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**Reassessing Connoisseurship  
Before and After the  
Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857**

**Volume One of two volumes**

**(Text)**

**By**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of  
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## Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another University.

In 2013 I published the essay ‘Notes on Cavalcaselle’s 1865 Visit to Stockholm’, *Art Bulletin of Nationalmuseum Stockholm*, 19 (2012), pp. 165-172. In this thesis I cite this paper in the bibliography due to its connection to Cavalcaselle’s 1865 Continental journey.

Besides, in the very early stages of my PhD, I gave the paper ‘An Inspirational Milieu. St. Petersburg Cosmopolitan Collections of Old Masters’, at the 3rd Graduate Workshop of the ‘Russian Art and Culture Group’ (Bremen, Jacobs University, 26/11/2015 – 27/11/2015). The proceedings were later published on Brill’s journal *Experiment*, 23/1 (2017), *In memoriam: Dmitry Vladimirovich Sarabyanov*, Isabel Wünsche, Tanja Malycheva and Sebastian Borkhardt (eds.), *Russian Art: Building Bridges Between East and West. In Memoriam Dmitry Sarabyanov*, pp. 81-92. In this thesis, I quote some pieces of archival reference from my conference paper. However, in this thesis I have partially changed the paper’s perspective and conclusions on some specific case studies.

Moreover, in 2016 I gave the paper ‘Schiavone nelle carte pietroburghesi di Cavalcaselle’ at the international conference on Schiavone held in Venice (Giorgio Cini Foundation – Marciana National Library, 31/03/2016 – 02/04/2016). The proceedings



were published in 2018: Callegari, Chiara, Vincenzo Mancini (eds), *Andrea Schiavone: pittura, incisione e disegno nella Venezia del Cinquecento*, (Venice: Lineadacqua, 2018), pp. 142-153. In this thesis I quote some pieces of archival reference from my conference paper.

In 2018, finally, I published the essay ‘Disvelando pale, effigi e panneggi. Le ricognizioni danesi di Crowe e Cavalcaselle’, on the Ca’ Foscari University of Venice’s on-line journal *MDCCC 1800*, 7 (2018), pp. 95-126. In this thesis I quote some pieces of archival reference from this essay.

## Abstract

This thesis examines the evolution of connoisseurship before and after the exhibition ‘Art Treasures of the United Kingdom’ (Manchester, 5 May-17 October 1857). This work reassesses how the Manchester exhibition affected both technical and critical skills, as well as the professional opportunities, of the Victorian experts of Old Master painting, print and drawing.

Scholarship has not shed full light on the complex and interconnected network of critical, technical, religious, and political interactions at the base of the 1857 show. Some relevant issues, indeed, are still unexplored. For instance, scholars have generally ignored Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1819-1897)’s involvement in the 1857 exhibition, as well as the connoisseurial relevance and independence of the Manchester exhibition’s ‘Art Secretary’, Sir George Scharf (1820-1895). This thesis, however, demonstrates that Cavalcaselle operated at Manchester as Scharf’s private connoisseurial adviser. Furthermore, this work sheds light on the professional and connoisseurial competition that occurred, after the Manchester exhibition, between Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794-1868) and Cavalcaselle. This thesis, finally, sheds light on the extent and depth of Joseph Archer Crowe (1825-1896)’s connoisseurship, nor on his substantial importance for the History of Art’s development.

The argument of this thesis, moreover, is that the absence of some Old Masters that were not displayed at Manchester show has affected, as much as the pictures that Scharf selected for the 1857 show, the connoisseurial and art-historical approach to some

specific Old Masters, in particular regards the iconographic, compositional and technical interactions between the Italian and Northern European schools of the late Quattrocento.

This work is based on archival research, conducted in the Marciana National Library (Venice), as well as in the National Art Library (Victoria and Albert Museum) and the Heinz Archive (National Portrait Gallery) in London, and in the John Murray Archives (Scottish National Archives) in Edinburgh.

## List of Abbreviations

c. = circa

cat./catt. = catalogue entry/entries

f./ff. = folio/folios

Fig./Figs = figure/figures

Marciana = Venice, Marciana National Library, Fondo Cavalcaselle

MS = manuscript

NAL = London, National Art Library (Victoria and Albert Museum), Crowe Fund

NPG = London, National Portrait Gallery, Heinz Archive, Sir George Scharf's Papers

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Figure 132. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, oil on canvas, 1660-1670, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol, 100.3 x 74.9 cm.

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Figure 150. Detail of MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIII, f. 12v.

Figure 151. Andrea Mantegna, *The Virgin and Child in a Landscape* (*The Virgin of Humility*), engraving, c.1480-1485, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 20.6 x 20.8 cm.

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## **Introduction**

This thesis examines the evolution of connoisseurship before and after the exhibition 'Art Treasures of the United Kingdom', held in Manchester between 5 May and 17 October 1857. My thesis reassesses how the Manchester exhibition affected the technical and critical skills, as well as the professional opportunities, of the Victorian experts of Old Master painting, print and drawing.

My research, in fact, provides substantial archival evidence with the aim of shedding new light on how the Manchester exhibition, not only represented a watershed for connoisseurship, but also paved the way to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth development of History of Art. In this thesis, I argue that the absence of some specific works of art from the Manchester show extensively influenced and affected as much the presence of some other works at the Art Treasures Palace at the time as the connoisseurial and art-historical approach to Old Masters to-date.

## 1. Literary Review

Elizabeth Pergam's book (2016) is the most relevant study on the 'Art Treasures' exhibition. Pergam's research, indeed, is the first systematic study on the financial, logistic, cultural and connoisseurial interactions at the base of the 1857 show. Pergam, indeed, confirmed the Manchester exhibition's "foundational role in the practice of art history".<sup>1</sup> Remarkably, in addition, Pergam convincingly demonstrated that the Manchester show – rather than the 1862 International Exhibition (London), as Prettejohn had claimed - had led to the emergence of connoisseurs as independent and respected professionals.<sup>2</sup> In addition, Pergam investigated some outstanding connections between connoisseurship and the art market. Noticeably, Pergam also indicated that the Manchester show had constituted a watershed for the development of artistic photography, as well as of a more attractive and qualified artistic literature. Pergam highlighted how the 'Art Treasures' show had changed the Victorian collectors' taste for Primitives and Spanish Baroque. Furthermore, Pergam argued that the 1857 exhibition had set a standard for "a city [that] could announce its emergence as a political and economic force through spectacular cultural display".<sup>3</sup> Strikingly, in conclusion, Pergam shed some light on Sir George Scharf (1820-1895), the 'Art Secretary' of the Art Treasures exhibition, and on his connoisseurial independence from Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794-1868)'s overwhelming prestige.

The second edition of Pergam's work (2016) coincided with the early stages of my PhD, when my research interests were confined mainly to the analysis of Joseph

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<sup>1</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 94-95, also endnote 7 (p. 128). Prettejohn 1997.

<sup>3</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 9.



Archer Crowe's (1825-1896) papers, which are kept in the National Art Library (Victoria and Albert Museum) in London. During my Erasmus+ research in Venice (2016-2017), a careful scrutiny of Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle's (1819-1897) papers stored at the Marciana National Library led me to focus on the detailed connoisseurial notes that He had explicitly addressed to Crowe during his visit to the Manchester exhibition. The more I researched the more I realised that at Manchester Cavalcaselle had studied in depth a considerable number of Old Masters, providing some noteworthy and original remarks on the Manchester works' technique, style, conservation and provenance. Most of these materials, though, are unpublished. Therefore, I decided to investigate Cavalcaselle's stay in Manchester and its connection to Crowe who, in his autobiography, had lamented his absence from the Manchester exhibition.<sup>4</sup>

Notably, though, in her book Pergam restricted herself merely to mention that Cavalcaselle had visited the 1857 show, failing to discuss his and Crowe's involvement in the 'Art Treasures' exhibition. Pergam, consequently, did not discuss Cavalcaselle's Manchester sketches and notes and, therefore, to use these archival materials to enhance the provenance research on the works of art displayed at Manchester in 1857. Pergam also did not exhaustively describe the relevance of the French connoisseur and critic Théophile Thoré-Bürger's (1807–1869) remarks on Scharf's selection, display and cataloguing at the Manchester show.<sup>5</sup>

Both Lino Moretti (1973) and Donata Levi, whose book (1988) is still the most influential study on Cavalcaselle, mentioned his visit to the Manchester exhibition. Levi, in particular, sustained that Cavalcaselle's stay at Manchester had been essential for the

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<sup>4</sup> Crowe 1895, p. 238.

<sup>5</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 221.

development of his critical and technical skills, and discussed his interest in some specific Old Masters displayed at the Art Treasures Palace. Levi, moreover, only cursorily mentioned a letter, held in Edinburgh, which is essential to assess Cavalcaselle's stay in Manchester. Here, Levi did not detail the connoisseurial 'small job' that, according to this letter, he had found at Manchester. Notably, Levi reconstructed Cavalcaselle's collaboration with Scharf before the 1857 exhibition but restricted herself merely to argue that he had found occupation in Manchester thanks to Scharf's intercession. Again, Levi did not hypothesise that Cavalcaselle had worked – either officially or privately – for Scharf at the Manchester show.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, Donata Levi and Jaynie Anderson have extensively debated the rivalry between Cavalcaselle and Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891), as well as the similarities and the differences between Cavalcaselle's sketching practice to isolate the figures' anatomical elements and Morelli's 'scientific method'.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, only Levi and Ekserdjian discussed the rivalry that had opposed Waagen to Crowe and Cavalcaselle. In 1988, Levi indicated that Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial activity at the Liverpool Royal Institution in 1850 had paved the way to his professional rivalry with Waagen.<sup>8</sup> Remarkably, Levi mentioned a harsh note that Cavalcaselle had written in 1865 regarding Waagen's attribution of a work of art. Levi, though, did not correctly comprehend this note. Therefore, Levi did not link this note to Cavalcaselle and Waagen's private clash over Italian Primitives. Furthermore, Levi did not discuss how Cavalcaselle's activity at the 1857 show, as well as the relevance given at Manchester to Crowe and Cavalcaselle's recently published *Lives of the Early Flemish Painters*, had

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<sup>6</sup> Moretti 1973, p. 73. Levi 1988, p. 72, also endnote 202 (p. 97).

<sup>7</sup> Anderson 1992. Levi 1993. Anderson 1996.

<sup>8</sup> Levi 1988, p. 28.

considerably enhanced Waagen's frustration towards Cavalcaselle's increasing success.<sup>9</sup> In 2010 and 2018, on the other hand, Ekserdjian discussed the rivalry between Waagen and the professional partnership formed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, highlighting the relevance of Crowe's ageist criticism of Waagen contained in Crowe's autobiography.<sup>10</sup> However, research still has to fully shed light on the complex and interconnected reasons and features of the professional and personal rivalry that opposed the German experts to the English and Italian editorial partners.

Other art scholars, such as the researchers that gave a paper at the international conferences on Cavalcaselle held in 1997 and 2019, neglected to mention Cavalcaselle's stay in Manchester, as well as the collaboration between Scharf and Cavalcaselle in Liverpool and Manchester, and the rivalry between Waagen and Cavalcaselle.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, Olga Piccolo, who has recently investigated Cavalcaselle's handwritten materials held in the National Art Library, did not discuss how Cavalcaselle's stay in Manchester had shaped the editorial and connoisseurial collaboration between him and Crowe.<sup>12</sup> Besides, over the last three years, Valentina Fraticelli has extensively published discourses on the professional interaction between Crowe and Cavalcaselle, providing some original comments. However, Fraticelli, who has also announced an essay on Crowe's autobiography, mis-attributed – in a few cases – some pen or pencil sketches assigned by her to Cavalcaselle or Crowe. Moreover, Fraticelli did not assess Cavalcaselle's and Crowe's involvement in the Manchester exhibition.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Levi 1988, p. 28, also endnote 16 (p. 85) and pp. 248-249, also endnote 30 (p. 297).

<sup>10</sup> Crowe 1895, pp. 399-400. Ekserdjian 2010, pp. 359-360, also footnote 11 (p. 359). Ekserdjian 2018, p. 52, also footnote 5.

<sup>11</sup> Tommasi 1998. Terraroli 2019.

<sup>12</sup> Piccolo 2019.

<sup>13</sup> Fraticelli 2019. Fraticelli 2020.

Remarkably, though, David Ekserdjian, Luke Uglow, as well as Levi, Fraticelli and Piccolo, have gradually – but still not completely – reassessed Crowe’s relevance for the connoisseurship of Primitives and the development of both connoisseurship and History of Art in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> In addition, Ekserdjian convincingly highlighted the critical and art-historical relevance of Crowe’s sketching and surveys in Berlin and Braunschweig.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Fraticelli underlined the connoisseurial importance of Cavalcaselle’s and Crowe’s - individual and joint - surveys in Rome, Siena, Pisa and Padua. Fraticelli, indeed, emphasised how these connoisseurial surveys affected the genesis of the two editorial partners’ art-historical production and shaped the late-nineteenth-century art-historical attention to the Tuscan and Venetian Primitives. Moreover, Levi and Fraticelli convincingly indicated that the Cavalcaselle Bequest to the Marciana and the Crowe Fund in the National Art Library should be considered as a whole archival fund, in which any single document is strictly connected with the rest of Cavalcaselle’s and Crowe’s papers spread between the Venice and London funds.<sup>16</sup> However, scholars have avoided to produce a systematic and interdisciplinary study on Crowe’s importance in the fields of connoisseurship, History of Art, art literature, foreign policy and diplomacy.

In 2018, though, David Ekserdjian remarked on some connoisseurial intuitions and technical considerations that Waagen had placed in his *Treasures* and *Cabinets* which had had an essential relevance, not only for the provenance research, but also for the history of British and Continental connoisseurship and collecting of Old Masters.<sup>17</sup> Noticeably, Ekserdjian’s paper provided me with the chance to compare, and frame in a

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<sup>14</sup> Ekserdjian 2010. Levi 2016. Uglow 2017. Levi 2018.

<sup>15</sup> Ekserdjian 2010, pp. 360 and 370. Fig. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Levi 2015, Fraticelli 2018, p. 381.

<sup>17</sup> Ekserdjian 2018. Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857.

Continental-wide context, Boris Iosifovich Asvarishch's comments (1995) on the importance that Waagen's connoisseurial research in Russia (1861-1862) had had for the development in Russia of both the collecting and the connoisseurship of Western European Old Masters.<sup>18</sup> However, scholars to-date have not produced a systematic study of Waagen as a connoisseur, curator and art writer, showing all the complexity of his network with the most outstanding British and Continental connoisseurs, academics, art dealers, collectors, politicians and diplomats of his time. Similarly, scholars have distanced themselves from engaging in a systematic and detailed research of the connoisseurial network that, after the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle had managed to create – in competition with Waagen – in Denmark and Russia and, later, with the Russian residents in Florence.

On the other hand, in 2012, Philip Cottrell highlighted the connoisseurial relevance of Scharf's Manchester handwritten materials and expanded on Pergam's discoveries on his direct and indirect connoisseurial connections with some British and American art dealers and collectors. Remarkably, Cottrell highlighted the art-historical importance of Scharf's 1856-1857 tour throughout Great Britain, in which he had studied the Old Masters that he would select for the Manchester show. However, in 2012, Cottrell did not fully underline Scharf's pre-Manchester connoisseurial independence from Waagen's attributions and critical remarks on the British Old Masters.<sup>19</sup> In May 2019, Cottrell and the Heinz Archive's curators partially digitised Scharf's Manchester sketchbooks, enhancing my focus on the professional, critical, technical, sketching and cataloguing interactions between him and Cavalcaselle during the 'Art Treasures' show.

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<sup>18</sup> Aswarischtsch 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Cottrell 2012.

In 2020, then, Cottrell not only highlighted Scharf's 'pioneering' display of Old Masters at the Art Treasures Palace, but also reassessed his connoisseurial independence, both in his 1856-1857 British tour and during the 'Art Treasures' exhibition, from Waagen's *Treasures and Cabinets*.<sup>20</sup> Cottrell further extended Pergam's research on Scharf's connections with the British collectors that would lend their Old Masters to the Manchester show. Cottrell, moreover, in 2020 highlighted the remarkable difference between Scharf's pre-Manchester cursory and mnemonic sketches of Old Masters, and the detailed and elaborate sketches of some Manchester pictures that he had drawn during the show's last weeks. Furthermore, Cottrell agreed with Pergam's 2001 indication that, shortly before the Manchester exhibition's vernissage, Scharf had rejected Cavalcaselle's request to engage him as connoisseurial assistant.<sup>21</sup>

Noticeably, though, Cottrell restricted himself from discussing the theoretical and philosophical underpinnings of Scharf's connoisseurship. Pergam, on the other hand, claimed that the Manchester exhibition had been permeated by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831)'s approach to history of art, that, according to Pergam, was evident not only in Scharf's display and catalogues,<sup>22</sup> but also in the numerous Manchester guides, reviews, and pamphlets on the show.<sup>23</sup> However, Pergam did not fully highlight how the Manchester exhibition's presentation of the Old Masters had been characterised by a double theoretical underpinning. The first, as Pergam noticed in Scharf's display, chronology and cataloguing, as well as in most of the Manchester guiding, was the Hegelian focus on national schools, as well as on the ways in which each epoch had condensed philosophical and religious concepts in its "characteristic forms".<sup>24</sup> The

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<sup>20</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Cottrell 2020.

<sup>21</sup> Pergam 2001, p. 144. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>22</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 100.

<sup>23</sup> Pergam 2016,

<sup>24</sup> Hatt, Klonk 2006, p. 37.

second, on the other hand, had been the result of Waagen's reaction – during their long and contrasted professional relationship at the Royal Museum in Berlin<sup>25</sup> - to Karl Friedrich von Rumohr (1785-1843)'s focus on archival research, as well as on each master's individual "style, manner, [...] character".<sup>26</sup> In his *Treasures and Cabinets*, indeed, Waagen effectively managed to merge Rumohr's method with an historical approach to the evolution of local schools. In Manchester, this second underpinning was embodied not only, as Pergam implicitly noted, by Scharf's interest in detailing the Manchester pictures' provenance in his Manchester catalogues,<sup>27</sup> but also by his and Cavalcaselle's detailed focus on the specific individuality of any Old Master.

However, both Pergam and Cottrell did not consider and discuss the archival evidence, kept in Venice and Edinburgh, that demonstrate that, shortly after the show's opening (May 1857) Cavalcaselle acted, even though privately and unofficially, as Scharf's curatorial assistant. Pergam and Cottrell, in addition, did not indicate the reasons that had led Scharf to replace, with a *Definitive* edition, the *Provisional Catalogue* of the Old Masters displayed in Manchester.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, both Pergam and Cottrell did not discuss Scharf's connoisseurial process that had led him to harmonise his connoisseurial conclusions, as well as his cataloguing skills and art lexicon, with Waagen's model and Cavalcaselle's Manchester critical remarks and methods. Similarly, Pergam and Cottrell did not indicate and describe how Scharf, at the Manchester exhibition, had modified his sketching techniques and connoisseurial approach to sketching in relation to Cavalcaselle's sketching techniques at the Old Trafford Palace. Likewise, both Pergam and Cottrell did not examine the similarities between Scharf's *Handbook* and

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<sup>25</sup> Levi 1988, pp. xxx-xxxi. Tøndborg 2005, pp. 127-129 and 144-149.

<sup>26</sup> Hatt, Klonk 2006, pp. 42-45. Bickendorf 1993.

<sup>27</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 100.

<sup>28</sup> Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, b.

Cavalcaselle's Manchester attributions and remarks on the technique and style of some of the Old Masters.<sup>29</sup>

In conclusion, Pergam, Levi, Ekserdjian, Cottrell, and Uglow shed light only on some specific aspects of the complex and interconnected network of professional, critical, technical, religious, and political interactions, that had been at the base of the 1857 show's organisation. Likewise, these scholars, along with Anderson, Fraticelli and others, restricted themselves from researching systematically the Manchester exhibition's enduring influence on connoisseurs and art historians. Consequently, some relevant topics, such as Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial involvement in the 1857 exhibition, as well as Scharf's and Crowe's relevance in the European connoisseurial *milieu*, and Waagen's professional and connoisseurial competition with Cavalcaselle and Crowe, are still – partially or fully – unexplored.

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<sup>29</sup> Scharf 1857, d.



## 2. Critical Reflections

The argument of my thesis is that Scharf's selection of the Old Masters for display at Manchester, along with Cavalcaselle's, Waagen's and Thoré-Bürger's critical approach to the Manchester works, has affected to-date not only connoisseurship and History of Art, but also other disciplines, such as provenance research, the history of Old Masters' collecting, market and conservation, and the history of art exhibitions.

There are some remarkable critical aspects that constitute the theoretical underpinnings of my archival and historical research which I will discuss in this paper.

Firstly, it must be noted that Scharf's choice of the works of art to exhibit at the Art Treasures Palace shaped the Old Masters' canon. The works selected by Scharf have constituted, especially as regards paintings from Catholic countries, the canon of the Old Masters worthy of being either displayed in the most relevant international temporary exhibitions or purchased by the most respectable and up-to-date collectors. For instance, as Pergam convincingly sustained, Scharf's Manchester display of some Venetian and Central Italian Primitives not only broadened the market opportunity but also enhanced the critical relevance – and, consequently, the cultural appraisal – of Medieval Continental art in the British, European and American *milieu*.<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Pergam highlighted that Scharf's bold decision to display at Manchester many works of some Spanish masters of the 'Siglo de Oro', unknown even to most of the British collectors and dealers, shaped both the general visitors' and the amateurs' taste. Therefore, Scharf's Manchester selection widened the focus of the British market on Spanish Baroque

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<sup>30</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 220-221. Lygon, Russell 1980.

painting that before the Manchester show had focused primarily on Velázquez (1599–1660) and Murillo (1618-1682).<sup>31</sup> Scharf’s connoisseurial interventions at the 1857 show, therefore, considerably affected the history of the British market, and the collecting and exhibiting of Old Masters.

Secondly, at Manchester the close display of the works of art that Scharf had selected for the 1857 show affected the connoisseurs’ eye, as well as the collectors’ taste and, consequently, the art dealers’ strategies. Connoisseurs and art historians, in particular, have increasingly used to compare some specific works, such as Mantegna’s *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 67) with Bellini’s picture of identical subject (Fig. 70), or Titian’s *Rape of Europa* (Fig. 72) with Veronese’s *Allegories of Love*, due to their common presence at the Manchester show.<sup>32</sup> On the contrary, the absence of some specific works from the Manchester show has gradually prevented not only connoisseurs, but also art historians, from providing some original and ‘open minded’ stylistic, technical, compositional and iconographic connections between works of different schools and dates.

Thirdly, the Manchester exhibition fully embodied the consistent connections between the history of temporary exhibitions and the history of connoisseurship. Rather than developing along parallel paths, these two disciplines have constantly intersected, especially in the field of Old Master studies. On the one hand, since the early nineteenth century connoisseurs were not able to keep constantly up to date, nor were they able to analyse with their own eyes as many works of art as they could manage. Therefore, especially after the 1857 show, connoisseurs have had the chance to visit a temporary

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<sup>31</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 166.

<sup>32</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 105.

exhibition and analyse some artworks that, usually, were not exhibited in the same room and that, in some cases, have been locked away in some closed-off collection or storage. This means that only professionals of Old Masters, provided with the critical and technical knowledge and the visual experience, have managed to correctly select, study and describe to visitors, using an understandable lexicon and effective practices, the works of art that were produced in some extremely distant – in historical, religious, philosophical, economic and aesthetic terms – societies. Notably, since the Manchester exhibition, British visitors and amateurs have become increasingly tolerant and indulgent towards some of the more pronouncedly Catholic-looking Old Masters exhibited at the 1857 show, such as the works of the Italian Primitive, Carracesque,<sup>33</sup> or Spanish ‘Siglo de Oro’ schools. The official sanction of these works occurred in Manchester only a few years after the renowned bias of the poorly ‘manly’ Venetian Mannerist painting, such as Tintoretto’s production, during the hearings of the National Gallery’s 1853 Select Committee.<sup>34</sup> The history of the temporary exhibitions of Old Masters can, therefore, not be separated from the history of Old Masters connoisseurship.

Moreover, it's not sufficient to assess the critical, technical, and theoretical relevance of one connoisseur per time. Especially after the Manchester exhibition, connoisseurship has formed an international community of qualified experts that have been constantly in contact with each other to update their practices, skills and network of dealers, academics, collectors, and curators. Therefore, the history of connoisseurship cannot be characterised by the study of the most outstanding individual figures of connoisseurs. On the contrary, the history of connoisseurship is a discipline characterised

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<sup>33</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 95 and 137.

<sup>34</sup> Select Committee 1853, p. 148, QQ. 153-154. Tøndborg 2005, p. 156.

by a noteworthy level of personal and professional interconnections, journeys, opportunities, and rivalries.

It becomes also necessary to highlight that, since the mid-nineteenth century, connoisseurship and History of Art have reduced their methodological distance but have not blended. The Manchester exhibition, on the other hand, was characterised by the triumph of a connoisseurial approach – based on the focus on style, manner, and on the individual aspect of an artist’s ‘character’ – that had been gradually refined by Karl Friedrich von Rumohr (1785-1843).<sup>35</sup> At Manchester, this approach had been utilised in different ways by Waagen, Cavalcaselle – in association with Crowe – and Scharf. At the same time, Scharf’s Manchester display and cataloguing emphasised an art-historical fashion – also derived from von Rumohr’s research – to archival evidence that aimed at providing an account of the historical *milieu* in which a specific artwork had originated. Shortly after the 1857 show, however, Giovanni Morelli began to achieve an increasing international success with his connoisseurial ‘method’, based merely on ‘visual forms’ rather than on archival evidence and individual style.<sup>36</sup> Apparently similarly so, Cavalcaselle’s and Morelli’s common interest in anatomical details – such as hands and feet – gradually diverged due to their theoretical differences. The late-nineteenth-century rivalry between Cavalcaselle and Morelli thus originated from Morelli’s theoretical contrast to the Manchester triumph of von Rumohr’s connoisseurial tradition.

In conclusion, the history of connoisseurship is strictly interconnected with provenance research as well as with the history of collecting. The evolution of the critical, archival, technical and historical research on Old Masters, indeed, has affected, especially

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<sup>35</sup> Hatt, Klonk 2006, pp. 42-48.

<sup>36</sup> Hatt, Klonk 2006, pp. 48-56.

since the Manchester exhibition, the connoisseurial – and economic – evaluation of some specific artworks, masters or schools. Therefore, connoisseurship has considerably affected the fruition or the dispersal of Old Master collections. On the other hand, connoisseurs have either managed or failed, especially at the Manchester show, to provide some detailed descriptions and comments on some specific Old Masters that current provenance researchers have used to trace the works of art that Scharf displayed at the Art Treasures Palace.

Finally, it must be noted that connoisseurship is still an existing discipline. Many less neglected disciplines, such as, for example, the history of the art market, history of collecting, as well as visual, cultural and museum studies, cannot develop without any substantial connoisseurial base. The mixture of technical, historical, critical and visual knowledge at the base of connoisseurship, on the one hand, is essential to develop an interdisciplinary perspective on Old Masters. On the other hand, any scholar that aimed at specialising in some specific economic or technical or philosophical aspect of a specific picture, artist or school, could not avoid learning how to ‘read’ an artwork, enriching any original hypothesis with an exhaustive system of material, visual and archival evidence. Rather than being a marginal and extinct field, since the Manchester exhibition connoisseurship has considerably evolved but has managed to keep its central relevance in the study of Old Masters.

### 3. Methodology

To fill the existing critical gaps in literature, I decided to base my PhD on extensive archival research. Therefore, I focused my research in London and Venice. Firstly, I analysed in detail Cavalcaselle's and Crowe's papers, which are spread between the Marciana National Library (Venice) and the National Art Library (Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Secondly, I extensively researched Scharf's Manchester papers that are preserved in the Heinz Archive (National Portrait Gallery) in London. Moreover, I conduct research also in other archives, such as the John Murray Archives (National Scottish Archives) in Edinburgh, which had been relevant for this study.

In addition, I compared the archival evidence that I had traced with the published primary sources. For my research, I established a correlation between my archival evidence with the information that I had traced in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's and Waagen's editorial production in English, Italian, German and French.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, I contrasted the archival evidence that I had found in Venice, London and Edinburgh with Scharf's *Provisional*, *Definitive* and *Supplemental* catalogues of the Manchester exhibition, as well as with Scharf's Manchester *Handbook*, the paper that Scharf had given on 15 April 1858 at the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, and Scharf's post-Manchester connoisseurial production.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, I compared my archival evidence not only with Theodore Woolman Rathbone's (1798-1863) early- and late-1850s catalogues of the Liverpool Royal Institution but also with the Manchester

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<sup>37</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857 to Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1884. Cavalcaselle, Crowe 1875. Cavalcaselle, Crowe 1886. Jordan 1869 to Jordan 1876. Cavalcaselle 1891. Langton Douglas 1903 to Langton Douglas, De Nicola 1911. Hutton 1908. Hutton 1909. Borenius 1912. Borenius 1914. Waagen 1822 to Waagen 1868.

<sup>38</sup> Scharf 1857 to Scharf 1857, d. Scharf 1858. Scharf 1860. Scharf 1875.

exhibition's most influential reviews, guides and commemorative volumes, such as Thoré-Bürger's *Trésors*, Caldesi and Montecchi's *Gems* and Layard's *Quarterly Review*'s essay.<sup>39</sup>

Moreover, I compared the archival evidence traced in the National Art Library, the NPG and in the John Murray Archives with the existing literature – in the English, Italian, German, French, Russian, Spanish, Dutch and Danish languages – on the Manchester exhibition, on Scharf, Cavalcaselle, Crowe and Waagen, on the history of connoisseurship, as well as on some specific Old Master pictures, artists or schools.

Furthermore, I compared all the archival evidence and the information, that I had collected on the primary and secondary bibliography with the curatorial and technical information that the curators of the museums (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bristol Museum and Galleries, Heckscher Museum of Art, National Gallery, Wallace Collection) that I had contacted had provided me with. In addition, I compared the archival evidence and the bibliographic information with the data – related mainly to the dimensions, material aspects and provenance of a specific picture – that I had found on-line on the websites of museums and auction houses.

Finally, I framed all these archival, bibliographic, and curatorial evidence and information in a broad historical and theoretical structure.

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<sup>39</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857. Layard 1857. Caldesi, Montecchi 1858.

## 4. Archival Research

In the National Art Library (London), I researched Crowe's correspondence with Cavalcaselle, as well as Crowe and Cavalcaselle's unpublished monograph on Leonardo (1452-1519), Crowe and Cavalcaselle's drawings, tracing papers, cut-outs, notes and sketches regarding Raphael (1483-1520) and his workshop, Crowe's manuscripts and folds on the French seventeenth-century Classical school, and Crowe's connoisseurial materials on the 'Dutch Golden Age' school and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1780–1867). Notably, in the National Art Library I traced a significant letter that Cavalcaselle had sent to Crowe from Saint Petersburg, as well as the copies of his sketches of some specific Old Masters that then had been kept in some renowned public and private Saint-Petersburg collections.<sup>40</sup> In the National Art Library, I searched for Crowe's still untraced sketches on Memling's *Passion Altarpiece* (Lübeck), and, specifically, I traced his sketches (Fig. 1)<sup>41</sup> on Memling's renowned *Last Judgement Triptych* (Fig. 2) kept in Gdańsk.<sup>42</sup> Consequently, I compared these materials with the archival evidence that I found in Venice, London and Edinburgh, as well as with the information provided by the existing literature (in particular the contributions by Levi, Uglow and Fraticelli) and in Crowe's autobiography, which, unfortunately, only covers his life until 1860.

In the Marciana (Venice), I researched Cavalcaselle's handwritten materials on his personal copy of Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue* of the 1857 exhibition.<sup>43</sup> In addition,

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<sup>40</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.40, Box 2.

<sup>41</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.32, Box 3.

<sup>42</sup> Hans Memling, *Last Judgement (Tani Triptych)*, 1467-1473, oil on panel, 241 x 180.8 cm (central panel) and 242 x 90 cm (side panels), Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, inv. MNG/SD/413/M. Gaedertz 1883, p. 15, also footnote 1 (pp. 15-16). <http://sadostateczny.mng.gda.pl/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>43</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI.



I analysed Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial papers kept in his Manchester sketchbook, that he had named "libretto".<sup>44</sup> I also studied Cavalcaselle's loose sheets on which, during his stay in Manchester in May 1857, he had drawn some sketches and written some connoisseurial notes addressed to Crowe.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, in the Marciana, I examined Cavalcaselle's sketches and comments noted by him on his personal copies of the printed catalogues of the 1851, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857,<sup>46</sup> and 1865 editions of the British Institution's annual exhibitions of Old Masters.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, I analysed Cavalcaselle sketches and notes on his personal copy of the printed catalogue of the exhibition on the painters of the school of Brescia, held in Brescia in 1878.<sup>48</sup> Finally, I studied Cavalcaselle and Crowe's letters, dated at the beginning of 1860, which are related to the two experts' rivalry with Waagen.<sup>49</sup>

In the Heinz Archive (London), on turn, I researched Scharf's sketchbooks that contain his handwritten materials related to his tour across Great Britain (September 1856-April 1857), in which he had selected, in numerous private collections of the country, the Old Masters to display in Manchester.<sup>50</sup> In addition, I studied in detail Scharf's sketchbooks on which, between early September and late October 1857, he had drawn some sketches and made notes related to some works on display at Manchester and some pictures that the National Gallery had recently purchased.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, with the descriptions and references placed on the National Portrait Gallery's website, as well as with the help of the Heinz Archive's curators, I partially studied Scharf's 'Long Books'<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV.

<sup>45</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 58r, 61r-64v.

<sup>46</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, MIsc. B 3608, Misc. C 11248, Misc. C 11249, Misc. C 11275, Misc. C 11364, Misc. C 11395.

<sup>47</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, camicia anteriore e ff. 158v-170v.

<sup>48</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, MIsc. C 11272.

<sup>49</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistole 87-89.

<sup>50</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbooks 43-46.

<sup>51</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbooks 47-49.

<sup>52</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf LB II and III.

– including Scharf’s two-volume ‘Inscription Book’<sup>53</sup> – and Scharf’s annotated copy of the Manchester exhibition’s *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>54</sup>

In the Murray Archives (Edinburgh), finally, I researched Sir John Murray III’s (1808-1892) letters relating to Cavalcaselle’s activity in Manchester, as well as to the rivalry between Waagen and Cavalcaselle. Therefore, I was able to analyse in detail Sir Charles Lock Eastlake’s (1793-1865) letter to Murray, dated 8 June 1857, which contains remarkable pieces of information on Cavalcaselle’s stay in Manchester in May 1857.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf LB IX and X.

<sup>54</sup> MS, London, NPG, Ann. Cat.

<sup>55</sup> MS, Edinburgh, National Scottish Archives, MS.42164. Levi 1988, p. 72, also endnote 202 (p. 97).

## 5. The Structure of this Thesis

This thesis is divided into four chapters.

Chapter One provides an account of the Manchester exhibition's relevance for provenance research, as well as for the exhibition history, the history of art literature and the history of British, Continental, and American collecting of Old Masters. I examine Waagen's pre-Manchester technical knowledge, artistic lexicon, and attention to the conservation of paintings. Moreover, I assess Waagen pre-Manchester interest in the late-Renaissance Venetian school. In addition, I discuss Cavalcaselle's early-1850s interaction between Waagen, Scharf and Cavalcaselle at the Liverpool Royal Institution. Finally, I focus on Cavalcaselle's pre-Manchester visits to temporary exhibitions of Old Masters, such as the annual exhibitions held in London by the British Institution.

Chapter Two is a study of the connoisseurial, sketching and cataloguing interactions between Scharf and Cavalcaselle at the Manchester exhibition. I appraise Cavalcaselle's private and unofficial connoisseurial assistance to Scharf in May 1857 by availing myself of published and – mostly unpublished – archival documents. I assess the evolution of Scharf's sketching techniques in relation to his professional exchange with Cavalcaselle at Manchester. I highlight Thoré-Bürger's considerable remarks on Scharf's Manchester display and concerns about the Victorian British fashion for glass painting covers, which are indicative of a more modern approach to the conservation of Old Masters. I underline some connoisseurial and art-historical effects of Scharf's selection, as well as Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship, of Old Masters at Manchester. I indicate Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's missed chance to fully understand the compositional,

technical, and iconographic complexity of some specific Old Masters displayed at the Art Treasures Palace, such as the *Manchester Madonna* (Fig. 75) Mantegna's *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 67), Bellini's *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 70) and Frick *Saint Francis* (Fig. 64). Moreover, in the 1857 exhibition Scharf also missed the opportunity to discuss some specific stylistic, technical, iconographic, and compositional connections between these Old Master works and some coeval or later pictures that Scharf had not managed to exhibit in Manchester. Scharf, indeed, in some cases failed not only to obtain, but also to request, the loan to the Manchester show of some outstanding Old Masters that in 1857 had been placed in some British private collections and, therefore, had been suitable for the 'Art Treasures' event. On the other hand, Scharf restricted himself from providing the Manchester visitors with some interesting connoisseurial comparisons between the works on display at the Art Treasures Palace and some specific Old Master works that in 1857 had been placed either in British public galleries or in – public or private – Continental collections.

In Chapter Three, I assess the rivalry that opposed Waagen to Crowe and Cavalcaselle after the 1857 show. In this chapter, I claim that this rivalry was a consequence of Cavalcaselle's increasing prestige after the Manchester exhibition, as well as of the increased range of professional opportunities that connoisseurs had the chance to avail themselves of after the 1857 show. Moreover, in this chapter I state that this rivalry heavily affected Waagen's and Crowe and Cavalcaselle's literary production and careers. Therefore, scrutinising the archival evidence of this rivalry that I have traced in London and Venice, I reconstruct Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's post-Manchester research journeys throughout Europe. I contrast the archival evidence that I have traced with Britta Tøndborg's remarks on Waagen's complicated connoisseurial and political interactions with the Danish art historian and connoisseur Niels Laurits Andreas Høyen

(1798-1870). Finally, in this chapter I focus on the case study of Waagen's (1861-1862) and Cavalcaselle's (1865) research journeys to Russia; these provide the opportunity to highlight the remarkable differences between Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's career, social prestige, critical interests, technical skills, and connoisseurial and political network in Russia. Availing myself of some archival documents, I discuss Cavalcaselle's professional interactions with the Russian scholars Fyodor Antonovich Bruni (1799-1875) and Karl Eduard von Liphart (1808–1891).

Chapter Four, in conclusion, focuses on the connoisseurial and art-historical effects of the Manchester exhibition. In this chapter, I stress how the presence or the absence of some specific Old Masters at the 1857 show has directed the connoisseurial and art-historical research towards some specific compositional and stylistic comparisons, rather than towards some other specific visual and technical connections that research has not yet – or only recently – argued or sustained. In this final chapter, so, I argue that Scharf's Manchester selection of the works to display at Manchester has heavily affected the research on Old Masters to-date. Finally, I state that only recently both connoisseurs and art historians have managed – in part – to shed some light on how some Manchester pictures, such as the *Manchester Madonna* and Bellini's Frick *Saint Francis*, have been plausibly influenced by some earlier or coeval Flemish pictures.

# **Chapter One**

## **Connoisseurship Before the Manchester Exhibition**

In this chapter I describe and analyse the cultural, art-historical and connoisseurial relevance of the Manchester exhibition.

Research has not fully clarified the relevance of Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's technical, critical, and methodologic impact on the Manchester exhibition. Consequently, scholars have not focused on how Waagen and Cavalcaselle influenced the late-nineteenth century connoisseurial and art-historical research through their activity at Manchester. On the other hand, the 1857 show also changed Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's professional opportunities and their technical and critical knowledge of Old Masters.

To comprehend these remarkable critical aspects, it is necessary to shed light on Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's activity and connoisseurship before the Manchester exhibition.

## 1.1 The Relevance of the Manchester Exhibition

The ‘Art Treasures’ exhibition took place at the Old Trafford venue, the ‘Art Treasures Palace’, between 5 May and 17 October 1857. British collectors followed Queen Victoria’s (1819-1901) and Prince Albert’s (1819-1861) prestigious lead, and lent to the show ‘more than sixteen thousand works’ by Old Masters and contemporary artists.<sup>56</sup> As Pergam and Cottrell noted, Scharf’s selection of the works of art to display at the Manchester exhibition represents a *summa* of the richness of the British collections’ Old Masters.<sup>57</sup> In addition, the 1857 show revealed itself not only as a microcosm of mid-nineteenth century Victorian collecting<sup>58</sup> but also as a showcase of the European connoisseurship.<sup>59</sup>

The display of Old Masters at the Manchester show, indeed, contributed to the reviewers’ and the visitors’ appraisal of the 1857 event, which ‘marked a watershed in the development of taste’.<sup>60</sup> For instance, Chambers and Pergam noted how at the 1857 show it ‘[...] was the first time that etchings were displayed in frames’.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Scharf’s Manchester activity as Old Masters selector, displayer and populariser for the general public set a standard for the organisation of the exhibitions of Old Masters.<sup>62</sup>

On the other hand, the ‘Art Treasures’ exhibition (1857) constituted a turning point for the European art *milieu*. The exhibition managed to attract more than a million visitors, and produced a spectacular set of reviews, handbooks, guides, pamphlets, essays,

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<sup>56</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 618.

<sup>57</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 5.

<sup>58</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 38 and 139. Cottrell 2012, p. 618.

<sup>59</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 38 and 138. Cottrell 2012, p. 618.

<sup>60</sup> Finke 1985, p. 103. Pergam 2016, p. 2, also endnote 9 (p. 10).

<sup>61</sup> Chambers 1999, p. 122, Pergam 2016, p. 2, also endnote 8 (p. 10).

<sup>62</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 59-61. Cottrell 2020, p. 288.

and even photographs.<sup>63</sup> British – and, consequently, Continental – mediatic attention to Old Master art thus considerably increased after the 1857 show.<sup>64</sup>

At the Art Treasures Palace, connoisseurs had the unique chance to refine their attributional skills, as well as to enhance their knowledge of the technical and stylistic differences between the various workshops and schools. In addition, at Manchester connoisseurs set the canon of Old Masters. In the second chapter of this thesis, I discuss how the absence from the 1857 show of some schools or masters – such as Luca Signorelli, Antonello da Messina, and Dirk Bouts – affected their critical fortune in the late nineteenth century. This had a very similar impact, however, for some schools, such as the Ferrarese, the Catalan or the Friulian Renaissance schools or the Venetian school of the seventeenth century, that had been excluded or inadequately represented at Manchester.<sup>65</sup>

At the Manchester show, moreover, the display of the works implicitly established some critical hierarchies and connections within the canon of Old Masters; this was also experienced explicitly by the scholars that visited and reviewed the 1857 exhibition. These connections and hierarchies would unknowingly affect for decades the British and Continental connoisseurs, dealers, art historians and collectors.<sup>66</sup>

At Manchester, furthermore, experts empirically set a methodologic standard for their approach to temporary exhibitions of Old Master art. During the ‘Art Treasures’ show, scholars implicitly established the fundamental importance – for their network, career, and attributional skills – of their visit to the most outstanding permanent – public and private – collections but also during the temporary exhibitions of Old Master works.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 93-135.

<sup>64</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 8.

<sup>65</sup> Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, b. Scharf 1857, d. Waagen 1857, b. Thoré-Bürger 1857.

<sup>66</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 137-139.

<sup>67</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 8.



After the 1857 show, visiting temporary shows of Old Masters became an increasingly common practise for connoisseurs, dealers, curators, and collectors. For connoisseurs, the chance to analyse with their eyes some works – especially those held in closed-off collections – enhanced the constant development of their technical, archival, and stylistic research on some specific pictures, masters or schools.<sup>68</sup>

For the experts on Old Master paintings, the Manchester exhibition thus constituted a remarkable opportunity to enhance their professional opportunities. After the Manchester show, connoisseurs established their social status of qualified professionals and strengthened their professional network with colleagues, as well as with dealers, restorers, curators, publishers, academics, and politicians. After the 1857 exhibition, in fact, connoisseurs not only enhanced their collaborations with dealers, collectors and restorers but also increased their chances to publish monographs, articles and reviews, as well as to travel throughout Europe to assess the attributions or the catalogue entries of some private or public collections. Consequently, Old Master scholars had the chance to substantially increase their visual experience and technical knowledge of the works of art spread across the European collections. Indeed, for connoisseurs, the Manchester show constituted, not only in the United Kingdom but also in Continental Europe, a watershed for the development of their career.<sup>69</sup>

Noticeably, though, research has not fully analysed the Manchester exhibition's connoisseurial and art-historical effects on the British and Continental culture. Scharf's selection, display and description of the works of art for the Manchester show, on the other hand, has not been fully assessed yet. Similarly, scholars have not yet clarified how, during the 1857 show, Scharf's refined, and independent connoisseurship reacted to

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<sup>68</sup> Levi 1988, pp. x and 150, catt. 9-11.

<sup>69</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 94-95.

Waagen's, Cavalcaselle's, Thoré-Bürger's and Layard's critical remarks, prestige, methods and taste. In addition, scholars have not focused on how Scharf's connoisseurial selection of the works of art to display at the 1857 event was crucial for enhancing Cavalcaselle's and Waagen's post-Manchester careers.

Remarkably, Cavalcaselle's task in the show has not yet been clarified. Levi indicated that he had managed to find a small occupation at the 1857 show. Research, though, did not identify Cavalcaselle's Manchester 'small job'. Moreover, Waagen's interaction with the 1857 show's Committee and 'Art Secretary' was not limited, as Pergam and Cottrell highlighted, to Waagen's paid collaboration with the exhibition's Committee.<sup>70</sup> Waagen not only gave to the Committee the consent to fully use his *Treasures* to structure the exhibition's display and cataloguing but also used his networking with British lenders to convince them to loan some works to the show.<sup>71</sup> Waagen, in fact, even gave in advance to Scharf the 'notes' of his *Cabinets* to let Scharf include some attributions in the show's catalogue.<sup>72</sup> Finally, Waagen came to the Committee's aid, providing a quick and cheap guide to show during the first weeks of the exhibition's opening, when Scharf's catalogue was not yet finished.<sup>73</sup> In the second chapter of this thesis I discuss how Cavalcaselle's interaction with Scharf, as well as Waagen's technical comments on Old Masters, played an essential role in the Manchester exhibition's enduring connoisseurial and art-historical effects.

To assist comprehension of these aspects, so, it is necessary to shed some light on Cavalcaselle's and Waagen's pre-Manchester activities and skills.

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<sup>70</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 33.

<sup>71</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 2-5 and 20-25.

<sup>72</sup> Scharf 2020, p. 290, also footnote 10.

<sup>73</sup> Waagen 1857, b. Levi 1988, p. 72. Pergam 2016, p. 103.

## 1.2 Waagen Before Manchester

The Manchester exhibition constituted the professional triumph of the German connoisseur and curator Gustav Friedrich Waagen (1794-1868).<sup>74</sup> Waagen had, since the 1830s, celebrated the vast extent and the quality of the British collections of Old Masters.

Indeed, between 1837 and 1838, Waagen published his three-volume *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, that would immediately be translated into English. In 1854, Waagen reworked his materials in his three-volume *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*. This title would be used for the Manchester exhibition, as a tribute to Waagen's connoisseurship and to the richness of the British – and also Irish – collections of Western Old Masters and contemporary art.<sup>75</sup> As Ekserdjian remarked in 2018, Waagen's research stays in the United Kingdom before and after the 1857 show have been 'well attested' by scholars.<sup>76</sup>

Scholars, on the other hand, have not managed to fully highlight the critical and technical relevance of all the connoisseurial remarks contained in Waagen's works. This is mainly due to the vast range of the pictures that Waagen analysed in his book. Waagen, indeed, often camouflaged his discoveries, intuitions, and technical comments under a lexical mixture of aesthetic, rhetoric, and diplomatic tone<sup>77</sup> and a 'slightly telegraphic prose style'.<sup>78</sup>

In this paragraph, I will discuss Waagen's pre-Manchester focus on some paintings that he had assigned to Andrea Schiavone (c.1510/1515-1563). Waagen's comments on these pictures, indeed, shed light on Waagen's pre-Manchester attention to

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<sup>74</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 33. Cottrell 2012, p. 618. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>75</sup> Waagen 1837. Waagen 1838. Waagen 1838, b. Waagen 1854. Ekserdjian 2018, p. 52, also footnotes 1-2.

<sup>76</sup> Waterfield, Illies 1995. Ekserdjian 2018, p. 52, also footnote 3.

<sup>77</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 98.

<sup>78</sup> Ekserdjian 2018.

material aspects and conservation of Old Master works. In addition, these case studies enhance the comprehension of Waagen's original and advanced connoisseurship of some masters, or schools, that were neglected by mid-nineteenth century British collectors and experts.

Waagen, for instance, prior to the Manchester exhibition, discussed in his *Cabinets* (1857) the *Infancy of Jupiter* that had been purchased in the early 1830s by the Earl of Wemyss (Fig. 3). In 2004, Humfrey highlighted that this picture was one of Schiavone's finest works and dated it around 1560, that is shortly before the artist's death (1563).<sup>79</sup>

On the one hand, in his entry Waagen confirmed the traditional assessment of Schiavone's technical and stylistic dependence from Titian. On the other hand, Waagen clearly aimed at demonstrating that he knew Schiavone's *oeuvre* well, detailing his praise for the figures' unusually light ruddiness and criticising, from a Vasarian perspective, Schiavone's typically Venetian lack of anatomical design skills, "*The newborn Jupiter, attended by nymphs, who are playing on musical instruments*. The size and spirit of the composition, the, for him, unusually light local tones of the flesh, and, finally, the grand and beautiful landscape in the manner of his master, Titian, render this one of the most important pictures I know by Schiavone. Like other Venetian painters, he was not adept in the difficult task of depicting the human foot, so that in this picture no feet are visible".<sup>80</sup>

In addition, Waagen showed his interest for Schiavone's production in many other entries of his pre-Manchester works. Waagen, for instance, analysed an untraced *Birth of the Virgin* that he had studied in the Reverend Walter Davenport Bromley's (1787–1863)

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<sup>79</sup> Andrea Schiavone, *The Infancy of Jupiter*, c.1560, oil on canvas, 181 x 252 cm, Earl of Wemyss and March's collection. Humfrey 2004, b. Dal Pozzolo 2015, b.

<sup>80</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 63.

gallery. In his *Cabinets*, Waagen highlighted the attributes of Schiavone's picture, "rich composition, full of spirited, lively, and graceful motives, and of excellent taste in the draperies". However, focusing on the picture's conservation, Waagen lamented, "Overcleaning has unfortunately rendered the colours too cold".<sup>81</sup>

Similarly, in Edward Cheney's gallery in London, Waagen was attracted by seven untraced works, 'spiritedly composed, and lightly and broadly executed in a warm tone of singular juiciness and depth', small pictures of 'oval form' and mythological subject.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, in his *Cabinets*, Waagen studied *The Ordeal of Tuccia* placed in the McLellan Gallery in Glasgow. Waagen, as the other experts of his time, did not correctly identify the subject of this picture, which is now attributed to Tintoretto's workshop (Fig. 4).<sup>83</sup> Waagen, indeed, named the picture as *The Daughter of Herodias Hastening to Receive the Head of John the Baptist*, highlighting its '[...] landscape treatment and very singular conception', but, he lamented, 'the sketchy handling, however, is spirited'.<sup>84</sup>

Notably, Waagen's remarks on Schiavone's 'spirited' works were shared by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who, in their volume on Titian (1877), would criticise the 'sprightly and sometimes lascivious spirits of Schiavone'.<sup>85</sup>

Moreover, in some other instances, the quality of Schiavone's palette encouraged Waagen to overlook some other aspects, related mostly to drawing, of the master's manner. In William Russell's collection in London, for instance, Waagen noticed an untraced *Judgment of Paris*. In this case, Waagen praised Russel's painting for its '[...] motive [...] unusually graceful [...] and for 'its golden colouring and careful execution'.

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<sup>81</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 168.

<sup>82</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 171.

<sup>83</sup> Tintoretto (Workshop of?), *The Ordeal of Tuccia*, c.1540-1555, oil on canvas, 47.6 x 103.2 cm, Glasgow, Kelvingrove Museum, inv. 189 (McLellan Bequest, 1855) <https://www.vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/34385/rec/1> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>84</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 460.

<sup>85</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 2, p. 121.

Although Waagen also commented, “The full forms of the goddesses are, however, rather terrestrial”.<sup>86</sup>

Likewise, in Lord Yarborough’s gallery Waagen analysed twice an untraced *Adam and Eve Expelled from the Paradise* attributed to Schiavone. In his *Treasures* (1854), then, Waagen highlighted that the painting was ‘[...] of very animated conception and great power of colour [...]’ and defined it ‘an excellent specimen of the master’.<sup>87</sup> In the *Cabinets*, moreover, Waagen stated, “An excellent example of the painter, for, in addition to his warm and powerful colouring, we have here the (for him) rare quality of careful execution”.<sup>88</sup>

Even though with a repetitive lexicon, Waagen managed to indicate some original technical aspects that he had traced in the works that he had assigned to Schiavone. Independently from the present attribution of these pictures, their analysis by Waagen demonstrates how he could not perfectly fit into the nineteenth-century (and in particular into the Victorian) bias of Schiavone’s lascivious figures and sketchy strokes described in 2015 by Dal Pozzolo.<sup>89</sup>

Waagen’s interest in Schiavone’s style and technique before the 1857 exhibition, thus demonstrates that his pre-Manchester connoisseurship was much more pioneering, as well as focused on the technical and preservative aspects of the Old Master works that he had analysed, than the Manchester pamphleteers and present researchers have commonly acknowledged.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 186.

<sup>87</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 87 footnote \*.

<sup>88</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 68.

<sup>89</sup> Dal Pozzolo 2015, p. 82.

<sup>90</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 35.

It is very plausible that Waagen's authoritative remarks on Schiavone's palette, compositional skills and technique influenced Scharf's selection of Old Masters for the 1857 show. Waagen's positive remarks on Schiavone, in fact, most likely convinced Scharf to act, as Pergam noted, in order to obtain the loan to the Manchester exhibition of some pictures assigned to Schiavone.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 34-35.

### 1.3 Cavalcaselle Before Manchester

Prior to the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship demonstrated its indiscriminate and uneven level of development. Indeed, before the 1857 show, he based on his professional tasks and his visits to the temporary exhibitions of Old Masters, did not focus on a specific master or school. By contrast, during his stay in England between 1850 and 1857, Cavalcaselle deepened his knowledge of Spanish Baroque painting, as well as of Flemish Primitives, French Classicists or Italian Cinquecento works. His unsystematic connoisseurial approach, thus, constituted a counterpart to Waagen's omnivorous but homogeneous research on the British collection of Old Masters.

In this paragraph, I assess Cavalcaselle's interactions with Waagen and Scharf in Liverpool in the early 1850s. Moreover, I examine his approach to Old Masters during his visits to most of the British Institution's annual exhibitions of Old Masters during the 1850s. Cavalcaselle's pre-Manchester connoisseurial experience, indeed, effectively shaped his connoisseurial expertise for Scharf at the 1857 show.

#### 1.3.1 Cavalcaselle in Liverpool

In 1850, Cavalcaselle assisted the staff of the Liverpool Royal Institution in relation to the attribution of some works of the prestigious collection.<sup>92</sup> This professional chance put him in connection not only with Scharf, who was then a professional illustrator active in Liverpool<sup>93</sup> but also with Waagen, who was then working on his *Treasures*.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Levi 1988, p. 28.

<sup>93</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 31. Levi 1988, p. 28.

<sup>94</sup> Waagen 1854.



Notably, despite misspelling his surname more than once, the editor of the 1851 edition of the Liverpool Royal Institution's catalogue, Theodore Woolman Rathbone, quoted Cavalcaselle's opinion in many passages. Rathbone, though, used 'Cavalcaselli's' [*sic*] expertise to balance Waagen's prestigious attributions and connoisseurial clues.<sup>95</sup> Levi, therefore, convincingly argued that Rathbone's decision had fuelled Waagen's resentment towards the Italian connoisseur.<sup>96</sup>

In addition, in the 1851 Liverpool catalogue Rathbone erroneously stated that, during the 1850 attributional reassessment of the Liverpool Institution's collection,<sup>97</sup> Waagen had assigned to the Flemish painter Herri met de Bles, known as the Civetta (c.1490 –c.1570) a *Madonna* now assigned to Lorenzo di Credi's workshop (Fig. 5).<sup>98</sup> Therefore, Waagen, three years later, in the third volume of his *Treasures* (1854), acrimoniously stated, "Without knowing beforehand the opinion of Mr. Cavalcasella [*sic*], I had in 1850 marked this picture in the catalogue of 1843 as a fine work by Lorenzo di Credi. I know not by what mistake – a very disagreeable one to me – it was stated in the catalogue of 1851 that I had pronounced this picture to be a pleasing work by Civetta, a declaration which never entered my head".<sup>99</sup>

Within the numerous attributions proposed by Cavalcaselle in Liverpool, in conclusion, it was that of Simone Martini's (c.1284-1344) *Christ Discovered in the Temple* (Fig. 6) that probably irritated Waagen the most.<sup>100</sup> Waagen, indeed, had

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<sup>95</sup> Rathbone 1851, p. 1 cat. 3, p. 2, catt. 4 and 5, p. 3, cat. 8, p. 5, cat. 13, p. 6, cat. 19, p. 7, cat. 22, p. 16, catt. 66-67, p. 24, cat. 110.

<sup>96</sup> Levi 1988, p. 28.

<sup>97</sup> Rathbone 1851, pp. 6-7, cat. 22.

<sup>98</sup> Workshop of Lorenzo di Credi, *Madonna Suckling the Child in a Landscape*, c.1520, oil on panel, 86.6 x 62.5 cm, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, n. inv. WAG 2772 (purchased in 1835 from Thomas Winstanley). Rathbone 1859, p. 16, cat. 25. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1866, p. 414. <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/madonna-suckling-child> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>99</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 233, cat. 22

<sup>100</sup> Simone Martini, *Christ Discovered in the Temple*, 1342, tempera and gold on panel, 49.5 x 35.1 cm, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, inv. WAG 2787 <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/christ-discovered-temple> (consulted 23/07/2021).

generically assigned the picture to the Sienese school of the Trecento. Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, proposed the name of Lippo Memmi (c.1280-1356).<sup>101</sup> Remarkably, this is the attribution that Scharf would assign to the picture in the catalogues of the Manchester exhibition as well as in his Manchester *Handbook*.<sup>102</sup>

Cavalcaselle's experience in Liverpool thus enhanced his professional opportunities and put him in connection with Scharf. On the other hand, Rathbone's attention to Cavalcaselle's expertise in Liverpool paved the way to the post-Manchester rivalry between the Italian expert and Waagen.

### 1.3.2 Cavalcaselle's Visits to the British Institution's Shows

During his stay in Britain between 1850 and June 1857, Cavalcaselle visited most of the British Institution's annual exhibitions of Old Masters. Indeed, he missed only the 1850 and the 1852 events of these shows.

In the Marciana Library in Venice are kept Cavalcaselle's personal copies of the British Institution's printed catalogues of the 1851, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857 editions.<sup>103</sup> In the Venetian fund, moreover, is also kept his copy of the show's 1865 catalogue edition.<sup>104</sup>

In these printed catalogues, Cavalcaselle not only drew small and cursory pen or pencil sketches but also made hundreds of notes on the Old Masters that had captured his

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<sup>101</sup> Rathbone 1851, pp. 1-2, cat. 4.

<sup>102</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 14, cat. 20. Scharf 1857, b, p. 15, cat. 37. Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 23. Pergam 2016, p. 265 cat. 37. Scharf 1857, d, p. 13, cat. 37. Scharf 1858, pp. 280-281.

<sup>103</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. B 3608, Misc. C 11248, Misc. C 11249, Misc. C 11275, Misc. C 11364, Misc. C 11395.

<sup>104</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, camicia anteriore e ff. 158v-170v.

critical attention the most. Notably, these handwritten materials indicate the vast extent of his connoisseurial interests and his pre-Manchester lack of specialisation.

On his personal copies of the catalogues of the British Institution's show, in most cases Cavalcaselle used to signal a painting's good quality or critical relevance by inserting a hyphen at the entry related to the picture that he had been analysing. Moreover, during his visits to the British Institution's shows he used to note the term 'bello' ['nice'] near some entries to signal, with this signpost, his intention to conduct future connoisseurial or archival research on the picture mentioned in the entry. This is the case, for instance, with Schiavone's *Infancy of Jupiter*, that the Earl of Wemyss had lent to the 1855 show (Fig. 3).<sup>105</sup>

During his visit to the show's 1855 edition, however, Cavalcaselle also drew some cursory pencil sketches, such as that of Earl Spencer's 'bellissimo' ['beautiful'] *Self-Portrait* by Murillo (Fig. 7) now in the National Gallery.<sup>106</sup> By his sketch, he copied the inscription placed on the painting's recto (Fig. 8).<sup>107</sup> In some cases, in addition, he sketched in more detail some pictures, such as Henry Danby Seymour's (1820-1877) *Portrait of Robert Devereux*, now in Greenwich, that was then assigned to Federico Zuccari (Figs 9 and 10),<sup>108</sup> the Titianesque Wemyss *Saint Sebastian* (Fig. 11)<sup>109</sup> and Leonardo's *Burlington House Cartoon* now in the National Gallery (Figs 12 and 13).<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11249, p. 8, cat. 23.

<sup>106</sup> Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Self Portrait*, c.1670, oil on canvas, 122 x 107 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG6153 (purchased in 1953) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/bartolome-esteban-murillo-self-portrait> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>107</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11249, p. 9, cat. 53.

<sup>108</sup> Marcus Gheeraerts, *Portrait of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex*, c.1597, oil on canvas, 119.4 x 94 cm, Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, Caird Collection, inv. BHC2681. <https://www.rmg.co.uk/collections/objects/rmgc-object-14155> (consulted 30/07/2021). MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11249, p. 10, cat. 79, and p. 16.

<sup>109</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11249, p. 8, cat. 15, and p. 14. Titian (Workshop of?), *Saint Sebastian*, oil on canvas, 162.5 x 106.7 cm, Earl of Wemyss collection. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 1, p. 252, footnote 2 (pp. 252-253). Wethey 1969, p. 127.

<sup>110</sup> Leonardo da Vinci, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and the Infant Saint John the Baptist ('The Burlington House Cartoon')*, about 1499-1500, charcoal (and wash?) heightened with white chalk on paper, mounted on canvas, 141.5 x 104.6 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG6337 (purchased in 1962).

Furthermore, Cavalcaselle used a pencil also to study in detail (Fig. 14) the *Christ and the Adulteress*, now assigned to master Giovanni Battista Benvenuti, known as the Ortolano Ferrarese (c.1480–1525), which is preserved in the Courtauld Gallery (Fig. 15).<sup>111</sup> Lord Shaftesbury had lent this picture to the 1855 event as by the Ferrarese Renaissance Benvenuto Tisi, known as Garofalo (c.1476-1559). At the 1855 event Cavalcaselle isolated the detail of the young man in the centre of the composition and noted (Fig. 14): “quanto mostra lo studio di Giorgione” [“how much it shows the study of Giorgione[’s style and technique]”].<sup>112</sup>

In his catalogue of the 1856 edition of the annual show, moreover, Cavalcaselle used pencilled annotations to reject the attribution to Correggio (Fig. 16)<sup>113</sup> of Wynn Ellis’s (1790-1875) *Virgin and Child with Two Angels* (Fig. 17), that, as noticed by Ekserdjian, Waagen had correctly assigned in his *Treasures* to the unknown Parmesan master Giorgio Gandini del Grano (c.1489-1538).<sup>114</sup> Later, on the page’s upper margin, Cavalcaselle wrote - using pencil – and rewrote with a pen (Fig. 16): “assomiglia al sedicente Correggio di Rogers – venduto da Christi[e’s] – che aveva dell’Anselmi” [“it looks very similar to Rogers’ so-called Correggio – sold by Christie’s”].<sup>115</sup> In this note, he referred to the Orléans *Holy Family*, sold on 26 December 1798 for 200 pounds as by Correggio,<sup>116</sup> that had entered Henry W. Hope’s (1735-1811)<sup>117</sup> collection before the poet Samuel Rogers (1763-1855) had purchased it for 53 pounds and 11 pence (lot 80) on 29

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<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/leonardo-da-vinci-the-burlington-house-cartoon> (consulted 19/03/2022). MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11249, p. 13, cat. 140, and p. 2.

<sup>111</sup> Ortolano, *Christ and the Adulteress*, 1524-1527, oil on panel, 71.6 x 87.3 cm, London, Courtauld Gallery, inv. P.1947.LF.301 (1947, Lee of Fareham Bequest). <https://sites.courtauld.ac.uk/aah/ortolano-christ-and-the-woman-taken-in-adultery-1524-27/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>112</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11249, p. 15.

<sup>113</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11248, p. 9, cat. 38.

<sup>114</sup> Giorgio Gandini del Grano, *Virgin and Child with Two Angels*, oil on panel, 44 x 33.5 cm, London, private collection. Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 293. Ekserdjian 2016. Ekserdjian 2018, p. 57, also footnote 29 and Fig. 1.

<sup>115</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Misc. C 11248, p. 9, upper edge.

<sup>116</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, page 490, cat. 9.

<sup>117</sup> Armstrong-Totten 2019, p. 199. Cola 2019, pp. 233.

June 1816.<sup>118</sup> On the 28 April 1856, then, Christie's sold auctioned the late poet's collection in London. Since then, scholarship has not traced this picture. Anyway, Cavalcaselle's note illustrates his uneven but sometimes very detailed pre-Manchester connoisseurship and sheds light on his close contact with the British art market and collecting *milieu* before the Manchester exhibition.

### 1.3.3 Conclusions

Cavalcaselle's activity at the Liverpool Royal Institution considerably enhanced his professional reputation among some outstanding British experts of Old Masters, such as Sir Charles Lock Eastlake. On the other hand, the relevance that Rathbone had given to his expertise for the Liverpool catalogue paved the way to his rivalry with Waagen. Moreover, during his pre-Manchester visits to the British Institution's annual exhibits, Cavalcaselle had the chance to broaden and deepen his knowledge of numerous European schools of painting. All this connoisseurial experience was thus very useful for him, not only for the publication of his and Crowe's *Early Flemish Painters*<sup>119</sup> but also during his activity at Manchester.

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<sup>118</sup> Getty Provenance Index, Sales Catalog Br-1413, Lot 0080  
<https://piprod.getty.edu/starweb/pi/servlet.starweb> (consulted 19/03/2022).

<sup>119</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857. Levi 1988, p. 56. Ekserdjian 2010, p. 359.

## **Chapter Two**

### **The Manchester Synergies Between Scharf and Cavalcaselle**

Cavalcaselle unofficially assisted Scharf at the Manchester exhibition in May 1857. Consequently, at the Manchester show both the experts individually provided themselves with a similar ‘connoisseurial material’ that was the result of their professional collaboration at the Art Treasures Palace. Moreover, the Manchester exchange between Scharf and Cavalcaselle influenced each other’s connoisseurial sketching and annotating methods. Finally, the collaboration between these two scholars at the 1857 show shaped each expert’s post-Manchester connoisseurship, and – indirectly – also the connoisseurial and editorial interaction between Cavalcaselle and Crowe.

## 2.1 Cavalcaselle in Manchester as Scharf's Assistant

Shortly after the opening of the Manchester exhibition Cavalcaselle privately assisted Scharf at the Old Trafford venue as curatorial advisor. During his stay at the Art Treasures Palace, indeed, he revised for the show's Art Secretary the attribution, the signature's authenticity, the provenance and the state of conservation of some Italian, Flemish, Dutch and Spanish paintings, engravings and drawings of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the Baroque Era that Scharf had selected for the 1857 show.

### 2.1.1 An Unknown Connoisseurial Collaboration

Soon after the Manchester exhibition's *vernissage* (5 May 1857) Scharf decided to utilise Cavalcaselle's expertise to check some relevant connoisseurial aspects of some works of art that Scharf would later discuss in some of his publications related to the Manchester show. Firstly, the 1857 exhibition's *Definitive Catalogue*, that Scharf would publish only during the show's final stage.<sup>120</sup> Secondly, the exhibition's *Supplemental Catalogue*, devoted to the engravings and the decorative works exhibited in Manchester, that Scharf would manage to finish in Summer 1857.<sup>121</sup> Thirdly, the celebrative *Handbook* containing Scharf's 'critical notices' on the Manchester Old Masters that had originally appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*.<sup>122</sup> Fourthly, the proceedings of the evaluative speech on the Manchester exhibition that Scharf would give to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire on 15 April 1858 at the theatre of the Royal Institution, Liverpool.<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Scharf 1857, b.

<sup>121</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 4.

<sup>122</sup> Scharf 1857, d.

<sup>123</sup> Scharf 1858.

As I have mentioned in Chapter 1, Scharf and Cavalcaselle had known each other since the early 1850s, not only in relation to their individual activity at the Royal Institution in Liverpool but also due to their common acquaintance with the London art market.

Therefore, it is not surprising that also in his Manchester handwritten materials Scharf noted more than once the name of a still unidentified Old Masters' dealer and restorer, named 'Anthony', who, according to the Heinz Archive's curators, was possibly based in London.<sup>124</sup> Similarly to Scharf, the still unidentified dealer named Anthony had been acquainted with both Crowe and Cavalcaselle since before the Manchester show. In a Manchester note addressed to Crowe and related to a Flemish diptych that Scharf had displayed in Manchester and is now kept in Chantilly (Fig. 18)<sup>125</sup>, the Italian connoisseur reminded to his British partner that in Anthony's *atelier* in London they had drawn a four-handed sketch and taken four-handed notes on this picture (Fig. 41): "Caro Giuseppe, voi dovete avere il disegno ele [*sic*] notazioni chenoi [*sic*] abbiamo fatto assieme quando abbiamo veduto il quadro dal restauratore Anthony a Londra" ["Dear Giuseppe, you must [still] possess the drawing and the handwritten notes that we have made together when we have seen the painting at the restorer Anthony's in London"].<sup>126</sup>

Moreover, in a handwritten note that can certainly be dated 1865 (Fig. 74), Cavalcaselle noted, "Il bozzetto venduto da Christie [*sic*] ho veduto / nel 1450 da Morris

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<sup>124</sup> As noted on his Sketchbook 44, Scharf visited the workshop on 8 December 1856. MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 44, pages 99-100, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_52\_50 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw285615/Scharf-Sketchbook-44-page-99-100?set=641%3BScharf+Sketchbook+44%2C+1856-57&displayNo=60&search=ap&rNo=49> (consulted 31/12/2020). MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 44, pages 101-102, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_52\_51 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw285616/Scharf-Sketchbook-44-page-101-102?set=641%3BScharf+Sketchbook+44%2C+1856-57&displayNo=60&search=ap&rNo=50> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>125</sup> Workshop of Rogier van der Weyden, *Diptych of Jeanne of France*, 1450-1470, oil on oak panel, 33.7 x 22.2 cm (each wing), Chantilly, Musée Condé, inv. PE 108 (purchased in 1885 by Henri d'Orléans duc d'Aumale) Garnier-Pelle 2009, p. 121.

<sup>126</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 57r.



– Moore” [“The sketch sold by Christie’s I have seen in 1450 [*sic*, meaning 1850] at Morris – Moore’s”].<sup>127</sup> In this note, related to a picture now in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 20),<sup>128</sup> Cavalcaselle recalled that he had been acquainted since 1850 with the influential London-based collector and polemist Morris Moore (1811-1885), with whom he had had a fluctuating connoisseurial and personal interchange that would last throughout his entire career.<sup>129</sup>

It is possible that Scharf unofficially and privately selected Cavalcaselle in May 1857 as his personal curatorial assistant because of his extended network of personal and professional contacts with some outstanding London-based collectors, dealers and restorers of Old Masters.

In addition, in May 1857, Cavalcaselle’s connoisseurial prestige among the British experts and amateurs of Old Masters had already been increased by the publication, in early 1857, of his Crowe’s *Lives of the Early Flemish Painters*.<sup>130</sup> Notably, though, Scharf did not take public recognition of his involvement in the Manchester exhibition. His connoisseurial collaboration with Scharf, in fact, took place only in a private and unofficial way. Moreover, it occurred after an initial rejection by Scharf. Indeed, in 2000 and 2020, Pergam and Cottrell highlighted that, in a letter dated 6 April 1857 and kept in the Manchester City Library, Scharf had rejected Cavalcaselle’s “[...] petition to be employed as a consultant [...]” during the Manchester show’s *accrochage* phase.<sup>131</sup> In this letter, Scharf straightforwardly indicated that his presence at the Old Trafford venue

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<sup>127</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 15r.

<sup>128</sup> Titian (After), *The Rape of Europa*, possibly 1700-1800, oil on canvas, 57.5 x 71.5 cm, London, Wallace Collection, inv. P5 (purchased in 1857). <https://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/443/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=64895&viewType=detailView> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>129</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 86 and 389. <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG39315> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>130</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857. Moretti 1973, pp. 72-73. Levi 1988, pp. xxi and 67.

<sup>131</sup> Cottrell 2020, p. 294, also footnote 29 (p. 295).

before the exhibition's *vernissage* would be useless to him and, in addition, would slow down and encumber the staff that had been charged with hanging the lent works on the Art Treasures Palace's display walls.<sup>132</sup> The date 6 April 1857 constitutes thus the *terminus post quem* of Cavalcaselle's stay at the Manchester exhibition.

