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**Austen Henry Layard  
collector and amateur**

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Century Europe

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# Preface

A history of Layard as an art collector has been partly written in the last five decades. My intention has been to provide a comprehensive, and hopefully clear, survey of his behaviour towards Art, since his first publications to the last purchases. I conducted much of my research on unpublished primary sources of international scope, as well as on secondary literature with which is placed within larger conversation, and I hope the authors concerned will show forbearance and accept my warmest thanks. My focus has been primarily on artistic issues; however, I have tried to weave together economic, historical and diplomatic matters and look at how they influenced the development of the events.

A number of people have been kind enough to look at drafts of this thesis and discuss with me about Layard. My thanks go to Professor Martina Frank, Guido Vittorio Zucconi, and Emanuele Pellegrini, who have supervised my work in these years. I have been exceptionally fortunate in having the scholarly advice of Professor Donata Levi and Paul Tucker, who read the entire thesis and offered perceptive comments.

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I have benefited greatly from conversations with Dr Jeremy Warren, Professor Jaynie Anderson, John Curtis, Andrew George, and Lucio Milano, who also took part to the international conference *Rethinking Layard 1817-2017* (Venice, 5-6

March 2018), which Dr Stefania Ermidoro and I have organised with the generous support of the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti and the Doctoral School in History of Arts of Università Ca' Foscari Venezia. To Dr Ermidoro, who shared her new discoveries in the Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University, I am enormously indebted.

To Professor Adriana Turpin, Susan Bracken, the fellows of the Society of the History of Collecting, and Suzanne Higgott, I am additionally grateful for discussing with me certain aspects of Layard's collecting activity.

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I owe a great debt of gratitude to the helpful staff of Ca' Capello, the Department of Manuscript of the British Library, the National Art Library, the National Gallery Research Centre, in particular to Alan Crookham and Richard Wragg for their patience and support.

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I am delighted to record my profound gratitude to my family and to Alessandro, who constantly encouraged and supported me during these years.

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Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Roma

Archivio Storico Municipale della Celestia, Venice

Biblioteca Correr, Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia

Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro, Venezia

Biblioteca della Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna, Rome

Biblioteca della Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio storico, artistico ed etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e della Gronda lagunare

Bodleian Library, Oxford

British Museum, London

British Library, London

Centro Archivistico della Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

Francesco Basaldella, Venezia

Fundación Rodr.guez -Acosta, Granada

Istituto di Ricovero e Educazione, Venezia

John Murray Archive, Edinburgh

Museo de Bellas Artes, Granada - Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte

Museo del Vetro di Murano, Venezia

National Archives, Kew

National Art Library, London

National Gallery, London

National Library of Ireland

National Portrait Gallery  
Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague  
Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University  
Royal Institute of British Architecture  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin  
Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest  
Victoria and Albert Museum.



## List of abbreviations

ACS	Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome
ANVe	Archivio Notarile di Venezia
ASAC	Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee della Biennale di Venezia
ASABBAA	Archivio Storico della Accademia di Belle Arti di Venezia
ASMVe	Archivio Storico Municipale di Venezia
ASMC	Archivio Storico del Museo Correr, Venezia
ASVe	Archivio di Stato di Venezia
AMV	Archivio del Museo del Vetro, Venezia
BH	Victoria & Albert Museum Archive, Blythe House, London
BIF	British Institute of Florence
BL	British Library, London
BM	British Museum, London
BNM	Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venezia
BOL	Bodleian Library, Oxford

BPMSL	Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro, Venezia
BSPMV	Biblioteca della Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio storico, artistico ed etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Venezia e della Gronda lagunare
BU	Baylor University, Texas
LLJ	Lady Layard's Journal, Armstrong Baylor University, Texas
NA	National Archives, Kew
NAL	National Art Library, London
NGA	National Gallery Archive, London
NLS	National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
PRL	Philip Robinson Library, Newcastle University
RA	Royal Archives, Windsor
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architecture, London
SBB	Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin
SNS	Centro Archivistico della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa

# Introduction

Sir Austen Henry Layard (Paris, 1817 – London, 1894) had many of the essential qualities of the collector: a good balance of enthusiasm, a critical faculty, and an enlightened spirit of generosity. At his death (5 July 1894), he left a collection of more than a thousand items. With versatile interests and always on the move, Layard purchased a great variety of fine and decorative arts; ranging from Cypriot pottery to Renaissance paintings, from Spanish religious metalwork to beautiful examples of Armenian manuscripts. By challenging the fluidity of the concept of a collection, this thesis will demonstrate how such an accretion, while not styled as a collection, yet appeared distinct from mere furnishings and was regarded as an interplay of works of art in their own right. The Old Master gallery was, doubtless, one of the most interesting and advertised in Venice in the late XIX century. However, despite its importance, illustrated by its recognition by various scholars and the number of contributions in which it is cited, the Layard collection has not sustained a focused attention and still lacks an overall investigation on the whole.

Layard's memory and reputation are mainly connected to his archaeological enterprises at Nineveh and Nimrud. In fact, he occupied a prominent position in the Victorian culture, being "a man of parts, with a finger in many pies",<sup>1</sup> as literature has well demonstrated.

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<sup>1</sup> Davis 1971, 23. See also Bruce 1903, Waterfield 1963, and Fales, Hickey 1987.

Compared to the abundance of studies on his archaeological achievements, which still continues to be significant, Layard's political and diplomatic career has been less explored.<sup>2</sup> Since Arthur Otway's chapter on Layard's Parliamentary career, within Sir Henry's autobiography (1903), studies have been enriched by Gordon Waterfield (1963), Kenneth Bourne and Ashley Clarke (1987). A noteworthy contribution has been given by Jonathan Parry, both in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (2004) and in a more recent paper (2018). Sinan Kunalp's edition of Layard's memoirs at Constantinople (2009) offers an interesting view of his diplomatic mission in 1877-1880; whilst John Fleming (1973, 1979) and Saho Matsumoto-Best (2008) have explored some interesting episodes concerning diplomacy and art dealing during the nineteenth century.

