struck us both how completely the scenery hereabouts is that of Perugino - there is the same soft wild grace as in his landscape backgrounds. I liked the people here very much -through all these towns they are courteous and apparently very happy and comfortably off.

On Wednesday morning we started betimes traversing a lovely country covered with oaks, with little lanes constantly branching off and diving down into the woods on either side - curling smokes rising from the vallies and cottages or small hamlets, surrounded by olive groves, greeting us in constant succession. Two hours after leaving Pieve, and immediately after crossing a bridge, we came to a new road running up into the hills on the left: this from the distance and other indications we concluded must lead to Panicale, a town or rather village celebrated as the birth place of Masolino, the predecessor of Masaccio in the works of the Carmine chapel, and also as possessing one of the finest works of Perugino. Leaving the carriage to follow slowly by the road, Coutts and I accordingly struck up the ancient pathway running along the rocky brae of the hill among the olives, sometimes ascending sometimes descending, and which undoubtedly Perugino with his mule and pedone had trodden before us - the morning was fresh and lovely, and all nature smiled on us and bid us go on and prosper. Reaching a sort of osteria named Majuolo, we left word that the carriage should await our return, and continued our walk, which ultimately led us by a steep path, formed of large loose stones like the bed of a torrent, right up to the town. It is a very picturesque

one, lying in the furrow of the mountain like a boat, its character given by its two churches and an old crenellated tower. The path ended in a platform commanding a view over the greater part of the lake of Perugia and the intervening plain, sloping down to it from almost one's very feet - so abrupt was the descent from the height on which we stood; this platform adjoins a large building which proved on enquiry to be the very nunnery we were in search of, the shrine of Perugino's fresco. It represents the martyrdom of St Sebastian and was executed in 1505, the year after the Adoration of Pieve. The young sufferer is tied naked, with his hands bound behind him, to the shaft of a pillar cutting the central arch of five forming a rich loggia or portico - an archer aims at him from either side; his attitude is most graceful and the form has the loveliness and delicacy of a Grecian statue; standing on his right foot, his left a little drawn back, his head inclining to the right, he looks up to heaven with a sweet expression of faith and resignation - two arrows have already pierced him but he feels no pain - the spirit triumphs over the flesh, while the deity looks down and blesses him and angels bend towards him from heaven with their hands clasped in sorrowing sympathy. It is a very sweet thing indeed. He has repeated this figure of S. Sebastian in many of his pictures, but none are equal to this. The colouring (and this we noticed too at Pieve) is much lighter than his earlier frescoes in the Sala del Cambio at Perugia and elsewhere. I think too he must have studied anatomy and the ancient statues in his latter days, much study only could account for this Sebastian, which is perfect. Yet there is no less of the pure religious feeling; the whole figure , attitude and look

breathe the very spirit of martyrdom. We were thinking of returning when they told us there were two other pictures worth seeing in the town, one by Perugino the other it was supposed by Raphael. Thither accordingly we went, for this nunnery is not strictly speaking in the town but on its outskirts. The interior of Panicale is mean to a degree and sadly ruined - narrow streets and flights of steps centuries old and crumbled down like the old Roman ones near the Coliseum - and the whole place has the air of the inner-buildings of a fortress - (those I mean between the actual fortress and the ramparts which are generally very squeezy) - indeed a lofty tower rises in the centre which might be supposed to be the keep. The Raphael turned out to be a Nativity, by (I have no doubt) Pinturicchio and a very beautiful thing it is - the Perugino, if by him, not above mediocrity. Altogether Panicale is a very sweet and primitive spot - and we liked the people, they are hospitable and intelligent and seem comfortably off - from their heights they look down on the country, earth and water for many a league unvisited and uncorrupted, generation after generation rising and falling like waves on the sea.

Returning to Majuolo we reentered the carriage and ere long regained the high road and proceeded to Perugia, the country every moment becoming less picturesque, less peculiar, and the secluded primitive character of the people gradually disappearing. We dined at Perugia and went on afterwards by post to Foligno, arriving there after a delightful drive about ½ past 7.

On Thursday morning we were up betimes and having a light carritella, drove to Montefalco a small town about 2 hours and a half off picturesquely situated on the sloping brow of a promontory of the

mountains. It contains about 2000 inhabitants. Its chief attraction is the life of S. Francis painted by Benozzo Gozzoli in 1452, his first great work as an independent master. These frescoes fill the choir of the church of S. Francesco. They are as unlike the Benozzo of S. Gimignano and Pisa as the Masaccio's life of S. Catherine at Rome is to the Masaccio of the Carmine at Florence - yet they are very pleasing, full of spirit, full of sweet feeling, with the germs of all the peculiar characteristics of his later day peeping as it were out of the bud. Their resemblance to Fra Angelico in drapery, colouring etc. is most striking, but they are far more dramatic - this constitutes the difference between the two men. The fourth of the series, representing S. Francis and his father mutually renouncing each other in the market place of Assisi is admirable, and I might name others, but I have not room. On the roof the glorification, I might almost say the deification of S. Francis is depicted; he is seen floating in the starry heaven within a circle of glory, its outer rim studded with Cherubim, while angels offer him crowns - in all respects the style in which the Almightyis represented in the old mosaics and frescoes.

In another church, that of S. Fortunato, are 2 or 3 easel pictures by Benozzo, anterior to these frescoes by a year or two, and so like Fra Angelico that Widmer the painter supposed them to be his. One of them, the Virgin sitting on the clouds, surrounded by angels and giving her girdle to St. Thomas, is very pleasing - no great depth of feeling in the countenances, but the composition and attitude are full of grace. And this resemblance is still stronger in the 6 small compositions on the predella - the birth of the Virgin, her marriage etc.

It is curious how long a peculiar style will maintain its ground in secluded districts. I found in this church a Madonna and Child with attendant Saints, by one Franciscus M. de Montefalco, dated 1598, completely in the style of the 15th century and by a cotemporary of the Caracci! Similarly two days ago at Pisa I recognised the style and the ideas of the Byzantine Menologion in a picture dated 1514, by Ambrogio of Asti (in Piedmont) a cotemporary of Raphael! - literally so identical, that had I seen it (I should rather say the predella detachedly from the picture) without the name and date, I should have been tempted to suppose it of that period.

But Montefalco possesses another treasure beside the B. Gozzolis and one too almost unknown - a Nativity exceeding in beauty anyone I ever beheld, by Pinturicchio - such is our conclusion. It is a most exquisite composition, full of feeling - the Virgin and S. Joseph kneeling on the ground to the right and left, adoring the infant Saviour laid between them on the ground - two shepherds also kneeling in the background, while a third, with his hands raised, bends forward and looks over S. Joseph's shoulder, and the Almighty attended by two angels looks down on them from heaven. The scene is a loggia supported by Corinthian pilasters, behind which is seen the wooden shed of the manger, and beyond it in the background a beautiful landscape, blue hills and ocean. The Virgin's face is exquisite, so modest sweet holy humble and virginal, her hair quite simply bound up, her hands joined in prayer - St. Joseph, a noble head, full of deep indrawn reverence and pressing his hands crosswise on his breast. Beautiful indeed! Raphael never surpassed it. The natives could tell us nothing

of its author. The modern biographer of Perugino claims it as his, adding that it was painted in 1518 - I doubt it, for his vigour was certainly passed by that time, though Rio antedates his decadence. The composition and types of the heads are undoubtedly nearly the same as in the Nativities, or Adorations, at Perugia and Pieve - but I have found the very same at Spello among the undoubted works of Pinturicchio, showing that he adopted them from his master; on this account therefore and that of the colouring, richer than Perugino used in his latter days, as well as other corroborating circumstances, I have come to the conclusion that it is the work of Pinturicchio, and for simplicity, grace, freedom, mastery, harmony of colouring, unity of purpose and deep soulfelt religious feeling, his chef d'oeuvre. Above and outside the arch of the recess or niche in which the Nativity is painted, is seen the Annunciation, the Virgin kneeling to the left, the angel to the right - both exquisite - she is full of sweetness, humility, and purity.

This little church you will say is very rich - I have not yet enumerated all its treasures. I have still to mention a Sta Chiara and a S. Bernardino, two single figures of remarkable beauty - whom by I know not - a beautiful S. Catherine by B. Gozzoli, and the Altar of S. Jerome painted in 1452, the same year as the life of S. Francis without the name of the artist, but - you will be startled at our suspicion almost amounting to certainty, by Zingaro! Coutts (than whom I could not have had a more helpfull coadjutor) exclaimed it was his the moment he saw it - and not without cause - the S. Jerome reading is the very figure as in the beautiful Madonna at Naples, and

what strengthens the idea is that in another compartment the two figures of the saint and the lion (from whose foot he is extracting the thorn) are evidently taken from Colantonio's picture which I described to you in the Studij. On the other hand, the landscape and trees are far too stiff for Zingaro, unless it was painted in his youth while serving his nine years apprenticeship to the art:- But then the date - he is said to have died in 1455 - is <u>that</u> date correct? It is a puzzle, but I doubt not I shall unravel it.

You can easily imagine what spirits these discoveries put us in, but our guide was still more frisky, having drunk too much wine while <u>we</u> were feasting on the frescoes, and during the drive back we had several narrow escapes from being overturned. Reaching Foligno and finding we had still 2 or 3 hours to spare we went on to Spello, as it was my policy to make the most of every hour in the day. It was only 3 miles and a half off and our friend drove us there in half an hour. Pinturicchio is the great man there. In S. Andrea there is a Madonna and Saints by him of singular beauty, and a chapel in the cathedral is lined with his frescoes - the Annunciation, Nativity, and dispute with the doctors, one covering each wall, besides 4 sibyls on the roof. We were much delighted with them. They offer perhaps, especially the Nativity and Dispute, the greatest union of excellencies he ever exhibited; they are full of sweetness and grace; ornament is united in them with feeling and a holy purpose to a singular degree - in this respect they far surpass the frescoes of the Torre Borgia to which a first glance might suggest a resemblence - still this ornament takes away from their simplicity and therefore they do not please me

so much as some of his other works: the Nativity at Montefalco far far exceeds anything else of his I have ever seen - I mean of religious subjects. This chapel is sadly neglected - we got a broom and brushed away a number of cobwebs ourselves. We returned merrily home to Foligno and had time for a delightful stroll on the ramparts where we had that pleasant walk 3 years ago - do you remember it? When Dr Urlichs told us so much about Overbeke and the School of Munich and Miss Jones tumbled into the fosse. But I must bid you good night now.

On Friday morning we drove to Spoleto, as I wished to revisit the frescoes of Lippi in the cathedral: you may remember that we saw them towards sunset, after it was too dark to estimate them correctly. I was confirmed however in the impression I then formed of their inferiority. The composition generally speaking is excellent, but the expression throughout is earthly. These were his last works and executed about the age of 60. He was poisoned here by the relations of a poor girl he had seduced 6 years before at Prato. His works there which Coutts and I visited 3 or 4 days ago on our way to Leghorn are far superior to these, though in all the highest qualities of his art, he falls short of his purer minded cotemporaries. They represent the history of St. John the Baptist and of S. Stephen. The composition, (making allowances for the painfully close approximation of the successive scenes of the story and the repetition of the same figures without intervening breaks) is excellent in relief and colouring and in other mechanical excellencies he shows himself equal to Masaccio, without however attaining his life in the heads, the stamp of which more-

over is invariably inferior and vulgar - the daughter of Herodias is said to be the portrait of the unfortunate Lucrezia. The prettiest thing there is a compartment in which he has represented S. John, aged 14 or 15, parting with his father and mother before returning into the wilderness, a sweet group - you see him again in the background, kneeling in solitary prayer, and lastly, to the left, in front, preaching to the multitude. But Lippi is a coarse and vulgar painter, there is no denying it. To return to Spoleto: we visited the Palazzo Pubblico in order to see a Madonna and saints by Spagna, a pupil of Perugino's, of whom I had heard much though I had never seen any of his productions - they are exceedingly rare. The Madonna in question is a fresco and was removed to the Palazzo a few years ago. We were very much delighted with it; the infant Saviour, having the globe in his left hand and blessing with his right, stands on the knee of the Virgin, who is attended to the right and left by S. Catherine, S. Jerome, S. Francis, etc. I never saw the infant Saviour as full of the Deity, even more so than in the Madonna del Cardellino - the Virgin's attitude is full of grace and ease, she has the same longish sleepy eye and faintly marked lofty eyebrows which distinguish the early Madonnas of Raphael, and especially the one I have just alluded to of Cardellino; not that Spagna's is anything like so beautiful. The whole is finished like stippling - the colouring excellent, though with a great predominance of white, probably the influence of Perugino's change of colouring in his latter years. It is evidently an early work of Spagna's. There are two other frescoes in the same room attributed to him, but erroneously I think, being very inferior.

Other works by Spagna being said by Valery to exist in the 'église

de S. Giacomo', I asked everywhere for it in vain, supposing it to be in Spoleto; it proved to be a village church on the road to Foligno; we halted there on our return in the afternoon, little expecting the surprise that awaited us - an hour and a half flew by before we thought of reentering the carriage. The tribune of the church is entirely painted by Spagna, the two principal objects being the memorable story of the pilgrims of Compostella immortalised by Southey - and Spagna being a Spaniard by birth has done it con amore. The first to the left represents the father and mother in their pilgrim's garb finding their son who had been hanged, not merely alive but smiling and rosy suspended from the gallows but supported by the feet by S. James: to the right they are seen standing at the door of the Governor's diningroom who condemned him, at the moment when the cock and hen that had been served up for his supper got up in the plate in attestation of their story. A young page in long flowing hair and in the dress of the early half of the 16th century, bringing a dish of figs to the table, and a group of 3 young figures in the corner behind him, looking on in astonishment, all in the costume of the time, are the perfection of grace and beauty. In every respect these two frescoes are chef d'oeuvres. The drawing is excellent, the colouring beautiful, the drapery most noble and dignified, the attitudes graceful and free, - the expression, though judiciously subdued, precisely that which must in each case have animated the countenances of the parties concerned; the pilgrim character especially was never so admirably idealised, - the peculiar cast of countenance, the bending forward step, the very staff, no mere pictorial ornament - each and all bespeak the toilspent votary of

S. Iago - And the composition too is perfect - Spagna resorts to no tricks - there are no unmeaning accessory figures - everything has a reference to one object, and the story is told with extreme yet at the same time with most dramatic simplicity. Beautiful as is the Madonna in the Palazzo at Spoleto, the dramatic is evidently Spagna's forte - the Coronation of the Virgin which is painted in the niche of the tribune above these two frescoes is much inferior to them, though superior in point of expression to that of Lippi from which its general arrangement is copied. In this dramatic tendency, as well as in some of his figures (the group of young attendants especially) he reminded us of our friend B. Gozzoli, like himself the pupil of a painter exclusively religious and non-dramatic - otherwise however there is not much resemblance between them; Spagna has not that profuseness, that Shakespearean exuberancy, that sympathy with women and children, and with the whole world of nature animate and inanimate that attaches one to Benozzo. I do not in short love him so well - but on the other hand he is more classical (not in the antique sense) more perfect, more complete in every way; nothing could be added and nothing taken away from his composition without spoiling it, and in grace, expression etc. Raphael could not surpass him. Do I not make you long to visit S. Giacomo? And we passed the very door of the church without knowing it! Neither Vasari, his commentator, Rumohr nor (I think) Rio seems to have heard of these frescoes. I really do not think I have exaggerated their merit, though I dare say you would be disappointed if you saw them, so gorgeously does the composition play the traitor to sober reality. I must lower my enthusiasm a peg or two when writing for the public or

I shall do more harm than good. Spagna painted them in 1526 - and so goodbye to S. Giacomo. We merely halted at Foligno to dine, pick up Widmer who had arrived from Rome in the morning and visit a curious altarpiece by Niccolo Alunno - another hint added to many I have met with of a strong influence from Germany on Italian art in the 15th century: I hope to trace this influence further to its source. But I cannot stop now to dilate on this subject. We had a delightful evening's drive to S.M. degli Angeli where we revisited the church, Overbeke's fresco etc. and then attaching a couple of stout boves to our horses, slowly ascended the hill towards Assisi, where we arrived about dusk. I thought we should never reach the inn, such ups and downs, such turns and windings, such puttings on and takings off of the scarpa, such slippings of the horses, such clamour of the people, all wishing to assist in our entrance - it was like that of the Grecian horse into Troy. However we at last emerged into the great piazza and halted at the locanda - large, spacious and altogether one of the most characteristic I ever saw, - about 30 people were playing cards in the entrance hall - the next was a billiard room - beyond that a large vaulted salle à manger, 40 or 50 feet by 30, out of which opened two large rooms, one of which, being his own, the landlord gave up to us, while Widmer quartered himself in the other. The beds were immense and alas! alive with fleas. Coutts and I consoled ourselves, on one especially having terribly bitten him <u>behind</u>, with planning a caricature, representing the flea busily employed on the aggrieved quarter, and with the inscription "a newly discovered application of <u>Phle-bottomy</u>". For many days afterwards, though I killed numbers and stripped more than once to the skin in sheer

despair, I could not get rid of these unwelcome visitors; it was worse than in Syria, for though they were more numerous there, they were also more sluggish and inert - Our host gave us excellent dinners, at which he always favoured us with his company, eyeing us with a sort of quiet curiosity which was most amusing: he was about 55 or 56 but had the air and appearance of 70 or 80; his whole mind and body seemed to have gone to sleep, and to perform their functions merely as clockwork. He seemed never to move, yet whenever we turned our eyes there he was sure to be, so that we presently christened him "the ghost", and came at last to take no more notice of him than if he had been actually a disembodied spirit. The absurdest thing was that his two sons were in their degree as ghostlike as himself - even the youngest of them, our cicerone and companion in our explorations, and not above 14 or 15, was as staid and silent and slumberous as his sire, though his quick eye occasionally flashed a contradiction to his outward inactivity. But Assisi is altogether a ghostly place, and if you had seen it as we did that evening, during the walk we took immediate y after our arrival, you would have confessed the justice of the epithet! We first walked down the street (hearing the people discoursing of our arrival as they dispersed homewards) to S. Chiara - under its massive flying buttresses and out at the gate - and then returning on our steps traversed the whole town as far as the Convent at its other extremity; by this time the inhabitants had almost all returned to their homes and the town was silent as death - long desolate streets, solemn and still like the corridors of a convent, lighted by single lamps placed at their distant angles, and echoing to our measured footfall as to the tread of a regi-

ment, while if any one passed us, it was with the swift gliding noiseless motion of a spirit - then the lofty palaces towering above us, and the vast arched doors yawning like the mouths of hell out of whose blackness one expected demons to rush out on one - cannot you fancy them? At one moment we could hardly persuade ourselves we were not standing, its first discoverers, in some forgotten city of the middle ages, tenanted only by the shades of the departed - at another, turning a corner of the street, the broad lights cast across the blackness on the opposite walls, and the indistinct figures flitting across them, reflected from within some archway opening immediately on the owners dwelling room, made us fearfully fancy ourselves intruders on a Domdaniel of enchanters. As you may suppose much of these impressions were attributable to the circumstances of the hour and the excited state of our minds, but even by day time Assisi is scarcely less strange and peculiar - You remember doubtless its picturesque situation as seen during the ascent from S.M. degli Angeli on the side of the hill, the convent with its immense arcades and its upper church built as it were in air - the innumerable arches, loggias, colonnades, towers etc. scattered through the town and falling into lines and combinations of endless variety - and lastly the noble castle crowning the mountain high above them all; well, the interior corresponds in all respects to the outward promise; I never saw any place in Italy retaining such an impression of the middle ages, pointed arches and frescoes are seen everywhere - St Francis's stamp is on everything and his name on every lip as that of a God - even the Virgin seems to go for nothing in comparison. One part of the town is completely deserted and in ruins from the

effects of an earthquake, and if I had not seen similar scenes of far greater magnitude in Palestine I should have said it gave one an idea of the effects of such a catastrophe far beyond what could be conveyed by mere description.

We spent 4 days here, during which, except on Sunday, we scarcely allowed ourselves time to eat, in our anxiety to make the most of our time and see everything. And this I think we did most completely; nothing I think has escaped us; I have examined and taken notes of every individual fresco that could in any way be of interest with reference to early art - and thanks to my previous study of Bonaventura's life of S Francis and of my legendary friend De Natalibus (whose folio is a perfect treasure to me), I had no trouble in deciphering the subjects of any of them. Moreover, only think of my good luck, on the very day after our arrival, in discovering and purchasing a complete series of drawings of every fresco in the upper and lower church at Assisi!! a hundred in number, executed about 30 years ago with whatever advantage scaffolding etc. could afford the artist!! He is a native of the town whom I had visited with the intention of buying some architectural prints of the Convent engraved by him; he had originally, he told me, intended to engrave these also, but having received no encouragement they had lain on his hands ever since. I hope, dear A. - you will not think I drove a Jewish bargain with him when I tell you that I offered him 150 scudi for the whole collection, small enough certainly considering the time and labour it must have cost him, but he agreed to it at once and apparently with much satisfaction. They are outlines merely - I like them the better for it; the faces are not

done justice to, but the composition and general ideas are admirably conveyed and altogether, when you reflect that of the greater part of these frescoes no engravings exist whatever, you will I think agree that I could not have been more lucky than in securing them. I long to show them to you and James; Félicie was delighted with them. Well, these drawings were of the greatest assistance to us, for the church as you may remember is so dark that frescogazing is hard work for the eyes, even with the assistance of an excellent spyglass which I bought in Rome. And now let me try briefly to describe to you the frescoes, their arrangement at least and general character.

The two churches as you are aware are built one above the other - the upper, of which I will first speak, consisting of a simple nave, cross and tribune, without sidechapels or anything that interrupts its beautiful unity. Giunta, the last of the Greco-Italian school, was the great painter of Italy when the choir and transepts were finished; to him therefore the task of painting them was assigned, but his frescoes are now hardly discernible, though the faint outlines show that they were as superior to those of his predecessors and cotemporaries as inferior to those of his successor Cimabue. Some years afterwards, the nave being finished, Cimabue was called in, and painted three of the groined vaults of the roof (formed by the cross-springers of the magnificent pointed arches) with the four Doctors of the Church, the Virgin, S. John the Baptist and S. Francis - and the Evangelists, - and the other three alternating with them with ultramarine powdered with stars, emblematical of heaven - an idea as old as architecture itself, - the roof of the Memnonium at Thebes for instance and of many

other temples in Egypt is so painted. These are the finest works of Cimabue, the figures are full of dignity, but very Greek and strongly resemble the Saints and Doctors of the Menologion magnified - while in the figure of our Saviour he has evidently inspired himself by the mosaics. The colouring is brilliant and admirably preserved. The walls of the nave are painted in fresco in three lines - the two uppermost, delineating the history of the old and new Testament and almost destroyed, are attributed to Cimabue, but erroneously - unless perhaps (as in Dom. Ghirlandajo's rifacciamento of Orcagna's Lives of the Virgin and of the Baptist at S.M. Novella where Ginevra de' Benci's figure is so often introduced) some later artist has repainted and modernised his compositions. The lower series reproducing the life of S. Francis are by Giotto:- some have affected to question this, but most unjustly. There are 28 subjects, the greater number in tolerable preservation and full of spirit and character - the story told with admirable simplicity and naiveté - no unmeaning accessory figures - the expression whatever it be always appropriate, with the single exception of violent grief, in attempting to delineate which he falls into caricature - the monastic type and character too is perfect - he may be said to have created it, and the sparkle of fun and playful satire that not unfrequently breaks out would of itself satisfy me of Giotto's parentage. The buildings, houses etc. are in the proportion of dolls' houses to men, but in other respects there is much merit in the drawing, foreshortening etc. and even in the anatomy where, as on one or two occasions, he had introduced a naked figure. It was this new requisition of a life of S. Francis that originated modern art; Giotto was obliged to create a new style in

order to delineate feelings and sentiments unthought of, at least as yet unexpressed by the Greeks - to reflect in short the new spirit which had entered into the heart of the people: what that spirit was I shall have occasion to show in my book, while sketching S. Francis's life which I must do in order to explain the frescoes. It is as strange, as wild, as mad a story as ever gulled mankind.

Descending to the lower church, I will suppose ourselves at the great portal by which we entered three years ago. Advancing into the vestibule, and facing to the left on reaching the tomb of the Queen of Cyprus, the nave stretches before one, terminated by the cross, formed by three arched vaults, the central one overhanging S. Francis's tomb - and by the tribune beyond it. The side walls of the nave were painted by the Greek predecessors of Cimabue, his masters - they are almost gone, but there is one group of great beauty in idea at least, the meeting of the Virgin and S. John after the Crucifixion: the central vault over the tomb is dedicated to the virtues and apotheosis of S. Francis, painted by Giotto after finishing the life in the upper church. The frescoes in the right arm of the cross, by Giovanni da Milano (according to Rumohr) pupil of Taddeo Gaddi, representing the history of Our Saviour from the Annunciation to the return to Nazareth after the dispute with the Doctors; and those of the left arm, by Capanna, take it up again at the triumphal entry into Jerusalem and carry it on (with one exception, a noble Crucifixion by Cavallini) through each successive scene of the passion to the Ascension. The fresco of the tribune, modern comparatively but probably a repetition of the original subject, represents the last Judgement and retributive partition of

mankind. Such is the general disposition of the frescoes in the body of the church: to these must be added - the chapels on either side of the nave and those frescoes at the extremities of the two arms of the cross, all of which were originally painted by the great masters of the 14th century; three only remain uninjured, the first to the left of the nave, painted with the life of St. Martin by Simon Memmi - the last to the right of the nave, with the history of the Magdalen by Giottino, and the chapel at the bottom of the right cross, dedicated to S. Nicholas of Bari, also by Giottino. Besides these there are various single frescoes by Giotto, Milano, Ted: Gaddi, Sibyls and prophets by Ingegno, pupil of Perugino, etc. scattered about in different parts of the church, but which are lost here like duodecimos among folios, or single ballads in the midst of grand epic poems. There is another chapel at the extremity of the vestibule of entrance, painted by one / ..... /* da Faenza, but so inferior as barely to merit a mention. Two words now as to the general character of each great series of frescoes and of the master who executed them.

Of Giotto's I need not speak, for I remember how well we examined them during our visit on that happy happy journey with Giovanni: I don't wonder at Mayflower wishing to kiss him when he went away. They are very beautiful and full of ideas - suggested however, the general purpose at least, not I find, as commonly supposed, by Dante, but by S. Bonaventura - Cavallini's Crucifixion is but a single composition but speaks for him with the voice of a host (he was pupil of Cimabue and cotemporary and observer of Giotto) there is a fearless boldness and strength in him which reminded me not merely of Orcagna but

* Note: This word is illegible in the Ms.

M. Angelo. Every figure bears the impress of a strong original powerful mind, full of individuality. He was celebrated too as a mosaicist and even visited England, if I recollect right, to erect the shrine of Edward the Confessor at S. Albans.

The life of S. Martin by S. Memmi, Giotto's contemporary and the founder of the Sienese school is most sweetly told; his style both of thought and execution is distinct from Giotto's in every way. The composition is throughout very simple, the figures few - the heads beautiful - the colouring very soft and pleasing - the Sienese cast, very different from the Florentine. The early Sienese paintings are indeed like flowers - the Florentine, trees - Giottino's lives of the Magdalen and of S. Nicholas are also very interesting. His composition is always simple, sometimes beautiful, but not unfrequently his figures are too scattered like those of a basrelief; he has not except in a few instances, the unity of purpose of Simon Memmi and Giotto, though, judged by his best work, the raising of Lazarus, he would rank with either of them. Nor is he upon the whole equal either to Milano or Capanna: in both these artists there is a great accession of richness; Milano excels in composition; rich but simple, he tells his story at once - the accessory objects of persons are well chosen and few - the faces and attitudes full of expression and beauty - the colouring is excellent and there is a certain naive grace throughout which is very winning. This perhaps makes me prefer him to Capanna, whose works, in the corresponding arm of the cross, have more richness and less simplicity in the composition, - the faces are less expressive and altogether (with the exception of the colouring which wants the peculiar

character of Giotto's school and almost suggests a connection with Cavallini) - they rank among the most modern in style of the productions of the 14th century; still they are very pleasing - there is much dignity, much sweet and true feeling in them and a rich glowing imagination animates them all - yet Milano's go more to the heart. This more modern style of Capanna is not a little remarkable, for he was the immediate pupil of Giotto, while both Milano and Giottino belonged to the second generation; the genealogy runs thus:-

Giotto

Tad: Gaddi — Capanna — Stefano / Giottino

Giacomo da Casentino — G. da Milano — Agnolo Gaddi

*Spinello

Antonio Veneziano

Parri di Spinello — Lorenzo de'Bicci contemporary with Masaccio — Uccello

Marco da Montepulciano

*I carry the school down to its extinction as a key to future allusions.

I cannot say that Ingegno's prophets and Sibyls pleased me; they are wanting for the most part, the former in dignity, the latter in grace and beauty, and both in inspiration. No one would suppose him a pupil of Perugino: Raphael was by no means the only one of that master's pupils who abandoned the simpler and purer style for a new broader and more modern one. Ingegno did the same and several others whose works we saw at Perugia. I hardly like to number Spagna among the innovators, at least a very lovely Madonna dated 1516 in this very

chapel of Ingegno seems to reproach me for so doing - but in ten years much may happen, and between 1516 and 1526, when he painted the pilgrims to Compostella, he certainly acquired a mastery and breadth unknown to him before. I begin to doubt whether the dramatic talent can be well developed, in painting at least, without losing the power of concentrating spiritual emotions in the countenance.

Such is Assisi. Besides the consecutive series of compositions, every arch, soffit and scrap of wall is covered with saints and saintesses in disregarded profusion. The mine is inexhaustible. How often I longed for you and James! but especially one morning while the service was being performed in the lower church, I ensconced myself in the shadow of one of the arches of the nave, gloomy as a sepulchre, where I could hear and see everything unseen myself, and fairly gave myself up to the impressions of the hour - there was nothing wanting - the faint light streaming through the windows, the kneeling figures all around - the perfume of incense that filled the air, the priests in their waving robes flitting backwards and forwards behind the grating of S. Francis's tomb, the sun streaming full on Giotto's fresco of his glorification as the God of all this idolatory - the murmur from the Confessionals near one - and amidst all this the glorious roll of the chanting, now rising now falling like the ocean or the wind in the heart of a forest - and ever and anon swelling to a richness, a fulness, and a soaring power that seemed to upheave the massive arches of the building and carry us aloft a thousand fathoms towards heaven. I can liken it to nothing else.

Like Laverna every rock, every acre about Assisi has its

legendary rule attached to it: here unwithered and unwitherable, flourishes the ilex on which the birds sat while he preached to them (it is one of his most ridiculous yet prettiest legends) - there yawns the chasm down which he precipitated the devil when he presumed to tempt him - And they show you relics, genuine relics, that have their interest though not that of superstition. We visited all the loca sancta: the church of S.ª Chiara, founded by him for that Saint and the female votaries of the order and painted in fresco by Giottino (4 figures only remain of them) - S. Damiano, below the town, where we found two frescoes by Spagna, - and the Carceri, whither S. Francis and his companions used to retreat for prayer and penitence: it lies about 3 miles walk up the mountain at the extremity of a wild glen or chasm, still streaked with snow above, and its precipitous and cavernous sides dark with ilexes. This ravine was formerly the bed of a torrent, which whenever the monks were at prayer took a malicious pleasure in roaring louder and louder (how well one understands the origin of the notion) in order to distract their attention; at last S. Francis prayed to God and on a sudden it ceased to flow and the bed has ever since remained dry except at rare intervals when the descent of water is considered prophetical of some calamity about to happen to the church, and an envoy is immediately sent to Rome to offer up prayers to avert it. This notion of even inanimate nature leaguing with the powers of darkness against the spiritual welfare of mankind, is thoroughly Oriental; many a Roman Catholic dogma had its birth on the banks of the Ganges.