By contrast, in 1988 Levi mentioned a letter, dated 8 June 1857 and now kept in the Murray Archives in the National Scottish Archives, indicating that Cavalcaselle had left Manchester after the end of his 'small job' at the Art Treasures exhibition.<sup>133</sup> Indeed, this letter was sent by the National Gallery's director, Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865), to John Murray III (1808-1892), who had recently published his and Crowe's *Early Flemish Painters*. Moreover, in this letter Eastlake informed Murray that at Manchester Cavalcaselle had been "picked of all his fortune", for the amount of "£25" and, possibly, also of some of his connoisseurial papers.<sup>134</sup> Eventually, he almost certainly left England only a few weeks after Eastlake's letter to Murray<sup>135</sup> was dated and arrived in Italy in early August 1857, where he began his 'Vasarian journey' throughout the Italian peninsula that would occupy him until 1860.<sup>136</sup> It can be assumed that the date of 8 June 1857, almost certainly constitutes the *terminus ante quem* of his stay at the Manchester exhibition.

Most likely, Cavalcaselle arrived at the Old Trafford venue soon after the exhibition's *vernissage* (5 May 1857) and certainly left Manchester by early June 1857. Around May 1857, he managed to convince Scharf of the importance of his connoisseurial – and plausibly also editorial – assistance. His unofficial involvement in

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<sup>132</sup> MS, Manchester, Manchester City Library, MCL M6/2/6/2/248-249, mentioned and cited in Pergam 2001, p.144, and in Cottrell 2020, p. 294, also footnote 29 (p. 295).

<sup>133</sup> MS, Edinburgh, National Scottish Archives, reference MS.42164. Levi 1988, p. 72, also endnote 202 (p. 97).

<sup>134</sup> MS, Edinburgh, National Scottish Archives, reference MS.42164. Levi 1988, p. 72, also endnote 202 (p. 97).

<sup>135</sup> MS, Edinburgh, National Scottish Archives, reference MS.42164.

<sup>136</sup> Levi 1988, p. 101.

the Manchester exhibition, indeed, was plausibly related to the editorial *impasse* that had affected Scharf exactly around May 1857. Indeed, Levi and Pergam signalled that, during the show's initial phase, some delays had prevented the show's Art Secretary from providing visitors with a cheap and handy catalogue of the works on display at the Art Treasures Palace. Scharf's failure, though, was temporarily camouflaged by the prompt support of Waagen who had quickly managed to extract from his *Treasures* (1854) and *Cabinets* (1857) a cheap guide for visitors that, however, had been criticised for its paternalistic, rhetorically flamboyant, and repetitive style.<sup>137</sup>

Moreover, as soon as Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue* had become available to the exhibition's visitors, it was evident that the catalogue's first edition had been characterised by some empty sections,<sup>138</sup> as well as by the absence of some entries<sup>139</sup> and the erroneous repetition of some identical entries.<sup>140</sup> Scharf, on the other hand, as also Thoré-Bürger lamented,<sup>141</sup> in some entries of his *Provisional Catalogue* had erroneously indicated the identity or the name of a specific picture's Manchester lender.<sup>142</sup> In another passage of his *Provisional Catalogue*, furthermore, the Art Secretary had forgotten to remove the reference 'S.[ketch] B.[ook] 46, p.[age] 23'<sup>143</sup> to his own sketch and notes that he had placed on his sketchbooks, now kept in the Heinz Archive.<sup>144</sup> This confirms that Scharf used to utilise his sketches and annotations as the basis of the information to draft his *Provisional Catalogue* entries. This sketch and these annotations were related to

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<sup>137</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b. Levi 1988, p. 72. Pergam 2016, p. 103.

<sup>138</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 33, cat. 311.

<sup>139</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 20, cat. 102, and p. 32, cat. 283-287.

<sup>140</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 19, cat. 91, and p. 22, cat. 135a. Scharf 1857, p. 20, cat. 104, and p. 28, cat. 213. Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28, and p. 21, cat. 115.

<sup>141</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 247, footnote 1.

<sup>142</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 54, cat. 678 and 681, and p. 63, cat. 850. Compare with the lender's name in Scharf 1857, b, p. 53, cat. 675 and 694, and p. 67, cat. 958.

<sup>143</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28.

<sup>144</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, p. 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

a picture, the present whereabouts of which are unknown,<sup>145</sup> that the MP Beriah Botfield (1807-1863) had lent to the show as by Filippino Lippi. (Fig. 40)<sup>146</sup> Most likely, therefore, Scharf privately and unofficially hired Cavalcaselle not only to check some attributions but also to correct some of the *Provisional Catalogue*'s typesetting errors and check some of the lenders' names. Being assisted by the Italian expert in the editing of the *Provisional Catalogue*, it is quite plausible that Scharf aimed at providing visitors, as soon as possible, with an effective *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>147</sup>

Consequently, Cavalcaselle's presence at Manchester was much longer than his brief pre-Manchester visits to some temporary exhibitions, such as is shown in some editions (1851 and 1853-1857) of the annual winter exhibitions of Old Masters held in London by the British Institution.<sup>148</sup> Indeed, at the Old Trafford venue he did not focus only on the most relevant – for his connoisseurial research topics of that moment – works but, instead, drew hundreds of sketches and took hundreds of notes. Such an extensive and detailed sketching and noting effort, therefore, certainly originated from a paid collaboration with Scharf.

In fact, Cavalcaselle's systematic analysis of some entire sections of Old Masters – such as the Italian and Flemish Primitives and the Spanish Baroque works – on display at the Old Trafford was unprecedented. Before the Manchester exhibition, in fact during his visits to both temporary exhibitions and permanent collections he had selected a progressively more restricted set of works to sketch and critically describe in his notes.

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<sup>145</sup> Francesco Francia (Attributed to), *Virgin and Child*, tempera (and oil?) on panel, 23.5 x 18.4 cm (9 1/8 x 7 1/8 in.), present whereabouts unknown. Hasson 1948, p. 67. Centenary 1957, p. 2, cat. 4. Van Braam 1963, p. 156, cat. 1596.

<sup>146</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 335. Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115. Scharf 1857, b, p. 27, cat. 61. Caldesi, Montecchi 1858, Plate 67. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 2, p. 252. Jordan 1870, p. 233. Hutton 1909, Volume 2, p. 434. Langton Douglas, De Nicola 1911, p. 292.

<sup>147</sup> Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, b.

<sup>148</sup> Cavalcaselle's notes on the printed catalogued of these editions are kept in the Cavalcaselle Fund in the Marciana National Library in Venice.

Similarly, Cavalcaselle's systematic approach to some entire sections of Manchester Old Masters would not be matched by Cavalcaselle after the 1857 show. Indeed, Cavalcaselle would never have had the chance or the will to systematically analyse an entire collection in his post-Manchester visits to some of the richest European permanent galleries of Renaissance and Baroque art, such as the Imperial Hermitage in Saint Petersburg.<sup>149</sup> The same is the case with the post-Manchester temporary exhibitions of Old Masters visited by Cavalcaselle, such as the 1865 edition of the British Institution annual event or the International Exhibition that took place in Dublin in 1865.<sup>150</sup> Notably, he only partially committed himself as systematically as in Manchester to the analysis of an entire collection of Old Masters. He only did this when, in 1873, he and Crowe 'assisted' the Austrian painter Eduard Ritter von Engerth (1818-1887) with checking some controversial attributions – mostly related to pictures of the Italian school - in the Belvedere Museum in Vienna.<sup>151</sup> In the Austrian capital, though, Cavalcaselle accomplished his task in collaboration with Crowe and not, as is Manchester, on his own.<sup>152</sup>

In conclusion, Cavalcaselle's collaboration with Scharf at the Manchester show in May 1857 was as unofficial and private as it was influential on the post-Manchester development of both the experts's individual connoisseurship and cataloguing skills.

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<sup>149</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV. Moretti 1973, pp. 75, 77, 95 and 117. Levi 1988, pp. 15 and 247-248.

<sup>150</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 268-282. Levi 1988, p. 248, also endnote 13 (p. 296). O'Cleirigh 1994.

<sup>151</sup> Uglow 2017, p. 42.

<sup>152</sup> Moretti 1973, p. 29. Levi 1988, pp. 15 and 343. MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.31 Box 2.

### 2.1.2 Cavalcaselle's Interventions in Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue*

At Manchester in May 1857 Scharf required Cavalcaselle to primarily focus on the assessment of the entries of the exhibition's *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>153</sup> Consequently, his intervention could appear a mere marginal issue in cataloguing. However, to conduct his Manchester cataloguing expertise for the show's Art Secretary, he applied a systematic and profound curatorial expertise that involved his attributional, technical and provenance skills that would then affect both the general visitors' and the other connoisseurs' approach to the Old Masters on display at the Art Treasures Palace.

Before the show's opening, Scharf had only managed to describe the works on display at Manchester in a hastily compiled provisional edition of his catalogue of the exhibition.<sup>154</sup> Although, it must be said, Scharf had populated this provisional edition with some mistakes and typesetting errors. Moreover, soon after the *Provisional Catalogue*'s publication, Scharf complicated the entry sequence of the catalogue by adding new entries which were mostly related to some works that had been lent to the show at the very last minute. Consequently, Scharf's disorganised entry sequence instantly weakened both the experts' and the visitors' chances to comprehend and effectively consult Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue*. Therefore, a new amended edition of the Manchester show's catalogue appeared necessary as soon as the exhibition opened in early May 1857.

Cavalcaselle's Manchester connoisseurial activity centred on a printed copy of Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue*<sup>155</sup> which is now kept in the Marciana Library in Venice. In his personally annotated copy of Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue*, he checked each

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<sup>153</sup> Scharf 1857.

<sup>154</sup> Scharf 1857.

<sup>155</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI. Scharf 1857.

entry related to the Old Masters, taking notes on most of them as well as focusing on the missing and the erroneously repeated entries.<sup>156</sup>

Amongst Cavalcaselle's papers, there is no trace of any printed copy of the show's *Definitive Catalogue*. Moreover, in most of his and Crowe's post-Manchester works<sup>157</sup> the two authors referred exclusively to the show's *Provisional Catalogue*, failing to mention Scharf's *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>158</sup> The same occurred with the German and the English posthumous editions of their works edited by Jordan, Langton Douglas, Hutton and Borenus.<sup>159</sup> Consequently, it is certain that Cavalcaselle did not utilise any printed copy of Scharf's *Definitive Catalogue*.

In addition, on his personally annotated copy of Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue* he made some explicit references to Scharf's handwritten additions to the first edition of his Manchester catalogue. For instance, at Manchester Cavalcaselle twice sketched (Figs 30<sup>160</sup> and 31<sup>161</sup>) a picture that George Harry Grey, 7th Earl of Stamford and 3rd Earl of Warrington (1827-1883), had lent to the exhibition; the present whereabouts of this picture are unknown.<sup>162</sup> In the sketch, he copied the inscription placed on the picture's recto and noted that Scharf had described the picture only in a handwritten entry, named as '247. B', that Scharf had added to the 'antico' ['ancient'] catalogue, that is the *Provisional Catalogue*. In this note, moreover, he added that the Art Secretary would include his handwritten entry under the number '292' in the 'nuovo' ['new'] catalogue, that is the *Definitive Catalogue*, which Scharf managed to publish only during the show's

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<sup>156</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, pp. 15, 21, 22 and 32.

<sup>157</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1866. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1872. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1882. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1884.

<sup>158</sup> Scharf 1857, b.

<sup>159</sup> Jordan 1869-1876. Langton Douglas 1904-1911. Hutton 1908-1909. Borenus 1912. Borenus 1914.

<sup>160</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 4, upper edge.

<sup>161</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 30, lower edge.

<sup>162</sup> Titian (Follower of), *Allegory*, present whereabouts unknown.

last phase.<sup>163</sup> Noticeably, at Manchester Cavalcaselle acknowledged that the reclining male figure in the picture's lower right corner "pare copiato da una statua di Michelangelo" ["it seems [that it has been] copied from a statue by Michelangelo"].<sup>164</sup> However, he rejected the Grey's picture attribution to Titian, firstly attributing<sup>165</sup> and then assigning<sup>166</sup> it to Alessandro Varotari (1588 – 1649), known as the Padovanino. It is possible that Cavalcaselle's expertise provided the Art Secretary, who would sketch in detail Grey's painting only in the very last days of the show (Fig. 21),<sup>167</sup> with the necessary amount of critical certainty to harshly reject the lender's pretension to display this picture under Titian's name: "[...] deficient in almost every recognised quality of excellence [...] executed on a very coarse scale".<sup>168</sup>

On the other hand, during his unofficial collaboration with Scharf in May 1857, Cavalcaselle noted, through many entries of his personally annotated copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*, many points of reference to the corresponding number of the entry of the *Definitive Catalogue*. Indeed, in these handwritten notes he referred to the *Definitive Catalogue* using the word 'nuovo' ['new']. In late Spring 1857, in fact, Scharf was still drafting the forthcoming second edition of the show's catalogue.<sup>169</sup> The Art Secretary, so, in May 1857 provided Cavalcaselle with the manuscript of his *Definitive Catalogue* or, at least, with a list of the entry numbers referred to some specific Old Master works that the Italian expert analysed for him in Manchester.

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<sup>163</sup> Scharf 1857, b.

<sup>164</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 30, lower edge.

<sup>165</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 30, upper edge.

<sup>166</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 30, lower edge.

<sup>167</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 48, page 70, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_58\_72. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282909/Scharf-Sketchbook-48-page-70?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>168</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 38.

<sup>169</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, pp. 15, 19 and 76.



Cavalcaselle, for instance, on his personally annotated copy of the *Provisional Catalogue* added the number '408' (Fig. 22)<sup>170</sup> of the entry that Scharf would assign in his *Definitive Catalogue* to two fragments, representing the *Head of the Virgin* and the *Head of Saint John the Evangelist*, that are now placed in the Christ Church Picture Gallery in Oxford (Fig. 23).<sup>171</sup> Notably, at Manchester in May 1857 the Italian expert rejected their attribution to Mantegna, referring these fragments to an unidentified Flemish artist working in the style of Rogier van der Weyden. The Art Secretary would soon include this indication in the show's *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>172</sup>

In at least one case, moreover, in Manchester Cavalcaselle registered, by his sketch (Fig. 24)<sup>173</sup> of Fra Angelico's *Dormitio Virginis* now in Philadelphia (Fig. 25),<sup>174</sup> the numbers of the entries that Scharf had referred to the picture in the *Provisional Catalogue* and would refer to it in the *Definitive Catalogues*.<sup>175</sup>

Cavalcaselle, in addition, in his copy of the *Provisional Catalogue* registered some notes (Fig. 26)<sup>176</sup> on the provenance of the *Rape of Proserpine* (Fig. 27), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, that John Evelyn Denison (1800-1873) M.P. and future 1st Viscount Ossington, had lent to the Manchester show.<sup>177</sup> The Italian expert, indeed, noted a reference to the etching (1788) by Jean Louis Delignon and Antoine Borel

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<sup>170</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 32, lower edge.

<sup>171</sup> Hugo van der Goes, *The Virgin and Saint John the Evangelist (Fragments of a Lamentation over the Dead Christ)*, tempera on linen, 42 x 46.1 cm, Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery, inv. JBS 231 (gifted in 1828). Pergam 2016, p. 295, cat. 408. <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-virgin-and-saint-john-229213/search/keyword:van-der-goes-christ-church> (consulted 01/08/2021).

<sup>172</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 39, cat. 408.

<sup>173</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 35r.

<sup>174</sup> Fra Angelico, *Dormition of the Virgin*, 1425, tempera and tooled gold on panel with horizontal grain, 26 x 52.9 cm (10 ¼ x 20 13/16 in.), Philadelphia, PA, USA, Philadelphia Museum of Art, n. inv. Cat. 15 (John G. Johnson Fund, 1917). Pergam 2016, pp. 148 and 222, cat. 59. <https://www.philamuseum.org/collection/object/101887> (consulted 01/08/2021).

<sup>175</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 33. Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 59.

<sup>176</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 29, cat. 235. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 29, lower edge.

<sup>177</sup> Christoph Schwarz, *The Rape of Proserpine*, c.1573, oil on canvas, 66 x 95.9 cm, Cambridge, UK, The Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 1778 (gift from Harold, Viscount Rothermere, 1936) <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-rape-of-proserpine-5680#> (consulted 01/01/2019)

(Fig. 33) after the Ossington picture.<sup>178</sup> Remarkably, his notes look identical to the *Definitive Catalogue*'s entry on this picture.<sup>179</sup>

However, Cavalcaselle's handwritten notes comparing the entry numbers in Scharf's *Provisional* and *Definitive* catalogues were not systematic. Noticeably, indeed, only some of these pictures had not been mentioned in the *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>180</sup> The Italian expert did thus not register these points of reference to show's *Definitive Catalogue* merely to fill the entries' gaps in his copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*. Therefore, Cavalcaselle did not aim at recording – for either himself or Scharf – a complete comparison between the entry numbers of two entire editions. Significantly, on the other hand, the *Definitive Catalogue* had the same – very low – price as its provisional edition. Thus, he did not note these references to the *Definitive Catalogue* with the aim of saving money.

Consequently, in May 1857 Scharf most likely provide Cavalcaselle with his *Definitive Catalogue*'s manuscript and asked him to verify the attribution or the provenance of some specific Manchester paintings that he was going to describe in the new edition of show's catalogue. To complete this task, so, Cavalcaselle used his personal copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*.

In conclusion, in Manchester Cavalcaselle effectively helped Scharf to complete the drafting of the show's *Definitive Catalogue*, providing some attributions and provenance research and editing some of the most evident flaws of the *Provisional Catalogue*. Therefore, his unofficial and private collaboration with the Art Secretary

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<sup>178</sup> Jean Louis Delignon and Antoine Borel after Christoph Schwarz, *The Rape of Proserpine*, 1788, etching, 416 x 299 mm, London, British Museum, inv. 1855,0609.461 (purchased in 1855) [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1855-0609-461](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1855-0609-461) (consulted 21/03/2022).

<sup>179</sup> Scharf 1857, b. p. 30, cat. 262.

<sup>180</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 27, cat. 195. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 20, upper edge.

consistently affected both the visitors' and the experts' fruition of the Old Masters exhibited at the show.

### 2.1.3 Cavalcaselle's Manchester Expertise on Mantegnesque Engravings

At the Art Treasures Palace Cavalcaselle verified for Scharf also the attribution, the iconography, the composition, and the technique of some of the graphic works that the Art Secretary had selected for the show. His expertise enhanced both experts' and general visitors' comprehension of the interconnected relations between painting and engraving techniques and circulation in the Italian Renaissance, especially in Andrea Mantegna's circle.

Plausibly, Cavalcaselle enhanced Scharf's standing, noting that the Art Secretary had opted for issuing a separate catalogue of the drawings, engravings, and decorative works on display at the Art Treasures Palace. Notably, Scharf named it *Supplemental Catalogue* and managed to publish it only during the show's last phase.<sup>181</sup> Remarkably, the Italian expert analysed – almost certainly for the Art Secretary's benefit – the compositional relation within a painting and three engravings related to Andrea Mantegna and his atelier. At the 1857 show all these works, which share the same subject, were attributed – at least for their composition - to Andrea Mantegna.

In the first instance, Cavalcaselle focused on a small Mantegnesque tempera on panel, now in Washington, representing *Judith with the Severed Head of Holofernes* (Fig. 28).<sup>182</sup> Robert Henry Herbert, 12th Earl of Pembroke and 9th Earl of Montgomery (1791-

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<sup>181</sup> Scharf 1857, c.

<sup>182</sup> Andrea Mantegna (Follower of; possibly Giulio Campagnola), *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, c.1495-1500, oil on poplar panel, 30.1 x 18.1 cm (11 7/8 x 7 1/8 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1942.9.42 (gifted in 1942; Widener Collection) <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.1181.html> (consulted 23/07/2021).

1862), had lent it to the Manchester show assigning it to Mantegna. Scharf, as usual, had not challenged the lender's wish in either his *Provisional* or *Definitive* catalogues.<sup>183</sup> Waagen, on the other hand, in his Manchester guide had confirmed his 1854 attribution to Mantegna of Pembroke's picture. Waagen, moreover, had sustained that the small Pembroke panel could be identified with a work assigned to Raphael in the prestigious collection of King Charles I (1600-1649).<sup>184</sup>

On the contrary, in May 1857 Cavalcaselle registered on his copy of the *Provisional Catalogue* - by the entry related to Pembroke's work - that he had a 'dubbio' ['doubt'] about its attribution to Mantegna.<sup>185</sup> Later, then, on his Manchester 'libretto' he drew a detail sketch (Fig. 29) of Pembroke's painting, signalling the use of "lacchiccia / magra scolorata [*sic*]" ["light discoloured lacchiccia"] for Holofernes's tent, as well as of "rosso / a corpo" ["red / solid and opaque with no glazes"] and "biacca" ["white lead"] for the servant's mantle and turban.<sup>186</sup> Noticeably, he judged "fiacca la forma" ["feeble the shape"] of Judith's right hand holding the sword.<sup>187</sup> In the sketch, he registered the picture's support ('wood') and dimensions, which had not been indicated either in the *Provisional Catalogue* or in Waagen's Manchester guide.<sup>188</sup> In addition, under his sketch he commented on the details of Judith's right hand holding the sword as well as of the servant's face and turban (Fig. 30).<sup>189</sup> Moreover, also under his sketch, he judged the painting "fiacco – assai" ["very feeble"] and characterised by "toni slavati" ["faded tones"].<sup>190</sup> Notably, he recorded an erroneous note on the *Judith's* technique, which is tempera on panel. Cavalcaselle, in fact, noted that Pembroke's small panel had been

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<sup>183</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 291. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 96. Pergam 2016, p. 312, cat. 96.

<sup>184</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 151. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 96.

<sup>185</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 32.

<sup>186</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 11v.

<sup>187</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 11v.

<sup>188</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 291. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 96. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 96.

<sup>189</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r.

<sup>190</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 11v.

painted in 'olio' ['oil']. Therefore, he rejected Waagen's attribution to Mantegna as an 'imitazione' ['imitation'] of the master's style.<sup>191</sup> On the basis of the picture's technique (Fig. 30), he referred it to an unidentified Flemish imitator of Mantegna: "pittura all'olio – l'esecuzione fiam[ming]<sup>a</sup> / specialmente la tenda ed i caratteri [in] giallo" ["oil picture – Flemish execution / especially the tent and the writing in yellow"].<sup>192</sup> More than a decade later, Crowe would acritically insert Cavalcaselle's Manchester expert findings in the first volume of their *History of Painting in North Italy*, which was completed in late 1868 and published in 1871. In their opinion, in fact, the "[...] treatment is oil, probably by a Fleming copying an engraving, and a Fleming, we should add, of the 16th century".<sup>193</sup>

In addition, by his sketch of Pembroke's panel Cavalcaselle pen-sketches in detail and discussed (Fig. 34) three "incisioni di *Giuditta*" ["engravings representing *Judith [with the Severed Head of Holofernes]*"] that had most likely derived from some drawings by Andrea Mantegna or his circle.<sup>194</sup> Significantly, he assigned to his sketch the number of the entry that Scharf, after he possibly had left Manchester (around late May 1857), would assign to these engravings in the *Supplemental Catalogue*, that the Art Secretary would manage to publish only in Summer or Autumn 1857.<sup>195</sup> In addition, in the *Provisional Catalogue* the Art Secretary had erroneously indicated the lender of one of these three graphic works<sup>196</sup> and had not discussed another of these three engravings.<sup>197</sup> Therefore, Scharf certainly provided the Italian expert with a list of the numbers of his *Supplemental Catalogue*'s entries on these engravings. Consequently, in Manchester in

<sup>191</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 11v.

<sup>192</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r.

<sup>193</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 2, p. 404, footnote 2.

<sup>194</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, ff. 11v-12r.

<sup>195</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, catt. 61 and 63, and p. 29, cat. 173.

<sup>196</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 244, cat. 54. Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, cat. 61.

<sup>197</sup> Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, c, p. 29, cat. 173.

May 1857, the Art Secretary most likely asked for the Italian expert's opinion on the three graphic works.

During his graphic expertise, on the other hand, Cavalcaselle focused mainly on the engraving, the present whereabouts of which are unknown, that Scharf had not included in the *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>198</sup> In his sketch (Fig. 34) he thus registered the inscription "DIVA / IVDIT" that he had noticed on Holofernes's tent's pole.<sup>199</sup> Then, he noted the number '173' that would be assigned to this engraving in the *Supplemental Catalogue*. In this entry the name of the engraving's lender is mentioned as 'St. John Dent',<sup>200</sup> a 'retired army officer' whose collection of engravings would be dispersed – through various sales – in Spring 1884, most likely soon after his death.<sup>201</sup> Moreover, by his Manchester sketch of this untraced engraving Cavalcaselle registered Scharf's attribution of this work to 'Zoan Andrea', whose production and name would be identified with certainty only in the late twentieth century with that of the Mantegnesque engraver Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (c.1460 (?) – c.1525 (?)).<sup>202</sup> Furthermore, he added Dent's engraving's provenance "from [the collection of] Cardinal Fes[c]h".<sup>203</sup> Cavalcaselle thus registered that Dent's *Judith* had belonged to emperor Napoleon I of France (1769-1821)'s uncle, cardinal Joseph Fesch (1763 – 1839), whose considerable collection had mostly been dispersed in the mid-1840s.<sup>204</sup> However, this provenance, that Scharf would fail to discuss in the *Supplemental Catalogue* entry,<sup>205</sup> could not be clarified on 9 or 10 May 1884, when Dent's graphic work would be auctioned in London. Indeed, in the

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<sup>198</sup> Giovanni Antonio da Brescia (?) after Andrea Mantegna, *Judith with the Severed Head of Holofernes Assisted by Her Servant*, engraving, present whereabouts unknown. Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, c, p. 29, cat. 173.

<sup>199</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r.

<sup>200</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 29, cat. 173.

<sup>201</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG83670> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>202</sup> Lambert 1999, pp. 242-259, cat. 473-474. Serafini 2001.

<sup>203</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r.

<sup>204</sup> Bonfait, Costamagna, Preti-Hamard 2006.

<sup>205</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 29, cat. 173.

catalogue of Sotheby's 1884 sale of Dent's graphic collection, the *Judith* assigned to 'Joan Andrea Vavassori' – that is another variant of Giovanni Antonio da Brescia's name – is mentioned as from the collection of 'Cardinal Feschi [*sic*]'.<sup>206</sup> Therefore, this provenance could be identified with either cardinal Fesch's collection or with that of one of the numerous cardinals from the Genoese noble family Fieschi, such as Niccolò Fieschi (1456-1524) or Adriano Fieschi (1788-1858).

During his graphic expertise, Cavalcaselle analysed another engraving representing *Judith with the Severed Head of Holofernes*, lent to the Manchester show by Richard Fisher (1809-1890).<sup>207</sup> Since 1915 it has been kept in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts (Fig. 32).<sup>208</sup> Singularly, in his *Provisional Catalogue* Scharf had assigned this engraving to the engraver 'J.[ohn] M.[ary]' – that is Giovanni Maria da Brescia.<sup>209</sup> By his pen sketch (Fig. 34) of Fisher's *Judith*, on the other hand, the Italian expert registered the 'n.[umber] 63' that would be assigned to this work in the *Supplemental Catalogue*.<sup>210</sup> Cavalcaselle, however, placed his sketch of Fisher's engraving close to that of Dent's *Judith*, which was then ascribed to Giovanni Andrea da Brescia. Most likely, then, he opted for assigning Fisher's *Judith*, too, to Giovanni Antonio da Brescia rather than to Giovanni Maria da Brescia. Notably, though, in the *Supplemental Catalogue* Scharf would assign Dent's engraving to Girolamo Mocetto (c.1470-soon after 1531).<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Dent 1884, p. 81.

<sup>207</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG27309> (consulted 23/07/2021). Fisher 1879, p. 21, cat. 1.

<sup>208</sup> Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, engraving, 300 x 249 mm (11 13/16 x 9 13/16 in.), Cambridge, MA, USA, Fogg Art Museum (Harvard Art Museums), inv. G8264 (purchased in 1915) <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/276429?position=0> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>209</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 249, cat. 167. Serafini 2001, b.

<sup>210</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r. Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, cat. 63.

<sup>211</sup> Tagliaferro 2011.

Finally, during his graphic expertise for Scharf Cavalcaselle sketched a third Manchester engraving representing *Judith with the Severed Head of Holofernes*. Its present whereabouts are unknown. In his pen sketch, he cursorily indicated the outline of some landscape elements, such as the tree, the horizontal moat and the castle (Fig. 34).<sup>212</sup> In the sketch, moreover, he indicated the number '61' that would be given to this engraving in the *Supplemental Catalogue*.<sup>213</sup> In addition, under the sketch he confirmed its compositional derivation from a drawing by Mantegna: "Mantegna dis[egno] – Mocet[t]o in[cisione]" ["Mantegna drawing – Mocetto engraving"].<sup>214</sup> Notably, in the *Supplemental Catalogue* the Art Secretary would assign the engraving directly to Mocetto.<sup>215</sup> Remarkably, moreover, Scharf reported that this work had been lent by 'F. T. Palgrave'.<sup>216</sup> He can thus be identified with the London collector Francis Turner Palgrave (1824-1897).<sup>217</sup> Remarkably, in the *Provisional Catalogue* the Italian Secretary had erroneously mentioned either the iconography or the lender of the Palgrave engraving. In this edition, indeed, Scharf indicated only that Palgrave had lent to the Manchester show one *Judith* engraving, assigned to Mantegna, representing *Judith and Attendant* 'without the tree, and without the landscape'.<sup>218</sup> His description of the iconography of Palgrave's engraving, though, contrasts with the landscape details that Cavalcaselle had included in his pen sketch (Fig. 34).<sup>219</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that in the *Provisional Catalogue* The Art Secretary erroneously mentioned the Oxonian Reverend John Griffiths (1806 – 1885) as the lender of a *Judith* engraving exhibited in Manchester under the attribution to Mocetto. Notably, though, in the *Supplemental Catalogue* there is no trace of any *Judith*

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<sup>212</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r.

<sup>213</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r. Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, cat. 61.

<sup>214</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r.

<sup>215</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, cat. 61.

<sup>216</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, cat. 61.

<sup>217</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG40982> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>218</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 244, cat. 51.

<sup>219</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 12r. Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, cat. 61.



engraving representing *Judith* lent by Griffiths.<sup>220</sup> In any case, Griffiths certainly owned – it is not known at which date – an engraving, assigned to Mocetto, representing *Judith*. It was auctioned by Sotheby's in London in May 1883.<sup>221</sup>

Notably, after Cavalcaselle's stay in Manchester Scharf most likely used Cavalcaselle's comments on Pembroke's painting (Fig. 28) and the three engravings representing *Judith*. Indeed, in his *Handbook* Scharf stated that Pembroke's small panel "[...] seems to have been taken from one of Mantegna's engravings, for in this branch of art he was a great proficient, and to this process may be attributed much of his dryness, especially in the draperies".<sup>222</sup> Scharf, though, did thus not make any reference to Cavalcaselle's comment that Pembroke's *Judith* had been painted in oil.

It is plausible that Scharf's research was based on Cavalcaselle's expertise on the relation between the painting and engraving techniques in Mantegna's atelier and circles. Unfortunately, though, neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle researched the relation between Palgrave's *Judith* exhibited at Manchester and the small Mantegnesque picture derived from this engraving that was signalled on the London art market in mid-1980s (Fig. 35).<sup>223</sup>

In conclusion, at the Art Treasures Palace Cavalcaselle assisted Scharf not only in relation to the attribution of some Old Master paintings but also as an expert of the compositional and technical interactions, in Mantegna's atelier and circle, between painting and engraving. Cavalcaselle's contribution provided Scharf with the opportunity to present in a more effective way – to both other scholars and general visitors – the richness of the interconnection between paintings and engravings in the late-Quattrocento

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<sup>220</sup> Scharf 1857, c.

<sup>221</sup> Griffiths 1883, p. 10, lot 325. Redford 1888, p. 369. Bourcard 1903, p. 226.

<sup>222</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 21.

<sup>223</sup> Andrea Mantegna (School of?), *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, 1490-1510 (?), tempera and oil on panel, 69 x 62 cm, present whereabouts unknown. Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 27126 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/27126> (consulted 23/01/2021).

and early-Cinquecento North Italian schools, and in particular in Andrea Mantegna's circle.

#### 2.1.4 Cavalcaselle's Manchester Expertise on a Bramantesque Architectural Drawing

At the Old Trafford venue Cavalcaselle also assisted Scharf with regards to the technique and attribution of a challenging drawing that had been assigned to one of the most outstanding and rare masters of the Italian Renaissance: Donato Bramante (1444-1514).

During his stay at the Art Treasures Palace, Cavalcaselle used a pen to sketch and analyse – for Scharf – in detail (Fig. 36) an *Architectural Drawing* that Scharf had selected for the Manchester show.<sup>224</sup> Scharf, though, had not described this drawing in the 1857 exhibition's *Provisional Catalogue* and would do the same in his *Handbook*. Similarly, Waagen had neglected this graphic work in his guide to the exhibition.<sup>225</sup> The present whereabouts of this drawing are unknown.<sup>226</sup> Notably, Cavalcaselle's Manchester sketch constitutes the only known sketch of this still untraced drawing. On the lower border of his sketch Cavalcaselle challenged the attribution of this graphic work to 'Bramante?'.<sup>227</sup> By this note, Cavalcaselle added (Fig. 36), for himself or more plausibly for Crowe: "Vedi Milano chiesa coro a S.[anta Maria presso San] S.[atiro]".<sup>228</sup> ["See Milan church choir in S.[anta Maria presso San] S.[atiro]"]. Cavalcaselle thus hypothesised that Bramante had realised the untraced Manchester drawing on the basis

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<sup>224</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>225</sup> Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, d. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>226</sup> I wholeheartedly thank Catherine Whistler and Donato Esposito for their help about the provenance of this drawing (e-mails Summer 2018).

<sup>227</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>228</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

of a stylistic comparison with Bramante's renowned illusionistic architectural decoration (1478-1483) of the presbytery of the Milanese church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan (Fig. 37).<sup>229</sup> Notably, by his sketch (Fig. 36) Cavalcaselle recorded the untraced drawing's height ('feet] 1 : 0 : 6 i[nches]') and twice – once in pen and once in pencil – its width: 'feet 1 : 7 : 2/8'.<sup>230</sup> In addition, Cavalcaselle recorded (Fig. 36) that the untraced drawing was "macchiato di bistro – e poi [*sic*] penna – tinto in azzurro il cielo" ["stained with bistre - and then pen - the sky coloured in light blue"].<sup>231</sup> Moreover, Cavalcaselle noted in detail the presence of some elements of the Bramantesque drawing's decoration, which represents the façade of a building with an architrave – decorated with a frieze – supported by six pillars. These pillars, in turn, are decorated with phytomorphic elements *all'antica* and mounted on plinths. The plinths are decorated with bas-reliefs and stand on a crepidoma formed by three 'scalini' ['steps']. The pillars are separated by five panels which are decorated with architectural landscapes which most likely constitute the setting of some historical or religious scenes (Fig. 36).<sup>232</sup> Cavalcaselle, then, graphically detailed the buildings (Fig. 36) and noticed in the sky in the background some traces of an 'azzurro' ['light blue'] pigment, that in the third scene from the left had gone 'perduto' ['lost'].<sup>233</sup> In the panel on the left Cavalcaselle indicated the presence of a 'albero' ['tree']. In addition, on the second panel from the left, Cavalcaselle traced (Fig. 36) a figure, possibly of saint Roch, with a dog. In the third scene from the left Cavalcaselle graphically detailed a figure going up some stairs: this scene, therefore, could possibly be identified with a *Presentation of the Virgin to the Temple*. On the other hand, in the decoration of the frieze Cavalcaselle noticed an animal similar to a 'canguro' ['kangaroo'].<sup>234</sup>

<sup>229</sup> Donato Bramante, *Presbytery*, c.1482, stucco and fresco, depth 97 cm, Milan, church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro. Schofield 1976.

<sup>230</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>231</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>232</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>233</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>234</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

Furthermore, in the plinth on the left Cavalcaselle noticed a hatted “gardinale [*sic*] / seduto / che legge” [“seated and reading cardinal”].<sup>235</sup> On the contrary, the plinth on the right, as plausibly the second and the fourth from the left, is decorated with a ‘testa’ [‘head’] that is likely a medallion’s profile.<sup>236</sup> On the third plinth from the left (Fig. 36) Cavalcaselle noticed a ‘santa [con] palma [e] ruota’ [‘female saint with palm and wheel’], most likely identifiable with saint Catherine of Alexandria.<sup>237</sup> Finally, on the second plinth from the right Cavalcaselle noticed a ‘guerriero’ [‘warrior’].<sup>238</sup>

During the show’s last phase, Scharf quite plausibly composed his *Supplemental Catalogue*’s entry on this untraced Bramantesque drawing also on the basis of Cavalcaselle’s expertise. In his entry, Scharf confirmed the attribution to Donato Bramante of this untraced graphic work, that Scharf described as an ‘*Architectural Decoration*, slightly coloured’. Scharf, moreover, indicated that this drawing had belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769 – 1830) and to William Esdaile (1758 – 1837). The untraced Bramantesque drawing exhibited by Scharf in Manchester could, in fact, be identified with lot 11<sup>239</sup> – sold for ‘1.1’ pounds<sup>240</sup> – of the Christie’s sale of Esdaile’s drawings that took place in London on 18 June 1840. Scharf, though, in his *Supplemental Catalogue* entry erroneously stated that the Christ Church’s Library, Oxford, was the lender of this Bramantesque drawing to the 1857 exhibition.<sup>241</sup> This erroneous indication was soon repeated by some reviewers of the Manchester show, such as the unidentified author of an article, published in *The Saturday Review* on 22 August 1857, in which the

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<sup>235</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>236</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>237</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>238</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 69r.

<sup>239</sup> Esdaile 1840, p. 4, cat. 11. I thank once more Donato Esposito for this piece of information (e-mail 19 August 2018).

<sup>240</sup> <https://archive.org/details/b1434254> (consulted 23 August 2018).

<sup>241</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 7, cat. 45.

“[...] sketch for architectural decoration by Bramante [...]” had been praised for its “[...] considerable interest”.<sup>242</sup>

The Bramantesque untraced drawing, however, had been lent to the Manchester show by the Oxonian reverend Henry Wellesley (1794-1866). Indeed, Cavalcaselle’s Manchester sketch confirms that the now untraced Bramantesque drawing exhibited in Manchester by Scharf can be identified with Wellesley’s “[...] architectural design, representing a façade, divided into five compartments, which are occupied by architectural subjects, arabesques [...]” that was sold as lot 2413 by Sotheby’s in London on 25 June 1866.<sup>243</sup> Moreover, an anonymous report, published on 14 July 1866 in *The Atheneum*, indicates that the auction result of Wellesley’s “*Architectural Design* by Bramante” was 45 pounds.<sup>244</sup> Most likely, though, the Wellesley drawing auctioned in 1866 cannot be identified, as Aldovini hypothesised in 2009 and 2012,<sup>245</sup> with the Bramantesque *Project for a church façade* that has been kept in the Louvre since 1869 (Fig. 38).<sup>246</sup> Wellesley, indeed, was forced to sell many drawings from his collection soon after the Manchester exhibition.<sup>247</sup> On 2 June 1860, for instance, as indicated in another anonymous article published in *The Atheneum*, Wellesley sold - through Sotheby’s - an “[...] *Architectural Vista*, by Bramante” for 6 pounds and 15 shillings.<sup>248</sup> Possibly, this is the work that could be identified with the drawing now in the Louvre.

In conclusion, at the Old Trafford venue Scharf utilised Cavalcaselle’s knowledge to supplement his own lack of expertise regarding a potential – and now still untraced –

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<sup>242</sup> Saturday Review 1857.

<sup>243</sup> Wellesley 1866, cat. 2413.

<sup>244</sup> Athenæum 1866, p. 57. Chronique 1866. Defer 1868, p. 568.

<sup>245</sup> Aldovini 2009, p. 44, endnote 24. Aldovini 2012, p. 59, endnote 4 (pp. 66-67).

<sup>246</sup> Bramante (attributed to), *A Church Façade*, 1478-1483 (?), 206 x 235 mm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des arts graphiques, inv. MI 1105, Recto (purchased in 1869) <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/1/111507-Projet-de-facade-deglise> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>247</sup> Thies 1869, p. xlii.

<sup>248</sup> Athenæum 1860, p. 793.

graphic masterpiece by Bramante, one of the most skilled, rare, renowned, and influential masters of the Italian Renaissance. Thus, thanks to Cavalcaselle's expertise at Manchester, both general visitors and experts had the chance to deepen their knowledge of the technical quality and artistic relevance of architectural drawing in the Italian Renaissance schools of painting.

### **2.1.5 Cavalcaselle's Manchester Expertise on a Spanish 'Siglo de Oro' Painting**

One of the most relevant tasks that Scharf assigned to in Manchester venue was a systematic survey of the attribution, conservation, and provenance of the seventeenth-century Spanish pictures that the Art Secretary had selected for the show. The Italian scholar, consequently, played an indirect but influential role in both the Victorian experts' and the visitors' understanding and fruition of these Catholic Baroque works.

Pergam indicated that Scharf had managed to display at Manchester 93 paintings by – mostly old but also contemporary – Spanish masters.<sup>249</sup> Pergam, moreover, correctly associated the spread amongst nineteenth-century French and British 'collectors, writers, and artists' with the taste for Spanish Baroque masters. Indeed, Pergam correctly highlighted the taste for Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's and Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez's (1599 – 1660) *oeuvres* that had characterised 'many prominent English collectors' since the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>250</sup> Besides, Pergam noticed that, similarly to what had occurred with Italian Primitives (and in particular Fra Angelico),<sup>251</sup> the nineteenth-century British passion for Murillo and Velázquez had represented an

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<sup>249</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 168.

<sup>250</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 168.

<sup>251</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 147.

exception of the British cultural and collecting tolerance for Catholic art dating exclusively from Raphael's time.<sup>252</sup>

However, Pergam did not fully frame these collecting exceptions in the traditionally anti-Catholic Victorian British *milieu*<sup>253</sup> that had characterised, for instance, the mid-nineteenth century bias towards the poorly 'manly' late-Renaissance art such as Jacopo Tintoretto's *oeuvre*.<sup>254</sup> Consequently, Pergam did not fully acknowledge that Scharf's decision to display at Manchester a broad array of Spanish Baroque artworks had constituted an epochal watershed not only for the history of British collecting and artistic tastes but also for the cultural and religious aspects of the British – and more in general European – society.

In addition, Pergam did not highlight that before the 1857 show Waagen had most probably referred in particular to Spanish Baroque art when, in the first volume of his *Treasures* (1854), he had praised that, since his surveys in the United Kingdom in the 1830s, British collectors had filled the gap with Continental collectors and museums as regards the “[...] works of art, both of the old and modern schools, but also an incomparably greater Catholicism of taste, and a growing conviction of the high importance of the arts, no less as a means of moral culture than as the assistants in various branches of manufacture [...]”.<sup>255</sup> Obviously, Pergam did not fully discuss that in 1857 even Waagen claimed that, apart from those in Spain, British galleries had become the richest European collections of Murillo's and Velázquez's pictures.<sup>256</sup> Notably, Waagen's 1857 bold claim was affected by his lack of acquaintance with the richness of Spanish Baroque art, and in particular of pictures, than assigned to Murillo and Velázquez, that

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<sup>252</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 168.

<sup>253</sup> Ralls 1974. Pergam 2016, p. 147.

<sup>254</sup> Select Committee 1853, p. 148, QQ. 153-154. Tøndborg 2005, p. 156.

<sup>255</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2,

<sup>256</sup> Waagen 1857, e, p. 214. Waagen 1857, i, p. 453.

had characterised the Saint-Petersburg Old Masters collections since the early eighteenth century.<sup>257</sup> Waagen, indeed, would manage to visit Saint Petersburg only in 1861 and 1862.<sup>258</sup>

At the 1857 exhibition, on turn, Cavalcaselle drew many detailed sketches, preserved in in the Marciana National Library, of some outstanding Spanish Baroque works that Scharf had selected for the show.<sup>259</sup> Similarly, on his personally annotated copy the *Provisional Catalogue*, which is also kept in Venice, he systematically checked<sup>260</sup> the attribution, and in some cases the provenance and the conservation, of most of the Spanish works of the ‘Siglo de Oro’ that Scharf selected and described in his *Provisional Catalogue*<sup>261</sup>

Moreover, when Cavalcaselle sketched these Spanish pictures, he did not follow the order of the *Provisional Catalogue*’s entries, but rather that of the *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>262</sup> However, I have already indicated that neither among his papers in Venice nor among Crowe’s papers in London exists any copy of the show’s *Definitive Catalogue*. Presumably, so, in Manchester the Art Secretary provided the Italian expert with the list of the Spanish works that he would discuss in the *Definitive Catalogue*. If this were the case, it would confirm that Scharf utilised Cavalcaselle’s knowledge to check and edit his draft of the *Definitive Catalogue* before its submission to the publisher.

Remarkably, most of the Spanish works sketched and analysed by the Italian scholar on his copy of the *Provisional Catalogue* had only recently entered some of the most celebrated British collections of Old Masters. In the 1830s, indeed, most of the

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<sup>257</sup> Kagané, Kostenevich 2008.

<sup>258</sup> Aswarischtsch 1995, p. 16.

<sup>259</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, ff. 7r, 7v, 8r, 8v, 12r, 12v.

<sup>260</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, pp. 39, 71-75.

<sup>261</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 39, catt. 415-416, pp. 70-75, catt. 994-1090.

<sup>262</sup> Scharf 1857, b, pp. 55, catt. 727, 728



Spanish pictures that would be exhibited at Manchester had been lent to the ‘Galerie Espagnole’ at the Louvre by Louis Philippe d’Orléans (1773-1850), King of the French between 1830 and 1848.<sup>263</sup> Scharf, so, plausibly owed to Cavalcaselle some connoisseurial expertise on the prestigious Spanish Baroque works, bearing an Orléans provenance, that he had managed to display at the Old Trafford.

The Art Secretary thus possibly aimed at utilising the Italian expert’s authoritative indications and hypotheses to enrich not only the show’s *Definitive Catalogue* but also the *Handbook* to the Manchester Old Masters that he published in collaboration with the *Manchester Guardian*.<sup>264</sup> Most likely, Cavalcaselle’s research stay in Madrid in 1852,<sup>265</sup> soon after his collaboration with him in Liverpool around 1850,<sup>266</sup> was one of the reasons that had convinced, in May 1857, the Art Secretary to hire him as a private and unofficial curatorial personal assistant at the Art Treasures Palace. Moreover, as Scharf and Eastlake had already exploited in Liverpool in the early 1850s,<sup>267</sup> being a Catholic, the Italian scholar was well acquainted with the iconographic and dogmatic slight differences between some similar subjects of Spanish ‘Siglo de Oro’ paintings. It can thus be assumed that Cavalcaselle’s Catholicism was most likely one of the main reasons that led the Art Secretary to engage him at the show. Likely, so, Scharf wanted Cavalcaselle to help him to identify the theological underpinnings of the Catholic artworks on display. Remarkably, anyway, the Italian expert’s Catholic iconographic and theological knowledge was likely an autodidactic and empirical consequence of his Venetian background rather than the result of any potential specific religious interest, whose research has not provided any trace, during his education in Venice in the early 1840s.<sup>268</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> Baticle 2002.

<sup>264</sup> Scharf 1857, b. Scharf 1857, c.

<sup>265</sup> Levi 1988, p. 38.

<sup>266</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 28 and 66.

<sup>267</sup> Levi 1988,

<sup>268</sup> Tommasi 1998, b. Sani 1998, p. 37.

Moreover, Levi noted that in some entries of the *Definitive Catalogue* Scharf had mentioned Cavalcaselle's contribution, implicitly placing Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship and prestige at the same level as Waagen's.<sup>269</sup> The Art Secretary, so, consulted him due to his refined connoisseurship rather than to his Catholic background. Most likely, in fact, Scharf had not been convinced by Waagen's authoritative indications on some specific Manchester works.<sup>270</sup> Notably, indeed, Pergam highlighted that, on his personally annotated copies of Waagen's three-volume *Treasures* (1854) now kept in the Getty Research Institute, the Art Secretary had extensively and intransigently criticised the German expert's attributions and limited connoisseurial lexicon and repetitive style.<sup>271</sup>

Finally, in the *Definitive Catalogue* Scharf also opted for mentioning Crowe and Cavalcaselle's recent and already influential book on the Flemish Primitives.<sup>272</sup> Consequently, the Art Secretary contributed to obscure Waagen's authoritative pre-Manchester works on the Early Netherlandish masters, such as the 1822 book on the van Eyck brothers and the mid-1840s articles on Memling published in the prestigious Leipzig journal *Kunstblatt*.<sup>273</sup> At Manchester, so, the Art Secretary opted for being assisted by the Italian scholar and praised his recent book on the Early Flemish Painters. It paved the way for the post-Manchester rivalry between Waagen and the editorial partnership formed by Crowe and Cavalcaselle. It is not clear, though, whether the Art Secretary wittingly aimed at exacerbating this rivalry to take professional advantage of it.

In conclusion, at the 1857 show Scharf asked Cavalcaselle to focus his connoisseurial skills on the numerous Spanish Baroque works on display. On the one hand, the Italian expert's Catholicism and 1852 research stay in Spain most likely

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<sup>269</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 72, also endnotes 203-204 (p. 97).

<sup>270</sup> Scharf 1857, b, pp. 38, 43 and 64, cat. 398, 482 and 900.

<sup>271</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 147.

<sup>272</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857. Scharf 1857, b, p. 37, cat. 381, p. 38, cat. 392-393 and 300-301, and p. 44, cat. 493.

<sup>273</sup> Waagen 1822. Waagen 1846.

convinced the Art Secretary to utilise him to enhance the presentation and description of these Spanish seventeenth-century pictures. On the other hand, Scharf's systematic selection and Cavalcaselle's detailed description of these Manchester pictures of the 'Siglo de Oro' constituted a fundamental watershed in the history of British collecting of and taste for Catholic art not coeval to Raphael.<sup>274</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Levi 1988, p. 96, endnote 190. Pergam 2016, p. 147.

## 2.2 Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's Mirroring of 'Connoisseurial Materials' at Manchester

During their collaboration at 1857 show, Scharf and Cavalcaselle individually – but similarly – based their connoisseurial surveys on varied but specific connoisseurial materials, which consisted of different elements, such as printed catalogues, loose sheets, or notebooks with various – but specific – shapes and purposes. The similarity between the Art Secretary's and the Italian expert's Manchester connoisseurial materials indicated that during the exhibition the two experts developed a similar technical and critical approach to Old Masters.

It is not in question to what extent Scharf and Cavalcaselle shared their annotating and sketching practices at the show. Certainly, their personal materials of interconnected handwritten materials provided both with the possibility to gradually enhance their individual connoisseurship of Old Masters, not only during the exhibition but also later. After the exhibition's *décrochage*, in fact, both the Art Secretary and the Italian expert used to constantly update their individual Manchester sketches and notes with new attributional hypotheses, provenance notes and compositional and stylistic connections between the pictures that they had analysed in Manchester in 1857 and other works of art that they had studied throughout their careers.

Consequently, the 1857 connoisseurial synergy between Scharf and Cavalcaselle heavily affected each expert's post-Manchester research practices. Furthermore, the similarities and apparent synergies between their Manchester 'private' connoisseurial papers were fundamental for the development of the discipline of History of Art in Great Britain and Continental Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century.

### 2.2.1 Scharf: *From Sketchbooks to Catalogues*

In the Spring of 1857 Scharf struggled to organise and effectively condense all the connoisseurial materials that he had collected in anticipation of the show. However, a comparison of his connoisseurial papers with the exhibition's *Provisional* and *Definitive* catalogues sheds light on his working method, as well as on his connoisseurial and editorial objectives.

Pergam, in fact, indicated that at Manchester Scharf based most of the content of his catalogues of the show on Waagen's *Treasures and Cabinets*.<sup>275</sup> Cottrell, on the other hand, highlighted that for the exhibition he had also utilised his private connoisseurial papers to draft the exhibition's catalogue.<sup>276</sup> However, Pergam and Cottrell did not discuss either the connoisseurial differences between Scharf's *Provisional and Definitive* catalogues or how the Art Secretary had attempted to effectively blend his Manchester connoisseurial papers with the German expert's authoritative but sometimes verbose hypotheses. At the show he certainly thus aimed at condensing and summarising his and Waagen's expertise in a clear and concise text, suitable for both the show's general visitors and qualified experts.<sup>277</sup>

I have already discussed Scharf's difficulty, across the exhibition's *vernissage* (5 May 1857), to provide the Manchester public with a clear and exhaustive catalogue of the Old Masters on display. A typographical error in an entry of the *Provisional Catalogue*, however, reveals the Art Secretary's process of organising, summarising, and presenting his connoisseurial materials.

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<sup>275</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Pergam 2016, p. 100.

<sup>276</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>277</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 103.

Indeed, Scharf mistakenly published a reference to his private Manchester sketchbooks in an entry about a *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, the present whereabouts of which are unknown, that Beriah Botfield (1807-1863) had lent to the show.<sup>278</sup> This painting used to be 'erroneously ascribed to [Pietro] Perugino' (1448-1523).<sup>279</sup> Three years before the show, though, Waagen, in the second volume of his *Treasures*, had sustained its attribution to Filippino Lippi (1457-1504), considering it "a beautiful picture of the better and earlier time of this scarce master".<sup>280</sup> In the Botfield painting, indeed, the composition and the pose of the Virgin and Child constitute an adaptation from that in Filippino's Rucellai altarpiece (c.1485) that the National Gallery purchased in 1857 (Fig. 39).<sup>281</sup> Not surprisingly, in both the *Provisional* and the *Definitive* catalogues Scharf followed the German scholar's indication and assigned the Botfield picture to Filippino.<sup>282</sup>

However, the Art Secretary mistakenly placed in the *Provisional Catalogue* two entries about this painting. These entries, though, were not identical. He thus unwittingly discussed this picture in three different entries: two in the *Provisional* edition and a third in the *Definitive* edition. At the end of the *Provisional* first entry, he added: 'S.[ketch] B.[ook] 46, p.[age] 23'. This note constitutes a reference to the detailed pencil sketch and notes about the *Virgin and Child* that, on 22 or 23 March 1857 at Norton Hall, Botfield's residence in Northamptonshire, he had drawn on the twenty-third page of his forty-sixth sketchbook.<sup>283</sup> This reference, by contrast, is neither placed in the *Provisional* second

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<sup>278</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 222, cat. 61.

<sup>279</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 335.

<sup>280</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 335.

<sup>281</sup> Filippino Lippi, *The Virgin and Child Between the Saints Jerome and Dominic in a Landscape*, c.1485, oil and tempera on poplar panel, 203.2 x 186.1 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG293 (purchased in 1857) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/filippino-lippi-the-virgin-and-child-with-saints-jerome-and-dominic> (consulted 23/02/2022).

<sup>282</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28. Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115. Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61.

<sup>283</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 (consulted 25/02/2021) <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?>

entry<sup>284</sup> nor in the *Definitive* entry on the work.<sup>285</sup> Therefore, it is a typographical error. He certainly did not aim at inviting experts or general visitors to access his ‘private’ connoisseurial sketchbooks.

On the other hand, Scharf’s typographical error suggests that he plausibly inserted, in any entry of his draft of the *Provisional Catalogue*, a reference to his sketchbooks to provide himself with the chance to operate a final comparison between his connoisseurial reflections on each works and display and Waagen’s *Treasures* or other relevant sources. Consequently, this typographical error demonstrates that he considered his sketchbooks to be of the same level of accuracy and reliability as the German scholar’s prestigious published works. This indicates the Art Secretary’s self-confidence as an independent connoisseur of Old Masters.

In these Manchester entries on the *Virgin and Child* Scharf thus did not make any reference to the catalogue of the Botfield collection, compiled and published in 1848 by the lender himself.<sup>286</sup> It suggests that he considered his sketchbooks to be a more reliable and objective art-historical source. However, all of his entries extensively quote from Botfield’s catalogue, reporting the picture’s support and dimensions (‘P.[anel] 2 f[ee]t. by 1 f[oot]t. 2 ½ in.[ches]’) and its provenance from the ‘Palazzo [Medici] Ric[c]ardi at Florence’.<sup>287</sup> Significantly, none of the Manchester catalogues’ entries signals that in 1848 the picture’s proprietor proudly inserted in his catalogue<sup>288</sup> a lithograph of the *Virgin*

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<sup>284</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115.

<sup>285</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61.

<sup>286</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28. Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115. Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61. Botfield 1848, p. 41.

<sup>287</sup> Botfield 1848, p. 41. Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28.

<sup>288</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28. Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115. Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61. Botfield 1848, p. 40.

*and Child*, signed by 'J. Harris', plausibly identifiable as John Harris the Younger (1791-1873).<sup>289</sup>

Noticeably, the presence of the lithograph in Botfield's catalogue did not prevent Scharf from carefully sketching for himself the picture when he visited Norton Hall.<sup>290</sup> Indeed, he drew a detailed pencil sketch of the *Virgin and Child*, signalling – graphically or verbally – some elements that proprietor had mentioned in his catalogue, such as the 'blue' mantle with an embroidered star. The cushion upon which the Infant is sitting, however, had been described as 'crimson' by the owner<sup>291</sup> and as 'red' and 'scarlet' by the Art Secretary, who in his sketch used the term 'crimson' to indicate the colour of the Virgin's dress.<sup>292</sup>

In the sketch, besides, Scharf noted the presence of "gold double / lines & dots / written upon / sky in / perspective". Moreover, he carefully reproduced the "richly carved / wood-gilt / frame" of the picture. The frame consisted of a "circular / reeded / column [...] covered in "gold".<sup>293</sup> Remarkably, Harris's lithograph does not depict any column or frame. Similarly, neither the column nor the frame would have been included in the white albumen silver print (Fig. 40) from the photograph – wet collodion negative (glass plate) – taken by Leonida Caldesi (1822-1891) and Mattia Montecchi (1816-1871) in December 1857 – just a few weeks after the show's closure – for their commemorative

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<sup>289</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG30702> (consulted 25/02/2021). A copy of the lithograph by Harris (ink on paper, 108 x 86 mm) entered the British Museum in 1850 (inv. 1850,0112.48) [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1850-0112-48](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1850-0112-48) (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>290</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?> (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>291</sup> Botfield 1848, p. 41.

<sup>292</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?> (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>293</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 [https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?.](https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?) (consulted 25/02/2021).



volume of the exhibition's Old Master *Gems* (1858).<sup>294</sup> In his sketch, furthermore, the Art Secretary noted the painting's dimensions: '2 feet 2 high, 1 ft 3 wide [,] 4 ½ deep'. These dimensions are not those that had been given by Botfield in his 1848 catalogue and that he literally reported – probably with the aim of appeasing the lender – in both the *Provisional* and *Definitive* catalogues.<sup>295</sup> Most probably, so, he did not trust the veracity of the proprietor's catalogue and wanted to verify the picture's dimensions, including also its depth, in order to place it at its best on the South Wall of Salon A of the Old Trafford venue.<sup>296</sup> Later, possibly during the Manchester exhibition, Scharf used a pen to note, by his pencil sketch of the panel, a reference to both Waagen's *Treasures* and to his own 'Long Book', presumably containing his connoisseurial reflections on the painting: "see also long Notebook / N.[umber]° 6 p.[age] 38".<sup>297</sup>

In all his entries, moreover, Scharf reported that a 'duplicate' of the painting was placed 'in the gallery of the Marquess d'Alvanter at Lisbon'.<sup>298</sup> However, it should be noted that this alleged Portuguese gallery was mentioned by neither Botfield (1848) nor the German scholar (1854).<sup>299</sup> Similarly, the Art Secretary did not make any note about the alleged picture in Lisbon by his sketch of Botfield's panel.<sup>300</sup> Moreover, the Lisbon collection indicated by him had not been mentioned in any earlier source.<sup>301</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>294</sup> *Gems* 1858, Plate 67. Leonida Caldesi and Mattia Montecchi after Unknown Master, *Virgin and Child in a Landscape*, albumen print, 161 x 130 mm, Royal Collection, inv. RCIN 2081415 (presented to Prince Albert) <https://www.rct.uk/collection/2081415> (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>295</sup> Botfield 1848, p. 41. Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28. Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115. Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61.

<sup>296</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289082/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-50-verso-51-recto?> ((consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>297</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?> (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>298</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28. Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115. Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61.

<sup>299</sup> Botfield 1848, p. 41. Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 335.

<sup>300</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 23, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_12 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282536/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-23-24?> (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>301</sup> In Blanc 1865, p. xviii, the passage is largely based on the *Definitive Catalogue*'s entry (Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61).

the origin of this information is unknown. The alleged owner of the Portuguese replica of the Botfield *Virgin and Child* could plausibly be spelt as 'Lord Alvanter', who was mentioned in the Parisian newspaper *Le Moniteur Universel* in relation to the trial (1820) of Caroline (1768-1821), Duchess of Brunswick and Queen of the United Kingdom and Hanover (1820-1821).<sup>302</sup> In 1844 Lehmann indicated that Lord Alvanter's last name was Arden. Plausibly, so, he could be identified with admiral George James Perceval (1794 – 1874), from 1840 2nd Baron Arden and from 1841 6th Earl of Egmont.<sup>303</sup>

In contrast, only in the *Provisional Catalogue*'s first entry – in which the painting was simply entitled *Virgin and Child* – Scharf correctly indicated that the Botfield picture had been exhibited in the British Institution's 1850 annual Old Master show.<sup>304</sup> He certainly did not insert any reference to the 1850 event in the *Provisional* second entry, where the picture is described as being called '*Our Lady of the Fingers*'<sup>305</sup> In the *Definitive* entry, though, he reported its alternative title, as well as its Medici Riccardi provenance, its loan to the 1850 event and the existence of a Portuguese copy or replica.<sup>306</sup>

To summarise, at the 1857 show Scharf attempted to show his independence from Waagen's authoritative works when he compiled the *Provisional Catalogue*. He was thus determined to upgrade the German scholar's prestigious *Treasures* and *Cabinets*. At Manchester, however, he experienced some difficulties with the *Provisional* entries' drafting. Therefore, he researched the provenance of some specific works to enrich the new edition of the exhibition's catalogue. Scharf, so, inserted some of the original connoisseurial annotations that he had recorded in his 1856 and 1857 private sketchbooks.

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<sup>302</sup> Moniteur 1820, p. 1408.

<sup>303</sup> Lehmann 1844, p. 236, footnote \*: "Der Familienname des lebigen Lord Alvanter ist Arden" ("The family name of the current Lord Alvanter is Arden").

<sup>304</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 15, cat. 28. Centenary 1957, p. 6, cat. 4. Graves 1969, p. 917.

<sup>305</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 115.

<sup>306</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 61.

### 2.2.2 Cavalcaselle's Manchester 'Connoisseurial Material'

During his research at the Old Trafford venue in May 1857, Cavalcaselle used different materials – notebooks, loose sheets, books and printed catalogues and guides – with specific purposes. These materials form a consistent and elaborate 'connoisseurial element' that sheds light on his connoisseurial practices at that time. On the other hand, his Manchester materials also reveal some aspects of his professional exchange with both Scharf and Crowe during the 1857 show.

In Manchester, as I have mentioned beforehand, Cavalcaselle centred his research on a copy of Scharf's *Provisional Catalogue*. In this copy he thus recorded hundreds of notes on the attribution, dimensions, conservation, and provenance of various Italian, Flemish, Spanish, German, French and Dutch Old Master paintings. Moreover, he utilised the upper and lower margins of his *Provisional* copy as blank spaces. There, indeed, he drew pen sketches of the pictures on display. It is quite plausible, so, that he used this copy to place his most cursory sketches but also some outstanding observations and art-historical connections.<sup>307</sup>

In addition, at Manchester Cavalcaselle utilised a notebook, that he had named 'libretto',<sup>308</sup> to place many other pen sketches and connoisseurial pen notes on the Old Master works on display at the show. Notably, in his 'libretto' he drew some of his most detailed Manchester sketches.<sup>309</sup> Furthermore, he used the first and last pages of his

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<sup>307</sup> Scharf 1857. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI.

<sup>308</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, pp. 5 and 30. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, f. 52r.

<sup>309</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV.

‘libretto’ as an ‘inscription section’. On these pages, he thus copied some dates, signatures, and heraldic elements that he had traced from some specific Old Masters on display at the show. It is possible that these works were among the pictures that the Art Secretary had asked him to study during his private and unofficial curatorial assistance.<sup>310</sup>

Remarkably, some weeks after the end of Cavalcaselle’s stay at the show, Scharf mirrored the structure of the Italian expert’s Manchester materials. Indeed, the Art Secretary, especially during the exhibition’s last phase (September-October 1857), took some connoisseurial notes on both his copy of the *Definitive Catalogue* and some sketchbooks of larger format that he had named ‘Long Books’. Alike the Italian expert, he mentioned – especially in late Summer or early Autumn 1857 - numerous signatures, dates and heraldic elements on two sketchbooks that he had named ‘Inscription Books’. The close similarity between Cavalcaselle’s and Scharf’s individual materials thus indicates that at Manchester in May 1857 the two scholars had had the opportunity to compare – at least in part – their materials and methods. This professional sharing most likely affected their sketching and annotating methods, as well as their connoisseurial and editorial interaction with Waagen.

Finally, during his stay at the show Cavalcaselle drew on some loose sheets some other pen sketches of Old Masters.<sup>311</sup> On these sheets, though, he also added some connoisseurial pen notes,<sup>312</sup> which are addressed to “caro Giuseppe” [“dear Giuseppe”], that is to Crowe (Figs 41 and 50).<sup>313</sup> These notes demonstrate that, as early as May 1857, he aimed at involving his editorial partner in the connoisseurial debate on the works of art on display at the show. Crowe, however, fruitlessly tried to convince the *Times* to send

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<sup>310</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, ff. Ir-2r and 49r-guardia.

<sup>311</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 58r, 61r-64v.

<sup>312</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XIX, ff. 19v-23r. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 57r, 57v, 59r-60v, 65r, 65v, 66v, 69r, 70v-72v.

<sup>313</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 55r and 65r.

him to Manchester to write some reports of the exhibition.<sup>314</sup> The *Times* eventually sent to the exhibition another reporter, whose identity has not yet been traced.<sup>315</sup> However, Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial notes explicitly addressed to Crowe prove that in May 1857 he aimed at continuing his editorial collaboration with the co-author of the *Early Flemish Painters*. This sheds light on the editorial partners' collaboration during the Italian expert's 1857-1860 Vasarian surveys throughout Italy.

In conclusion, at the 1857 show Cavalcaselle used a structured 'connoisseurial material' composed of different tools, on which he added some specific sketches and notes. Later, on the other hand, Scharf used to an extent the Italian connoisseur's Manchester materials to optimise his editorial projects related to the show. At Manchester, the two experts most probably shared their handwritten materials. Notably, in 1857 Cavalcaselle also wrote some art-historical notes for Crowe, trying to involve him in the connoisseurial Manchester debate despite his absence from the show.

### **2.2.3 Scharf's Manchester 'Connoisseurial Materials'**

In prevision of the exhibition, between September 1856 and April 1857, Scharf used a limited range of materials for his specific connoisseurial purposes. On the contrary, during the show, and especially between early September and mid-October 1857, that is shortly before its closure, the Art Secretary broadened the range of his connoisseurial materials. Notably, his sketches and noting methods dating Autumn 1857 mirror those that Cavalcaselle had used during his stay in Manchester in May 1857. These similarities,

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<sup>314</sup> Crowe 1895, p. 238.

<sup>315</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 165, 172,

so, suggest that the two experts showed each other, at least partly, their individual connoisseurial practices and materials.

During his selection tour through Great Britain between September 1856 and April 1857, Scharf utilised mainly his private sketchbooks – all of them having the same size and purpose – to draw his aesthetic 'thumbnail' pencil sketches.<sup>316</sup> Moreover, during his British tour – but mostly during the show's opening from early May to mid-October 1857 – the Art Secretary used also some 'Long Books', which are notebooks of bigger dimension, suitable for longer and more articulate connoisseurial notes. In these 'Long Books', he registered his technical and aesthetical observations as well as the provenance information on some Manchester works.<sup>317</sup> Furthermore, in 2012 Cottrell highlighted that, since his British tour to select the works to exhibit in Manchester, Scharf had filled a 'two-volume *Inscription Book*' with some isolated details of some specific works of Old Masters, such as signatures, dates and coats of arms.<sup>318</sup> Notably, though, the Art Secretary compiled most of his 'Long Books' and 'Inscription Books' only during the show's opening, and especially during its last phase (September-October 1857), when he had more time to dedicate to his connoisseurial surveys at the Old Trafford venue. Therefore, his extensive use of both his 'Long Books' and 'Inscription Books' occurred later after that Cavalcaselle had left Manchester.

In May 1857, on turn, the Italian expert used his 'Libretto' to record some technical and stylistic or provenance observations on some outstanding Manchester pictures.<sup>319</sup> Remarkably, his libretto includes also an 'inscription section', on which he copied – possibly at Scharf's request – some specific dates, signatures and heraldic

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<sup>316</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>317</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/scharf-sketchbooks/> (consulted 23/07/2021). Cottrell 2012, p. 623. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>318</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623.

<sup>319</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV.

symbols that he had traced from the works of art on display at the Old Trafford venue.<sup>320</sup> Notably, with the extensive use of his ‘Long Books’ and ‘Inscription Books’, in late Summer and early Autumn 1857 the Art Secretary would mirror, with the same connoisseurial purposes, the Italian expert’s use of his Manchester ‘Libretto’.

However, during the exhibition’s last phase, Scharf decided to take some connoisseurial notes on a copy of his *Definitive Catalogue*. On his ‘personally annotated copy’ of this catalogue, he recorded some notes on the attribution, dimensions, conservation, or provenance of some specific Old Masters on display.<sup>321</sup> It must be noted that the *Definitive Catalogue* was printed only during the last weeks of the show. Consequently, his notes on this copy date from Summer to early Autumn 1857. Remarkably, so, the Art Secretary’s interest in taking connoisseurial notes on a printed copy of his catalogue most likely derived from Cavalcaselle’s practice – during his stay in Manchester in May 1857 – to take connoisseurial notes on his copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>322</sup>

Moreover, Scharf’s integration of his catalogue entries indicate that he had not been satisfied with the quality of the catalogue’s entries. Still, when Scharfhe decided to add his connoisseurial notes on his copy of the *Definitive Catalogue*, he did not automatically feel the need to draw a sketch of the painting that the catalogue’s entry was referring to. In some cases, however, he had already drawn a cursory and ‘aesthetic’ sketch of the picture when he had selected it for the show during his visits to the British private collections of art (September 1856-April 1857).

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<sup>320</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, ff. Ir-2r and 49r-guardia.

<sup>321</sup> This specific term is taken from <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/scharf-sketchbooks/?searchKeyword=personally+annotated+copy&searchField=keyword> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>322</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI.

This is the case, for instance, of the *Christ on the Mount of Olives* by the Dutch painter Matthias Stom (c. 1600 – after 1650), now in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin (Fig. 42).<sup>323</sup> The picture was sketched by Scharf in late September 1856, during the preparatory phase of the show (Fig. 43).<sup>324</sup> At that time, in fact, he visited Marbury Hall, Northwich, Cheshire, to select some works from James Hugh Smith Barry's (1816-1856) collection. There, he drew a rough sketch of Stom's picture. Smith Barry unfortunately died just a few weeks after his visit. He, however, managed to obtain from Smith Barry's trustees the loan of the paintings he required from the late collector. Thus, Stom's work was on display in the Old Trafford with the traditional title *The Agony in the Garden* under the attribution to the Dutch Golden Age master Gerrit van Honthorst (1592-1646).<sup>325</sup> Remarkable is the fact that Scharf obtained the *Agony's* loan despite the lender's death; this could indicate that he had a strong critical interest in the paintings that he had selected at Marbury Hall.

Though, at the 1857 exhibition Scharf decided not to produce a detailed sketch of the painting and limited himself to take notes about its dimensions on his personal copy of the *Definitive Catalogue*. This indicates that he lacked in critical interest in sketching in detail some specific painting, despite having the time or the opportunity to do so. Being the show's Art Secretary and Director of the Gallery of Old Masters, indeed, he had all the works of art in the gallery at his 'connoisseurial disposal' in the Old Trafford venue rooms at any other time. Thus, for him it was certainly not a matter of lack of opportunity to sketch this picture in detail.

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<sup>323</sup> Matthias Stom, *Christ on the Mount of Olives (Agony in the Garden)*, 1630-1632, oil on canvas, 152 x 199 cm, Berlin, Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 2/69. <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/71917> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>324</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 43, page 87, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_51\_37 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282504/Scharf-Sketchbook-43-page-86-87?> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>325</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 50, cat. 612. Waagen 1857, b, p. 412, cat. 612.



Moreover, Scharf's digitised Manchester Sketchbooks (NPG) indicate that he, in at least one case, utilised his personal copy of the *Definitive Catalogue* with a different approach to his connoisseurial papers. In contrast to his sketching interest in Stom's picture, in fact, during his British tour (September 1856-April 1857) he did not sketch Thomas Birchall (c.1809-1878)'s *Ecce Homo*, then assigned to Murillo.<sup>326</sup> Birchall's painting, now on loan to the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery (Fig. 132),<sup>327</sup> would be photographed by Leonida Calvesi and Mattia Montecchi for their volume on the Manchester show's *Gems*.<sup>328</sup>

Despite the availability of the painting's photograph and in contrast to his pre-Manchester lack of interest in sketching it, at the show Scharf sketched the Birchall *Ecce Homo* twice. Firstly, on 14 September 1857, he thus produced a detailed pencil sketch (Fig. 45), erroneously noting the number of the *Definitive Catalogue* entry ('664') in which he had discussed the work. In this sketch, he did not note any reference to the pigments or the technique that he had traced in the picture. Later, using a pen, he added the correct ('644') reference to his catalogue entry.<sup>329</sup> Then, on 8 October 1857, he drew a cursory pencil sketch of the Birchall canvas when he sketched the display of Murillo's works displayed on the Rear South Wall of Salon B at the Old Trafford venue (Fig. 46).<sup>330</sup> Remarkably, instead of recording the *Ecce Homo*'s supports and dimensions on one of

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<sup>326</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 73, cat. 1035. Scharf 1857, b. p. 51, cat. 644.