This extensive body of literature serves to throw into sharper relief another main issue of interest for Layard; namely, art and its multifarious aspects, as showed by Jaynie Anderson's *The political power of connoisseurship* (1996a). In particular, Layard's involvement in domestic politics led him to serve as First Commissioner of Works in 1868 and to play a great part in the British art administration. These aspects have been widely illustrated by Dorothy Anne Simmons in her doctoral thesis (2000), devoted to Layard's relationship with the British art world between 1850 and 1870. This, along with the biographies written by Susanna Avery-Quash (2003) and Nicholas Penny (2004), represents the most comprehensive and acute analysis of Layard as a collector and an art scholar. Previous contributions, such as those by Frank Davis (1963), John Steegman (1950) and Denys Sutton (1985), have surveyed the Layard collection solely as an aspect of British collecting.

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<sup>2</sup> In the obituary appeared on the *Athenaeum* it was stated: «For whom Layard the politician hardly exists, whilst Layard in a British embassy, always somewhat incongruous phenomenon, is fast fading away among the distant nebulae of diplomatic history». *Athenaeum* 1894, 66.

Meanwhile, Tanya Ledger (1978) and Lucina Ward (2016) have, instead, fully considered Layard's guidance of the Arundel Society and his fundamental role in encouraging the society's educational mission and in attaining an extraordinary success. Parallel to Layard's engagement with the Arundel Society was his support to Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle in publishing the *History of Painting in Italy*, perceptively clarified by Donata Levi (1988).

Great emphasis has been given to Layard's friendship with the Italian art critic Giovanni Morelli, particularly within essays by Madeleine Lennon (1987, 1993) and Jaynie Anderson (1987, 1994, 1996a, 2004), as well as Luke Uglow's paper on the Morellian method (2014). Morelli's influence on Layard's choice of acquisitions was significant, most notably of Lombard masters, both for the National Gallery and his personal collection, as Luisa Mazzucchelli (1998) has highlighted. The rich and abundant correspondence between Layard and Morelli, which spans from 1863 to 1891, is yet to be published, but an edition should be forthcoming. Hopefully, it will offer insight into both the nature of their professional and personal relationship, and the range of topics they discussed. However, it must be noted that their correspondence cannot be considered in isolation, but rather within the context of a much larger network that exercised influence over the nineteenth-century art world.

Layard's role as a collector has been partially analysed in Favaretto's paper (1987) and in the appendices by Martin Davies (1961) and by Nicholas Penny (2004). Layard's purchases have been acknowledged in the National Gallery catalogues, as well as in those of dispersed eighteenth-century collections, including the Costabili and Lochis. Specific studies on Layard's Old Masters have been discussed for by Dillian Gordon (2003), which deserves credit for the analysis of fifteenth-century Italian paintings, as well as Nicholas Penny's analysis of North

Italian sixteenth-century masters (2004). The latter and Giorgia Mancini (2016) have recently re-examined the Ferrarese masters within the Layard collection, previously tackled by Jaynie Anderson in *The Burlington Magazine* (1993).

Judy Rudoë (1983, 1987, 1991, 2003), in turn, has concentrated on Layard's patronage of the metalworker Antonio Cortelazzo (Vicenza, 1819-1903) and his relationship with the jeweller and collector Alessandro Castellani (Rome, 1823 – Naples, 1883). Rosella Mamoli Zorzi (2010, 2016) has explored the Layards' sociability and their interest for Venetian craftsmanship, through the lens of Lady Layard's journal.

Beyond the artworks now housed in museums, there has been little scholarship on the remainder of the collection and indeed on its composition itself. Works by Joan de Joanes, once in Layard's collection, have been discovered by Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño (1950) and Nigel Glendinning (1989), and more recently Luca Giacomelli (2011) identified another unknown artwork, that had been exchanged with Marchese Emanuele Taparelli d'Azeglio, but presently untraced. Meanwhile, Favaretto (1987) unearthed a number of items, namely, a geographical map donated to the Archivio di Stato of Venice, five Spanish combs and an illuminated Armenian manuscript to the Correr Museum, though without providing any further information. Except from short notices within the institutional history of museums or an object-based angle, i.e. Clive Wainwright (2002), Marjorie Trusted (2006), David Whitehead (2005), and Jonathan Conlin (2005), a comprehensive study either on the whole Layard collection, or on his association to the London museums is still wanting.

I have decided to consider Layard and his art within a broader context, in order to gain a better understanding of how he put his artistic knowledge into practice, also thanks to the many roles played and the networks he built.

A first result in this regard has been attained through a two-day conference entirely devoted to Henry Layard, which I have organised in collaboration with Stefania Ermidoro at the Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in March 2018. The occasion, kindly supported by Ca' Foscari Doctoral School in History of Arts and by the Istituto Veneto itself, allowed us not only to commemorate the recent bicentenary of his birth (1817-2017), but also encouraged scholarly debate which resulted in a reconsideration of the significant role that Layard played in nineteenth-century Europe. This followed a perspective akin to that espoused by Frederick M. Fales and Bernard J. Hickey in 1983, when they first organised a conference on Layard. By surveying his multifaceted activities encompassing archaeology, politics, diplomacy, public museum's administration, glass manufactory, as well as music, this recent initiative has sought to reposition Layard within a shifting frame of reference and produced new interesting results, the outcome of which is a fresh perspective that has informed this doctoral thesis.

Stemming from Nicholas Penny's seminal biography, this current dissertation considers and appraises new sources, by challenging Layard's activities in pursuit of public and private collecting, in order to assess him both as an art collector and as an amateur.

