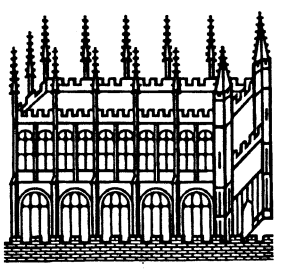
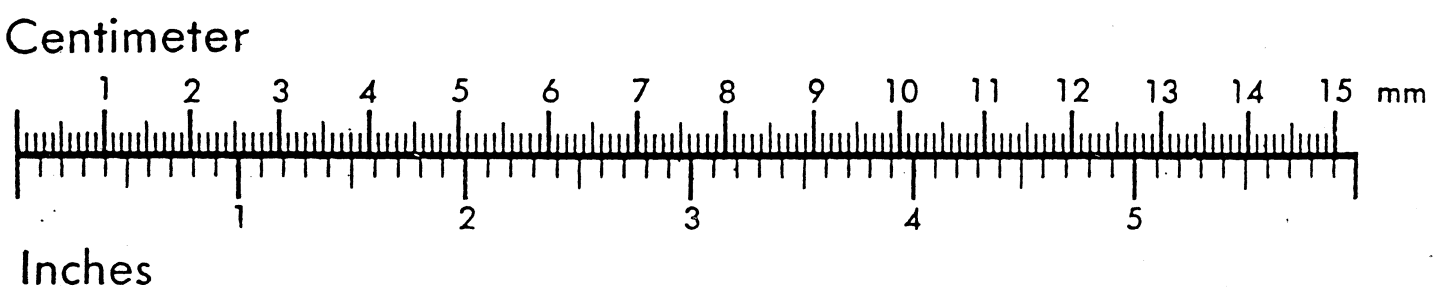
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ABSTRACT I (300 words)

This thesis gives, for the first time, a clear exposition of the activities of the Arundel Society (1848-1897). Founded to 'collect diligently and with discrimination the highest and best examples of Art and to bring them before hundreds of English minds' the presence of Aubrey Bezzi, Lord Lindsay, Edmund Oldfield, Samuel Rogers and John Ruskin on the Society's first council meant that the initial publication of engravings after two early Italian artists, Fra Angelico and Giotto, was unsurprising. After 1856, under the guidance of Henry Layard, the archaeologist and politician, the Society became even more firmly committed to copying and publishing frescoes of the early Renaissance. The council's aim in recording and publishing these endangered works of art was to educate the taste of the public and inspire artists to embark on programmes of mural decoration. The water-colours executed for the Society are discussed with particular reference to the reactions of the council, and of members and the press to the problem of their verisimilitude. About two-thirds of these copies were published as chromolithographs and the gains and liabilities of this initially very popular method of reproduction are examined. Other methods employed by the Society to publish fac-similes of classical and medieval ivories and reduced copies of the Elgin marbles are also discussed with general reference to Victorian attitudes towards reproductions. The penultimate chapter attempts to relate the prints and monographs published by the Society to the art historical scholarship of the period. It is shown that the council's publication of decorative quattrocento, provincial cinquecento and early Flemish and German artists was influenced by Henry Layard's

preferences. His monographs for the Society are discussed and compared with the more scholarly, if diverse, contributions made by, among others, G.W. Kitchin, John Ruskin, George Scharf and Ralph Wornum. In the final chapter it is argued that the Society's loyalty to the tastes of the mid-century and to the process of chromolithography led to its dissolution.

ABSTRACT II

The intention of this thesis is to give, for the first time, a clear exposition of the activities of the Arundel Society (1848-1897) and to relate these to English interest, both scholarly and popular, in early Italian and northern art during the second half of the nineteenth century. The principal sources employed are the Society's annual reports, advertisements and publications, contemporary periodicals and the papers of leading members of the Society's council.

The founding of the Society, the artistic interests of its founder members and a brief survey of comparable societies form the subject of the first chapter. I then examine the Society's early publications. The critical fortunes of Fra Angelico are outlined and it is argued that the Society, by publishing an annotated edition of Vasari's life of Fra Angelico and engravings of the artist's work in the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican, was adjusting the prevalent view of Fra Angelico as a mystical painter-saint. I discuss the publication of Giotto's frescoes in the Arena Chapel, paying particular attention to the decision to reproduce the cycle through the medium of wood-engraving. The accompanying monograph by John Ruskin is examined in detail and his attitude towards Giotto is assessed. In the final part of this chapter I look at the Society's other activities during the first decade of its existence - the publication of fac-similes of ivories, its exhibition at the Crystal Palace in 1855 and the copying and publication of two paintings by Tintoretto in the Scuola di San Rocco.

The third chapter is essentially narrative and deals with the rationalisation of the Society's aims in 1856. The part

played by the archaeologist and politician Henry Layard in concentrating the energies of the Society into the copying and publication of early Renaissance frescoes is discussed. It is suggested that the precedent for using chromolithography to reproduce fine art was set by a member of the council, J.S. Harford, the biographer of Michelangelo. The career of Ludwig Gruner, employed to direct the printing of the Society's chromolithographs, is outlined.

Thereafter I discuss the period 1856-1897 thematically. In Chapter 4 I examine the problems faced by the Society's water-colourists and show that the standards of accuracy demanded by the council rose steadily over the years. The skills and weaknesses of each artist emerge from a close study of the Society's water-colours at Leeds University and at the Victoria and Albert Museum. Ruskin's personal attempt to train one of the Society's copyists is described in detail.

In the fifth chapter I discuss the Society's prints, their accuracy and their reception by the critics, with special reference to the Art-Journal, the Athenaeum and the Saturday Review. The membership of the Society is analysed and the role of the prints, the fac-similes of ivories, and the reduced copies of the Elgin marbles published by the Society is discussed with general reference to Victorian attitudes towards reproductions.

In the penultimate chapter I discuss the monographs published by the Society from 1856 until its dissolution and relate them to the art historical writing of the period. The number of water-colours, prints and monographs devoted to individual artists is seen as a mirror of their popularity during the Society's lifetime, but it is argued that some choices were more typical of the special preferences of members

of the Society's council and that the Society's later publications were out of touch with art historical advances. Henry Layard's attitude to *trecento* art, informed by his fears for the effect that its publication would have on contemporary artists, and his fondness for the Florentine *quattrocento* and for *cinquecento* provincial artists are all reflected in the Society's publications. His monographs for the Society are discussed and compared with the more scholarly, if diverse, contributions made by, among others, G.W. Kitchin, John Ruskin, George Scharf and Ralph Wornum. Ruskin emerges as a less dominant member of the council than might have been expected, discovering artists through the Society rather than originating projects. Oscar Browning, Sir William Gregory and Edmund Oldfield were more directly influential, although in the absence of the Society's minutes it is often difficult to say with certainty which council member initiated or supported the publication of a particular work.

The epilogue describes the Society's final years. I suggest that the decline in membership which led to the Society's dissolution may be attributed to the council's loyalty to the taste of the mid-century and to the process of chromolithography.

There are three appendices to the thesis. The first describes the Society's role as the publisher of books and reproductions for the South Kensington Museum, the second gives details of the Society's surviving drawings and watercolours, and the third lists its prints, photographs and casts. A list of the Society's written publications is given in the bibliography.

A STUDY OF THE ARUNDEL SOCIETY

1848 - 1897

Tanya Ledger

A Thesis submitted for the degree of

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in the University of Oxford

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Preface

Although the Arundel Society was a product of the mid-nineteenth century fashion for early Italian and northern art, references to its work in the secondary literature which discusses the fashion are tantalisingly brief.[1] Much has been written about earlier manifestations of interest in the primitives.[2] Similarly, while the Society published some of the most impressive nineteenth century reproductions of paintings, its work is barely alluded to in modern discussions of engraving and lithography of the period.[3] Even William Ivins, in his Prints and Visual Communication, only refers indirectly to the Society (although, in general terms, my thesis owes a great deal to this brilliant study of the importance of reproductive prints from the early Renaissance to the nineteenth century).

During the past four years interest in the Society has grown. A small exhibition of the Society's water-colour copies was held at Nottingham University in 1974.[4] A larger exhibition of non-photographic reproductions of Italian works of art which included Arundel prints and monographs, was held in the Bodleian

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1. Steegman (1950), Hale (1954) and Ames (1968) all mention the Society in the context of the growing interest in the primitives. Levey (1960) alludes to the Society in connection with nineteenth century interest in Botticelli.

2. While von Klenze (1906) Borenius (1923) and Meiss (1946) have written the classic essays on this subject, the most stimulating modern discussions are to be found in Previtali (1964) and Rosenblum (1969).

3. Possibly this is because Burch (1910), Twyman (1970) and Maclean (1972) all tend to concentrate on books rather than on single sheet prints.

4. There was no catalogue, but a check list of the water-colours entitled Italian Frescoes copied for the Arundel Society was available at the exhibition. Smart (1974) published some of the water-colours in this exhibition.

Library in 1975.[1] In 1976 a short article on the Society, reproducing some of its prints, appeared in Country Life;[2] its importance was briefly defined in Francis Haskell's Rediscoveries in Art;[3] and an entire chapter was devoted to the Society's first twenty years in Robyn Cooper's fascinating thesis British Attitudes towards the Italian Primitives 1815-1866. Finally, the Society is discussed in David Robertson's exhaustive study, Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World,[4] and in the catalogue of the loan exhibition Ruskin and Venice to be held at the J.B. Speed Art Museum, Kentucky.[5]

None of these discussions make use of unpublished material and when I first decided to write a history of the Society I assumed that the richest source of information would be the minutes which I believed would have been kept by the Society's secretaries. The water-colours executed for the Society were given to the National Gallery when it brought its work to a close, but all my efforts to trace the minutes, together with the Society's side of the correspondence which must have passed between it and its water-colourists, lithographers and authors, have been unsuccessful. One group of letters may originally have belonged to this missing body of papers, namely Ruskin's letters to the Society's secretary F.W. Maynard. These were purchased by the Bembridge Educational Trust in 1940 from a bookseller named Raphael King. King died about twenty years ago

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1. Lloyd (1975).
2. Bird (1976).
3. Haskell (1976), p.105.
4. Robertson (1978), p.436.
5. Hewison (1978), p.79.

and the remains of his stock was bought by Dawson's of Pall Mall.[1] They have no Arundel Society material and the catalogues King published do not include further letters or papers connected with the Society.

Therefore the main sources for this study are the published annual reports of the Society,[2] which are, together with miscellaneous advertisements and the Society's prints and monographs, in the Library and Print Room of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The Society's water-colours are divided between the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Department of Fine Art, Leeds University.

The letters and papers of prominent members of the Society's council proved invaluable in elucidating the rather baldly written annual reports. The Layard papers in the British Museum were the richest source of information, but I also found much useful material in Cook and Wedderburn's transcripts of Ruskin's letters and diaries deposited in the Bodleian Library, while James Dearden and Tim Hilton kindly brought to my notice relevant correspondence in the huge collection of Ruskin material held by the Bembridge Educational Trust. I also made use of the Oscar Browning Papers in East Sussex County Library, Henry Cole's papers in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, the Harford papers in the Bristol Record Office, Ruskin and Ludwig Gruner's letters in the John Murray Archives in Albemarle Street, the Northampton family documents at Castle Ashby, George Scharf's diaries in the National Portrait Gallery and the Wemyss papers in the Scottish Public Record Office. My

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1. I am grateful to Alfred Koffler for this information.

2. The first annual report of the council (1849-50) and the reports from 1868-1875 are missing from the collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library and I have been unable to trace them elsewhere.

thanks go to the archivists of all these collections for their helpfulness. Further information about the Society's colour prints was abundantly provided by Ludwig Gruner's very detailed diaries in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden and my especial thanks go to Herr H. Deckert for his kindness while I was consulting Gruner's papers.

An examination of the reviews of the Society's work in the Art-Journal, the Athenaeum and the Saturday Review helped establish some of the criteria by which its work was judged, while a more general picture of the Society's success in popularising the primitives grew out of a catholic reading of memoirs, letters and other primary literature of the period. I should like to thank the staff of the Bodleian Library and Miss Miller of the Western Art Library in the Ashmolean Museum for much help.

The organisation of the Society's publications varied during its early years but after 1856 became more routine, and for this reason the first three chapters deal with the Society's work in roughly chronological fashion, while the later chapters discuss the period 1856-1897 thematically. I was hesitant about adopting this plan because I feared that the later chapters would fail to convey the sense of changing tastes over four decades. I now believe that this does emerge and that the thematic structure avoids a needless amount of repetition.

The footnotes have been kept as brief as possible. Works are referred to under the author's name or other headword and date only. The full title is to be found in the bibliography.

I should like to thank all those who pointed out references to the Society and generally made helpful suggestions, in particular Nic olas Barker, Hugh Brigstocke, Barrie Bullen,

Robyn Cooper, Celina Fox, Lawrence Gowing, Alastair Grieve, Geoffrey Grimmett, Sir Timothy Harford, Robert Hewison, Tim Hilton, Christopher Lloyd, Colin McMordie, Andrew Martindale, Edward Morris, John Grey Murray, the Marquess of Northampton, Sir Ellis Waterhouse and the Earl of Wemyss. My greatest debt is to my supervisor Francis Haskell who introduced me to the Arundel Society.

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Chapter 1: The Founding of the Society

The Arundel Society was founded in 1848 with the intention of promoting the knowledge of art. It was named after Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel (1589-1646), 'the father of Vertu' in England'.[1] According to the Society's first prospectus its aims were to be realised through the publication of literary works relating to the principles and history of art and engravings after paintings, works of architecture and sculpture. The subjects to be selected for engraving were to be instructive rather than popular and 'in their execution, that manner will be preferred which truthfully expresses the original, rather than that which presents the greatest attractions to the eye.'[2] The intended publications included an English translation of Vasari, a history of Greek art employing the evidence of coins, a critical comparison of styles of painted windows in the Middle Ages, engravings after the frescoes in the Arena Chapel, Padua, and the chapel of the Medici-Riccardi Palace in Florence, Fra Angelico's frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican and Tintoretto's paintings in the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice and sculpture at Orvieto Cathedral and OrSan Michele in Florence.

It will immediately be seen that there was a distinct bias in favour of Italian art, in particular early Italian art. It is therefore not surprising to find that the decision to found the Society was taken by a group of men gathered at the house of Charles Eastlake, for Eastlake had been involved with every aspect of the development of the mid-nineteenth century fashion for the 'primitives'.[3] As a young man he had moved

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1. Arundel Society Prospectus (1849), p.1, note, described as a quotation from Horace Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England.

2. Arundel Society Prospectus (1849), p.2.

3. For the best and most recent analysis of this fashion see Cooper (1976). For detailed examination of every aspect of Eastlake's career see Robertson (1978).

in Nazarene circles in Rome. He had given evidence to the Select Committee on the Fine Arts of 1841 and was, as a result, made secretary to the Royal Commission set up to supervise the decoration of the Palace of Westminster. He was an acknowledged expert in the field of Italian art, and later as Director of the National Gallery from 1855 to 1865 he was to purchase some of the collection's finest early Italian paintings.

However, beyond suggesting that the Society be named after Arundel, Eastlake played no further part in its development. According to the only detailed account of the Society's genesis[1] there were three founder members, Charles Henry Bellenden Ker (1785-1871), Giovanni Aubrey Bezzi (1785-1879) and Edmund Oldfield (1816-1902). Of these three Bellenden Ker was apparently the first to conceive the idea of a Society designed to disseminate the knowledge of art.

Ker was a reforming lawyer who moved in radical circles. His chambers were in Lincoln's Inn and so he came to know the leading figure in the Christian Socialist movement, F.D. Maurice, the Inn's chaplain, and actually contributed an essay, with the self explanatory title of <u>One Law for the Rich, and one Law for the Poor</u>, to the movement's short lived penny magazine <u>Politics for the People</u>.[2] Working for reform within the establishment Ker helped Lord Brougham to frame many of the bills he brought forward, and served as a member of the Royal Commission set up in 1833 to investigate the amending of the Criminal Law.

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1. Gregory (1884).

2. On Ker and Christian Socialism see Christensen (1962). Ker's article signed 'Dodman' appeared in <u>Politics for the People</u> no.6, June 3rd 1848, pp.100-102. For Ker's pseudonym see Raven (1920), p.371.

Through his friendship with Lord Brougham he was elected in 1827 to the committee of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, which Brougham had founded during the previous year.[1] Ker was one of the most enthusiastic members of the S.D.U.K.'s unusually zealous committee and he was particularly interested in the diffusion of knowledge of the arts. He, Charles Eastlake, Martin Archer Shee and Sir Richard Westmacott were the members most concerned with commissioning of illustrations for the S.D.U.K.'s Penny Magazine in which Ker wrote lives of Wren and Michelangelo.[2] In 1830 he suggested the publication of a gallery of engraved portraits of illustrious men[3] and the idea was taken up two years later. Charles Knight, who acted variously as literary agent and publisher for the S.D.U.K., described him as 'the most fertile in projects of any member of the committee'.[4] The S.D.U.K. avoided political and religious publications of any kind, but in 1835 Charles Knight independently published a highly successful and copiously illustrated Bible on the suggestion of Bellenden Ker.[5] The Society was a catalyst for ideas for educational projects: some suggestions, for example, the founding of a School of Design[6] and the compilation of a national biographical dictionary,[7] were eventually carried out, although not under the aegis of the S.D.U.K. Significantly,

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1. For Ker and S.D.U.K. see Grobel (1932).
2. Grobel, p.154.
3. Grobel, p.502.
4. Knight (1864), ii, p.121.
5. Knight, ii, p.252.
6. Grobel, pp.122-123.
7. Grobel, p.533.

the S.D.U.K. was inundated with requests for the foundation of more specialised societies.

The S.D.U.K. was only active until 1846, after which time it seems reasonable to assume that Bellenden Ker, always a great organiser and committee man, turned his thoughts to the founding of a new society devoted to spreading the knowledge of art. He may well have consulted Eastlake, whose pictures he had bought in the past and whom he commissioned to decorate a room of his house in the Pompeiian style. He had also edited a collection of Eastlake's writings which were published in 1848 as Contributions to the Fine Arts. This book had grown out of the Fine Arts Commission of 1841 to which Ker had given evidence and which had employed the second founder member of the Arundel Society, Giovanni Bezzi, as Eastlake's assistant.

Bezzi had fled from Italy in 1821 with Antonio Panizzi, for both men were members of the Carbonari, outlawed in that year by the Emperor of Austria. They settled in Geneva where Bezzi studied under Sismondi, but the combined pressure of the Austrian, French and Sardinian governments forced Geneva to expel them and many of their fellow countrymen. The two men arrived in England in 1823.[1]

Bezzi's first years in England are obscure. It has been suggested that he was for a while a music master in Plymouth and there married the widow of a sea captain.[2] What is more certain is that he was befriended by the poet and philanthropist John Kenyon (1784-1886) and became well known as the most 'accurate of men' on the subject of Italian affairs.[3] Mrs.

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1. Bezzi (1900), p.455.
2. Barlow (1870), pp.36-37.
3. The Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1969), ii, p.741.

Jameson went to him for advice on a projected Italian tour. Elizabeth Barrett wrote to Robert Browning before their elopement:

> As to Italy, I thought of it first, so I am in no danger of thinking that you engage me as a female courier and companion....the feminine of what Mr. Bezzi wants to be....'[1]

Like Panizzi, Bezzi was involved with the University of London, yet another link with Ker, who was an enthusiastic supporter of this, the most enduring of Lord Brougham's projects. Bezzi lectured at Queen's College, founded in 1848 by, among others, Ker's friend F.D. Maurice to provide further education for women.[2] Bezzi gained wide fame in artistic and Italophil circles when in 1840, on a visit to Italy, he discovered, with Seymour Kirkup, the artist, and Henry Wilde, an American art lover, a portrait of Dante supposedly by Giotto.[3] The fresco had been hidden beneath white-wash in the Bargello and Bezzi's find must have confirmed his reputation as the best sort of Italian, one who cared for, rather than destroyed or utterly neglected his national heritage.

There are obvious links between Bezzi and Ker, the most important being their shared friendship with Charles Eastlake. In contrast, the third founder member of the Society appears to have been something of an outsider. Edmund Oldfield, a fellow of Worcester College, had in the September of 1848 been appointed Assistant Keeper in the Department of Antiquities

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1. Ibid. E.B.B. to R.B., 4 June 1846, p.759.

2. Bezzi (1900), p.455.

3. See Crosse (1890), p.487. Bezzi's part in that discovery was also mentioned in two of the most influential books on early Italian art which appeared in the 1840s, Lord Lindsay's Sketches of the History of Christian Art (London 1847) and Mrs. Jameson's Memoirs of Early Italian Painters (London 1845). Mrs. Jameson's work had first appeared in serial form in the Penny Magazine in 1841.

at the British Museum.[1] In Praeterita John Ruskin gave a vivid picture of Oldfield's background, which was in many ways similar to his own. Both men were sons of prosperous business men and they lived near each other in Camberwell. Ruskin's mother and Oldfield's parents had the same tastes in religion and both families went to the gloomy evangelical sermons given by a Mr. Burnet in a chapel on Denmark Hill. The two boys attended the same private school run by Dr. Thomas Dale and in those early years Ruskin noticed Oldfield's 'already almost middle aged air of serene sagacity.'[2] Oldfield then attended Mill Hill School, founded for the sons of dissenters and renowned for its religious tolerance and independence. He went up to Trinity College, Cambridge in 1834, but migrated to Worcester College, Oxford where he matriculated in 1837, a few months after the rather younger Ruskin. He was admitted to the Inner Temple in 1839, became a fellow of Worcester College in 1840, and was called to the Bar in 1842.[3]

Oldfield never appears to have practised the law. Instead, he became an acknowledged expert in the field of classical and medieval antiquities, his greatest affection being reserved for medieval art. This interest was used creatively in 1844 when he and Ruskin were asked to design a stained glass window for Gilbert Scott's newly built church of St. Giles in Camberwell. In fact Oldfield designed both the central light and

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1. Miller (1973), p.193.

2. The Works of John Ruskin, ed. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, 39 vols. (London 1903-13), XXXV, p.382. (Hereafter referred to as Ruskin, Works). On Ruskin's friendship with the Oldfield family see Spence (1960-61), pp.520-537.

3. Alumni Cantabrigienses (1951), Part 11, Vol. IV, p.586.

the five lancets, although while designing the latter he received much advice from Ruskin who was in France studying the old glass at Rouen, Chartres and Auxerre. The resulting window has a distinctly French look and is of extraordinary complexity - the lancets alone contain sixty nine biblical scenes.[1] At the time at which Oldfield and Ruskin were commissioned to design the window the theory of medieval stained glass techniques and styles was being discussed in three magazines founded in the early 40s, the Art-Union (from 1849 the Art-Journal), the Builder, and the Ecclesiologist. Oldfield's design, carried out by T. Ward, was a very early example of a practical attempt to revive the medieval mosaic system of stained glass. It was probably Oldfield who suggested that the Society publish a comparative study of styles of painted windows in the Middle Ages.

The Society's first prospectus was not drawn up by the three founder members alone; Bezzi, Ker and Oldfield formed a council of fifteen men, all, in varying degrees, involved with the art world of the mid-nineteenth century.

There was Samuel Rogers (1763-1855) who, at eighty-five, must have seemed like a figure from another age, 'the banker poet', author of the gracefully turned Italy and a habitué of Holland House in the first decades of the century. Rogers had begun the formation of his marvellously catholic collection of pictures and objets d'art some thirty[2] years previously and on the basis of the exquisite taste displayed in the collection he was made a Trustee of the National Gallery. His membership of the Arundel Society council was peculiarly apt; while he

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1. See Bridges (1974-5), pp.35-38.
2. See Redford (1888), i, p.150.

did not appear to have an obvious interest in the popularisation of works of art, in his Epistle to a Friend of 1798 he had written in praise of reproductive engraving:

> What tho' no marble breathes, no canvas glows,
> From every point a ray of genius flows!
> Be mine to bless the more mechanic skill,
> That stamps, renews and multiplies at will,
> And cheaply circulates, thro' distant climes,
> The fairest relics of the purest times.
> Here from the mould to conscious being start
> Those finer forms, the miracles of art;
> Here chosen gems, imprest on sulphur, shine,
> That slept for ages in a second mine;
> And here the faithful graver dares to trace
> A Michael's grandeur, and a Raphael's grace!
> Thy gallery, Florence, gilds my humble wall,
> And my low roof the Vatican recalls.[1]

Rogers' belief in the print that 'cheaply circulates' was in keeping with the Society's aims. In addition his great range of artistic interests was reflected in the Society's prospectus. In particular he had a considerable collection of early Italian and Northern pictures, which, like Karl Aders, the Earl of Bristol, Francis Douce, William Young Ottley, William Roscoe and Dawson Turner, he had formed well before the mid-nineteenth century fashion for such works.[2] Rogers was, in fact, the only member of the Society's first council to possess a group of early pictures.

Lord Colborne (1779-1854) was also a Trustee of the National Gallery and the owner of a good if unadventurous collection of mainly Dutch seventeenth century paintings. He may have been invited to join the council principally because of his wealth and influence, although in 1851 Gustave Waagen

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1. Rogers (1834), p.122.

2. For Samuel Rogers' collection see Catalogue of the very celebrated Collection of Works of Art, the property of Samuel Rogers.... (Christie and Manson 1856). For Karl Aders see Joseph (1953). For the Earl of Bristol see Childe-Pemberton (1924) and Ford (1974), pp.426-434. For Douce see Cooper, pp.53-55. For William Young Ottley see Waagen (1838), ii, pp.121-131. For William Roscoe see Michael Compton (1960-1), pp.26-51. For Dawson Turner see Mrs. Dawson Turner, Outlines in Lithography, Yarmouth, 1840.

found him to be a knowledgeable and enthusiastic colleague on the commission for the distribution of medals for the Great Exhibition.[1]

Lord Lansdowne (1780-1863) was also a Trustee of the National Gallery. The great wealth derived from his Irish estates had enabled him to form a fine collection of High Renaissance, Dutch seventeenth century and contemporary English paintings. He was ready to lend his name to any cause which furthered the arts and as a hard working member of the S.D.U.K.[2] he would almost certainly have come into contact with Bellenden Ker. But in the case of the Arundel Society it is doubtful whether he lent the council more than his name for although he was a member until his death he certainly did not attend all its meetings.[3] Like Lord Colborne his presence on the council was probably principally honorific.

Charles, Earl Compton (1816-1877), later 3rd Marquess of Northampton, was a very different choice but his stay on the Society's council was all too brief.[4] He had spent much of his youth in Rome and Naples where his father, the 2nd Marquess, took a keen interest in the arts and assembled the exceptionally fine collection of Greek vases, still to be seen at the family seat of Castle Ashby.

While the 2nd Marquess was President of numerous societies and well known for his artistic, literary and scientific

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1. Waagen (1854), ii, 240.

2. See New (1961), p.350.

3. See 10th Annual Report of the Council (1859), p.3.

4. This account of Earl Compton's career is drawn from William Bingham Compton, History of the Comptons of Compton Wynyates (1930) and from Northampton MSS. F.D. 1340, notebook 14: Lady Alwyne Compton, Notes about Douglas, Lord Northampton and his drawings, 1877, unpaginated. I am grateful to the present Marquess of Northampton for permission to consult this manuscript.

interests and patronage, Charles Compton led an infinitely more secluded life. His health was never good and his principal ambition, unusual in a man of his rank, was to develop his powers as an artist. His sister-in-law recorded after his death that 'all Compton's happiest recollections were of art & drawing'[1] and at Eton and at Trinity College, Cambridge he devoted much of his time to drawing and painting, staying up at Cambridge during the long vacation in order to copy works in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

He took lessons in landscape painting from Peter de Wint after coming down from the University in 1837 and went to Venice to sketch with de Wint's most talented pupil Edward Cheney.[2] He later travelled in Spain making copies in Madrid and Seville with two other pupils of de Wint. In 1845 he settled in Rome, took a studio and 'lived a regular artist's life'.[3] He worked hard, mastering the principles of composition through a study of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel and painted from models, including the famously beautiful Maria Grazie.

She seems to have sat for his most ambitious painting, Rizpah, which in 1847 he sent to the Fine Arts Commission's final competition held to select works in oils for the Palace of Westminster. The subject was a grim one, depicting the Old Testament heroine Rizpah, protecting the bodies of her sons from birds of prey. This painting, which has not survived, failed to win an award, but was sympathetically

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1. Northampton MSS. F.D. 1340, notebook 14.

2. On Cheney's ability see Randall Davies (1923-1924), p.12. For a brief life of Cheney see Houghton. From 1859 until at least 1868 he was a member of the Society's council.

3. Northampton MSS. F.D. 1340, notebook 14.

reviewed by the Art-Union[1] and was, according to his sister-in-law, much admired, but 'Alas! by a mistake Compton's name was written on it - and so it was voted ineligible to compete for a prize.'[2]

Earl Compton executed some elaborate copies of Italian works of art, two of which, A Fisherman presenting the Doge with St. Mark's Ring after Paris Bordone and Sacred and Profane Love after Titian, still hang in Castle Ashby and demonstrate his considerable skill as a painter in oils. They are only two of a vast number of copies he apparently executed during his years abroad. They reflect his fondness for Venetian art which vied in his affections with a profound admiration for Michelangelo and for the Spanish masters of the High Renaissance.

In 1848 he returned to England and took a studio in Camden Town. There seems little doubt that despite the grandeur of his rank, he was, unlike Lord Colborne and Lord Lansdowne, elected to the council because of his practical knowledge of the problems involved in selecting and reproducing works of art.[3]

Alexander William Crawford (1812-80), then Lord Lindsay and later the 25th Earl of Crawford and 8th Earl of Balcarres, was even better qualified than Earl Compton to serve on the Society's council. A bibliophile, historian and genealogist, his writings were dominated by a theory of conflict outlined in one of his earliest works, Progression by Antagonism (1846).

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1. Art-Union, IX (1847), p.271.

2. Northampton MSS. F.D. 1340, notebook 14.

3. He was a Trustee of the National Gallery from 1851 until his death, but this was practically his only link with public life. On the death of his father in 1851 he retired from the Arundel council, but he never gave up painting, drawing on the inspiration of his youthful days in Italy.

This theory was also intended to form a framework for his best known book, published in 1847, Sketches of the History of Christian Art. It was given this misleadingly modest title because it was intended as the introduction to a massive study of Western art from the beginnings of Christian art until the end of the eighteenth century, concluding with a discussion of the revival of Christian art in the nineteenth century. The first volume only was completed - an examination of fourteenth century Italian art with reference to its roots in Byzantium and its influence north of the Alps, prefaced by a short account of Christian mythology and symbolism. It was a work of immense learning, drawing on the recent researches of German, French and Italian art historians, particularly the discoveries of Ernst Forster and C.F.L.F. von Rumohr. Although he did not carry out research into documentary sources in Italy, Sketches was no mere compilation based upon secondary sources, for Lindsay had visited and closely examined all the works described in his book. As a result the two volumes contain some remarkably beautiful and evocative descriptive passages. While none of his reviewers had time for his theories, Sketches of Christian Art[1] was recognised as one 'of the most laborious and erudite pieces of research on the subject of the Fine Arts that has appeared in the English language'.[2] This was with some justice, for while English interest in early Italian art had grown throughout the 1840s, Lindsay's book was the first to do more than reiterate Vasari's second edition of The Lives of the Most Excellent Painters... (1568) and Luigi Lanzi's History of Painting in Italy (1809).

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1. Hereafter referred to in the text as Sketches of Christian Art.

2. Athenaeum (13 March 1847), p.289.

Lindsay was the most learned historian of art on the Society's council but clearly he had not expected to play an active part in the running of the Society for when it emerged in 1851 that this was required, he promptly resigned.[1] This appears especially ironical, as the postscript to Sketches of Christian Art reads like the inspiration for the Society's activities over the following fifty years:

> I cannot dismiss these volumes without a word of appeal to the rulers of Italy on behalf of the grand old frescoes which are either perishing unheeded before their eyes, or that lie entombed beneath the whitewash of barbarism, longing for resuscitation, pining for the light of day.[2]

Charles Richard Fox (1769-1873) was another member of the council who appears to have played little part in the Society's development. He was the natural son of Henry Fox, 3rd Lord Holland and Elizabeth, Lady Webster, later Lady Holland. Thus he was brought up at one of the greatest houses in London, and would have met there all the eminent men of the day. Of the fellow members of the council, Lord Colborne was a friend of the family, Lord Lansdowne was his father's cousin and Samuel Rogers was a great friend of his mother. In 1824, after some years of army life he made an oddly suitable marriage to Lady Mary FitzClarence, the illegitimate daughter of William IV. By that time he had embarked on his life's passion, collecting coins, and his mother wrote of his relationship with his wife:

> En attendant, tho' fond of her, he only considers her as an auxiliary to his medals and other possessions, not as a principal.[3]

Though Fox served in the navy and the army, rising to the rank of general in 1863, and was elected an M.P. in the 1830s, he

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1. I am grateful to Mr. Nicholas Barker for this information.
2. Lindsay (1847), iii, p.417.
3. Elizabeth, Lady Holland to her son (1946), p.30.

did not have a brilliant career in public service. Restless, intelligent and inclined to moodiness, his best work was done in connection with his collection of coins. He remained on the council for ten years, during which time he published Engravings of Unedited or Rare Greek Coins, Part 1, Europe[1] (1856) and it was no doubt Fox who suggested that the Society publish an outline of Greek history using the evidence of coins.

Sir John Stuart Hippisley (1790-1867) was, like Fox, a collector. He had a very fine collection of prints, including works by Marc Antonio, Dürer and Rembrandt. He also possessed more modern examples of reproductive processes, photographs after Raphael and Michelangelo drawings and a large chromolithograph of the Sistine Chapel.[2] He remained on the council until his death and appears to have taken a more active part in the running of the Society than Lord Lansdowne, who remained on the council for about the same length of time.[3]

Sidney Herbert (1810-1861), later Lord Herbert of Lea, was only a member of the council for three years.[4] Herbert's life was, of course, largely taken up with his political career but what interest he showed in art seemed to have been closely connected with his religious beliefs. He was a high churchman whose wife, after his death, was received into the church of Rome and wrote many saints' lives and short moral tales for Catholic missionary organisations. Herbert lived at Wilton,

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1. This was followed by a second volume, Engravings of Unedited or Rare Greek Coins, Part II, Asia and Africa (London 1862).

2. See Sale of Sir John Stuart Hippisley Bart. (Sotheby 1868). The preparation of the chromolithograph is discussed below on pp. 80-81.

3. Hippisley lent the Society £100 which was repaid in 1855. See 6th Annual Report of the Council (1855), p.4. He also took an active part in general meetings. See Star, June 7, 1858.

4. For Herbert see Stanmore (1906).

the seat of the Earls of Pembroke, while his brother, the Earl, chose to lead a Bohemian existence abroad. The upkeep of the estate devolved upon Herbert and he proved to be a model landlord, laying out roads, planting trees, embanking rivers and keeping up a sea wall. His principal artistic contribution was the building and the adornment of the chapel of St. Mary and Nicholas which was completed in 1843. There was a great collection of pictures at Wilton, but Sidney Herbert does not appear to have made many additions to it. Rather he spent £20,000 on the new chapel, which he himself largely designed, though he was assisted by two architects, David Brandon and Thomas Henry Wyatt. The chapel is an early, if archaeologically inaccurate, example of Neo Romanesque. The interior was richly ornamented with mosaics by Hans Singer and Gertrude Martin and filled with treasures - early German and French glass, early Renaissance English panelling, and the so-called shrine of Capaccio, dating from 1256 and bought by Herbert in 1842 at the Strawberry Hill sale.[1]

Thekla, a novel published in 1886 by Sidney Herbert's wife, may reveal something of the nature of Herbert's enthusiasm for the chapel at Wilton and for the visual arts in general. The heroine Thekla and her husband become fervent Ritualists after a journey to Rome and adorn their own chapel with stained glass and a copy of a Guido crucifixion, burn incense, address their chaplain as Father and use Roman Catholic works of devotion. In Lady Herbert's book the couple both become Roman Catholics; the husband's life, like Herbert's, is cut short and their last days together are spent studying a cartoon of the Sacrament of Marriage by their friend the

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1. See Pevsner, Wiltshire (1963), pp.514-516.

Nazarene painter Friedrich Overbeck.

This essentially religious response to art was shared by another founder member, James Hope (1812-1873), later James Hope-Scott.[1] In 1848 he was at the height of his career as a Parliamentary barrister but he was also occupied with the publication of a series of lithographs of Raphael's so-called Bible in the Vatican Loggie.

In the winter of 1840-1 Hope had been in Rome. He had gone to Italy for reasons of health, but while he was there he studied aspects of the Catholic church, in particular canon law. He had also been asked by Pusey to collate manuscripts for a projected edition of lives of the Church Fathers. His hours in Rome were occupied rather differently from those of most English visitors, few of whom obtained interviews with Jesuits or provided themselves with a tutor to give them instruction in the liturgy, customs, offices and courts of the Catholic church. But Hope had been an undergraduate at Oxford during the troubled 1830s, had like Sidney Herbert come to know Newman and Pusey, the leaders of the Oxford Movement, and sympathised intensely with their desire for a more Catholic Church of England.

On his way to Italy, Hope had passed through Munich and, with an introduction from the artist William Dyce, had met the Nazarene painter Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld. While in Rome he made friends with another associate of the Nazarenes, the artist and engraver Ludwig Gruner. Hope had been asked by the S.P.C.K. to find cheap religious prints for distribution; he had found nothing suitable in Germany and so engaged Gruner to organise the copying of the designs in the Loggie. The

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1. For Hope see Ornsby (1884).

Roman draughtsman Nicola Consoni was employed to make drawings which were lithographed under Gruner's supervision and which began to appear in 1844 in groups of six prints. They were, as Hepworth Dixon writing in the Athenaeum observed, not intended for the archaeologist or the artist, but rather to serve the purposes of religious education.[1] That they were specifically aimed at a Protestant audience is made clear in a remarkable passage in the preface to the prints when they appeared in book form in 1866:

> The Originals of Raphaels Frescoes are in the corridor of the Vatican called 'La Loggia di Rafaele'. They embrace several subjects which are not included in this selection, which has been made with special reference to the religious taste of the English public. Representations of God the Father have been avoided, either by substituting clouds, where possible, or by passing over those Frescoes which did not admit of this treatment.[2] (Fig. 1).

When the Arundel Society was formed Hope was still involved in this project (although as he was increasingly drawn to the Church of Rome it must have seemed correspondingly less attractive) and he was probably asked to join the council because of his practical experience in publishing works of art. He was only a member of the council for one year, but may have introduced Ludwig Gruner to the Society.

The three remaining members of the first council, H.G. Liddell (1811-1898), Charles Newton (1816-1894) and John Ruskin (1819-1900), were close friends.

H.G. Liddell was a member of the council for only a few

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1. Athenaeum (6 October, 1866), p.438.

2. Scripture Prints from the frescoes of Raphael in the Vatican edited by Lewis Gruner, Professor of Engraving at the Academy of Fine Arts and Director of the Department of Engravings, Royal Museum, Dresden (London 1866). The preface was written by the Rev. H.H. Wright, the British Chaplain at Dresden. Hope-Scott withdrew from the project in 1851, the year he was received into the Roman Catholic Church.

years, but as a tutor at Christ Church he had been an important influence on Ruskin's taste. In an exchange of letters between the two men in 1844, sparked off by some criticisms Liddell had made of the second edition of the first volume of Modern Painters, Ruskin wrote to Liddell of 'that pure old art which I have at last learnt (thanks to you, Acland, and Richmond) to love.'[1] He went on to describe how he was working on Fra Angelico at home (presumably from prints) and studying the Elgin Marbles at the British Museum. Liddell, according to George Richmond 'had travelled very little and knew next to nothing of Italy; but his book acquaintance with everything Italian was considerable.'[2] Liddell was well placed to see 'pure old art' in Oxford as the Fox-Strangways collection of Italian Primitives had been part of the Christ Church collection since 1828. He also enjoyed discussing art with his pupils. Henry Acland, writing as an undergraduate in 1837 described how he had

> the rashness to go out sketching with my tutor, who is now teaching me the fine arts; and instead of Greek and Latin I constantly take drawings to him to be looked over and corrected.[3]

Lord Elcho, later the Earl of Wemyss and March (1818-1914), and from 1859 an active member of the Society's council, was, as an undergraduate shown engravings after Raphael by Liddell, and taught by him how to hold a print properly.[4] By the time the Society was founded Liddell was headmaster of Westminster School and although he continued to support the arts in Oxford as a delegate of the University Museum and Curator of the

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1. Ruskin, Works 111, p.668: Ruskin to Liddell, 12 Oct. 1844.
2. Richmond (1926), p.192.
3. Atlay (1903), pp.44-45.
4. Thompson (1899), p.46.

University Galleries, his pupils, Newton and Ruskin, had outstripped him in their interest and dedication to artistic matters.

In Praeterita Ruskin claimed that he had had a considerable share in the movement in the arts which led to the formation of the Arundel Society.[1] This was hardly accurate. He had published the first volume of Modern Painters, which was a celebration of Turner's genius, in 1843, and in that year, probably at Liddell's suggestion, he read Rio's De la Poésie Chrétienne.[2] He began looking at early Italian pictures in English collections[3] and in 1844 was examining medieval glass in France with a view to helping Oldfield. He also visited the Louvre, where he made notes on a number of early Italian pictures.[4] In 1845 he went to Italy specifically to study early art. It was a measure of Ruskin's ability to respond to paintings that on this journey he was able to write a whole series of letters to John Murray the publisher, criticising Francis Palgrave's descriptions of early Italian works in his Handbook to Northern Italy.[5] Ruskin's travels took him to Lucca, Pisa, Florence and Venice, where his principal personal discoveries were Fra Angelico, whom he had already been studying, and Tintoretto. He also particularly responded to 'Giotto' at the Campo Santo, Pisa, Orcagna, Ghirlandaio, Benozzo Gozzoli, Giovanni and Gentile Bellini.[6] Fra Angelico and Tintoretto were celebrated in the

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXXV, p.414.
2. Ruskin, Diaries, i, p.249.
3. Ruskin, Diaries, i, p.248.
4. Ruskin, Diaries, i, pp.309-318.
5. This correspondence is preserved in the Murray Archives, John Murray, Albemarle Street, London W.1.
6. For this journey see Ruskin in Italy (1972).

second volume of Modern Painters which appeared in 1846 while his general interest in early Italian art was displayed in his confident review of Lindsay's Sketches of Christian Art.[1] But Ruskin had not visited the centres of trecento and quattrocento fresco, Siena, Assisi, Perugia, Orvieto, not to mention smaller towns like Arezzo, Gubbio, Spello and Gualdo-Tadino. Although Ruskin was to be the Society's best publicist, it is arguable that he initiated few publications, but rather learnt much from the various commissions he undertook for the Society over the years.[2] The single publication almost certainly suggested by Ruskin was the reproduction of Tintoretto's paintings in the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice.

Charles Newton was slightly senior to Ruskin at Christ Church and, like Liddell, a considerable artistic influence upon him. For example, Ruskin later attributed to Newton's guidance the execution of the 'first architectural drawing of any value I had ever made in my life.'[3] In 1840 Newton joined the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum. He was probably asked to join the council of the Arundel Society because of his immense knowledge of classical sculpture. He withdrew from the council in 1852, the year he left for Mytilene to take up a vice-consulship and begin excavations for the British Museum.

The Society's secondary title - Society for promoting the knowledge of art - was very possibly suggested by Bellenden Ker.

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1. Ruskin, Works, X11, pp.169-248.

2. Ruskin was evidently at times maddening to work with. In either 1852 or 1853 Bellenden Ker was so offended by Ruskin's criticisms at an Arundel Society meeting that he resigned from the council. See Ruskin, Works, XXXVI, p.143: Ruskin to F.J. Furnivall, 5 Dec. ?1852.

3. Ruskin, Works, XXXV, p.385.

It sounds reminiscent of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge and hints at an organisation intended to be popular on the same massive scale. Yet the Society's prospectus cited the Hakluyt Society, the Camden Society, the Astromical and Linnaean Societies, the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Society of Literature and, above all, the Society of Dilettanti as models to emulate.[1] These bodies were very different from the S.D.U.K. which did not send its publications to subscribers, but rather distributed them to as wide a market as possible (for example, its mouthpiece the Penny Magazine reached sales of 200,000 in weekly numbers and monthly parts). Nor were they comparable with the Art Union of London and the Art Unions in other large cities which popularised contemporary art through a system of lotteries.[2] Indeed, the Society of Dilettanti, which the Arundel prospectus described as the only other Society devoted to the promotion of art, was more exclusive than the Arundel Society was ever to be. Even in the mid-nineteenth century the Society of Dilettanti retained something of its eighteenth century origins, with its President, High Steward, Arch Master and Imp, its robes of office, its vinous dinners, and, at times, louche toasts.[3] Both societies sent copyists abroad and published their findings, but the huge and costly Dilettanti folios can scarcely be compared with any of the Arundel Society's publications. Membership was based on

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1. Arundel Society Prospectus (1849), p.1.

2. Comparisons were made between the Arundel Society and the London Art Union in 1866 when a select committee was investigating the Art Union's laws. Henry Cole suggested that the Arundel Society disseminated a knowledge of art more effectively than the Art Unions while W.P. Frith argued that as the Society only published engravings after old masters it did nothing directly to encourage modern art. See Report (1866), pp.25, 57.

3. Cust (1898), pp.22-41.

election and therefore far more exclusive than that of the Arundel Society. This is not to say that membership did not overlap; three members of the Society's first council, Major General Fox, Sir John Stuart Hippisley and Charles Newton, were members of the Society of Dilettanti.[1]

A closer precedent for the Arundel Society was the Grainger Society, founded in 1841 to copy and publish prints of ancient portraits and family pictures. Its first prospectus showed the kind of concern for their neglect and dilapidation which was to become the key to the Arundel Society's interest in Italian frescoes. The Grainger Society also foreshadowed the Arundel Society's later aims by promising that the engraved copies of portraits would be published 'without mutilation or addition.'[2]

The 1840s saw the foundation of many societies which offered their members, as did the Arundel Society, a continual stream of publications for a guinea a year; the Historical Society of Science founded to print early scientific documents, illustrative of the history of science,[3] the Percy Society for the publication of ancient ballads, songs, plays, poetry and popular literature[4] and the Camden Society for the publication of early historical and literary remains.[5] The membership of these societies tended to include the same group of

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1. There was one attempt at co-operation between the two societies. In 1859 the Arundel Society, through Sir Coutts Lindsay, invited the Society of Dilettanti to take part in the publication of reduced copies of the Elgin marbles and other works of Greek sculpture. The Society of Dilettanti viewed the scheme favourably, but it was eventually carried out solely by the Arundel Society. Cust (1898), pp.190-191.

2. Grainger Society Prospectus (1841).

3. Historical Society of Science: Laws of the Society (London? 1840?).

4. Founded 1840.

5. Camden Society Prospectus (1837).

bibliophiles interested in all original publishing ventures. The names which occur most frequently are those of Beriah Botfield (1807-1863), who had his own private press at Norton Hall, Northants, James Orchard Halliwell (1820-1889), who edited works for the Percy and Camden Societies, Sir Frederick Madden (1801-1873), the head of the department of manuscripts at the British Museum from 1837 to 1866, Sir Francis Palgrave (1788-1861), the Deputy Keeper of Records from 1838 until 1861, and Sir Thomas Phillips (1792-1872), Halliwell's father-in-law and possibly the most enthusiastic collector of books and manuscripts of all time. Botfield, Palgrave and Phillipps became members of the Arundel Society.[1]

Part of the interest of these societies for the bibliophile was the limitation on the number of members and therefore upon the size of the editions published. The Camden Society limited its membership to 1200. The Wycliffe Society for the publication of the more important writings of the early reformers, puritans and non-conformists of Great Britain limited its membership to 2000 and stated in its prospectus that the number of copies of any work published would never exceed the number of members,[2] so that the purchase of the Society's publications by non-members would be impossible and members would own works of some rarity. At the height of its popularity the Arundel Society was to impose similar limitations upon its membership and this together with a subscription of a guinea a year would seem to show that it did not intend to extend its range outside the educated classes.

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1. I have only been able to trace two lists of Arundel Society members, published in 1859 and 1866 respectively. All three men were members in 1859 and Sir Thomas Phillipps remained a member in 1866 after the deaths of Botfield and Palgrave.

2. Wycliffe Society Prospectus (1843).

The Oxford Architectural Society and the Cambridge Camden Society (both founded in 1839) and the Motett Society (founded in 1841) might seem to warrant comparison with the Arundel Society. The first two concentrated on the study of church architecture, in particular the preservation and restoration of Gothic architecture. The Motett Society[1] was formed to revive and publish the ancient choral music of the church. But all these societies had a distinctly tractarian/ High Church flavour. Although the Motett Society states in its rules that those who were not members of the Church of England were disallowed membership,[2] three members of the society's first committee were converted to Roman Catholicism, Edward Bellasis in 1850, the Rev. William Dodsworth in 1851 and the Rev. Frederick Oakley in 1845.

With men like Sidney Herbert and James Hope on the founding council it might have been supposed that the Arundel Society would approach works of art in a religious rather than an archaeological or art historical spirit and some appear to have made that assumption at the time. The Ecclesiologist, the Cambridge Camden Society's magazine, advised its readers to join the Arundel Society, which was

> instituted for the purpose of publishing some of the best works on art, and engraving some of the finest and purest sculpture and painting of the Christian schools of Italy.[3]

But Mrs. Jameson, writing in the Art-Journal, read the Society's prospectus less selectively and appreciated its desire to improve the standard of contemporary art in England through the medium of fine examples of painting and sculpture. She mentioned

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1. For the Motett Society see Rainbow (1970), pp.64-66.
2. Motett Society Prospectus (no date), p.2.
3. The Ecclesiologist, IX, 1849, p.336.

the Art Union's activities in the field of modern art, urged that there be no rivalry between the two and saw the aim of Arundel Society as placing before artists and the public 'things which bear the stamp of original greatness.'[1] The Athenaeum, in keeping with its more rarefied attitude towards the arts warned the Society against courting popularity and assured the council that 'one small perfect work in seven years is better than an annual cartload of smooth-polished steel-plate rubbish.'[2] The Athenaeum also expressed the wish that the Society flourish at the expense of Art Unions.

In July 1849 the Art-Journal published a long letter from Giovanni Bezzi, the Society's honorary secretary, which outlined its aims more fully. He was at pains to emphasise the Society's relevance to contemporary artistic endeavour, something which the prospectus perhaps did not make plain enough. This was wise, for while the Athenaeum had little love for the Art Unions and seemed to envisage the Arundel Society publishing works of extremely high quality for a small group of subscribers, the editor of the Art-Journal, S.C. Hall, was a keen supporter of any organisation which encouraged contemporary art and cheap reproductions of works of art.

Bezzi announced that there were 400 subscribers, including the artists Barry, Boxall, Dyce, Eastlake, Horsley, Landseer, Richmond and Roberts. He pointed out that since the death of Reynolds painters and connoisseurs had been dissatisfied with the British school of painting. He felt that British artists did not approach their work with enough reverence and while no outside influence alone could inspire an artist to devotion and self denial

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1. Art-Journal, XI (1849), p.69.
2. Athenaeum (4 Aug. 1849), p.793.

> the Arundel Society proposes to do the best that any influence extrinsic can do; it undertakes to collect diligently and with discrimination the highest and best examples of art and to bring them before hundreds of English minds, which would never otherwise have been touched by such guiding and elevating influences.[1]

It seems likely that Bezzi was thinking of the German Nazarenes when he spoke of reverence and the artist. Although the group's members had dispersed by the 1840s they were continually invoked in England as an example of a revived school of art. James Hope had come into contact with them, as had Eastlake and Dyce, and Sidney Herbert appears to have admired them. But the most vital link was the council's purchase of a group of drawings after Fra Angelico by two Nazarene artists. This was connected with the Society's first group of publications. From 1849 until 1851 subscribers received engravings after Fra Angelico and a translation of Vasari's life of that artist and were able to purchase separately small reproductions of Theseus, one of the Elgin marbles in the British Museum.

This was a choice that mirrored the interests of Lindsay and Ruskin in early Italian art and of Fox and Newton in classical antiquity. It reflected the religious approach to art of Hope and Herbert and the wide ranging interests of Oldfield and Liddell. And it showed the utmost high-mindedness, for Fra Angelico was the most saintly painter of the quattrocento and the Elgin marbles were the purest Greek sculpture in England.

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1. Art-Journal, XI (1849), p.207.

CHAPTER 2: The First Publications

I. Fra Angelico

II. Giotto

III. Diversification

I

When the Arundel Society published their first prints after Fra Angelico he was a much discussed, much praised artist. Indeed, it might be said that of all early Italian artists rediscovered in the mid-nineteenth century he was the most popular. This was at least partly due to the account of the artist's character and work in Vasari's life, written in 1550, nearly a hundred years after Fra Angelico's death. Although it was not the first biography of Fra Angelico, it was the one most widely read by later generations. The first part consists of a useful list of works considered by Vasari to be by Fra Angelico, but the second part of the life reads more like a piece of hagiography:

> It was his rule not to retouch or alter any of his works, but to leave them just as they had shaped themselves at first; for he believed, and he used to say, that such was the will of God. It is supposed that Fra Giovanni never took up a brush without a previous prayer. He never painted a Crucifix without bathing his own cheeks with tears; and therefore it is that the expressions and attitudes of his figures clearly demonstrate the sincerity of his great soul for the Christian religion.[1]

It was passages of this type which led Fuseli to dismiss Fra Angelico at the beginning of the nineteenth century as a 'name dearer to sanctity than to art'.[2] But the writers who were to make Fra Angelico popular in the mid-nineteenth century were drawn to him precisely because he was the most devout and saintly of the painters about whom Vasari wrote. In a Europe shattered by war and revolution Catholic thinkers and writers like the von Schlegel brothers in Germany and Lammenais, Lacordaire and Montalembert in France looked back to a

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1. Arundel Society, Bezzi,1850, p.16.
2. Fuseli (1831), iii, p.179.

united medieval Christendom with a nostalgia born of a highly selective historical sense. The painter saint Fra Angelico was an artistic symbol of this lost world.

The impulse for interest in Fra Angelico, both religious and art historical, was German in its origins. In 1799 the art historian and archaeologist Alois Hirt (1759-1836) rediscovered, for German critics at least, an important part of Fra Angelico's oeuvre, the Chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican, which he both wrote about and had engraved. In addition a small collection of essays entitled Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders (1797) by Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder indirectly aroused interest in Fra Angelico and set the tone for a new way of writing about art.

Wackenroder was, unusually, a Protestant whose response to art was profoundly religious. He was not interested in early German art, nor had he seen any early Italian painting - his heroes were Durer and Raphael - but he firmly believed that the piety of an artist's life was reflected in his pictures, and in the Herzensergiessungen he retold a number of Vasari's accounts of painters' lives, including those of some artists who had lived before Raphael such as Fra Angelico.[1]

In reviewing this work August Wilhelm von Schlegel perceptively recognised that the importance of Wackenroder's writing lay in his 'inniges Gefühl von der Heiligkeit und Würde der Kunst.'[2] A religious response was especially

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1. For a discussion of this work see Robson-Scott (1955), pp. 156-167.

2. Quoted in Robson-Scott, p.165. From the Jenaische Allegemeine Literaturzeitung, 10 Feb. 1797.

appropriate to early Italian art and there is a fusion of archaeological interest and religious feeling in many art historical writings which followed Wackenroder's essays. Von Schlegel could well have been inspired by Wackenroder when he commissioned the engraving of one of Fra Angelico's most intensely spiritual altarpieces The Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre.[1] C.F.L.F. von Rumohr wrote about Fra Angelico briefly but appreciatively in his Italienische Forschungen (1827-1831).[2]

Although Wackenroder knew little about early art he was attracted by other aspects of medieval life. He was fond of medieval German literature,[3] and in using the Klosterbruder as his mouthpiece showed his interest in the most powerful symbol of life in the Middle Ages - the monastery. Because they were reforming Catholics the interest shown by the Frenchmen Lamennais and Lacordaire in monastic institutions was even more serious. When Lacordaire re-established the Dominican order in France the visual excitement of seeing him preaching in monastic dress was recorded by an observer in the following vivid fashion:

> The preacher appeared: the novelty of his costume, the white robe from which emerged the ascetic's head, the sculpturesque beauty of the face made pale with fasting and toil, the flash of the glance, the ringing vibration of the voice preparing the way for the triumph of his eloquence by the seduction of look and imagination. At the height of the nineteenth century we were confronted with a monk, a real monk.[4]

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1. Von Schlegel (1817). The arrival of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre in 1812 undoubtedly increased interest in Fra Angelico in France, Germany and England. For example Lord Lindsay wrote of it as 'A picture which, although inferior to many I have seen, and injured by restoration, I never think of without a glow of delight, from the remembrance of the interest it excited in me for early Italian art as a boy in Paris.' Lindsay (1847), iii, p.162.
2. Rumohr (1827-31), ii, pp.251-256.
3. See Gillies (1938).
4. Quoted in Phillips (1929), p.280.

The link with Fra Angelico, himself a Dominican, appeared in the shape of the French Dominican artist Besson, whom Lacordaire called 'the most exquisite reflection of Fra Angelico'.[1]

It is not surprising that a close friend of Lacordaire and Montalembert, a man well acquainted with German scholarship and German medievalism and a Catholic convert to boot, should have found Fra Angelico's art particularly attractive. Alexis-Francois Rio published his De La Poésie Chrétienne in 1836. Its impact was enormous, not least in England where other aspects of medievalism had been explored in Cobbett's History of the Protestant Reformation (1824-25), the novels of Sir Walter Scott, Pugin's Contrasts (1836) and Robert Southey's Sir Thomas More: or Colloquies on the Progress and Prospects of Society (1829).[2] Rio discussed Fra Angelico fully in his history of Christian art and it is significant that the artist's most mature and stark work, the frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V and in the monk's cells in the Museo di San Marco were not accorded the same ecstatic praise as gilded decorative altarpieces like the Last Judgement (now in the Museo di San Marco) and the Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre. Rio placed greatest emphasis upon Fra Angelico's most approachable work and its religious inspiration, rather than upon his technical abilities.[3] In effect, he was taken out of a line of artistic development and placed in a class of his own, that of a mystic whose talents derived from a communion with God. In Rio's interpretation of Fra Angelico's work, Vasari's treatment of Fra Angelico's life came home to roost.