<sup>327</sup> Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, 1660-1670, oil on canvas, 100.3 x 74.9 cm (39 ½ x 29 ½ in.), Bristol, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, inv. LEFA.0033 (on loan from Saint Anne's Church, Bristol) <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=178995> and <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2017/18-august/news/uk/church-is-allowed-to-loan-its-murillo-painting-belatedly-to-bristol-museum-and-art-gallery> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>328</sup> *Gems* 1858, Plate 80. Angulo Iñiguez 1982, Plate 562. Cano 2018, p. 13, footnote 34. Brooke 2020, p. 89, footnote 37.

<sup>329</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, pages 15, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_15 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289039/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-7-verso-8-recto?> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>330</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 8 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_08 MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, pages 15, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_15 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282607/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-15?> (consulted 31/12/2020).

his sketches, he opted for noting them exclusively on his personal copy of the *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>331</sup>

In conclusion, during the Manchester show Scharf gradually broadened the range of his connoisseurial materials, extensively using his ‘Long Books’ and ‘Inscription Books’, as well as making some connoisseurial notes on a printed copy of his *Definitive Catalogue*. According to Cottrell, his use of ‘Long Books’ and ‘Inscription Books’ dates back to his British tour that preceded the 1857 show. However, he compiled most of his ‘Long Books’ and ‘Inscription Books’ only during the show’s opening. His notes on the show’s *Definitive Catalogue*, on the other hand, show relevant similarities with Cavalcaselle’s earlier notes on his copy of the show’s *Provisional Catalogue*. Most likely, the expansion of the Art Secretary’s connoisseurial materials was therefore a consequence of the Italian scholar’s expertise for him in May 1857. The two experts, thus, most likely mutually disclosed their individual research practices and materials. Finally, the Art Secretary’s sketches that are coeval to his notes on the copy of the *Definitive Catalogue* also provide some hints on his lack of trust in other kinds of connoisseurial sources on the Manchester Old Masters, such as Caldesi and Montecchi’s photographic *Gems* or Waagen’s sketchy guide to the show.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282607/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-15?> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>332</sup> Caldesi, Montecchi 1858. Waagen 1857, b.

## **2.3 Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's Manchester Sketches: A Mutual Influence**

At the Manchester exhibition, Scharf and Cavalcaselle mutually influenced each other's connoisseurial sketching and noting methods. The Italian expert adapted his pen sketches to his need to render the tonal differences of the late fifteenth-, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century paintings in a more effective way. Most likely, then, he gained inspiration from the Art Secretary's pencil sketching practices. Scharf, on turn, moved from his pre-Manchester inclination for 'thumbnail' cursory sketches to more detailed and critically developed sketches after the Italian scholar's stay at the Old Trafford venue. Hence, he was almost certainly inspired by his private assistant's sketching practices. As a result, their exchange affected not only their post-1857 sketching practices, but also their own connoisseurship and, indirectly, the connoisseurial interchange between the Italian scholar and Crowe.

### **2.3.1 Similarities or Synergies?**

In Manchester, both Scharf and Cavalcaselle produced hundreds of connoisseurial sketches of Old Master works, Remarkably, they used a very similar spatial display of the connoisseurial elements described in their sketches.

Both experts, in fact, started by graphically outlining the format, the frame and the main compositional elements of the painting that they had analysed. After the graphic sketching phase, they recorded, in a similar way and in most cases beneath or beside the sketch, the potential presence of signatures and dates in the analysed painting. Subsequently, they indicated, again in a similar way and mostly on the sketch's lower

edge, the lender's attribution of the painting in question, placing their own attribution next to it, as well as the inventory or catalogue number that had been assigned to the painting in the Manchester catalogue. Finally, both connoisseurs wrote – mostly beneath the sketch or, less commonly, in relation to a specific detail – certain stylistic reflections and comparisons with other specific masters or paintings.

In some cases, both Scharf and Cavalcaselle kept editing and updating their Manchester notes after the end of the exhibition, adding bibliographical references to the works by Vasari, Waagen, or other authoritative experts. More frequently, they limited themselves to record either the sketched painting's new whereabouts, in case of a change of ownership,<sup>333</sup> or – as Cottrell noted in 2012 and 2020 – the presence of a Manchester painting at a relevant temporary exhibition that took place after 1857.<sup>334</sup>

Moreover, in Manchester both the Art Secretary and his private assistant started to make sketches of paintings but then left their sketches unfinished, probably because they had been interrupted or because they were dissatisfied with the sketch's quality or visual affinity to the analysed painting. For instance, at the Old Trafford venue, Cavalcaselle interrupted a sketch of the then celebrated *Misers* (Fig. 103), which had been lent to the Manchester event by Windsor Castle, under the attribution to the Flemish master Quentin Matsys (1466–1530).<sup>335</sup> Similarly, , on 22 July 1857 Scharf left a – still unidentified – sketch of a woman with a mirror (or a coat of arms) unfinished (Fig. 48).<sup>336</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 47r.

<sup>334</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 108 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_55 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288878/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-108-verso-109?> (consulted 07/07/2021). Cottrell 2012, p. 623. Cottrell 2020, p. 290, also footnote 8.

<sup>335</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 1 bisr. Marinus van Reymerswaele (Follower of), *The Misers*, 1548-1551, oil on oak panel, 118 x 98 cm, Edinburgh, Holyroodhouse Palace, Royal Collection, RCIN 405707 (recovered at the Restoration). <https://www.rct.uk/collection/405707/the-misers> (consulted 23/07/2021). Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 432. Scharf 1857, p. 44, cat. 499. Scharf 1857, b, p. 41, cat. 445.

<sup>336</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 39 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_20 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

Remarkably, Cavalcaselle wittingly avoided – in at least one case – to write any notes on the painting he had been analysing at the show. For instance, he analysed (Fig. 49)<sup>337</sup> a copy of Jan and Hubert van Eyck’s *Ghent Altarpiece* (c.1425–1432; Fig. 120).<sup>338</sup> This ancient copy, on canvas, had been lent to the exhibition by the collector John Louis (or Jean-Louis) Lemmé (?–1865) of Hadley, near Barnet.<sup>339</sup> At his death, Louis Christian Lemmé, plausibly Jean-Louis’s son, bequeathed the work to the Antwerp Royal Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 121). Around 1796, the French troops had seized Lemmé’s copy from the Ghent City Hall. Before the Manchester show, this painting entered Charles Hisette’s (–1819), Karl Aders’s (1780–1846) and Joseph Henry Green’s (1791–1863) collections.<sup>340</sup> Interestingly, when the Italian expert studied the Lemmé copy at the Old Trafford venue in May 1857, he wrote – expressly for Crowe – some detailed connoisseurial notes on its style and provenance (Fig. 50).<sup>341</sup> Moreover, he isolated certain details of this copy, such as Adam’s figure in the wing (Fig. 122)<sup>342</sup> and the male bystander – wearing a turban – at the centre of its panel, which represents the *Adoration of the Lamb* (Fig. 123).<sup>343</sup> However, in this sketch e did not write any note that could help Crowe to identify the Lemmé copy (Fig. 49).<sup>344</sup>

<sup>337</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 16v.

<sup>338</sup> Hubert and Jan van Eyck, *The Ghent Altarpiece*, c.1425-1432, oil on panel (partially transferred to canvas), 340 × 460 cm, Ghent, Cathedral of Saint Bavo.

<sup>339</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 461. Scharf 1857, p. 43, cat. 475: “J.[ean] L.[ouis] Lemmé”. Scharf 1857, b, p. 37, cat. 375: “L.[ouis] Lemmé”. Waagen 1860, p. 65: “J.[ean] L.[ouis] Lemmé”. Michiels 1845, p. 97. Darcel 1865. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1872, p. 66, footnote 1 (from p. 64): “F.[rançois?] L.[ouis] Lemmé at Hadley near Barnet”. Duverger 1954. Campbell 1998, p. 13 and 447: “John Louis Lemmé (died 1865) [...] The Mount, Hadley (Middlesex)”. Vlieghe 2008, p. 33, also footnote 42: “C.[harles?] Lemmé”.

<sup>340</sup> Hubert and Jan van Eyck (Copy from), *The Ghent Altarpiece*, oil on canvas, 341 × 475 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, n. inv. 413-424 (gifted in 1865 by Louis Christian Lemmé). <https://kmska.be/en/masterpiece/adoration-lamb-1> (consulted 20/03/2022).

<sup>341</sup> MS, Venice, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 65r.

<sup>342</sup> Hubert and Jan van Eyck (Copy from), *Adam and Music and Singing Angels*, oil on canvas, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, n. inv. 422 (gifted in 1865 by Louis Christian Lemmé). <https://kmska.be/en/masterpiece/adoration-lamb-1> (consulted 20/03/2022).

<sup>343</sup> Hubert and Jan van Eyck (Copy from), *The Adoration of the Lamb*, oil on canvas, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, n. inv. 413 (gifted in 1865 by Louis Christian Lemmé). <https://kmska.be/en/masterpiece/adoration-lamb-1> (consulted 20/03/2022).

<sup>344</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 16v.

Not rarely, furthermore, Scharf and Cavalcaselle decided to isolate some specific details of the Manchester paintings they had been analysing. In most cases, the isolated details were related to anatomical elements, attributes, or objects. The Italian expert, for example, in May 1857 isolated (Figs 51<sup>345</sup> and 51bis<sup>346</sup>) some hands, cloth details and gestures from Van Dyck's *Balbi Children* (Fig. 52).<sup>347</sup> Similarly, during the exhibition's last days, also the Art Secretary isolated certain details (Fig. 52bis) of the *Balbi Children*,<sup>348</sup> as well as the Virgin's bust (Fig. 53bis)<sup>349</sup> in Fra Angelico's *Enthroned Madonna with Saints*, now kept in the Vatican Museums (Fig. 53),<sup>350</sup> or the vases in *Saint Rufina*, now kept in Dublin, by Zurbarán (Fig. 54).<sup>351</sup> Remarkably in the sketch of Zurbarán's painting he did not reproduce the inscription on a bust placed in the lower left corner. Most likely, then, in 1857 this detail was covered by a layer of paint (Fig. 54bis).<sup>352</sup>

In other cases, though, at Manchester Scharf isolated and analysed in detail a coat of arms that he had traced on a specific painting's recto or verso. Most likely, in fact, he

<sup>345</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 2r.

<sup>346</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 3v.

<sup>347</sup> Anthony van Dyck, *The Balbi Children*, 1625-1627, oil on canvas, 219 x 151 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG6502 (bought in 1985) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/anthony-van-dyck-the-balbi-children> (consulted 23/07/2021). Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 84. Scharf 1857, p. 51, cat.620. Scharf 1857, b, p. 52, cat. 660.

<sup>348</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 44 recto, <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282597/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-5?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

<sup>349</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 32 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_32 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289063/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-31-verso-32-recto?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

<sup>350</sup> Fra Angelico, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints Dominic and Catherine of Alexandria*, tempera on panel 24.4 x 18.7 cm, Vatican City, Vatican Museums, Pinacoteca Vaticana, inv. 40253. Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 84. Scharf 1857, p. 51, cat.620. Scharf 1857, b, p. 52, cat. 660. <http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/la-pinacoteca/sala-iii---secolo-xv/beatangelo-la-madonna-col-bambino-fra-s--domenico-e-s--cate.html#&gid=1&pid=1> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>351</sup> Francisco de Zurbarán, *Saint Rufina*, 1635-1640, oil on canvas, 176 x 107.5 cm (63 ½ x 40 ½ in.), Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. NGI.962 (purchased in 1933) <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/11778/saint-rufina?ctx=a48bd305-8056-4c49-aacc-0ef67110545b&idx=0> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 71, cat. 1004. Scharf 1857, b, p. 59, cat. 796. Scharf 1857, d, p. 78, cat. 796.

<sup>352</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 48, page 54 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_58\_56 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282893/Scharf-Sketchbook-48-page-54?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

was interested in using a heraldic element to reconstruct a painting's provenance or, in case of a portrait, the sitter's identity. Just a few days before the Manchester exhibition's closure, for instance, he isolated the coat of arms with a "lion / on blue" (Fig. 55)<sup>353</sup> in the *Portrait of a Bearded Man* (Fig. 56), once in the Spencer collection, auctioned in 2021 by Christie's as by Joos van Cleve (1485–1540).<sup>354</sup> Similarly, he isolated (Figs 57<sup>355</sup> and 57bis<sup>356</sup>) Rucellai's coats of arms, which he had noticed on both Francesco Botticini's (1446–1498) *Altarpiece with Saint Jerome in Penitence, with Saints and Donors* (c.1490), kept in the National Gallery for a couple of years (Fig. 58),<sup>357</sup> and Filippino Lippi's *Virgin and Child Between the Saints Jerome and Dominic* (c.1485), which had just entered the National Gallery (Fig. 39).<sup>358</sup>

Later, in turn, during his stay in Denmark in 1865 Cavalcaselle isolated (Fig. 60)<sup>359</sup> a – still visible – coat of arms, which was placed on the recto of Filippino Lippi's *Meeting of Joachim and Anne Outside the Golden Gate of Jerusalem* (Fig. 61).<sup>360</sup>

<sup>353</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 31 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_31 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289062/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-30-verso-31-recto?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>354</sup> Joos van Cleve (Joost van der Beke), *Portrait of a Bearded Man, Bust-Length*, possibly 1530-1540, oil on panel, 50.8 x 48.3 cm (20 x 19 in.), lot 19 in Christie's Sale 20053 (Live Auction 'Old Masters Evening Sale', 8 July 2021), sold for 562,500 GBP. <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-6327280> (consulted 30/03/2022). I warmly thank Dr Giorgio Tagliaferro for signalling this sale. Waagen 1854, Volume 3, pp. 456-457. Scharf 1857, p. 46, cat. 534. Scharf 1857, b, p. 44, cat. 511. Garlick 1976, p. 13, cat. 95.

<sup>355</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 71 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_72 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289103/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-71-verso-72-recto?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>356</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 74 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_74 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289105/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-73-verso-74-recto?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>357</sup> Francesco Botticini, *Saint Jerome in Penitence with Saints and Donors*, c.1490, tempera on poplar panel (?), 235 x 258 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG227.1 (purchased in 1855). <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/francesco-botticini-saint-jerome-in-penitence-with-saints-and-donors> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>358</sup> Filippino Lippi, *The Virgin and Child Between the Saints Jerome and Dominic in a Landscape*, c.1485, tempera and oil on poplar panel, 203.2 x 186.1 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG293 (purchased in 1857). <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/filippino-lippi-the-virgin-and-child-with-saints-jerome-and-dominic> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>359</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII, f. 2r. Franz 2018, b, p. 115, and Fig. 9.

<sup>360</sup> Filippino Lippi, *Meeting of Joachim and Anne Outside the Golden Gate of Jerusalem*, 1497, tempera on panel, 112.5 x 124 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSp40 (purchased in 1763) <https://www.smk.dk/en/highlight/meeting-of-joachim-and-anne-outside-the-golden-gate-of-jerusalem-1497/> (consulted 10/07/2021).



Similarly, he isolated the – now lost – coat of arms of the family Piovene-Porto-Godi-Pigafetta when, in the late 1860s, in the Piovene collection in Padua, he sketched (Fig. 131)<sup>361</sup> Francesco Verla's (c.1470–1521) *Sacred Conversation* now held in the Medicean Villa of Cerreto Guidi (Fig. 63).<sup>362</sup>

In Manchester, then, Scharf and Cavalcaselle opted for similar solutions in their connoisseurial sketching practices, despite some individual differences such as the Art Secretary's interest in heraldry in relation to Old Masters' provenance. These synergies, or similarities, shaped their post-Manchester research practices, connoisseurship and sketching techniques. Indirectly, so, given the long-time collaboration and sharing of sketches between the Italian expert and his editorial partner, the Art Secretary's sketching practices at the 1857 show influenced also Crowe's approach to Old Masters.

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<sup>361</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella E, f. 132r.

<sup>362</sup> Francesco Verla, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child between the Saints John the Baptist, Augustine of Hippo, Anthony of Padua (?) and Jerome in an Architectural Setting Before a Landscape*, 1508-1509 or 1510-1512, oil on canvas, 214 x 181 cm, Florence, Museo Bardini (Palazzo Mozzi Bardini), inv. 5093, on loan to the Museo Storico della Caccia e del Territorio (Medicean Villa of Cerreto Guidi) since 2005, inv. Bd005093. Gallazzini 2017. <http://www.museodellacaccia.it/record.php?cod=Bd005093> (consulted 03/06/2021).



### 2.3.2 Cavalcaselle's Manchester Pencil Imitating Pen Sketches

During his stay at the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle had the chance to upgrade his connoisseurial sketching techniques. Cavalcaselle's Manchester sketches, indeed, ceased to act as graphic supports for Cavalcaselle's visual memory and gradually assumed a remarkable relevance as connoisseurial tools to understand more in depth, the material aspects of specific Manchester work. At the Art Treasures Palace, in particular, Cavalcaselle focused his graphic experimentation on a number of late Quattrocento works from the Venetian and Tuscan schools. However, the Manchester evolution of Cavalcaselle's sketching most likely originated from his familiarity with Scharf's pre-Cavalcasellian pencil sketches, which were remarkable for their rendering of the Old Masters' shading techniques and palette.

Firstly, indeed, it must be noted that in 1988 Levi acknowledged that, in Padua in October 1857, that is, some months after having left Manchester, Cavalcaselle had produced a new kind of connoisseurial sketches, in which he had combined “[...] ricerca e [...] traduzione di dettagli significativi. Gli schizzi [padovani di Cavalcaselle] non sono più rapidi appunti di viaggio, diventano elaborati e rifiniti, trasformandosi da aiuti alla memoria visiva o poco più, in sottili strumenti di indagine” [“research and [...] rendition of the substantial details [of a picture]. [Cavalcaselle's Paduan] sketches cannot be considered anymore just mere cursory travel notes, but have become elaborate and refined, since they have evolved from a [mere] support for [Cavalcaselle's] visual memory, or so, into subtle [connoisseurial] investigative tools”].<sup>363</sup>

However, Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial sketching evolution, that Levi set in Padua in October 1857, must be dated back at least to Cavalcaselle's arrival at the Art

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<sup>363</sup> Levi 1988, p. 103, also endnote 24 (p. 159).

Treasures Palace in May 1857. In Manchester, Cavalcaselle, in fact, drew a number of very detailed connoisseurial sketches that, as Levi noted for Cavalcaselle's later Paduan sketches, cannot be interpreted anymore as ready-to-consult connoisseurial supports for Cavalcaselle's visual memory. Some of Cavalcaselle's Manchester sketches are actually essential graphic tools for Cavalcaselle's profound technical and critical analysis of the materials and stylistic, historical and conservative aspects of the Old Master paintings that were exhibited in Manchester.

On his Manchester "libretto", Cavalcaselle, for instance, carefully analysed – as I have explained in another section of this chapter – the materials, the technique and the conservation of Bellini's *Frick Saint Francis* (Fig. 64).<sup>364</sup> Indeed, Cavalcaselle produced a carefully detailed pen sketch of the entire painting, in which he graphically described not only the natural elements but also – possibly with the historical will to identify them after the 1857 exhibition – the buildings' silhouette (Fig. 65).<sup>365</sup> Later, Cavalcaselle applied the same level of connoisseurial meticulousness when he isolated the detail of saint Francis's torso, in which Cavalcaselle evidently struggled to adapt the pen strokes to the complexity of Bellini's shading skills (Fig. 66).<sup>366</sup> Indeed, in Manchester Cavalcaselle extensively researched on Bellini's virtuosity of opting, in the *Frick Saint Francis's* landscape and foreground, for a mixed oily and tempera – but apparently made of only tempera – medium.<sup>367</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Francis in the Desert (Saint Francis in the Wilderness)*, c.1476-1478, oil on panel, 124.1 × 140.5 cm (48 7/8 × 55 5/16 in.), New York, Frick Collection, n. inv. 1915.1.03 (Henry Clay Frick Bequest) <https://collections.frick.org/objects/39/st-francis-in-the-desert> (consulted 23/07/2021). Humfrey 2019, pp. 440-443, cat. 82.

<sup>365</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 34r. Levi 1988, Fig. 19. Lauber 2004, p. 83, Fig. 8. Lauber 2004, b, p. 89, Fig. 8.

<sup>366</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 33v. Levi 1988, Fig. 20.

<sup>367</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97).

Similarly, in Manchester Cavalcaselle also opted for pen dashed strokes to graphically reproduce Mantegna's chiaroscuro techniques when, on his Manchester "libretto", he drew a sketch of the entire *Agony in the Garden*, now kept in the National Gallery, that the London banker and politician Thomas Baring (1799–1873) had lent to the 1857 exhibition (Fig. 67).<sup>368</sup> On both his Manchester "libretto" (Fig. 68),<sup>369</sup> and on his annotated copy of the exhibition's *Provisional Catalogue* (Fig. 69),<sup>370</sup> Cavalcaselle furthermore isolated – with evident connoisseurial and technical interest – a number of specific details of the sleeping apostles in Mantegna's *Agony*.

Interestingly, when he isolated the details of Mantegna's apostles, Cavalcaselle drew some 'arrow-referenced' sketches, in which he adapted his pen strokes to render Mantegna's shading techniques and to connect specific elements of the apostles' isolated figures with his notes on Mantegna's use of pigments and foreshortening skills. Cavalcaselle, then, used his pen strokes as 'connoisseurial arrows', in which Cavalcaselle's pen strokes, radiating all around his sketches, run from a specific point of the sketch to a specific handwritten word or phrase commenting the sketch's detail.

For instance, in Saint Peter's figure, Cavalcaselle used these peculiar pen strokes (Fig. 68) to indicate Mantegna's use of the "az.[zurr]<sup>o</sup> oltremare" ["ultramarine"]<sup>371</sup> pigment in his toga, as well as of "rosso lacca a trattini le ombre" ["red lake shaded with dashed strokes"] in his mantle (Fig. 69).<sup>372</sup> Similarly, Cavalcaselle used some 'connoisseurial arrows' to highlight Mantegna's use, in Saint John's toga, of "lacca"

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<sup>368</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 6v. Andrea Mantegna, *Agony in the Garden*, 1458-1460, egg tempera on panel, 62.9 x 80 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 1NG1417 (purchased in 1894) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 290. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 98. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 98. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 98. Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 98.

<sup>369</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 7r.

<sup>370</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19r. Levi 1988, Fig. 17.

<sup>371</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 7r.

<sup>372</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19r. Levi 1988, Fig. 17.

["lake"] (Fig. 69)<sup>373</sup> and "cinabro" ["cinnabar"] (Fig. 68).<sup>374</sup> Likewise, Cavalcaselle also opted for 'connoisseurial arrows' in Saint James's figure, to highlight Mantegna's use of "tocchi in oro [ne]i capelli" ["gilded strokes [in] the hair"], of a "lacca smorto" ["pale lake"] in the mantle (Fig. 69),<sup>375</sup> and of a "come oro giallo" ["yellow, similar to gold"] pigment in the toga (Fig. 68).<sup>376</sup>

When, in Manchester, Cavalcaselle sketched Bellini's Davenport-Bromley *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 70),<sup>377</sup> he intensified both his use of 'connoisseurial arrows' and his struggle to adapt his pen strokes to Bellini's virtuosity in the field of shading techniques. Firstly, Cavalcaselle indeed sketched the entire painting (Fig. 71).<sup>378</sup> In this sketch, Cavalcaselle indicated with a 'connoisseurial arrow' that Christ's face had been "rovinato" ["ruined"]. Then, Cavalcaselle used numerous oblique dashed pen strokes to try to graphically recreate Bellini's chiaroscuro effects of Saint John's mantle, of the stream's waves and of the rocks' shading (Fig. 71).<sup>379</sup>

In addition, in a Manchester pen sketch reproduced by Levi but now untraced, Cavalcaselle isolated many details of Bellini's *Agony's* sleeping apostles.<sup>380</sup> In this sketch, Cavalcaselle exacerbated his pen dashed strokes to adapt it to saint Peter's foreshortening and shading. Moreover, in this sketch Cavalcaselle also embittered his 'connoisseurial arrows'. Cavalcaselle, indeed, adapted his notes to the sheet's limited

<sup>373</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19r. Levi 1988, Fig. 17. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 7r.

<sup>374</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 7r.

<sup>375</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19r. Levi 1988, Fig. 17.

<sup>376</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 7r.

<sup>377</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Agony in the Garden*, c.1465, egg tempera on panel, 8.3 x 127 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG726 (purchased in 1863) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 27, cat. 196. Scharf 1857, b, p. 19, cat. 89. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 89. Waagen 1857, b, p. 5, cat. 89. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97). Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 89. Lucco 2019, pp. 345-347, cat. 30.

<sup>378</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 4v.

<sup>379</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 4v.

<sup>380</sup> Levi 1988, p. xi, Fig. 18, indicates a nonexistent MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, ff. 22v-23r.

space by using winding lines, noting that Bellini had realised Saint Peter's mantle with "lumi grassi" ["oily highlighting"] and "oro più forte nelle ombre" ["gold more visible in the shades"], as well as Saint James's "ombre [con] più colore [e] lumi [in] acquerello az[zurr]" ["shading with more colour and highlighting with light blue watercolour"].<sup>381</sup> Additionally, in the *Agony*, Cavalcaselle noted that, in Saint Peter's area, Bellini had been inclined to *sprezzatura*: "tavola trasparente" ["panel / visible underneath"].<sup>382</sup> Remarkably, in this sketch Cavalcaselle used so many pen dashed strokes that he implicitly revealed his frustration towards his difficulty to adapt his pen strokes to Bellini's shading, palette and foreshortening skills.<sup>383</sup>

Remarkably, in Manchester Cavalcaselle did not limit the use of 'connoisseurial arrows' to his research on Mantegna's and Bellini's style and technique. In other Manchester sketches, indeed, Cavalcaselle revealed his graphic frustration towards the limits of his pen sketching's rendering of the shading and texture used by the Old Masters. For instance, at the Old Trafford venue, Cavalcaselle analysed Titian's *Rape of Europa* (Fig. 72).<sup>384</sup> Apparently, in his sketch Cavalcaselle decided to use his 'connoisseurial arrows' exclusively to highlight the work's nuances and landscape elements, avoiding any comment on the picture's style (Fig. 73).<sup>385</sup> In his sketch of Titian's painting, though, Cavalcaselle exacerbated his use of dashed pen strokes, aiming – but not succeeding in it

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<sup>381</sup> Levi 1988, Fig. 18. Levi 1988, p. xi, Fig. 18, indicates a nonexistent MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, ff. 22v-23r.

<sup>382</sup> Levi 1988, Fig. 18. Levi 1988, p. xi, Fig. 18, indicates a nonexistent MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, ff. 22v-23r.

<sup>383</sup> Levi 1988, Fig. 18. Levi 1988, p. xi, Fig. 18, indicates a nonexistent MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, ff. 22v-23r.

<sup>384</sup> Titian, *The Rape of Europa*, 1559-1562, oil on canvas, 178 x 205 cm (70 1/16 x 80 11/16 in.), Boston, MA, USA, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, n. inv. P26e1 (purchased in 1896). <https://www.gardnermuseum.org/experience/collection/10978> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 29, cat. 231. Scharf 1857, b, p. 30, cat. 259. Scharf 1857, d, p. 37, cat. 259. Pergam 2016, pp. 100, 103–105, 218, 224 and 316, cat. 259.

<sup>385</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 14v.

- at reproducing in his sketch, using just pen strokes and dashes, the painting's rich texture and elaborate shading techniques (Fig. 73).<sup>386</sup>

Noticeably, Cavalcaselle's graphic approach to Titian's *Rape* in Manchester had most probably also been affected by his will to check Waagen's expertise on the painting. In 1854, indeed, Waagen had stated that in the *Rape of Europa*'s "[...] equally spirited and broad treatment [...]" Titian had been under the "influence" of Paolo Veronese (1528–1588)'s manner.<sup>387</sup> In May 1857, in fact, by his sketch of Titian's work (Fig. 74), Cavalcaselle noted some detailed technical and stylistic considerations on the *Rape*'s technique: "tono bello argentino / tocco fermo e franco [*sic*] – vedere come sono toccati i delfini – l'acqua – spruzzi – subito dopo il tramonto / come per risvegliare [il dipinto, Tiziano decise di] mettere della pennellata di rosso come sul col[lo]" ["nice silvery tone / firm and frank touch – see how dolphins are touched – the water – spurts – immediately after sunset / as if to awaken [the picture, Titian decided to] put a brushstroke of red as on the neck"].<sup>388</sup> Cavalcaselle's Manchester notes on Titian's *Rape of Europa*, so, focused on the picture's bright and vivid palette. Without explicitly mentioning him, then, most likely even Cavalcaselle, like Waagen, had Veronese's colourism, glazing and palette in mind when it analysed Titian's masterpiece in Manchester.

In Manchester, then, Cavalcaselle sketching – characterised by 'arrow-referenced' notes and dashed pen strokes – was strictly connected to his detailed research on the peculiarities of Titian's mature manner. Therefore, Cavalcaselle's Manchester connoisseurial sketching practices were also subtly related to his research on Titian's late 1850s and early 1860s technical and stylistic independence from Veronese's manner. Only in 1877, indeed, Crowe e Cavalcaselle rejected Waagen's 1854 claim that in the

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<sup>386</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 14v.

<sup>387</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 18. Waagen 1857, b, p. 12, cat. 259.

<sup>388</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 15r.

*Rape of Europa* Titian had been considerably influenced by Veronese's style and technique. However, Crowe and Cavalcaselle deliberately avoided mentioning Waagen's name: "At first sight, the silvery light and deep brown shadows of the Europa remind us of Paolo Veronese; but the scene is depicted with much more elevation than Paolo was capable of feeling and composed with much more thought than he usually bestowed on pictorial labours".<sup>389</sup>

Finally, it must be noted that, at the Art Treasures Palace, in May 1857 Cavalcaselle also opted for pen dashed strokes and 'connoisseurial arrows' when he analysed the Michelangesque *Manchester Madonna*, now exhibited in the National Gallery (Fig. 75).<sup>390</sup>

It should be noted that Cavalcaselle had analysed the *Manchester Madonna* three years before the 1857 exhibition. Waagen, indeed, in his *Treasures* (1854) had proudly attributed this unfinished painting to Michelangelo. Waagen's sensational attribution encouraged Cavalcaselle to immediately head – possibly with Crowe – to Stoke Park, Buckinghamshire, in the collection of Henry Labouchere (1798–1869), future first Baron Taunton, to research on this painting's material aspects and style.<sup>391</sup> In Cavalcaselle's papers in Venice, indeed, is held a pencil sketch (Fig. 76) – most likely by Crowe – of the *Manchester Madonna*. It is dated in Italian, most likely by Cavalcaselle: "6 Luglio 1854" ["6 July 1854"].<sup>392</sup> Remarkably, this pencil sketch of Labouchere's work contains several pencil notes, written in Italian with Cavalcaselle's handwriting, which are related to the

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<sup>389</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 2, p. 322.

<sup>390</sup> Michelangelo, *Virgin and Child with Infant Saint John the Baptist and Angels* ('*The Manchester Madonna*'), c.1494-1497, tempera on wood, 104.5 x 77 cm, London, National Gallery, NG809 (purchased in 1870) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/michelangelo-the-manchester-madonna> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 20, cat. 100. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 107. Thoré-Bürger 1857, pp. 40-42. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 107. Scharf 1857, d, p. 28, cat. 107. Layard 1857, pp. 175-176. Caldesi, perga 1858, Plate 92. Scharf 1858, p. 281. Pergam 2016, pp. 36-38, 222-233 and 271, cat. 107.

<sup>391</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, pp. 417-418.

<sup>392</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 142r. Assigned to Cavalcaselle in Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).

painting's materials and technique. For instance, in the Virgin's head Cavalcaselle noted (Fig. 76): "bianco del drap[p]o che / accorcia la testa" ["white [tone] of the [Virgin's] veil that makes the head [look] shorter [than it is]"].<sup>393</sup> Furthermore, by this pencil sketch of Labouchere's painting, Cavalcaselle wrote – in Italian – other pencil notes (Fig. 77) related to the *Manchester Madonna's* style and technique, both praising Michelangelo's virtuosity and lamenting his technical weaknesses: "[...] questo 2° [angelo] mostra una tristezza, forse all'interpretare dello scritto [sic] [...] La testa della Madonna profuma – voluttuosa [...] Le pieghe della Madonna grandi[o]sa – scoltural[e] [sic] / anche gli uomini grandi non mancano di difetti / ricordasi alcune dita lunghe come pare il grosso dell'angelo / e così un altro dito rampignato [sic]" ["[...] this second [angel] shows sadness, perhaps due to the knowledge of the text's content [...] The Virgin's head smells – voluptuous [...] The Virgin's drapery grandiose – sculptural / even the great men are not lacking in defects / remember some long fingers, as the angel's thumb [looks] / and likewise another roughly sewn finger"].<sup>394</sup>

In May 1857, by contrast, Cavalcaselle used a pen to edit this pencil sketch of the *Manchester Madonna* at the Old Trafford venue. Indeed, Cavalcaselle used a pen to copy – on the sketch – most of the pencil notes that he had placed in 1854 by specific details of the sketch. For instance, by an angel's strip, Cavalcaselle copied (Fig. 76): "fascia non finita / la parte in ombra / è [fatta di] rosso minio / i lumi terra d'ombra / con biacca" ["unfinished strip / the shaded part is [made of] minium red / the highlighting umber / with white lead"].<sup>395</sup>

<sup>393</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 142r. Assigned to Cavalcaselle in Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).

<sup>394</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 141v.

<sup>395</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 142r. Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).



Moreover, at the Art Treasures Palace, in May 1857 Cavalcaselle used a pen to draw other sketches of the *Manchester Madonna*. Remarkably, in two pen sketch of the entire painting (Figs 78 and 79) Cavalcaselle effectively adapted his dashed pen strokes to both the finished and unfinished sections of the work. Besides, in this sketch Cavalcaselle also used various ‘connoisseurial arrows’ to indicate some iconographic elements or peculiar nuances that he had traced in the unfinished Michelangiolesque panel.<sup>396</sup> In addition, in Manchester Cavalcaselle used the same sketching and noting method on another sheet, on which he isolated a number of details of the figures of the Child, the Virgin and the infant Saint John the Baptist, along with angel’s hand holding the scroll (Fig. 76).<sup>397</sup> Later, Cavalcaselle would add some connoisseurial pencil notes to all these pen sketches. Finally, in Manchester Cavalcaselle used a pen to isolate on another sheet (Fig. 80) the details of the Virgin’s head and shoulders, as well as the angels’ faces. In this sketch, Cavalcaselle optimised his graphic attempt to use dashed parallel pen strokes to recreate the chiaroscuro effects in the finished and unfinished sections of Labouchere’s panel. In addition, in this sketch Cavalcaselle pointed to Michelangelo’s use of “tratti / verdastri” [“greenish strokes”] in the shades of the Virgin’s torso. Next, he made the following observation: “La massa dei capelli [fatta] con terra giallastra / poi i lumi e le ombre [...] I tratti fini della / tempera sono come / ritratti di Leonardo” [“The hair’s mass [is made] with yellowish Sienna / then [added] highlighting and shading [...] The fine tempera strokes are like portraits by Leonardo”].<sup>398</sup> Remarkably, Cavalcaselle’s Manchester pen sketches (Figs 78 and 79) of the *Manchester Madonna* (Fig. 75) provided a rendering of the painting’s unfinished but elaborate texture

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<sup>396</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 143r and 144r. Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).

<sup>397</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 142v. Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).

<sup>398</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 66v. Moretti 1973, p. 100, cat. 78. Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).

and finitude, which looked very similar to that which Scharf would obtain in his pencil sketch, dated 6 September 1857 (Fig. 81),<sup>399</sup> of Labouchere's work (Fig. 75). Hence, Scharf possibly had a chance to study Cavalcaselle's Manchester sketches of the *Manchester Madonna*.

In conclusion, in Manchester Cavalcaselle gradually – but evidently – upgraded the level of interconnection between his sketching techniques and connoisseurial notes, identical to the upgrade that Levi traced in Cavalcaselle's Paduan sketches dated October 1857. However, it must be noted that Cavalcaselle's frustration for the limits of pen connoisseurial sketching was one of the reasons that, after the Manchester exhibition and probably also thanks to his Manchester familiarity with Scharf's pencil sketches, would lead Cavalcaselle – by the mid-1860s – to gradually abandon the pen and adopt the pencil for his connoisseurial sketches. Indeed, in Manchester, Scharf most likely studied and gradually reworked Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial sketching techniques and working method, whereas Cavalcaselle observed and later re-elaborated Scharf's skills in rendering the texture and shading of the Old Master paintings. Thus, when Cavalcaselle – privately and unofficially – assisted Scharf in Manchester in May 1857, he and Scharf most likely shared their professional opinions and showed each other their Old Master sketches.

In sum, during the Manchester exhibition Cavalcaselle upgraded his connoisseurial sketching techniques. In May 1857, indeed, at the Old Trafford venue he moved from using his Old Master sketches as mere supports to refresh his visual memory, to considering his sketches as essential connoisseurial tools to analyse more in depth the specific materials, technique and conservation of an Old Master painting. Remarkably, in

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<sup>399</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 1, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_01 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282593/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-1?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

Manchester Cavalcaselle considerably developed his sketching interaction, based on ‘connoisseurial arrows’, between sketches and notes. At the Manchester exhibition, by contrast, Cavalcaselle struggled to adapt his pen sketching techniques to the richness of the shading effects of certain Manchester late Quattrocento Venetian and Florentine works, such as Mantegna’s and Bellini’s *Agony in the Garden*, Bellini’s *Saint Francis* and the Michelangelesque *Manchester Madonna*. In Manchester, Cavalcaselle experienced similar graphic difficulties when he analysed Titian’s *Rape of Europa*. Cavalcaselle’s knowledge of the remarkable shading effects that Scharf, using pencil, had obtained in his ‘thumbnail’ sketches most likely influenced Cavalcaselle’s pen sketching techniques not only in Manchester but also later, leading to Cavalcaselle’s introduction of pencil sketching techniques in the mid-1860s.

### **2.3.3 From Thumbnails to Diagnosis: Scharf’s Post-Cavalcasellian Sketches**

Thanks to his collaboration with Cavalcaselle at the Old Trafford venue, during the 1857 exhibition’s last phase Scharf enhanced the spatial display and the connoisseurial purpose of his pencil sketches of the Manchester Old Masters. Scharf’s Manchester connoisseurial sketching exchange with Cavalcaselle, therefore, provided Scharf with the critical means to enhance and broaden the critical display of his connoisseurial sketching, and, consequently, to structure and deepen his post-Manchester research on Old Masters.

Cottrell, indeed, noted that during the exhibition’s last phase – that is, after his private professional interaction with Cavalcaselle in Manchester – Scharf had changed the spatial display and the level of connoisseurial analysis of his Old Master sketches. Scharf’s pre-Cavalcasellian sketching, for instance, is fully represented by Scharf’s

sketches dated between September 1856 and April 1857, that is, during Scharf's 7-month "countrywide" tour "[...] to trawl through British collections, looking for potential lenders [...]" of the Old Master works of art to display at the Art Treasures Palace.<sup>400</sup> In 2012, Cottrell indeed highlighted that, before the Manchester exhibition, Scharf had in most cases opted for cursory and "[...] thumbnail pencil studies of the paintings [...] organized in order of collection, many of them spread across the page, three to four at a time".<sup>401</sup> In fact, Cottrell correctly highlighted that Scharf's pre-Manchester "thumbnail" pencil sketches "[...] are better considered as *ricordi* intended as an efficient tool of record".<sup>402</sup> Hence, before his collaboration with Cavalcaselle at the Old Trafford venue, Scharf was mainly interested in aesthetically fixing a specific painting's impression and composition rather than critically analysing its art-historical relevance or recording its peculiar composition, technique or palette.

However, Cottrell also discussed an ostensible connoisseurial exception to Scharf's pre-Manchester fashion for aesthetical "thumbnail" pencil sketches. In 2004, in fact, Lauber indicated that three months before the Manchester exhibition's vernissage (5 May 1857) Scharf had discovered Giovanni Bellini's *Frick Saint Francis* (Fig. 64) in the Dingwall collection.<sup>403</sup> In 2012, Cottrell specified that Scharf had drawn a large pencil sketch (Fig. 83) of Dingwall's painting on 4 February 1857, that is, during his pre-Manchester British tour to select the works to request on loan for the event.<sup>404</sup> Interestingly, Cottrell also indicated that, in February 1857, Scharf had isolated, on his

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<sup>400</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 622. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>401</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623.

<sup>402</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623.

<sup>403</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Francis in the Desert (Saint Francis in the Wilderness)*, c.1476-1478, oil on panel, 124.1 × 140.5 cm (48 7/8 × 55 5/16 in.), New York, Frick Collection, n. inv. 1915.1.03 (Henry Clay Frick Bequest) <https://collections.frick.org/objects/39/st-francis-in-the-desert> (consulted 23/07/2021). Lauber 2004, p. 83. Lauber 2004, b, p. 89. Humfrey 2019, pp. 440-443, cat. 82.

<sup>404</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 103, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_52 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288875/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-103-104?> (consulted 07/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 21, cat. 104. Scharf 1857, b, p. 27, cat. 116. Scharf 1857, d, p. 21, cat. 116. Cottrell 2012, p. 623 and Fig. 16.

two-volume ‘Inscription Book’, the *cartellino*, bearing Bellini’s signature, which is still visible in Dingwall’s work now kept in New York.<sup>405</sup> This certainly demonstrates Scharf’s connoisseurial – and not merely aesthetic – interest in Bellini’s Frick masterpiece.

It must be noted that, in February 1857, Scharf did not personalise his sketch of Bellini’s *Saint Francis* with any relevant connoisseurial graphic indications or written notes.<sup>406</sup> Scharf’s sketch of the *Frick Saint Francis* indeed looks more like just a pleasant academic exercise, a mere graphic impression of the painting’s “very singular” composition as well as of the “[...] beautifully painted [...] background and the trellis work, with the vine leaves [...]”.<sup>407</sup>

Scharf, on the other hand, enriched his February 1857 pencil sketch of Bellini’s *Saint Francis* with some additional pen notes only during the Manchester exhibition’s opening, that is, during or after Cavalcaselle’s private and unofficial curatorial assistance to Scharf. Interestingly, in these Manchester pen notes (Fig. 83), Scharf – probably after Cavalcaselle’s expertise on the painting – indicated that he had written, in the fourth of his ‘Long Books’, some notes on the *Saint Francis*’s “inscription” and “technics [*sic*]”.<sup>408</sup> In his fourth Manchester ‘Long Book’, then, Scharf downgraded Dingwall’s “muzzy [...] ruined and unsatisfactory” painting, now kept in New York.<sup>409</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623 and Fig. 17.

<sup>406</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 103, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_52 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288875/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-103-104?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

<sup>407</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 21, cat. 116.

<sup>408</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 103, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_52 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288875/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-103-104?> (consulted 07/07/2021).

<sup>409</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Long Book IV, p. 49. Cottrell 2012, p. 623. (consulted 07/07/2021) <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288875/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-103-104?>

Cottrell, indeed, correctly highlighted that “[...] Scharf entertained misgivings about the condition and quality [...]” of Bellini’s *Frick Saint Francis*.<sup>410</sup> Regarding Bellini’s work, now kept in New York, in fact, in his *Manchester Handbook* Scharf stated: “The figure of the saint, and the woodwork of his reading desk, want truth of form, and accuracy of imitation, which were both of them very important features in Bellini’s works”.<sup>411</sup> Therefore, Cottrell convincingly suggested Scharf’s low esteem of the Frick painting’s technical and art-historical relevance had led him to neglectfully display the painting “in a relatively inaccessible position” at the Art Treasures Palace.<sup>412</sup> Consequently, as Pergam has highlighted, Scharf’s missed chance to fully comprehend and highlight the *Frick Saint Francis*’s material, compositional and art-historical significance would negatively affect the Frick masterpiece’s critical and collecting fortune until at least the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>413</sup>

However, both Pergam and Cottrell did not highlight that at the Manchester exhibition Scharf had most likely the chance to comprehend how in depth, at the Old Trafford venue, Cavalcaselle had provided his Old Master sketches with a detailed connoisseurial attention to the paintings’ materials, technique, conservation, iconography, composition and style.

Scharf, indeed, modified his sketching’s visual display and enhanced the connoisseurial approach to the graphic analysis of Old Master paintings only during the exhibition’s last phase. Therefore, Scharf’s sketching evolution took place some months after Cavalcaselle’s departure (c.June 1857) from the Old Trafford venue. In 2020, in fact, Cottrell highlighted – but did not motivate – that only in autumn 1857, that is, during the

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<sup>410</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623.

<sup>411</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 21, cat. 116.

<sup>412</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623.

<sup>413</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 150-151.

exhibition's final weeks,<sup>414</sup> Scharf had used three of his Manchester notebooks to place a number of "detailed notes and sketches of works of art *in situ* at the Art Treasures Palace".<sup>415</sup> On 6 September 1857, for instance, at the Old Trafford venue Scharf drew some pencil sketches of both the Michelangelesque *Manchester Madonna* (Figs 75 and 81),<sup>416</sup> and Mantegna's *Agony in the Garden* (Figs 67 and 85).<sup>417</sup> These sketches by Scharf are much richer in details, rendering of the chiaroscuro effects and the paintings' texture and conservation, than Scharf's Manchester "thumbnail [...] *ricordi*" dated between September 1856 and April 1857.<sup>418</sup> Scharf's sketches of the *Manchester Madonna* and Mantegna's *Agony* therefore fully demonstrate how Scharf's sketching techniques had been influenced by Cavalcaselle's elaborated connoisseurial sketches (Figs and 82) of these Manchester paintings.<sup>419</sup>

Moreover, on 15 September 1857, Scharf sketched the entire *Agony in the Garden* by Bellini (Fig. 70).<sup>420</sup> In this sketch, Scharf revealed himself to be much more attracted

<sup>414</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbooks 47-49. <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/scharf-sketchbooks/> (consulted 23/07/2021). Cottrell 2020, p. 290

<sup>415</sup> Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>416</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 1, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_01 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282593/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-1?> (consulted 23/07/2021). Michelangelo, *Virgin and Child with Infant Saint John the Baptist and Angels* ('*The Manchester Madonna*'), c.1494-1497, tempera on wood, 104.5 x 77 cm, London, National Gallery, NG809 (purchased in 1870) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/michelangelo-the-manchester-madonna> (consulted 23/07/2021). Waagen 1854, Volume 2, pp. 417-418. Scharf 1857, p. 20, cat. 100. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 107. Thoré-Bürger 1857, pp. 40-42. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 107. Scharf 1857, d, p. 28, cat. 107. Layard 1857, pp. 175-176. Caldesi, Montecchi 1858, Plate 92. Scharf 1858, p. 281. Pergam 2016, pp. 36-38, 222-233 and 271, cat. 107.

<sup>417</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 2, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_02 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282593/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-2?> (consulted 23/07/2021). Andrea Mantegna, *Agony in the Garden*, 1458-1460, egg tempera on panel, 62.9 x 80 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 1NG1417 (purchased in 1894) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 290. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 98. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 98. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 98. Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 98.

<sup>418</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

<sup>419</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIV, f. 143r and 144r. Moretti 1973, p. 100, cat. 78. Levi 1988, p. 97, endnote 212 (from p. 74).

<sup>420</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Agony in the Garden*, c.1465, egg tempera on panel, 8.3 x 127 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG726 (purchased in 1863) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 27, cat. 196. Scharf 1857, b, p. 19, cat. 89. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 89. Waagen 1857, b, p. 5, cat. 89. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97). Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 89. Lucco 2019, pp. 345-347, cat. 30.

than during his pre-Manchester British tour by the rendering of the correct compositional proportions between the elements. In his sketch (Fig. 87), Scharf indeed wrote that, regarding the position of the angel with the chalice, in his sketch the “angel’s head should reach the top of / so not[t] to leave / leave more space between him & / the city [in the background]”.<sup>421</sup> It should be noted that this note by Scharf is not related to his need to select, as he had done one year before during his tour throughout the United Kingdom, some pleasant works to exhibit in Manchester. Scharf’s remark on the angel’s position, in fact, must be considered no more a pre-Manchester “*ricordo*” aiming at refreshing Scharf’s memory on the aesthetic features of Bellini’s painting in prevision of its display at the Art Treasures Palace, but rather a post-Cavalcasellian connoisseurial sketch related to Scharf’s research on Bellini’s compositional and three-dimensional skills.

On the two following days, finally, Scharf – as I have explained in another section of this thesis – isolated figures from Bellini’s *Agony* (Fig. 70), such as the kneeling Christ in prayer (Fig. 87),<sup>422</sup> the sleeping Saint Peter with “curly hair” and “brown flesh” (Fig. 88),<sup>423</sup> and portions of the sleeping figures of Saint John the Evangelist and Saint James the Greater (Fig. 89).<sup>424</sup> In this case, too, Scharf’s fashion for isolating – with a connoisseurial purpose – details of the painting could be a consequence of his experience with Cavalcaselle’s sketching practices at the Manchester exhibition.

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<sup>421</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 17 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_17 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282609/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-17?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>422</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 17 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_29 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282609/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-29?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>423</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 23 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_23 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282615/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-23?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>424</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 28 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_28 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282615/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-28?> (consulted 23/07/2021).



To conclude, in early September 1857, at the Art Treasures Palace, Scharf experienced – as highlighted by Cottrell in 2020 – a considerable sketching upgrade from his pre-Manchester aesthetical “thumbnail [...] *ricordi*” to detailed sketches with clear connoisseurial purposes.<sup>425</sup> Scharf’s sketching upgrade was a consequence of his familiarity with Cavalcaselle’s connoisseurial approach to sketching and, in particular, with the diagnostic aspects of Cavalcaselle’s sketching practice at the Manchester exhibition. Consequently, Scharf’s Manchester exchange with Cavalcaselle broadened Scharf’s technical interest and, therefore, deepened his post-Manchester research on Old Masters.

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<sup>425</sup> Cottrell 2012, p. 623. Cottrell 2020, p. 290.

## **2.4 Manchester Connoisseurship: Technical Knowledge**

The Manchester exhibition represented, much more than Pergam has indicated, a fundamental watershed for the technical aspects of nineteenth-century connoisseurship.<sup>426</sup> Indeed, the Manchester exhibition constituted a seminal chance for connoisseurs not only to comprehend more in depth the technique, materials, conservation and display of certain Old Masters, but also to discuss these technical aspects with their colleagues in the literary outcome (guides, handbooks, journal reviews) of the event. The technical aspects of Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial researched played a central role in this evolution. However, most likely Waagen's pre-Manchester remarks on the display and conservation of paintings exhibited in Manchester in 1857 heavily shaped all the European connoisseurs' attention to these aspects during their visits at the Old Trafford venue. The Manchester event, then, paved the way to a more scientific and technical approach to Old Masters that the connoisseurs, and later art historians, gradually acquired between the mid-nineteenth and the early twentieth century.

### **2.4.1 Thoré-Bürger's Manchester Focus on Display and Conservation**

The connoisseurial attention to the Manchester Old Masters' technical aspects variably affected all the connoisseurs that had visited the Old Trafford venue.

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<sup>426</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 37 and 52.

In his guide in French language to the Manchester exhibition, for instance, Thoré-Bürger dedicated most of the entry on Lord Malmesbury's *Judgement of Paris* (Fig. 90)<sup>427</sup> to discuss not its attribution, but rather its conservation and display. In his entry, indeed, Thoré-Bürger harshly criticised the practice – widespread in mid-1850s Britain – of keeping Old Master paintings under glass: “Cette mode anglaise, qu'on applique souvent aux tableaux précieux, a beaucoup d'inconvénients pour la conservation de la peinture, outre qu'elle empêche absolument, à cause des reflets de la vitre, de bien voir ce qui est dessous [...] La manie de mettre les tableaux sous verre a des partisans fanatiques en Angleterre [...] M. Ruskin va jusqu'à demander que les galeries publiques appliquent ce régime de claustration cellulaire à tous les tableaux de quelque mérite” [“This English fashion, which is often applied to precious paintings, has many disadvantages for the conservation of the painting, in addition to it absolutely prevents, because of the reflections of the glass, to see well what is below [...] The mania of putting pictures under glass has fanatic supporters in England [...] Mr. Ruskin goes so far as to ask that public galleries apply this regime of cell confinement to all pictures of any merit”].<sup>428</sup>

In relation to the authorship of Malmesbury's picture, though, 1854 Waagen had proposed the name of Giorgione. However, in 1857 Waagen decided to ignore this work in his guide to the Manchester show. Scharf would do the same in his *Handbook*.<sup>429</sup> On the basis of its composition, however, in Manchester Cavalcaselle attributed the Malmesbury painting to the Bolognese school of Francesco Albani (1578–1660).<sup>430</sup> In 1871, furthermore, Crowe and Cavalcaselle would oppose Waagen's 1854 enthusiastic

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<sup>427</sup> Unknown Painter, *The Judgement of Paris*, 1600-1700 (?), oil on canvas, 56 x 71 cm, Heron Court, Earl of Malmesbury's collection (since 1770) [https://artintheblood.typepad.com/art\\_history\\_today/2012/05/the-judgement-of-paris-a-summing-up.html](https://artintheblood.typepad.com/art_history_today/2012/05/the-judgement-of-paris-a-summing-up.html) (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, d. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>428</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 76, also footnote 2 (pp. 76-77).

<sup>429</sup> Unknown Painter, *The Judgement of Paris*, 1600-1700 (?), oil on canvas, 56 x 71 cm, Heron Court, Earl of Malmesbury's collection (since 1770) [https://artintheblood.typepad.com/art\\_history\\_today/2012/05/the-judgement-of-paris-a-summing-up.html](https://artintheblood.typepad.com/art_history_today/2012/05/the-judgement-of-paris-a-summing-up.html) (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, d. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>430</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 167.

attribution of the Malmesbury work to Giorgione, considering it a product of Pier Francesco Mola's (1612–1666) Bolognese workshop.

Moreover, Thoré-Bürger criticised Scharf for the unfortunate display, in the Art Treasures Palace, of the Titianesque *Landscape* that Queen Victoria had lent to the event (Fig. 91).<sup>431</sup> The same did in relation to Sodoma's Harewood *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness* (Fig. 92).<sup>432</sup> However, Thoré-Bürger harshly lamented Scharf's decision to display the Liverpool Royal Institution's Michelangesque *Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the Well* in a poorly illuminated and high position that hindered connoisseurs to properly analyse this outstanding work (Fig. 139).<sup>433</sup> Thoré-Bürger, indeed, stated: "Il est bien inexplicable qu'une de ces raretés, la grisaille, ait été reléguée dans un angle obscur, très haut, et hors de portée d'un examen sérieux. Un Michel-Ange devrait être sur un chevalet à part et dans la plus vive lumière. Comment M.[onsieur] George Scharf junior, qui, en général, a très-intelligemment classé la collection des anciens maîtres, a-t-il laissé égarer dans l'ombre une telle merveille?" ["It is quite inexplicable that one of these rarities, the *grisaille*, has been relegated to an obscure angle, very high, and out of the reach of serious examination. A Michelangelo should be on a separate easel and in the brightest light. How did Mr. George Scharf junior, who, in general, have very intelligently classified the collection of Old Masters, has allowed such a marvel to be lost in the dark?"].<sup>434</sup>

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<sup>431</sup> Titian (Follower of), *A Landscape with Shepherds and Flocks*, 1600-1630, oil on canvas, 115.9 x 96.5 cm, London, Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace, inv. RCIN 405735 (acquired by George IV in 1821) <https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/4/collection/405735/a-landscape-with-shepherds-and-flocks> (consulted 01/07/2021). Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 2. Scharf 1857, p. 29, cat. 230. Scharf 1857, b, p. 32, cat. 289. Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 81.

<sup>432</sup> Sodoma, *Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, 1535-1545, oil on panel, 128 x 104 cm, Harewood House, the Earl and Countess of Harewood's Collection, inv. HHTP:2001.1.17 (purchased in 1917). Cottrell 2012, p. 634 and Fig. 24. Scharf 1857, p. 21 cat. 87. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20 cat. 104. Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 36.

<sup>433</sup> Michelangelo (Attributed to), *Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the Well*, bistre ink and gesso on poplar panel, 77.7 x 69.9 cm (30.59 x 27.52 in.), Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, n. inv. WAG 2789 (gifted to the Liverpool Royal Institution in 1855) <https://www.vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/35460/> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 20, cat. 101. Scharf 1857, b, p. 26 cat. 184. Scharf 1857, d, p. 28.

<sup>434</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, pp. 39-40.

However, it must be noted that, in Manchester, Thoré-Bürger proved unable to correctly understand certain key technical aspects of Old Master paintings. For instance, he analysed Rembrandt's *Preaching of Saint John the Baptist*, which the future first Earl of Dudley, William Ward (1817–1885), had lent to the Manchester exhibition. This painting would enter the Royal Museum of Berlin in 1892 (Fig. 93).<sup>435</sup> At the Old Trafford venue, Thoré-Bürger was mistaken between the English term “unfinished” – or ‘non finito’ – painting, which Scharf had used in his *Provisional Catalogue*'s entry on Rembrandt's work, now kept in Berlin, translating it with the French term “ébauche”, which corresponds to the English term ‘sketch’ or the Italian words ‘bozzetto’ or ‘schizzo’.<sup>436</sup>

#### 2.4.2 Scharf's Attention to the Material Aspects of Old Master Paintings

Both during his selection of the works to display in Manchester and during the exhibition's last phase, Scharf instead dedicated some remarkable notes to the technique, materials and conservation of the Manchester Old Master paintings. In October 1857, for instance, just a few days before the exhibition's closure, Scharf repeatedly sketched Van Dyck's Hertford *Portrait of Philippe Le Roy* (1630), now kept in the Wallace Collection in London (Fig. 94).<sup>437</sup> Interestingly, in one sketch of the painting (Fig. 95),<sup>438</sup> Scharf noticed the “dull red” tone of the “Hollyook” [*sic*] flowers on the painting's right edge.

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<sup>435</sup> Rembrandt, *The Preaching of Saint John in the Wilderness*, 1634-1635, oil on canvas on panel, 62.7 x 81.1 cm Berlin, Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. III/431/828K (purchased in 1892) <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/52653> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>436</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 54, cat. 678. Scharf 1857, p. 53, cat. 675. Waagen 1857, b, p. 27, cat. 675. Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 247.

<sup>437</sup> Anthony van Dyck, *Philippe Le Roy*, 1630, oil on canvas, 213.3 x 114.5 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, inv. P94 (bought in 1850 by Robertson for Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford) [https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/philippe-le-roy-209731/view\\_as/grid/search/keyword:dyck-philippe-roy-wallace-van-dyck-le-roy/page/1](https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/philippe-le-roy-209731/view_as/grid/search/keyword:dyck-philippe-roy-wallace-van-dyck-le-roy/page/1) (consulted 07/01/2019). Pergam 2016, p. 288 cat. H6. Scharf 1857, p. 94, cat. 6. Scharf 1857, b, p. 74, cat. 6. Scharf 1857, d, p. 74, cat. 6. Waagen 1854, Volume 2, pp. 157-158. Waagen 1857, b, p. 38, cat. 6.

<sup>438</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 2 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_02 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289033/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-1-verso-2-recto?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

In another sketch of Van Dyck's Wallace portrait, Scharf furthermore isolated the sitter's face and noted the presence of a "black sepia" pigment in contour line of his chin, as well as of a "thin l[ight]" layer of "prussian [*sic*] blue" pigment in Le Roy's goatee.<sup>439</sup>

The Prussian blue pigment, though, was invented only in the early eighteenth century, no less than seventy years after that Van Dyck had painted Le Roy's portrait.<sup>440</sup> Scharf's note could indicate that Scharf misidentified the pigment in this detail of Van Dyck's portrait. Alternatively, it is not possible to exclude that, before the Manchester event, Le Roy's goatee had been repainted with Prussian blue pigment, which has never been traced on the Wallace Collection's painting.<sup>441</sup> If this were so, it would mean that Scharf ignored the fact that the Prussian blue pigment was not original. On the contrary, it could indicate that, in his handwritten note on the portrait, Scharf was not interested in explicitly mentioning that the Prussian blue pigment constituted a repainting applied on Le Roy's goatee between the early eighteenth century and the mid-nineteenth century. To avoid any harsh contrast with such a prestigious and demanding lender as was Captain Richard Seymour-Conway (1800–1870), 4th Marquess of Hertford, in his *Handbook* Scharf silenced himself on these technical aspects of the portrait, even praising the red tone of Van Dyck's hollyhock flowers for being "[...] touched with wonderful vigour".<sup>442</sup>

### 2.4.3 Cavalcaselle's and Waagen's Attention to Display

Analogously to Thoré-Bürger, in 1857 Scharf's display of some artworks at the Manchester show. For instance, in his Manchester notes Cavalcaselle criticised how

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<sup>439</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 30 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_30 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289061/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-29-verso-30-recto?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>440</sup> Kraft 2008.

<sup>441</sup> I thank the Wallace Collection's curators that since the symposium 'Collecting Murillo in Britain and Ireland' held at the Wallace Collection on 14 May 2018 have confirmed me the absence of any trace of Prussian blue pigment on Le Roy's portrait.

<sup>442</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 76.

Scharf had hung an untraced *Virgin and Child* that Daniel Lee had lent to the 1857 event as a painting by Francesco Francia.<sup>443</sup>

On the other hand, in 1857 Waagen criticised in his *Cabinets* the display and the covering glass of a *Portrait of a Man*, whose present whereabouts are unknown, that Paul Nichols would loan to the Manchester exhibition under the attribution to Francesco Francia.<sup>444</sup> In his Manchester guide, in addition, Waagen publicly criticised Scharf's display at the Old Trafford venue of Adriaen van der Velde's (1636–1672) Hertford *Landscape*, now in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 96).<sup>445</sup>

#### **2.4.4 Cavalcaselle's Manchester Surveys of the Materials, Technique and Conservation of Old Master Paintings**

At the Manchester exhibition Cavalcaselle had the chance to considerably develop his knowledge of the technique and conservation of the Italian, Northern European and Spanish masters of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance and the baroque era. Consequently, thanks to his connoisseurial interaction with Cavalcaselle, Scharf had the opportunity to enhance the technical aspects of his Old Masters connoisseurship.

Cavalcaselle, by contrast, filled his Manchester handwritten materials with specific terms in the Italian and Venetian languages, which he had specifically chosen to

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<sup>443</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 33, cat. 311. Scharf 1857, p. 22, cat. 124. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 33.

<sup>444</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 33, cat. 309. Waagen 1857, p. 239. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 33.

<sup>445</sup> Adriaen van der Velde, *The Migration of Jacob*, 1663, oil on canvas, 133.5 x 180 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, inv. P80 (bought in 1845 by Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford) <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-migration-of-jacob-209716/search/keyword:velde-migration-wallace> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 95, cat. 31. Pergam 2016, p. 290, cat. H31. Scharf 1857, b, p. 76, cat. 31. Waagen 1857, b, p. 41, cat. 31. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 95.

indicate a peculiar element or aspect of a painting's material composition, technique or conservation. For instance, Cavalcaselle extensively used the terms “mosso”, or “mozzo di tinta” [“blurred”],<sup>446</sup> and “flosso” [“feeble”].<sup>447</sup> He did so to criticise a number of – original or (partially) repainted – Manchester works, because of the late Renaissance painting's inclination for wittingly inaccurate, fringed and billowing strokes. In addition, at the Art Treasures Palace, Cavalcaselle extensively used the ascending climax of the words “spullito” [“heavily cleaned”],<sup>448</sup> “sofferto” [“suffered”],<sup>449</sup> and “perduto” [“lost”],<sup>450</sup> to indicate the gradual worsening of a painting due to cleaning – in some cases associated to the practice of repainting. Moreover, in his Manchester papers, Cavalcaselle stressed the peculiar “rosso persico” [“Persian red”],<sup>451</sup> “pavonazzo”,<sup>452</sup> “cinabro” [“cinnabar”],<sup>453</sup> or “cenerino” [“ash grey”] tone of a specific painting.<sup>454</sup>

Furthermore, in order to trace a painting's provenance, in Manchester Cavalcaselle carefully studied (Fig. 97) its support, such as the “legno duro – quercia” [“hard wood – oak”]<sup>455</sup> of Fra Bartolommeo's *Rest during the Flight into Egypt* (Fig. 98).<sup>456</sup> However, when he analysed Memling's *Portrait of a Man*, now kept in the

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<sup>446</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 13r. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 61r.

<sup>447</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, pp. 19, 29, 56. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 61r., 65r, 65v

<sup>448</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 37r.

<sup>449</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 38r. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 56v, 62r, 63r, 67v, 68v, 70v.

<sup>450</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 31.

<sup>451</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 2r.

<sup>452</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 13r. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, ff. 41v and 45v.

<sup>453</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 17r.

<sup>454</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 5 and f. 11v. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r, 7v and 36v.

<sup>455</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 1v.

<sup>456</sup> Fra Bartolommeo, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, c.1509, oil on panel, 130.8 × 105.7 cm (51 1/2 × 41 5/8 in.), Los Angeles, CA, USA, Getty Center (Getty Museum), n. inv. 96.PB.15 (purchased in 1996) <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/102383/fra-bartolommeo-baccio-della-porta-the-rest-on-the-flight-into-egypt-with-saint-john-the-baptist-italian-about-1509/> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 19, cat. 92. Scharf 1857, b, p. 27, cat. 108. Pergam 2016, p. 309, cat. 108.



Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 99),<sup>457</sup> Cavalcaselle did not understand that the painting had been covered by a thick layer of paint, which had transformed it into a *Saint Sebastian* equipped with a halo and an arrow.<sup>458</sup> Therefore, when Cavalcaselle sketched the painting (Fig. 100),<sup>459</sup> he mistakenly stated that it had been engraved by Jean Pesne (1623–1700).<sup>460</sup> In addition, Cavalcaselle erroneously argued that the “lacca bruciata [*sic*] – trasparente – a fiori” [“burnt, transparent and floral lake”] pigment of the saint’s cloth was original,<sup>461</sup> as in the *Arnolfini Portrait* that Crowe and Cavalcaselle – highlighting its influence on Antonello’s style and technique – had recently attributed to Jan van Eyck (Fig. 101).<sup>462</sup> Besides, Cavalcaselle mistakenly supposed (Fig. 100) that the *Saint Sebastian*’s support, actually a Northern European oak panel, was made of “legno dolce / italiano” [“tender wood / Italian”], specifically a “pino albero / sempre verde [*sic*]” [“pine tree / evergreen”].<sup>463</sup> Consequently, in Manchester, Cavalcaselle erroneously attributed the *Saint Sebastian* to Antonello da Messina. Waagen, on the contrary, had attributed the painting to Hans Memling, failing to convince Thoré-Bürger and Layard. Scharf, in turn, confirmed Waagen’s attribution to Memling but mentioned Cavalcaselle’s alternative opinion in the Manchester exhibition’s *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>464</sup> These case studies illustrate, at best, the intricate interconnection between technique, conservation,

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<sup>457</sup> Hans Memling, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c.1472-1475, oil on oak panel, 40 x 29 cm (15 3/4 x 11 3/8 in.), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, n. inv. 1975.1.112 (Robert Lehman Collection, 1975) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/459054> (consulted 23/07/2021). Pergam 2016, p. 320, cat. 398.

<sup>458</sup> Ainsworth, 2005, p. 54, also endnote 11 (p. 65).

<sup>459</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 37r.

<sup>460</sup> Robert-Dusmenil 1835, pp. 113-181.

<sup>461</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 37r.

<sup>462</sup> Jan van Eyck, *The Arnolfini Portrait*, 1434, oil on panel, 82.2 x 60 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG186 (bought in 1842) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/jan-van-eyck-the-arnolfini-portrait> (consulted 23/07/2021). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, pp. 64-65, 85 and 214. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1872, pp. 99-100. Campbell 1998, pp. 12 and 174-211.

<sup>463</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 37r.

<sup>464</sup> Waagen 1857, b, p. 17, cat. 398. Waagen 1857, p. 440. Scharf 1857, p. 144 cat. 491. Scharf 1857, b, p. 38, cat. 398. Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 161. Layard 1857, p. 180.

provenance and style that was at the basis of the connoisseurial upgrade that Old Master experts enjoyed in the Manchester exhibition.

Somewhat surprisingly, Cavalcaselle occasionally limited himself to make extensive stylistic reflections on some of the most outstanding works on display in Manchester. For instance, Cavalcaselle focused on isolating Saint Peter's right foot<sup>465</sup> in Andrea Mantegna's *Baring Agony in the Garden* now in the National Gallery (Fig. 67).<sup>466</sup> Almost certainly, Waagen's 1854 praise of Mantegna's rendering of certain anatomical features, such as the feet, motivated Cavalcaselle in Manchester to isolate this detail and reflect on this critical aspect of Mantegna's manner.<sup>467</sup> On the contrary, Cavalcaselle limited himself to write the name of the Cinquecento Venetian master Marco 'Basaiti', close to the rocks' outcrops on the left side of his sketch (Fig. 101) of Baring's *Agony's* (Fig. 67).<sup>468</sup> However, as I will discuss in the fourth chapter of this thesis, Cavalcaselle's scarce, Manchester and post-Manchester attention to the evolution of the rendering of the rocks' outcrops in the Venetian and Flemish Renaissance schools has negatively affected the evolution of Old Masters connoisseurship.

On the contrary, many Manchester notes and sketches by Cavalcaselle are centred on a specific Old Master work's conservation and technique. In some cases, these handwritten materials also contain relevant indications on a specific painting's iconography. At the Old Trafford venue, for instance, Cavalcaselle analysed (Fig. 102) the conservation, technique and materials – such as the red pigment laid “a corpo” [“with

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<sup>465</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 21v.

<sup>466</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Agony in the Garden*, 1458-1460, egg tempera on panel, 62.9 x 80 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 1NG1417 (purchased in 1894) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97). Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 290. Scharf 1857, b, p. 20, cat. 98. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 98. Waagen 1857, b, p. 6, cat. 98. Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 98.

<sup>467</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 178.

<sup>468</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 6v.

solid opaque colours and no glazes”]<sup>469</sup> – of Queen Victoria’s *Misers* (Fig. 103).<sup>470</sup> However, Cavalcaselle in the *Misers* was also attracted by the presence of a “imballo” [“scrap of paper”] on the wall, decorated with “finto legno [con l’]ombradella [*sic*] / porta” [“a fake wooden panel with the door’s shade on”]. On the table, Cavalcaselle noticed (Fig. 102) a “giojello [*sic*]” [“jewel”], an “[a]stuccio [*sic*] con penna” [“case with pen”] with “vinaccja [*sic*]” strips and, mostly, a “spatoero”, an object identifiable with the “shaker for talc or sand (to dry the ink)”<sup>471</sup> reproduced by Jan Gossaert (1478–1532) in the *Portrait of a Merchant*, now kept in Washington (Fig. 104).<sup>472</sup>

Similarly, in Manchester Cavalcaselle wrote a detailed pencil note in which he listed the nuances used in the *Baring Agony* by Mantegna (Fig. 67). In addition, in these notes Cavalcaselle carefully listed some of this painting’s iconographic elements, such as the instruments of Christ’s Passion that, upper left corner, each angel shows to Christ from a cloud (Fig. 105).<sup>473</sup> Among them, Cavalcaselle used the Venetian term “stafile” [“scourge”] to indicate the object held in hand by the first angel from the left.<sup>474</sup> Moreover, Cavalcaselle graphically outlined this scourge in the angel’s right hand in his pen sketch of Baring’s painting.<sup>475</sup> However, Waagen had also implicitly mentioned the angel’s scourge among the “[...] five angels, bearing the instruments of the Passion [...]” when, in his *Treasures*, he had judged the *Baring Agony* “[...] more remarkable for the evident love and wonderful exactness with which every detail is drawn and carried out

<sup>469</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 61r.

<sup>470</sup> Marinus van Reymerswaele (Follower of), *The Misers*, 1548-1551, oil on oak panel, 118 x 98 cm, Edinburgh, Holyroodhouse Palace, Royal Collection, RCIN 405707 (recovered at the Restoration). <https://www.rct.uk/collection/405707/the-misers> (consulted 23/07/2021). Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 432. Scharf 1857, p. 44, cat. 499. Scharf 1857, b, p. 41, cat. 445.

<sup>471</sup> Hand, Wolff 1986, p. 104.

<sup>472</sup> Jan Gossaert, *Portrait of a Merchant (Jan Snoeck?)*, c.1530, oil on panel, 63.6 x 47.5 cm (25 1/16 x 18 11/16 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1967.4.1 (purchased in 1967 with the help of the Alisa Mellon Bruce Fund). <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.50722.html> (consulted 23/07/2021). Hand, Wolff 1986, pp. 103-107.

<sup>473</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 8r.

<sup>474</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 8r.