The thesis is organised into three thematic sections. The first *Trading: An Issue of Art and Diplomacy* combines a biographical outline of Layard and introduces to his art purchases through diplomatic channels, both for public institutions and privates. As well as this, it presents an analysis of his longstanding relationship with the London museums over a period of thirty years (1863-1894). The second section *In Pursuit of a Collection* is an in-depth study on the history of his private collection specifically, which will include an analysis of some lesser-explored items from this

collection: namely, glasses, tapestries, sculptures, and manuscripts. Yet it presents the display of the collection, its conservation and promotion, through written and photographic sources. The third section *Legacy and Bequests* explores the issues concerning the exportation of the *Galleria Layard*, its bequest and reception the National Gallery, as well as the eventual dispersal of the collection.

The dissertation is structured in terms of diachrony and theme, rather than chronologically, as most of the activities overlap and intertwine throughout Layard's life, whilst others form their own a narrative.

The first section dwells upon those aspects of Layard's life and character most useful in offering an insight into his views on art, collecting, and display. Therefore, his fascination with art through his club memberships and friendly exchanges with Sir Charles Lock Eastlake (Plymouth, 1793 – Pisa, 1865), Elizabeth Rigby (Norwich, 1809 – London, 1893), Giovanni Morelli (Verona, 1816 – Milan, 1891), Gustavo Frizzoni (Bergamo, 1840 – Milan, 1919), and Jean Paul Richter (Dresden, 1847 – Lugano, 1937) are particularly noteworthy. They have largely been acknowledged as a starting point, in order to understand the influence of these relationships on Layard's knowledge of art and on his reputation. The correspondence with these figures illustrates Layard's travel around Europe, always with an eye on potential acquisitions for the nation, whilst also revealing his encounters with figures of influence within the main London's institutions, specifically the South Kensington Museum, the National Gallery, and the British Museum. In fact, Layard acted as an unofficial travel agent for the acquisition of several paintings or objects for these galleries. He was well acquainted with art dealers, diplomats, museum directors, art critics, and aristocrats throughout Europe, and in particular in Italy. Such extensive networks were to serve him well in navigating the art market, evident from his



advice to the directors and trustees of London museums relating to the purchase of key acquisitions. Through his collecting, scholarship, and dealing works of art, Layard exemplifies how the connections between British and Italian curators, dealers, aristocrats and collectors, impacted the development of museums and collections into the twentieth century. Similarly, Layard used his expertise for the formation of some private collections, of which Lord Wimborne's offers the best example. Both Layard's epistolary and his wife's diaries reveal his attitude of marchand amateur, which also displays fundamental aspects of his artistic knowledge, leading to a more detailed evaluation of his tastes, strategies, and the formation of his own collection.

An appropriate complement to this enterprise was the formation of his private collection, which will be fully explored in section two. The analysis will retrace the Layard collection as a whole, extending the inventory of the objects included in it, and investigating its consumption and domestic deployment. The reduced scholarly scrutiny of Layard's wider collecting activities can perhaps be attributed to a combination of factors: namely, a scarcity of archival records on what composed the Layard collection, besides the well-known Old Masters, as well as a relative paucity of photographic evidence of the interiors of his Venetian palace, Ca' Capello. An extensive analysis surviving archival evidence, sale catalogues and literary sources testify to a taste which combined furniture, decorative art, sculptures, and paintings in an environment that echoed those of old aristocratic residences, particularly Venetian, but encompassing a broad range of styles. By supplementing all these data, it has been possible to retrace the display of Old Master widely and to put them in relation with his main collecting pursuits.

Finally, the third section focuses on the legacy and bequests of the collection. On one hand, the exportation issue of the Old Masters bequeathed to the National Gallery will be tackled thoroughly and for the first time. On the other, it will take into account the bequests to other institutions and the dispersal by means of auction sales.

To conclude, there are five appendices to the thesis (A-E). The first is a list of the honours that were bestowed upon Layard, the second is an inventory of the collection aimed at providing a clear overview of the whole. The fourth contains the most valuable documents concerning the exportation issue. A separate volume gathers 36 plates with illustrations.

The primary sources for this dissertation have been the Layard Papers, a hitherto overlooked resource, which includes a variety of documents: diaries, jotters, account books, photographs, scrapbooks, memoirs, newspaper cuttings, proof sheets, lectures, private and confidential correspondence, diplomas, honour awards, and official dispatches. It consists of two hundred ninety volumes, each ranging from 100 to 500 folios approximately (Add MS 38931-39164, 58149-58172 58174-58202, 58222-58223). This material was organised and presented by Lady Enid Layard to the British Museum in 1912. By 1974, it was transferred to the Department of Manuscripts of the British Library. It is apparent that the papers cover almost all of Layard's private and professional life, from the 1840s to 1894, and encompass his wide range of interests and social contacts. Furthermore, the volumes Add MS 46153-46170, 50149, 50182, 58173, concern Lady Layard's Journal (1861-1912) and autograph album (1881-1912) and provide a valuable supplement to his husband's archival documents. Despite the formulaic style of its entries and the abundance of trivial details, the journal offers a vivid and significant insight into the Layards' life.

This abundance of documents necessitated examination of a specific selection, chosen on the basis of the period and the matters investigated, particularly correspondence between Layard and museum directors, such as Henry Cole, Charles L. Eastlake, William Boxall, Frederic William Burton, George Scharf, Henry Doyle, Wilhelm von Bode etc. The most significant and untapped material has been transcribed and attached in appendices, much of it hitherto neglected by scholarly examination. Much of these valuable exchanges have been traced as far as complete, and combine both sides of the correspondence where extant. Deficiencies in this regard have been compensated for by the juxtaposition of supplementary documents, such as receipts, for example, in the case of the loan the collection to the National Gallery of Ireland (1871-1876). The museum's archive has not retained a record of this, either in the Minute books of the Board (1865-1873; 1873-1915), or in the Loan book (1857-1922).