All the wild and ridiculous stories told by Bonaventura are

believed to the fullest extent here and alike by priest and laymen: the monk that guided us was a thorough believer and no mere babbling cicerone. Dear Anne, all that I thus write to you gives but a very imperfect idea of these strange scenes, of the spirit that animates them, and of the emotions they suggest in one; when I have time I will write my notes out more fully, for friendly if not for public satisfaction, and then you shall read them.

After these long details of frescoes I shall not detain you long with a little chapel which we discovered (I may almost say) in the town, attached to the Confraternity of S. Giacomo. Rio mentions a fresco on the outside wall but seems to know nothing of the interior, nor do the guidebooks mention it. It is completely, walls and roof, painted in fresco, with the story of the pilgrims of Compostella, S. Antony blessing the camels etc.; all except one are by 'Martinus de Gualdo', a painter I never heard of nor can find any notice of; his name is inscribed in black letter with the date 1468: without this 'millesimo' one would ascribe them to the 14th century. They are in truth very inferior productions, but very amusing and not without a certain merit. In all these old frescoes, especially by obscure masters and in districts remote from Rome, Florence or such great focuses of art, the saints are represented with their peculiar symbols and attributes, some of which are most delightfully absurd. In another church, quite ruined and abandoned, is one of Cimabue's majestic Madonnas, but sadly injured. But you will be longing to hear of our departure from Assisi - comfort yourself - the horses are put to - 50 or 60 persons have assembled to see us off - we bow and nod all round - the driver cracks

his whip and with a sigh of regret we start - for the world again! And now, whish! whish! whish! we are at Perugia and you must make your best curtsey to Pietro Perugino.

To enumerate all the various beautiful works that exist here by him and his school would be endless. We sought them all out and well they merit such research. At the same time there is little variety in them; Pietro himself had not a particle of the dramatist in him - he has but 10 or 20 subjects all taken from the N. Testament which he reiterates again and again, often without the slightest variation, continually attempting to bring them to perfection; and this perfection he has certainly attained in each instance; his best works are unsurpassed even by Raphael. I have ceased to think the Nativity in the Sala del Cambio, sweet as it is, his chef d'oeuvre - there are many others superior to it: the sibyls and prophets maintain their ground. Rio is certainly wrong in dating his decadence from 1500 when he painted the frescoes there; some of his most exquisite works bear a later date. I observe he has two types for the Madonna, the first reiterated from 1483 (perhaps earlier) till the beginning of the 16th century, and which Coutts and I got at last to distinguish as his wife's, namely from the appearance it has of being a portrait: the second, infinitely superior, adopted and repeated ever afterwards till his death: it may be seen in the exquisite Nativity or Adoration, in S. Agostino, painted in 1512, and singularly enough (as I observed before) Pinturicchio has adopted it at Spello and Montefalco. I have also alluded to the change in Pietro's colouring, so much whiter in his latter years. My admiration of him has risen very much during

the last month.

Of the works of his scholars, the churches of Perugia are full - several of these painters, of very considerable merit, Cecchi, for instance, Giannicola and others, are unknown elsewhere; we visited all their best things - they are interesting as showing the steps by which the pure and lofty spirit of the 15th gradually declined and died away in the grosser temperature of the 16th century. Of Raphael, Pinturicchio etc. the higher class of his pupils, there are not many relics left - Raphael's famous Deposition is now in the Borghese Gallery, his Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican; the fresco of the Saviour in glory, or rather of the Trinity, attended by prophets and angels, which he left unfinished when summoned to Rome, where he resumed and expanded its leading idea into the glorious 'Dispute of the Sacrament', still remains though sadly injured. It was finished by Perugino a year or 2 before he died. The most beautiful easel picture I think I ever saw of Pinturicchio is in the chapel of S. Geronimo attached to a convent of Franciscans; it was by mere accident we saw it, as no guidebooks seem to mention it. It is a Madonna and Child enthroned and attended by Saints and angels, with a lovely landscape in the background; sweetness, modesty, humility and grace robe her in the vesture of heaven - lovely, most lovely! And in the church of S. Pietro fuori le Mura we were shown a small Adoration of the Magi, attributed to Adoni, an inferior provincial painter who lived 50 years later, but really (unless we are much mistaken) a work of Pinturicchio's early youth - for colouring, composition, grace etc. it might be assigned to Raphael, and indeed the Virgin and Child are

attributed to him by the monks: to that, however, I attach but little consequence for the fashion seems to be to assign every beautiful figure in the pictures of Pietro and his school to Raphael, as if they were not his equals, till he quitted their manner for another, more dramatic but less heavenly. In the gallery of the Academy there is another Pinturicchio, a Virgin and Child seated in a beautiful garden, highly finished and richly coloured, but with a degree of hardness in the lines, resembling in this the beautiful Coronation of the Virgin in the Vatican - yet full of sweet expression. It formed only part of a very large picture in compartments.

The Sacristy of S. Dominico contains a number of little pictures by Fra Angelico some of them very pretty - I recognised the fellow of the two oblong ones descriptive of the life of S. Nicholas, now in the Vatican - 'water parted from the sea' - do you remember that exquisite air? In S.M. Nuova there is a Conception of the Virgin by Nicola Alunno of Foligno, painted in 1466, full of the deepest feeling and strongly resembling Tad Bartoli's style in his frescoes at Siena, as well as that of B. Angelico. This is the artist whose picture at Foligno struck us as so German - so much do our pursuits and characters change with years! In S Pietro fuore le Mura there are also five Saints by Sassoferrato, most beautiful: and I found there too an Annunciation by him, of no great merit, yet interesting as being almost a repetition of the style of Pinturicchio and the school of Perugino (it does not look like a copy of an old picture) - showing that, though living under the Caracci, he sought his inspiration from them by preference.

Rummaging in this way all sorts of ideas throng upon one and even

inferior pictures often supply links which lead to important conclusions. A series of little pictures of the history of S. Bernardino, painted by Pisanello of Verona, in 1473, and preserved in the Sacristy of the Giustizia, has suggested to me, if I mistake not, the true origin of P. Veronese's style and colouring, commonly supposed peculiarly his own. The original Venetian school was that of the Vivarini and their pupils in whose colouring blue and white predominated, with a general out of doors frescolike air - Bellini, Giorgione etc. with whose names the common list of Venetian painters begins, introduced the rich glowing colouring which Titian perfected - the older style was consequently disused; but expelled from Venice, these little pictures prove that it found refuge at Verona; and Paolo most probably found it current to his hand and all he had to do was to carry it, as he did, to perfection. He is the legitimate heir of the Vivarini, the original independent school of Venice. When I have time I will follow this idea up by minuter enquiry.

Three hours and a half carried us, on Wednesday the 9th March, to the inn below Cortona (passing through Pasignano where we slept in /39). The early works of L. Signorelli were our chief object at Cortona, but I cannot say they much pleased me; his pictures are far inferior to his frescoes; the best I have seen are the Institution of the Sacrament in the Cathedral there and a Madonna spreading her mantle over the people of Arezzo, which I found (again by accident) in Santa Croce in that town; I knew of, but was uncertain what had become of it. It was his last work and Vasari describes his coming to Arezzo to see it put up and lodging in his father's house and taking encouraging notice of his

early drawings when he was a child. There are 2 or 3 pretty Fra Angelico's at Cortona, besides an immense one in no less than 33 compartments, great and small, filling the whole choir of the church of S. Domenico, and presented to the Convent by Cosmo and Lorenzo de' Medici. The colouring is darker than usual in his pictures and so far as we could see it in the obscurity of its present position, I did not think it one of his best. It is altogether a portentous picture and resembles nothing so much as an enormous organ case, painted.

We proceeded to Arezzo the same night and spent several hours the next day in exploring the town. Giotto's school expired there about the middle of the 15th century, and though many of the frescoes I went in search of have been whitewashed, enough still remains to show the point of degradation to which it sunk during its decadence. Spinello, with the exception of poor Margaritone, the earliest of the distinguished artists of Arezzo, was almost the last worthy descendant of Giotto. His best works, you know, are at Siena and Pisa - a few indifferent Madonnas and Crucifixions are all that remain of him in his native town, save and except the celebrated fall of the Angels, which in spite of our guide's assurance that it was quite destroyed, we ferreted out and discovered on the wall of the bedroom of a poor contadina, who now tenants the house into which the church it was painted in was converted on being suppressed: It is called "Casa de' diavoli". You remember the story, how Spinello was persecuted to death by the devil constantly reproaching him for having painted him so hideous. The fresco is almost gone, but we could still distinguish the demon's head and the attitude of the victorious angels, which has evidently been in L. Signorelli's memory

when painting the similar composition at Orvieto. The last most atrocious abortion of the Giottesque school was the life of S. Benedict in the cloister of Mount Olivet, painted from the designs of Lorenzo de' Bicci by Marco da Montepulciano about the middle of the 15th century - it is positively below contempt.

In S. Francesco alas! the frescoes descriptive of the Invention of the Cross, by Piero della Francesca, master of L. Signorelli and so celebrated in the 15th century, are absolutely in the last agonies of dissolution, hanging in flakes from the walls. They are admirable - the confusion and roll of the army on seeing the cross in the heavens is wonderfully conveyed; in the processions you feel the march of a vast multitude; Coutts compared the impression to that made by the Elgin Marbles, hosts only being in motion instead of individual* figures. I could not, from the easel pictures I have seen by Piero, have conceived the possibility of his painting such frescoes, but thus is the case with many of these painters of the early world; the common idea is that he excelled in perspective! - began that which Leonardo perfected - but his style here is modern in all the modern excellencies, though without the modern flutter, and preserves throughout that graceful ease and repose which we have lost since the 16th century. They are masterly productions - I know no other word which so well conveys their character - masterly in every way. It was the very subject for his pencil. And yet he is totally unknown and unappreciated by modern historians and alas! I again exclaim - in 2 or 3 years, perhaps less, these solitary witnesses to his merit will be silenced for ever - Oh ye

* Note: An alternative reading of this word is: subdividual.

vandals of this enlightened age!

Woe to the man who visits Arezzo without a proper respect for G. Vasari - the Aretini would tear him to pieces if he confessed such heresy. For there is a painting here, his chef d'oeuvre, which may rank with the most beautiful of its class - the feast of Ahasuerus, in which he had introduced the portraits of his wife and himself; the subject was well suited to him and he has evidently done it con amore and without his usual effort to astonish the weak mind of the public. We visited his house too and were shown over it by the proprietor, a most enthusiastic admirer of 'Giorgio', the fond familiar ephithet by which his townspeople call him - it is full of painted ceilings and walls done by his own hand and indeed I trod his home with great interest, having the same respect for him as an author that the worthy proprietor had for him as a painter.

Before quitting Arezzo you must return with me to the Cathedral where in a tomb of Pope Gregory X erected about 1277 by Margaritone, a work of sculpture exists far superior it strikes me to the boasted bas-reliefs of Giov: Pisano in the same church, or indeed to anything of his father Nicola. He was the last follower of the Greek school of Giunta Pisano, and according to Vasari died of chagrin at the success of the rising school of Giotto. Be that as it may, as a sculptor he is superior to any other of the 13th century - there is a surprising degree of freedom dignity and grace in the effigy of the Pope and especially in the heads of the Apostles sculptured on the Sarcophagus. Alas that fame and oblivion should be such children of caprice!

I have now brought you to Siena, dearest Anne, and you are en pays de connaissance once more, for though we glanced at the principal objects in most of the towns I have just described, Spoleto, Assisi, Perugia, Arezzo etc., we did Siena well. I shall not therefore trouble you with describing it, merely adding that I went through it again with as much interest and as minutely as if it had been my first instead of my third visit - made copious notes of every fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico - was still more struck with the grandeur of the great Madonna and Saints in the Sala del Consiglio, painted when Giotto was only 13 years old - with its visavis, the gallant Guido Ricci riding up to the fortress to conquer it with his own single arm - how it would have charmed Froissart! and with the frescoes of Taddeo Bartoli in the chapel which I thought still lovelier than before:- I also completely made out those of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, contrasting good and evil government and their results, a composition full of poetry and beauty, and made such a minute description of those of Spinello that I shall be able, when I have more time, to interpret them all, for they evidently extend far beyond the mere individual lives of Alexander III and Barbarossa, and seem to comprehend the whole contest of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. In short I have done the job thoroughly and it was worth the trouble, for the Sienese school, as I have again and again observed, is quite distinct from the Florentine and to the full as interesting. Some things on the other hand that I admired when I was there with you fell short of the recollections: among these was Peruzzi's Sibyl and all Pacchiarotto's pictures, except one, a fresco. Of Sodoma there is a Flagellation and a Deposition both of singular

beauty which we did not then see - only the ~~Swan~~ Sworn of S. Catherine. There are 3 women in the corner of his fresco of Alexander's visit to the family of Darius in an upper room of the Farnesina at Rome of singular loveliness - What think you of our having paid a visit to Belcaro! (I wish it had been Balcarres) a château 3 or 4 miles off, commanding a glorious view, and the retreat at one time of S. Catherine of Siena it was to see the Judgment of Paris, a fresco by Peruzzi, and by some esteemed his chef d'oeuvre; it turned out a very poor performance, tho' the composition is good. The drive was delightful - But oh how beautiful, how beautiful are the Pinturicchios! They are his I am certain of it - You know the reports that they were designed by Raphael - I dont believe it - nor do I think that any one who had traced Pinturicchio's progress as we have done from childhood to manhood in his art could entertain such a notion for a moment. That Raphael, then 21, assisted in the execution there is no doubt. How beautiful they are, how dignified, how gentlemanlike! and every character is so justly discriminated, I mean of classes no less than individuals - the Pope, the Cardinal, the priest, the Emperor, the noble, the page - the Turk too is done to the life - they live and breathe before you as in the pages of Walter Scott. What freshness too in the landscapes, what gorgeous magnificence in the architecture! I must confess they rather spoilt one for S. Augustine and his friends at S. Gimignano - merely I mean, that the society there is not quite of so distingué a stamp - you pass from the courtly presence of princes and gallant knights and fair ladies to that of substantial wellfed burgesses and citizens, and the change is too abrupt. But in other respects I was as much pleased as

ever with them (Benozzo's frescoes I mean) - they held their ground. They are inferior in point of mechanical progress to those of Montefalco and form the link between his early manner as there seen and his perfection at Pisa. Nevertheless I am not sure that anyone of them is equal in spirit of composition and expression to two or three in the life of S. Francis. Benozzo's improvement is one of the most extraordinary things in the history of art. Born about 1406, he was still in 1447, when he painted at Orvieto, the mere pupil of Fra Angelico and very very inferior to him - in 1452 he paints the life of S. Francis at Montefalco, still adhering closely to his master's manner - a few years afterwards we have the noble procession of the Kings in the Riccardi chapel, in which that manner is hardly any longer perceptible - in 1465 the life of S. Augustine in which not a trace of it remains, while though still a little formal, his exuberence already begins to bubble forth and lastly in 1468 and the following years he throws off the 23 enormous frescoes at Pisa, the last and according to Vasari, the best of which was done in his 78th year! The older he grew the more youthful he seems to have grown And here we are at Florence once more and I lay down my pen. We have not been idle though, even since arriving here - and during our late expedition to Pisa and Leghorn we visited and carefully examined the frescoes of Lippi and Agnolo Gaddi at Prato, besides the whole series in the Campo Santo at Pisa, which pleased us more than ever. And throughout, though I have spoken of pictures more than sculpture, we have examined the monuments of that branch of art, inseparably linked with it In a day or two I shall commence a careful examination of everything in Florence, and then arrange my

notes preparatory to the north of Italy and proceed on my pilgrimage.

I have given you no particulars of Coutts' embarkation; he sailed on Good Friday evening from Leghorn by the Pharamond, the best of the French steamers. I accompanied him on board and left him in excellent spirits. He intended starting by the Malleposte for Paris, or if he could not get a place in it, proceeding up the Rhone by steam. I calculate he will arrive in London at latest on Saturday the 9th of April. You may imagine how sorry I was to part with him and how much I miss him. I shall work as hard as I can now, for I long to be off. I want my dear people /here/. Florence is not Florence without them. My terrace /is a / great resource and I value it for the view it commands of the steeple of Mount Olivet which we used to see from S. Torregiani. I have never revisited that desecrated spot, desecrated by the intrusion of others, even Prince Vasa.

Next time I write, dear A. to show you how the young idea shoots ahead, I will send you a list of a series of illustrations of our Lindsay history which Coutts and I have arranged together, and which he is to execute some day or other when we are again together at Haigh. Dear A - dear James, it only depends on himself and you, his being the restorer of painting, and the rival of the great old masters of the age of the Medici and Leo X.

Ecco the first twenty lines of Dante translated - not in the new rhyme I intend eventually trying but merely in rough blank verse, as an experiment how a tinge of antique phraseology would answer -

(I'th midway of the path of mortal life
or
(I'th middest of the pathway of my life
I found myself within a gloomy wood
Bestrayed and lost. Ah me! how hard it is
That forest to describe, how rude and rough -
(That in mere memory thrills my heart with fear) -
And bitter, so that death is little worse.
Yet good eèn there I found, and of it now
And of what else befel me there, I speak.
Me skills not say how 'twas I entered there
So slumber-heavy was I in that hour
When the true path I quitted. But when I
Paused at a mountain's foot that like a tower
Closed in that valley of dread, I looked aloft
And saw its ridge already in the rays
Of that bright star yclothèd, that aright
Leads every traveller on his onward way
Then was the troublous fear a little assuaged
That in my heart's deep waters had endured
That livelong night, in such keen suffering passed.
And like to one who panting and distressed,
Fresh from his struggle with ocean to the shore,
Turns round & gazes on the perilous wave -
So I (my soul and senses still in flight)
Turned backward to review the fatal gulph
begaze
That ne'er before had mortal passed & lived.

I really dont see why a translation of Dante may not still be produced (we have none yet worthy of him) as beautiful as Fairfax's Tasso. A poem, it strikes me, can only be fittingly translated at the period when the nation into whose language it is transfused, shares its peculiar spirit; translations at any other time are folly; hence Fairfax's will last for ever - But surely at no time in English history have we ever as a

nation felt such sympathy with Dante as now - all his harmonies and all his contradictions - his mental struggles, his passion for liberty, his yearnings after the spiritually beautiful are ours too.

Dear A - I take it for granted you have read this interminable letter by instalments - I must now close it and yet I don't like leaving a blank space - I am sure I have many things more to say, if I c/oul/d only recollect them - This moment I recollect that I have not told you that we have seen Markoff - I was misinformed that he was at the Bagni di S. Giuliano and therefore went round that way but he was at Pisa, and there we saw him. He has not begun my other picture yet, having taken no note of the one to w/hi/ch it is to be a pendant; I have written for them. He has two or /so/ beautiful things on his easel and seemed well, but complained of a pain in his eyes. I told him I s/houl/d send you his kind rememberances -. Pray give mine to Mrs Spencer Lindsay when you see her - I am greatly her debtor for contributions to my genealogical collections - I have not met with Kügler's book, but I think it will be too scientific to interfere with me -. Rio, F élicie tells me, is touring through Italy, collecting materials for another volume. - Ask James why he does not take this opportunity of writing his memoirs? Pray work upon this point as an addition to the family chronicle - and dear A pray tell him how very very glad I am he is so much pleased with Taylor's work - I was sure it w/oul/d be so. Coutts has read 'Saturday Evening' entirely through, either by himself or with me; some chapters he reread repeatedly - and I smiled to see that they were those on 'The truly noble', 'Christian magnanimity' etc. - The

beautiful analysis of a great character peculiarly struck him. I gave him the book /to take/ away with him. Now adieu dear Anne - kindest love to all your flock. Direct your next to me here as usual. I am as yet quite uncertain how long I shall be here. Ever yours Ly.

Appendix 4 (see Chapter V)

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay

Saturday evening 7 May /42 Florence

Thanks - dearest Anne for your most kind letter - it reached me this morning and was not the less welcome that it was wholly unexpected. Your account of Mr. Blunt's visit and of all the attendant circumstances quite charmed me - I can see the whole group gathered round him on the Sunday evening .....

..... "Well dear A - you see your letter has reached Florence in time - But I hope to start on Wednesday or Thursday next. I have been a long time here, far longer than I expected, but the endless variety of objects connected with my present researches compelled me to prolong my stay. My days have been spent in exploring, my evenings in writing out my notes and in preparing my programme for the remainder of my tour. This I have finished - tonight: it has cost me much labour, being the reduction and classification under the head of each town and each church or palace in each town, of all the scattered notes of information, which I have collected in the course of my reading. No one guidebook existing is complete or satisfactory. I shall now, from Monday morning, devote my every energy to effecting my escape. You know my polypus propensity to grow into the corners of the crevice in which I make my temporary abode; I have been here so long now that I do not at all like the idea of moving - it will require a wrench or two before I get loose. A row however that the landlord has had with the waiters, their consequent dismissal (they had got

quite accustomed to my ways) and the substitution of a new set will much facilitate this. Moreover for the last 2 or 3 days my walk by the river side has been invaded by a party of ladies, whom on both occasions I have fairly fled from - so that two of the strongest ligaments with which I was attached to this Hotel d'Italie are snapped. It would be too absurd to speak of a flower I had taken a strong attachment to and which has withered but you will understand this. But to revert to what I was saying, it is quite marvellous the riches of Florence in art and every day I have stumbled on something new. Marini and I spent six hours yesterday in visiting different churches and convents and we discovered a fresco and a bas relief which even he had never heard of. I have visited the Carmine again and again and I think I have now completely ascertained the respective shares of Masolino, Masaccio, and Lippi (Marini by the bye thinks it is Filippo and not Filippino Lippi who finished them) in those noble frescoes - and even the order in which they were painted. I took him there yesterday and he quite agrees with me and in the probability, arguing from various circumstances, that the Peter baptising in the upper row, to the r. of the altar, is by Masolino and not Masaccio; to ascertain this, for the light is so bad and the fresco so injured that it is impossible to see it sufficiently from below, we intend going there again on Monday morning and if possible procuring a ladder, so as to obtain a nearer view and ascertain the point. All the other great frescoes, those of Orcagna in the Strozzi Chapel, of S. Memmi in the Cappa degli Spagnuoli etc I have visited repeatedly, correcting my notes on the spot! As regards the latter the common opinion is that Taddeo Gaddi

painted the whole of the left hand wall, and yet I cannot but think that he only did the upper half, and that the lower, with the other 3 sides of the chapel are Memmi's - to this too Marini assents. Poor little man, I am afraid he was very hungry when we finished our giro. He took me through the Bargello; beside the Chapel of Giotto, he has uncovered two heads of Saints in a very large hall, on which now the prisoners' cells open - they are beautiful and undoubtedly by Orcagna, who most likely has painted the whole room - every wall seems to have been painted in these old palaces and churches - oh that atrocious whitewash. Talking of Orcagna I drove this afternoon to the Certosa, the immense and highly picturesque Benedictine [sic] convent about 2 or 3 miles out of Florence, founded in the 14th century by the Acciajuoli and built after his designs - there is a beautiful deposito of the founder sculptured by him. But to show how one discovers something at every turn here, I found in the capitolo a most lovely thing by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (whose picture at Pistoja you may remember James was so enchanted with and who painted the two miracles of San Zenobio) - this merely a Virgin and Child and Saints, the old traditional composition, but exquisitely lovely -and unnoticed by traveller or guide-book. The monks believe it a Perugino - You ask me (at least virtually) what I intend writing about. It is rather a puzzling question so far as regards the form, but as to the matter it will be very much I suspect according to the plan I roughly sketched at Lausanne and read you during that pleasant drive to Savigny (what sweet memories those words awaken! .....) My general object will be to awaken a taste for the early pure and lofty line of art, religious moral and

patriotical, which reached its perfection in Ghiberti Donatello and Raphael - and so as to create a demand for works founded on similar principles, which the example of Munich (in painting at least) shows may be produced in the 19th Century. If I can only induce this taste in the English aristocracy, the demand will on all principles of political economy (vide Mrs. Mariott) produce the supply. Now in order to illustrate the principles of these old artists, I shall attempt to show the relation of their personal character to their works - and in order to induce my readers to test my propositions by personal examination, I shall do my best to furnish them with those facilities for understanding these works, especially the cycles of legendary frescoes, which I have myself felt the want of - which in fact nowhere exist at present except in the black letter folios which I have been obliged to have recourse to in studying them. I wish in short to put in the hand of the English traveller a popularly written book which will interest him primarily in the artist as man, and then enable him to appreciate their principal works, historical, legendary or allegorical at a glance - furnishing him too with short but minute directions where precisely each particular object of interest is to be found; the trouble of hunting them out is great and ordinary cicerones are useless. This is an arduous undertaking I grant, but I think I shall achieve it. The plan will I think be something like the following.

Preliminary. Apart from the rightful claims of Christianity to universal domination shewing how Providence, in committing the pure faith to the custody of England and placing her on the throne of the civilized world, enjoins her to carry the spirit of Christianity into

every department of genius, every walk of life. On this footing (descending from the general proposition, that of my more comprehensive work which you know of, to the individual speck I am now dealing with) - establish the true theory of art, shewing that Christianity is the response to the yearning which Plato Phidias and the pureminded ancients express so feelingly in their works; and that therefore, exquisite as are the productions of Greece, the highest element of beauty and truth is unreached by her. And yet rise high as we may we must still go on yearning, yearning. Then consider the rise progress and fluctuations of Christian art, historically, to the present day, under the following heads.

1. The Introduction of Christianity into Italy, and the first efforts of Roman Christian art. Paintings and sculptures in the Catacombs - system of parallelism, (subjects of the New Testament intimated by those of the Old etc). Constantine's bright idea of turning the basilicas into churches - Mosaics of S.M. Maggiore etc. Fall of the Western Empire and virtual extinction of art. Influx of the Teutonic nations, the predestined fathers of modern Europe.

2. Predominance in art of the Byzantine element during the intellectual education of the Teutonic race. Architecture - invention of the cupola. Sculpture none (the Iconoclasts). Greek mosaics of Rome, Ravenna, etc. and the system of symbolism. Series of traditional compositions of extreme beauty, the production I suspect of one painter, anterior probably to Charlemagne, and wch the Italian painters adopted from the Byzantines and constantly reiterated as late as the 16th century. Each has been perfected by some great modern master

whose it is supposed to be by invention. I can trace some 15 or 20, these to be as old as the 9th or at latest the 11th century. Comparison of the Dalmatica of S. Leone with the Bible of S. Paul's, both executed for Charlemagne, one in the East, the other in the West, shewing the respective state of art at Constantinople and among the Latins. Decline of Byzantine art till the fall of Constantinople: its present state, Mount Sinai, Russia etc. Bohemian school derived from it at Prague in the 14th century etc.

3. Development and preponderance of the Teutonic or northern element in modern Europe: Chivalry, /freedom/, romance: - alliance of these with the oriental elements of mysticism asceticism etc. introduced in the earlier ages into Europe along with corrupted Christianity - religious enthusiasm and superstition, the child of this alliance. State of mind thus produced in the 13th century, state of the Papacy, the foundation of the Franciscan and Dominican orders - Sketch of the Christian mythology as then existing - legendary history of the Virgin, ideas concerning the heavenly hierarchy, traditions concerning the fathers of the desert, the founders of the monastic orders, a specimen of two of the legends of the popular saints etc., so as to put the reader in possession of the state of heart and intellect in Italy at the period of Giotto and the Dante Divina. Remarks on the latter - on the influence of the Divina Commedia on art and its reflection of the current ideas of the age - many of his illustrations and ideas are indeed taken from art such as it then existed.

4. Architecture - the Lombard adopt and perfect the Byzantine

style - Cathedrals built all over Italy, - this the first step of the revival of the sister arts.

5. Painting and mosaic. First attempts of the Italians to improve them - on Byzantine principles - found however insufficient. Guido of Siena, Giunta of Pisa, Cimabue, Tomaso di Stefani etc. painters. Andrew Tafi; Gaddo Gaddi, Mino della Turrita etc. mosaicists.

6. Birth of Sculpture. Nicola Pisano studies the antique. His school at Florence (Giov. Pisano, Andrea Pisano etc) and elsewhere throughout Italy.

7. Birth of Painting - School of Siena, the earliest native school of Italy - inspired apparently by Niccla Pisano - Mino, Duccio, Simon Memmi, the Lorenzetti, Sano di Petro, T. Bartoli - extinction. Its peculiar tendency to the contemplative and allegorical, whereas that of the Florentine was from the first to the dramatic and epical - had much of the Oriental Byzantine spirit, in its purest form - Resembled the troubadors in comparison with the minstrels and metrical romancers.

8. Giotto, the father of the Florentine school and indeed almost every other in Italy - inspired by Nic. Pisano - : Architect and sculptor also. His school of painting

- in its best Florentine branch, down to Masolino
- in its worst Florentine branch, to its utter distinction
- in its foreign branches.

9. Orcagna - an anomaly in his age, architect sculptor and

painter - in architecture the link between the romantic and classic period. Observations on the pointed or Gothic architecture - an exotic in Italy and wherever it has flourished, unfavourable to sculpture and painting.

10. Revival of classic learning and (its abuse) of the spirit of paganism - its struggle with that of Christianity in a general point of view - its special injurious effects on art. Introduction of the modern antique style of architecture, the Cinquecento - carried to perfection by Brunnellesco, Alberti, Bramante and M. Angelo - Perfection of Christian sculpture in the hands of Donatello and Ghiberti - Their successors.

11. Influence of Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise on Masolino and Masaccio. Chapel of the Carmine.

12. Precursors of Michael Angelo and Raphael: Four classes -

1. Purely Christian - (Fra Angelico, Benozzo, Zingaro)

2. Semireligious, "a mixed multitude": all vivid colourists and with a strong German influence, their tendency dramatic (Lippi, Cos, Rosselli, Piero di Cosimo, Albertinelli, Dom. Ghirlandajo, A del Sarto, Pontormo)

3. Predominant tendency towards the antique, or external perfection - step by step improving the mechanism of art, yet still in their best works breathing a lofty and noble spirit - (Piero della Francesca, Mantegna, Luca Signorelli - Reference here to Leon^{d}. da Vinci as exerting a powerful influence on all the branches of external improvement. A number of cooperators towards this, but of lower grade of mind, Pollajuolo, Baldovinetti

etc etc.

4. Revulsion, antagonistical to Paganism, effected by Savonarola - Fra Bartolomeo, Lorenzo di Credi, Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, Michele di Ridolfo. This tendency for the most part idyllic, (by which I mean the propensity to confine themselves to a few simple ideas, brood over and repeat them constantly in the effort to perfect them) perhaps lyrical wd be a better word than dramatic.

13. Michael Angelo - in whom the Florentine school accomplishes its destiny - Profoundly religious, but as a Pagan rather than a Christian (How well chosen is the Sistine Chapel for the performance of the services in Passion Week - In the Father's broken Law Mary thus the Saviour saw etc) - Perfection in Christian painting reserved for the Umbrian school - strictly Christian - success both in the idyllic and dramatic line, but its decided tendency to the former. Relations of this school with that of Siena, of similar tendency - Fra Angelico too seems to have been strongly influenced by it) - Perugino and his pupils.

- Raphael, who availing himself of all his predecessors, Michael Angelo into the bargain, perfected Christian art both in the idyllic and dramatic line. His decadence and school.

15. Leonard da Vinci - while promotg all external development; always pure internal feeling. But wanting in the dramatic - otherwise wd have anticipated Raphael in perfecting Xtian art. His school at Milan.