<sup>475</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 6v.

than for the intrinsic merit of the composition”.<sup>476</sup> Unfortunately, though, this detail is no longer visible in Mantegna’s masterpiece (Fig. 67).<sup>477</sup>

In contrast with the relevance that Cavalcaselle gave the detail of the scourge, in Manchester Cavalcaselle significantly did not make any consideration on the identity of the monuments that Mantegna had represented in Baring’s painting. On the contrary, under his pencil sketch – dated 6 September 1857 – of the Baring *Agony*, Scharf indicated (Fig. 86): “note statue of Erasmus [da Narni] (Gattamelata) / on column in background city”.<sup>478</sup> In this note, Scharf therefore wrote that he had identified Donatello’s Paduan statue (Fig. 106) of Erasmo of Narni, known as the Gattamelata (1370–1443).<sup>479</sup> It is likely that Scharf recognised the equestrian monument thanks to a potential stay in Padua before the Manchester exhibition. Either way, when Scharf drew the sketch of Baring’s painting under which he wrote this note, Cavalcaselle had already left Manchester. Therefore, it is not certain that Cavalcaselle had any role in Scharf’s research on Mantegna’s attention to the ancient and Renaissance monuments or to the dating of Baring’s painting, which Mantegna completed only a few years after Donatello’s Paduan monument. Consequently, there is no evidence that Scharf’s Manchester attention to this critical aspect could have influenced Cavalcaselle’s attention to the presence of historical monuments in the paintings that he would analyse after the Manchester exhibition.

At the Art Treasures Palace, however, Cavalcaselle focused mainly on the technique, materials and conservation of Baring’s *Agony* (Fig. 67). On Christ’s vest, for

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<sup>476</sup> Waagen 1874, Volume 2, p. 178.

<sup>477</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Agony in the Garden*, 1458-1460, egg tempera on panel, 62.9 x 80 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 1NG1417 (purchased in 1894) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>478</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 2, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_02 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282593/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-2?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>479</sup> Donatello, *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata*, c.1453, bronze, 340 x 390 cm, Padua, Piazza del Santo.

instance, Cavalcaselle traced some “[...] tocchi d’oro sul braccio e ritocco” “[...] touches in gold and repainting” (Fig. 105).<sup>480</sup> In addition, Cavalcaselle noticed traces of repainting and restoration on the angels. On saint James’s toga, Cavalcaselle also traced some “lacchiccia scolorata [*sic*]” [“discoloured lacchiccia”]. Moreover, Cavalcaselle judged the sleeping apostles “belli a bocca aperta / volgari – ma fieri” [“nice with open mouth / coarse – but proud”].<sup>481</sup> Furthermore, Cavalcaselle noted the presence of the expensive “azzurro oltremare” [“ultramarine”] pigment in Saint Peter’s toga twice.<sup>482</sup> With regard to Saint Peter’s mantle, Cavalcaselle noted (Fig. 69) the use of a red “lacca” pigment and of “a trattini le ombre” [“dashed shades”].<sup>483</sup> Of Saint John the Evangelist, finally, Cavalcaselle noticed (Fig. 69) the “tocchi in oro [ne]i capelli” [“gold touches in the hair”] and the toga’s “giallo chiaro brillante in canarino” [“light brilliant canary yellow”] tone. Finally, regards the Road to the Calvary represented in the background of the Baring *Agony*, Cavalcaselle noted: “vedi Ercole Grandi Dresda” (Fig. 69).<sup>484</sup> Cavalcaselle, indeed, traced some iconographic similarities between the scene in Baring’s work now in the National Gallery and the *Road to the Calvary*, a predella scene by Ercole de’ Roberti which is kept in Dresden (Fig. 137).<sup>485</sup>

Similarly, in Manchester Cavalcaselle also analysed the technique and the conservation of Bellini’s *Agony in the Garden* that Reverend Walter Davenport Bromley (1787–1863) had lent to the 1857 event (Fig. 70).<sup>486</sup> In his *Treasures*’ third volume

<sup>480</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 8r. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97).

<sup>481</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 8r.

<sup>482</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 7r. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19v.

<sup>483</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19v.

<sup>484</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, f. 19v.

<sup>485</sup> Ercole de’ Roberti, *Road to the Calvary*, 1482-1486, tempera and oil on poplar panel, 35 x 118 cm, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. Gal. 45 (since 1749) [https://www.wga.hu/html\\_m/r/roberti/prede\\_c3.html](https://www.wga.hu/html_m/r/roberti/prede_c3.html) (consulted 20/03/2022).

<sup>486</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Agony in the Garden*, c.1465, egg tempera on panel, 8,3 x 127 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG726 (purchased in 1863) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 27, cat. 196. Scharf 1857, b, p. 19, cat.

(1854), in fact, Waagen had been the first to correctly attribute this painting to Giovanni Bellini rather than to Mantegna.<sup>487</sup> Though, Waagen's attribution of this painting to Bellini had not convinced the archaeologist, collector and connoisseur, Henry Austen Layard, who had criticised Waagen in his survey of the Manchester exhibition.<sup>488</sup> In Manchester, Layard possibly analysed Davenport Bromley's *Agony* with Cavalcaselle. In his Manchester pencil sketch (Fig. 71) – also containing some very feeble notes and graphic signs in pencil – of Davenport Bromley's painting, indeed, Cavalcaselle noticed that the sky, and in particular the clouds and the area close to the angel, had been “scorticato e restaurato” [“flayed and restored”].<sup>489</sup> Similarly, in his Manchester review Layard stated: “The cold white colour of the Angel bearing the Chalice, injuring the harmony of the painting, is to be attributed to the removal of the original glazing by injudicious restoration, which has also somewhat injured the sky”.<sup>490</sup>

Not surprisingly, at the Art Treasures Palace, Cavalcaselle used the *Treasures'* passage on Davenport Bromley's *Agony* mostly to verify its recent and striking attribution by Waagen to Bellini. Significantly, in their *History* Cavalcaselle and Crowe would mistakenly neglect – possibly on purpose – Waagen's role in the process of ascertaining the real authorship of this painting, and consequently Waagen's role in the definition of the technical and stylistic interconnections between Mantegna and Bellini. In 1871, indeed, Crowe and Cavalcaselle erroneously observed that Davenport Bromley's work had been exhibited in Manchester as a work by Mantegna.<sup>491</sup>

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89. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 89. Waagen 1857, b, p. 5, cat. 89. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97). Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 89. Lucco 2019, pp. 345-347, cat. 30.

<sup>487</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 376.

<sup>488</sup> Layard 1857, pp. 178-179. Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223.

<sup>489</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 4v.

<sup>490</sup> Layard 1857, p. 179.

<sup>491</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, Volume 1, p. 141 footnote 1. Scharf 1857, p. 27, cat. 196. Scharf 1857, b, p. 19, cat. 89. Scharf 1857, d, p. 9, cat. 89. Waagen 1857, b, p. 5, cat. 89. Pergam 2016, pp. 222-223 and 271, cat. 89.

However, in Manchester Cavalcaselle used the passage from Waagen's *Treasures* on Bellini's *Agony* also to deepen his knowledge on certain technical aspects of Mantegna's influence on Bellini. Cavalcaselle focused on Waagen's assessment of drapery. In 1854, Waagen had indeed stated the following: "[...] I have never seen a[ny] picture by this master [that is Bellini] which in many respects, such as the taste of the drapery in the Judas, who is in Roman costume, and in the guards, shows so decidedly the influence of his brother-in-law Andrea Mantegna".<sup>492</sup> Cavalcaselle, then, in Manchester sketched the entire Davenport Bromley painting (Fig. 71),<sup>493</sup> isolated some of its details (Fig. 107),<sup>494</sup> and took remarkable notes on its technique (Fig. 108).<sup>495</sup> In his notes, Cavalcaselle wrote that, in Davenport Bromley's panel, he had traced the same drapery that Mantegna had used in Baring's *Agony*: "[...] istesso carattere di pieghe (belle falde)" ["same character of folds (nice folds)"]. Moreover, Cavalcaselle noticed that, as in Baring's painting, in Davenport Bromley's *Agony*, Christ's figure had been "[...] lumeggiato a tratti d'oro come Mantegna" ["highlighted using gold dashes as Mantegna"]. Significantly, Scharf would use Cavalcaselle's expertise on this detail to enrich his *Handbook*'s survey of Mantegna's and Bellini's *Agony*: "The lights on the dresses of the figures are also pure gold applied in lines, a mode of application which also produces a certain kind of richness [...] system of heightening the pictorial effect with gold [...]".<sup>496</sup>

However, in Manchester Cavalcaselle also focused on the chance to understand, independently from Waagen's considerations, the technical aspects of Bellini's technique and style. On Davenport Bromley's *Agony*, for instance, Cavalcaselle wrote (Fig. 108):

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<sup>492</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 376.

<sup>493</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 4v.

<sup>494</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 4r.

<sup>495</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97).

<sup>496</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 9.

“Le carni [sono] rossastre e magre di colore / e di veicolo – monotone – / La tempera è fra Crivelli e Mantegna nella / esecuzione e condotta di pennello – meno / faticata di Crivelli, e più parsimoniosa / di Mantegna / sugosa e con un veicolo meno / grasso – come meno smalto alla superfic[i]e / La scienza dello scorcio è meno inteso – ma / i caratteri sono più gentili e gracili. Le mani e piedi più lunghe / e le figure più svelte – di Mantegna” [“Flesh [is] reddish and lean in colour and medium – monotonous – Tempera is between Crivelli and Mantegna in the execution and conduct of the brush; less laborious than Crivelli, and thriftier than Mantegna; juicy and with a meagrer medium – as well as less glaze on the surface. The science of foreshortening is less comprehended, but the characters are gentler and punier. Hands and feet are longer, and figures are more cursorily painted than in Mantegna”].<sup>497</sup>

In conclusion, when he analysed Davenport Bromley’s *Agony* in Manchester, Cavalcaselle stated (Fig. 108) that Saint John’s figure “ha più del Bellini che del / Mantegna – mani lunghe” [“it looks more Bellinesque than Mantegnesque – long hands”]. Cavalcaselle, then, traced the presence of “lacchiccia” in Saint John’s toga and “cinabro e minio” [“cinnabar and minium”] in his mantle (Fig. 108).<sup>498</sup> In relation to Saint Peter’s figure, instead, Cavalcaselle made the following judgement: “lo scorcio della testa / non è bello (inferiore a Mantegna / più gracile)” [“the head’s foreshortening / is not good – inferior to Mantegna / frailer”].<sup>499</sup> Regarding Christ’s figure, in turn, Cavalcaselle noticed the “[...] testa rimpasticciata e mani” [“head and hands soiled by repainting”]. Cavalcaselle, then, observed that the figures of soldiers following Judas in the background were “tutte improntate alla fine” [“all sketched at the end”] of the painting’s phase, that

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<sup>497</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r. Levi 1988, p. 74, also endnote 209 (p. 97).

<sup>498</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r. Selvatico 1852, p. 396. Selvatico 1861, p. 219.

<sup>499</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r.



is, on the pigment film's layer, because "traspare sotto il terreno" ["the [pigment of] the ground is visible underneath them"].<sup>500</sup> Later, Cavalcaselle added that the landscape had been painted "sopra fondo bianco a gesso – magro di colore – in molte parti / Come il ponte e i sassi alla Jacopo" ["upon a chalk white preparation – meagre in colour – in many parts – as the bridge and the stones *à la* Jacopo Bellini"].<sup>501</sup> Indeed, in Manchester, Cavalcaselle also isolated the detail (Fig. 71) of the stony bridge in Davenport Bromley's *Agony*, noting the name of "Jacopo Bellini".<sup>502</sup> In this regard, it must be noted that a renowned drawing by Jacopo Bellini, representing the *Agony in the Garden*, has been kept in the British Museum in London since 1855 (Fig. 109).<sup>503</sup> Scholars have traditionally considered this drawing as one of the main iconographic sources of both Mantegna's and Bellini's Manchester paintings representing the *Agony*.<sup>504</sup> However, since there is no bridge in this drawing, it is not certain if Cavalcaselle was referring specifically to this graphic work.

Finally, in mid-September 1857, that is, only some weeks after Cavalcaselle's departure from Manchester, Scharf dedicated various pencil connoisseurial sketches to Davenport Bromley's *Agony* by Bellini. Scharf's connoisseurial interest in this painting could be considered a counterpart to – or a consequence of – Cavalcaselle's Manchester detailed technical handwritten materials on this painting. On 15 September 1857, indeed, Scharf sketched (Fig. 86) the entire *Agony*, being attracted more by the rendering of the correct compositional proportions between the elements than by the painting's technique, material and conservation. By the angel with the chalice, indeed, Scharf noted that in his

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<sup>500</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r.

<sup>501</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 5r.

<sup>502</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, f. 4r.

<sup>503</sup> Jacopo Bellini, *Agony in the Garden*, 1440-1470, pen on paper, 415 x 335 mm, London, British Museum, inv. 1855,0811.43 recto (purchased in 1855). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 141, footnote 2. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1855-0811-43](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1855-0811-43) (consulted 23/01/2021).

<sup>504</sup> Eisler 1989, cat. App.B.1(44).

sketch the “angel’s head should reach the top of / so not[t] to leave / leave more space between him & / the city [in the background]”.<sup>505</sup> In the next two days, Scharf isolated details of the scene’s figure, such as Christ,<sup>506</sup> the sleeping Saint Peter,<sup>507</sup> and sleeping Saints John the Evangelist and James the Greater (Fig. 71).<sup>508</sup> Of Peter’s figure, Scharf noted the “curly hair [...] brown flesh” and the cloth’s “height[ening with] / [a] shaded crimson” nuance.<sup>509</sup> In the detail with the sleeping Saints John and James, on the contrary, Scharf wrote that the ochre tone of the ground close to Saint James had been “merge[d]” by Bellini with a “shaded / pale Prussian [*sic*] blue” tone. Regarding Saint John, in turn, Scharf made the following observation: “sepia brown / hair with / naples [*sic*] yellow /lights”. In addition, he indicated Bellini’s use of a “scarlet” pigment “shaded / with madder” for Saint John’s toga. Finally, in relation to Saint John’s mantle’s “sleeve”, Scharf noted that Bellini had opted for a “yellow white” tone “shaded / withmadder [*sic*]”.<sup>510</sup> Interestingly, Scharf did not add any further reflection related to a potential connoisseurial research on the – apparently spurious – presence of specific pigments, such as the Prussian blue and Naples yellow, in Bellini’s 1460s *Agony*, now kept in the National Gallery.<sup>511</sup> In relation to these aspects, anyway, in 2015 Berrie indicated: “Bellini’s [...] antimonial yellows are not the classic Naples yellow of later times, but

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<sup>505</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 17 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_17 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282609/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-17?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>506</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 29, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_29 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282609/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-29?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>507</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 23 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_23 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282615/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-23?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>508</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 28 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_28 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282615/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-28?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>509</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 23 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_23 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282615/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-23?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>510</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 28 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_28 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282615/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-28?> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>511</sup> Merrifield 1967, pp. lxxxvi, ciii and ccxi.

early uses of ‘potter’s yellow’, of which there were many variants, for painting in oil”.<sup>512</sup> Possibly, then, Scharf was mistaken about the actual identity of the yellow and blue pigments that he had traced in Bellini’s painting. Either way, Scharf’s notes on this aspect reveal his relevant technical upgrade from his pre-Manchester, mainly aesthetical focus on Old Masters. It is most likely that Scharf’s technical upgrade was due to his connoisseurial interaction with Cavalcaselle at the Manchester exhibition.

In sum, at the Old Trafford venue, Cavalcaselle considerably enhanced his technical skills in relation to the materials, the technical practices and the conservation of specific Old Master paintings of different schools, but in particular those by late Quattrocento Venetian masters, such as Mantegna and Bellini. Cavalcaselle’s technical research at the Art Treasures Palace, on the other hand, most likely encouraged Scharf to continue his research on the material and technical aspects of the Old Master paintings that he had displayed in Manchester. Consequently, the Manchester technical upgrade of Scharf’s connoisseurship positively affected the British collecting and museum *milieu* of the late nineteenth century.

#### **2.4.5 Waagen’s Influential Pre-Manchester Attention to the Materials, Technique and Conservation of Old Master Paintings**

Even though in an indirect way, Waagen’s pre-Manchester technical knowledge of Renaissance and Baroque painting heavily affected not only Cavalcaselle’s and Scharf’s, technical research at the Old Trafford venue. Moreover, Waagen’s pre-Manchester technical remarks on the works that would be exhibited at the 1857 show affected also the technical approach that other experts had to Old Masters at the

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<sup>512</sup> Berrie 2015, p. 42, also footnote 91.

exhibition. Consequently, Waagen's technical influence on the Manchester exhibition and its connoisseurial effects could be much stronger and deeper than scholars have supposed.

Pergam, on the other hand, correctly highlighted that, in his guide<sup>513</sup> or articles on the show,<sup>514</sup> Waagen preferred—differently from Scharf and Cavalcaselle—to develop his rhetorical (but repetitive and flat)<sup>515</sup> aesthetic and descriptive lexicon rather than deepening the technical considerations of the Manchester works that he had already discussed in his *Treasures* and *Cabinets*.<sup>516</sup> At the 1857 exhibition, indeed, Waagen wittingly avoided to engage himself in extensive discussions on the technical aspects of the paintings on display.

However, in his Manchester guide and articles Waagen constantly referred to his more exhaustive considerations, which he had inserted in his *Treasures*<sup>517</sup> and *Cabinets*,<sup>518</sup> on the works on display at the show. In these pre-Manchester passages, indeed, he had discussed these works' technique and - more often - display and the conservation. In 1854, for instance, Waagen had lamented the bad display of the *Gathering before a Village Inn*, now attributed to Isaak van Ostade (1621–1649), which Richard Sanderson would loan to the exhibition.<sup>519</sup>

Not surprisingly, Scharf extensively quoted from his authoritative *Treasures* and *Cabinets* in the show's both *Provisional* and *Definitive* catalogues.<sup>520</sup> Therefore, any Old

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<sup>513</sup> Waagen 1857, b,

<sup>514</sup> Waagen 1857, c-l.

<sup>515</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 103.

<sup>516</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857.

<sup>517</sup> Waagen 1854.

<sup>518</sup> Waagen 1857.

<sup>519</sup> Isaak van Ostade (attributed to), *Gathering before a Village Inn*, 1640-1649, oil on panel, 85.1 x 104.1 cm (33 ½ x 41 in.), Polesden Lacey, National Trust, inv. NT 1246473 <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/1246473> (consulted 23/07/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 58, cat. 758. Scharf 1857, b, p. p. 70, cat. 1016. Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 289. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 58.

<sup>520</sup> Scharf 1857. Scharf 1857, b.

Master expert that visited the exhibition – such as Thoré-Bürger and Cavalcaselle, as I have discussed in chapter 2.4.1 and 2.4.3 - must have consulted Waagen’s pre-Manchester entries on the paintings on display. He, then, during the show indirectly stimulated the other connoisseurs’ attention to Old Masters’ technique, conservation, and display.

Moreover, in his *Cabinets* (1857) Waagen lamented that, during his visit to Bearwood House, Berkshire, the room’s bad “lighting”, that had been “[...] in great measure obscured by violent rain”, hindered him from analysing the Old Masters collection of John Walter (1818–1894), proprietor of the *Times* and M.P.<sup>521</sup> In the same period, Bearwood House’s low light level prevented also Scharf from effectively studying the collection.<sup>522</sup> Both the experts’ bad visits to Bearwood House, then, certainly stimulated the Art Secretary to reflect on some museographic issues, such as lighting and the distance between a work of art and the viewer’s eye. Consequently, Waagen’s remarks indirectly heightened the connoisseurial attention to museography during the show. Moreover, his influential considerations on Old Master display certainly led to the 1860s refurbishment of the Walter collection.<sup>523</sup> He, so, indirectly contributed to the evolution of museography in Britain and, consequently, in Continental Europe.

In his *Treasures* (1854), furthermore, he described Mantegna’s *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome* now in the National Gallery. (Fig. 153)<sup>524</sup> George Vivian, of Claverton Manor, Bath (1798–1873) would loan this painting to the Manchester event under the title *Triumph of Scipio*.<sup>525</sup> In 1854, in fact, Waagen praised Vivian’s painting for its exceptional state of conservation and for Mantegna’s “[...] original and elevated

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<sup>521</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 293.

<sup>522</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 58-59.

<sup>523</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 84, endnote 37.

<sup>524</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome*, 1505-1506, glue on linen, 76.5 x 273 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG902 (bought in 1902 from Captain Ralph Vivian) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-introduction-of-the-cult-of-cybele-at-rome> (consulted 10/08/2021).

<sup>525</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 289. Scharf 1857, p. 20 cat. 102. Pergam 2016, p. 271, cat. 102.

manner [...] particularly free and masterly [...] draperies, which are taken from the antique [...].<sup>526</sup>

He, though, specified that Vivian's painting could be considered Mantegna's masterpiece only due to the "[...] lamentable [...] state [...]"<sup>527</sup> of conservation of Mantegna's *Triumphs of the Caesars* in Hampton Court.<sup>528</sup> Moreover, he indicated that Vivian's painting had been "specified among those which Mantegna [had] left at his death".<sup>529</sup> Finally, he lamented the fact that the Vivian *Cybele* (Fig. 153) had "[...] much blackened with the smoke of London [...]" since he had first analysed it in 1835, and that it was "[...] hung too unfavourably to be examined" in the proprietor's mansion.<sup>530</sup>

Most likely, then, these authoritative pre-Manchester remarks by the German connoisseur heavily affected, not only at the 1857 show but also later, Cavalcaselle's and Scharf's critical and technical assessment of Mantegna's *oeuvre*. In his *Handbook*, indeed, the Art Secretary indicated that in the *Cybele* the "[...] fulness of the drapery and sharpness of the folds show a taste for ancient Roman sculpture, which was, after all, more common than for Greek".<sup>531</sup> As I will discuss in the third chapter of this thesis, during his stay in Denmark in the mid-1860s, the Italian scholar would focus on Mantegna's drapery skills.<sup>532</sup>

Scharf, on the other hand, rejected Waagen's indication that Mantegna's *Cybele* (Fig. 153) was still well-preserved, lamenting: "The present state of Mr. Vivian's picture (102) is truly a matter of regret, since much that would be really interesting to study is

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<sup>526</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 248.

<sup>527</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 248.

<sup>528</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Triumphs of Caesar*, c.1484-1492, egg tempera and glue on canvas, 9 canvases, each canvas 270.3 x 280.7 cm, Royal Collection, Hampton Court, Mantegna Room., inv. RCIN 403958-403966. Blunt 1964.

<sup>529</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 248.

<sup>530</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 248.

<sup>531</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 76.

<sup>532</sup> Franz 2018, b, pp. 119-121.

lost under a coat of dirt and discoloured varnish”.<sup>533</sup> Cavalcaselle, in turn, wrote some notes for Crowe about Vivian’s painting in Manchester. In these notes, he rejected the German scholar’s praise of the *Cybele*’s quality remarking: “gli ornati come sono rozzi” [“How coarse are the ornament and the decorative elements [!]”].<sup>534</sup> Moreover, he observed that the picture had been characterised by a “tocco rozzo e ruvido (dipinto ad olio) senza senti = / mento e finezza (sulla tela)” [“coarse and rough touch (painted in oil) with no feeling and finesse (on canvas)”].<sup>535</sup> He added: “Il fondo è macchiato a sassi, ossia di finta pietra / macchiata in rosso e giallo” [“The background is spotted in stones, that is, of fake stone / spotted with red and yellow [pigments]”].<sup>536</sup> He, then, rejected Mantegna’s authorship: “Ho cercato se vi fosse alcuna parte di mantegna [*sic*] \_/ ma tutto eguale nella forma – disegno – e colore” [“I have looked for any portion [that had been painted] by Mantegna – but it is all [by] the same [hand] with regard to shape – design – and colour”].<sup>537</sup> Furthermore, he rejected Waagen’s claim on the *Cybele*’s preservation: “quantunque non esente in alcuna figura da restauro” [“although [this picture] has not been spared from restoration in any figure”].<sup>538</sup> He, however, acknowledged the German expert’s indication that the *Cybele*’s state of conservation was better than that of Mantegna’s *Triumphs*: “non è dunque che sia ricoperto come quello di H.[ampton] C.[ourt] ” [“It’s not that [this picture] had been covered [by repainting] as much as that in H.[ampton] C.[ourt]”].<sup>539</sup>

In Manchester, though, possibly due to the presence of repainting or dirt on the painting, he misidentified the sepulchres represented by Mantegna in the Vivian picture,

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<sup>533</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 76.

<sup>534</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>535</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>536</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>537</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>538</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>539</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

considering them to be “caminetti” [“fireplaces”].<sup>540</sup> He, then, concluded his note asking Crowe to check, when he would have the opportunity, certain letters painted on the sepulchres’ epigraphs, as well as to research on Waagen’s claim that the *Cybele* had been mentioned by Mantegna in his will: “si dice nel testamento di / Mantegna è nominato?” [“It is said [that Vivian’s picture has been listed] in Mantegna’s will / Is it mentioned there?”].<sup>541</sup> Significantly, these notes encouraged his editorial partner to research on Mantegna’s *Cybele* (Fig. 153). In the first book of his and Cavalcaselle’s *History of Painting in North Italy* (1871), indeed, Vivian’s canvas was described as “after the fashion of Botticelli”,<sup>542</sup> as well as “roughly executed, wanting in the usual delicacy of Mantegna”.<sup>543</sup> Interestingly, the two authors rejected the German scholar’s indication that the canvas had been covered by London’s “smoke”,<sup>544</sup> stating that, on the contrary, it had been “[...] blackened by retouching”.<sup>545</sup>

In sum, Waagen’s pre-Manchester technical remarks encouraged at the show Scharf and other connoisseurs – such as Cavalcaselle – to focus not only on the display but also on the materials and conservation of Old Masters. Owing to his partner’s Manchester technical notes, moreover, Crowe’s post-1857 research would also be indirectly affected by Waagen’s pre-Manchester technical remarks. Hence, for the German expert, and therefore for all the other experts that organised or visited the show, the focus on Old Masters’ materials and conservation was strictly connected to other elements, such as provenance or critical fortune. In other words, Waagen’s technical and critical influence on the 1857 exhibition and post-Manchester connoisseurship was possibly much more profound and intense than extant scholarship has thus far argued.

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<sup>540</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>541</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>542</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 411.

<sup>543</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 411, footnote 3.

<sup>544</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 248.

<sup>545</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 411, footnote 3.



## Chapter Three

### Post-Manchester Connoisseurship: Opportunities and Controversies

The 1857 exhibition radically changed the career opportunities of the connoisseurs of Old Masters in Britain as well as on the Old Continent. Indeed, Waagen, Scharf, Cavalcaselle and other experts of medieval, Renaissance and Baroque art increasingly enhanced their social and intellectual prestige in the wake of the Manchester exhibition.

After 1857, in fact, the British and continental upper class and general public started considering the connoisseurs of Old Masters as scholars, and not just as skilled technical specialists.<sup>546</sup> Thus, some British collectors and administrators of continental courts officially invited the connoisseurs of Old Masters to assess and update their major collections.<sup>547</sup> Similarly, after 1857 the connoisseurs gained ever more opportunities to write art-historical books that were welcomed with significant critical and commercial success.

Clearly, these post-Manchester improvements of the connoisseurs' career perspectives fuelled the competition among Old Master experts. As in the case of the rivalry that opposed Waagen to Cavalcaselle – and consequently to Crowe – in the late 1850s and 1860s, the competition between Old Master experts was initially not characterised by public controversies.

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<sup>546</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 38 and 206.

<sup>547</sup> Finke 1975, p. 93. Ekserdjian 2018, b, p. 53.

However, after Waagen's death in 1868, some connoisseurs of Old Masters managed to improve their professional opportunities and confirm their social relevance at the expense of their (rival) colleagues, increasingly engaging in public controversies with them. This was the case, for instance, of the public and private slander that Crowe's and Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship, art vocabulary and style suffered in the 1880s, at the hands of Giovanni Morelli, Austen Henry Layard and Elizabeth Rigby Lady Eastlake (1809–1893).<sup>548</sup>

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<sup>548</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 400-405. Sheldon 2009, pp. 14 and 439.

### 3.1 Waagen's Post-Manchester Rivalry with Cavalcaselle and Crowe

Waagen's personal and professional relationship with Cavalcaselle – and, consequently, with Crowe – considerably worsened after the Manchester exhibition. As I have mentioned earlier on, Waagen and Cavalcaselle had a slightly troubled working relationship at the Liverpool Royal Institution in the early 1850s. Prior to the Manchester event, the two scholars publicly and privately respected each other, despite an incident that unwittingly involved Waagen and Cavalcaselle in relation to the attribution of a Florentine *Madonna*.<sup>549</sup>

During the exhibition, however, Cavalcaselle gradually challenged Waagen's prestige as Europe's most authoritative and influential expert of Northern European and Italian Old Masters, thanks both to his unofficial yet successful visit to the exhibition and to his connoisseurial and art-historical collaboration with Crowe.

Remarkably, the post-Manchester rivalry that opposed Waagen to Cavalcaselle (and indirectly to Crowe) did not lead to any public literary controversy.<sup>550</sup> However, after the exhibition, this rivalry shaped both Waagen's and Crowe and Cavalcaselle's research and editorial products. The rivalry between Waagen and the Crowe–Cavalcaselle partnership therefore affected post-Manchester European connoisseurship and art-historical reflection on the Western Old Masters.

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<sup>549</sup> Lorenzo di Credi (Workshop of), *Madonna Suckling the Child in a Landscape*, about 1520, oil on panel, 86.6 x 62.5 cm, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, n. inv. WAG 2772 (purchased in 1835 from Thomas Winstanley). Rathbone 1859, p. 16, cat. 25. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1866, p. 414. <https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/madonna-suckling-child> (consulted 23/07/2021). Rathbone 1851, pp. 6-7, cat. 22. Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 233, cat. 22.

<sup>550</sup> Ekserdjian 2010, pp. 359-360, also footnote 11 (p. 359). Ekserdjian 2018, p. 52, also footnote 5. Levi 1988, p. 28, also endnote 16 (p. 85) and pp. 248-249, also endnote 30 (p. 297).

### 3.1.1 Cavalcaselle's Shading of Waagen's Manchester Triumph

In this paragraph I discuss how Waagen's contrast with Cavalcaselle considerably enhanced due to Cavalcaselle's success at the Manchester show.

Waagen formalised his presence in England around 1857 through his indirect, though official and paid, involvement in the Manchester exhibition. Yet, since the 'Art Treasures' exhibition had indirectly been conceived as a tribute to Waagen's connoisseurship, thanks to his stay in England Waagen aimed not only at increasing his prestige among the British upper class but also at promoting his guide to the Manchester exhibition and, most of all, his *Treasures* (1854), as well as his more recently published *Cabinets* (1857).<sup>551</sup> Waagen's professional expectations for his presence at the 1857 exhibition and at the British court – and among the London upper class – were therefore very high.

However, it is likely that – during his visit to the exhibition – it began to dawn on Waagen that his pre-eminence in the connoisseurship of Northern Primitives throughout the European collecting, academic and museum milieu could be challenged.

Firstly, the – not commercial, but connoisseurial – success of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's newly published *Early Flemish Painters* (1857) among the British and continental experts and collectors of the Old Masters started to overshadow Waagen's technical and literary supremacy in the field of Flemish and German late medieval and early Renaissance art.<sup>552</sup> In fact, in the exhibition's *Definitive Catalogue*,<sup>553</sup> Scharf implicitly placed both Waagen's *Treasures* and *Cabinets* and Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *Early Flemish Painters* on the same level in terms of expertise.<sup>554</sup> John Murray III had

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<sup>551</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b. Pergam 2016, pp. 33 and 48.

<sup>552</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857.

<sup>553</sup> Scharf 1857, b., p. 37, cat. 381, p. 38, catt. 392-393, p. 44, cat. 493 and p. 64, cat. 681.

<sup>554</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857.

published all these works. Consequently, even though Murray lamented (towards the end of 1859) that he had not managed to sell all the copies of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's book,<sup>555</sup> around 1860 Waagen possibly felt that Crowe and Cavalcaselle would soon manage to bring an end not only to his editorial monopoly – regarding the description and understanding of the Flemish Primitives – in the British publishing market, but also to his connoisseurial primacy in the British collectors' milieu.

Secondly, shortly after the Manchester exhibition's *vernissage*, Scharf chose to be assisted – even if in an unofficial and private way – by Cavalcaselle at the Old Trafford venue. In some entries of the *Definitive Catalogue*, Scharf therefore decided to mention not only Waagen's,<sup>556</sup> but also Cavalcaselle's attribution,<sup>557</sup> implicitly placing each scholar's expertise on an equal level. This clearly represented a professional upgrade of Cavalcaselle's connoisseurial status in the British milieu of Old Masters collectors and connoisseurs. In the next pages I will outline how, in the years to come, Waagen would begin to perceive Cavalcaselle as a potential competitor.

Moreover, shortly before the 1857 exhibition's opening Waagen's had assigned two Early Flemish works, that Scharf would manage to display in Manchester, to Martin Schongauer (1448–1491). In fact, only a very limited number of authentic autographs by Schongauer have survived. Therefore, both Continental and British collectors and experts highly desired to purchase and autograph by such a rare German master.<sup>558</sup> While acting as an unofficial curatorial assistant to Scharf at the Old Trafford venue, though, in May 1857 Cavalcaselle rejected Waagen's opinion on both these pictures. Neither of these

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<sup>555</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 87, f. 1v. Erroneously mentioned as letter "88" in Levi 1988, p. xxix, endnote 3.

<sup>556</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 16, cat. 41, p. 22, cat. 126, p. 23, cat. 135, p. 27, cat. 194, p. 29, cat. 241, p. 30, cat. 244, p. 32, cat. 299, p. 38, cat. 398, p. 39, cat. 412, p. 43, cat. 482, p. 53, cat. 691.

<sup>557</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 38, cat. 398, p. 43, cat. 482, p. 64, cat. 900.

<sup>558</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 41, cat. 441. Scharf 1857, b, p. 40, cat. 437.

pictures, now both at the National Gallery in London, is attributed to this rare and celebrated Northern Primitive master.

The first is a small panel, now thought to be by an unidentified imitator of Schongauer's style, represents the *Virgin and Child in a Garden* (Fig. 110).<sup>559</sup> Prince Albert (1819–1861) had loaned this picture to the 1857 exhibition after Waagen had sensationally attributed it to Schongauer. In 1857, Waagen proudly announced – in his *Cabinets* – that Prince Albert's panel “[...] may be unquestionably considered as the work of Martin Schongauer's hand. It is, therefore, one of the finest and most remarkable in [Prince Albert's] collection, and not only the only known picture by the master in England, but, with the exception of those at Colmar, in Europe”.<sup>560</sup> In addition, in his guide to the Manchester exhibition, Waagen also highlighted that Prince Albert's *pièce de résistance* was “[...] fine in [its] expression of the head of the Virgin, and carefully finished”.<sup>561</sup>

Similarly, the *Christ before Pilate* exhibited in Manchester as by Schongauer is now attributed to a still unidentified painter, named ‘Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes’ (Fig. 111).<sup>562</sup> Following Waagen's prestigious attribution to Schongauer, though, its owner, Joseph Henry Green, a “suburban London surgeon, formerly Professor of Anatomy at the Royal Academy” (1791–1863),<sup>563</sup> proudly lent this picture to the Manchester show.<sup>564</sup> In the second book of his *Treasures* (1854), Waagen highlighted

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<sup>559</sup> Martin Schongauer (Style of), *Virgin and Child in a Garden*, early XVI Century (?), oil on lime panel, 30.2 x 21.9 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG723 (Presented by Queen Victoria at the Prince Consort's wish, 1863). Pergam 2016, p. 274, cat. 437. <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/style-of-martin-schongauer-the-virgin-and-child-in-a-garden> (consulted 01/01/2019).

<sup>560</sup> Waagen 1857, p. 225, cat. 30.

<sup>561</sup> Waagen 1857, b, p. 19, cat. 437.

<sup>562</sup> Master of the Bruges Passion Scenes, *Christ Presented to the People*, about 1510, oil on oak panel, 93.4 x 41.5 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG1087 (bequeathed by Mrs Joseph Henry Green, 1880). Pergam 2016, p. 274, cat. 421. <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/master-of-the-bruges-passion-scenes-christ-presented-to-the-people> (consulted 01/01/2019).

<sup>563</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 163.

<sup>564</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 41, cat. 442. Scharf 1857, b, p. 40, cat. 421.

that Green's picture had once been the "wing of an altarpiece" and that it resembled "in every respect so closely [...] the only authenticated pictures by this master [Schongauer] at Colmar".<sup>565</sup> Similarly, in 1857, in his Manchester guide Waagen praised this work for being "full of true sentiment in the heads" and attributed it to Schongauer's "earlier time".<sup>566</sup>

In Manchester, by contrast, Cavalcaselle rejected Waagen's attribution to Martin Schongauer of both Prince Albert's *Virgin and Child in a Garden* and Green's *Christ before Pilate*. On his annotated copy of the exhibition's *Provisional Catalogue*, Cavalcaselle thus noted that Prince Albert's panel was a "modernacopia [*sic*]" ["modern copy"] of an unmentioned and undetailed original work by Schongauer.<sup>567</sup> However, on one of his Manchester loose sheets, now held in the Marciana, Cavalcaselle later drew a detailed pen sketch (Fig. 112) of Prince Albert's picture, now in the National Gallery. In this sketch, Cavalcaselle graphically indicated a "spac[c]atura [*sic*]" ["crack"] on the panel's right side. Moreover, Cavalcaselle indicated that the panel's edge was unpainted, leaving the underneath "legno" ["wooden support"] visible. In addition, on the sheet's edge, Cavalcaselle noted that he considered Prince Albert's *Virgin and Child in a Garden* to be an "antica copia di Martin Schon[gauer] – mancante di vigoria di forme" ["ancient copy of Martin Schongauer – lacking in vigour of forms"].<sup>568</sup>

Similarly, on his annotated copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*, Cavalcaselle observed that he had been partially sceptical about Waagen's expertise of *Christ before Pilate*. By Scharf's entry, indeed, Cavalcaselle wrote "forse" ["maybe"].<sup>569</sup> Significantly, though, in both the 1857 and 1872 editions of their *Flemish Painters* Crowe and

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<sup>565</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 459.

<sup>566</sup> Waagen 1857, b, p. 18, cat. 421.

<sup>567</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 41. Scharf 1857, p. 41, cat. 441.

<sup>568</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 61v.

<sup>569</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 41. Scharf 1857, p. 41, cat. 442.

Cavalcaselle avoided confirming Waagen's attribution to Schongauer of Prince Albert's and Green's works.<sup>570</sup>

Like Cavalcaselle, the French critic Étienne-Joseph-Théophile Thoré-Bürger (1807–1869) publicly rejected Waagen's attribution to Schongauer of both Prince Albert's and Green's pictures, now kept in the National Gallery. In the *Trésors d'art exposées à Manchester en 1857*, which he published under his *nom de plume* William Burger, Thoré-Bürger in fact stated: "L'authenticité de ces deux peintures peut être contestée, en effet, malgré leur charme et leur perfection" ["The authenticity of these two pictures shall be challenged, despite their charm and perfection"].<sup>571</sup> Nonetheless, Thoré-Bürger praised Prince Albert's "œuvre très-délicate et très poétique" ["very delicate and poetic work"].<sup>572</sup> At the same time, Thoré-Bürger highlighted the physical resemblance between the Virgin and the Child in Prince Albert's small panel and the characters in the engravings attributed to Schongauer that Scharf had exhibited at the Manchester event.<sup>573</sup> Hence, although Thoré-Bürger demolished Waagen's self-satisfied connoisseurial discovery, he praised Scharf for his decision to exhibit numerous graphic works that had been attributed to Schongauer alongside two paintings that were inspired by his pictorial style and technique.<sup>574</sup>

Conversely, Scharf's connoisseurial approach to Prince Albert's and Green's panels at the Manchester exhibition was as diplomatic as it was in clear contrast with Waagen's expertise. Indeed, Scharf made a brief pencil sketch of the *Virgin and Child in a Garden* in February 1857, during his visit to Kensington Palace, and he did not contest

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<sup>570</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1872.

<sup>571</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 136.

<sup>572</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 136.

<sup>573</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 26, catt. 71-91.

<sup>574</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, pp. 136-137.



its loan to the Manchester exhibition.<sup>575</sup> Moreover, at the Old Trafford venue, Scharf exhibited Prince Albert's picture under Waagen's attribution.<sup>576</sup> However, Scharf did not produce a detailed sketch of Prince Albert's and Green's pictures during the exhibition's opening.<sup>577</sup> Moreover, Scharf avoided highlighting the pictures' quality both in his *Handbook* and in his speech at the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire.<sup>578</sup> Scharf's silence therefore indicated that he did not support Waagen's triumphal discovery of a rare original by Martin Schongauer in Prince Albert's gallery and in the Green collection.

Three years later, in the 1860 edition of Kugler's *Handbook to the German, Flemish and Dutch Schools of Painting* that Waagen had edited for Murray, the feeble Manchester reception of his connoisseurial hypotheses likely forced Waagen to reconsider his self-celebrated attribution of Green's picture. In 1854, indeed, Waagen had stated that Green's panel was similar "in every respect [...]" to Schongauer's authenticated original paintings in Colmar.<sup>579</sup> In the *Handbook*, instead, Waagen limited himself to highlighting – as Thoré-Bürger had done in 1857, in his *Trésors* – that Green's panel resembled "in so many respects [...] Martin Schon's engraving, that, in spite of the feebleness of the colour, I am inclined to consider it [*sic*] his work".<sup>580</sup> In his 1860 *Handbook*, anyway, Waagen firmly confirmed the attribution of Prince Albert's "small but certain" panel to the "rare" Schongauer,<sup>581</sup> which Waagen defined "[...] by far the greatest German painter of the 15th century [...]".<sup>582</sup>

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<sup>575</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 85, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_43 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288866/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-85-86?> (consulted 01/01/2019).

<sup>576</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 41, cat. 441. Scharf 1857, b, p. 40, cat. 437.

<sup>577</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbooks 47-49.

<sup>578</sup> Scharf 1857, d. Scharf 1858.

<sup>579</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 459.

<sup>580</sup> Waagen 1860, p. 133. Thoré-Bürger 1857, pp. 136-137.

<sup>581</sup> Waagen 1860, pp. 132-133.

<sup>582</sup> Waagen 1860, p. 130.

Therefore, one might hypothesise that, around 1860, Waagen felt that certain scholars could eventually weaken his connoisseurial influence on Prince Albert and, consequently, his hitherto unchallenged primacy at the British court. It is not possible to ascertain whether Waagen started to fear that Cavalcaselle and Crowe would soon induce Murray to substitute him as the editor of Kugler's *Handbook of Painting*. However, Crowe wouldn't replace Waagen as editor of Kugler's *Handbook* until 1874, that is, six years after Waagen's death (1868).<sup>583</sup>

### 3.1.2 Crowe's Involvement in the Rivalry

Around 1860, Waagen attempted to separate Crowe from Cavalcaselle. It should be noted that Waagen's main target wasn't Crowe, but Cavalcaselle. Crowe, however, took advantage of this rivalry, encouraging Cavalcaselle to re-establish and continue their editorial collaboration.

Crowe sent Cavalcaselle a letter, dated 15 January 1860, from Berlin (Fig. 113).<sup>584</sup> Cavalcaselle had been travelling throughout Southern Italy. Writing in French, Crowe informed Cavalcaselle that he had met Waagen in Berlin and that Waagen had subtly tried to end Crowe and Cavalcaselle's editorial partnership:

“Waagen, qui m'a beaucoup parlé ici me semble animé d'une / sourde inimitié contre vous. Il me fait des compliments et prétend qu'il / n'a jamais su ^ ni de vous ^ ni d'autres que moi J.[oseph] A.[rcher] Crowe j'ai jamais eu d'autre part / dans les peintres flamands que celle d'un collectionneur de matériaux écrit[s] [*sic*]. / Son conseil envers moi est de dire au monde dans la préface de la seconde édition [*sic*] quand elle paraîtra [*sic*]

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<sup>583</sup> Crowe 1874.

<sup>584</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 87, ff. 1r.

que j'ai pris plus de part à la co[m]p[osition] / du livre qu'on s'a cru jusqu'ici. Je ne vois dans ce conseil qu'un / effort pour établir une brèche entre vous et moi. Waagen sert les haines / des autres et sa propre jalousie en essayant de me tourner contre / vous” [“Waagen, who has spoken to me a lot here, seems to have a deep enmity against you. He compliments me and claims that he has never heard ^ either from you or others ^ that I, J.[oseph] A.[rcher] Crowe, have ever had any part / in the Flemish painters apart from that of a collector of written materials. / His advice to me is to tell the world in the preface to the [*Lives of Early Flemish Painters*] second edition, when it will be published, that I have taken more part in the book's drafting than has been believed so far. I see this advice only as an / attempt to create a breach between you and me. Waagen bears hatred / towards the others and his own jealousy by trying to turn me against / you”] (Figs 113 and 114).<sup>585</sup>

In sum, despite Waagen's false claim, the British and continental connoisseurial milieu – which was closely related to John Murray's firm – was well aware of the fact that Crowe was the main author of his and Cavalcaselle's *Lives of the Early Flemish Painters*.<sup>586</sup> Crowe's letter to Cavalcaselle could therefore be explained as an attempt to convince Cavalcaselle to get rid of his overwhelming 'Vasarian project', financed by Murray, Eastlake, Layard and Taylor,<sup>587</sup> and to resume his connoisseurial and editorial collaboration with Crowe.

### 3.1.3 Cavalcaselle's Role in the Rivalry with Waagen

In all likelihood, Cavalcaselle started to make use the connoisseurial progress he had made in Manchester against Waagen before Crowe would inform him of Waagen's

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<sup>585</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 87, ff. 1r and 1v. Partially reproduced in Levi 1988, p. 28, also endnote 16 (p. 85).

<sup>586</sup> Levi 1988, p. 79, also endnote 222.

<sup>587</sup> Levi 1988, p. 101.

hostility against them. In early 1860 Cavalcaselle suggested Crowe to collaborate once more to draft a new edition of their *Early Flemish Painters*. Cavalcaselle outlined his proposal in an untraced letter that he wrote to Crowe from Palermo, on 9 February 1860, and that Crowe mentioned in a letter to Cavalcaselle written in Berlin on 22 February 1860 (Fig. 115).<sup>588</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that Cavalcaselle, and not Crowe, was the main target of Waagen's manoeuvre. However, by 1860 Crowe and Cavalcaselle had managed to publish only their *Lives of the Early Flemish Painters*. Crowe, on the other hand, in his Berlin letter of 15 January 1860 (Fig. 114), informed Cavalcaselle that Murray had lamented the fact that he had not yet sold all the copies of the first edition (1857) of their *Lives of the Early Flemish Painters*: "Murray me dit dans la lettre que quand / à no[u]s [et] l[a] notre histoire il n'y a pas lieu encore de se rejouir / d'avoir couvert les frais. Selon lui donc la première édition n'est / pas encore écoulée" ["Murray tells me in the letter that, regarding us and our history, there is not any rejoicing of covering the costs yet. According to him, indeed, the first edition has / not yet been entirely sold"]. Moreover, in the same letter, Crowe also told Cavalcaselle that Murray was going to publish Waagen's edition of Kugler's *Handbook* in the spring of 1860.<sup>589</sup>

However, between mid-January and early February 1860, Cavalcaselle decided that he had collected – at the Manchester exhibition and during his post-Manchester 'Vasarian journey' across Italy – enough connoisseurial material to reassess his and Crowe's *Early Flemish Painters*. Indeed, in the above-mentioned letter from Palermo, Cavalcaselle certainly convinced Crowe that these connoisseurial and editorial improvements to their 1857 book would beat both the content of Waagen's imminent

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<sup>588</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 89, f. 1r.

<sup>589</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 87, f. 1v. Erroneously mentioned as letter "88" in Levi 1988, p. xxix, endnote 3.

*Handbook* and Murray's reluctance to finance a new edition of his and Crowe's *Early Flemish Painters*. On 22 February 1860, in fact, Crowe informed Cavalcaselle (Fig. 115) that he had accepted his proposal: "Il n'y a pas de doute que / nous pourrons avoir une seconde edition [sic] de notre livre malgré / la nouvelle edition de Kugler par Waagen. Vous avez raison [de] croire que cettes [sic] seconde edition [sic] est nécessaire. La première edition doit etre telle / - ment changée qu'elle ne sera pas reconnaissable dans la seconde" ["There is no doubt that / we will be able to have a second edition of our book despite / the new edition of Kugler by Waagen. You are right to believe that this second edition is necessary. The first edition must be changed so much that it will not be recognisable in the second one"].<sup>590</sup>

In this regard, it is necessary to highlight that Cavalcaselle, already during his visit to the Manchester exhibition in May 1857, had envisaged the need for a new edition of his and Crowe's recently published *Early Flemish Painters*. Various elements demonstrate this fact. First, Cavalcaselle's notes on certain Flemish Primitives were exhibited at the Old Trafford venue, written *in situ* for Crowe.<sup>591</sup> Second, Cavalcaselle decided to include his pre-Manchester pen sketch of *The Enthronement of Saint Rumbold as Bishop of Dublin*, now held in the National Gallery of Ireland (Fig. 116),<sup>592</sup> in his annotated copy of the exhibition's *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>593</sup> Third, Cavalcaselle had used tracing paper to draw a pen copy of the sketch that was addressed to Crowe, now held in the National Art Library.<sup>594</sup>

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<sup>590</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 89, ff. 1r-1v.

<sup>591</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 56v and 65v.

<sup>592</sup> Master of the Youth of Saint Rumbold, *The Enthronement of Saint Rumbold as Bishop of Dublin*, about 1490, oil on oak panel, 114.5 x 71.3 cm, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. NGI.1380 (purchased in 1958) <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/2764/the-enthronement-of-saint-rumbold-as-bishop-of-dublin> (consulted 23/12/2018).

<sup>593</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 21v.

<sup>594</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.50.

The picture that is now held in Dublin was included, in 1857, in the Dukes of Devonshire's collection in Chatsworth House, where it was traditionally named *The Consecration of Thomas à Becket* and considered to be the earliest surviving original work by Jan van Eyck, erroneously dated around 1421. Significantly, in the 1857 edition of their *Early Flemish Painters*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle academically compared the “[...] colour [...] design and composition [...]”<sup>595</sup> of the Devonshire work with Petrus Christus's *Passavant Sacred Conversation* in Frankfurt; because of some repainting, at that time the latter was still dated 1417.<sup>596</sup> However, in their 1857 book, Crowe and Cavalcaselle discussed the Devonshire work's technique, signature and date in detail, limiting themselves to expressing “[...] the belief that it was one of the earliest productions [...]” of Jan van Eyck,<sup>597</sup> and classifying it “[...] amongst the uncertain pictures [...]” that have been attributed to this master.<sup>598</sup>

Cavalcaselle had undoubtedly made his pen sketch of the Devonshire work before 1857. However, probably not long after the publication of his and Crowe's *Early Flemish Painters*, and during his involvement in the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle moved this sketch to the end of his annotated copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*,<sup>599</sup> in order to compare – at a distance – the Devonshire picture (then attributed to Van Eyck) with the earliest Flemish Primitive works that Scharf had selected for the Manchester exhibition. Consequently, it was there that Cavalcaselle envisaged the need for a more archivally documented and art-historically framed edition of his and Crowe's book on the Northern European early Renaissance masters.

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<sup>595</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, p. 113.

<sup>596</sup> Petrus Christus, *Sacred Conversation (The Enthroned Virgin and Child between Saint Jerome and Francis)*, 1457, oil on oak panel, 46.7 x 44.6 cm, Frankfurt am Main, Städel Museum, inv. 920 (gifted by Johann David Passavant, 1846) <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/virgin-and-child-with-saints-jerome-and-francis> (consulted 23/07/2021)].

<sup>597</sup> *Flemish 1857*, p. 109.

<sup>598</sup> *Flemish 1857*, p. 113.

<sup>599</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 21v.

However, around 1860, Cavalcaselle was evidently stressed by the competition with Waagen and the necessity to constantly check his rival's activities as both an Old Master expert and the purchase advisor of the Berlin Royal Museum. Thus, on 17 March 1860 Cavalcaselle wrote Crowe a letter from Naples, in which he asked his editorial partner's opinion on the "quadro di Raffaello, nuovo acquisto fatto dal museo di Berlino a Napoli" ["Raphael's painting, the [Royal] Museum of Berlin's new purchase in Naples"].<sup>600</sup> This picture has not been traced yet. Possibly, Cavalcaselle confused Raphael's *Colonna Altarpiece*, then located in Naples and now kept in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Fig. 117),<sup>601</sup> with its copy, painted in Naples by Karl Ritter around 1845, which was purchased at an unknown date by the Prussian administration and is now placed in Potsdam.<sup>602</sup> Alternatively, in his Neapolitan letter to Crowe, Cavalcaselle was possibly referring to the sensational purchase that had occurred in Naples in 1854: that of Raphael's *Terranuova Madonna*, now held in Berlin (Fig. 118).<sup>603</sup>

Cavalcaselle had been in exile from the Italian peninsula from 1848 to August 1857,<sup>604</sup> and he could therefore not have been able to study the *Terranuova Madonna* in Naples. Moreover, Cavalcaselle had most likely not returned to Berlin, either after the painting's arrival there in 1854 or after his meeting with Crowe in 1847.<sup>605</sup> This could

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<sup>600</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It, IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 120, f. 2r.

<sup>601</sup> Raphael, *Virgin and Child Enthroned Between Saints Peter, Catherine of Alexandria, Infant John the Baptist, Barbara and Paul (Sacred Conversation or 'Colonna Altarpiece')*, 1504-1505, oil and gold on wood, 67 7/8 x 67 7/8 in. (172.4 x 172.4 cm), New York City, NY, USA, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 16.30ab (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1916) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437372> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>602</sup> Karl Ritter (copy from Raphael), *'Colonna Altarpiece'*, 1845, Potsdam, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Schloss Sanssouci, Orangerie, Raffaelsaal. Eckhardt 1969, p. 35, cat. 42. <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/437372> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>603</sup> Raphael, *The Virgin and Child between the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Another Infant Male Saint with a Landscape in the Background ('Terranuova Madonna')*, c.1505, oil on poplar panel (round), diameter 88.7 cm, Berlin, Berlin, Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Ident.Nr. 247A (purchased in 1854 in Naples from the Dukes of Terranuova) detailView (consulted 23/07/2021) <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=867590&viewType=>.

<sup>604</sup> Levi 1988, p. 101.

<sup>605</sup> Levi 1988, p. 18.

explain why Cavalcaselle asked Crowe – who was in Berlin in March 1860 – to give him some connoisseurial details on Raphael’s celebrated work, whose purchase in 1854 represented the Royal Museum of Berlin’s most expensive disbursal during Waagen’s curatorship.<sup>606</sup>

In conclusion, we could argue that Cavalcaselle aimed at using both his connoisseurial experience at the Manchester exhibition and Waagen’s hostility towards him and Crowe as a professional opportunity to try to overthrow Waagen and dominate, along with Crowe, the connoisseurial and art-historical, British literary production.

### 3.1.4 Crowe’s Sketches for Cavalcaselle

During and after their epistolary exchange in early 1860, Crowe and Cavalcaselle shared connoisseurial sketches with one another to check on Waagen’s connoisseurship. In early 1860, for instance, Crowe went to Lübeck to check the Greverade altarpiece (Fig. 119),<sup>607</sup> which Waagen had proudly considered a Hans Memling masterpiece since the mid-1840s.<sup>608</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle had not managed to study it personally for their *Early Flemish Painters*.<sup>609</sup> Crowe rejected Waagen’s expertise and immediately sent Cavalcaselle his sketches of the altarpiece in Lübeck.<sup>610</sup>

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<sup>606</sup> Windholz 2008, p. 238, also endnote 108 (p. 250).

<sup>607</sup> Hans Memling, *Triptych of Christ’s Passion* (*‘Greverade Triptych’*), 1491, oil on oak panel, 221 × 167 cm, Lübeck, Sankt-Annemuseum, inv. 1948/138 <https://st-annem-museum.de/memling-altar> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>608</sup> Waagen 1846, p. 113. Waagen 1860. Pp. 105-106, also footnote 1 (p. 106).

<sup>609</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, p. 39.

<sup>610</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 89, f. 1r. These sketches have not been traced yet.



In October 1859,<sup>611</sup> Crowe went to Gdańsk (Fig. 1) to study Memling's *Tani Triptych* (Fig. 2).<sup>612</sup> Interestingly, Waagen had not yet discussed this altarpiece in his works, but the philosopher and Van Eyck scholar Heinrich Gustav Hotho (1802–1873),<sup>613</sup> along with the connoisseur Johann David Passavant (1767–1861),<sup>614</sup> had just attributed it to Memling. Passavant and Hotho, however, had preceded Waagen by only a few months. In fact, in his *Handbook* (published in spring 1860), Waagen defined the work in Gdańsk – with even more conviction as opposed to that in Lübeck – as the masterpiece of Memling's production.<sup>615</sup> Moreover, Waagen even described the Tani altarpiece as the most outstanding work of the Flemish school,<sup>616</sup> along with Van Eyck's polyptych in Ghent (Fig. 120).<sup>617</sup> Subsequently, the Ghent altarpiece's wings were placed in the Royal Museum of Berlin, directed by Waagen.<sup>618</sup> The need to analyse the wings was possibly the reason for which Crowe decided to conduct research once more in the museum in Berlin, where he met Waagen in January 1860.<sup>619</sup>

Plausibly, in early 1860 Crowe sent Cavalcaselle also his sketches (Fig. 1) of the *Tani Triptych*. I have traced them in the National Art Library in London.<sup>620</sup> Noticeably, Crowe placed these sketches in a folder, on whose cover Crowe registered the names of the city of “Danzig” and of the Estonian village of “Fähna”, now known as Vääna, in whose manor used to be displayed the von Stackelberg collection of Old Masters

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<sup>611</sup> Crowe 1895, p. 393. MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 87, f. 1v.

<sup>612</sup> Hans Memling, *Last Judgement (Tani Triptych)*, 1467-1473, oil on panel, 241 x 180.8 cm (central panel) and 242 x 90 cm (side panels), Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, inv. MNG/SD/413/M. Gaedertz 1883, p. 15, also footnote 1 (pp. 15-16). <http://sadostateczny.mng.gda.pl/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>613</sup> Hinz 1859, p. 41.

<sup>614</sup> Förster 1858, p. 2.

<sup>615</sup> Waagen 1860, pp. 99. Waagen 1862, p. 118.

<sup>616</sup> Waagen 1860, pp. 99. Waagen 1862, p. 119.

<sup>617</sup> Jan (and Hubert) van Eyck and workshop, *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb (The Ghent Altarpiece)*, 1425-1432, oil on panel (partially transferred to canvas in the wings), 340 x 460 cm, Ghent, Cathedral of Saint Bavo. <https://www.sintbaafskathedraal.be/en/history/the-ghent-altarpiece/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>618</sup> Ridderbos 2005, p. 42.

<sup>619</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 87, f. 1r. The meeting is recorded in Crowe 1895, pp. 399-400. See Ekserdjian 2010, pp. 359-360, also footnote 11 (p. 359), and Ekserdjian 2018, p. 52, also footnote 5.

<sup>620</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.32 Box 3.

Possibly, then, Crowe visited also this private gallery, which has been dispersed.<sup>621</sup> Crowe likely used these sketches to further convince Cavalcaselle of the fact that Waagen's *Handbook* would effectively be superseded by a new edition of his and Cavalcaselle's *Early Flemish Painters*. It is undoubtedly in reaction to Crowe's 1860 sketches that Cavalcaselle organised his quick visit to Lübeck in early August 1865,<sup>622</sup> with the specific aim of analysing the altarpiece that Crowe had indicated to him. Moreover, in mid-September 1865, on his way from Saint Petersburg to Leipzig,<sup>623</sup> Cavalcaselle possibly stopped at Gdańsk to see the Tani altarpiece that Crowe had described in detail in his 1860 letter with his own eyes.

However, it wasn't until 1872 – that is, 12 years after Waagen's *Handbook* and four years after Waagen's death – that Crowe and Cavalcaselle managed to convince Murray of the need for a new edition of their 1857 book. Filled with technical and stylistic remarks that were typical of their writings in the early to mid-1860s, in this new edition they belatedly rejected not only Waagen's 1840s claim that the altarpiece in Lübeck was Memling's masterpiece,<sup>624</sup> but also his suspicious pre-1860 silence regarding the attribution to Memling of the altarpiece in Gdańsk.

To conclude, by sending his sketches to Cavalcaselle, Crowe played a central role in nurturing the rivalry between Waagen and Cavalcaselle. Moreover, as a result of Murray's opposition to a new edition of their *Early Flemish Painters*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle did not capitalise on their outstanding post-Manchester connoisseurial discoveries regarding Memling's *oeuvre* and were gradually overshadowed by other scholars.

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<sup>621</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.32. Gaskell 1990, pp. 62, 284 and 350.

<sup>622</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 89, f. 1r.

<sup>623</sup> Levi 1988 p. 247.

<sup>624</sup> Waagen 1846, p. 113.

### 3.1.5 Cavalcaselle's Post-Manchester Connoisseurial Indications for Crowe

After the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle made a number of sketches and took some notes to show Crowe specific works of art being kept in the Dukes of Devonshire's art collection. In addition to the aforementioned picture that is now held in Dublin,<sup>625</sup> Cavalcaselle suggested to Crowe that they should not enhance their editorial collaboration on the Flemish masters, but that they gradually demolish Waagen's connoisseurial primacy in the British milieu of Old Masters studies. Thus, Cavalcaselle likely used his handwritten materials to improve Crowe's connoisseurship of certain Italian masters and pictures in order to give him the level of connoisseurial expertise that he had been lacking due to his failure to take part in the Manchester event.

Indeed, Cavalcaselle wrote Crowe a note now kept in the National Art Library,<sup>626</sup> in which he strongly suggested him to visit Chatsworth House to study a drawing that Passavant had attributed to Raphael: *The Virgin Reading with the Child*.<sup>627</sup> Significantly, Cavalcaselle informed Crowe of the fact that he had not managed to analyse this Raphaellesque drawing in the Devonshire collection. Hence, this undated note might possibly have been written only a few days after Cavalcaselle had left the Manchester exhibition. Alternatively, it could be dated after his departure from England in early August 1865. Either way, Cavalcaselle asked Crowe to check "cosa dice Waagen" ["what Waagen says"]<sup>628</sup> – possibly in his *Treasures* – with regard to this drawing, which is still

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<sup>625</sup> Master of the Youth of Saint Rumbold, *The Enthronement of Saint Rumbold as Bishop of Dublin*, about 1490, oil on oak panel, 114.5 x 71.3 cm, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. NGL.1380 (purchased in 1958) <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/2764/the-enthronement-of-saint-rumbold-as-bishop-of-dublin> (consulted 23/12/2018).

<sup>626</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.50.

<sup>627</sup> Passavant 1860, Volume 2, p. 515, cat. 565.

<sup>628</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.50.

held in the Devonshire collection, as a copy of a lost original drawing by Raphael (probably the work of one of his pupils).<sup>629</sup>

Cavalcaselle made a copy of his 1850s pen sketch of a *Landscape with Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert*,<sup>630</sup> which was also kept in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth House. This picture is now attributed to Lambert Sustris (c.1515–c.1585), a Dutch-born master of the Venetian late Renaissance, and its present whereabouts are unknown.<sup>631</sup> Interestingly, Waagen had attributed the Devonshire work to Titian.<sup>632</sup> Initially, Waagen's attribution had convinced Cavalcaselle, who confirmed it by writing these words beneath his sketch: "Tiziano – sì" ["Titian – yes"].<sup>633</sup> However, Cavalcaselle soon started to question Waagen's expertise on the Devonshire picture and decided to ask Crowe's opinion, sending him a pen copy of the pen sketch he had made of the picture. Significantly, given that Cavalcaselle used a pen rather than a pencil, we may also date Cavalcaselle's pen copy (now held in London) in the 1850s.<sup>634</sup>

Moreover, in September 1865, Cavalcaselle changed his opinion on the Devonshire picture. At the Imperial Hermitage in Saint Petersburg, Cavalcaselle had had a chance to make a detailed sketch and take some connoisseurial notes for Crowe<sup>635</sup> on the Crozat *Jupiter and Io*, which is now attributed to Lambert Sustris (Fig. 152).<sup>636</sup> At the

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<sup>629</sup> Raphael (School (?)) Copy from), *The Virgin and Child Reading*, black chalk, pen and ink tracing and squaring, 164 x 120 mm, Chatsworth House, The Dukes of Devonshire's Collection, inv. L. 719. Cordellier, Py 1992. <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/2/101521-Vierge-a-lEnfant-a-mi-corps-dans-un-paysage> (consulted 23/07/2021). Not to be confused with Jaffé 1994, p. 224, cat. 361 (L.719).

<sup>630</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, f. 263r.

<sup>631</sup> Lambert Sustris (Attributed to), *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert*, oil on canvas, present whereabouts unknown. Dal Pozzolo 2015, pp. 82 and 84, also endnote 13 (p. 102). Franz 2018, p. 153, also Fig. 7 (p. 148).

<sup>632</sup> Waagen 1837, p. 245. Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 347.

<sup>633</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, f. 263r.

<sup>634</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.50.

<sup>635</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, ff. 14r and 15v.

<sup>636</sup> Lambert Sustris, *Jupiter and Io*, 1557-1563, oil on canvas, 205.5 x 275 cm, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, n. inv. ГЭ 60 (1772, purchased in Paris from the collection of Louis-Antoine Crozat, baron of Thièrs). Fomichova 1992, p. 303, cat. 232. <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/32153/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

time, this picture had been attributed to the Paduan Mannerist artist Domenico Campagnola (c.1500–1564), whereas Waagen thought Andrea Schiavone had left it unfinished until Domenico Campagnola completed it (in the landscape).<sup>637</sup>

In his notes on the Hermitage picture, Cavalcaselle observed that it used the same technique as that which he had spotted in the Devonshire painting. Moreover, Cavalcaselle firmly rejected Waagen's claim that the Hermitage's picture had been painted by two different masters. Cavalcaselle, in fact, observed that “mi pare tutta una mano [...] Invero non conosco due mani [...] Vi è un'unità tale che mi pare difficile due mani” [“It seems to me [that this painting has been painted] entirely [by only] one hand [...] Actually I don't spot two [different] hands [...] There is such a unity that it seems difficult to spot two [different] hands”].<sup>638</sup> Cavalcaselle possibly wanted to make Crowe aware of Waagen's inability to provide a correct connoisseurial analysis of the Hermitage picture: “qui vedi altra difficoltà nel / conoscere i quadri” [“Here you can see another difficulty in understanding the paintings”].<sup>639</sup>

Cavalcaselle did indicate to Crowe that the Hermitage's *Jupiter and Io* was characterised by a “composizione slegata” [“loosened and incoherent composition”],<sup>640</sup> and that it had been damaged by cleaning, which had erased the original glazings, varnish and retouching. Hence, in these notes, Cavalcaselle possibly tried to justify Waagen's decision to attribute the *Jupiter and Io* to two distinct masters with a continuing collaboration with Titian's workshop.<sup>641</sup>

Cavalcaselle used these notes not only to criticise Waagen's connoisseurship but also to consult with Crowe on the relevant connoisseurial discoveries that he had

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<sup>637</sup> Von Köhne 1863, p. 30, cat. 121. Waagen 1864, p. 68, n. 121.

<sup>638</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 15v.

<sup>639</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 15v.

<sup>640</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 15v.

<sup>641</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 15v.

identified in the Russian picture. Cavalcaselle, in fact, explained in detail his decision to attribute the Russian work to Schiavone on the basis of technical evidence: “Il tocco è quello di Schiavone, così piegato a salti[. Schiavone] può essersi servito d’un paese per disegni ma l’esecuzione è Schiavone – si vede dal tocco” [“The touch is that of Schiavone, so brisk and spasmodic[. Schiavone] might have used some drawings [by Titian] for the landscape but the execution is that of Schiavone – it is evident from the touch”].<sup>642</sup> He added: “Il tono è ricco alla Tiziano [...] La griijetà [*sic*] del fondo è quella di Schiavone più che [Domenico] Campagnola, che è basso e scuro un poco alla Tiziano [...] vedi a Londra certi Tiziani pesanti di tono [...] alberi con le figure e colla luce di mezzo alla Tiziano” [“[...] The touch is in complete imitation of Titian [...] The greyness of the background is that of Schiavone rather than that of [Domenico] Campagnola, who[se production] is sombre and dark in partial imitation of Titian [...] see some paintings by Titian in London which are heavy in tone [...] trees with figures and light in the middle in imitation of Titian”].<sup>643</sup>

After his stay in Russia, Cavalcaselle added to both his sketches of the Devonshire picture *Saint John the Baptist Preaching in the Desert* not only its attribution to Schiavone, but also a reference to the Hermitage’s *Jupiter and Io*.<sup>644</sup> Significantly, Crowe would use Cavalcaselle’s Russian notes on the Hermitage picture in order to reflect on Schiavone’s *oeuvre* and challenge Waagen’s prestige, by attributing the Devonshire picture to Schiavone – rather than to Titian – in his and Cavalcaselle’s book on *Titian* (1877).<sup>645</sup>

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<sup>642</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 15v.

<sup>643</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 15v.

<sup>644</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XX, f. 263r. MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.50.

<sup>645</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 2, p. 466.

In sum, following Cavalcaselle's indications and sketches, in Chatsworth House Crowe was forced to analyse not only the aforementioned Flemish work that is now held in Dublin,<sup>646</sup> but also the Raphaelesque drawing of the *Reading Virgin* and Sustris's painting. Consequently, Crowe had the chance to enhance his Titianesque, Schiavonesque and Raphaelesque connoisseurship and partially fill the connoisseurial gap that his absence at the Manchester exhibition had created. It should be noted that, at the beginning, Crowe's connoisseurial enhancement was the result of Cavalcaselle's need to investigate Waagen's expertise rather than to reinforce his editorial collaboration with Crowe. However, the rivalry with Waagen – regardless of the erroneous attribution of both the Devonshire and Crozat pictures to Schiavone rather than to Sustris – was at the basis of Cavalcaselle's decision to involve Crowe in the connoisseurial analysis of the two technically similar pictures in Chatsworth House and at the Hermitage. Consequently, it was only thanks to their rivalry with Waagen that Crowe and Cavalcaselle managed to challenge the traditional simplification (and overshadowing) of Schiavone's production as just another imitation of Titian.

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<sup>646</sup> Master of the Youth of Saint Rumbold, *The Enthronement of Saint Rumbold as Bishop of Dublin*, about 1490, oil on oak panel, 114.5 x 71.3 cm, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. NGL.1380 (purchased in 1958) <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/2764/the-enthronement-of-saint-rumbold-as-bishop-of-dublin> (consulted 23/12/2018).

### **3.2 Waagen and Cavalcaselle: Post-Manchester Rivals on Tour**

After the Manchester exhibition, and in particular between 1860 and 1868, Cavalcaselle and Waagen visited – shortly after one another – the same European collections. Both Waagen and Cavalcaselle likely based each visit on their desire to consolidate their prestige among the continental, public and private collectors of Old Masters. However, Cavalcaselle – and perhaps also Waagen – possibly organised some of these visits either to check the rival’s opinion or to anticipate him by making new connoisseurial discoveries. Waagen’s and Cavalcaselle’s continuous continental checks, however, enhanced both their connoisseurship of some Old Masters that had been overshadowed by first-class artists such as Titian, Raphael, Leonardo and Michelangelo. Consequently, the rivalry between Cavalcaselle and Waagen shaped the late nineteenth-century approach to some masters of the Venetian and Central Italian schools that contemporary art historians don’t classify anymore as ‘second-rate’ Old Masters.

#### **3.2.1 Liverpool, 1865. Cavalcaselle’s Admission that Waagen “Was Right”**

Thanks to his connoisseurial research following the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle managed to deepen his knowledge of the production of copies and replicas by Titian’s school and workshop during his stay in England in the summer of 1865. However, Cavalcaselle had to acknowledge the validity of Waagen’s connoisseurship when he visited the Royal Institution in Liverpool again, for the first time after the Manchester exhibition.

Between spring and late July 1865, for instance, Cavalcaselle extensively travelled throughout Great Britain and Ireland to analyse a number of specific works that had been



either placed in specific British and Irish, public and private galleries,<sup>647</sup> or exhibited in temporary exhibitions, such as the Dublin International Exhibition.<sup>648</sup> In 1988, Levi convincingly highlighted the fact that, during his connoisseurial surveys throughout England, Cavalcaselle aimed at updating his technical, stylistic and compositional knowledge of the works of one of the Old Masters, whom he had studied during his first British stay (1849–1857). However, Levi correctly stated that during his 1865 stay in England, Cavalcaselle had based most of his connoisseurial assessments on Waagen’s expertise. According to Levi, Cavalcaselle “[...] misurava sul Waagen le sue competenze di *connoisseur* e aggiornava le attribuzioni che quello aveva proposto” “[...] used Waagen as a means of comparison to measure the extent of his own connoisseurship and updated the attributions that [Waagen] had proposed”].<sup>649</sup>

It should be noted that this was not just a matter of attributions. Cavalcaselle, during his 1865 stay in England, asked himself how some painters of the Northern Italian Renaissance school could have remained independent from Mantegna, Bellini and Titian in terms of compositional originality, technical innovation, style and iconography. Similarly, Cavalcaselle verified his opinion on the Central Italian Renaissance artists’ technical, iconographical and stylistic independence from Raphael. Clearly, the experience he had gained at the Manchester exhibition in 1857, as well as during his ‘Vasarian journey’ throughout the Italian peninsula (1857–1860), represented a watershed in Cavalcaselle’s connoisseurship and in the development of his critical, technical and archival skills. At the same time, Cavalcaselle’s research in England was centred on the assessment of Waagen’s expertise.

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<sup>647</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 245-248.

<sup>648</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 268-282. Levi 1988, p. 248, also endnote 13 (p. 296). O’Cleirigh 1994.

<sup>649</sup> Levi 1988, p. 247.