The letters exchanged with Lady Eastlake (1856-1893) – deposited in the John Murray Archive, at the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh – have also been examined and employed as principal sources. Julie Sheldon (2009) published the vast majority of those addressed to the Layards, yet several remain unedited.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, I have investigated Layard's correspondence with Sir William Henry Gregory (1860-1891), held in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. This collection of letters, which spans over thirty years, forms the subject of both sections, representing not only a remarkable source for the study of the management of the National Gallery and nineteenth-century European art market, but also for historiography, history of taste, and of collecting. Given its friendly and confidential tone, it provides valuable

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<sup>3</sup> As Julie Sheldon has observed (2009, 26, n. 84), the correspondence between Layard and Lady Eastlake is held at the John Murray Archive as Alice Du Cane, Lady Enid's niece and heir, married Alexander Henry Hallam Murray in 1885.

insights into Layard's private life, as well as the purchase and display of his collection. Furthermore, it can be regarded as an interesting window of the times for the political events that it also details.

Layard's commitment to the South Kensington Museum has been mainly explored through his nominal files kept both at Blythe House and in the National Art Library, supplemented by an assessment of hitherto unexplored letters by Henry Cole, Juan Facundo Riaño, John Charles Robinson, and Thomas Armstrong.

In order to gain a more detailed understanding of his trusteeship at the National Gallery, I made extensive use of the documents held at the Research Centre of the National Gallery; notably, the Layard's acquisition file, Boxall Papers, Wornum Papers, minutes of the board meetings, annual reports, letter books, letters to the National Gallery, paymaster general's books, miscellaneous papers, press cuttings, acquisition files, and dossiers. I have also considered secondary printed sources, such as Layard's articles appeared on the *Quarterly Review* and *Murray's Magazine*.

Information pertaining to private purchases can be gleaned from Layard's private correspondence, as well as material at source. Provenance and circulation methodology (Joyeux-Prunel 2017) have been taken into account and used as the primary lens of analysis of the channels and networks that regulate the art market.

Henry and Enid Layard's correspondence has been an invaluable source for the reconstruction of the collection and its display, but also exhibition and auction catalogues, manuscript inventories, a typewritten catalogue, as well as that rich mine that is Lady Layard's journal. All the extant visual documentation showing the interiors of Ca' Capello Layard has been included and integrated with an album of drawings by Lady Augusta Gregory, kept at National Library of Ireland, partly unavailable due to a redevelopment project the Library is undergoing.

By surveying Adolfo Venturi's archival collection at the Scuola Normale Superiore of Pisa and several photographic archives, it has been possible to outline the developments of the illustrated catalogue commissioned to him by Lady Layard. In addition, Francesca Mambelli's article (2014) on black and white photographs has been a valuable starting point to articulate the chapter.

The exportation of the Italian Renaissance paintings that Layard bequeathed to the National Gallery has been, for the first time, entirely retraced and examined on both sides. It, therefore, fills a significant gap in the collection's history and gives a clear answer to one of the main questions raised by Irene Favaretto (1987), namely, why his painting collection is in London and how it was possible to export it. The chapter offers a new perspective on general information presented by Simmons (2000), Penny (2004), and Matsumoto-Best (2008). Crookham (2015) in his paper touched upon the question, but without examining in depth. To this end, a collection of new documents has been gathered at the Foreign Office (The National Archives, Kew), the India Office Records and Private Papers at the British Library, London, in the National Gallery Research Centre, London, in the Correr Museum archive (Venice), in the Archive of the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna of Rome and especially in the Archivio Centrale di Stato (Rome). This material has been later merged with his will and testament – that had never been used before – reports and parliamentary papers, newspaper cuttings, and magazine articles of the time, in order to outline an extensive framework of diplomatic and legislative circumstances, as well as to provide an insight into contemporaneous response to the events.

Finally, a new family archival collection is now being catalogued at the Philip Robinson Library (Newcastle University), but thanks to kind concession I have been able to examine part of it.

## I. Trading: An Issue of Art and Diplomacy

# 1. Notes for a biography

Far from producing a mere biography of such a well-known character, this digest of the life of Austen Henry Layard intends to dwell upon the forming influences of his taste for art and his early contacts with the art world. As it has been commented, “the record of his career may be understood from an enumeration of the official posts filled and honours received”.<sup>1</sup> A list of the many national and international honours and awards received during his lifetime has been thus provided in Appendix A. These many accolades should not, however, prevent us from considering “the heart in its meaty material state [besides] the metaphorical heart”,<sup>2</sup> since both concurred in animating Layard’s life. The challenges that he confronted and the methods devised to meet them could not be understood without some awareness of his personality.

## 1.1 “A polyglot career of cosmopolitan adventure”

Born in Paris on 5 March 1817, Layard started travelling extensively in his early years due to his father’s ill health. His family, expats of Huguenot origins – Henry Peter John Layard (d. 1834), formerly of the Ceylon Civil Service, and Marianne Austen (Ramsgate, 17\*\* – London, 1879) – mingled on the fringes of Anglo-Italian

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<sup>1</sup> Goldsmid 1894, 372.

<sup>2</sup> Kathryn Hughes has recently published an interesting up close and personal view on some famous Victorian figures. See Kathryn Hughes, *Victorians undone, Tales of the flesh in the age of decorum* (London: Forth Estate, 2017).

intellectuals in Florence (such as Seymour Stocker Kirkup, Walter Savage Landor),<sup>3</sup> while residing at the first floor of Palazzo Rucellai for almost eight years. Certainly, these years allowed the young Henry to absorb a wide education and a certain worldview, and “for such general knowledge [...] and for the development of a taste for Literature and the Arts”<sup>4</sup> he would later recognise to be deeply grateful to his father. At the age of twelve he moved with his father and his brother Frederick to London, where he was educated in legal subjects under the guidance of his maternal uncle, Benjamin Austen (1789-1861).<sup>5</sup>

By January 1834, his uncle took Henry Layard “as his articled clerk to be taught the Practice of an Attorney and Solicitor”<sup>6</sup> and in June 1839 he was admitted and enrolled “as attorney in the courts of her majesty of Queen’s Bench at Westminster”.<sup>7</sup> At a time when social ascent was easier in the territories of the Empire, he trained to obtain a legal profession in Ceylon, but a fascination with the Middle East and the desire for an adventurous life prevailed (**Plate 1, Figures 1, 2**). Indeed, “Layard grew up a Romantic, desperate for fame and exotic experiences, and contemptuous of English professional mores”.<sup>8</sup>

During his overland journey to Ceylon in company of Edward Mitford, Layard spared no occasion to travel through the Ottoman Empire, lingering in Constantinople, Jerusalem, Petra, and southern Caucasus, in part with the excuse of

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<sup>3</sup> On these two figures, see Paolini 2013, 76-80.