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1. Lear (1870), p.3.
2. For a discussion of English nineteenth century medievalism see Shrimpton (1976).
3. Rio (1854), pp.146-152.

Rio's writing was remarkable for its eloquence and those who through him discovered Fra Angelico imitated this vivid word painting. Montalembert's famous description of the Last Judgement in Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme[1] of 1839 and Lord Lindsay's description of the Uffizi Coronation of the Virgin in Sketches of Christian Art[2] of 1847 seem to owe a stylistic debt to Rio. But the influence of Rio tended, as Browning observed in 1845, to shut the eyes of Fra Angelico's admirers to

> 'the dear common folk of his crowds, those who sit and listen (spectacle at nose and bent into a comfortable heap to hear better) at the sermon of the saint - and the children and women - divinely pure they all are, but fresh from the streets and market place.[3]

Browning was clearly referring here to Fra Angelico's frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V in Rome. Few Englishmen and women had such individual vision. Mrs. Jameson was closely in touch with German art historical literature and an enthusiastic admirer of Rio and it was surely these influences which led her in 1843 to write of Fra Angelico's works 'They are not remarkable for the usual merits of the Florentine school: they are not addressed to the taste of connoisseurs but to the faith of worshippers.'[4] Unfortunately much of the writing on Fra Angelico was penned not by connoisseurs but by worshippers and by 1847 Lindsay wrote that Fra Angelico 'has recently been as unduly extolled as he had for three centuries past been unduly depreciated.'[5] In

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1. Montalembert (1839), pp.99-102.
2. Lindsay (1847), iii,pp.172-173.
3. Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1969), i, p.190: R.B. to E.B.B., 11 Sept. 1845.
4. Penny Magazine (1843), p.282. Reprinted in Mrs. Jameson (1845), i, p.120.
5. Lindsay (1847), iii, p.188.

Lindsay's view the rebirth of interest in Fra Angelico was a part of the resurgence of Catholicism which he had discussed with such foreboding in Progression by Antagonism. In England Fra Angelico's popularity certainly had quite complex religious associations. A scholarly account of Fra Angelico's work by the Dominican historian Vincenzo Marchese had a hidden message for the Dublin Review of 1848:

> Let the churches, the monuments, the streets, the squares, the figures, the books, which greet the eye throughout the whole kingdom, tell the melancholy tale, and by their hideous deformity, or by their inane mediocrity, repeat the undeniable truth, that when England lost her faith, she lost her soul for art.[1]

The possibility that a work of art could be an icon and before such a work the spectator was 'in the presence of the Godhead' was discussed in the Christian Remembrancer of 1851.[2] In the same year Mr. Rochfort Clarke commenced his own private war on iconic works of art. He purchased religious prints and destroyed them; to gain publicity for his cause he bought a print of Murillo's Holy Trinity in the National Gallery, took it to a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and tore it up.[3] He clearly felt that the dissemination of Christian works of art was a threat to the Anglican church. More temperate Anglicans like Lord Lindsay wished to make the work of early Italian artists more widely known, believing that at the time at which these artists worked the Catholic church was uncorrupt and truly Catholic.

Other Anglicans, even one so sensitive to Italian art as

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1. This was a review of P. Vincenzo Marchese Memorie dei piu insegni pittori, scultori e architetti Domenicani, Firenze, 1848, in the Dublin Review, xxv (1848), p.386.
2. Christian Remembrancer, xxi (1851), p.196.
3. Dublin Review, xxx (1851), p.455.

Francis Palgrave (1788-1861), felt their religious beliefs being challenged by an artist as spiritual as Fra Angelico. Palgrave was a Jew who had joined the Anglican church upon his marriage to the daughter of Dawson Turner, the collector and banker. He embraced his new religion with enthusiasm. According to his granddaughter he was greatly influenced by the Tractarian movement,[1] while he also appears to have sympathised with the power and force of the great evangelical preachers of the day.[2] But he had no patience with superstitious theology and was shocked when told by a German Protestant student that Fra Angelico's frescoes were only achieved through the intercession of the Holy Spirit. He recorded in 1842 that he found it impossible to look without pain and sorrow at subjects tending towards Mariolatry such as Fra Angelico's representations of the Coronation of the Virgin.[3] Similarly in 1848 the Rev. M.H. Seymour, in his book A Pilgrimage to Rome wrote of Fra Angelico's work

> I previously had no idea - I could not conceive how painting could possibly exercise an influence almost magical in alluring and seducing some persons to the church of Rome.[4]

The council of the Society had certainly chosen an artist who, within the context of early Italian art, had attracted much attention.

The main publication of the Society's first active year, 1849, was G.A. Bezzi's translation of Vasari's life of Fra Angelico. It was the first English translation to appear,

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1. Palgrave (1899), p.2.
2. He took his family to hear the evangelical clergyman Thomas Dale preach at St. Bride's, Fleet Street. See Allen (1972), p.70.
3. Murray's Handbook to Northern Italy (1842), p.531.
4. Seymour (1848), p.140.

although it was swiftly followed by Mrs. Jonathan Forster's translation of the entire Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects which came out in 1850. Bezzi's English style was extremely awkward but the superiority of his translation lay in the abundant annotations drawn from the 1832-8 Florentine edition of Vasari, from the German translation by Ludwig Schorn of 1837 and from Bezzi's own researches. These notes were of great usefulness; they identified the works of art Vasari discussed, supplemented his narrative with documentary evidence, described the present condition of works of art and listed books with reproductions of Fra Angelico's work.

The translation and notes were bound into a book with twenty lithographic plates of paintings and frescoes by Fra Angelico, excluding the frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V which were to be reproduced separately. The lithographs were drawn by George Scharf Junior (1820-1895). Each plate was made up of two printings, a buff coloured tint stone and a stone carrying the drawing (Fig. 2). They were clearly intended to resemble outline engravings and while the result had none of the crispness of an engraving, the use of lithography must have considerably cut the cost of production.

It seems fairly certain that the lithographs were based not on the originals, but on existing engravings. Scharf's previous work as a book illustrator[1] had probably been derived from other prints, but the Arundel Society might have been expected to demand greater veracity. In fact, his diaries reveal that he did not visit Italy while he was working on

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1. Scharf had been trained as a lithographer by his father and during the 1840s he had been much employed as a book illustrator, particularly by the firm of John Murray; most of the wood-engravings for the many editions of Kugler's Italian Schools of Painting were based upon his drawings.

the lithographs for the Society;[1] and almost all the pictures he reproduced were readily available to him in engraved form. Fra Angelico's The Coronation of the Virgin in the Louvre was engraved in von Schlegel's book, the frescoes in the Duomo at Orvieto appeared in Delle Valle's Storia del Duomo di Orvieto of 1791, the works in the Accademia were engraved in Marchese's Gallerie dell'I e Reale Accademia delle Belle Arti di Firenze of 1845, and all the panels of the chest doors then in the Accademia had been engraved by G.B. Nocchi in 1845.[2] It is significant that a single plate is specially signed 'G. Scharf Jun. del ab. orig. 1843.';[3] the inference must be that this is the only plate drawn from the original. The illustrations to Bezzi's translation were, then, an inauspicious start to a society dedicated to propagating the knowledge of art.

The engravings of Fra Angelico's frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican were of a higher quality. The first group appeared from 1849 to 1851, while the second group appeared much later in the Society's history, between 1862 and 1869. These engravings were based upon drawings executed in 1824, almost a quarter of a century before the foundation of the Society and, as mentioned above, acquired by the Society in 1849. They were the work of two artists, the Viennese Leopold Kupelweiser (1796-1862)[4] and the German Joseph Tunner (1792-1877). An examination of the drawings,

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1. Scharf Papers, Diaries for 1848-1851.

2. Nocchi (1843).

3. Arundel Society, Bezzi,(1850), unnumbered plate, 'Tomb-stone of Fra Giovanni da Fiesole, in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva: Rome.'

4. Kupelweiser appears to have made another set of copies of these frescoes. See Ashmolean Museum (1977), no.12. The Society's drawings are listed in Appendix 11.

now in the Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room, shows the style of the two men to have been very similar (Figs. 3, 4); their delicate precision is comparable with work by Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Peter von Cornelius, and it is likely that Kupelweiser and Tunner made the journey to Rome in order to learn from these leaders of the Nazarene group.

In its earliest days the Arundel Society was too poor to bear the expense of sending an artist to Italy and so the purchase of these drawings was a satisfactory alternative. Although their origins were rather remote in time, they fairly certainly had been drawn with painstaking accuracy from the original frescoes. The council solved the problem of choosing an engraver to work from the drawings by inviting artists to execute plates on a competitive basis. Four artists definitely submitted work, Ludwig Gruner, John Linnell Junior, E.E. Schäffer and Thomas Vernon. Gruner and Schäffer may be considered to have won, as they were given further work by the council.

In 1849 Gruner's engraving of St. Lawrence distributing Alms (Fig. 5) was sent to subscribers, followed in 1850 by Schäffer's St. Stephen before the Council and Gruner's St. Bonaventura and in 1851 by Schäffer's St. Lawrence before the Emperor Decius. In 1850 Vernon's St. Matthew and Linnell's lithograph of St. Thomas (Fig. 6) were also published, according to the Society's annual report 'out of a sense of justice to the competing artists.'[1] The selection of two German artists did not pass unnoticed. Ruskin wrote ruefully to George Richmond of the Society's dependence upon 'a German engraver and another Angelico plate.'[2] The council had

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1. 3rd Annual Report of the Council (1852), p.2.

2. Bodleian MS Eng. Letts. c.33, p.5: Ruskin to George Richmond. Dated by Cook and Wedderburn to ?1849.

apparently decided not to employ Linnell because the price he demanded was too high. William Coningham, in a letter to Linnell's father, suggested that there might be more sinister reasons:

> I have seen so much of secret influence in the arts, that I am by no means satisfied, either that your son has been fairly treated, or that a trumpery performance may not be foisted on the members of our society. Gruner is patronised by Prince Albert, and I have no confidence in Ld. Colborne & the members of the council who decided on Gruner.[1]

Prince Albert was a member of the Society and so could have suggested Gruner. Coningham singled out Lord Colborne as Gruner's principal supporter on the council. In addition, of the other members of the founding council, both Hope and Rogers had employed him. As a result of his work for English patrons his standing in England was high. In 1849 the Art-Journal wrote of his engraving of Rogers's Raphael

> It is not too much to say that such an engraving after Raphael has not appeared since the days of Marc Antonio of undying fame.[2]

This comparison with Marc Antonio was also made by James Dennistoun, the Scottish antiquary. In 1838 he wrote from Rome to his friend David Laing

> '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.....[3]

The comparison with Marc Antonio is perhaps at first hard to understand. St. Lawrence distributing Alms (Fig. 5) is a far more delicate work than, for example, Marc Antonio Raimondi's

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1. Quoted in Letters of Samuel Palmer (1974), i, p.311: Coningham to Linnell, 30 Jan. 1850. (Ivimy MSS).

2. Art-Journal, XI (1849), p.163.

3. Quoted in Brigstocke (1973), p.248: Dennistoun to Laing, 3 Dec. 1838. On p.247 of this article this letter is erroneously described as having been written on 3 Dec. 1848.

Woman and Boy after a design by Raphael (Fig. 7). Gruner and other Germans were, however, reviving a pure engraving style, which eschewed crayon effect, mezzotint or aquatint. It was doubtless this exclusive use of the burin which put connoisseurs in mind of the father of reproductive engraving. Gruner's high reputation is to a certain extent borne out if a comparison is made between his engraving and Linnell's lithograph (Fig. 6) or Vernon's engraving: the two English artists do not achieve his accuracy and precision of line.

The Athenaeum and the Art-Journal gave the Society's first publications similar reviews, mixing in equal parts praise and censure. In 1850 the Athenaeum applauded the council's choice of Fra Angelico, observing that there were in England only two examples of the artist's work, Lord Ward's Last Judgement (now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) and Heywood Hawkins' Angels and Saints Adoring the Virgin (the present whereabouts of which are unknown). The choice of St. Lawrence distributing Alms was especially approved because Vasari had failed to describe the individual scenes in the chapel of Nicholas V. The reviewer's only complaint was that the prints in Bezzi's translation of Vasari's life were tiresomely small.[1] Yet later in that year the Athenaeum described the Fra Angelico publications as a piece of mismanagement, which, the reviewer noted, was hardly surprising in view of the composition of the Society's council. He argued that the Art Union, the Commission of the Fine Arts and the British Institution all had committees made up of men whose sole qualification for office was 'some superficial taste' perhaps given weight by the possession of a title. He

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1. Athenaeum (20 July 1850), p.770.

observed that not a single member of the Arundel council was an artist (either ignorant of or unimpressed by Earl Compton's modest career) and he attributed the ugliness of contemporary public art to this failure of artists to assert themselves: 'our public places are thronged with ineffective statues born of the partialities of ennobled committeemen.'[1]

The Society's response to this criticism was swift: the next year there were two artists on its council, C.W. Cope (1811-1890) and G.F. Watts (1817-1904). Both men had travelled in Italy. Cope had visited the most important centres of early art, Orvieto, Assisi, Perugia and Siena. He had sketched many 'recollections' on a tour made in 1832-1834.[2] Ruskin wrote to George Richmond in 1849 asking whether he and Cope had any sketches suitable for reproduction for the Society,[3] so that their standard must have been quite high. Watts had not travelled so widely in Italy as Cope, but he had lived for four years in Florence as the guest of Lord and Lady Holland. Both men were, significantly, interested in the revival of fresco. Both had entered the competition for the decoration of the Houses of Parliament in 1842 and both had won prizes. Cope went to Italy and Munich to study fresco in 1845 and for the next twenty years he was chiefly engaged in decorating the House of Lords in that medium. Although both Watts and Cope remained on the council only until 1856 Cope in particular may have suggested that the society embark on the subsequent publication of works by Giotto. While in Assisi in 1834 he had noticed how

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1. Athenaeum (3 Aug. 1850), p.819.
2. Cope (1891), pp.61-62, 86, 97, 104, 106.
3. Bodleian MS Eng. Letts. c.33, p.5: Ruskin to George Richmond. Dated by Cook and Wedderburn to ?1849.

inaccurate were William Young Ottley's engravings of works attributed to the master.[1]

The addition of two artists to the council seems to have mollified the Athenaeum and in 1852 the continued publication of Fra Angelico prints was praised. St. Lawrence before the Emperor Decius was, the reviewer felt, so engraved 'as to preserve all the thoughtfulness and purity of expression of Angelico.'[2]

The Art-Journal had nothing but praise for the publications of the Society's first year. The reviewer compared St. Lawrence distributing Alms favourably with William Young Ottley's engraving of the same work which had been done 'with much less accuracy of delineation or delicacy of expression.'[3] But a year later the Art-Journal criticised the Fra Angelico publication. The criticism was not levelled at the quality of the prints but at the choice of Fra Angelico. The critic felt that his works were

> imbued with the spirit of his age, and the quaint character which the art of painting even then assumed, superstitiously religious in sentiment, dry and formal.[4]

Such engravings would be of use 'to a very limited class of artists.' It was suggested that the Society publish more modern works which contemporary artists might emulate. As the reviewer saw it, the Arundel Society was neither employing English artists nor teaching them anything worth while. The employment of foreign artists was something on which Ruskin and Coningham had already commented, while the

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1. Cope (1891), p.61.
2. Athenaeum (31 July 1852), p.827.
3. Art-Journal, XII, 1850, p.267.
4. Art-Journal, new series, 111, 1851, p.264. Hereafter with reference to the Art-Journal n.s. denotes new series.

criticism of Fra Angelico's style as being 'quaint' and 'superstitiously religious' reflected two current concerns. Firstly, that too much exposure to early art might corrupt contemporary artists. Interest in the trecento and the quattrocento had been gaining ground throughout the 1840s in England, but, arguably, interest turned to distrust when it emerged that a group of young men painting in an uncompromisingly realistic fashion had christened themselves the Pre-Raphaelite Brethren.[1] The fact that they were little influenced by artists who worked before Raphael was not taken into consideration. For the next two decades discussion of early art invariably included an apologetic reference to those who had misused or misunderstood its lessons. Secondly, the Art-Journal's criticism reflected the fear that early art might lure the British public towards the church of Rome. The Rev. M.H. Seymour had voiced this fear in 1848 and in 1850 the establishment of thirteen Roman Catholic bishoprics in England and in 1851 the conversion to Catholicism of men of the stature of H.E. Manning and James Hope-Scott appeared to be a real challenge to the Anglican church and therefore all other potential threats seemed to demand serious consideration. That the Society were going some way to altering the popular view of Fra Angelico by publishing his frescoes rather than his more iconic altarpieces was overlooked by both the Art-Journal and the Athenaeum.

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1. See Haskell (1976), pp.51-57.

II

In 1851 the Society's members received a print of Fra Angelico's St. Lawrence before the Emperor Decius together with Giotto's Pietà from the Arena Chapel. Both had been engraved by Schäffer, but the Giotto print was more elaborate (Fig. 8) and according to the Annual Report it was hoped that

> The accompanying impression will enable subscribers to judge of the engraver's success in translating the conception of a mind at once more subtle and more dramatic, though perhaps less single minded and enthusiastic than the monk of Fiesole.[1]

The council had originally intended that their subscribers should receive a variety of publications; a drawing by an Italian named Rapisardi of the Death of St. Francis by Ghirlandaio was commissioned for engraving and an unnamed member put forward two drawings of Tintoretto paintings by an artist named Harding.[2] It seems very likely that the anonymous member was John Ruskin and that the artist may be identified as his drawing master J.D. Harding, with whom he had discovered Tintoretto in 1845.[3] All these drawings proved unsuitable for reproduction and instead the Society embarked upon a far more ambitious project, the reproduction of the entirety of Giotto's Life of the Virgin in the Arena Chapel.

This was a less fashionable choice than the decision to publish Fra Angelico. As I have suggested, the special interest in Fra Angelico which sprang up in the 1840s was in large measure inspired by a religious response to art. Giotto's reputation, together with Cimabue, as the father of Italian art had not really been subject to fluctuations. His name had

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1. 3rd Annual Report of the Council (1852), p.2.

2. 4th Annual Report of the Council (1853), p.3. The Society's accounts note that Rapisardi and Harding were paid £30 for one drawing apiece.

3. Ruskin in Italy (1972), p.210: Ruskin to his father, 23 Sept. 1845.

been regularly, if inaccurately, invoked in the eighteenth century to describe any early work of art and in the 1820s a group of English artists had begun to study his frescoes at Padua with real attention. It is important to emphasise, however, that these artists' interest in him did not spring from any Christian medievalising fashion and is therefore not comparable with interest in Fra Angelico in the 1840s. It was the simplicity and power of Giotto's frescoes at Padua which William Hilton admired in 1825. He wrote of their 'simplicity of conception' and 'character and expressions'.[1] He was travelling with a fellow artist Thomas Phillips who responded similarly and wrote later:

> It is as the poetry of Chaucer or Donne, with their uncouth phraseology, full of sense and sentiment.[2]

David Wilkie was at Padua a year later and while trecento art at Florence and Pisa had caused him to think of the 'Chinese or Hindoos',[3] at the Arena Chapel he saw grandeur and gentleness combined. The naturalism and simplicity of Giotto's compositions were emphasised in Maria Callcott's commentary in her Description of the Annunziata dell'Arena (1835) illustrated with inaccurate drawings by her husband Augustus Wall Callcott (Fig. 9). She compared Giotto with Flaxman and Stothard, the latter comparison having also been made by Hilton. The words and phrases in her descriptions of the frescoes echo those of Hilton, Phillips and Wilkie - 'simple', 'true in expression', 'great dignity and expression', dignity and majesty', 'gravity and decorum'. As these artists were her husband's friends she may in some degree have been

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1. Pointon (1972), p.346.
2. Phillips (1833), p.40.
3. Cunningham (1843), ii.

influenced by them.

By 1847 Lindsay introduced a more subjective note when he described Giotto's art as being 'practical, manly and healthy.'[1] All these responses may seem to imply the condescension of a writer tackling the problem of describing an artist who seemed at once impressive but naive. While Phillips' comparison with Chaucer and Donne is intended as an indication of Giotto's primitiveness it is important to bear in mind that this kind of evaluative vocabulary was common in literary criticism from the 1830s on into the 1870s.[2] Words like 'simple', 'manly', and 'noble' were used as terms of approbation in criticism of contemporary poetry, while words like 'mystical' and 'vague' were employed in a derogatory sense. The terms used in the Art-Journal to condemn Fra Angelico when the Society published his work - 'quaint' and 'superstitious' - equally form part of this critical vocabulary.

The comparisons made with other artists by those writing about Giotto are only marginally illuminating. They further emphasise the words firmly docketed for use in relation to Giotto. For Chaucer, Shakespeare and Donne 'simple' may be read. The frequently made comparison between Giotto and Stothard refers to the sweetness and simplicity of the Victorian artist's work (it grew out of a misreading of Giotto and was related to the common comparison of Cimabue with Michelangelo and of Giotto with Raphael, where in the second comparison Giotto is evidently seen as the milder rather than the more powerful of the two early artists). The comparison with Flaxman also refers to simplicity and earliness. Usually the inappropriateness of a comparison may be taken as a measure of the writer's

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1. Lindsay (1847), ii, p.264.
2. See Armstrong (1972), pp.2-14.

difficulty in describing an artist's style.[1] For this reason, Chaucer, Donne, Flaxman, Shakespeare and Stothard were all understandably invoked to describe Giotto although to refer any of these artists, save perhaps Stothard, as simple today seems puzzling; it is the change in their reputations which make their names stand out so markedly.

While Giotto was an earlier artist than Fra Angelico he had an unbroken history of critical respectability and he might therefore have been expected to be more popular with critics and subscribers alike. In addition, dissatisfaction within the Society at the employment of German engravers working from German drawings was resolved by the new publication. In the Society's fourth annual report it was announced that a young artist from the Royal Academy Schools, William Oliver Williams (act. 1851-1863) had already made ten drawings of frescoes and had received a commission for ten more. One of these drawings had been given to the wood engraver John Thompson to engrave and seven others had been given to the Dalziel Brothers. It was also announced:

> With a view to increase the interest and instructiveness of a work which cannot be expected to present much attraction to the eye, the prints will be accompanied by a short description and critical account, both of the chapel and its pictorial decorations.[2]

The council, as this stark statement makes clear, was adhering to the policy announced in the first prospectus, that of preferring publications which were truthful rather than beautiful. In the same year, 1852, the Society bought a copy of Lady Callcott's account of the Arena Chapel;[3] possibly this was intended

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1. For example, Jules Champfleury, struggling to communicate his enthusiasm in 1850 for the paintings of the brothers Le Nain made the strange comparison with Durer's engraving Melancolia. For Melancolia the word 'grave' or 'melancholy' might be substituted but as it stands the comparison is an absurd one. Clarke (1973), p.73.
2. 4th Annual Report of the Council (1853), p.2.
3. Ibid., p.3.

as the beginnings of an art library for use by members. It was not followed by further purchases.

In the fifth annual report it emerged that the commission to engrave any part of the Giotto project had been declined by Thompson, but that the work had been accepted by the Dalziel Brothers. It was also announced that John Ruskin had been commissioned to write an account of the chapel and its frescoes.[1]

The annual reports fail to reveal the extent of Williams's work for the Society. Unlike the Fra Angelico drawings and the majority of the water-colours later executed for the Society his copies have not all survived, but a clear account of them is outlined in a speech given by Matthew Digby Wyatt at the opening of the Society's exhibition in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham in 1855.[2] For the engravings Williams did reduced drawings in pen and ink which were then either traced or copied onto the wood blocks. In addition, he made tracings of the entire fresco cycle in order, apparently, that the council might use them to test the accuracy of his reduced drawings.[3] He also executed chiaroscuro drawings of the Virtues and Vices which have survived, as have two water-colours of medallions from the ceiling. (An artist named Allegri was employed to execute eleven coloured drawings from decorative borders and panels in the Chapel).

Williams also appears to have done some private work for Samuel Rogers. Rogers lent a water-colour of the Ascension by Williams for exhibition at the Crystal Palace. There exists

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1. 5th Annual Report of the Council (1854), p.2.
2. Wyatt (1855).
3. See A Descriptive Notice of the Drawings, Tracings and Models and Miscellaneous Publications of the Arundel Society published by the Arundel Society (1855), p.10.

today, in private ownership, a group of five water-colours after the frescoes at Padua - The Virgin Returning to her Own Home (Fig. 10), The Mocking of Christ, The Pietà, The Ascension, and Noli Me Tangere. Only one of this group, The Mocking of Christ, is actually signed by Williams, but their very close stylistic similarity both to each other and to the wood engravings published by the Society indicate that Williams was almost certainly the author of all five paintings. The water-colours are highly finished and beautifully executed. They do, however, subtly alter the works they represent. If, for example, we examine closely the heads of the women in The Virgin Returning to her Own Home a definite softening of features, the lips particularly being fuller, is apparent. The decay of the frescoes is not recorded and evidently Williams hoped to give an idea of the appearance of the frescoes before they had been ravaged by time.

There is no way of knowing what Williams's pen and ink sketches were like, nor what kind of drawing he did on the wood block for the Dalziel Brothers. He does not appear to have been an artist who, like Sir John Gilbert, Arthur Hughes, Birket Foster or Frederick Sandys, drew frequently for engravers. In the 1850s he was employed at the Birmingham School of Design[1] and by 1858 he was living in Shrewsbury and possibly employed at the School of Design there.[2] He seems to have specialised in genre paintings; in the 1850s and 1860s he exhibited works with titles like The Interesting Book, 10½ Stanhope Street, A Glimpse into the Future.[3] I have not been able to trace these pictures, but the water-colours indicate that he was a careful

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1. Graves (1908), p.592. Also see Bell (1963), pp.108-109 for Williams's involvement in a dispute with the master of the School.

2. Graves (1906), viii, p.295.

3. Graves (1908), p.592 and Graves (1906), viii, p.295.

draughtsman and a skilful water-colourist.

The Dalziels, on the other hand, are among the most famous firms of Victorian wood-engravers - partly because they memorialised themselves in The Dalziel Brothers: A Record. Their book does not mention the Giotto engravings despite the fact that it was an unusual commission and a large one. It was not, however, the only time the firm engraved after Italian works of art. Many of the illustrations in Mrs. Jameson's Sacred and Legendary Art, Legends of the Madonna and Legends of the Monastic Orders were engraved by Edward Dalziel. These commissions were similarly not mentioned in A Record and were probably regarded as hack work. The book deals mainly with the Dalziels' collaboration with famous artists and illustrators.[1]

At the time of the Giotto project the status of wood-engraving had been gaining ground, but only as a medium for book illustration. Thus in 1843 we find Cope, Redgrave and Webster agreeing to do designs for Felix Summerly's Nursery Rhymes but objecting to their names being advertised as the authors of these designs.[2] By the 1850s the situation appears to have changed and on the binding of an 1855 edition of The Vicar of Wakefield the name Goldsmith is absent whereas the names of Thompson, the engraver, and Mulready, the artist, are given prominence on the spine.

Even as a method of book illustration, the use of wood-engraving was limited. Its advantage lay in the fact that a wood block could be incorporated into the type face, but nonetheless Mrs. Jameson had found it necessary also to include more elaborate etched and engraved reproductions to illustrate her

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1. Dalziel (1901).
2. Cole Papers, Diaries, 5 March 1843.

writings on art.

In the circumstances, the use of wood-engravings by the Society was quite revolutionary - intaglio prints would have been a more dignified method of reproducing the frescoes. The council may have been motivated by a desire to avoid publishing what the Athenaeum had described as 'an annual cart-load of smooth-polished steel-plate rubbish.'[1] Certainly Schäffer's engraving of the Pieta (Fig. 8) lost much of the character of Giotto's fresco in a smooth network of finely engraved lines and the Dalziels' wood-engraving of the same scene (Fig. 11) is recognisably more successful. The council's decision to employ wood-engraving to reproduce Giotto was discussed by Ruskin in his monograph. He argued that

> The character of his [Giotto's] painting is better expressed by bold wood engraving than in general it is likely to be by any other means.[2]

He also pointed out that the copyist had not tried to rectify any of Giotto's errors of draughtsmanship and added

> It is very necessary that this should be well understood by the members of the Arundel Society when they hear their engravings severely criticised. It is easy to produce an agreeable engraving by graceful infidelities; but the entire endeavour of the draughtsman employed by this society has been to obtain accurately the character of the original: and he who never proposes to rise above the work he is copying, must most assuredly often fall beneath it.[3]

The realisation that early art was not easily reproduced by the rational net of lines employed by the reproductive engraver had been recognised as long ago as 1772 when Thomas Patch, writing of his attempts to engrave Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel, described how he

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1. Athenaeum (4 August 1849), p.793.
2. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.36.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.39.

> attempted by a Pictoresque manner of engraving to preserve the stile and the simplicity of the fresco, which does not require the exactness or the minute touches of a more accurate engraver.[1]

Wood-engraving did not have an exact rationale - problems presented by very different drawings made on the wood were solved in different ways by the engraver. Most imitated drawings, some imitated engravings. Some drawings required more interpretation by the engraver than others. Rossetti is the most famous example of an artist failing to understand the simplest requirements of the engraver. The Dalziels wrote of his design for William Allingham's Maids of Elfin Mere:

> This drawing is a remarkable example of the author being altogether unacquainted with the necessary requirements in making a drawing on the wood for the engraver's purpose. In this Rossetti made use of wash, pencil, coloured chalk, pen and ink, producing a very nice effect, but the engraved reproduction of this many tinted drawing failed to satisfy him.[2]

It seems likely that Williams's drawing on the wood was in pen and ink with some ink wash to indicate areas of solid colour. He would have drawn on several wood blocks bolted together, as the prints were large and the box tree, the hard wood of which was used by nineteenth century engravers, grew to no great diameter. In some cases it is possible to see gaps between the wood blocks. In the print of The Virgin Returning to her Own Home (Fig. 12) the white line which passes through the leaves of the bough above the musicians' heads shows that two blocks were not bolted together sufficiently tightly and such flaws could easily occur when as many as nine wood blocks were used for each print. Each of the Arena Chapel reproductions was made up of two printings, one from the wood blocks carrying the engraving and one from an unengraved block carrying

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1. Patch (1770), p.iv.
2. Dalziel (1901), p.86.

a yellow tint. This was rarely done by the Dalziels but does occur in their editions of The Life of Christ and Miracles of our Lord illustrated by Pickersgill. Proof copies of the Arena Chapel series printed without the yellow tone block show what a very necessary aesthetic addition it was.[1]

The wood-engravings make no attempt to indicate the decay of the frescoes. In particular the areas of sky, completely restored by Williams in his water-colour, are similarly restored in the woodcuts, and represented by close parallel lines. But the lines are not perfectly straight, their width varies slightly and their boldness gives some indication of the varied texture of the fresco surface. In Schäffer's engraving of the Pietà (Fig. 8) the area of sky is left unengraved, so that the principal effect of the scene, that of figures presented hard against a strong blue sky, is lost, while the dark sky with faces in relief is well conveyed in the wood-engraving of The Virgin Returning to her Own Home (Fig. 12).

Ruskin's accompanying monograph appeared in three parts. The first part, a general essay on Giotto, was published in 1853, and was followed by two further parts in 1854 and 1860 - these were made up of close descriptions of each scene in the Arena Chapel cycle. It is worth briefly examining how familiar Ruskin was with Giotto's art at that period. His first contact with what he believed to be Giotto took place as early as 1841 when he noted 'quite noble' frescoes in the

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1. There is a set of proof copies in the V & A Print Room.

church of S. Antonio at Padua.[1] As we have seen, a general interest in early art grew out of his reading of Rio and his journey to Italy in 1845. On this tour, like many travellers before him, his first exposure to early art was at the Campo Santo at Pisa. Possibly he was already familiar with the frescoes through Lasinio's engravings: these attributed the frescoes of the Life of Job to Giotto. Ruskin stayed at Pisa just over two weeks copying first Benozzo Gozzoli, then 'Giotto' and 'Martini's' Conversion of San Raniero. While copying the Life of Job he first encountered the problem which was to intrigue him throughout his life and one central to the aims of the Arundel Society: that of making faithful copies of early art. He wrote to his parents on the 19th of May:

> They are as badly drawn as they can be, but there they are all full of life and feeling, running out at the very finger ends. If I draw the hand as well as I can, it is'nt like - if I draw it rudely and badly, the rudeness and badness is all mighty like, but the feeling is gone.[2]

This was Ruskin's most important contact with what he believed

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1. Ruskin, Diaries, i, p.190. Many visitors to Padua in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries visited the church of S. Antonio and the Town Hall and failed to see Giotto's work in the Arena Chapel. Edward Wright saw a crucifix by Giotto in the church of S. Antonio (Wright, 1730, p.38) while Marianna Starke noted frescoes by Giotto in the same church (Starke, 1833, p.500). Wilkie visited Padua in April 1826 and similarly saw frescoes he believed to be by Giotto in the church of S. Antonio, but he returned later in that year and visited the Arena Chapel (Cunningham, 1843, ii, pp.292, 399). Cope, visiting Padua in 1834, saw 'fine frescoes by Giotto' in the church of S. Antonio and in the Town Hall (Cope, 1891, p.104). Maria Callcott (1835) devoted her monograph to the Arena Chapel but briefly described Giotto's work in S. Antonio and the Town Hall (Il Salone). Watts particularly noted Giotto's fresco of an angel in a boat in the Cathedral on a visit in 1853 (Watts, 1912, i, p.144). For an account of the growth of interest in the Arena Chapel see Prosdocini (1960). Prosdocini suggests that the Arundel Society wished to buy the Chapel, but I have found no evidence to support this claim, although in 1868 Henry Cole suggested to Henry Layard that the Chapel be bought by the South Kensington Museum (B.M. Addit MSS., Layard Papers, 38995 f.335: Cole to Layard 24/10/68.)

2. Ruskin in Italy (1972), p.70.

to be Giotto, though the frescoes are now attributed to Taddeo Gaddi. In Florence he continued to note works by Giotto, but other artists, particularly Fra Angelico, Orcagna, Ghirlandaio and Masaccio, interested him more. In Venice he discovered Giovanni and Gentile Bellini, and more importantly, Tintoretto. His visit to Padua was inauspicious. He was ill for two days and wrote later to his father 'it cost me my house at Vicenza & my review of Giotto at Padua.'[1] He revisited Padua in 1846[2] and evidently examined the Arena Chapel for he wrote in the second volume of Modern Painters, which appeared in 1849, of 'the rainbow play of brilliant harmonies'[3] in the chapel.

Ruskin's review of Lord Lindsay's Sketches of Christian Art in 1847 revealed more about his attitude to Giotto. He deeply regretted that Lindsay had followed Ernst Forster in attributing the Life of Job at Pisa to Francesco da Volterra, although he admitted that the evidence seemed incontrovertible.[4] He felt that the stylistic evidence spoke very strongly for Giotto's authorship; this belief of Ruskin's is of particular interest as at Pisa he made his first serious study of Giotto and it is conceivable that he formed his idea of Giotto's style from these frescoes. This perhaps explains why, in his review, he was enthusiastic about the frescoes in the Podestà Chapel in the Bargello, now attributed to a follower of Giotto, and comparatively unimpressed by Giotto's undoubted work at the Arena Chapel. Ruskin found the Arena Chapel frescoes 'less dexterous'[5] than those in the Podestà and arguably his

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1. Ruskin in Italy (1972), p.227.
2. Ruskin, Diaries, pp.340-341.
3. Ruskin, Works, 111, p.325.
4. Ruskin, Works, X11, p.213.
5. Ruskin, Works, X11, p.216.

whole vision of Giotto was based on the work of more decorative followers. When Ruskin finally visited Assisi in the 1870s this view of Giotto was to affect his attributions there also.[1]

Despite this very faint antipathy towards 'true' Giotto, Ruskin was able to produce a magnificent monograph for the Society. He appears to have written it between January 8th[2] and about January 31st 1854, when he noted in his diary 'nearly got Giotto done.'[3] The research for the monograph was minimal and was probably carried out during the latter part of 1853.[4] Ruskin consulted the most accessible written sources - Lord Lindsay's Sketches of Christian Art and Pietro Estense Selvatico's Sulla Cappellina Degli Scroveni nell' Arena di Padova e sui Freschi di Giotto in essa dipinti (1836). He also examined a fourteenth century manuscript history of the Holy Family, deposited in the British Museum, which clarified his understanding of the iconography of the cycle.[5]

In his introduction Ruskin tried to define the essence of Giotto's style. He may have had proofs of the wood-engravings

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1. See below, p.116-119.

2. Bodleian MS. Eng. Misc. c.218 f.99. This diary entry dated by Cook and Wedderburn to 8 January mentions the Society's project for the first time.

3. Ruskin, Diaries, i, p.489.

4. Joan Evans in Diaries, i, p.478 asserts baldly that Ruskin made notes for Giotto and his Works in Padua during 1853. While this is probably true there is no written evidence to support this statement.

5. See John Ruskin, Giotto and his Works in Padua 1 published by the Arundel Society 1853, pp.44-45. The entire monograph was republished in Ruskin, Works, XXIV, pp.13-111 and further references will cite volume and page of Works. Giotto and his Works in Padua and Ruskin's essay on the Cavalli monument in Verona published in 1872 were the only Arundelmonographs to be republished. In 1900 an edition of the former work was prepared for Ruskin by Wedderburn, illustrated with photographs with additional material on the Virtues and Vices, extracted from other writings by Ruskin and from Lindsay's Sketches of Christian Art. In 1905 an electrotyped pocket edition appeared, reduced from the 1900 edition. In 1906 the essay was included in Works with photozincographic reproductions of the wood-engravings.

before him, or have been working entirely from memory. He could have visited the chapel as recently as 1851-2 while researching for The Stones of Venice, but his diary makes no mention of any such expedition. Ruskin was determined to present Giotto as vividly as possible: as an artist who contended with problems common to artists of all periods, from the fourteenth century to the nineteenth. During the period in which he was writing the monograph it is evident that John Everett Millais seemed to be a link with Giotto. He had invited Millais to Scotland in 1853 to 'make him read Euclid and bring him back a meek and methodical man.'[1] In this he did not succeed, and it was surely with Millais in mind that he wrote in his analysis of Giotto

> but the more I see of living artists, and learn of departed ones, the more I am convinced that the highest strength of genius is generally marked by strange unconsciousness of its own modes of operation, and often by no small scorn of the best results of its exertion.[2]

In a later passage he made a direct comparison:

> Giotto was to his contemporaries precisely what Millais is to his contemporaries, - a daring naturalist, in defiance of tradition, idealism, and formalism.[3]

Ruskin brought Giotto to life by comparing him with a living artist. He also selected anecdotes from Vasari's life of the artist to build up a picture of Giotto's character. He believed Giotto's mind to have been 'healthy, kind, and active'[4] and that the artist possessed a religious faith which was 'firm, without superstition.'[5] Ruskin particularly wished to emphasise that Giotto saw himself as nothing more than a

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1. Lutyens (1967), p.108.
2. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.21.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.27.
4. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.22.
5. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.22.

reliable craftsman, ready to accept the orders of his patrons. He concluded from the famous story of Giotto's O that 'he was proud to be a good workman, and willing to be considered by others only as such.'[1] He prefaced a story taken from Rogers' Italy which described Giotto painting arms on a shield thus:

> Giotto appears to have considered himself simply as a workman, at the command of any employers, for any kind of work, however humble.[2]

Ruskin saw him as a 'serene labourer,'[3] simply 'an authority about walls'[4], a man devoid of vanity, untroubled by philosophy or by critics, a man only conscious of work well done. The concept of the artist as artisan had a dual charm for Ruskin. Firstly, he wished to influence and train artists as if they were as malleable as artisans. Secondly, he was outraged by the way in which the division of labour had stripped the modern artisan of his artistry. This second point had already been passionately argued in The Nature of Gothic, the central chapter of The Stones of Venice.

Ruskin outlined what he believed to be the main characteristics of Giotto's style. He noted that the artist never finished highly; that he was a great and decorative colourist, whose works ideally should only be seen in their architectural context; that he was a faulty draughtsman, whose errors were truthfully reproduced in the Society's engravings; that Giotto's art, like all fourteenth century fresco, was devoid of decorative realism. Scenes were unadorned, with none of Gozzoli's

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.21.
2. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.28.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.33.
4. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.33.

abundance of landscape and architectural detail and none of Fra Angelico's wealth of costume and jewellery. He summed up Giotto's art as 'pure Colour, noble Form, noble Thought.'[1] Nonetheless he was very conscious that the members of the Society might fail to see Giotto's genius because of a supposed childishness of execution. He wrote with great sensitivity

> When we know a little more of art in general, we shall begin to suspect that a man of Giotto's power of mind did not altogether suppose the clusters of formal trees, or diminutive masses of architecture, to be perfect representations of the woods of Judea, or of the streets of Jerusalem: we shall begin to understand that there is a symbolical art which addresses the imagination, as well as a realist art which supersedes it....[2]

Ruskin feared that the subject of the frescoes, devoted as they were to the apocryphal life of the Virgin, would find little favour with a Protestant public. He himself felt the apocryphal lives of the Virgin to be 'feeble and foolish mockeries of the manner of inspired artists,'[3] though earlier visitors to the chapel, such as Hilton, Wilkie, Phillips, and Maria Callcott had not found Giotto's subject matter a stumbling block: a clear illustration of the calmer religious climate of the 1820s. Ruskin also recognised that a Protestant would find the scenes hard to follow and distasteful when explained. The dangers inherent in elucidating them had been suggested by Frederick Faber in 1842. In his Sights and Thoughts in Foreign Churches the Traveller, an ingenuous Protestant, meets the Guide in the Arena Chapel. The Guide, representing the spirit of medieval Catholicism, tells him to look up at Giotto's frescoes and asks if he knows their subject.

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.40.
2. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, pp.40-41.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.44 note.

The Traveller admits he does not, but discerns the figure of the Virgin in each scene. This leads onto a discussion of Mariolatry and as the persuasive Guide talks on the Traveller reflects:

> Giotto's frescoes had led us further than we looked for. So it is almost always in life.[1]

Ruskin's commentary on the individual frescoes, which forms the second and third parts of the monograph, quotes from the apocryphal Protoevanglion and Gospel of St. Mary. His aim was simple: to make the wood-engravings intelligible.

All too clearly, Ruskin was working from the engravings alone, and where the copyist or engraver erred Ruskin followed him in error. For example, Ruskin remarks upon the ignoble look of the shepherds in contrast with Joachim in Joachim Retires to the Sheepfold. The shepherds seem poor specimens of manhood in the engravings but not in the original frescoes. In the engraving of The Expulsion from the Temple (Fig. 13) the scourge in Christ's hand was omitted and this was duly noted in the description of the fresco by Ruskin, who was always quick to spot divergences from biblical texts. In the Hiring of Judas the copyist omitted an admittedly faint halo about Judas' head and Ruskin made this the basis for an elaborate argument which attempted to explain the precise moment that Judas actually fell from grace. The exclusive reliance upon the wood-engravings made it difficult for Ruskin to recognise Judas in various scenes. Because of the loss of likeness Ruskin believed that Judas's face was hidden in The Washing of the Feet and he commented that Judas's face was seen clearly for the first time in the betrayal scene.

Yet despite this dependence upon a secondary source,

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1. Faber (1842), p.270.

Ruskin's commentary was descriptive criticism of a very high order. It was also intensely subjective. For example he wrote of The Angel appearing to Anna:

> there is something peculiarly beautiful in the simplicity of Giotto's conception, and in the way in which he has shown the angel entering at the window, without the least endeavour to impress our imagination by darkness, light, or clouds, or any other accessory; as though believing that angels might appear anywhere, and any day, and to all men, as a matter of course, if we would ask them, or were fit company for them.[1]

There are two striking features to this passage. Firstly, while Ruskin clearly has in mind the work of sixteenth and seventeenth century artists when he describes the possible dramatisation of the scene, he writes as if Giotto had deliberately jettisoned these effects: almost as though Giotto, with strange prescience, was able to dismiss those later artistic developments of which Ruskin himself was so clearly conscious. Secondly, the poetic sweetness of Ruskin's analyses of Giotto's beliefs closely echo his own views and longings. This ability to identify with an artist was truly one of Ruskin's strengths and weaknesses.

Very occasionally Ruskin's perceptions seem crude. Whereas Maria Callcott had praised the fine naturalism of the figures in the act of throwing off their clothes in the fresco of Christ entering Jerusalem, he found them ludicrous. Similarly he criticised the lack of beauty of Giotto's Virgin, and he objected to the struggling child in The Presentation in the Temple. Perhaps significantly his finest analysis was devoted to The Virgin Returning to her Own Home - significantly, because it was the most classical of Giotto's compositions.

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.52.

Its frieze-like effect reminded him of the Elgin marbles[1] and he was able to analyse it with considerable confidence, partly at least because it did not present any of the faults of naturalism which despite his best efforts Ruskin found difficult to accept.

Surprisingly, the monograph was little commented on by the Society's critics. The Art-Journal gave the Giotto project consistently bad reviews. Ruskin's monograph and the wood-engravings were neither criticised nor seriously discussed. Instead, the Society was censured, as in the case of Fra Angelico, for choosing to reproduce an early artist. In 1853, before the first wood-engravings were published, it was felt that the project was too ambitious.[2] In 1854 the reviewer suggested that these 'strange and ill favoured designs' while evidence of the incipient grace and beauty of early art, were really only suitable for 'the learned in antiquarian art, and not for those who see pictures only with modern eyes.'[3] In 1855 the Giotto publications were contemptuously described as 'curiosities' and it was argued that their only use would be in instructing artists in what errors to avoid.[4] In 1859, just before the appearance of the last of the wood-engravings and the final part of the monograph, the entire publication was dismissed as the 'one grand mistake of this well purposed society.'[5]

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.65. Possibly this view was inspired by G.F. Watts who wrote to Ruskin in 1853 from Padua 'Haydon remarks upon the really strange resemblance some of his (Giotto's) heads bear to the heads of the frieze of the Parthenon.' M.S. Watts (1912), i, p.146.
2. Art-Journal, n.s.V (1853), p.140.
3. Art-Journal, n.s.VI (1854), p.123.
4. Art-Journal, n.s.1 (1855), p.34.
5. Art-Journal, n.s.V (1859), p.309.

The Athenaeum discussed Ruskin's monograph at greater length. The Society was praised for choosing to reproduce Giotto and in 1854 he was described as 'this great patriarch of art' and it was said of the engraving style employed that

> while it preserves the quaint antique character of the original frescoes, (it) is free from any foolish affection of a misunderstood archaism.[1]

The reviewer felt that in Giotto's art 'We hear the stammering prayer of a child, but of such a God-like child as we seldom see.'[2] He hoped that Ruskin would not overpraise Giotto when his account of the frescoes appeared:

> It is very tempting for a critic who has eyes to speak of the beauties of nature to blind men. It is very tempting to the invention to return from a country unvisited by others, and double its wonders.[3]

Later in that year the introduction was reviewed. It was felt that as 'the deepest, most poetical, and perhaps most crotchety thinker on Art England has ever known'[4] Ruskin was well qualified to write on Giotto. But the reviewer believed the monograph to be under-researched: 'it contains several passages of landscape painting, much theory, and a few facts and anecdotes from Vasari.'[5] The reviewer hoped that Ruskin was not aping humility when he confessed that he had not seen Giotto's frescoes at Assisi and Naples, 'nor carefully studied even those at Florence' - 'the confession is literary suicide. If he has never studied Giotto carefully, nor seen his best works, why does he write so much about him? Can critics

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1. Athenaeum (25 March 1854), p.378.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Athenaeum (2nd December 1854), p.1453.
5. Athenaeum (2nd December 1854), p.1454.

criticise by clairvoyance?'[1] Despite this justified hit at Giotto and his Works in Padua the Athenaeum was at that stage a keen supporter of the Society's expansion and expressed the wish that it should become a more sociable institution and 'hold Giottoesque soirees.'[2]

The Society was, however, not to grow while only the wood-engravings were on offer. Ironically, they reached a wider audience after 1856, as criticism of them mounted; but this was a direct result of the Society's adoption of colour reproductions in the form of chromolithography.

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1. Ibid. Perhaps surprisingly Crowe and Cavalcaselle were to admire the monograph and the 'excellent engravings which Mr. Ruskin's pen illustrates.' Crowe, Cavalcaselle (1864), i, p. 272 nt.

2. Athenaeum (2nd December 1854), p.1467.

III

Although the Giotto prints and monograph were, on the whole, reviewed unfavourably, it would be misleading to suggest that the years dominated by the project were a period of early decline for the Society. In 1854 the offices at 13 Pall Mall East which had been lent by Dominic Colnaghi were relinquished and the Society moved to 24 Old Bond Street. These premises were provided by John Norton, a successful architect who replaced Aubrey Bezzi as Secretary. The new quarters were more spacious and enabled the council to display all the Society's copies and casts. One room was hung with drawings after Fra Angelico and Giotto while in the next room Williams's tracings of Giotto's frescoes at the Arena Chapel were on display.[1]

In 1855 the annual general meeting reviewed the rules of the Society. Its aims were to be kept broadly based, 'to illustrate the history and monuments of art by publications of any character and form that may be found convenient.'[2] Other rules were confirmed. The subscription was to be one guinea a year, but for ten guineas a subscriber could become a life member. The general meetings of the Society were to be held annually in May, at which time offices and vacancies were to be filled. The publications of the Society were divided into two classes, annual publications which were automatically sent to subscribers, and occasional publications which were sold independently at lower prices to members and higher prices to the public.

This meeting was of special interest because an entirely

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1. 6th Annual Report of the Council (1855), pp.1-2. On one occasion the Society lent these rooms to the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. See Arundel Society, C. Winston (1865).
2. 7th Annual Report of the Council (1836), p.1.

new set of acquisitions was displayed - a collection of casts after ancient and medieval ivory carvings.[1] The original moulds for these casts had been donated by Augustus Franks (1826-1897) the keeper of British and medieval antiquities at the British Museum, Alexander Nesbit, an authority on glass, and John Westwood (1805-1893) the entomologist and palaeographer. These distinguished men had personally taken moulds in gutta percha from the ivories. From these matrices or types were made by Franchi,[2] some in copper through the method of electro-deposit, some in plaster of paris. Elastic moulds were made from these types and were used by the Society to produce unlimited numbers of casts in fictile ivory.[3] This material, also known as protean stone, was a type of plaster patented by Benjamin Cheverton in 1850 and was, as its name suggests, a very passable imitation of ivory. The quality of the Society's casts was high, even the varying shades of the different ivories being reproduced. The entire collection of casts were available to members for £21 while non-members could purchase them for £25.5s. The collection, as Edmund Oldfield pointed out, filled a gap between the fall of ancient art, represented presumably by the casts of the Elgin marbles, and the rise of modern art, represented by the publication of prints after early Italian art.[4]

At this same meeting Matthew Digby Wyatt read a lecture on the history of ivory carving, using the Society's casts as illustration. Wyatt (1820-1877) was the younger brother

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1. 7th Annual Report of the Council (1856), p.2.

2. Franchi and Son, 15 Myddleton Place, Clerkenwell. The firm was employed by the South Kensington Museum and the British Museum.

3. Arundel Society, Oldfield (1856), p.27. Bound with M.D. Wyatt's lecture Sculptures in Ivory.

4. Arundel Society, Oldfield (1856), p.28.

of the architect Thomas Henry Wyatt, who had helped design the chapel at Wilton for Sidney Herbert. Matthew Digby Wyatt was an architect of variable powers whose real talents were displayed as a theoretician of architecture and the decorative arts.[1] He was also a gifted administrator of the arts - his first involvement being in 1845 when he reported to the Society of Arts on the Industrial Exposition in Paris. He was secretary to the executive committee of the Great Exhibition and had edited the huge volume of chromolithographs The Industrial Art of the Nineteenth Century (1851-1853) which celebrated the achivement of the exhibition. Wyatt was very much a committee man, on the council of the Art Union, Fellow and one time Vice-President of the Royal Institute of British Architects, President of the Graphic Society, Fellow of the Society of Antiquarians, and a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers. Out of his interest in the decorative arts came his Geometrical Mosaics of the Middle Ages (1848), Metalwork and its Artistic Design (1852), The Art of Illuminating (1860) and the lecture he gave to the Arundel Society published as Sculptures in Ivory with a catalogue by Edmund Oldfield and photographic illustrations.

Wyatt's nephew observed correctly that it was a characteristic of all his uncle's writings to deduce 'suggestions for the present day from the study of the art of former periods.'[2] In his lecture on ivory Wyatt set out to show that ivories had more than a mere antiquarian interest. Ivories, he argued, unlike works of art made of precious metals, had not been melted down in order that their value as bullion might be realised. Because of their invariably small size they had easily been

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1. For a discussion of Wyatt's achievements see Pevsner (1950).
2. Matthew Wyatt (1888), p.24.

hidden from iconoclasts and so formed a remarkably unbroken document of artistic achievement. Wyatt traced the history of ivory carving, described the great collections in museums and in private hands and gave advice on how to present and to clean ivory. His talk ended with an eloquent plea for the relevance of the Society's ivory casts to contemporary taste:

> The essence of beauty can only be distilled from existing materials, and he will extract the greatest sweetness, who culls his flowers of fancy with most discrimination and from the widest field. The specimens of ivory carvings now brought under your notice, small though they may be in bulk, are still as redolent of suggestion, as the great monuments of many a land; while they possess the additional value of being able to be brought under the student's eye synchronously, and in juxtaposition to one another. Better than any other class of the remains of antiquity they prove that the simple rendering of a pure thought outweighs any amount of elaboration and that wherever the artist had aimed high and done his best to realise his aspiration, pleasure is always afforded.[1]

Oddly enough the ivories were appreciated by the Art Journal which, contrasting them with the Giotto engravings, announced 'We see here works of real art.'[2] The Saturday Review, however, felt that they were too specialised a publication and commented:

> the society will act wisely in trying to obtain the support of the great mass of educated men who consider art an adornment of life, rather than of the dilettanti by profession who believe it to be the one thing needful. The more it reproduces works which, like Luini's picture of St. Catherine, exhibited at the last meeting, appeal to all men of cultivated taste, and the less it deals in ivory carvings, the better it will be for its finances and respectability.[3]

In the same year the Society was to reach a wider public, for the council was given the opportunity to display its work at the Crystal Palace. After the Great Exhibition of 1851 the

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1. Arundel Society, Wyatt, Oldfield (1856), p.24.
2. Art Journal, n.s.11, (1856), p.228.
3. Saturday Review, 111 (1857), p.520.

huge glass and iron structure in which it had been housed was bought by a private company and re-erected at Sydenham. It was opened to the public in June 1854 and by 1855 the Crystal Palace Company had a series of permanent educational exhibitions on view and a list of 500 exhibitors who paid rent to the company.[1] Many of the permanent exhibitions had been designed by Matthew Digby Wyatt and Owen Jones, and it was Wyatt who opened the Arundel Society display with an introductory talk, published in that year.[2]

The main interest of Wyatt's speech lay, as we have seen, in its outlining the full extent of W.O. Williams's work at Padua. Wyatt was very conscious that the Giotto tracings and water-colours might simply be unappreciated by spectators and he gave a short outline of the history of early Italian art and of the life of Giotto. He described the other works in the exhibition, the drawings after Fra Angelico, the water-colour after Ghirlandaio and the ivories. He characteristically concluded his speech with a plea for the relevance of copies of frescoes:

> they give us an interesting illustration of a very difficult practical question, which is every day presenting itself, namely: How far it may be possible to unite with truth and sentiment a just

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1. See Lady Eastlake (1855), pp.303-354.

2. Published as Matthew Digby Wyatt, An Address delivered in the Crystal Palace on November 3, 1855, London 1855. It was not issued by the Society but a copy was presented to every member by Wyatt. The Society published A Descriptive Notice of the Drawings, Tracings and Models and Miscellaneous Publications of the Arundel Society (1855) to accompany the exhibition. Ruskin had originally been invited to give the address (Wyatt, 1855, p.3) but perhaps it was as well that he did not. He had just published a pamphlet on The Opening of the Crystal Palace (Ruskin, Works, XII, pp.417-432) which criticised the extravagance of moving and resiting a building he believed to be soulless. He argued that the money should have been spent on preserving ancient buildings and paintings, particularly works of art in Italy.

> sufficient amount of archaism in form to connect itself, without jarring upon our senses, with that medieval style which in modern works of that character, we are bound to preserve and carry out.[1]

This reference to church interiors is of great interest, for while by 1855 the fitness of a medieval style for church architecture had been established by Pugin, and by the members of the Ecclesiological Society, on aesthetic, religious and practical grounds the decoration of church interiors posed further problems. Tiles and mosaic were to prove the most practical and suitable medium, but the possibility of using fresco was continually being explored: Prince Albert, with the work of his fellow countrymen, Cornelius, Overbeck and Schnorr von Carolsfeld in mind, favoured the medium[2] and it was to be used in the Houses of Parliament, a project which was under way at the time of Wyatt's speech.[3] Only a few frescoes in that decorative scheme might be described as pre-Raphaelite in design, but in the following years wall paintings, if not actual frescoes, were executed in a more medieval style - for example those at the Oxford Union. Significantly, the Union and the Houses of Parliament were secular buildings; polychromatic decorations in churches were suspect, arguably because they were associated with the excesses of High Church Anglicanism, with what one member of the Society called the 'archaic absurdities and colourless imitations of Roman Catholic symbols as will disfigure the wall of All Saints in Margaret Street.'[4]

Wyatt recognised that, while the question of the interior decoration of churches was a delicate one, much could be learnt

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1. Wyatt (1855), p.23.
2. See Mrs. Jameson (1846), and below pp. 84-85.
3. See Boase (1954), pp.319-358.
4. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.324. The article, Publications of the Arundel Society, was by A.H. Layard. See Wellesley Index, i, p.741.

from a study of Giotto's cycle at the Arena Chapel. So, evidently, did the Society's council. In the Crystal Palace the tracings of the cycle were arranged so as to simulate the interior of the chapel and a year after the exhibition opened the Society issued a chromolithograph of a view of the Chapel's interior.[1] (Fig. 17).