16. Parma Correggio and his school.

17. Venetian school.

18. General decadence and absolute prevalence of Paganism.

19. Eclectic schools - the Caracci - their defective principles - their chief pupils - Painters who at various intervals subsequently to the age of Leo X, and generally standing isolated, deserve to be distinguished from the herd.

20. Universal mannerism.

21. Revival by the Germans - Munich etc.

22. 'Go and do thou likewise!' - Parallel of the intellectual movement in Germany and England - analogous as regards literature - ought in the nature of things to extend to art - The Reformation not necessarily hurtful to art, rather the contrary - Had Overbeke and Co been of the English Church, need not have become Roman Catholics. We have a grand field open, picturesque riches of the Bible etc. - to say nothing of the patriotic.

Estimate by the light of the preceeding essay, of modern English taste. Respective dignity of the different departments of art - fashionable notions on the subject - a Jan Steen sells for £900, a P. Perugino for £150! Oh I will be very venomous - And yet no. But in a quiet insinuating way I may scratch with my velvet paws.

Well, such is the plan as it lies before my fancy at present - subject of course to such modifications as further enquiry and experience may suggest. But I must go to bed - my dear, not adieu yet, but goodnight.

8 May - Reading this over, dear Anne, it appears as if I con-

templated a work like Agincourt's or Cicognara's of 6 or 7 vols and a thumping folio of plates - on the contrary, I am fully sensible that works like theirs, or Lanzi's or even James's will never effect our purpose - theonly way is to make the subject amusing - My capability of doing this remains to be proved. Rio's work is admirable - for the French and Roman Catholics, but he is (forgive me) rather narrow bottomed. I wish moreover to discover such a mode of advancing my opinions as may recommend them to those I wish to influence without appearing to dogmatise, or bringing the whole tribe of professed critics on my shoulders. I would not give a straw to convert the regular connoisseurs - I expect nothing from them. But our young English youths and maidens of noble ingenuous strain and the few chosen spirits of elder growth whose opinions are not all (as Taylor expresses it) in a crystallised state - in such is my hope.

Nowdont be startled, but for this end the idea has strongly impressed me of writing my book in the form of a series of letters to a supposed young artist or friend just gone to Italy - in my own secret heart it will be Coutts I address and the idea will be inspiration to me. If anyone asks who my young artist is, I will reply Vedremo - he will flash upon you one of these days when you least expect it - Dont laugh at this idea, but calmly consider its advantages - it will save me from the responsibility of a professed historian - it will enable me to offer a thousand hints, conjecture etc in an offhand way - to blend, with criticism, description, anecdote, reminiscence, allusion ad infinitum - in short to range at freedom through the pleasant fields of fresco, roaring and lashing my tail ad libitum. I am sure this way of producing

a readable book - a formal essay wd be read by artists, but no one else. Tell me your and James' thoughts on this .....

Appendix 5 (see Chapter VI)

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay Bologna 16 May 1842

Oh my dear Anne, I am sick, sick of Bologna. I have swallowed such a quantity of Caraccis, Guidos etc for the last two or three days that I feel as if I sd never get over it - I am poisoned. I do long to get away. My explorations here have been anything but agreeable save in their result, for they have completely satisfied me as to the truths of our principles on art. I came here with the most honest distrust of myself, the most determined resolution to try these gentlemen on their simple merits without reference to theory or predilection and I have adhered to this resolution; I have tried them fairly and found them wanting.

My first visit was to the Gallery, where the chef d'oeuvres of the Caracci and their pupils are preserved - never among so many pictures did I meet with so few that pleased me; the subjects are almost all religious, but done merely to order without the religious feeling; nature certainly is truthfully copied but too truthfully - every head is painted after a model and that model servilely copied, just as he stood, without a thought of idealising. I trace the same stock head through half a dozen pictures and of different (I was nearly saying as many) masters. And what is the inevitable consequence? the want of genuine intellectual dignity is attempted to be supplied by broad draperies and the unlimited application of the schoolboy's maxim 'Attitudes everything.' In short an universal poverty of ideas, an utter want not merely of poetry and invention but of simplicity and earnest feeling, d---- the Caracci. - I really do not think that this

censure is too strong: I should modify it to a certain degree when speaking of their pupils: - Guido, Domenichino, Guercino and Albano (Lanfranco is disgusting) are far superior to them - at least they speak more to the heart, or at least mine. I have slid into qualification it seems, but never mind - Guido's Crucifixion for instance, though the heads are inferior, is full of deep feeling and solemnity - you remember this picture don't you? But all his other pictures and those of Domen° and Guercino and Albano in the Pinacoteca are vy poor. All the defects of the Caracci are of course exaggerated in the works of the fellowpupils of these 4 great masters - with hardly one of their merits. It was indeed a school (not one of its members has wholly escaped the stigma) of manufacturers.

My recollections and impressions of the pictures of the Caracci have been confirmed - but I was anxious to visit Bologna in order to examine their frescoes - in these I have been sadly disappointed. The scene of Ludovico's glory is a beautiful octagon court of the convent, now suppressed, of S. Michele in Bosco, a most noble pile - the upper corridor is 427 feet in length! - there are 37 frescoes, representing the lives of S. Benedict and S Cecilia painted by Ludovico and his pupils, from his designs - they are woefully injured and will soon disappear; wch is unfortunate for his fame as they display all the merits of the school, with its defects more latent than elsewhere - still they are but poor productions. Favi and Magnani palaces are more interesting historically, as the scenes respectively where the 3 bold innovators first displayed their new style, threw down the gauntlet to Italy - and by confession even of their enemies carried

the day. In the Magnani palace they painted a frieze with the history of Romulus and Remus - the tale is told with much boisterous vigour and the study of nature is apparent, but that nature is often exaggerated even into bad drawing (at least I think so - I always speak with deference on that point)- the nature copied is coarse - no beauty - a sad want of dignity - the demigod progenitors of the Scipios and /..../* are of potters' clay not granite mere Italian peasants in Roman togas. The chiaroscuro Caryatides (as at S. Michele) are large flat and flabby - one woman worse even than Rubens. The want of invention and poetry is the most sickening thing in the work of this school - it is like eating meat not merely without salt (I can do without that article better than you) but meat from which all the natural salt has been chemically extracted - the residuum is worse than tasteless - poisonous. I liked the friezes of the Favi palace better - they represent the histories of Jason and Aeneas - the same character (want of invention dignity etc) runs through them all, yet some of the scenes being quieter and simpler than those in the P. Magnani pleased me more. One of the rooms in this palace is painted by Cesi, the contemporary and rival of the Caracci; one is thus enabled to compare their respective merits on the spot. But this may be done better by visiting the chapel of the Virgin at the Scuole, entirely painted by Cesi, walls roofs etc with her history and in excellent preservation. He has shown much good taste in the selection of the scenes, the allegorical vignettes (all taken from Solomon's Song) etc, but in the execution alas! what can you expect from an artist who in a picture of the Madonna standing and

* Note: This word is illegible in the Ms.

reading that I saw in the cloister of the Certosa has represented her 8 months gone with child. Pah! Attitudes and affectation - execrable; they show the good the Caracci did by merely returning to nature, prosy as their conception of it was -, anything wd be better than these!

A visit to the University, where Pellegrino Tibaldi painted the ceiling of two rooms with the history of Ulysses tells also in favour of the Caracci, though they were his great admirers and styled him the Michel Angiolo /sic/ Riformato. Never did I see anything so hideous - vast splashy naked meaningless figures - tricks without end and utter vulgarity. And these frescoes are even by modern writers praised to the skies.

And really all the other paintings of which I have gulped quantities deserve little less censure - Calverts, Passerottis /sic/, Sabbatinis, Abates etc: - Innocenzio da Imola /sic/, Bagnacavallo and Aspertini, the pupils of Francia are far more above them than they themselves are below their master - and you who remember what lovely things there are here by Francia will appreciate this estimate. And now that I have named Francia and arrived at the beginning of the 16th centy I feel a little refreshed, as I did while toiling through the gallery or where I chanced to encounter a stray picture even of his son Giacomo in the churches. But his pictures and the single Timoteo (sweet thing) and the single Perugino and Raphael are but <u>drops</u> of comfort in this deluge of inanity - this ocean of gourd-juice, or anything you can imagine more insipid. I really do not think that in the whole collection, barring the pictures painted before 1550, there is one new idea. - But Bologna is acquiring juster notions I fancy; of 4 students whom I found studying

in the gallery, three were copying from Francia's pictures. One of his most beautiful Madonnas has just started, I am sorry to say, for Russia, having been bought by the Emperor from the Ercolani family for 18000 francs! this price I was told by the agent for the sale.

Of the old Bolognese quattrocentisti Lippo Dalmasio or delle Madonne is worthy of his fame - and Vitale also - but Simone dei Crocifissai not: his pictures are the veriest caricatures I ever saw. But the great treasury of Bolognese art is a little country church about half a mile out of town situated on a hill and named S. Maria di Mezzaratta, originally lined from top to bottom with 4 rows of frescoes, by native artists of the 14th century. Many have been destroyed, but the whole story of Joseph is preserved, several compartments of the history of Moses and some too of the New Testament. Various hands are discernible - a peculiar style, rich in ideas, and of remarkable originality distinguishes them all; profiting doubtless by the contemporaneous progress of art in Tuscany, they remain nottheless strictly national, without any apparent influence of the Giottesque either in mind or manner. One 'Jacobus' (whether the same as Jacopo Avanzi or not I am as yet uncertain) has done the greater number of them - a bold original independent painter - his attitudes have often much truth and ease - his colouring is harmonious - his style of O Saviour's head peculiarly mild and holy, and throughout - but especially in the <u>composition</u>, I trace the influence of Nicola Pisano's celebrated bas reliefs in the Arca di S. Domenico; this influence is most marked and very interesting; the Bolognese school and the Florentine thus resemble independent streams flowing into Lombardy and Tuscany from opposite

sides of the Apennines. I spent 2 or 3 delightful hours in this church, climbing up and examining the frescoes with a ladder - and was very much pleased with them. But they have plenty of mechanical faults, and in this respect are far behind the Giottesque school - it is their originality and naivité that lends them their charm. The view from this church but still more so that from S. Michele is lovely - the town lies stretched before you in its whole extent, with its picturesque towers, the vast plains of Lombardy extending to the horizon beyond it - and the breeze wafting the perfume of the acaccia flowers was like the breath of paradise.

Nicola Pisano's arca that I have above alluded to - and which in fact is the earliest monument of art at Bologna is a marvel of beauty and superior to any of his other works; there are 2 little statues attached to it, the work of M. Angelo in his youth - one an angel, the other S. Petronius - the former especially so singularly sweet and graceful that I cannot believe it his.

Forli 22 May

Dear Anne, I resume my pen to give you a brief account of my progress since leaving Bologna on Tuesday last. My route has been Faenza, Forli, Cesena, Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Ancona, Loretto /sic/, and back again to Forli, whence I now address you; tomorrow I proceed to Ravenna, and shall there as you desire, finish this epistle. You must not fancy that I am doing the work negligently, that I appear to get over the ground so rapidly - on the contrary - But travelling alone and never allowing a moment to pass unemployed, it is wonderful how

quickly one gets on - These towns for the most part contain 2 or 3 pictures apiece which it is necessary to see in order to form an accurate judgement of the artist who painted them; very often they establish their claim to a higher rank than their works on the high roads wd indicate. This is the case with Innocenzio of Imola, pupil of Francia, whose Virgin and child, with attendant Saints in the Duomo at Faenza, is infinitely superior to any of his other paintings that I have seen. It is dated 1526 - the influence of Raphael strikes you immediately, but he preserves his originality; the Virgin's face is very sweet and pure, though not quite the virginal idea - it rather resembles that of the Mad[a] di Foligno in the Vatican; her attitude is vy graceful the composition is strictly symmetrical, yet without a particle of stiffness and all the personages are in relation one to the other and to the infant Christ, indicated as the central object by the inscription 'Hic est puer magnus coram Domino' - this will give you an idea how necessary it is to visit these out of the way places. It is a lovely picture. But here at Forli - I have made a <u>discovery!</u> - if not of the name and existence, of the principal work at least of a most deserving painter, Marco Palmirani, a native of the town, and who flourished towards the close of the 15th and during the early years of the 16th centy. It consists of a series of 3 frescoes in the church of S. Jeronimo and unless I am much mistaken in the <u>Cappella Gentilizia</u> or family chapel of the Ordelaffi, the tyrant of the town in the feudal days, and who doubtless employed him to paint them. Like Spagna's at S. Giacomo, they represent the story of S. James of Compostella. The two lower compartments are much injured but the upper one, representing the

miracle of the cock and hen, is in vy good preservation; the composition is beautiful, the figures full of dignity and life, the costumes most picturesque and varied - no two figures are in the same dress - the faces expressive, the attitudes either appropriate in action or characteristic in their repose. And the figures are sketched and touched off with a sort of graceful ease that bespeaks the painter a gentleman. But it is the composition in the upper fresco, wch establishes the painter's claim to a niche in the temple of art, which as yet has been denied him; in some of his figures he reminds me of Benozzo - in the rich picturesque gentlemanly character he resembles Pinturricchio - his perspective is excellent and he has a penchant for rich architecture; in the sitting figures and cherubs on the vault of the chapel he has attempted the foreshortening introduced by Melozzo his townsman and perhaps one of his masters, for he has undergone more than one influence - And now I must tell you how I discovered these frescoes to be his, for neither Vasari, nor his annotator, alludes to them - Valery attributes them to Mantegna and the parish priest told me they were Melozzo's. At first sight you perceive that the painter has inscribed his name on a scroll attached to one of the pillars - I mounted on a bench to read it, saying to myself what fools these doctors must be to differ on a question so easily settled. When imagine my disappointment at finding that some wanton vagabond had carefully erased with a sharp instrument the whole inscription reducing it to the following hieroglyphic or rather blotch . . . . . .

This was rather a puzzler. However I had seen a scroll of similar shape attached to a picture of inferior merit in one of the other churches

and in making the tour of this one I came to another similarly authenticated, a Madonna and child with attendant saints and a gentleman and lady, Ordelaffi probably, kneeling with their two children as devotees in front. I climbed up and standing (I am ashamed to say, only they think nothing of it in Italy and invite you to do so) on the altar, I read with my glass the name 'Marchus Palmirani .... faciebat'. Returning to the frescoes I found that with a trifling exception which I shall revert to presently the words tallied precisely in length, twirligigs etc with those that had been erased. And as for the date, at first I despaired of retrieving it, but on a second visit, carefully examining the vestiges left by the chisel (uuu etc.) intimating that the numerals were round bottomed, calculating the number of letters etc I concluded it must have been MCCCCC 1500. This as it may be - in his notes to Vasari, the editor says that the dates 1513 to 1537 are found on his pictures; I have as yet seen none so specified. Probably these frescoes were done in early youth comparatively for he seems afterwards to have undergone the influence of Francia and this may account for his frescoes having been overlooked and forgotten. There is much resemblance however between the Cherubs in the fresco Vault and those in the most beautiful oil painting that I have seen of his, a Conception of the Virgin in the church of S. Mercuriale, and which I think was painted nearly at the same time, or at least shortly afterwards; Valery attributes it to Innocenzio of Imola, but on a second visit I found Marco's name at full length on a scroll, concealed from view by the ornaments of the altar. In a beautiful landscape, green hills and blue mountains (the relative colours of which are affected by distance he is fond of

representing), the Virgin kneeling in prayer; the H. Spirit descends upon her, while God the Father, surrounded by angels looks down on her from heaven; saints attend on either side. She is extremely sweet pure and virginal both in face and figure - the head of the Almighty is majestic, the cherubs only are too chubby - a word that if you will forgive an etymological conjecture, may be thus legitimately derived, "cherubby, ... chubby". It is perhaps a little stiff at first sight, but altogether takes a strong hold on your heart - the meeting of St. Joachim and S. Anna on the predella is a charming little thing. In another altarpiece in the same Church there is a peculiarly sweet and gentle S. Catherine. Vasari in the brief allusion he makes to one of the pictures (but without a word as to his master) calls him Parmeggiani, and so did the old sacristan of S. Mercuriale, but on the pictures signed by himself it is unquestionably Palmerani. In the scroll however attached to the fresco (see my copy above) the tail of a g (apparently) drops below the line of erasure; this, with the space of about two additional letters, induces me to hint that the name written at length may have been Palmigeranus (see my interlineation) which would naturally abbreviate into Parmigiani, etc etc, as all the world knows (don't laugh) being interchangeable letters. Well, I think our hero owes me thanks for all this trouble I have taken about him. He will certainly obtain a paragraph in my book. But on - and oh - the vandalism of the Forolivienses of the present day - the two lower frescoes are scratched all over by wanton hands, and on revisiting them since returning from Ancona I found a large vicious scratch newly made since I first saw them: on this I felt myself inspired and after speaking

most movingly to the deaf old sacristaness and admonishing her son to be very careful of these precious remains etc etc, seeing the parocchiale sailing down the aisle in full pontifical array I darted out on him and entreated his interference; he was rather startled at first yet very courteous, but I could not get him to feel the iniquity of what had been done - nay the son who was standing by (and whom I strongly suspect of being the culprit - oh that I had the whipping of him) laid the scratch to the door of one of the frates of the church; if that be true, the case is hopeless. But this Forli is as dull a ditch as I ever saw - it has a picture gallery which is only opened to the public once a year; the boy who acted as my cicerone, an intelligent sharp lad enough, had never even heard of it, and after applying in half a dozen quarters for the custode I found that he was gone to Ravenna, keys and all. However I have ascertained since that the picture I wished to see is no longer there. In years gone by they must have been more sensitive to the fine arts, judging from the several really good pictures that exist here. One of these, by Guido, in this same church of S. Jeronima - is one of his most beautiful pictures, the Virgin standing on the moon, her head wreathed with seven stars - hands clasped on her heart, and ascending to heaven in a flood of glory; she is very graceful, but her beauty is merely human - I sd rather say material: Guido never attains that almost celestial beauty of expression which ravishes one in the older masters. The true idea of the Virgin it strikes me (and this implies no concession to the doctrine of her immaculate conception) is that the inward purity and holiness have already almost transformed her outward shape into the soul's essence; the early

Virgins and Saints of Fra Angelico etc. even when doing nothing breathe of heaven in their repose; they are visible incarnations of the beauty of holiness; but those of the later painters are merely beautiful women, or if spiritual are merely so during the special moment of emotion - that past by, no trace of it wd. remain. And Guido's Madas and Sts have another deficiency; they have no intellect. In this respect I prefer Guercino's - his heads are not so beautiful in an animal point of view but in his best there is a depth of moral feeling, an earnestness of purpose and a calm simplicity that speak powerfully to the heart. Of this class is a beautiful picture in S. Filippo Neri, representing the Virgin on her knees praying or rather meditating on a book she is reading, while God the Father looks down on her from heaven and commissions Gabriel to announce her blessed destiny. The idea, like that of Marco's at S. Mercuriale, is a variation of an Annunciation by Francia at Bologna, but Guercino has made it fairly his own; the head of the Almighty is inferior, but that of the Virgin is beautiful - the same type as the St. Margaret in S. Peter in Vincoli in Rome, and which he has constantly repeated - firmness sweetness and purity breathe from her countenance and you exclaim 'A noble creation' - still it is not the idea I plead for as the true one; she is a very noble hearted pureminded woman, susceptible of the loftiest and purest spiritual emotions but not living habitually in them.

But I must be more brief. At Cesena in the Pal-del Comune is an exquisite Francia, the Purification of the Virgin . . . . between Cesena and Savignano I crossed a little streamlet, half a dozen steps only across and yet - the Rubicon! - and about an hour afterwards

arrived at Rimini. Here there is one of the most singular churches I ever met with - originally Gothic, but renewed and coated over in the cinquecento style by Alberti at the command of Sigismund Malatesta, the Signor, who has converted it into a mausoleum for himself, his warriors, learned men and courtiers. The facade (unfinished) is entirely cinquecento - I cannot say I admire it; the sides are formed into lines of arches, 6 on the North, 7 on the South side; under each arch (at least on the S. side) lies the sarcophagus of some one of his adherents - a most motley congregation; the first is a Parmesan poet, the 2d a jurisconsult the 3d a Greek philosopher from Constantinople, the 4th the author of 12 books on the art of war - others are tenanted by captains and warriors; the arms of each are sculptured in a scroll that circulates all round the church immediately below the arches of the sides and the columns of the facade. Inside a singular spectacle presents itself; the pointed roof is concealed by a wooden one in the basilica style - the walls of the nave are covered with pilasters and stuccoes with the pointed arches however of the original Gothic structure peeping out everywhere; each chapel is faced by a cinquecento arch, springing from massive square pillars resting on a brace of elephants (the Malatesta arms) sculptured round and round in very dark coloured marble; the sides of these pillars are covered with sculpture and tracery and pierced with niches, containing statues of sibyls, virtues, sciences etc. while the walls of these chapels are incrusted in every direction with sarcophagi or covered with stuccoes and reliefs. Here and there these sculptures are good - collectively they are but mediocre. But it is the richness and grotesqueness of

the whole structure - the mingling of shields and medallions and tombs, the wooden roof - the uncouth monsters of elephants, the queer effect of the struggle between the pointed and cinquecento architecture, wrestling as it were to make play for this Philistine of a Malatesta, that stampt this church with a character of its own, unlike anything of the sort I ever saw before. Both inside and out it is a type of the intellectual ferment then going on in Italy. What adds to the charm, is that in one of the side chapels is preserved a most living likeness in fresco of the creator of this mass of heterogeneous ideas and materials - Sigismund Malatesta himself; he kneels a youthful figure, seen in profile in red breeches and boots, flowered light jacket, bare-headed and attended by his two favourite dogs - before a grave white-bearded gentleman, wearing a curiously shaped bonnet, and holding a globe in one hand and a sceptre in the other, in every respect more resembling an Emperor than what to my surprise I found he was intended to represent, a Saint - to wit Malatesta's patron, St. Sigismund. Though very stiff, it is beautifully painted and the artist's name and the date are added 'Petri de Borgo opus, 1451' - otherwise Pietro della Francesca, who some years afterwards executed those noble frescoes at Arezzo. In a medallion suspended between the pillar and pilaster to the right is a view of the castle of Rimini built by him in 1446; this castle still exists and is very picturesque. I thought of you as I gazed on it and heaved a sigh to the memory of poor Francesca, though it was not there that she loved too well - but in an other palace now destroyed. A Pietà, by Pietro, presented by Sigismund to this church of S. Francesco and of much merit, is now

in the Gallery of the Comune - In another church at Rimini, that of S. Giuliano is a very curious old picture by one Bitino, dated 1408 and detailing the history of that Saint, or rather of the miraculous voyage of his sarcophagus across the sea to Rimini in a series of thirteen compartments of singular spirit and even beauty. They are well composed, the story is clearly told, the figures have much expression and naivete - the voyage of the sarcophagus, which appears and reappears with its escort of angels, two sitting at its head, the others at its tail (an addition of the painter) and full of poetry. And nothing is known of this artist except his name. The picture is in a sad state of ruin, cracked through and through and covered with thick cobwebs. Without a ladder I cd not have seen it, without my precious Peter de Natalibus I cd not have understood it. The altarpiece of this church by Paul Veronese represents the Martyrdom of the Saint; the colouring is its chief merit, but connoisseurs wd pronounce it exquisite. At Pesaro, the celebrated Coronation of the Virgin by John Bellini, master of Titian and founder of the comparatively modern Venetian school, is a good picture, the Virgin's face pure and sweet - our S's inferior. But his representing this mystic scene in a room is inexplicable and unpardonable.

At Fano, alas! I was sadly disappointed with the celebrated Domenichinos, vaunted as his best works - they represent in a series of frescoes the life of the Virgin; they are ably and workmanly done and certainly exhibit more purity and less display than the Caracci, nor has he except involuntarily as it were fallen into tricks for effect; still they are little better than mere mechanical productions; the Mad[a]

is merely a pretty girl, without dignity - even the grace is not the artless simplicity which is its only allowable substitute; in the Salutation she looks in Elizabeth's face as if she had a pleasant merry secret to impart to her. And there is a singular want of invention in his treatment of the subjects. The later painters abandoning the beautiful old traditional compositions in order to replace them by new and bad ones of their own, fail in giving you that pleasure which even inferior artists of the old school do by reiterating them. In every point of view I sd say that these frescoes of Domenichino are inferior to that of S. Andrew's Flagellation at Rome, his best religious painting that I have seen. His celebrated David, now in the Collegio Nolfi at Fano, is a mere painted model.

Far more beautiful than these are an altarpiece by Perugino in S.M. Nuova and Guercino's Sposalizio at S. Paterniano; the latter is not however one of his very best, yet it grows upon one; in his later pictures he always reaches one's heart; the Perugino is full of grace and sweetness, though the picture itself at least not one of his best. But the Pieta in the lunette above it, and the small subjects in the predella are exquisite - the latter especially, in composition, colouring and general execution resemble the early works of Raphael. A Visitation in the church by the father of Raphael is interesting; you would not look at it twice but for the relationship, yet it has much negative merit; it is simple and free from affectation and mannerism, and looks as if after forming his style under some other master he had latterly imitated Perugino.

From Fano to Ancona the drive lies the whole way and for

several hours along the shore, gradually nearing the beach till at last the waves break within ten or twelve feet of you .....

.... Ancona is not interesting externally only. The Cathedral of S. Cyriaco is one of the most interesting I ever visited - of Byzantine architecture, built at the moment when the Lombards adopted it about the beginning of the 11th century. Its facade is of white marble - its door more recent and I sd think by 2 or 3 centuries; of its 4 arches the innermost is pointed, the outermost nearly if not quite round, and their arches are supported by slender pillars of different coloured marbles while their faces are ornamented with grotesque griffins, monsters etc and small busts of saints and apostles; the door is shaded by a round-arched portico supported by 4 octagonal columns of red stone resting on couchant lions of similar material - absolutely alive! they are full of spirit and fire - masterly both in conception and execution; one of them grasps a ram in his claws - the other a large snake who retaliatingly bites him on the breast. I have seen many scores, hundreds rather, of lions and similar monsters guarding the entrances of churches, but I dont remember ever seeing any like these. I can hardly believe them sculptured in the 13th centy. High up on the facade, on both sides of the portico, ran originally a belt of sculptures in relief so low as to resemble mere outlines; those only to the north of the portico remain; they represent saints martyrs etc with Latin inscriptions and are evidently coeval with the main body of the church. The interior is most characteristic, - three naves - the Greek cross surmounted by a cupola - the North and South wings of the cross raised by several steps above the crypts respectively

beneath them; one of these crypts has been entirely recased with marble and spoilt; the other retains more of its pristine simplicity, and contains a very curious Christian sarcophagus of the 7th or 8th century I sd think, but which I have not space to describe. I shall only mention a beautiful tomb of a knight, immediately to the left on entering the church because you wd have been pleased with it; his name was Francesco Cognomento, a noble of Fermo; he found a possible refuge at Ancona when expatriated by the factions which distracted his native town, and died here aged 40 only, in 1530. He slumbers in his armour, leaning sideways towards the spectator; his head resting on his helmet for a pillow, his left arm thrown carelessly round it, his left lying across his body but firmly in his sleep grasping the rim of the sarcophagus on which he lies.

Guercino's S^{a} Palatia at the nunnery of that Saint is another beautiful picture, yet not one of his very best. Pellegrino's frescoes, in the hall of the Borsa, though hideous enough are not quite so bad as those at Bologna. The facade of this building is of rich Gothic architecture, with the arms of the Comune, a knight in full career, sculptured over the door ..... Trajan's arch is pretty enough when not closely examined, but architecturally considered is corrupt and displeases one by its pinched appearance and narrowness in proportion to its height - a conqueror wd have some difficulty in squeezing through it.

From Ancona to Loretto is a drive of between 3 and 4 hours ..... The facade of the Cathedral is bad but the interior is fine; its form is the Latin cross - the S^{ta} Casa stands directly under the

cupola on a platform elevated by steps above the rest of the pavement; nothing of it however is visible externally being entirely encrusted with a most magnificent coating of Carrara marble. Each side presents an architectural elevation; there is a small door in front and two on each side; a large bas relief (figures 3 or 4 feet high) ranges over each door, and at each extremity of the four walls and in the centre also of each lateral facade, statues of prophets and Sibyls are inserted in niches protected by projecting pilasters. The general effect of this as you may suppose is magnificent, but in detail the sculptures are very inferior; one can hardly believe them of the age of Leo X, the productions of Sansovino, San Gallo and Bandinelli; the purity and simplicity and Christian feeling of Ghiberti and Donatello were not to be expected but they want even the merits of the era which produced them, and are modern in the worst sense of the word - the Virgin without beauty - the compositions scattered and weak - the draperies fluttery, the whole mannered and mechanical. Two or three of the statues, by /Jer/ Lombardi, are rather better. The organ and the chanting were going on gloriously the whole time I was there; canons and priests were gliding about in their white raiment, dignified and important, and one poor woman was wearily crawling on her hands and knees, poor soul, round and round the same shrine like an Indian devotee - I could not help reverting in memory to the different scene in the little church at Nazareth where the Spanish monk showed me the spot whence this S^{a} Casa was transported to Loretto, and afterwards in the simplicity of his heart struck up on the organ first a waltz and afterwards the grand constitutional march of Spain. The chapels are

full of mosaics done at Rome from celebrated pictures - in the Sacristy there is a very pretty picture, attributed to Guido, of the Virgin seated among her young companions in the temple, sewing, chattering etc - she is merely a pretty girl, but there is something very sweet and innocent in this assembly of young things.

- But in the Farmacia of the S^{a} Casa is - a series of above a hundred - gallipots - which would have excited the rapture of my maternal great grandmother, a great amateur of old china. They are of what is called Raffaelle ware and on each a scene is represented from the Bible or profane history and mythology - composition and execution alike execrable, but they are the finest specimens of the manufacture I believe existing. They were presented to the S^{a} Casa by a Duke of Urbino. They always speak of the S^{a} Casa here as of a living being - among its more important possessions in the whole rich vale between Loretto and Monte Cornero. The back of the Duomo, as I have already said, is more worth seeing than the front; the transepts and the East end are built externally in the shape of lofty semi towers of brick, 4 or 5 clustering together for each transept, with a beautiful overhanging cornice ..... And now adieu till I resume my pen with my promised account of Ravenna.