<sup>4</sup> Layard 1903, 26. On the well-known predilection of Anglo-American community for Florence, see Bossi, Tonini 1989; Fantoni 2000; Ciacci 2004; Cenni, Di Blasio 2012; Paolini 2013; Tucker 2018 to name just a few.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Layard 1903, 36-38.

<sup>6</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXV, Add MS 39055, fol. 3: Articles of agreement, London, 4 January 1834.

<sup>7</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXV, Add MS 39055, fol. 6: Admission and enrolment, 10 June 1839.

<sup>8</sup> Parry 2004.



researching the terrain for the Royal Geographical Society.<sup>9</sup> This long sojourn in the Middle East and the successful archaeological excavations at Nineveh and Nimrud (1845-1851) provided him with enough knowledge and expertise both in political and archaeological matters that cemented his scholarly reputation, as it would be commented on his death “Layard seemed cut out for a polyglot career of cosmopolitan adventure”.<sup>10</sup>

In his boyhood, and still later on, Layard enjoyed wide-ranging interests included poetry, music, and going to theatres. One of his early ledgers shows several notes reporting the expenditure for theatre tickets, the purchase of books, and of course flowers and restaurants for gallant occasions.

On his return to England (1851), he made “arrangements for entering Parliament”<sup>11</sup> after serving as unpaid attaché at Constantinople (1847) under the British Ambassador, Sir Stratford Canning. Layard, “the distinguished traveller in the East, who has discovered so many of the Babylonian antiquities, [was] appointed Under Sec[retary] for Foreign Affairs”<sup>12</sup> (12 Feb. – 6 Mar. 1852, 15 Aug. 1861 – 5 Jul. 1866), even before being a Member of the Parliament, a post that he would later occupy for Aylesbury (1852-57), and Southwark (1860-69). Being more a man of action, than of speech, he greeted his appointment to the post of First Commissioner of Works (1868-69). It was the best opportunity to translate his views on the ongoing debate on art and architecture into reality, as will see.

As Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Layard took great interest in the Italian cause and proved to be a supporter of the country unity and democracy. Through

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<sup>9</sup> His contribution to geographical knowledge would be recognised in 1846, when he was awarded the Gold Medal by the Royal Geographical Society.

<sup>10</sup> *Athenaeum* 1894, 66. On his archaeological career see the main contributions in Fales, Hickey 1987, and Malley 2012.

<sup>11</sup> Layard 1903, 198.

<sup>12</sup> Windsor, RA, Queen Victoria’s journal, fol. 80v: Buckingham Palace, 16 February 1852.

James Hudson (1810-1885), the British Minister plenipotentiary at Turin but “uomo italianissimo”,<sup>13</sup> Layard got acquainted with Camillo Benso Count of Cavour and his entourage. On the Italian statesman, Layard published an article in *The Quarterly Review* and later on he was asked by Daniel Sargent Curtis to revise the book by Domenico Cappa on the poisoning of Cavour.<sup>14</sup> In 1862, thanks to the information received by the British Consul General at Naples, E.W. Bonham (1809-1886), Layard also gave a passionate Whiggish speech in the Houses of Commons on the Italian affairs rejoicing for its liberation of foreign rulers and denouncing the corrupt government of the Papal State of Rome.<sup>15</sup> In line with the Victorian ideology he encouraged the adoption of an English-style government, whilst declaring that British policy had to protect and promote liberal movements, as it was also a way to protect her own interests.<sup>16</sup> No elaborate discussion of the British interventionism in the Italian question is needed here. Suffice it to say that Layard’s sympathies and assistance for the Italian cause were “also consistent with a considerable British artistic and literary affection for Italy”<sup>17</sup> and were maintained throughout his life, as well as his denounce of brigandage and camorra.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Morley 1903, 5. On James Hudson see Greppi 2011, 19-35; Greppi, Pagella 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Layard 1861. See also BNM, Rari Tursi 635, busta II, 2.13: A.H. Layard to D.S. Curtis, Ca’ Capello, 10 November 1891. For an account on Domenico Cappa, see Milo Julini, *La morte di Camillo Cavour: storia di un’inquietante ipotesi risorgimentale* (Turin: Ananke, 2011).

<sup>15</sup> The manuscript version of the speech is kept at NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 41409. Besides his well-known anticlericalism, Layard could hardly tolerate French encroachment on Italy: “I have good hopes of the Italians. The misfortune of Italy has been the influence of France on her language, literature, art and politics. She may now shake off that influence – which Alfieri so deplores – and she has genius and backbone enough to resume her ancient place in the world” (NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 11: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 23 October 1870). He had been a keen reader of Vittorio A. Alfieri (1749-1803), many of his books could be found in Sir Henry Layard’s library. See Layard 1904. On the relationships between religion and politics in the years of Italian Risorgimento, see Raponi 2014.

<sup>16</sup> See Layard 1862. The literature the history of Anglo-Italian relationship during the Italian Unification process is large, see Bourne 1970; Wright 2008; Bonfiglio 2013; Bacchin 2014; Raponi 2014; Wright 2015, 151-178.

<sup>17</sup> Wright 2008, 669-70.