Dante Gabriel Rossetti was an early visitor to Sydenham. His view of Italian art was circumscribed by the fact that he had never been to Italy - in which respect he was exactly the type of artist the Society was hoping to reach. He was delighted with what he saw and he wrote to William Allingham:

> A most glorious treat which I had yesterday is the sight of the Giotto tracings made for the Arundel Society, and now in the Crystal Palace. I hope you'll be in time for them. The woodcuts published give no idea.[2]

Ford Madox Brown wrote a rather less enthusiastic account of the visit in his diary:

> To the Crystal Palace with Emma, met by appointment, Tom Seddon and Gabriel, and we looked at the tracings from Giotto, which, as I had seen the works in Italy, seemed to be very bad.[3]

The very different reactions of these two artists make the disappearance of Williams's tracings doubly tantalising, especially as it seems that the exhibition definitely remained at the Crystal Palace until 1859 and possibly until as late as 1864.[4]

Giotto appears to have had little influence upon the style of mid-nineteenth century artists, although the designs of the

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1. See below p.92-93.

2. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, i, p.298: Rossetti to Allingham, 25 April 1856.

3. Hueffer (1896), p.122.

4. The exhibition is mentioned as giving 'The most exact idea of the style of Giotto' in Thomas John Gullick and John Timbs' Painting Popularly Explained (1859), p.69 and in the second edition (1864), p.69.

frescoes as transmitted through the Arundel Society wood-engravings may have influenced some compositions by Burne-Jones.[1] The engravings and publications after Fra Angelico were probably more influential. John Hungerford Pollen's decorations for Merton College ceiling executed in 1850 include angels playing musical instruments which recall the angels on the Linaiuoli altarpiece reproduced by the Society in the same year. But Wyatt's belief that the Society's Giotto reproductions might be a source of inspiration for architects and artists was taken up in 1858 by G.E. Street. At a meeting of the Ecclesiological Society he read a paper entitled On the Future of Art in England. He urged architects to unite with artists and decorate the interiors of churches with frescoes and with this in mind he urged architects to examine the Arundel Society's copies of the frescoes in the Arena Chapel.[2] He was a member of the Arundel Society but at its last Annual General Meeting he had noticed only one fellow architect and he commented:

> it is a society to which everyone of us is absolutely bound to belong: its subscription is very small; its return in the shape of engravings is singularly liberal; and if the prints issued by the Society are not always exactly what we want, it is because more of us do not attend the meetings and assist with our suggestions as well as our subscriptions.[3]

The relevance of the Society's work to modern architecture was argued in many of the Society's later monographs, but was undoubtedly first emphasised by its publications connected with the Arena Chapel and in particular by its exhibition at the Crystal Palace.

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1. Christian, Burlington Magazine (1973), p.100.
2. The Ecclesiologist, XIX (1858), p.237.
3. The Ecclesiologist, XIX (1858), p.239.

The Tintoretto project, which had proved unsuccessful in 1851,[1] was revived in the same year as the opening of the Sydenham exhibition. An artist named Rainford was sent to Italy to copy two subjects in the Scuola di San Rocco for reproduction either by engraving or by photography.[2] Ruskin was definitely involved with this second attempt to publish Tintoretto. He appears to have helped raise the money required to send the artist to Venice[3] and he took an active interest in the possibility of using photography to reproduce the water-colours. He wrote to Acland for advice:

> The only objection to the plan is the alleged non-permanence of the photograph. On this question every other opinion is contradictory of the last, owing to the peculiar indisposition of the human race to look at precisely the heart and main spring of any business in hand. The council are charged with the duty of collecting such certificates of the permanence of rightly executed photographs, as may justify them in proceeding. If such certificates (publishable if need be, with name attached) cannot be had, we cannot go on.[4]

Ruskin went on to ask Acland to consult those whose opinion he valued if they could provide such certificates.

Although the council had risked using photographs to illustrate Wyatt's lecture Sculpture in Ivory (Fig. 14) they had grave doubts as to the enduring qualities of photography and in this they were not alone. Sir William Stirling Maxwell's Annals of the Artists of Spain (1848) was the first book to contain photographs after paintings and these Talbot-type illustrations have not survived well today. Even at

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1. See above p. 42.

2. 7th Annual Report of the Council (1856), p.2.

3. Sublime and Instructive: Letters (1972), p.164: Ruskin to Ellen Heaton (c. May 1855), 'I am sadly afraid I must trespass on you for the five pounds which you allowed me to offer in your name to the Arundel Society - for they have at last agreed to send the painters to Venice....'

4. Bodleian MS. Acland, d. 73 f.215: Ruskin to Acland n.d.

the time of their publication the possibility of fading was recognised and if this occurred it was possible to exchange faulty impressions for others.[1] In 1850 albumen paper was introduced by Blanquart-Evrard, but the prints proved just as likely to deteriorate and in 1855 the Photographic Society of London set up a committee to investigate the causes of fading in photographic prints. One member of the Arundel Society, Prince Albert, contributed £50 towards the investigations. The findings of the committee were reported in the Photographic Journal of 1855. While no immediate solution resulted from their investigation they presented a careful analysis of the causes of fading in prints and it may have been their findings which prompted the Society to go ahead with the use of photography.[2]

Rainford's water-colours were published as photographs in 1857. They were issued as occasional publications (Fig. 15) and were accompanied with a single sheet description of the two works extracted from Ruskin's Venetian Index of The Stones of Venice.[3] Ruskin's opinion of the two works published make their selection seem rather a mystery. Of Christ before Pilate he remarks that it is best seen on a dark day, for then the white figure of Christ draws the eye and the meagreness of the other figures and of the brushwork is hidden. He was more enthusiastic about Christ bearing the Cross but had written that

> The power of the Picture is chiefly in the effect, the figure of Christ being too far off to be very interesting, and only the malefactors being seen

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1. Gernsheim (1969), p.175.
2. Gernsheim (1969), p.335.
3. Issued as Notice of the Paintings by Tintoretto, in the Scuola di San Rocco, at Venice. Extracted from Mr. Ruskin's Stones of Venice, Vol. III, p.325, etc. no imprint. Described in Ruskin, Works, XI, p.xxxii.

> on the nearest path, but for this very reason it seems to me more impressive, as if one had been truly present at the scene, though not exactly in the right place for seeing it.[1]

It is possible that these two scenes were chosen in preference to compositions Ruskin had written of more admiringly because they formed a pair and represented easily recognisable scenes. Other scenes in the Scuola were partially destroyed, too huge to allow an accurate copy to be made or placed, less accessibly, on ceilings. The reason why the paintings were not directly photographed seems obvious; the interior of the Scuola was too dark. Photographs of paintings and drawings were common enough by 1857. These were, however, of portable works of art which could be placed in a good light and this would not have been possible in the case of the Tintorettos. Another reason is given in the Society's annual report:

> Although direct photographic representation of paintings as well as other objects can now be sold at a very cheap rate, yet it is believed that few, if any, photographs from copies especially made to meet those peculiarities in the originals which do not admit of direct photographic representation have been produced at such low prices as these from Tintoretto.[2]

This seems to imply that Rainford's copies were in some sense idealised and took into account Ruskin's belief that Christ before Pilate was best seen on a dark day and that Christ carrying the Cross was impressive for general effect.

The publication of these photographs attracted no attention in the reviews of the Society's publications. To understand why this is so it is necessary to examine the changes which had taken place in the Society's organisation during the previous year, 1856.

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1. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.428.
2. 8th Annual Report of the Council (1857), p.2.

Chapter 3 - Layard, Gruner and the adoption of chromolithography

For eight years the Society had, despite the publication of the ivories and the Elgin marbles, thrown most of its energies into the reproduction of Italian art. At any time during this period a shift of emphasis could easily have taken place since no one was employed either to write, copy or print for the Society on a regular basis. In 1856 this was to change. Over the next four years the Society entered into a binding commitment with a professional copyist, a firm of German chromolithographers and with Ludwig Gruner, whose only previous contribution had been the engraving of two plates after Fra Angelico. Above all the Society became publicly committed to the reproduction and copying of early Italian frescoes.

The man behind this sharper focussing of the Society's aims was a member who had been elected to the council in 1852, Austen Henry Layard (1817-1894).[1] Layard had been brought up in Italy. The legendary Anglo-Italians living around Florence were familiar figures to the young boy; Walter Savage Landor taught him the beauty of the Greek language and thought; Seymour Kirkup allowed him to sketch in his studio and talked to him about Dante. His father, with the dogged optimism of an invalid, cultivated connoisseurship, bought pictures and hung an altarpiece by Filippino Lippi over his son's bed.

Layard grew up into an adventurous young man who, inspired by Disraeli's talk in his uncle Benjamin Austen's house, became fascinated by the idea of travelling in the East. He left England in 1839. He remained in the Middle East for the next eight years and returned a celebrated figure, a master of Turkish and Arabic dialects, the trusted friend of the British

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1. For Henry Layard see Sir Henry Layard: Autobiography and Letters (1903) and Waterfield (1963).

Ambassador to the Porte, Sir Stratford Canning, and most important of all, the excavator of the supposed site of the city of Nineveh. The arrival of the Assyrian treasures in England and the publication of his Nineveh and its Remains in 1849 brought home Layard's achievements to the British public.

Individuality and determination of the same order were to characterise the next stage of his career. Layard rapidly moved into politics, entering Parliament in the liberal interest in 1852. He made the situation in the near East his speciality and as an ardent Turkophile his first political clashes were with the leaders of his own party over the conduct of the war in the Crimea. He travelled to the theatre of war, witnessed the charge of the Light Brigade and on his return to England was able to give special force to his attacks on the ruling hierarchy in the realms of government and the army. He pleaded for the employment of 'the right man in the right place' and his argument that an aristocratic elite prevented men of talent from exercising power, while earning him enemies in the House, won him much popular support. 1855 was a demanding year for Layard as he strove to expose the injustices of army promotion and the oligarchy of ruling families that dominated the House of Commons and that summer he departed for Italy suffering from nervous exhaustion.

He had already made an extensive tour of Italy in 1853 with Lord and Lady Somers. They had mainly visited centres of early art, San Gimignano, Siena, Assisi and finally Perugia, where they had stayed with Layard's friend Count Conestabile, an antiquary and man of taste. On his visit to Italy in 1855 Layard flung himself into the study of frescoes and at the end of that year he wrote to the Austens:

> I have now a pretty complete illustration of the history of fresco painting from Giotto to Fra Bartolommeo - and consider my three months in search of health otherwise profitably employed. I found so many useful friends in Florence that I could obtain almost anything and have serious thoughts of publishing a selection of tracings - as nobody knows anything about frescoes which are, after all, by far the most interesting and most beautiful of the works of the great Italian painters.[1]

Layard was helped in his labours by a talented amateur copyist, Mrs. Higford Burr, the wife of the President of the Reading School of Design. Her work and personality made a deep impression on Dante Gabriel Rossetti, who wrote to William Allingham in April 1856:

> .....about thirty-two, refined and very nearly beautiful, energetic withal to an extraordinary degree in Ruskin's style, but quite mild and feminine - ten hours on top of a ladder to copy a Giotto ceiling being nothing to her. She has been travelling all over Italy with Layard, and they together have given one one's first real chance of forming a congruous idea of early art without going there - he having traced all he could get at by single figures and groups - and she having made coloured drawings of the whole compositions, and chapels etc. where they are painted upon the walls. They have hundreds - whole realms of these things - of course more interesting than one can say. Benozzo Gozzoli was a god. It is fearful to hear them describe the havoc going on among the originals of their tracings etc. In one instance, specially admiring a glorious fresco by Piero della Francesca - I was told that while the tracing was being made, some demons came with an order to knock it out the wall to make a window - which was done! I believe some means will be taken to publish or show publicly all these things.[2]

Rossetti then went on to praise the Arundel Society exhibition at Sydenham, for at this stage Layard and Mrs. Higford Burr were working independently of the Society.

By August 1856 Layard was in Italy again. This time he concentrated on northern, particularly Lombard, art. Again Mrs. Higford Burr assisted him. At Saronno she made a water-

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38948 (Layard Papers), f.47: Layard to Benjamin and Sara Austen, 16 Dec. 1855. Published in Sir Henry Layard: Autobiography and Letters (1903), p.208.

2. Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, i, p.298.

colour of the extraordinary cupola by Gaudenzio Ferrari, while Layard's visit to Saronno confirmed his love for the works of Luini. Their subsequent visit to the remote hamlet of Castiglione d'Olona where a fresco cycle by Masolino had just been discovered reveals something of the seriousness with which Layard was pursuing his researches. At Milan he made a tracing of the Luini fresco of St. Catherine being buried by Angels. At Pavia in the Certosa he noted the work of Ambrogio Borgognone, an artist he found particularly captivating.[1] Clearly Layard felt great affection for the Milanese followers of Leonardo. It has been suggested that his taste for Lombard art was the result of his friendship with Giovanni Morelli whom he met in about 1859,[2] but as his letters to his aunt, Sara Austen, reveal, his affection for Luini, Borgognone and Gaudenzio Ferrari had developed before he met the great art historian.

At Cremona Layard saw the work of Boccacino and Bembo, but he noted the inaccessibility of their frescoes, high on the ceiling of the Cathedral. At Mantua he was disgusted by the work of Giulio Romano, writing of this artist and of other followers of Raphael 'Ruskin will have to do much more battle before he can thoroughly expose their vulgarity and unmeaning exaggerations.'[3] In contrast, he found much beautiful quattrocento art in Verona, observing 'there is work here for weeks.'[4]

On this same tour he was taken to Panicale by his friend

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1. For an account of Layard's researches in Lombardy see B.M. Addit. MSS. 38948 f.49-51: Layard to Benjamin and Sara Austen, 7 Sept. 1859.
2. See Fleming (1973), p.7.
3. B.M. Addit. MSS. Ibid. f.50.
4. B.M. Addit. MSS. Ibid. f.50.

Count Conestabile. There in a tiny chapel he was shown a single fresco by Perugino of St. Sebastian. Layard was impressed by its marvellous state of preservation and he also judged it to be one of Perugino's finest works. He found a young Italian artist in Perugia named Mariannecci who had made a study of Umbrian art and commissioned a water-colour copy of the fresco while he himself made tracings of some of the figures in the composition.

In September Layard and the Burrs visited Padua. Mrs. Higford Burr had already begun a water-colour of the interior of the Arena Chapel which she was able to improve during this second visit.[1]

When Layard returned to England he showed the Society's council his extensive collection of tracings and drawings, and generously offered to finance their publication. The council selected two for reproduction, the copy of Perugino's St. Sebastian by Mariannecci and Mrs. Higford Burr's view of the interior of the Arena Chapel.[2]

It was decided to reproduce these water-colours by chromolithography which, though the cheapest and most efficient method of colour reproduction available, had rarely been used to reproduce works of fine art. Muted forms of the process had been employed by the Boisserée brothers and in Vivant-Denon's Monument des Arts to reproduce early German, Flemish and Italian pictures,[3] but at that date the only considerable work of reproductive chromolithography published in England had in fact been executed for a member of the Arundel Society's council,

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38948 f.53: Layard to Sara and Benjamin Austen, 2 Jan. 1857.

2. Ibid.

3. See Boisserée (1820-1836) and Vivant-Denon (1829). This was published after Vivant-Denon's death by his nephew, Brunet-Denon.

John S. Harford (1785-1866). This is not to suggest that Harford actually recommended the use of chromolithography to the council - of which he was only a member for two years, 1855-56 - but Harford's print was so well known in artistic circles that it would almost certainly have been discussed when the use of the process was first considered.

Harford, a Quaker turned Anglican, a banker and philanthropist, a poet and patron of the arts, had decided in 1846 at the age of sixty-one to write a biography of Michael Angelo.[1] He was but moderately equipped for such a task. He wrote a rotund ornamental prose. He had already published two biographies, one of Thomas Paine and one of Bishop Burgess. He spoke good Italian and he had already established a collection of works by followers of Michael Angelo. He was urbane and charming, well able to form a friendship with Count Cosimo Buonarotti, Michael Angelo's descendant, and so gain access to letters and papers which had never before been examined. But against these useful qualities should be set a whole attitude of mind which worked against an understanding of Michael Angelo's character and a method of biography which introduced much irrelevant material. His Life of Michael Angelo was well received at the time of its publication in 1857, but Harford's close friend Baron Christian Bunsen's admiring tribute inadvertently summed up the flaws of the work. Bunsen wrote 'You have prepared threads out of which you compose the narrative so skilfully and still so naturally, that it reads like a novel.'[2] At some time during the late 1840s or early 1850s while Harford was still working on his biography he turned

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1. For a history of the Harford family see Annals of the Harford Family (1909).

2. Bristol Record Office, Harford Papers, Box 111/7: Bunsen to J.S. Harford, 6 March 1857.

his mind to the problem of illustrations for his book: his wife later described how

> He had a fine drawing of the Sistine Chapel made at Rome, under Mr. Gruner and then a lithographic copy of it executed at Berlin, at his expense - forty two stones - one to each colour, were employed - and the result was exquisitely successful. The first copies reached us in London in 1852 - we sent for Colnaghi to come and inspect - he was charmed and astonished - and said to me 'a statue of gold ought to be erected to Mr. Harford, having been the means of accomplishing such a work' - and when we were in Rome in 1852-1853 - the beautiful print was several times laid on a table in the Sistine Chapel, while he beautifully explained its various compartments to circles of admiring friends - who by means of small looking glasses (such as dressing boxes contain) could each bring down from the original a Figure, or a Compartment and compare it with the copy lying before us - As I write, I seem to be again on the spot - and to see the Beloved One, full of animation descanting on the matchless wonders of Michael Angelo.[1]

The chromolithograph (Fig. 16), which was of unusual size and made up of forty two separate printings, was based on a water-colour by an Italian named Pratesi and was printed by the Berlin chromolithographer Storch under the supervision of Ludwig Gruner. Proofs of the print reached England in 1852 and it was published in 1854 by Dominic Colnaghi with a dedication to Sir Charles Eastlake. The project was in no sense a commercial venture for Harford as all the production costs were defrayed by him and all the profits went to the Artists' General Benevolent Institution.[2]

Soon after publication Colnaghi reported that both the print and the short accompanying prospectus written by Harford were selling well.[3] Lansdowne wrote to congratulate Harford

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1. Harford Papers, Box BB 1: MS. notebook by Louisa Harford, Slight Recollections of my beloved husband dated June 18th 1867, Blaise Castle, p.14. Sir John Stuart Hippisley owned a copy of this chromolithograph. See above p.14.

2. The Times, 17 January 1855, p.8.

3. Harford Papers B 111/6: Colnaghi to J.S. Harford, n.d.

on his 'splendid lithograph'.[1] The Times described the print as 'one of the most extraordinary specimens of the art of polychromic or coloured lithography which we have yet seen'.[2] Harford's friend Sir Thomas Acland had one small criticism to make: he felt that there ought to be a key to the print,[3] but Colnaghi wrote to Harford, 'I do not think it is necessary as the plate is for the learned and intelligent'.[4] This is a revealing remark. The print was fairly expensive at two guineas, and the two editions were small, 229 in 1854 and 300 in 1857. It was an exclusive production, not intended to educate the untravelled and the unread. It was greeted with a high seriousness rarely allowed a colour print, not least when Harford received a letter from Count Cosimo Buonarotti informing him that the print had been mounted on a table and placed in the Michael Angelo gallery in his house in Florence.[5]

The Society's council did not employ Harford's Berlin printers, despite their acknowledged expertise, nor did they consult Ludwig Gruner, although he had engraved for them in the past. Instead the water-colours were given to a well-known English lithographer named Vincent Brooks. It was hoped that the prints would be dispatched to subscribers in the same year, but the delicacy and elaborate nature of the water-colours, in particular Mrs. Higford Burr's interior of the

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1. Harford Papers B 111/6: Lansdowne to J.S. Harford, 22 Jan. 1855.

2. The Times, 17 January 1855, p.8.

3. Harford Papers B 111/6: Colnaghi to J.S. Harford, n.d.

4. Ibid.

5. Gruner also supervised the printing of the engravings and lithographs illustrating Harford's Life of Michael Angelo Buonarotti (London 1857). The biography was accompanied by a folio Illustrations of the Genius of Michael Angelo. The architectural drawings were engraved in Rome under the supervision of Luigi Canina, the architect and architectural historian, and Charles Cockerell, the architect. The engravings of Michael Angelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel were executed under Gruner's supervision.

Arena Chapel, presented the lithographers with many problems.[1] By the time of the 1857 annual general meeting (held on May 29th) the chromolithographs were still not ready, so that, although the Society had embarked upon an adventurous new course of action, nothing had reached the subscribers. At this meeting much was made of the new venture. The room was hung with Layard's tracings and Mrs. Higford Burr's water-colours, and Layard was one of the two principal speakers.[2] He told the members how while travelling in Italy he had become aware of the destruction and neglect of frescoes. He explained how the system adopted by himself and Mrs. Higford Burr would give members a better idea of the achievements of early artists and at the same time provide a record of their fast vanishing works. Two sets of drawings would be made of every fresco, a careful water-colour to be reproduced in chromolithography and a tracing to be reproduced as an out-line engraving. He then named works which he felt especially deserved the Society's attention. Without exception they were quattrocento frescoes, and on the whole they were fresco cycles with considerable narrative interest.

Layard's speech was followed by a short address given by John Ruskin. He spoke of his own ambition to preserve records of Italian art, but how in the face of large scale vandalism he had abandoned the attempt. He felt that in copying and publishing Italian fresco the Society had found its true role, for he believed that the Society should concentrate on recording rather than teaching. Ruskin's speech was tactlessly frank. He told members that he was now occupied with modern

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1. 9th Annual Report of the Council (1858), p.2.

2. See the Saturday Review (1857), iii, p.519 for an account of this meeting.

art and that he doubted whether modern artists wanted communion with the art of the past. He argued that the contemporary artist should know nature rather than the history of art. Yet two months later he was to deliver a series of lectures at Manchester to coincide with the art treasures exhibition in which he spoke movingly about the decay of Italian frescoes.[1]

A few days after the meeting Ludwig Gruner arrived in London from Dresden, where he had just taken up the post of Keeper of the Royal Print Room. He was almost immediately approached by two members of the council and a brief examination of his artistic career shows that he was peculiarly well qualified to help the Society with their publications.

Wilhelm Heinrich Ludwig Gruner (1801-1882) was initially a pupil of Johann Klingner, the flower painter, later enrolling at the Dresden Kunstacademie where he studied engraving.[2] In 1825 he went to Italy to study in Milan under the guidance of two famous reproductive engravers, Guiseppe Longhi and Pietro Anderloni. During this stay in Lombardy he visited France, Spain and England, obtaining permission to engrave works of art, particularly paintings by his favourite artist, Raphael. In 1837 he went to Rome where he remained until 1841 and in 1839 he published I Mosaici della Cupola nella Cappella Chigiana di S. Maria del Popolo, a volume of engravings after mosaics designed by Raphael, which he dedicated to the Welsh collector William Jones of Clytha. Other engravings after Raphael were published in a folio volume which accompanied Johann David Passavant's Raphael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi (1839-58). In 1841 he met James Hope-Scott and

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1. Ruskin, Works, XVI, pp.73-76.

2. For a brief life of Gruner see A. Reumont (1883), pp.264-267.

embarked upon the Raphael Bible project,[1] and it seems likely that while in Rome he met the future Prince Consort, who was travelling in Italy from 1836 until 1838 with his tutor, Baron Stockmar.

In 1841 Gruner moved to England and became Prince Albert's closest adviser on artistic matters.[2] Both men were interested in fresco decoration and they worked together on the design of the Garden Pavilion in the grounds of Buckingham Palace. This project was begun in 1844 (in which year Gruner published his famous Fresco Decorations and Stuccoes of the Churches and Palaces in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries). The artists Eastlake, Etty, Leslie, Maclise, Sir William Ross and Uwins were charged to execute designs in fresco in the central octagonal room of the Pavilion while the so-called Walter Scott Room was decorated with small landscapes painted by E.W. Dallas based on sketches by Gruner. The project was not an entirely popular one. Etty's biographer Alexander Gilchrist described how humiliating and difficult the old artist found the task set him and commented of the interest shown in fresco at that date: 'Under the impetus of alien influence, and of a petty pedantic taste, the novelty was engrossing far more attention than it could ever repay'.[3] The anti-German feeling which Gilchrist was clearly alluding to was implicit in the verdict given in the Christian Remembrancer in 1845 - 'We hear that Mr. Gruner has the Queen's summer house in hand. It will be a trial for our English artists which we wish them well out of'.[4] An account

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1. See above pp.16-17.
2. There are numerous brief references to Gruner's relationship with Prince Albert in Ames (1968).
3. Gilchrist (1855), ii, p.149.
4. Christian Remembrancer X (1845), p.544.

of the fresco experiment was published in 1846 with an introduction by Mrs. Jameson and illustrated with engravings and chromolithographs whose execution was supervised by Gruner.

While Gruner had enemies in England he also had influential friends and in 1845 James Dennistoun had written in the Foreign Quarterly Review:

> 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, as yet, approached.[1]

Yet Gruner was in no sense an original artist; he excelled at the kind of Raphaelesque decorative schemes which he executed for Prince Albert at Buckingham Palace and at Osborne. He designed candelabra, tabletops, carpets and a jewel case for his royal patron, all based on High Renaissance styles. (His garden seat carved in coal sounds the most unhappy example of his versatility).[2] He also purchased pictures and sculpture for Prince Albert, for the National Gallery as Charles Eastlake's agent and for other friends - for example Lord Wemyss described in his Memoirs 'a fresco by Luini that I bought for £25 from Gruner, the German engraver and art connoisseur much affectioned by Prince Albert'.[3] For Henry Cole Gruner designed a certificate probably intended for award in the Schools of Design.[4] He worked for John Murray both while in England and after he returned to Germany preparing the illustrations for many of Murray's books, including Layard's Nineveh and its Remains (1849), Dennistoun's Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino

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1. Dennistoun (1845), p.34.

2. Ames (1968), p.91.

3. Earl of Wemyss and March, Memories 1818-1912, Edinburgh 1912, ii, p.28. This work was suppressed by the Wemyss family. I am grateful to the present Earl of Wemyss for permission to examine a photocopy of the single surviving copy deposited in the Scottish Record Office.

4. Victoria and Albert Library, Cole Papers, Diaries, 9 and 27 Feb. 1852.

(1851), an illustrated Book of Common Prayer (1845, with Owen Jones) and A History of Pottery and Porcelain (1850) by Joseph Marryat. For Longmans he designed the illuminations for The Good Shunamite (1848). Yet in spite of all this activity, involving constant travelling, Gruner was able to continue to publish his own works. His masterpiece was Specimens of Ornamental Art (1850) but over the years he published a wealth of material relating to the decorative arts - for example The Caryatids from the Stanza dell'Eliodoro (1852) and Lo Scaffale at Milan:Illustrations of the painted decoration of B. Luini executed in chromolithography under the direction of L.G. (1859).

Many of the works published by Gruner were illustrated not by him, but under his supervision. This was the case with Scripture Prints from the frescoes of Raphael in the Vatican, the project he began with Hope-Scott and completed alone in 1866. The Athenaeum criticised the inaccuracy of the drawings and noted that Gruner was not the draughtsman, 'but simply the "director" of them, whatever that may be'.[1] The reviewer's puzzlement seems justified, but after the late 1840s Gruner rarely engraved or made copies as he had contracted eye trouble which although partially cured by an operation seems to have permanently weakened his sight.[2]

By 1857 Gruner was a well known engraver and publisher. The fact that he was a German and closely associated with the Prince Consort meant that his achievements were regarded with some jealousy - Coningham's letter to Linnell[3] concerning his involvement with the Arundel Society's prints after Fra Angelico

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1. Athenaeum (6 October 1866), p.43.
2. Bryan (1903), ii, p.283.
3. See above, p. 37.

makes this clear enough. Gruner's diaries[1] reveal that while he had many English friends his attitude towards the country he saw as his second home was vitiated by a kind of arrogant contempt which was exacerbated by the occasional unfavourable review of his work in English periodicals.

On his 1857 visit he had a great deal of business to attend to. He discussed illustrations with John Murray; he was received by Prince Albert to advise on the decoration of Osborne and the illustrated catalogue of the works of Raphael which Albert was preparing with Karl Ruland; he called on the printsellers who were selling his engraving of the Ansidei Madonna; he visited the School of Design in Glasgow and the committee of the Art Union in Scotland. In addition he saw many friends, the Eastlakes, J.S. Harford, James Hope-Scott and Sir John Hippisley, and went to numerous exhibitions including the Art Treasures Exhibition at Manchester.

On 2 June Gruner was visited by Layard and another member of the Arundel Society council, Henry Danby Seymour, the politician and explorer and inheritor of a fine collection of pictures.[2] Layard had passed through Dresden in November 1856 on his way to Constantinople and he and Gruner had discussed the possibility of Gruner's engravings after Raphael's Caryatids in the Stanza dell'Eliodoro being issued as an Arundel Society publication.[3] When the two men met in London Gruner recorded that he, Layard and Seymour discussed the Arundel publications and Layard's tracings. The next day the three men met for breakfast with 'old Bromley', presumably

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1. Gruner's diaries are held in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.

2. Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Msc. Dresden. App. 1, 42, 4 June, 1857.

3. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 41, 22 Nov., 1856.

the Rev. Walter Davenport Bromley who possessed an exceptional collection of early Italian paintings. Although Davenport Bromley was not on the Society's council he, Seymour and Layard decided to lay out £20 each and make further proposals to the council. Layard then took Gruner to visit Mrs. Higford Burr and the German, although critical by nature, was impressed by their work. He wrote in the halting English he used when confiding in his diary:

> but so it was we saw many exquisite drawings from frescoes in colour, which she did for the last two years in Italy when Layard made all of the finest tracings; both he and Mrs. Burr have worked wonders - one would think that art is a plaything to them.[1]

Later in that month his relations with Layard seem to have cooled and Layard appears to have had doubts about associating Gruner with the work of the council. On 25 June a 'Special General Meeting' was held at Berkeley Square which was intended to reach a wider audience than annual general meetings attended by the Society's members.

Gruner gave an acid account of the occasion. It appears that Layard's talk was substantially the same as the one he had given at the meeting in May, but Ruskin's was more impromptu and infuriated Gruner with its 'heresies and blasphemies'. Ruskin eloquently confirmed all that Layard had said of the destruction and decay of Italian works of art,[2] but in order to emphasise the beauty and value of quattrocento and earlier painting he attacked Raphael and to Gruner's fury told his audience that while they had 'hitherto admired the cartoons at Hampton Court as Raphaels works, know then that they are as

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1. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 42, 5 June 1857.

2. A brief account of Ruskin's speech was given in The Times, 25 June 1857 and reprinted in Ruskin, Works, XVI, p.448. The attack on Raphael recorded by Gruner in his diary was not included in The Times summary.

they now stand entirely (Benjamin) West's work,'[1] which Gruner noted as a grotesque distortion of an opinion which he had given Layard a few days previously. Gruner was still brooding over Ruskin's attitude to Raphael three months later in Dresden and asked John Kenyon, the philanthropist and friend of Aubrey Bezzi, about Ruskin's views. He noted in his diary:

> The most interesting part was that he had seen a letter of Ruskin to a friend in which he said he had made it one of the objects of his life to diminish the influence of Raphael - the fool & demon.[2]

Gruner felt strongly that to follow the current fashion for the primitives to the exclusion of all else was an uneducated response to art. He compared Ruskin with the 'bigoted' Johann Anton Ramboux who was at that time the curator of the Wallraf Collection in Cologne and for whom 'the older the master the dearer to him'. Single-mindedness of the Ruskinian variety never failed to irritate Gruner. When in 1860 he was told by a young English collector that Tintoretto was the greatest painter that ever lived, he noted crossly of the quality of English artistic thought 'such absurdity one meets every day here'.[3]

He might have felt, with some justification, that the serious art historical study in the 1850s was being carried out by Germans, men such as Kugler, Passavant and Waagen, but that the English art lover was more responsive to Ruskin's very individual approach to art and to Mrs. Jameson's semi-devotional brand of art history. If Gruner disliked Ruskin he thoroughly despised Mrs. Jameson whose close friendship with

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1. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 42, 25 June 1857.
2. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 43, 16 Sept. 1857.
3. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 48, 30 June 1860.

the free living Ottilie von Goethe made her approach to art seem especially inappropriate in Gruner's eyes.[1] Even Sir Charles Eastlake, with whom Gruner was on ostensibly friendly terms, dining frequently at his house on his London visits, came in for censure. Gruner wrote in 1859 'Sir Charles doubts everything and what he does not doubt he finds insignificant or indifferent'.[2] The more amateur art lovers who were members of the Arundel Society merely irritated Gruner. Perhaps his impatience was understandable for even Layard's enthusiasm could hardly match the tireless industry of Gruner's patron, the Prince Consort.

Despite Gruner's reservations the Society's public meeting was a great success, with two hundred members of the audience immediately becoming subscribers.[3] A few days later Gruner had breakfast with Danby Seymour and was entrusted with the production of a chromolithograph based upon Mrs. Higford Burr's water-colour of Nelli's Madonna and Saints at Gubbio.[4] This was the beginning of an arrangement which was to last until Gruner's death in 1882. Although he never lacked commissions which took him to England, the time of year at which he went was regulated by his attendance at the Society's annual general meeting held in late May or June. His work for the Society involved regular journeys to Berlin to supervise the printing of the chromolithographs and when he travelled to Italy in 1864 and in 1872 it was at least partly to oversee the making of copies for the Society.

There was much that he found tiresome in the association.

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1. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 47, 16 August 1859.
2. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 47, 31 August 1859.
3. 9th Annual Report of the Council (1858), p.2.
4. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 43, 6 July 1857.

Although he was exceptionally learned, he sat in on meetings at which his opinion was rarely consulted. He wrote letters and listened with irritation while members discussed the proofs he had brought from Berlin and passed judgement on them, probably with only a hazy recollection of the original works. For whatever his doubts about the judgement of the council, he had none about the quality of the prints. It was a partisan view, as he was so closely involved in their production, but it was to the advantage of the Society; Gruner displayed the chromolithographs in the Dresden Print Room and many an English traveller who had failed to join the Society at home was persuaded to become a member by the man described in Murray's Handbook for Travellers in North Germany as 'that amiable and erudite gentleman' and as 'in the highest degree attentive and communicative'.[1]

When Gruner returned to Dresden in August 1857 with Mrs. Higford Burr's water-colour after Ottaviano Nelli he had not decided to whom he would entrust its printing. The lithographer Storch, in association with whom he had worked on the Harford chromolithograph of the Sistine Chapel ceiling, was now in partnership with a fellow lithographer named Kramer and immediately showed interest in the Arundel Society commission, but Gruner was cautious about entering into a commitment with the firm. He looked at some examples of their work and noted that although the plates were dull and overcharged, there was scope for improvement.[2] By May 1858 he had decided to employ the firm and was in Berlin making corrections to the plates.[3] By 25 June he was in London and after meeting Layard noted

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1. Murray's Handbook for North Germany (1877), p.307.
2. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 43, 13 Sept. 1857.
3. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 45, 15 May 1858.

'he and all of the Arundel Society are highly pleased with what has been done at Berlin but they do not yet know who is to pay for it'.[1] This was the first ominous hint that involvement with the Society would certainly not prove lucrative for Gruner. On 3 July Gruner sought out Oldfield at the British Museum and made a new set of proposals involving the publication of some of his own material by the Society, but the meeting came to nothing and John Murray told him later that Oldfield was particularly hostile to Gruner's private projects. A few days later Gruner went to a council meeting and on the 19th he was read an agreement by Layard and Oldfield which he signed but afterwards described as 'a shabby skulking and bad thing',[2] although he did not explain why.

From this time on the affairs of the Society settled into a definite routine. Works were chosen for copying by the council, water-colours were made, examined by the council, and forwarded to Gruner who supervised their printing. The proofs were posted or taken by Gruner to England and their merits discussed at a series of meetings held in May, while the Society's general policies were discussed at the annual general meeting.

The English lithographer originally commissioned, Vincent Brooks, printed four chromolithographs for the Society. The prints for 1856, the interior of the Arena Chapel and Perugino's Martyrdom of St. Sebastian finally appeared in 1858 (the production of the latter having been paid for by Layard). The Arena Chapel print had proved very costly, but when Oldfield was questioned about the expenditure at the general meeting in 1858 he argued that the print furnished 'a sort of index to

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1. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 45, 25 June 1858.
2. Msc. Dresd. App. 1, 45, 19 July 1858.

the various wood-engravings from the frescoes which were in course of publication, and also as a specimen of the manner in which colour was applied to architectural decoration by a great master, like Giotto'.[1] The Art-Journal and the Saturday Review both agreed that the print compensated for the severity of the wood-engravings.[2] For Mrs. Higford Burr's water-colour was a fanciful evocation of the interior of the chapel just after Giotto had completed its decoration (Fig. 17). The walls through the end arch of the chapel are untouched, as they were decorated later. On the left Dante talks to Giotto and his wife and children, on the right on the floor of the chapel lie paints, a cartoon for the Pieta and an illuminated manuscript which Mrs. Higford Burr clearly wished to suggest was one source of inspiration for Giotto. In her treatment of the scene she seems to be realising the glimpse into the past provided by Lord Lindsay in his Sketches of Christian Art:

> It is not difficult, gazing on these silent but eloquent walls, to repeople them with the group once, as we know, five hundred years ago, assembled within them: Giotto intent upon his work, his wife Ciuta admiring his progress, and Dante with abstracted eye alternately conversing with his friend and watching the gambols of the children playing on the grass before the door.[3]

This print and The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian were of high quality, but Brooks' other works for the Society, Pinturrichio's Christ among the Doctors and The Nativity of our Lord (Fig. 18) for 1858 and 1859 respectively, were executed in crude garish colours. All his prints were, however, enthusiastically praised, and it seems likely that the council only decided to entrust

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1. The Star, 7 June 1858.
2. Art-Journal, n.s. V (1859), p.310. Saturday Review, IX, 1860, p.438.
3. Lindsay (1847), ii, p.199.

further publications to Gruner because the English firm was quite unable to meet the necessary annual deadlines.

I have already suggested that the adoption of chromolithography was the making of the Society. By 1861 membership had reached 1,200[1] and it continued to rise throughout the 1860s until by 1867 it was believed to be necessary to form two groups of members, first and second subscribers, each group numbering 1,500 and each receiving different annual publications.[2] In 1859 the Department of Science and Art made an annual grant of £100 so that the chromolithographs could be distributed to schools of art throughout the country.[3] But the switch from English to German lithographers seems to have alienated the Athenaeum; by 1861 accusations of 'unfaithful rendering and gross carelessness'[4] were being made and the Society's most informed supporter had embarked on a policy of fierce criticism which was to continue until the Society was dissolved in 1897. Despite its popularity, the use of chromolithography created problems for the Society which will be discussed in the two following chapters.

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1. Art-Journal, n.s. VII(1861), p.207.
2. 18th Annual Report of the Council (1867), p.1.
3. Art-Journal, n.s. V (1859), p.310.
4. Athenaeum (20 April 1861), p.533.

Chapter 4 - The Water-Colour Copyists

A list of all the Society's surviving water-colours and their whereabouts is given under the names of the copyists in Appendix 11

When the Society decided to adopt chromolithography as its principal method of reproduction water-colours were commissioned only in order to form a basis for these prints. In 1859, however, a copying fund was set up to finance the transcription of frescoes which would not necessarily be published by the Society, but none the less deserved to be recorded accurately: the establishment of this fund was largely due to the influence of Henry Layard and John Ruskin. Their warnings of destruction and neglect of Italian frescoes were continually being confirmed by events and in the Society's prosperous years, the 1860s and 1870s, the copying of frescoes both for publication and to serve as records went ahead on a lavish scale. Two problems never ceased to trouble the council: whom to hire to make these copies, and how to ensure that their transcriptions were accurate.

The large collection of water-colours by Mrs. Higford Burr was immediately available for reproduction. They must have been of a high standard to have impressed both Ludwig Gruner and Gustav Waagen, the latter describing them as 'drawings of great carefulness and delicate feeling'.[1] (Although when John Addington Symonds examined her collection he confined his comments to the tracings made by Layard).[2] In fact, only two of her works were chosen for publication by the council, the interior view of the Arena Chapel (Fig. 17) and Ottaviano Nelli's Madonna and Saints in the church of S. Maria Nuova in Gubbio. None of her water-colours appear to

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1. Waagen (1857), p.298.

2. See Symonds (1877), p.200. Janet Ross saw Mrs. Higford Burr's collection as a young girl and inaccurately recalled 'Few professional artists worked harder than Mrs. Burr; many of her copies of old frescoes were published in the Arundel Society's series.' See Ross (1912), p.313.

have survived, but these two chromolithographs give some idea of her ability. The Arena Chapel scene was not a simple copy, but the ungainly figures she introduced reveal her limitations as an artist. The Nelli print is a more informative guide to her skill as a copyist and was perceptively criticised at the time of its publication by the art critic of the Athenaeum:

> Nelli's Madonna and Saints have, we should be afraid, been rather idealised into prettiness by Mrs. Burr. The angels' noses are so exquisitely and pertly retroussés and Roxolanish; their garments are of such neat trim colours; and their eyebrows are arched and cosmeticized, we could almost venture to guess.[1]

A gifted amateur like Mrs. Higford Burr lacked the technical competence required. Yet there is no reason to suppose that professional artists who were on the council, or known to members of the council, would have done better. All copies are interpretative and the more talented the artist, the less content he will be to provide straightforward reproductions; indeed for an artist with a highly developed style such work could be at once beneath him and beyond him.

Ruskin had written to George Richmond and Charles West Cope in 1849 asking them to send any of their copies to him so that he might show them to the council.[2] No more is heard of this request, not surprisingly, for the personal notes made by artists would have been unsuitable for the needs of the Society. Even when, at a considerably later date, Ruskin persuaded a talented painter to make copies specifically for him, the work he received was far too idiosyncratic for the Society's purposes. In 1862 Edward Burne-Jones went to Italy

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1. Athenaeum (23 July 1859), p.119.

2. Bodleian MS. Eng. Letts. c.33, p.5: Ruskin to George Richmond. Dated by Cook and Wedderburn to ?1849.

with Ruskin and with his financial support, on the understanding that he execute copies for him.[1] Burne-Jones had made notes after artists he admired on all his visits to Italy, but the work done in 1862 was intended partly to serve as a record of deteriorating frescoes for Ruskin's personal use and partly to enable Ruskin to make a report on the possibility of publishing Luini frescoes to the Society's council. Burne-Jones's copies of Luini have not survived but other copies made on the trip show that he was making quite elaborate studies in which he attempted to subsume his own style. In this he failed; for example his head of Bacchus from Tintoretto's Bacchus and Ariadne is accurate enough in fact but not in spirit. The mouth and lips of the young god are deeply shadowed in the original, but in his copy Burne-Jones omits part of the shadowing and substitutes outlines which are highly characteristic of his own style.[2] Despite the task which Ruskin set him, Burne-Jones's copy of a head from Veronese's The Thanksgiving for the Victory of Lepanto (Fig. 19) was so completely re-interpreted that Ruskin was later to catalogue it as an original work by the copyist.[3]

An artist's notes made quickly at the time or from memory would deal even more high-handedly with the original. A curious example of such notes actually being published is to be found in Maria Callcott's Description of the Chapel of the Annunziata dell'Arena; or Giotto's Chapel in Padua of 1835. Lady Callcott's husband, Sir Augustus Wall Callcott, provided drawings to be used as wood-engravings to illustrate her text.

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1. Christian (1975), pp.334-337.

2. Christian (1975), p.335, Fig.5. This copy and the detail from The Thanksgiving for the Victory of Lepanto are both in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

3. Ruskin, Works , XXI, p.40.

These were factually and stylistically inaccurate to a degree. Callcott described them as 'recollections' and wrote,

> The rigid Critics in Art will, no doubt, object to such renderings, from the absence of those peculiarities and even defects belonging to the age in which the works were executed; but the features which mark the artist's strength and originality, and which constitute the beauty of his work, are essentially distinct from those which arise out of the accidents of the time in which he lived.[1]

The justification of his interpretative approach, which more or less suggested that Giotto needed to be 'improved', was written at a time before the early Italian masters were widely admired; even when they were more popular it was always difficult for a trained artist, whatever his talent, not to make corrections inadvertently. Callcott corrected Giotto automatically when faced with what seemed to be faulty draughtsmanship. He also altered designs he felt were defective; in his version of the Meeting at the Golden Gate (Fig. 9) Anna's head is not partially obscured as she embraces Joachim; the mysterious woman to the right of Anna is no longer veiled; the four women following Anna through the gates have been given Grecian profiles; the head-dresses worn by two of the women have been omitted, while the woman to the far right has gained a head band. The scene had been altered to one which could easily be read by an admirer of Callcott's own art, while as a copy it sacrifices the awesome monumentality of the original.

Amateurs and highly creative artists were both in their separate ways unsuitable for the laborious task which the Arundel Society had set itself, and therefore it was to the professional copyist that the council of the Society turned. Cesari Mariannecci, whom Layard described as 'a young artist

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1. Callcott (1835), Preface.

who had made the school of Umbria his study'[1], appears to fall into this category. Although he executed over eighty five water-colour copies for the Society his name is not commemorated in any major biographical dictionary of artists and although Perugia appears to have been his adopted home he is not mentioned in Angelo Lupattelli's detailed account of Perugian artists, Storia della Pittura in Perugia.[2] Traditionally, men such as Mariannecci inhabited a shadowy world. While the names of reproductive engravers were recorded and their lives usually documented, if only scantily, the professional copyist, almost by definition a failed artist, moved in those dubious circles where copyist blurred into restorer and into forger.

Some light is thrown on this world by a short guide entitled The Lions of Florence published anonymously in 1847 by the English artist W.B. Spence.[3] Because of the profession of the author, more attention was paid than is usual in such a work to artists and sculptors living in Florence at that time. After a discussion of studios which the tourist might visit, the author notes:

> There are a number of artists here, who though they in the beginning aimed at originality and gave proof of their talents, have been compelled by necessity to turn copyists and restorers...un povero artista, a poor artist, (we are proverbially poor) must either be original and starve, or else turn copyist and restorer, where he has a fair chance of getting on in the market; for I am perfectly sure that were all the copies placed side by side, they would reach from London to St. Petersburgh at least.[4]

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1856), p.6.

2. In Marchese (1889), p.215 his name is spelt Marianecci and he is described as a Roman. In Gregory (1884), p.615 his name is again spelt Marianecci and he is again described as a Roman.

3. I am grateful to Professor Francis Haskell for identifying the author of this work.

4. W.B. Spence (1847), p.62.

The eighteenth century Grand Tourist had both employed such artists to copy favoured masterpieces and been duped by dishonest dealers into purchasing such copies as original works of art. Thomas Winstanley's Observations on the Arts of 1828 devotes a whole chapter to copies which, significantly, he does not see as anything more than artefacts made in order to deceive the unwary. He describes how a picture can acquire a pedigree if the original in a great collection is sold by a family and replaced with

> a Copy made by an able modern Copyist, in order that the Catalogue of their Collection may be complete in its description; and it is to this cause perhaps that we find so many Copies purchased and brought to England, with the most authentic records, of their having been purchased with or having formed part of a celebrated Collection.[1]

He warns also against sending a picture to be cleaned, lest a copy rather than the original be returned.

The professional copyist was still a familiar enough figure in the galleries of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, but these artists might not have been capable of producing the kind of work required by the Arundel Society. Such copyists rarely worked from frescoes; their productions were intended to serve as convincing substitutes for the original work of art and were for that reason more likely to be copies of portable paintings. Frescoes were copied, but mainly for reproduction as engravings; the idea of a fresco incorporated into a frame seems incongruous. Also it is evident that to copy an oil painting, oils would be the most appropriate medium, while a copy of a fresco could not emulate the original in either medium or size. The water-colour immediately presents itself as an acceptable way of capturing the translucency and

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1. Winstanley (1828), p.26.

freshness of fresco. Water-colour copies were an especially suitable basis for chromolithographs. The lithographer analyses the component colours of a work to be reproduced by making experimental water-colour washes.[1] If the work to be reproduced is a water-colour, colour analysis is more likely to prove accurate. It is here that the background to the Society's commissions becomes uncertain. Was there a tradition of copying frescoes in water-colour, and was there a school of specialised copyists in Italy which the Society could draw upon?

Lupattelli's Storia della Pittura in Perugia makes it clear that the fact that the first copyist engaged by the Society was working in Perugia was no accident. Although Mariannecci is not mentioned in his book, Layard's friend Count Giovanni Carlo Conestabile della Staffa is, and it seems that quite a school of engravers and copyists was employed by him to illustrate his Monumenti di Perugia etrusca e romana of 1855, including Bartolommeo Bartoccini who was later employed by the Society.[2] The director of the Perugian Academy from 1819 until 1821 had been Tommaso Minardi[3] (who was, incidentally, greatly impressed by Gruner's chromolithograph of the Sistine Chapel ceiling when it was exhibited in Rome by Harford in 1853)[4]; and under his influence students were encouraged to take an interest in their artistic heritage, particularly in the school of Umbria when it was at its height in the fifteenth century. It seems that many students from the Academy became restorers and copyists and,despite the

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1. Griffits (1940), pp.52-55.
2. Lupattelli (1895), p.90.
3. Lupattelli (1895), pp.84, 86, 87, 90.
4. Harford Papers, Slight Recollections of my beloved husband, p.15.

shortness of Minardi's stay in Perugia, the tradition was to continue. Perugia became something of a centre for skilled copyists, producing four men who worked for the Arundel Society, Mariannecci, Bartoccini, Eliseo Fattorini and Alessandro Zuichetti. Other artists from Perugia were to make copies for the Museum at South Kensington[1] so that the links with England were not limited to the Arundel Society.

The Society was always to remain uncertain what standard of accuracy to expect of its copyists. Were the details of the decay of fragmentary frescoes to be recorded by the copyist? Mariannecci's first copies did not record deterioration and he may have been instructed not to do so. In 1863 at the Society's annual general meeting G.E. Street, the architect, and James Anderson Rose, a print collector and etcher, protested at the inaccuracy of the water-colour transcripts. Their criticisms appear to have been provoked when a member of the council suggested that the Society's real aim was to popularise, with 'copies of the great masters' works on the walls of every parson's house throughout the country'.[2] Street and Rose urged the Society to forgo popularity in favour of 'faithful and legitimate transcripts'.[3] Part of their attack was levelled at the process of chromolithography, part at the inaccuracy of the copies. These criticisms were taken up by the art critic of the Athenaeum, F.G. Stephens. He pointed out that 'Fresco painting, divested of technical difficulties, is little else than water-colour painting on a large scale'[4] - that is to say, it resembles water-colour in

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1. Lupattelli (1895), pp.100, 102.
2. Athenaeum (31 Oct. 1863), p.576.
3. Athenaeum (13 June 1863), p.784.
4. Athenaeum (31 Oct. 1863), p.576.

brightness and 'lucid softness'. Yet the Society's water-colours, he felt, were inaccurate and failed to capture the differing styles of artists. The council was apparently undecided whether published copies showing the cracks and blank patches in frescoes would be acceptable to its expanding membership. Rose had urged a return to line engravings, but this really avoided the issue for in fact none of the engravings already published had attempted to represent decay of the fresco surface.

As a result of these criticisms Mariannecci was instructed in 1864 'to avoid all restoration of parts injured or destroyed, and to aim at rendering the existing rather than the supposed original tone of colour'.[1] Yet not everyone shared the purist views of Rose, Street and Stephens. The problems were sympathetically outlined in the Saturday Review in 1869. Of the first water-colours by Mariannecci, such as the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Fig. 20), the reviewer wrote 'The copies thus made, when brought to England, were found to possess but one fault - they were too good'.[2] That is to say, they were highly restored versions of the originals. But the reviewer felt that the protests which ensued led the Society to go to the other extreme:

> In place of free and easy Italian artists, literal and hard German copyists were employed, who transcribed even the cracks in the plaster, just as a certain Chinese potter is said to have reproduced a flaw in an old plate sent from England as pattern for a new set.[3]

The resulting copy of Ghirlandaio's Last Supper (Fig. 21), copied and lithographed by Schultz, carefully reproducing the fresco's deterioration was described by the Saturday Review as

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1. 16th Annual Report of the Council (1865), p.2.
2. Saturday Review, XXVIII (1869), p.197.
3. Ibid., p.197.

'a parody'.

Even when higher standards of accuracy had been decided upon, it was no easy matter to enforce them. When a water-colour arrived at the Society's rooms for the council members to inspect they had considerable difficulty in establishing how faithfully it reproduced the original. Photographs were used to make comparisons, but they gave no guidance as to accuracy of colour. Sometimes only the council member who had suggested the copying of the work had seen the original. The kind of difficulties which arose if he were not present were outlined by one of the Society's secretaries, Douglas Gordon, writing in 1884 to Oscar Browning about copies of the frescoes at Malpaga, then attributed to Romanino:

> The council had before them yesterday Herr Kaiser's drawing of the second part of the 'Tournament' with the object of authorising the Payment to him of £80 should it be approved. They felt however that as none of those present had seen the original it was difficult to form a fair opinion of the merits of the picture. It was eventually decided to send the drawings to you, and the payment was authorised subject to your being satisfied with it. Mr. Howard thought he saw some traces of careless copying.[1]

Members asked for a return to line engraving in 1862.[2] The first chromolithographs issued by the Society had been accompanied by line engravings based on tracings of details of the original, those of the archers in Perugino's Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Figs. 22, 23) being based on Layard's tracings. They were often extremely beautiful, and within the limitations of line engraving, very accurate. They were also a continuation of the Society's original policy, which aimed to use a variety of reproductive processes on the ground that no single method could ever be entirely

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1. Oscar Browning Collection: Douglas Gordon to Oscar Browning, 9 Feb. 1884.

2. 13th Annual Report of the Council (1862), p.2.

satisfactory. After 1860 line engravings were largely dropped by the Society in favour of a far less attractive alternative, a water-colour copy of a detail published as a chromolithograph. The difficulty of the copyist's task becomes very apparent in Mariannecci's life size details of heads from Filippo Lippi's Burial of St. Stephen (Prato, Duomo); they are accurate, but lifeless and even ugly (Fig. 24a,b). Faces are very easily travestied by copyists however skilful they may be; an engraving, by providing less information, can give a much more convincing impression of the original.

Although Mariannecci's work was harshly attacked by the Athenaeum, twenty six of his water-colours were bought by the Museum at South Kensington in the 1860s. He was not an incompetent artist, but was badly briefed by the council, whose standards rose in response to the criticism of reviewers.

Curiously enough Mariannecci's most interesting copy from a modern viewpoint was executed before he was told to record all dilapidation of frescoes. Between 1861 and 1862 he made water-colours of Mantegna's cycle of frescoes in the Eremitani. He appears to have heavily restored them and to have made arbitrary omissions, such as leaving out the swags and cherubs at the top of compositions. In St. James before Herod Agrippa (Fig. 25) he omitted swags in the left hand corner and inaccurately copied the canopy over Herod's head, making it wider than it actually was. The series seems a particularly flagrant example of Mariannecci's inaccuracy, but one copy is of special interest, his version of the Martyrdom of St. Christopher (Fig. 26). In photographs taken before the destruction of the majority of the frescoes in 1944,

the figure of St. Christopher in this composition had entirely disappeared (Fig. 27).[1] Mantegna scholars have relied for information when discussing this fresco on a sixteenth century copy in the Musée Jaquemart-André in Paris (Fig. 28). In both the sixteenth century copy and in Mariannecci's copy the saint is depicted semi-naked and bound to a column. But in the older copy St. Christopher is looking down, whereas in Mariannecci's copy the saint is gazing upwards. It is hard to know what to make of this disparity. The older copy has the undeniable advantage of having been executed when the fresco was in good condition. However, it is not known why it was made, or whether it was made after the original, or after drawings, while the purpose of an Arundel water-colour was to preserve an accurate record of the original. Mariannecci may have been prone to restoration, but it seems unlikely that he would have made a really drastic alteration which would change the entire spirit of the work. For St. Christopher to gaze upwards, as in Mariannecci's version of the fresco, also makes more artistic sense; in the background there are several figures also looking up, as if attempting to share St. Christopher's vision; in the Paris copy their gaze lacks meaning and does nothing to unite foreground and background. It is tempting to assume that Mariannecci pieced together his copy with the help of real evidence; that of the surviving fresco or possibly of the sinopia.

After 1864 Mariannecci dutifully recorded decay in the frescoes he copied, but, unlike artists later hired by the Society, he never managed to capture the ragged quality of disintegration. He strove too much for neatness; the cracks and patches were kept to the minimum and, it seems, were included

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1. See Fiocco (1944).

unwillingly to satisfy the curious tastes of his English patrons. His water-colours after Piero della Francesca's frescoes at Arezzo, The Dream of Constantine and St. Helen finds the True Cross (Fig. 29) reveal another weakness; they depict the dilapidation of the frescoes, but fail entirely to give any hint of the massive quality of the figures in Piero's compositions. Mariannecci's best works were after Raphael's figures of Poetry, Philosophy, Jurisprudence and Theology (Fig. 30) or after Michelangelo's Delphic Sibyl and Persian Sibyl and after Jeremiah and Ezekiel (Fig. 31). These may be numbered amongst his last copies, for in 1868 he ceased to be employed by the Society because it was felt that he could not be trusted not to make 'restorations'.[1]

In the early 1860s the Society took on two more copyists, Bartolommeo Bartoccini and Christian Schultz, certainly partly because of the Society's increased volume of work. Bartoccini was a reproductive engraver who had already executed outlines to accompany chromolithographs for the Society. Born in Perugia, he studied in Rome where he came under the influence of German reproductive engravers and worked several plates after Overbeck.[2] In 1862 the Society's annual report noted that Bartoccini was to direct the execution of drawings after Cimabue, Buffalmacco and Simone Martini in the church of S. Francesco in Assisi.[3] It seems, therefore, that Bartoccini was adopting a role similar to Ludwig Gruner and this perhaps explains why the group of six copies are unsigned. There are three copies after Simone Martini, St. Martin renouncing the Emperor's Service (Fig. 32), St. Martin Knighted and the

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1. This was the reason given by Edmund Oldfield in 1890 in a letter to the Athenaeum. See the Athenaeum (1 Feb. 1890), p.154.
2. Thieme and Becker (1907-1950), ii, p.554.
3. 13th Annual Report of the Council (1862), p.2.