Significantly, Cavalcaselle had the chance to update not only Waagen's but also his own, previous technical and critical approach to certain Old Masters. Thus, in 1865, Cavalcaselle went to Liverpool to enhance his connoisseurship of some specific works that he had studied in detail 15 years earlier, for the 1851 edition of the Royal Institution's catalogue.<sup>650</sup> During his visit to Liverpool, Cavalcaselle made some pencil notes on his annotated copy of the 1851 edition of the Royal Institution's catalogue, which is now kept in Venice.<sup>651</sup> Moreover, Cavalcaselle started to draw sketches using a pen, and then finished them in pencil.<sup>652</sup> Hence, Cavalcaselle's Liverpool sketches represent the visual watershed of his post-Manchester sketching technique.

During his stay at the Liverpool Royal Institution, for instance, Cavalcaselle first used a pen and then turned to pencil when he sketched,<sup>653</sup> a Titianesque *Rest During the Flight Into Egypt*.<sup>654</sup> Moreover, Cavalcaselle added some connoisseurial notes – most likely addressed to Crowe – to this sketch using a pen and a pencil, which he would later partially underline using a pen. Significantly, in these notes Cavalcaselle acknowledged Waagen's correct analysis of this picture, admitting that he had incorrectly assessed this painting during his stay in Liverpool in the early 1850s. Indeed, in the Royal Institution's 1851 catalogue, Cavalcaselle had hypothesised that this work, which was traditionally attributed to Titian, had been painted by Pordenone, whom Cavalcaselle reductively defined as “[...] a Friulian scholar and imitator of Giorgione and Titian”.<sup>655</sup> Waagen, on the other hand, had declassified the Royal Institution's painting to Titian's school in 1854.<sup>656</sup> In fact, Waagen considered the Liverpool picture to be a copy of the coeval painting once

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<sup>650</sup> Rathbone 1851. Levi 1998, p. 27.

<sup>651</sup> Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, camicia anteriore-camicia posteriore.

<sup>652</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, ff. 232r, 234r, 235r-240v.

<sup>653</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 235v.

<sup>654</sup> After Titian, *The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape (Rest During the Flight to Egypt)*, possibly 1545-1550, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery, inv. WAG2851 (from 1843). <https://www.vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/31166/rec/1> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>655</sup> Rathbone 1851, p. 19, cat. 81.

<sup>656</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 238.

held in the Orléans collection, then kept in the collection of Robert Steyner Holford (1808–1892).<sup>657</sup> In 1857, Holford loaned his allegedly original Orléans painting by Titian to the Manchester exhibition,<sup>658</sup> where Scharf (but not Cavalcaselle) sketched it in detail.<sup>659</sup> By contrast, Cavalcaselle, during his stay at the Old Trafford venue in May 1857, limited himself to noting – on his annotated copy of Scharf’s *Provisional Catalogue* – that the Holford and the Liverpool variants had both been damaged by heavy repainting.<sup>660</sup> However, the French connoisseur Thoré-Bürger had clearly stated – in his guide to the Manchester exhibition – that the Holford picture was a replica of Titian’s *Rest During the Flight Into Egypt*, held in the Louvre.<sup>661</sup>

During his 1865 visit to Liverpool, Cavalcaselle drew a very cursory and minimal pen and pencil sketch of the Royal Institution’s picture. However, in the pen and pencil notes that he added to the sketch, Cavalcaselle stated that he had identified the picture in the Louvre as the original by Titian,<sup>662</sup> from which Titian’s workshop had drawn a number of copies, and not replicas, including those held in Liverpool and in the Holford collection. Moreover, Cavalcaselle used a pencil to observe, on his annotated copy of the Royal Institution’s 1851 catalogue, that the picture in Liverpool was a copy of the work in the Louvre.<sup>663</sup> Finally, in his 1865 notes, Cavalcaselle indicated – most likely to Crowe – that he had been wrong in attributing the Liverpool picture to Pordenone in 1851, and

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<sup>657</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 197.

<sup>658</sup> Polidoro da Lanciano (attributed to), *The Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape (Rest During the Flight to Egypt)*, c.1530, oil on canvas, 78.7 x 114.3 cm, present whereabouts unknown. Scharf 1857, p. 30, cat. 240. Scharf 1857, p. 33, cat. 301. Waagen 1857, b, p. 14, cat. 301. Wethey, 1969, p. 172, cat. X-14 (copy 4).

<sup>659</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 31, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_31 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282623/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-31> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>660</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 30.

<sup>661</sup> Polidoro da Lanciano (attributed to), *The Holy Family with Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape (Rest During the Flight to Egypt)*, c.1530, oil on canvas, 81 x 108 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 745 (purchased in 1665 from Cardinal Mazarino’s heirs) <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010060755> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>662</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 235v.

<sup>663</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, p. 19.

that Waagen had been right in his *Treasures* (1854): “errore il mio di Pordenone / copia nella scuola / Waagen ha ragione” [“my mistake regarding Pordenone / copy in the school [of Titian] / Waagen is right”].<sup>664</sup> Apparently, though, Crowe never read Cavalcaselle’s notes on the Liverpool picture or decided not to take them into account. Indeed, in his and Cavalcaselle’s book on *Titian*, which had been drafted and edited mostly by Crowe based on his and Cavalcaselle’s handwritten materials, Crowe described the Liverpool picture as follows: “The figures are large and weighty, as they would naturally be if copied by someone who is familiar with the manner of Pordenone; and the general tone somewhat merges into a ruddy brown”.<sup>665</sup>

Hence, by the mid-1860s Cavalcaselle managed to grasp some key aspects of the production of copies and replicas in Titian’s workshop thanks not only to his post-Manchester research, but also to a constant reflection on Waagen’s connoisseurial intuitions and hypotheses.

### **3.2.2 An Attempt to Undermine Waagen. Cavalcaselle in Lübeck and Copenhagen**

In the summer of 1865, Cavalcaselle embarked on a European journey across continental Europe to assess Waagen’s connoisseurship in detail. He plausibly aimed at enhancing his international prestige thanks to his networking with some scholars that, like him, considered the German scholar an authoritative competitor as well as a model.

During one of the first legs of his connoisseurial journey, on 13 August 1865,<sup>666</sup> Cavalcaselle – as I have mentioned previously – visited Lübeck to focus on Waagen’s assessment of Hans Memling’s technique and style. Before heading to Lübeck, he

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<sup>664</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 235v.

<sup>665</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volum1, p. 341, footnote 2.

<sup>666</sup> Levi 1988, p. 248, also endnote 25 (p. 296).

probably studied Crowe's pencil sketches of 1860,<sup>667</sup> which depict Memling's Greverade altarpiece.<sup>668</sup> Using a sketching technique similar to that which Crowe had adopted - as well as Scharf in Manchester - the Italian scholar exclusively used a pencil to make a detailed sketch of the Lübeck altarpiece, one of the most influential works by Memling and his workshop.<sup>669</sup>

Later, Cavalcaselle moved to Copenhagen, where, in 1851, Crowe had drawn some sketches of Northern Old Masters. There, the Italian expert focused on a female portrait then attributed to Van Eyck,<sup>670</sup> which his partner - as he had admitted in the *Early Flemish Painters* - had not managed to analyse in detail during stay in Denmark.<sup>671</sup> In Copenhagen, though, he dedicated most of his time to a detailed study,<sup>672</sup> namely of Mantegna's Valenti-Gonzaga *Christ as the Suffering Redeemer* (Fig. 82), which had not discussed in an influential essay on Mantegna (1850).<sup>673</sup> However, in Denmark Cavalcaselle focused on a specific connoisseurial aspect that he had developed not only after the Manchester exhibition, possibly in relation to the German connoisseur's remarks: Mantegna's drapery skills.<sup>674</sup> In his sketches of the Valenti-Gonzaga panel, Cavalcaselle in fact noted: "Leonardo non ha fatto di più nello studio delle pieghe"

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<sup>667</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, It. IV, 2035 (=12276), Fascicolo II, Epistola 89, f. 1r.

<sup>668</sup> Hans Memling, *Triptych of Christ's Passion ('Greverade Triptych')*, 1491, oil on oak panel, 221 × 167 cm, Lübeck, Sankt-Annen Museum, inv. 1948/138 <https://st-annen-museum.de/memling-altar> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>669</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VI, ff. 12r-13v. Franz 2018, b, p. 97, footnote 6.

<sup>670</sup> Jan Mostaert (copy from Jan van Eyck), *Portrait of Jacqueline von Wittelsbach, Countess of Holland and Zeeland*, oil on panel, 61 × 42,5 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSsp161 (from 1787). <https://open.smk.dk/artwork/image/KMSsp161?q=KMSsp161&page=0> (consulted 23/07/2021). MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII, f. 6v. Franz 2018, b, p. 116, also footnote 81.

<sup>671</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, p. 39. Franz 2018, b, p. 116. Crowe's Danish have not been traced yet.

<sup>672</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII, ff. 4r-6r, 7r, 7v. Levi 1988, p. 247 also endnote 26 (p. 297). Franz 2018, b, p. 119, footnote 86.

<sup>673</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *The Dead Christ Sustained by a Weeping Seraphim and a Weeping Cherub by the Holy Sepulchre (Christ as the Suffering Redeemer/The Man of Sorrows)*, tempera on panel, 78 × 48 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSsp69 (purchased in Amsterdam in 1763 at the auction of the Valenti Gonzaga's collection). <https://open.smk.dk/en/artwork/image/KMSsp69?q=KMSsp69&page=0> (consulted 23/07/2021). Waagen 1850. Franz 2018, b, pp. 119-121, also Fig. 24.

<sup>674</sup> Christiansen 1990. Bambach 2004. Franz 2018, b, pp. 120-121.

[“Leonardo has not done any more in the study of folds”].<sup>675</sup> In Denmark, so, he had the chance to improve the technical and stylistic knowledge on drapery that he had acquired at the 1857 show by carefully comparing two pictures, both representing the *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 67 and 70), which had traditionally been assigned to Mantegna before Waagen’s intervention (1854).<sup>676</sup> In his *Treasures*, in fact, the German scholar confirmed the attribution to Mantegna of the *Agony in the Garden* that Thomas Baring would loan to the exhibition (Fig. 67).<sup>677</sup> On the contrary, he assigned – for the first time – to Giovanni Bellini the other *Agony in the Garden* (Fig. 70), a painting then in possession of Reverend Walter Davenport Bromley (1787–1863).<sup>678</sup> Due to Waagen’s influential reflections on these works, so, drapery was among the most relevant connoisseurial aspects on which experts – including Cavalcaselle and Scharf – focused in Manchester.

It is not surprising, then, that in 1865 the Italian expert compared the drapery in Mantegna’s Valenti-Gonzaga *Christ* to some undetailed works, which he had cautiously attributed to Bellini, and which were then placed in London: “quadri di Bellini? Londra / per pieghe” [“paintings by Bellini? London / for folds”].<sup>679</sup> It is plausible, but not certain, that he was referring to Baring’s and Davenport Bromley’s copies of *Agony in the Garden* that he had analysed in Manchester. Either way, this note seems to demonstrate that he had developed his critical attention to Mantegna’s drapery after the 1857 show as a reaction to the German connoisseur’s authority in this specific field. At the Old Trafford

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<sup>675</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII, f. 6r. Levi 1988, endnote 26 (pp. 296-297, from p. 247). Franz 2018, b, p. 120, also footnote 113.

<sup>676</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 178. Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 376

<sup>677</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Agony in the Garden*, 1458-1460, egg tempera on panel, 62.9 x 80 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. 1NG1417 (purchased in 1894) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>678</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Agony in the Garden*, c.1465, egg tempera on panel, 8.,3 x 127 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG726 (purchased in 1863) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-the-agony-in-the-garden> (consulted 23/07/2021). Lucco 2019, pp. 345-347, cat. 30.

<sup>679</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII, f. 4r. Franz 2018, b, p. 120, also footnote 100.

venue,<sup>680</sup> in fact, Cavalcaselle had written some detailed technical notes for his editorial partner, aiming at challenging the German expert's attribution to Mantegna of the *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele* (Fig. 153),<sup>681</sup> another Manchester work that Waagen had praised mostly for its drapery.<sup>682</sup>

In the index of his folder of connoisseurial handwritten materials on certain Flemish and Italian Old Masters kept in the Danish Royal Collection,<sup>683</sup> the Italian expert noted – written very close to each other – not only the name of the city of Lübeck but also that of Niels Laurits Høyen (1798–1870), the Danish connoisseur, critic and recently appointed director of the Danish Royal Collection. Interestingly, for decades Høyen had been involved in a fluctuating professional competition with Waagen. However, owing to the diplomatic tensions between Denmark and Prussia related to the two Schleswig–Holstein Wars, he had not yet managed to invite the German expert to assess his attributions and display his arrangements in the Danish Royal Collection.<sup>684</sup> Hence, during his stay in Copenhagen in August 1865, the Italian scholar and Høyen possibly discussed not only Waagen's connoisseurship, but also the attribution, techniques and conservation of certain Italian and Flemish Old Masters' works, which were included in the Danish Royal Collection and in other Northern European collections.<sup>685</sup> In the mid-1860s, in fact, the Danish director had focused on the Early Flemish schools, among which Memling's *oeuvre* and, consequently, the Greverade altarpiece in Lübeck.<sup>686</sup> At

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<sup>680</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2036 (=12277), Taccuino IV, guardia.

<sup>681</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *The Introduction of the Cult of Cybele at Rome*, 1505-1506, glue on linen, 76.5 x 273 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG902 (bought in 1902) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andrea-mantegna-the-introduction-of-the-cult-of-cybele-at-rome> (consulted 10/08/2021). Scharf 1857, p. 32, cat. 289. Scharf 1857, p. 20 cat. 102. Pergam 2016, p. 271, cat. 102.

<sup>682</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 248.

<sup>683</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII, f. 1r.

<sup>684</sup> Tøndborg 2004, p. 199, footnote 49.

<sup>685</sup> Franz 2018, b, p. 96.

<sup>686</sup> Weilbach 1894, p. 294. Franz 2018, b, p. 97.

the same time, Høyen had travelled to Italy,<sup>687</sup> and in the mid-1860s he had plausibly done research on Raphael and his workshop in order to prepare a course at the University of Copenhagen.<sup>688</sup>

In sum, the competition with Waagen fuelled Cavalcaselle's post-Manchester connoisseurship and improved the critical and connoisseurial approach to the Baltic collection of Italian and Netherlandish Old Masters in the British milieu of Old Masters studies.

### **3.2.3 Cavalcaselle's 1865 European Tour to Counter Waagen's Prestige**

Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's visits to Russia in the 1860s represent some of the most visible effects of the improved connoisseurship of the Old Masters after the Manchester exhibition. They also constituted the peak of the competition between the two scholars.

After a brief stay in Stockholm,<sup>689</sup> in early September 1865, the Italian expert headed to Saint Petersburg. In the then capital of the Russian Empire, he visited the Imperial Hermitage, the Imperial Academy of Arts and a number of private collections of Western European Old Masters. Levi correctly noted that, as in England, during his 1865 stay in Russia Cavalcaselle was determined to closely analyse Waagen's early 1860 connoisseurial survey of the Russian collections of Northern European, Italian and Spanish Old Masters. The Italian expert thus aimed at comparing his connoisseurship with that of his German competitor, checking in detail the rival's attribution as well as

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<sup>687</sup> Tøndborg 2004, pp. 114 and 264, footnote 170. Franz 2018, b, p. 96.

<sup>688</sup> Baumann 1875. Franz 2018, b, p. 97.

<sup>689</sup> Levi 1988, p. 248, also endnote 27 (p. 297). Franz 2013.



his stylistic and technical remarks on specific works of the most relevant galleries of Western medieval, Renaissance and baroque art in Saint Petersburg.<sup>690</sup>

However, it is necessary to highlight the fact that Waagen and Cavalcaselle were not able to compare their technical, stylistic and archival knowledge of Western European Old Masters in Russia to a similar degree. This is because the German and the Italian scholars did not have equal access to the Russian collections of Western Old Masters.

The Russian Imperial Court, in fact, officially invited Waagen to Saint Petersburg and Moscow in 1861. His task was to check the attribution and the arrangement of the Russian Imperial Collection. During his two-year stay, he had the opportunity to visit some of the most outstanding private galleries of Western Old Masters in Saint Petersburg and Moscow, most of which were inaccessible even to qualified visitors.

In 1864, he published a *résumé* of his connoisseurial discoveries in Saint Petersburg – thus neglecting Moscow – under the form of a guide for (potential) visitors and connoisseurs.<sup>691</sup> In 1995, Asvarishch correctly highlighted the fact that Waagen's guide soon became both a blessing and a curse for the Saint Petersburg collectors of Western Old Masters. During his 1861 visit to the prestigious Saint Petersburg gallery of Count Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov (1794–1882), for instance, the German expert attributed a *Venus* that Stroganov had proudly displayed as a work by Raphael to the Leonardesque painter Giovanni Antonio Boltraffio (1467–1516). Stroganov lamented Waagen's change of attribution, considering it a downgrade of the picture's value.<sup>692</sup> However, in his 1864 guide, he praised Stroganov's *Venus Drying Her Feet with Cupid* for the beauty of the composition and attributed it to Raphael, whereas he ascribed the

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<sup>690</sup> Levi 1988, p. 248, also endnote 29 (p. 297).

<sup>691</sup> Waagen 1864.

<sup>692</sup> Aswarischsch 1995, p. 70.

painting's execution to an unidentified Netherlandish master.<sup>693</sup> It is most likely, then, that the German scholar's public rejection of the picture's attribution to Raphael in 1861 unwittingly forced Stroganov to undersell his *Venus*, whose present whereabouts are unknown.<sup>694</sup> Waagen's 1864 description, by contrast, confirms the thesis that the untraced picture once owned by Stroganov is the *Venus After her Bath with Cupid*,<sup>695</sup> whose composition was copied from either a lost drawing by Raphael or a renowned engraving by Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1480–1534).<sup>696</sup>

In 1865, on the contrary, Cavalcaselle went to Russia at his expenses, mainly to enhance his connoisseurship of Titian's and Raphael's influence on the Venetian and Central Italian Cinquecento schools.<sup>697</sup> During this stay, the Italian scholar extensively compared his connoisseurial hypotheses with Waagen's newly published Saint Petersburg guide, which had evidently already become essential even for the most qualified experts of Western Old Masters. As a counterpart to the German scholar's prestigious 1864 Russian guide, the Italian expert used the connoisseurial knowledge that he had amassed – especially since his visit to the Manchester exhibition in spring 1857 – during his research 'on the field' in England and Italy.<sup>698</sup>

Unlike Waagen, though, Cavalcaselle had not been invited to Russia by the Imperial Court. He had also not been granted permission to visit any of the suburban imperial palaces of Saint Petersburg, such as Gatchina or Peterhof.<sup>699</sup> In addition, he did not manage to visit Moscow, as his German rival had done. Moreover, he did not even

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<sup>693</sup> Waagen 1864, p. 400.

<sup>694</sup> Aswarischtsch 1995, p. 70.

<sup>695</sup> Stroganoff 1807, cat. 1. Sharnova 2019, pp. 234-235, also footnote 26 (p. 235).

<sup>696</sup> For instance: Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Venus After Her Bath*, engraving, 15.9 x 13.5 cm, San Francisco, CA, USA, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, inv. 1963.30.36318 (1963, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts) <https://art.famsf.org/marcantonio-raimondi/venus-after-her-bath-19633036318> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>697</sup> Levi 1988, p. 248. Franz 2017, p. 84.

<sup>698</sup> Waagen 1864. Levi 1988, p. 248, also endnote 29 (p. 297).

<sup>699</sup> Franz 2017, p. 82.

try to publish a specific connoisseurial work on the Saint Petersburg collections of Western Old Masters. Finally, since he had travelled to Saint Petersburg and sojourned in the city at his own expenses, unlike his German rival he tried to keep his stay in the then Russian capital to a minimum and did not consider making his stay public.

In a letter dated 14 September 1865 and now kept in London, Cavalcaselle in fact asked Crowe if he had received a letter – which has not yet been traced – with his connoisseurial remarks on the Imperial Hermitage's gallery.<sup>700</sup> Moreover, at the end of the same letter, he added a paragraph in which he informed his partner that he had just received a reply to his letter (possibly that in which the Italian scholar described the Hermitage collection), which Crowe had written in Leipzig on 8 September 1865.<sup>701</sup> However, the Italian scholar wrote on one of his connoisseurial Russian sheets that he had arrived in Saint Petersburg in September 1865.<sup>702</sup> He, then, managed to investigate the Hermitage extended collection in only a few days' time. Clearly, the sketching skills – in terms of velocity and detailing – that he had acquired in England and Italy in 1857 helped him to save a considerable amount of time during his stay in Russia, in 1865.

In the same letter to Crowe, in addition, Cavalcaselle informed him that he would soon leave Russia because he had almost finished – much sooner than expected – analysing the works of art in the Imperial Hermitage, the Imperial Academy and the Saint Petersburg private collections that he had managed to access.<sup>703</sup> Thus, his Russian surveys of Western Renaissance and Baroque art were necessarily much more limited than those of his German rival, in terms of temporal extent and number of visited collections.

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<sup>700</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.40, Miscellaneous Box 2.

<sup>701</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.40, Miscellaneous Box 2.

<sup>702</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 1r. Levi 1988, p. 248.

<sup>703</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.40, Miscellaneous Box 2.

However, it should be noted that Cavalcaselle managed to visit some of the Saint Petersburg private collections of Old Masters that were usually closed, as well as the Imperial Hermitage's storage and conservation laboratory.<sup>704</sup> Clearly, the Italian expert was granted the necessary permission to make these special visits thanks to the intervention of some of his contacts, who were well-acquainted with the Russian Imperial apparatus. Cavalcaselle's main Russian contact can most likely be identified with Fyodor Antonovich Bruni (1799–1875), an Italian-born Russian painter and former curator of the Imperial Hermitage who had just been appointed professor at the Russian Imperial Academy of Arts.<sup>705</sup> The Italian expert, indeed, wrote Bruni's name twice in his sketches of the Leonardesque *Flora*,<sup>706</sup> held in the Hermitage and possibly painted by Cesare da Sesto, although traditionally attributed to Francesco Melzi.<sup>707</sup> It was probably Bruni, then, who granted him the permission to visit, in the Mariinski Palace in Saint Petersburg, the collections of both the Dukes of Leuchtenberg and the Grand Duchess Maria Nikolaevna (1819–1876). If this were so, Bruni could be identified with the author of the cursive note, handwritten in pre-1917 Russian Cyrillic letters in one of Cavalcaselle's Russian sheets, which says the following: “Turgeneff – въ Субботу придетъ смо [sic] - / - треть [sic] двѣ картины которыя въшкапу [sic] / отъ Ивана Ивановича” [“Turgenev [sic] – will come on Saturday to see [the] two paintings that are in the closet from [the collection of] Ivan Ivanovich”].<sup>708</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> Franz 2017, p. 89.

<sup>705</sup> Rebecchini 2010, pp. 52-55. Sokolova 2015, p. 60. Franz 2017, p. 88, also footnote 26.

<sup>706</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, ff. 21v and 51r. Franz 2017, p. 88-89, also footnote 27 (p. 89).

<sup>707</sup> Cesare da Sesto (possibly), *Flora*, 1510-1515, oil on panel transferred to canvas, 76 × 63 cm, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, n. inv. ГЭ 107 (1850, purchased in The Hague at the sale of the collection of William II, King of the Netherlands). <http://collections.hermitage.ru/entity/OBJECT/29598?query=%D0%93%D0%AD%20107%20&index=0> (consulted 23/07/2021). Kustodieva 1994, pp. 256-257, cat. 159,

<sup>708</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 59v. Franz 2017, p. 91, footnote 38, Figure 5.

At the same time, it is now possible to trace the connoisseurial similarities and differences between Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's approach to the Saint Petersburg galleries of Western Old Masters thanks to a partial comparison of the German scholar's 1864 book with the Italian expert's 1865 Russian handwritten materials.<sup>709</sup> Remarkably, Waagen did not copy in his book his connoisseurial notes on the Mordvinov collection, which his Italian rival certainly visited in September 1865.<sup>710</sup> Cavalcaselle, in turn, noted in his Russian papers that he had not had the opportunity to trace the Buturlin gallery in Saint Peterburg, because Count Mikhail Dmitrievich Buturlin (1807–1876) had already moved his collection to Odessa.<sup>711</sup> Instead, Cavalcaselle managed to access the small but choice gallery, located on the Vasilevskii Island's Twelfth Line, of the wealthy scholar and academic Nikolai Dmitrievich Bykov (1812–1884), whom Waagen had not managed to visit both in 1861 and 1862.<sup>712</sup>

With the exception of the Bykov collection, noticeably, Cavalcaselle constantly consulted a copy of Waagen's 1864 book in preparation for his visits to the Saint Petersburg galleries. When, for instance, Cavalcaselle visited Count Sergei Grigorievich Stroganov's gallery, he made a very harsh comment on Waagen's connoisseurship in a handwritten note to Crowe. Thus, he instinctively added the following observation to the sketch of another picture in the Stroganov collection: "Pazzo il Waagen dicendo che essa è di Cavallini" ["Waagen is crazy, saying that it is by Cavallini"].<sup>713</sup> Further on, Cavalcaselle added a pen reference for Crowe: "Vedi una notizia tra le mie lettere"

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<sup>709</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV. Waagen 1864.

<sup>710</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 78r. Waagen 1864, p. 440.

<sup>711</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, ff. 12v and 54r. Franz 2017, p. 87, footnote 22. Waagen 1864, p. 435.

<sup>712</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 78r. Franz 2017, p. 87, footnote 23, and Figure 3. Sokolova 2015, p. 123. Franz 2017, pp. 85-87.

<sup>713</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 68r. Levi 1988, pp. 248-249, also endnote 30 (p. 297) did not correctly read Cavalcaselle's note.

[“Check a piece of reference [to this case study; it is placed] in my letters”].<sup>714</sup> In fact, while he was checking Waagen’s attribution of another picture in the Stroganov gallery, Cavalcaselle noticed that, in his 1864 book, Waagen had discussed Count Stroganov’s recent purchase of a canvas whose present whereabouts are unknown, which represents the *Bust of the Archangel Gabriel*. This was a fragment of an ancient copy of the icon in the *Annunciation*,<sup>715</sup> which is still present in the Basilica della Santissima Annunziata in Florence.<sup>716</sup> In his 1864 Russian guide, in fact, Waagen had attributed the Florentine icon to the Roman late Duecento and early Trecento master Pietro Cavallini (c.1240–c.1330).<sup>717</sup> It should be noted that Cavalcaselle had extensively researched Cavallini’s style and technique in Rome and Assisi, shortly after having left the Manchester exhibition.<sup>718</sup> Consequently, in 1864 Crowe and Cavalcaselle categorically rejected the traditional attribution of the Santissima Annunziata icon to Cavallini, stating that this icon was no more than a “repetition” of a fresco by Fra Angelico (c.1395–1455),<sup>719</sup> located in the Florentine convent of San Marco.<sup>720</sup> Cavalcaselle’s harsh comment on Waagen in 1865 could, then, be interpreted as a consequence of the progression that the European connoisseurship of Western Old Masters had made thanks to the Manchester exhibition.

### 3.2.4 The Final Strokes in Dresden, Vienna, Madrid and Copenhagen

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<sup>714</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 68r. Levi 1988, pp. 248-249, also endnote 30 (p. 297).

<sup>715</sup> Ludovico Cardi (‘Cigoli’) (?), *The Archangel Gabriel*, oil on canvas, 65 x 51,5 cm, present whereabouts unknown. Von Falke 1931, p. 1 cat. 1.

<sup>716</sup> Unidentified Florentine painter, *Annunciation*, c.1341 (?), Florence, church of Santissima Annunziata. Villorosi 2004, p. 82.

<sup>717</sup> Waagen 1864, p. 399.

<sup>718</sup> Fraticelli 2018.

<sup>719</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, p. 11, also footnote 2.

<sup>720</sup> Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*, c.1445, fresco, 230 x 321 cm, Florence, Convent of San Marco, North corridor.

After having left Saint Petersburg in mid-September 1865, Cavalcaselle headed to Leipzig to analyse – together with Crowe – the most relevant connoisseurial case studies related to his Russian stay, as well as to discuss Waagen’s opinion and approach to some of these works. However, between September 1865 and Waagen’s death in July 1868, Waagen and Cavalcaselle apparently followed one another throughout Europe in order to check on each other’s connoisseurship. Hence, by the time their editorial works appeared on the scene, Waagen’s and Cavalcaselle’s continental surveys of 1865–1868 had shaped the critical approach of the British milieu of Old Masters studies to the late nineteenth-century connoisseurship of Old Masters.

I have already raised the possibility that Cavalcaselle, on his way from Saint Petersburg to Leipzig, may have paid a brief visit to Gdańsk to study Memling’s Tani altarpiece in detail.<sup>721</sup> Consequently, he equalled Waagen’s as well as Crowe’s technical and stylistic knowledge in the field. However, after having left Leipzig, at the end of 1865 Cavalcaselle did a number of connoisseurial surveys in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie.<sup>722</sup> Interestingly, in 1858, Waagen had published some important connoisseurial, museological and museographic reflections on the conservation, display and cataloguing of the Gemäldegalerie’s works.<sup>723</sup> Cavalcaselle most likely consulted this post-Manchester work by Waagen in Dresden.<sup>724</sup> Moreover, on this occasion, Cavalcaselle used the Gemäldegalerie’s 1862 catalogue that had followed Waagen’s 1858 indications,<sup>725</sup> writing notes and drawing sketches on his personal copy – now kept in Venice – of an undated older edition, most likely published in the 1840s, of the catalogue

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<sup>721</sup> Hans Memling, *Last Judgement (Tani Triptych)*, 1467-1473, oil on panel, 241 x 180.8 cm (central panel) and 242 x 90 cm (side panels), Gdańsk, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, inv. MNG/SD/413/M. Gaedertz 1883, p. 15, also footnote 1 (pp. 15-16). <http://sadostateczny.mng.gda.pl/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>722</sup> Levi 1988, p. 249.

<sup>723</sup> Waagen 1858.

<sup>724</sup> Levi 1988, p. 249.

<sup>725</sup> Hübner 1862. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino II and Taccuino XV. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IX. <http://fondocavalcaselle.venezia.sbn.it/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

of the Gemäldegalerie's collection.<sup>726</sup> Cavalcaselle, then, had a chance to mirror his experience at the Old Trafford venue, expanding his knowledge of the display, conservation and cataloguing of the Old Masters thanks to the analysis of Waagen's remarks on these outstanding museum disciplines. However, in Dresden as in Russia, Cavalcaselle's main objective was the assessment of Waagen's attribution and critical assessment of a number of specific works of the Venetian and Northern Italian Renaissance school.<sup>727</sup>

Interestingly, in 1865 Cavalcaselle and Waagen most likely met in Vienna and conducted research – separately and in competition with each other – in the Austrian capital's main collections of Renaissance and baroque art. Thus, in autumn 1865 (i.e. after having left Dresden), Cavalcaselle analysed some specific works of the Belvedere Museum and the Imperial Academy in Vienna.<sup>728</sup> Waagen, on the other hand, published a survey of the Viennese galleries of Old Masters in 1866, stating that he had had the opportunity to do research in the Belvedere and Imperial Academy only in 1865.<sup>729</sup> Possibly, then, Cavalcaselle and Waagen met in Vienna shortly after Cavalcaselle's Russian stay and after his meeting with Crowe in Leipzig.

In an attempt to publish a survey of the main Spanish galleries of Italian, Netherlandish and Iberian Old Masters, Waagen visited Madrid in 1866. Waagen's objective was probably that of equalling Cavalcaselle's international primacy in the field of Spanish baroque art. Cavalcaselle's 1852 research stay in Madrid therefore gave Cavalcaselle the connoisseurial experience in the field of Spanish schools that would convince Scharf to request – in an unofficial and private way – Cavalcaselle's assistance

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<sup>726</sup> <http://fondocavalcaselle.venezia.sbn.it/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>727</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 248-249.

<sup>728</sup> Levi 1988, p. 249. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino III. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo X. <http://fondocavalcaselle.venezia.sbn.it/> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>729</sup> Waagen 1866, p. vi.



at the Manchester exhibition. In other words, the Manchester event gave Cavalcaselle the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of the artist to whom Scharf had attributed some of the Manchester works that had formed King Louis-Philippe's Galerie Espagnole. Moreover, during his 1865 Russian sojourn, Cavalcaselle wrote specific connoisseurial notes on his annotated copy,<sup>730</sup> now kept in Venice, of the 1863 catalogue of the Imperial Hermitage's Western European works,<sup>731</sup> exclusively on certain works that had all been attributed to the Spanish baroque school. During his stay at the Imperial Hermitage, Cavalcaselle therefore possibly made an expert assessment – likely for his plausible Russian contact Fyodor Bruni – of these alleged Spanish works.

Finally, Waagen didn't visit Copenhagen until July 1868, thanks to an invitation from Høyen. Differently from Cavalcaselle, though, Waagen did not manage to visit the Danish Royal Collection. In fact, he died in Copenhagen soon after his visit to the Moltke collection, which Cavalcaselle had not visited during his Danish stay in 1865. Hence, it is not possible to compare Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's approach to Høyen's attributional, museological and museographic arrangements in the Danish Royal Collection and in the Moltke gallery.<sup>732</sup>

In conclusion, a comparison between Waagen's and Cavalcaselle's approach to the attribution, the conservation, the cataloguing and the display of some of the most outstanding European collections of Old Masters can only be conducted at a temporal distance. Waagen's 1866 Viennese survey, for instance, could be evaluated in relation to its methodological, technical and critical similarities with and differences from Cavalcaselle's notes on the Renaissance and baroque works that Cavalcaselle had analysed in Vienna. After all, Uglow correctly highlighted that “in the summer of 1873

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<sup>730</sup> Venice, Marciana, Cavalcaselle Bequest, inv. 80665, C 286C 149.

<sup>731</sup> von Köhne 1863, pp. 68-69, cat. 361, p. 80, catt. 369-371 and 376, and p. 81, catt. 378-37, 381 and 384.

<sup>732</sup> Franz 2018, b, pp. 100.101.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle assisted [...]” the Belvedere Museum’s recently appointed director, the Austrian painter Eduard Ritter von Engerth (1818–1887), “[...] with problematic attributions of Italian paintings in the Belvedere, the results of which can be found in his 1882 catalogue of the gallery”.<sup>733</sup> However, Crowe’s and – mostly – Cavalcaselle’s connoisseurial, museological and museographic reaction to Waagen’s Viennese work can only partially be inferred from the 1882 edition of the Belvedere Museum’s catalogue by Engerth.<sup>734</sup>

Hence, the post-Manchester rivalry between Waagen and Cavalcaselle encouraged both scholars to organise research journeys throughout Europe so as to check on each other’s connoisseurial value. The consequence of this rivalry was the publication of some of the most relevant and influential connoisseurial works on the Old Masters of nineteenth-century art history.

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<sup>733</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.31 Box 2. Uglow 1017, p. 42, also endnote 33 (p, 48).

<sup>734</sup> Von Engerth 1882.

## **chapter Cavalcaselle and Crowe's Post-Manchester Sketching in Veneto**

After the Manchester exhibition Cavalcaselle and Crowe struggled to resume their editorial collaboration. However, since 1860 they managed to collaborate on their project to publish both a connoisseurial – as well as art-historical - survey of the development of the Italian and Flemish schools and the biographical and archival accounts of the most renowned and influential masters of the Italian Renaissance: Raphael, Titian, Michelangelo, Leonardo and Correggio.<sup>735</sup>

In order to complete their tasks, so, both Cavalcaselle and Crowe continuously travelled throughout Europe. The mutual exchange of their sketches, notes, tracing papers, photographs and cut-outs, moreover, affected both the experts' sketching techniques. Noticeably, Cavalcaselle's and Crowe's stays in Padua are remarkable for Cavalcaselle's attention to Crowe's pencil sketching, as well as for the Cavalcaselle's post-Manchester evolution of 'arrow-referenced' sketching.

### **3.3.1 Cavalcaselle's Post-Manchester Stays in Padua**

After the Manchester show Cavalcaselle visited Padua on many occasions. For sure, he researched in the Italian city in 1857, then in 1864 and at the end of 1865<sup>736</sup> and, finally, in 1869.<sup>737</sup>

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<sup>735</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 177-289 and 369-423.

<sup>736</sup> Fraticelli 2019, p. 56, also footnote 8.

<sup>737</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272) - Fascicolo VI, Cartella E, f. 199r.

Significantly, within Cavalcaselle's Paduan papers that are placed in the Marciana National Library, there is a pencil sketch (Fig. 131)<sup>738</sup> of the *Enthroned Virgin with Saints (Sacred Conversation)* by Francesco Verla, that since 2005 has been on loan from the Museo Bardini in Florence to the Medicean Villa of Cerreto Guidi (Fig. 63).<sup>739</sup> Stylistically, Cavalcaselle's pencil sketch of Verla's picture could be dated around the mid or late 1860s.

Cavalcaselle's sketch (Fig. 131)<sup>740</sup> demonstrates Gallazzini's identification of Verla's Bardini *Sacred Conversation* with the one once in the Piovene collection in Padua.<sup>741</sup> Cavalcaselle, indeed, had the chance to study Verla's *Sacred Conversation* in the mansion, giving onto the Paduan square of Prato della Valle, that was known as Palazzo Sartori-Piovene. Noticeably, in 1864-1865 this palace was the seat of countess Adele (known as Adelina) Sartori-Piovene (1834-1917), who had shared with Cavalcaselle a long-lasting struggle against the Austrian domination of Veneto.<sup>742</sup> Exactly in this palace, indeed, she would receive Vittorio Emanuele II (1820-1878), earlier King of Sardinia (1849-1861) and then King of Italy (1861-1878), during his first visit to the city after the Italian conquest of Veneto. On 1 August 1866, in fact, the king would address the Paduan people from Palazzo Sartori-Piovene's balcony.<sup>743</sup>

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<sup>738</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella E, f. 132r.

<sup>739</sup> Francesco Verla, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child between the Saints John the Baptist, Augustine of Hippo, Anthony of Padua (?) and Jerome in an Architectural Setting Before a Landscape (Sacred Conversation)*, 1508-1509 or 1510-1512, oil on canvas, 214 x 181 cm, Florence, Museo Bardini (Palazzo Mozzi Bardini), inv. Bd005093, on loan to the Museo Storico della Caccia e del Territorio (Medicean Villa of Cerreto Guidi) since 2005. Scalini 2001. Proto Pisani 2005, p. 212, cat. 53. Scalini 2008, p. 29, cat. 16. Galli 2017, pp. 26 and 28-29, also endnotes 48 and 49 (p. 33). Gallazzini 2017. <http://www.museodellacaccia.it/record.php?cod=Bd005093> (consulted 03/06/2021).

<sup>740</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella E, f. 132r.

<sup>741</sup> Gallazzini 2017, p. 124.

<sup>742</sup> Levi 1988, p. 253.

<sup>743</sup> Banzato, Pellegrini, Mari 1999, p. 94, cat. 20, and p. 221, cat. 55.

In relation to Cavalcaselle's 'arrow-referenced' Paduan pencil sketch<sup>744</sup> of Verla's Piovene-Bardini *Sacred Conversation*,<sup>745</sup> one might suppose that Cavalcaselle derived this sketching system from Crowe's own practices. In 2019, indeed, Fraticelli assigned to Crowe two 'arrow-referenced' pen sketches that Crowe had drawn in the chapel of San Giacomo, also known as the chapel of San Felice, which is found within the church of Sant'Antonio in Padua.<sup>746</sup> It is possible that Crowe was in Padua at the same time as Cavalcaselle—that is, the mid or late 1860s—to analyse Verla's altarpiece, now in Cerreto Guidi. Conversely, it is very plausible that Crowe had derived his 'arrow-referenced' noting and sketching system from Cavalcaselle, and not the other way round.

### 3.3.2 The San Felice Chapel

In 2019, Fraticelli suggested that, during his stay in Padua, Crowe had consistently developed his connoisseurly skills of the late-Gothic and Renaissance schools of Veneto.<sup>747</sup> For instance, Crowe was very interested in the state of conservation of the frescoes in the chapel of San Felice. Moreover, he thoroughly analysed the scenes' subjects, as well as the decorative elements of the San Felice chapel's walls and ceiling. While it is possible that Crowe's surveys in the San Felice were not conducted in Cavalcaselle's presence, his sketches do utilise an abbreviation system very similar to the one that Cavalcaselle had used since before the Manchester exhibition. In some sections of his Paduan sketches, indeed, Crowe wittingly avoided placing any spaces between the

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<sup>744</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella E, f. 132r.

<sup>745</sup> Francesco Verla, *The Enthroned Virgin and Child between the Saints John the Baptist, Augustine of Hippo, Anthony of Padua (?) and Jerome in an Architectural Setting Before a Landscape (Sacred Conversation)*, 1508-1509 or 1510-1512, oil on canvas, 214 x 181 cm, Florence, Museo Bardini (Palazzo Mozzi Bardini), inv. Bd005093, on loan to the Museo Storico della Caccia e del Territorio (Medicean Villa of Cerreto Guidi) since 2005. Gallazzini 2017. <http://www.museodellacaccia.it/record.php?cod=Bd005093> (consulted 03/06/2021).

<sup>746</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Figs 10 and 11.

<sup>747</sup> Fraticelli 2019.

words. This mirrored Cavalcaselle’s fashion for unseparated<sup>748</sup> or abbreviated<sup>749</sup> words, that can be traced at least as far back as his handwritten notes on the printed catalogues of the 1850s editions of the British Institution’s Winter exhibitions. When, for instance, Crowe sketched the wall decoration of the San Felice chapel’s “wall to left”—the one with the scene representing *Ramiro’s Dream*<sup>750</sup> - he signalled how the cycle of wall “paintings”, in spite of being “damaged f[or] resto[ratio]ns remains the / most inferior in thischapel [sic]”.<sup>751</sup>

In this sketch, furthermore, Crowe utilised the same ‘connoisseurly arrows’ usually adopted by Cavalcaselle to register—in Italian—the presence of “marmo” [“marble”]<sup>752</sup> in one of the niches of the friars’ “stalls” with “bust / figure[s of ] / saints / painted / retouched”.<sup>753</sup> In 2019, though, Fraticelli did not signal that Cavalcaselle had closely studied Crowe’s pen sketch of this wall. Cavalcaselle, indeed, used pencil to add to Crowe’s pen sketch the numbers of the stall, whereas he opted for pen to indicate that “sono numero 9 sedili da questo lato” [“there are nine stalls on this side [of the chapel]”].<sup>754</sup> Fraticelli, moreover, did not correctly read<sup>755</sup> and discuss Crowe’s note on the sketch’s upper edge, which states: “ThewholechapelRestored [sic] / by Zannoni in 1771”.<sup>756</sup> It is plausible that Crowe’s reference was taken from a passage of a popular book on the Basilica of Sant’Antonio, published by Antonio Isnenghi in Padua in 1857. In this passage, Isnenghi mentioned that Giovanni Zannoni restored the chapel of San

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<sup>748</sup> MS, Venice Marciana, Cavalcaselle Bequest, Cavalcaselle’s Library, London, 1856, Esposizione British Institution, p. 10: “nellelogie [sic]” [“in the [Vatican] lodges”].

<sup>749</sup> MS, Venice Marciana, Cavalcaselle Bequest, Cavalcaselle’s Library, London, 1857, Esposizione British Institution, foglio volante: ““g[u]anto tutto ridipinto” [“glove all repainted”].

<sup>750</sup> Altichiero (attributed to), *Ramiro’s Dream*, c.1376, fresco, Padua, church of Sant’Antonio, chapel of San Giacomo and Felice. Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 4354 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/4354> (consulted 10/06/2021). Plant 1981.

<sup>751</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 10.

<sup>752</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 10.

<sup>753</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 10.

<sup>754</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 10.

<sup>755</sup> Fraticelli 2019, p. 59: “[...] Whole Chapel Rewhind by Zannoni(?) in 1791”.

<sup>756</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 10.

Felice in 1771.<sup>757</sup> The year 1857, therefore, can be considered the *terminus post quem* of Crowe’s note.

Furthermore, in Crowe’s other pen sketch of the Paduan chapel of San Felice reproduced in 2019 by Fraticelli, Crowe used a pen to isolate, on the sheet’s lower edge, a map of the chapel’s orientation between “East” and “West”, as well as the chapel’s architectural connection with the basilica.<sup>758</sup> Fraticelli also highlights that Crowe used the rest of the same sheet to sketch an architectural elevation of the chapel of San Felice’s entrance colonnade and ceiling. In this elevation, he analysed the decorative elements and sacred characters on the chapel’s “waggon [sic] roof”.<sup>759</sup> Noticeably, in his pen sketch of the chapel’s ceiling, Crowe utilised some ‘connoisseurly arrows’ to signal the presence of almost each “saint” placed in the foiled tondos.<sup>760</sup> Moreover, he noted in Italian—for him and plausibly also for Cavalcaselle—that the chapel was connected to the rest of the basilica by “archi di passaggio”[“arched passageways”].<sup>761</sup> On both Crowe’s pen elevation and map of the chapel, there are also some other Italian notes, possibly added by Cavalcaselle, in pencil. These additional notes indicate that Crowe’s pen map of the chapel represents its orientation and architectural connection to the rest of the “chiesa” [“church”], whereas his elevation is related to the analysis of the chapel’s “volta” [“ceiling”] and arched passage to the “chiesa” [“church”].<sup>762</sup>

Two other pen sketches, found in the National Art Library and signalled by Fraticelli, shed more light on how Crowe and Cavalcaselle collaborated in Veneto soon after the Manchester exhibition, and how this exchange shaped the rest of their individual connoisseurship, sketching techniques and editorial projects. Firstly, Fraticelli correctly

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<sup>757</sup> Isnenghi 1857, p. 22.

<sup>758</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 11.

<sup>759</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 11.

<sup>760</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 11.

<sup>761</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 11.

<sup>762</sup> MS, London, NAL, 86.ZZ.33, Box 9. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 11.

assigned to Cavalcaselle the late-1850s pen sketch<sup>763</sup> of Francesco Vecellio Fiorelli's (c.1495–1560) *Virgin and Child*, found in Vicenza.<sup>764</sup> In the mid-nineteenth century, this picture had been assigned to Titian, however in this sketch, Cavalcaselle correctly assigned it to Francesco Vecellio for the first time. However, Fraticelli did not highlight that, on the sheet now in London's lower portion, Cavalcaselle had later added a remarkable pencil note to his pen handwritten materials— most likely in the mid or late 1860s.<sup>765</sup> In this pencil note, Cavalcaselle suggested that Crowe conduct a comparison between the *Virgin and Child* in Vicenza and another religious work by Francesco Vecellio that is still in Venice: “vedi ~~Maddalena~~ Catterina [*sic*] - / nelquadro [*sic*] a S.[ant'] Ermacora”[“see ~~Mary of Magdala~~ Catherine - / in the painting in S.[ant'] Ermacora”].<sup>766</sup> Cavalcaselle also suggested in this note that Crowe compare the facial features of the Virgin in the picture in Vicenza with those of saint Catherine of Alexandria in the coeval *Sacred Conversation*, which is still in Venice's church of Sant'Ermacora (San Marcuola).<sup>767</sup>

This note implies, therefore, that Cavalcaselle expected Crowe to research Francesco Vecellio's production while in Venice. Consequently, the National Art Library's sheet reproduced by Fraticelli in 2019<sup>768</sup> indicates two critical aspects. Firstly, soon after the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle dedicated a significant amount of time to studying Francesco Vecellio's painting in Vicenza. Secondly, Cavalcaselle, most likely in the 1860s, required Crowe's expertise to improve the selection from Francesco Vecellio's *oeuvre* and the critical evaluation of this artist's art-historical relevance in the

<sup>763</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 9.

<sup>764</sup> Francesco Vecellio, *Virgin and Child*, c.1521, oil on panel, 51 x 40 cm. Vicenza, IPAB, inv. n. 1570 (Fiorelli bequest). SBAS del Veneto, cat. gen. n. 05/00258606. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59, also footnote 19. <http://www.ipab.vicenza.it/storia-e-patrimonio/patrimonio-artistico.html?id=26> (consulted 23/07/2021).

<sup>765</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 9.

<sup>766</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 9.

<sup>767</sup> Francesco Vecellio, *The Virgin and Child Between the Saints Andrew and Catherine of Alexandria*, c.1520, oil on panel, 106 x 148 cm, Venice, church of San Marcuola. Giorgio 2009, p. 86, Fig. 28.

<sup>768</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 9.



Venetian late-Renaissance school—an artist who happened to be Titian’s brother. Crowe may have had the chance to study the picture in the church of San Marcuola when he was in Venice to study the renowned Bossi *cahier* of Peruginesque drawings, then assigned to Raphael and now found in Venice’s Academy of Fine Arts.<sup>769</sup>

On a sheet now found in the National Art Library, Fraticelli also correctly indicated that Cavalcaselle had sketched<sup>770</sup> a *Portrait of a Scholar* that, since 1833, has been located in the gallery of the Accademia dei Concordi in Rovigo and has been variably attributed to numerous early-Cinquecento painters of the Venetian Terraferma.<sup>771</sup> While it was proposed by Lucco in 1985,<sup>772</sup> this portrait cannot be identified with certainty as the heavily-repainted life-size canvas “Brustbild eines Mannes in schwarzem Wamms mit grüner Schaubе und Pelzkragen ” [“Half-length portrait of a man in black doublet with green scarf and fur collar ”], a painting mentioned by Max Jordan in the *Geschichte*’s sixth volume (1876).<sup>773</sup> Fraticelli, however, dated the portrait to 1520 and assigned it to Domenico Capriolo (1494–1528), which was advanced by Berenson in 1957 and by Lucco in 1985.<sup>774</sup>

On the sheet reproduced by Fraticelli,<sup>775</sup> Cavalcaselle used the same pen to sketch the painting and to surround it with several ‘connoisserial arrows’ that connected the sketch’s details to his handwritten notes. Significantly, these notes feature some typical characteristics of Cavalcaselle’s note-taking, thus confirming the autography of both the

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<sup>769</sup> Haskell 1978. Levi 1988, pp. 400-401. Filippin 2015, pp. 13-14, footnote 16.

<sup>770</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>771</sup> Unidentified Master of the Venetian School, *Portrait of a Scholar*, c.1528, oil on canvas, 104 x 81 cm. Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Picture Gallery, inv. 38 (Casalini Bequest, 1833). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 35058 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/35058> (consulted 19/07/2021). Berenson 1957, p. 52. Mazzetti, Ruggeri 1972, p. 148, cat. 19. Romagnolo 1981, p. 98, cat 38. Fantelli, Lucco 1985, pp. 44-46, cat. 19. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59, also footnote 18.

<sup>772</sup> Fantelli, Lucco 1985, pp. 44-46, cat. 19.

<sup>773</sup> Jordan 1876, p. 552.

<sup>774</sup> Fraticelli 2019, p. 59, also footnote 18. Berenson 1957, Volume 1, p. 52. Fantelli, Lucco 1985, pp. 44-46, cat. 19.

<sup>775</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

sketch and these pen notes. For instance, some unseparated words feature in this ‘arrow-referenced’ sketch—such as the “anello indito [*sic*]”[“ring on the [sitter’s] finger”]—as well as some incomplete words—such as the one signalling the “ber[r]etto”[“cap”] on the sitter’s head.<sup>776</sup> These incomplete words can be explained as either Cavalcaselle’s enduring individual fashion for cursory and incompletely written words, or as the strong influence of Cavalcaselle’s native Venetian local language that can be traced, for instance, in for and to register under the sketch, as correctly indicated by Fraticelli, that the portrait was “detto un filosofo”[“said [to be the portrait of] a philosopher”].<sup>777</sup>

In addition, in his sketch of the Accademia dei Concordi’s portrait, Cavalcaselle noted that the sitter, who “indica nel libro” [“points into the book”] and wears a doublet “[in] seta nera” [“made of] black silk”], is flanked by a “colonna” [“column”]. Under his sketch, Cavalcaselle used the same pen to write—and later delete—the words “giovane con barba” [“bearded youth”], as well as to rewrite them underneath: “uomo giovane con barba”[“bearded young man”].<sup>778</sup> Later, Cavalcaselle used the same pen to confirm, on the sheet’s upper left corner, the portrait’s traditional attribution to “Tiziano” [“Titian”] and to write, on its upper right corner, the word “Rovigo”<sup>779</sup> Finally, sometime later, Cavalcaselle used the same pen, using less pressure, to add that the portrait had been painted “grandezza naturale” [“life size”].<sup>780</sup>

Due to their resemblance with Cavalcaselle’s Manchester pen sketches, as well as other pen handwritten materials of his from the late 1850s, these sketch and notes could be dated a few months after the Manchester exhibition. Fraticelli, however, dates it to 1868, due to the presence on the sheet’s upper right corner of the date “1868”.<sup>781</sup> This,

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<sup>776</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>777</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>778</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>779</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>780</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>781</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

however, is in pencil, meaning that it must have been added after Cavalcaselle had sketched his picture and added notes. What is more, on the sheet's upper left corner is a question mark followed by the rejection ("no") of the portrait's traditional attribution to Titian—an attribution that Cavalcaselle was not known to have refused.<sup>782</sup> Both the "1868" note and the portrait's alternative attribution to Bernardino Licino: "? Licinio"(c.1485–c.1555) are written with the same pencil. Fraticelli assigned the pencil note containing the portrait's attribution to Licinio to Crowe. However, the *ductus* and the calligraphic features of the letters in the handwritten word "Licinio" look so similar to those by Cavalcaselle that the note could also plausibly be his own.<sup>783</sup> In any case, the attribution to Licinio certainly convinced Crowe, and this is the authorship proposed by himself and Cavalcaselle in the second volume of their *Titian* (1877), as in the sketch signalled in 2019 by Fraticelli.<sup>784</sup> In this passage, Crowe and Cavalcaselle also lamented the portrait's poor state of conservation.<sup>785</sup> This aspect, however, had not been mentioned in the National Art Library sketch.<sup>786</sup>

In relation to that, it should be noted that Fraticelli did not highlight that Cavalcaselle had registered some relevant notes on the portrait's state of conservation beside another pencil sketch, on the lower edge of a sheet now kept in Venice's Marciana Library.<sup>787</sup> The sketch and notes can be dated to the mid- or late-1860s, based on their graphic and calligraphic features. Cavalcaselle, similarly to what he had done beside the London pen sketch,<sup>788</sup> noted under this pencil sketch the sitter's "[a] grandezza naturale" ["life size"] likeness, representing an unidentified "giovane con barba" ["bearded youth"]

<sup>782</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>783</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>784</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 2, p. 436.

<sup>785</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 2, p. 436.

<sup>786</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>787</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella D, f. 52v.

<sup>788</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

who had been traditionally identified as a “filosofo” [“philosopher”].<sup>789</sup> In addition, and again as he had done in his pen sketch,<sup>790</sup> Cavalcaselle signalled the presence of a “colonna” [“column”] on the scene’s left rim.<sup>791</sup> Significantly, though, Cavalcaselle—as well as Crowe in the Titian volume—did not notice the “grüner Schaub” [“green scarf”] that Jordan would signal in 1876.<sup>792</sup> Similarly, both Crowe and Cavalcaselle did not provide, in the London and Venice sketches and in their *Titian*, any reflection on the potential relationship between the sitter’s identity and either the book’s text or the representation of a column.<sup>793</sup>

In contrast with his London pen sketch, Cavalcaselle’s pencil sketch in Venice is surrounded by a limited number of ‘connoisseurly arrows’<sup>794</sup> Noticeably, it is only on the Venice sheet that Cavalcaselle indicated—with a graphic sign—that he had noticed some traces of Titian’s “tocco” [stroke “touch”] in the lower portion of the Accademia dei Concordi portrait.<sup>795</sup> Moreover, Cavalcaselle noted only in the Venice pencil sketch that the portrait’s “antico fondo trasparente” [“ancient background emerges”], as well as the fact that the sitter’s doublet had been decorated with a “orlo di pelli[ccia]” [“furry edge”] and that the book had been highlighted by an “orlo rosso” [“red rim”]. By his pencil, sketch, finally, Cavalcaselle noted that, despite the heavy repainting that had obscured its likeness, he would incline for attributing the Accademia dei Concordi portrait to Bernardino Licinio: “per quanto trasparente qua è [sic] lada [sic] qualche pezzetto / sfuggito al ridipinto – di modo che apima [sic] vista avrei detto PordenoneBernardino” [“on the

<sup>789</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella D, f. 52v.

<sup>790</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>791</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella D, f. 52v.

<sup>792</sup> Jordan 1876, p. 552.

<sup>793</sup> Unidentified Master of the Venetian School, *Portrait of a Scholar*, c.1528, oil on canvas, 104 x 81 cm. Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Picture Gallery, inv. 38 (Casalini Bequest, 1833). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 35058 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/35058> (consulted 19/07/2021). Berenson 1957, p. 52. Mazzetti, Ruggeri 1972, p. 148, cat. 19. Romagnolo 1981, p. 98, cat 38. Fantelli, Lucco 1985, pp. 44-46, cat. 19. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59, also footnote 18.

<sup>794</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella D, f. 52v.

<sup>795</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella D, f. 52v.

basis on the way in which some small piece, which has escaped from repaintings, shows through here and there, at first sight I would say [that this portrait has been painted by Bernardino da Pordenone”].<sup>796</sup>

On the other hand, Fraticelli did not highlight that, on the lower portion of the same National Art Library sheet signalled by her in 2019, there is also a cursory pencil sketch and some pencil notes.<sup>797</sup> These can be assigned to Cavalcaselle and dated to between the end of 1865 and the beginning of 1866. The sketch and notes, indeed, show a striking resemblance with two pencil sketches and some pencil notes that Cavalcaselle had made in Saint Petersburg in September 1865.<sup>798</sup> During his research at the Imperial Hermitage, in fact, Cavalcaselle opted for the same pencil contour sketch and notes when he outlined<sup>799</sup> two parietal wooden panels, now transferred onto canvas, that represent *Theseus Defeating the Centaurs*<sup>800</sup> and *Hercules*<sup>801</sup> and that had been then attributed to Antonio de’ Sacchis, also known as the Pordenone (1483-1539). These two pictures are now assigned to Lambert Sustris (c.1520–after 1591) and can be found in the State Hermitage Museum. In Saint Petersburg, moreover, Cavalcaselle made some noteworthy comparisons between these Russian small mythological pictures and some *cassone* and wall panels that he had studied in London, Vienna and Turin. He had assigned these

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<sup>796</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, Cartella D, f. 52v.

<sup>797</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>798</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 247-248 and 297. Franz 2017, p. 81.

<sup>799</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 5v.

<sup>800</sup> Lambert Sustris, *Theseus Defeating the Centaurs*, 1550-1560, olio on panel transferred on canvas, 38 x 155 cm, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, State Hermitage Museum, n. inv. ГЭ 19 (purchased in 1772 in Paris from the collection of Louis-Antoine Crozat, baron of Thières). Harck 1896, p. 426. Fomichova 1992, p. 300, cat. 229. Franz 2018, p. 150, also footnote 27. <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings/32115> (consulted 19/07/2021).

<sup>801</sup> Lambert Sustris, *Theseus Defeating the Centaurs*, 1550-1560, olio on panel transferred on canvas, 38 x 155 cm, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, State Hermitage Museum, n. inv. ГЭ 15 (purchased in 1772 in Paris from the collection of Louis-Antoine Crozat, baron of Thières). Harck 1896, p. 426. Fomichova 1992, p. 301, cat. 230. Franz 2018, p. 150, also footnote 28. <https://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+paintings/32111> (consulted 19/07/2021).

panels to Giulio Romano or Andrea Meldola, also known as the “Schiavone”.<sup>802</sup> Noticeably, the word “Schiavone” on Cavalcaselle’s Russian sheet<sup>803</sup> looks identical to the word “Schiavone” written in pencil on the lower portion of the National Art Library sheet.<sup>804</sup> Therefore, the author of both the Saint Petersburg and the Rovigo pencil sketches can be identified with certainty with Cavalcaselle.

This means that Cavalcaselle must have re-used the London sheet<sup>805</sup> when he came back to Rovigo, using pencil to sketch and assign—for the first time—the small Accademia dei Concordi panel *Apollo and Daphne*<sup>806</sup> to Schiavone. This panel had been traditionally assigned to Titian.<sup>807</sup> Plausibly, due to the stylistic resemblance between his sketches and the notes on the Russian sheet,<sup>808</sup> Cavalcaselle’s pencil sketch and notes regarding the *Apollo and Daphne* can be dated to a few months after Cavalcaselle had left Russia, when he was in Veneto at the very end of December 1865 or in early 1866.<sup>809</sup> It is therefore possible that Cavalcaselle went to Rovigo to study the *Apollo and Daphne* in order to ascertain if it had been painted by Schiavone and, possibly, whether it had originally been part of the same parietal decorative cycle of the Imperial Hermitage’s two works that he had analysed in September 1865.

It is also certain that the sheet now in the National Art Library came into Crowe’s hands. Indeed, in the *Titian*, the *Apollo and Daphne* was assigned for the first time to Schiavone<sup>810</sup> as in the sketch now in London.<sup>811</sup> This makes it likely that, when Crowe

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<sup>802</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 5v.

<sup>803</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 5v.

<sup>804</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>805</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>806</sup> Andrea Meldola (Schiavone) (attributed to), *Apollo and Daphne*, oil on panel, 22.5 x 34 cm, Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Picture Gallery, inv. 110 (Casalini Bequest, 1833). [jstor.org/stable/community.15733232](https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.15733232) (consulted 19/07/2021). Romagnolo 1981, p. 274, cat 221. Fantelli, Lucco 1985, p. 49, cat. 41.

<sup>807</sup> Biscaccia 1846, p. 56, cat. 115.

<sup>808</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo IV, f. 5v.

<sup>809</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 249 and 297, endnote 33.

<sup>810</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877, Volume 2, p. 436.

<sup>811</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

came to Rovigo in 1868 to study<sup>812</sup> the *Male Portrait* then assigned to Titian,<sup>813</sup> he also verified Cavalcaselle's attribution to Schiavone of the *Apollo and Daphne*. This contributed to Crowe developing—albeit at a much more superficial level than Cavalcaselle—his connoisseurship of Schiavone's production, as well as that of Schiavone's pupils and imitators. Moreover, Crowe indirectly affected the critical fortune of the *Apollo and Daphne* by mentioning and describing it in his and Cavalcaselle's influential works on Titian.

To summarise, the National Art Library connoisseurial papers signalled by Fraticelli in 2019 in relation to Crowe's research stays in Veneto shed new light on the complex connoisseurly and sketching interactions between Crowe and Cavalcaselle after the Manchester show. The two experts, indeed, used to send each other—even more than once—their palimpsestic connoisseurly papers with the aim of continuously improving their connoisseurial papers. This process reveals two remarkable aspects. Firstly, Crowe's post-Manchester connoisseurship of the Old Masters of the Venetian schools and his involvement in the *History of Painting in North Italy's* drafting<sup>814</sup> were deeper and broader than previously supposed. Secondly, some of the art-historical original clues and connections contained in Crowe and Cavalcaselle's *History of Painting in North Italy* and *Titian* were most likely the consequence not of Cavalcaselle's or Crowe's individual connoisseurly intuition or visual training, but of the never-ending connoisseurial, sketching and editorial interaction of two different but equally skilled Old Master experts.

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<sup>812</sup> MS, London, NAL, MSL/1904/2446-2456, 86.ZZ.33 box 1a. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59 and Fig. 8.

<sup>813</sup> Unidentified Master of the Venetian School, *Portrait of a Scholar*, c.1528, oil on canvas, 104 x 81 cm. Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Picture Gallery, inv. 38 (Casalini Bequest, 1833). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 35058 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/35058> (consulted 19/07/2021). Berenson 1957, p. 52. Mazzetti, Ruggeri 1972, p. 148, cat. 19. Romagnolo 1981, p. 98, cat 38. Fantelli, Lucco 1985, pp. 44-46, cat. 19. Fraticelli 2019, p. 59, also footnote 18.

<sup>814</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871.

## Chapter Four

### Manchester Connoisseurship: Ongoing Accomplishments and Limits

In Manchester, Scharf exhibited some of the most outstanding works of art from the medieval and Baroque schools of painting that British collectors and amateurs of the early nineteenth century had neglected. However, Scharf missed the opportunity to display some influential Old Master works from British private collections. Therefore, Scharf's selection prevented both general visitors and experts from enhancing their knowledge of the style and technique of some of the most remarkable Manchester paintings.

Moreover, Cavalcaselle missed the opportunity to fully understand the relevance of some of the most remarkable – given their technical aspects or their stylistic influence on the coeval works of the same school – Old Master paintings that Scharf had displayed in Manchester. Consequently, the limits of Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's Manchester connoisseurship, as much as their connoisseurial accomplishments at the 1857 event, affected the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critical approach to Old Masters.

Indeed, Pergam has correctly highlighted the fact that Scharf had managed to display a limited but exhaustive selection of Central Italian, Venetian, Flemish and German Primitives at the Old Trafford venue.<sup>815</sup> In Manchester, on the other hand, Scharf opted for a relevant number of Spanish baroque paintings. Surprisingly, as Pergam has

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<sup>815</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 68, 103, 135-138, 161-164, 180, 218 and 229.



noticed, most of the Spanish baroque works displayed in Manchester were not related to the workshops of Murillo or Velazquez, the Siglo de Oro's most renowned masters.<sup>816</sup>

Pergam has furthermore stressed the fact that, in Manchester, Scharf wittingly refrained from expressing any public criticism of Waagen's sensational attribution to Michelangelo of the *Manchester Madonna*.<sup>817</sup> In addition, Cavalcaselle deliberately avoided contradicting Waagen in public with regard to Labouchere's painting. Hence, in Manchester both Scharf and Cavalcaselle not only fundamentally agreed with Waagen's technical and stylistic remarks on the exhibition's *pièce de resistance*, but also showed deference to and respect for Waagen's authoritative connoisseurship.

In this section of the thesis, so, I discuss some case studies that demonstrate how Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's critical and technical assessment of some Old Master works at the Manchester exhibition has heavily affected these pictures' critical fortune, collecting history and provenance.

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<sup>816</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 161-166 and 218.

<sup>817</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 36-38.

## 4.1 Scharf's Selection's Effects

When Scharf selected the works of art to exhibit at the Old Trafford venue, he was limited by some various aspects. First, the availability of some specific Old Masters in 1850s British private collections. Second, British collectors of Old Masters' recalcitrant will to lend their works to the exhibition. Third, Scharf's own taste and critical interest in some specific painters or schools. Fourth, the biographical and archival information available in the mid-1850s regards each painter or school of painting. Consequently, at the Manchester exhibition Scharf did not exhibit any painting assigned or attributed to Dirk Bouts (c.1415-1475), Antonello da Messina (1430-1479) or Luca Signorelli (c.1450-1523).

At the 1857 show, actually, Scharf displayed five paintings now attributed to Bouts or his Leuvenian workshop. These pictures, however, were exhibited by Scharf as by other Flemish painters. Firstly, Rogier van der Weyden (c.1399-1464), who was Bouts's master in Brussels.<sup>818</sup> Secondly, Hans Memling (c.1436-1494), who was Bouts's fellow in van der Weyden's workshop.<sup>819</sup> Thirdly, Gaeraert van der Meire, a little known Flemish master that had been mentioned in the influential *Neues allgemeines Künstlerlexicon*.<sup>820</sup> Nagler, indeed, in 1839 had indicated that van der Meire had been Hubert van Eyck (c.1366-1426)'s pupil and that had deceased in 1447.<sup>821</sup> At the 1857

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<sup>818</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 162, 193 (endnote 108) and 273. Scharf 1857, p. 43, cat. 479-481. Scharf 1857, b, p. 38, cat. 387-389. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289083/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-51-verso-52-recto?> (consulted 23/01/2021).

<sup>819</sup> Dirk Bouts (Workshop of), *Portrait of a Man (Jan van Winckele?)*, oil and tempera on oak panel, 31.6 x 20.5 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG943 (Wynn Ellis Bequest, 1876) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/dirk-bouts-portrait-of-a-man-jan-van-winckele> (consulted 23/01/2021). Pergam 2016, pp. 187, endnote 1 and 273. Scharf 1857, p. 44, cat. 496. Scharf 1857, b, p. 38, cat. 400. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289083/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-51-verso-52-recto?> (consulted 23/01/2021).

<sup>820</sup> Dirk Bouts (Workshop of), *The Virgin and Child*, oil and tempera on oak panel, 20.2 x 14.3 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG708 (presented by Queen Victoria at the Prince Consort's wish, 1863) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/workshop-of-dirk-bouts-the-virgin-and-child> (consulted 23/01/2021). Pergam 2016, p. 273.

<sup>821</sup> Nagler 1839, p. 570.

show Scharf followed Nagler's indications.<sup>822</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, in the first edition (1857) of their *Early Flemish Painters*' stated that Gerard van der Meire had been an imitator of Jan van Eyck's manner<sup>823</sup> that should not be confused with Jan van der Meire, Hans Memling's later assistant.<sup>824</sup> In the second edition of the work (1872), however, they distinguished different homonym painters.<sup>825</sup>

In addition, Scharf managed – or decided-to exhibit at the Old Trafford only one drawing assigned to Signorelli, a capital master of the Italian Renaissance whose pictures were very rare in mid-nineteenth-century British collections.<sup>826</sup> All the easel and wall paintings assigned or attributed to Signorelli that are now kept in the National Gallery in London, for instance, entered the museum only many decades after the Manchester show.<sup>827</sup> Scharf, indeed, in his *Supplemental Catalogue* assigned to Signorelli only a “black chalk” drawing representing a “*Study of Shepherds in Adoration, for a Nativity*”, that had been lent to the 1857 show by Reverend Henry Wellesley, principal of New Inn, Oxford (1794-1866).<sup>828</sup> This black-stone drawing was auctioned in 1866 and entered the British Museum in 1895.<sup>829</sup> Research has not highlighted the British Museum's drawing's presence at the Manchester exhibition. On the other hand, since 1895 scholars have noted that the drawing, as suggested also by the *Supplemental Catalogue*'s entry, is a study for three shepherds and the female blonde onlooker with her hands clasped in the *Adoration*

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<sup>822</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 43, cat. 476. Scharf 1857, b, p. 38, cat. 395. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289083/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-51-verso-52-recto?> (consulted 23/01/2021).

<sup>823</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, pp. 122-126.

<sup>824</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, pp. 355-356.

<sup>825</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1872, pp. 147-154.

<sup>826</sup> Henry 1998. Brown 2005, pp. 191-193.

<sup>827</sup> Richter 1884, p. 48.

<sup>828</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 5, cat. 9.

<sup>829</sup> Wellesley 1866, p. 96, cat. 1441. Luca Signorelli, *Three Shepherds and an Angel*, c.1496, black stone on paper, 384 x 248 mm, London, British Museum, inv. 1895,0915.602 (purchased in 1895) [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1895-0915-602](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1895-0915-602) (consulted 23/02/2021).

*of the Shepherds*, painted on wood by Signorelli around 1496, that entered the National Gallery in 1882.<sup>830</sup>

On the contrary, Scharf did not manage to display in Manchester the *Saint Jerome in His Study* by Antonello da Messina, now in the National Gallery.<sup>831</sup> The picture's absence at the Manchester show, however, was not due to Scharf's disinterest. On 31 January 1857, indeed, Scharf drew a cursory but detailed pencil sketch of this picture in the banker Thomas Baring *junior* (1799-1873)'s residence in Upper Grosvenor Street in London.<sup>832</sup> Thus, Scharf aimed at requesting the panel's loan for the Manchester event. In addition, even afterwards Scharf demonstrated his attention to Baring's work, noting a pen reference to Baring's picture's art-historical and economic value. Scharf, indeed, by his sketch signalled that the *Saint Jerome*'s late-1840s provenance had been discussed on 22 July 1853 in the collector, dealer and polemicist Morris Moore (1811-1885)'s hearing at the House of Commons' Select Committee on the National Gallery.<sup>833</sup>

Despite his interest in the Baring's picture, thus, Scharf did not exhibit it in Manchester, plausibly because he had not obtained its loan from the owner. The *Saint Jerome*'s absence at the Manchester show, so, represented Scharf's most significant missed chance of a direct comparison within the most outstanding and ultimate connoisseurs of Flemish and Italian Primitives: Waagen, Crowe and Cavalcaselle. Before Waagen's intervention, indeed, Baring's picture used to be attributed to Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). In 1838, then, Waagen remarkably obtained international appraisal

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<sup>830</sup> Luca Signorelli, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1496, oil on wood, 215 x 170.2 cm (84.6 x 67 in.), London, National Gallery, inv. NG1133 (purchased in 1882). <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/luca-signorelli-the-adoration-of-the-shepherds> (consulted 23/02/2021). Colvin 1895, p. 23, cat. 88.

<sup>831</sup> Antonello da Messina, *Saint Jerome in His Study*, c.1475, oil on lime panel, 45.7 x 36.2 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG1418 (purchased in 1894) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/antonello-da-messina-saint-jerome-in-his-study#VideoPlayer96048> (consulted 25/02/2021).