<sup>18</sup> On Layard’s opinion on the camorra see NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 74r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 5 June 1884. Few years later it would appear: G. Ottolenghi, *La camorra nell’industria veneziana. Opuscolo dedicato a S.E. il Ministro Zanardelli* (Venice: Tip. Dell’Ancora,

Admittedly, Layard's interests for British domestic policy appear secondary respect to the Eastern questions, but, as Jonathan Parry (2018) has observed, he was lucky enough to sit in Parliament at the time of the crisis that led to the Crimean war (1854), which he would outspokenly criticise.<sup>19</sup> This allowed "the Bedouin of Parliament",<sup>20</sup> as he was termed, to speak on subjects that he knew about, and, therefore, project as an expert on them, to the extent that the British entrepreneur Stephen Sleigh recruited him to chair the board of the newborn *Ottoman Bank* (1856-1861).<sup>21</sup> In 1857, before leaving for India, in order to survey the causes of the Mutiny, Layard was at the head of another ambitious project: the construction of a railway uniting the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean.<sup>22</sup>

Layard tried to show his expertise also when appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Madrid (1869-77) and chiefly when Ambassador at the Sublime Porte (1877-80). However, he did not really possess that paramount gift for a diplomat that is "a cool judgement", as his uncle Benjamin had presciently pointed out.<sup>23</sup> His inflamed and outspoken dispatches against Gladstone's government towards Russia would indeed displease both Granville and Queen Victoria.<sup>24</sup> Consequently, they brought to an abrupt and bitter end of his diplomatic career.<sup>25</sup> On

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1887); W. Scott, *The Camorra in Venice* (Venice: Tip. M. Fontana, 1888); P. Fambri, *La camorra a Venezia* (Florence: Rassegna Nazionale 1889).

<sup>19</sup> See his interventions in Parliament, Layard 1854a; Layard 1854c; Layard 1855; Layard 1863.

<sup>20</sup> Liverpool Albion, May 1855.

<sup>21</sup> In 1861 he was compelled to resign on account of his appointment to the Under Secretaryship of State for Foreign Affairs. See London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXIV, Add MS 39054, fols. 3-4: W. Lander (Assistant Secretary of the *Ottoman Bank*) to Layard, 30 August 1861. He would return to be chairman from January 1867 to 1869. For a full account of Layard's involvement, see Eldem 1999, 32-53; Clay 2000, 30-47, 78-79.

<sup>22</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXIV, Add MS 39054, fol. 17: E. Pasha to A.H. Layard 26 January 1857, fol. 19: Minute of Layard, 22 April 1857; fol. 25: Convention between C. Musurus (Turkish Ambassador in London) and A.H. Layard, 24 April 1857.

<sup>23</sup> See Waterfield 1963, 92.

<sup>24</sup> See RA, Queen Victoria's journal, fol. 174: Windsor Castle, 1 May 1880; fol. 176, Windsor Castle, 3 May 1880.

<sup>25</sup> For a more detailed account on the issue, see Bourn 1987, 90; Clarke 1987, 95-100; Parry 2004. My thanks to Professor Geoffrey Berridge, with whom I had the opportunity to discuss this aspect of

2 June 1880, he temporarily left Constantinople, until his appointment was formally terminated by the end of the year. His “claim to a pension [could not] be maintained so on the 1<sup>st</sup> Jan[uary he found himself] high and dry with a vague promise of future employment”.<sup>26</sup> For this reason, Layard continued hoping either for peerage or another diplomatic post in Rome or Berlin. But despite diplomatic pension reached him on 23 October 1884,<sup>27</sup> in his seventy-four years old he still demonstrated an unflinching zeal by arguing: “Why should the country be saddled with my pension, when I am now as competent to fill a diplomatic mission as I was twenty years ago or more?”<sup>28</sup>

At any rate, from 1880 onwards, Layard had made his abode in Venice “to avoid the turmoil of English life and to escape the London fogs”.<sup>29</sup> He settled there with his wife, Mary Enid Evelyn Guest (London, 1843 – Venice, 1912). They married at St George's Hanover Square, London, on 9 March 1869. The wedding was meant to bring some economic advantage to Henry and gain him more pertinent social connections. Indeed, Enid was the third daughter of the iron founder Sir Josiah John Guest of Dowlais (1785-1852) and the Welsh scholar Lady Charlotte Bertie (1812-1895, in 1855 she re-married with Charles Schreiber).<sup>30</sup> Enid and Henry's marriage, however, was a very happy and successful one. In a passage of her journal she commented: “I remember my astonishment at the happiness of my life when I

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Layard's career and who kindly shared with me his forthcoming publication on 'British ambassadors to Turkey, 1839-1922'.

<sup>26</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 117: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Rome, 11 December 1880.

<sup>27</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVII, Add MS 39037, fol. 179r: F.O. to A.H. Layard, 12 August 1884.

<sup>28</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVII, Add MS 39097, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 31 December 1891.

<sup>29</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 160: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 28 December 1890.

<sup>30</sup> Lady Charlotte Schreiber was Layard's first cousin, “with whom [he] was said to have been romantically linked in the late 1840s”, Parry 2004. On her activities see Davis 1963, 35-9; Eatwell 1995; MacGregor 1997, 11; Plinval de Guillebon 2005; Macleod 2011; Stourton, Sebag-Montefiore 2012, 253-4.

married & the peace of our little home 21 Grafton St with only loving words & looks – & all those 25 years we never had one quarrel – tho[ugh] I was sometimes pettish – his temper was marvellous”.<sup>31</sup>

Newspapers and journals from around the world noted Layard’s passing (London, 5 July 1894) with deep regret and recalling the principal events that punctuated his long life.