Death of St. Martin, two copies after a Giottesque master, The Body of St. Francis being met by St. Chiaro and the Death of the Gentleman of Celano (Fig. 33), and one copy after Buffalmacco, Noli me Tangere. They are all delicately done; they do not show deterioration and have the hard-edged quality of finely executed pencil outlines which have been coloured in. None really captures the styles of the different artists because of the copyist's own stylistic tricks, such as his odd and very characteristic re-interpretation of the human eye regardless of the artist he was transcribing.

Bartoccini was only employed for one commission of this type, but Schultz became the Society's most prolific copyist. He can probably be identified as Christian Schultz, born in Kassel, Germany, in 1817 and trained there as a draughtsman.[1] He studied lithography in Munich and then returned to Kassel where he engraved plates after many artists, including Overbeck. It is surely significant that both Bartoccini and Schultz reproduced the work of the most gifted contemporary follower of the early Italians.

When Schultz was first employed by the Society he was asked by the council to copy three Italian works without making any restorations.[2] The three water-colours of Ghirlandaio's Last Supper (Fig. 21), Fra Angelico's Crucifixion and Andrea del Sarto's Nativity of the Virgin were displayed to the Society's members at the annual general meeting of 1864, where they met with such approval that Mariannecci was then instructed to emulate the new copyist.

Schultz's copies differed entirely from the transcripts made by other artists employed by the Society in that they

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1. G.K. Kugler, n.d., XVIII, p.42.
2. Athenaeum (12 Nov. 1864), p.641.

were painted over photographic images of the work of art. For example his copy of Bernardo Daddi's Annunciation in the Louvre, then attributed to Simone Martini, clearly shows the blackened light sensitive paper around the edges of the water-colour (Fig. 34). Mariannecci had been criticised by the Athenaeum critic for his failure to differentiate between the styles of the artists at work in the Brancacci Chapel,[1] whereas Schultz's method eliminated the tendency of the copyist to impose his own style. The method had limitations; it was unsuitable for the reproduction of fresco as it was necessary to use gouache instead of translucent water-colour to paint over the photographic print. Not everyone was impressed by his accuracy; the critic of the Art Journal, writing in 1865, thought Mariannecci had been hard done by and referred sarcastically to the fact that Schultz had 'pledged himself to daguerrotype the minutest crack upon plaster'.[2] The employment of Schultz was partly intended to make Mariannecci raise his standards as was made clear by Edmund Oldfield when he wrote to Layard in 1865 of Mariannecci's most recent copies:

> If they are done in the improved style which Mariannecci now practises, which is the fortunate result of a competition that he didn't at first like, they will doubtless please all competent judges, whether in the Arundel or out.[3]

Schultz must have realised that his method of copying was unsuitable for fresco transcription and after the acceptance of his first works by the council he devoted himself almost entirely to the copying of German and Flemish panel paintings. This meant that he did not have to reproduce quite such

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1. Athenaeum (27 Feb. 1864), p.305.
2. Art Journal, n.s. IV (1865), p.303.
3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38992, f.48: Oldfield to Layard, 18 Nov. 1865.

drastic dilapidation; the wooden support to a panel painting was likely to be damaged, but usually such damage was invisible. His method was ideally suited to the reproduction of panel painting and the prints of his copies were regularly praised by reviewers.

Some members of the council, however, had reservations about Schultz's method of working. Oldfield, for example, wrote to Layard, 'I suspect there is a defect in his eye, or manner of working his colours which affects everything he does' and in the same letter Oldfield reported that Ruskin did not approve of Schultz's copies[1] (but very few of the Society's water-colours met with Ruskin's approval). And, although most members of the council thought that his major work, a reproduction of the Adoration of the Lamb (Fig. 35) altar-piece by the brothers Van Eyck, was exceptionally good, Henry Danby Seymour wrote to Layard in 1869 complaining of the Van Eyck copies and in particular criticised Schultz's choice of printers, the Paris firm of Hangard-Maugé, for he felt that French printers would fail to capture the essence of Flemish paintings.[2] Similarly, Oldfield suggested the importance of national sympathy when he wrote of Schultz and his copies: 'He is heart and soul with Germany'.[3]

The theory that a man's nationality was reflected in his art was also voiced by those who reviewed the Society's works. Much was made of the Germanic clumsiness of the lithographers Storch and Kramer and their director Ludwig Gruner and it was argued that Germans were insensitive to the beauties of Italian art. Ruskin was later to write of the Austrian copyist Edward

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38992, f.49: Oldfield to Layard, 18 Nov. 1865.

2. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38996, f.54: Seymour to Layard, 2 Feb. 1869.

3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38998, f.243: Oldfield to Layard, 9 Sept. 1870.

Kaiser's 'German maps' of Giotto and asserted that only copyists trained in the English tradition of colouring would be equipped to copy the early Italians.[1] For it was by no means felt that the Italians would have an innate understanding of their own early art. As late as 1890 Oldfield pointed out in a letter to the Athenaeum 'Italian copyists, like Italian architects and sculptors, think every work of art, however old, should look smart and tidy'.[2]

In 1867 the Society employed a specialist copyist to make water-colours after medieval sepulchral monuments in Italy. It seems very likely that John Ruskin was the council member who did most to encourage the project. He himself had already made many drawings of tombs, but these may have been considered too idiosyncratic. Instead the council employed a professional artist, Adolf Gnauth, who agreed to execute water-colours in Venice and Verona. Gnauth was well suited to his task. He was the son of a Stuttgart reproductive lithographer and he had studied at the Stuttgart Polytechnik under Christian Leins. In 1861 he went to Italy where he was commissioned to make drawings for Heinrich von Forster's Bauwerke der Renaissance in Toskana. Since 1866 he had been teaching at the Baugewerkschule in Stuttgart.[3]

Gnauth made 13 drawings for the Society over the two summers of 1867 and 1868. Two tombs in Venice were chosen for copying, that of Doge Vendramin and of Doge Michiel Morosini, both in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo. The monument to Doge Vendramin is recorded by Gnauth in a highly finished

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1. MSS. Bembridge: John Ruskin to F.W. Maynard, 5 July, 1874 and Ruskin, Works, XXII, p.475.
2. Athenaeum (1 Feb. 1890), p.154.
3. Thieme-Becker, XIV, p.275.

water-colour of the entire tomb and its surroundings and a further copy of the tomb only. Both are competent enough, although hardly comparable with Ruskin's more erratic, but infinitely more stylish work. The monument to Doge Michiel Morosini is represented on a much more elaborate scale. The principal water-colour of the tomb shows it in its setting with the fanciful addition of a monk seated in one of the choir stalls beneath the tomb. There is a water-colour detail of the mosaic and a water-colour of the entire tomb but without its setting. This is backed up by a detail of the recumbent Doge with a pencil sketch above it showing how Gnauth restored the hands of the Doge in the water-colours and inscribed 'état actuel des mains du Doge'. Finally there is a pen and ink plan and elevation of the tomb.

Gnauth made drawings after five tombs in Verona. Perhaps his most successful was after the tomb of Hieronymus Turriani from the church of S. Fermo Maggiore, a marvellous free interpretation accompanied by a pen and ink plan and elevation. The water-colour of the monument to Tommaso Pellegrini shows Gnauth better able to capture the varied hues of marble than to convey the solid quality of stone work. The copy of the monument to the Cavalli family, which when published was accompanied by a monograph by Ruskin, involved the depiction of mosaic, fresco, elaborate stone work and areas of decayed fresco, and Gnauth manages to convey these with great skill (Fig. 36). The final two Veronese drawings were of outdoor monuments to Count Guglielmo Castelbarco and Can Grande della Scala, the first shown in bright sunlight, the second in cloudy evening light. When the artist is dealing with outdoor scenes his limitations become more obvious: his competent but lifeless work compares unfavourably with Ruskin's drawings

of the tomb of Can Signorio della Scala, another tomb in the open air at Verona.[1]

Nor could Gnauth's drawing of the tomb of Can Grande compare with Ruskin's verbal picture in The Stones of Venice which culminated in this description of the knight's cloak:

> it seems to wave in the wind, and the knight's spear to shake, and his marble horse to be evermore quickening its pace, and starting into heavier and hastier charge, as the silver clouds float past it in the sky.[2]

Ruskin's contempt for the Society's water-colour of the Can Grande tomb is implicit in a letter to his mother written in 1869:

> I was a quarter of an hour yesterday vainly trying to draw a fold of Can Grande's mantle. But I do better than anyone else would. For no one else would even try.[3]

Ruskin's practical links with the Gnauth project seem tenuous. The Society did not commission a copy of the tomb he admired most in Verona, that of Can Mastino,[4] while the tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin was copied, although it had been described by Ruskin as 'a very base and unworthy example of the school, and showing neither invention nor feeling'.[5] Indeed, Ruskin even thought little of the Cavalli monument although this formed the subject of a monograph that he wrote for the Society in 1872.[6]

If Ruskin's attitude to the choice of works copied by the Society was at times ambivalent, his attitude to the copies

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1. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.88, plate A; Works, XIX, plates XXIII, XXIV.
2. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.88.
3. Ruskin, Works, XIX, p.li.
4. Ruskin, Works, XXI, p.196.
5. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.107.
6. See below pp. 232-236.

themselves was even more so. As we have seen, Ruskin had reservations about Schultz's work. He must have had some respect for Gnauth's water-colours for in a footnote to the Travellers Edition of The Stones of Venice he suggested that his chapter The Street of Tombs be read in conjunction with the Society's prints based on Gnauth's water-colours.[1] In an appendix to Ariadne Florentina, published in 1876, he praised Mariannecci's copies of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel but in the same piece of writing he criticised the Society's copyists because of their foreign training. He believed, however, that water-colours were the best method of reproducing frescoes, and that reproductive engravers should abandon their wearisome work and turn to making water-colour copies.[2] Late in the Society's lifetime, in 1887, he gave what seems to have been his entirely honest opinion of the Society's water-colours to M.H. Spielmann, the editor of the Magazine of Art. He urged Spielmann to publish more coloured reproductions and remarked:

> if you could get good artists to copy the pictures - small - for you - not in finished work but bold and yet careful wash, you would do things fifty times better than the Arundel has done yet. Our copies have always been such rot, before the litho-tint was troubled at all.[3]

Significantly, these very definite views were expressed after he had had the experience of overseeing the work of one of the Society's copyists, Edward Kaiser.

Kaiser was a water-colourist and lithographer from Vienna. He had studied at the Viennese Academy and then earned his

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1. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.81, nt.

2. The appendix is entitled Notes on the Present State of Engraving in England, Ruskin, Works, XXII, pp.475-476.

3. Bodleian MS. Eng. Letts. c.49, f.370-1: Ruskin to Spielmann, 3 Nov., 1887.

living as a portrait lithographer. From 1852 until 1853 he was in Rome. On his return to Vienna his career continued upon its former lines, but in 1860 he turned to water-colour work, making copies after the masterpieces in the Belvedere Gallery. In 1867 he returned to Italy and, influenced perhaps by other German speaking artists then living in Rome, he decided to devote his life to copying great works of art.[1] Two years later his services were engaged by the Society. Like Gnauth and Schultz, Kaiser had had a German artistic training. This, and the fact that he had a knowledge of lithography, would certainly have recommended him to Gruner, if not to all the members of the council.

He executed his first work for the Society in 1869, so that he was, in effect, a replacement for Mariannecci. His first copies were not exceptional; his transcription of Fra Bartolommeo's Virgin and Child and Andrea del Sarto's St. Filippo Benizzi healing children both have an undeniably muddy look. Those after Fra Angelico, The Transfiguration and Christ and Mary Magdalen in the Garden, reproduce the brightness of the originals, but restore them very much in the manner of Mariannecci. Of the group of prints issued in 1870 those based on Kaiser's copies of Fra Angelico seem the least talented: Schultz had embarked on the transcription and printing of the Ghent altarpiece and one of Mariannecci's best copies, after Botticelli's Birth of Venus (Fig. 37), also appeared in that year.

Despite this unremarkable start Kaiser was sent on a most important commission, the copying of the frescoes in the upper church of S. Francesco at Assisi under the supervision of John Ruskin. At some time during 1873 he executed a water-colour of one of these frescoes, St. Francis preaching before Honorius III

1. Thieme-Becker, XIX, p.444.

which was published as a chromolithograph in the same year. In completing this work Kaiser may have disregarded a suggestion made by Ruskin (who was still in England) that until he arrived Kaiser should only prepare outlines of the frescoes so that Ruskin might supervise their colouring.[1] The supervision of copyists was not in itself an unusual occurrence. Employees of the Society like Ludwig Gruner and the salaried assistant secretary introduced in 1859[2] made such visits as part of their duties, while members of the Society's council were occasionally called upon to visit localities where copying was taking place. Nonetheless, Ruskin's request that Kaiser refrain from colouring the copies indicated that he intended to exert an especial degree of influence over the artist.

Ruskin arrived in Assisi on the 12th of April 1874. Like Layard in 1855 Ruskin was partly going to Italy to take a much needed holiday. During 1873 and 1874 he had found his duties as Slade Professor at Oxford difficult to carry out because of his terrible distress of mind; if any one cause may be singled out it would be his deep and painful love for Rose la Touche, a young girl whom he had first met in 1858. This love for Rose must be borne in mind even in the unlikely context of Ruskin's decision to help the Society, for thoughts of her were to dominate his researches at Assisi.

Two days after his arrival, Ruskin wrote to Maynard, the Society's secretary. He was greatly struck by the difficulty of the task which faced Kaiser. Of the Upper Church he wrote:

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1. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 25 Sept. 1873.

2. The Society's first assistant secretary was F.W. Maynard. After his death in 1876 he was succeeded by F. Lambe Price who worked for the Society until his decease in December 1883. The post was filled in February 1884 by Douglas H. Gordon, the grandson of Lord Aberdeen, who, with the aid of an assistant, A.H. Brice, worked for the Society until its dissolution in 1897. For Gordon's experiences see Fifty Years of Failure: Confessions of an Optimist, London, 1905.

'the sides of the church are mildewed walls and no more'.[1] Despite this comment, Ruskin felt that the true state of the paintings should be shown. In his first copy, St. Francis preaching to Honorius III, Kaiser had attempted to reconstruct the appearance of the fresco when new, but Ruskin now set him to work on another subject in the cycle with instructions to make the copy a facsimile without any restoration.

On 8 June Ruskin wrote to Maynard expressing his satisfaction with the work Kaiser had done on his instructions in the month of May,[2] but on 13 June he wrote abruptly:

> I have ascertained that enormous quantities of the so-called Giottos are merely pupils work - and that we need not attempt anything more than an outline memoranda of them on a small scale. But I have got the scaffold raised - (for the first time they say) in the Lower Church - and find some pieces there which it will be deemable to do with great perfection.[3]

This letter marks the complete shift of Ruskin's interest away from the Upper to the Lower Church. In his next letter he wrote:

> There is not a single work attributed to Giotto in the Upper Church which can be reproduced by the society with advantage. So little is left that without restoration by quite arbitrary guess work, nothing pleasant or even intelligible could be produced. The drawings already made - we have published one, I think - St. F. before the Pope - are merely Mr. Kaiser's theories of what Giotto was. Very good - and in great degree - trustworthy theories, but we cannot publish them as such.[4]

Kaiser executed fourteen of these drawings after the St. Francis cycle and most of them were done while Ruskin was at Assisi. They were all, like the copy of the Dream of Innocent III (Fig. 38), restorations, based upon Kaiser's knowledge of the decay

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1. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 14 April, 1874.
2. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 8 June, 1874.
3. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 13 June, 1874.
4. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 29 June, 1874.

of frescoes; and, although Ruskin disapproved of his methods, his learning earned this praise from Ruskin: 'Yet he has studied Giotto so thoroughly that he can restore to some resemblance of what it was, any given work of fresco better than anyone else'.[1]

Nonetheless, Ruskin was determined to retrain Kaiser by giving him private commissions. He had decided that the genuine Giotto at Assisi was represented by four frescoes over the altar of the Lower Church, now attributed to the Master of the Veils. This choice reflects his tendency to shy away from true Giotto, which was evident in 1874 as it had been when he first wrote about the artist in the late 1840s. Although the authorship of the St. Francis cycle is still a matter for debate, the cycle surely has more in common with true Giotto than the frescoes by the Master of the Veils. As when he was first attracted by the works of Taddeo Gaddi at Pisa in 1845 which he took to be by Giotto, so in 1874 Ruskin displayed a greater preference for the more delicate followers of Giotto than for the master himself. At Assisi there was another reason for his preference for the work of the Master of the Veils. One scene by the master attracted him greatly - the Marriage of Poverty to St. Francis (Fig. 39). Poverty was arguably seen by Ruskin as an embodiment of Rose, and his study of the fresco became a recondite way of communicating with her. This strange form of spiritualism was to be intensified after her death in 1875 when Ruskin spent many hours in Venice studying and copying Carpaccio's sleeping figure of St. Ursula.

Therefore Ruskin's commissions for Kaiser naturally included details from the Marriage of Poverty - a head of Poverty, a head of Charity, the head of the mocking rich man

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1. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 25 Sept., 1874.

and other details including the dog at Poverty's feet. These were done for Ruskin personally; but for the Society, with the permission of the council, Ruskin commissioned Kaiser to copy a portion of the Apotheosis of St. Francis in facsimile, to make an outline of the entire fresco, to copy the head of St. Francis and to copy a portion of Taddeo Gaddi's Adoration of the Magi 'for experiment on another class of colour work'.[1] By July Ruskin complained that of all these projects he had only received Poverty's head and the dog. Even with that work he was dissatisfied. On September 25 he wrote to Maynard from Lucca of Kaiser:

> His drawings made for me are of no use to me. I have not the credit in leaving them (- Mr. Kaiser has not been informed of this purpose of mine -) to the society for what use it can make of them - but at all events they will have little more to show for my visit to Assisi, and the hundred pounds I have paid for them are most heartily at the service of the society, even so, the council will, I fear, greatly regret having sent me here with authority.[2]

The council might well have regretted Ruskin's involvement, for he had so obviously diverted Kaiser's labours away from the work in hand, the copying of the St. Francis cycle. Nor does the council appear to have accepted Ruskin's offer of a gift of drawings; they are not to be found among the two collections of Arundel Society water-colours.

It is hard to imagine what Kaiser's water-colours for Ruskin were like. We know that they were supposed to be facsimiles and less painstaking than his previous work; as Ruskin complained to Maynard, 'Mr. Kaiser's fault is in taking too much rather than too little pains'.[3] It seems likely that

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1. MSS. Bembridge: list included with letter, Ruskin to Maynard, 5 July, 1874.
2. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 25 Sept., 1874.
3. MSS. Bembridge: Ruskin to Maynard, 14 April, 1874.

they would most resemble the copies which represent Kaiser's solitary but not inconsiderable claim to fame. These were made after the frescoes of the Old and New Testament above the St. Francis cycle in the Upper Church and were done the year after Ruskin's departure.

After Ruskin left, Kaiser continued to work as he had before the great man's arrival; he continued copying the St. Francis cycle and made two copies of Lorenzetti frescoes in the Lower Church. Of these St. Francis preaching to the Birds and the two Lorenzetti works, The Deposition from the Cross and The Madonna and Child with St. John the Evangelist, and St. Francis, were published. All these latter copies were very much restored versions of the originals, which may seem curious in view of the council's determination in 1864 to avoid restorations of any kind. Arguably,the St. Francis cycle was a special case. Kaiser's copies, as Ruskin himself realised, were not based upon arbitrary whim, but upon his great knowledge of the fresco techniques of the period. How far the water-colours involved fabrication of details which had faded at the time, and how far we may rely on them as records of the state of frescoes in 1874 is difficult to judge.[1]

Kaiser returned to Assisi at the end of 1875 and copied the Institution of the Presepio (Fig. 40) in the same restored style, thus finishing his work on the Legend of St. Francis cycle. He then executed copies after the Old and New Testament cycle in the Upper Chapel, reproducing the eighteen frescoes which had not so deteriorated as to have become meaningless.

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1. An attempt has been made to use one of Kaiser's copies, The Dream of Innocent III as evidence in the continuing debate on the authorship of the St. Francis cycle. See Smart (1974), pp.228-231. Smart concludes that these restored copies cannot really be relied upon as evidence.

These aimed, according to the annual report of the council, to transcribe 'without any restoration, so as to show the originals in their present condition'. They do not give the impression of the painstaking plodding which Ruskin so despised in the copies of the Legend of St. Francis, rather they were facsimiles, translucent, brilliant in colour and assured in style. Kaiser had, in fact, followed Ruskin's instructions, but he did more than simply alter his style in accordance with the wishes of his demanding supervisor. Rather, he threw himself heart and soul into the work, and the resulting water-colours reveal how by being really objective an artist may copy and be great. In the case of one fresco, Betrayal of Christ, two versions exist. The first, a restored work (Fig. 42) looks as though it might be by the anonymous copyist who worked under the direction of Bartoccini. Certainly it has been given a border exactly similar to the border surrounding that artist's copy of St. Martin renouncing the Emperor's Service (Fig. 32). It is executed in the restoring style adopted by Kaiser for the Legend of St. Francis cycle but it is altogether of a lower standard. The second version (Fig. 41), signed by Kaiser, shows how wonderfully his new technique captured the actual state of the fresco. All the brightness and freshness of the colours are retained by the use of pure water-colour washes and by the avoidance of gouache. Nothing in the entire corpus of Arundel Society water-colours demonstrates more effectively the very different levels to which the Society's copyists aspired than these two transcriptions.

Unlike the Legend of St. Francis water-colours, Kaiser's copies of the Old and New Testament may be taken as an accurate rendering of the state of the frescoes in the 1870s.

Details which have all but disappeared today may be seen in these water-colours. For example, the fresco of Isaac blessing Jacob shows clearly a figure in blue supporting Isaac (Fig. 43) thus lending a whole new balance to the composition. In the Pieta the two angels at the top of the picture are almost undamaged (Fig. 44). In The Maries at the Sepulchre the figures of the women are partly visible. Kaiser triumphantly reproduces the colours of this group of frescoes, the pale greens and yellows of the works attributed to Jacopo Torriti, the rich reds and blues of the work of the Isaac Master (Fig. 45). None of the copies of the Old and New Testament cycle were published and in fact they would have been ill served by the chromolithographic process. They were bought out of the Copying Fund[1] but they would only have been seen by members who visited the Society's rooms.

Kaiser repeated this feat of reproducing decaying fresco in 1885 when he copied Masolino's frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona - his John the Baptist before Herod and Herodias (Fig. 46) compares well with the work he did at Assisi in 1875. In other commissions, however, he displayed an uninspired competence which was to degenerate into carelessness.

He undertook a vast amount of work in the late 1870s. His water-colours of the Fra Angelico frescoes in the Chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican (Fig. 47) and of the cycle of frescoes in the Piccolomini Library in Siena (Fig. 48) were undoubtedly accurate although somewhat lifeless. At Monte Oliveto, near Siena, he made some effective copies of frescoes in the cloister by Signorelli and Sodoma. His water-colour of Sodoma's Christ Bound to a Column in the Accademia delle Belle Arti in Siena

1. 28th Annual Report of the Council (1877), p.2.

reproduces the fresco's decay, hot colours and bold delineation with unusual skill (Fig. 49). It is possible that his special gift was developed by Ruskin at Assisi and was largely confined to capturing the appearance of badly damaged frescoes through the medium of loosely painted translucent water-colours. Nonetheless in 1876 he executed a good transcription of the Castelfranco altarpiece (Fig. 50).

In 1882 he embarked upon a large commission, the copying of Benozzo Gozzoli's frescoes in the Medici-Riccardi Chapel. It is this series which betrays a weariness which must have been compounded by the difficulties of lighting the chapel and reproducing scenes which were at once repetitive and intricate (Fig. 52). On the other hand, in 1883 he copied Christ Among the Doctors by Boccacino high on the ceiling of the Duomo at Cremona with great truthfulness, reproducing all the strange mannerism of the fresco (Fig. 53).

The Council's standards were steadily rising and by 1885 they were seriously dissatisfied with Kaiser's work. In 1884 he had been copying a series of frescoes at the castle of Malpaga, then attributed to Romanino, which illustrated a visit paid to Bartolommeo Colleoni by King Christian of Denmark. Like the Gozzoli commission this work was unusually costly, principally because of the practical difficulties Kaiser encountered - problems posed by the huge size of the frescoes and the comparatively small size of the room in which they are situated. Today the castle is empty but a few years before Kaiser came to make his copies it was, according to J.A. Symonds, a hive of activity:

> The place is worth a visit, though its courts and gates have now been turned into a monster farm, and the southern rooms where Colleoni entertained his guests are given over to silkworms.[1]

1. Symonds (1879), p.319.

The rooms devoted to silk worm farming included the apartment decorated with the frescoes Kaiser was to copy and Symonds attributed their good state of preservation to the fact that the room was filled with cages of these quiet munching creatures. Nonetheless, copying under such conditions must have presented difficulties, and might perhaps explain why Kaiser's copies were done so carelessly that even a member of the council who had never seen the originals noticed that something was amiss.[1] In 1885 commissions to Kaiser were suspended and never resumed.[2] The transcription of the Malpaga frescoes was completed by Luigi Desideri. His copy of the Arrival of King Christian (Fig. 55) compared with Kaiser's Departure of King Christian (Fig. 54) errs on the side of neatness and gives too flattering an impression of these rather mediocre frescoes.

Eliseo Fattorini was engaged by the Society at the same time as Kaiser. He was a native of Todi, but like other Arundel Society artists he had been trained in Perugia and apart from his work as a copyist he specialised in the restoration of stained glass windows.[3] His first water-colour for the Society was made in 1869 after Signorelli's Life of Moses in the Sistine Chapel. It was the start of Fattorini's largest commission, making copies of twelve frescoes by quattrocento artists in the Sistine Chapel, the last being completed in 1875. An odd characteristic of this artist was his tendency to distort the colours of frescoes; most of his copies are unnecessarily pinkish in hue, like, for example, his version of Perugino's Christ's Charge to St. Peter (Fig. 56). This inaccuracy is true both of his water-colours of

1. See above, p. 104.
2. 36th Annual Report of the Council (1885), p.2.
3. Thieme-Becker, XI, pp.291-292.

the Sistine Chapel frescoes and of his copies of Benozzo Gozzoli's Scenes from the Life of St. Francis. He made, however, a few outstanding transcriptions, the best being after Guido da Siena's Virgin and Child (Fig. 57) in the church of S. Domenico in Siena. He executed other good water-colours after Pinturrichio's Virgin in Glory, Perugino's Transfiguration and Piero della Francesca's Resurrection.

Until 1883 three principal artists worked for the Society, Fattorini, Kaiser and Schultz, while works which had been copied by Mariannecci at an earlier date were still occasionally published. In 1883 a new artist from Venice named Luigi Desideri was taken on, replacing Schultz who had died in either 1882 or 1883. Desideri was probably a discovery of Henry Layard with whom he conducted an extensive correspondence turning on his work for the Society and for John Murray. Layard was well placed to advise him and the Society as from 1884 onwards he was living in retirement in Venice.

Desideri made brilliantly effective copies after Tiepolo and Veronese (Fig. 58) and upon Layard's especial recommendation he copied the Carpaccio paintings in the Scuola S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni.[1] Prints from these water-colours, which were of a high standard, were issued in the 1880s at a time when the Society could do no right in the eyes of the Athenaeum, the one periodical that continued to publish regular reviews of its work. But the real criticism was directed against the chromolithographers. The beautiful reproduction of Carpaccio's St. Jerome in his Study was declared by the Athenaeum to be the very worst print produced by the Society, although it was conceded that the original

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39037, f.56-57: Oldfield to Layard, 18 Dec., 1883.

drawing could well have been not without merit.[1]

One of Desideri's most impressive copies is The Virgin and Child by Palma Vecchio, which displays his greatest talent, the ability to reproduce accurately an artist's scheme of colouring. He was also a skilful copyist of decayed fresco, as when he transcribed the badly damaged Pordenone Flight into Egypt and The Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 59). Yet despite his skills, especially as a copyist of Venetian art, Desideri's work was savagely reviewed when published.

In every way the 1880s were a period of recession for the Society. The death of Schultz was followed by that of Fattorini in 1888. The amount of work being copied was being gradually cut down, for, as the annual report for 1886 pointed out, the Society had a reserve of about 200 water-colours on exhibition in its rooms.[2] It was decided in that year not to commission copies for any purpose other than use as annual publications. No copies were to be commissioned purely to serve as records, and no copies were commissioned for use as occasional publications. Within a year these two economies were abandoned as they limited 'the usefulness and influence of the society'.[3]

A new artist named Emilio Costantini was engaged. These were very much the dog-days of the Society's fortunes, yet Costantini was the most gifted copyist yet employed. His first water-colour was a triumph; it was after the Pisanello fresco of St. George in the church of S. Anastasia in Verona (Fig. 60) and wonderfully captured the greenish tinge of the

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1. Athenaeum (17 March 1888), p.346.
2. 37th Annual Report of the Council (1886), p.2.
3. 38th Annual Report of the Council (1887), p.2.

original and dealt brilliantly with the problems of depicting the decay of the fresco. It was perhaps the best copy made for the Society which was actually published. It appeared as a print in 1893; never before had such a damaged fresco been chromolithographed; it was a belated response to the Athenaeum's continual demands for increased veracity. In 1890 Edmund Oldfield had explained that the Society did not feel that fragmentary paintings were suitable for reproduction.[1] Three years later the Pisanello water-colour was published and earned this praise from the Athenaeum:

> It is pleasant to be able to say that this is an unusually good transcript for the Arundel Society, clearer, brighter, and in colour, richer than usual.[2]

In 1888 Costantini was sent to Portugal to copy an altarpiece by the Portuguese primitive Gran Vasco of St. Peter Enthroned as Pope. This was a costly commission but when the work was published it was greeted by the Athenaeum as an 'unusually interesting'[3] publication. Generally the reviews of the Society's publications in the very last years of its existence were more favourable and a large part of the credit must go to Costantini for his excellent transcriptions. A very good copy of Botticelli's Primavera published in 1888 was followed in 1889 by seven copies of which four, The Presentation (Fig. 61) and The Entombment after Fra Angelico and two Luini lunettes of donors and Saints (Fig. 62) from the Monastero Maggiore in Milan, were outstandingly good. In particular Costantini's copies of Fra Angelico's frescoes are remarkable for their accuracy. The water-colours made by Edward Kaiser of the same series of frescoes in the Museo San Marco did not reach nearly

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1. In a letter to the Athenaeum (1 Feb. 1890), p.154.
2. Athenaeum (20 May 1893), p.646.
3. Athenaeum (9 July 1892), p.73.

such a high degree of verisimilitude.

Occasionally the council bought a copy executed by an artist not regularly employed by the Society. This would seem to have been the case with Marchi's View of the Piccolomini Library, with Scaravaglia's copy of Niccolo Foligno's Virgin and Child, with Madame Pieroni's copy of Mantegna's Circumcision and with Ernesto Sprega's transcriptions of illuminated letters from choral books in the Piccolomini Library.[1] Not all the water-colours used by the Society to form the basis for prints were actually purchased. Mrs. Higford Burr kept her two water-colours which were made into prints. A copy by Seymour Kirkup of the supposed portrait of Dante in the Bargello (Fig.65) was loaned to the Society by Lord Vernon, and Layard lent a copy by an artist named Gran of a portrait of Mary I by Antonio Moro.

Such loans were of great usefulness to the Society, particularly when the resulting print sold steadily, like for example the Dante portrait.[2] The question of the prices which should be paid to copyists was a vexed one, and much discussed by Layard and Oldfield in their correspondence, the emphasis being on trying to keep them down as much as possible. This probably seemed a laudable ambition in the eyes of most of the members, but one exception was John Ruskin. In an address to the Society given in 1878 he complained of the tiny fee paid to copyists, which allowed them only £100 for the

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1. In 1858 Sir Francis Scott commissioned Consoni to copy the Pinturicchio frescoes in the Piccolomini Library. The project was financed by Scott, still being worked on in 1859 and then mysteriously abandoned.

2. The Dante portrait was a comparatively cheap occasional publication selling at 7s 6d to members and 10s 6d to strangers. It was unique in that it sold steadily from 1860 until the Society was dissolved in 1897.

three months that he believed should be allowed to copy a typical picture. Such low fees, he pointed out, continued to ensure that good artists were never likely to work for the Society.[1]

On the whole it seems that the copyists were better paid than Ruskin suggested. To take two examples: in the year before Ruskin made his speech Kaiser was paid £430 for 4 copies.[2] Two were of Fra Angelico's cycle of frescoes in the Vatican and two were after works by Sodoma. He received, therefore, roughly £100 for each water-colour, but equally it seems likely that they were executed in well under a year, the time that Ruskin would have allotted for their completion. The year before that, in 1876, Kaiser was paid £759 for 17 water-colours, making his fee roughly £48 for each water-colour.[3] This may seem meagre pay, especially as 14 of these were his magnificent copies after the Old and New Testament cycle at Assisi, but none was large and possibly it was assumed that an artist could gather speed as he transcribed a series of frescoes.

In his speech Ruskin refers to the astoundingly high prices paid to living artists in England which he felt to be out of all proportion to their worth.[4] It is true that contemporary art was fetching record prices in the 1870s. Between 1868 and 1874, for example, Millais was earning £20,000 a year

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV, pp.636-637. This contrasts oddly with the low prices Ruskin paid to William Ward for his copies of Turner water-colours. He never paid more than £15 for a copy and wrote to Ward, 'The reason copying had been (justly) despised is that people have never done it but for money only, and have never therefore given their hearts to it'. See Letters from John Ruskin to William Ward (1893), i, p.76: Ruskin to Ward, 15 August, 1867.
2. 29th Annual Report of the Council (1878), p.3.
3. 28th Annual Report of the Council (1877), p.3.
4. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV, p.636.

and said he could earn £100 a day merely by executing sketches of his most popular works.[1] In the 1870s Landseer's Otter Hunt, Holman Hunt's Shadow of the Cross and Alma Tadema's Roman Picture Gallery had all been sold for over £10,000.[2] These top prices included something comparatively new, the engraving rights. The Arundel Society was a non-profit-making venture so that nothing of that sort came the way of the copyists. In any case, the Society's prices cannot really be compared with those of the high flyers who had the whole of the commercial art world behind them to push up their prices. The copyists' earnings should rather be measured against the prices paid to provincial artists. Writing about an earlier period Trevor Fawcett has suggested that to calculate provincial prices, London prices should be divided by a factor of 5 or more 'and without regard to quality'.[3] By the 1870s a factor of 10 might be more appropriate but even that would have left the Society's copyists far behind the hugely successful artists of the period. On the other hand, the Athenaeum pointed out in 1887 that for the prices paid to copyists it would have been possible to buy original works by early Italian masters.[4] (But the writer did not mention the evident fact that these originals would not necessarily have been of the highest quality).

Ruskin felt that higher fees would attract the services of major artists. One factor would, however, certainly have acted as a deterrent and that was the supreme difficulty of the copyist's working conditions. In 1862 Burne-Jones wrote

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1. Reitlinger (1961), i, p.147.
2. Reitlinger (1961), i, p.151.
3. Fawcett (1974), p.21.
4. Athenaeum (4 June 1887), p.744.

to his wife's sisters of the difficulties of transcribing Luini's frescoes in the Monastero Maggiore in Milan, later to be copied for the Society by Costantini. He wrote:

> I am drawing from a fresco, that has never been seen since that day it was painted, in jet darkness, in a chapel where candle sticks, paper flowers and wooden dolls abound freely. Ruskin, by treacherous smiles and winning courtesies and delicate tips, has wheedled the very candlesticks off the altar for my use, and the saint's table and his everything that was his, and I draw every day by the light of eight altar candles.[1]

As Sir William Gregory wrote in 1884 of a projected commission in Portugal, 'the artist (not yet found) must be paid not only for his handiwork, but also for his discomfort'.[2] Yet when Costantini was sent to make the copy after Gran Vasco he was paid £112, not a very large sum considering the fact that he ran into serious administrative difficulties before being allowed to embark on the work.

Discomfort and delay were very much a part of the lives of these men. For example, scaffolding must have been put up to allow Kaiser to copy Boccaccino's Christ among the Doctors high on the ceiling of Cremona Cathedral. He made his water-colour in 1883; in 1856 Layard had concluded that the fresco was inaccessible to any copyist.[3] Lack of light was a commonplace problem. All churches are fairly dark, but some are impossibly so, like the Medici-Riccardi Chapel in Florence, where Kaiser had to get a licence to allow him to arrange lighting so that he could copy Gozzoli's Procession of the Magi.[4] Many places to which artists were sent were remote and inaccessible

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1. Memorials of Edward Burne-Jones (1904), i, p.248.
2. Gregory (1884), p.634.
3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38948, f.50: Layard to Benjamin and Sara Austen, 7 Sept. 1856.
4. 33rd Annual Report of the Council (1882), p.2.

such as Castiglione d'Olona, Malpaga, Gubbio, Spello, Gualdo Tadino and Monte Oliveto. And,having travelled well off the beaten track, the copyist might run into difficulties with custodians of the work of art. When, in 1858, Mariannecci was transcribing frescoes by Pinturrichio in the damp and dark chapel of S. Maria Maggiore at Spello and had almost completed his task, he was refused permission to copy the final fresco by the canons of the church. Apparently they feared that with the publication of the frescoes their church would no longer be visited and they would lose their small income from admission fees. Three years of negotiations followed before Mariannecci was able to return to Spello to complete the task.[1] As the Society became better known in Italy, this kind of problem became rarer. In 1860 the Art-Journal reported that 'the existing governments of Central Italy', presumably Victor Emmanuel and his ministers, had granted the Society's artists special privileges.[2] Nonetheless, outside the major galleries of Europe the business of making copies was never entirely straightforward.

In 1878 Ruskin remarked perversely that the Society should have concentrated on the amassing of copies and should not have published chromolithographs. Yet, although the water-colours were not improved when reproduced as prints, they would, in themselves, have reached a tiny audience. For all their drawbacks the prints reached thousands of homes. Not until the foundation of the Medici Society at the beginning of this century were so many able to see accurate reproductions of Italian works of art; and Medici prints were not of works so

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1858), p.7.
2. Art-Journal, n.s. VI, 1860, p.300.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV, p.635.

remote and recondite as those published by the Arundel Society. Sadly, the council imposed its own limitations and some of the Society's best water-colours were never published.

The water-colours were always on display in the Society's rooms. From 1889, however, they were exhibited in two rooms in the National Gallery; and when the Society was dissolved in 1897 all those water-colours in the Society's possession were given to the National Gallery.[1]

In 1950 it was decided by the Trustees of the National Gallery that the drawings would be more appropriately housed in the Victoria and Albert Museum. In fact thirty-nine water-colours belonged to the Victoria and Albert Museum and had been transferred to the National Gallery in 1906 to complete the collection there; these included the copies by Mariannecci and Gnauth that had been bought by the museum at South Kensington during the Society's lifetime. Following the Trustees' decision, the entire water-colour collection was transferred to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1951. Those which were not already owned by the museum were to be on permanent loan.

Ten years later the staff of the Print Room found that the water-colours had hardly been consulted and as space was limited it was suggested that they be returned to the National Gallery; but they were not welcome there and became something of an embarrassment to both museums. Letters were written offering them to the Witt Library and to Manchester University. Finally, at the end of 1961, the collection, with the exception of those water-colours bought by the Victoria and Albert Museum in the nineteenth century, was sent on permanent loan

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1. 48th Annual Report of the Council (1897), p.2.

to the Department of Fine Art at Leeds University, where they remain today.[1]

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1. Victoria and Albert Museum, Nominal File, National Gallery, Part 3, 1919-

Chapter 5 - The Prints

A list of the Society's prints
is given in Appendix III

In 1858 John Ruskin wrote to his father John James Ruskin:

> You are quite right in disliking those Arundel things too: they are wholly worthless - and, like Mr. Gladstone's speeches, the public like them for that reason. I have made no opposition to their publication, because anything that serves to extend the society is at present desirable; and when it has got a perfectly secure basis, it will be time to protest against stamped colours - and other such popular abominations - You see what a grand article they got in the Times.[1]

Ruskin was referring to a review of the Society's belated publications for the year 1856. It was, as Ruskin said, 'a grand article' for the Society. It praised the marvellous value to subscribers of the prints issued in 1856 and observed

> The council have shown sound discretion in availing themselves of chromo-lithography. With all the imperfections of the process it affords the best means of giving a notion of the colour of frescoes, and no adequate conception of fresco art can be obtained without the use of colour.[2]

Ruskin evidently thought that chromolithography was a debased form of reproduction but this was not a widely held view in the 1850s. Although photography was the most obviously accurate way of recording a work of art, because it did not reproduce colour it was temporarily outshone by other processes. Stannard's Art Exemplar of 1859, which dealt with all methods of reproductive printing, described the expectations entertained of a modern reproduction in the following terms:

> Passing from the printing of drawings we come to the printing of paintings, and, be it observed, that the purpose of this other branch of the art as practised in our day, is not merely to give a rough idea of the original picture, but to make the work, as closely as possible, a fac-simile of the latter.[3]

This, of course, meant using colour, and earlier in the decade

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1. Bembridge MSS, Box 1, 4 MS.38, f. 102: John Ruskin to John James Ruskin, 26 August, 1858.
2. The Times, 30 July 1858, p.9.
3. Stannard (1859), p.132.

the Juries reporting on the Great Exhibition of 1851 had announced

> The art of printing in colours had been brought to such perfection by the employment of several successive plates for the same impression, as in many cases to produce an effect quite equal to that of painting.[1]

Two principal methods of reproducing paintings in colour were exhibited in 1851. One was an adaptation of the possibilities of the chiaroscuro wood-block, which had already been explored in the eighteenth century by a number of printers, the most talented being John Baptist Jackson.[2] The examples exhibited at the Great Exhibition were the work of George Baxter who had patented his method in 1835. Baxter's work was a triumph of ingenuity, although hardly comparable artistically with Jackson's beautiful translations of Venetian paintings of the High Renaissance. Baxter employed wood blocks and a metal key plate; he was unique in using oil paint as the printing ink. His aim was to produce art of a high class which would reach the masses and his prices were not incompatible with this ambition. But in the main his prints were of events of the day, popular views and sentimental scenes and this did nothing to raise the status of the colour print. The Daily News of 1852 pointed out that there was a market for a more serious type of colour reproduction:

> We are not without hope that e'er long we shall have methods of repeating colours as truly as the Calotype process repeats form. This will be a great victory for popular art, and its ultimate result must be the abolition of much or all that now goes by the name of art among the people; for no one will think of

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1. Great Exhibition (1852), iv, p.1558.

2. On Jackson see Kainen (1962). He discusses fully Jackson's greatest work, Titiani Vecelli, Paul Caliarii, Jacob Robusti et Jacobi Ponte opera selectiora a Johanne Baptista Jackson Ligno Coelata et Coloribus Adumbrata, Giovanni Battista Pasquali, Venice, 1745.

> giving fifty pounds for a bad picture or fifty shillings for a poor engraving, when he can get a real Raphael or a real Claude (to all substantial purposes) for, say, as many pence. Cannot Mr. Baxter who has advanced so far, achieve this final success![1]

The second method of printing in colours which impressed the Jurors at the Great Exhibition was an adaptation of lithography, variously called lithochromy, lithotint and chromolithography. The inventor of lithography, Alois Senefelder, had soon recognised the possibility of applying his process to the problem of colour reproduction. In 1819 he wrote:

> The manner of printing colours is peculiar to the stone, and capable to such a degree of perfection, that I have no doubt perfect paintings will one day be produced by it. The experience which I have gained in this respect corroborates my conviction; and if my time were not so much taken up by various occupations I would justify it by some specimens.[2]

By the 1830s France and Germany led the field in the technology of chromolithography, which at that stage involved the use of two or three tint stones carrying light colours. As we have seen,[3] this form of tinted lithography was used to publish the Boisserée brothers' collection of northern primitives and to illustrate Vivant Denon's Monuments des Arts. The rather attenuated effect was ideal for reproducing water-colours and was put to good use by J.D. Harding in A Series of Subjects from the work of the late R.P. Bonington which appeared in 1829 and 1830. Lithography using only two tints was also employed with similar delicacy in the Society's illustrations (Fig. 2) to Bezzi's translation of Vasari's life of Fra Angelico. These should be contrasted with Gruner's print of

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1. Quoted in Lewis (1924), p.118.
2. Senefelder (1819), p.271.
3. See above p. 78.

the Sistine Chapel ceiling (Fig.16),which used a great range of colours and reveals the sophistication of German chromolithography by the mid century.

To some extent England did keep pace with developments abroad. In 1842 Owen Jones chose to use chromolithography to illustrate his Plans, Elevations and Sections of the Alhambra. A wide range of bright colours were employed, tints were built up by overprinting and in these volumes many of the problems of full blown colour reproduction were faced and overcome. By 1851 five British lithographic firms won prizes in the colour printing section of the Great Exhibition.[1] The Exhibition itself was memorialised in a masterpiece of chromolithography, Matthew Digby Wyatt's The Industrial Arts of the Nineteenth Century, appearing between 1851 and 1853 and illustrated with 160 plates.

In a postscript to his preface Wyatt tells how the project was launched by the Queen's lithographers, Day & Son, and he also describes in detail the stages involved in the production of the plates. Twenty artists were employed to make elaborate studies of those objects in the Exhibition which were to be reproduced. The drawings were carefully traced, and each tracing was transferred to a lithographic stone. The lithographer went over the resulting drawing with a greasy pencil and the stone was then sent to the printer who took as many impressions off the stone as there would be separate printed colours. These impressions, which were done on very thin paper, were laid while moist on the corresponding number of stones and passed through the press. Some plates used fourteen separate stones, each carrying an individual colour, seven

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1. Day & Son, M. & H. Hanhart, Hullmandel & Walton, Owen Jones, T. Underwood.

being the average number of stones for each print. The artist or lithographer would indicate with black ink or chalk the areas of colour to be represented on each stone. The printer then faced the problem of accurate register, compounded by the need to let a heavily printed colour dry out before the other tints could be printed, during which period the paper would be apt to shrink.[1]

Although Wyatt's account is detailed he omits to mention the problem central to this method of colour printing, the resolution of the work of art into its component colours. The great modern reproductive lithographer T.E. Griffits has shown how much of an artist a lithographer must be if he is to make a truly accurate representation of the original. Yet his chromolithographs do not match the standard of nineteenth century reproductions, especially those published by the Arundel Society.[2]

Despite the great technical difficulties chromolithography presented, by the 1850s it was thought to have provided the solution to the problem of facsimile reproduction. Its standing as a process for the reproduction of serious art was high. But it also was frequently used for commercial purposes, resulting in the 'stamped colours' Ruskin alluded to in his letter to his father. Even some of Vincent Brooks' prints for the Society demonstrate how garish a chromolithograph could be; his reproduction of Pinturrichio's Nativity of Our Lord (Fig. 18) is an example of this, with its overbright colours and heavy black outlines.

As we have seen, Vincent Brooks was employed briefly and thereafter only foreign chromolithographers worked for the

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1. Wyatt (1851), p. ix.

2. For examples of his handdrawn chromolithographic reproductions see Griffits (1948), ii, Chart J.

Society. Gruner chose the firm of Storch and Kramer and they were to print the bulk of the Society's chromolithographs. Schultz used the firm of Hangard-Maugé in Paris, supervising the lithography of his copies in such detail that they were rightly regarded as his own work. After Gruner's death in 1882 the council employed Frick, a Berlin lithographic firm which had taken over Storch and Kramer. In 1888, however, it was decided that another Berlin firm, Wilhelm Greve, offered as high a standard, especially as many of Storch and Kramer's employees had migrated there.[1] While the Berlin firms were the Society's principal lithographers, three other lithographers were employed on an occasional basis, Richter of Naples, and Lemercier and Engelmann of Paris.

The correspondence between the council and the lithographers has not survived but the type of exchange may be pieced together. Some of the problems Gruner met in Germany were confided in John Murray. In 1872 he mentioned that a water-colour that the council had wished to have published had been turned down as too difficult to execute by Storch and Kramer.[2] In 1873 he wrote of discontent amongst the workmen in Berlin who wanted better pay, the scarcity of good lithographers and the difficulty Storch and Kramer were experiencing in keeping to deadlines because of the general industrial unrest.[3] In 1876 he complained to Murray of the slowness of the Society's payments to him.[4]

The problems faced by the council emerge in an equally

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1. 39th Annual Report of the Council (1888), p.2.
2. John Murray Archives, Gruner to John Murray, 14 Nov. 1872.
3. John Murray Archives, Gruner to John Murray, 28 Feb. 1873.
4. John Murray Archives, Gruner to John Murray, 27 Nov. 1876.

piecemeal way from the annual reports. In 1860 the council praised Storch and Kramer's prints but noted that the firm required extremely prompt payments.[1]

It was believed by Oldfield that 1500 good impressions could be taken from a set of stones and for this reason two groups of subscribers were formed.[2] In 1869 Henry Danby Seymour wrote to Layard on this matter. He had visited Storch and Kramer and had found that they were confident that 5000 impressions would be taken without any loss of quality.[3] Perhaps because the council felt that members would resent the depreciation of the value which accrued to the prints because of their quite small editions nothing was done about Seymour's proposal. Only in 1893, when membership had enormously declined, did the council abolish the second group of subscribers and publish editions of over 1500.[4]

We know that Gruner found the council's criticisms of the proofs irritating and the reports show that on at least two occasions proofs had to be almost entirely redrawn before the council was satisfied.[5] The reports also reveal that the chromolithographers required two to three years' notice before undertaking a project[6] and this kind of commitment evidently made it difficult for the council to alter plans when the Society's membership was falling. As the Society grew, so it inevitably lost its flexibility. When the Society was dissolved

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1. 11th Annual Report of the Council (1860), p.1.
2. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38996, f.53-54: Henry Seymour to Henry Layard, 2 Feb. 1869.
3. Ibid.
4. Notice of Annual Meeting (1893), p.2.
5. 18th Annual Report of the Council (1867), p.1 and 37th Annual Report of the Council (1886), p.2.
6. 36th Annual Report of the Council (1885), p.1.

the council's principal worry was its financial debt to the chromolithographers.[1]

While there is painfully little evidence which illuminates the relationship between the copyists, the lithographers, Gruner and the council, the reaction of the reviewers provides a very full, if over simplified, account of the reception given to the Society's prints. I will first examine this response and then attempt to analyse the reaction of the Society's members - that far more anonymous and less vocal group, for whose benefit, after all, the Society was founded.

The Society's prints were reviewed more extensively than the monographs which occasionally accompanied them. The monographs were in general merely mentioned while the prints were discussed. The Art-Journal was enthusiastic about the adoption of chromolithography and admired Storch and Kramer's work. In 1861 the reviewer remarked of a print of Ghirlandaio's Death of St. Francis 'It is truly surprising to mark the perfection to which the chromolithographic process has been carried'[2] while in the following year Storch and Kramer were referred to as 'eminent lithographers'.[3] In 1865 the Art-Journal discussed the lithographers employed by the Society in some detail, dismissing Vincent Brooks' work as the 'saddest of parodies' and praising the work of Storch and Kramer and Schultz's Paris lithographers Hangard-Maugé. The latter firm, the reviewer observed correctly, mainly reproduced oil paintings and used black lines and shadows, while Storch and Kramer used areas of colour to convey the chalkiness and opacity of fresco.[4]

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1. 48th Annual Report of the Council (1897), p.2.
2. Art-Journal, n.s. VII (1861), p.207.
3. Art-Journal, n.s. 1 (1862), p.112.
4. Art-Journal, n.s. IV (1865), p.304.

The Art-Journal seemed both knowledgeable and appreciative of chromolithography, but after 1869 ceased to review the Society's publications regularly.

The Saturday Review was similarly enthusiastic about the adoption of chromolithography and praised Vincent Brooks' print of the interior of the Arena Chapel, with its use of 19 stones and utmost accuracy of register. The popular nature of chromolithographs was preferred to 'volumes of descriptive letter press or portfolios full of tracings or partial sketches'.[1] But by 1864 the Saturday Review had become more critical and praised the Society's continued publication of line engravings, noting of the chromolithographers, 'these cheap reproductions might vitiate the growing taste for colour'.[2] More specifically the print of Luini's Presentation in the Temple was criticised for the uniform red of flesh, garments and architecture.[3] The following year Schultz's print of Memling's Adoration of the Magi at Bruges was praised and found to be of a higher standard than Storch and Kramer's prints of frescoes.[4] Thereafter the Saturday Review's notices became less frequent. In 1874 the reviewer praised the Society's 'quiet renderings' as contrasted with 'the blaze of colour in some of the inferior order of chromolithographs'[5] and on this appreciative note reviews of the Society's publications ceased.

The Athenaeum continued to review the Society's publications throughout its existence. Until 1860 its reviews were favourable. But in 1862 it was noted that some members wished

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1. Saturday Review IX (1860), p.438.
2. Saturday Review XVIII (1864), p.193.
3. Saturday Review XVIII (1864), p.193.
4. Saturday Review XX (1865), p.185.
5. Saturday Review XXXVI (1874), p.156.

to return to line engraving and a twofold attack on the Society's copyists and chromolithographers began with the observation that 'a distinct mannerism, the most evil of all things, is perceptible upon their copies' and that 'a dominant curry powder tint' pervaded a 'thin, dry and unbrilliant' print of Francia's Burial of St. Cecilia'.[1]

This change of attitude could have been initiated by F.G. Stephens who began working for the Athenaeum in the 1860s and who believed that 'Two thirds of the Arundel Society Publications....in chromolithography are unmitigated rubbish'.[2] He excepted the Fra Angelico engravings and the prints after the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel and Memling's triptych in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges. The Athenaeum particularly disapproved of the council's decision to employ German printers and made frequent sarcastic allusions to the Berlin lithographers.

In 1864 the Athenaeum suggested that the process of chromolithography had not been fully mastered in Berlin and in a print of Luini's Christ Among the Doctors a strong yellow tinge was remarked upon.[3] Schultz was judged to be the better lithographer when his first prints appeared, but by 1868 the inevitable drawbacks of the process of chromolithography were seen to account for heaviness, opacity and blackness of tint.[4] Nonetheless Schultz was preferred to the Germans: "M. Schultz has a fine sense of colour; Herren Storch and

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1. Athenaeum (9 Aug. 1862), p.184.
2. Bodleian MS.Eng.Lett. d.308 f.91: F.G. Stephens to Jack Tupper, 8 Feb. 1879.
3. Athenaeum (23 July 1864), p.120.
4. Athenaeum (27 June 1868), p.899.

Kramer have no suspicion of what it is'.[1] Throughout the 1870s the Athenaeum continued to criticise Storch and Kramer's prints and when in 1882 the Council's report noted falling membership the Athenaeum provided a reason for this decline:

> While all other modes of artistic copying and transcription have materially improved, such as etching, engraving, chromolithography and to a lesser degree, wood-engraving, not so the prints of the Society, which are neither better nor worse than they used to be.[2]

In 1885 a print of Benozzo Gozzoli's Angels Adoring was dismissed summarily: 'a chromolithograph is at the best a chromolithograph, and a German one, and gives little more than some of the dry bones of the original'.[3] In the same year a print of Fra Bartolomeo's Supper and Vision of St. Dominic was criticised with some violence: 'A photograph of the picture, however inadequate in some respects, would be much better than this stupid print'.[4]

In 1890 the Athenaeum provoked a spirited letter from Edmund Oldfield complaining of three decades of censure, and claiming that the Society's prints were not restored but that works in perfect condition were chosen for reproduction.[5] For a few years reviews were less vituperative, but in 1894 a print of Pinturicchio's Nativity (Rome, S. Maria del Popolo) was described as 'perhaps the feeblest and least veracious of all the Society's libels upon the old masters'.[6] When the Society announced its closure, the Athenaeum laid the blame firmly at the door of the Berlin chromolithographers.

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1. Athenaeum (28 Dec. 1872), p.872.
2. Athenaeum (24 June 1882), p.803.
3. Athenaeum (11 July 1885), p.56.
4. Athenaeum (7 Feb. 1885), p.191.
5. Athenaeum (1 Feb. 1890), p.154.
6. Athenaeum (1 Sept. 1894), p.297.

It is indisputably true that the water-colour copies were far more accurate as regards colour and that much was lost when they were reinterpreted by chromolithography. If we compare the water-colour of Giorgione's Castelfranco Altarpiece with the chromolithograph for which it formed the basis the kind of distortion which offended reviewers is fairly apparent. While we may marvel at the chromolithograph's accuracy (Fig. 51) its colours are harsher and duller than those of the water-colour (Fig. 50). For example the red of the Madonna's dress has lost its soft glow in the chromolithograph and the faces of the Madonna and the Saints are less subtly delineated. And the Castelfranco print was one of the Society's finest chromolithographs.