Ravenna, May 24

I really feel puzzled dearest Anne, how to begin my account of this place. With its external appearance I am woefully disappointed - I think I never saw a town in Italy with so little character - there are no handsome piazzas, no loggias, no towering palazzos - the middle ages have past by without bequeathing it a trace of their domestic

architecture; you might drive through the city without a suspicion of the treasures that lurk unsuspectedly, cooped up in its recesses. And I must add that with one or two exceptions, even the buildings of most interest internally, do not present a very picturesque outside, - that the round steeples peculiar to Ravenna are far inferior in beauty to those of the Lombards which give such character to Rome - and lastly that even as respects the mosaics, though they are highly interesting, I have only seen one or two comparable in beauty to those in the eternal city. I had fancied them far superior. The environs are flat and ugly - the Pineta is five miles off; in short Ravenna has but little to interest any one except the architect and antiquarian. What could induce Lord Byron to settle here (for his acquaintance with C. Guiccioli was not the cause, but the result, if I recollect right, of his settlement) I cannot conceive. I never saw a place in Italy in which religion seems so little thought of - the churches are dirty and neglected - and even while the services are going on scarcely a soul is to be seen in them; my cicerone talked as loud as the priest at the altar. Certainly I have never yet met with an individual instance of cool profanity like what occured to Coutts and me at Naples when the verger of a Dean Swift who was officiating to empty benches came to talk to us at the door of the church, interjecting his responses in a loud voice whenever required, but without breaking the continuity of his discourse to us. But thus much premised and that not a particle of Byzantine influence seems to have survived the fall of the Exarchate (I feel much relieved by this grumble) a visit to Ravenna is indispensable to form an accurate idea of the architecture of Christian art of the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th

centuries - in this point of view the city is full of interest. Almost all the churches date from that period and the tombs scattered through them carry the history of sculpture through the entire period of the darker ages. Of these churches the most interesting are the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia daughter of /Theodosius/ the great and mother of Valentinian III - now dedicated to St. Nazaro and Celso, built in 440; the Baptistry, in 451, St. Vitale, 553; S. Apollinare di dentro, 470 /sic/ - and S. Apollinare in Classe, 567 /sic/ - and lastly the tomb of Theodoric the Goth. The fragment of wall shewn as the remains of his palace is evidently of Lombard construction and probably belonged to that of the Exarchs. The round campaniles are quite plain externally, and of the same thickness all the way up, and present the singularity of the small, narrow windows multiplying in proportion to the height at which they are pierced, - Galla Placidia's mausoleum though small is very interesting, being built in imitation of a subterranean chapel of the catacombs; its form is that of the Greek cross surmounted by a cupola, under which 4 small windows admit light; the sarcophagus of the princess, her brother, the Emperor Honorius, and of her second husband Constans, stand in the three arms of the cross, and the cupola, sidewalls and vaults throughout are encrusted with mosaics. One of these, in the lunette over the entrance door is very elegant; it represents our Saviour as a youth (the genius as it were of Christianity, not Himself in the character of the Good Shepherd) standing in a green meadow, surrounded by sheep, all looking towards him as "hearing his voice", while he feeds one of them with his right hand, and bears the cross in his left. Our S. carrying the lost sheep on his shoulder

is one of the commonest subjects in the catacombs and on the ancient tombs at Rome; I have not met with it here. Other of the mosaics here represent Vases full of Water and birds perched on the rim drinking - the shape evidently copied from the beautiful mosaic now in the Vatican - this typifies the thirsty soul drinking the Water of life. Similarly stags drink at a brook founded on the well known ~~conpanion~~ comparison in the 42[d] psalm. Once having alluded to mosaics and tombs I may as well remind you that the system of symbolical representation in art in the early centuries embraced the whole Christian faith, and thus expressed dogmas and indicated personages of whom it was considered impious to depict the actual lineaments. Thus the vine, the palm tree stood for Christ, the living Saviour - the cross indicated his death; it was not till the 6th or 7th century that he was represented bodily upon it; sometimes he is represented as a lamb enthroned and bearing a cross - at others as standing on a hillock, from the roots of which flow 4 rivers, denoting the 4 Evangelists, or in the centre of an arch with the 12 Apostles as twelve sheep, 6 on each side, looking towards him. The peacock, to which the idea of the phoenix was attached typified the resurrection, and the initial letter of five Greek words implying 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour' forming collectively the word IXΘUS, Ichthys, the outline of a fish (icthys) became one of Christ's symbols, and latterly his image and afterwards the Madonna's (and even St. Francis's and St. Dominic's) were enclosed in a glory so shaped - a practice that you may remember Perugino and other artists of that period preserved till late in the 16th century. A hand issuing from the clouds indicated

God the Father - the Dove as we all know the H. Ghost. Hope derives most of these emblems from the Greek mythology, but I think there is no doubt that they were all suggested by the Oriental metaphors so universally employed in the Bible. These symbols and others too numerous to relate occur wherever monuments of early Christianity exist; many are seen at Rome, gentle enough for anyone to form an idea of the system, but here they occur to profusion. The system extends (I have intended to express this all along) into the Mosaics - I observed a remarkable exemplification of it this afternoon in the beautiful mosaic of the tribune in S. Apollinare in Classe; the Transfiguration is represented by a cross extended within a starry circle, in the central point of which is inserted, like a gem, a minute portrait of our Saviour; a hand issues from a cloud above it, pointing downwards; Moses and Elias, half figures, float on thin nebulae on either side, and below, in a green meadow among flowers and trees, stand three sheep, ie. the 3 Apostles, gazing up towards the cross. This system undoubtedly is but a poor substitute for painting or sculpture with all their variety of attitudes, play of countenance, etc but their compositions (especially one or two at Rome) appeal very powerfully to one's imagination and indeed affect one more than direct representations of the same ideas would, at a period when the arts of design had sunk to such a low ebb. They are hieroglyphics, of deep and spirit-stirring import when you have learnt to interpret them. The Apocalypse I s[d] add is the great repertory from which this system of symbols has been gathered; but in fact the spirit both of allegory and of parallelism which respectively animated the 2 first episodes of Christian art,

pervades the whole Bible.

The Baptistery, otherwise S. Giovanni in Fonte, is a most interesting building, - octagonal - the cupola displaying in mosaic the Baptism of Christ - with the singular adjunct of the river god, "Jordanin", with his urn, attending to hold our Saviour's robe while the ceremony takes place. In a similar mosaic, a century later, in S. Maria in Cosmedin, the Arian Baptistery, the river God is represented seated and apparently on the opposite bank, the river being confined within a very narrow channel; we thus approximate very closely (an angel being merely substituted for the god) to one of the traditional Byzantine compositions, which the greatest Italian painters reiterated as late as the 16th century - The heathen idea of introducing river Gods, have been preserved in mosaic at Rome as late as the 13th century - Both these mosaics are good, and the river god in S.M. in Cosmedin is evidently copied from some ancient statue. But those in the small chapel in the Abp's palace, executed in 449, and which I ought to have mentioned before, are still more beautiful, the faces more pleasing, the workmanship more finished. They are merely heads of Our Saviour and his apostles and sainted servants; the traditional portrait of S. Peter and S. Paul already appear here but O. Saviour's is the young face, not the type. That the likeness however handed down to us is really his I think there is strong reason to believe.

Still more interesting than these last-named churches, I mean architecturally, is the basilica of San Vitale, round without and octagonal within; built by Justinian nearly at the same time as S. Sophia. The effect of the interior is singular and beautiful; eight noble arches, very

lofty in proportion to their width rise unbroken from the ground as high as the spring of the cupola, while within each of them, but circling backwards, three smaller intermediate arches, each throwing forward a conch or shell, are interspersed; the capitals are square and sculptured with branches and basketwork. The presbytery-tribune are entirely lined with mosaics; the most interesting are two that represent the consecration of the church by Justinian and his empress Theodora. The attitudes in these are full of dignity, but the countenances poor.

S. Apollinare di dentro, another basilica, was built for the Arians in 570 - its exterior is one of the few picturesque ones here, the line of the outer court is marked by a row of stones, where probably the wall originally ran; a small cross rises in the centre - the northern or portico end which the catechumers were not allowed to transgress, is supported by narrow pillars, while to the right rises the round campanile. It is a pretty group, but memory veers fondly back to the superior beauty of S. Lorenzo on the road to Tivoli, as in the interiors I find myself constantly reverting to S. Clemente, S. Agnese, even S.M. Maggiore and the other primitive churches of Rome. The mosaics of S. Apollinare are however its chief interest; they run along the walls of the nave in two rows - the upper on the left hand side, represent various miracles of our S^{vr}. and are not of much merit; the lower representing a procession, of male saints on the right, and females on the left, who advance towards our Saviour, and the Virgin and child, who sit enthroned at the respective extremities of the two walls, next the altar. The ladies are preceded by 3 kings, presenting their offerings to Christ. But the most interesting thing is, that the gentlemen

issue from the Palace of Theodoric, an accurate view of it, designated as such by the word 'Palatium', inscribed in large letters over the door; it is a large building, the facade supported by 4 Corinthian pillars, between which curtains are suspended, as at Villa Torregiani. - The basilica of S. Vitale (so says the Guide - it certainly is a basilica) with its portico similarly shaded, is distinguishable beside the palace; on the opposite wall is represented the port of Ravenna, named Classis - now filled up with earth brought down by the rivers and the sea has been thus staved off 3 miles. I visited it today - the spot is marked by another ancient basilica - the one where the mosaic transfiguration is which I have already described - I will not trouble you with a description of the others, merely adding that they are among the most beautiful I have seen. Along the nave too are ranged a line of ancient sarcophagi of the Archbishops from the 6th to 8th century, covered with symbolical sculpture.

Lastly I must try and describe you Theodoric's tomb, now S. Maria Rotunda, supposed to have been built by his daughter. None of the monuments of Ravenna have given me so much pleasure. It is outside of the city; leaving the gates and driving through a pleasant lane, we suddenly struck off into an avenue of poplars, waving with long green grass, over which we rolled so smoothly that I felt like a bird on the wing. The mausoleum is round and elevated on an octagonal basement supported by round arches, now half immersed in water - a flight of steps, modern, leads to the door - the interior though consecrated by an altar is quite plain and simple and save by a few apertures like portholes receives light only from the entrance - the roof, don't be

startled, 34 feet in diameter, is of one solid stone, between 3 and 4 feet thick, hollowed out so as to form a cupola. Outside the enormous rings or hooks left in hewing it for insertion of the levers that were to lift it to its place, have been left, unsmoothed, and give a rough craggy character to the building - What a Grand Gothic idea - dropping a cupola ready hewn from the sky! I felt the old sensation revive which I used to experience in my wanderings in Egypt and Syria, at Istanbul and Baalbec - the building has a sort of rocklike solidarity and grandeur - though strong and compact as ever, the grass tufts itself between the stones and waves freely as if on the mountain side. And all was so still and quiet - the tinkling of sheepbells, the song of birds, the hum of insects, and the contadino's intermitted lilt from the distant field, all contributed to heighten a delight which I own the drive (so unexpected) over the soft green grass first awakened in me. And then it was the tomb of Theodoric the Gothic!

Another tomb, most interesting, but of a very different personage, is - Dante's! There too I felt some commotion at the thought of standing in such close proximity to his remains. It is quite unworthy of him - a small modern chapel-like cell - the sarcophagus with a wretched inscription in rhyming Latin half-imbedded in the wall like an altar, with an indifferent bas relif portrait behind it - And it is kept locked up, the keys in the custody of a liveried lacquey of the government - it ought to be exposed to open day like Petrarch's at Arquà.

In painting I cannot say that Ravenna is rich, unless the frescoes in S. Maria di Porto fuori are really Giotto's; if so, and there are

certain points about them which induce me to think they are, they are not of his best time: of other painters the only really beautiful things I have seen are of my friend Marco Palmirani in the collection of Count Cristino Rasponi; one represents our Saviour attended by 2 Saints, standing on a pedestal and blessing - a beautiful picture dated 1524 - the other a Christ bearing his cross, the head full of sweetness and resignation. In the Academy by the bye is preserved one of the most beautiful sepulchral effigies I ever saw - that of Rondinello Rondinelli of Ravenna, a celebrated knight, surnamed Braccio Forte; I could hardly tear myself away from it! He lies on a sort of bed of marble, stretched on his back, in complete armour, his spurs lying beside him his sword lying between his legs, the crossbelt resting on his breast, and his gauntleted hands crossed over it - the visor up, and the head falling gently on one side - a pale thin rather intellectual and very resolute countenance - he must have died in the prime of life; the idea and whole form is full of chivalry, and in execution is the work of a master.

You will laugh when I tell you I went to look at the house where Byron lived (my cicerone had been his servant) and also the Pal Guiccioli - but you will end with a sigh when I add that this evening I drove to the Pineta or pineforest, which supplied timber for the ships of Augustus that fought at Actium and those of the Venetians which conveyed the crusaders to Palestine. Valery justly styles it the most historical forest in Europe. And it is romantically interesting too, for, independent of being alluded to by Dante, it was there that the awful chase took place of the cruel lady by her demon lover, Cavalcanti,

which induced the foresaid Honoria to relent in favour of Theodora - you remember the story - Dryden has verified it from Bocaccio, and I took the volume with me - it is classic ground to a Briton. You drive through broad dreary swamps over a causeway carried for about a couple of miles beyond S. Apollinare in Classe - a more dismal scene I never witnessed - but great was the change in entering the wood and driving into its recesses. I reached a spot very satisfactorily answering to Dryden's description - and easily persuaded myself that the infernal chase wd pass that way, if at all - However I had not time to wait for it - The pines are very noble, and the ground is covered with brushwood - all sorts of wild woodland notes were ringing around me from the sweetest songster /chord/ to the hoarse occasional croak or caw, and though I cannot say that "The winds within the grieving branches played, And dancing trees a mournful music made," (for the evening was still and close) there was notwithstanding a low continuous murmur in the trees, a voice in the woods hardly audible, but still a whisper. After standing about for half an hour very enjoyably, my cicerone came up, having taken fright lest I should lose myself, and destroyed all the pleasure of my solitude - I therefore returned to the carriage and drove home. Solitude I mean, relatively to <u>him</u> - I felt the want of you and James, dear A. and the pleasure was thus much qualified by my solitude . ...Bologna, 26 May. A thousand thanks, dearest James, for your kind letter and for all your solicitude about me, and also for the admission that I am in a fever - If so, remember I am no longer responsible - this is a great relief. But seriously you must not think

I disregard your advice and opinion either as regards the extent of my journey or my proposed work. A word or two in reference to both - I thought indeed on first reading your letter that you had taken fright on the perusal of mine from Florence giving a sketch of my plan - but from comparison of dates I see you cannot have received it at the time you wrote. A very few words only - and first as regards the extent of my journey. Dear James I cannot fairly or conscientiously speak of art as I wish to do without having won the right of expressing my opinions by personal inspection of the several documents from which only general conclusions can be drawn. Now these lie scattered at great distances, some at one, some at the other extremity of Europe, and the great advantages of visiting them in rapid succession as I now propose doing are these - that, first, filled as my mind is at present with the subject, a thousand comparisons, arguments and considerations thus start into light which if distant intervals of time elapsed between my journeys wd never be awakened; and secondly, that I thus complete a survey of these works, relatively one for the other by the same light and judge them by the same standard, which will tell much for the unity of my book, most similar estimates reflecting the opinions of several shocks in the tastes of those who have furnished them, and hence being incongruous and inconsistent. Then as regards the length of my book and your fears that the result of my explorations will be that of running into minutie - really I don't think it will be so. You did not find my Lindsay Lives too minute and yet those two thin volumes cost me years of painful research, which I fairly confess might have been better employed. ..... I had material enough to write a Lindsay

history in 2 volumes folio, and yet I have contracted it to two octavo. I can say nearly as much with reference to the Letters on Egypt - the journals from which I wrote them were 5, nay ten times as voluminous. On the contrary, knowledge of minutie is more necessary in order to write short than to write long. Your idea of what I wish my work to be is precisely mine - we are certainly en rapport - that the skeleton leaf I sent you looks bony and intricate I grant, but when I have breathed life into it and interwoven it with green, the minuter reticulations will disappear except to very close inspection and I trust it will dance lightly and whisper merrily on the bough. ....

Appendix 6 (see Chapter VI)

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay Rovigo 3 June 1842

Dearest Anne - I am averted here for want of horses, an Austrian archduke having pre-engaged them all; and I must have patience therefore till tomorrow morng', when 4 hours will take me to Padua. The inn here is very tolerable, and I have been amused with a Strangers' book full of absurdities, not the least of which are the encomiums which all travellers seem to consider themselves bound to lavish on the waiter, a certain Angelo, whom even a gentleman characterises as an "angel" - while Lady Araminta Pendleton and "Miss Sarah Brown" profess to have found him "devoted and loverlike without being presuming". The minion brought me sour milk for tea and when I bade him change it swore it was "freschissimo". Such praise so exclusively bestowed is a libel on the rest of Italy where courtesy meets one at every turn and in every walk of life. But I mean to avail myself of this stoppage to give you some account of my proceedings since leaving Bologna, more especially as tomorrow I approach an entirely new school of art, that of Venice and Padua, - I wish to clear off old scores first. Since my last was written I have done Modena, Parma, Mantua and Ferrara; but as you would not thank me for a mere catalogue raisonné of individual pictures I will merely enumerate the principal objects and sketch the results to which they lead me, thus answering those questions which I think you w^{d} naturally ask in reference to my present enquiries!

At Modena there is nothing of interest except the beautiful Cathedral, the Francia and two or three other pictures in the Ducal Collection. Among the latter however I noticed, under a repitition by Giorgione of the portrait commonly named the Fornarina in the Tribune, the letter V inscribed by the artist's own hand; this I think goes far to confirm Longhi's theory (in his notes to Quatremère's life of Raphael) that the Florentine portrait represents Vitoria Colonna. He grounds it on the following considerations - that the portrait in question does certainly not represent the Fornarina of Raphael who (as the genuine portrait by G. Romano at Rome proves) was a much less lofty looking personage; indeed it was only so christened arbitrarily, in the course of last century; - that it has every appearance of being a production of the Venetian school, and (specially) of Sebastian del Piombo; - and that Sebastian was constantly employed by M. Angelo to colour his designs; that M. Angelo, Vittoria's dear friend, mentions in one of his sonnets having taken her likeness - though no such likeness is known to exist by his hand; that, finally, an ancient but very inferior print represents her nearly in the same attitude as the picture in question. Theories in general are like the visionary steps on which heroes of enchantment mount into the clouds, but I think these arguments of Longhi's, afford firmer footing than usual as far as they go - I grant they tend to no definite conclusion and you stand at the top peering to the right and left with thick darkness around you - But surely my precious Initial is like the ring which Alciphron the Epicurean laid hold of after a similar ascent and which after a little buffeting of the wind and storm landed him safely on terra firma -

what think you? I cant tell you what pleasure it gives me to think that I have ascertained this point, for often and often have I grumbled at that noble creature (the Florentine portrait I mean) being so misnamed and I have a devoted love for Vittoria's memy - did you ever meet with her poems? They are as pure and lofty in mind and heart as Lady F. Hastings - deeper and more concentrated in feeling (being either in praise of or lamentation for her husband) but less airily graceful and imaginative than our poor martyred cousin's. This will be pleasing news too for Jean - whose request that I sd seek out her portrait poems etc in Italy directed my attention to them; I had previously only known her by reputation. Yes, in spite of there bg so little to interest one in the architectural and école mystique line, I shall look back on Modena with great interest as the scene of their discovery - for I am determined to consider it one.

Parma on the contrary is a treasury of ancient art - independently of the Correggios - A large bas relif of the Deposition from the Cross, dated 1178, by Antelami, the architect both of the Baptistry and the Cathedral, is a very remarkable production - Still more so are the ancient frescoes in the Baptistry, a beautiful structure, octagonal without and 16 sided within; the vast ribs, springing directly from the ground, shoot up and meetg in the centre of the vault, give it a singular air of majesty. The upper zones carried horizontally round the interior are painted by Greco - Italian artists of the 13th century, the principal compositions representing the life of S. John the Baptist; they are in excellent preservation, vy nearly as when first painted; Byzantine influence is evident in the style of composition and

execution, and several of the compositions resemble the traditional ones yet varied, so as to show that the painter was not a mere servile copyist: they are full of life and vivacity. The lower compartments are also painted in fresco, but at a later period and want their life and energy. Next in antiquity to these paintings are the frescoes by two chapels in the Duomo, one unwhitewashed about 3 years, the other 6 months ago. I examined them minutely, and the time was very well bestowed. One represents the histories of St. Andrew, St. Catherine, and S. Christopher - the other that of S. Sebastian. The wretched description that has been published of the former ascribes them to Parmesan artists, but I have not a doubt that both chapels are the work of the old Bolognese school, whose frescoes I described to you at Mezzaratta - that the former is painted by 'Jacobus' - the same reddish colouring, similar expression and study of nature and bold fearless foreshortenings being observable here, with traces however of subsequent study and observation of the other cotemporary schools - while I think it not impossible that the history of St. Sebastian may be the production of "Lorenzo", a somewhat later painter who also worked at Mezzaratta; this series too has much merit, though the artist has not the same daring originality as 'Jacobus', or so much individuality; but the conception of the character is admirable; his figure, his air, his countenance - it is not that of extreme youth, but that of the firm resolute manhood of the Christian soldier. St. Christopher's story in the other chapel is less happily treated; indeed it would be next to impossible to do justice in a painting to a legend so absurd that one can hardly avoid the belief that it was invented as a quiz upon the

ordinary lives of the Saints. That the arrow shot at him should have remained suspended in the air or glanced aside without hurting him, is just what one might naturally expect - there is nothing very out of the way in this, but to add that when the King Dagnus tried his hand at it, the arrow he shot suddenly turned, flew back and hit him in the right eye, is an exquisite stroke, no less so S. Christopher's proceeding to tell him that if after his martyrdom he would have the goodness to apply a little of his blood to his eye as an ointment he w^d recover his sight - the king of course immediately puts him to death with every aggravation of torment - a Bishop applies the blood - he recovers his sight and immediately becomes a Christian. Many a hearty laugh have I had over my precious Peter de Natalibus, but S. Xtopher's story beats them all - it wd. make a most delightful poem in the Bernesque* or ludicrous style.

But you will be impatient to hear what impression Correggio has made upon me. I fully grant that he is not to be duly estimated except at Parma - I must at the same time protest that those excellencies in which he is certainly unrivalled are of the subordinate kind. His management of light is unrivalled - his colouring exquisite - his children and little angels graceful in the extreme; but to this pursuit of grace he sacrifices everything else - That grace is at best material - often runs into affectation; not merely in forced and inappropriate action but even in the expression of countenance; and as for spiritual or even lofty feeling he seems never to have dreamt of it after his early youth; his apostles and saints are mere models; his Madonnas and infant Christs mere mamas and babs such as walk this earth at all

~~* Note. This word is illegible in the Ms. It appears to be "Bernesque" (sic).~~

times, and in all climes and countries. With one or two exceptions, saints executed in his youth, and I wd especially mention the Martyrdoms of St. Maurus, a picture of singular beauty and expression, - not one of these pictures elevate the mind; and in none of them does strong religious feeling speak to the heart; with all their merits they are cold and unimpressive in a moral point of view - they are not painted by one whose heart was in the subject - they are wanting in sincerity. Such is the effect of being preoccupied (not prejudiced) by Fra Angelico, Perugino, and the early purity of Raphael. It is <u>not</u> prejudice, - but where the empyrean is in view and the throne of God, who that aspires to that presence w^{d} stop short at the planets or fixed stars!

"But what do you say of the Cupola?" I hear James ask - It is marvellous I reply, and deserves the highest praise on many considerations. The idea, to begin, is glorious; - the host of Saints forming as it were a circular wreath through which the Virgin soars up, up, up, in solitary glory to heaven; while below, the apostles and angels are seated on clouds all around - And not only is the Virgin herself soaring upwards, but the whole wreath of saints is soaring upwards after her, though not so quick - theidea of upward motion is wonderfully conveyed - theheads of the angels are often exquisitely lovely, and there is a glory of light diffused through the whole composition, and the lights and shades are so well distributed, massing the different groups, that it fills one with delight. Yes, as a whole it is a grand idea and grandly bodied forth - it was just the subject for Correggio and I doubt if any other painter who ever lived could have executed this peculiar subject in a similar locale, so well. But when

you come to dissection and details, all is display and attitude, legs and arms kick[g] in any direction and more legs than bodies, so that it was not untruly though unkindly objected even in his lifetime that he had served up "a hash of frogs" - immense muscular exhibitions, and drapery massive and heavy rather than grand; one is rather glad the figure of the Virgin is no longer recognisable. (I described the idea as regards her, not the actual visibility) for her countenance (judging by comparison with that of his other Virgins, whenever he has attempted to give her an expression higher than that of the mere mother) wd have disappointed me - most likely however only the tip of her nose or the bottom of her chin was originally visible. I had the advantage of examing this cupola from the temporary platform thrown out from the spring of the vault for the accomodation of the artists who are making a complete copy of it for M. Louisa. The cupola of S. Giovanni representing the Ascension of our Saviour, an earlier work of Correggio, is more Michaelangelo-ish than the Assumption - terribly attitudinal and muscular, and the Saviour is a vast sprawling figure sadly deficient in dignity of attitude and loftiness of expression. Nothing of these affectations is visible in a series of frescoes, his earliest work at Parma, in a vaulted chamber belonging to the suppressed convent of St. Paul's - they were executed for his patroness the Abbess, and represent, in lunettes, various mythological figures, copied or imitated from Greek gems and medals; some of these are vy pure, simple, and graceful; still there is no rivalling the ancients on their own ground. The little cupids too above each lunette are beautiful. The strongest proof of the falsity of Correggio's principles, is the

development they received in the works of his pupils; this test may indeed be applied almost universally. His famous picture of St Jerome, as it is called, or rather of the Holy Family, in w^ch that saint is an accessory, is a key to their degeneracy; the silly unmeaning smile on the Virgin's cheek, her simple womanhood, and the mere babyhood of the infant Saviour (a bab too with a particularly ugly mouth) the unmeaning giggle of the Angel and the want of dignity and simplicity altogether, are the epitome of what is so disgusting in the Parmigianinos, Mazzualas etc - the bud of the rank marygold which no one preoccupied with the sweet sovereignty of the rose can swear allegiance to. And yet the light of the sunniest Italian sky is shed so glowingly over this picture as to warm one's inmost being - a soft brilliancy which witches one into a momentary oblivion of truth and principle - a momentary belief that you are gazing on a vision of Calypso's isle. What trials of faith one has to go through in this pilgrimage through the Terra Santa of Art! As for the said pupils I can only say that the toil through the gallery is infinitely more painful than at Bologna; the Caracceshi are affected and attitudinal it is true, but their affectation is manly - the Parmesan is effeminate and sickening; Ludovico's strapping figures in the two pictures by him in this gallery, prosaic as are the heads, still - with their firm manly head, noble drawing etc stamp their neighbours with punyhood - Ideas, I should add, are even rarer at Parma than at Bologna. Two or three single pictures in the gallery - a beautiful Francia, two excellent Cima da Conegliano's, a Carpaccio and a Bellini, make amends for the Parmigianos.

You w[d] be amused, dear A-- seeing me on my explorations - the laquais perhaps following me, as at Modena, with the large folio De Natalibus under his arm - gloves I have long discarded - and as for being stared at I have long grown callous to it, - the other day while making my notes of the sculptures outside the Cathedral at Modena I had about 20 people round me; sometimes the priests come to see what I am about - I always make a civil observation and then take no further notice of them and they generally soon go. The people take me for a queer fish, I fancy, but I don't care for that. The ciceronis too dont know what to make of me - I have regularly to break them in; it takes about an hour to do so generally - a quick curt yet courteous manner answers my purpose admirably, and I never allow myself to be diverted from my object. As for the custodes, they get terribly weary, cough, or rattle their keys, all to no purpose - I remain quite callous till they sit down in despair or resignation. Sometimes rather ludicrous incidents happen. The other day, intensely occupied with a picture in the choir of a church, I advanced into the middle of it; whether or not the stalls were filled with the canons before I entered, or whether they took their places while I was standing there in a state of abstraction, I know not, but you may imagine the start it gave me, the whole assembly suddenly bursting out into full chant, within 10 feet of me - believing myself <u>alone.</u> And I did not even blush. In short pro tempore my character seems totally changed, and I have become one of the most confident, self possessed, determined men of action in Europe. I see you smile - but I find myself every hour doing things for which, even when Coutts

and Colin were with me, I could not, even with the support of their presence, have mustered confidence. I can't express to you how refreshing and delightful the singing and chanting and organplaying is in the Churches while I am at work. The ciceronis too contribute to my amusement; they form quite a class-- and one of their most absurd peculiarities is their way of mixing up French with their Italian. All of them interpolate single words and some whole phrases. The language of the people, even of the middle classes, is quite a patois; the moment you cross the Appenines you exchange the soft open vowelly terminations for the harsh clipped portcullis speech of the north, and the language becomes a mere jargon.

I visited Mantua from the wish of fairly testing Julio Romano. All my impressions of him are confirmed; he is a coarse material painter, disqualified, both by his natural character and the society in which he lived, to excel in any line of art. The voluptuousness of Greece was refined and elegant, and similar qualities are stamped on her productions, but that of Italy and especially of Rome under Leo X was gross in the extreme and a corresponding character attaches itself to his, Giulio's: to contemplate the antique ideal was not sufficient to counteract the coarse modern <u>positive</u> atmosphere in which he lived. Let any one wishing to know what the atmosphere was read Cellini's Memoirs and he will no longer wonder at the difference between Giulio and Fra Angelico - they explain the degeneracy of art. Moreover to me at least mythological subjects are almost universally displeasing as rendered by modern artists; they never come up (even Raphael in the Farnesina or Correggio in S. Paolo) to the airy grace of the Greek

gems. The vicious ultimate tendency of G. Romanos principles (they are those indeed of Raphael's later frescoes in the Vatican) is illustrated by his Fall of the Giants in the Palazzo del Te, and in the works of his pupils in the different churches, some of which are beyond conception horrible. There is one exception, that most lovely figure of Innocence in the Ducal Palace, washing her hands in water from heaven. If he designed this figure it is his masterpiece - and whence is the idea after all? from the Bible! There is something very interesting in the old palace of the Gonzagas. But you must remember it well. Do you recollect how we repeopled it with Crichton and the gay scenes of former days - 3 years ago? Another cause for my revisiting Mantua was the wish of seeing the frescoes of Mantegna in the Ufficio Notarile, another dependency of the palace: they are portraits of the Gonzagas, in family groups - large as life and in the costume of the time; 2 or 3 of the heads have some dignity, but the majority are ugly and vulgar. Yet all are truthful and full of character - naked truth seems the distinguishing merit of Mantegna. In his little angels you see the master of Correggio - the source I should rather say from which his style originally derives.

My journey across country, or rather along the banks of the Po to Ferrara, was rather an amusing one. It is a postroad but seldom travelled; a carriage had not passed they told us at one of the stations for eight months; their awkwardness in putting to the horses, evidently bespeaking want of practice - the ineffectual effort of the postillions to blow their horns, and when they succeeded, the extra-ordinary row they produced - kept me in continual laughter. At the

Roman barrier the official could not read the passport and made his men write down our names and descriptions for him; at the dogana the inspector was very drunk and we lost about half an hour, during which by the way of exhibiting his French he would say nothing except 'Je suis un âne - je suis un âne et pire d'un âne, over and over again. Leaving Mantua the roads were bordered by acacias in flower - the loveliest green imaginable; where 2 or 3 were gathered together they formed studies for a painter; the oxen and carts and long roads used by the contadini were quite Virgilian. The road is carried almost the whole way along the Po, on a high raised causeway; the ground being very marshy on either side; it was a curious sensation, while imperceptibly crossing the river on the flying bridge, the bells on the opposite side becoming first audible and then gradually broader and louder in tone. I did not reach Ferrara till midnight - the evening was very lovely - brilliant stars and the fireflies flitting along merrily - the continual croacking of frogs mingling with the sweetest song of the nightingales.