So varied and, on the whole, successful combination of the adventurer, the antiquary, the politician, the diplomatist, and the dilettante has probably never before been found, and the vigorous personality as well as the unique career of Sir Henry Layard leaves a vacant place in society and history which no living man can aspire to fill.<sup>32</sup>

Venetian newspapers, in particular, bade farewell to this “veneziano di elezione [che] prediligeva l’Italia [e] amava Venezia come un veneziano dei più entusiasti”,<sup>33</sup> while recalling his commitment in reviving the art of glassmaking at Murano. Nonetheless, Layard got an interest in all fields of art and knowledge. As a matter of fact, Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti defined him “una di quelle figure attraenti e complesse, che ricordano alcuni patrizi veneziani del Cinquecento”.<sup>34</sup> Art included also cookery.<sup>35</sup> Notably, “the art of the [Renaissance] cook – a great artist in his way and apparently from his own account, as much honoured by the great as his rivals”.<sup>36</sup> That “stocky, of medium height [man] with a large head and [...] a luxuriant

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<sup>31</sup> LLJ, Devonshire House, Weymouth, 13 August 1894. On the day of his death, Lady Layard had written: “This day at 8.15 P.M. my husband died and after 25 years that we had never been apart he left me for ever [sic]”. LLJ, 1 Queen Anne Street, 5 July 1894.

<sup>32</sup> Athenaeum 1894, 67.

<sup>33</sup> La Gazzetta di Venezia 1894.

<sup>34</sup> Molmenti 1903, 201.

<sup>35</sup> It should be kept in mind that Carl Friedrich von Ruhmor had published *Vom Geist der Kochkunst*. See Csergo 2018, 105-115.

<sup>36</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42340, fol. 39v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 16 December 1890.

beard”<sup>37</sup> did not fail to enjoy one of the main pleasures of Italian life, good eating (**Plate 2, Figure 12**). He loved, of course, “roast beef, plum pudding, mince pies”,<sup>38</sup> but even more risotto, fegatini alla vicentina, and wine, especially the Chianti that Marchese Giuseppe Lotteringhi della Stufa bottled for him every year.<sup>39</sup>

It is no coincidence that Layard took an interest in Renaissance Cookery and wrote an article about it, parsing the matter through the books by Platina, Cristoforo di Messiburgo, Domenico Romoli, Vincenzo Cercio, Bartolomeo Scappi, Antonio Frugoli, Mattia Giegher, and Vittorio Lancellotti.<sup>40</sup>

But Layard also used to “indulge once a week in Beethoven, Hayden and other classical composers. It is to me a great delight, for I am “fanatic” for that kind of music”.<sup>41</sup> He was a great supporter of a young American violinist, Stella Dyer, who was often invited to dwell and play at Ca’ Capello Layard.<sup>42</sup> Lady Enid, instead, educated herself in art, as well as in music. Indeed she enjoyed singing, playing harmonium, and guitar, as well as painting and modelling. Some of her sculptures can be found in Venice and Constantinople, such as the bas relief of the *Virgin and Child* that is displayed in the little edicola of Calle del Magazen, San Polo (**Plate 2, Figure 14**).<sup>43</sup> In addition, she collected fans, embroideries and China figures, following her mother’s interests but without aiming to form a collection in its on

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<sup>37</sup> Parry 2004.

<sup>38</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42340, fol. 39r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 16 December 1890.

<sup>39</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 54r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 3 November 1866; Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 65: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 26 October 1870; Florence, BIF, Wat, I, E, 23, H-9-10: J. Ross to A.H. Layard, Castagnolo, 2 April 1886.

<sup>40</sup> See Layard 1891.

<sup>41</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42340, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 14 January 1890.

<sup>42</sup> There is very little information on her, mainly inferable from the Layard Papers. By 1892 she was 16 years old and had trained “in a Bohemian village, under Ondercek”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII Add MS 38972, fol. 91: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 25 November 1892. I have detected an oil painting portrait of her by George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894), which was sold at Dennis Auction Service, Stewartsville, NJ, USA, in September 2016.

<sup>43</sup> It is the only pedestrian path that leads to Ca’ Capello (see LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 10 February 1902). A medal portraying Layard modelled by Lady Layard can be found at the British Embassy at Ankara (GAC5077).

right. Yet Enid devoted herself to several charity activities, such as the Cosmopolitan Hospital on the Giudecca Island, and the School of Lace in Burano (**Plate 2, Figure 13**).<sup>44</sup> She enjoyed the pleasures of sociability, organising dances, tableaux vivants, as well as the first “cinematographic performance”.<sup>45</sup> In fact, she was remembered as “the centre of English society, the entertainer of hosts of English friends, but she was the strong supporter, often the moving spirit, in every good work in the interest of her countrymen and a warm friend to Italian movements”.<sup>46</sup> Sir Henry, instead, was a provocative banter, “somewhat brusque and curt in demeanour, except in cases where his intellectual was moved”.<sup>47</sup> Thereby, the majority of obituaries and comments reproached him the fact that “if he had possessed a trifle more of the calm of mind, which should make statesmen, he would have left behind him a great memory”.<sup>48</sup>

Layard’s funeral took place at St Margaret’s Church, where a memorial plaque dedicated by his wife reads

I pray you remember Henry Austen Layard P.C., G.C.B. discoverer of Nineveh. He served his Queen and his country with all his heart and with all his might while representing the borough of Aylesbury and Southwark in Parliament as Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as First Commissioner of Works, as Minister at Madrid and as Ambassador at Constantinople. Born 5 March 1817 Died 5 July 1894.

He was cremated at Woking cemetery and his ashes buried at Canford Magna, Sussex.

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<sup>44</sup> Cf. LLJ, Venice, 13 September 1872. On the School of Lace at Burano, see Davanzo Poli 2011. I am grateful to Francesco Basaldella for sharing with me the postcards of the Cosmopolitan Hospital on the Giudecca Island.

<sup>45</sup> LLJ, 15 December 1911. On Lady Layard see Symmons 2000; Mamoli Zorzi 2010.

<sup>46</sup> The Pall Mall Gazette 1912. See also Hickey 1987.

<sup>47</sup> The Times 1894, 5.

<sup>48</sup> The Spectator 1894, 11.

Lady Layard survived him by eighteen years, bearing “a Marie Stuart headdress” and “dark velvet and laces”,<sup>49</sup> until her death in Venice on 1 November 1912 (**Plate 2, Figure 11**). She was also cremated at the cemetery of San Michele, Venice and her ashes later joined those of her spouse in Sussex.<sup>50</sup>

Two stained windows memorialise the Layards in Venice, in the Anglican Church of St. George at San Vio.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> The Pall Mall Gazette 1912.