<sup>832</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 74, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_37 (consulted 25/02/2021) <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288860/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-73-74?>

<sup>833</sup> Select Committee 1853, pp. 678-679, n. 9749 and 9752. Haskell 1987. Levi 1988, pp. 102, 159. 420.

assigning it to Jan van Eyck (1390-1441) due to documentary evidence.<sup>834</sup> Waagen, in fact, had noticed the picture's resemblance to a painting that had been described by Marcantonio Michiel (1484-1552), then known as the 'Anonimo Morelliano', in the early sixteenth-century collection of the Venetian patrician Antonio Pasqualini.<sup>835</sup> As suggested by Moore in his 1853 hearing, Waagen's attribution was rapidly accepted: the *Saint Jerome* was referred to Jan van Eyck both when it was auctioned in 1848, after the death of Thomas Baring *senior* (1772-1848), from 1810 2nd Baronet of Larkbeer, and just one year later, when it was repurchased by his son, Thomas Baring *junior*, after having briefly been part of William Coningham (1815-1884)'s gallery.<sup>836</sup> In 1854, moreover, Waagen confirmed in his *Treasures* the Baring's panel's attribution to van Eyck and its Venetian provenance. Just in late Summer 1854, on the contrary, Cavalcaselle repeatedly analysed Baring's panel, gradually acquiring the technical, material and stylistic evidence that led him to propose its non-Eyckian authorship and to trace its stylistic similarities with Antonello's *oeuvre*.<sup>837</sup> In 1857, therefore, Crowe and Cavalcaselle obtained relevant critical attention when they assigned Baring's picture to Antonello da Messina in the first edition of their *Early Flemish Painters*.<sup>838</sup> Unfortunately, the picture was not exhibited at the Old Trafford and so both experts and general visitors could not discuss the technical, documentary and stylistic similarities and differences between van Eyck's and Antonello's production. However, most likely the significant editorial and connoisseurial contrast originated about Baring's panel between Waagen's and Cavalcaselle (and Crowe)'s prestigious works on Flemish Primitives had two important consequences. First, it increased the professional rivalry between the

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<sup>834</sup> Waagen 1838, Volume 2, p. 253-254, footnote \*. Waagen 1838, b, Volume 3, p. 43, footnote \*.

<sup>835</sup> Lauber 2005, p. 77 and Fig. 3.

<sup>836</sup> Haskell 1991, pp. 678 and 680, cat. 29.

<sup>837</sup> Levi 1988, p. 63-64, also endnotes 148-151 (p. 93). MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), ff. 9v-11r.

<sup>838</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1857, pp. 221-225.

German director and the two editorial partners. Second, it led Cavalcaselle to deepen his research on Antonello's works and on Early Flemish painting's presence in Southern Italy, Florence and Venice in the Renaissance.<sup>839</sup>

To sum, the limits of Scharf's connoisseurship weakened his selection of the pictures to display at Manchester and, therefore, have affected the connoisseurial and art-historical research on some Old Masters, such as Bouts, Antonello da Messina and Signorelli.

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<sup>839</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 147-151. De Gennaro 1992. Villa 2006. Villa 2019.

## 4.2 Bellini's *Saint Francis*

Bellini's *Saint Francis*'s poor critical fortune at the 1857 exhibition, and its consequent disappearance from the art-historical debate and from the art market until the 1910s,<sup>840</sup> represent a major case study of the evolution of Western Old Masters connoisseurship between the 1850s and the First World War (1914–1918). The Frick painting's scarce appeal at the Manchester exhibition therefore sheds light on Scharf and Cavalcaselle's – as well as Waagen's – methodological priorities.

In their Manchester papers on Dingwall's panel, both Scharf and Cavalcaselle indeed did not provide any thoughts on the extent to which the *Saint Francis* had represented a watershed for Bellini's career in terms of invention, composition and technique. The two scholars' critical approach to the Frick panel, then, illustrates how – before and during the event – Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's individual knowledge of Giovanni Bellini and his workshop was heavily weakened by a combination of two elements. First, the Frick painting's state of conservation: the presence of dirt, repainting and oxidised varnish weakened its critical assessment by both experts.<sup>841</sup> Second, the missed loan to the Manchester exhibition of a number of key Venetian paintings of the period between the 1480s and the 1510s that, in the mid-1850s, were located either in the United Kingdom or overseas. Their missed comparison with the *Saint Francis* in the Old Trafford venue prevented both Scharf and Cavalcaselle from deepening their knowledge of the interactions that had characterised the Venetian school, from the completion of Bellini's Frick masterpiece to his death in 1516, at the very least. Until the late 1510s, in fact, the compositional, iconographic, stylistic and chiaroscuro inventions Bellini had

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<sup>840</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 151.

<sup>841</sup> Fletcher 1972, p. 211, footnote 17: "The picture was then dirt".

adopted in his late 1470s *Saint Francis* were reused and adapted by the Venetian master himself, as well as by his assistants, followers and competitors.<sup>842</sup>

Indeed, according to Christiansen, Bellini's *Saint Francis* represents one of the finest and most influential *specimina* of the new genre that Bellini invented during or shortly after Antonello da Messina's (1430–1479) stay in Venice, between 1475 and 1476: the “meditational” poem.<sup>843</sup> From the late 1470s onwards, Bellini in fact produced a number of paintings in which the sacred episode is as important as the highly defined and metaphorical landscape in which it takes place. As Gentili pointed out in 1991, from the late 1470s Bellini gradually experimented with metaphorical landscapes, which were strongly characterised by the presence of symbolic flora and fauna elements, as well as by an innovative composition and sunlight effects.<sup>844</sup> In addition, Christiansen highlighted the fact that Bellini's meditational landscapes were suitable either for private and public collections, where they were used for domestic devotion and meditation, or for chapels and main altars.<sup>845</sup>

Hence, for Christiansen, large artworks such as the Frick *Saint Francis* were soon adapted to smaller sizes in order to meet the patrons' requirements. Christiansen specified that the “[...] symbolic or moral landscape was not invented by Bellini, but no other Venetian painter developed it in such a suggestive and richly allusive fashion”.<sup>846</sup> Moreover, according to Christiansen, the *Saint Francis* that is now kept in New York (Fig. 64) constitutes, along with other three works, a set of coeval and same sized “meditational” poems that were “[...] the first works of their kind in Venice”. For

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<sup>842</sup> Rutherglen, Hale 2015.

<sup>843</sup> Christiansen 2013.

<sup>844</sup> Gentili 1991, p. 41.

<sup>845</sup> Christiansen 2013, p. 11.

<sup>846</sup> Christiansen 2013, p. 11.



Christiansen, in fact, along with the *Resurrection* (1475-1478) in Berlin (Fig. 141)<sup>847</sup> and the *Transfiguration* (1478-1479) now in Naples (Fig. 140),<sup>848</sup> the Papafava-Contini Bonacossi *Saint Jerome in the Desert* (c.1480) now in the Uffizi in Florence (Fig. 44),<sup>849</sup> the Frick *Saint Francis* constitutes an invention of a new pictorial genre that Bellini designed between the late 1470s and the 1480s, in order to intercept the market's demand for "[...] canonical subject [...] transformed by a landscape setting painted with an unprecedented richness and verisimilitude [...]" that "[...] put into play a dynamic between viewer and painting that heretofore [had been] found only in works for private devotion".<sup>850</sup> However, neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle expressed themselves on these aspects in their papers related to Bellini's Frick *Saint Francis*.

In 2004, Lauber pointed to Scharf's role in the discovery of Bellini's Frick *Saint Francis* a few months before the opening of the 'Art Treasures Exhibition'.<sup>851</sup> Pergam and Cottrell, on the contrary, discussed the reason behind Scharf's scarce attention to the painting at the Manchester event.<sup>852</sup> Pergam furthermore highlighted the fact that Waagen had ignored the Frick panel in his *Treasures, Cabinets* and in his guide to the Manchester exhibition.<sup>853</sup> Conversely, Lauber stressed not only the importance of Cavalcaselle's Manchester notes to set a *terminus ante quem* for the panel's cutting.<sup>854</sup> Levi, finally,

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<sup>847</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Resurrection*, 1475-1478, oil on poplar panel transferred on canvas, 148 x 124 cm, Berlin, Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, inv. Ident.Nr. 1177A (purchased from the Roncalli collection, Bergamo). <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=867398&viewType=detailView> (consulted 13/03/2022). Christiansen 2013, pp. 10-11, endnote 2 (p. 18). Lucco 2019, pp. 414-417, cat. 70.

<sup>848</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Transfiguration*, 1478-1479, oil on panel, 115 x 154 cm, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, inv. Q56 (Farnese collection). <https://capodimonte.cultura.gov.it/il-restauro-della-trasfigurazione-di-giovanni-bellini-tavole-a-confronto/> (consulted 13/03/2022). Christiansen 2013, pp. 10-11, endnote 3 (p. 18). Humfrey 2019, pp. 447-449, cat. 85.

<sup>849</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, c.1480, oil on panel, 151.7 x 113.7 cm, Florence, Uffizi, inv. Contini Bonacossi 25. <https://www.uffizi.it/opere/san-girolamo-nel-deserto> (consulted 23/03/2021). Christiansen 2013, p. 11, endnote 4 (p. 18). Humfrey 2019, pp. 443-445, cat. 83.

<sup>850</sup> Christiansen 2013, p. 11.

<sup>851</sup> Lauber 2004, p. 83. Lauber 2004, b, p. 89.

<sup>852</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 151. Cottrell 2012, p. 623-624, also Fig. 6.

<sup>853</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b. Pergam 2016, p. 151.

<sup>854</sup> Lauber 2004, p. 83. Lauber 2004, b, p. 89. Lauber 2005, p. 101.

identified the gaps in the critical reflections on the painting that Cavalcaselle expressed in Manchester as well as those he and Crowe provided in the first volume of the *History of Painting in North Italy*, which was completed at the end of 1868 and published in 1871.<sup>855</sup>

In fact, in their book, Crowe and Cavalcaselle described the Frick panel's subject as follows: "*Saint Francis coming out of a bower, to receive the stigmata*, stands in a condition of momentary pain in the foreground of a valley enlivened with *minutiae* of every imaginable kind". Moreover, they limited themselves to the following observation: "Nowhere is a clearer insight to be obtained into Giovanni's efforts to represent with a still viscous medium and without much variety of tint the accidental changes in a sunless landscape and at the same time to present his old feeling for gravity, dignity and repose".<sup>856</sup> Significantly, Crowe and Cavalcaselle did not mention any element that could lead us to believe that they may have attributed the light and shadow effects in Bellini's painting, now held in New York, to the divine epiphany rather than to some strange natural phenomenon. Therefore, in the *History*, the two authors did not identify the Frick painting's actual subject. Nevertheless, at the Manchester exhibition, Cavalcaselle's – as well as Scharf's – expertise was obstructed by the state of conservation of the Frick painting. Indeed, the presence of dirt, repainting and oxidised varnish on the *Saint Francis* weakened not only its critical assessment at the Old Trafford venue, but also the *History*'s account of its relevance for the development of the Venetian Renaissance school.<sup>857</sup>

Moreover, the two experts indicated that "[t]he general tone is still brown, opaque, and even, the sky overcast". However, they did not draw any conclusions regarding the

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<sup>855</sup> Levi 1988, p. xi, Fig. 19-20.

<sup>856</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, pp. 159-160.

<sup>857</sup> Fletcher 1972, p. 211, footnote 17: "The picture was then dirt".

reduction of Frick's panel. The two experts only reported its provenance, dimensions as well as the master's signature on the typical Bellinesque *cartellino*.<sup>858</sup>

Scholarly research has recently highlighted other relevant aspects of Bellini's *Saint Francis*. In 2019, Kim observed that, in the Frick painting now held in New York, Bellini's "[...] mode of painting recalls the structural properties of the ground and support [...]". According to Kim, Bellini based the composition of *Saint Francis* on the "[...] grid [...]" he derived from the combination of the panel's junctions and the gesso ground.<sup>859</sup> In Kim's opinion, then, Bellini decided to "[...] position the Francis [...]" and "[...] organize the stony background [...]" following this specific grid.<sup>860</sup> Significantly, though, Scharf and Cavalcaselle – as well as Waagen – did not discuss this aspect at the 1857 event; nor did Cavalcaselle and Crowe in their *History*.<sup>861</sup>

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<sup>858</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 159, footnote 2.

<sup>859</sup> Kim 2019, p. 62. On the Frick picture's preparation, imprimatura and underdrawing see Rutherglen, Hale 2005, p. 84.

<sup>860</sup> Kim 2019, p. 63.

<sup>861</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, pp. 159-160.

### 4.3 Ugolino di Nerio

At the Manchester show, Scharf used a Sienese Primitive master to apply his best Hegelian approach to the reliability of the *Lives* by Vasari. Scharf, indeed, managed to display some fragments of the polyptych painted around 1325 by Ugolino di Nerio (c.1280–1335) for the main altar of the Santa Croce Basilica in Florence.<sup>862</sup>

This dismembered altarpiece had been taken to England by William Young Ottley (1771–1836). Later, these small wood paintings from the predella and the pinnacles of the polyptych were lent to the 1857 show from Eagle House (near Enfield) by its then owner, Reverend John Fuller Russell (1813–1884). In the pinnacles there were *Apostles* painted in pairs.<sup>863</sup> In his *Handbook*, Scharf subtly—but proudly—underlined the importance of displaying the Santa Croce panels in Manchester, so that visitors could ascertain with their own eyes how the Byzantine golden background was adopted and modified in the Siena school instead of in Florence by Giotto and the Giottesques: “Ugolino da Siena, a great name in early Sienese art, is here seen by several portions (25 and 27), of the large altar-piece, ‘a picture on a gold ground’, which Vasari describes as having been painted by this master for the high-altar of Santa Croce, at Florence. He also says that Ugolino was always inclined to the manner of the Greeks and showed more affinity to Cimabue than to Giotto. His place is properly in the Sienese school between Duccio and Simone Memmi; the style of his paintings is very feeble, but elaborate and careful to a degree. He thoroughly respected the old Greek types”.<sup>864</sup>

In this way, in his *Handbook* Scharf used the Santa Croce fragments not only to illustrate the validity of the information provided by Vasari about Ugolino, but also to

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<sup>862</sup> Coor-Achenbach 1995.

<sup>863</sup> Gordon, Reeve 1984. Pergam 2016, 270.

<sup>864</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 13.

tangibly exemplify the ‘synthesis’ of the Hegelian dialectic method. Scharf, in fact, implicitly invited *Handbook* readers to use the history of art as a Hegelian medium which could allow them to travel through time. Indeed, thanks to the Santa Croce panels, visitors and experts could join a hypothetical Medieval Florentine-Sienese debate on the role of painting as a reaction (‘antithesis’) to the supposedly-dominant Byzantine visual and cultural model (‘thesis’).

By comparing the handwritten materials made in Manchester by Scharf and Cavalcaselle regarding the Santa Croce pinnacles with Apostles in couples, it is possible not only to trace some of the panels exhibited in Manchester in 1857, but also to shed light on Waagen, Scharf and Cavalcaselle’s priorities during their note-taking and entry-making processes. In the second volume of *Treasures*, Waagen mentioned “eight figures of the apostles, six of them placed in couples” that he saw at Eagle House.<sup>865</sup> In 1857, Cavalcaselle added onto his personal annotated copy of the *Provisional Catalogue* a new entry about the Santa Croce pinnacles. Thanks to this new entry, it is certain that Fuller Russell lent to the exhibition at least “6 ~~teste~~ mezze figure” [“6 ~~heads~~ half figures”]<sup>866</sup> of the *Apostles*. Cavalcaselle’s 1857 notes would be used to describe the Santa Croce panels in a little more detail, in the second volume of *New History* that he would write with Crowe: “Three panels of the apostles [*sic*] in couples in the collection of the Rev.[erend] John Fuller Russell near Enfield were exhibited at Manchester”.<sup>867</sup>

Scharf, on the other hand, did not mention the Santa Croce pinnacles in the *Provisional Catalogue*: perhaps he was only able to confirm at a later stage that they would be lent by Fuller Russell. In the *Definitive Catalogue*, Scharf described these panels simply as “*Half-Length Figures of the Apostles*”, and in the exhibition official catalogue,

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<sup>865</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 2, p. 462.

<sup>866</sup> MS, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 13.

<sup>867</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 2, p. 54.

there were no details about the number or identity of the exhibited *Apostles*.<sup>868</sup> Moreover, in his sketch of the West Wall of Saloon A of the Old Masters Section of the Manchester exhibition, dated 12 October 1857, Scharf only traced a portion of the upper architectural frame of the Santa Croce pinnacles.<sup>869</sup> However, on 10 July 1857, (still during the Manchester exhibition), Scharf started to trace two of the three couples in the piece, in an until-now unknown pencil sketch (Fig. 47bis).<sup>870</sup> Thanks to Scharf's sketch, it is possible to trace at least one of the three Apostles' couples exhibited in Manchester in 1857. In the sketch, he drafted the golden frame with quatrefoil elements under one pinnacle, and for the other couple he outlined not only the pinnacle's golden frame with a mullioned window enriched by a three-foiled blind 'occhione' and trefoil niches (each of them surrounding an *Apostle*), but also the features of the two saints, clearly marking the detail of St. James the Minor's open hand. This detail allows us to confidently identify one of the *Apostles* couples displayed in Manchester as the pinnacles of *Saint Matthew and Saint James the Minor*, now in Berlin (Fig. 47).<sup>871</sup> The golden frame with quatrefoil elements is placed in other Santa Croce pinnacles found in Berlin and the National Gallery in London. Unfortunately, Scharf did not complete his sketch of the other pinnacle, so it is not possible to trace it. His unfinished sketch matches the generic, superficial description of the Fuller Russell pinnacles in the *Definitive Catalogue*.

In summary, neither Waagen nor Scharf or Cavalcaselle dared—or bothered—to identify each apostle or saint painted on these fragments. The fact that History of Art was

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<sup>868</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 15.

<sup>869</sup> MS, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 48 recto NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_48. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289079/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-47-verso-48-recto?> (consulted 03/11/2020).

<sup>870</sup> MS, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 53-54, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_27. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/set?set=630&wPage=1> (consulted 23/8/2021).

<sup>871</sup> Ugolino di Nerio da Siena, *Saint Matthew and Saint James Minor*, 1325 circa, egg tempera and gold on poplar panel, 56 x 56,5 cm, Berlin, Stiftung Preussisches Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Ident.Nr. 1635E (Gift from Helene Tepelmann-Vieweg, 1911) (consulted 10/09/2020) <http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collection&objectId=864437&viewType=detailView>.

still in its infancy around the time of the Manchester exhibition explains why, in many cases, the connoisseurs that forged this discipline in the second half of the nineteenth-century approached some capital Old Master paintings with a striking superficiality. Their main objectives were to identify the most outstanding aesthetic and stylistic features of each school and master, select the indisputable corpus of a school, workshop, or single master and, for the most relevant case studies, trace the date, original site and ‘committente’ of a specific artwork.

In Waagen, Scharf and Cavalcaselle’s approach the Old Masters, therefore, there was no detailed attention paid to the potential religious and political interconnections of each artwork’s commission.

## 4.4 A Misidentified Schiavone

In addition to Scharf's handwritten materials, the descriptions of the pictures that he included in his Manchester catalogues and *Handbook* can be used by present scholars to trace some of the paintings that Scharf exhibited at Manchester. Scharf's descriptions, indeed, can be effectively integrated with those written by Thoré-Bürger in *Trésors*. Some of the Manchester paintings that can be traced with this method, indeed, used to be incorrectly assigned, in the nineteenth century, to some remarkable Old Masters.

In one case study, a painting on a panel had been incorrectly traced by Pergam until it was sold at Christie's in London in 1914.<sup>872</sup> Thanks to Scharf and Thoré-Bürger's descriptions of the artwork, it can now be identified with the Flemish late-Renaissance *Dominican Capriccio* (Fig. 85), once in the Appleby collection, that was auctioned again by Christie's in London in 2011 under the attribution to Hieronymus Francken I (1540–1610).<sup>873</sup> The panel was lent to the Manchester exhibition by the Reverend Thomas Staniforth (1807–1887) of Storrs Hall, Windermere, Cumbria.<sup>874</sup>

As Pergam outlined, Staniforth was very proud of the traditional attribution of his picture to Titian, but Scharf convinced him to exhibit the panel as by the Venetian late-Renaissance master Andrea Schiavone (1510 to 1515–1563). In his *Provisional Catalogue* entry, Scharf attentively describes the panel: “In this interesting picture may be recognised portraits of Charles V, Philip II, and the reigning pontiff. The subject seems

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<sup>872</sup> Pergam 2016, 48, endnote 142 (from p. 35).

<sup>873</sup> Hieronymus Francken I (Attributed to), *A Vanitas: A Capriccio of a Dominican Preaching to the Emperor Charles V, King Philip II of Spain, a Pope and Their Brilliantly Attired Entourages*, oil on panel, 226.1 x 90.8 cm (89 x 35¾ in.), lot n. 8 in Christie's sale 6025 ('Old Masters & 19th Century Art', London, 13/04/2011, from the collection of the late John Appleby, sold for 27,500 GBP). <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/attributed-to-hieronymus-francken-i-herenthals-1540-paris-5424733-details.aspx> (consulted 29/09/2020).

<sup>874</sup> Pergam 2016, 34-5. MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 39, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_20. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitZoom/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 29/11/2020).



to have reference to one of the king's ceremonials of abdication, as his son wears a crown also. Generally regarded as a Titian".<sup>875</sup> The painting's composition was described in more detail by Thoré-Bürger, who erroneously described it as being on canvas: "Le catalogue dit qu'on regarde généralement comme un Titien une grande toile (au rév.[érend] P.[ère] Staniforth) représentant un Moine qui prêche devant une nombreuse assemblée de personnages, hommes et femmes, assis des deux côtés de la chaire; c'est, en effet, très saisissant et d'une touche magistrale; ou y remarque les portraits de Charles-Quint, de Philippe II et d'un pape. Laissons cette peinture au Schiavone, car, si elle ressemble au Titien par la couleur et la lumière, elle se rapporte aussi, par le dessin et le mouvement des extrémités, au style du Parmesan, qu'Andréa Schiavone mêla souvent au style vénitien" ["The catalog says that it is generally regarded as a [painting by] Titian: a large painting (belonging to the rev.[erend] f.[ather] Staniforth) representing a Monk who preaches in front of a numerous assembly of characters, men and women, seated on both sides of the room chair; it is, indeed, very striking and of a masterful touch; or notice there the portraits of Charles V, of Philip II and of a pope. Let us leave this painting to Schiavone, because, if it resembles Titian by the colour and the light, it also relates, by the design and the movement of the edges, to the style of Parmigianino, which Andrea Schiavone often mixed with the Venetian style"].<sup>876</sup>

Scharf, too, described the panel in detail in his *Handbook* and admitted that identifying the painting's subject was still posing a challenge to him and the other experts: "A curious composition, however, attributed by some to Titian and by others to Schiavone, commands attention for the sake of its subject. It is a long picture, of considerable dimensions, and represents a Dominican monk preaching before an assembly of nobles. Among the personages may be recognised Charles V and his son

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<sup>875</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 30, cat. 252.

<sup>876</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 84.

Philip II and the reigning pontiff seated between them. The princes and noblemen are seated on one side of the picture, and the ladies on the other. There is a strange deficiency about the proportions of the figures; heads unduly large and limbs not exactly corresponding; but the brilliancy of colour is wonderful, and the costumes of those who form this assemblage are valuable materials both to the artist and antiquary; the exact scene and event here recorded have still to be made out”.<sup>877</sup>

Thanks to the elements included in Scharf and Thoré-Bürger’s descriptions (separation between men and women, the Dominican monk, Charles V and Philip II both wearing crowns), it is possible to confidently identify the picture auctioned by Christie’s in 2011 with the panel once assigned to Titian and then to Schiavone that was lent by Staniforth to the 1857 show. Moreover, on his personally annotated copy of the *Definitive Catalogue*, Scharf noted down “the [Staniforth’s] picture's dimensions as 33 x 88 inches (c. 83.82 x 223.52 cm)”. This note was most likely<sup>878</sup> made near the entry on the Staniforth picture. The dimensions match the ones of the painting put on sale by Christie’s in 2011.<sup>879</sup>

Scharf’s papers can also enhance research on the critical fortune of some of the paintings exhibited in Manchester. During preparations for the Manchester show, Staniforth had initially decided to refuse to loan his painting. This was because Waagen had refused to give an oral confirmation of its traditional attribution to Titian—as Staniforth wished—and instead referred it to Schiavone.<sup>880</sup> Consequently, on 11 March 1857, Scharf wrote a letter to Staniforth to convince him to loan the painting to the show. In this letter—discovered by Pergam in the Manchester City Library—Scharf assured

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<sup>877</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 39.

<sup>878</sup> I have not had the opportunity to access and analyse this source.

<sup>879</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>880</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 34-35.

Staniforth that Waagen thought the painting was a genuine high-quality Schiavone. He also pointed out that authentic Schiavone paintings were very rare in Great Britain and Ireland, and so the work's appearance at the exhibition, with an attribution to this painter, would be at least as prestigious to Staniforth as lending his painting with an attribution to Titian. Scharf ended by promising to Staniforth that he could choose the attribution under which the painting would be exhibited—this would also be the attribution mentioned in the show's catalogue.<sup>881</sup>

As noted by Pergam, Staniforth judged the scarceness of quality Schiavone artworks in the United Kingdom as more advantageous for him than the traditional attribution of his panel to Titian, an attribution that was not supported by such influential experts as Waagen and Scharf.<sup>882</sup> Scharf, then, put much effort into obtaining the loan of a painting to the Manchester show that he had assigned to Schiavone, a late-Renaissance master that Scharf, evidently, held in high regard. Scharf's appreciation for Staniforth's panel is additionally proved by the position he gave the picture during the show: it was displayed as an overdoor, in a central position over the arch on the South Wall in Saloon B of the venue. This position is confirmed by the sketch of the wall that Scharf most likely made during the last days of the show.<sup>883</sup> Every visitor, then, must have focused on the panel as they passed through the rooms of the exhibition. Consequently, we can state with certainty that both Scharf and Thoré-Bürger appreciated Schiavone's *oeuvre* and the Staniforth panel.

On the contrary, both Waagen and Cavalcaselle despised the picture lent by Staniforth to the Manchester show. This could likely be explained by the low quality of

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<sup>881</sup> MS, Manchester, Manchester City Library, M6/2/6/2/52, Art Secretary's Out-Letter Book, mentioned in Pergam 2016, 35, also endnote 141 (p. 48).

<sup>882</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 35.

<sup>883</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 62 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_62. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289093> (consulted 20/11/2020).

the painting itself, which does not present any specific Schiavonesque technical or stylistic feature.<sup>884</sup>

On the other hand, Waagen and Cavalcaselle used to appreciate many of the paintings that they assigned to Schiavone.<sup>885</sup>

This represented an exception within connoisseurship, since in the nineteenth century Schiavone's style and technique was not at the centre of attention for most European and British experts and collectors.<sup>886</sup> The reasons for such widespread critical disinterest towards Schiavone was based on many long-lasting and resistant stereotypes on the Venetian Mannerist master that had affected most connoisseurs and collectors in Victorian Britain and contemporary Continental countries. Schiavone was blamed for his ostensible lack of interest and education in drawing, as well as for his apparently careless strokes, inclination towards emotion and drama, and vivid colours.<sup>887</sup>

Anyway, it should be noted that a colour picture of the Staniforth painting has been accessible to scholars since it was auctioned in London in 2011. Drawing from this image, one might conclude that the painting must have looked to the exhibition's visitors like an exemplary concentration of some of the traditional tenacious stereotypes of Schiavone. It looks, indeed, full of a spirited sense of drama and bright colours; the features of some characters are so coarse that one might easily infer that the author lacked drawing skills. It will be no surprise, then, that Waagen, in contrast with Scharf and Thoré-Bürger, mentioned many paintings that he—or others—assigned or attributed to Schiavone. However, in spite of Scharf's words in his letter to the lender, Waagen did not

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<sup>884</sup> Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>885</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857.

<sup>886</sup> Dal Pozzolo 2015, pp. 81-82.

<sup>887</sup> Puppi 2015.

appreciate the quality of the Staniforth panel, since he did not mention this artwork both in the *Cabinets* and in his guide to the Manchester show.

Similarly, while Cavalcaselle was variably<sup>888</sup> attentive to many paintings that he, or other experts and collectors, attributed or assigned to Schiavone or to his workshop and style during his numerous journeys throughout Europe, he intensely despised Staniforth's painting. On his personal annotated copy<sup>889</sup> of the Manchester exhibition's *Provisional Catalogue*, next to the entry related to the painting, he wrote: "sia un bruttissimo Spagnolo?" ["could [the painting] be [by] a horrible Spanish [painter]?"].<sup>890</sup> Before or after taking this note, Cavalcaselle informed Scharf about his opinion on the Staniforth panel. On his own copy of the show's *Definitive Catalogue*, Scharf not only noted its dimensions but also wrote: "Cavalcaselle calls [the painting lent by Staniforth] a disgusting picture. By Spanish or Flemish. He thinks by Fassolo [*sic*]".<sup>891</sup> He then noted that Cavalcaselle had informed Scharf that he had attributed Staniforth's work to Giovanni Antonio Fasolo (1530–1572), a master of the Venetian late-Renaissance school. The facial features of some female figures in the Staniforth picture, indeed, present some similarities with Margherita Valmarana in the *Portrait of the Valmarana Family* attributed to Fasolo in the Musei Civici in Vicenza.<sup>892</sup> Far less probably, on the other hand, Cavalcaselle could have also associated the painting to the Lombard Renaissance painter Bernardino Fasolo (c. 1489–1527). Only an extremely vague resemblance could possibly be traced between some sleepy female figures in Staniforth's painting and the absorbed look of the Virgin in a fragment of a picture (tempera on panel) with the

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<sup>888</sup> Marcon 2018, p. 122. Franz 2018, p. 142.

<sup>889</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 30, cat. 252,

<sup>890</sup> MS. Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 30.

<sup>891</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>892</sup> Giovanni Antonio Fasolo (attributed to), *Portrait of the Valmarana Family*, 1553-1554, oil on canvas, 158.5 cm x 257.5 cm (62.4 x 101.3 in.), Vicenza, Musei Civici di Vicenza, Palazzo Chiericati, inv. A59.

*Madonna and Child*, now in the Museo Diocesano in Chiavari, painted by Bernardino Fasolo in 1521.<sup>893</sup>

It is not known if Cavalcaselle and Scharf discussed the quality of the picture before the publication of the Manchester show's *Definitive Catalogue* or *Handbook*. It is impossible, so, to ascertain whether Scharf intended to, but did not manage to, include Cavalcaselle's point of view in his *Definitive Catalogue* entry or if he was simply unimpressed by Cavalcaselle's contempt for the work. Alternatively, it could be that Scharf decided to abide by his loan arrangements with Staniforth, since the *Provisional Catalogue* enthusiastically describes the work as an "interesting picture".<sup>894</sup> Despite Cavalcaselle's distaste of the Staniforth picture, anyway, Scharf did not edit his *Provisional Catalogue*'s entry when he drafted and published the show's *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>895</sup>

Indubitably, on the other hand, the Staniforth panel is a Mannerist mixture of Schiavonesque and Titianesque elements. The woman on the right-hand edge, for instance, is a blatant quote from the *Mater Dolorosa* by Titian in the Prado Museum in Madrid.<sup>896</sup> Thoré-Bürger noted that the work contains some inventions<sup>897</sup> since, in the centre, the gracefully-seated emperor and the absorbed woman in the first row placing her hand on her breast both look very similar to the ones that Schiavone emulated<sup>898</sup> from Parmigianino (1503–1540), the Emilian late-Renaissance painter, draughtsman and engraver. Moreover, the painting presents some contrived figures, such as the man with

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<sup>893</sup> [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-fasolo\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/bernardino-fasolo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>894</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 30, cat. 252.

<sup>895</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 31, cat. 275.

<sup>896</sup> Titian, *Mater Dolorosa with Clasped Hands*, 1554, oil on panel, 68 x 61 cm, Madrid, Museo del Prado, inv. P000443 (painted for Charles V) <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/mater-dolorosa-with-clasped-hands/6caedf60-c65c-4fe1-b821-9de7b2e0b0a9> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>897</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 84.

<sup>898</sup> Ekserdjian 2018.

crossed arms sitting in the third row on the left, the preacher at the centre, or the seated woman with a child sleeping on her knees on the right: these figures look like a tribute to some feigned motives by the Florentine Mannerist painter Francesco de' Rossi, known as Salviati (1510–1563). These motives, along with the painting's palette, could have led Scharf to assign the picture to Schiavone. It should be noted, indeed, that Schiavone was deeply influenced by Salviati's style and composition<sup>899</sup> and that he, most likely, had the chance to admire some mannered and affected gestures of the figures painted in 1538 by Salviati in the *Cupid and Psyche* fresco painted on the Camerino di Apollo's ceiling in the Grimani Palace in Venice.<sup>900</sup>

Moreover, some unknown notes on Staniforth's panel shed light on Scharf's connoisseurly and art-historical approach to some Old Master pictures that were exhibited in Manchester. On 22 July 1857, Scharf took some pencil notes on the provenance of "The Storrs [Hall] Schiavone picture".<sup>901</sup> In these notes, Scharf did not follow the chronological order of the owners of the painting, writing: "The Picture [*sic*] belonged / [to the Liverpool Royal Institution's restorer William] Burland<sup>902</sup> [(c.1787–1848), and] \_ to [the Liverpool historian, abolitionist, MP, poet and collector William] Roscoe<sup>903</sup> [(1753–1831)] & [to the ornithologist William John] Swainson<sup>904</sup> [(1789-1855)] / who sold it / ^at Chr[istie']s^ for ¼ of price he / Earn[ed] [*sic*] for it at Chr[istie']s A[uction]". Later, using pen, Scharf added to his pencil notes the reference to the "N.[umer]° 275 of M[a]nch[ester] Exh[ibitio]n", that is, the *Definitive Catalogue* entry number in which

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<sup>899</sup> Hochmann 1998, p. 58.

<sup>900</sup> Bristot Piana 2003.

<sup>901</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 39, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_20. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>902</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/research/conservation/directory-of-british-framemakers/b/> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>903</sup> Roscoe 2016.

<sup>904</sup> <https://www.famousscientists.org/william-john-swainson/> (consulted 23/11/2020).

Staniforth's panel was described.<sup>905</sup> The details registered by Scharf in this pencil note, though, were not mentioned by Pergam nor Cottrell in their works on the Manchester exhibition and they are not discussed on the National Portrait Gallery web pages dedicated to Scharf's Manchester papers in the Heinz Archive.<sup>906</sup>

However, Scharf's note indicates that he aimed to integrate the information provided in the *Definitive Catalogue* entry and in the *Handbook* about the subject and the provenance of the painting. In his *Handbook*, indeed, as has already been underlined, Scharf was honest about his frustration regarding the "curious composition" of the painting that "commands attention for the sake of its subject".<sup>907</sup> Therefore, in order to overcome the lack of information about this capital aspect of a panel he had so struggled to loan, Scharf committed to research possible references to the piece's historical subject. It is possible that Cavalcaselle, as an Italian speaker, helped Scharf with this bibliographical research during his "small job"<sup>908</sup> at the Manchester exhibition.<sup>909</sup> During this research, Scharf added the following onto the same sheet where he had noted the information on the provenance of the painting: "Quote from / *Platina Vite di Pontifici* / 2. 508. Ital[ian] Ed.[ition]".<sup>910</sup>

The passage mentioned in this note is related to a second book – or section – of a still unidentified Italian edition of *The Lives of the Popes*, that the Cremonese soldier, historian and librarian Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina (1421–1481), wrote in Latin in 1479.<sup>911</sup> However, neither Platina's work in Latin, nor its first Italian edition, edited by

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<sup>905</sup> Scharf 1857, b, 31, cat. 275.

<sup>906</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>907</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 39.

<sup>908</sup> Letter from Charles Lock Eastlake to John Murray III, 8 June 1857, MS, Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, John Murray Archive, inv. MS.42164 (II). Levi 1988, 72, also endote 202 (p. 97)

<sup>909</sup> <https://digital.nls.uk/jma/index.html> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>910</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 39, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_20. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>911</sup> Platina 1479.



Lucio Fauno and published in Venice in 1543, is either divided in sections or at least 508 pages long.<sup>912</sup>

The first Italian edition of Platina's *Lives* that is at least 508 pages long was published in Venice in 1611. At page 508, it details about the rise of the Ligurian noble family Cybo. This historical account, indeed, is placed within the biography of Giovanni Battista Cybo (1432-1492), who between 1484 and his death reigned as Pope Innocent VIII, by Veronese historian, antiquarian and librarian Onofrio Panvinio (1530–1568). Significantly, Pope Innocent VIII was the son of Arano (Aronne) Cybo (c.1380 – c.1458), Viceroy of the Kingdom of Naples. During his reign, moreover, Pope Innocent VII fought against Ferdinand I, King of Naples (1424-1494, reigned 1458-1494).<sup>913</sup>

On the other hand, the Italian edition of Platina's *Lives* published in Venice in 1701 is the first to explicitly contain a second section, as Scharf mentioned in his note, a second section.<sup>914</sup> At page 508, in his *Life of Pope Clement VII*, Panvinio describes the political events that occurred between the Sack of Rome (1527) and the coronation of Emperor Charles V (1500–1558, reigned 1519–1556), that took place in Bologna in 1530. This ceremony was an act of public reconciliation between the Emperor and Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici, 1478–1534). Panvinio, in particular, focused on the fact that, in November 1527, during the Imperial occupation of Rome, Pope Clement VII decided to sell some cardinal titles to raise money to pay his troops. One of the purchasers mentioned in the volume was the Neapolitan nobleman Giovanni Vincenzo Carafa (1477–1527).

Noticeably, the passage at page 508 of the Italian 1701 edition of Platina's *Lives* describes the deal between the Pope and the Emperor that set the terms of the marriage

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<sup>912</sup> Platina 1543.

<sup>913</sup> Platina 1611, p. 508.

<sup>914</sup> Platina 1701, p. 508.

between Alessandro Farnese (1510–1537), future Duke of Florence and possibly the Pope's son, with Margaret of Parma (1522–1586), the Emperor's daughter.<sup>915</sup> Only thanks to the reconciliation between Clement VII and Charles V sealed by this marriage deal, in fact, on 22 February 1530 the Emperor went to Bologna to be crowned with the Iron Crown of Lombardy in the Palazzo Pubblico, at the presence of many cardinals. Two days later, in the Basilica of San Petronio, sitting on a faldstool, Charles was crowned with the Imperial Crown and then sat between the Pope and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1468–1549), the future Pope Paul III.<sup>916</sup> After the coronation, the Emperor and the Pope, escorted by several noblemen, rode together to the Basilica of San Domenico, where Clement VII did not enter. There, the Emperor sat again on a faldstool when he was appointed canon of the church. Pope Innocent VIII's grandson, cardinal Innocenzo Cybo (1491-1550), played a relevant role in this ceremony.<sup>917</sup>

Noticeably, many elements of the two ceremonies of Charles the V's coronation in Bologna such as the presence of cardinals and kings and faldstools, are placed in the setting of the picture that Staniforth lent to the Manchester show under the attribution to Schiavone. Most likely, therefore, for some time Scharf, plausibly after having read the passage at page 508 of the 1701 Italian edition of Platina's *Lives*, supposed that the subject of the Staniforth picture had been related to Clement VII's appeasement with Clement VII that had led to Charles V's coronation and the marriage deal.

Scharf, then, possibly hypothesised that the Staniforth painting represented a sermon by a Dominican monk related to Charles V's coronation in Bologna, and that the picture was possibly set in the Palazzo Pubblico, or in San Petronio or San Domenico in

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<sup>915</sup> Panvinio 1701, b, p. 508.

<sup>916</sup> Righi 2000, p. 34.

<sup>917</sup> Righi 200, p. 17.

Bologna, owing to its background of Corinthianate pilasters and Michaelangeloesque aedicules with empty niches.

Moreover, Scharf may have also hypothesised that the young man wearing a crown and sitting at the Pope's left in the panel was Alessandro de' Medici, one of the youngest noblemen to be invited to the 1530 coronation ceremony. Remarkably, Alessandro's nickname was 'il Moro' ['the Moor'] owing to a long-lasting oral tradition about his allegedly dark skin tone and the alleged African origin of his mother.<sup>918</sup> In the *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici* by Pontormo now in Philadelphia, though, the sitter bears Caucasian facial features (Fig. 146).<sup>919</sup> In addition, in the other coeval likeness of Alessandro by Pontormo (1534-1535), which is now preserved in Chicago, the sitter's skin tone and facial features don't look much different (Fig. 147).<sup>920</sup> The young man represented in the Staniforth panel, in any case, has more or less the same skin tone as the other characters.

In the Staniforth work, on the other hand, the young girl sitting in front of this young man looks much older than Margaret, who in 1530 was just eight years old. Furthermore, in the picture the Emperor looks much older than thirty (his age when he was crowned), and while the chair on which he is sitting looks similar to a faldstool, it has a cushioned upholstered backseat. In addition, the cardinal—seemingly in his 30s—sitting in the second row behind the bored Emperor and whispering into his ear could not be Giovanni Vincenzo Carafa or Alessandro Farnese, because Carafa died in 1527 and

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<sup>918</sup> Firpo, Lo Re 2005.

<sup>919</sup> Jacopo Carucci (Pontormo), *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici*, before December 1535, oil on panel, 101.3 × 81.9 cm (39 7/8 × 32 1/4 × in.), Philadelphia, PA, USA, Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. Cat. 83 (John G. Collection, 1917) <https://www.philamuseum.org/collection/object/102656> (consulted 13/03/2022).

<sup>920</sup> Jacopo Carucci (Pontormo), *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici*, 1534-1535, oil on panel, 35.3 × 25.8 cm (13 7/8 × 10 1/8 in.), Chicago, IL, Art Institute of Chicago, inv. 1933.1002 (Mr. and Mrs. Martin A. Ryerson Collection) <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/110759/alessandro-de-medici> (consulted 13/03/2022).

Farnese turned sixty-two close to the coronation. Possibly, he could be Innocenzo Cybo, who in February 1530, when Charles V was crowned in Bologna, was thirty-eight.

Eventually, Scharf concluded that the scene depicted in the Staniforth panel could not be related to Charles V's coronation. It is also possible that Scharf did not identify it with a capriccio or an allegory. In his entry of the Manchester show's *Provisional Catalogue*<sup>921</sup>—which also appeared, unedited, in the *Definitive Catalogue*—Scharf stated that the panel depicted “Charles V, Philip II, and the reigning pontiff. The subject seems to have reference to one of the king's ceremonials of abdication, as his son wears a crown also”.<sup>922</sup> Philip II (1527–1598) succeeded his father in 1556, when Charles V abdicated. Scharf's opinion convinced Thoré-Bürger in 1857, who confirmed the presence in the picture of “les portraits de Charles-Quint, de Philippe II et d'un pape” [“the portraits of Charles V, of Philip II and of a Pope”].<sup>923</sup>

At some point later, however, Scharf added the following words to his notes about the Staniforth panel, in pencil: “at / Naples. was Cardinal / de ferenda [*sic*] judices [*sic*”].<sup>924</sup> Moreover, lower down on the same sheet, Scharf isolated the detail of the torso of a female figure close to an oval mirror (or framed painting or stucco decoration) lifting her right arm, maybe holding a tissue or a paper note in her hand.<sup>925</sup> The oval looks vaguely similar to the one below the preaching monk in the Staniforth panel, but the pose of the female figure doesn't present any resemblance to its characters. Research is still

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<sup>921</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 30, cat. 252.

<sup>922</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 31, cat. 275.

<sup>923</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 84.

<sup>924</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 39, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_20. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020)

<sup>925</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282544/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-39-40> (consulted 23/11/2020).

ongoing to trace this figure on the verso of the panel or in another painting exhibited in Manchester in 1857.

This note of Scharf's most probably related to a Neapolitan cardinal who was possibly involved in some accusations or a trial, since the Latin term "de ferenda [*sic*] iudices [*sic*]"—normalised as '*deferenda iudices*'—used by Scharf could be translated as 'things to be indicted to the judges'. In particular, it may refer to the Neapolitan cardinal Giovanni Pietro Carafa (1476–1559), who reigned as Pope Paul IV from 1555 until his death. He was the reigning Pope at the time of Charles V's abdication in 1556. In other passages of the Italian edition of *Lives*, Panvinio described how Paul IV settled the Roman Inquisition giving instruction to its judges.<sup>926</sup> Panvinio also noted that Paul IV's successor, the cardinal Giovanni Angelo Medici di Marignano (1499–1565), during his reign as Pope Pius IV (which began in 1556), indicted many members of Carafa's family and party and ordered the execution<sup>927</sup> of the former Cardinal Nephew, Carlo Carafa (1517–1561). One might suppose, therefore, that Scharf considered the subject of the Staniforth painting to have some relation to these historical events. However, Panvinio also reported that in 1556, Pope Paul IV refused to accept Charles V's resignation as Emperor and to honour Charles V's brother, Ferdinand I (1503–1564), as the new Emperor.<sup>928</sup>

Remarbaly, though, both Cavalcaselle and Waagen, as well as Scharf and Thoré-Bürger, did not notice that the Staniforth picture was a variant of the predella, representing *Saint Dominic Preaching Against the Albigensian Heresy at the Presence of Kings, Cardinals and Dames*,<sup>929</sup> of the altarpiece, known as *Madonna del Rosario* (1612-1614),

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<sup>926</sup> Panvinio 1701, c, p. 552.

<sup>927</sup> Panvinio 1701, d, p. 559-560.

<sup>928</sup> Panvinio 1701, c, p. 553

<sup>929</sup> Giovanni Bernardino Azzolini, *Virgin and Child Adored by Saints, Angels and the Pope Pius V ('Madonna del Rosario')*, 1612-1614, oil on canvas, Naples, church of Santa Maria della Sanità. Previtali 1978, p. 93. Causa 2007, p. 41.

that Giovanni Bernardino Azzolini (c.1572-1645) had painted for the church of Santa Maria della Sanità in Naples (Fig. 124).<sup>930</sup>

However, there is a final alternative identification theory for the characters in the Staniforth painting. If, despite Scharf's opinion expressed in the *Provisional Catalogue*, *Definitive Catalogue* and *Handbook*, the Emperor in the painting was not Charles V but his brother Ferdinand I, then the young boy wearing a crown at the Pope's left would be Ferdinand's youngest son, Charles II Francis of Austria (1540–1590). If it were so, the frowning Pope would either be Paul IV or Pius IV, who finally recognised Ferdinand I's access to the imperial title upon Charles V's death in 1558, and the cardinal behind the Emperors would be Carlo Carafa, who was famous for his political plots and his violent conduct.<sup>931</sup> For now, as confirmed by the staff at Christie's<sup>932</sup> when the painting was sold in 2011, one can only uphold that there is a resemblance between Charles V's features and the Emperor in the picture, as well as between the Pope in the picture and the portrait of Paul IV found at the beginning of the biography written by Panvinio.<sup>933</sup> In any case, these unknown and yet unclear notes by Scharf shed light not only on his research but also on the critical fortune and origin of some paintings that were once considered to be among the rarest and most outstanding Old Master paintings in the United Kingdom.

In conclusion, Scharf's *Handbook's* entries are of remarkable importance, because they can help provenance researchers to trace some Manchester works. Moreover, these

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<sup>930</sup> Giovanni Bernardino Azzolini, *Saint Dominic Preaching Against the Albigensian Heresy at the Presence of Kings, Cardinals and Dames*, 1612-1614, oil on canvas, 80 x 600 cm, Naples, church of Santa Maria della Sanità. Previtali 1978, p. 93. Causa 2007, p. 41. I wholeheartedly thank Giorgio Tagliaferro for signalling (January 2022) the predella in Naples and Carlo Avilio for helping me to study the picture in Naples (5 March 2022).

<sup>931</sup> Pattenden 2013.

<sup>932</sup> <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/attributed-to-hieronymus-francken-i-herenthals-1540-paris-5424733-details.aspx> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>933</sup> Panvinio 1701, p. 545. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pope\\_Paul\\_IV.PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pope_Paul_IV.PNG) (consulted 23/11/2020).

notes could reassess the nineteenth-century fortune of some Old Masters, such as Schiavone.<sup>934</sup>

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<sup>934</sup> Dal Pozzolo 2015, pp. 82 and 102, endnote 10.

## 4.5 The *Chevalier Bayard*

In some cases, Scharf's Manchester connoisseurial materials integrate some deliberately superficial and vague descriptions by Waagen and sketches or notes by Cavalcaselle. In these cases, the handwritten materials made by Scharf during—or in preparation for—the 1857 exhibition are the only source that can be used to trace some of the exhibited artworks.

One of these sketches, for instance, sheds light on the *Chevalier Bayard*<sup>935</sup> that would be lent under the attribution to Giorgione (c.1478–1510) by Reverend Henry Wellesley, principal of New Inn, Oxford (1794–1866). 'Chevalier Bayard' was, indeed, the nickname given to the French soldier of fortune Pierre Terrail de Bayard (1476–1524), who fought in Italy against the Spanish troops. It should be noted that Waagen had not mentioned this painting in *Treasures*. Likewise, he would not discuss it in 1857 in *Cabinets* or in his Manchester show guide.<sup>936</sup>

It is thanks to Scharf's sketch (Fig. 127)<sup>937</sup> that *Chevalier Bayard* can be confidently identified with a canvas by Scarsellino, which has been located in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for more than 25 years (Fig. 125).<sup>938</sup> The Boston painting represents *Saint Demetrius*, a fourth-century warrior saint and martyr from Thessaloniki who was venerated in the former House of Este's dominions since the Council that took place in Ferrara in 1438–1439, possibly in relation to the presence of Byzantine prince Demetrius

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<sup>935</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 28, cat. 212.

<sup>936</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>937</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 108 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_55. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288878/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-108-verso-109?> (consulted 20/11/2020).

<sup>938</sup> Ippolito Scarsella (Scarsellino), Copy from Giovanni Battista Benvenuti (Ortolano Ferrarese), *Saint Demetrius*, oil on canvas, 162.56 x 95.25 cm (64 x 37 ½ in.), Boston, MA, USA, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 1994.108 (1994, Henry H. and Zoe Oliver Sherman Fund) <https://collections.mfa.org/objects/35688/saint-demetrius?ctx=d32ab0cf-8a97-49e0-a07d-056cc22660e5&idx=1> (consulted 01/11/2020). MFA 1992, p. 31. Novelli 2008, p. 33, cat. 11.



Palaeologus (1407–1470) in the Orthodox delegation.<sup>939</sup> The Boston painting is a partial copy of an altarpiece located in London’s National Gallery, painted in the first half of the 1520s by the Ortolano Ferrarese (Fig. 126).<sup>940</sup> In 1993, Jaynie Anderson suggested that this altarpiece had already been destined for the National Gallery “in the late 1850s”.<sup>941</sup> We can be sure that it was purchased in July 1861, entering the museum a month later.<sup>942</sup>

In 1857, however, this work of art—which is Ortolano’s masterpiece—was most likely already placed in London in the collection of Alexander Barker (c. 1797–1873). Despite this, it was not mentioned by Waagen that year either in *Cabinets* or his Manchester show guide.<sup>943</sup> Similarly, Cavalcaselle makes no reference to the altarpiece in his papers on the Barker collection. During the Manchester exhibition, therefore, the religious painting must have not been on public display, nor accessible to experts. Therefore, when Scharf made a detailed pencil sketch of the painting in London on 6 February 1857, he did not make any reference to Ortolano or Barker (Fig. 127).<sup>944</sup> In February 1857, moreover, he did not question the fact that the painting was a portrait. During the Manchester exhibition, though, beside his pencil sketch, Scharf added a note in pen, writing down its entry number “220” from the show’s *Definitive Catalogue*<sup>945</sup> and also referring to another sketch or some other notes by him about the painting.<sup>946</sup> As a consequence of his reassessment of the painting, in his *Handbook*, Scharf rejected Wellesley’s claim that the canvas was a portrait or that it was by Giorgione: “The picture

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<sup>939</sup> Cittadella 1860, p. 35

<sup>940</sup> Giovanni Battista Benvenuti (Ortolano Ferrarese), *Saint Sebastian Between Saint Roch and Saint Demetrius*, 1521-1524, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 230.4 x 154.9 cm, London, National Gallery, NG669 (bought in 1861). <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/ortolano-saint-sebastian-with-saint-roch-and-saint-demetrius> (consulted 20/03/2022).

<sup>941</sup> Anderson 1993, 542

<sup>942</sup> Eastlake 1862, 39, IV.

<sup>943</sup> Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>944</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 108 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_55. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288878/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-108-verso-109?> (consulted 20/11/2020).

<sup>945</sup> Scharf 1857, b, 28, cat. 220.

<sup>946</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 52, page 141.

of the ‘Chevalier Bayard’ is neither satisfactory as a portrait, nor as a specimen of Giorgione's works; still as a figure of a gallant determined knight it is most impressive”.

In contrast, when Cavalcaselle approached the painting at the Manchester exhibition, he almost ignored it. He did not feel the need to sketch it, and simply took a quick note about it on his personal annotated copy of the show’s *Provisional Catalogue*,<sup>947</sup> now at the Marciana Library. All he noted was its stylistic similarities to some paintings that he did not explicitly define: “come Scuola Bolognese” [“like [the] Bolognese school”]. Curiously, Cavalcaselle would make a reference to a painting in Bologna upon viewing two other paintings by Ortolano Ferrarese during his visit to the Royal Collection in Copenhagen in August 1865.

None of the three experts—Scharf, Cavalcaselle or Waagen—had the opportunity to become aware of the strong connection between the Ortolano altarpiece and the Scarsellino canvas during the Manchester show. Consequently, they were unable to shed light on the Baroque-era fortune of Ortolano masterpiece, who was one of the most outstanding painters of the Ferrarese school of the Renaissance. Likewise, none of the three were able to deepen their knowledge of the fortune that the Giorgione paintings had had in Baroque Ferrara’s art market, as well as on how the paintings by Giorgione and Ortolano had influenced Scarsellino’s technique and, through him, the late-Renaissance and Baroque schools of Ferrara and Bologna.<sup>948</sup>

On the other hand, at the Manchester exhibition Thoré-Bürger was particularly attracted by the subject and autography of Wellesley’s *Chevalier Bayard*. The French critic did not object to its traditional classification as a portrait. Moreover, he used the painting to attract attention to the fake reports published by the Belgian newspaper *Le*

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<sup>947</sup> Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 28.

<sup>948</sup> Novelli 2008, p. 19.

*Précurseur*. Thoré, indeed, mentioned that the author of the Belgian reports had assigned the Wellesley painting to Giorgione and praised him for his will to defy sculpture: “voulant rivaliser avec la statuaire” [“aiming at challenging sculpture”].<sup>949</sup> It should be noted, however, that the canvas had been deservedly commended by Scharf for its in round effect. Thoré, though, lamented that the Belgian reporter had mentioned some details that did not in fact exist in the painting at all: “un chevalier vu de tous les côtés, au moyen de la réflexion par une glace, par l'eau, etc. Le critique du *Précurseur* se complaît à admirer tel et tel détail qui n'existe point dans le tableau de Manchester, puisque ce n'est point le chevalier Bayard” [“a knight seen from all sides, by the reflection on ice, on water etc. The *Précurseur*'s critic takes pleasure in admiring this and that detail which does not exist at all in the Manchester painting, since this is not the chevalier Bayard”].<sup>950</sup> Scharf's sketch, therefore, confirms the veracity of Thoré's criticism.

As a result of the Belgian reporter's mistake, Thoré declared that all the reports about the Manchester show by this critic were fakes, and merely based on a bibliographical survey of the exhibition's catalogue and some reviews published in the British press: “Ce phénomène de perspicacité surprenante tient à ce que le journaliste du *Précurseur* a rendu compte de l'Exhibition de Manchester sans être allé en Angleterre—au moyen du catalogue et des journaux anglais; procédé facile mais très-dangereux, simple mais trompeur” [“This surprisingly insightful phenomenon is due to the fact that the *Précurseur*'s journalist reported on the Manchester Exhibition without going to England—through the catalogue and the English newspapers; easy but very dangerous process, simple but deceptive.”]<sup>951</sup>

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<sup>949</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, 75, footnote 2.

<sup>950</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 108 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_55. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288878> (consulted 23/12/2020).

<sup>951</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, 75, footnote 2.

However, Thoré's *ante litteram* 'J'accuse!' at the Manchester exhibition did not directly address Wellesley, who was one of the most outstanding collectors of mid-nineteenth-century Britain. Thoré's sarcasm, in fact, was deliberately vague when, mentioning the standard epithet for Bayard, he refused to identify the sitter as the French knight and to assign Wellesley's picture to Giorgione: "D'autres [tableaux assignés à Giorgione], apparemment, sont mal décrits ou faussement numérotés, et trompent les recherches. Un, qui est censé le *Chevalier Bayard* (appartenant au révérend docteur Wellesley), en pied et de grandeur naturelle, est perdu dans les combles. *Un chevalier* de Giorgione, sans peur et sans reproche, ne serait pas là" ["Other [(paintings assigned to Giorgione), apparently, are poorly described or erroneously numbered, and (so they) deceive the surveys (by experts at the 1857 show. One (of them), which is supposed to be the *Chevalier Bayard* (belonging to the Reverend Doctor Wellesley), full-length and of natural size, is lost in the attic. *A Knight* by Giorgione, without fear and without reproach [that was the standard epithet for Bayard], would not be there".<sup>952</sup> Thoré—referring most likely to his armour—suggested that the figure of the knight in *Chevalier Bayard* derived from that of the *Young Man in Armour* donated in 1855 by the poet and collector Samuel Rogers (1763–1855) to the National Gallery of London.<sup>953</sup> The small Rogers panel is now thought to be a seventeenth-century painting made in imitation of Giorgione's style.<sup>954</sup> Thoré, on the other hand, considered it to be an "étude" ["study"]<sup>955</sup> by Giorgione for the saint Liberale—now identified with saint Nicasius of Sicily<sup>956</sup>—in the renowned

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<sup>952</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, 75.

<sup>953</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 75.

<sup>954</sup> Giorgione (Imitator of), *A Young Man in Armour*, oil on panel, 39.7 x 27 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG269 (Rogers bequest, 1855) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/imitator-of-giorgione-a-man-in-armour> (consulted 20/11/2020).

<sup>955</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 75.

<sup>956</sup> Anderson 1997, pp. 129-133.

altarpiece painted by the Venetian master around 1504, in Castelfranco Veneto, for the Costanzo family.<sup>957</sup>

In summary, the controversy surrounding the *Chevalier Bayard* is an exceptional case study in how an expert's presence or absence at the Manchester exhibition could become critical to their career and influence the respect they received from peers. In another section of this thesis, it has been outlined how in the early 1860s, Joseph Archer Crowe's decision to continue his collaboration with Cavalcaselle could be read as a reaction to his absence at the show. He may have felt the need to keep up with the European connoisseurs and experts that had been present at the exhibition.

Unfortunately, during the Manchester exhibition, Scharf had no detailed supporting information to confirm his opinions and suspicions about the subject and autography of the *Chevalier Bayard*. Just one year after the show, he was able to study the original picture by Ortolano from which the Museum of Fine Arts canvas had been copied by Scarsellino. In 1858, indeed, the collector Alexander Barker lent the altarpiece to the British Institution's exhibition.<sup>958</sup> In an anonymous article on the 1858 show, Ortolano's masterpiece received mixed reviews: "Of a somewhat later style is the Ortolano, *St. Sebastian, St. Demetrius, and St. Roque*; the Demetrius a noble chivalrous figure, but the work generally deficient in qualities of colour. This may be the fault of a restorer".<sup>959</sup> Scharf was able to visit the 1858 show and gain some certainty about the painting's subject, as well as the fact that its author was from Ferrara and not the Venetian dominions, and finally that he was not Giorgione. It was only then that he

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<sup>957</sup> Giorgione, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saint Nicasius of Sicily and Saint Francis (Sacred Conversation)*, 1503-4, tempera on poplar panel, 200 x 152 cm, Castelfranco Veneto, Duomo di San Liberale.

<https://www.comune.castelfrancoveneto.tv.it/index.php?area=14&menu=177&page=199&lingua=4> (consulted 20/11/2020). Lucco 1996, p. 68.

<sup>958</sup> Smith 1860, p. 208. Fine Arts 1861, p. 353.

<sup>959</sup> Fine Arts 1858, p. 636.

added a second pen note to the sketch he had made in February 1857 in Oxford: “compare the S.[ain]t Demetrius of Ortolano / Brit.[ish] Inst.[itution] 1858 n.[umer]o 19”.<sup>960</sup> When the altarpiece was purchased by Eastlake in 1861, another anonymous article highlighted its presence at the 1858 show and defined it “a martyr subject impressively studied and forcibly coloured”.<sup>961</sup>

However, research is still ongoing on the likelihood that, after the Manchester show, Barker also managed to buy the Scarsellino canvas from Wellesley—or after the reverend’s death in 1866— perhaps in view of (or as compensation for) the sale of the Ortolano altarpiece to the National Gallery. If this is so, Barker could have been attracted by the Wellesley canvas primarily due to its presence at the Manchester show, but also because of its prestigious past attribution to Giorgione and its traditional connection to a Renaissance warlord as famous as the Chevalier Bayard. What is certain, though, is that a *Saint Demetrius* (alone) assigned to Ortolano was exhibited by Barker in 1868 at the Leeds exhibition<sup>962</sup> and that the same painting is mentioned in the catalogue for the 1879 posthumous sale of a portion of Barker’s collection.<sup>963</sup> Moreover, in the Fondazione Zeri’s Photo Archive in Bologna, the Scarsellino painting is described as originating from the Barker collection.<sup>964</sup>

Unfortunately, though, Scharf never discussed the probability that Saint Demetrius’s features in the Ortolano altarpiece, or the Scarsellino canvas, were a crypto-portrait of the ‘Chevalier Bayard’, who died in 1524. He discussed this neither during the Manchester exhibition, nor after it, nor in his *Handbook* or in his additional pen notes to

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<sup>960</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 108 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_55. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288878> (consulted 14/12/2020).

<sup>961</sup> Fine Arts 1861, p. 353.

<sup>962</sup> Leeds 1868, p. 13, cat. 26.

<sup>963</sup> Barker 1879, p. 31, cat. 460.

<sup>964</sup> Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 40357, <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/40357> (consulted 01/11/2020).

his February 1857 pencil sketch. Therefore, Scharf's papers cannot be used to shed light on the reasons leading to a confusion between the 'Chevalier Bayard' and Saint Demetrius. Such a confusion, indeed, had affected the Italian and British art market, connoisseurship and collecting milieu until it was first contested at the Manchester exhibition by Scharf and Thoré, and later rejected completely upon the loan of the altarpiece to the British Institution's 1858 exhibition.

To sum, Scharf's connoisseurship of the masters active in Ferrara in the early and late Cinquecento was affected, both during the Manchester show and later, by his chances to access the British private collections in which, as for Ortolano's altarpiece now in the National Gallery these masters' work had been held, Scharf's connoisseurial lack, so, affected his display and cataloguing approach to the Ferrarese school at Manchester and has hindered until today the provenance research on these Ferrarese Manchester pictures.

## 4.6 The Papafava *Saint Jerome*

As Scharf, at the Manchester exhibition Cavalcaselle did not fully comprehend the technical and stylistic relevance of Bellini's Frick Saint Francis. Therefore, after the 1857 show Cavalcaselle struggled to correctly recognise Bellini's technique and manner in some works that are not assigned with certainty to Bellini, that Cavalcaselle assigned to Marco Basaiti (1470-1530).

Within the *corpus* of Bellini's *Saint Jerome* pictures that was selected and erroneously assigned to Basaiti by Cavalcaselle and Crowe, indeed, the work that challenged the most their connoisseurship – as well as that of later experts - was certainly the *Saint Jerome in the Desert* (c.1480) now in Florence. In the mid-nineteenth century, this picture belonged to the Papafava collection in Padua. In the early twentieth century, then, it entered the Contini-Bonacossi collection, and in 1969 it was bequeathed to the Uffizi (Fig. 128).<sup>965</sup>

Remarkably, Crowe and Cavalcaselle restricted themselves from contributing to the provenance research on the *Saint Jerome* now in Florence. On the other hand, in the last century scholars have extensively debated on the hypothesis that the Papafava-Contini-Bonacossi picture could be identifiable with panel that the late-sixteenth and the seventeenth-century art literature assigned to Bellini and signalled in the Franciscan church of Santa Maria dei Miracoli in Venice.<sup>966</sup> Significantly, however, in the *History's*

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<sup>965</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*, c.1480, oil on panel, 151.7 x 113.7 cm, Florence, Uffizi, inv. Contini Bonacossi 25. <https://www.uffizi.it/opere/san-girolamo-nel-deserto> (consulted 23/03/2021). Humfrey 2019, pp. 443-445, cat. 83.

<sup>966</sup> Gronau 1930, p. 206. Dussler 1935, p. 136. Gamba 1937, p. 58. Pallucchini 1949, p. 139, cat.87. Pignatti 1969, p. 97. Pignatti 1975, p. 53, cat. 97. Humfrey 1991. Rearick 2003, p. 181, also footnote 3 and 4. Lauber 2005, p. 101, also endnotes 210 and 211 (p. 116). Tempestini 2005, pp. 218-219, cat. 17. Christiansen 2013, p. 11, also endnote 4 (p. 18). Mazzotta 2017, p. 95. Benussi, Humfrey 2019.



first volume (1871), Crowe and Cavalcaselle stated their confidence in assigning this painting to Basaiti, due to its technical and stylistic elements.<sup>967</sup>

In 2017 Mazzotta correctly stated that Crowe and Cavalcaselle's misattributions of many works weakened the late-eighteenth century and early-twentieth century connoisseurship of both Bellini's and Basaiti's *oeuvre*.<sup>968</sup> Mazzotta highlighted the impact that Crowe and Cavalcaselle's misleading technical and stylistic connection between the Florentine *Saint Jerome* and Basaiti had for the assessment of Bellini's entire career after the completion of the Frick *Saint Francis* in the late 1470s. In particular, for Mazzotta, its erroneous attribution to Basaiti prevented later scholars to fully comprehend the innovation and the originality of Bellini's so-called 'Giorgionesque' phase (1505-1516).

Mazzotta, indeed stated: "It is only because of Georg Gronau, who radically reconstructed Bellini's later career and demolished the overblown catalogue of Basaiti (and of the phantom Pseudo-Basaiti), that in 1930 the attribution [of the Papafava-Contini-Bonacossi *Saint Jerome*] was proposed, and since then it has only rarely questioned".<sup>969</sup> Since Gronau - and later Heinemann - confirmed its autography by Giovanni Bellini, experts have agreed on the *Saint Jerome*'s design and completion.<sup>970</sup>

Meaningfully, on the other hand, at the Manchester exhibition neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle made any reference to the Papafava *Saint Jerome* when they analysed the Frick *Saint Francis*. On the contrary, Tempestini highlighted that in the Papafava *Saint Jerome* (Fig. 44) Bellini had derived from the Frick *Saint Francis* (Fig. 64) the fashion for faunal and floristic symbolic elements.<sup>971</sup> The picture in New York and that in

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<sup>967</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268, also footnote 2.

<sup>968</sup> Mazzotta 2017, p. 94-95.

<sup>969</sup> Mazzotta 2017, p. 95.

<sup>970</sup> Gronau 1930, p. 206. Heinemann 1962, Volume 1, p. 66, cat. 222.

<sup>971</sup> Tempestini 1992, p. 140. Tempestini 2005, p. 218.

Florence, though, share a similar composition, as well as a rural setting with rocky outcropping walls rich in grasses and light-and-shadow effects. Christiansen, therefore, included the Papafava *Saint Jerome* in the set of four “meditational” poems, namely large panels with broad and detailed landscapes rich in metaphorical elements that Bellini invented to impress the Venetian market’s late-1470s and 1480s-demand for devotional paintings with intense landscape features.<sup>972</sup>

Moreover, Cavalcaselle did not make any reference to Dingwall’s *Saint Francis* also when he analysed the Papafava *Saint Jerome* during his stays in Padua in 1864 or 1865.<sup>973</sup> Under his sketch of the picture, Cavalcaselle noted that he had assigned the “tavola” [“panel”] now Florence to “Marco Baxaiti” [*sic*].<sup>974</sup> During his analysis of the picture, moreover, Cavalcaselle utilised more his noting than his sketching techniques to register his clues and hypotheses.<sup>975</sup> In his sketch, indeed, Cavalcaselle graphically signalled a longitudinal fissure running through the entire picture in its central section. On the other hand, he did not graphically outline in detail the rocks’ outcrops that Bellini had vainly placed in the foreground and in the right portion of the scene. Similarly, Cavalcaselle did not signal graphically the presence of a dessicated tree with a vulture perched on it standing out before the river and the walled city on the background.<sup>976</sup> Analogously, the expert did not graphically trace in detail nor identify with notes the city’s buildings. These buildings, as highlighted by Gronau, and Pignatti, appear to be a mixture of Roman and Late Antique buildings still placed in Ravenna and Rimini.<sup>977</sup> Tempestini, moreover, identified one of the bell towers in the *Saint Jerome* with that of

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<sup>972</sup> Christiansen 2013, p. 11, also endnote 4 (p. 18).

<sup>973</sup> Fraticelli 2019, p. 56, also footnote 8.

<sup>974</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>975</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>976</sup> Gentili 2006, p. 20. Gentili 2009, p. 33.

<sup>977</sup> Gronau 1930, p. 206. Pignatti 1969, p. 97. Tempestini 2005, p. 218, cat. 17.

the Church of Santa Anastasia in Verona.<sup>978</sup> Actually, due to the presence of angular merlons around the conoidal pinnacle on the tower's top, it seems that this architectural element could have been inspired by the bell tower of the church of San Barnaba in Venice or by that of the Cathedral of Parma.

On the other hand, during his post-Manchester stay in Padua Cavalcaselle was interested in other elements inserted by the Renaissance master – in his opinion Basaiti – in the work now in Florence. Using some words in Italian and his native Veronese language, in fact, he registered that he had noticed a “scovino animale” [“squirrel animal”] on the crooked tree in the upper right portion of the painting.<sup>979</sup> In the background, moreover, in place of the hound chasing the deer, he signalled the presence of a “capra” [“goat”]. Similarly, on the olive tree close to saint Jerome he identified the pheasant as a “pernicio” [“male partridge”]. In the foreground, then, he was attracted by the lizard that he identified as a “rogestolo detto canguro [che] mangia [è] amica dell'uomo” [“lizard named kangaroo [known as *otocryptis wiegmanni*; it] is eating [and it is] harmless and friendly to human beings”]. Possibly, thus, the oxidised varnish or some repainting obstructed the connoisseur in the identification of the fauna and flora inserted by Bellini in the scene. In addition, in the Papafava *Saint Jerome*'s lower left corner Cavalcaselle noticed some “erbe rilevate” [“grasses in chiaroscuro relief”]. In the picture's right portion, furthermore, he signalled the “edera cadente” [“hanging ivy”] in various parts of the rocky wall and the fact that the wall's “sassi” [“stones”] had been painted using a “chiaro” [“light”] and “bianco” [“white”] pigment for the parts in light.

On the contrary, Cavalcaselle indicated that the rocky wall's parts in shade – especially in the section around the lion – had been cloaked under an effect of “vapore”

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<sup>978</sup> Tempestini 1992, p. 140. Tempestini 2005, p. 218, cat. 17.

<sup>979</sup> Gentili 2001, pp. 22-23.

["mist"]. Possibly, so, during his Paduan mid-1860s journey Cavalcaselle was attracted by the ways in which the author – that in Cavalcaselle's opinion was Basaiti - of the Papafava *Saint Jerome* had developed his glazing and chiaroscuro skills in order to react to both the Leonardesque *sfumato* and the Giorgionesque tonalism. Significantly, in fact, by the sketch of the picture Cavalcaselle stated that the panel now in Florence had been painted "dopo il 1510 – [di] certo – nello stile di Bellini" ["after 1510 – [for] sure – in [imitation of] Bellini's style"]. However, in his note Cavalcaselle did not register any reference to the Frick *Saint Francis*.

In relation to these aspects, it should be noted that only recently research has highlighted how Bellini, before adopting Giorgione's tonal glazing and impasto, had independently elaborated for at least two decades his own autonomous system of glazing.<sup>980</sup> Cavalcaselle, on the contrary, in his sketch signalled that saint Jerome's vest's shaded area had been painted "alla Palma" ["in Palma's manner"], that is with some chiaroscuro techniques and a touch similar to the one that, in Cavalcaselle's opinion, had been utilised by another Bellini's pupils, the Venetian master Jacopo Palma il Vecchio (c.1480-1528). Curiously, Palma's presumed date of birth is coeval to the date assigned by present scholars to the Uffizi's *Saint Jerome*. This demonstrates how deeply the Papafava-Contini Bonacossi *Saint Jerome* represents a key case study for the comprehension of the evolution of Bellini's style and technique, as well as of the construction of Cavalcaselle's connoisseurship of the Venetian Renaissance school.

By his sketch Cavalcaselle, on the other hand, noted also that the "stupendo" ["stupendous"] *Saint Jerome* now in Florence had been painted with an "infuocato" ["inflamed"] general tone that characterised the entire picture's palette. Plausibly, this note infers that Cavalcaselle noticed a general reddish-ochre tone in the panel's priming

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<sup>980</sup> Wilson 2004, p. 112. Villa 2009, p. 114.

or in its varnish layers. Cavalcaselle, indeed, added that he had noticed a certain “crepollatura” [*sic*] [“craquelure”].<sup>981</sup> Then, he signalled: “colore duro crepolato come detto Leonardo a Rovigo” [“[the] impasto [is] hard and cracked like in the so-called [painting by] Leonardo in Rovigo”].<sup>982</sup> During his mid-1860s analysis of the *Saint Jerome* in Padua, so, Cavalcaselle relied uniquely on technical pieces of evidence to assign to Marco Basaiti not only the Uffizi’s *Saint Jerome* (c.1480) but also another picture now unanimously referred to Giovanni Bellini and his workshop: the *Christ Carrying the Cross* (c.1510) in the Accademia dei Concordi in Rovigo. In 1871, moreover, in the first volume of their *History of Painting in Italy*, Crowe and Cavalcaselle mentioned not only the *Christ*’s traditional attribution to Leonardo of the but also the “[...] strong grey brown flesh impasto [...] crackled as Palma’s flesh crackles”. They attributed the painting in Rovigo to Basaiti or to the Bergamasque master Andrea Previtali (c.1480-1528). However, Previtali – who was a contemporary to Palma il Vecchio – was not mentioned by Cavalcaselle by his sketch of the Papafava panel. Possibly, this alternative attribution – based as well only on technical reflections – was the consequence of later reflections by Cavalcaselle or Crowe.<sup>983</sup>

In 1871 Crowe certainly utilised Cavalcaselle’s mid-1860s Paduan sketch and notes to discuss in the *History* the Papafava *Saint Jerome*’s technique and autography.<sup>984</sup> For instance, the authors highlighted the “[...] broadly shaded rock from which roots and shrubs depend [...]”. This is a literal quotation from Cavalcaselle’s note now in the Marciana: “sassi / edera cadente / vapore” [“stones / hanging ivy / mist”]. Similarly, the

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<sup>981</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r. On the technical and critical assessment of the craquelures in Bellini’s production: Bellini 2000, pp. 48, 66 and 75; Tecnica 2000, pp. 191 and 196; Dunkerton 2004, p. 312, endnote 19; Miller 2004, p. 156.