In its final report the council gave its own analysis of the Society's decline. Fifty years previously, it was argued, the early schools of art were not well known 'except to the travelled few'. But over the years 200,000 chromolithographs had been circulated and while they had done much to change taste, these prints could now be obtained very cheaply second hand. The report concluded:

> Meanwhile the extraordinary progress lately made in photographic processes, which do not require the aid of a large body of subscribers to carry on their operations, tends to provide means for the illustration of ancient paintings which, in everything except colour, represent the originals more truly and completely than is possible for chromolithography. The interest naturally felt in these new and wonderful inventions, coupled with the revival which has at the same time taken place in etching and other kindred arts, has no doubt contributed to lessen public regard for the productions of chromolithography, which have not only lost now their novelty, but can hardly from their mechanical method, admit of further improvement.[1]

The first point made by the council, that there was an

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1. 48th Annual Report of the Council (1897), p.2.

abundance of prints on the market, was borne out by the Saturday Review's observation, made as early as 1864, that

> The Portfolios of members are already overflowing with chromolithographs, and country parsonages are crammed with framed and glazed copies of the Arundel pictures. We have even heard of the prints being used as panels in a sideboard in order to dispose of them.[1]

The problem must have been a real one, for by 1864 a founder member would have owned forty-six large chromolithographs in addition to numerous engravings and thirty-eight wood-engravings of the Arena Chapel frescoes. The wood-engravings could be conveniently bound into a book, but, as I shall show later, the chromolithographs were most usually framed and hung.

The problem of overcrowding often meant that the prints reached a far wider audience than the comparatively exclusive membership of the Society. Louise Twining, the philanthropist, was a founder member and later noted 'not only has the beautiful series of chromolithographs given the greatest pleasure to their subscribers, but to the numerous individuals and societies on whom they have been bestowed, when their numbers outgrew the portfolios of their possessors'.[2] She gave part of her collection of Arundel prints to the ladies' branch of King's College in Kensington and part to the College's art gallery on the Strand. In 1858 another member, Sir Francis Scott, had donated his collection, which included the ivories and casts of the Elgin marbles, to Aston Hall, Birmingham, where a permanent exhibition of Fine Arts and Art Manufactures had just been opened to the public.[3] Less generous members sold their collections. In a print collector's

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1. Saturday Review, XVII (1864), p.86.
2. Twining (1893), p.98, p.283.
3. Birmingham (1858), pp.13-21.

catalogue published in 1857 by A.E. Evans folio engravings after Fra Angelico were advertised for 8s and 9s.[1]

The Athenaeum, however, felt that the Society failed because it had persisted in using chromolithography when it might have made use of photography[2] and doubtless this was true. Photography was not entirely neglected. As we have seen, Rainford's water-colours of two of Tintoretto's paintings in the Scuola San Rocco were issued as photographs.[3] The print of Luini's Burial of St. Catherine was so popular that it was issued as a photograph.[4] Heliogravures of water-colours of frescoes by Andrea del Sarto and a follower of Romanino were published in 1889 and 1891. Maynard's two catalogues of the Society's works were illustrated with photographs of all publications (Figs. 15, 69).[5] But none of these were direct photographs of the original. Only on one occasion, it seems, did the council plan to issue photographs of a work of art.[6] This was in 1870 when they turned their attention to Mantegna's Triumph of Caesar which was deteriorating, not in the charge of neglectful Italians, but at home at Hampton Court.

William III had commissioned the French artist Louis Laguerre to restore the canvases, a task he performed by completely painting over the tempera in oils. In 1717 Joseph Goupy attempted further restoration.[7] The council's interest

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1. A.E. Evans and Sons (1857).
2. Athenaeum (3 July 1897), p.42-43.
3. See above p. 71-7.
4. Art-Journal, n.s. VIII (1869), p.26.
5. See below pp. 250-251.
6. Apart from the photographs published by the Society for the Department of Science and Art, for which see Appendix I.
7. Blunt (1975), pp.15-16.

was first aroused in 1870 when Oldfield wrote to Layard telling him of a plan to employ Joseph Cundall in photographing the Triumph of Caesar by the 'permanent carbon process'. The photographs were to be coloured from the originals by a girl student recommended by Ruskin and the prints, measuring 16' x 16' were to be sold in sets of nine for £2 5s Od a set. The project was supported by the Museum at South Kensington which was going to purchase 50 sets of the photographs. George Richmond, then a member of the council, had heard that Laguerre's repainting was shortly to be removed and so the council decided to delay the photography.[1] A month later the council visited Hampton Court, inspected the canvases and were so appalled by their condition that they decided to proceed no further with the project.[2]

The proper use of photography by commercial organisations like Alinari of Florence probably did more to vitiate the taste for colour than the uncertain quality of the Society's chromolithographs. The reaction against the process was expressed succinctly by the Italian art historian Vincenzo Marchese in an article on the Society written in 1866:

> Dopo le nobili conquiste della fotografia, la sorte della litografia pareva al tutto spacciata; perciocchè, se nella purezza dei contorni e nella vivezza della luci e delle ombre, sottostava all' incisione, dovea egualmente cedere il vanto alla fotografia nella più perfetta riproduzione del vero.[3]

This is an extreme example of the hardening of the critics' attitude towards chromolithography comparatively early on in the Society's lifetime. In contrast, the Society's members

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38997, f.240: Oldfield to Layard, 12 Feb. 1870.

2. Public Record Office (Lord Chamberlain's Papers) LC.1/229 (1870), 51: Redgrave to Ponsonby, 24 March 1870. I am grateful to Professor Andrew Martindale for bringing this letter to my attention.

3. Marchese (1889), p.213. First published in Annali Cattolici, Geneva 1866.

were not so swift in their condemnation. In 1861 the membership of the Society stood at 1,239.[1] By 1867, although reviews of the Society's publications were growing increasingly unfavourable, the council found it necessary to introduce two classes of subscribers, each limited to 1,500 members, with a further waiting list of associates only allowed to purchase occasional publications.[2] In 1876 the two classes still had their full complement of subscribers, so that including associates the Society had over 3,000 members. Only in 1889 was it announced that the list of second subscribers was not full[3] and in 1893 the two groups were amalgamated because of the small number of subscribers.[4] This fairly constant level of membership was really due to the strict limitation to 3,000 subscribers. The Society also sold its productions to non-members although the number of these sales began to fall off in the 1880s. Nonetheless the reaction of the public against the Society's prints was not comparable with that of the critics.

Who joined the Society? The critics had a clear picture of the typical Arundel Society member. In 1862 the Saturday Review judged the prints as 'exactly suited to adorn the walls of country parsonages'[5] and this view was echoed by the Art-Journal in 1865, who saw the prints 'hanging in the parsonage of a country clergyman or in the mansion of a city merchant'.[6] As late as 1889 the Athenaeum remarked sarcastically that a

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1. Athenaeum (22 June 1861), p.836.
2. See above, p. 94.
3. 40th Annual Report of the Council (1889), p.1.
4. Notice of the Annual Meeting (1893).
5. Saturday Review XIII (1862), p.540.
6. Art-Journal, n.s. IV (1865), p.304.

print of Sodoma's Christ bound to a Column would not be appreciated by the inmates of country parsonages because it was unrestored.[1] The implication seems to have been that most of the Society's members were not intellectually equipped to criticise its publications. The Saturday Review similarly saw the prints as 'calculated to teach the untravelled eye'[2] and 'making untravelled persons understand in some degree the general effect of Italian fresco painting as it may be supposed to have been when new'.[3] By 1874 the Saturday Review hinted at members rather grander than parsons and untravelled members of the middle classes. It was observed to be

> a good sign of the mental condition of the inmates of a country mansion when we have been greeted in the hall or corridor with chromolithographs of Annunciations, Nativities, Crucifixions and Ascensions. We need not say that such themes show a family to be better read and more widely travelled than the households who use as wall furniture horses by Stubbs, pigs by Morland, or even the Meeting of the Hunt by Sir Francis Grant.[4]

The critics' facetious insistence that the membership of the Society was almost entirely made up of clergymen was not altogether unjustified. The list published in 1859 included 109 clergy out of a membership of 984, a quite high proportion. By 1866 285 clergymen, including a number of Catholic priests, were members. These clergy members were, to generalise, Oxonian broad to high churchmen. They were not, as the Athenaeum suggested, a group of dim rural parsons, but included men of great learning like W.J.E. Bennett, G.W. Kitchin, H.P. Lidden, H.H. Milman, and W.H. Thompson. Several were head-masters like S.A. Pears of Repton, Edward Thring of Uppingham, James Taylor of Wakefield Grammar School and H.M. Collis of

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1. Athenaeum (20 July 1889), p.103.
2. Saturday Review, IX (1860), p.439.
3. Saturday Review, XVIII (1864), p.193.
4. Saturday Review, xxxvi (1874), p.156.

Bromsgrove School. Five bishops were members; so were antiquaries like W.N. Darnell, H.T. Ellacombe, H.R. Luard and John Fuller Russell, the High Church collector of early Italian paintings.

The critics seem to have overlooked the Society's wider spheres of influence. The membership list for 1866 included 11 members of the royal families of Europe and 26 distinguished international institutions. 74 peers and their wives and daughters were members, including men with great collections of original works of art, Lord Ashburton, the Duke of Buccleugh, Lord Elcho, the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquess of Lansdowne, the Marquess of Northampton, Baron Gustave de Rothschild and Lord Ward. 31 baronets and 38 members of Parliament were subscribers.

There was a sizeable number of foreign subscribers. In 1894 the Society had agents in Berlin, Leipzig, Paris, Florence, Rome, Venice, New York, Boston, and Victoria, Australia. By 1866, apart from members of the German royal families who may have been encouraged to join by Prince Albert, we find the Empress of Russia a member, as was the University of Kharkov, the Imperial Museum of Moscow and the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St. Petersburgh. In America the Boston Athenaeum and Young Mens' Library Association of Cincinnati were subscribers. A special exhibition of 50 prints held at the Boston Athenaeum in 1872 was greeted as 'one of the most interesting collections of pictures ever exhibited in Boston'.[1] In Bombay Sir Jamsetjee Jeejebhay's School of Art subscribed, in Canada the Montreal Art Association and the Quebec Parliamentary Library subscribed. The Society's publications were regularly reviewed in France's Annales Archaeologiques and in Germany's Zeitschrift

1. Swan (1940), p.110 quoted from Boston Daily Advertiser, 10. Jan. 1872.

für Bildende Kunste while in Italy friends of Layard's like Seymour Kirkup, Giovanni Morelli and James Hudson worked to make the Society more widely known. In 1866 four Italians were honorary members, Aubrey Bezzi, Count Gian Carlo Conestabile, Le Chevalier Achilli de Zigno (the Podesta of Padua) and Il Conte di Gradenigo, while Marchese d'Azeglio was on the Society's council from 1863 to 1878.

In 1858 twenty five artists and architects were subscribers. Some, like Holman Hunt, C.W. Cope, Philip Hardwick and George Richmond were members of the council. By 1866, when the Society had well over 2,000 members, no more artists of any distinction had joined the Society and of the artist members Sir Charles Eastlake, John Gibson, and Benjamin Woodward had died. C.W. Cope had resigned from both the council and Society and Francis Grant, William Morris and George Scharf Jun. had all ceased to be members. But Holman Hunt remained on the council until 1868, John Horsley served on the council in the 1890s, Sir Edward Poynter served from 1875 to 1897, and George Richmond was on the council in the 1880s. Scharf rejoined as an honorary member and council member in the 1890s, while G.E. Street was a member of the council from the mid 1870s until his death in 1882. Because of the paucity of membership lists it is impossible to know which artists were members in the 1880s and 1890s, but in 1882 the artist and critic Philip Gilbert Hamerton wrote of chromolithographs used to reproduce paintings 'You will never meet with a cultivated painter who buys chromolithographs, the reason being that his eye is too well trained to endure them'.[1] The apparent diminution of artist members between 1859 and

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1. Hamerton (1882), p.375.

1866 may have been due to the adoption of chromolithography.

It is perhaps not surprising that the Society's members included a large number of women. In 1866 there were 325, while comparable societies had few, or, in the case of the Society of Dilettanti, no female members. But both the subject matter of the Society's prints and their role as decorative objects in the home drew a large proportion of female subscribers. It is perhaps significant that those women most closely associated with art historical writing, Lady Dilke, Lady Eastlake and Mrs. Jameson were not members, although Mrs. Jameson supported the Society's work by mentioning its publications in her writings. Some of the members were of great eminence, such as Lady Marian Alford, Mrs. Cameron, Mrs. Grote, Lady Charlotte Schreiber, Mrs. Somerville and Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford. Many were doubtless the wives of the city merchants whom the Art-Journal suggested as being likely members of the Society. There is something very convincing about this fictional description of the wife of a factory owner at the turn of the century:

> She had been brought up in that Italianate taste which had been the vogue two or three decades earlier and on which Queen Victoria had set the seal. My father had a great regard for my mother's culture, and she was not insensible to the lustre of refinement which it cast upon the household. The house was cluttered like a picture gallery with Italian views, Arundel reproductions of the Primitives and Beato Angelico angels in Florentine gilt frames.[1]

The earnest pursuit of the lustre of refinement is exemplified in the writings of Mrs. Haweis, the formidable doyenne of interior decoration. In 1881 she outlined her plans for a Renascence Eclectic Room, envisaging

> Raphaels and Murillos on the walls, Vandyke and Durer prints, autotypes of the Old Masters'

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1. Briffault (1937), p.64.

> sketches, and even photographs of fine pictures, as well as Venetian glass, Brussels and Arras tapestry, old oriental tissues and panels of leather and leather paper.[1]

Mrs. Haweis was careful not to state the obvious, that the Raphaels and Murillos, even the Brussels and Arras tapestry, would of necessity be reproductions. She was aware of the pretensions of her audience. Arundel prints, like many other types of reproduction, fitted into this world.

By the mid-nineteenth century countless methods of reproducing every kind of objet d'art had developed. A plaster cast model had long been the accepted way to reproduce sculpture, but from 1828, with the aid of Benjamin Cheverton's eccentric-looking reproducing machine (Fig. 63) a statue could be reproduced in drawing room size.[2] If the work was carved in marble it could be reproduced in Parian, a ceramic imitating marble whose use had been perfected early in the 1840s.[3] Ivories could equally well be simulated by a type of plaster patented by Cheverton in 1850 and known as Protean stone or fictile ivory.[4] Through the process of electro-typing the finest gold and silver artefacts could also be reproduced and by 1853 the patentees of the electroplating process, Elkington and Company, were granted the right to reproduce works belonging to or lent to the South Kensington Museum.[5] None of these new methods were ignored by the Society: the Elgin marbles were reduced by Cheverton and made available in plaster or bronze electroplate. The Society's collection

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1. Haweis (1881), p.204.
2. Shinn (1971), pp.24-26.
3. Ibid, pp.1-9.
4. Great Exhibition, vol. iv, p.1398. See also p.64 above.
5. Bury (1971), pp.46-47.

of ivory moulds were cast in fictile ivory.

The Society had important links with the South Kensington Museum. From 1856 until at least 1859 the Department of Science and Art which administered the Museum paid the Society a subscription of £100.[1] From a letter from Redgrave to Henry Cole it appears that the £100 was to be paid on the understanding that the Department might occasionally buy water-colours worth that amount from the Society:[2] Mariannecci's drawings were presumably purchased in this way. In 1859 the Society was invited to exhibit in the Photography Gallery of the Museum and to have an agent at the Museum to receive subscriptions and sell the Society's publications.[3] In 1866 the arrangement was greatly extended. The Society was given charge of the publication and sale of reproductions of works of art produced by the Department of Science and Art.[4] This was more to the advantage of the Department than to the Society, but the very fact of having a display of publications at South Kensington must have been a great aid to the Society's expansion.

The most obvious way in which the Society became more widely known is made plain in the reviews of the Society's publications. Unlike the engravings and wood-engravings, the chromolithographs were usually framed and hung. The Society sold plain oak, black and gilded frames in addition to portfolios and portfolio stands.[5] A Memling triptych was offered

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1. 10th Annual Report of the Council (1859), p.3.
2. Cole papers: Richard Redgrave to Henry Cole, 21 October 1859.
3. 10th Annual Report of the Council (1859), p.3.
4. See Appendix I.
5. Arundel Society Illustrated Catalogue (1895), p.15.

with a gilt copy of its original frame costing £6 10s 0d.[1] So we find Ruskin staying with friends where the Brancacci chapel prints hung on the walls and claiming to learn more from a leisured study of these reproductions than from the originals.[2] While Slade Professor, Ruskin hung Arundel prints in his rooms in Corpus Christi and these were discussed at the breakfast parties he gave for undergraduates.[3] In North Oxford Vernon Lee, staying with Pater and his sisters in 1882 recorded 'I have a sweet little room at the top of the house with Arundels of Luini and Francias'.[4] Clara Grant Duff, the daughter of the Liberal M.P. Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, remembered Arundel prints in her schoolroom in the 1890s.[5]

Samuel Rogers had sung the praises of reproductions of frescoes in 1798 and his verses make clear that he believed such prints should be hung.[6] Possibly he was in advance of his age. The type of print more generally framed and hung in the eighteenth century is well demonstrated in the catalogue of the sale of Sir William Young's collection, held in 1802. Lots 19 to 30 are described as 'Prints handsomely Framed and Glazed'.[7] They were all portraits of figures of the day, such as Addington, Garrick, Pitt and Burke, with Sir Joshua Reynolds' Death of Chatham and Two Boys forming the only two exceptions. Lots 31 to 33 were coloured prints of Indian subjects. Lots

1. Undated Arundel Society advertisement (V&A Library, Box103A).
2. Ruskin, Works, XXII, pp.474-475.
3. Macmillan (1907), pp.168-9.
4. Vernon Lee's Letters (1937), p.109: Vernon Lee to her mother, 2 August 1882.
5. Fremantle (1971), p.111.
6. See above, p.8.
7. The Catalogue of a small but valuable collection of capital pictures... the property of Sir William Young, Coxe, Burrell and Foster, 1802, p.5.

37 to 56, described as 'Drawings Framed and Glazed'[1] were in the main water-colour views of Rome, but also included a coloured print after Guido Reni.

Colour prints and contemporary prints tended to be hung, as were topographical prints and water-colours. Such works did not attempt to vie with paintings, but rather demonstrated the owner's interests in matters of the day, in sport or in travel. In the eighteenth century there were those who tried to interest the public in facsimile colour reproductions of great works of art. Jacob Christofel Le Blon in the 1720s and the Polygraphic Society of 1784 and the Mimeographic Society of 1791 promised more than the results justified. Le Blon's skilful three-colour mezzotints were often adjusted by hand painting.[2] The Polygraphic and Mimeographic Societies probably copied his methods but with seemingly less success.[3] Even if these reproductions, intended to do the duty of paintings, had been more convincing, arguably the middle class market for such work had barely begun to emerge at that date.

When Waagen visited England in 1850 and 1851 great collections were being arranged in a more educational way and if this involved the use of copies and reproductions it denoted seriousness, not a lack of wealth. Waagen saw the Duke of Northumberland's gallery of specially commissioned copies as 'a new proof that the English nobility possess not only money,

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1. Ibid, p.6. Inexpensive prints also appeared pasted on walls in the eighteenth century as part of the interior decorative scheme known as the Print Room. There are examples at Woodhall Park, Herts., Ston Easton Park, nr. Bath, Castletown House, Co. Kildare, Ireland, and Blickling Hall, Aylsham, Norfolk.

2. Le Blon's claims were outlined in his book Coloritto: or the Harmony of Colouring in Painting published in about 1722. For a study of Le Blon see Singer (1903), pp.261-271. For an account of his English patrons see Byam-Shaw (1967), pp.21-26.

3. See Booth (1784), and Gardner (1948), pp.824-825.

but knowledge and taste to employ it in a worthy way'.[1] This belief in the educational aspect of a collection meant that Arundel prints found a place in many types of interior. A print of Botticelli's Primavera hung in solitary splendour in the library in William Morris's house at Kelmscott.[2] Three Arundel prints appear in a photograph taken in the 1880s of a drawing room at the Hill House, Great Stanmore (Fig. 64) the home of Charles Drury Fortnum. Fortnum, a collector, landowner and connoisseur, hung these reproductions of Botticelli's Primavera, Giorgione's Castelfranco Altarpiece and Melozzo da Forli's Pope Sixtus giving Audience in the company of bona fide paintings, in a room full of objects of vertu, like, for example, his Italian sixteenth century wood and plaster box now in the Ashmolean Museum.[3] He was one of the Society's council from 1884 until 1893 and clearly was more than merely loyal to its work.

Arundel prints hang still in churches the length and breadth of the country, a small part of the movement which emanated from Oxford and Cambridge and which worked for greater holiness of services and for the greater beauty of churches. In this way too they have reached a far wider audience than dreamt of by the Society's council.

The prints were appreciated by some as works of art in themselves. Ruskin felt that the print of the Castelfranco altarpiece - he had never seen the original - 'announces itself clearly to you as a work of art'.[4] This essentially aesthetic response was shared by Oscar Wilde. He had a sizeable collection[5]

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1. Waagen (1854), i, p.394.
2. A photograph of this interior is published in Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Jane Morris (1976), p.205.
3. Catalogued as Ashmolean F.8.
4. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.241.
5. See Munby (1971), i, pp.373, 383.

of Arundel prints and in 1876 gave a fellow undergraduate, Reginald Harding, 'a lovely Arundel'[1] for Christmas. On a different, perhaps rather self-conscious level this reaction to the prints was carried on into the 1920s when Evelyn Waugh and Harold Acton began collecting Victoriana. In 1874 the Saturday Review had seen Arundel prints as part of 'a polychrome age'[2] and by the 1920s that polychrome had gained a period charm, the type of charm that the hero of Brideshead Revisited wished his undergraduate room had possessed in 1923.

> It is easy, retrospectively, to endow one's youth with a false precocity or false innocence; to tamper with the dates marking one's stature on the edge of the door. I should like to think - indeed I sometimes do think - that I decorated those rooms with Morris stuffs and Arundel prints and that my shelves were filled with seventeenth century folios and French novels of the second empire in Russian-leather and watered silk. But this was not the truth. On my first afternoon I proudly hung a reproduction of Van Gogh's Sunflowers over the fire and set up a screen, painted by Roger Fry with a Provencal landscape .....[3]

A different, more serious response to the prints came after the Society's demise. In 1907 a catalogue raisonné of the Arundel prints at the Whitworth Institute in Manchester was published by the water-colourist W. Noel Johnson. Johnson saw the prints as the basis for the study of Renaissance art, and the first part of his work was a short history of the Renaissance in the arts illustrated by reproductions of the prints. In a note on the Society's history Johnson argued that it had come to an end because of the abundance and cheapness of photographic prints, but he felt that photographs could not compare with the Society's chromolithographs. He

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1. Letters of Oscar Wilde (1962), p.28: Wilde to Reginald Harding, 17 Dec. 1876.
2. Saturday Review, XXXVI (1874), p.156.
3. Waugh (1945), p.25.

wrote a curiously old fashioned defence of the Society's publication of restorations:

> A photograph gives form and light and shade only, and these not by any means always correctly; and unfortunately, shows the ravages which time and neglect have effected just as surely as the most important features of the pictures themselves.
>
> But the method of the Arundel Society, while it inevitably lacks the quality of the original work, gives us a more truthful copy than can be obtained in any other way. In it we have all that the best photograph can give, but free from blemishes, and in addition, as far as may be, the actual colours in which the works were painted.[1]

The catalogue actually seems intended for a far less sophisticated audience than were the actual members of the Arundel Society. An essay on medieval art by the Rev. Edgar Fripp supplements Johnson's very simple text and is addressed specifically to the 'Manchester man', living in a highly industrialised city. Fripp draws a wistful contrast between quattrocento Florence and modern Manchester which is reminiscent of William Morris's News from Nowhere, while his belief that art should be the handmaid of religion puts him firmly in the tradition of Rio and Mrs. Jameson. This catalogue was an attempt to put Whitworth Institute's collection of Arundel prints to its best use and its tone was perhaps deliberately provincial.

Like many nineteenth century texts of classical authors, the prints were often bowdlerisations of the originals, although the council would rarely admit that this was the case. Noel Johnson endorsed this bowdlerisation unreservedly, but a more persuasive tribute to the Society's prints has appeared in a magazine devoted to modern graphics. Christian Barman wrote in the Penrose Annual in 1949

> An Arundel print is not even a direct translation; it is a translation from a translation.... It would

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1. Johnson (1907), p.xxxvi.

> be too much to expect that such a print should fully transcribe the original as transcription is judged by the standard of modern photography; but as translations they had the same qualities of scholarship and understanding as our best translations of Homer and Dante.[1]

How far did the prints succeed in altering taste? Alice Owen, Ruskin's disciple, declared in 1874 that 'the effect these efforts of the Arundel Society have had over the educated classes is almost incalculable'.[2] And this was surely true for while the Society was undoubtedly much subscribed to by the converted, by those who had visited Italy, had read Lord Lindsay, Rio, Mrs. Jameson and Kugler, and later by those who admired Crowe and Cavalcaselle and Morelli, the distribution of the prints was far wider than even the membership of the Society might suggest.

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1. Penrose Annual, XLIII (1949), p.56.

2. [Alice Owen], The history of English Art since 1851, Cassells Illustrated History of England, Vol. IX, 1874, p.470. This chapter is unsigned but known to be by Alice Owen as a letter from Ruskin to her dated 13 Aug. 1874 complimenting her on it is to be found in the Bodleian's copy of three Arundel publications, Weale (1865), Layard (1860), Layard (1868) which are bound together (Bodley 17004, d.120).

Chapter 6 - The prints and monographs in context

i. Layard and early Italian art
ii. Layard and the trecento
iii. Quattrocento - mystical artists
iv. Quattrocento - decorative artists
v. Quattrocento - the Brancacci Chapel
vi. Quattrocento - 'difficult' artists
vii. Art as an historical document
viii. Northern artists
ix. Venetian art
x. Sepulchral monuments
xi. Later 'primitives'
xii. Sir William Gregory's choices
xiii. The Secretaries' publications

i

In 1858 Layard reviewed the Society's publications up to and including the chromolithograph of St. Sebastian and the accompanying monograph of which he was the author. The article appeared anonymously[1] in the Quarterly Review and deserves attention because it clarifies some of the choices made by the council over the following forty years, and because, when read in conjunction with a series of lectures[2] which Layard delivered at the Royal Institution in 1859, it gives a clear idea of what he believed the Society should set out to achieve.

For Layard early Italian frescoes were products of a time 'when Italy was still her own and the Italian mind was as yet free'.[3] He believed, like Rio, Lindsay and Ruskin that art declined when religion grew corrupt and liberty was eroded; and, like many of his contemporaries, he appears to have despised the Italians of his own day. When writing of the Manchester Exhibition in 1857 he had devoted an entire section of his article to the dishonesty of Italian picture dealers[4] and in the Arundel Society review he described with distaste 'the fetid exhalations of an Italian crowd'[5] packed into an incense-filled church on a festa day - the church decorated with draperies hanging from nails crudely driven into the beautifully frescoed walls. In fact Layard had many Italian

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1. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), pp.277-325.
2. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39072: Lectures on Art. Given at the Royal Institution, April 1859. 2 vols.
3. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.279.
4. Quarterly Review, 102 (1857), p.185.
5. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858). p.280.

friends, but a low opinion of modern Italy was expressed in much relevant English writing of the period and as an attitude contributed to the Society's distinctly crusading tone.[1]

In the context of early Italian art Layard's article made it clear that he reserved his greatest admiration for the fourteenth century, and he enthusiastically described the Arena Chapel, the Spanish Chapel in the Santa Maria Novella and Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes of Good and Bad Government in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena. It was the spirituality of the trecento which impressed him; and he wrote of Michelangelo: 'Portions of his frescoes .... afford some idea of what he would have been had he lived in the age which inspired Giotto and Orcagna'.[2] Layard clearly felt that such a transposition might have produced ideal art; he was acutely aware of the technical naivety of the trecentisti and for this reason he believed the art of the quattrocento to be more suitable for contemplation and study by artists of his own time. His fondness for Luini grew out of this contradictory attitude; and his love of early art, tempered with concern for its possible ill effects on modern art, had a significant effect on the council's choices.

Another aspect of Layard's attitude to early Italian art was also to have some effect upon the Society's choice and handling of publications. This was Layard's tendency to see frescoes as an historical portrait gallery. He wrote in 1858:

> To us the great interest of this fresco (the Triumph of the Dominican order, Spanish Chapel) consists in the fact of the painter having introduced into it, if the fond tradition of the Florentines may be trusted? - the portraits of his most distinguished contemporaries.[3]

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1. Lloyd (1955), pp.109-133.
2. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.311.
3. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.295.

His liking for the traditional identification of portraits in frescoes led Layard naturally on to a general attack on art historical scholarship and in particular:

> That captious spirit of modern German criticism which throws a cold damp upon sentiment and imagination, and considers it necessary to dispute the authenticity of every great work hallowed by tradition and history.[1]

Layard thoroughly endorsed the original council's ambition to found a Society which would have a 'beneficial effect upon our painting and sculpture'.[2] For this reason he recommended the reproduction of the quattrocentisti and of those artists like Luini who kept the true spirit of fresco alive in the sixteenth century. He explained the nature of this true spirit when he wrote 'painting in its highest development, as in fresco, should bear a close analogy to the epic'[3] and this view was reflected in the council's preference for narrative fresco.

Layard enlarged on his views on modern art in the series of lectures which he gave in 1859. In the notes for these lectures he argued that railway stations, viaducts, bridges, factories, and machinery represented the true art of his age. He dismissed the painting of his time as a mere battle of the styles - classical versus early Christian - which 'are both as all mere imitative and borrowed art ever must be - unreal, untruthful, without vitality and without distinction or original characteristics - in one word - bad art'.[4]

Layard hoped that contemporary artists would not imitate the style of early Italian art, but would rather learn from it

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1. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), footnote p.295.
2. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.278.
3. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.321.
4. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39072: Lectures on Art, vol. ii, p.84.

the principles of architectural decoration (it was no coincidence that one of the first chromolithographs published by the Society had been of an entire interior). He felt that the High Church movement had created a prejudice against murals in churches, 'Yet this mode of decoration is not only innocent in itself, and consistent with Protestant simplicity, but if judiciously carried out, useful and becoming.'[1] Layard believed that secular buildings should also be frescoed:

> Let us picture to ourselves that noble hall of Westminster adorned with one vast consecutive series of frescoes, such as the painters of the 16th century would have painted, illustrating our triumphs and our sway over the many peoples and countries which acknowledge our dominion. What a monument such a work might be to the greatness and power of England.[2]

The type of Italian art which Layard favoured and the method he recommended for its reproduction had a great initial appeal, but, as I shall try to make clear, the council's persistent adherence to his preferences (which were indeed the commonly held preferences of the 1850s), ultimately led to the Society's dissolution.

ii

The publications of the very first years, after Fra Angelico and Giotto, had illustrated works held in high regard by scholars. Such deliberate seriousness could not be sustained if the membership was to expand. Layard understood this very well. He made the Society's most scholarly activity a private one; the copying of badly damaged frescoes not intended for publication was initiated by him with the support of Ruskin. Many of these copies were after trecento frescoes of the

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1. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.324. G.E.Street shared this view. See above, p. 70.
2. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.324.

greatest interest, yet very few were published. The interior of the Arena Chapel by Mrs. Higford Burr can hardly count as an exception. With its whimsical inclusion of Giotto, his wife and Dante, the print marks the new lighter touch which was initially to prove so successful for the Society.

In fact Giotto was reproduced less than might be expected after the brave initial publication of the Arena Chapel frescoes. The first chromolithograph after a work attributed to Giotto was published in 1856. This was the famous portrait of Dante discovered by Bezzi, Seymour Kirkup and an American, Henry Wilde.[1] Kirkup made several copies of this portrait as soon as it was discovered in 1840 and either gave or sold the most accurate copy to Lord Vernon, the great Dantean, who lent the water-colour to the Society.[2] The discovery of the portrait had been greeted with great joy in Florence, not least because Dante was depicted in garments of red, white and green, the colours which symbolised 'giovane Italia'.[3] Kirkup claimed that the portrait was brutally 'restored' because of its political implications soon after its discovery. A year after the publication of the print he wrote to Layard:

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1. For the dispute over which of these men should take most credit for the discovery of the portrait see Bezzi (1900), pp. 445-459. Ancona (1901), pp. 203-208 and Barlow (1870), pp.32-40.

2. According to Toynbee, Kirkup made six drawings of the portrait: i. The Vernon water-colour still owned by the family. ii. A copy made inside an edition of Dante's Convivio, given in 1908 by Col. William Gillum to the Museo Nazionale in the Bargello. iii. Chalk drawing of a head sent to Gabriel Rossetti, passed onto Dante Gabriel Rossetti who used it as the basis for many paintings and drawings. Sold in 1882. iv. A small sketch in water-colours including the heads of Corso Donati and Brunetto Latini. v. Pencil drawing engraved by G. Cumming to illustrate Charles Lyell's translation of Dante's Vita Nuova and Convivio. Kirkup added a right hand holding a pomegranate and restored the damaged eye. vi. Drawing included in vol.iii of the Vernon Dante (1865). See Toynbee (London, 1921), pp.92-93 and (Boston, 1921), p.30-35.

3. Barlow (1870), p.36.

> Not a line of the original remains and the relief and modelling of the surface are as much changed by the addition of shades according to the fancy of the restorer. The dress was altered, the former through ignorance and the colour for political reasons, the green to chocolate colour.[1]

Kirkup thought highly of the print and gave a copy to the Minister of Public Instruction to induce him to have the fresco restored to its original state,[2] and the portrait was, partly because of its romantic associations, one of the Society's most successful publications. (Fig. 65).[3] In addition two chromolithographs after the Master of the St. Francis cycle were published as Giotto in 1873 and 1877.

Apart from these 'Giotto' prints, the only other trecento works to appear after 1856 were Pietro Lorenzetti's Descent from the Cross (1875), Piero Cavallini's Madonna and Child with St. John and St. Francis (1886), both at Assisi, and the Annunciation (1884) in the Louvre, then attributed to Simone Martini, but now given to Bernardo Daddi. The Society published none of Kaiser's magnificent copies of the Old and New Testament in the Upper Church at Assisi.

This comparative neglect of the trecento was in part a reflection of popular taste. Greater interest had been shown by earlier students of the Italian primitives - Lady Callcott, Flaxman, William Hilton, William Young Ottley, Romney and Wilkie - and this interest was closely connected with the neo-classical movement in contemporary art.[4] By the 1840s the rediscovery of Italian art had proceeded chronologically onwards to embrace the quattrocento, a period acceptable and comprehensible to a far wider public. The fifteenth century, described

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38996, f.208: Kirkup to Layard, 22 May 1859.
2. Ibid. f.206.
3. See above, p. 128, nt. 2.
4. See Rosenblum (1969), pp.146-191.

by William Dyce as the 'adolescence' of art (as opposed to the 'infancy'[1] as represented by Cimabue, Giotto and other trecentisti) was preferred by the Society's council. By the 1850s there was a marked lack of enthusiasm for what one member, the Rev. Edward Young, described as 'Orcagna's kings holding their noses, or Crivelli's spindle-shanked men and blubbering Magdalenes'.[2] Many shared Layard's view, mentioned above, that primitive 'primitives' were a threat to contemporary art, whereas rightly chosen quattrocento artists could provide a proper example for contemporaries and in particular for artists.

iii

Layard saw the fifteenth century as a time when 'the ideal and spiritual treatment of the old painters gave way to the realistic tendency of the new'.[3] He believed that painters for whom realism was the most important challenge - he listed Piero della Francesca, Filippo Lippi, Benozzo Gozzoli, Masolino, Masaccio, Filippino Lippi and Ghirlandaio - were more suitable for study and perhaps emulation by contemporary artists. Despite this view his greatest admiration was reserved for the artists of the fourteenth century and by extension for those who carried this Christian spirit into the fifteenth century:

> men who, like Fra Angelico and Gentile da Fabriano, preserved in their lives and works the purity, devotional spirit, and childlike faith of those who had passed away. It is no small proof of their skill and sincerity that they touched the hearts of the multitude, and asserted for yet a season the influence of purely Christian art.[4]

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1. Quoted in Haskell (1976), p.56 from Dyce (1853).
2. Young (1857), p.202.
3. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.301.
4. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.301.

The founder members of the Society had evidently shared Layard's views, for Fra Angelico had been the first artist to be published by the Society. After 1856 the engravings of the frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V continued to appear and over the years eleven chromolithographs of works by Fra Angelico were published, while six further water-colours were made as records. In addition, in 1862, the Society issued An Alphabet of Capital Letters selected from the Illuminations of Italian Choral books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Fig. 69) as an occasional publication. This contained four letters attributed to Fra Angelico from choral books in the church of the convent of San Marco. The book had no text, but was made up of one chromolithographic plate and twenty line engravings taken from copper plates lent to the Society by Count Cottrell. They were printed upon paper suitable for water-colouring so that gifted amateur members could attempt to reproduce the originals.

Layard had a special fondness for quattrocento Umbrian art, which he believed to be

> distinguished by its own peculiar characteristics - a deep, earnest religious sentiment, expressed by elevating rather than idealising natural types, an absence of dramatic power, a peculiar grace in its forms, and pure, warm, and harmonious colour.[1]

During the first years in which chromolithography was employed by the Society Layard had exceptional influence in the council. He was therefore able to initiate the publication of an entire series of Umbrian artists and wrote four monographs to accompany prints after Perugino, Pinturicchio, Ottaviano Nelli and Giovanni Santi.

Layard's interest in Umbrian art seems to have grown out

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1. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.306.

of his friendship with Count Gian Carlo Conestabile, the Perugian antiquary and archaeologist with whom he stayed in 1853 and 1856 and who took him to see Perugino's Martyrdom of St. Sebastian at Panicale. But although Layard was an important member of the council, other members would have responded to the growing interest in the Umbrian school.

In the eighteenth century Umbria had little to offer the traveller or connoisseur. Perugia, Assisi and the small towns nearby seemed meagre, inhospitable places to the traveller passing through from Bologna and Florence on his way to Rome. If he consulted Vasari he would have found a small amount of unfavourable information on the artists of the region. By the nineteenth century, however, two strands of interest may be identified in the historiography of Umbrian art. Firstly, and most importantly, in Umbria lay the artistic background to the style of an artist whose greatness had never really been questioned, Raphael. The publications of Abbe Luigi Pungileoni[1] and J.D. Passavant's Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater investigated Raphael's early work and related it to a school of art in Umbria. This school had not been defined by Lanzi in his Storia Pittorica dell'Italia[2] of 1809 and received less attention than other schools of art in the third and last part of C.T. von Rumohr's Italienische Forschungen of 1831. Nonetheless, Rumohr isolated the particularly religious quality of Umbrian art[3] and his observations were taken up enthusiastically by Rio in De La Poésie Chrétienne. Rio devoted a chapter to Umbrian art which he defined as a 'Mystic School'

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1. Pungileoni (1822) and Pungileoni (1829).
2. Lanzi (1847), i, pp.342-345.
3. Rumohr (1827-31), ii, p.310.

and, like Rumohr, he emphasised the spiritual importance of Assisi and its influence on the art of Perugino, Pinturicchio and the early works of Raphael.

As in the case of Fra Angelico, English readers took to heart Rio's praise for the spiritual qualities of an artist's work and personal life; and here may be seen a second less scholarly, more emotional strand of interest in Umbrian art. Rio set a fashion for dividing schools of art into subjective categories. He was emulated by Lord Lindsay, who although he never completed his history of Christian art, described the school of Umbria as Christian and contemplative in his classification of Italian art.[1] In 1845 Ruskin, also much influenced by Rio, divided artists into schools of pure religion, intellect, 'painting as such' and errors and vices. In the first group he placed Fra Angelico, Perugino, Pinturicchio and the young Raphael.[2]

These two strands of interest were intertwined in James Dennistoun's Memoirs of the Dukes of Urbino of 1851, which, more than any other work, must have drawn attention to Umbrian quattrocento art and letters. Dennistoun described the Umbrian school as mystic, but, sensitive to anti-Catholic feeling, pointed out that Romanist views and a love of early Italian art were not necessarily connected.[3] He was very aware of the spiritual power of Umbrian art and quoted Rio and the Rev. M.H. Seymour,[4] the Anglican clergyman who found that certain Umbrian artists, as well as Fra Angelico, filled him

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1. Lindsay (1847), i, p.ccxxii.
2. Ruskin, Works, IV, p.xxxiv: Ruskin to John James Ruskin 10 June 1845.
3. Dennistoun (1851), ii, p.166.
4. Dennistoun (1851), ii, p.169.

with such religious ecstasy that he feared that he was being drawn towards the church of Rome.

Unlike Seymour, Layard was free from the religious doubts and anguish which beset so many of his contemporaries. Perhaps because of early experience of religious bigotry - as a child at a French school he had been bullied as a Protestant 'heretic' - he had a remarkably unprejudiced and fearless attitude to differing religions.[1] In his writings there are no apologetic 'Anglican' passages like those included by James Dennistoun.

Accordingly, Layard's first monograph for the Society on the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, published in 1856, was an excellent piece of reportage combined with some archival research - he had looked through a series of letters connected with payment for the painting. He wrote in an evocative style, describing the isolation of the town of Panicale, his journey there with Count Conestabile and his reactions on seeing the painting for the first time. He felt that the fresco had all the best qualities of Umbrian art and that

> in it Pietro shows, at the same time, that he had been imbued with the spirit of that great school which flourished in Florence, and whose teachings he had clearly sought.[2]

Layard was very conscious that the chief characteristics of Umbrian art could degenerate into affectation, but he felt that the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian combined 'without exaggeration, the utmost grace with the deepest religious feeling'.[3] He believed that 'A more perfect and touching representation of the Christian Martyr could not be conceived'[4] and he wrote perceptively

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1. Waterfield (1963), p.15.
2. Arundel Society, Layard (1856), p.3.
3. Arundel Society, Layard (1856), p.4.
4. Arundel Society, Layard (1856), p.4.

> Even the executioners seem to have imbibed the spirit of the Christian hero, and to perform their duty with melancholy tenderness.[1]

After describing the fresco Layard reverted to his account of his own experiences, describing his dealings with the Society's council and his commissioning of an artist and an engraver. Much of the merit of the pamphlet lay in this personal tone, for it enabled the subscribers to feel themselves a part of Layard's enterprise.

Layard's second Umbrian monograph, published the following year (1857), was less subjective. Its subject was Ottaviano Nelli's Madonna and Saints in the church of S. Maria Nuova at Gubbio which had been described by Dennistoun as 'the very finest existing specimen of the Umbrian school, exempt from injury or restoration'.[2] Layard believed that the fresco was worthy of reproduction because it was the 'first to unite in an eminent degree the principal characteristics of the school to which the author belongs.[3] He felt that it was useful for the student of art to trace the development of the various schools of painting and that

> we find in Nelli's fresco the germ of nearly all those beauties, and peculiar characteristics, which subsequently distinguished the masterpieces of Pietro Perugino, and still more of his pupil Raphael.[4]

In Layard's view the spirituality of the fresco and the possibility that Nelli might have been Giovanni Santi's master, and therefore first in a direct line of influence descending to Raphael, compensated for certain incorrectnesses in drawing.

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1858), p.4.
2. Dennistoun (1851), ii, p.180.
3. Arundel Society, Layard (1857), p.7.
4. Arundel Society, Layard (1857), p.8.

'Incorrectness' worried Layard and in perhaps the most interesting part of the monograph he discussed the difficulty faced by the copyist in accurately reproducing the beauty of an early fresco, without exaggerating what would seem to the nineteenth century eye to be errors and defects. He felt that Mrs. Higford Burr had reproduced the fresco with particular accuracy and in the Quarterly Review he was to write at even greater length about her water-colour, suggesting that an amateur was better able to copy a work of art than a professional artist. A major theme of that article was voiced for the first time in his monograph on Nelli when he expressed his doubts as to the wisdom of popularising early Italian frescoes:

> It is impossible to make those who never saw their frescoes appreciate their real beauties, or understand the effect they produced upon those for whom they were expressly painted. There can be no greater error than to suppose that their principal merit consists in mere realistic treatment of details. It is the sacrifice of the ideal to this subordinate quality which has principally contributed to the failure of modern attempts to imitate the manner of the early masters, and to introduce what is commonly known as 'Christian art'.[1]

By 1887, when Layard prepared an edition of Kugler's Handbook, his enthusiasm seems to have waned and he allowed the highly critical appraisal of Ottaviano Nelli's worth added by Lady Eastlake to the 1874 edition to remain unaltered.[2]

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1857), p.10.

2. The successive English editions of Franz Kugler's Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei, von Constantin dem Grossen bis auf die Neuere Zeit, Berlin, 1837, 2 vols., form a useful guide to the rise and fall of reputations of northern and Italian artists in England in the second part of the nineteenth century. As those editions concerned with the Italian schools will be frequently referred to they are listed here. i, Handbook of the History of Painting: Italian Schools, trans. by a Lady, ed. Charles Eastlake, London, 1841. ii, ibid, revised Sir Charles Eastlake, 1851. iii, ibid, revised Sir Charles Eastlake, 1855. iv, ibid,"revised and remodelled from the latest researches" by Lady Eastlake, 1874. v, ibid, "thoroughly revised and in part rewritten" by Austin Henry Layard, 1887. (Layard's edition incorporates many of Giovanni Morelli's findings, as well as the researches of Rossi, Milanesi and Venturi).

Layard's third Umbrian monograph (published in 1858) discussed Pinturicchio's three frescoes in a side chapel in the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Spello. These frescoes, like the Perugino at Panicale, had been 'discovered' by Layard while staying with Count Conestabile. They had previously been published as very indifferent line engravings 'scarcely deserving of mention',[1] were in a sad state of dilapidation and were among Pinturicchio's finest works. Layard claimed that they were so little cared for that water was allowed to run down the frescoed walls, and it is possible that the attention drawn to the frescoes through this short monograph and the accompanying prints accounts for their survival today. As we have seen, the proprietorial feelings of the canons were aroused when Mariannecci arrived to copy the cycle.[2] Perhaps Layard's eloquently expressed indignation was the most important feature of this monograph, but he also outlined Pinturicchio's major works and gave a sensitive analysis of his style, isolating his greatest talent, his skill as a decorator of interior architecture. His colouring, his landscapes and his ability to convey spirituality were felt by Layard to be inferior to that of Perugino, but his ability to decorate an interior was unrivalled.

In 1859 Layard's final Umbrian monograph appeared. This accompanied a print of Giovanni Santi's Resurrection and Virgin Enthroned in the church of S. Domenico at Cagli. Layard explained the choice of this little known fresco as an example of the council's desire to preserve 'works likely to perish and men less known than from their intrinsic merits they deserve'.[3]

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1858), p.7.
2. See above, p. 132.
3. Arundel Society, Layard (1859), p.24.

Interest in the artist had been aroused when Abbe Luigi Pungleoni published his Elogio Storico di Giovanni Santi in 1822. This was to form the basis for further commentary, especially for Passavant's exhaustive life of Raphael and his father. English awareness may have been particularly stimulated by Dennistoun's enthusiastic appraisal of the fresco which was to be chosen for publication by the Society. He had written 'There is, perhaps, no contemporary painting superior to this in grandeur of composition and stately figures'.[1] This was extravagant praise in view of contemporaries like Piero della Francesca and Mantegna. Certainly, however, the complex fresco was Santi's masterpiece and Layard saw in its eclectic style recognisable borrowings from his more famous contemporaries. With less justification he saw traces of Santi's style in the work of Raphael and indeed all possible links between the father and his illustrious son fascinated him. He was especially intrigued by the possibility that the figure of an angel was a portrait of the young Raphael, and an engraving of the angel's head was issued with the chromolithograph and his monograph.

No more prints after Nelli or Santi were published by the Society, but both Pinturicchio and Perugino were well represented in later years. Further prints of Pinturicchio are discussed later in this chapter, while nine more copies were made of works by Perugino, of which seven were published as chromolithographs.

iv

Although the first chromolithographs and the monographs which accompanied them were devoted to Umbrian artists,

1. Dennistoun (1851), p.209.

Florentines dominated the Society's publications. Of these, two in particular demonstrated the realism and the decorative and narrative qualities which Layard and the other members of the council found attractive and thought to be a good example for contemporary painters.

Ghirlandaio was an especially favoured artist. His work was represented by eight chromolithographs, nine unpublished water-colours and a monograph which accompanied a print of the Death of St. Francis in the Sassetti Chapel in the church of S. Trinita. This monograph, written by Layard, appeared in 1860 and gave a clear idea of the qualities Layard admired in the artist.

> He felt that Ghirlandaio had lived at a time when
>
> the childlike religion and political enthusiasm which had distinguished the fourteenth century, and which had inspired the verse of Dante and the pencil of Giotto, had passed away.[1]

Yet art had not 'yielded to the influence of the academies, who took their models from the stagnant pools of artificial life and not from the fresh and living springs of nature'.[2] He argued that this high point in the Renaissance should be studied more closely by the 'modern followers of the so-called "Pre-Raphaelite" schools'.[3] They would learn that the painters of the quattrocento and the great masters of the cinquecento imitated nature, but also idealised it. Through an examination of fifteenth century frescoes they would find that 'the principal object and end of the painter is never made secondary and subservient to insignificant and meaningless details'.[4]

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1860), p.44.
2. Arundel Society, Layard (1860), p.21.
3. Arundel Society, Layard (1860), p.23.
4. Arundel Society, Layard (1860), p.22.

Above all Layard loved the moderation of Ghirlandaio's style, in which there was 'no violence nor yet any tameness'.[1] The conscientious, gentle, honest man described by Vasari had, Layard believed, a lesson to teach the artists of his own time: their concerns with narrative and with realism were similar to Ghirlandaio's but were, Layard felt, comparatively clumsily realised.

Layard's point was well illustrated by the particular scene in the cycle issued as a print with the monograph. The Death of St. Francis has certain classic qualities: the figures grouped on either side of the Saint and their stance and gestures lead the viewer's gaze irresistibly back to the highlighted face of the Saint.

The Society's tendency to publish the best organised scene in a fresco cycle was so marked as to seem a policy. It was as if the council realised that in points of design not all quattrocento compositions provided a salutary example for contemporary artists. Thus the Burial of St. Catherine was published rather than any of Luini's other frescoes in the Brera; the Resurrection of Christ was published in preference to Piero della Francesca's frescoes at Arezzo: and St. Augustine preaching in Rome by Benozzo Gozzoli was singled out from the cycle at San Gimignano, although in its final year the Society published the complex and asymmetrical St. Augustine and the Christ Child.

Indeed, a preference for order is also noticeable among the unpublished water-colours. The most symmetrically planned fresco by Filippino Lippi in the Caraffa Chapel in the Santa Maria sopra Minerva, The Glorification of St. Thomas Aquinas, was

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1860), p.29.

singled out for copying and so was the equally well ordered Death of St. Stephen from Filippo Lippi's cycle in the Cathedral in Prato.

If, however, Layard appreciated the logical arrangement of Ghirlandaio's composition and held it up to painters for emulation, he also emphasised the narrative aspect of the Death of St. Francis, and with an eye practised at unravelling the plots which lay behind contemporary paintings he instinctively read the scene imaginatively, seeing the bishop and the priests 'by a fine touch of satire, represented as cold and indifferent to what is passing around them, and as merely hurrying through an accustomed and tedious duty'.[1]

Layard continued to admire Ghirlandaio. In his edition of Kugler he made no alteration to Lady Eastlake's enthusiastic appraisal of the artist. Yet by the 1870s the growth of interest in more complex painters led John Addington Symonds to dismiss Ghirlandaio as 'irritating'[2] while Ruskin wrote of his frescoes 'If you are a nice person, they are not nice enough for you; and if a vulgar person, not vulgar enough'.[3] Despite these criticisms the Society published three further prints after Ghirlandaio in the 1890s. Two of these, however, had a special interest; the Death of St. Fina at San Gimignano is a strange mystical composition and the Emperor Octavius and the Sibyl in S. Trinita in Florence had recently been discovered under a coat of whitewash. The publication of the Nativity of the Virgin in the Santa Maria Novella was less adventurous; it was part of a famous cycle copied many years previously by Mariannecci and partly published in 1867 (but

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1860), pp.23-24.
2. Symonds (1877), p.259.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXIII, p.312.

not all the Society's last publications do justice to the council's interests; as funds shrank with the decline in membership, so the commissioning of new water-colours ceased and prints were issued based on water-colours of frescoes by artists favoured in the 1860s).

Benozzo Gozzoli received almost as much attention as Ghirlandaio. His frescoes in the Medici-Riccardi Chapel in Florence were all copied and three were published, in 1863 and 1897; and four scenes from the life of St. Francis in the church of S. Francesco at Montefalco were copied but not published, while the Madonna and Child in the same church was published in 1878.

It is not surprising that the council had pledged itself to copy the cycle of frescoes in the Medici-Riccardi Chapel in the Society's first prospectus.[1] Gozzoli had been one of the first quattrocento artists to become well known in England, largely because of the publication of Lasinio's engravings of the frescoes in the Campo Santo in 1806-1812. Keats, Leigh Hunt and the original group of Pre-Raphaelite Brethren were all deeply impressed by the prints, of which more than half were after frescoes by Gozzoli. Layard and Mrs. Higford Burr made a large group of copies and tracings of his frescoes, which Rossetti saw in 1856 and which prompted his letter to Allingham describing Gozzoli as a 'God' among painters.[2] Rio's ecstatic description of Gozzoli as a great mystical artist in De La Poésie Chrétienne was an equally important popularising influence. Following Rio, Mrs. Jameson devoted a chapter of Memoirs of Early Italian Painters to Gozzoli and

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1. See above, p.1.
2. See above, p.76.

found much to praise. She emphasised the historical narrative charm of his frescoes, finding the many portraits which he included 'add to the solemnity and poetry of the scene, as if he would fain represent the events as belonging to all times, and still, as it were, passing before our eyes'.[1] Layard, writing in 1858, also praised his powers as a story-teller and as a portraitist of his contemporaries. Ruskin first noticed Gozzoli's frescoes in 1845, wrote on the Medici-Riccardi frescoes in volume 11 of Modern Painters and never ceased to admire the artist's works. Ruskin's admirer and disciple Alice Owen, in her Art Schools of Medieval Christendom published under his editorship in 1876, gave Gozzoli exceptional credit for being the pupil of Fra Angelico. Gozzoli, she believed, stood for the spiritual art of the quattrocento, whereas Botticelli, conveniently the pupil of a less pure priest, represented paganism.[2]

Yet other commentators were perhaps more perceptive in their assessment of Gozzoli. The earliest editions of Kugler, before Lady Eastlake and Layard interpolated their views, described Gozzoli as 'smitten with the beauty of the material world and its various appearances'.[3] This rather critical observation was subtly adjusted by Lady Eastlake; she substituted 'natural'[4] for the word 'material'. Crowe and Cavalcaselle were impatient of Gozzoli's realism, which they described as 'superficial imitation'.[5] Symonds, who was more consistent in his reaction against the decorative quattrocentisti

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1. Jameson (1845), i, p.128.
2. Owen (1876), p.233.
3. Kugler (1841), p.117.
4. Kugler (1874), i, p.236.
5. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1864), ii, p.511.

than Ruskin, attacked Rio for devoting so much time to the artist and wrote that Gozzoli lacked depth of feeling, the sense of noble form, the originative force of a great mind'.[1]

The first copies after Gozzoli made for the Society, of the frescoes in the church of S. Agostino at San Gimignano, were probably commissioned as a result of the special encouragement given by Layard in an open letter to the council and members, published in 1861, in which he stressed that the frescoes were 'fast perishing'.[2] But the decision to copy the frescoes in the Medici-Riccardi chapel in the 1890s, so honouring a promise made almost half a century previously, was cripplingly expensive for the Society and not justified on the grounds that the frescoes were in danger. The council's 33rd annual report published in 1882 stated that

> The beauty and historical interest of the frescoes in the Riccardi chapel, which were painted by Benozzo for the first Cosmo de 'Medici and contain portraits of some of their most distinguished contemporaries, have induced the council to commission Herr Kaiser to copy the entire series.[3]

As we shall see, the emphasis on historical interest and portraiture, and a tendency to see fifteenth century frescoes as illustrative of social history was to become increasingly marked in the last two decades of the Society's history.

The Society also commissioned the copying and publication of works by other non-Florentine artists who were perhaps felt to share the realistic, decorative and narrative qualities which the council found so attractive in the work of Ghirlandaio and Gozzoli. As we have seen, Mantegna's cycle of frescoes in the Eremitani Chapel was copied almost in its

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1. Symonds (1877), p.242.
2. Included with the 12th Annual Report of the Council (1861): Layard to Oldfield, 1 May, 1861.
3. 33rd Annual Report of the Council (1882), p.2.

entirety and two scenes from that cycle were published, the Conversion of Homogenes the Sorcerer (1863) and St. James before Herod Agrippa (1865). Three other non-Florentine artists published by the Society, Montagna, Francesco del Cossa and Pisanello have affinities with the Society's favoured artists. In 1874 the Society published two beautiful panels by Montagna of St. John the Baptist with St. Benedict and St. Nazarus with St. Celsus (Verona, SS. Nazarus e Celso). The following year a copy was made of a portion of the badly ruined fresco cycle of the life of S. Blaise in St. Biagio, Verona, St. Blaise being led to execution. Francesco del Cossa was represented by two copies, The Triumph of Venus (Fig. 66) and The Triumph of Minerva in the Palazzo Schifanoia. The copies were executed in 1889 and attributed to Cosimo Tura by the council. One work by Pisanello was copied and published in 1893, the beautiful and badly damaged Departure of St. George (Verona, S. Anastasia). (Fig. 60).

v

Layard's final monograph appeared in 1868 and was written to accompany the Society's chromolithographs of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel.

While Ghirlandaio and Benozzo Gozzoli were essentially mid-nineteenth century discoveries, the cycle of frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel had already received serious attention. In 1770 Thomas Patch had published twenty four heads and two entire scenes from the frescoes.[1] In 1784 Sir Joshua Reynolds had called the attention of Royal Academy students to Masaccio as one of the fathers of modern art.[2] And in 1826 William

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1. Patch (1770).
2. Reynolds (1959), p.218.