I am glad I determined on including Ferrara in my round of explorations, for in truth I had undervalued the merits of her artists whose works as seen in Rome and elsewhere are very inferior. But such is frequently the case in Italy, and hence the incumbency on any one wishing as I do to form an impartial and just estimate of the different schools, to visit each on its native soil. There seem to have been two distinct epochs in Ferrarese art - two schools - the elder, the spirit of which was allegorical and dramatic, marked by a peculiar whitish colouring, and headed by Cosme Tura and Lorenzo

Costa; the latter strictly religious, rich and glowing in colouring, and headed by Mazzolino and afterwards Garofalo. Cosme the leader of the elder school was a pupil of Mantegna, but seems, though he drew copiously on the ancient mythology for his inventions, to have studied nature in preference to the antique. His pictures in the Duomo and elsewhere are nothing very particular, but in the Schifanoja, a deserted palace of the D'Estes in one of the grass-grown suburbs of Ferrara, a large hall was discovered 2 or 3 years ago, entirely covered with frescoes which have been adjudged on very probable grounds to his pencil. They were executed shortly after the middle of the 15th Century, and represent the months of the year from March to I think September - the rest are destroyed. Each perpendicular section of the wall is divided into horizontal compartments; the central one exhibits the dominant sign of the Zodiac, with sundry allegorical figures; - the upper the Deity who presides over the months, drawn in a triumphal car by the birds, beasts, and fishes sacred to him, while groups to the right and left in various occupations designate its peculiar pursuit or amusement. But the lower series is by far the most interesting, as it furnishes a sort of Daguerrotype representation of the every-day life of an Italian prince of the 15th century, Borso d'Este, to wit, who figures in every one of them; here a crowd of his courtiers (all portraits) await his coming out of his palace - there you see him conversing with his friends, receiving petitions, giving money to a buffoon - here he rides out hawking falcon on wrist - there he follows the chase with his hounds - or looks on at the public donkey and horse races he set agoing to amuse the people - or takes a quiet ride into the

country. They are really worth a dozen volumes of chronicles, and have a dramatic charm about them which is irresistible. I don't remember Borso's history, but his large double chin and good humoured face seem to augur well for the happiness of his subjects! The heads throughout are not very elevated or beautiful, but full of truth and life - in this respect resembling Mantegna's - a richness of ideas and copious fancy, similar (in degree) to Benozzo's animate the whole series, rendering them among the most amusing and pleasing that I have met with. I should not wonder if Cosme had undergone the influence of Florence as well as that of Padua. Borso seems to have had neither wife or daughter - he walks or rides alone, 'a solitary fly' (though like Gray rather of the bluebottle genus) in all these scenes. But the want of ladies in the lower is made up for in the upper series, where I must especially mention a charming group, one of a party of ladies at work, sketching, sewing and embroidering - full of mature grace and beauty - the other, not quite so graceful, of an assembly of young people of both sexes flirting. - Lorenzo Costa's early pictures, before his adoption of Francia's manner, bear much resemblance to these, and since seeing them I think that Marco Palmirani of Forli must have originally been a pupil of Cosme's or at least of Costa's; in the frescoes I described to you at Forli this peculiar style has reached its perfection.

Even before Costa's transformation the later Ferrarese school (with whom he had no affinity) had grown to excellence. Three of its painters, Mazzolini, Garofalo, and Ortolani have produced some of the most beautiful pictures I ever saw; they are very original too and full of the deepest religious feeling and establish their claim to rank

among the purest advocates of Christian art in that day of declension to Paganism. Ortolani I had never even heard of, but two of his pictures a Virgin adoring the infant Saviour, and a Holy Family are exquisite; Mazzolini I knew by a number of pictures in the Roman collections, but all mediocre, whereas his Nativity in the Palazzo del Comune is one of the happiest infusions I ever saw of the pure spirit of the elder into the improved external forms of the later time. And Garofalo can only be rightly judged at Ferrara, where there are at least a dozen or fifteen pictures of unexceptionable purity and beauty - perfectly free from that cold chilly feeling that envelopes the greater part ofhis works in Rome and elsewhere as with a cloud. Of his pupils I cannot speak so unreservedly, but save and except Dosso Dossi, in his decadence, they do not disgust one like those of Correggio, G. Romano, etc. and why? Because the principles he taught were pure and consequently checked the vicious tendencies with which art was beset on all sides in those unhappy days. Dosso Dossi indeed seems to have yielded to the torrent; his frescoes on the ceilings of the old Ducal palace are among the most horrible disgusting exhibitions that the followers of M. Angelo ever bedaubed walls with. They are a mélange of the worst points in his pupils and Giulio Romano's. As respects architecture, Ferrara has three buildings of singular beauty - the facade of the Duomo (the interior is all modernised) - the ancient palace or rather castle of the D'Estes, with its machicolated towers and moat - and the palace of the Marchese Villa, built of large blocks of a Verona marble, bevilled thus ⊠ and commanding from its balcony a view up four streets. The building is as fresh as if

finished yesterday, though from the style I sd think it of the 15th or 16th century but the glass is all broken in the windows and not a soul inhabits it. However the government, if my cicerone be correct, has bought it and intends transforming it into a museum - it is well worth preservation as a public monument. I have continued my letter thus far at Padua (4th June) where I shall be occupied two or three days. There is much to see here. I spent nearly five hours this afternoon in the little Chapel of the Arena originally founded by the Scrovegni family and (do you not envy me?) entirely painted by Giotto save and except 6 compartments in the choir, yet which I have no doubt were executed from his designs. Thirty eight compartments, ranged in three rows along the walls of the nave and of the triumphal arch carry the history of the Virgin and of our Saviour from Joachim's expulsion from the temple to the Descent of the H. Spirit on the Day of Pentecost; the story of the Virgin is finished in the choir; Christ in glory is represented in the lunette above the triumphal arch, and the Last Judgment covers the whole entrance wall - Besides these there are fourteen allegorical figures of Virtues and Vices painted in chiaroscuro below the windows of the nave, seven on either side, full of character and beauty. Almost all the large compartments are in good preservation; the composition is excellent - he shows the highest dramatic talent in the grouping and characterising of his personages - his peculiar humour peeps out as at Assisi - for instance in the Marriage of Cana in Galilee he represents the ruler of the feast as a jolly vintner looking personage with an immense paunch, his head thrown back most appropriately while he drains a fiascone of the newly made wine with infinite relish -

on the other hand his close adherence in many instances to the Byzantine compositions and modes of representation (the canopied altar, for example, standg for the temple - a hand, issuing from the sky, for the Deity - our Saviour's feet nailed separately, with two nails, for the cross - the back of his hands turned towards the reprobate in the last judgment etc) - as well as the inferiority of many of his compositions to those in the small pictures he painted of the same subjects in Santa Croce at Florence - the superior grace of his women there and at Naples - and the better drawing of the naked figure in the similar Last Judgment at the Bargello - these points of comparison prove I think that these were among his early works - though not the less estimable on that account. And from these too I am still more convinced (indeed I never doubted it) that the life of St. Francis at Assisi is really Giotto's - Rumohr in his brief allusion to them betrays such ignorance that I almost doubt his having been at Padua, and even Rio cites a composition among them which does not exist. Vasari I am aware attributes these frescoes to the last years of Giotto's, but I begin to be very sceptical as to all testimonies other than cotemporary or purely traditional - to depend in short much more on internal evidence than assertions which unless supported by charter proof are worth but little. Vasari, though invaluable in a hundred ways, is very careless and can never be depended upon without strict caution. The music of the German band was playing the greater part of the time I spent in examining this lovely little chapel. It now belongs to a Venetian noble, Signor Gradenigo. The allegorical figures are among the most beautiful I ever saw, for they are all in action, not mere pegs to hang

symbols upon. Hope, for instance is represented, as a youthful maiden* (all females ought to be banished to America), winged and soaring upwards and receiving a crown from an angel; Faith as a mitred matron in a tattered robe the keys of heaven hanging from her girdle, holding the creed in one hand, the cross in the other and trampling on heathen idols; - Charity as a woman receiving a purse of gold from God - Fortitude clothed in a lion's skin, half sheltered behind her shield which is bristled all over with arrow and spear heads, but with sword in hand, waiting her opportunity to strike. Every virtue is contrasted with its opposite vice. Envy for instance, opposed to Charity, is represented by an old woman standing in flames - a snake issuing from her mouth which turns round and bites her - clutching a purse with her left hand and clawing with her right.

I crossed the Adige this morning dear Anne, and felt as if meeting a friend; its waters seemed to murmur of the happy days of our journey through Tyrol - and at Monselice I had the extreme pleasure of seeing a hill covered with olives, cypresses and stone-pines, a convent and a ruined castle - a most refreshing vision after the flat poplar striped plains of Lombardy.

Dearest Anne I reached Venice last night, the 8th - the very day I originally proposed on leaving Florence: it is not often calculations turn out so true. But I suspect I shall not get away from Venice so soon as I expected; however continue to guide your despatch of letters by the dates I sent you, for please God I continue well and that my journey prospers as it has hitherto done. The averages I calculated

* Note: Here, Lindsay first wrote in the word "female" and deleted it in favour of the word "maiden".

will I think bring me to Milan and Munich within two or three days of those I mentioned to you. I spent three days of incessant labours at Padua, where I found far more to interest me than I expected. Beside the Chapel of the Arena there is a rich store of frescoes by a branch of the school of Giotto established there during the 14th century and which seems to have flourished and risen to very high excellence precisely at the time when in the hands of Angelo Gaddi at Florence the parent stem had so sadly degenerated. Among the earliest of these frescoes are those of a chapel in the Eremitani by Guariento, who flourished between 1338 and 1364; all the large compartments have been repainted in such a manner that it is impossible to form any estimate of their original character; but seven very singular compositions, representing the seven planets below these, and protected till lately by wooden stalls having been errected in front of them, are in perfect preservation; they are full of spirit and fancy, and even some of the frames are elegant, though for the most part they are the work of one whose mechanical powers were unequal to his invention.

But the frescoes of the Baptistry - of the Chapels of S. Felice and S. Luca in the church of S. Antonio, and of the chapel of S. Giorgio attached to it, interested me far more and my whole soul has been engaged in weighing the conflicting evidence regarding them so as to ascertain their author. They have been much retouched but with every drawback they exhibit such an identity of mind and so many points of resemblance in execution that I cannot doubt their being in all that constitutes their merit, the work of one artist. This however is

not the general opinion - in fact I stand alone in it - all the authorities, ancient as well as modern, are discordant - some attribute them to one, some to another artist - it is impossible to reconcile them; the only point on which all are agreed is that those of the Baptistry are by Giusto of Florence, surnamed from his residence and adoption of Padua as his country, Padovano; be it so - one mind I repeat animates the whole, and I conclude therefore that the merit of the others be his also. This is confirmed by Vasari's attributing to him also the chapel of S. Luca - and tradition that of S. Felice. Perhaps the artists mentioned by these different writers may have been his assistants; this w^{d} reconcile all difficulties. But be he who he may, it is enough that this painter merits a place in the first rank of the Giotteschi of the latter half of the 14th century. The chapel of S. Felice, originally of S. James, seems to me to have been his first work; the legend of that saint (one of enchantment, dragons etc) is narrated there in 11 frescoes; his second I should think was the Baptistery. It is quadrangular, and surmounted by a cupola, in the centre of which appears our Saviour, blessing while below him, in a 'vesica pisces' or oval fishshaped glory ◯ stands the Virgin with her hands raised in prayer, and all round are ranged the Saints, male and female, in 5 rows deep; the effect is singularly brilliant. The lower circuit of the cupola is painted with the history of Genesis, and the three walls and the triumphal arch with that of the N. Testament. And lastly the tribune is completely lined with about 40 small compartments entirely drawn from the Apocalypse and treated with the most fearless originality; one of them is most delightfully naive - the four angels

kneeling on the four corners of the earth and forcibly compressing with both hands the mouths of the four winds, represented like Aeolus' heads; in spite however of all they can do, they can't prevent great blasts escaping, and you almost hear the spluttering and fizzing that is going on. Other of these subjects are singularly grand and the painter has combined, added and taken away with singular felicity; throughout he seems to have kept his eye on the old mosaics. In the vault of the tribune he has represented O. Saviour in the centre, and the Virgin and Apostles ranged round him in a circle - tongues of fire resting on the head of each - an admirable adaptation of the mosaic style; this serves as an introduction to the Apocalyptic vision. The lunette immediately below this and above the altar, represents God the Father in a glory, the Lamb lying in his bosom, the four beasts keeping watch round the throne, a lamp burning in front - to the right and left the twenty four elders offering their crowns, and angels adoring in front. The four horsemen (4 first seals) are represented in rounds over each of the four angels under the spring of the arches; the vision is then continued round and round on the walls and under the arches - the subjects being most skilfully adapted to the different spaces that were to be covered; for instance the 7 trumpets are carried from the soffit of the small cross arch to the left hand on entering the tribune, all round it, to the soffit of the corresponding cross arch on the <u>right</u> hand, entering - similarly the 7 last vials are disposed on the soffit of the triumphal arch of entrance - there are hints here from which a painter desirous of taking a lofty flight might gain much.

The chapel of S Luca (not the apostle but a Beato of Padua)

contains two frescoes relating to that saint, and several more from the legends of St. James of Jerusalem, and S. Philip; the crucifixion of the latter and one of his miracles (in restoring a man to life whom a dragon had slain, suddenly rushing down from behind the statue of an idol) are excellent. But it is in the chapel of S. George that Giusto has flown his highest flight - the five frescoes of the entrance wall represent the Annunciation, the Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple and Flight into Egypt - above the altar are the Crucifixion and Coronation of the Virgin; several of the subjects are repeated by him elsewhere but always with varied attitudes and ideas, though it is impossible not to recognise the same hand in all of them; on the left wall is represented in two series of compartments the history of St. George - on the right, in the upper row (sadly spoilt) that of St Catherine and in the lower (in excellent preservation) that of S Lucia. I cannot express to you the delight these frescoes have given me - indeed, one after the other my heart was put into such a series of glows during my stay at Padua that it hardly beats calmly yet. I really do not think I have been run away with or that I overrate them. I revisited them all yesterday morning, correcting my notes on the spot (as I have done throughout with the principal objects of my researches) and I am really jealous of myself. But surely seeing is believing. Non dubitate therefore when I tell you that they are singularly dramatic; every variety of character - Emperor, Statesman, Knight, noble, private citizen and down are discriminated with a degree of truth that sometimes startles one; they are all portraits - much more knightly and German-like than you see in the Florentine

frescoes; the principal characters are uniformly characteristic and the noblest in mien and look as well as most conspicuous in place; feeling grace and simplicity reign throughout - the grouping and relief are admirable - there are crowds of figures but no confusion - each fresco generally speaking depicts one scene only of the drama, the colouring is soft and pleasing - the backgrounds are all of the most gorgeous and exquisite pointed architecture - they wd form on that account alone a most beautiful series of engravings - this fondness for architecture is a characteristic that marks all the works of Giusto; In short I cannot but think that he comes very near Masaccio in his peculiar excellencies while in originality and even composition he is superior to him: these in fact are the two merits which mark the man; unlike the other Giotteschi he has a thousand ideas of his own - and to justify my praises of his composition (by which I mean that power of combination by which all the parts of a picture are so arranged as to give the fullest development to the central idea) I need only give you a plain unvarnished description of one of the best - Dear Anne, I admit that I write in a fit of enthusiasm, but only hear me - and let me promise that I have no apologies to make in this instance for defective execution on the plea of merit in conception; the idea (and such is the case in all his best works) is fully made out and with at least as decided a mastery over the pencil as Chaucer has over the pen. St. Lucia, then - young beautiful and innocent, has been denounced by her infamous husband as a Christian; Pascharius, the Roman governor (at Syracuse) has threatened to drag her to a place that must be nameless unless she will sacrifice to the Gods - the

scene is the piazza in front of the palace - Pascharius and his chief councillors are seated in a loggia or window looking in: towards the left of the same stands St Lucia, calm and sweet and dignified, her hands joined in prayer, her face upturned to heaven - while (dont be startled) three yoke of oxen attached to her waist by cords are prancing and stumbling and falling on their knees and noses in their fruitless efforts to drag her from the spot; one man goads, another lashes them - a third tries to drag them forward by his own weak strength - her brutish husband grasping her robe about the bosom pulls her with all his force - other figures behind are pushing her - in spite of all this, there she stands as unmoved and still as if communing with God in the midst of a desert, - her whole figure and attitude - has utter effortlessness, unresistent immobility forming the most vivid contrast it is possible to conceive to the frenzied efforts of the oxen and the rabid rage of the executioners. And yet somehow or other the effort and the rage are expressed fully to the mind without being offensively violent to the eye. A little behind stand a group of Christians losing all thought of self in their sympathy for her; one is praying, another points to her and looks up to the tyrant as if to say "See there how little the powers of hell can avail against the spouse of Christ" - while the chief councillor standing beside him points to the scene below and seems to expostulate with him for fighting against God - The whole is in keeping - every incident is in consistent relation with the others - and still the figure of the Saint attracts you again and again by its calm loveliness How little did I expect to make so agreeable an acquaintance at Padua! - There are other frescoes of the Quattrocentisti here -

317 alone in the glorious hall of the Palazzo della Ragione, but they are very poor With Jacopo of Verona, whose frescoes in S. Michele I have seen highly praised, I have been much disappointed; he is a mere servile copyist, almost all his ideas occur in the previous compositions of Giotto and Giusto. Towards the beginning of the 15th century a new school arose in Padua, Squarcione, then the leader of the Giotteschi having travelled to Greece, and brought home many relics of ancient sculpture, which he proposed to the irritation of his pupils as the first models of beauty. The artists of Padua and indeed of great parts of Lombardy henceforward studied in his Museums, as those of Florence did shortly afterwards in the garden of Lorenzo de Medici. I searched ineffectually for anything that might give a fair impression of him - five frescoes in a portico originally belonging to the suppressed monastery of S. Francesco I discovered after a long hunt, in a wine cellar - the walls I should rather say on which they had been painted, for the wet, continually oozing through, has completely destroyed them; four immense hogsheads mark the same number of compartments and the fifth is filled by a correspondent pile of small barrels. In the Casa Lazara are two paintings attributed to him and considered genuine - one perfectly Giot tesque, the other palpably more modern - the former may have been a production of his youth, but gives no idea of his acquired style - at the Buzzacherini palace I could hear nothing of another picture which existed there some years ago inscribed with his name - it has probably been sold. But of Mantegna, his best pupil, and the founder of the school which ultimately produced Correggio, some admirable works exist at Padua - frescoes in the church of the

Eremitani; six depicting the story of S. James and two that of S. Christopher: the former are among his earliest works and except for truth of character deserve little praise; the martyrdom for instance exhibits his merits and demerits in the most striking manner - In front the apostle lies stretched at full length on his face and the executioner, a villainous looking ruffian stands over him with uplifted mallet exactly in the attitude of a butcher felling an ox; soldiers look carelessly on - admirable figures, especially one on horseback to the left, whose back is turned towards the spectators, and a second, scarcely bearded and smooth-legged but heartless and sanguinary on a rail, who carelessly leans his gauntleted arm listlessly dangling, while he looks down with languid curiosity to see the effect of the descending blow - the blood will spurt on him. The two of St. Christopher are much superior to these in every respect; he has made a great stride; still it is the mere delineation of naked truth, and the hardness of his colouring adds to the impression that that truth makes on you - his soldiers especially are inimitable - no one has caught the character of the coarse rude middle age mercenary with such felicity - the tight dresses too of that age suit him better than the ideal flowing drapery, which he cant manage. In the last but one of these frescoes he has introduced his own portrait and Squarcione's as two soldiers - he himself is short and thin with a pinched pale face - Squarcione large bluff and turgid - twice the breadth of his pupil. Mantegna's last pictures are much softer than these - there are two or three in the Louvre of singular beauty. I must also mention among the interesting works of art at Padua the noble equestrian statue of Gattamelata

by Donatello, the earliest cast in the annals of modern art. There are some good bas reliefs by him in S. Antonio but he comes far short of Ghiberti in that line. Padua is not a pleasant place to look at - its gay 'Prato' as they call it with its glittering belt of white statues excites expectations which are usually disappointed by the low mean colonnades and narrow streets - to be sure the facade of S. Antonio and that of the Pal. della Ragione are beautiful - but I speak of the general appearance. And then the want of fountains is a sad drawback in all these Lombard towns; Italy is not Italy north of the Apennines, - I had a pleasant drive to Mestre and sail to Venice, entering the sea city in a most magnificent thunderstorm, nearly equal in beauty to some of those we used to watch from the terrace of the Villa Torregiani - a vast cloud towering like a bastion between heaven and earth, behind which firespirits seemed to be continually fighting, while every now and then a broad sea of flame deluged the sky - gone in a minute, but in which a second's space sufficed to print in the keen white jagged outline of God's pencil the chart of a continent - such a one at least as you see in Cook's or Parry's voyages with the words 'Terra Incognita' inscribed within it ..... .

Appendix 7 (see Chapter VI)

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay

Verona - Where Hildebrandt and Hadubrand fought where Cangrande entertained Dante - and where Min cut her foot (additions of the 6th, 13th and 19th centuries) June 19/42

Dearest Anne,

I am thus far on my way to Milan, and resume my plan to give you some account of my impressions regarding Venice and her schools of art. I staid there a week; there is such a multiplicity of churches and palaces to go through - communication is so slow and custodes are so frequently absent, involving the necessity of two journeys for one object, that it is at once worrying and fatiguing. However I have done the job thoroughly, at the rate of ten or twelve hours a day, and am well pleased at the result, though I own I feel a little sickish after the quantity I have gulped of Titians, Tintorettos, and P. Veroneses. But there are a treasure of paintings by Giov. Bellini and the older and purer school of Venice dispensed through the churches and galleries, and they make amends for much washy work elsewhere.

Passing over the first two or three Venetian painters, who flourished during the 14th century and followed the Byzantine style - and two or three others, mere hangers on of the Paduan school of Squarcione in the 15th, the remaining artists of Venice, possessed of a distinct individuality, fall into three distinct schools, that of the

Vivarini, a family in whom the art was hereditary for nearly a century, - that of John Bellini, including such of his pupils as adhered to and perpetuated till the middle of the 16th century, his peculiar religious style, - and that of his more vigorous and energetic pupils, Giorgione, Titian, Pordenone, etc, in whose works religion is no longer recognisable as their life and inspiration. Each of these schools is distinguished by its colouring, which all through has been the peculiar glory of Venetian art. It first appears in an Annunciation, dated 1371 by Lorenzo Veneziano, originally a mere Byzantine copyist - even in this picture a slight Byzantine influence is still visible, while its peculiar sweetness and feeling remind one of the purest works of the Giottesque school and its colouring of those of the early German. In fact the intercourse between the early Venetian and the Northern schools both of Germany and Flanders was constant, northern artists were always welcome at Venice - their influence is clearly perceptible, beneficially in the colouring and landscape, perniciously in the narrow folds of drapery which too generally characterise the Venetian painters previously to the close of the 15th century - the types and compositions happily always remained pure Italian - I think I have clearly traced the successive influences that acting on the Vivarini form the history of their school. Antonio who flourished about the middle of the 15th century, was its chief ornament - a certain Giovanni assisted him, by some considered a German, but clearly whatever his country a man of subordinate genius; two works signed by them jointly, a Madonna and Child surrounded by the Doctors of the Church in the Academy and another attended by Saints in S. Zachariah are respectively

the most majestic and the most lovely productions of the school. I cannot expect to give you an idea of the richness and beauty of these pictures, both in the heads of the principal personages and the exquisite finish of their details; the colouring is rich to a degree and the drapery free and flowing, while in the latter especially, the head of the Virgin breathes a loveliness and purity which entrances one; it gave me the same thrilling feeling as two or three of the old miraculous Madonnas of the 14th century which none of the later painters have equalled in their peculiar spiritual expression - they are like creatures revealed in dreams - In Bartolomeo, Antonio's successor, the influence of the Paduan school etc is very and most disagreeably visible, and for a time also in Louis, probably his brother and certainly his successor in the leadership of the school. But Louis in later pictures exhibits a marked improvement and he wd have risen to still higher excellence but for his death at the close of the 15th century. With him expired the school of the Vivarini, or as it is sometimes termed "of Murano", from the residence of the family in that island - the name I am told is still common there among the inhabitants. I have been much interested in this school, partly from its genealogical character, the transmission of art in one family through so many generations, and partly from the connection between it and the Northern schools. Many of the saints of the Vivarini forcibly remind me of those of Wm. of Cologne, while the colouring of Antonio especially has a striking conformity with that of the Flemish artists who executed the Grimani Breviary - a Manuscript which I will presently describe to you after finishing this rapid sketch of the Venetian schools. That of John

Bellini was its glory at the moment when Louis Vivarini died. Its origin dates from the visit of Gentile da Fabriano to Venice in 1421 - the scholar or the master, it is doubtful which, of Fra Angelico, and a painter of a pure mind, religious spirit, and chivalric heart. James Bellini, then of some note as a painter, formed an intimate friendship with him and improved by his influence which he was the medium of transmitting to his two sons, Gentile and the far more illustrious Giovanni, the father of the more modern Venetian school in both its branches. I should excite your envy did I describe the lovely pictures I have seen lately (one of them this morning at Vicenza) by this painter. His large historical works have all perished and it is only by his pictures of sacred subjects that he is now known. These are admirable in their kind. He does not come up to Perugino (to whom in some respects he has much resemblance) either in the perfect beauty of his heads or the charm of his composition, but the same pure and lofty spirit breathes from his works, and his colouring, though not so rich is softer and more harmonious: Perugino's I might say has a distinct voice, suggesting ideas - Bellini's on the contrary is a still music, a subtle essence of sound which fills the air as you gaze on his pictures, unconsciously attuning your mind to sympathy with his. Indeed I cannot but fancy a strong resemblance between his pictures and his namesake's music. Neither of them has many ideas, but those ideas are exquisite - singularly sweet and graceful, and though they recur perpetually, they never cloy on one; in both the strain flows on with an endless ease and equability of feeling, deep constant and true, and full of tenderness; there are no tricks or embellishments - all is sincerity

and simplicity, and without the slightest effort to finish minutely, their every strain is so rounded perfect and complete, that nothing is to be added or taken away without injury. Bellini's range of subjects is still more limited than Perugino's; a Madonna and infant Christ, the latter invariably represented with his hand raised and blessing - seated on a high throne and attended to the right and left by Saints, and frequently worshipped by a kneeling doge, is the most frequent composition; he has repeated it again and again with slight variations and you never weary of it. It is curious by the way what an effect the child's attitude of benediction has in giving expression to even indifferent pictures of the school; it is indeed a far higher and correcter mode of representation, as it gives him the supremacy, not the mother - to whose intercession the sight of a mere helpless infant naturally refers the spectator. Of more dramatical subjects, Bellini's baptism of Christ, which I saw this morning, his Circumcision, and the Supper at Emmaus at Venice, are exquisite and leave an impression that can never be erased. Two St Jeromes also, one representing him in his study at Bethlehem, the other as seated on a rock reading from a book resting on the withered trunk of a tree, which with its two or three surviving branches of leaves forms no unfit emblem of himself - much delighted me. And having mentioned these I have enumerated (so far as I recollect) the whole range of Bellini's compositions that I am acquainted with.

Of his pupils, Basaiti, Bissolo, Giov. da Udine, Catena, Previtali, Carotto, and Santa Croce, continued the religious school, which failed in the person of the last named artist towards the middle

of the 16th century, nearly at the same time that the cotemporary school resuscitated by Savonarola at Florence expired in Michele di Ridolfo, pupil of Ridolfo Ghirlandajo. Each, like the last mentioned had survived his brethren of the école mystique for many a year before joining them in the tomb. Of these Venetian artists, amidst a crowd of inferior productions, a few exquisite pictures are preserved in the Academy and in the churches of Venice. A Coronation of the Virgin, begun by Louis Vivarini was finished by Basaiti, who probably passed from his school into Bellini's. Two of his pictures in the Academy, the Calling of Peter and Andrew and Our Saviour's prayer on the Mt of Olives are singularly beautiful, full of quiet simplicity and feeling. Of a similar character is a beautiful thing by Bissolo, - our Saviour placing a crown of thorns on the head of St Catherine of Sienna, kneeling before him, while he holds another of gold in his left hand, reserved for her in heaven; the calm holiness of the Saviour's figure, the humility and loveliness of the Saint and of an attendant lady kneeling behind her, the glowing sunset, the blue hills and the repose of some shepherds with their flocks sheltered under a neighbouring wood, all contribute to enchant one. How well these old painters knew how to accompany themselves (as it were) by the music of nature and of feeling, either suggestive of sympathetic emotions, or of such as would enhance by contrast the principal impression! And yet with them it was not art, but nature, their sure but unconscious guide and guardian. Of Catena too (though I cannot divest myself of the impression that the picture ought to be attributed to Basaiti) there is a beautiful St Christina, kneeling in prayer by the side of the Lake of Bolsena into which she was

to be thrown with a millstone round her neck; little angels, about 9 or 10 years old, surround her, one of whom holds up the millstone, while another in heaven receives from Christ the white garment which is to be the reward of her constancy. Two other painters, superior to these, flourished at the close of the 15th century, and are generally reckoned among Bellini's pupils, though they preserved their own manner and distinctive style unimpaired. These were Cima de Conegliano and Carpaccio. Both have given me the most vivid pleasure. Cima's pictures are full of pure feeling and holiness; his Madonnas have a tinge of melancholy in their countenance which is very touching; Rio has happily expressed their character in saying that they are less beautiful than Bellini's but more prophetic; his colouring is greyer than the generality of the Bellini school, and he has a certain hardness occasionally, which adds notwithstanding to the effect of the peculiar subjects he has treated. One of these is the Baptism of Christ, one of the old traditional subjects I told you of, and which I have traced from the 6th century, constantly reiterated to the 19th, through more than a thousand years. Bellini's picture that I saw this morning was merely a variation of it. Cima's idea or type of the Baptist is I think the most characteristic I have seen. Like Bellini he has not an extensive range of subjects, but such as they are perfect in their kind. I suspect he was educated in the Paduan school - from which Carpaccio I can have no doubt received his first instructions, and derived much of his peculiar manner; there is something peculiarly captivating in this painter; he is far the most dramatic of the early Venetian artists, and has a chivalry and youthful freshness

in all his pictures that stirs ones blood like a trumpet. He was fond of treating legends in continuous pictures; one such series, representing the story of St Ursula, in 8 large compositions, decorates the Academy, but is hung so high up as to be seen with difficulty even with a strong operaglass. The whole story of the Virgin princess - the arrival in Scotland of the ambassadors of the king of England demanding her in marriage for his eldest son - their dismissal with her acceptance of the offer on condition that he sd become a Christian and that ten noble damsels sd be sent her, each attended by a thousand virgins - the young prince's arrival in the Scottish capital (represented of rich cinquecento architecture while London /frowns/ in the machicolated strength of the middle ages) - the prince and princess taking leave of the old king - their reception by Pope Cyriacus under the castle of St Angelo - the return to Cologne after fulfilling their pilgrimage - the massacre of the whole party by the Huns who were then besieging it, and the final glorification of St Ursula - are represented in a series of compositions which, to compare romance to history and pictures to frescoes, I can only liken to Pinturrichio's life of Pius II at Siena; the same freshness, even still more youthful, the same chivalric grace breathes through these. Of similar merit are Carpaccio's three pictures from the life of St George and several others in the oratory dedicated to that Saint, and besides these there is his S Vitale in the church so named, armed cap-à-pie and issuing on his noble charge from under an arch, one of the noblest figures I ever saw.