<sup>982</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>983</sup> Giovanni Bellini and Workshop, *Christ Carrying the Cross*, c.1510, oil on poplar panel, 48.5 x 27 cm, Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, inv. 142 (Casilini Bequest). Bellini 2008, p. 308-309, cat. 57. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 265, also footnote 3.

<sup>984</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268, also footnote 2. MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

1871 book's passage mentions the goat – in place of the hound chasing the deer – mistakenly noticed by Cavalcaselle in his sketch.<sup>985</sup> Analogously, the authors literally quoted from Cavalcaselle's Paduan papers, stating that in the *Saint Jerome* now in Florence "the touch [...] is ample after the fashion of Bellini and Palma".<sup>986</sup> In the same way, in addition, they highlighted that in the Uffizi's panel "a raw warmth marks the tones": this is a quotation from the "infuocato" ["inflamed"] general tone of the picture noted by Cavalcaselle by his sketch of the panel now in Florence.<sup>987</sup>

On the contrary, in the *History* the two authors did not place some critical remarks on the Papafava *Saint Jerome* that had been highlighted by Cavalcaselle a few years earlier in his Paduan sketch of the picture. In the 1871 volume, for instance, the *Christ Carrying the Cross* in Rovigo, for instance, was not directly compared for its technique to painting now in Florence. Analogously, the kangaroo lizard identified by Cavalcaselle in his sketch was described in the 1871 volume as a "[...] tortoise crawling on the foreground". Plausibly, Cavalcaselle changed his opinion on these aspects before sending to Crowe his handwritten draft of the *History*'s first volume or, on the contrary, Crowe rejected Cavalcaselle's indications during the volume's editing process. If it were so, Crowe's editing would be related to a plausible analysis of these pictures conducted by Crowe in Padua, Venice and Rovigo before the end of 1868, when the first volume of the *History*'s manuscript was finished.<sup>988</sup>

Though, in the same passage of the *History* are placed also some critical elements that cannot be traced in Cavalcaselle's mid-1860s sketch and notes on the *Saint Jerome* now in Florence. For instance, the two experts stated that the same author – who in their

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<sup>985</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>986</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>987</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>988</sup> Fraticelli 2019, pp. 59-63.

opinion was Basaiti and not Bellini - of the Papafava painting had realised two replicas of the picture. As already signalled beforehand, at the end of the 1860s the first replica was placed in the Lombardi gallery in Florence<sup>989</sup> and could possibly be identified with the panel now in the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>990</sup> Cavalcaselle, though, did not note any reference to the Lombardi panel on his Paduan sketch of the Papafava picture (Fig. 129).<sup>991</sup>

On the contrary, in a pen sketch drew in London between 1855 and 1857,<sup>992</sup> Cavalcaselle made a reference to the *Saint Jerome* in the Papafava gallery when he analysed the picture with an identical subject that had entered the National Gallery in 1855.<sup>993</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, therefore, signalled that the work in London was a “replica [...] of a smaller size and more Bellinesque treatment [...]” of the original *Saint Jerome* then in Padua and now in Florence. Moreover, according to the two authors, the replica now in London was once placed in the church of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice.<sup>994</sup> They also highlighted that the panel in London was “finished with Flemish minuteness”.<sup>995</sup> The *History*’s entry, so, originated from Cavalcaselle’s attention to the “montagne alla Bellini – nuvole alla v.[an] Eyck” [“mountains in Bellini’s style – clouds in van Eyck’s manner”] registered in the pen sketch.<sup>996</sup> Similarly, the two authors compared the way in which saint Jerome’s “[...] figure is relieved on the distance by

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<sup>989</sup> History 1871, Volume 1, p. 269. Also footnote 1.

<sup>990</sup> Giovanni Bellini and Workshop (Attributed to), *Saint Jerome Reading in a Landscape*, 1480-1490, tempera and possibly oil on panel, 26.6 x 21.7 cm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1899.CDEF.P1 (Fortnum Bequest, 1899) <https://collections.ashmolean.org/object/372343> and <https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/st-jerome-reading-in-a-landscape-141680> (consulted 03/04/2021). Ashmolean 1995, p. 54, cat. 54, and p. 55, Fig. 54. Lucco 2019, pp. 422-423, cat. 74.

<sup>991</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo VI, f. 140r.

<sup>992</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo XIX, f. 26r. Mazzotta 2017, p. 97.

<sup>993</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268, also footnote 3. Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Jerome Reading in a Landscape* 1480-1485, oil on wood panel, 46.8 × 33.8 cm, London. National Gallery, inv. NG281 (purchased in 1855) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-saint-jerome-reading-in-a-landscape> (consulted 23/04/2021). Jordan 1873, p. 282, also footnote 30. Borenius 1912, Volume 1, p. 18, also footnote 3. Humfrey 2019, pp. 463-464, cat. 100.

<sup>994</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268, footnote 3.

<sup>995</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268.

<sup>996</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2031 (=12272), Fascicolo XIX, f. 26r. Mazzotta 2017, p. 97.

broad shading” in the Papafava panel now in Florence<sup>997</sup> with that of Christ in the *Baptism* (1492-1494) by Cima da Conegliano in the church of San Giovanni in Bragora in Venice.<sup>998</sup>

Moreover, in their *History* Crowe and Cavalcaselle judged the Uffizi’s *Saint Jerome* “[...] well preserved [...] well-spaced-out, and diversified by lights and shades of different colours”.<sup>999</sup> Noticeably, the two authors stated that the Papafava picture was characterised by “figures bony, lean, and with large extremities”, as well as by a landscape as “rich”<sup>1000</sup> as that in the *Virgin in Glory with Eight Saints in a Landscape* (1510-1515) now assigned to Giovanni Bellini and his workshop, which since 1815 has been on deposit from the Gallerie dell’Accademia in Venice to the church of San Pietro Martire in Murano (Fig. 130). In the nineteenth century, the picture in Murano used to be called *The Assumption*.<sup>1001</sup> Its composition and iconography are related with the theological debate on the Immaculate Conception as well as to the Augustine and Franciscan orders related to the monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Murano.<sup>1002</sup>

Significantly, so, after the Manchester exhibition Cavalcaselle extensively reflected on the role played by then-called Muranese *Assumption* in the development of Marco Basaiti’s manner. In addition, during his post-Manchester surveys in the Italian and British collections Cavalcaselle utilised the painting in Murano’s technique and style

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<sup>997</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *Saint Jerome Reading in the Desert*, c.1480, oil on panel, 151.7 x 113.7 cm, Florence, Uffizi, inv. Contini Bonacossi 25. <https://www.uffizi.it/opere/san-girolamo-nel-deserto> (consulted 23/03/2021).

<sup>998</sup> Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano, *Baptism of Christ*, 1492-1494, oil on panel, 350 x 210 cm, Venice, Church of San Giovanni in Bragora. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, pp. 234-5, also footnote n 1 (p. 235). Jordan 1873, p. 244, also footnote 7.

<sup>999</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268, also footnote 2.

<sup>1000</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 268, footnote 2.

<sup>1001</sup> Giovanni Bellini and Workshop, *Virgin in Glory with the Saints Mark, John the Evangelist, Luke, Francis of Assisi, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony the Abbot, Augustine and John the Baptist in a Landscape*, 1510-1515, oil on poplar panel, 350 x 225 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell’Accademia (on deposit to the Church of San Pietro Martire, Murano, since 1815) <http://www.venetianheritage.eu/portfolio-items/in-corso-madonna-in-gloria-con-otto-santi-giovanni-bellini-chiesa-di-san-pietro-martire-murano-venezia/?lang=en> (consulted 31/03/2021). Villa 2019, pp. 527-529, cat. 154.

<sup>1002</sup> Tempestini 1992, p. 278-279, cat. 98. Dal Pozzolo 1995, p. 42.



to drastically shorten the *corpus* of works assigned to Giovanni Bellini and to extraordinarily increase the set of pictures assigned to Basaiti. For instance, when in London between 1864 and July 1865 Cavalcaselle drew a pencil sketch of Giovanni Bellini's *Madonna of the Meadow*, that had entered the National Gallery in 1858,<sup>1003</sup> he cautiously attributed the work to Marco "Basaiti?".<sup>1004</sup> Later, though, Cavalcaselle utilised a pen to edit this sketch and assign the National Gallery's masterpiece with certainty to "Basaiti" due to its technical and stylistic similarities with the altarpiece in Murano.<sup>1005</sup> By the pencil sketch, indeed, he laconically registered: "vedi Murano – Basaiti" ["see Murano – Basaiti"].<sup>1006</sup>

This case study, so, constitutes one of the most relevant examples of Cavalcaselle's and Crowe's critical misunderstanding of Giovanni Bellini's production between 1500 and his death (1516). In 2012, indeed, Mazzotta correctly highlighted that Cavalcaselle and Crowe had not managed to select Bellini's late *oeuvre*, as well as to recognise the elderly master's innovative and flexible technical and stylistic innovations.<sup>1007</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, indeed, in the first volume of their *History* (1871) assigned with certainty to Marco Basaiti the picture Murano and dated it to the master's independent activity after having left Bellini's workshop. The *History*'s two authors, moreover, considered the Muranese altarpiece "[...] a large and important work, excellent for its landscape, but in which the figures are Bellinesque of a less refined type

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<sup>1003</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *The Virgin and Child in a Landscape (Madonna of the Meadow)*, about 1500-1505, 66.5 × 85.1 cm, oil on synthetic panel, transferred from wood, London, National Gallery, inv. 599 (purchased in 1858) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/giovanni-bellini-madonna-of-the-meadow> (consulted 03/07/2021).

<sup>1004</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XIX, f. 40r.

<sup>1005</sup> Giovanni Bellini and Workshop, *Virgin in Glory with the Saints Mark, John the Evangelist, Luke, Francis of Assisi, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony the Abbot, Augustine and John the Baptist in a Landscape*, 1510-1515, oil on poplar panel, 350 x 225 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia (on deposit to the Church of San Pietro Martire, Murano, since 1815) <http://www.venetianheritage.eu/portfolio-items/in-corso-madonna-in-gloria-con-otto-santi-giovanni-bellini-chiesa-di-san-pietro-martire-murano-venezia/?lang=en> (consulted 31/03/2021). Villa 2019, pp. 527-529, cat. 154.

<sup>1006</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XIX, f. 40r.

<sup>1007</sup> Mazzotta 2012, p. 25.

than Bellini's, and softness is produced by a film of vapour on the outlines [...]”.<sup>1008</sup> This last note recalls the “vapore” [“mist”] signalled by Cavalcaselle of his sketch of the Uffizi's *Saint Jerome* in relation to the painting's shaded area around the lion.<sup>1009</sup> The two experts, however, highlighted the presence, in the picture then in Murano, of some “shadows [...] somewhat grey”, which had not been discussed by Cavalcaselle in his Paduan sketch on the Papafava *Saint Jerome*.<sup>1010</sup>

Moreover, when they described the work in Murano, the *History*'s authors sustained: “The shadows are somewhat grey and the saints are a little stiff and vulgar [...] Some heaviness is due to varnishes, the execution recalling that of an *Incredulity of Saint Thomas* in the Church of San Nicolò in Treviso”.<sup>1011</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle, then, noticed that in the painting in Murano the shading and glazing techniques, as well as the oxidation and craquelures of the panel's varnish, had obstructed the critical reading of the work. The two editorial partners, however, stated that the picture in Murano's handling had been similar to that of the *Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, now attributed to Luca Antonio Busati (active between 1510 and 1539), which is still *in situ* in the Monigo chapel in the church of San Nicolò in Treviso (Fig. 59).<sup>1012</sup> Crowe and Cavalcaselle assigned with certainty the picture in Treviso to Sebastiano del Piombo (c.1485-1547) and dated it to his – alleged<sup>1013</sup> - apprenticeship in Giovanni Bellini's workshop.<sup>1014</sup>

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<sup>1008</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 269.

<sup>1009</sup> Tempestini 1993, p. 30, Fig. 2.

<sup>1010</sup> Giovanni Bellini and Workshop, *Virgin in Glory with the Saints Mark, John the Evangelist, Luke, Francis of Assisi, Louis of Toulouse, Anthony the Abbot, Augustine and John the Baptist in a Landscape*, 1510-1515, oil on poplar panel, 350 x 225 cm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia (on deposit to the Church of San Pietro Martire, Murano, since 1815) <http://www.venetianheritage.eu/portfolio-items/in-corso-madonna-in-gloria-con-otto-santi-giovanni-bellini-chiesa-di-san-pietro-martire-murano-venezia/?lang=en> (consulted 31/03/2021). Villa 2019, pp. 527-529, cat. 154.

<sup>1011</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, pp. 168-169, footnote 1 (p. 169).

<sup>1012</sup> Luca Antonio Busati (attributed to), *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas*, possibly 1505-1510, Treviso, Church of San Nicolò, Monigo chapel. Tempestini 1993, p. 30, Fig. 2. Venice, Giorgio Cini Foundation, Picture Library, slide n. 367247 <http://arte.cini.it/Opere/367247> (consulted 31/03/2021). <https://www.lavitadelpopolo.it/Chiesa/C-era-con-loro-anche-Tommaso> (consulted 30/03/2022)

<sup>1013</sup> On Sebastiano's presence in Bellini's workshop: Pallucchini 1935, Tempestini 2009 and Barbieri 2015.

<sup>1014</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 189, footnote 6 (from p. 190), and Volume 2, pp. 311-312.

Finally, it should be noted that some intensely shaded rocks with finely detailed outcrops and grasses can be traced in the *Saint Francis* now in New York (Fig. 64), in the Papafava panel now in Florence and in the upper portion, representing *Saint Jerome*, of the renowned altarpiece (1513) by Bellini in the Church of San Crisostomo in Venice.<sup>1015</sup> This Venetian altarpiece's section, too, was assigned by Crowe and Cavalcaselle to Marco Basaiti's apprenticeship and long-time collaboration in Giovanni Bellini's workshop.<sup>1016</sup> However, also in this case neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle registered in their Manchester papers that some elements of the late-1470s Frick *Saint Francis* had been reutilised in Bellini's workshop until the very last years of the master's life.

In conclusion, through a concatenation of detailed comparisons between some precise aspects of some specific Venetian Renaissance paintings, Bellini's *Saint Jerome* now in the Uffizi was at the centre of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's assessment of Bellini's compositional and technical skills. Similarly, the panel now in the Uffizi was central for the two experts' detailed comprehension of Bellini's collaboration with his assistants. Unfortunately, Cavalcaselle – as well as Scharf – did not acknowledge in depth the Frick *Saint Francis*'s influence on the spread and the fortune of the *Saint Jerome* paintings by Bellini and his pupils and followers between the 1480s and the 1510s. As a result, this lack of critical comparison affected both Cavalcaselle and Crowe regards their ability to understand the chronology and extent of the compositional and technical aspects of the collaboration within Bellini, Basaiti, Cima da Conegliano, Palma il Vecchio and Sebastiano del Piombo.

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<sup>1015</sup> Giovanni Bellini, *The Saints Christopher, Jerome and Louis of Toulouse*, 1513, oil on panel, 300 x 185 cm (120 in x 73 in.), Venice, Church of San Giovanni Crisostomo. Meiss 1964, p. 20.

<sup>1016</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, Volume 1, p. 267.

## 4.7 Birchall's Misidentified Murillo

At Manchester, Scharf managed to obtain from the British serviceperson and solicitor Thomas Birchall (c.1809-1878) the loan of an *Ecce Homo* that had been assigned to the Spanish master Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617-1682). In the last weeks of the exhibition, Scharf registered Birchall's picture's support and dimensions on his personal copy of the *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>1017</sup> Scharf's notes, together with some labels and numbers that are placed on the back of the painting demonstrate that the *Ecce Homo* lent to the Manchester show can be identified with a canvas now on loan to the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery and correct some mistakes in bibliography (Fig. 132).<sup>1018</sup>

Firstly, some sources have made a certain confusion on the Manchester lender's identity. In 1857 Scharf mentioned that the *Ecce Homo* had been lent by "Tho[ma]s. Birchall, Esq.[uire]".<sup>1019</sup> Birchall's birth date is not known.<sup>1020</sup> However, since he died at 69 on 3 May 1878, he had been born in 1808 or 1809.<sup>1021</sup> A decade before the Manchester exhibition, Birchall served as mayor of Preston, Lancashire.<sup>1022</sup> Birchall's military career prospects, on the other hand, considerably improved only later than the Manchester show. Thus, after 1857 Birchall was styled with titles different from the one that had been used by Scharf. In 1861 Birchall was appointed captain<sup>1023</sup> and then major<sup>1024</sup> of the British army. In 1865, then, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel.<sup>1025</sup> In the same year,

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<sup>1017</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Ann. Cat.

<sup>1018</sup> Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, 1660-1670, oil on canvas, 100.3 x 74.9 cm (39 ½ x 29 ½ in.), Bristol, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, inv. LEFA.0033 (on loan from Saint Anne's Church, Bristol) <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=178995> and <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2017/18-august/news/uk/church-is-allowed-to-loan-its-murillo-painting-belatedly-to-bristol-museum-and-art-gallery> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1019</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 73, cat. 1035. Scharf 1857, b. p. 51, cat. 644.

<sup>1020</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG19684> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1021</sup> Hewitson 1883, p. 562.

<sup>1022</sup> <https://www.preston.gov.uk/article/2669/Past-Mayors-from-1800-1899> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1023</sup> Memorandum 1861.

<sup>1024</sup> Memoranda 1861.

<sup>1025</sup> Behan 1869, p. 1457.

moreover, Birchall built a mansion in Preston, named Ribbleton Hall, where he would move his collection.<sup>1026</sup>

In 1867, in addition, André Lavice questioned the originality of Birchall's picture, hypothesising that it was a copy after an original by Spanish Mannerist painter Luis de Morales (1512–1586).<sup>1027</sup> In 1872, however, Birchall lent the *Ecce Homo* to the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition as an original by Murillo. The 1872 catalogue's entry, though, erroneously names the lender "Colonel Birchall", and so it was mentioned by Minor in 1882.<sup>1028</sup> Later sources, on the contrary, correctly refer as "Lieutenant-Colonel Birchall" to the *Ecce Homo*'s lender to the Royal Academy's 1872 show. None of these sources questioned the picture's attribution to Murillo.<sup>1029</sup> The lender to the 1857 and 1872 exhibitions, so, shall not be confused with Thomas Birchall Wood (1865-1939), who was appointed colonel during the First World War and who retired from the British Army after his appointment as Honorary Brigadier-General in December 1919.<sup>1030</sup>

A typo by Curtis (1883) probably misled Cano Rivero (2018), who erroneously indicated that Birchall exhibited the *Ecce Homo* in Manchester in 1867.<sup>1031</sup> Cano Rivero erroneously stated also that Birchall's picture was on display at the National Exhibition of Works of Art that took place in Leeds in 1868.<sup>1032</sup> However, the *Ecce Homo* assigned to Murillo that was exhibited in Leeds in 1868 had been lent by Thomas Dundas, 2nd Earl of Zetland (1795–1873), whose collection was then kept in Aske Hall, Richmond, Yorkshire.<sup>1033</sup> The Dundas *Ecce Homo* was also on display at the British Institution's

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<sup>1026</sup> <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/term/BIOG19684> and <https://lancashirepast.com/2019/11/09/ribbleton-hall-ruins-grange-park-preston/> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1027</sup> Lavice 1867, p. 147, cat. XV.

<sup>1028</sup> Royal Academy 1872, p. 11, cat. 92. Minor 1882, p. 84.

<sup>1029</sup> Curtis 1883, p. 197, cat. 198. Graves 1969, p. 845, cat. 92.

<sup>1030</sup> Debrett 1931, p. 2226. Army List 1940, p. 800.

<sup>1031</sup> Cano Rivero 2018, p. 13. Curtis 1883, p. 197, cat. 198.

<sup>1032</sup> Cano Rivero 2018, p. 33.

<sup>1033</sup> Leeds 1868, p. 33, cat. 361. Curtis 1883, p. 200, cat. 210.

1865 annual exhibition.<sup>1034</sup> Cano Rivero signalled that Dundas had already owned the painting since at least 1851 and correctly suggested that both Dundas and Birchall's paintings were variants of the Kress *Ecce Homo* by Murillo.<sup>1035</sup> In 1857 the Kress picture belonged to John Campbell (1796-1862), from 1834 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane. It was gifted to the El Paso Museum of Art in 1961.<sup>1036</sup>

Notably, so, in the Manchester show's preparatory phase (1856-May 1857) in England were placed three variants – with slight differences – of the same subject by Murillo. Scharf, so, possibly had the chance to select the best – in his opinion – variant of the *Ecce Homo* and to exhibit it in order to illustrate and discuss the critical fortune of this religious subject in the workshops of the most influential Italian, Spanish and Netherlandish masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth century.<sup>1037</sup>

According to Cano Rivero,<sup>1038</sup> moreover, either Birchall's or Dundas's painting representing the *Ecce Homo* could be identified with either the picture now in the Heckscher Museum of Art, Huntington, Long Island (Fig. 133),<sup>1039</sup> or the canvas which was anonymously gifted in 1959<sup>1040</sup> to Saint Anne's Church, Bristol, and which, since 2012, has been on loan to the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery (Fig. 132).<sup>1041</sup>

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<sup>1034</sup> British Institution 1865, p. 12, cat. 115. Curtis 1883, p. 200, cat. 210.

<sup>1035</sup> Cano Rivero 2018, p. 33.

<sup>1036</sup> Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, 1672-1678, oil on canvas, 85.7 x 78.7 cm (33-3/4 x 31 in.), El Paso, TX, USA, El Paso Museum of Art, inv. 1961.1.54 (K-2108, gifted in 1961) Eisler 1977, p. 219-220, cat. K 2108. <https://kress.nga.gov/Detail/objects/id%3A666> and <https://elpasoartmuseum.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/32EAA0EB-4800-449E-99B9-461756611330> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1037</sup> Jameson 1872, pp. 91-99. Cano Rivero 2018. Brooke 2020.

<sup>1038</sup> Cano Rivero 2018, p. 33.

<sup>1039</sup> Brooke 2020, p. 89, also footnote 36-37. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, 1660-1665, oil on canvas, 99.6 x 73.6 cm (39 x 29 in.), Huntington, NY, USA, The Heckscher Museum of Art, inv. 1959.155 <http://heckschercollection.org/argus/Portal.aspx?lang=en-US> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1040</sup> <https://www.stanneschurcholdland.org.uk/ecce-homo> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1041</sup> Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, 1660-1670, oil on canvas, 100.3 x 74.9 cm (39 1/2 x 29 1/2 in.), Bristol, Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, inv. LEFA.0033 (on loan from Saint Anne's Church, Bristol) <http://museums.bristol.gov.uk/details.php?irn=178995> and <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2017/18-august/news/uk/church-is-allowed-to-loan-its-murillo-painting-belatedly-to-bristol-museum-and-art-gallery> (consulted 31/12/2020).

Furthermore, in December 1857, that is some weeks after the *décrochage* of the Manchester exhibition, Birchall's *Ecce Homo* was photographed by Leonida Caldesi (1822-1891) and Mattia Montecchi (1816-1871). The two Italian photographers used their wet collodion negatives (glass plates) of Birchall's canvas to create white albumen silver prints to insert in their commemorative volume of the Manchester Exhibition's Old Master *Gems* (1858). In the *Gems*, though, Birchall's last name was present, due to a typo, as "Burchall".<sup>1042</sup> Both the *Provisional* and *Definitive* editions of the Manchester show's catalogue, on the other hand, reported the provenance of Birchall's picture from the British collector Frank Hall Standish (1799-1840)'s gallery.<sup>1043</sup> In 1883, however, Curtis rejected this provenance, stating that there was not any trace of the *Ecce Homo* by Murillo in the Standish collection's catalogue.<sup>1044</sup>

On the contrary, at the symposium on the collecting of paintings by Murillo in nineteenth-century United Kingdom, held in in 2018 at the Wallace Collection in London, Brooke confirmed the Standish provenance of the *Ecce Homo* by Murillo exhibited by Scharf in Manchester, indicating that Standish had purchased the picture from Julian Benjamin Williams (-1866). Brooke restated this provenance in the conference's proceedings, published in 2020. According to Brooke, thanks to the comparison with the Manchester photograph by Caldesi and Montecchi, Birchall's picture could be identified with a painting now in the Heckscher Museum of Art.<sup>1045</sup>

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<sup>1042</sup> *Gems* 1858, Plate 80. Curtis 1883, p. 197, cat. 198. Angulo Iñiguez 1981, Plate 562. Cano Rivero 2018, p. 13, footnote 34. Brooke 2020, p. 89, footnote 37. Leonida Calvesi and Mattia Montecchi, *Ecce Homo*, 1857, albumen silver print, 20.9 × 16.2 cm (8 1/4 × 6 3/8 in.), Los Angeles, CA, USA, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 84.XB.582.1.80 <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/139823/caldesi-montecchi-ecce-homo-by-murillo-british-1858/?dz=0.3611,0.8141,1.54> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1043</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 73, cat. 1035. Scharf 1857, b. p. 51, cat. 644.

<sup>1044</sup> Curtis 1883, p. 197, cat. 198.

<sup>1045</sup> Brooke 2020, p. 89, also footnote 36-37. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (attributed to), *Ecce Homo*, 1660-1665, oil on canvas, 99.6 x 73.6 cm (39 x 29 in.), Huntington, NY, USA, The Heckscher Museum of Art, inv. 1959.155 <http://heckschercollection.org/argus/Portal.aspx?lang=en-US> (consulted 31/12/2020).



Brooke, however, did not highlight that the height of the *Ecce Homo* in Huntington (39 x 29 in.) differs from that of Birchall's picture that Scharf had registered on his Manchester show's *Definitive Catalogue*'s "personally annotated copy". On this copy, indeed, Scharf signalled that Birchall's picture "[...] was on canvas and measured 36 x 29 inches (c. 91.44 x 73.7 cm) [...]".<sup>1046</sup> Curtis, moreover, in 1883 confirmed Scharf's note on Birchall's *Ecce Homo*'s dimensions: "36 x 28 ½ inches".<sup>1047</sup> The dimensional noncoincidence of Birchall's canvas with the Heckscher *Ecce Homo* seems to reject the identification sustained by Brooke.

Moreover, Brooke did not notice that a detailed comparison between the 1857 black and white albumen silver print from the photograph by Caldesi and Montecchi (Fig. 138) and the Heckscher painting reveals some slight differences between them. First, as noted by Forman Tabler in 1979, the *Gems*' print shows some blood drops on Christ's torso that are not placed in the canvas in Huntington. Forman Tabler, therefore, stated that Birchall's picture was a variant of the *Ecce Homo* in Huntington.<sup>1048</sup> Second, comparing the prints from the photograph by Caldesi and Montecchi (Fig. 138) it is possible to trace some other slight differences in Christ's eyes' shape, pose and distance from the nose, as well as in the fabric's drapery and in Christ's right hand's shape and distance from the left arm.<sup>1049</sup>

However, if the *Ecce Homo* in Huntington, as stated by Brooke, were the one lent by Birchall to the Manchester show, the discrepancy with the *Gems*' print noted by Forman Tabler would possibly originate from some conservative intervention, such as cleaning or shortening, on the Heckscher canvas. This potential intervention, therefore,

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<sup>1046</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282607/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-15?> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1047</sup> Curtis 1883, p. 197, cat. 198.

<sup>1048</sup> Forman Tabler 1979.

<sup>1049</sup> Caldesi, Montecchi 1858, Plate 80. *Gems* 1858, Plate 80. Curtis 1883, p. 197, cat. 198. Angulo Iñiguez 1982, Plate 562. Cano Rivero 2018, p. 13. Brooke 2020, p. 89, footnote 37.



could have possibly originated the other aforementioned differences between Caldesi and Montecchi's photograph and the painting in Huntington. However, these dissimilarities could be also the result of the Manchester *Gems*' black and white photograph's intense light and shadow printmaking effects.

Alternatively, though, the differences between the canvas in Huntington and the *Gems*' print could be the result of a potential editing of the Manchester photograph: Caldesi and Montecchi, indeed, possibly added to their picture some blood drops on Christ's shoulders and chest. In relation to this hypothesis, it should be noted that two distinct copies of Manchester *Gems* show some remarkable differences in the prints taken from the photographs by Caldesi and Montecchi of Birchall's canvas. Christ's eyes, hands and blood drops on the shoulders in the *Ecce Homo*'s photograph in the *Gems*' copy in the Boston Public Library,<sup>1050</sup> for instance, are not identical to those in the photograph in the Getty Museum, in which Christ's chest bears a bleeding wound that is not visible in the *Gems*' copy in Boston nor in the paintings in Huntington (Fig. 133) and Bristol (Fig. 132).<sup>1051</sup>

Remarkably, the differences between the print in Boston and that in Los Angeles could potentially derive from Caldesi and Montecchi's decision to use two different wet collodion negatives (glass plates) for the printmaking phase of Birchall's *Ecce Homo*'s print in their Manchester volume. Or, alternatively, these discrepancies could be the result of the variation of the photographic quality – similar to the 'states' in Old Masters'

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<sup>1050</sup> Leonida Calvesi and Mattia Montecchi, *Ecce Homo*, 1857, albumen silver print. *Gems* 1858, b, Plate 80. Cano Rivero 2018, p. 12.

<sup>1051</sup> Leonida Calvesi and Mattia Montecchi, *Ecce Homo*, 1857, albumen silver print, 20.9 × 16.2 cm (8 1/4 × 6 3/8 in.), Los Angeles, CA. USA, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 84.XB.582.1.80 <https://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/139823/caldesi-montecchi-ecce-homo-by-murillo-british-1858/?dz=0.5000,0.9129,0.75> (consulted 31/12/2020).

woodcut and etching - during the printmaking process.<sup>1052</sup> In any case, scholars have not highlighted any difference between the Gems' prints now in Boston and Los Angeles.

Furthermore, it should be noted that scholarship has not focused even on the provenance clues placed on the verso – or back - of the *Ecce Homo* in Bristol and Huntington. Thanks to the analysis of these elements, though, it is possible to sustain that Birchall's *Ecce Homo* lent to the Manchester show is the picture on loan to the Bristol Art Museum and Gallery.<sup>1053</sup> On the back of the painting in Bristol, indeed, are attached two labels related to the 1857 exhibition, one naming the lender “Th[oma]s. Brichall [*sic*], Esqu[i]r[e]”, the other reporting that the canvas was “packed” by the art dealer Thomas Agnew (1794-1871), then based in Manchester.<sup>1054</sup> Moreover, on the *Ecce Homo* in Bristol's verso, on the frame's upper stretch bar, is attached a label bearing the number “644” which is a clear reference to the Manchester *Definitive Catalogue*'s entry on Birchall's canvas.<sup>1055</sup> In addition, on the canvas in Bristol's back, on the central cross stretcher bar is attached a label that is related to the “187[2]” Royal Academy's Old Masters exhibition: even here, as in the exhibition's catalogue's entry, the lender is incompletely styled as “[Lieutenant]-Col.[one]<sup>l</sup> Birchall [of] Ribbleton Hall, Preston”. Furthermore, on the *Ecce Homo* in Bristol's lower stretcher bar is placed another label dated 3 October [19?]73, by the Bristol and London-based art dealing, conservation and publishing company ‘Frost and Reed’.<sup>1056</sup> The label, which bears the name of Saint

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<sup>1052</sup> <https://albert.rct.uk/photographic-technologies/wet-collodion-negative-glass-plate> (consulted 31/12/2021).

<sup>1053</sup> I wholeheartedly thank the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery's Paintings Conservator Helen Dowding for her e-mail (dated 24/02/2021) with capital information on LEFA.0033's dimensions and for letting me study the images of the painting's verso.

<sup>1054</sup> On the provenance and connoisseurial interactions between Scharf and Agnew in the exhibition's preparatory phase see Pergam 2016, p. 31.

<sup>1055</sup> Scharf 1857, b. p. 51, cat. 644.

<sup>1056</sup> <https://www.artbiogs.co.uk/2/galleries/frost-reed> (consulted 25/02/2021).

Anne's Church's "Rev.[erend] W. W. Ciracò [?]", is most likely related to an intervention of re-lining of the canvas.<sup>1057</sup>

Remarkably, indeed, in 1958 the canvas underwent a conservation treatment in the Bristol Museum and Art Gallery. On this occasion the curators and restorers measured the picture, stating that it was 39 ½ inches high and 29 ½ inches wide.<sup>1058</sup> These dimensions, though, do not coincide with the ones ("36 x 29 inches") noted by Scharf on his *Definitive Catalogue*'s personal copy.<sup>1059</sup> However, it is possible that the 1958-measured dimensions were related to the entire canvases and not to the painted surface. As an alternative, it is also possible that Birchall's *Ecce Homo* was altered in its dimensions after the 1857 exhibition. On the painting's top stretcher bar, indeed, are placed the brand "456 A0" and the handwritten reference "N[umer]o. 23" that could be related to the bar maker or to another conservative intervention on the painting. Finally, on the left bar there's a round label informing that the *Ecce Homo*, plausibly after its donation (1959) to the Saint Anne's Church, was the "Property [of] / Reverend W. K. Thomas / [of the] Oldland Vicarage". This label, too, could be associated with a conservative intervention on the picture commissioned by the Reverend.<sup>1060</sup> Anyway, in conclusion, there could be a margin of error in either the nineteenth-century or the twentieth-century sources on the dimensions of Murillo's *Ecce Homos* now in Bristol.

In conclusion, so, Scharf's notes on his "personally annotated copy" of the Manchester *Definitive Catalogue* not only question Brooke's 2020 identification of

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<sup>1057</sup> In her 24/02/2021 e-mail Helen Dowding reported: "The painting is on a canvas support, which had been lined before 1958. The original tacking margins/edges are missing. It is probable that the painting was lined because the canvas had sustained at least two large damages, causing tears/holes".

<sup>1058</sup> In her 24/02/2021 e-mail Helen Dowding reported: "[...] the dimensions noted in 1958 when the painting was at Bristol Museum & Art Gallery for treatment. They are in inches, and are (h) 39.5" x (w) 29.5" (converted to mm: 1003 x 749).".

<sup>1059</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282607/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-15?> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1060</sup> The Reverend is mentioned in some 1960s papers in the Bristol Archives (consulted 25/02/2021) <https://archives.bristol.gov.uk/records/EP/A/22/Old/13>.

Birchall's painting with the Heckscher *Ecce Homo* but also encourage scholars to deepen the material and provenance research on the variants placed in Huntington and Bristol. Plausibly, indeed, further provenance research will identify with certainty the Heckscher Museum's canvas with the one that belonged to the Dundas collection.

## 4.8 The *Manchester Madonna*'s Unexpected Connections

At the 1857 exhibition, the *pièce de résistance* was indubitably the Michelangiolesque *Manchester Madonna* now in the National Gallery (Fig. 75).<sup>1061</sup> However, Scharf organised his selection of the other works to display at Manchester in a way that constituted some missed chances for art-historical comparisons between works of different workshops and schools.

The Manchester show, indeed, focused on works of art from private collections placed in the United Kingdom, especially in Great Britain. Therefore, the 1857 exhibition prevented mid-nineteenth-century connoisseurs from comparing the works of art that Scharf displayed at the Old Trafford with those kept either in British public collections or, even by British collectors, in Continental Europe. The Manchester exhibit, then, constituted a missed chance of art-historical comparison between works by either the same master or not, that in 1857 were kept in different collections. Therefore, the 1857 show remarkably influenced the connoisseurs' eye and research.

This section, therefore, expounds on some art-historical connections between the *Manchester Madonna* and other Old Master paintings, sculptures and prints. Remarkably, scholars have reflected on some of these connections only recently. Consequently, this section illustrates how deeply Scharf's selection of the works of art to display at the 1857 show by the *Manchester Madonna* has affected the development of connoisseurship, and, consequently, of History of Art.

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<sup>1061</sup> Michelangelo (attributed to), *The Virgin and Child with Saint John and Angels* ('*The Manchester Madonna*'), 1494-5, tempera on wood panel, 104.5 x 77 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG809 <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/michelangelo-the-manchester-madonna> (bought in 1870) (consulted 23/11/2020). Pergam 2016, pp. 36-8, 48 n.153, 222-23, 271, cat. 107.

#### 4.8.1 The *Madonna* and the *Entombment*

Remarkably, at the 1857 show Scharf missed the chance to exhibit, along with the *Manchester Madonna*, the Michelangiolesque *Entombment* (Fig. 148) now in the National Gallery.<sup>1062</sup> Scharf, then, did not manage to provide scholars and visitors with a direct and close comparison between n two Michelangiolesque works that could have enriched the mid-nineteenth-century technical and stylistic debate on Michelangelo's education and fortune within the coeval master of the other Italian schools.<sup>1063</sup>

Possibly, Michelangelo designed the *Entombment* around 1500 for a funerary chapel in the Church of Saint Augustine in Rome.<sup>1064</sup> In 1857, this picture was suitable for a loan to the Old Trafford show, since at that time it belonged to a British collector: the Scottish painter and photographer Robert Turnbull Macpherson (1814–72). Most probably, though, before and during the 'Art Treasures' show Macpherson had been keeping the picture in his gallery in Rome.<sup>1065</sup> Scharf, so, had not the chance to study the painting in Britain during the phase of selection of the works to require on loan to the 1857 event.

As a result, at the Manchester show both Cavalcaselle and Scharf did not note, in their handwritten materials, any technical, stylistic and compositional comparison between Macpherson's picture and the *Manchester Madonna*, that are the two only known easel unfinished paintings attributed to Michelangelo by present experts.

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<sup>1062</sup> Michelangelo (attributed to), *The Transport of Christ to the Holy Sepulchre ('The Entombment')*, 1500-1501, tempera and oil on wood, 161.7 x 149.9 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG790 (purchased in 1868) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/michelangelo-the-entombment-or-christ-being-carried-to-his-tomb> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>1063</sup> Østermark-Johansen 2020.

<sup>1064</sup> Nagel 1994.

<sup>1065</sup> Gould 1951, 281.

In addition, due to its focus on Old Masters works of art kept in private collections in the United Kingdom, the Manchester exhibition was characterised by the absence of a seminal work of the Venetian late-Renaissance, whose whereabouts in the United Kingdom before 1928 has not been clarified yet: the Dal Molin-Leger *Sacred Conversation* (1540) by Tintoretto. (Fig. 78).<sup>1066</sup> In this picture, indeed, the Virgin's pose might recall that of saint John the Evangelist in the Michelangiolesque *Entombment*, now in the National Gallery, that in 1857 belonged to a British collector but was plausibly still placed in Rome.<sup>1067</sup> Schulz, Steinberg and Romani, though, convincingly indicated that the Virgin's twisted pose in Tintoretto's Dal Molin-Leger picture had derived from another Michelangiolesque work: the *Medici Madonna* (1521-1534), a renowned marble statue preserved in the Sagrestia Nuova of the church of San Lorenzo in Florence (Fig. 79).<sup>1068</sup>

Scharf, moreover, did not request the loan to the 1857 show of the *Trinity*, a sculptural *grisaille* on panel by Robert Campin (c.1375 – 1444) and his workshop, that had entered the Städel Museum in Frankfurt less than a decade earlier (Fig. 134).<sup>1069</sup> Remarkably, the composition of Campin's picture recalls both the Michelangiolesque *Entombment* in London and the Dal Molin-Leger *Sacred Conversation* by Tintoretto. At the Old Trafford venue, so, scholars had not the chance to ascertain whether the Florentine early-Cinquecento school, and more specifically Michelangelo's circle, had been at the

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<sup>1066</sup> Tintoretto, *The Virgin and Child between the Saints Zachary, Anne, Joseph, Catherine of Alexandria and Francis of Assisi (Sacred Conversation)*, 1540, oil on canvas, 171.5 × 244 cm, USA, private collection. Lot n. 6 in Christie's sale, London, 05/07/1991. Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 41751 (consulted 26/05/2021) <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/41751>. Romani 2018.

<sup>1067</sup> Michelangelo (attributed to), *The Transport of Christ to the Holy Sepulchre ('The Entombment')*, 1500-1, tempera and oil on wood, 161.7 x 149.9 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG790 (purchased in 1868) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/michelangelo-the-entombment-or-christ-being-carried-to-his-tomb> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>1068</sup> Michelangelo, *The Virgin and Child ('The Medici Madonna')*, 1521-1534, marble, 226 cm, Florence, church of San Lorenzo, Sagrestia Nuova. Schulz 1968, p. 14. Steinberg 1971, pp. 145-146. Romani 2018.

<sup>1069</sup> Robert Campin and His Workshop, *The Trinity (Throne of Mercy)*, 1428-1430, oil on oak wood, 148.7 x 61 cm, Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, inv. 939B (purchased in 1849) <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/throne-of-mercy> (consulted 23/02/2021).

centre of any potential circulation of compositional models that had originated in the Flemish schools of the early fifteenth century and would influence Tintoretto and other artist of the Venetian mid-Cinquecento school.

Therefore, mid-nineteenth-century connoisseurs of Old Masters did not fully question themselves either on the Vasarian topic of the impact of Michelangelo's *oeuvre* on the Venetian Mannerist workshops. In addition, late-nineteenth experts did not question themselves at their best on how early Renaissance Italian collectors had possibly provided Michelangelo and other Italian Renaissance artists with Flemish paintings or engravings that had plausibly served as stimulating sources of inspiration for the innovative compositions of the Italian Renaissance.

Consequently, at the 1857 event and later, Michelangelo's myth of a 'divine' and self-sufficient creator and compositional designer was not challenged by Victorian art historians<sup>1070</sup> with the same disenchanted and scientific approach and rational approach that Cavalcaselle would use, for instance, to limit at his best the then exorbitant *corpus* of Giorgione's *oeuvre*.<sup>1071</sup>

On the other hand, Scharf's missed chance to exhibit the *Entombment* at Manchester affected the extent and the quality of the mid-nineteenth century British and Continental critical assessment of Raphael's skills and production. In 2020, indeed, James Hall stated that "[...] the influence on Raphael of Michelangelo's *Entombment* has been duly acknowledged [...]".<sup>1072</sup> The *Entombment*'s composition, indeed, seems to be related to that of one of the most celebrated paintings by Raphael (1483–1520): the so-called *Deposition* (1507) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome.<sup>1073</sup> The oblique and

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<sup>1070</sup> Østermark-Johansen 2020.

<sup>1071</sup> Pignatti 1979, p. 38. Levi 1988, pp. 277-279.

<sup>1072</sup> Hall 2020, 489.

<sup>1073</sup> Raphael, *The Carrying of the Dead Christ's Body ('The Deposition')*, 1507, oil on wood, 184 x 176 cm. Rome, Galleria Borghese, inv. 170 (in the Borghese collection since 1608).



centrifugal pose of the bearers in Macpherson's picture, in fact, looks very similar to that of the male character in the centre of the Borghese painting. The same compositional resemblance connects Macpherson's *Entombment* to two preparatory drawings by Raphael for the Borghese panel: the *Study of Three Bearers* in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford<sup>1074</sup> and the *Central Group of Characters* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.<sup>1075</sup> The panel in Rome and the two graphic studies in Florence and Oxford, though, were not suitable for being asked on loan by Scharf to the Manchester show because they did not belong to British private collections. However, these works by Raphael were known to most of the experts, artists and collectors that visited the 1857 show.<sup>1076</sup>

In spite of the celebrity of these works of art, so, only many decades after the Manchester show scholars have gradually outlined how Raphael managed to absorb and rework some technical or compositional inventions not only by his rivals – such as Sebastiano del Piombo<sup>1077</sup> – and friends – such as Leonardo<sup>1078</sup> – but also from some archaeological sources<sup>1079</sup> such as a relief illustrating the *Transport of Meleager's Body*, a common decoration in many sarcophagi, the most renowned of them being the one from the Albani collection that is now placed in the Musei Capitolini in Rome.<sup>1080</sup> Raphael, indeed, studied this ancient relief – that is now considered to be lost – in another

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<sup>1074</sup> Raphael, *Three Naked Male Bearers*, around 1507, pen and brown ink over black stone, red chalk over geometrical indications on white paper, 282 x 246 mm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.173 (gifted in 1846) [https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/browse-9148/per\\_page/100/offset/900/sort\\_by/artist%20or%20maker/object/38058](https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/browse-9148/per_page/100/offset/900/sort_by/artist%20or%20maker/object/38058) (consulted 01/01/2021).

<sup>1075</sup> Raphael, *Study for the Central Group of the Carrying of the Dead Christ's Body ('The Deposition')*, around 1507, pen, brown ink and black pencil on white paper, 290 x 297 mm, Florence, Uffizi Gallery (Gabinetto delle Stampe e dei Disegni), inv. 538E (in the Tuscan grand-ducal collection before 1792) <https://euploos.uffizi.it/scheda-catalogo.php?invn=538+E+r>. (consulted 01/01/2021).

<sup>1076</sup> On Raphael's critical fortune within the 1857 show's organisers and visitors: Pergam 2016, 154.

<sup>1077</sup> Bensi 2010, 64.

<sup>1078</sup> On this topic see Brown 1983.

<sup>1079</sup> On Raphael's archaeological sources for the Borghese panel's composition: Wood 2005, 32-3; La Malfa 2020, 223-5.

<sup>1080</sup> Roman Artist, *Meleager's Sarcophagus*, 180-90 AD, marble, case 53 x 182 x 55 cm, cover 19 x 187 x 56 cm, Rome, Musei Capitolini, inv. S619 (Albani collection, C 43) <http://museicapitolini.net/object.xql?urn=urn:collectio:0001:scu:00619> and <http://foto.museiincomuneroma.it/details.php?gid=82&pid=6245>.

celebrated drawing that in 1857 was already placed in the Ashmolean Museum and that, as the one of the *Three Bearers*, was not lent to the Manchester exhibition.<sup>1081</sup> However, as outlined in the 2017 by Whistler, Thomas, Gnann and Aceto, in his drawing after the ancient bas-relief “Raphael did not set out to make a careful copy of an antiquity [...]”. Raphael, on the contrary, in this graphical study was interested in fixing the Roman bas-relief’s fluid composition and energy.<sup>1082</sup> However, the pose of the bearer on the right edge of the group in the Oxonian drawing could possibly suggest that Raphael, in his graphic re-elaboration of the bas-relief’s composition, might have been affected also by the recollection of the *Entombment* now in the National Gallery. On the contrary, this resemblance might lead to suppose that also Macpherson’s *Entombment*’s composition originated – at least partially-from a study of the same Roman bas-relief. Unfortunately, the missed loans to the Manchester show of the Michelangiolesque *Entombment* and the Ashmolean Museum’s drawings contributed to prevent Victorian scholars from questioning themselves on the compositional interactions between Michelangelo and Raphael.

In addition, it should be noted that, if the composition of the so-called *Deposition* by Raphael in the Borghese Gallery were in effect inspired also by that of the bearers in the *Entombment* now in the National Gallery, it would mean that during 1506-7, while he was in Florence or Perugia, Raphael had access to an unfinished painting that at that time was plausibly placed in Rome, possibly in Michelangelo’s workshop or storage.<sup>1083</sup> In this case, moreover, Raphael could have studied Macpherson’s painting in Rome before

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<sup>1081</sup> Raphael, *The Death of Meleager*, 1506-7, pen and brown ink over some leadpoint, 265 x 330 mm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. WA1846.180 recto (gifted in 1846) [https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/browse-9148/per\\_page/100/offset/1000/sort\\_by/artist%20or%20maker/object/38064](https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/browse-9148/per_page/100/offset/1000/sort_by/artist%20or%20maker/object/38064) (consulted 01/01/2021).

<sup>1082</sup> Raphael 2017, 114, cat. 30.

<sup>1083</sup> For other evidence of Raphael’s access to Michelangelo’s workshop see Raphael 2017, 112, catt. 28-29 and Hall 2020, 489, also endnote 64 (p. 488).

his move to the city in 1508. Therefore, Raphael must have had Michelangelo's – or someone else in Michelangelo's circle's – permission to study it. However, at the Manchester show there was not any debate about these aspects. Macpherson's *Entombment's* missed loan, in conclusion, could be enumerated among the reasons that prevented the 1857 exhibition from becoming a turning point in the critical reassessment of the professional interaction between Michelangelo and Raphael.

At the 1857 show experts and amateurs missed the research on the compositional interaction between Michelangelo and Raphael. The *Manchester Madonna*, indeed, constituted for Raphael a great source of compositional inspiration in relation to his alleged last work, that is the so-called Vatican *Comitas*.<sup>1084</sup> The experts, collectors and artists that visited the 1857 show, had not the opportunity to 'visualise' in a systematic way how deeply and constantly Raphael had relied on Michelangelo's inventions with the aim to absorb and re-elaborate them.

At Manchester, in fact, both connoisseurs and amateurs had not the chance to study some celebrated works of art by Michelangelo placed in Italy, such as the Sistine Chapel's ceiling frescoes<sup>1085</sup> or the Vatican *Pietà*.<sup>1086</sup> However, most likely some of the experts and amateurs that visited the 1857 exhibition were – at least partially-aware that Raphael, when he created some renowned works of art that were not on display at the Manchester show, had been influenced also by Michelangelo's inventions. In the seventh books (1852) of the Vasarian *Lives'* Le Monnier edition in Italian language<sup>1087</sup> that had been widespread in Britain in the 1850s, indeed, Gaetano Milanesi and the other editors discussed Vasari's thesis that Raphael had had access to the still-unveiled Sistine ceiling's

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<sup>1084</sup> Raphael or Giulio Romano, *Justitia and Comitas*, c. 1520, oil and colophony on wall, Vatican City, Vatican Museum, Constantine Hall, Eastern Wall. Cornini 2020. Nesselrath 2020, p. 198.

<sup>1085</sup> Michelangelo, *Sistine Chapel's Ceiling*, 1508-12, fresco, 4093× 1341 cm, Vatican City, Vatican Museums, Sistine Chapel.

<sup>1086</sup> Michelangelo, *Pietà*, 1497-8, marble, 174 × 195 × 69 cm, Vatican City, Saint Peter's Basilica.

<sup>1087</sup> Vasari 1852, 25, footnote 4.

frescoes by Michelangelo before that he painted the famous *Sybils* in the Church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome.<sup>1088</sup>

Moreover, in the guides and articles on the Manchester show there is no trace of any debate about the strict compositional interactions within the most renowned mobile paintings by Michelangelo and Raphael placed overseas, such as the ones between the unique finished easel painting assigned with certainty to Michelangelo - the *Doni Tondo* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence<sup>1089</sup> - and the *Alba Madonna*, then in Saint Petersburg (Fig. 149).<sup>1090</sup> However, it could be argued to claim with certainty that Michelangelo's *Doni Tondo* had directly inspired Raphael for the *Alba Madonna*'s composition.

However, it should be noted that, due to Raphael's mythical image in the Victorian artistic and art-historical world, at the 1857 exhibition Scharf felt the need to evoke the presence of Raphael's Borghese *Deposition*.<sup>1091</sup> Scharf, indeed, managed to provide to the visitors another study by Raphael for the painting in Rome,<sup>1092</sup> that had been lent to the by Thomas Birchall (1833-1878).<sup>1093</sup> In his guide to the Manchester show, however, Thoré-Bürger lamented that Scharf had poorly displayed this important drawing "[...] sous un banc [...]" ["[...] under a bench [...]"].<sup>1094</sup> In the first book (1882) of their *Raphael*, on the other hand, Crowe and Cavalcaselle erroneously-but prophetically-stated

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<sup>1088</sup> Raphael, *Sybils Receiving Instruction from Angels*, 1514, fresco, 230 x 615 cm, Rome, Church of Santa Maria della Pace.

<sup>1089</sup> Michelangelo, *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist and Allegorical Figures ('Doni Tondo')*, 1503-1504, tempera and oil on wood, tondo, diameter 120 cm, Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. 1456/1890 (in Medicis' collection by 1677).

<sup>1090</sup> Raphael, *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape ('The Alba Madonna')*, around 1510, oil on panel transferred to canvas, tondo, diameter 94.5 cm (37 3/16 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1937.1.24 (gifted to the NGA in 1937) <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.26.html#provenance> (consulted 13/01/2021). Wasserman 1978. On the relation between the *Doni Tondo* by Michelangelo and the *Alba Madonna* by Raphael: Cecchi 1985, 46, endnote 8.

<sup>1091</sup> Sogliani 2009. Collecting Raphael 2019.

<sup>1092</sup> Raphael, *The Entombment*, around 1507, pen and brown ink on paper, 213 x 319 mm, London, British Museum, inv. 1963,1216.1 (purchased in 1963).

<sup>1093</sup> Scharf 1857, 23, cat. 142. Scharf 1857, d, 7, cat. 51.

<sup>1094</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, 63.

that this study was already placed in the British Museum in London, that would purchase it only in 1963.<sup>1095</sup> The two authors, however, underlined that, in order to draw Saint John the Evangelist's figure in Birchall's study, Raphael had re-elaborated the style and the features of some figures by Mantegna.<sup>1096</sup> This in another case study that could illustrate how Michelangiolesque *Entombment*'s and the Borghese panel's missed loans to the Manchester exhibition prevented Victorian scholars from overcoming Raphael's nineteenth-century mythical image, as well as from reading in depth the complexity of the compositional, stylistic and technical interactions among Mantegna, Michelangelo and Raphael.

Scharf, moreover, plausibly with the aim of counterbalancing the lack at the Manchester show of Raphael's celebrated Borghese *Deposition*, obtained the loan to the 1857 show of a painting on vellum – most likely a miniature-of an *Entombment* assigned to Raphael. Since its present whereabouts are unknown, it is not possible to ascertain whether this miniature is a 'ricordo' of the Borghese panel by Raphael. If it was so, Scharf could have used it to remind the exhibition's visitors the composition and the palette of Raphael's Borghese masterpiece. Unfortunately, there is not the chance to rely on the miniature's description by Thoré-Bürger because he was not able to trace it in the overcrowded Old Trafford's Clock Room.<sup>1097</sup> Scharf, on the other hand, did not describe in detail the miniature's composition. In his *Provisional Catalogue*'s entry on the work, moreover, he erroneously stated that this work on vellum had been lent to the 1857 show by a certain reverend Thomas Spencer.<sup>1098</sup> In the *Supplemental Catalogue*'s entry, on the contrary, Scharf reported that it had been lent by reverend Isaac Spencer,<sup>1099</sup> then Vicar

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<sup>1095</sup> [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P\\_1963-1216-1](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1963-1216-1) (consulted 29/09/2020).

<sup>1096</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1882, 310, footnote \*.

<sup>1097</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, 63.

<sup>1098</sup> Scharf 1857, 24, cat. 149.

<sup>1099</sup> Scharf 1857, d, 7, cat. 49. Wolffe 2000.14-5, cat. 76.

at Acomb, North Yorkshire.<sup>1100</sup> In this passage Scharf mentioned also that Spencer's work bore a two-line inscription in Hebrew and that Waagen had assigned it to Giorgio Giulio Clovio (1498-1578). Since there is no mention of Spencer's miniature by Waagen – neither in his *Treasures* nor in his *Cabinets* nor in his guide to Manchester exhibition -, it is possible that Scharf inserted Waagen's expertise in his *Supplemental Catalogue's* entry after having discussed it in private with the German connoisseur.<sup>1101</sup> However, Waagen's attribution to Clovio suggests that Spencer's miniature could have been painted in a style similar to that of two other scenes of the Passion that were painted on vellum around 1550 in Giulio Clovio's workshop-or by one of his followers: the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* purchased in 2006 by the National Gallery of Art<sup>1102</sup> and the *Deposition from the Cross* auctioned by Christie's in London in 2009.<sup>1103</sup>

The missed display of both the *Manchester Madonna* and the Michelangiolesque Entombment at the 1857, show, prevented Scharf and the other connoisseurs that visited the Manchester exhibition from researching not only on Michelangelo's style and technique but also on how Raphael reacted, in terms of composition, to Michelangelo's inventions.

#### 4.8.2 Michelangiolesque Sculpture

Remarkably, in 2017 rancesco Caglioti highlighted the strong resemblance between the facial features and the attire of the reading angels in the *Manchester Madonna* and those of a statue, representing *Saint John the Baptist as a Boy*, which was

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<sup>1100</sup> Obituary 1856, 551.

<sup>1101</sup> Waagen 1854. Waagen 1857. Waagen 1857, b.

<sup>1102</sup> Giulio Clovio (Circle of), *Deposition*, gouache heightened with gold on vellum, 21.6 x 14.5 cm (8 1/2 x 5 11/16 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 2006.111.1 (purchased in 2006) <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.121047.html#provenance> (consulted 23/10/2020).

<sup>1103</sup> Giulio Clovio (Circle of), *Deposition*, around 1550, bodycolour on vellum, heightened with gold (27.2 x 20.5 cm (10 3/4 x 8 1/8 in.)), lot 105 in Christie's live auction 7744 'Old Masters & 19th Century Art Day Sale', London, 08/07/2009, <https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-circle-of-giulio-clovio-grisone-1498-1578-rome-5221765/> (consulted 23/10/2020).

profoundly damaged by bombing in 1936 and which is now kept in the Holy Chapel of the Saint Saviour in Úbeda.<sup>1104</sup> Caglioti utilised this resemblance to assign to Michelangelo the statue in Andalusia: “the boy in Úbeda is a brother of the angels in the *Manchester Madonna* [...]”.<sup>1105</sup>

However, since Úbeda was not included in the traditional destinations visited by nineteenth-century experts during their connoisseurial journeys in Spain, it is not surprising that at the 1857 show neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle made any comparison between the National Gallery’s painting and the statue attributed to Michelangelo.

#### 4.8.2 Granacci

Significantly, at the Manchester exhibition the connoisseurial debate<sup>1106</sup> on the technical and stylistic reasons that had led Waagen to assert that Michelangelo had been the author of the *Manchester Madonna* possibly distracted scholars from fully focusing on the intense compositional relationship between Michelangelo and the other artist of Domenico Ghirlandaio (1448-1494)’s workshop, such as Francesco Granacci (1469-1543).

Moreover, Scharf missed the chance to display at the 1857 show, along the *Manchester Madonna*, Granacci’s *Rest During the Flight into Egypt with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, that has been kept in the National Gallery of Ireland since 1866.<sup>1107</sup> In

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<sup>1104</sup> Michelangelo (attributed to), *Saint John the Baptist as a Boy*, 1495-1496 (?), marble, 129 cm, Úbeda, Holy Chapel of the Saint Saviour. Caglioti 2017, pp. 281-284 and Fig. 117.

<sup>1105</sup> Caglioti 2012. Caglioti 2017, 282.

<sup>1106</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 36-38.

<sup>1107</sup> Francesco Granacci, *Rest During the Flight into Egypt with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, around 1494 or 1504-1507, tempera and oil on panel, 100 x 71 cm, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. NGI.98 (purchased in 1866) <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/11797/rest-on-the-flight-into-egypt-with-the-infant-saint-john-the> e Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide 33981 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/33981> (consulted 31/12/2020).

1857, indeed, the picture by Granacci was placed – under the attribution to Michelangelo or his circle - in Paris in the collection of Gaston Louis Philippe de Choiseul-Praslin (1834-1906), 6<sup>th</sup> duke of Praslin.<sup>1108</sup>

Being located overseas, the panel now in Dublin was not suitable for a loan to the Manchester exhibition. As a consequence, at the Old Trafford both Scharf and Cavalcaselle had not the chance to notice that in the *Rest* now in Dublin the Virgin and Child are sitting on a rocky base on which the infant saint John is climbing, leaning to them in a pose that is impressively similar to that of the Child pointing at the Virgin's book in Labouchere's Michelangiolesque *Madonna*.

#### 4.8.3 Donatello and Leonardo

Moreover, according to Hall, the authors of both the paintings in London and Dublin derived this common iconographic element from a detail of the bronze bas-relief with *The Bacchanal of Putti*<sup>1109</sup> that Donatello placed on the pedestal of his statue of *Judith and Holofernes* in Palazzo Vecchio in Florence.<sup>1110</sup> Furthermore, the panel in Dublin has been traditionally dated around 1494. Hall, on the contrary, argues that *Rest* by Granacci was painted between 1504 and 1507 due to its resemblance with some works painted, during their coeval stay in Florence, by Raphael (such as the *Holy Family with*

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<sup>1108</sup> Hall 2020, pp. 481-482, Fig. 2.

<sup>1109</sup> Donatello, *The Bacchanal of Putti*, 1457-1464, bronze, 55 x 82 cm, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. Hall 2020, 482-483, Fig. 3.

<sup>1110</sup> Donatello, *Judith and Holofernes*, around 1457, bronze, 206 cm, Florence, Palazzo Vecchio. Hall 2020, 482-483.



*the Lamb* in the Prado Museum in Madrid)<sup>1111</sup> and Leonardo (such as the *Saint Anne* in the Louvre Museum in Paris)<sup>1112</sup>.

However, neither in Scharf's nor in Cavalcaselle's Manchester papers there is any trace of a reflection – not even at an embryonic stage – about these connoisseurial connections. In 2020 Hall argued that the *Rest* now in Dublin presents “[...] scattered rock fragments in the foreground and [...] layered fissiparousness of the rocky base [...]”. As a consequence, for Hall these elements “[...] suggest [the influence of] Leonardo's post-1500 work.”<sup>1113</sup> Though at Manchester both Scharf and Cavalcaselle did not trace any critical connection between the *Manchester Madonna* and any painting painted by Leonardo (1452-1519) during his stay in Florence in 1501-1502.<sup>1114</sup>

#### 4.8.4 Van Eyck

Remarkably, in their handwritten materials on Labouchere's panel neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle connected the *Manchester Madonna* to earlier works by Leonardo. Hall agreed with Nuttall and Branagan, confirming that also Leonardo's *oeuvre*, since his juvenile phase, had been affected by “[...] a vogue in Florence in the 1470s for rocky outcrops [...]”.<sup>1115</sup> According to Nuttall, indeed, the fashion of Florentine painters for the virtuoso but realistic rendering of rocks details originated from the brief presence in Florence in 1471 of the *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, by Jan van Eyck (c. 1390-

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<sup>1111</sup> Hall 2020, 482 and 485, Fig. 7. Raphael, *Holy Family with the Lamb*, around 1507, oil on panel, 32 x 22 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. P000296 (from the Spanish Royal Collection) <https://www.museodelprado.es/en/the-collection/art-work/the-holy-family-with-a-lamb/828f13e3-5a4e-4107-b0a4-5607d17dfd66?searchid=13ca0dfd-6d06-cacd-b893-f91893152561> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1112</sup> Hall 2020, 482 and 484, Fig. 5. Leonardo, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne*, 1502-1513, oil on panel, 168 x 130 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 776 (bequeathed to King Francis I in 1519) (consulted 31/12/2020) [http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car\\_not\\_frame&idNotice=13830&langue=fr](http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=13830&langue=fr).

<sup>1113</sup> Hall 2020, 483.

<sup>1114</sup> Wassermann 1970, p. 194.

<sup>1115</sup> Nuttall 2000, p. 175. Nuttall 2004, p. 136. Branagan 2006, 32-33. Hall 2020, 483.

1441), now placed in the Galleria Sabauda.<sup>1116</sup> Hall, on the other hand, assigned the small panel in Turin to an “[...] anonymous Van Eyckian [...]” painter and dated it between 1430 and 1432; Branagan dated it around 1428, instead.<sup>1117</sup> Nuttall, in addition, selected some works of art that had been influenced by the Galleria Sabauda’s picture, such as the Uffizi’s *Baptism of Christ* painted in the second half of the 1470s by Andrea del Verrocchio (1435-1488) and Leonardo.<sup>1118</sup> Nagel, on the other hand, stated that it is not certain whether the *Saint Francis* by van Eyck that was certainly taken to Florence in February 1471 was the one in Turin or its variant now kept in Philadelphia:<sup>1119</sup> the picture in Turin, indeed, has been certainly placed in Italy only in the years across the Manchester exhibition.<sup>1120</sup> In any case, in the Manchester sketches or notes by Scharf or Cavalcaselle on Labouchere’s Michelangiolesque panel now in the National Gallery there is not any trace of a reflection on the hypothesis that the *Saint Francis* by van Eyck – neither that in Turin nor that in Philadelphia - might have served – potentially through the mediation of the *Baptism* in the Uffizi – as a model for the attention towards the outcrops’ details of the rocky base for the Virgin and Child in the *Manchester Madonna*.

Most likely, so, the stony podium in the Michelangiolesque *Manchester Madonna* could have indirectly been inspired by the small painting now in Turin by van Eyck through some 1470s or 1500s paintings by Leonardo or, alternatively, by the *Adoration of the Shepherds* now in New York or by the *Crucifixion* now in Paris, both painted in the 1450s by Mantegna.

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<sup>1116</sup> Jan van Eyck, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1427-1432, oil on panel, 29.3 cm × 33.4 cm (11.5 in × 13.1 in), Turin, Galleria Sabauda (Royal Museums), inv. 187 (from 1866).

<sup>1117</sup> Hall 2020, 483. Branagan 2006, 32-33.

<sup>1118</sup> Andrea del Verrocchio assisted by Leonardo da Vinci, *The Baptism of Christ*, around 1475, tempera and oil on panel, 177 x 151 cm, Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. 8358/1890 (from 1810) (consulted 31/12/2020). Nuttall 2000, p. 175. Nuttall 2004, p. 136.

<sup>1119</sup> Nagel 2011, p. 288, endnote 6. Jan van Eyck, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1430-1432, oil on vellum on panel, 12.7 × 14.6 cm (5 x 5 ¾ in.), Philadelphia, PA, USA, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Cat. 314 (John G. Collection, 1917) <https://www.philamuseum.org/collections/permanent/102076.html> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1120</sup> Nagel 2011, p. 288, endnote 6. Panhans 1974, 188-198.

#### 4.8.5 Mantegna

According to Hall, the iconographic origin of the rocky base on which the Virgin and Child are standing in the *Manchester Madonna* derived from the 1430s picture by van Eyck now in Turin. This derivation possibly originated from a direct vision of the *Saint Francis* by Michelangelo or, on the contrary, in an indirect way, through an analysis by Buonarroti of some other works in which the *Saint Francis*'s chiaroscuro and minutely outcropped rocks had been imitated.<sup>1121</sup> In any case, at the Manchester exhibition there was not any debate on this topic. Similarly, in Scharf's and Cavalcaselle's Manchester papers on Labouchere's panel there is no trace of any critical connection with the outcropping designed in the 1460s by Bouts in his 1460s *Ecce Agnus Dei* now in the Alte Pinakothek.<sup>1122</sup> Moreover, in the same way, in their papers regarding the *Manchester Madonna* there is no trace of any connection between the National Gallery's Michelangiolesque work and the 1470s *Baptism* by Andrea del Verrocchio and Leonardo now in the Uffizi.<sup>1123</sup>

However, it should be noted that in the Old Trafford venue neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle reflected on the hypothesis that the stony podium - acting as both a stage and a throne - in the *Manchester Madonna*'s constitutes a derivation from an invention developed - maybe under the influence of the Eyckian *Saint Francis* - by Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506). Already at the beginning of the 1450s, indeed, in the *Adoration*

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<sup>1121</sup> Jan van Eyck, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, 1427-1432, oil on panel, 29.3 cm × 33.4 cm (11.5 in × 13.1 in), Turin, Galleria Sabauda (Royal Museums), inv. 187 (from 1866). Hall 2020, p. 483.

<sup>1122</sup> Dirk Bouts, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, 1462-1464, oil on oak panel, 53.8 x 41.2 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 15192 (purchased in 1989) <https://www.pinakothek.de/kunst/dieric-bouts-d-ae/ecce-agnus-dei> (consulted 31/12/2020). Schawe 2006, p. 298. Wolff-Thomsen 2006, p. 150-1.

<sup>1123</sup> Andrea del Verrocchio assisted by Leonardo da Vinci, *The Baptism of Christ*, around 1475, tempera and oil on panel, 177 x 151 cm, Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv. 8358/1890 (from 1810) (consulted 31/12/2020).

*of the Shepherds*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Mantegna designed a rocky podium – very similar to a theatrical stage – on which the Virgin is worshipping the Child at the presence of the shepherds.<sup>1124</sup> This detail looks very similar to the base on which the Virgin is sitting in the *Manchester Madonna*. During the 1857 show this picture by Mantegna was placed in Downton Castle, Herefordshire, in Andrew Johnes Rouse-Boughton-Knight (1826-1909)'s gallery. Being part of a British private collection, the painting now in New York was suitable for a loan to the Old Trafford event. However, it was not exhibited in Manchester.

In addition, as noted by Damisch, in the 1450s *Crucifixion* by Mantegna, now in the Louvre,<sup>1125</sup> “[...] the stone paving [...]” is “[...] treated like a theater [*sic*] scene [...]”.<sup>1126</sup> The same aspect characterises the *Manchester Madonna*. Correctly, Nuttall argued that also Mantegna, especially in the *Crucifixion* in the Louvre, had used the van Eyckian *Saint Francis* now in Turin as a model for the rocks’ design. However, Nuttall did not hypothesise that the 1490s *Manchester Madonna*'s design had originated from the analysis of some 1450 paintings by Mantegna instead of the Eyckian 1430s *Saint Francis*. Similarly, neither in Scharf's nor in Cavalcaselle's Manchester papers there is any trace of a connection between the Michelangiolesque *Madonna* now in the National Gallery and the 1450s paintings by Mantegna now in Paris and New York.

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<sup>1124</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, shortly after 1450, tempera on canvas (transferred from wood panel), 40 x 55.6 cm (15 3/4 x 21 7/8 in.), New York City, NY, USA, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 32.130.2 (anonymous gift, 1932) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/436966> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1125</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *Crucifixion*, 1456-1459, tempera on panel, 76 x 96 cm, Paris. Louvre Museum, inv. 368 (looted in 1798) [http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car\\_not\\_frame&idNotice=13650&langue=en](http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=13650&langue=en) (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1126</sup> Damisch 2002, 132.

#### 4.8.6 Memling's *Bembo Diptych*

Furthermore, at the 1857 exhibition neither Scharf nor Cavalcaselle noticed any stylistic or technical relation between the *Manchester Madonna* and an outstanding Flemish diptych, that, as the *Ecce Agnus Dei* by Bouts, was not exhibited at the Old Trafford venue but that had intensely and consistently influenced the Central Italian artist of the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century. This dismembered diptych, painted in the 1470s or in the 1480s by Hans Memling (c. 1436- 1494), was formed by the Alte Pinakothek's *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape* (Fig. 84)<sup>1127</sup> and the National Gallery of Art's *Saint Veronica in a Landscape* (Fig. 84bis)<sup>1128</sup>.

Differently from the picture by Bouts, however, the diptych by Memling was most likely placed in Italy in the years in which the *Manchester Madonna* was left unfinished. The diptych by Memling, indeed, belonged to the Venetian merchant, diplomat and collector Bernardo Bembo (1433-1519). Possibly, so, Mantegna's circle was inspired by Memling's *Saint Veronica*'s virtuosic drapery when, plausibly in the 1480s, the master and his workshop designed the engraving of the *Madonna of the Humility*, also known as the *Virgin of Tenderness* (Fig. 151).<sup>1129</sup> Bembo, moreover, was the Venetian Republic's ambassador in Florence in the late 1470s, *podestà* in Ravenna in 1483 and diplomatic envoy in Rome in the late 1480s.<sup>1130</sup> Most probably, Bembo took the small diptych with

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<sup>1127</sup> Hans Memling, *Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape*, 1470-1480, oil on oak panel, 31.8 x 24.4 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 652 (probably acquired in 1819 or 1820 in Mannheim by King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria from the art-dealer Artaria) <https://www.sammlung.pinakothek.de/en/artwork/2mxqY2Yx8b> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1128</sup> Hans Memling, *Saint Veronica in a Landscape*, 1470-1475, oil on oak panel, 30.3 x 22.8 cm (11 15/16 x 9 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1952.5.46a (gift 1952 from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation by exchange to NGA) <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.41659.html> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1129</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *The Virgin and Child in a Landscape (The Madonna of the Humility)*, c.1480-1485, engraving, 20.6 x 20.8 cm (8 1/8 x 8 3/16 in.), New York City, NY, USA, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 52.535 (The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1952) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/381463?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&p;ft=Andrea+Mantegna&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=8> (consulted 08/06/2021). Christiansen 1993, p. 604. Puppi 2006.

<sup>1130</sup> Hortis 1879, p. 341. Narducci 1883, p. 247. Ventura, Pecoraro 1966.

him throughout Italy. Consequently, various Italian artists of various schools had possibly the chance to analyse Memling's work and use it as a model for some stylistic, compositional or technical features of their pictures.