Young Ottley had published engravings of two compartments of the cycle in A Series of Plates.....of the early Florentine School. For all these men the Brancacci Chapel had represented only the genius of Masaccio, although Vasari had mentioned that Masolino and Filippino Lippi had also worked on the cycle. For example William Young Ottley introduced his illustrations with the observation that: 'Such is the celebrity of Masaccio's chapel in the Carmine that it is unnecessary for me to say more, than that I have endeavoured to select for the present work two of its finest compartments'.[1] He chose, however, to engrave St. Paul visiting St. Peter in Prison and St. Peter and St. Paul before Nero - both sections now attributed to Filippino Lippi.

The first real attempt to differentiate between the hands at work in the chapel had been made by Rumohr in 1827. Vasari had given a certain amount of accurate information, but Rumohr made his own sophisticated and largely accurate analysis of the three artists' styles. By 1837 Franz Kugler had resolved the authorship almost entirely satisfactorily, although these conclusions were challenged in 1864 by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in A History of Painting in Italy.

When this work appeared the Art-Journal noted with some awe the independence of the co-authors.[2] Writers in the same field, like Rio and Mrs. Jameson and the Eastlakes, seemed not to have been consulted, while recognised Italian authorities from Vasari onwards were merely referred to in short notes. Despite his dislike of some aspects of modern criticism Layard was evidently equally impressed and the tone of his monograph,

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1. Ottley (1826). List of plates XLII-XLIV, unpaginated.
2. Art-Journal, n.s. IV (1865), p.31.

The Brancacci Chapel and Masolino, Masaccio and Filippino Lippi, was entirely different from that of his previous monographs for the Society. Gone were the discursive style and personal response; instead Layard frequently referred to Crowe and Cavalcaselle and made a serious attempt to differentiate between the hands at work in the Chapel.

The first part of Layard's monograph sketched out the lives of the artists involved in the decoration of the chapel and discussed the extent of their contributions. Crowe and Cavalcaselle had decided that Masolino should be excluded from any involvement with the Chapel. They felt that the portions assigned to Masolino, St. Peter preaching and The Raising of Tabitha, were more mature than Masolino's later frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona. Rather than accept a regression in Masolino's style, they attributed these two scenes to Masaccio. While considerably influenced by Crowe and Cavalcaselle's views, Layard used the evidence of his eyes, stimulated partly by their methods and also by his friendship with Morelli. He was able to agree that St. Peter preaching might be assigned to Masaccio, but he knew Masolino's frescoes at Castiglione d'Olona, having studied them in the summer of 1856. He therefore believed that Masolino must have executed the Raising of Tabitha, basing his view, correctly, on a comparison between the two ornately dressed men in the centre of the composition, and the figures of the courtiers in the fresco of Herod's Banquet at Castiglione d'Olona. He did not comment on Crowe and Cavalcaselle's attribution of the Temptation to Masaccio, despite Eve's great resemblance to the female figure at Castiglione d'Olona. No doubt their attribution seemed more rational than that of Kugler who had assigned the

Temptation to Filippino Lippi.

Layard then gave an outline of Masaccio's life and work, largely based upon Crowe and Cavalcaselle's account. When discussing the frescoes at San Clemente in Rome he followed them in attributing the cycle to Masaccio. Yet if he had been more independent in his judgement he might have made the now generally accepted attribution to Masolino, for he wrote

> The resemblance in style between the frescoes of the chapel of S. Clemente and those of Masolino at Castiglione d'Olona confirms the statement of Vasari, that Masaccio had studied and formed himself upon the works of that painter.[1]

Before Layard discussed Filippino Lippi's contribution to the Brancacci Chapel he dismissed Vasari's claim that Filippino was the natural son of Fra Filippo Lippi, and put forward Crowe and Cavalcaselle's theory that Filippino was the monk's pupil and took his master's name. Vasari's colourful account had been viewed with irritated distaste by Crowe and Cavalcaselle and to scotch it was part of their determination not 'to charm the reader with a narrative like that of Vasari, - copious, varied, relieved by lively local tints and mellow with age'.[2]

Layard similarly followed them in dismissing the strange frescoes by Filippino in the Strozzi Chapel in the Santa Maria Novella. In Layard's discussion of these frescoes there is a hint of the council's dislike of 'difficult' quattrocento artists. Certainly the Strozzi Chapel frescoes were never published or even copied; instead Filippino Lippi's oeuvre was represented by more conventional works like the beautiful Vision of St. Bernard published in 1868.

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1. Arundel Society, Layard (1868), p.30.
2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1864), ii, pp.431-432.

The second part of Layard's monograph was taken up with a detailed description of the frescoes in the Brancacci Chapel. While conscious of their beauty and importance Layard wrote this section in a cautious, colourless fashion, again probably derived from Crowe's dry literary style. He reserved his greatest attention for the Tribute Money which he ranked with Raphael's cartoon of Christ delivering the keys to St. Peter. He correctly separated Masaccio's workmanship from Filippino's in the fresco of St. Peter restoring the King's Son to Life and the Apostle Enthroned. He had little praise for Filippino's additions although he conceded that no painter of that period could have done better. He also pointed out that the frescoes in the cycle which in the past had been most praised as Masaccio's work, St. Paul addressing St. Peter in prison and the Angel releasing the Apostle were in fact by Filippino Lippi. Layard ended his essay with a discussion of the possible dangers which threatened the chapel and the need to copy its frescoes before they deteriorated further - a need which had been fulfilled by the Society. He believed that the future of the chapel was more secure because the government of the kingdom of Italy was taking steps to protect works of art from the priests who were their previous custodians.

vi

The council favoured highly decorative and narrative art but within the context of the Florentine quattrocento certain artists were ignored entirely; Piero di Cosimo, Antonio and Piero Pollaiuolo and Uccello were neither copied nor published. A partial explanation may be that they did little work in fresco, the medium which the council felt was most threatened by neglect and decay. In addition they shared certain charac-

teristics which were not favoured by the council; these may be summarised as pagan subject matter, a harshness of treatment and visible signs of struggle with artistic problems. Also, none of these artists had received much critical attention; as two other 'difficult' artists, Botticelli and Piero della Francesca, grew increasingly famous, their works were reproduced by the Society

Botticelli was really a 'discovery' of the late nineteenth century;[1] before the 1870s his individuality had not been commented on. Like other quattrocento artists he had been engraved in L'Etruria Pittrice and in Seroux d'Agincourt and William Young Ottley's famous publications. But the first three English editions of Kugler's Handbook of Painting described his style as being 'exaggerated even to repulsiveness'[2] and Crowe and Cavalcaselle wrote of him with a singular lack of perception.[3] He did have his admirers; Rio had praised him as a great realist in De La Poésie Chrétienne[4] in 1836 and in De L'Art Chretien of 1861 was even more enthusiastic, emphasising his mysticism and links with Savonarola.[5] Lady Eastlake, doubtless inspired by Rio, when visiting the Sistine Chapel in 1858 reserved her greatest attention for Botticelli's frescoes.[6] This fondness for the artist was shared by Millais and Burne-Jones and by those who were deliberately purchasing his works - Alexander Barker, Sir Charles Eastlake and Lord Wemyss.

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1. See Levey (1960), pp.291-306.
2. Kugler (1841), p.133, Kugler (1851), i, p.200. Kugler (1855), i, p.200.
3. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1864), p.415.
4. A.F. Rio (1854), pp.99-100.
5. A.F. Rio (1861), ii, pp.466-480.
6. Journals and Correspondence of Lady Eastlake (1895), ii, p.108.

It was, however, Walter Pater's essay, modestly entitled A Fragment on Sandro Botticelli,[1] which first provided a persuasive critical response to Botticelli, while in the same year, 1870, the Society published their first Botticelli print, The Birth of Venus. The circulation of the Fortnightly Review, the periodical in which Pater's essay appeared, and the membership of the Society were 2,600[2] and 3,000 respectively, so that the print and the article reached an audience roughly comparable in size. Curiously, neither appear to have made much impact at the time of publication.

Pater had described Botticelli as 'a comparatively unknown artist'[3] and it seems probable that he decided to write about him after reading Swinburne's essay on the collection of drawings in the Uffizi Gallery.[4] Certainly, as Michael Levey has pointed out, the tone adopted by Pater is very similar to that of Swinburne; both were inclined to see sorrow, strangeness and paradox in the works of art which they discussed.

While there is no reason to see any link between the Society's print and Pater's essay, Pater did give a provocative interpretation of the Birth of Venus, seeing the 'shadow of death in the grey flesh and wan flowers'.[5] As if conscious that the picture had a disturbing quality, the Society issued it as an occasional publication, not automatically sent to subscribers, but available to all members and to the public. The print may have been marketed in this way because it depicted

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1. The essay first appeared in the Fortnightly Review, 14 (1870), pp.155-160.
2. See Wellesley Index, ii, p.176.
3. Pater (1961), p.69.
4. Swinburne (1868), pp.16-40.
5. Pater (1961), p.76.

a nude: the only other undraped forms published, the Van Eyck panels of Adam and Eve, were not automatically sent to subscribers, as was the rest of the Ghent altarpiece, but also appeared as occasional publications. At least one member of the council, John Ruskin, had what Edmund Oldfield described as an 'anti nudity crochet'.[1]

Quite apart from the question of nudity, there were those who found Botticelli's style repellent. The print of the Birth of Venus was not reviewed in the Athenaeum, but when the only other print after Botticelli, of Primavera, appeared in 1888, the periodical questioned the council's choice, describing the figure identified as Flora as a 'haggard, hard-featured, and big-nosed wench - a passion-worn actress or less respectable person'.[2] Attacks on the council's choice of artist were rare in the Society's later years; usually criticism was reserved for the ubiquitous process of chromo-lithography. No doubt Pater's essay, by then republished in Studies in the History of the Renaissance, and therefore reaching a wider public, temporarily did Botticelli's reputation more harm than good. The Builder, reviewing the second edition of Pater's collected essays, felt that Pater was well aware that he had helped to create an interest which tended to 'an arbitrary and conscious fashion rather than to unconscious and healthy admiration'.[3]

The two council members who were probably responsible for the publication of Botticelli had grown fond of the artist's work before Pater's essay appeared. Lord Wemyss greatly admired

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39098, f.228-229: Oldfield to Layard, 16 April, 1892.

2. Athenaeum (15 Sept. 1888), p.359.

3. Quoted in Bullen (1975), p.356, from The Builder, XXXV (1877), p.705.

Botticelli and owned a Madonna with Roses, which had previously been bought by Colnaghi at the sale of Lord Northwick's pictures in 1859.[1] His correspondence with Charles Eastlake makes it clear how anxious he was to buy the picture although Eastlake warned him that it was not of the highest quality.[2] And Henry Layard had been interested in Botticelli since at least 1865, when he urged Eastlake to buy the beautiful panels depicting the story of Nastagio degli Onesti for the National Gallery.[3]

Ruskin, on the other hand, was comparatively slow in his appreciation of the artist. He was directly inspired by Pater's essay[4] and in 1872 lectured enthusiastically on the Baccio Baldini prints which he attributed to Botticelli.[5] By 1883 he even claimed the credit for popularising the artist. In an epilogue to Modern Painters written in that year he said

> it was left to me, and to me alone, first to discern and then to teach.....the excellency and supremacy of five great painters, despised till I spoke of them, - Turner, Tintoret, Luini, Botticelli, and Carpaccio.[6]

Piero della Francesca was, like Botticelli, sparsely reproduced by the Council. In the late 1860s Mariannecci copied three scenes from the cycle of frescoes in the church of S. Francesco at Arezzo, but the only work by Piero to be published, in 1879, was the Resurrection at Borgo San Sepolcro.

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1. National Gallery of Scotland (1957), pp.10-11.
2. Wemyss Papers: Eastlake to Elcho, 4 August 1859.
3. Sir Henry Layard: Autobiography and Letters (1903), ii, p.231.
4. Claiborne, (1969), p.308: Ruskin to Tyrwhitt, 28 Sept. 1872.
5. Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford, Michaelmas Term, 1872, published as Ariadne Florentina, Works, XXII, pp.301-490.
6. Ruskin, Works, IV, p.355.

In 1842 Lord Lindsay and Sir Coutts Lindsay, both at different times members of the Society's council, had wondered at the lack of attention paid to an artist whom the former described as 'masterly in every way' and whose frescoes in Arezzo the latter compared to the Elgin marbles[1] - but these were private unpublished speculations. Possibly the classical austerity upon which Coutts Lindsay commented explains Piero's neglect in favour of more decorative quattrocento artists. For by 1851 he had been written about lengthily if not entirely uncritically by James Dennistoun[2] and Kugler and Crowe and Cavalcaselle had given fair summaries of his achievements. Moreover Layard had written enthusiastically about Piero in his article on the Society published in 1858, assigning Piero 'the first place in order of genius' and giving an eloquent description of the Resurrection:

> The cold grey morning creeps above the hills, and the dark trees stand motionless in the twilight. The glory of the rising Christ, and of his shining garments, cast a pale subdued light around Him. No painter had ever so painted such a scene.[3]

The decision of the council to issue a print after Piero may have been influenced by John Addington Symonds's The Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts published in 1877 which described the fresco as 'by far the grandest, most poetical and awe inspiring picture of the Resurrection'.[4] Symonds's links with the Society are obscure. He was eight years old when it was founded, and his father, a cultivated Bristol physician, became a keen member, taking out a double subscription by 1866. Symonds's own travel writings of the

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1. Quoted in Haskell (1976), pp.75-76 and p.76, nt. 25.
2. Dennistoun (1851), ii, pp.192-200.
3. Quarterly Review 104 (1858), p.303.
4. Symonds (1877), p.234.

1870s and 1880s described many works of art already published by the Society - at Cagli, Monte Oliveto, Saronno and Spello[1] - and he probably inspired Oscar Browning to advise the council to publish the frescoes at Malpaga in 1891.[2] Nevertheless, although he may have been influenced by the Society, he evidently saw it as representing the taste of his father's generation, not his own, and he made this clear when he described how the 'aesthetical development' of the mid-Victorians had taken place through 'studies in the Elgin Marbles, the application of photography to works of art, the publications of the Arundel Society in London, the encyclopaedic and comparative collections of German archaeologists'.[3]

In The Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts Symonds appears to have reacted away from the type of artist favoured by the Society in the 1860s and he attempts to differentiate between the innovative and merely typical quattrocentisti. He believed fifteenth century art to be 'preoccupied on the one hand with technicality and naturalism, on the other with decorative prettiness and pietism'.[4] He singled out Piero della Francesca, Melozzo da Forli and Signorelli as the most significant artists of that period.

The Society's council was in some degree to share this mood of reaction. In the 1870s they published these more complex artists. Melozzo was represented in 1872 by two details from his dismembered fresco of the Ascension and in 1873 by a

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1. See Cornhill Magazine, 37 (1878), pp.665-677, 44 (1881), pp.444-460, 45 (1882), pp.567-578.

2. See below p.207.

3. First published in Symonds (1886), ii, pp.394-395. Later published in Symonds (1890), i, pp.85-86.

4. Symonds (1877), p.236.

print of Pope Sixtus Giving Audience. In 1878 Signorelli's fresco in the Sistine Chapel, Scenes from the Life of Moses, was published, followed in 1887 by his portraits of Virgil and Dante in the chapel of S. Brizio in the Duomo at Orvieto. One scene from that cycle, The Blessed in Heaven, was copied but not published; and in 1872 two scenes from the frescoes at Monte Oliveto representing the story of the true and false King Totila, were similarly only copied.

The works by Signorelli which the council chose to publish reveal some of their preferences. The portraits of Dante and Virgil were probably selected for their historical interest while the majestic cycle of frescoes above the portraits was not published at all. The cycle had been more admired in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and had been engraved by Delle Valle[1] and by William Young Ottley[2] and enthusiastically praised by Fuseli,[3] who otherwise had little time for quattrocento art. The reasons for the Society's neglect of the cycle are not hard to define. The frescoes were not decorative, but monumental; and they were virtuoso studies of the nude, which in any case the council found awkward to publish.

The copying of the quattrocento cycle in the Sistine Chapel, including a scene by Signorelli, rather than Michelangelo's far more important contribution,is unsurprising. (Michelangelo was not published by the Society until 1871, and in all only three figures from the Sistine Chapel ceiling were to appear as prints). The council's attitude to Michelangelo during the

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1. Delle Valle (1791).
2. Ottley (1826).
3. Antal (1956), p.47.

Society's middle years was very probably summed up by Layard who wrote 'to the influence exercisedby his works must be partly attributed the decay of fresco painting, and with it, of the last traces of true Christian art'.[1] In addition, the ceiling had been so often reproduced that the council may have questioned the value of a new print; the Last Judgement would have proved extraordinarily difficult to chromolithograph; and the two frescoes in the Pauline Chapel were almost invisible beneath accretions of smoke and dirt.

Unlike Michelangelo, Raphael was not seen as a pernicious influence upon his followers. It would, however, have been against the spirit of the Society to publish many prints after his frescoes as the General Rules emphasisedthe importance of reproducing little known works of art.[2] The issuing of prints of well-known frescoes like the Poets on Mount Parnassus, the Four Sibyls and St. Peter delivered from Prison contradict this aim, but their publication may be due to the council's desire for some measure of historical comprehensiveness. For example, in 1887 Layard noted with pride in the introduction to his edition of Kugler that the Society's copies illustrated the 'histories of the various schools of Italian painting from the thirteenth to the eighteenth centuries - from Cimabue to Tiepolo'.[3] In addition, the Society's most exalted member, the Prince Consort, and the Society's most learned employee, Ludwig Gruner, never allowed their interest in early Italian art to diminish their enthusiasm for Raphael. No doubt Gruner himself suggested the publication of his exceptionally fine

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1. Quarterly Review 104 (1858), p.311.
2. General Rules of the Arundel Society...to be submitted to the Annual General Meeting June 18 1866, p.1.
3. Kugler (1887), i, p.xx.

engravings of two of Raphael's Vatican tapestries, The Conversion of Saul published in 1864 and The Martyrdom of St. Stephen in 1867, both after drawings by Nicola Consoni lent by a member of the Society, Thomas Longman. The council also published Raphael's ceiling medallions in the Stanza della Segnatura depicting Philosophy, Poetry, Justice and Theology. They shrank from reproducing the largest of Raphael's compositions - the Mass of Bolsena and Heliodorus driven from the Temple were copied but not published. In the case of both Michelangelo and Raphael the Society tended to publish prints of details rather than entire decorative schemes.

Like Michelangelo and Raphael, Leonardo needed no rediscovering: few art lovers who visited Milan in the seventeenth, eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries failed to make a pilgrimage to his ruined Last Supper in the Santa Maria delle Grazie. His surviving oeuvre was small and attributions were controversial. Of his works the council chose to publish the Madonna and Child in St. Onofrio in Rome, now thought to be the work of Boltraffio.

vii

The 1870s may be seen as a period of innovative publishing by the Society, but the council's fondness for the narrative aspects of art did not diminish. In 1881, 1882 and 1891 monographs were published which virtually employed the prints issued by the Society as illustrations for historical essays.

The earliest of these three monographs, by the Rev. G.W. Kitchin, dealt with Pinturicchio's frescoes in the Piccolomini Library. Pinturicchio was even more extensively reproduced and discussed than Ghirlandaio, and was popular with the council for the same reasons as the Florentine; although Pinturicchio

was described by Rio, Lindsay and Ruskin as a mystic artist there seems little doubt that his real appeal lay in his bright, rather worldly gaiety. The frescoes at Spello are perhaps an exception, but those in the Piccolomini Library follow the rule and were reproduced with exceptional thoroughness.

The Society's interest in the Library was of long standing. As we have seen, in 1858 Sir Francis Scott financed a series of unsuccessful copies of the frescoes.[1] In 1880 subscribers received an interior view of the Library comparable with Mrs. Higford Burr's illustration of the Arena Chapel and when Kitchin's monograph appeared in the next year it was accompanied by a folio volume of engravings by Ludwig Gruner after each scene in the cycle. Finally, two scenes from the cycle were published as chromolithographs: Aeneas Silvius receiving the Cardinal's Hat and The Betrothal of Frederick III appeared in 1882 and 1895.

The Library had long attracted attention because of Vasari's claim that Pinturicchio's lack of imagination was such that he asked Raphael to design certain scenes for him. Four sheets of studies did and do exist, and it was held that they were the work of Raphael until 1877 when Pinturicchio found an enthusiastic defender in Giovanni Morelli.[2] Morelli was determined 'to reinstate an artist, who in his younger days created so many fine works, into the same prominent place that he held during his lifetime, by giving him back his best property, of which he has been robbed by the disfavour and blindness of posterity'.[3] Morelli assigned all the disputed

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1. See above, p. 128, nt.1.

2. Today they have been returned to Raphael's oeuvre. See Fischel (1913), p.86, nos. 60-65 and Tempesti (1968), ii, pp. 313-319.

3. Morelli (1883), p.270.

drawings for the Library to Pinturicchio and also claimed that he was the sole executant of two key frescoes in the Sistine Chapel - the Baptism of Christ and the Circumcision of Moses - both now assigned to Perugino, with, in the case of the Circumcision, possible assistance from Pinturicchio. Morelli concluded his discussion of Pinturicchio with a comparison with Perugino:

> Pinturicchio is, to my mind less conscious, more fresh and racy than Perugino, and does not so often fatigue us by monotony and that conventional sweetness which, especially in the productions of his last twenty years, makes Pietro positively wearisome.[1]

Layard was certainly sensitive to this new view; he made several changes in his edition of Kugler's Handbook, reiterating Morelli's beliefs as to the authorship of the drawings and concluding 'It is only of late that the great merits of Pinturicchio have been recognised'.[2]

It may have been Layard's enthusiasm for Pinturicchio which encouraged the council to issue a monograph, but its author G.W. Kitchin had a more realistic view of the painter's abilities, describing him as 'hardly a great artist or man of genius'.[3] He used the frescoes as illustrations to an historical discussion of the life of Aeneas Silvius. He was clearly fascinated by the amoral belle-lettrist[4] and drew on his Commentaries and his own historical knowledge to comment on each scene in the cycle.

Although Kitchin limited art historical discussion to the

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1. Morelli (1883), p.284-285.
2. Kugler (1887), i, p.243.
3. Arundel Society, Kitchin (1881), i, p.7.
4. Kitchin's interest in the Commentaries stimulated him to write another essay on Aeneas Silvius entitled The North in the Fifteenth Century: A Passage in the Life of Pope Pius II, Country Monthly Magazine, 1901 and reprinted in Ruskin in Oxford and Other Studies, London, 1904.

minimum he suggested that the Piccolomini Library frescoes were artistically innovative and worthy of study because, he claimed, they were the earliest example of secular fresco decoration.[1] This was, he felt, their real importance, and lest this seem an old fashioned response to the quattrocento it should be said that the revival of large scale secular decoration employing fresco, which had so preoccupied artists and those administering the arts in the 1840s and 1850s,was still being discussed and debated in the 1880s. In 1880, the year before Kitchin's monograph appeared, the Art Journal published an article on Sir Frederick Leighton's Arts of War, a mural lunette in South Kensington Museum depicting young men and boys arming for battle.[2] This was followed by a description of Gambier Parry's spirit method of fresco painting which had been employed by Leighton.[3] A few weeks later an article appeared which asserted that the fine arts in Italy had reached a greatness comparable only with Greece because of 'the continuous demand of the Church, her princes, and her wealthy merchants, through several centuries for mural decorations on the grandest scale'. The writer went on to lament that the 'series of remarkable competitions at Westminster Hall' had not been 'followed out to their legitimate ends'.[4]

When Kitchin referred to the modern and biographical character of the Library he was alluding to this continuing concern for a national mural art, in which context its modernity was not contradicted by archaism in costume and setting.

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1. Arundel Society, Kitchin (1881), i, p.9.
2. Art Journal, n.s. XIX (1880), pp.179-180.
3. Art Journal, n.s. XIX (1880), pp.345-346.
4. Art Journal, n.s. XIX (1880), p.375.

When Symonds remarked that the cycle reminded him of a series of fits in a popular ballad[1] he touched on another characteristic of Pinturicchio's art which endeared him to all those who enjoyed puzzling over a nineteenth century narrative painting or reading Tennyson; and the story book charm of the frescoes was particularly emphasised by Gruner's delicate engravings (Fig. 67). The council's choice was a popular one; the Athenaeum remarked of the volume of illustrations, 'the Arundel Society had seldom, if ever, published more valuable examples' and their contemporary relevance was emphasised by the reviewer's observation that 'this was the first series of important pictures which were neither more nor less than "art manufactures" wholly of the earth, earthy'.[2]

The second and most valuable of these historical monographs appeared in 1882. In 1881 Edward Kaiser made a copy of the two inner panels of the Wilton diptych (Fig. 68) then in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke. This was the only work in England to be reproduced by the Society, apart from certain of the collection of ivories. The copies were published in 1882 and were accompanied by a lengthy monograph written by George Scharf.[3] Scharf, it will be remembered, worked for the Society in its earliest days, drawing the outline lithographs which illustrated G.A. Bezzi's translation of Vasari's life of Fra Angelico. By 1882 he had risen from being an illustrator and lithographer to a position of considerable eminence. From 1857 he had been secretary of the newly founded National Portrait Gallery and had published a number of important articles on early portraits, including a study of

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1. Symonds (1877), p.302.
2. Athenaeum (13 August 1881), p.214.
3. Arundel Society, Scharf (1882).

depictions of Richard II.[1] The year in which his Arundel Society monograph was published he was made the first Director of the gallery.

Scharf took his commission very seriously and the resulting work was the first proper account of the diptych, dealing with the tricky problems of dating, provenance and authorship which have even now not been satisfactorily resolved. Scharf deals first with the diptych's mysterious provenance, the first description of the work being in Abraham van der Doort's 1636 catalogue of Charles I's collection, published in 1757. Van der Voort said that the picture had been given to the King by Sir James Palmer, who acquired it from Lady Jennings (Scharf does not solve the problem of Lady Jennings' identity, and this still remains a mystery). The picture then was supposedly given by James II to Lord Castlemaine and was bought from his descendant by the 8th Earl of Pembroke. It was described twice in the 8th Earl's lifetime, firstly by John Anstis in The Register of the Order of the Garter of 1724 giving a terminus ante quem date for the arrival of the picture at Wilton. Scharf diligently noted all further mentions of the diptych, in Gambarini of Lucca's catalogue of 1731, in the English Connoisseur of 1760, and in John Britton's Beauties of Wiltshire of 1801. He also discussed Passavant's attempt in 1833 to identify the artist of the diptych.

Scharf gave a scrupulously careful description of the condition of the diptych, employing wood-cut illustrations to show how the panels joined together. He then described a series of comparable portraits of that approximate date. Those in St. Stephen's Chapel in Westminster Abbey had been restored by Henry

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1. Scharf (1867), pp.27-63.

Merritt in 1866 on the suggestion of George Richmond and an embossed gold background was found to have been painted over a uniform surface of plain gilding which Scharf compared with the delicate embossing of the Wilton diptych. He included wood engravings of the two patterns delicately dotted onto each panel of the diptych and this was accompanied by a most sensitive detailed description of the panels. As the Society did not have the backs of the panels copied he provided wood engravings of the armorial devices and of the white Stag accompanied by a detailed colour key. Even when describing the inside of the diptych he was careful to mention colours and textures; his training as an artist seemed to have made him more aware of the deficiencies of the chromolithographic process than any other author who wrote for the Society.

Scharf dated the diptych to before 1382 but this conclusion is not cogently argued. The monograph, while laying much evidence before the reader, is by no means analytical. As one modern commentator has pointed out 'Scharf used his collection of material more for illustration than for argument'.[1]

His dating was based on the absence of the arms of Richard's wife Anne of Bohemia and on the extremely youthful appearance of the King. Later historians, however, have tended not to regard the depiction of the King as an accurate portrait. In fact, if the appearance of the King is disregarded Scharf had at his disposal three distinct periods during which the diptych might have been painted. These were the years 1377-1382, between Richard's coronation and his first marriage, 1394-1396, between the death of his first wife Anne and his marriage to Isabelle of France, and after 1409, by which time his second

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1. Clarke (1931), p.283.

wife had died, but some contemporary supporters maintained that he was still alive and living in hiding.[1] Scharf failed to use the evidence of the heraldic devices employed in the diptych and these have now been recognised as the key to its dating.[2]

The question of the nationality of the artist was and is as perplexing a problem as its provenance and date. Scharf noted Passavant and Waagen's views on the subject, agreeing that there was an odd anticipation of Fra Angelico in the style of the work. He also recorded the theory held by Mrs. Jameson, A.W. Franks and J.C. Robinson that the diptych was Bohemian in origin. He modestly confessed that he had seen no Bohemian art of that period, but from a description of paintings at Karlstein attributed to Dietrich of Prague, which he had found in Waagen's edition of Kugler's Handbook of German, Flemish and Dutch Schools he deduced, rightly, that there was no stylistic connection with the Wilton diptych. He did not mention the popular modern view that the diptych was executed by a French artist, possibly Jaquemart de Hesdin, whose miniatures in the Très Belles Heures du Duc du Berri are seen as similar in style.[3]

The most balanced modern discussion of the nationality of the artist argues for an Englishman;[4] the diptych's linear character, its realism and its understanding of English hagiography and heraldry suggest this to be true. Scharf also believed the artist to be English. He saw 'an English character about many of the faces'[5] and he concluded with a cautious

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1. It is generally believed that Richard II died in 1400.
2. M.V. Clarke and also John H. Harvey (1961) pp.1-28. Harvey suggests persuasively that the diptych was executed under the King's directions between 1394 and 1395.
3. Bodkin, n.d. p.10.
4. Bodkin, p.10.
5. Arundel Society, Scharf (1882), pp.82-83.

summing up which even today is hard to quarrel with -

> In this picture, as in the language of England, the influence of various nations may be detected, but my strong impression is that, whatever hands were employed upon it, the diptych was produced in England, and devised for a purpose affecting the King's religious movements.[1]

It is a measure of the importance of Scharf's monograph that the major modern studies of the diptych all refer to, and in one case praise, Scharf's work.[2] This cannot be said of Henry Layard's monographs or even of Ruskin's description of the Arena Chapel. Scharf tackled a complex and largely unresearched problem and if his conclusions were not entirely convincing he made clear the areas where further research should be carried out. His diaries record the thoroughness of his investigations. When he had completed the work on 9 November 1882 he wrote:

> It is nearly a year now since the rough proof of the Arundel Society (print) was brought to me. It was on the 12th November 1881 and has occupied my thoughts and attention for a great part of the year after the Hamilton sale was over and (after) writing out our Annual Report. I did a great deal of it in the summer and autumn by getting up before 6 o'clock and working quietly until half past 7.....[3]

The monograph received favourable critical attention. The Athenaeum described it as a 'characteristic masterpiece of research and ingenuity'.[4] The reviewer was pleased to find that Scharf believed the diptych to be by an English artist and he particularly praised the chronological sketch of European art which formed an appendix to the monograph. He rightly noted that it 'must have cost a stupendous amount of labour'[5] as Scharf's diaries show that the chronology needed endless revision.

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1. Arundel Society, Scharf (1882), p.83.
2. Harvey (1961), p.1 admires Scharf's 'meticulous description' of the diptych.
3. Scharf Papers, Diary, 9 Nov. 1882.
4. Athenaeum (17 March 1883), p.350.
5. Ibid.

It was a final touch to a work which maintained a high scholarly standard and respected the needs of the general reader.

The third essentially historical publication was a life of Bartolomeo Colleoni which appeared in 1891 accompanied by heliogravures of frescoes at Malpaga Castle: these depicted the visit of King Christian of Denmark to Bartolomeo Colleoni in 1474. Artistically these frescoes are of an inferior order, but their secular subject matter and their gay decorative nature are reminiscent of the Piccolomini Library cycle.

They were the 'discovery' of a member who had been elected to the council in 1881, Oscar Browning. Browning had first learnt of the Society as a scholar at Eton in the 1850s. He came under the influence of William Johnston Cory, the poet and 'most brilliant Eton tutor of his day',[1] and many years later, describing Cory's civilising influence on the brutal atmosphere in College, noted that he was an early subscriber to the Arundel Society.[2] Browning himself returned to Eton as a housemaster in 1860, was dismissed under tragic circumstances in 1873, but resumed his lifelong task as an educator at King's College, Cambridge. He was not a great collector or art historian in its narrowest sense, but he was a highly cultivated man with a love of Italy and a great interest in her poetry and history; his Dante classes were an important part of his contribution to life at King's.[3] He frequently spent his vacations in Italy and was a friend of Layard from at least 1867 when Layard gave him a letter of introduction to Rawdon Brown,[4]

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1. Prothero (1888), p.130.
2. Browning (1910), p.19.
3. Dictionary of National Biography, 1922-1930, p.127.
4. Oscar Browning Papers: Layard to Browning, 6 April, 1867.

the historian of Venice and one of her most famous English residents.

In 1879, after staying with J.A. Symonds in Davos, Browning travelled to Brescia where he became interested in Il Moretto and Romanino. He visited Bergamo and Malpaga where he saw the Colleoni frescoes, then attributed to Romanino. It is more than likely that Symonds suggested to Browning that he should visit the castle as he had himself published a wonderfully evocative essay on Colleoni and Malpaga.[1] Browning had an historian's interest in the castle and its associations and later wrote most revealingly:

> I persuaded the Arundel to have them copied, and I wrote a life of Colleoni to accompany the publication, which is, I believe, the only life of that personage in the English language. The frescoes are not works of art, and have probably been repainted, but they are faithful representations of the manners and dress of the period.[2]

By 1883 Browning had begun to organise the copying of the Malpaga frescoes, receiving letters from Edward Kaiser about the difficulties of working at Malpaga and the possibilities of procuring photographs.[3] In February 1884 Douglas Gordon, the assistant secretary of the Society, wrote to him, seeking his opinion on the accuracy of Kaiser's copy of the Tournament scene and in 1889 Gordon formally invited him to write a life of Colleoni.[5] Browning, in common with most of the Society's members, received no payment for his work, although he was

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1. Symonds (1879), pp.305-322.
2. Browning (1910), p.281.
3. Oscar Browning Papers: Kaiser to Browning, 17 Nov. 1883 and 31 Jan. 1884.
4. Ibid: Gordon to Browning, 1 Feb. 1884.
5. Ibid: Gordon to Browning, April 1889.

paid 25 guineas to cover expenses.[1]

As Browning made clear, the Malpaga frescoes were published as documents of social history. Their interest was comparable with the fascination of the frescoes of Ghirlandaio, in that they gave an insight into the daily life of masters and servants. They were also, as I have suggested, comparable in their appeal with Pinturrichio's frescoes in the Piccolomini Library, but Browning's essay was a more serious piece of historical writing than Kitchin's contribution.

It was more modern both in presentation and content. Kitchin's Life of Pope Pius II was decorated with head and tail pieces and was a prettily archaic piece of printing, employing long s's. Browning's monograph was plainly printed and illustrated with photo-engravings; and it contained an index (the only Arundel publication to do so apart from Scharf's essay on the Wilton diptych).

Browning's attitude to Colleoni's exploits as a condottiere was equally advanced for he did not depict Colleoni, as Rio had done, as an almost saintly figure who

> transforma cette résidence favorite en une espèce d'Escurial où il partageait son temps entre les exercices pieux et les exercices militaires, entouré de sa double milice de guerriers et de moines, sa veille et sa jeune garde, qui lui représentaient ses souvenirs et ses espérances.[2]

Nor did Browning see the profession of condottiere as thoroughly immoral. He avoided such judgements, unlike Burckhardt, who

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1. 43rd Annual Report of the Council (1892), p.3. Writers for the Society who received no payment were made honorary members like, for example, M.D. Wyatt, George Scharf Jun. and C.C. Perkins. Those who were paid, like Weale and Stephen Thompson, were not rewarded in this fashion. Browning, already on the council, and perhaps a man of limited income, was given 'expenses'. Henry Layard, also on the council when he wrote his monographs, received no payment of any kind.

2. A.F. Rio (1861), iii, p.267.

saw this mercenary caste as living in a state of moral confusion, neither trusted nor trusting:

> only the most perfect goodness could save them from the most monstrous iniquity. No wonder then if we find them full of contempt for all sacred things, cruel and treacherous to their fellows - men who cared nothing whether or no they died under the ban of the Church.[1]

Browning's attitude was more realistic than that of either Rio or Burckhardt, but because of a heavy reliance on Pietro Spino's life of Colleoni (1569) he tended to idealise some of the soldier's motives. His decision not to fight for France in the late 1460s was attributed by Browning to his respect for Venice, rather than to his desire to consolidate his stable position in Lombardy. Even his desertion of Venice and abandonment of his troops in 1452 were cast as heroic adventure and no mention was made of the massacre of a portion of his company by the Venetian provveditori. The cultivated nature of his court was rightly emphasised. As 'the last of the condottieri, but also the best'[2] he represented the transformation of the essentially outlaw leader of a company in the late fourteenth century into what a modern historian has called 'the relatively faithful, increasingly aristocratic, and highly professional captain'[3] of the fifteenth century.

Browning devoted the last part of his monograph to an exposition of the frescoes published by the Society. The frescoes had been commissioned by Colleoni's grandson to commemorate the brief visit paid by King Christian I of Denmark to Malpaga while on a pilgrimage to Rome. Browning set out the relevant passages from the Holstein Chronicle and

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1. Burckhardt (1878), i, p.32.
2. Arundel Society, Browning (1891), p.42.
3. Mallett (1974), p.257.

from Spino's Life of Colleoni. He described each scene in the cycle, his main concern being the identification of the various protagonists. He then summed up his attitude to the frescoes:

> These pictures, whatever may be their artistic merit, are extremely interesting, as showing the manners and customs of the time; and we cannot but feel that an age which could have crowded into so short a space so many scenes replete with life and colour, with dignity and magnificence, must be worthy of our study, and in many respects of our imitation. Romanino, the reputed author of the frescoes, was born ten years after the events they portray. He must, therefore, have worked from family records of what occurred, although in his own age the life of chivalry was not altogether dead. It is more probable, however, that they were executed by one of his pupils, and in any case they have since been injudiciously repainted and restored.[1]

This was a frank declaration of the low artistic quality of these frescoes, but in Browning's view their historical value made up for their crudity.

Yet how great was their historical value? The frescoes were probably painted in 1527, fifty years after the actual visit they commemorated. Accordingly, they are likely only to illustrate costumes worn at the time at which they were painted, while at the same time they may give some idea of the entertainments which took place during the royal visit. Browning's response to these frescoes was perhaps more emotional than historical when he wrote of scenes 'replete with life and colour, with dignity and magnificence' and of a time when 'the life of chivalry was not altogether dead'. This romantic response, with its typical auxiliaries, a love of heraldry and an interest in genealogy, was perhaps the root of Browning's interest in Renaissance art.

viii

In 1865 the Society published their first reproduction of

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1. Arundel Society, Browning (1891), pp.74-75.

the work of a northern artist. Subscribers received five chromolithographs of the Floreins altarpiece by Memling in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges. The prints were accompanied by a monograph on the painter's life and works written by James Weale, one of the greatest nineteenth century historians of Flemish art and a fervent Catholic.

The Society was not creating an interest in northern art: its roots lay in German romanticism, in the writings of the Schlegel brothers, in the impact of the Musée Napoleon during its brief existence between 1802 and 1815, in the formation of the Solly Collection - by 1821 in the Royal Museum of Berlin - and the Boisserée collection, published as lithographs in 1820-1836,and by 1827 in the Munich Gallery. Enthusiasm was re-inforced by scholarship with the founding of Kunstblatt in 1820, Frankfurt's Gesellschaft für altere deutsche Geschichtkunde in 1819 and Berlin's Kunstverein in 1825. In England William Roscoe's collection of early artists included works by northern 'primitives'. Later, in the 1830s, Karl Aders's collection was much seen and commented on. In 1851 Prince Albert became the absolute owner of the Öttingen-Wallerstein collection of early northern and Italian works of art. The Manchester exhibition of 1857 gave a huge public a chance to see northern pictures from the Royal and other collections. The exhibition included a good selection of early Flemish works, including one Van Eyck, seven works attributed to Memling, seven attributed to Rogier van der Weyden and one attributed to Mabuse.

In the same year as the Manchester Exhibition Crowe and Cavalcaselle published their first book written in co-operation, The Early Flemish Painters. The Art-Journal acknowledged the aptness of their choice, remarking, 'No school of Art had ever

attained such a degree of excellence as the early Flemish school, and yet remained in obscurity'.[1] The study lacked the assurance of their later work on early Italian art and in the second edition of 1872 they acknowledged that the most important contributions to the history of Flemish art had been made after their study had appeared in the work of A. Wauters, E. de Busscher, E. van Even, C.H. Reulans and W.H.J. Weale.[2] Of the five, Weale's contribution was perhaps the most important.

Weale was born in 1832 of a Roman Catholic family and educated at King's College, London. Early in life he travelled. By the age of nineteen he had visited every parish in Belgium and when he was twenty-seven he published a guide to Belgium, Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne. In 1860 he settled permanently in Bruges to study art and the next year he published a catalogue of the Musée de Bruges.[3] In 1863 he helped to found Le Beffroi, a magazine based in Bruges which was devoted to medieval and early Renaissance art, heraldry and archaeology. Ruskin had remarked on the powerful symbolism of the belfry bell[4] and Le Beffroi was named with its medieval associations in mind. The statement of intent in the magazine's first issue, probably written by Weale himself, emphasised this symbolism:

> Le glas funèbre - pût-il ne jamais tinter - annoncera nos douleurs at nos pertes; et 'Roelant' tonnera chaque fois qu'il s'agira de défendre nos principes, nos intérêts, nos trésors artistiques, ou qu'il faudra attaquer de front les fureurs barbares soit des destructeurs, soit des prétendus restaurateurs de nos monuments.[5]

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1. Art-Journal, n.s. iii (1857), p.48.
2. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1872), p.iii.
3. The Times, 28 April 1917, p.3.
4. Ruskin, Works, XII, p.44.
5. Le Beffroi, 1 (1863), p.vii.

Le Beffroi was dedicated to conservation, not only of monuments, but also of archives, containing the vital documentary evidence needed to attribute and date works of art. In the main the magazine was to concentrate on Belgium, Holland, French Flanders and England.

Weale did not only value works of art for their beauty; he was a deeply spiritual man and his reaction to art was religious. The introduction to Le Beffroi concluded with a passionate call to dedicate the work of the magazine to Christ and to hold as its motto 'CHRISTUS vincit, CHRISTUS regnat, CHRISTUS imperat'.[1] In one particular Weale was in the tradition of Schlegel and Chateaubriand, for his response to works of art was religious and Roman Catholic. When reviewing Ralph Wornum's Epochs of Painting Weale took exception to Wornum's condemnations of the spirit of the Middle Ages. Wornum had written:

> The abnegation of the world, and its usages, was looked upon as a sign of the love of heaven, instead of as a bad sign of a bad age, in which pious idleness were considered more worthy than worldly usefulness.

Weale wrote in criticism of this insensitive passage:

> C'est précisément parce que l'art du moyen âge est essentiellement Chrétien, parce que son but est d'attirer les hommes vers Dieu et vers les choses du ciel en lui montrant la gloire réservée au ciel pour ceux qui dans cette vie ont été fidèles à leurs voeux baptismaux, de renoncer au monde et à ses usages et de mortifier le corps, que nous admirons et que nous cherchons à propager et à faire revivre ses principes.[2]

Weale's religious commitment to early art was, however, not emphasised in his monograph for the Society. Limiting himself to a survey of Memling's most important works, he discussed controversial problems still unresolved today - the whereabouts of the artist's place of birth and the date of his arrival in

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1. Le Beffroi, 1 (1863), p.vii.
2. Le Beffroi, 11 (1864-65), p.215.

Bruges - and he drew conclusions from documents which he had himself discovered. He dismissed the colourful story virtually invented by Descamps in 1753 which described Memling as a wounded, debauched soldier who sought refuge in the Hospital of St. John. The rejection of this story was an important part of Weale's vision of the artist, who was represented as a pious family man, unable to depict evil; indeed, according to Weale Memling's Madonnas excelled those by Van Eyck and Rogier van der Weyden because they

> by their exquisite purity, tenderness and dignity, and mild intellectual majesty, alone realise the character of the Mother of Our Lord as revealed to us in the Gospel; indeed we know of no painter of any school who surpasses him in this respect.[1]

Weale's response to Memling was very similar to the reaction of other writers to the art of Fra Angelico; this was recognised by Weale and in a later, more comprehensive and more pietistic study of the artist published in 1901 he made a direct comparison with Fra Angelico.[2]

None of Weale's works in English have the tone of his writings in Le Beffroi and significantly he was not as well known in England as he was in Belgium.[3] This was not merely because he lived an expatriate existence, but because his best writing was published abroad. If his writings in French were passionate his monograph for the Society was reticent in the extreme, even lacking the evocative descriptive passages at which Layard excelled. Weale's French writings were fired by religious fervour, but in his monograph the only signs of his Catholicism are his delicate and accurate descriptions of

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1. Arundel Society, Weale (1865), p.7.
2. Weale (1901), p.80.
3. Although Weale always kept a house in Clapham, Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1872), p.254 describe him as a Belgium writer.

ecclesiastical objects and of Saints and their attributes.

Though the fervent style of Le Beffroi would not have been acceptable in an Arundel publication, the council was not entirely pleased by Weale's restraint. In 1870 it was thought that a monograph on Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece would be desirable. Sir William Gregory suggested Weale, but Oldfield felt that any work from him would be too dry and 'Weale's name wd. not carry sufficient weight to make anything from him valuable, however interesting'.[1] This remarkable statement reveals something of the council's preference for authors who were famous or fashionable rather than simply erudite. Browning, Kitchin, Layard and Ruskin were all well known figures at the time at which their monographs appeared - although not necessarily in the field of art criticism.

In 1876 the Society published another altarpiece by Memling, the nine panels of the Crucifixion then in the Cathedral at Lubeck. It could hardly have been chosen in consultation with Weale. He did not even mention it in his monograph of 1865 and was to write of it dismissively in his study of 1901. He felt that it was largely a studio work, and especially criticised the grisaille figures of the Virgin and Annunciatory Angel of which he wrote:

> These are badly drawn and feebly executed - notably the hands and feet - and are most certainly the work of another hand.[2]

Weale found certain details in the altarpiece unpleasant and inappropriate: his religious sensibilities were offended by humorous vignettes like the dog contemplating a frog in one of the side panels. Although the altarpiece had been praised enthusiastically by Waagen in his revised edition of Kugler's

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38997, f.241: Oldfield to Layard, 12 Feb. 1870.

2. Weale (1901), p.56.

Handbook to the German, Flemish and Dutch Schools published in 1860, Crowe's further revision in 1874 pointed out that the cleaning of the picture in 1846 revealed 'copious traces of the assistance which Memling had from his journeymen'.[1] It was unusual for the Society to publish one of the least admired examples of an artist's oeuvre and it can only be conjectured that the personal preference of a member of the council lay behind the choice. Possibly the decision was comparable with Browning's suggestion that the Malpaga frescoes be copied or with Sir William and Lady Gregory's choice of Gran Vasco's St. Peter Enthroned[2] in the Cathedral at Vizeu, copied with much difficulty by Costantini in 1887 and published in 1892.

The Society's only other Flemish publication, the Ghent altarpiece, appeared as twenty chromolithographs between 1868 and 1871, reproducing in its entirety a work of art which was at that date, and indeed until 1920, divided between Ghent Cathedral, the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin and the Royal Gallery in Brussels. Its publication by the Society was the culmination of an interest which had been steadily growing since the central panels of the interior had been exhibited in the Musée Napoleon from 1794 to 1815.[3] The altarpiece had been partly reproduced by Seroux D'Agincourt, but first appeared in its entirety in 1824-25 in the Ghent periodical Messager des Sciences. This inferior out-line engraving was probably the basis for the reproductions in Waagen's Notice

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1. Kugler, German, Flemish and Dutch Schools of Painting (1874), i, p.103, nt.1.

2. See below, p. 248.

3. The details which follow are largely drawn from Sulzberger, (1958), pp.313-318.

sur le chef-d'oeuvre des Freres Van Eyck (1825) and Passavant's Tour of a German Artist in England of 1836. In 1836 a curious lithograph of the exterior of the altarpiece, with the Triune God substituted for the landscape separating the Annunciatory Angel and the Virgin, appeared in A. Raczynski's Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne to illustrate his chapter on the growth of interest in early art in Germany.

In England the painting became known within a small circle through the apparently very beautiful copy of the altarpiece owned by the German merchant Karl Aders.[1] John Linnell engraved a wing of the altarpiece, the Just Judges, in 1826 for Aders' wife; and Linnell's work, although based on a copy, was of a far higher standard than the wood-engravings which appeared in the various editions of Kugler's Handbook and in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's Early Flemish Painters of 1857.

Schultz's chromolithograph of the entire altarpiece formed an impressive publication for the Society. The prints were seen by the Athenaeum as the best transcripts then available[2] and were, incidentally, greatly admired by Weale, who suggested in 1912 that the Society's copies should be exhibited in the Early Flemish room in the National Gallery.[3]

The council's decision to reproduce the work of northern painters was in keeping with the Society's aim to present a comprehensive picture of European art to its members. It seems that even as early as 1860 the council intended to copy and publish at least one northern artist. A frontispiece issued with the Society's wood-engravings of the Arena Chapel depicts a fictitious piece of Gothic architecture and in roundels above

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1. See above, p. 8, nt.2.
2. Athenaeum (15 May 1869), p.675.
3. Weale (1912), p.60.

three ogee arches are portraits of Giotto, Ghirlandaio, Michelangelo, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci and Durer.[1] The specialist help which Schultz offered encouraged the council to reproduce works by northern artists; and Memling and Van Eyck were the first to be published, followed by Durer, Holbein the Younger, and Stephen Lochner.

Nonetheless, the artists and works selected suggest that the council had reservations about northern art which had been well expressed by Layard when in 1861 he reviewed Waagen's edition of Kugler's Handbook to the German, Flemish and Dutch Schools. Layard made it plain that he considered Italian art, refined as it was by classical examples, to be superior to the Northern Schools whose

> prominent features are a remarkable energy, and the attempt to give individuality by striking contrasts and exaggerated expression. Human feelings and emotions are indicated by contorted distortion of action and violent gesticulation; vice and wickedness by hideous distortion of the human countenance and by absurd caricature of the human form. There is an absence of almost all attempt to portray noble and elevated sentiments or calm dignity.[2]

Layard combined a low opinion of northern art with a definite contempt for the style and the approach of German art critics. While he conceded that they had done much to relate the visual arts to historical and philosophical disciplines, he had little patience with the German art historical vocabulary, even though much of its clumsiness was the result of bad translation. He felt that German scholars had a weakness for meaningless profundities and a tendency to habits of thought with which he could not sympathise.

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1. This frontispiece is bound in with one of the British Museum Print Room's two copies of the Arundel Society's wood-engravings after Giotto's frescoes at Padua.

2. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.469.

Layard's attitude was part of a general prejudice against Germans which made Gruner so sensitive and touchy in his dealings with his English patrons. It was to complicate Prince Albert's role as Prince Consort; it disturbed the young Max Müller, the orientalist and philologist, who from 1846 lived in England. In 1850, by which time he held a deputy professorship at Oxford, he wrote bitterly to his friend and fellow countryman Baron Bunsen of the anti-German feeling displayed by the Edinburgh Review and the Quarterly Review.[1] But he and Bunsen had prejudices of their own, of a type familiar enough to any student of nineteenth century German nationalism. Bunsen wrote of his compatriots in the following terms:

> We are still the chosen people of God, the Christian Hellenes, I live my intellectual life in my own country.[2]

Max Müller, on a visit to Germany in 1852, found that the old German and Dutch Schools of art were finer and truer than those of Italy, France and Spain.[3] Layard detected a similar nationalist spirit in Kugler and Waagen's writings and mocked Kugler's 'almost ridiculous' rhapsody over Durer.[4]

In his discussion of individual Northern artists Layard tended to praise damningly. Phrases like 'Teutonic element', 'German tendency', 'essentially Teutonic' and 'essentially German' were used to single out defects. Significantly, the artists whom Layard praised with the least reserve tended to be those later published by the Society. For example Meister Wilhelm's pictures, Layard felt, 'have a deep religious sentiment, a tender and lovely colour, and simple innocent expression,

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1. Life and Letters of the Rt.Hon. Frederich Max Müller (1902), ii, p.114.
2. Bunsen (1868), ii, p.147.
3. Life and Letters of the Rt.Hon. Frederich Max Müller (1902), i, p.132.
4. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.484.

which reminds us of the work of Fra Angelico'.[1] The Society published in 1873 the Madonna with a Violet (Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan Museum), which was believed to be by Meister Wilhelm, but is now attributed to Stephen Lochner. Lochner's winged altarpiece in Cologne Cathedral, The Adoration of the Magi, was published in 1874. Layard had written of it:

> The Virgin and Child, the female figures, and the worshipping Kings are marked by a beauty and elevation of type which, inferior as it may be to that of the Italian painters, would seem almost beyond the Teutonic conception of womanly beauty and manly dignity.[2]

The Ghent altarpiece published by the Society from 1868-1871 had been praised with characteristic caution:

> In this picture the spiritual and conventional art of the Middle Ages was probably carried to as high a degree of perfection as the Teutonic artist was able to attain.[3]

But Layard detected coarse passages in the altarpiece. He believed that Memling, the first artist published by the Society, carried 'the peculiar qualities'[4] of the Flemish School to its greatest heights, but his phraseology implied that such a school necessarily had limitations, and was not universal or ideal.

Similarly, of Durer, whose St. John and St. Peter and St. Mark and St. Paul (Munich, Pinacotek) were published in 1870 and whose Adoration of the Holy Trinity (Vienna, Belvedere) was published in 1879, Layard had written:

> His genius is essentially German; but in him the tendency to the vulgar, the grotesque, and the fantastic was elevated into a poetic and at the same time a philosophic conception of the various phases of human life.[5]

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1. Qaurterly Review, 109 (1861), p.473.
2. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.473.
3. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.475.
4. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.477.
5. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.483.

He had observed of the Apostles published by the Society:

> But not withstanding the defects they may possess - defects inherent to this school of art - these are truly grand and noble figures which, when once seen, make an indelible impression upon the memory.[1]

Layard believed that Holbein the Younger, whose Darmstadt Madonna was published in 1871, 'carried the German branch of the Teutonic art to its highest perfection. ... Had he been an Italian, and not a German, he would have been in the first rank of historical painters.[2]

Apart from Memling, Holbein was the only Northern artist whose work was published with a monograph. Although the copy of the Meier Madonna at Darmstadt was executed by Schultz in 1868, it seems likely that the decision to publish this controversial picture with a monograph by Ralph Wornum was precipitated by the Holbein exhibition held at Dresden in 1870. At the exhibition the far more famous Dresden version was hung beside the Virgin and Child and the Meier Family from a private collection in Darmstadt and was seen by Wornum and another leading Holbein scholar, Alfred Woltmann, to be a mere copy. The controversy, which had begun in 1822 with the discovery of the Darmstadt Madonna was not settled by the Holbein exhibition. In September 1871 a group of twenty five German artists and art historians, including Ludwig Gruner, published a letter claiming that the Dresden Madonna was a repetition by Holbein, differing in points, but of even greater beauty than the Darmstadt picture.[3]

Like Weale, Ralph Wornum (1812-1877) might be described as a professional art historian. He was the ideal author of a monograph on a Holbein picture, but in view of the council's reservations about Weale's essay he was an unlikely Arundel

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1. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.485.
2. Quarterly Review, 109 (1861), p.481.
3. See Atkinson (1872), pp.37-38.

Society choice, being neither a gifted nor an entertaining writer.

Wornum had trained as an artist, had spent the years 1834-1839 abroad visiting galleries in France, Germany and Italy and on his return to England set up as a portrait painter. He evidently had rather greater artistic aspirations for he apparently submitted a cartoon to the first Westminster competition in 1843 which was commended although it won no prize.[1] He also began to write about art and by 1845 was a regular contributor to the Art-Journal. In 1847 he published a catalogue to the Foreign Schools in the National Gallery, which was later adopted as the official catalogue and has remained the basis for all further research. In 1848 Wornum was appointed lecturer on Ornamental Art to the Schools of Design and he spent the next year touring the provincial Schools lecturing on ancient ornament. Whereas his talents had been displayed to the full in his National Gallery Catalogue, his lectures were apparently unacceptably dry and ponderous. In 1852 Henry Cole took over and re-organised the Schools of Design. Although he had attacked Wornum's lectures in the Journal of Design and privately mocked his sesquipedalian vocabulary, Cole recognised the usefulness of his methodical mind and appointed him Librarian and Keeper of Ornamental Casts in the Department of Practical Art.[2] Wornum did not retain the post for long as in 1854 he was offered the Keepership of the National Gallery and he remained Keeper and Secretary until his death in 1877.

Out of Wornum's involvement with the Schools of Design came

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1. Mention of this is made in Wornum's obituary, The Times, 19 Dec. 1877, p.10.

2. For a good discussion of Wornum's official career see Macdonald (1970), pp.139, 242-7.

his least readable work, Analysis of Ornament, published in 1856. His real talent, however, lay in cataloguing and defining an artist's oeuvre. His work on the Turner collection won Ruskin's admiration and in 1865 he wrote of Wornum:

> I have deep respect for his earnest and patient research, and we remain friends - on condition that I am to learn much from him, and he (though it may be questionable whose fault that is) nothing from me.[1]

In 1867 Wornum published The Life and Works of Holbein which he dedicated to Ruskin. Both Wornum's book and Alfred Woltmann's Holbein und Seine Zeit published in the previous year were models of scholarship. Reviewers found Woltmann's work to be more precise and better written, but it was, as Wornum himself pointed out, 'German in its view and treatment',[2] whilst Wornum wrote badly and irritated reviewers with his bursts of ardent anti-Catholicism.[3] Both writers dealt fully with the controversial Meier Madonna: Woltmann believed the Dresden picture to be a replica by Holbein and his assistants while Wornum took the view that it was a copy, possibly by Giovanni Lodi. Woltmann came to agree with Wornum in 1870 when he saw the two pictures together at Dresden.