But I must be more brief - and indeed the second class of Bellini's pupils and their successors, those who bear the palm among

modern critics as having thrown off the yoke of religious tradition and aggrandised their manner to wit Giorgione, Titian, Pordenone, Palma, Tintoretto, P. Veronese etc please me so little that I shall not trouble you with any lengthened comments on their works. One excellence I must repeat, they have to a man, without exception, that of colouring. Without allowing it to be as appropriate as that of Raphael, I cannot wonder at any one ignorant or unthoughtful of higher excellence falling a willing captive to its seductions. And I must candidly add too that the character of this later Venetian school is never maudlin or bombastic, that it preserves, generally speaking, a degree of propriety and freedom from affectation and display in which it contrasts most favourably with those of Florence, Rome, Parma, and Bologna. Nor is its spirit, with a few rare exceptions, impure or sensual. On the other hand there is no denying it that these later artists had lost the high and lofty purpose which characterised their predecessors, - the divine aroma had flown away - they worked for their own glory <u>solely</u>, without a thought for that of God or the moral benefit of their fellow creatures; strivings after the ideal were exchanged for the study of models - nature as it was before their eyes became their sole inspiration - the highest dignity of their Saints or apostles is that of the Venetian senator - the traditional type of Our Saviour's features was of course preserved but in such hands its divinity necessarily evaporated, and as for the Madonnas and infant Saviours, all idea of investing the former with the virgin holiness and the latter with the infantile divinity of the older schools was abandoned. And yet, curious to say, each of these painters reminds you in one or two of his early works of the older and purer time -

such is the case in the Annunciation by Titian, in a Virgin and Child by P. Veronese and in a Virgin of Tintoretto, - even Giorgione's altarpiece at Castelfranco (which I visited on purpose to see it) is composed precisely in the ancient manner, while he has done his utmost to invest the Madonna with her traditional character. It agreeably surprised me, though the head is certainly a portrait and not of a very good tempered lady into the bargain. His Dead Christ at Treviso is wonderful as regards light, colouring etc - the head very inferior. Giorgione's other pictures are of similar character - religious feeling there is none, and on all his works, though not /indecent/ his own general character is strongly stamped in their utter meaningless want of sentiment feeling and dignity. At Treviso, by the bye, there is a most magnificent altarpiece by Fra Marco Pensaben, a Dominican monk, long ascribed to Sebastian del Piombo, Giorgione's pupil - this frate, whose history is absolutely unknown (his name was only discovered a few years ago in the archives of the convent) - was an artist of the highest merit and must have studied under Giorgione; the composition however is quite that of the elder school - the Virgin very good - the colouring only and drapery that of the more modern style. I am afraid you will think me a sad grumbler, but all Titian's later pictures, the masterpieces with whose fame Europe rings - the Assumption of the Virgin, the Tobias led by the angel, - our S. led to execution, the murder of St Peter Martyr, the Doge Grimani kneeling before Faith, the Deposition, - all these are insupportable after the chef d'oeuvres of Raphael and his predecessors; what with the want of dignity, of repose, and I must even as regards Titian add of <u>propriety</u>

(still using the word in the critical sense of fitness) which by him is shocked in every possible manner, short of the atrocities of the Dutch school - it is quite torture to go through them, as I have done, rigidly testing them and I must say with a most impartial wish of ascertaining truth and doing them justice. Take the famous Assumption for instance - the Virgin is merely a swarthy wellfed coarse featured Venetian model - blown up to heaven in a gale of wind - her modesty evinced, not by the spiritual purity of the head and form, but by pressing her feet together to hinder her petticoats from flying over her head - while the apostles below are grouped, a mass of confusion, in every distorted attitude - brawny arms, tanned legs, and fishy faces meeting your eye in every direction. Colouring, light and shade, and every mechanical excellence in perfection but oh what a contrast to Perugino's or say Pinturicchio's Assumption in the Madonna del Popolo at Rome, where she rises so stately and solemnly like a strain of melody to heaven, her face of unearthly beauty purifying your heart as you gaze on it - while the apostles below follow her with their eyes, intent and still and confident through their Saviour's love of following her in his own good time. All later painters seem to think that religious expression consists in physical exertion as if the Church Catholic were Jumpers or Irvingites; even in representing our Saviour, the calm consciousness of power - the spirit of the little words 'I will' is utterly unthought of and he is made to do everything by a violent effort. Giotto even and the Byzantines might teach them better. No - it is not in sacred subjects that Titian excels, or even in those in which Saints merely are agents; his Martyrdom of St Peter for instance is perfectly

horrible, hand and attitude alike ignoble - the Saint himself, sprawling on the ground, dies like a dog, while his companion, a cowardly cur, runs away mouth open and eyes staring - oh! oh! oh! - colouring beautiful - light exquisite - trees perfection - But all this is like a pearl in a sow's ear - the gold setting of a cornish diamond, "the guiled shore to a most dangerous sea" on which his imitators have to a man suffered shipwreck. Again where the face alone is required to speak he is often absolutely flat - his woman taken in adultery looks downward but that is all - there is not a trace of emotion on her cheek. His Magdalenes are just what you might expect to meet with in the Magdala Hospital; none, none, none are equal to Giotto's either for beauty or expression. Almost /invariably the/* principal figure in these pictures is atrocious - his 'faith' for instance in the famous /picture of the doge/* Grimani has not a trace of elevation or spirituality, but is positively vulgar and dowdyish. Titian's John the Baptist indeed is the only religious picture of his matured age that pleases me - the subject fell within his scope and he has painted it admirably. But his pictures of a lower class - his portraits, real and ideal - his fancy pieces, as the Three Ages at the Manfrini Palace, his Celestial and Terrestial Love, as it is called, at the Borghese gallery, and others of this nature are unrivalled; in these he is indeed a poet. I have been much pleased with some of Bonifacio's pictures, a pupil and follower of Titian's and whom I specify as he seems to have had a leaning towards the older school. His Holy families, assembled under the shade of a clump of trees, are sometimes very pretty; this was a favourite subject with

* Note: These words are affected by damages in the Ms. and the reading is uncertain.

the Venetian painters of both schools - living as they did constantly surrounded by water, they seem to have delighted in recalling the green freshness of the terrafirma. Of Paul Veronese there are some noble pictures at Venice, but nothing comparable to the Marriage at Cana by Galilee, in Paris; his Europa is anything but classic - a coarse heavy graceless creature as ever I saw. His composition is often painfully defective, the figures grouped in such confusion that it is difficult to discover the leading idea - with an utter want of expression; everyone is doing something but that something tells you nothing. Many of his female saints are very graceful, but he is totally mistaken in his idea of Christian martyrdom, a young lady, 15 or 16, slim waisted, drest /sic/ in the height of the fashion, kneeling and looking up while a rough executioner grasps her arm or strikes her with his dagger and a crowd of figures stand round in distracting confusion is the subject of scores of his pictures - one wd fancy he thought it part of the education of the primitive Christians to die, like the gladiators, gracefully. As an historical painter he is nothing - his famous Alex[r] in Darius' Tent is merely a vehicle for so many family portraits, and his vast pictures in the Ducal Palace, for the most part hopeless allegories, are inferior in every point of view but the mechanical. His feasts are his glory.

- Tintoretto again I do not admire; in his pictures, religious or profane, there is no selection, no ideal beauty, either of form or expression, but a simple copyism of vulgar nature; in short he is the vulgarest of the school except Bassano, with whom indeed he has some strong sympathies. Even Bassan however sometimes rises above him-

self; I went round by his native town in order to see his chef d'oeuvres, the celebrated Nativity and the Baptism of S. Lucilla; the former is really a very pretty picture, the Virgin as little of a mere portrait as could be well expected - very sweet and mild, if nothing more. Bassano is a pretty little place, beautifully situated at the foot of the mountains and surrounded by a number of small dependent hamlets; the adoration of his memory there is quite ridiculous - they consider him superior to Raphael; he has his first manner, his second, and his third etc - I look with pleasure on the Alps, dear Anne - independent of their loveliness - they are a visible chain of communication between myself and Bilkères and my fancy often strides giantlike from crag to crag till I find myself looking down on you from the summit of the Pic du Midi. Palma Vecchio too has painted one picture of consummate beauty - his St Barbara, a portrait indeed, that of his daughter, dearly loved by Titian, but a head so noble and beautiful that you willingly identify it with the saints; a St Lucia of his too that I saw at Vicenza is very beautiful. His other works at Venice do not please me much. Palma Giovane is not very attractive; one /wild/ thing of his pleased me though the idea is not correct - the vision of the four horsemen in the Apocalypse - they rush past on the clouds and wind, like a vision of Ossian's ghosts - the foremost, on the white horse, shooting his arrow, the second on the red one in armour, charging with his lance - the 3d black, with the scales - the 4th Death on the pale horse, a skeleton weeping with his scythe; below them on the waves washing the shore of Patmos, corpses and corpses - Finally of Padovanino, the last of the Venetian school, there is a Cena in the Academy, not

unworthy of his great predecessors. This is a rough and imperfect sketch but it will give you some idea of the impression I have formed of Venetian art at Venice - for there only can it be appreciated in its merits and defects.

I have said nothing of St Mark's, but I spent hours there. It far surpassed my recollections. Gorgeous is the only word that expresses its character, and there is an Orientalism about it within and without that peculiarly delighted me. A broad portico opening by large round arches on the piazza, introduces you - the interior is a Greek cross, surmounted at the point of intersection and in the four arms of the cross by five cupolas, the East end behind the high altar, ending in a semi circular recess or tribune. The cupolas vaults and upper walls are completely incrusted with mosaics, dating from the 11th to the 16th centuries; the lower walls are lined with rich marbles, and the pavement is of that peculiar species of inlaid work delineated opus grecanicum, and of which you will remember some beautiful specimens at Rome, at S. Miniato and elsewhere; here it is all ups and downs undulating like the sea, not inappropriately so at Venice. Of all the mosaics, amounting (exclusively of the comparatively modern ones) to several hundreds, I took copious notes! Those of the 3 cupolas in line as you enter are probably the oldest and certainly the best; some of the ideas are very original and noble, that for instance, of the most westerly one - representing the Descent of the Holy Spirit - the Dove hovers in the centre - rays of light and tongues of fire descend from it on the 12 Apostles ranged in a circle round the base of the cupola, while below each apostle, between the windows, stands a group of

Persians Medes, Elamites or Arabians etc, as enumerated in the Acts of the Apostles. The angels too in the angles at the springs of the arches are at once graceful and dignified. But as you descend from the cupolas to the walls, the quality of art deteriorates - the mosaics for instance of the Southern cross are the most artless and least expressive I ever saw - they are a mere caput mortuum and probably mark the lowest degradation of Byzantine art, for in those of the portico, last /built/ life is again visible, though faintly gleaming as it doubtless did in the eyes of the reviving Lazarus before extending to his limbs. These mosaics in the portico are moreover full of ideas, which independently of the power of expression are always interesting, false as well as true in reference to the age in which they were entertained or originated: the history of man's ignorance is at least as important as that of his wisdom.

But a mosaic of superior excellence to any of those in S. Marco exists in the ancient cathedral of Torcello the furthest towards the sea of the inhabited islands which form collectively the city of Venice. I knew nothing about it - my principal object in making the excursion was the architecture of the Cathedral and the adjacent and still older church of the Sta Fosca, respectively of the 9th and 11th centuries. Torcello was then more popular and important even than Venice, whither the government had been transferred but a few years before - now it is a wilderness inhabited by 400 souls only, of whom not more than a hundred live on the site of the ancient town - the rest scattered in huts, (casuccie) over the island. Two hours' pull brought me to

the landing place and a hundred yards within sight of two churches. Sta Fosca, the smaller, is built of the ruins of older edifices, in the form of the Greek cross, surmounted by a dome and surrounded on three sides by an open portico, its arches supported by columns, some round, some squared, some polyoval, their capitals similarly varying, some Corinthian, others mere blocks, others exhibiting the basketwork tracery of Byzantium, a man of six feet high could touch them easily; the interior is quite plain, but pleasing in its simplicity. The portico at its N.E. extremity connects itself with that of the Duomo, of still ruder workmanship, interrupted in the centre by a small octagonal Baptistery directly facing the door - 6 paces in every direction and lighted by two diminutive windows. The interior of the cathedral is very beautiful and preserves much of the old basilica form. It has its 3 naves, the walls that separate the central from the other two supported by beautiful marble columns - the ancient marble pulpit, and the marble screen round the sanctuary remain untouched, and behind the principal altar and under the tribune, the Bishop's throne and the seats for his assistant clergy, in the most perfect form anywhere existing; the former lofty and ascended to by a flight of steps, overlooks the whole church, and the latter rise in six rows on either side of him in the form of a semicircle as in a Roman amphitheatre. The mosaic I spoke of covers the inside of the entrance wall and represents the Crucifixion, the descent of our Saviour into Limbo, and the Last Judgment. It is full of spirit and proves that there were inventors and original thinkers in Greece even in the 12th century. In many respects it differs from any of the other mosaics of the middle ages. Of all the compartments

the most singular are the two representing the earth and the sea giving up their dead - the sea is symbolised by a Goddess (Amphitrite I fancy) crowned with reeds and riding a sea monster, which disgorges the body of a human being - the fishes attendant on either side being all similarly seasick. After spending two or three hours very happily in this church and thoroughly exploring it, I returned towards the landing place and taking up my station in the shadow of a curiously shaped marble pillar, square and hollowed out, with rings or hooks of iron still attached to it - I proceeded to make the observations on its exterior which I have already retailed to you - Dear Anne, I wish you had been with me. I wish I had had a camera lucida so that I might have sent you a sketch of the scene, so interesting and impressive in its simplicity and its associations. First and foremost were the two churches - the larger of the two accompanied by its square campanile, and faced by its tiny baptistery; in the angle formed by the two porticos stood a tiny well of white marble evidently coeval - a little to the left of this, a tiny marble column, its broken capital of execrable workmanship, surmounted by a little modern saint - still further in that direction, a small building with pointed arches, once the 'Archivio' of the place, now apparently a hayloft or granary - another, the Tribunal, is now reduced to a private cottage; the marble column I was leaning against turned out to be - what do you think? the flag-case, from which the banner of the republic once floated, the rings serving to introduce the crossbars which kept the staff in its place. I was standing evidently on the site of the ancient piazza - now completely covered with grass, a narrow pathway leading to the Cathedral its only street - the purple

dragonflies were gliding in and out of a green hedge within three steps of me, and the little birds singing sweetly from the fruit trees behind it - they have it all to themselves there. I /must/ have gazed and listened and thought for hours - The emotions excited are akin to yet different from those one experiences while standing over the sites of extinct towns of the ancient world - everything here is as tiny as they are colossal - moreover you feel a homebred interest in the place - the whole scene carries you back to the infant days of Venice - it is like visiting the source of a mighty river, or the original seat, the cradle of some illustrious family - the one still flourishing, the other still flowing on, though neither with that rapidity or brilliancy which distinguished its earlier career. I returned to Venice much delighted (as you may suppose) with my expedition. At S. Giorgio de'Greci, by the bye, a little Greek church which I visited in order to examine the modern pictures preserved there, I found, as I expected, almost all the traditional compositions of the Menologion and the Mosaics, reiterated in pictures of the present century; I wish I had made notes of those in the church at M^{t} Sinai which is lined with similar productions, both Greek and Russian - but I have quite materials enough for my purpose .....

You see I have spent an agreeable time of it at Venice. I must not omit that my opinion of James' Carlevarijs, always high, has risen much since seeing the vy few specimens that exist of him there; none are comparable, either for size or beauty to those at Balcarres - Though fatiguing I enjoyed my visit much, though I certainly was well pleased when I found myself once more on terra firma, bowling away

in my carriage, with Venice (her pictorial treasures) safe in my portfolio. Dear Anne I have no sympathy with the sea on the sea. I slept at Treviso on Thursday - pursued my way by Castelfranco and Bassano to Vicenza on Friday, reached Verona on Saturday evening - Brescia on Monday night, Bergamo on Tuesday ditto, and arrived here at Milan last night safe and sound and am now indulging in a day's rest after my last week's work.

Generally speaking the best works of such of Bellini's Christian pupils as lived out of Venice, are to be found in each of these towns, Cariani's and Previtali's at Bergamo, Moretto's and Romanino's at Brescia - Carotto's at Verona - I have already mentioned the Bassanos at the little town so named and the Giorgiones at Castelfranco and Treviso. Through the whole of this line of country the Venetian influence on art is paramount, mingled however with a very strong infusion of that of Padua and the school of Squarcione and Mantegna. None of the pupils above mentioned are equal to those who remained at Venice, yet there are many very pleasing performances scattered through the different churches and collections - I had not many adventures on the road; at Treviso in my determination to see the famous chapterhall painted in the 14th century by Thomas of Modena, and now used as a schoolroom I almost forced my way in though the lessons were actually going on - but I had no idea of waiting two hours till they sd be concluded; the schoolmaster as you may suppose was struck dumb at my audacity. I, not quite as cool as a cucumber but still preserving a tolerably brazen brow, took a deliberate survey of the place, standing as the focus the while of a hundred eyes all rivetted upon me; I fancy the lessons did not proceed very satisfactorily

afterwards, but what care I for that? I took them I fancy a little by surprise - they will be better prepared next time. I was of course all politeness to the authorities etc. The frescoes were execrable and nowise worth the expenditure of moisture, but still it was necessary to see them. I can't take things on hearsay. The journey from Venice to Milan is not an unpleasant one; you have the mountains always in sight, while within the limits of the old Venetian territory the road is constantly bordered by villas, some of elegant Palladian architecture, fronted by courts and gardens, glittering with white statues. The Venetian campaniles accompany you as far as Bassano and beyond it are replaced by those of Verona. These different styles of steeple are a characteristic feature of the scenery all through Italy - each great town has its peculiar pattern which extends in a circle to all the other towns which owned its influence during the middle ages. At Verona the steeple of St Zenone was the archetype - and a beautiful one it is - Do you remember our visit to this old church? - the /brazen/ doors, like many other execrable works of the dark ages, commonly attributed to Byzantium, are I am now convinced, the native produce of Italy. At Verona too I found a number of pictures and frescoes by Stefano da Quercia to whom part of those of Giusto at Padua have been attributed: these are however 15 or 20 years later, and while similar architectural details etc are reiterated, the heads are so inferior that I cannot doubt his having studied at Padua and subsequently copied and imitated the very frescoes that are there attributed to his pencil. I thought of you and James repeatedly at Verona - visiting the tombs of the Scaligers and that noble Cathedral where the tall clustered columns reminded you of a procession of giants. At Brescia I visited the Mercato Nuovo where Bayard was wounded and received into the house of the Cevola family whose two

daughters tended him in his illness: the family still dwells on the same spot, - the palace I am sorry to say looks rather too modern to be the same; the proprietor, I hear, has exactly the same number of daughters now. - Tomorrow I begin my examination of Milan - a new school and a very lovely one I believe; I still recollect the Luini frescoes after 12 years' absence. Opposite my windows towers the Cathedral - its pinnacles are a little duskier - a little less white as the snows of Apennine indurated by frost than they were in 1829 .....

Next Sunday, dear Anne, I will make a fair copy for you of a short essay or treatise I have written, establishing (I think) a <u>new</u> argument in proof of revelation: it came into my head during my long drive from Ancona to Forli and I have written it by bits on the Sundays since .....

Appendix 8 (see Chapter VI)

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay — Milan 3 July 1842

..... I have spent many vy agreeable hours here at Milan, especially in the Brera Museum, where there are a few most exquisite pictures - the Marriage of the Virgin for instance by Raphael and the Hagar by Guercino, one of the most deeply affecting pictures I ever saw in my life - besides a number of frescoes and easel pictures by Luini, the only one of Leonardo's pupils I feel much interested about. His works are vy numerous in Milan and the best of them extremely beautiful - especially the frescoes at the Duca Litta's/,/ and those in S. Maurizio, though attributed to him in that church and in a contiguous chapel of the Monastero Maggiore I have now satisfied myself are by another hand. His works are full of grace and loveliness and breathe the pure religious spirit most thoroughly. Leonardo's Last Supper is more recognisable than I fancied - a wreck undoubtedly and the wreck, we know, of a pitiless restoration - still the head of Christ is more beautiful in it than in any of the copies I have seen, old or new - On Friday evening I returned from my excursion to Cremona, Piacenza and Pavia, visiting the Certosa on the road between Pavia and Milan. Boccaccio Boccaccino's frescoes at Cremona, so highly praised by Rio, disappointed me on the whole. Guercino's celebrated cupola at Piacenza, reckoned (at a par with his Aurora in the Ludovisi) his chef d'oeuvre in his 2d style did not please me much - and as for the Certosa of Pavia its cinquecento facade is its chief interest. In fact

with the exception of 3 or 4 strong Peruginos and Luinis, which made amends for all the rest, I saw little real beauty on this cruise. What interested me most was the brick architecture of the 14th century scattered through these towns and which is singularly beautiful The Pal. Pubblico at Piacenza for instance, the castle at Pavia, and indeed much of the Certosa though more recent, are models of elegance - the most delicate tracery and fretwork is executed in brick-work as freshly preserved as if it were Carara marble - and strange to add, the general effect is as grand. Here surely England might imitate to great advantage .....

..... Wednesday morning - Munich Sunday 10 July /42

Well dear Anne, I have done Munich very satisfactorily. My first visits were to Hess's works, for after all I had seen in Italy I felt very nervous as to the impression they would produce on me - on the contrary I am as much delighted as at first - and I feel that I am far more capable now of appreciating them. The Allerheiliger is a perfect gem in every point of view - the influence of the old mosaics and paintings is evident in a thousand minute particulars, but nothing is servilely copied, they are rather recombinations and variations of the traditional ideas in the traditional style, by a painter at once thoroughly imbued with their spirit and independent of them. The general distribution and arrangement of the subject is admirable; one thought pervades the whole - I do not mean to say I was quite enraptured as the first time I saw them but in many respects I admire them still more. Their charm lies in their singular sweetness and

naive feeling - the style resembles that of the mosaics and Giotto - one classes them with works of the 14th century; and yet they have all the additional merit derived from study of the great painters of the 15th and 16th century - (This is no news to you - but I am giving you my impressions as fresh from Italy) - they are not certainly equal to Perugino, Francia or Luini, but no artist since the middle of the 16th century has come so near those masters; this I say of the historical compositions - the single figures of patriachs and prophets are of a still higher character, superior I should say to Fra Bartolomeo (whom he has evidently closely studied) and certainly equal, if not superior (in the prophetic character) to Raphael and Michael Angelo. Hess can give intensity and force of character when it is to be expressed in the countenance only, in repose. But he runs into exaggeration when he attempts to be energetic in action. His type of the Virgin is beautifully and evidently derived from the Byzantine. Next to these in beauty are /...../* for the painted glass windows in the new Gothic church in the /suburb here/*. They are from the lives of the Virgin and Our Saviour. They have not the naivete of some of those in the Allerheiliger, but are full of sweetness and feeling - they remind you, not of Giotto, but of the great Italian masters of the 15th century, and also of the early German school in a subordinate degree. All the windows except the six nearest the door are now up and service is already performed in the church. We did not visit in 1829 the new Basilica of S. Boniface, on which Hess is at present occupied; the history of the Saint (a Scotsman) and the Apostles of Germany is represented in large compartments and intervening medallions round the walls, while above them

* Note: The Ms. is damaged at this point and some words are missing or illegible.

between the windows are ranged the martyrdoms of the early German Saints; these are for the most part by his pupils, exaggerated and inferior. The medallions are all finished, a chiaroscuro in a pure and simple style - About half the larger frescoes are also finished - There is much sweetness in them, but a want of masterdom somehow and they have not the charm of his more purely religious compositions. The best represents St Boniface's departure from Rome on his missionary expedition, the Pope blessing him from the shore. This with the exception of a little hardness and exaggeration is excellent. Yet I was still more pleased with one of the upper row - three female saints sailing on a religious mission - in a boat, no sailors, an angel holding the rudder. I can't help thinking it is by Hess himself, it is so superior to the others.

Cornelius, as you have heard perhaps, left Munich for Berlin after completing his works here. I revisited the Glyptothek yesterday to pat the Ilioneus on the back, groan over England's having missed the Agina marbles, and review the frescoes of The Fall of Troy etc. I do not like them - they are unworthy of the subject, attitudinal and exaggerated far inferior certainly to the French, but not uninfluenced by their taste - The colouring too is harsh and russet. The Church of St Louis is nearly finished - the frescoes completely so - you remember the immense Last Judgment - and in the two arms of the cross there are also two large compositions, the Adoration of the kings and shepherds - and the Crucifixion. Neither do these please me much. One thing struck me forcibly - the warring influences which seem to exist in Cornelius' mind - of the 14th century and of Michael Angelo -

the former visible in his composition, the latter in his drawing and the action of the principal figures - now these two are irreconcilable and M. Angelo knew it when he painted his L. Judgment. Repose is the characteristic of the one style, action of the other - the beauty of the old compositions depends on their solemn formality and stillness - break them up as Cornelius has done in the L. Judgment here and the effect is lost - they wont bear shaking. In short it is a failure - the composition is a mixture of Orcagna's at Pisa and M. Angelo's at Rome, but has neither the solemn pathos of the former, nor the grand masses of the latter - all is confusion. Cornelius's quieter compositions are much superior to this - but he has left their execution alas! almost entirely to his pupils. His spirit however is decidedly religious. Compared with Hess, boldness and force is his character, yet he comes near his sweetness in some of the Angels' heads His head of our Saviour is superior to Hess' - that of the Virgin much inferior. Hess has an incalculable advantage in being entirely preoccupied with the old masters; no man in whose mind a warfare is always going on can equal a religious painter - it requires perfect repose and harmony within. Cornelius has not done himself justice - he wd have been greater as a painter, and wd have surpassed Hess in everything but feeling if he had not been such an admirer of M. Angelo. His Annunciation in the left cross of St Louis - his Doctors of the Church in the right (superior to Hess's similar figures) and several of the angels scattered through the church - all in a quieter style pleased me most.

And now for Professor Schnorr. Much has been done, dear Anne, in every department since we were here three years ago, but in none so

much as in the new rooms at the Palace - they will be completed this autumn; there are three as you may remember - the first lined with frescoes from the life of Charlemagne, the second from that of Barbarossa, the 3rd for that of Rudolph of Hapsburgh. They far surpass my expectations - they are masterly; a noble spirit, lofty, patriotical and eminently German pervades them all - the composition is excellent, the colouring pleasing and appropriate, neither too hard and russet like Cornelius's, nor so soft as Hess's, which would be unsuitable to such a subject - majesty and dignity in the male figure and grace in the female distinguishes them all - occasional exaggerated expression is their chief fault. These apartments are to be appropriated to the young prince and his bride, and the workmen are pressed to the utmost to get /...../* ready, some working I am sorry to say all Sunday. You may visit the throneroom, this is complete now and about half the gigantic statues of the King's ancestors are in their place between the /...../* columns; they have given me the greatest pleasure - the style is that of the statues round Maximilian's tomb at Innsbruck - I don't mean that they are equal to them, but there is nothing of the sort to compare with them during the 3 intervening centuries. They are thoroughly German, without a touch of Italy - tall stately figures in their robes and insignia, their vast feet firmly rooted to the ground - characteristic Teuton Phizzes - their bearing manly and kinglike - nothing affected, nothing mincing or petty - they contrast most strikingly with the lightfluted Corinthian columns between which they stand and the airy grace of the chambers - the decorations of which are entirely in white and gold.

* Note: There are damages in the Ms. at this point.

These statues, with Schnorr's compositions from the Nibelungenlied (which remain in statu quo and will be resumed after these historical apartments are finished) are the most striking results of the revulsion to the Altdeutsch spirit in art and literature. And after all this you will say - what hope, what expectation have you of England's rivalling Germany? I answer fearlessly - I believe we might - had we a King Louis - or could we inspire our nobles with this spirit. The religious paintings certainly we might equal or even surpass, I cannot doubt it. I feel less certain about the patriotic, for alas we have not such a fount of inspiration to draw from. And yet one might do much; after all the Normans are ours and the Saxons. We nobles of England are little sensible of the glory of our Norman ancestors or their influence on the world. We think of them solely in connection with the Conquest, as a parcel of needy adventurers, pouring down from the frozen forests of Scandinavia on the fertile fields of England. But they were the incarnation of chivalry - their history is more heroic than that of any other people - and we I repeat, we, the English aristocracy are their lineal heirs male and representatives - here is a field for fresco - both the general history of the nation and the individual history of our separate families - (a reversion in thought to my Lindsay frescoes which you laugh at). I have often thought of writing a short historical sketch of the Normans, beginning with their world adventures in the 9th century, when they discovered America and settled in Normandy - and carrying it down to the extinction of the kingdom of Sicily and the amalgamation of the race with the Saxon in our own country etc, etc. The theme wd be a most brilliant one and

has never been done full independent justice. At all events it will make a very interesting chapter in my great historical work - if ever it comes to light.

I have spent many agreeable hours among the old German paintings in the Pinacothek and shall have materials for a few interesting paragraphs respecting the early Northern schools. But I wont say anything about them now till I have seen the collections of Vienna and Dresden. Many of these pictures far surpass my expectations and vindicate the enthusiasm which I felt for them in 1829-30 - my old journals of that time are full of minute notices respecting them ....."

Appendix 9 (see Chapter VII)

Letter A

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay — Haigh, 8 November 1842

".... Dear Anne, my sister and friend, I hope you will pray for my guidance and success in this enterprise, for I feel it one of much responsibility. My work will be hailed as a contribution to the cause of Puseyism, now peculiarly on the watch to Romanise art and make it subservient to its purposes - and I must take care to mix the antidote with the draught which by the tincture of their opinions wd become poison. On other questions indeed I shall be able (without entering into any professed controversy) to rectify various false notions at present current respecting the early church and other subjects closely connected with this lamentable apostasy. I often wonder what I am reserved for - pray for me, pray for me, dear Anne - that I may be guided aright and enabled either to act or suffer as may best promote the great cause for which alone it is worth living. It may be imagination for aught I know, but I seem to myself to see futurity as it were present - distant and problematical things as clear and close at hand, so as to make one shrink almost from the contact. Just as sometimes every word in a sentence appears to me attended by its etymological ancestry and surrounded by its metaphorical superstructure - so behind every sign of the times extends (to my eye) a long array of consequences. But I shake all this off as much as possible. This Puseyism among other subjects occupies my thoughts very painfully - last week I wrote a long letter to the leaders and promoters of it, with

the intention of publishing it in the Times provided they wd admit it, but I have not sent it, indeed I have shewn it to no one yet. I hesitate between the hope that it might be of service, if not in opening the eyes of the leaders, in rousing England to a sense of the danger - and the dislike to take a step wch wd inevitably entail replies etc. - not that I wd answer them. I will send you a copy of this letter shortly. Meanwhile, with all these interruptions to thought, half my day is spent in clearing my table for work and by that time my mind is either weary or else so full of some thing else that I don't settle to it as satisfactorily as I cd wish. And next week will be another wholly of company alas! But I nottheless get on upon the whole well enough and like Upland's Lord Church my projected work expands and develops itself before my mental eye in just and harmonious proportion, to the slow but solemn music of the imagination. But oh this Puseyism - it hangs on me like an incubus. The cloud that rose ten years ago no bigger than a man's hand in the distant horizon, has now spread over the heaven, black and stormy, and what the result will be God only knows ....."

Letter B

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay 26 Jan /43

"Dearest Anne

Herewith you will receive my two preliminary chapters or letters - and two sketches of my book: the first simply bones, the second with the muscles that you may the more easily comprehend its plan.

You must not fancy I contemplate a more elaborate work than I

do. I have written the scheme out full as if for a work of 5 or 6 vols but numbers of inferior artists I shall only mention in the notes.

On architecture beyond pointing out its connection with the sister arts I shall be very concise not feeling myself qualified to debate at length on the subject. And I shall cut matters very short otherwise after entering on the reign of sense in the middle of the 16th century. Nor shall I say more than a very few words on Spain, the Dutch and English Schools or the German Revival. So dont be afraid. But it is always best to take the most extended view possible in the first instance and then gradually contract one's gaze; so I did with my Lindsay Lives and the result will I trust be as favourable now.

My plan is simple enough when you have taken it in. Its characteristics are three.

1st The application of the fact of the mutual inter-dependency of the 3 Arts to the whole history of the development.

2d The principle of successive moral and intellectual influences, as preferred to that of local or temporal succession in the classification of schools and artists.

3 The distinction of the Italian schools and artists the representatives and champions of the Eastern or Contemplative - and the Northern or active elements of the European character. This supplies the key to the whole perplexed history of Italian Art and reconciles many apparent anomalies and inconsistencies.