However, research has only partially highlighted the impact that Memling's diptych had on various Italian schools of the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the first and second decade of the sixteenth century. Lane, for instance, focused only on Bembo diptych's influence on Raphael's juvenile production in Umbria before 1504.<sup>1131</sup> On the other hand, Belozerskaya and Agosti aimed only at demonstrating how Memling's Bembo diptych and the rest of his production were used as a model for some *Madonnas* painted by Raphael in Florence between 1504 and 1507.<sup>1132</sup>

On the contrary, scholarship has not focused on the relation between the chiaroscuro effects in the podium's jagged rocks in the *Manchester Madonna* and Memling's light and shadow rendering of the rugged stony foreground in the Bembo *Saint John*. Plausibly, the *Manchester Madonna*'s missing parts in the foreground and background, along with its "austere reduction of setting",<sup>1133</sup> could be enumerated among the elements that prevented experts from including Michelangelo within the Italian masters that had challenged the influential stylistic and compositional inventions provided by Memling in Bembo's diptych.

Most likely, on the other hand, in the 1490s Memling's diptych was studied by Mantegna. The winding path through the terraced and bush-topped hills in Mantegna's *Christ as the Suffering Redeemer* now in Denmark, indeed, possibly derived from Memling's *Saint Veronica*'s background with the *Maries on their way to the Holy Sepulchre*. Moreover, the virtuoso drapery in the two dismembered panels by Memling

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<sup>1131</sup> Lane 2007.

<sup>1132</sup> Belozerskaya 2002. Agosti 2003, p. 59.

<sup>1133</sup> Penny 1994, p. 11. Pergam 2016, p. 37, endnote 163 (p. 49).

(Figs 84 and 84bis) might have been among Mantegna's models for Christ's winding-sheet in the panel in Copenhagen (Fig. 82).<sup>1134</sup> In addition, the diptych by Memling possibly inspired also Giorgione and Raphael. Relevant similarities, indeed, might be traced between the folds of the female saint's mantle in Memling's *Saint Veronica* and those of the Virgin's mantle in the Castelfranco altarpiece (c.1504) by Giorgione.<sup>1135</sup>

Furthermore, Raphael plausibly provided a reminiscence of the Bembo *Saint John* by Memling, not only in the 1500s in Umbria and Tuscany - as underlined by Belozerskaya and Lane - but also in the early 1510s in Rome. In his *Alba Madonna*, for instance, Raphael vainly placed in the foreground a detailed rendering of the grasses and flowers that possibly challenged Memling's floreal skills in the panels in Munich and Washington (Figs 84 and 84bis).<sup>1136</sup>

#### 4.8.7 Mantegna's Danish *Christ*

The *Manchester Madonna* presents various compositional and stylistic similarities with Mantegna's *Christ as the Suffering Redeemer* (Fig. 82) which has been kept in Copenhagen since 1763.<sup>1137</sup> The Danish *Christ*, indeed, shares with the

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<sup>1134</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *The Dead Christ Held by Two Mourning Angels (Christ as the Suffering Redeemer)*, 1495-1500, tempera on panel, 78 x 48 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSsp69 (purchased in Amsterdam in 1763) <https://www.smk.dk/en/highlight/christ-as-the-suffering-redeemer-1495-1500/> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1135</sup> Giorgione, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saint Nicasius of Sicily and Saint Francis (Sacred Conversation)*, 1503-1504, tempera on poplar panel, 200 x 152 cm, Castelfranco Veneto, Duomo di San Liberale.

<https://www.comune.castelfrancoveneto.tv.it/index.php?area=14&menu=177&page=199&lingua=4> (consulted 12/05/2021).

<sup>1136</sup> Raphael, *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist in a Landscape ('The Alba Madonna')*, around 1510, oil on panel transferred to canvas, tondo, diameter 94.5 cm (37 3/16 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1937.1.24 (gifted to the NGA in 1937) <https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.26.html#provenance> (consulted 13/01/2021).

<sup>1137</sup> Andrea Mantegna, *The Dead Christ Held by Two Mourning Angels (Christ as the Suffering Redeemer)*, 1495-1500, tempera on panel, 78 x 48 cm, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KMSsp69 (purchased in Amsterdam in 1763) <https://www.smk.dk/en/highlight/christ-as-the-suffering-redeemer-1495-1500/> (consulted 31/12/2020).

*Manchester Madonna* the purpose to provide the painting's palette with a general tone that serves, especially in the figure's complexion, as a *trait d'union* between not only the painting's divine and human atmosphere, but also the figures' sculptural and corporeal nature.

Significantly, in his *Handbook* to the Manchester show Scharf highlighted the quality of the "flesh-colour" of "all the parts" of the *Manchester Madonna* but did not make any reference to Mantegna's work in Copenhagen.<sup>1138</sup> Only in the late twentieth century, indeed, scholars discussed the potential symbolic value of the *Christ* by Mantegna's general palette.<sup>1139</sup> So, it is not surprising that at the 1857 event neither Scharf and Cavalcaselle made any comparison between the palette of the Michelangiolesque work in the National Gallery and that in Mantegna's *Christ*.

The effects of the "austere reduction of setting"<sup>1140</sup> that Nicholas Penny noticed in the *Manchester Madonna*, moreover, can only in part be traced in Mantegna's *Christ*. In the National Gallery's unfinished picture, indeed, the Virgin and Child are surrounded only by the infant saint John and two – out of four - angels. In the painting in Denmark, on the contrary, Mantegna set the central mourning group of characters in a landscape, enriching it with some scenes from Christ's Passion in the background. However, Mantegna managed to undermine and defuse the lure of the background elements. Aiming at conveying the viewer's attention to the dead Christ body and winding-sheet, indeed, Mantegna distributed an articulate natural framing structure that recalls the angels' wings' position. In the Statens Museum for Kunst's picture, Mantegna placed the theatrical appearance of Christ's body - sustained by two mourning angels - between a stony terrain in the foreground and some rocks in the background. However, the rocks in Copenhagen

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<sup>1138</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 28.

<sup>1139</sup> Francalanci 1989, p. 145.

<sup>1140</sup> Penny 1994, p. 11. Pergam 2016, p. 37, endnote 163 (p. 49).



and those in London are not identical: in the panel by Mantegna, indeed, both rocks and stones look more polished and smoother than those of the podium in the *Manchester Madonna*. As in the *Manchester Madonna*. On the other hand, in his Danish *Christ* Mantegna enhanced the light-and-dark effect on the dead Christ's and the angels' facial features, strengthening their sculptural appearance.

Remarkably, in conclusion, it is not surprising that Cavalcaselle did not note any compositional or stylistic reference to the *Manchester Madonna* when, in 1865, he visited the Royal Danish collection and analysed in detail Mantegna's painting.<sup>1141</sup>

#### 4.8.8 Raphael's *Comitas*

Plausibly, the *Manchester Madonna* influenced Raphael until his very last works. An echo of the Virgin in Labouchere's panel can be traced, indeed, in the Raphaellesque allegorical figures - painted in oil - of *Justice* and *Comitas*, which were painted in oil in the Vatican Hall of Constantine a very short time before – or after – Raphael's death in April 1520.<sup>1142</sup> These two figures, in fact, are single-bare-breasted and present a reminiscence of the Virgin's drapery in the Michelangiolesque panel now in the National Gallery. However, neither in Scharf's nor in Cavalcaselle's Manchester papers there is any comparison between these artworks. Similarly, nineteenth-century sources did not underline any potential comparison between the *Manchester Madonna* and Raphael's late wall or easel paintings. Some of these sources, though, anticipated the recent technical discoveries on the *Justice* and *Comitas*. In Baedeker's *Handbook for Travellers* (1881), indeed, it is reported: “[...] It has been supposed that the allegorical figures of

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<sup>1141</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo VII.

<sup>1142</sup> Raphael or Giulio Romano, *Justitia* and *Comitas*, c. 1520, oil and colophony on wall, Vatican City, Vatican Museum, Constantine Hall, Eastern Wall. Cornini 2020. Nesselrath 2020, p. 198 and Fig. 147 (p. 208).

*Comitas* and *Justice*, in oil, and not ‘al fresco’ like the rest of the work, were painted by Raphael’s own hand”. However, the same passage mentions that, due to some documentary sources as the correspondence between Michelangelo and Sebastiano del Piombo (c. 1485-1547), “[...] it appears [...] that one figure only was painted in oil by Raphael’s pupils [...]”.<sup>1143</sup> In addition, in 1893 Symonds reported that these two figures were visually dissimilar to the rest of the Hall’s wall, that had been painted in fresco: “There are two female figures painted in oil there, *Comitas* and *Iustitia*. The effect is charming, making one dissatisfied with the chalky dryness of the fresco”.<sup>1144</sup> Only at the end of the Hall of Constantine’s Eastern wall’s restoration, in 2020, indeed, experts revealed that both of these figures had been painted in oil by Raphael, directly on the wall, using a preparatory layer composed of chalk and rosin.<sup>1145</sup> Before the recent technical analysis, scholars variably hypothesised that *Justice* and – or - *Comitas* had been painted ‘a fresco’ by Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546) or Giovanni Francesco Penni (1488-1528), or by both of them in collaboration,<sup>1146</sup> or that they had been made in oil – possibly by Raphael – on two separate cartoons that, after Raphael’s death, had been pasted on the wall.<sup>1147</sup> In the same 2020, however, Nesselrath assigned both the *Comitas* and *Iustitia* to Giulio Romano due to their design, impasto and brush strokes.<sup>1148</sup>

#### 4.8.9 Schongauer

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<sup>1143</sup> Baedeker 1881, p. 302.

<sup>1144</sup> Symonds 1893, p. 353, footnote 1.

<sup>1145</sup> Shearman 2007, p. 53. Cornini 2020, p. 280, also endnote 50 (p. 281), Fig. 6. <https://www.ft.com/content/a01a5b44-372d-11ea-a6d3-9a26f8c3cba4> and <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2020/06/03/vatican-experts-attribute-raphael-two-paintings-walls-elaborate/> (consulted 23/12/2020).

<sup>1146</sup> Bensi 2010, p. 64.

<sup>1147</sup> Ferneti 1997.

<sup>1148</sup> Nesselrath 2020, p. 198 and Fig. 147 (p. 208).

In 2009 the Kimbell Museum purchased a panel, whose iconography derives from that of an engraving by the German Renaissance master Martin Schongauer (c.1448-1491). The Kimbell Museum's curators sustained its attribution to Michelangelo, considering it to be the painting that had been mentioned also in the *Lives* by Vasari as made by Michelangelo in his juvenile phase.<sup>1149</sup> Unfortunately, however, the panel now kept in Fort Worth was not exhibited at the 1857 exhibition. Consequently, at the Manchester show Scharf and Cavalcaselle did not research on the veracity of the Vasarian clues on the influence that Northern Renaissance engraving had had on Michelangelo's compositional and technical skills.

However, a certain critical interest towards this topic might spread in Italy after the 1857 show. In the seventh book of the *Lives* by Vasari, published in Florence in 1881 by Giulio Cesare Sansoni (1838-1885), indeed, the editor Gaetano Milanesi (1813-1895)<sup>1150</sup> dated around 1490 an untraced – implicitly considering it lost - panel by Michelangelo, whose iconography had derived from that of Schongauer's woodcut representing the *Torment of Saint Anthony the Abbot*.<sup>1151</sup>

Noticeably, during the Manchester show, the Kimbell Museum's *Saint Anthony* was placed – most likely in Paris – in the collection of Baron Henry de Triqueti (1803-1884), who visited the Old Trafford's show in June 1857.<sup>1152</sup> Triqueti, moreover, possibly aiming also at confirming his picture's attribution to Michelangelo thanks to a comparison with Labouchere's *Madonna*, drew some sketches and took some notes about the

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<sup>1149</sup> Michelangelo (attributed to), *The Torment of Saint Anthony the Abbot*, 1487-1489, 47 x 34.9 cm (18 ½ x 13 ¾ in.), Fort Worth, TX, USA, Kimbell Art Museum, inv. AP 2009.01 (purchased in 2009). Barry 2017, 286-7. <https://www.kimbellart.org/collection/ap-200901> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1150</sup> Vasari 1881, 340-1.

<sup>1151</sup> Bambach 2017, 32-3. Bartsch 1876, Volume 6, p. 140, cat. 147. For instance: Martin Schongauer, *Saint Anthony the Abbot Tormented by Demons*, 1470-1475, engraving, 30 x 21.8 cm (11 13/16 x 8 9/16 in.), New York City, NY, USA, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 20.5.2 (Rogers Fund, 1920) <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/336142> (consulted 31/12/2020).

<sup>1152</sup> Bellenger 1996, p. 187.

attribution, the style and the technique of some paintings exhibited at Manchester. The Manchester sketches and notes by Triqueti are placed in his personal copy of the *Provisional Catalogue* of the show, as well as on some cutouts<sup>1153</sup> of the reportages from the Old Trafford event that had been written – anonymously – by Thoré-Bürger for the French Newspaper *Le Siècle*.<sup>1154</sup>

Triqueti, furthermore, possibly traced in the *Manchester Madonna* some technical or stylistic elements that he judged similar to those in his picture. Potentially, Triqueti's visit at the Manchester show affected not only his attribution but also his economic evaluation of the panel now kept in the Kimbell Museum. Just a few years after the Manchester exhibition, in addition, Triqueti was such well-introduced in the British art *milieu* that Queen Victoria (1819-1901) commissioned him the bas-reliefs and the tarsias for Prince Albert's Memorial in Windsor Castle's Saint George's Chapel (1862-1874).<sup>1155</sup>

As a result, despite its absence at the Manchester exhibition, the Kimbell Museum's panel was possibly analysed by various Continental and British experts that were in contact with Triqueti. In any case, however, in 1857 the Kimbell Museum's picture's missed loan to the Manchester show contributed to prevent not only Scharf and Cavalcaselle but also many other European experts from discussing, at the Old Trafford venue as well as on the press, the iconographic, compositional and technical interactions – between the late 1480s and the late 1500s - within Michelangelo, Raphael, Mantegna and the Venetian and Northern European schools of painting and engraving.

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<sup>1153</sup> Bellenger 1996, p. 187. Scharf 1857.

<sup>1154</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, 282, footnote 1.

<sup>1155</sup> Bellenger 1996, pp. 183, 193 and 197. <https://albert.rct.uk/memorialising-albert/albert-memorial-chapel-windsor> (consulted 31/12/2020).

## 4.9 Margaritone

Some of Scharf and Cavalcaselle's sketching techniques for the Manchester exhibition enable scholars to enhance the knowledge of Italian Primitive painting's critical fortune before, during and after the 1857 show.

Scharf, indeed, displayed at Manchester a *Bust of Saint Francis*, now held at Christ Church College in Oxford. Scharf exhibited it as a *Half-Length Figure of a Monastic Saint Holding a Book* (Fig. 142) and assigned it to the Tuscan thirteenth-century master Margarito (or Margaritone) d'Arezzo.<sup>1156</sup> This panel illustrates how, in relation to the Manchester show, Scharf and Cavalcaselle—individually and mutually—adapted their sketching technique according to the technical and art-historical interest that they had towards a specific piece. Moreover, this case-study provides the chance to reflect on how, indirectly and (most probably) inadvertently, Scharf, by displaying and discussing this piece in Manchester, outlined some outstanding research aspects of Italian Primitive schools of painting that Cavalcaselle would investigate during the Vasarian survey that he would conduct across the Italian Peninsula just after the Manchester show.

When graphically approaching the Christ Church panel, Scharf used pencil, whereas Cavalcaselle used pen. However, despite using different techniques, the two experts produced very similar sketches. Such a coincidence may have occurred because neither scholar had the time to study paintings in depth; more probably, they lacked interest in reproducing every detail of the paintings they sketched. Scharf created his pencil sketch analysis of the panel in Oxford, on 5 December, 1856.<sup>1157</sup> He limited himself

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<sup>1156</sup> Italian (Florentine) School, *Bust of Saint Francis*, possibly around 1500, tempera and gold leaf on panel, 52.5 x 42 cm, Oxford, Christ Church Picture Gallery, inv. JBS 1 (gift, 1834 (?), from Henry Stephen Fox-Strangways, 3rd Earl of Ilchester, 1787-1858) [https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/bust-of-saint-francis-229122/view\\_as/grid/search/keyword:bust-francis-christ-church/page/1](https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/bust-of-saint-francis-229122/view_as/grid/search/keyword:bust-francis-christ-church/page/1) (consulted 23/11/2020). Pergam 2016, 140 and 295, cat. 14.

<sup>1157</sup> MS, London, NPG, Heinz Archive, Scharf Sketchbook 45, page 11, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_53\_06.

to tracing the contour lines of the bust of Saint Francis: he outlined the saint's fingers, as well as the book in his left hand, the position of his eyes and nose and his habit's drapery, particularly in relation to his cowl. After that, he merely noted the presence of a "gold" background and that the alleged author of the picture "was called Margheritone [*sic*"]".<sup>1158</sup>

Some months later, the Christ Church panel was loaned to the Manchester event as a Margarito original.<sup>1159</sup> It was in Manchester that Cavalcaselle created two hasty pen sketches of the panel. The first was made in the upper left corner of his personal copy of the show's *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>1160</sup> In this sketch, with a few pen strokes, Cavalcaselle outlined the main contour lines of the cowl of Saint Francis's habit, its right sleeve with its cuff, as well as the saint's chin and right hand (represented with a single wavy line). He also suggested the presence of the book in the saint's left hand using a square. On the same page, near the catalogue's entry about the panel, Cavalcaselle noted that he judged it a "contraffazione a olio" ["[a] forgery [painted] in oil"].<sup>1161</sup> Later on, Cavalcaselle drew another pen sketch of the panel in a sketchbook that would end up being taken apart. Again, using only a few pen strokes, he registered only the outlines of the elements of the *Saint Francis* that he had considered peculiar.<sup>1162</sup> However, more details of the panel were recorded in this sketch, including the silhouette of the saint's cowl, the frontal position of his face, and the book in his left hand, signalled again only by a single slanting pen stroke. With oblique strokes he also indicated, twice, the presence of "oro" ["gold"] in the background, and the gesture made by the saint's right hand: "benedice" ["[he] blesses"]. This second pen sketch by Cavalcaselle was, indeed, made with much less haste and disinterest, and much more selective attention to the picture's details.

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<sup>1158</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw288829/Scharf-Sketchbook-45-page-11-12?> (consulted 14/10/2020).

<sup>1159</sup> Scharf 1857, b, 14, cat. 14. Shaw 1967, p. 29, cat. 1.

<sup>1160</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 14, cat. 13.

<sup>1161</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 14.

<sup>1162</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XXII, f. 61v.

However, Cavalcaselle's opinion had not changed. Below this second sketch, he signalled that he still thought that the "dipinto a olio" ["oil painting"] was a "contraffazione" ["forgery"]. It should be noted that Cavalcaselle's opinion contrasted with Henry Ottley's (1811–1878), who, in *The Art-Treasures Examiner* judged the panel "worthy of particular attention, as illustrating the expiring influence of Byzantine type upon Italian art at this period".<sup>1163</sup> Moreover, on 23 May 1857, an anonymous author wrote a review of the Manchester Italian Primitives exhibition in the *Saturday Review*, praising the panel, identifying the subject as Saint Francis and naming the artwork the "best example of [the] rudimentary art" embodied by the "early school of Siena".<sup>1164</sup> On the contrary, Cavalcaselle's more negative view was shared by Thoré-Bürger, who considered it to be "du plus terrible caractère" ["of the most terrible nature"].<sup>1165</sup>

Cavalcaselle's double analysis of the panel sheds light on his professional interactions with Scharf at the 1857 exhibition. It is even likely that Cavalcaselle's expertise on the *Saint Francis* had been specifically requested by Scharf. Within Scharf's Manchester papers, there is no evidence of a discussion on the date and technique of the painting that Scharf requested for the Manchester show— or perhaps no evidence has emerged yet. However, in his *Handbook*, Scharf described the painting as "a palpable fabrication of modern times in oil-colours". This opinion looks identical to the one that Cavalcaselle noted beside both his sketches: it is possible that Cavalcaselle convinced Scharf of the panel's fake nature.

However, in the *Handbook*, Scharf also mentioned another point of analysis that had not been mentioned by Cavalcaselle in either of his own sketches: he declared that the panel was a copy "from the well-known portrait of St. Francis, by Giunta Pisano, in

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<sup>1163</sup> Ottley 1857.

<sup>1164</sup> *Saturday Review* 1857, 477

<sup>1165</sup> Thoré-Bürger 1857, p. 21.

the sacristy of S. Francesco, at Assisi”.<sup>1166</sup> Scharf considered the picture to be a partial modern copy from the reredos *Saint Francis and His Four Posthumous Miracles*, now located in the Treasure Museum of the Basilica of Saint Francis in Assisi.<sup>1167</sup> The reredos in Assisi is attributed (Fig. 143)<sup>1168</sup> to the Tuscan Primitive master Giunta Pisano (c.1195–1260) or, alternatively, to the Master of the Saint Francis Treasure, an unknown Umbrian painter specialised in Franciscan-themed reredos in imitation of Giunta’s technique.<sup>1169</sup>

In their first volume of the *New History of Painting in Italy* published in 1864, Crowe and Cavalcaselle refused to assign the Assisi painting to Giunta, but underlined the historical importance of this reredos due its traditional identification with the real features of Saint Francis: “It is but natural that Giunta, having lived and painted about the time when the fame of S.[aint] Francis had been increased by canonization, should be associated in name with the so-called portrait of the saint in the sacristy of the great sanctuary. This work, if examined more particularly in an artistic sense, did not differ much in execution from that of the successors of Giunta, but was painted with much body of yellowish colour, shadowed in dark tones, and outlined in black, and might date as far back as the close of the thirteenth century. The pictures in the small compartments are composed of figures in the usual exaggerated manner of the time”. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, however, signalled that the Assisian “effigy of S.[aint] Francis was repeated a hundred times in this form in the convents of his order”,<sup>1170</sup> and in the footnotes they

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<sup>1166</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 9.

<sup>1167</sup> Kanter, Palladino 1999, pp. 56-61, cat. 1.

<sup>1168</sup> Iacopone 2006, 152, cat. V.12.

<sup>1169</sup> Master of the Saint Francis Treasure, *Saint Francis and His Four Posthumous Miracles*, 1250-1275, tempera and gold on wood, 96 x 137.5 cm, Assisi, Treasure Museum of the Basilica of Saint Francis. [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFrama\\_AssSC040.JPG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AFrama_AssSC040.JPG) (consulted 14/10/2020). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 1126, <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/1126> (consulted 01/11/2020).

<sup>1170</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, p. 174.



made reference to a specific group of Franciscan-themed artworks that they discussed in relation to the saint's features, which they assigned to Margarito.<sup>1171</sup>

This cluster of paintings would be variably associated to the Christ Church panel by some twentieth-century scholars<sup>1172</sup> for their composition or the rendering of some specific anatomical elements (face, hands) of Saint Francis. The group of pictures selected by Crowe and Cavalcaselle due to their similarity to Margarito's style and possible derivation from a genuine portrait of Saint Francis, indeed, is composed only in a much lesser part by reredos, now assigned to Giunta Pisano or, alternatively, attributed to some Umbrian or Tuscan imitator of his style, that represent Saint Francis surrounded by some scenes of his post-mortem miracles. One, "nearer in style"<sup>1173</sup> to the Assisi panel, is located in the Vatican Museums.<sup>1174</sup> Another, that Vasari assigned to Cimabue, was once found in the Church of San Francesco de' Ferri and is now kept in the Museo di San Matteo in Pisa.<sup>1175</sup> On the other hand, for the most part, the cluster of Franciscan paintings related to Margarito and the reredos in Assisi, individuated by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, is composed of copies, replicas and variants of some entire figures of Saint Francis standing alone, showing the stigmata and holding a book. One of them can be found in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena.<sup>1176</sup> Significantly, Cavalcaselle analysed it in detail a

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<sup>1171</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, pp. 188-189.

<sup>1172</sup> Shaw 1967, p. 29, cat. 1.

<sup>1173</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 174, also footnote 2

<sup>1174</sup> Giunta Pisano or Umbrian unknown master imitating his manner, *Saint Francis and His Four Post-Mortem Miracles*, 1255-1260 or 1260-1270, tempera and gold on poplar wood, 67 x 67.5 cm (26.3 x 34 in.), Vatican City, Vatican Museums, inv. MV\_40023\_0\_0 (from the Christian Museum) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giunta\\_Pisano.\\_St\\_Francisc.1260-70.\\_Vatican.\\_Pinacoteca.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giunta_Pisano._St_Francisc.1260-70._Vatican._Pinacoteca.jpg) (consulted 14/10/2020).

<sup>1175</sup> Giunta Pisano (attributed to), *Saint Francis and His Six Post-Mortem Miracles*, 1250-1260, tempera and gold on wood, 155 x 132.5 cm, Pisa, Museo di San Matteo (from the Church of San Francesco de' Ferri, Pisa). [https://www.beni-culturali.eu/opere\\_d\\_arte/scheda/-san-francesco-d-assisi-e-storie-giunta-di-capitino-da-pisa-detto-giunta-pisano-notizie-1236-1254-09-00528908/430227](https://www.beni-culturali.eu/opere_d_arte/scheda/-san-francesco-d-assisi-e-storie-giunta-di-capitino-da-pisa-detto-giunta-pisano-notizie-1236-1254-09-00528908/430227) (consulted 14/10/2020). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 208 and 188, also footnote 6 (p. 188-9). Boskovitz 1973, pp. 340-345. Cimabue 2005, p. 122, cat. 13.

<sup>1176</sup> Margarito d'Arezzo, *Saint Francis*, oil on panel, 95 x 37, Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale, inv. 2. Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 1006. (consulted 23/11/2020) <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/1006> and (consulted 01/11/2020) <https://www.mpsart.it/luoghi-e-opere/ritorno-alla-luce/Documents/Brochure/Margarito%20d%27Arezzo.pdf>.

few weeks after the Manchester show. In spite of his aesthetic contempt of this work, Cavalcaselle was interested in the picture's peculiar tempera and its antiquity (Fig. 150).<sup>1177</sup> In addition, two other variants of Margarito's *Saint Francis* are now kept in the Arezzo Museum<sup>1178</sup> and were once placed in the Franciscan convents of Ganghereto, close to Terranuova Bracciolini,<sup>1179</sup> and Sargiano.<sup>1180</sup> A fourth variant is kept in the Vatican Museums.<sup>1181</sup> Another is found in the museum of Castiglion Fiorentino, a town that, in Margarito's time, was known as Castiglion Aretino.<sup>1182</sup>

Curiously, Cavalcaselle and Crowe did not discuss the Christ Church panel in their section on Margarito in the first volume of the *New History of Painting in Italy*.<sup>1183</sup> Nor was it mentioned by Robert Langton Douglas (1864–1951) and Edward Hutton (1875–1969) in the sections on Margarito in their English-language editions of *New History*.<sup>1184</sup> However, in the first volume of *New History*'s 1869 German edition (*Geschichte der italienischen Malerei*), the editor Max Jordan (1837–1906) added a reference to the Christ Church painting: “Die zu Oxford in der Gallery of Christchurch [*sic*] befindliche, dem

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<sup>1177</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2037 (=12278), Taccuino XIII, f. 12v.

<sup>1178</sup> Anselmi 2015, pp. 4 and 7. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 189, also footnote 2. Anselmi 2015, pp. 4-5.

<sup>1179</sup> Margarito d'Arezzo, *Saint Francis*, 1270-1280, oil on panel, 128 x 51 cm, Arezzo, National Museum of Medieval and Modern Art <https://www.ilbelcasentino.it/museo-arte-medievale-moderna-arezzo-seq.php?idimg=7131> (consulted 23/11/2020). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 1003 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/1003> (consulted 01/11/2020). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 189, footnote 4.

<sup>1180</sup> Margarito d'Arezzo, *Saint Francis*, 1260-1270, oil on panel, 106.5 x 45 cm, Arezzo, National Museum of Medieval and Modern Art <https://www.ilbelcasentino.it/museo-arte-medievale-moderna-arezzo-seq.php?idimg=7131> (consulted 23/11/2020). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 1004 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/1004> (consulted 01/11/2020). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 188, also footnote 2.

<sup>1181</sup> Margarito d'Arezzo, *Saint Francis*, around 1260 or 1270-1280, tempera and gold on fir panel, 127 x 53.9 cm, Vatican City, Vatican Museums, inv. 2 (1P) (from the Christian Museum) (consulted 14/10/2020) [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:3\\_Margaritone\\_d%27Arezzo,\\_St.\\_Francis,\\_Vatican,\\_Museum.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:3_Margaritone_d%27Arezzo,_St._Francis,_Vatican,_Museum.jpg). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 189, also footnote 3. Volbach 1979, 23, cat. 6, Fig. 42.

<sup>1182</sup> Margarito d'Arezzo, *Saint Francis*, 1280-1290, oil on panel, 100 x 39 cm, Castiglion Fiorentino, Pinacoteca (from the Church of Saint Francis, Castiglion Fiorentino) <https://www.museicastiglionfiorentino.it/privacy/margaritone-di-arezzo/> (consulted 23/11/2020). Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 1008 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/1008> (consulted 01/11/2020). Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 189.

<sup>1183</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, pp. 186-190.

<sup>1184</sup> Douglas 1903, Volume 1, pp. 166-168. Hutton 1908, Volume 1, pp. 154-157.

Margaritone zugeschriebene halblebengrosse Figur eines mönchischen Heiligen ist Copie” [“The half-length figure of a monk saint in the Gallery of Christchurch [*sic*] at Oxford attributed to Margarito is a copy”].<sup>1185</sup>

However, it is not certain that the German editor had consulted Cavalcaselle’s Manchester handwritten materials before translating and editing the German *New History*’s section on Margarito. The description given by Jordan, indeed, is a literal translation of the title that Scharf had assigned to the picture in both the 1857 exhibition’s *Provisional Catalogue*<sup>1186</sup> and in the *Definitive Catalogue*.<sup>1187</sup> One might infer that before translating and editing Crowe and Cavalcaselle’s English text, Jordan had checked the entry—written by Scharf—in the catalogue from the 1857 show. Though, one might also suppose that Jordan did not check Scharf’s *Handbook*. In the most likely circumstance, however, Jordan had agreed with Crowe and Cavalcaselle’s decision to avoid any discussion on the relation between the picture in Oxford and the reredos in Assisi<sup>1188</sup> that Scharf had mentioned in his *Handbook*.<sup>1189</sup>

The panel that Scharf had exhibited in Manchester, however, was mentioned by Jordan in connection to two pictures by Margarito. The first is the aforementioned single standing figure of *Saint Francis* in the Vatican Museums<sup>1190</sup> that had also been assigned to Margarito in the *New History*.<sup>1191</sup> The second, that had not been discussed in 1864 by Crowe and Cavalcaselle in the *New History*’s first volume, is the *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*, a panel once in the Kress collection that is now in the

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<sup>1185</sup> Jordan 1869, Volume 1, 156, footnote 83.

<sup>1186</sup> Scharf 1857, p. 14, cat. 13

<sup>1187</sup> Scharf 1857, b, p. 14, cat. 14.

<sup>1188</sup> Jordan 1869, Volume 1, p. 144.

<sup>1189</sup> Scharf 1857, c, p. 9, cat. 14.

<sup>1190</sup> Jordan 1869, Volume 1, p. 156.

<sup>1191</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, p. 189, also footnote 3.

National Gallery of Art in Washington.<sup>1192</sup> It is likely that Cavalcaselle had had the chance to analyse the Kress picture in Florence, as part of a collection belonging to William Blundell Spence (1814–1900), in the last weeks of 1857.<sup>1193</sup> Alternatively, Cavalcaselle could have studied this painting in 1865 in a gallery belonging to Ralph Nicholson Wornum (1812–1877) in London.<sup>1194</sup> It is therefore uncertain whether or not Jordan checked Cavalcaselle’s handwritten materials on the *Madonna and Child* before inserting a reference to the painting in the volume he edited. Research is still ongoing in this aspect.

On the other hand, it is certain that, after the 1857 show, Cavalcaselle conducted his survey on the group of pictures by Margarito that were stylistically and thematically related to the Christ Church panel exhibited in Manchester. He undertook the selection and analysis of these works during his research journeys throughout Italy between August 1857 and the first half of 1860.<sup>1195</sup> By staying in Italy, Cavalcaselle intended to verify the information on the technical, stylistic and compositional skills of the Italian painters, mostly Primitives, that Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) had mentioned in his *Lives of the Most Outstanding Painters, Sculptors and Architects*.<sup>1196</sup> Due to the relevance given to him by Vasari, Margarito’s oeuvre was certainly at the centre of Cavalcaselle’s critical attention during his post-Manchester research in Italy. The scarcity of Vasari’s information on some—mainly Tuscan—Primitive masters and the low quality of some paintings that he had lauded, some of which had been exhibited in Manchester, enhanced the demand for a systematic check in archives, churches and galleries to update the sources and whereabouts of some specific pieces mentioned in his work.

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<sup>1192</sup> Margaritone d’Arezzo, *Madonna and Child Enthroned with Four Saints*, 1240-1245, tempera on panel, 97.3 × 49.9 cm (38 5/16 × 19 5/8 in.), Washington, DC, USA, National Gallery of Art, inv. 1952.5.12 (gifted in 1952 by the Samuel h. Kress Foundation) <https://pconsulted.org/nga/collection/artobject/41622> (consulted 23/11/2020). Jordan 1869, Volume 1, p. 156.

<sup>1193</sup> Levi 1988, p. 122.

<sup>1194</sup> Levi 1985.

<sup>1195</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 101-151.

<sup>1196</sup> Vasari 1550. Vasari 1568.

In addition, Scharf's interest in exhibiting and discussing paintings at Manchester that were assigned to Margarito by their Manchester loaners could be seen as a concurrent cause of the necessity that originated among some British and continental experts and amateurs that had visited the exhibition. When they analysed the paintings at the exhibition for themselves, they may well have realised how much a new edition of Vasari's *Lives* was needed. This would provide them not only with consistent and correct archival reference, but also with a systematic tracing of the authentic paintings by the Old Masters mentioned by Vasari.

Scharf's decision to exhibit in Manchester and discuss two paintings assigned to Margarito in his *Handbook* contributed—whether consciously or not—to Cavalcaselle's decision to undertake a long and complex research project in Italy to produce a new, revised edition of *Lives*. Moreover, Scharf's approach to Margarito in Manchester could have indirectly helped Cavalcaselle to gather sponsors for his research throughout the Italian pre-unitary States. Sponsors included the publisher John Murray III (1808–1892); the archaeologist, MP, diplomat and collector Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894); the critic and dramatist Tom Taylor (1817–1880); and the connoisseur and collector Charles Lock Eastlake (1793–1865), who was Director of the National Gallery between 1855 and 1865.<sup>1197</sup>

The critical issues on Margarito's *oeuvre* outlined by Scharf in his *Handbook* might have directed Cavalcaselle to survey some specific artworks by Margarito during the initial phase of his research in Italy. During that time, Cavalcaselle focused on selecting the Franciscan-themed pictures assigned or attributed to Margarito that he was able to trace. It was probably in this initial phase, too, that he wrote an index of these

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<sup>1197</sup> Levi 1988, p. 78.

works.<sup>1198</sup> We know that it was after 1878 that Cavalcaselle added to the upper edge of his index some references to page numbers from the first book of the *Lives* edition by Sienese scholar Gaetano Milanesi (1813–1895): “T.[omo] I : V.[olum]e : II”; “p.[agina]362”[“T.[ome] I : V.[olum]e : II”; “p.[age] 362”]. In these pages, the editor discussed Cavalcaselle’s attribution of some of the artworks to Margarito—failing to mention Crowe.<sup>1199</sup>

However, his interest towards Margarito did not at all mean that he appreciated the technical, stylistic or compositional quality of these works. In 1864, Cavalcaselle and Crowe were very clear in stating that Margarito would certainly have been forgotten if Vasari had not felt the need to celebrate him due to their common origin from Arezzo: “would never have emerged from obscurity, had not Vasari been moved by a laudable desire to rescue the art of his native city from oblivion” (Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 186). The *New History*’s authors also declared: “[Margarito] is said to have laboriously executed frescos in S.[aint] Clemente of the Camaldoles of Arezzo; but they are certainly not to be regretted, if they resembled other productions from his hand darkened in colour and executed without spirit, knowledge of design or movement repulsive, coloured like playing cards, and of that childish style common to the Lucchese, Pisan, and Siennese schools of the thirteenth century. Yet Margaritone was not without a spark of pride as to the value of his works, if it be true that as a token of gratitude for the spirit with which Farinata degli Uberti saved his country from danger and ruin, he presented to the great Florentine a colossal crucifix ‘alla greca’”.<sup>1200</sup>

In relation to this, it should be noted that Charles Lock Eastlake, one of Cavalcaselle’s sponsors, may have anticipated some of Crowe and Cavalcaselle’s

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<sup>1198</sup> MS, Venice, Marciana, Cod. It. IV, 2034 (=12275), Fascicolo V, f. 227r.

<sup>1199</sup> Vasari 1878, 359-67, in particular 362, footnote 2.

<sup>1200</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, pp. 186-187.

conclusions on Margarito's production that they made in their 1864 book, in a report that he wrote for the House of Commons about the National Gallery on 5 April 1858. In the report, Eastlake wrote: "Margaritone having been born before Cimabue, an authentic and inscribed picture by him must be regarded as valuable in an historical sense. As a painter, however, he is not only below his contemporaries, Cimabue and Gaddo Gaddi, but inferior to those who immediately preceded him, such as Guido da Siena and others. Vasari exalts Margaritone probably from his having been, like the biographer himself, a native of Arezzo".<sup>1201</sup>

However, Eastlake's criticism of Margarito's style and technique was not necessarily based on Cavalcaselle's report from his Italian survey. Eastlake, indeed, was an expert connoisseur of Old Masters, having travelled extensively<sup>1202</sup> throughout the Italian peninsula to refine his visual analysis skills on the Italian schools of painting by directly witnessing the works of art that he wished to study or purchase for his own collection or for the National Gallery.<sup>1203</sup> Moreover, in his 1857 report to the House of Commons, Eastlake referred to the first of the 13 books of the celebrated Italian edition of *Lives*. Published in Florence in 1846 by Felice Le Monnier (1806–1884), it had been edited by a group of scholars formed by Gaetano Milanesi, his brother Carlo (1816–1867), the Dominican father Padre Vincenzo Marchese (1808–1891) and Carlo Pini (1806–1879).<sup>1204</sup> In his report, Eastlake inserted two quotes<sup>1205</sup> from their book, from a passage in which the editors defined Margarito as "a retrograde painter"<sup>1206</sup> and judged one of the

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<sup>1201</sup> Eastlake 1858, p. 39.

<sup>1202</sup> Avery-Quash 2011.

<sup>1203</sup> Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011.

<sup>1204</sup> Levi 1988, pp. xxvii-xxviii.

<sup>1205</sup> Eastlake 1858, p. 39.

<sup>1206</sup> Vasari 1846, p. 304, footnote 2.

artist's versions of *Saint Francis*<sup>1207</sup> (still found in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena<sup>1208</sup>) as “the figure of a monster, rather than of a human being.”<sup>1209</sup>

In his report, Eastlake also summarised—“not even tolerable”<sup>1210</sup>—the harsh opinion on Margarito's pictorial skills expressed in the first volume (1838) of Giovanni Rosini's (1776–1855) *Storia della Pittura Italiana esposta coi Monumenti*: “Il colorito soprattutto n'è di un tal fosco, che fa dispiacere. Il sentimento che destano i suoi Cristi è lo spavento, in vece della devozione. Quanti m'è avvenuto d'incontrarne, mi han rinnovato questo sentimento, e così credo degli altri; sicchè per lui può dirsi, che l'arte andò retrocedendo” [“Above all, the complexion is so dull that it is displeasing. The sentiment that his Christs arouse is fear, instead of devotion. The other[Christ]s that I have seen have renewed this feeling, and the same I believe happened to everyone else; so that about him it can be said that art regressed”] (Rosini 1839, 194). Conversely, Eastlake did also quote (Eastlake 1858, 39) the abbot Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810), from the first book of his *Storia Pittorica dell'Italia*, in which he stated that Margarito and Cimabue were “non così distanti di merito, che Margaritone non possa dirsi pittore, se pittore dicesi Cimabue” [“not so distant, in terms of ability, that Margarito can't be called a painter, if Cimabue is called so”] (Lanzi 1796, 11).

Eastlake also criticised Margarito's *Saint Francis* (the one now in Arezzo's National Museum of Medieval and Modern Art, once located in the Franciscan convent in Sargiano): “the singular inaccuracy in the position of the nails of the fingers in the right hand is an instance of the utter conventionalism and inattention to nature, which are

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<sup>1207</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864, Volume 1, 189, also footnote 2. Anselmi 2015, pp. 4-5.

<sup>1208</sup> Margarito d'Arezzo, *Saint Francis*, oil on panel, 95 x 37, Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale, inv. 2. Bologna, Zeri Photo Archive, slide n. 1006 <https://w3id.org/zericatalog/oaentry/1006> (consulted 01/11/2020) and (consulted 23/11/2020) <https://www.mpsart.it/luoghi-e-opere/ritorno-alla-luce/Documents/Brochure/Margarito%20d%27Arezzo.pdf>.

<sup>1209</sup> Vasari 1846, 305, footnote 2.

<sup>1210</sup> Eastlake 1858, p. 39.



common in Byzantine works of the lowest period” (Eastlake 1858, 39). He added: “In the few existing works of Margaritone, the imperfections of the thirteenth century are combined, as in this instance, not with laborious minuteness, but with carelessness and coarseness of execution. It is thus apparent that, however rare and, in a certain sense, valuable the specimen of Margaritone above described may be, its chief use will be to show the barbarous state into which art had sunk even in Italy previously to its revival; it will at the same time serve to rectify the too laudatory statements of Vasari. It may be added that the historical significance of such a specimen – a significance connected even with its demerits - will be more intelligible when the contents of the Gallery can be arranged with some attention to chronological order”.

Eastlake’s report to the House of Commons was related to the National Gallery’s purchase of a reredos by Margarito. The reredos was from the Lombardi-Baldi exhibition that took place in Florence at the end of 1857 (Anderson 1985, 31 and 37).<sup>1211</sup> The sale of a portion of this celebrated Florentine gallery probably also involved Cavalcaselle during the initial stage of his post-Manchester research. In November 1857, indeed, Cavalcaselle was in Florence along with the Bavarian connoisseur Otto Mündler (1811–1870), who a couple years previously had been appointed as the National Gallery’s travelling agent (Levi 1988, 164, endnote 100 [from p.122]). However, if Cavalcaselle ever did send an early report to Eastlake to advise him on Margarito, a few months after the Manchester show at the beginning of his Italian research, it is most likely that Eastlake’s assessment on the topic was not substantially modified by it. In fact, Cavalcaselle’s evaluation of Margarito’s style and technique that resulted from his research in Italy did not substantially diverge from Lanzi, Rosini, Gaetano Milanese and

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<sup>1211</sup> Margarito d’Arezzo, *The Virgin and Child Enthroned, with Scenes of the Nativity and the Lives of the Saints*, probably 1263-4, egg tempera on wood, 92.1 x 183.1 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG564 (bought in 1857 in Florence) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/margarito-darezzo-the-virgin-and-child-enthroned-with-narrative-scenes> (consulted 23/11/2020).

the other editors of the Le Monnier edition of *Lives* that Eastlake mentioned in his report to the House of Commons.

In conclusion, during the initial phase of his research journey in Italy, Cavalcaselle developed a detailed critical interest towards Margarito and the Franciscan-themed paintings assigned to him, after lacking such interest at the 1857 exhibition. His aim was to verify Vasari's art-historical objectivity towards Margarito as well as the importance of the historical documentation of Saint Francis's facial and bodily features. A likely motive for Cavalcaselle to research this subject was his realisation at the Manchester show that, compared to him, Scharf paid more attention to the evolution of the Franciscan-themed paintings attributed to Giunta Pisano or Margarito in Central Italy and in the British collections. It is likely that Cavalcaselle's change in critical attitude towards Margarito was a consequence of both Eastlake's interest in the Lombardi-Baldi reredos (now in the National Gallery) and the significance that Scharf had given to this Primitive master—as well as to the Franciscan reredos in Assisi—at the Manchester venue and in his *Handbook*. Indeed, at the Manchester exhibition, Scharf managed to exhibit not only the Christ Church *Saint Francis* but also another painting that had been traditionally attributed to Margarito but that had not been mentioned in the show's *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>1212</sup> This was the panel *Coronation of the Virgin*, once in the Roscoe collection, and loaned to the Manchester event by the Royal Institution in Liverpool.<sup>1213</sup> It was mentioned only in the show's *Definitive Catalogue*, and perhaps arrived at the venue after Cavalcaselle had already left the exhibition.<sup>1214</sup>

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<sup>1212</sup> Scharf 1857.

<sup>1213</sup> Pergam 2016, p. 164, cat. 18.

<sup>1214</sup> Studio of Giovanni del Biondo, *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1365-1375, tempera and gold on poplar panel, 42.9 x 51.1 cm, Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery (given to the Liverpool Royal Institution 1819). Scharf 1857, b, cat. 18 <https://www.vads.ac.uk/digital/collection/NIRP/id/30586/rec/5> (consulted 23/11/2020).

However, Cavalcaselle had already analysed the Roscoe panel some years before. This was during a collaboration with the Royal Institution itself, where he lent his expertise to some Old Master paintings in preparation for a new edition of the collection's catalogue. This edition was edited by Theodore Woolman Rathbone (1798–1863) and published in 1851. As Levi correctly noted, it was not the Roscoe panel's dating, but its attribution, that was most likely a point of contention between Waagen and Cavalcaselle at the end of the 1840s or the beginning of the 1850s.<sup>1215</sup> The 1851 catalogue's entry on the *Coronation* implicitly states that Waagen and Cavalcaselle had agreed that the picture had been painted at a time that was later than the one in which Margarito had worked and lived: "This picture indicates, it has been thought, a later period than that of Margaritone".<sup>1216</sup>

Rathbone, on the other hand, celebrated the Roscoe panel "for the taste and richness of his Gothic ornaments, the style of which may be seen in the background of this specimen". He demonstrated his reluctance in abandoning the picture's attribution to as rare a Primitive master as Margarito, underlining how the Roscoe panel's art-historical importance was more important than its aesthetical value: "This picture is important, as showing the state of the arts a short time previous to the time of Cimabue, who has been long held to have been the earliest reviver of the art in Italy". However, as noted by Levi, Rathbone referenced Waagen's prestigious opinion from 1838<sup>1217</sup> in the third volume of his *Works of Art and Artist in England*, in which Waagen considered the *Coronation* to be "a very good work of the Sienna school of the fourteenth century".<sup>1218</sup> As Rathbone stated, though, Cavalcaselle proved himself to be more precise than Waagen regarding the single masters of the Siennese school, advancing the *Coronation*'s possible attribution

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<sup>1215</sup> Levi 1988, 28, also endnote 17 (p. 85).

<sup>1216</sup> Rathbone 1851, 1-2, cat. 4.

<sup>1217</sup> Levi 1988, p. 85, endnote 17.

<sup>1218</sup> Waagen 1838, Volume 3, p. 180, cat. 1.

to the Sienese artist Lippo Memmi (c. 1285–1356). According to Levi, it is thanks to this more detailed attribution that Waagen started to gradually perceive Cavalcaselle as an increasingly dangerous competitor for his connoisseurly prestige in the British museum and collecting milieu.

Scharf, Cavalcaselle and Waagen's critical approach to Margarito, then, shaped not only their individual connoisseurship of Tuscan Primitives, but also the post-Manchester professional opportunities of these scholars.

## 4.11 Crimson

Scharf's aesthetical interest in Old Master pigments and techniques at the Manchester show likely led him to unconsciously draw the attention of exhibition visitors, and experts of the time and later, to some technical, art-historical and cultural reflections that would be enunciated and studied in detail by art historians only in the twentieth century.

For instance, at Manchester Scharf was continuously attracted to the presence of crimson pigment in Renaissance and Baroque pictures. On 11 September 1857, for instance, Scharf analysed a couple of portraits then assigned to Jacopo Tintoretto.<sup>1219</sup> The first is *Procurator of Saint Mark*, which had come to England from the Foscari collection in Venice, was loaned by Robert Stayner Holford (1808–1892), and is now in Montreal (Fig. 144).<sup>1220</sup> The second is the *Venetian Senator*, now in Rochester in the United States, which was loaned by James Hamilton (1811–1885), the Marquess and later Duke of Abercorn (Fig. 145).<sup>1221</sup>

In his sketch of the *Venetian Senator*, Scharf noted the presence of the “crimson” pigment. He did the same, twice, for *Procurator of Saint Mark*.<sup>1222</sup> First, on 20 July 1857, he drew a very simple sketch in which he underlined the use of the “crimson” pigment

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<sup>1219</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, page 10 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_10. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282602/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-10?set=631%3BScharf+Sketchbook+47%2C+1857&search=ap&rNo=9> (consulted 23/11/2020).

<sup>1220</sup> Jacopo (or Domenico?) Tintoretto, *Portrait of a Member of the Foscari Family*, 1555-1560, oil on canvas, 109.6 x 91.6 cm, Montreal, Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, John W. Tempest Fund, inv. 1954.1097. <https://www.mbam.qc.ca/en/works/23815/> (consulted 06/11/2020). Pergam 2016, 308, cat. 296.

<sup>1221</sup> Jacopo Tintoretto, *Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman*, c.1560 (?), oil on canvas, 113.7 x 88.9 cm (44 3/4 x 35 in.), Rochester, NY, USA, University of Rochester, Memorial Art Gallery, inv. 68.97, George Eastman Collection of the University of Rochester, <http://magart.rochester.edu/objects-1/info?query=Portfolios%3D%22572%22&page=45> consulted 06/11/2020). In <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282602/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-10> (consulted 06/11/2020) it is correctly stated that the *Portrait of a Senator* by Tintoretto exhibited in Manchester 1857 by Holford is not the one in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, CA, USA (Pergam 2016, 310, cat. 300).

<sup>1222</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282602/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-10> (consulted 06/11/2020).

for the senator's ceremonial garment.<sup>1223</sup> Then, on 12 October 1857, five days before the exhibition closed, he analysed the painting more closely, isolating the detail of the sitter's face and noting the realistic "vein" on the sitter's temple.<sup>1224</sup> On the same day, on another sheet, Scharf drew a very detailed sketch of the entire portrait, in which he was attracted by the "mellow / black grey / band" worn by the Venetian patrician over the crimson mantle and by the sitter's "hand / excellently / drawn and coloured". Beside this sketch, he noted that there were some "technical remarks" about the portrait on another sheet of the same sketchbook ("see back").<sup>1225</sup> These notes, rich in hyphens that divide into sections each technical or stylistic element he discusses, are a typical example of the similarity in Scharf and Cavalcaselle's note-taking techniques at the Manchester exhibition.<sup>1226</sup> The two experts' similar note-taking approach suggests that they influenced each other at the Manchester show. This could, in turn, suggest that they not only showed each other their handwritten materials but also shared a similar visual system of fixing and displaying information based on its relevance and typology.

On the sketchbook sheet dedicated to his "technic remarks" on the *Procurator*, Scharf commented once more on his attraction to the "intensely deep crimson" of the senator's "dress".<sup>1227</sup> The crimson pigment might have drawn Scharf to focus on the painting's technique: he stated that it had been "painted with much / body [of colour,

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<sup>1223</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 64, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_32. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282556/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-63-64?> (consulted 06/11/2020).

<sup>1224</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 44 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_45. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289076/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-44-verso-45-recto?> (consulted 08/11/2020).

<sup>1225</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 46 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_47. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289078/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-46-verso-47-recto?> (consulted 08/11/2020).

<sup>1226</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 45 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_46. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289077/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-45-verso-46-recto?set=643%3BScharf+Sketchbook+49%2C+1857&wPage=2&search=ap&rNo=45> (consulted 12/11/2020).

<sup>1227</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 45 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_46. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289077/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-45-verso-46-recto?> (consulted 06/11/2020).

with] the lights [which] are solid and / opaque impasto glazed over. / The modelling produced by the middle / tints in apparently a thin brownish / colour laid on with a small soft brush. / The ground of the beard & hair [made with] a flat / warm yellow grey. The under layer of / grey hairs [sic] blue grey. The upper layer / mellow white and large & boldly in ~~er~~ / curve. / The modelling of eye and eyebrows brown and / in some parts b[ri]ght scin [?] colour. The tip of / nose vermilion and the same colour / on lower parts of cheeks. Very pulpy. / The hair above and below the mouth / quite grey. The upper lip totally concealed / by the moustaches. Eyebrows also deep full / blue grey. white [sic] of the eye dull grey. / The ground ~~of the lights~~ colour / very dark. The pattern both edge of leaves / and lights on folds seem to have been / painted very full & clear light with white & / vermilion [sic] & thin glazed over with intense / transparent crimson -".<sup>1228</sup>

Scharf's Manchester materials on the *Procurator* came in useful when, on 27 August 1858 "at Mr. Anthony[']s" (the London workshop belonging to a still-unidentified restorer or dealer), he may have given his detailed expertise on the painting. Scharf, indeed, summarised his notes in an illuminating piece in his *Guardian Handbook*, in which he praised the work for its great skill in rendering the light and shadow effects on the crimson-coloured silk. Most likely, in addition, in this passage Scharf subtly invited the *Handbook*'s reader to notice that it was Tintoretto's ability to enhance the chiaroscuro effects of his sitters' cloths that had provided the master with the chance to challenge his rivals—firstly the unmentioned Titian—and become one of the leading portrait painters in late-Renaissance Venice. Scharf, indeed, stated: "The excellence of Tintoretto in portraiture, appears strikingly in the figure of a senator seated, in rich crimson robe, contributed by the Marquis of Abercorn (300). It is scarcely possible to imagine anything

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<sup>1228</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 49, page 45 verso, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_59\_46. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw289077/Scharf-Sketchbook-49-page-45-verso-46-recto?> (consulted 06/11/2020).

better than the picture in question, either for power of expression or intensity of colour. It pales entirely an otherwise excellent picture by the same hand, *A Procurator of St. Mark* (296)".<sup>1229</sup>

However, this passage was not the only one in the *Handbook* in which Scharf used the crimson pigment as an opportunity to subtly connect seventeenth-century painters to sixteenth-century Venetian masters, and in particular to Titian. For instance, Scharf was also attracted to the crimson pigment in *The Rainbow Landscape* by Rubens that had been purchased only a few months earlier by the 4th Marquis of Hertford, which he loaned to the 1857 show.<sup>1230</sup> However, it should be noted that crimson was the final stage of a connoisseurly climax that Scharf created for his *Handbook*'s expert and general readers, to educate them to notice not only the stylistic but also the technical influences that some Old Masters casted to other painters—and schools of painting—across countries and centuries. Scharf, indeed, did not limit himself to quoting from Buchanan's *Memoirs* the passage<sup>1231</sup> by Rubens in which the painter had described his own technique: "'Begin', Rubens says, 'by painting in your shadows lightly, taking particular care that no white is suffered to glide into them; it is the poison of a picture, except in the lights. If once your shadows are corrupted by the introduction of this baneful colour, your tones will no more be warm and transparent, but heavy and leady. It is not the same in the lights; they may be loaded with colour as much as you may think proper; provided the tones are kept pure, you are sure to succeed in placing each tint in its place, and afterwards, by a light blending with the brush or pencil, melting them into each other without tormenting them; and on this preparation may be given those decided touches which are always the distinguishing

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<sup>1229</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 39.

<sup>1230</sup> Peter Paul Rubens, *The Rainbow Landscape*, around 1636, oil on oak panel, 135.6 x 235 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, inv. P63 (bought in 1856 by Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford) <https://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=ExternalInterface&module=collecti&objectId=64938> (consulted 23/10/2020). Pergam 2016, p. 166.

<sup>1231</sup> Buchanan 1824, pp. 178-179.



marks of the great master.’ Rubens certainly was one who himself practised what he advised others to perform”.<sup>1232</sup>

Moreover, Scharf discussed Rubens’s working method as well as his rather anti-Impressionist (and ahead of its time) juxtaposition of tints and nuances that can be clearly read and appreciated only at a close distance: “the painting may be regarded at best as a magnificent sketch. It cannot quite be called scene-painting, because some parts of it are minutely finished; those parts indeed which at a distance would produce no effect at all. It seems, then, as if the mighty painter had designed the picture at once on the panel, with the intention of finishing up each part in succession”.<sup>1233</sup>

In addition, Scharf began to lead readers’ attention to focus on the Hertford painting’s state of conservation, mentioning how the polluted atmosphere of the Pall Mall and Trafalgar Square’s crowded and smoky rooms<sup>1234</sup> had already damaged the Manchester painting’s companion picture: *An Autumn Landscape with a View of Het Steen in the Early Morning*. This painting had been bequeathed to the National Gallery in the 1820s by Sir George Beaumont (1753–1857): “a large landscape, known as the *Landscape after a Shower*, presented by Sir George Beaumont, to which the one before us is the companion picture. The difference in the condition of the two last is very striking. The one in London is dark and dingy, spoiled in fact by the sooty and ill-ventilated apartments in which it is hung, whilst the *Rainbow Landscape* before us is as clear as when first painted. It has never been subjected to a pernicious atmosphere, and many of

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<sup>1232</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 75.

<sup>1233</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 75.

<sup>1234</sup> Peter Paul Rubens, *An Autumn Landscape with a View of Het Steen in the Early Morning*, probably 1626, oil on oak panel, 131.2 x 229.2 cm, London, National Gallery, inv. NG66 (Beaumont Bequest, 1823–8) (consulted 11/10/2020) <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/peter-paul-rubens-a-view-of-het-steen-in-the-early-morning>.

its deep browns correspond exactly with the tint. of the brightest spots on the picture now deposited in London.”<sup>1235</sup>

Crimson, in fact, was used by Scharf to detail to the *Handbook*'s readers how Rubens had emulated—like many late-Renaissance Flemish artists before him—Titian's taste for coloured shadows and *sprezzatura*, a virtuosic will to leave the canvas with no visible pigment upon it except its transparent yet coloured preparation: “[Rubens's] system of transparent or glazed shadows, with opaque white lights, is nowhere more strikingly seen than in the *Rainbow Landscape*. The same process was adopted by Teniers, and, indeed, by most of the Flemish painters after the time of Quentin Matsys. No one was a greater economist of labour, or more cheerfully prodigal of it when really necessary, than Rubens. In this *Rainbow Landscape* many parts of the bare ground of the panel, with a pale brown tint washed over it, may be detected by the vigilant eye; but so perfectly does the tint afford that which was required at the very spot, and so thoroughly does it harmonise with the rest, that few would suspect the painter to have dispensed with labour altogether. The landscape in the National Gallery fully equals this picture in boldness of touch, and in some parts is even of coarser workmanship: but the general harmony of colour has been better preserved”.

To conclude his description of the Rubens masterpiece exhibited in Manchester, Scharf mentioned crimson to make the readers fully understand a central element of the complex interaction between technique, aging, and pollution that had all affected the painting. Despite its excellent preservation, some pigments, indeed, had changed because of time and oxidation: “Unfortunately for Rubens, the colours in the *Rainbow Landscape* have changed; the blue has become black, the pale crimson has disappeared, and a mellowing tint which covered the strong blue of the distant hills has fled, leaving a very

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<sup>1235</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 75.

raw and disagreeable effect all over that part of the picture”. However, in the end Scharf encouraged his *Handbook* readers not be bogged down by technical issues because the perished Hertford crimson’s case study was unique: “But we must leave technicalities and hasten on to other pictures”.<sup>1236</sup>

Scharf turned to crimson once more when describing the *Adoration of the Shepherds* by the Spanish painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618–1682). This piece had been loaned to the Manchester show by the Marquis of Hertford and is still one of the gems of the Wallace collection today.<sup>1237</sup> Scharf had analysed the painting on 22 November 1856, at Manchester House in London.<sup>1238</sup> Some months later, he relied on crimson to make *Handbook* readers subtly but visibly understand Murillo’s great ability to absorb, internalise, and elaborate the visual heritage provided by the Titian paintings as well as other Old Masters of the Venetian and other Italian schools that Murillo had the chance to admire in Spain: “Some of Murillo's works in this gallery have excited a great amount of attention from the days of Irvine and Buchanan, when they were removed from the convent of the Capuchins at Genoa. The first, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1), is by far the most striking at first sight. It is perfectly Italian. The central group, the naked infant surrounded with white, and the crimson dress and face of the Virgin, quite resemble the treatment of Titian. The shepherds seem the models of old Palma; and the folds of drapery on the figure of Joseph are grander and more classical than in any other work of the same painter that presents itself in England”.<sup>1239</sup> Scharf did not write at length

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<sup>1236</sup> Scharf 1857, d, pp. 74-76.

<sup>1237</sup> Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1665-1670, oil on canvas, 146.7 x 218.4 cm, London, The Wallace Collection, inv. P34 (bought in 1846 by Theobald for Richard Seymour-Conway, 4th Marquess of Hertford) [https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-adoration-of-the-shepherds-209355/view\\_as/grid/search/keyword:murillo-shepherds/page/1](https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/the-adoration-of-the-shepherds-209355/view_as/grid/search/keyword:murillo-shepherds/page/1) (consulted 07/10/2020). Pergam 2016, 290, cat. H1.

<sup>1238</sup> MS, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 44, page 75, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_52\_38 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw285603/Scharf-Sketchbook-44-page-75-76?> (consulted 10/11/2020).

<sup>1239</sup> Scharf 1857, d, p. 81.

about the compositional and stylistic inventions by Bonifazio Veronese, Jacopo Bassano, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael and Giulio Romano that Murillo was able to quote and rework in the Hertford painting. However, spanning from composition to technique and style, the subtle unmentioned heritage resounding in the *Handbook*'s passage on the Wallace *Adoration* could be fully visualised by its readers when they approached the numerous high-quality Italian and Spanish works of art put on display at Manchester.

The use of the crimson pigment was also often noted by Scharf in relation to many paintings of the Dutch Golden Age. This pigment captured Scharf's attention not just as a marker of Titian's technical or stylistic heritage—and Venetian and Italian heritage to a broader extent—but as a connoisseurly means of distinguishing Rembrandt's followers from their master. For instance, at the Manchester show, he thoroughly analysed a canvas that had been loaned by the Reverend Alfred Nathaniel Holden Curzon (1831–1916), 4th Baron Scarsdale, who used to keep it at Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, where it is still placed. That painting is *Daniel Before Nebuchadnezzar* (Fig. 19).<sup>1240</sup> As noted by Pergam, the authorship of this piece divided the experts at the 1857 exhibition, who also disagreed on its market evaluation and technical features. The still-unidentified *Times* critic was convinced that it was by Rembrandt owing to the “skill involved in the rendering” of the huge pearl in the background.<sup>1241</sup> Waagen, however, assigned it to Salomon Koninck, considering it his masterpiece.<sup>1242</sup> Cavalcaselle, too, seemed to agree with Waagen when he took some notes on his personal copy of the *Provisional Catalogue*.<sup>1243</sup> Thoré-Bürger took a middle stance, stating that the original composition of the canvas was by

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<sup>1240</sup> Salomon Koninck, *Daniel Before Nebuchadnezzar*, oil on canvas, 165 x 165 cm (65 x 65 in.), Kedleston Hall, Derbyshire, National Trust, inv. NT 108892 (acquired by the National Trust in 1987) <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/108892> (consulted 23/01/2019). Pergam 2016, 263, cat. 691.

<sup>1241</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 171-172.

<sup>1242</sup> Waagen 1854, Volume 3, p. 391. Waagen 1857, p. 27, cat. 691.

<sup>1243</sup> MS, Marciana. Cod. It. IV, 2033 (=12274), Fascicolo XVI, p. 54.

Rembrandt without, however, excluding Koninck’s intervention: “[...] étrange et superbe composition, qui pourrait bien être de Salomon Koninck, ainsi que l’a jugé M.[onsieur] Waagen, mais qui est de la force de Rembrandt lui-même, comme entente de la lumière et comme expression, si les types s’écartent un peu de son style en l’exagérant. Tenons-nous-en au *Nabuchodonosor* qui porte le nom de Rembrandt. Salomon Koninck, tel qu’on le voit en Hollande, où il est d’ailleurs très-rare, est toujours un artiste au-dessus du vulgaire” “[...] strange and superb composition, which could very well be by Salomon Koninck, as M[iste]r. Waagen has judged, but which has been made of of the strength of Rembrandt himself, as regards light and as expression, even though the types deviate a little, in terms of exaggeration, from his style. Let’s keep the *Nebuchadnezzar* under the name of Rembrandt. Salomon Koninck, as it has been seen in Holland, where he is indeed very rare, is always an artist above the vulgar.”]<sup>1244</sup>

Scharf, on the contrary, attributed the canvas to Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621–1674) with a fair degree of confidence. On 20 September 1857, in Manchester, he took some very detailed notes that were “written in twilight when some of the colours had perhaps / become less distinct”.<sup>1245</sup> In spite of this inconvenience, he focused on the “pure crimson” of the “velvet” texture of the “cloak” of the “man standing behind Daniel”: He added: “Daniel in amber colour with red-brown hair - with red shoes - / Nebuchad.[nezzar] in pale gold ~~broken~~ rough surfaced mantle”.<sup>1246</sup> Moreover, Scharf noted how, in some sections of the painting such as the judge’s writing desk, which is covered by an intense dark blue tablecloth, the painting’s author had used, a combination

<sup>1244</sup> Venice Thoré 1857, pp. 238 and 253.

<sup>1245</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, pp. 38 verso and 39 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_39. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282631/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-39?set=631%3BScharf+Sketchbook+47%2C+1857&wPage=1&search=ap&rNo=38> (consulted 22/11/2020).

<sup>1246</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, pp. 38 verso and 39 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_39. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282631/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-39?set=631%3BScharf+Sketchbook+47%2C+1857&wPage=1&search=ap&rNo=38> (consulted 22/11/2020).

of Titianesque and Nordic *sprezzatura* with a taste for coloured shadows in place of pigments and glazing, in the style of Rembrandt and other Dutch artists of the seventeenth century: “from table comes indigo blue”. He finally added: “Old man at ~~ba~~[se] table black turban and mantle - / The cloth covering steps a pale dull yellow green / drapery below & behind the great pearl & pale indigo satin - / Old man seated between Nebu.[chadnezzar] and Dan.[ie]<sup>1</sup> blue velvet dress & pale gold / Large curtain of throne indigo blue velvet - / Mantle of figure at extreme left above man at table gold rough surface - / The book held by the figure next to him very yellow - / The distant architecture yellow grey”.<sup>1247</sup>

It should be noted that at the 1857 show, Scharf was also attracted by the “deep crimson”<sup>1248</sup> tone of the sitter’s brim<sup>1249</sup> in another *Male Portrait* that had been loaned by John Howard Galton (1794–1862). This piece is now in the National Gallery of Ireland in Dublin and attributed to Willem Drost (1633–1659). This crimson detail, most likely, provided Scharf with the certainty to confirm the attribution of this painting to Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout.<sup>1250</sup>

For Scharf, therefore, crimson was a useful tool to encourage the *Guardian Handbook*’s readers to subconsciously shed light on the sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century art market’s demands, as well as on the technical interactions

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<sup>1247</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 47, pp. 38 verso and 39 recto, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_57\_39. <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw282631/Scharf-Sketchbook-47-page-39?set=631%3BScharf+Sketchbook+47%2C+1857&wPage=1&search=ap&rNo=38> (consulted 22/11/2020).

<sup>1248</sup> MS, London, NPG, Scharf Sketchbook 46, page 5, inv. NPG 7\_3\_4\_2\_54\_03 <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw280974/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-5-6?set=630%3BScharf+Sketchbook+46%2C+1857&search=ap&rNo=2> (consulted 22/11/2020).

<sup>1249</sup> <https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw280974/Scharf-Sketchbook-46-page-5-6?set=630%3BScharf+Sketchbook+46%2C+1857&search=ap&rNo=2> (consulted 25/10/2020).

<sup>1250</sup> Willem Drost, *Man Wearing a Large-Brimmed Hat*, 1654 circa, oil on canvas, 73.1 x 62 cm Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland, inv. NGI.107 (purchased in 1889) <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/858/bust-of-a-man-wearing-a-largebrimmed-hat?ctx=5e2131c1-811b-446d-9fad-c2a88654549a&idx=0> (consulted 23/10/2020). Pergam 2016 pp. 172 and 302 cat. 676.

between rival contemporary masters of the same school or within painters of different schools and ages. Scharf's attraction towards crimson empirically provided him with the means to attempt to educate the Manchester show's visitors and experts on how a specific technical aspect (for instance the use of a pigment) could increase the critical and market fortune of an Old Master, and how an Old Master's innovative and successful technique or material was copied, implemented and enhanced by competitors and followers—whether or not in the same era and artistic centre. While he was only at an early stage of his career, Scharf's aesthetical preferences at Manchester helped to pave the way for Art History, History of the Art Market and Visual Culture.

## 4.11 Conclusion

To sum, Scharf's connoisseurial interests and technical skills at the 1857 show have affected, as much as Cavalcaselle's Manchester critical remarks, not only the provenance research but also the history of the European Renaissance schools and the connoisseurship of Italian and Northern Old Masters. Moreover, the absence of some specific works from the Manchester show prevented connoisseur from focusing on some remarkable compositional, stylistic and iconographic connections between the Italian and Northern European painters and engravers of the Renaissance.



## Epilogue

In Chapter One I have highlighted the refined technical level of Waagen's pre-Manchester connoisseurship, as well as his uncommon knowledge of Schiavone's style and technique. On the other hand, I have stressed how Cavalcaselle's expertise at Liverpool in 1850 paved the way to his post-Manchester rivalry with Waagen. Finally, I have indicated how, thanks to his visits to the British Institution's 1850s exhibitions of Old Masters, Cavalcaselle profoundly refined his connoisseurship.

In Chapter Two, I have demonstrated that Cavalcaselle assisted – in a private and unofficial way – Scharf in the cataloguing and attributional tasks related to Scharf's drafting of both the show's *Definitive Catalogue* and *Handbook*. Moreover, I have assessed how Cavalcaselle and Scharf mutually influenced their sketching techniques during the 1857 show. On one hand, Cavalcaselle was inspired by Scharf's skill in relation to the sketching rendering of the texture and the shading elements in Old Master, and particular late-Quattrocento, pictures. Scharf, on the other hand, enhanced the connoisseurial features of his sketches, passing from aesthetic *ricordi* to proper connoisseurial graphic studies of the Manchester pictures.

In Chapter Three, I have assessed the reasons and the development of the post-Manchester rivalry that opposed Waagen to Cavalcaselle and Crowe and that affected these experts' curatorial and editorial opportunities, as well as their professional network, until at least Waagen's death in 1868. In addition, I have examined how Cavalcaselle and

Crowe mutually influenced their sketches techniques after the Manchester show, especially in Padua between the late 1850s and 1860s.

In Chapter Four, I have examined how profoundly Scharf's selection of the works to display at Manchester and Cavalcaselle's Manchester expertise have affected, until today, not only connoisseurs but also art historians. Noticeably, I have used the *Manchester Madonna* and Bellini's *Saint Francis*, to highlight the critical accomplishments and the missed research paths that have originated from the 'Art Treasures' exhibition.

In conclusion, it is necessary to highlight that, since the 1857 show, connoisseurship and History of Art have reduced their methodological distance but have not blended in a single discipline.<sup>1251</sup> On the contrary, at the Manchester exhibition Scharf performed a temporary fusion between a Hegelian approach to *Zeitgeist* and *Volkgeist*,<sup>1252</sup> and von Rumohr's method, embodied at the Art Treasures Palace by both Waagen and Cavalcaselle's focus on a single artist's individuality and his historical and cultural *milieu*.<sup>1253</sup> Scharf's Manchester combined account of both national and local schools of painting, so, would affect connoisseurship, as well as art historiography and History of Art.

The Manchester exhibition's double approach to manner and spirit of the time, indeed, encouraged Cavalcaselle - and his sponsors - to produce a new edition of Vasari's *Lives*,<sup>1254</sup> and then, in collaboration with Crowe, the *New History of Painting in Italy* and

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<sup>1251</sup> Hatt. Klonk, p. 5.

<sup>1252</sup> Pergam 2016, pp. 94 and 99.

<sup>1253</sup> Hatt. Klonk, p. 50.

<sup>1254</sup> Levi 1988, pp. 77-83.

the *History of Painting in North Italy*.<sup>1255</sup> Noticeably, these works by Crowe and Cavalcaselle have been often included within the milestone of the “historiography of Italian Renaissance painting”,<sup>1256</sup> but can be seen as well as “the first comprehensive connoisseurial study of Italian paintings from the second to the sixteenth century”.<sup>1257</sup> Thanks to Scharf’s Manchester combined attention to national and local schools, so, Cavalcaselle enhanced his connoisseurial approach in his and Crowe’s biographical and art-historical works.<sup>1258</sup>

On the other hand, Scharf’s focus on both national and local schools at Manchester paved the way to the post-Manchester success of Morelli’s method, based on the study of both the “visual forms” of each artist’s individuality and the “regional differences” between the Italian Renaissance schools.<sup>1259</sup>

In conclusion, so, this thesis has highlighted that, in spite of the general belief, connoisseurship has never been a sort of attributional gossip: As Ekserdjian noted, indeed: “the point of best connoisseurship [...]” is “[...] not simply to engage in solid but arid taxonomic classification, but to bring great works of art out of the darkness of anonymity or error and to bring them into the light”.<sup>1260</sup> Only out of darkness, in fact, good-quality or critically-noteworthy works of art can be assessed by art historians, photography historians, dealers, collectors, curators, visual and gender scholars and critics. Connoisseurship, so, has always been at service of our general approach to artists and societies very far in terms of time, space, and cultural, political and religious values.

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<sup>1255</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1864. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1866. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871.

<sup>1256</sup> Uglow 2017, p 25.

<sup>1257</sup> Hatt, Klöckl 2006, p. 49.

<sup>1258</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1872. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1877. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1882. Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1884.

<sup>1259</sup> Hatt, Klöckl 2006, pp. 48-56. Anderson 1992. Anderson 1993.

<sup>1260</sup> Ekserdjian 2018, p. 59.

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