Wornum's subsequent monograph for the Society was, with Weale's Hans Memlinc and George Scharf's publication on the Wilton Diptych of 1882, among the most scholarly of the Society's publications. Wornum gave an outline of Holbein's life, establishing the dates of his birth and death and refuting

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1. Ruskin, Works, XIX, p.107.

2. Wornum (1867), p.45.

3. Wornum's anti-Catholicism was remarked upon in a review in the Fine Arts Quarterly, n.s. 11 (1867), p.227 and an anonymous review by Sir Edmund Head in the Edinburgh Review, CXXV (1867), p.417 .

apocryphal stories such as the legend that Henry VIII's decision to marry Anne of Cleves was based on the beauty of Holbein's portrait of the Queen. Instead he gave the facts, as far as they were known, and included a transcript of Holbein's will which had been discovered in 1861 by William Henry Black. The rest of the monograph was devoted to a discussion of the Meier Madonna. Wornum described how he had first seen the Dresden version as a young man, before he had looked at other examples of Holbein's work. By 1863 he had studied the drawings at Windsor and felt distinct doubts about the Dresden picture. In 1865 he visited Darmstadt to examine the alternative painting and was satisfied that it was the original. The Holbein Exhibition at Dresden served to confirm his belief and he states in his monograph for the Society, tactlessly in view of Gruner's position, that only those interested in the prestige of the Dresden Gallery would continue to defend the picture as the original.[1] Wornum's stylistic instincts about the two Madonnas were entirely correct: the Dresden Madonna is no longer the jewel of that collection and is now attributed to Bartholomaus Sarburgh (1590-c.1637).

Wornum then examined the complex provenance of the two pictures and finally discussed the iconography of the Darmstadt picture. It had been frequently suggested that the scene celebrated the recovery of a sick child and that the Madonna held this child in her arms, while the Christ Child stood at her feet. Wornum noted that this sentimental interpretation was comparatively modern and had first been suggested by Ludwig Tieck and Friedrich Schlegel.[2] The idea had appealed to Ruskin and Mrs. Jameson but, as Wornum pointed out, was based on the

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1. Arundel Society, Wornum (1871), p.24.
2. Arundel Society, Wornum (1871), p.37.

wan appearance of the child in the Dresden copy; no such conclusion could be drawn from the Darmstadt picture. Although the Meier Madonna was executed for one of Holbein's Roman Catholic patrons, Wornum did not repeat those fiercely Protestant feelings which had irritated the reviewers of his life of Holbein. Like Weale, he did not allow his religious views to colour his writing for the Society.

Because the Copying Fund limited itself almost entirely to the recording of frescoes it is not surprising that all the Society's copies of German and Flemish panel paintings were published. The seemingly small number of copies made is no guide to the general interest in Northern art during the life-time of the Society. Similarly, a comparatively small number of Venetian works of art was copied, but this was because frescoes were hardly to be found in Venice and cannot be taken as any index to the great popularity of Venetian art in nine-teenth century England.

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Seven Venetian artists were either copied or reproduced, including Tintoretto, two of whose paintings in the Scuola di San Rocco had been published in 1857. These have already been discussed,[1] but it is worth emphasising that Ruskin was closely involved with their publication. Despite his position as the greatest nineteenth century populariser of Venetian history, art and architecture, he appears to have had surprisingly little influence upon the Society's subsequent Venetian publications. The first water-colours made after a Venetian artist were, significantly, after rare examples of fresco by Titian in the Scuola del Santo at Padua, St. Antony of Padua making an infant

1. See above, pp. 71-73.

speak and St. Antony of Padua healing a Young Man, the latter being published in 1873. Ruskin may have suggested the copying of these frescoes for as early as 1848 he had noticed that they were in a state of dangerous decay.[1]

In 1879 the Society published a far more beautiful Venetian work - Giorgione's Castelfranco altarpiece. The print was accompanied by a brief anonymous pamphlet illustrated with a half tone print of the chromolithograph. Whoever the author may have been - the Society's assistant secretary F. Lambe Price or its Treasurer Edmund Oldfield seem likely candidates - he was no gifted writer. He gave a very close description of the altarpiece, as if he feared that the print did not do justice to the painting. He hazarded the traditional guess that the figure on the right of the Madonna, St. Liberale, was a portrait of the artist or of Matteo Costanzo. In a passage of startling naivety the author attempted to sum up the characteristics of Giorgione's style:

> There is a flavour of Carpaccio's work in Giorgione's pictures, but there is more freedom and more grace in his works than is found in those of the earlier master. At the same time it is impossible to deny that some of the indescribable charm of Carpaccio's work - perhaps better described as "quaintness" than in any other way - is wanting in Giorgione.[2]

The determinedly amateur style of this pamphlet, with its melancholy reference to 'the fierce ordeal of modern art criticism'[3] is strikingly different from the tone of Wornum's learned monograph published eight years earlier and the contrast highlights the unpredictable nature of the Society's publications.

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXI, p.301.

2. Arundel Society, Giorgione's Madonna and Child at Castelfranco (1879), p. 4.

3. Arundel Society, Giorgione's Madonna and Child at Castelfranco (1879), p.4.

The print itself, however, has a peculiar historical importance in that Ruskin discovered the picture through the print[1] (he never saw the original) and he displayed the print to a lecture audience in 1884 so that they might understand why he thought the altarpiece to be one of 'the two most perfect pictures in the world'.[2]

In the early 1880s it was decided to copy works by Tiepolo and Veronese. Tiepolo was the most modern artist to be copied by the Society and the council clearly felt that although the water-colours were not to be published, the choice of these frescoes demanded some explanation. In the annual report of 1883 it was said of the water-colours:

> They are taken from frescoes by Tiepolo in the Palazzo Labia in that city (Venice), representing scenes from the history of Antony and Cleopatra, and offer good illustrations of the decorative manner of the Venetian school in the eighteenth century, contrasting strongly with the earlier and severer art to which the Society has hitherto chiefly directed its attention.[3]

Curiously enough the decision to copy these frescoes was taken long after the retirement from the Society's council of two men who owned sizeable collections of Tiepolo drawings, G.A.F. Cavendish Bentinck, the politician[4] and Edward Cheney, the antiquary, collector and scholar.[5]

The Tiepolo water-colours were never published but two of the four allegorical scenes by Veronese in the Villa Maser were issued as prints. Like the Tiepolo scenes they were frescoes; their publication was suggested by Oscar Browning. He had

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1. See Works, XI, p.240.

2. The other being Tintoretto's Paradise in the Ducal Palace in Venice. Ruskin, Works, XXXIII, p.503.

3. 34th Annual Report of the Council (1883), p.2

4. See Catalogue of Pictures and Objects of Art of the late G. A.F. Cavendish Bentinck, M.P., P.C., Christie, Manson and Woods, 1891.

5. See Waagen (1857), pp.170-5.

discovered them in 1880 while on an eccentric tricycling holiday which took him through Germany, across the Alps and finally to Venice. En route he stopped at the Villa Maser 'in which Paolo Veronese painted his magnificent frescoes of the four Cardinal Virtues, which I persuaded the Arundel Society to publish.[1]

The two Venetian artists whose work would surely have had the greatest appeal for the council and members, Giovanni Bellini and Vittore Carpaccio, were not published until very late in the Society's lifetime. That Venetian art in general received more attention from the 1880s onwards may have been linked to Henry Layard's permanent retirement to Venice in 1880. As we have seen, it was probably Layard who discovered the copyist Desideri.[2] Bellini and Carpaccio were possibly initially neglected in favour of Titian, Veronese and Tiepolo, despite their narrative charm, because they did not work in fresco.

Five scenes by Carpaccio were copied by Desideri; four from the chapel of S. Giorgio degli Schiavono were copied in 1883, of which three, St. Jerome in his Study, St. George Baptising the Princess Cleodolinda and the Calling of St. Matthew were published in 1887, 1888 and 1889. A short descriptive notice was published to explain the complex iconography of St. George Baptising the Princess Cleodolinda.[3] The beautiful

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1. Browning (1910), p.305.

2. See above, p. 125.

3. This is one of a group of short notices issued with chromolithographs which I have been unable to trace. It is mentioned in Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.342, note 1 as it corrects a description of the scene in Ruskin's St. Mark's Rest. In addition in B.M. Addit. MSS. 39041, f.27: Richter to Layard, 9 Dec. 1886 mention is made of a text accompanying the print of Pisanello's Departure of St. George. Also see B.M. Addit. MSS. 39041, f.94-95: Oldfield to Layard, 17 March 1887 in which Oldfield writes of drawing up a short notice to accompany Gozzoli's Procession of the Magi. In B.M. Addit. MSS. 39098, f.229: Oldfield to

Continued on next page

St. Vitale on Horseback was copied in 1889, but never published.

Ruskin may have indirectly persuaded the council to copy and publish Carpaccio. He had admired him since 1869 when he visited Venice with Edward Burne-Jones. Thereafter Ruskin frequently referred to Carpaccio in published works and in 1876 went to Venice specifically to discover the history of the Schiavoni Chapel. His Venetian publications of 1877, Pictures in the Academy and St. Mark's Rest were dominated by Carpaccio. St. Mark's Rest in particular was provided with a supplement entitled The Shrine of Slaves which formed a guide to the pictures in the chapel of St. Giorgio degli Schiavoni. In 1879 a second supplement to St. Mark's Rest was published. This was A Place of Dragons and was an elaborate interpretation of one scene, St. George and the Dragon, by a young disciple of Ruskin, James Reddie Anderson.

Although Ruskin's mental state grew increasingly unstable in the late 1870s he may well have directly urged the publication of Carpaccio and indeed of a detail of Giovanni Bellini's triptych in the Frari. He retained his links with the Society and gave quite lengthy, if dislocated, speeches at Annual General Meetings in 1878 and 1882.[1] Even as late as 1885 he appears to have placed great importance on his attendance at the Society's meetings for in that year he wrote to Kate Greenaway:

(continued from previous page)
Layard, 16 April 1892 Oldfield mentions having written a notice on Gran Vasco's St. Peter Enthroned and proposes to write a notice on Ghirlandaio's Augustus and the Sibyl. The leaflet on Gran Vasco is mentioned in the Athenaeum, 9 July 1892, p.73. Apparently it described how Gregory offered to finance a scheme to preserve the painting by coating it with mastic varnish. The reviewer noted that quite rightly the idea was greeted with indignation by the Portuguese.

1. Ruskin, Works, XXXIV, pp.634-637 (1878), pp.637-639 (1882).

its to be Friday
Friday is thus laid out
Breakfast 10 Mrs Talbot
Poetry 12 Miss Ingelow
Painting 2 Miss Greenaway
Literature (Art) 4 - Arundel Society -
The Arundel meeting took me by surprise - and must be attended.[1]

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The majority of prints published by the Society reproduced examples of pictorial art. Examples of the plastic arts were issued as facsimiles, either greatly reduced in size like the casts of the Elgin Marbles or as true facsimiles like the ivories or the bas relief head of St. Cecilia (Fig.15). In 1872 however, the Society began the publication of chromolithographs based on Adolf Gnauth's water-colours of sepulchral monuments.[2] It seems very likely that the decision to publish these prints was inspired by Ruskin - perhaps not directly but rather through his lengthy descriptions of funerary sculpture in the third volume of Stones of Venice. Ruskin saw tombs as primary evidence for the most important theme of the three volumes - the gradual moral decline of Venice. In the churches of SS. Giovanni e Paolo and the Frari he was able to chart the city's greatness and its decline, from the modest thirteenth century beauty of the tomb of the Doges Jacopo and Lorenzo Tiepolo to the eighteenth century tomb of the Doge Bertuccio Valier and Doge Silvester Valier and his Dogaressa, a towering mass of marble, 'deserving attentive study as exhibiting every condition of false taste and feeble conception'.[3]

Of the tombs published by the Society, three had been praised by Ruskin in Stones of Venice:- the tomb of Count Guglielmo da

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1. Bodleian MS. Eng. Letts. C.48, f.48: Ruskin to Kate Greenaway, 10 June 1885.

2. See above, p. 111-113.

3. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.113.

Castelbarco outside the church of S. Anastasia in Verona (published in 1881) was considered by Ruskin to be 'the most perfect Gothic sepulchral monument in the world';[1] the tomb of Doge Michele Morosini in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo (published in 1882) was 'the richest monument of the Gothic period in Venice';[2] and the tomb of Can Grande della Scala in the church of S. Maria Antica at Verona (published in 1887) was 'the consummate form of the Gothic tomb', a work of 'perfect feeling and truth'.[3] Ruskin had been shocked, however, by a monument of which the Society published a print in 1875. This was the tomb of Doge Andrea Vendramin in the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo; Ruskin had climbed a ladder in order to view the tomb from above and had noticed that the effigy of the Doge was only carved on the side normally viewed by the spectator, thus illustrating the degraded nature of the late fifteenth century workman - for

> who, with a heart in his breast, could have stayed his hand as he drew the dim lines of the old man's countenance - unmajestic once, indeed, but at least sanctified by the solemnities of death - could have stayed his hand, as he reached the bend of the grey forehead and measured out the last veins of it at so much a zecchin.[4]

Ruskin argued that the lives of the sculptors and of the men to whom the monuments were raised were mirrored by the artistic honesty of the tombs themselves. Therefore it came as no surprise to him to find that the sculptor of the Vendramin tomb had been banished from Venice for forgery and that the Dogeship of Andrea Vendramin had been 'the most disastrous in

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1. Ruskin, Works, IX, p.175.
2. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.98.
3. Ruskin, Works, XI, p.87, p.89.
4. Ruskin, Works, IX, p.52.

the annals of Venice'.[1] On the other hand, when he read in Daru's Histoire de Venise and in the Rev. Edward Smedley's Sketches from Venetian History that Doge Morosini was an avaricious speculator he felt this to be out of character with the Doge's comparatively simple tomb and he went to some lengths to prove that both authors had given fallacious accounts of Morosini's career.[2]

Two tombs of which prints were published by the Society in 1872, those of Tommaso Pellegrini and of the Cavalli Family, both in the church of S. Anastasia at Verona, had not been discussed by Ruskin in Stones of Venice.[3] In 1870, when the publication of Gnauth's water-colours was being discussed by the council, it was decided that Ruskin should be invited to write a short monograph on any of the tombs which the artist had copied. George Richmond and Henry Danby Seymour proposed that the water-colour of the Cavalli monument (Fig. 36), as the largest and most interesting copy, be the subject of the monograph and that it be published first. Ruskin called at the Society's rooms, approved their choice,[4] and the year 1872 saw the publication of the Society's most puzzling monograph.[5]

The tone of Ruskin's opening paragraphs on the Cavalli monument was deliberately bleak, an entire contrast with the

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1. Ruskin, Works, IX, p.49.

2. Ruskin, Works, XI, pp.98-100.

3. Nor were they mentioned in Verona and its Rivers, a lecture given in 1870 in which Ruskin returned to the subject of Can Grande's tomb. Ruskin, Works, XIX, p.441.

4. A complete account of the arrangements leading up to Ruskin agreeing to write the monograph was given by Oldfield to Layard. See B.M. Addit. MSS. 38997, f.241-242: Oldfield to Layard, 12 Feb. 1870. According to Oldfield Ruskin agreed to write on the Cavalli tomb as he had found the chapel blocked with furniture which he cleared and paid to warehouse in Verona.

5. John Ruskin, Monuments of the Cavalli Family in the Church of Anastasia, Verona, printed for the Arundel Society 1872. All references from Ruskin, Works, XXIV, pp.127-138. The text of this monograph was reprinted in 1885 in On the Old Road, i, pp. 643-653 (2nd edition 1890, ii, pp.265-27[illegible]). There were numerous misprints in both these editions.

picturesque scene setting with which Layard prefaced his monographs. Ruskin began by describing the church of S. Anastasia:

> The traveller in Italy is so often called upon to admire what he cannot enjoy, that it must relieve the mind of any reader intending to visit Verona to be assured that this church contains nothing which deserves extraordinary praise.[1]

He went on to disagree with the assertion in Murray's guide that the church 'would, if the front were finished, probably be the most perfect specimen in existence of the style to which it belongs'.[2] Once inside the church Ruskin described the tomb of Gerard Bolderius as 'the only work of art in the church to deserve serious attention'.[3] The Cavalli Chapel containing the tomb depicted in the Society's print was described by Ruskin as being

> filled with a medley of tombs and frescoes of different dates, partly superseding, none illustrating, each other, and instructive mainly as showing the unfortunate results of freedom and 'private enterprise' in matters of art, as compared with the submission to the design of one ruling mind which is the glory of all the chapels in Italy where art is noble.[4]

After this characteristic hit at selfish private economic freedom, Ruskin went on to discuss the frescoes surrounding the Cavalli tomb. These were reproduced in the Arundel print which depicted the entire south side of the chapel. The Madonna and four Saints was described by Ruskin as being not a good, but a characteristic fresco, while he felt the fresco of three knights of the Cavalli family above the monument to be an interesting example of the 'earnest work'[5] of Giotto's

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.127.
2. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.127.
3. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.129.
4. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, pp.130-131.
5. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.132.

time. The actual tomb itself was described as an 'incrustation' and

> roughly carved, and coarsely painted, by men who were not trying to do their best, and could not have done anything very well, even if they had tried: it is an entirely commonplace and dull work, though of a good school, and has been raised against the highest fresco with a strange disregard for the merit of the work itself, and of its historic value to the family.[1]

This was all he had to say of the tomb, for the remainder of the monograph was devoted to an historical summary of the Cavalli's fortunes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The family had grown rich as <u>condottieri</u> in the service of the Visconti of Milan. Ruskin emphasised that they rose to power at a sad time in Italian history which had witnessed:

> the conclusive triumph of the northern monarchic over the republican power; or, more literally, of the wandering rider, Eques, or Ritter, living by pillage, over the sedentary burgher, living by art, and hale peasant, living by labour.[2]

Ruskin had painted a more romantic picture of mercenary warfare earlier in the same year when in <u>Fors Clavigera</u> he described with admiration the activities of Sir John Hawkwood and his White Company (and even drew a comparison with his own Guild of St. George, which would 'have for its end the wise creating and bestowing, instead of the wise stealing, of money').[3] His attitude to warfare was, however, ambivalent. He was, as he made clear in the Cavalli monograph, on the side of the burgher and the peasant rather than the knight, but the idea of the chivalrous mercenary appealed to him as a beautiful concept. In the case of the Cavalli he felt that they did not possess

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1. Ruskin, <u>Works</u>, XXIV, p.132.
2. Ruskin, <u>Works</u>, XXIV, p.137.
3. Ruskin, <u>Works</u>, XXVII, pp.295-296.

Hawkwood's supposedly high standards of knightly courtesy. He had read that the condottiere Jacopo Cavalli refused to attack Feltre because his employers would not grant him the pillage of the town and for this reason he wrote about the family more critically. The monograph ends abruptly with Ruskin asking the reader to bear in mind the grim occupation of the Cavalli when looking at the family fresco of the three kneeling knights, but not to suppose that

> a condottiere's religion must necessarily have been false or hypocritical. The folly of nations is in nothing more manifest than in their placid reconciliation of noble creeds with base practices. But the reconciliation, in the fourteenth as in the nineteenth century, was usually foolish only, not insincere.[1]

Ruskin's monograph was uncharacteristic of the Society's publications in two principal ways. It was unflattering and unenthusiastic about its subject matter. It also ranged outside that subject. Admittedly Layard had always tried to relate the artists he wrote about to the art of his own time, but Ruskin hinted at far wider issues. His dislike of Utilitarian economic doctrine informed his critical description of the haphazard decorations of the Cavalli Chapel and his fierce disillusion with human morality was voiced in the closing passage of his monograph, although it was tempered with some kindly pity. The Saturday Review, surprised at his evident contempt for the subject of his monograph, noted vulgarly but accurately that his text 'reads like the cry of stinking fish'[2] while the Art-Journal observed that Ruskin wrote 'more as an apologist than as an eulogist'.[3]

Whether Ruskin's contribution pleased the council remains

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1. Ruskin, Works, XXIV, p.138.
2. Saturday Review, XXXVII (1874), p.156.
3. Art-Journal, XIII (1874), p.40.

a mystery. Certainly his active connection with the Society, which seemed to have lapsed since 1862 when he studied Luini at Milan with the Society's publications in mind, was kept up after the publication of the Cavalli monograph; in 1874 he was in Assisi, closely supervising Kaiser's copying of the frescoes in the church of S. Francesco.

In 1877 - while the chromolithographs of the tombs were still appearing - the council decided to publish further examples using a less costly process. Stephen Thompson was commissioned to take photographs in northern and central Italy to form a series of illustrations of sepulchral monuments of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is tempting to assume that Stephen Thompson was the son of John Thompson the engraver (1796-1866) and the brother of South Kensington's official photographer Charles Thurston Thompson (1816-1868) but in fact we know remarkably little about him. He was the author and photographer, and occasionally only photographer, of sixteen illustrated books published between 1863 and 1878, during which period he exhibited regularly at the Royal Photographic Society. He was employed by the London Photographic and Stereoscopic Company to take photographs of the objects shown at the International Exhibition of 1862 and these photographs formed the basis for the chromolithographs in J.B. Waring's Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition.[1] After 1878 he ceased to exhibit and publish.

Thompson appears to have specialised in photographs of works of art. Characteristic publications to which he contributed were Titian Portraits (1871) and Gems of Dutch Art (1872) both

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1. See Waring (1863), Preface.

with a text by G.W. Reid, the Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, and The Castellani Collection (1874) with text by Sir Charles Newton. Thompson's own publications reveal how sensitive he was to the market for foreign views demanded by an ever increasing number of travellers abroad. His Swiss Scenery of 1866 combined a series of photographic illustrations with notes by the author and appropriate quotations mainly culled from Rogers' poetry and Ruskin's descriptive writings. Venice and her Poets of 1870 was a similar publication - illustrated with ten photographs of Venetian views with extracts chosen by Thompson from the poetry of Byron, Browning, Rogers, Shelley, Clough, Addison, Moore and Wordsworth.

Thompson's photographs for the Arundel Society were to be among his last works. He received the commission in 1877 and returned in the autumn of that year with photographs and descriptive notes.[1] Sepulchral Monuments in Italy appeared in 1878 as an occasional publication, containing forty-nine photographs in all, divided into 7 parts, each purchasable separately.

Twenty-six tombs had been photographed by Thompson under conditions of great difficulty. Lighting the tombs was the principal problem, and although in some cases this was solved clumsily most of the plates are of great beauty. Each was accompanied by a short note by Thompson and the entire publication formed a far wider ranging survey than the series of chromolithographs.

By the time Thompson had returned from Italy it had been decided to invite G.E. Street to write an introductory notice

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1. 28th Annual Report of the Council (1877), p.2.

to the series. Street had been a lively member of the Society's council since his election in 1867. A careful draughtsman himself, he had earlier criticised the accuracy of some of the Society's copies.[1] Now it was possible for him to make use of his knowledge of medieval Italian architecture and sculpture. He took copious notes, working under the pressure of numerous other projects. The council reported in 1878 that his introduction was very nearly ready[2] but in 1879 that it was not yet complete because of his other engagements.[3] In December 1881, after six months of ill health, he died. Accordingly, although the title pages of the first seven parts of the publication name Street as the author of the introduction,[4] it was finally written by an American, Charles Callahan Perkins, who as the author of Tuscan Sculpture (1864) and Italian Sculptors (1868) was perhaps even better qualified than Street for the task.[5] Perkins was given Street's manuscripts to work from and, although his approach to the subject seems to have been more scholarly, out of a sense of respect he quoted from them, opening the essay with Street's prefatory note. In this passage Street had emphasised that the Society had published photographs of Renaissance monuments 'with a special view to the development of our own art at the present day' and he warned

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1. See above, p. 102.

2. 29th Annual Report of the Council (1878), p.2.

3. 30th Annual Report of the Council (1879), p.2.

4. Published as Sepulchral Monuments in Italy, medieval and cinquecentisti with an introduction by G.E. Street R.A. The photographs and descriptive text by Stephen Thompson. London: Published by the Arundel Society for Promoting the Knowledge of Art, 1878.

5. This final part was published as Sepulchral Monuments of Italy. Medieval and Renaissance. Introductory Notice by Charles C. Perkins. With extracts from the MS. Notes of the late G.E. Street R.A. 1883.

the reader that with this in mind he intended to criticise 'what appear to me to be serious faults in Italian designs'.[1] It therefore seems likely that Street's reaction to the photographs published by the Society would have been informed by his role as practising architect.

Perkins's study was more objective. He outlined classical burial customs, emphasising the links between Roman sarcophagi and Christian tombs. He then discussed the particular monuments photographed by Thompson, analysing the different characteristics of Florentine, Roman, Venetian and Veronese funerary sculpture. Although his descriptions are lucid and learned Perkins was evidently a great admirer of what he called 'Ruskin's golden pen';[2] and his more subjective observations reiterate ideas expressed by Ruskin in The Stones of Venice. His consciousness of the irony of those funerary monuments which celebrate the virtues of unworthy men is truly Ruskinian, and failing to find words to express his dislike for the more ostentatious of the seventeenth century tombs he quotes Ruskin's outburst against the monument to Doge Bertuccio Valier. Perhaps Perkins was a little too in awe of English scholarship, for this tremendously learned man apparently considered his task of turning Street's notes into publishable form to be 'one of the most gratifying recognitions he had ever received'.[3]

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I have suggested that the council showed a marked preference for quattrocento artists and that examples of work by later artists like Leonardo, Michelangelo and Raphael were included to give a sense of completeness to the Society's publications.

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1. Ibid., p.2.
2. Ibid., p.12.
3. Eliot (1887), p.12.

Similarly, Titian and Tintoretto as the great masters of Venetian art were reproduced in small quantities, while Tiepolo and Veronese provided rare examples of fresco being used in and near Venice.

The Society also copied and published a considerable group of artists who were contemporaries of the masters of classic art. They tended to share a common characteristic. They were, with a few exceptions, working away from the great centres of artistic development in the sixteenth century - Florence, Rome and Venice. As a result their work might be summed up as a mixture of sophistication and innocence. The follower of Romanino whose frescoes at Malpaga were copied and published was a crude painter of this kind and his work possesses the characteristic combination of realism and an artless ordering of subject matter.

Perhaps the best representative of this type of artist was Bernardino Luini of whose work the Society published seven prints and made five unpublished copies. We have seen how the Saturday Review contrasted the beauty of Luini's Burial of St. Catherine (published in 1858) favourably with the Society's facsimile of ivories.[1] The latter, it was felt, would only interest the dilettante, who was defined as an undesirable who believed art to be a necessity rather than an adornment of life. The reviewer concluded that the publication of Luinis rather than ivories would do much to improve the Society's finances and respectability. It is probable that the early ivories had offended the reviewer with their primitivism and that his attitude was linked to the general lack of love for early art.

The Saturday Review did not exactly define the nature of

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1. See above, p.66.

Luini's appeal, but it was well described by J. Beavington Atkinson writing in the Art-Journal:

> Luini, we love as one of the tenderest of painters; living at the happy epoch when the earnest faith of early days yet unextinguished was most happily blended with the intellectual knowledge which Art in its progress, had at length accumulated.[1]

This description had a familiar ring: it is precisely the sort of praise which Layard gave to the quattrocento artists about whom he wrote for the Society. Although Luini was Leonardo's follower he had none of the sophistication of the High Renaissance artist and instead combined quattrocento innocence with cinquecento freedom from error.[2]

While Luini was beginning to find admirers in the 1850s and 1860s the roots of the Society's interest in his work can be traced to the influence of Henry Layard. In 1856 he wrote to his aunt Sara Austen from Verona of a night spent at Saronno:

> I made tracings of some of the most interesting frescoes - and Mrs. Burr a very good drawing of the exquisite cupola painted by Gaudenzia Ferrari - no easy work. I was more delighted than I had ever been last year with the Luinis - which I place among the best works in fresco with which I am acquainted and which ought to be sufficient to convert anyone of taste to the superiority of that medium over oil. Luini worked so much and his paintings - frescoes as well as oils - are unequal. His scholars, too, did a good deal for him. Of all his works which I have seen I like the Saronno frescoes - which are of the highest class.....I obtained permission at Milan to make tracings in the Brera - but had only time to avail myself of it to make one - that of St. Catherine placed in a tomb by angels in an exquisite work of Luini.[3]

In 1858 Layard wrote in the Quarterly Review of Luini and other pupils of Leonardo:

> Long after the true spirit of fresco had fled from central Italy they kept it alive to the north of the Po.[4]

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1. Art-Journal, n.s. VI (1860), pp.133-134.

2. For a discussion of the appeal of Luini and Francia see Haskell (1976), pp.55-56.

3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38948, f.49: Layard to Benjamin and Sara Austen, 7 Sept. 1856.

4. Quarterly Review, 104 (1858), p.312.

All the works by Luini noted by Layard in 1856 were copied and published by the Society, and in 1865 Layard appears to have considered writing a memoir on the artist to accompany the chromolithographs; he wrote to Morelli asking for sources for research into Lombard art;[1] but nothing came of the plan, probably because there is so little existing information concerning Luini's life. Layard's fondness for Luini was never to wane; according to Lady Gregory the Arundel print of the Burial of St. Catherine hung by his bed during his last illness 'where his eye could rest upon it to the last'.[2]

Ruskin was also an admirer of Luini, but it seems that he came to appreciate the artist through his connection with the Society. In 1862 he undertook to report on the frescoes by Luini in S. Maurizio in Milan for the Society. He wrote to his father:

> I never saw anything so beautiful in sacred art as Luini's Christs in S. Maurizio, or the remnants of them at least.[3]

In 1865, to the Society's undoubted benefit, he reached a far wider audience when he published Chapter VI of Cestus of Aglaia in the Art-Journal and described in some detail his response to Luini. Characteristically he admired Luini for the modesty he believed he discerned in his painting:

> His tasks are set him without question day by day, by men who are justly satisfied with his work and who accept it without any harmful praise or senseless blame.[4]

These were exactly the qualities which Ruskin had perceived and praised in Giotto's nature and which he had emphasised in his

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38966, f.23: Layard to Morelli, 12 August 1865.
2. Lady Gregory (1974), p.178.
3. Ruskin, Works, XIX, p.lxxiii.
4. Ruskin, Works, XIX, p.130.

monograph for the Society.[1]

The concept of the obedient artist was very attractive not only to Ruskin but also to Layard, who aimed in his writings to teach contemporary artists through the examples provided by earlier art. Layard's belief in large scale fresco decoration in modern buildings was also linked to the idea of obedience. Such work was a negation of the artist's personal freedom - for he would be limited in his subject matter and by the medium of fresco.

Another artist who had a rather similar quality of provincial innocence was the Cremonese painter Boccacio Boccaccino. As we have seen, Layard noticed his cycle of frescoes on the ceiling of Cremona Cathedral in 1856, and concluded that they were too inaccessible to be copied accurately.[2] One scene from the cycle, Christ Among the Doctors was eventually copied in 1883 and was published in 1890. As so often, the scene selected by the Society for reproduction was the most ordered and dramatically effective in the cycle. It also possessed, like the entire cycle, a quaintness - curious costume and naive gestures - which was described by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in a way which sums up the characteristics of this type of artist:

> Boccaccino, with a rude sort of power which did not escape Vasari's observation, had the misfortune to carry 15th century art into the 16th century, when painters of more cultivated centres were floating on the broad currents of the renaissance.[3]

An artist who had also worked at Cremona, Pordenone, shared Boccaccino's provincialism. In 1885 the council had two frescoes copied, The Flight into Egypt and the Adoration of the Magi at Castello Collalto near Conegliano. Crowe and Cavalcaselle had

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1. See above, pp. 55-56.
2. See above, p.77.
3. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1871), ii, p.441.

observed that these frescoes were a mixture of skill and clumsiness[1] but the quaintness of Pordenone's style and his loyalty to the medium of fresco made him very much the type of artist the council wished to record.

Another follower of Leonardo whose appeal may have been similar to that of Luini was the Sienese artist Sodoma. Eight copies were made of his works of which six were published in the 1870s and 1880s. Sodoma's charms for the Society's council were perhaps threefold: his fondness and talent for fresco, the sweetness and religiosity of his subjects and the fact that while contemporary with the great masters he retained these qualities at the expense of innovation.

The same might be said of Fra Bartolommeo. Five of his works were copied and four were published. Unlike Luini and Sodoma he did not work in the provinces, but like Albertinelli, whose Visitation was published in 1875, his art had limitations which he did not attempt to overcome.

Andrea del Sarto was an exceptional artist who does not fall into the same category of non-innovative cinquecentisti. Seven works by del Sarto were copied, of which six were reproduced, two as heliogravures. This large number of reproductions was surprising as del Sarto was losing a reputation as a great master, rather than gaining one as a neglected sixteenth-century artist. In 1835 Alfred Reumont's biography pointed out that his work lacked spirituality,[2] and subsequent writers made much of Vasari's tragic account of his life. Mrs. Jameson's observation 'Andrea del Sarto, a great artist, but would have been a far greater artist had he been a better man'[3] was not untypical.

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1. Crowe and Cavalcaselle (1871), ii, pp.241-242.
2. See Shearman (1965), i, p.174.
3. Jameson (1845), ii, p.70.

parts of Vasari's story are reiterated in Layard's edition of Kugler, but his real interest for the Society was as one of the last great fresco painters.

Two Bolognese artists, Timotheo Viti and Francesco Francia, shared something of Fra Bartolommeo and Albertinelli's religious sweetness. Two frescoes by Francia, the Marriage of St. Cecilia and the Burial of St. Cecilia (Bologna, Oratorio S. Cecilia) were published in 1859 and 1860. Timotheo Viti's Magdalen was copied in 1889 but was not reproduced.

The frescoes by Francia were well known to be neglected. In the 1842 edition of Kugler it was noted that the church 'now serves as a public passage, where these already dust covered and injured paintings are hastening to destruction'.[1] Rio had admired Francia as a fine religious painter[2] and Mrs. Jameson had emphasised this in her chapter on Francia in Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters. She was at pains to point out that the early school of Bologna was very different from the art more commonly associated with Bologna, the school of the Carracci.[3] Ruskin admired Francia and included him in a list of artists which he sent to his father in 1845 in the section 'Pure Religious Art. School of Love'.[4] Despite the fact that he lived into the sixteenth century, Francia was clearly seen as an honorary early Italian artist.

Finally, two Veronese artists, Girolamo dai Libri and Paolo Morando, fall into this category of painters who worked away from the centres of art in the sixteenth century and were

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1. Kugler (1842), p.166. These frescoes were later restored under Morelli's supervision, for which see Kugler (1887), ii, p.368.
2. A-F. Rio (1854), pp.187-191.
3. Jameson (1845), i, p.204.
4. Ruskin, Works, IV, p.xxxv.

affected accordingly. Girolamo dai Libri's Virgin and Child between two Saints in S. Giorgio in Verona was published in 1874. Layard had suggested it be copied in 1870 and in a letter to Sir William Gregory he wrote:

> I quite agree with you about copying little known pictures in out of the way churches etc for the Arundel. I suggested the fine Girolamo de'Libri in St Giorgio at Verona, of which, Oldfield writes me an excellent copy has been made for the Society.[1]

The copying of Paolo Morando's Deposition published in 1890 was also suggested by Layard. In 1870 he wrote to Gregory

> Don't omit Verona - the churches and gallery have very fine things. I want the Arundel to publish that fine picture of the dead Christ surrounded by Maries, Saints etc, by Cavagnola, or Pietro Morando.[2]

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The publications for the year 1890 were very biassed in favour of provincial sixteenth-century artists. The first subscribers received five heliogravures devoted to the Romaninoesque frescoes at Malpaga, while second subscribers received Morando's Deposition. The publications for 1891 were more of a mixture: Ghirlandaio's Vision of St. Fina was a second publication and Giovanni Bellini's Madonna and Child in the Frari appeared as an occasional publication. The first publication for that year was a more extreme example of provincial sixteenth-century art. Its subject was St. Peter Enthroned by the Portuguese 'primitive' Gran Vasco or Vasco Fernandes which hangs in the Cathedral at Vizeu in Portugal. The council member who suggested this work, far from the Society's normal geographical areas of operation, was one of Layard's closest friends, Sir William Gregory.

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1. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38949, f.72: Layard to Gregory, 7 Dec. 1870.
2. B.M. Addit. MSS. 38949, f.66: Layard to Gregory, 26 Oct. 1870.

Gregory had also known Edmund Oldfield while an undergraduate at Christ Church.[1] The two men were very different: Oldfield learned and retiring, Gregory, more brilliant but with a certain instability realised in his inordinate passion for the Turf.[2] From 1842 to 1847 he was Conservative M.P. for Dublin, but on losing his seat he returned to racing and gambled two thirds of his estates. In 1857 he was re-elected to Parliament as member for Galway and soon after his election proposed that a committee be set up to examine the running of the British Museum. Many years later Oldfield claimed that he set out to interest Gregory in the British Museum and in the arts in general to keep him away from the races.[3] This assertion is confirmed by Lord Wemyss in his autobiography Memories 1818-1912. Wemyss described how Oldfield was in disagreement with Antonio Panizzi over Museum matters. He continued

> One day, Gregory, who was a friend of his (Oldfield), in Parliament at the time, and known to him to be a clever man, casually walked into his department at the Museum, I believe for the first time of entering it. When he saw him Oldfield said to himself: 'Here is my man. I will coach him up in art, and get him up to bring before the House of Commons the matter I have at heart, and thus be effectively down on the head of the Museum (Panizzi).' No sooner thought than done. A motion was duly made by Gregory in the House of Commons, and in due time he became a great authority on art and was made a director of the National Gallery.[4]

But, Wemyss concluded rather maliciously, when Gregory visited him at Gosford House, he could not offer a single original

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1. Gregory (1894), p.46.

2. His rooms were hung with sporting prints and in later life he liked to relate how he bought Richomme's engraving of Raphael's Triumph of Galatea from Ryland, the Oxford print seller, and that a love of art was born and the sporting prints driven out. See Gregory (1884), p.625. A slightly different version of this story appears in Lady Gregory (1974), p.316.

3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39098, f.206: Oldfield to Layard, 27 March 1892.

4. Wemyss (1912), i, p.340.

remark on any picture in Wemyss' collection. Exaggerated as this tale may seem, it indicates something of the symbiotic relationship in the comparatively early days of the nation's museums between learning (as exemplified by Oldfield) and wealth and influence (as exemplified by Gregory).

In 1860 Gregory actually chaired the committee set up to investigate the arrangements at the British Museum and from then on his interest in the arts grew. He became a friend of the young connoisseur J.C. Robinson and together they visited Spain, Robinson buying for the Museum at South Kensington. On the second of these journeys, in 1866, they visited Vizeu in Portugal where Gregory first saw Gran Vasco's masterpiece.[1] In 1880, Gregory, a widower since 1873, married Augusta Persse: he was fifty five years old and she only twenty eight. They later visited Spain and Portugal and Gregory then recommended that the Society should copy the Gran Vasco. It seems that Lady Gregory was to contribute part of a notice to accompany the print as in 1884 Oldfield wrote to Layard:

> I don't think it much matters whether Gran Vasco was a real or bogus artist, if the paintings are good and important. Somebody painted them, unless, like Topsy, we 'speck they growed', and the question of paternity may be very pithily brought out by Lady Gregory with her husband.[2]

Gregory died in 1892, a year after the print was published, but a brief leaflet by him was issued with the print.[3]

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1. Gregory (1894), p.236.

2. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39037, f.92: Oldfield to Layard, 6 Feb. 1884. It is ironical that the copying of this work of art from the Iberian peninsula should have been suggested by Gregory. While Layard was Minister in Madrid from 1869 to 1877 he suggested several Spanish works for publication. The only one to appear was a portrait of Mary I by Antonio Moro or Mor van Dashorst (Madrid, Prado) which was issued in 1878.

3. This is one of a group of leaflets I have been unable to trace. See above pp.228-9It is mentioned in the Athenaeum (9 July 1892), p.73, but nowhere else.

Gregory was also responsible for another rather unusual publication, a print of Roman wall decorations of the first century A.D. which appeared in 1895, again after his death. The decorations were discovered in 1880 and Gregory recalled how he

> well remembers his amazement at their brilliance, and gaiety, and grace, on the second day after their discovery, when the water of the Tiber was still trickling from them. Alas! most of these speedily faded; but the Society has been able to secure the reproduction of one, supposed to represent 'The Nursing of the Infant Bacchus' which it is hoped will shortly be brought out in chromolithography.[1]

Perhaps Gregory's most important contribution as a member of the council was his article on the Society which appeared in 1884 in the Nineteenth Century. Nothing of a serious length on the Society in English[2] had appeared since Layard wrote on its publications in the Quarterly Review in 1858 and, as Gregory observed, several generations had reached adulthood since then. Gregory gave a simplified account of the intellectual climate in which the Society was founded: when the National Gallery collection was small, the Museum at South Kensington did not exist and the only major art school in the country was the Royal Academy School. Those wealthy enough to travel were interested in Italian art of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries although a small group of art lovers, including the Prince Consort, were beginning to appreciate earlier schools of art. Gregory then gave an account of the actual founding of the Society and outlined its publications over the years. He noted that receipts had gradually been

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1. Gregory (1884), p.619. Lady Gregory recounts how in 1880 she was about to be introduced to Disraeli at court when her husband had to hurry away to an Arundel Society meeting convened to discuss the wall paintings. Lady Gregory (1974), p.30.

2. Vincenzo Marchese's article appeared in 1866. See above, p. 149.

falling off and this he attributed to a general financial depression and to the fact that chromolithography had lost some of its charm for the public. He personally believed in chromolithography because it gave outline and colour and conveyed something of the style of the artist and he foresaw a whole field of future activity copying and publishing Spanish and Portuguese works of art. Gregory's article, in itself interesting as a short history of the Society, sadly only gave a temporary fillip to its flagging membership.

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Many of the factual details of Gregory's article were drawn from two books written by the Society's first assistant secretary, Frederic Maynard. These two volumes listed the Society's publications from 1849 to 1868 and from 1869 to 1873 and were published on the initiative of Maynard, with the sanction of the council.[1] The format of the two works was identical. Each print was illustrated by a photograph (Figs. 15, 69) and accompanied by details of the print's copyist and printer and notes on the work of art reproduced. The Art-Journal praised Maynard's first volume, describing it as a 'People's edition'[2] of the Society's publications, but the Saturday Review criticised the second volume's dullness. The reviewer felt that it would have been more valuable if Maynard had given a more detailed account of the Society's workings and if he had written in a more personal fashion, describing, for example, his summer

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1. They appeared as Frederic Maynard, Twenty Five Years of the Arundel Society: a descriptive notice of the drawings and publications of the Arundel Society. From 1849 to 1868 inclusive, London (1869), and Frederic W. Maynard, Five Years of the Arundel Society: a descriptive notice of the drawings and publications of the Arundel Society from 1869 to 1873 inclusive, London (1873).

2. Art-Journal, n.s. VIII (1869), p.26.

tours in search of works of art. More details of the difficulties which copyists and printers faced, of the dangers threatening frescoes through political upheavals, war, neglect and secularisation of monasteries and convents, would all have made Maynard's work one of real interest.[1] In the absence of the Society's minutes and faced with the discreet annual reports these criticisms seem especially apt today.

Maynard intended to publish further accounts of the Society's publications[2] but his death cut the series short. His successor, Lambe Price, described by Oldfield as 'a good bank clerk, and nothing more'[3] was presumably ill-equipped to initiate further histories of this type. The Society's last secretary, Douglas Gordon, wrote a short paper entitled Neglected Frescoes in Northern Italy which was printed in 1890 for the Sette of Odd Volumes, a club of bibliophiles. Although this paper was independent of the Society it almost certainly grew out of Gordon's work as secretary.

Gordon had been educated in Italian art by the council and revealingly his short essay concentrates on those early sixteenth century northern Italian artists so admired by Layard. He described neglected towns like Piacenza where Pordenone's frescoes could be seen and Cremona where Boccaccino's frescoes decorated the ceiling of the Duomo. He wrote of Luini's frescoes at Saronno, and the 'very quaint and curious'[4] frescoes at Malpaga, making the by then old fashioned comparison with Stothard. He was particularly impressed by the strangely eclectic Lombard artist Gaudenzio Ferrara (whose oeuvre was

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1. Saturday Review, 37 (1874), p.156.
2. Maynard (1873), Preface.
3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39037, f.91: Oldfield to Layard, 6 Feb. 1884.
4. Gordon (1890), p.19.

inexplicably neglected by the Society when it is considered that Layard had admired him since 1856). Gordon's paper and his autobiography reveal a determinedly amateur approach towards the art of the past and may indicate the type of publications the Society would have issued if it had carried on its work beyond 1897 - the reproduction of increasingly late 'primitives'.

EPILOGUE - THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SOCIETY

Douglas Gordon had become the Society's secretary in 1884.[1] When he recalled the most influential members of the council in those final years he named Gregory, Layard, Oldfield, Sir Edward Poynter, Ruskin and the Earl of Wemyss.[2] Of these Gregory died in 1892 and Layard in 1894. Oldfield, Ruskin and Wemyss were on the final council elected in 1896, but Ruskin can hardly have taken any part in the Society's affairs since an incapacitating attack of madness in 1889. There were interesting newcomers to the council in its last years like the Earl of Carlisle, the painter and collector, and Sir Coutts Lindsay, the founder of the Grosvenor Gallery, but by then the Society was too poor to initiate any radical changes and there was no sign that the new council members wished to innovate.

In 1892 Oldfield wrote to Layard about the running down of the Society. He complained that members no longer came to the annual general meetings and that on one occasion he attended a council meeting entirely on his own. Layard had characteristically recommended the copying of Romanino's frescoes at Trent, but Oldfield gloomily asked: 'In England how many people care for such things'.[3] He concluded that the only hope for the Society was to publish small works of a popular kind.

The prints issued during the last years were undoubtedly

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1. In 1886 the Society moved to larger premises in St. James Street in the hope that the new office would, by virtue of its position, attract more members. 37th Annual Report of the Council (1886), p.1.

2. Gordon (1905), p.169.

3. B.M. Addit. MSS. 39098, f.208: Oldfield to Layard, 27 March, 1892.

very attractive - for example Bellini's Virgin and Child in the Frari (1890), Pisanello's The Departure of St. George (1893) and Luini's Ippolita Sforza and Patron Saints (1895) - but nonetheless subscriptions continued to fall and Gordon recalled bleakly:

> The council determined that the time had come to cease the operations of the Society and this view was ratified by a general meeting.[1]

As we have seen, the water-colour collection was presented to the National Gallery.[2] The Society's stock of prints, photographs, engravings, casts and monographs were sold to meet the liabilities due mainly to the Berlin chromolithographers.[3]

In their final report the council attempted to analyse the Society's decline. Two clear-cut reasons were given: the flourishing market in second-hand prints and the progress made in the field of photographic reproductions. It was also felt in a rather radical way that the Society's work was done, for

> the works of Domenichino, Guido and the Caracci, are no longer thought more attractive than the less academic, but more original and more seriously-inspired creations of the earlier painters.[4]

The first reason was indisputably true. We have seen how a second hand market for the Society's productions existed as early as 1857 and that by 1864 members were hard put to find space for their prints.[5] It was also true that in 1897 photographic reproductions seemed far more reliable than the

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1. Gordon (1905), p.190.
2. See above, p.133.
3. 48th Annual Report of the Council (1897), p.2.
4. Ibid., p.1.
5. See above, pp.147-148.

water-colours and chromolithographs of the Arundel Society. Nonetheless, although the Society's methods seemed old-fashioned by the 1890s, continuity with its aims can be traced into the twentieth century. In 1927 we find Richard Offner writing:

> Unhappily, photography is largely an interpretative affair. It has this in common with general artistic practice, that the result is determined by the whim and genius of the operator, and the camera is only one of the determinants of the result.

He argued that photography could not reproduce colour accurately and that

> It forfeits scale, which is an essential aesthetic factor, in reducing the original to a small fraction of its size, and thereby not only contracts the shapes, but congests them.[1]

Offner did not suggest any alternative to photography, but E.W. Tristram actually preferred to use his own water-colours of medieval English wall-paintings for reference and reproduction and wrote in 1944:

> I have long felt it a necessity, especially where the originals are much decayed, to make absolutely faithful drawings, in which the intention throughout is to record with perfect accuracy. After working before a painting for days, many things become clear which were not obvious at first glance, or indeed after several examinations; but it is both surprising and encouraging to find how much of its secret a wall will yield to patient, minute and preserving scrutiny. It is precisely this which makes an intelligent drawing of so much more value as a record of a wall-painting than a photograph.[2]

The council's belief that the Society's work was done because taste had changed was unquestionably true. There can be little doubt that by 1897 to admire the quattrocento was an entirely commonplace response to Italian art. In addition, by the time of the Society's dissolution interest in Italian

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1. Offner (1972), p.136.
2. Tristram (1944), pp.vi-vii.

art on a scholarly level had moved beyond the enthusiastic amateurism of Henry Layard (although Weale and Scharf's monographs are not without their value today). In the 1890s new ways of writing about art and new attitudes towards the Renaissance were evolving. Of course they had their links with the work of Crowe and Cavalcaselle and with Morellian techniques, but it is nonetheless strange to consider that in 1896 Berenson published The Florentine Painters of the Renaissance and that in 1898, the year after the Society's dissolution, Heinrich Wölfflin's Die Klassiche Kunst appeared; the latter work was in effect a violent reaction against the quattrocento and a plea that

> Reluctantly and grudgingly we step out of this bright gay world into the still high halls of classic art.[1]

Besides educating their members to admire Ghirlandaio in preference to Guido the Society also hoped to encourage artists to emulate the large-scale mural decorations which they so assiduously published. Matthew Digby Wyatt, Kitchin and in particular, Layard, all reiterate this theme. It was recognised by the Art-Journal, who in 1874 noted:

> we know that we express the feelings and aspirations of some of our best architects and decorators when we say that they wish to bring London, and England generally, back to the standards held up in these reproductions of the Arundel Society.[2]

It therefore seems ironical that major mural decorations like Lord Leighton's Arts of War and Arts of Peace at South Kensington[3] and Edward Poynter's Trial and Stoning of St. Stephen at St. Stephen's Church, Dulwich,[4] were evidently

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1. Wölfflin (1968), p.xv.
2. Art-Journal, XII (1874), p.39.
3. See above, p.200.
4. See Architectural Review, ii (1897), p.127.

inspired by those artists not greatly favoured by the Society. Leighton's style was influenced by Raphael while Poynter seems to have drawn on Tintoretto and Titian for his fresco at Dulwich - there is no hint of borrowing from Fra Angelico's frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V which depict the same subject and which were published by the Society. Other artists associated with mural schemes, like Alfred Stevens and G.F. Watts, admired Michelangelo far more than any of the quattrocentisti (arguably ambitious artists had done so since Reynolds' moving pronouncements in his final Academy lecture of 1790) and were more likely to study photographs of the Sistine Chapel ceiling than the Society's prints.[1]

The fact that the fresco medium was woefully unfitted for the English climate must also have affected the Society's influence upon artists. Layard realised the unsuitability of fresco in the 1860s and as the founder of the Venice and Murano Glass and Mosaic Works Company actively encouraged the revival of mosaic, which he believed 'is the only external and internal decoration on a great scale which will suit our climate'.[2] Edmund Oldfield, in a letter on the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral published in 1876 similarly noted the unsuitability of fresco for the London climate and suggested that mosaic be employed to decorate the cupola in a style comparable with the mosaics at St. Peter's in Rome.[3] Yet neither Oldfield nor Layard appear to have felt that their beliefs would affect the Society's influence and curiously the

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1. The beauty of photographic reproductions of Sistine ceiling was seen by Layard as 'among the finest contributions to the lovers of art that the photographic lens has yet made; and they especially bring to light the extraordinary power and beauty of these abstract beings'. Kugler (1887), ii, p.437, note.

2. Waterfield (1963), p.308.

3. Oldfield (1876), p.82.

Society published no mosaics.

Mosaic was the medium eventually adopted at St. Paul's. Designs by Watts and W.E. Britten were executed by Layard's Venetian company and were straightforward borrowings, both in style and subject, from the prophets depicted by Michelangelo on the Sistine chapel ceiling.[1] In 1890 Sir William Blake Richmond was invited by the Dean and Chapter to complete the decoration of the Cathedral. He also employed mosaic, on the grounds that the London air was too polluted to allow the survival of fresco.[2] He looked back to Byzantine models for technique, while his designs were eclectic in style. The central figure in the apse, Christ blessing, was closely modelled on Fra Angelico's Christ in Judgement in the Duomo at Orvieto. In other scenes his greatest debt is clearly to older contemporaries like Rossetti and Burne-Jones. The project, when completed, was greeted with a storm of protest and it might be thought that this kind of historicism in artistic style and technique would not survive into the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the desire for a national mural art informed discussion of contemporary art throughout the 1890s and was to reach a peak in the 1920s and 1930s.

In 1936 the Society of Mural Decorators and Painters in Tempera urged that the prejudice against fresco be lifted, believing it to be ideally adapted to decorate the most modern examples of architecture,[3] while one member suggested that the surviving frescoes in the Palace of Westminster be examined closely.[4] In 1939 the Tate Gallery staged a photographic

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1. Architectural Review, ii (1897), pp.261-268.
2. Journal of the Society of Arts (1894-95), pp.715-726.
3. Society of Mural Decorators (1936), Preface.
4. Ibid., p.4.

exhibition entitled Mural Painting in Great Britain 1919-1939. The acknowledged masterpiece of that exhibition was Stanley Spencer's mural decoration for a memorial chapel at Burghclere.[1] The interior of the chapel was consciously modelled on the Arena Chapel about which Spencer had read in his cherished copy of John Ruskin's monograph for the Arundel Society, Giotto and his Works in Padua.[2] But Spencer was also exposed to a host of other influences. Although he travelled little he entered the musée imaginaire of the twentieth century through Gowan and Grey's Art Books, illustrated with cheap monochrome plates.

By 1897 the tide of cheap photographic reproductions had begun to sweep Europe and America. Its effects were enormous, not least, as Ivins points out,[3] because it was closely connected with the birth and rapid development of modernism in the visual arts. In this exciting atmosphere the Arundel Society passed away unmourned.

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1. Horton (1939), p.4.
2. Arts Council (1976), pp15, 18.
3. Ivins (1953), pp.153-157.

APPENDIX I

The South Kensington Museum was opened to the public in June 1857. It had grown out of the objects bought from the Great Exhibition of 1851 with a Treasury grant of £5000 and the collection at the central government school of design at Marlborough House. By the time the collections had been moved to South Kensington they had been greatly expanded by the two men whose brainchild the museum was - the Prince Consort and Henry Cole. In 1853 the Bandinal collection of ceramics and in 1855 part of the Bernal collection was purchased. In 1857 John Sheepshanks gave the museum his collection of British paintings and it was also in the process of acquiring the Soulages collection from the Manchester Art Treasures committee.

South Kensington was in part a museum of ornamental art and an art library: it also had galleries of British painting, sculpture and engraving, architectural examples, materials for building and construction, substances used for food, animal products, models of patented inventions, and reproductions made by means of photography and casting.[1] It was in this last gallery that the Society exhibited from 1859.

Cole was determined to make the museum's collection of reproductions as comprehensive as possible and in 1864 he drew up a memorandum on the international exchange of copies of works of fine art, which was to employ all the new processes of copying available.[2] The same year instructions were issued to British

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1. Ashton (1952), p. 4.

2. Minute and Correspondence relating to the interchange of reproductions of works of art with foreign governments, at South Kensington, the 8th day of February 1864. Reprinted in Notes for a Universal Art Inventory of works of Fine Art which may be found throughout the Continent of Europe for the most part in Ecclesiastical Buildings and in connexion with Architecture edited by Henry Cole, London, 1867, p.v.

embassies and consulates in Dresden, Paris, Munich, Berlin, Turin, and Rome asking them to procure all printed catalogues of collections of works of art in European cities and send them to the Department of Science and Art.[1] With these catalogues and Murray's Handbooks as a basis Cole began to draw up a series of lists entitled A Universal Inventory of Works of Fine Art. The Inventory was to be published in sections covering every aspect of the arts. The first part appeared in 1867, in which year the project was also given further support by a convention agreed upon at the Paris Exhibition by fifteen members of the royal families of Europe. The convention pledged that commissions be set up in countries whose royal representatives had signed and that each commission decide upon the reproductions required for the museums of that country and also help facilitate the exchange of reproductions.[2]

Before the signing of this convention the committee of the Privy Council on Education had debated the question of the distribution of reproductions of works of art made for the Department of Science and Art and it was decided in 1866 that these reproductions should be exhibited at South Kensington Museum and that they should be published and sold by the Arundel Society.[3] The Society was evidently chosen because of its good reputation and because as a non profit making body it would not seek a large commission for the work. The Society agreed to the arrangement and in the council's report for 1866 it was noted:

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1. Quoted in Notes for a Universal Art Inventory, pp.vi-vii.

2. Quoted in Catalogues of reproductions of objects of Art: Electrotypes, Plaster Casts, Fictile Ivories, Chromolithographs, etchings, photographs, selected from the South Kensington Museum, continental Museums and various other public and private collections, London, H.M.S.O. 1870, preface to each section.

3. Quoted ibid. Section IV, p.2.

> The desire to co-operate with an institution from which the Society has received valuable support in former years, as well as the liberality of the terms now offered, induced the council to accede to their proposal, taking care, however, that any publications to appear in connection with the society's name should be of a character not unsuited to the objects for which it was founded.[1]

The arrangement met with some criticism. The Saturday Review feared that the Society would become 'a cat's paw to King Cole of South Kensington'[2] and the Art-Journal suggested that the Society was being used in order to silence the objections of the photographic trade to the sale of cheap photographs by the Department of Science and Art.[3] The Saturday Review approved of the arrangement from the educational point of view, but hoped that the Society would not suffer financial losses and that the publications would not contradict the aims of the Society. The reviewer doubted whether the tastes of Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel, had much in common with 'my lords of Brompton'.[4] In fact, the Society received a percentage on the sale of reproductions until 1879 and the arrangement did not seem to hamper its activities in any way.