- The whole of this scheme (and my hopes for the future) basing on the theory broached in the two preliminary letters herewith sent you -

of the 3 progressive epochs of Sense, Mind and Spirit. I am certain if I may say it without presumption, that I am right in the main, though there may be errors innumerable in the details - but I feel as if I had discovered the clue to the philosophy of all art, all literature, all history, - oh that I cd revive England to a sense of the glorious destiny now within her reach!

Don't laugh at me, dear Anne, though I know I need not say that to my own sweet sister. This last year has produced a great change in my mind. I always looked to thirty as the period of manhood when whatever power I may possess wd be matured, and determined to wait till then before attempting a great work, and I now feel as if my Reason were growing fast up to the level of my Imagination - and as if I were about to do some great thing - possibly please God, my Providential History of Mankind.

I know at the same time that these sensations may in great measure be connected with mere physical health. Yet I am certain my mind has taken a leap - from the different manner in which everything strikes me, however familiar - all invested with new meanings (developments of the old) - sometimes I seem to hear a voice whispering secrets to me like a Hierophant at the mysteries - at others whole edifices of thought suddenly rise up before me like revelations, without my being able to trace the association of ideas which produced them. It seems to me as if the process of thinking goes on in my mind without my being at all conscious of it till the curtain is suddenly withdrawn and the result disclosed - and down I copy it as fast as I can as a painter

does a peculiar bit or effect of sunshine fearing lest it sd vanish away. And I almost always find on subsequent investigation that these 'revelations' are correct. This I have often felt before but never so vividly as now. It will cease I fancy when the mental process (whatever it may be) is completed. Meanwhile I rejoice in the anticipation of applying (if spared) these increased mental powers to the great problems of human life and especially of the age in which we live - and thus contributing to the realisation of the Vision I see opening before England in this new 3d Period of Xtianity.

No time for more ....."

Lord Lindsay returned to these preoccupations in two separate passages of Letter C.

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay. Haigh 28 February 1843.

(1) "... My waking thoughts have run very much of late on the details of the great outline of human progression sketched in my preliminary letter, analysing the minds of nations and individuals with reference to their age and their ancestral relation to England. It is a most interesting subject - there are ample materials for the study and its importance is incalculable. That history ought to be the history of influences - that the history of individual nations, ancient and modern, and the peculiar position of England as regards the past and future will never be understood rightly till Universal History has been properly written - a Providential history, I mean, connecting Adam and Eve with the day of Judgment, I have long been persuaded

of - but the desideratum I have always felt is a principle of universal application to interpret and give consistency and meaning to the whole, and thus furnish a platform as it were from which to move the world. And this principle I think I have at last got hold of. When I have finished my present work I shall sit down to a deliberate survey of all history, physical, intellectual and moral on this higher and more comprehensive view, and with reference to my ultimate objects - a vy very short sketch will be sufficient, 100 pages or so - for if my notions be correct, they will be selfevident when stated. ...."

(2) ...."I have been examining a phrenological head with reference to my three divisions of sense mind and spirit, and find the organs all lie together in masses and in correspondence as I expected they would; which at once confirms a theory and proves phrenology a science - for the phrenologists class them quite differently, distinguishing between knowing and reflective faculties etc. The animal organs I see occupy the lower part of the head, running all round - those purely sensual behind, those connected with mind (giving the musical turn, colour, form etc) in front; Reason again is enthroned higher up, on the forehead, flanked by Imagination on the inside of the head to the right and left and lastly the moral qualities occupy the highest point, the crown of the head - forming (here is an analogy for the Puseyites) a cross. Thus therefore we have Sense Mind and Spirit, the elements of human nature /invoked/ on the exterior of that globe of his mental residence, his head - forming the three steps as it were by which he rises from dust to deity, either individually, nationally

or universally, for the same law must extend by analogy through out the universe and even (mutatis mutandis) into eternity. Ham Saphet and Shem were merely the types of all this and the prophecy that Saphet shall dwell in the tents of Shem and Canaan shall be his servant is surely still more applicable to the mental than the physical history of the race. What is it but that Intellect shall in religious subjection to Spirit, rule over Sense? - the great object of Xtianity. I have notions too on music to follow up - I am convinced it has some very curious relations with Sense and Mind, but my notions on the subject are as yet very vague!"

By the end of March 1843, Lindsay had received from Anne an acknowledgement of the safe arrival of the first draft of the two preliminary chapters or "Letters" of his book. This encouraged him to expound his ideas to her yet again in Letter D.

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay — Haigh, Thursday 30 March /43.

"I am delighted at your approval of my general arrangement of schools and of my first chapter, and not surprised at your hesitation as to the second; on the contrary I am rather inclined to agree with you. But here is the difficulty, that unless I enter to a certain degree into the question of England's destiny I don't see how I am to inspire my ardent disciple with the feeling that he is one of a class working towards a grand universal object. But never fear, I shall be very tractable ..... Had I already thought out and written the work I planned at Elysée and of which you liked the idea so much - a sort of

sketch of the position in which we stand as men and Englishmen in reference to God and each other, pointing out the actual state of science, morals etc, and the means by which every one may in his vocation advance the cause of humanity - I should be under no necessity of generalising as I have done in the said second chapter or letter - Having once established my principles, a mere reference to them would be sufficient, and I cd take up subject after subject successively as details of a great scheme previously sketched - and perhaps other writers, if the said principles were recognised as sound, would carry them into practice in works of their own. But as this has not yet been done and the principles enunciated are new, at least in their connection and application, I feel the necessity of imbuing my young frescoite with them before he can appreciate my views. But this may perhaps be done much more shortly and concisely, and I think you are right in opining that much that I have said wd come in better at the close of the work. Recollect that these two chapters were merely thrown together all' improviso for Coutts to take with him as explanatory of the skeleton scheme I sent you by him. I shall look with interest and anxiety for your more detailed criticisms - the dinner that you promise me - the bread and cheese has only served as a whet. Perhaps you may be right about its not being written in letters, but I dont know. I should be loath to relinquish that idea and yet it may not answer. But that can hardly be settled until I begin to write and have made the trial. And I agree with you that it would be a sad pity to rough up either Puseyites or Catholics more than necessarily must arise from treating of Xtianity and Xtian art as (I hope a liberal)

Protestant. But how much more satisfactorily we could discuss all these points viva voce! - You laugh at my talking of writing a Providential History from the Creation to the day of Judgement, embracing all knowledge, physical, intellectual and moral. I can't surely have expressed myself absolutely in those words - but I mean nothing more than this, that human knowledge of every description is one whole, every part bearing a relation to the other parts and all to one central principle which animates, governs and explains everything; this principle I have long been seeking for and I dream of having at last got hold of it; it is what is needed to give a stimulus to thought and action and unite in one common sympathy the many labourers scattered abroad throughout the domain of science, all more or less at present working in the dark and seeking knowledge rather than wisdom - to unite, I should rather say, all men in all professions and pursuits in one common object. For this end I want to fill Englishmen with the Idea of England as the fulfiller of the destinies of mankind, as she indeed is - hence the necessity of a sketch of Providential History but for all this, dear Anne, when once well thought out, a very small volume would suffice My second chapter is thus, much in the predicament of my letter to Sir Raleigh which you may remember I was so unwilling to publish - like it, it is anticipation of the argument which I hope some day to put forth in the very small volume in question. But when will this be! I almost sicken, dear A - over all I am and grasp at .... Do not fancy however I want to grasp and include too much in my book on Art - on the contrary it will prove much shorter than you

expect - you know one must ascend to a great height in order to look down on the world as a map - and unless one does, so it is impossible to discern the right proportions and relative bearings and importance of objects. I grant you generalisation is uninteresting when not illustrated by details but general principles give life and meaning to those details and are rendered interesting by them, when both are put in juxtaposition. I am afraid I don't make my meaning very clear in all this, but I am a bad hand at metaphysics.

Another wish I have is to show that we ought to have a new original development of art, expressive of the age in which we live, my third epoch of Christianity - not mere copyism, like too many of the German frescoes; perhaps this is too much to hope for - yet do you know that I think that in architecture my father has struck out the new idea - so far I mean as domestic architecture is concerned! in his house here. It is a new style, emanating in equal proportions from the Grecian and the Gothic, that is the old English style of bows oval windows etc, but so intimately interfused and the spirit of each so admirably blended into one that you cannot tell where the one begins or the other ends - it is perfectly original and to my taste very beautiful as well as appropriate as the expression of our age. .....

..... Pray pray do not think me a presumptuous fool, as anyone who does not know me would were he to read my last few epistles.

I hope, dearest A -- I don't tease you with all these speculations and theories. Of course I am aware they may be full of errors and misconceptions, but this does not bother me I feel so strangely confident that the principles are correct. They are what I have felt rather than actually discerned for several years. I feel as if light had suddenly shone round me - They give reason and connection to such quantities

of detailed opinions (some of which though firmly convinced of, I could not till now reconcile with each other) that it has been a great pleasure to me applying them while out walking to the many different studies I have pursued from time to time, and I find these all answer to the test. What an interest everything individual acquires when it is found to symbolise or express a general principle! ....."

But it was not until Lindsay received Anne's letter from Florence, dated 27 March 1843, that he learned of Anne's detailed reactions to his two preliminary chapters. Letter E.

Mrs. Anne Lindsay to Lord Lindsay. Florence, 27 March 1843.

"Dearest Lindsay

I promised to write to you again in two or three days, and I am going to do so today, as I have been reading again with James your two preliminary letters, and can give you his ideas about them as well as my own - I cannot help thinking thatyou have made one great mistake, dear Lindsay, in your way of taking up the subject - you assume an importance for it which will not be conceded to it. In your second letter you blow the trumpet of preparation as if for some mighty advent, you work up your reader to expect some great plan for the amelioration or regeneration of mankind, and lo and behold you only propose to improve their style of painting. I grant you that in a certain light, considered as one of the evidences of the moral and religious character of a nation - as an effect not a cause - it may bear this construction. But few people will start with you in the thought - you must carry them

along by your facts and your reasons, and at the end of your work they may bear many of the truths which at its commencement would have appeared to them ridiculous. I confess that if I had read your letter for the first time in print without knowing you, I should say they were a little bit wild - written by an Enthusiast who gave undue value to the subject of his meditations.

This 2d letter belongs more naturally to your intended work on Providential History and it strikes me that that must have been running in your head while you were writing it - and that you have so mingled the streams that you cannot tell which is to flow into one sea and which into another. You thoroughly lose sight of your subject in your division of the History of Christianity into three periods, your appeal to the future destinies of England - your discussions on the Colonies, and on the Universities so that I hardly know how you get back to it again. I keep saying to myself, what has this to do with painting, what does he wish, is this the place to introduce his opinions on the conduct England should pursue morally, politically and religiously. Ah mon ami le géant revenons à nos moutons. I really do believe many of your readers will shut the book at the Preliminary letters. Indeed you should begin more modestly and not imitate those excellent poets who introduce the Eclipse of the Sun, and the Battle of Waterloo into their praise of Rowlands Macassar oil. But to be serious - James and I are not happy about these letters, and what is more I think you have pondered and considered so long on the same subject that you have a little mystified yourself and that your mind greatly wants a holiday. A passage in the letter that accompanies your

manuscript makes me think this more strongly. You describe the extreme lucidity of your mind - the new manner in which everything strikes you, the edifices of thought which suddenly rise up before you like inspirations. I am convinced this is not a healthy state of mind - it is overwrought, overexcited, and as an ear in a state of inflammation will hear sounds that at other times would not reach it, so your brain receives impressions that are not natural, that are too intense, that will lead in short to mischief. I had not seen this so strongly - but when I read it to James he was much struck by it and on reading again together your whole argument, forgive me when I say that there is an incoherence, and want of practical common sense about it, that at another time would be evident to yourself - the word common sense is a harsh one, but I can find none other to express my meaning so I must let it stand. Perhaps you will say I do not understand you - I think I do - but supposing this to be true, other people who do not know you, and to whom the subject is new, will understand you still less - and you will fail in your object of doing good. But this is not all - if you press your mind too hard you will impair its vigour, and this will tell upon all your other writings. You mix little with the world and with men, therefore the practical good sense of life, the manner of attacking mens minds so as to sway them must be your weak point - and if you permit theories and generalisations to occupy so large a share in your thoughts that weak point will become weaker. I wish you could put your book aside for a time, and let your mind rest, you would take it up again with great advantage. And oh remember dearest Lindsay thatyou have no right to trifle with the noble instrument God

has bestowed upon you, and which you have dedicated to such lofty objects.

Now that I have written all this I am almost angry with myself for criticizing so hardily what is so much above my reach - and what is in fact so beautiful and so full of truth - every part in itself is excellent and admirable but the question is whether it is in its place. Some of your similes are most just and new. The account of the different periods of history in Italy most admirable - but the parts do not hang well together. In short I must ask you to forgive me, because I cannot help telling you the truth - exactly as I feel it and it would make me too unhappy if any one could find a loop hole to laugh at your book, when I know it will be everything that is good and noble and full of knowledge and research. I have read my letter to James whose opinions are so interwoven with my own respecting it that I can hardly tell which is which.

How much I wish we could see you, how I should enjoy a chat with you - and a walk. We have given up our intentions of going towards the south, and propose spending a couple of months on the Northern Italian lakes, from thence to Venice and by the Tyrol to some of the interesting towns in Germany so as to arrive in England in the autumn. I will write you more in detail when we have better matured our plans - we do not think of leaving this till the end of May. We are all well - Coutts very pleasant and very happy. I have not forgotten your request about James's profile but I am not quite sure whether Marini would do it well. Good bye dearest Lindsay we all send you our best love. You enter into all our conversations and if you miss

the children I am sure they return the compliment. I think we shall have a good deal to show you one way or other. Marini has completed another drawing from the Fra Angelico at San Marco, the Annunciation in the gallery. Once more adieu believe me ever most aff^y yours

Anne Lindsay

I hope, I hope you will not be annoyed at this letter - I assure you it is not written in a careless spirit but with true love and the deepest interest."

Letter F. Lindsay's reply to these criticisms.

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay Haigh, 6 April 1843

"Dearest Anne,

I will not lose a post in answering your mostkind and admirable letter, lest you should fancy it had annoyed or mortified me. Quite the contrary. I am more grateful to you than I can express, both to James and yourself and thank my stars I have a "privy council" so judicious and so kind. I comprehend all your criticisms and acquiesce in them I think in toto, or all but. You like my first Letter, but think the second digressive and irrelevant to the subject. I ought to have told you how hastily these Letters were thrown together in order to accompany and illustrate the skeleton scheme sent by Coutts. But for that opportunity I'd never have dreamed of writing them so soon; there is therefore no necessity to suppose them ever written. Still - since you like my first, I'd be inclined to keep it and add so much as would explain my view of art as the reflection of the great revival of Imagina-

tive Xtianity dating from the 11th and 12th centuries, and the struggle it afterwards had to maintain with the revived spirit of Paganism under which it succumbed - this will be necessary, but a paragraph wd be sufficient for the purpose, and I could then sketch very briefly the popular mythology, the materials of art - reserving whatever we may ultimately agree upon touching England's destiny and the prospects of painting for the last and concluding chapter - which there is no occasion to write till your return home and after we have discussed the whole of the previous letters or chapters, whichever they may be. I do not quite agree in all you say against generalisation - though I grant that few relish them, but I have no objection whatever to defer such as I may venture upon to the close. You don't think that the sketch contained in my first letter and the little bit I propose adding to it, will be too much?

You see I am amenable enough with regard to the "trumpet blast of preparation". If you recollect, my Lindsay Lives began with some grandiloquence of the same sort - there is little harm in this - you know that ale tastes always better when a certain quantity of froth is produced by the height from which it poured out - the froth is an accident and easily blown away - it is just so with me and I prognosticate from the froth you complain of on the present occasion that the ale will in this case also prove worth your drinking. I hope so at least - nous verrons.

But what concerns me most is your apprehension that I am in too excited a state for my health and want a mental holiday. Dear kind Anne, this is not the case - I don't mean to say that I may not have a

little mystified myself in thinking - but who ever explored a wilderness without occasionally losing his way? Nay one's blunders are wisdom after retrieval of the right path. You will say I have lost that right path altogether and not discovered the aberration - it is difficult to argue with an interval of 900 miles, so I will not attempt to vindicate my position in the said wilderness, though I think a morning's combat would lighten your anxiety about me, and meanwhile you must give credit to my earnest assurance that I am well and cheerful. I will not tell you that I am dull and stupid now instead of lucid, for neither is the case, but I am enjoying a happy medium and my plan is gradually expanding and maturing. I cannot tell you how delighted I am that you like my skeleton scheme and succession of influences - it is its moral character that constitutes the interest of Art, and her vicissitude cannot be explained except by the application of a rule of universal truth such as I have traced in the said skeleton. Look through histories of art and lives of individual artists, it is all partiality and prepossession - a predetermination to admire all the works belonging to a particular category and condemn all others - this is neither philosophical nor just, so long as mere individual taste is the law of criticism.

I wd give much for a chat with you dear Anne "de omnibus rebus and quibusdam aliis." Don't be frightened about me, but indeed I cannot lay aside my book at present - it is very nearly finished - I mean I have vy nearly settled all my views and balanced the different positions, schools etc - this has been the hard work; when once this is finished, the mere writing will be easy. This reminds me of a painter who after being bothered by his employer about a picture he had been two years

promising him at last told him "it is almost finished" and opening a drawer produced - the sketch; the amateur was furious till the artist explained that it was the composition and thought that had occupied him so long, but now that that was all determined on, the "mere colouring" wd be but a week's work. I see I have omitted an observation I intended making on what you say of my having mixed up my Providential history and second chapter - I said something to this effect in my last letter written about a week ago. Had I already written that history or rather the little work planned at Lausanne, it would be a central sun of principles round which I could gradually create a whole planetary system in dependance upon it - but here I shall be running into grandiloquence again and yet I can hardly help it but you understand what I mean ....."

Three years later Lindsay was still anxious to defend the connection between his philosophical theories and his art-historical studies. James, Anne and Coutts, however, still reiterated their view that he should publish his philosophical thesis, which by now had taken the form of the essay entitled Progression by Antagonism, as a separate volume, especially in view of the fact that his publisher, John Murray, had decided to postpone the Sketches of the History of Christian Art.

Letter G.

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay Paris 18 April 1846.

..... " I would further plead that ' Prog^{n} by Ant^{n}.' is not .... an appendage arbitrarily stuck on to the work on art, but the key to

the principle on which it is constructed:- the whole classification of artists, the whole estimate of comparative excellence, the whole work in short wd be unintelligible without it. All my hopes of benefiting Art rest on its comprehension. I do not wish to amuse only but to instruct. And much wd be lost by severing what I have joined - I do think dear James in lawful matrimony. Prefixed as I wish it, the work on art wd illustrate the Progression and the Progression the work on Art - the benefit wd be reciprocal - apart, each wd suffer. The Progression is the <u>theory</u>, the History of Art the <u>practical</u> illustration. <u>Had the Progression been published in the first instance as a separate work,</u> then reference to it might have sufficed. It affords the general principle of which the history of art is the individual exemplification. The history of art is stuck on to it, rather than it to the history of art. It stands centrally to the different departments of life and thought, thus -



the part crossed over being what I have done.

Since, however, the Sketches are to be postponed till December, two alternatives present themselves.

I. To publish the 'Prog^{n} by Ant^{n}' separately and at once, as Murray offered to do - Or

II. To print it privately now, and circulate it among a chosen few as an experiment on the pulse of the public - and prefixing it or not, accordingly, in December.

In favour of the first alternative - that of immediate publication - I greatly wish it to come out <u>soon</u>, because I am certain that the <u>outline</u>

at least is true, and I want to bring before England's eyes her true position. Of course, dear Anne, I shall be condemned and found fault with - and the more so, as I said above, inasmuch as I shall thus publish my theory without the practical illustration afforded by the work on art - but condemnation will be my lot at first, whenever, sooner or later, the Theory appears. The misfortune of a book, as it has been truly said, is - not its being abused, but its not being spoken of. Now, published by Murray, and my name having some consideration, I think it will be read, and if one or two men of thought are convinced, my object will be gained.

Secondly - as respects private circulation with the view to eventual decision whether or not to prefix it in December - this at first sight may appear a good idea - but the worst is, that those leaders of thought who bear the palm, the Hallams, Hamiltons etc of the age, are generally those who least appreciate new truths - it is the young only who catch at them as they come into the world. ..... After all, I think that England is not unripe for the theory. How often have I shown you imperfect glimpses in Arnold and Coleridge of portions of it! .....

There would be one advantage certainly in the case of private printing - I could after the whole work has been printed (and almost every word of it wd necessarily be printed first) send a few copies to different people to peruse in connexion with the Progression, and determine whether the 'Progression' sd be prefixed or not. I wd stand on you and James's decision alone on this point for I repeat I hate and abhor critics and advisers, you two only excepted - If not, I must

write a page or two of explanation, as you suggest - but I am afraid it would be a limping affair. .....

..... I own I am much grieved and annoyed at this postponement - I begin to feel so now that the pain of losing you begins to lessen. Not that I am impatient - I sd care little about it were it not that the interest in art is so great just now and that next winter will be lost to artists and tourists as regards the frescoes of Italy - my elucidation of their meaning and attempt to assist their appreciation. Then too I regret that one of the objects of interest which are to me as an avenue of lamps into a gloomy future is withdrawn to so great a distance . ..... My great object just now is to have pleasant objects of interest to keep before my eyes so as to hinder painful thoughts intruding. ....."

Two days later, Lindsay sent Anne a clearer and more detailed analysis of the arguments for and against the immediate publication of Progression by Antagonism. Letter H.

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay 20 April 1846

"..... I. Reasons for wishing to set forth my Theory with as little delay as possible.

1. The position of England - verging to a crisis - peace dependent on the lives of L. Philippe, etc. My wish to call her attention to her duties etc before the crisis comes.

2. The youth of England growing up and daily crying out for guidance and a clue to the comprehension of their position, duties, and

destiny. There is a painful and yearning cry on every side.

3. I am satisfied the Theory is correct in its grand outline. I believe it the answer to a prayer I wrote in the Chamber of Thoth at the Memnonium, the earliest library in the world - I have tested it for years and am persuaded of its truth - it is, if I may so speak, an universal solvent, - errors there may be in illustration and detail, but these must ever be in a survey so vast - and 50 years delay would not lessen them.

4. I am so wearied and overworked that I am unable to do more to it just now. I want rest.

5. Nor do I wish to add to its length in the first instance. It is a great advantage to a theory, its being set forth concisely so that its extent and bearing may be appreciated at a glance. I wd not sacrifice this conciseness on any account. I throw it like a harpoon - whales may plunge down and try to escape, but it will stick in them and bring them to the surface and to submission. I mean being concise and simple in language the idea will work in the mind even though at first rejected and will ultimately I think prevail .....

6. The prospect of criticism does not appal me. The theory strikes so strongly at party and prejudice and holds up so lofty a standard of excellence, that whensoever it comes out, it must necessarily meet opposition.

II. Reasons for private printing now

1. It may be circulated and opinions gathered previous to publication. We may thus ascertain how it is likely to be received - what objections are most generally urged etc.

2. If (perchance) it excites interest, a demand may rise for it and this demand may assist our determination

i. Whether to publish it separately - or

ii. To prefix it, as at present proposed, to the Sketches of Art.

There is not a doubt that independent publication prior to that of the Sketches, would be preferable, if only it be read - but there's the rub. I hesitated from the very same distrust of the public interest in anything in the slightest degree metaphysical. My own inclination wd go to publication at once - on Montrose's principle

He either fears his fate too much
or his deserts are small
Who dares not put it to the touch
to win or lose it all -

But this I fear my Council of War won't hear of ....."

By 29 April, Lindsay had decided to publish Progression by Antagonism.

Letter J.

Lord Lindsay to Mrs Anne Lindsay Paris 29 April /46

Dearest Anne - I have just finished cutting down my Classification of Human Thought to the minimum of intelligibility etc.

I have been thinking much and anxiously for nearly a week respecting the Progression by Antagonism - my impulse was to publish it and this has ripened into resolve since finding that you too think it wd be the wiser plan. What you urge - of its taking people by surprise if

prefixed to the Sketches and thus offending them, had not struck me but I see its force. One feeling which induced me so to prefix it was that of distrust, in consequence of the little interest felt for that subject in Engd. You make me ashamed of this, and I now see that there was a worse feeling behind distrust - a want of faith in God, who if the Theory be truth, will give it his blessing - and with that blessing the little bark may go forth secure. In God's name then let it go - but we must follow it with prayer, dear Anne, and I think I may depend on your aid in this - I have written a short prayer which I enclose you, and which I cd. wish you and James and even Min May and Coutts to use - it is asking much, but I cannot tell you how deeply I feel the responsibility of what I am about to do. I shall ask Colin too to join us, and my mother, and God I am sure will answer us accordingly.

I am fully prepared for all the criticism and abuse you threaten me with - Many will cry out against me - The theory strikes at so many prejudices and sets up so high a standard, that partisans of every class must assail it - and then there is the prejudice, the wholesome prejudice, against whatever is new. I do not therefore by any means expect that it will escape the storm of criticism - nor do I wish it - quite the contrary - it wd be the best pledge for its ultimate triumph. But then too there is the strong probability that it may fall to the ground apparently unnoticed. Even in that case I should not despair, but like the seedsman patiently await the harvest. Lastly I may be all along in error and the Theory may be a lie - I do not think so - I am strong in my conviction that it is truth from God, but if it be false, refutation or oblivion will be a boon from God, and we must pray for this, dear

Anne, as you will see in the enclosed paper.

Yes on every account I think you are right in urging me to publish at once, openly and in the eye of day - and it shall be so. So much is dared in the Theory itself, that the commentary in the Postscript is but slight additional offence - and without it my object will only be half understood. Then as you say, the Sketches of Art will come forth in the winter as an illustration of the Theory - consumating to those who may have read it, - for those who have not I must prefix a summary or statement explanatory of my views. I dont think there will be much difficulty in this. Coutts' observation which you repeat to me is true, with the exception that the inner meaning is the life of the whole - on comprehension of which my whole hope of the resuscitation of art is grounded. I do not think you have an idea how completely the Sketches are based upon these views of Progression. I held them, you know, long before I wrote them systematically down - you are so familiar with them that their recurrence and perpetual undertone in the Sketches do not strike you. If the Progression succeeds now, I shall not regret the postponement of the Sketches, for no doubt the prior notoriety of the general system will promote the comprehension of the particular department illustrated. I shall not add any notes or references - they would be useless at present and a volume might be written on every position laid down. In its very essence it is an appeal to the intellectual conscience of those most conversant in ethnology, history, metaphysics etc /whose/ memory will at once present the facts on which my conclusions are grounded. They will think me too daring, that the data are sometimes insufficient for the conclusion etc. etc.

but I do not think they will question the accuracy of those data, and many of them I doubt not will say of me as the Quarterly did some years ago, that though the wings of my speculation like those of the sage in /...../* are insufficient to maintain me in the air, they are substantial enough to support me, safe from drowning, on the surface of the water. But, Dio juvante, this shall not be. Even if my Theory be not Truth absolute, I do think it is an approximation to truth - I dare not call it anything else. It cannot I think do harm and there is my comfort. I hazard nothing but by my own credit. The dragon may devour me but still the lady for whom I /put/ spear in /...../* is fair chaste and in distress. It seems to me a philosophy suited to the times It places morals on the soundest foundation, checking laxness on the one hand and asceticism on the other - it sets up a standard of perfection in our Incarnate Saviour - it vindicates the Trinity - it points out the Church of Engd as the fine Ark, checking Evangelicalism on one side and Puseyism on the other, I mean the extravagances of each - it reveals the secret of the constitution and glory of England - it substitutes Duty for Expediency in politics, on the principle that the National is as real an existence as the Individual Man, and similarly responsible, - while in history, civil and ecclesiastical, and in art, literature etc it ties together and gives a reason for a thousand detached facts and phenomena which float at large on the records of time and in the memories of men, unaccounted for and often uninteresting because unaccounted for. Such at least has been my own experience - this theory has been the answer to years of thought, during which I have sat and watched the shadows

* Note: This word illegible in the Ms.

of the past and realities of the present revolving as it were around me in the vast circle of time - seeking all the while for the Causes and the Cause which give them life and motion, and when the answer came, it seemed to me like a revelation from above.

Another reason too I have for believing in my Theory - that, in verifying it I have so frequently found partial anticipation of it, or rather of its details - these abound for instance in Guizot's Civilisation en Europe which I only read last year - in Schiller's Aesthetic letters which I am reading now - in Arnold's Correspondence - in Coleridge, /...../* I used often to feel at first with the man who exclaimed Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerunt - Perish those who have said our good things before us, but I soon learnt to rejoice in it as proof or confirmation that what I had set forth was truth, learning by degrees to think more of truth and less of myself as the supposed discoverer. These anticipations are generally vague and lifeless because the great cause of all, which binds the whole together, is not perceived at the same moment, and because the eyes of those who thus anticipate have been circumscribed by natural barriers of prejudice which they are unable to surmount. Guizot for instance by those incidental to him as a Frenchman and a Protestant - Schiller as a German and a Sceptic - Arnold as a Whig and Low Churchman - Coleridge comes very near sometimes but he is cloudy and indistinct - I often wonder what his scheme of philosophy was of which his pupils talk so much. But I shall weary you, dear Anne."

* Note: This word is illegible in the Ms.

Then in May 1846 we find Lindsay corresponding with James on the question of expanding Progression by Antagonism with concrete illustrations in support of the general theory. Letter K.

Lord Lindsay to Col. James Lindsay 9 May 1846

"Dearest James,

I wd have written to you yesterday (had it not been Friday) to thank you for your great kindness in bestowing so much time on me in the midst of London. I look with the greatest interest to the perusal of your comments and will consider well all you say. At the same time I fear that it wd be very difficult to append the illustrations you allude to. It wd require long and laborious research, which I am scarcely fit for now - I am parted too from my books - and in fact the illustrations to be sufficient, wd extend, I do not say to triple or quadruple the size of the Essay, but to volumes. And if imperfectly done, would prejudice the theory instead of supporting it. Is it not useful sometimes to announce your opinion and leave others to supply the reasons? Those who do so appropriate half the credit, their vanity is interested, and in supporting you they flatter themselves. This at least was my grandfather's theory and it is my father's though I don't believe either of them ever practised it - certainly not my father.

My original idea indeed was not unlike yours - it was to publish the Progression first, and afterwards to write a series of Essays illustrating detached points involved in it. The idea of the Essay (as a summary or germ of the Providential History, schemed in Egypt) dates from a drive that Anne and I took together at Savigny. The volume

of essays from a suggestion of yours when we were walking on the terrace at Elysée ..... You have much to answer for, dear James - the work on Art is owing to you too - a suggestion you made during that delightful drive at Lucca, the same day we passed through that host of white butterflies, newly introduced that vy hour into Nature's ballroom - I sitting on the dickey behind and talking over with you and Anne - we were then reading Pico as you may remember. But I will say no more for the present till I receive your criticisms - except that with reference to the language my object was to write as concisely, although as clear as I could, in mathematical precision, avoiding all metaphors, which are so dangerous in argument for truth. I do not expect that the world in general will trouble themselves about it - for them the style of the Sketches of Art is better suited. But I wished - the fact is that my calculations and arrangements are sadly overthrown by the dissociation of the two. Had the Progression been published with the history of art, they would mutually have illustrated each other, but things having deen decided differently, there is no help for it. Many of the notes in the "Sketches", though necessary for those Sketches, were written with especial view to illustration of the 'Progression' - see for instance in the Introductory Memoranda the long note at the beginning of the "Ascetic or Monastic Saints" respecting Mysticism. It is very difficult for any one but the author himself to appreciate the anatomy of his work, the relation of the parts to each other - its moral life is fair subject for criticism. Perhaps the perusal of the work on art may occasion a demand retrospectively for the "Progression" as a key to it. Had the Sketches <u>not</u> been postponed to December, I

certainly would not have consented to the partition, but I do wish to put forth the Progression now, as it seems to me "the time to speak" even at my own risk ....."