The Society did not deal with the electrotypes, plaster casts or wax impressions of seals which were available for sale at South Kensington, but confined its activities to the publication and sale of fictile ivories from its own collection and from the Museum's casts, the sale of three groups of photographs[5]

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1. 17th Annual Report of the Council (1866), p.2.
2. Saturday Review, xxviii (1869), p.197.
3. Art-Journal, xiii (1874), p.40.
4. Saturday Review, xxviii (1869), p.197.
5. These comprised: i. Photographs of national portraits from the exhibition of 1866, photographs of miniature portraits, drawings and sculpture. ii. Photographs of precious metal work, enamels, carvings in wood and ivory. iii. Photographs of works of art in pottery, porcelain and glass. Further details of works sold by the Society are given in South Kensington Museum, Catalogue of reproductions (1870).

and the publication and sale of a series of books entitled Examples of Art Workmanship of Various Ages and Countries. These books, which appeared between 1866 and 1875, were similar in design to the Society's own publication, Sepulchral Monuments in Italy, being folio and quarto volumes consisting of a short introduction and photographic illustrations. As the Society was the vendor rather than the initiator of these publications I do not propose to discuss them individually, but as they can be confused with the Society's normal publications they are listed here in chronological order.

Examples of Art Workmanship

Photographs of Terra Cotta Columns modelled for the Lecture Theatre of the South Kensington Museum by Godfrey Sykes with a dedication and memoir of the Artist's Life. 1866

Chromolithographs of the principal objects of art in the South Kensington Museum, 1868-1875

Fifty Etchings of Objects of Art in the South Kensington Museum. 1867, 1868, 1869, 1869, 1870

A. Castellani, Italian Jewellery as worn by the peasants of Italy..... 1868

A.C. King, Ecclesiastical Metalwork of the Middle Ages..... 1868

The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostella in Spain. 20 photographs taken by the late Mr. Thurston Thompson. 1868

Sculptured Ornament of the Monastery of Batalha in Portugal. 20 photographs taken by the late Mr. Thurston Thompson. 1868

Henri Deux Ware. Photographs of twenty examples of this ware chiefly in English collections with an introductory note by A.C. King. 1868

The treasure of Petrossa and other Goldsmiths work from Roumania. 1869

Decorative Plate, chiefly Portuguese, German and Italian. 1869

Corporation and College Plate. 1869

Arcades at Rome chiefly of the Renaissance period. 1869

Musical instruments in the South Kensington Museum with descriptions by Carl Engel. 1869.

Fountains and Gardens at Rome and Garden Architecture. 1869

Italian Sculpture of the Middle Ages and the period of the revival of Art. 1869

Designs for Goldsmiths and Jewellers by Hans Holbein. 1869

The Cloisters of Monreale in Sicily. Text by J.C. 1870

Fans of all countries with an introduction by S. Redgrave. 1871

Decorative Furniture, English, Italian, German, Flemish, etc. 1871.

Decorative Furniture, French. 1871

Designs for Silversmiths. 1871

The Chatsworth Raphaels. 1872

Architecture of Ruined Buildings near Delhi. Lieut. H.H. Cole. 1872

The Fairford Windows, A Monograph. Rev. Gerald Boyce. 1872.

Ancient Needlepoint and Pillow Lace with notes by A.C.Cole. 1875

The Bayeux Tapestry reproduced in autotype plates with historic notes by F.R. Fowke. 1875.

APPENDIX II

The Drawings

All these drawings are based on frescoes in the chapel of Nicholas V and are to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room. Although the Society bought copies of the entire cycle, those after St. Matthew (published 1850), St. Stephen distributing Alms (published 1862), St. Stephen thrust out before his martyrdom (published 1863), St. John (published 1864), St. Sixtus giving money to St. Lawrence for Alms (published 1865) and St. Lawrence's Ordination (published 1869) are missing from this collection.

Leopold Kupelweiser
St. Stephen before the Council (pen, pencil and ink) 41.9cm x 29.8cm
St. Lawrence before the Emperor Decius (pen and ink) 30.3cm x 32.4cm

Joseph Tunner
St. Thomas (pencil) 40cm x 12.7cm
St. Bonaventura (pencil) 39.4cm x 12.1cm
St. Lawrence distributing Alms (pencil) 40.6cm x 33.6cm

All these drawings are signed. The measurements refer to the image size of the drawing. All are dated 1824.

The Water-colours

The water-colours are listed in alphabetical order under the name of the copyist.
The measurements refer to the sheet size of the water-colour, except where otherwise indicated.
The water-colours are unsigned unless otherwise indicated.
P. indicates that the water-colour was published, followed by the date of publication. The printers are Storch and Kramer except where otherwise indicated.
Except where otherwise stated all the water-colours are in the Fine Art Department, University of Leeds.

Anon under the supervision of Bartoccini
Noli me Tangere, attr. to Buffalmacco (Assisi, Lower Church of S. Francesco)
46cm x 59.5cm
copied c.1862

Body of St. Francis being met by St. Chiara at the Church of St. Damiano, Master of the St. Francis cycle (Assisi, Upper Church of S. Francesco)
55.6cm x 51.1cm
copied c.1862

Death of the Knight of Celano, Master of the St. Francis cycle (Assisi, Upper Church of S. Francesco)
55.6cm x 50.9cm)
copied c.1862

St. Martin Knighted, Simone Martini (Assisi, Lower Church of S. Francesco)
45.7cm x 43.2cm
copied c.1862

Death of St. Martin, Simone Martini (Assisi, Lower Church of S. Francesco)
55.6cm x 46.8cm
copied c.1862

St. Martin renouncing the Emperor's Service, Simone Martini (Assisi, Lower Church of S. Francesco)
47.1cm x 39.6cm
copied c.1862

Anon (possibly artist supervised by Bartoccini)
The Betrayal of Christ, Isaac Master (Assisi, Upper Church of S. Francesco)
38.7cm x 35.6cm

Anon
Virgin and Child enthroned, Domenico Veneziano (Florence, Uffizi)
84.5cm x 54.1cm (signed with monogram, possibly H.W.)

Ansiglione
Virgin and Child with Angels, Filippo Lippi (Florence, Uffizi)
44.5cm x 31.1cm
P.1877
Emilio Costantini
The Presentation, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
41.4cm x 35.5cm
P.1889, Wilhelm Greve

The Entombment, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
41.4cm x 35.6cm
P.1889, Wilhelm Greve

Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
37.8cm x 47cm
copied c.1889.
P.1891, Wilhelm Greve

Primavera,Botticelli (Florence, Uffizi)
53.3cm x 82.6cm
signed: Emilio Costantini
Pl888, Wilhelm Greve
Last Supper, Andrea del Castagno (Florence, Cenacola di S. Appolonia)
43.8cm x 85.1cm
signed: Emilio Costantini 1889

Triumph of Minerva, Francesco del Cossa (Verona, Palazzo Schifanoia)
33.8cm x 66.5cm
signed: Emilio Costantini 1888

Triumph of Venus, Francesco del Cossa (Verona, Palazzo Schifanoia)
33.8cm x 66.5cm
signed: Emilio Costantini 1888

The Emperor Octavius and the Sibyl, Ghirlandaio (Florence, S. Trinita)
54cm x 53.6cm
signed: Emilio Costantini 1891
P.1892, Wilhelm Greve

St. Peter Enthroned as Pope, Gran Vasco (Portugal, Cathedral of Vizeu)
51.4cm x 56.2cm
copied 1887
signed: Emilio Costantini
P.1892, Wilhelm Greve

Ippolita Sforza and Patron Saints, Luini (Milan, Monasterio Maggiore)
41.6cm x 47.8cm
signed: Emilio Costantini
P.1895, Wilhelm Greve

Male Donor and Saints, Luini (Milan, Monasterio Maggiore)
41.6cm x 47.8cm
copied c.1889
signed: Emilio Costantini

St. Apollonia, Luini (Saronno, Santuario della Madonna)
52cm x 40cm
copied c.1889
signed: Emilio Costantini

St. Catherine, Luini (Saronno, Santuario della Madonna)
51.9cm x 39.6cm
copied c.1889
signed: Emilio Costantini

The Departure of St. George, Pisanello (Verona, S. Anastasia)
46.7cm x 69.8cm
signed: Prof Emilio Costantini
P.1893, Wilhelm Greve

Luigi Desideri
Virgin and Child, Giovanni Bellini (Venice, Frari)
86.4cm x 38.1cm
P.1890, Lemercier et Cie

St. Vitale and attendant Saints, Carpaccio (Venice, S. Vitale)
77.6cm x 42cm
copied 1889

St. Jerome in his Study, Carpaccio (Venice, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni)
45.1cm x 68cm
copied 1883
P.1887, Frick of Berlin
signed: The Study of St Jerome p. by L. Desideri (from Carpaccio)

St. George and the Dragon, Carpaccio (Venice, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni)
36.8cm x 94.7cm
copied 1883

St. George Baptising the Princess, Carpaccio (Venice, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni)
37.8cm x 75.6cm
copied 1883
P.1888, Wilhelm Greve

Calling of St. Matthew, Carpaccio (Venice, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni)
43.2cm x 31.1cm
copied 1883
P.1889, Wilhelm Greve

Madonna and Child and St. John, Luini (Lugano, S. Maria degli Angeli)
36.8cm x 60cm
copied 1886

Virgin and Child and attendant Saints, Palma Vecchio (Vicenza, S. Stefano)
78.1cm x 54cm
copied 1886

Adoration of the Magi, Pordenone (Castello Collalto)
47cm x 71.8cm
copied 1885

Flight into Egypt, Pordenone (Castello Collalto)
43.2cm x 42.9cm
copied 1885

The Arrival of King Christian at Malpaga, Romanino attr. (Malpaga, Castle)
52.4cm x 130.5cm
copied 1889
P. as heliogravure 1891, Lemercier et Cie

Antony and Cleopatra feasting, Tiepolo (Palazzo Labia)
87cm x 48.9cm
copied 1883
signed: dal Tiepolo L. Desideri f.

The Meeting of Antony and Cleopatra, Tiepolo (Palazzo Labia)
90.6cm x 49.2cm
copied 1883
signed: dal Tiepolo L. Desideri dis.

Temperance, Veronese (Maser, Villa Barbaro)
34cm x 47cm
copied 1883
P.1887, Frick of Berlin

Justice, Veronese (Maser, Villa Barbaro)
37.8cm x 51.1cm
copied 1883
P.1887, Frick of Berlin
signed: From P. Veronese p. by L. Desideri

Merit crowned by Truth, Veronese (Maser, Villa Barbaro)
34cm x 47cm
copied 1883

Force Supported by Prudence, Veronese (Maser, Villa Barbaro)
34cm x 47cm
copied 1883

Eliseo Fattorini
The Nursing of Bacchus (Rome, Farnesina Gardens)
copied 1882
P.1895, Richter & Co., Naples
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Sistine Chapel
Moses at the Well, Botticelli
53.1cm x 80cm
signed: E. Fattorini copio Roma 1870

The Temptation, Botticelli
55.6cm x 83.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872

The Destruction of Koran, Dathan and Abirim, Botticelli
54.6cm x 83.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1871

The Calling of the Apostles, Ghirlandaio
55.9cm x 82.9cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872

Christs' Charge to St. Peter, Perugino
56.5cm x 83.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1873
P.1887

The Baptism of Christ, Perugino
55.2cm x 83.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini ni copio Roma 1875

The Passage of the Red Sea, Rosseli
55.6cm x 82.6cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini Roma copio 1873

The Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf, Rosseli
55.9cm x 83.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1875

The Sermon on the Mount, Rosseli
55.3cm x 82.5cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1871

The Last Supper, Rosseli
57.1cm x 83.5cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1874

Scenes from the Life of Moses, Signorelli
56cm x 83.5cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1869
P.1878

St. Bernard healing Polissena, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale)
84.4cm x 60.3cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1880

St. Bernard freeing a boy, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale)
85.1cm x 60.3cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1880

St. Bernard healing a man, Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale)
85.7cm x 60.3cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1880
P.1885, Frick of Berlin

Scenes from the Life of St. Francis, Benozzo Gozzoli (Montefalco, S. Francesco)
55.3cm x 61.3cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872

Scenes from the Life of St. Francis, Benozzo Gozzoli (Montefalco, S. Francesco)
83.8cm x 37.5cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872

Scenes from the Life of St. Francis, Benozzo Gozzoli (Montefalco, S. Francesco)
61.6cm x 55.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872

Scenes from the Life of St. Francis, Benozzo Gozzoli (Montefalco, S. Francesco)
64.8cm x 59.5cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872

Virgin and Child with Saints, Benozzo Gozzoli (Montefalco, S. Francesco)
68.5cm x 66cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1872
P.1872
Virgin and Child, Guido da Siena (Siena, S. Domenica)
46.4cm x 30.5cm
copied 1877

St. Catherine finding the Body of St. Agnes, Girolamo del Pacchia (Siena, S. Caterina)
66.1cm x 58.4cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1877

The Marriage of the Virgin, Perugino (Spello, S. Girolamo)
60.3cm x 64.8cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio 1871
P.1893, Lemercier et Cie

The Transfiguration, Perugino (Perugio, Collegio del Cambio)
56.5cm x 50.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1876
P.1881

Moses and the Angel, Perugino (Perugia, Collegio del Cambio)
55.9cm x 83.2cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1871

The Resurrection, Piero della Francesca (Borgo San Sepolcro, Palazzo Communale)
51.1cm x 48.6cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1875
P.1879

The Virgin in Glory, Pinturicchio (Monte Oliveto Maggiore)
70.2cm x 51.8cm
signed: E. Fattorini copio Roma 1876
P.1880

The Nativity, Pinturicchio (Roma, S. Maria del Popolo)
60.8cm x 44.8cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1876
P.1894, Wilhelm Greve

The Betrothal of the Virgin, Lorenzo di Viterbo (Viterbo, S. Maria delle Verita)
41.9cm x 80cm
signed: Eliseo Fattorini copio Roma 1877
P.1889, Wilhelm Greve

Adolf Gnauth
All Gnauth's water-colours are in the Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room.

Monument to Doge Andrea Vendramin (SS. Giovanni e Paolo)
43.cm x 27.9cm
signed: A. Gnauth
P.1875

Monument to Doge Andrea Vendramin (detail)
48cm x 27.1cm
signed: A. Gnauth

Monument to Doge Michiel Morosini (Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo)
45cm x 33.2cm

Monument to Doge Michiel Morosini (detail inscribed état actuel des mains du Doge)
31.1cm x 50cm

Monument to Doge Michiel Morosini (detail of mosaic)
27cm x 38.2cm)

Monument to Doge Michiel Morosini (plan and elevation)
44.5cm x 31.6cm

Monument to Doge Michiel Morosini (entire tomb with monk and pews)
51.6cm x 33.5cm
signed: A. Gnauth
P.1882

Monument to Turriani (Verona, S. Fermo Maggiore)
40.4cm x 29.5cm

Monument to Turriani (plan and elevation)
37.1cm x 50.1cm

Monument to Tommaso Pellegrini (Verona, Church of S. Anastasia)
44.8cm x 31.5cm
signed: A. Gnauth 63
P.1878

Monument to the Cavalli Family (Verona, Church of S. Anastasia)
46.5cm x 35.8cm
signed: A. Gnauth

Monument to Can Grande Della Scala (Verona)
44.5cm x 15.4cm
signed: A. Gnauth
P.1887
Monument to Count Guglielmo Castelbarco (Verona)
44.5cm x 15.4cm
P.1881
G. Gnoli
Death of St. Fina, Ghirlandaio (San Gimignano, Duomo)
53.8cm x 57.5cm
copied 1888

The Magdalene, Timoteo Viti da Urbino (Bologna, Public Gallery)
52.7cm x 33.5cm
signed G. Gnoli 1889 Bologna

The Presentation and Marriage of the Virgin, Lorenzo da Viterbo (Viterbo, Chiesa della Verita)
59.1cm x 69.2cm
signed: G. Gnoli 1881 (also copied by Fattorini)
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Edward Kaiser
The Ordination of St. Lawrence, Fra Angelico (Rome, Vatican)
52.7cm x 80.3cm
copied in 1878
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.

St. Lawrence receiving Alms and their distribution, Fra Angelico (Rome, Vatican)
46.7cm x 71.1cm
copied 1878
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.

St. Lawrence before the Emperor and his Martyrdom, Fra Angelico (Rome, Vatican)
42.3cm x 74cm
copied 1878
signed: Eduard Kaiser

St. Stephen's Ordination and distribution of Alms, Fra Angelico (Rome, Vatican)
42.3cm x 74cm
copied 1878
signed: Eduard Kaiser.
P.1883

St. Stephen before the Council and St. Stephen preaching, Fra Angelico (Rome, Vatican)
54cm x 71.1cm
copied 1878
signed: Eduard Kaiser conv.

St. Stephen thrust out of the city and his Martyrdom, Fra Angelico (Rome, Vatican)
51.1cm x 73.7cm
signed: Edward Kaiser 1878

The Transfiguration, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
50.2cm x 43cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1870

Christ and Mary Magdalene in the Garden, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
48.3cm x 38.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1870

The Maries at the Sepulchre, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
48.8cm x 41.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1875

The Adoration of the Magi, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
40.7cm x 76.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Assisi, S. Francesco
Upper Church, Upper Register
The Creation of the World, attr. Jacobo Torriti
59.7cm x 65.4cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Creation of Adam, attr. Jacobo Torriti
54.6cm x 44.1cm
signed; Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Creation of Eve, attr. Jacobo Torriti
53.7cm x 56.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Expulsion, attr. Jacobo Torriti
61cm x 54cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1875

The Building of the Ark, attr. Jacobo Torriti
62.2cm x 75.6cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

Abraham sacrificing Isaac, attr. Jacobo Torriti
61cm x 55.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

Isaac blessing Jacob, Isaac Master
41cm x 33cm
signed: Edward Kaiser

Isaac rejecting Esau, Isaac Master
61.6cm x 54.6cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.

Joseph sold by his brethren, Isaac Master
57.5cm x 63.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

Joseph and his brethren in Egypt, Isaac Master
66cm x 66.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1875

Adoration of the Shepherds, attr. Jacobo Torriti
60.7cm x 53cm
signed: E. Kaiser

The Presentation in the Temple, attr. Jacobo Torriti
55.9cm x 49.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Baptism of Christ, Isaac Master
70.5cm x 61cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Betrayal of Christ, attr. Jacobo Torriti
61cm x 55.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser

Christ carrying the cross, attr. Jacobo Torriti
60.6cm x 52.1cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Crucifixion, unknown master sometimes supposed to be Duccio
59.7cm x 54.6cm
signed: Edward Kaiser 1876

The Pieta, Isaac Master
60.3cm x 64.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1876

The Maries at the Sepulchre, Isaac Master
52.7cm x 64.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1875

Assisi, S. Francesco
Upper Church, Lower Register
Attributed to the Master of the St. Francis cycle
St. Francis preaching to the Birds
57.2cm x 41.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874
P.1877, C. Schultz

The Dream of Innocent III
57.2cm x 49cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

The Institution of the Presepio
56.8cm x 52.1cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied 1875

The Stigmatization of St. Francis
57.5cm x 54cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.
copied 1874

St. Francis expelling evil spirits from the city
56.5cm x 51.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.
copied 1874

A monk sees the form of St. Francis ascending to Heaven
57.1cm x 50.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

The Death of St. Francis
57.2cm x 50.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

St. Francis appearing to the brethren in a chariot of fire
57.2cm x 49.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

St. Francis drawing water from a rock
60.7cm x 48.9cm
signed: cop. Eduard Kaiser
copied 1874

St. Francis preaching before Honorius III
60.3cm x 61cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1873
P.1873
Detail from death of St. Francis
44.5cm x 31.8cm
copied 1874

Assisi, Church of St. Francis
Lower Church
Posthumous miracle of St. Francis, follower of Giotto
48.6cm x 67.6cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

The Raising of Lazarus, attr. Buffalmacco
47.6cm x 58.4cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

The Adoration of the Magi, Taddeo Gaddi
48cm x 64.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1874

The Deposition, Lorenzetti
41.3cm x 55.3cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.
copied 1874
P.1875

Virgin and Child with Saints, attr. Cavallini
18.4cm x 23.8cm
copied 1875
P.1877

The Martyrdom of St. George, Jacopo d'Avanza (Padua, S. Antonio)
64.7cm x 43.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

St. Lucy before her Judges, Jacopo d'Avanza (Padua, S. Antonio)
55cm x 45.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1875

Virgin and Child, Fra Bartolommeo (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
41.1cm x 27.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1869

Jesus and his disciples at Emmaus, Fra Bartolommeo (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
41.9cm x 47.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1870

Supper and Vision of St. Dominic, Fra Bartolommeo (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
57.5cm x 81.6cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1884, Frick of Berlin

Christ Among the Doctors, Boccaccino (Cremona, Duomo)
41.1cm x 76.2cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied 1883
P.1890, Wilhelm Greve

The Deposition, Cavazzola (Verona, Castelvecchio)
57.8cm x 38.1cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
copied 1876
P.1891, Wilhelm Greve

Angel with Tambour, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
38.1cm x 31.1cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Angel with viol and bow, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
38.7cm x 31.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1872

Angel with lute, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
38.4cm x 27.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1872

Angel with lute (facing left), Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
38.1cm x 30.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Angel with Tambourine, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
38.1cm x 30.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Three Angels, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
24.1cm x 30.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Three Angels, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
23.5cm x 30.8cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Pope Sixtus giving audience, Melozzo da Forli (Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana)
62.2cm x 55.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1875, Hangard-Maugé under supervision of C. Schultz

The Nativity of the Virgin, Agnolo Gaddi (Prato, Duomo)
50.8cm x 73.6cm
signed: Edward Kaiser 1886

The Betrothal of the Virgin, Agnolo Gaddi (Prato, Duomo)
38.1cm x 74.3cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

The Castelfranco Altarpiece, Giorgione (Castelfranco, S. Liberale)
66.7cm x 48.3cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1879
Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Chapel
Benozzo Gozzoli, copied 1881-3
Group of Angels adoring
74.3cm x 47.3cm
signed: Edward Kaiser 1881
P.1884, Frick of Berlin

Group of angels adoring
75.9cm x 46.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1884, Frick of Berlin

Shepherds watching their flocks (two sheets)
both 54.3cm x 12.7cm
both signed: Edward Kaiser cop.

Procession of Kings
74.9cm x 29.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1887, Frick of Berlin

Procession of Kings - the Patriarch Joseph
75.3cm x 47.3cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Procession of Kings - Lorenzo de Medici
74.1cm x 65.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1883

Procession of Kings - Lorenzo de Medici as a boy
74.9cm x 51.1cm

Procession of Kings - John Palaeologus
61.5cm x 79.1cm
signed: Edward Kaiser

Virgin and Child with St. Lorenzo Guistiniano and St. Zeno, Girolamo dai Libri (Verona, S. Giorgio)
56.6cm x 44.5cm
signed: DXXVI.MEN.MAR.XXCIII.HIERONYMUS A LIBRIS PINXIT cop EDUARD KAISER
copied 1870
P.1874

Virgin and Child, Filippino Lippi (Prato, Galleria Communale)
41.9cm x 38.1cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser c.
copied 1881
P.1886, Wilhelm Greve

Virgin and Child, Filippo Lippi (Florence, Uffizi)
55.2cm x 27.3cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied 1883
P.1886, Frick of Berlin

The Daughter of Herodias before Herod, Masolino (Castiglione d'Olona)
37cm x 24.5cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.
copied c.1885

Herodias receiving the head of St. John the Baptist, Masolino (Castiglione d'Olona)
39.4cm x 26.4cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied 1885

The Baptism of Christ, Masolino (Castiglione d'Olona)
40.6cm x 60.7cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.
copied 1885

The Prophet Isaiah, Masolino (Castiglione d'Olona)
39.4cm x 22.9cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.
copied 1885

St. John and St. Benedict, Montagna (Verona, SS. Nazzaro e Celso)
46cm x 17.8cm
P.1874

St. Nazzaro and St. Celso, Montagna (Verona, SS. Nazzaro e Celso)
46.4cm x 18cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1874

St. Blaise being led out to execution, Montagna (Verona, SS. Nazzaro e Celso)
57.8cm x 38.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1875

Augustus and the Sibyl, Peruzzi (Siena, Chiesa di Fonteguista)
50.8cm x 33.7cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

Virgin and St. Bernard, Perugino (Nr. Florence, S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi)
77.5cm x 47.6cm
copied c.1868
P.1872

Crucifixion, Perugino (Nr. Florence, S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi)
77.5cm x 49.5cm
signed: Edward Kaiser - Perugino
copied c.1868
P.1872

St. John and St. Benedict, Perugino (Nr. Florence, S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi)
77.8cm x 47.6cm
copied c.1868
P.1872

St. Catherine of Alexandria pleading before her judges, Pinturicchio (Rome, Vatican)
46.4cm x 78.7cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied 1881
P.1886, Frick of Berlin

Piccolomini receiving the Cardinal's hat, Pinturicchio (Siena, Liberia Piccolomini)
63.5cm x 37.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser 1878 cop.
P.1882.

The Betrothal of Frederick III, Pinturicchio (Siena, Liberia Piccolomini)
63.2cm x 43.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1892, Wilhelm Greve

The Burial of St. Bernardino, Pinturicchio (Rome, S. Maria in Aracoeli)
57.7cm x 77.4 cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

The Glorification of St. Bernardino, Pinturicchio (Rome, S. Maria in Aracoeli)
55.3cm x 75.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.

The Distribution of Liveries by Bartolomeo Colleoni, attr. Romanino (Malpaga, Castle)
51.4cm x 76.8cm
signed: Edward Kaiser 1885 Malpaga
P.1891 as heliogravure, Lemercier et Cie

King Christian of Denmark and Bartolomeo Colleoni hunting, attr. Romanino (Malpaga, Castle)
51.8cm x 80.7cm
signed: Edward Kaiser Malpaga 1884
P.1890, Wilhelm Greve

The Departure of King Christian, attr. Romanino (Malpaga, Castle)
51.4cm x 66.5cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
P.1891 as heliogravure, Lemercier et Cie

The Tournament, attr. Romanino (Malpaga, Castle)
52.1cm x 230.2cm
P.1891 as heliogravure, Lemercier et Cie

Servants in Livery waiting at dinner, attr. Romanino (Malpaga, Castle)
51.8cm x 33cm
signed: Edward Kaiser

The Banquet, attr. Romanino (Malpaga, Castle)
52.1cm x 70.5cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.1884
P.1891 as heliogravure, Lemercier et Cie

Charity, Andrea del Sarto (Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo)
46.4cm x 22.1cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied c.1882

The Last Supper, Andrea del Sarto (Nr. Florence, Cenacolo di San Salvi)
46.7cm x 76.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

St. Benedict receiving the false King Totila, Signorelli (Monte Oliveto)
51.4cm x 56.5cm
signed: cop: Eduard Kaiser

St. Benedict receiving the true King Totila, Signorelli (Monte Oliveto)
50.8cm x 53.3cm

Head of Virgil, Signorelli (Orvieto, Duomo)
27.9cm x 27.9cm
signed: E.K.
P.1887, Wilhelm Greve

Head of Dante, Signorelli (Orvieto, Duomo)
28.9cm x 28.3cm
signed: E.K.
P.1887, Wilhelm Greve

Vision and Swoon of St. Catherine, Sodoma (Siena, S. Domenico)
53.3cm x 38.1cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.
P.1881

Communion of St. Catherine, Sodoma (Siena, S. Domenico)
53cm x 37.5cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser copv.
P.1882

Presentation of the Virgin, Sodoma (Siena, Oratoria di S. Bernardino)
48.6cm x 54.6cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
copied 1878

Standing figure of Christ, Sodoma (Camprena, Siena, Sant'Anna)
60cm x 27.6cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1872, Hanhart

Christ bound to a Column, Sodoma (Siena, Accademia delle Belle Arti)
46.4cm x 36.2cm
signed: Edward Kaiser
copied 1878
P.1889, Wilhelm Greve

St. Benedict preaching to Women, Sodoma (Monte Oliveto)
52.7cm x 55.9cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.
P.1872

The Presentation of St. Placidus and St. Maurus, Sodoma (Monte Oliveto)
57.2cm x 63.2cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser cop.

St. Antony of Padua healing the foot of a wounded man, Titian (Padua, Scuola del Santo)
54.3cm x 36.5cm
signed: Edward Kaiser cop.
P.1873

St. Antony of Padua making an infant speak, Titian (Padua, Scuola del Santo)
54cm x 53.7cm

Wilton Diptych (London, National Gallery)
Richard II
47.6cm x 31.1cm
signed: Eduard Kaiser
P.1882
Madonna, Child and Angels
47.6cm x 31.1cm
signed: E.K. 1879
P.1882

V. Marchi
Interior of the Piccolomini Library
64.8cm x 66.2cm
copied c.1867 under supervision of Mariannecci
P.1880

Cesari Mariannecci
The Visitation, Albertinelli (Florence, Uffizi)
71.1cm x 47cm
signed: C. Mariannecci A.1868 fecit.
P.1875, Hangard-Maugé under supervision of C. Schultz

Annunciation, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
35.5cm x 47.6cm
copied 1862
P.1862
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Coronation of the Virgin, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
48.3cm x 42.3cm
P.1862
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Madonna and Child with attendant Saints (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
53.3cm x 39cm
copied 1862
P.1882

Annunciation, Fra Bartolommeo (Nr. Florence, Villa dei Frati di San Marco)
33.4cm x 55.9cm
copied 1865, P.1866
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Noli Me Tangere, Fra Bartolommeo (Nr. Florence, Villa dei Frati di San Marco)
59.5cm x 61.3cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece
copied 1865

Venus Rising from the Sea, Botticelli (Florence, Uffizi)
69.9cm x 50.7cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece 1868
P.1870

Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel
All in Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room and measured to edge of image.
The Fall Masolino
33cm x 15.2cm
P.1861

St. Peter Preaching, Masolino
35.6cm x 26.7cm
P.1861

St. Peter and St. John healing the cripple and St. Peter raising Petronilla, Masolino
35.6cm x 72.4cm
P.1862

The Expulsion, Masaccio
33cm x 15.2cm
P.1861

St. Peter Baptising, Masaccio
35.7cm x 26.7cm
P.1861

The Tribute Money, Masaccio
35.2cm x 72.4cm
P.1861

St. Peter and St. John healing the sick with their shadows, Masaccio
36.8cm x 27.3cm
P.1863

Detail of Head from above, Masaccio
36.8cm x 27.3cm
P.1863

St. Peter and St. Paul raising the King's son and Homage to St. Peter, Masaccio
35.7cm x 71.1cm
P.1863

St. Peter delivered from Prison, Filippino Lippi
St. Peter in Prison visited by St. Paul, Filippino Lippi
Both 33cm x 15.4cm
P.1862

St. Peter and St. John giving Alms, Masaccio
35.5cm x 27.3cm
P.1863

St. Peter and St. Paul before Nero and the martyrdom of St. Peter, Filippino Lippi
35.7cm x 75.6cm
P.1868

The Burial of St. Cecilia, Francia (Bologna, S. Giacomo Maggiore)
51.4cm x 54cm
copied 1859
P.1862
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Marriage of St. Cecilia, Francia (Bologna, S. Giacomo Maggiore)
52.1cm x 46.4cm
copied 1859
P.1863
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

The Salutation, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
53.3cm x 74.3cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece

The expulsion of Joachim from the Temple, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
45.3cm x 67.5cm

Angel appearing to Zacharias, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
45.5cm x 67cm

Zacharias naming his son John, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
46cm x 67.1cm
copied 186
P.1867

Birth of St. John, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
54.6cm x 74cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fecit
copied 1865

John the Baptist preaching, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
45.9cm x 67.3cm
copied 1865
P.1867

Nativity of the Virgin, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
53.3cm x 73.7cm
P.1895, Wilhelm Greve

The Virgin's Presentation in the Temple, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
45.1cm x 67.3cm
signed: C. Mariannecci

The Marriage of the Virgin, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
53cm x 73.9cm
signed: C. Mariannecci

Massacre of the Innocents, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
45.4cm x 67.3cm
signed: C. Mariannecci

Baptism of Christ, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)
54cm x 74.9cm

The Burial of St. Fina, Ghirlandaio (San Gimignano, Collegiata)
64.8cm x 63.5cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece 1863

The Death of St. Francis, Ghirlandaio (Florence, S. Trinita)
46.2cm x 66cm
copied 1860
P.1860
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

St. Augustine teaching, Benozzo Gozzoli (San Gimignano,S. Agostino)
58.7cm x 88.6cm
copied 1863
P.1863

St. Augustine's entrance to school, Benozzo Gozzoli (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)
61.5cm x 71.2cm
signed: C. Mariannecci
copied 1863

St. Augustine's Departure from San Gimignano, Benozzo Gozzoli (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)
61.6cm x 74.2cm
copied 1863

St. Augustine meeting St. Ambrose at Milan, Benozzo Gozzoli (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)
59.1cm x 71.1cm
copied 1863

The Death of St. Monica, Benozzo Gozzoli (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)
58.1cm x 71.1cm
signed: C. Mariannecci
copied 1863

St. Augustine visits the monks of Monte Pisano and sees the vision of Christ on the shore, Benozzo Gozzoli (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)
58.8cm x 71.1cm
copied 1863
P.1897, Wilhelm Greve

Madonna and Child, Boltraffio, then called Leonardo (Rome, S. Onofrio)
40.2cm x 53.3cm
P.1859
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

The Burial of St. Stephen, Filippo Lippi (Prato, Duomo)
54cm x 70.8cm
copied 1862

Two heads from the Burial of St. Stephen, Filippo Lippi (Prato, Duomo)
Both 36.2cm x 26cm
copied 1862

The Vision of St. Bernard, Filippino Lippi (Florence, Badia)
51.4cm x 48.3cm
copied 1866
P.1866

Glorification of St. Thomas Aquinas, Filippino Lippi (Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva)
54.6cm x 64.8cm
signed: Filippino Lippi p. Mariannecci del.

Two heads from the above, Filippino Lippi (Rome, S. Maria sopra Minerva)
Both 33.3cm x 25.4cm

Marriage of the Virgin, Luini (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)
50.1cm x 67.4cm
copied 1862
P.1864
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Adoration of the Magi, Luini (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)
65.7cm x 57.5cm
P.1866

Heads from above, Luini (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)
Both 36.2cm x 25cm

Martyrdom of St. Christopher, Mantegna (Padua, Eremitani)
69.4cm x 58.4cm
copied 1861

Death of St. Christopher, Mantegna (Padua, Eremitani)
68.6cm x 60.3cm
copied 1861

Conversion of Hermogenes by St. James, Mantegna (Padua, Eremitani)
63.5cm x 55.9cm
copied 1861
P.1863

St. James before Herod Agrippa, Mantegna (Padua, Eremitani)
67.9cm x 57.8cm
copied 1861
P.1865

St. James on the way to his martyrdom, Mantegna (Padua, Eremitani)
67.3cm x 58.7cm
copied 1861

Martyrdom of St. James, Mantegna (Padua, Eremitani)
64.9cm x 58.4cm
copied 1861

Ezekiel, Michelangelo (Rome, Sistine Chapel)
54cm x 46.4cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fecit Roma 1867
P.1881

Jeremiah, Michelangelo (Rome, Sistine Chapel)
54cm x 46cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece Roma 1867
P.1871

Delphic Sibyl, Michelangelo (Rome, Sistine Chapel)
53.3cm x 47cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece 1867 Roma
P.1877

Persic Sibyl, Michelangelo (Rome, Sistine Chapel)
55.1cm x 43cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fecit Roma 1867

Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, Perugino (Panicale, S. Sebastiano)
58.4cm x 58.4cm
copied 1856
P.1856

Adoration of the Kings, Perugino (Citta della Pieve, S. Maria de Bianchi)
57.6cm x 66.6cm
P.1869

The Fight for the recovery of the true cross, Piero della Francesca (Arezzo, S. Francesco)
30.5cm x 68.6cm

St. Helena finding the true cross and Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba, Piero della Francesca (Arezzo, S. Francesco)
40cm x 75.6cm

The Dream of Constantine, Piero della Francesca (Arezzo, S. Francesco)
55.3cm x 35.7cm

Christ among the Doctors, Pinturicchio (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)
61cm x 66cm
P.1857
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

The Nativity, Pinturicchio (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)
60.1cm x 64cm
P.1858
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Annunciation, Pinturicchio (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)
60.7cm x 64.8cm
P.1860
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Philosophy, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
44.5cm x 43.8cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fecit 1868
P.1871

Jurisprudence, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
43.2cm x 43.2cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fecit 1868
P.1873

Theology, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
43.2cm x 43.8cm
copied 1864
P.1867, Hanhart, republished 1882, Frick of Berlin

Poetry, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
43.8cm x 44.5cm
copied 1864
P.1867

Poets on Mount Parnassus, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
54cm x 81.9cm
P.1873

St. Peter delivered from Prison, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
56.2cm x 83.2cm
signed: C. Mariannecci
P.1865

The Mass of Bolsena, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
60.6cm x 86.4cm
signed: C. Mariannecci fece

Heliodorus driven from the Temple, Raphael (Rome, Vatican)
59.7cm x 95.3cm
signed: C. Mariannecci 1866

Four Sibyls, Raphael (Rome, S. Maria della Pace)
41.9cm x 83.8cm
signed: C. Mariannecci
copied 1865
P.1866

Madonna with Saints, Giovanni Santi (Cagli, San Domenico)
54.3cm x 41cm
copied 1858
P.1859
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Madonna del Sacco, Andrea del Sarto (Florence, SS.Annunziata)
31.1cm x 61.6cm
copied 1861
P.1862
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Preaching of St. John the Baptist, Andrea del Sarto (Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo)
52.1cm x 57.2cm
signed: C. Mariannecci
P.1889 as heliogravure, Lemercier et Cie

S. Filippo Benizzi healing children, Andrea del Sarto (Florence, SS. Annunziata)
55.1cm x 56cm
signed: C. Mariannecci
copied 1866
P.1869

Procession of the Magi, Andrea del Sarto (Florence, SS. Annunziata)
55.3cm x 47.6cm
copied 1866
P.1868

The Ecstasy of St. Catherine, Sodoma (Siena, San Domenico)
61cm x 45.7cm
copied 1865
P.1867
Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room

Fanny Pieroni
The Circumcision, Mantegna (Florence, Uffizi)
61cm x 46cm
signed verso:Fanny Pieroni copio dall'originale di Andrea Mantegna/ Galleria degli Uffizi Firenze
Bought by the Society c.1885

Scaraviglia
Virgin and Child with Attendant Saints, Niccolo da Foligno (Gualdo Tadino,Pinacoteca)
69.6cm x 53.5cm
copied c.1883
P.1886, Wilhelm Greve

C. Schultz
The Crucifixion, Fra Angelico (Florence, Museo di San Marco)
43.8cm x 69.2cm
signed: C. Schultz pinx.Florence 1864
P.1872, Hangard-Maugé under Schultz's supervision

Annunciation, Bernardo Daddi, then attr. Simone Martini (Paris, Louvre)
36.5cm x 53.4cm
signed:C. Schultz pinx.Paris 1863
P.1883, Engelmann of Paris

St. John and St. Peter, Durer (Munich, Pinakotek)
52.7cm x 24.8cm
P.1870, Hangard-Maugé, under Schultz's supervision

St. Mark and St. Paul, Durer (Munich, Pinokotek)
52.7cm x 24.8cm
P.1870, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

Adoration of the Holy Trinity, Durer (Vienna, Belvedere Palace)
72.4cm x 62.9cm
signed: C. Schultz. Wien 76
P.1877, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

Last Supper, Ghirlandaio (Florence, Ognissanti)
43.2cm x 72.4cm
signed: C. Schultz pinx Florence 1864
P.1866, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

Virgin and Child with the Meyer Family, Holbein (Darmstadt)
55.9cm x 36.8cm
signed: C. Schultz pinx.Darmstadt
P.1871, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

Madonna with the Violet, Stephen Lochner (Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan Museum)
34cm x 58.4cm
P.1873, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

Hans Memling - Bruges Altarpiece
copied 1863
P.1865, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

The Adoration of the Magi
32.1cm x 39.4cm

The Nativity
38.1cm x 22.5cm

The Presentation
38.1cm x 22.5cm

St. John the Baptist
38.1cm x 22.5cm

St. Veronica
38.4cm x 22.5

Hans Memling - Lubeck Altarpiece
P.1876, Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

The Crucifixion
signed C. Schultz. Lubeck 1872. 1873.
57.1cm x 41.3cm

Christ bearing the Cross
56.5cm x 18.4cm

Entombment and Resurrection
56.5cm x 18.4cm

The Angel Gabriel
56.8cm x 18.4cm

The Virgin Annunciate
56.5cm x 18.4cm

St. Jerome
56.5cm x 18.4cm

St. Giles
56.5cm x 18.4cm

St. John the Baptist
56.8cm x 18.4cm

St. Blaise
56.5cm x 18.4cm

Van Eyck Brothers - Ghent Altarpiece
P. Hangard-Mauge, under Schultz's supervision

The Triune God
54cm x 22cm
P.1870
The Virgin
44.5cm x 20.3cm
P.1870
John the Baptist
44.5cm x 20cm
P.1870

The Angelic Choir
42.5cm x 17.8cm
P.1871
Adam
52.1cm x 10.2cm
P.1871
St. Cecilia at the Organ
41.9cm x 17.8cm
P.1871
Eve
52.1cm x 10.2cm
P.1871

The Adoration of the Lamb
41.6cm x 67.4cm
signed C. Schultz pinx Ghent 1865
P.1868

The Just Judges
39.4cm x 13.3cm
P.1869
The Knights of Christ
39.4cm x 12.7cm
P.1869
The Hermits
39.4cm x 13cm
P.1869
The Pilgrims
39.4cm x 13.3cm
P.1869

The Annunciatory Angel and Prophet
41.9cm x 20cm
P.1871
Virgin and Prophet
41.9cm x 20cm
P.1871

Sibyl of Erythrae
52.1cm x 9.9cm
P.1871
Sibyl of Cumae
51.4cm x 9.9cm
P.1871
St. John the Baptist
40cm x 14cm
P.1869
St. John the Evangelist
40cm x 14cm. P.1869
Josse Vyd
40cm x 14cm
P.1869
Isabelle Borlunt
40cm x 14cm
P.1869

Ernesto Sprega (All in Victoria and Albert Museum Print Room)
Illuminated letter L. Miraculous feeding of the Multitude after Frate Benedetto di Maestro Paolo-Renaldi, from a choral book in the Piccolomini Library. On vellum, size of image 26cm x 25.5cm
P.1863

Letter C with St. Lawrence and two angels, Librale da Verona, from a choral book in the Piccolomini Library. On vellum, size of image 43.5cm x 34.5cm
P.1863

Letter D. Christ entering Jerusalem, Librale da Verona, from a choral book in the Piccolomini Library. On vellum, size of image 42.7cm x 36cm
P.1864

Ecstasy of St. Catherine, Sodoma, detail (Siena, S. Domenico)
39.6cm×26.4cm

Probably W.O. Williams
Padua, Arena Chapel
Giotto
Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, Faith, Charity, Hope, Folly, Inconstancy, Wrath, Injustice, Infidelity, Envy, Despair
All approx. 26.7cm x 13.4cm

Christ in Majesty, Giotto (Padua, Arena Chapel)
21.3cm in diameter

Virgin and Child, Giotto (Padua, Arena Chapel)
21.6cm in diameter

Zuichetti
Adoration of the Infant Saviour, Perugino (Perugia, S. Francesco del Monte)
52.7cm x 77.5cm
signed A. Zuichetti - Perugia
copied c.1877
P.1878

APPENDIX III

Engravings

Fra Angelico,	St. Lawrence distributing Alms (Rome, Vatican)	1849
" "	St. Lawrence before the Emperor Decius (Rome, Vatican)	1851
" "	St. Lawrence's Ordination (Rome, Vatican)	1869
" "	St. Sixtus giving money to St. Lawrence for Alms (Rome, Vatican)	1865
" "	St. Stephen before the Council (Rome, Vatican)	1850
" "	St. Stephen thrust out before his martyrdom (Rome, Vatican)	1863
" "	St. Stephen distributing Alms (Rome, Vatican)	1862
" "	St. Thomas (Rome, Vatican)	1850
" "	St. Matthew (Rome, Vatican)	1850
" "	St. John (Rome, Vatican)	1864
" "	St. Bonaventura (Rome, Vatican)	1850
Giotto	38 engravings from frescoes in the Arena Chapel, Padua	1852-1860
Giotto	The Pieta (Padua, Arena Chapel)	1851
Luini	Two heads from the Burial of St. Catherine (Milan, Brera)	1858
Nelli	Head of Virgin and head of Saint from Madonna and Saints (Gubbio, S. Maria Nuova)	1857
Perugino	Five heads from Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Panicale, S. Sebastiano)	1856
Pinturicchio	10 engravings from frescoes in the Piccolomini Library	1881
"	Two heads from Christ Among the Doctors (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)	1857
"	Two heads from The Nativity (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)	1858
"	Three heads from The Annunciation (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)	1861
Raphael	The Conversion of Saul (Rome, Vatican)	1864
"	The Martyrdom of St. Stephen (Rome, Vatican)	1867
Sanzio	Head of angel from Madonna with Saints (Cagli, S. Domenico)	1859
Boltraffio then attributed to Leonardo	Head of B.V.M. from Virgin and Child (Rome, S. Onofrio)	1859

Heliogravures

Romanino	The Banquet (Malpaga, Castle)	1891
"	The Distribution of Liveries (Malpaga, Castle)	1891
"	The Tournament (Malpaga, Castle)	1891
"	The Arrival of King Christian (Malpaga, Castle)	1891
"	The Departure of King Christian (Malpaga, Castle)	1891
Andrea del Sarto	Charity (Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo)	1889
" "	St. John preaching (Florence, Chiostro dello Scalzo)	1889

Photographs

Tintoretto	Christ before Pilate (Venice, Scuola di San Rocco)	1857
"	Christ bearing the Cross (Venice, Scuola di San Rocco)	1857

Chromolithographs

Albertinelli	The Meeting of Mary and Elizabeth (Florence, Uffizi)	1875
Fra Angelico	The Annunciation (Museo di San Marco)	1863
" "	Christ and Mary Magdalene in the Garden (Museo di San Marco)	1870
" "	Christ and the disciples at Emmaus (Museo di San Marco)	1891
" "	Coronation of the Virgin (Museo di San Marco)	1864
" "	The Crucifixion (Museo di San Marco)	1872
" "	The Entombment (Museo di San Marco)	1889
" "	Madonna and Child with Attendant Saints (Museo di San Marco)	1882
" "	Maries at the Sepulchre (Museo di San Marco)	1875
" "	Presentation at the Temple (Museo di San Marco)	1889
" "	The Transfiguration (Museo di San Marco)	1870
" "	St. Stephen's Ordination and Distribution of Alms (Rome, Vatican)	1883
Jacopo D'Avanza	St. Lucy Sentenced to Death (Padua, S. Antonio)	1875
Fra Bartolommeo	The Annunciation (Museo di San Marco)	1866
" "	Christ and his Disciples (Museo di San Marco)	1870
" "	Virgin and Child (Museo di San Marco)	1869
" "	Vision of St. Dominick (Museo di San Marco)	1884
Giovanni Bellini	Madonna and Child (Venice, Frari)	1890
Boccaccino	Christ Among the Doctors (Cremona, Duomo)	1890
Boltraffio, then attributed to Leonardo	Virgin and Child (Rome, S. Onofrio)	1859
Botticelli	Primavera (Florence, Uffizi)	1888
"	Birth of Venus (Florence, Uffizi)	1870
Carpaccio	St. George Baptising the Princess Cleodolinda (Venice, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni)	1888
"	St. Jerome in His Study (Venice, S. Giorgio degli Schiavoni)	1887
"	Calling of St. Matthew (Venice, S.Giorgio degli Schiavoni)	1889
Cavallini	Madonna and Child with St. John and St. Francis (Assisi, S. Francesco)	1877
Cavazzola	The Deposition (Verona, Castelvecchio)	1891
Bernardo Daddi, then attributed to Simone Martini	Annunciation (Paris, Louvre)	1884
Durer	Adoration of the Holy Trinity (Vienna, Belvedere)	1879
"	St. John and St. Peter (Munich, Pinakotek)	1870
"	St. Mark and St. Paul (Munich, Pinakotek)	1870

Melozzo da Forli	An Angel (Vatican	1872
" "	An Angel (Vatican)	1872
" "	Pope Sixtus IV giving audience (Vatican)	1875
Piero della Francesca	The Resurrection (Borgo San Sepolcro)	1879
Francia	Marriage of St. Cecilia (Bologna, S. Giacomo Maggiore)	1863
"	Burial of St. Cecilia (Bologna, S. Giacomo Maggiore)	1862
Niccolo da Foligno	The Virgin and Child with Saints (Gualdo Tadino, Pinocateca)	1886
Ghirlandaio	Augustus and the Sibyl (Florence, S. Trinita)	1892
"	Death of St. Fina (S. Gimignano, Duomo)	1892
"	Death of St. Francis (Florence, S.Trinita)	1860
"	Two heads from Death of St. Francis, (Florence, S. Trinita)	1860
"	Last Supper (Florence, Ognissanti)	1866
"	Preaching of John the Baptist (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)	1867
"	Zacharias naming his son John (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)	1867
"	Nativity of the Virgin (Florence, Santa Maria Novella)	1896
Giorgione	Castelfranco Altarpiece (Castelfranco, S. Liberale)	1879
Giotto	Interior of the Arena Chapel	1856
"	Portrait of Dante (Florence, Bargello)	1859
Giotto or Master of the St.Francis cycle	St. Francis preaching to the Birds (Assisi, S. Francesco)	1877
"	St. Francis before Honorius III (Assisi, S. Francesco)	1873
Benozzo Gozzoli	Group of Angels adoring (Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi)	1884
" "	Group of Angels adoring (Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi)	1885
" "	Procession of Kings (Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi)	1887
" "	Madonna, Child and Saints (Montefalco, S. Francesco)	1878
" "	St. Augustine Lecturing (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)	1863
" "	St. Augustine and the Christ Child (San Gimignano, S. Agostino)	1897
Holbein	Virgin and Child with the Meyer Family (Darmstadt)	1871
Girolamo dai Libri	Virgin and Child between two Saints (Verona, S. Giorgio)	1874
Filippo Lippi	Madonna and Child (Florence, Uffizi)	1885
" "	Virgin and Child (Florence, Uffizi)	1877
Filippino Lippi	Madonna and Child (Prato)	1885
" "	Vision of St. Bernard (Florence, Badia)	1868
" "	St. Peter and St. Paul before Nero (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel(	1868
" "	St. Peter in Prison and St. Peter delivered from Prison (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1862

Filippino Lippi	Two heads from above (Florence, S. Maria Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1862
Lorenzetti	Descent from the Cross (Assisi, S. Francesco)	1875
Fiorenzo di Lorenzo	St. Bernardino healing a wounded man (Perugia, Pinacoteca)	1885
Stefan Lochner	Adoration of the Magi (Cologne, Cathedral)	1874
" "	St. Ursula and her Virgins, St. Gereon and his Warriors (Cologne, Cathedral)	1874
" "	The Angel Gabriel, the Virgin Annunciate (Cologne, Cathedral)	1874
Luini	Adoration of the Magi (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)	1866
"	Presentation in the Temple (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)	1864
"	Head from above (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)	1864
"	Christ among the Doctors (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)	1864
"	Marriage of the Virgin (Saronno, Santuario della Vergine)	1865
"	Burial of St. Catherine (Milan, Brera)	1858
"	The Donatrix (Milan, S. Maurizio)	1895
Mantegna	The Conversion of Hermogenes (Padua, Eremitani)	1863
"	St. James before Herod (Padua, Eremitani)	1865
Masaccio	The Tribute Money (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1861
"	Two heads from above (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1861
"	St. Peter preaching and baptising (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1861
"	St. Peter and St. John healing and giving alms (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1863
"	Head from above (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1863
"	The Fall and the Expulsion (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1861
Masaccio and Filippino Lippi	St. Peter and St. Paul raising the King's Son (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1863
" "	Head from above (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1863
Masolino	St. Peter and St. John healing a cripple and St. Peter raising Petronilla (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1862
"	Head from above (Florence, S. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel)	1862
Memling	Adoration of the Magi (Bruges, Hospital of St. John)	1865
"	Nativity of our Lord, Presentation at the Temple (Bruges, Hospital of St. John)	1865
"	John the Baptist, St. Veronica (Bruges, Hospital of St. John)	1865
"	The Crucifixion (Lubeck, Cathedral)	1876

Memling	Christ bearing the cross, The Entombment and Resurrection (Lubeck, Cathedral)	1876
"	The Angel Gabriel, The Virgin Anunciate (Lubeck, Cathedral)	1876
"	St. John the Baptist, St. Blaise (Lubeck, Cathedral)	1876
"	St. Jerome, St. Giles (Lubeck, Cathedral)	1876
Michelangelo	The Delphic Sibyl (Rome, Sistine Chapel)	1877
"	The Prophet Ezekiel (Rome, Sistine Chapel)	1881
"	The Prophet Jeremiah (Rome, Sistine Chapel)	1871
Montagna	St. John and St. Benedict (Verona, SS. Nazarus e Celso)	1874
"	St. Nazarus and St. Celsus (Verona, SS. Nazarus e Celso)	1874
A. Moro or Mor van Dashorst	Portrait of Mary I (Madrid, Prado)	1878
O. Nelli	Madonna and Saints (Gubbio, S. Maria Nuova)	1857
Pachiarotto	St. Catherine finding the body of St. Agnes (Siena, S. Caterina)	1881
Perugino	The Crucifixion (Florence, S. Maria Maddalena)	1872
"	Attendant Saints (Florence, S. Maria Maddalena)	1872
"	Attendant Saints (Florence, S. Maria Maddalena)	1872
"	Adoration of the Infant Saviour (Perugia, Collegio del Cambio)	1878
"	Prophets and Sibyls (Perugia, Collegio del Cambio)	1883
"	The Transfiguration (Perugia, Collegio del Cambio)	1881
"	Adoration of the Kings (Citta della Pieve)	1869
"	Delivery of the Keys to St. Peter (Rome, Vatican)	1877
"	The Marriage of the Virgin (Spello, San Gerolamo)	1893
"	The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian (Panicale, S. Sebastian)	1856
Pinturicchio	Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini receiving the Cardinal's Hat (Siena, Piccolomini Library)	1882
"	Betrothal of Frederick III (Siena, Piccolomini Library)	1895
"	Interior of Piccolomini Library (Siena, Piccolomini Library)	1880
"	Christ Among the Doctors (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)	1857
"	Nativity of our Lord (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)	1858
"	Annunciation (Spello, S. Maria Maggiore)	1861
"	Madonna in Glory with Two Saints (Monte Oliveto)	1880
"	The Nativity (Rome, S. Maria)	1894
"	St. Catherine before her Judges (Rome, Vatican)	1886
Pisanello	Departure of St. George (Verona, S. Anastasia)	1893
Raphael	Philosophy (Rome, Vatican)	1871
"	Poetry (Rome, Vatican)	1867

Raphael	Justice, (Rome, Vatican)	1873
"	Theology (Rome, Vatican)	1867
"	Poets on Mount Parnassus (Rome, Vatican)	1873
"	St. Peter delivered from Prison (Rome, Vatican)	1865
"	Four Sibyls (Rome, S. Maria della Pace)	1866
Romanino	The Chase (Malpaga, Castle)	1890
Roman Wall Painting,	The Nursing of Bacchus (Farnesina Palace)	1895
Giovanni Santi	The Virgin and Child and Saints and Resurrection of Christ (Cagli, S. Domenico)	1859
Andrea del Sarto	Madonna del Sacco (Florence, SS. Annunziata)	1862
" "	Nativity of the Virgin (Florence, SS. Annunziata)	1866
" "	Procession of the Magi (Florence, SS. Annunziata)	1868
" "	S. Filippo Benizzi healing Children (Florence, SS. Annunziata)	1869
Signorelli	Events in the Life of Moses (Rome, Vatican)	1878
"	Head of Dante (Orvieto, Duomo)	1887
"	Head of Virgil (Orvieto, Duomo)	1887
Titian	St. Antony of Padua healing a young man (Padua, Scuola del Santo)	1873
Van Eyck	Adoration of the Lamb (Ghent, Cathedral)	1868
" "	Procession of Judges, Hermits, Warriors, Pilgrims	1869
" "	St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, Donor and his wife	1869
" "	The Triune God, The Virgin Mary, St. John the Baptist	1870
" "	Annunciation with two prophets and two sibyls	1871
" "	St. Cecilia, Angelic Choir (2 prints)	1871
" "	Adam, Eve (2 prints)	1871
Gran Vasco	St. Peter Enthroned as Pope (Portugal, Vizeu)	1892
Veronese	Justice (nr. Venice, Villa Maser)	1887
"	Temperance (nr. Venice, Villa Maser)	1887
Lorenzo da Viterbo	Betrothal of the Virgin (Viterbo)	1889
Meister Wilhelm	Madonna with the Violet (Cologne)	1873
Wilton Diptych	Richard II of England (National Gallery)	1882
" "	Madonna and Saints (National Gallery)	1882
Monument to Cavalli (St. Anastasia, Verona)		1872
Monument to Can Grande della Scale (Verona, S. Maria)		1887
Monument to Count Guglielme dal Castelbarco (Verona, S. Pietro)		1881
Monument to Doge Morosini (Venice, SS. Giovanni e Paolo)		1882
Monument to Doge Vendramin (Venice, SS.Giovanni e Paolo)		1875
Monument to Tommaso Pellegrini (Verona, S. Anastasia)		1878
Illuminated capital letter C (Siena, Piccolomini Library)		1863
Illuminated capital letter D (Siena, Piccolomini Library)		1864
Illuminated capital letter L (Siena, Piccolomini Library)		1863
Casts and reductions		
The Theseus (London, British Museum, Elgin Collection)		1849
The Ilissus (London, British Museum, Elgin Collection)		1852
Slab from Parthenon Frieze (London, British Museum, Elgin Collection)		1853
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