Appendix 10 (see Chapters IX-XI)

Lot Number	Artist	Sale Cat. Descrip. & Price	Dennistoun Mss Catalogue Notes	Mrs Dennistoun's annotation to Sale Cat.	Subsequent Provenance	Present Whereabouts
1	Early Florentine	The Virgin, suckling the Infant £1. 5. 0	-	cost the same in London	-	-
2	Fra Angelico da Fiesole	The Madonna, and St John £6. 6. 0	-	cost rather less		Princeton University, New Jersey.
3	Fra Angelico da Fiesole	The Resurrection, two soldiers sleeping beneath - very small, Pronounced by Dr. Waagen "a genuine picture." £44. 2. 0		cost £3. the frame £1. very small		The Louvre, Paris, as by Andrea di Giusto.
4.	Fra Angelico da Fiesole	The Virgin enthroned with two saints at her side. A very interesting small work. From the Gerini Gallery; on which Dr Waagen says, "In this little picture all that earnestness and spirituality peculiar to that master is expressed". £56.14.0		cost £9		Count Seilern, London.
5.	Berna di Sienna	The Stoning of St. Stephen - painted on gold ground £2.10.0		cost the same	Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12 June 1863 (8) as by Berna; Christie's 30 April 1875 (14) bt. Polson where size is given as 9½ x 19 ins.	

6	Giottino	The Crucifixion, on gold ground - small, with pointed top £5.10. 0	-	cost about half	Christie's 19 March 1885 (116) bt. Wagner; Sotheby's 25 Nov. 1970 (25)	Private collection U.S.A.
7	Giottino	The Crucifixion, with the Maries and the centurion and soldiers beneath - on gold ground, with pointed top £5.15. 0	-	cost rather less	-	-
8	Giottino	The Crucifixion, with the Virgin and St John; the Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the cross - small square. £4. 4.0	-	bought in at £4. 4. 0	-	-
9	Taddeo Gaddi	The Epiphany, and Visitation - parts of a predella £19. 8. 6	"The Salutation and the Epiphany or Worship of the Wisemen, by Taddeo Gaddi, on panel, each 8 x 13 ins. These remarkably beautiful pictures are choise examples of the manner of Giotto by his best pupil, and are in singular preservation. They are parts of the predella or pedestal on which, prior to 1500, Italian altar pictures were usually placed, and which was decorated with several oblong panels, illustrating the principal subjects, by the same master; forming choice cabinet specimens of his style, although seldom exempt from severe injuries. Bought at Florence in 1838."	These two pictures cost £10	Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12 June 1863 (14 &15)	Courtauld Institute Gallery, London as Lorenzo Monaco.

10	Gentile da Fabriano	The Holy Family, seated before a building, the Magi in adoration, in the singular landscape background. £21. 0. 0	-	cost about £9	-	-
11	School of Memmi	The Virgin and Child - a fragment. £3.10. 0	-	no gain	-	-
12	S. Memmi	The Virgin and Child, with saints on gold ground - a fragment. From the collection of M. Lauriani of the Vatican - unframed. £2. 5. 0	"Madonna holding with outstretched hands the Child, who extends his arms to embrace her; her mantle spreads gracefully over her head, and his body is fully draped: half-lengths on a gold ground, 20 x 10½. A fragment from the time and school of Simon Memmi of Siena, in which grand character and sweet expression are combined with a more animated movement than is usual in that age. Brought from Florence to Rome, where I purchased it in 1845."	-	-	-
13	Cos. Roselli	The Miracle of St. Augustine. An interesting composition of nine figures. £15.15. 0	-	cost little, well sold	Ramsden sale Christie's 11 July 1930 (55); Ramsden sale Christie's 27 May 1932 (113). Photo in Witt Library London. Size: panel 11½ x 25 ins.	

14	Don Lorenzo Monaco	The Nativity: the Virgin kneeling, St. Joseph seated on the ground, the Infant in a manger, the shepherds and angels above. From the collection of M. Lauriani, Librarian of the Vatican. £9.19. 6	The Nativity by Don Lorenzo the Monk. The Infant Christ in a manger is worshipped by his Mother, St. Joseph sitting apart, asleep, while the shepherds approach warned by an angelic choir. This picture is quite in its original state, and in the Vatican Christian Museum was given to Fra Angelico of Fiesole, but Waagen ascribes it to his pupil Don Lorenzo. It was found too large for the glass cases of that museum, so the librarian Monsignor Laureani allowed me to have it at cost price in 1846. On panel 32 x 27.	This was bought in Rome and cost fully more.	Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12 June 1863 (46) as Orcagna bt. Herrmann.	-
15	G. Ferrari	The Madonna and Child £12.12. 0	-	-	-	-
16	Sano di Pietro	The death of Santa Monaca, who is being laid in the tomb by the Saviour and a bishop. An interesting specimen £9. 9. 0	-	-	Lehman Collection New York.	Metropolitan Museum, New York. Inv. 65.181.7.
17	Duccio di Sienna	A beautiful small tryptic, in five parts: in the centre the Virgin and Child enthroned; on the wings St. Nicholas, St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Jerome, on gold ground; the Emperor Constantius and Empress Helena, and the Entombment on the outside of the wings. This interesting work is most perfectly preserved. £22.11. 6.	-	This laid on the table it was so small - cost about £9.	-	-

18	Greek School	St. Nicolas: Byzantine painting - on gold ground.	-	very small	-	-
19	Lorenzetti di Sienna	A large tryptic: the Virgin and Child, with two angels in the centre; two saints presenting devotees on each wing - painted on gold ground, with pointed tops	-	cost £20 in Rome, was very large	-	-
				£30. 9. 0 *		
20	G. Schiavone	An altar-piece, on gold ground, described by Dr. Waagen as "an altar-piece by Gregorio Schiavone, in different compartments: in the centre the Virgin and Child; at the sides a sainted monk and John the Baptist; above, in the centre, the dead Christ, supported by two angels; at the sides, St. Anthony of Padua and St. Peter Martyr; below, on a predella of unusual height, two male and two female saints, inscribed 'Opus Sclavoni discipulus Squarcione S.' This is the best specimen known to me of this scholar of Squarcione; some of the heads are of good expression, the colouring of the flesh is less cold, the outlines of the forms less hard and cutting than usual" £46. 4. 0	-	bought at Johnstone of Straiton's sale in Edinburgh at Taits Rooms for £8. 8. 0	James Johnston of Straiton sale Tait & Co. Edinburgh 14 Jan 1842 (34).	National Gallery London, inv. 630.
21	Giovanni Sanzi	Portrait of Raffaelle, when a boy. The head is small, the neck long, the slight figure is clothed in a tunic tight to the throat, from which it hangs straight and loose, after the Italian fashion of the fifteenth century, and	The Young Raffaele, a portrait in profile by his father Giovanni Sanzi. The contemporary inscription corrects Vasari's date of birth - "Rafaello Sanzi d'Anni sei nato il di 6 Apr 1483 Sanzi Padre Dipinse." A full account of this most interesting portrait will be found in my Memoir of the Dukes of Urbino, vol. II p. 209, 461. On panel 16 x 11 inches. Brought from Urbino to Citta di Castello in 1838, where I purchased it in 1838.	this cost 13 shillings the frame cost £2	Bought Lord Breadalbane, exhibited BFAC 1924/5 (89) lent Leopold Hirsch.	Thyssen collection Lugano.

21 (contd.)		though ill adapted for elegance of drapery, its deep crimson colour and gold embroideries give a certain richness to the meagrely designed costume; on a white ledge under the figure is written in a hand much resembling that of Raffaelle, "Raffaelle Sanzi d'anni sei nato il di 6 Ap., 1483. Sanzi padre dipinse"; the back of the panel bears these words, also in old characters, "Rittratto del Piccolo Raffaelle Sazi d'anni sei nato in Urbino il di sei di Aprile 1483, Sanzi dipinse." A pamphlet addressed by Mr. Dennistoun to the Editor of the Art Union, proving the correctness of the day of Raffaelle's birth as stated in the picture accompanies it. £55.13. 0.				
22	Bronzino	Portrait of Luigo Allemanno, the Florentine poet, in a black dress £5. 5. 0	-	cost more	-	-
23	Baroccio	Portrait of the last Duke of Urbino, in a black dress, with a gold chain and badge of the Golden Fleece, his hand resting on a book £6. 2. 6	-	it cost more - hung in library, large	-	-
24	Raffaellino del Colle	La Madonna del Garofalo - on copper. A beautiful copy from Raffaelle - in frame carved with figures £13. 2. 6	-	cost £20, frame beautiful	bought Lord Breadalbane.	-
25	Al Allori	Portrait of Torquato Tasso, in a black and crimson dress, holding a manuscript. Animated and delicate in conception, and carefully treated £26. 5. 0	Portrait of Torquato Tasso, by Alessandro Allori, half length. Every likeness I have met with but this seems to have been done after his death, on the type of cast now at S. Onofrio in Rome. The careworn moody look, and finical dress mark the period shortly preceding the poet's first outbreak of mania; and as he visited Florence about / / we may reasonably suppose he then sat to one of the best followers of Michael Angelo there. Signor / / the sculptor of Tasso's statue at the Uffizii (sic), after having enquired for every likeness of him, had no doubt of the authenticity of this portrait. On panel 45 x 38 inches. Bought at Florence in 1845.	Cost £10 in Florence in 1845	-	-

26	Titian	Portrait of Ariosto, in a blue dress. The very rare engraving by Persin accompanies it £85. 1. 0.	-	cost £15 in Munich in 1836/7.	Bought by Lord Breadalbane	-
27	Paris Bordone	A Venetian Nobleman £5. 5. 0	-	cost £8	-	-
28	School of Fiesole	The Nativity, with landscape background £9.10. 0	-	-	-	-
29	Timoteo della Vite	The Magdalen, holding the vase and a book, in a landscape. Purchased from M Lauriani, librarian of the Vatican £6.	-	cost fully as much	Davenport-Bromley sale 13 June 1863 (136)	-
30	School of Perugino	The Epiphany: the Holy Family, seated before a building, the Magi presenting their offerings, their attendants in the background £29. 8. 0	-	cost about £8 frame £1	Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12 June 1863 (51) as by Pinturicchio; Holford sale Christie's 15 July 1927 (120). Reproduced in Holford Collection Catalogue B.F.A.C. London, 1924 pl. XXVII as Umbrian c. 1500.	-
31	M. Albertinelli	The Virgin and Child, seated, in a landscape £7. 7. 0	-	cost about £6	-	-

32	Gaudenzio Ferrari	The Nativity: The Virgin and St. Joseph kneeling over the Infant, who lies on the ground, three angels in adoration beyond, the angel appearing to the shepherds in the distance £18. 7. 0	The Nativity by Gaudenzio Ferrari. The infant is worshipped by his mother, St. Joseph, and a choir of three kneeling angels, in front of a cow-shed. A hovering angel announces the event to shepherds in the distance, who allegorically defend their flock from a fox, while three of their number approach to worship, through the defiles of a rugged Sierra. This altar-piece partakes of the best Lombard and Florentine character, and has been variously ascribed to Fra Bartolomeo, da Credi, A. di Salerno, and Pierino del Vaga, but Waagen prefers the name I have attached to it. On panel 72 x 57 inches. Brought from Ireland by Galli of Edinburgh, from whom I bought it in 1841.	cost £64 from an Irish dealer in Edinr. very pretty.	Christie's 29 June 1923 (146); Christie's 28 June 1929 (50) bt Savile Gallery.	-
33	Cima di Conegliano	The Virgin, in a blue dress, her hands clasped, with the Infant seated before her on a window-ledge; a crimson drapery behind. Signed "Joannes Bta. Coneglanensis". £24. 3. 0	Madonna Adolorata by Cima da Conegliano, half length, with a red curtain and a rocky Landscape, on panel 24 x 18 inches; signed on a stone ledge Joannes Bta Coneglanensis. This favourite idea of the Christian painters supposes a prophetic vision, in which the Madonna foresaw, during her child's infancy, those griefs and sufferings that awaited his mortal existence, ere the atonement was complete. In her pensive and resigned expression, a mother's love is saddened by a mother's cares, as, with upraised hands she blesses him, adding, "not my will but thine oh Lord, be done!! The Saviour gently rests his little hand on hers, while his eyes, beaming with interest and sympathy, supply the want of speech. Bought in Naples for £55 by Captain Henry Smith from whom I purchased it in 1841.	cost £10 from Galli, a dealer in Edinburgh. /Mrs Dennistoun's statement, which conflicts with her husband's, is probably incorrect/.	Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12 June 1863 (83); Christie's 21 April 1888 (38).	Detroit Institute of Fine Arts.

34	Correggio	The Virgin, kneeling in adoration over the Infant, with architecture in the background - on copper - £3.15. 0	-	cost rather more	- -
35	Andrea d'Assisi	The Virgin and Child, on gold ground - panel - in architectural frame of the period - £5.15. 6	-	cost the same	- -
36	Garofalo	The Nativity: The Virgin, St. Joseph, and a Shepherd, kneeling in adoration over the Infant, near a cavern; with beautiful landscape background - £23. 2. 0	-	cost £24 in Ed.	- -
37	Michele, of Florence	The Virgin and Child, with an Angel, surrounded by a border of bone carved with figures - circular - £5. 5. 0	-	cost £10 from the painter in Florence	- -
38	P. Tibaldi	The Annunciation, with a choir of angels above - £8.18. 6	-	cost about the same in exchange with other pictures in Edinburgh.	- -
39	Baroccio	Head of an Angel. £9. 0. 0	-	Mrs. Dennistoun bt. this for £1 at Pesaro.	- -
40	L. da Vinci	The Virgin and Child, holding a pear. Purchased at Urbino, of the Vecciarelli Family - £3.13. 6.	-	cost £12	- -
41	Scarsellino di Ferrara	Christ in the garden - £3. 0. 0	-	cost rather more	- -

42	School of Perugino	St. Roch - a small figure - £6.10. 0	-	cost £1.10. 0	-	-
43	Paduanino	Head of a duchess of Medicis - a fragment - £1.15. 0	-	cost the same	-	-
44	School of Giotto	Saints invoking Christ - two illuminated miniatures - £4.10. 0.	-	cost £2	-	-
45	School of Titian	The Virgin and Child, on a grassy bank, gathering flowers - £3.15. 0	Madonna and Child seated on a flowery bank; School of Titian. This pleasing composition resembles the well known Titian, No. 409 at Hampton Court, in which Tobias and the angel are introduced; mentioned in Mrs. Jameson's Public Galleries II 364, and engraved by Vischer and by Battista Franco; also the marriage of St Catherine No. 17 in the Pitti Palace, engraved by Caterina Piotti. On canvas 27 x 34 inches. Bought at the Straiton sale in 1841.	cost £6 at Johnston of Straiton sale	James Johnston of Straiton sale, Tait & Co. Edinburgh 15 Jan. 1842 (91).	-
46	School of Giotto	The Pentecost. A beautiful miniature, on vellum, with rich border - £8.15. 0	Large Initial O miniatured on vellum, from a choral book painted in the School of Giotto. The apostles, seated in a circle, listen to the tidings of Salvation from the lips of Christ, who occupies an Episcopal Chair under an open hexagonal temple. The original border is inlayed round the initial 18½ x 17½ inches. Bought at Florence in 1838.	Mrs. D. bt this at Florence for 30 shillings.	-	-
47	School of Giotto	The Crucifixion, with Saints. A beautiful miniature, on vellum, with rich arabesque border. £4.14. 6.	-	cost £2	-	-

48	School of Titian	Portrait of a Lady of the Medicis Family: Pellegrina, daughter of Bianca Capello, in a richly ornamented dress. £4.14. 6.	Portrait of Pelegrina de Medici, School of Titian in rich brocade and lace; on canvas 29 x 23 ins.	cost rather more	-	-
49	A. del Sarto	The Resurrection. An interesting small work in the Master's first manner. From the de Angelis Gallery at Sienna. £4.14. 0.	-	about same price	Davenport-Bromley sale Christie's 12 June 1863 (48) as A del Sarto; Ramsden sale Christie's 27 May 1932 (117).	Private Collection as A. Brescianino.
50	C. Maratti	The Holy Family. £3. 3. 0	M. Child & St. Joseph, half lengths, by Carlo Maratta, with more grandeur than his usual style. On canvas 27½ x 32½ inches. Bt. in Geneva in 1837.	Mrs. D. bought this for £10 at Geneva in 1836.	-	-
51	Bronzino	The Virgin and Child, with St. Joseph and St. John. A very grand and beautiful design - circular, on panel. /£21. 0. 0/	-	bought in at £21 paid £65 in Ed. a year ago.	-	-
52.	G. da Carpi	The Virgin, in a crimson and blue dress, seated, with the Infant in her lap, before a sculptured portico; a green drapery suspended above - circle on panel. The Orsini Arms on the frame. £141.15. 0.	Madonna and Child by Girolamo da Carpi. She sits in a niche ornamented with bas reliefs, over which a green drapery is thrown; on her knee the naked Child. This charming specimen of the Ferrarese school bears on its original altarframe the arms of Count Porcione of Mirandola, and is by one of the rarest masters of that place. On panel. 24½ x 16½ inches. Bought at Rome in 1839.	Paid £15 in Rome in 1839.	-	-

53	Luigi Agresti	The Last Supper. Very richly coloured, with the engraving · £6. 0. 0	-	-	Cardinal Fesch sale, Rome, Part IV. 1845 (1482) bt. Dennistoun.
54	School of Brescia	The Virgin and Child, enthroned, with saints and angels in adoration · £4. 0. 0.			
55	F. Vanni	The repose of the Holy Family - small. £2. 0. 0			
56	Schedone	The Virgin and Child. £1.13. 0			
57	School of Parma	A female saint, holding a salvor of fruit - very elegant·£4. 4. 0			
58	School of Ferrara	The Holy Family, with St. Francis and St. Jerome·£9. 9. 0			
59	Guardi	A view on a canal, at Venice, with figures. £11. 0. 6.			
60	Guardi	A view on the grand canal - the companion. £11. 0. 6			
61	Scorza, of Genoa	A pastoral landscape · £1. 6. 0			

62	S. Rosa	A romantic bay scene, with figures - evening · £4.10. 0.			
63	Serani	St. Cecilia, playing on the viol da gamba · £5. 7. 6			
64	Testaferrata	A Roman piper · £1. 1. 0			
65	Antonilez di Serabia	St. Raymond of Penaforte. From the Standish Gallery · £3.13. 6.		Ramsden sale, Christie's 11 July 1930 (58) Photo in Witt Library London. Copper. 10 x 8 in.	
66	Montelinez di Serabia	St. Anthony, seated reading, near a chapel, with mountainous background. From the Standish Gallery.£2. 2. 0.	-	-	-
67	Zurbaran	The Madonna of Mercy - four figures kneeling round her. From the Standish Gallery · /£2.15. 0/	-	bought in at £2.15. 0	-
68	Murillo	The vision of St. Augustine of Canterbury: the saint is washing the feet of the Saviour, who appears in the likeness of a pilgrim; from his mouth proceed the words "Magne Pater Augustine tibi commendo Ecclesiam meam." This fine gallery picture was purchased from Don Julian Williams, by Mr. Standish, for £66, at Seville, in 1825; it	cost 30 guineas in 1853 in London at Louis Philippe's sale at Christie's	Standish sale Christie's 28 May 1853 (204).	E. Garcia - Herraiz, Madrid.

68 (contd.)		was originally painted for the nuns of San Leandro Order of St. Austen, and sold by them during the troubles caused by the army of Soult, in 1810, to Dr. Manuel Real, from whom it passed to Don J. Williams. The picture is mentioned in the work of Herrera and d'Aviles Guia de Seville, 1832 · £199.10. 0.			
69	Velazquez	Portrait of a Cardinal, seated, holding a book, the chair surmounted by shields of arms. Full of dignified character. From Cardinal Fesch's gallery. £4. 4. 0	Portrait of a Cardinal, three quarters length in a great chair, probably by Spagnoletto, though ascribed to Velasquez or Caravaggio. On canvas 50 x 35 inches. Bought at the Fesch Sale in Rome 1845.	cost £8 at Rome, frame besides say £2.10. 0 large and fine	Cardinal Fesch sale Rome Part IV. 1845 (1067). -
70	School of Cologne	La Madonna Adolorata, in a crimson dress, a light-coloured robe. A very dignified figure. A fragment/£1.10. 0/.	-	Bought in at £1.10. 0.	- -
71	Wilhelm, of Cologne	The Marriage of St. Catherine with St. Agnes. They are in the foreground of a landscape, with buildings in the distance. From M. Wyer, of Cologne £14, 3. 6.	The Marriage of St. Catherine, School of Cologne, attributed to Messer Wilhelm. The Infant Christ on his mother's lap, in a garden carpeted with flowers, presents a ring to St. Catherine of Siena, while her rival St. Catherine of Alexandria, on his other side, vainly offers a bouquet to his notice. A verdant and undulating landscape stretches to Cologne in the distance. This rare beautiful specimen is on panel, 19 x 14 inches in the original frame. Bought from the Weyer Gallery at Cologne in 1853.	Cost £30 at Cologne in 1853 ·	

72	Van der Maire	St. Catherine, presenting a devotee. An interesting fragment. £5.15. 6	-	cost £4 very fine	Ramsden sale, Christie's 27 May 1932 (96) bt. Sabin. Panel arched top, $17\frac{1}{2}$ x $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	
73	Van Eyck	A fine dyptic, with the Annunciation: the Virgin kneeling, the Angel in a rich dress, holding a sceptre: - the portrait of the donor outside. From the Collection of M. Wyer, of Cologne. £39.18. 0	The Annunciation by a follower of the Van Eyks, probably, in M. Weyer's opinion, by Mabuse before he went to Italy. The Madonna, kneeling in a comfortable bedroom, occupies the right half of this dyptique; on the left wing, an angel, heavily draped in ecclesiastical vestments, floats in the air and gives a benediction; the outer shutter bears the donor's portrait admirably painted, - a churchman in surplice and three cornered hat. In the original frame, $16\frac{1}{2}$ x $30\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Bought from the Weyer Gallery at Cologne in 1853.	cost £35 at Cologne 1853	Christie's 9 May 1885 (224) bt. Colnaghi & Co. Size given there as $16\frac{1}{2}$ x $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins.	Metropolitan Museum New York Inv. 50.145 9a & b as by G. David
74	Henri Blaes La Civetta	A tryptic, with the Virgin and Child in the centre, seated, in a landscape; St. Christopher and St. Anthony on the wings; an owl, the emblem of the Master. From the Collection of M. Wyer, of Cologne. £17. 6. 6	The Madonna nursing her child, with St. Christofer (sic) and St. Anthony of Padua, on a triptique. $17\frac{1}{2}$ x $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches, in its original frame. It is by Henri de Bles, called in Italy Civetta, from introducing an owl for his mark (as here over St. Christofer's head); - a rare Flemish artist who greatly studied landscape, and who has in this fine example mingled the Italian characteristics with his native style.	cost £25 at Cologne 1853.	Christie's 10 April 1880 (175) bt. Wagner.	-

75	Dionysius Calcar	The Crucifixion: The Virgin and St. John weeping, with landscape background. £8. 3. 0	Crucifixion by J. van Calcar, the Madonna and St John convulsed with grief, in a rich landscape, Jerusalem behind and the snowy mountains in the distance. Painted after this eminent pupil of Titian had crossed the Alps, but before he had abandoned the German manner. On canvas upon panel 17 x 11 inches. Bought from the Weyer Gallery at Cologne 1853.	cost £20 in Cologne 1853	Christie's 10 April 1880 (168) as D. Calcar.
76	School of Hemmelinck	St. Natalitia, seated, holding a book, on which is a hand, cut off; with architectural background. From the same collection·£12. 1. 6.	St. Natalita by Memling, an early work in M. Weyer's opinion, or perhaps by some pupil. She sits in front of a church, in ample draperies of red and white, holding on a book an amputated hand; a rocky landscape in the distance. On panel 11½ x 9 inches. Bought from the Weyer Gallery at Cologne in 1853.	-	Christie's 10 April 1880 (165) as by Hans Burkmair.
77	Matth. Guinendenwald /sic/	Portrait of Philip le Bel, in a crimson dress and black hat, wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece · £6. 0. 0	Portrait of Charles V when a youth, or of his father Philip le Bel, to the waist, with the Golden Fleece and a jewelled cap, 14 inches by 10. This is certainly one of the Hapsbourg family. At the Belvidere in Vienna, is a family group of the Emperor Maximilian, his wife, Philip le Bel, and three youths his grandsons: the one called Charles exactly resembles this portrait in person and dress. It is ascribed to Mattias Gruenewald, (sic) pupil of Albert Durer. But in the choir of the Cathedral at Bruges hangs a head very similar to mine, and certainly by the same hand, about 20 years of age, which is called Philip le Bel by Van der Goes. On the whole I would consider my picture to be Charles by Gruenewald. Bt. in Edinburgh in 184/-/ at the Strathmore Sale.	-	-

78	Van der Goes	The Virgin and Child, enthroned; a damask drapery behind; landscape background seen on each side · £22. 1. 0	-	-	-	Christie's 10 April 1880 (170); Clarke collection Hayward's Heath 1956 (See exhib. L'art flamand dans les collections britanniques Bruges 1956 (17).
79	Lucas van Leyden	A very small female - a fragment £0.18. 0.	-	the same	-	-
80	Martin Schoen	A tryptic: the Crucifixion, with the figures carved in wood, and painted background in the centre; the wings painted with the six stations; carved canopy work over the centre; the descent from the Cross painted on the outside · £12. 1. 6.	-	cost £3 in Ed. at Tait's sale	-	-
81	Sustermans	Portrait of Galileo · £4.10. 0	-	about the same		
82	Sustermans	Portrait of a Florentine lady.£2. 4. 0	Portrait of a Florentine Lady in rich dress, to the waist, ascribed to Sutermans (sic). On canvas 29 x 23 inches · Bought at Florence in 1845.	frame worth that	-	-
83	Van Dyck	The Adoration of the Magi - a sketch in grisaille·£2. 8. 0.	-	the same	-	-

84	Van Dyck	Portrait of the Earl Strafford, in a black dress. Purchased from the Earl of Mar's collection, in 1803. £5. 5. 0	-	D. found this at Canas Eiken.	- -
85	Teniers	A landscape, with peasants and poultry near a cottage- upright on copper. £3. 7. 6.	-	the same	- -
86	Camphuyzen	A farm, with cattle, and a man milking a cow near a well. Very richly coloured. £6.10. 0	-	about £5	
87	Jan Steen	Portrait of a Burgomaster. £5.15. 0	-	about the same	- -
88	Poelemberg	The Riposo of the Holy Family, under a ruined building. £2.10. 0	-	about the same	
89	Wouvermans	Travellers, reposing under a sunny bank, near a pool of water. £33.12. 0	-	in Ed. from Tait's 8 yrs ago £35.	- -
90	Van Falens	Camp settlers, with horsemen and numerous figures. From the Collection of Sir James Stuart. £5.10. 0	-	about the same	- -
91	Swaneveldt	A study of ruins - on paper. £1. 2. 0	-	frame cost £1. given by Vallati to Mr D.	- -

92	Watteau	A fete champetre. £1.10. 0	-	thrown away, it cost £25 in Brussels in 1853.	-	-
93	Rigaud	Portrait of a French lady, holding a row of pearls. £3.10. 0	-	Mr D. bt. it for £1 frame £1.10. 0	-	-
94	Venetian	Portrait of the admirable Crichton, in black dress, seated holding a sword and a book; with long inscription. Dated 1581, with the engraving. £13. 2. 6.	-	cost £1.10. 0 frame £1.10. 0 a year ago	-	-
95	Roman School	Portrait of the Cardinal of York, in his robes. Purchased at his villa, at Frascati. £1.10. 0	-	thrown away. cost say £5. worth more	-	-
96	Sir P. Lely	Portrait of the Countess of Southesk, (la belle Hamilton) in a white satin dress, seated, holding a viol da gamba, in a landscape, from the collection of C.K. Sharpe, Es. /£7.17. 6./	-	bt in at £7.19. 0 cost 3 gs in Ed.	Christie's 27 July 1934 (141) bt Harland. Attributed to Lely. 49½ x 39½ ins.	-
97	Sir Joshua Reynolds	A very small head of a lady. £0.15. 0.	-	cost same	-	-
98	Anthony	Henselope Burn. £0.14. 0.	-	£1	-	-
99	Andrew Wilson	The Cascatelle, at Tivoli, with shepherds and goats in the foreground, admirably painted. £33.12. 0.	-	cost £63 at Taits in Edr 3 years ago.	-	-

100	J.M.W. Turner R.A.	A farm in the Highlands. £2. 8. 0	-	£5	-	-
101	Rev. J. Thompson	The Trosacks. A beautiful finished study, given by the artist to Mr. Dennistoun in 1829. £3. 0. 0	-	cost the frame £7	-	-
102	J.M.W. Turner	Fishing boats caught in a squall. £8.15. 0	-	cost £25 two years ago in Ed.	-	Sotheby's 7 March 1973 (122).
103	Millais, A.R.A.	A cottage barn, in Essex: a sketch of figures on the back. £4.10. 0	Study of a Barn in Essex by Millais. On the back is a figure composition. On canvas 8½ x 12½ inches.	cost £3	-	-

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Archival sources.

This study is largely based on the private papers of Lord Lindsay and James Dennistoun. Most of Lord Lindsay's private papers, and his correspondence both to and from members of his family circle, described here as Crawford Mss. remain in the possession of Lord Crawford. With the exception of the papers relating to the art collection and library, most of this material is now on deposit at the John Rylands Library, Manchester. There are also a few letters in the archives of John Murray, the publisher, described here as John Murray Mss.

James Dennistoun's private papers are more widely scattered. Many came to light quite recently at Sotheby's (Hodgson's) 23 March 1972. These are described here under the name of their present owner, as follows: National Library of Scotland Mss. (Acc. 5523-5526); Paul Grinke Mss.; Yale Mss. (The James Marshall and Marie-Louise Osborn Collection). Other Dennistoun material may be found in the following archives:

Advocates Library, Edinburgh, Mss.

Laing Mss. in Edinburgh University Library.

Scots College, Rome Mss. (letters to the Rev. James Hamilton).

Sir William Stirling Mss. (at Keir).

Westminster Diocesan Archives, London.

Crawford Mss. (see above).

John Murray Mss. (see above).

For general background material I have also consulted the following archives, in addition to those already listed above.

Lady Callcott Mss. (Victoria & Albert Museum Library, London)

Gambier Parry Mss. (Courtauld Institute London, where I was allowed only very restricted access).

Lothian Mss. (Picture inventories on file at National Galleries of Scotland).

National Gallery, London Mss.

Southesk Mss. (Picture inventories on file at National Galleries of Scotland).

2. Printed sources.

The following four publications provide an essential basis for this study. Otherwise references to secondary sources are confined to the footnotes.

A.F. Rio, De La Poésie Chrétienne dans son principe, dans sa matière, et dans ses formes; Forme de l'Art, Seconde Partie, Paris 1836.

Lord Lindsay, Progression by Antagonism, A Theory involving considerations touching the present position, duties, and destiny of Great Britain, London 1846.

Lord Lindsay, Sketches of the History of Christian Art, London 1847.

James Dennistoun, Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino, illustrating the Arms, Arts, and Literature of Italy from 1440 to 1630, London 1851.