<sup>50</sup> L'Adriatico 1912e.

<sup>51</sup> On this account, see Arnott 1987.



## 1.2 Stepping into the art world

Although the political and diplomatic career apparently failed, this did not, however, prevent Layard making use of the public stage in the meanwhile. He could try to put into effect his view on cultural policy, gain a reputation, whilst also making acquaintance of the leading figures of his age. Certainly, the position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1852, 1861-66, **Plate 1, Figures 3, 8**) provided him with the possibility of “a brilliant career”,<sup>1</sup> a fair expendable income, and furthermore, allowed him to travel extensively throughout Europe. In this way, Layard could easily straddle his two consuming passions, politics and art. His regular Italian forays between 1855 and 1861, and particularly his visits at James Hudson’s house at Turin, enabled him to get acquainted with the main political advocates of the Risorgimento, men such as Cavour, Carlo Alberto Ferdinando Maffei di Boglio, Bettino Ricasoli, Marco Minghetti, Emilio Visconti Venosta, as well as Giovanni Morelli. As Layard himself recalled:

The British Legation [at Turin] was then a privileged place of meeting for Cavour and his political friends, and the most distinguished liberals from all parts of the Peninsula. Morelli was admitted to their counsels, and took part in the great work they were engaged – that of preparing the way for the redemption of their country.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> NA, Foreign Office (hereafter only FO) 519/195, fol. 3: A.H. Layard to E.R.C. Wellesley, 12 February 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Layard 1891, 10.

Even when monitoring closely the sensitive political situation that Italy was confronting in those decades, Layard did not fail to indulge in seeking out new artworks. For instance, while waiting for the entry of the King of Italy in Venice (7 November 1866) he secured two presumed Cima da Conegliano for his collection (NG3112, NG3113).<sup>3</sup>

From the mid-1850s onwards, Layard began to make his name thanks to publications on his archaeological enterprises,<sup>4</sup> but also through his participation in *The Arundel Society* (1856-68), the renowned journal *The Quarterly Review*, by delivering lectures on art at the *Royal Institution* (1859) and by participating in the principal artistic clubs of London, including the *Athenæum*, the *Fine Arts Club* and the *Cosmopolitan Club*.<sup>5</sup> Whilst moving in these connoisseurial circles, by 1857 Layard also rented “some rooms” at 130 Piccadilly, “that fashionable highway”,<sup>6</sup> which had long been the stronghold of aristocracy, in an attempt to gain access to the upper strata of society.<sup>7</sup> Anyway, considering himself a man of talents but no wealth, he did never aspire to possess a landed estate nor an aristocratic attribute, although in his latter years he looked forward to a peerage. He was conscious of an unbridgeable

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<sup>3</sup> Layard 1903, 234-235. See also NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fols. 121, 123-4.

<sup>4</sup> On 3 March 1853, the Court of Common Council resolved to award the Honorary Freedom of the City to Layard, on account of “the discovery of the long lost remains of Eastern antiquity and for securing them». See the *Certificate of Freedom of the City of London* contained within a casket now at the British Museum, 1976,0903.1. On the promotional use of the press, see Malley 2012.

<sup>5</sup> The notes of the whole series of lectures are gathered in BL, Vol. CXLII-CXLIII, Add MSS 39072-73. The lectures, entitled *The Seven periods of Art*, have been fully examined by Simmons 2000, 85-106. For the most recent contribution on Layard’s activity within the Arundel Society, see Ward 2016. For a general account on art clubs, see Nicolson 1952, 97-9; Eatwell 1994, 25-30; MacGregor 1997, 19-20; Eatwell 2000, 24; Kent 2004. It is worth noting that Layard was of one the promoter-members of the *Fine Arts Club* in 1857, though at that date he did not possess more than four fresco fragments, two paintings and archaeological bits. NAL,

<sup>6</sup> “I shall be better able to receive my friends and to show your pictures”. BL, Miscellaneous, Add MS 42711, fol. 113: A.H. Layard to M.K. Kellogg, 9 Little Ryder Street, 13 March 1857.

<sup>7</sup> Daunton 2000, 495. “I am now changing my lodgings. I shall be found after next week at n. 130 Piccadilly – up three pair of stairs – but with a charming view over the Park. I hope you will do me the honour of coming to see them one day – when my pictures are all hung”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIV, Add MS 38944, fol. 54r: A.H. Layard to M.A. Gordon, 9 Little Ryder Street, 13 March 1857. It is interesting to note that a similar strategy would be adopted by Sir Richard and Lady Wallace. From 1872 to 1875 they lived at 105 Piccadilly, before moving to Manchester House. See Higgott 2018, 207-13.

distance, in terms of breeding and social inclusion; in fact, he would remain an outsider throughout his life. Unlike the nouveau bourgeoisie or the plutocracy of wealth that would mainly took up the artistic practice of the aristocratic class in search of a straightforward social identity and a leisure activity, Layard envisioned it with a strong educational pursuit and cherished a catholic interest for arts and connoisseurial expertise. His participation in the art world can be seen as part of “that contemporary development in the art historical scholarship, both in terms of literary output and in efforts made towards establishing a methodology for research”.<sup>8</sup> Although Layard, in fact, cannot be considered a real scholar.

During the Parliamentary recess, Layard frequently travelled across Europe for pleasure and education, but also “in want of a little change and mental rest”.<sup>9</sup> Notably, he used to make “excursions to the right and left”<sup>10</sup> of Italy, supported by a good command in the language, which enabled him to be independent of handbooks. These regular forays allowed him to cultivate his passion for art and familiarise himself with most of the public and private galleries of the Continent. Simultaneously, he could draw and record endangered Italian works of art for the *Arundel Society*, of which he had been a member since 1852.<sup>11</sup> The aim of the Society was “the preservation of the record and the diffusion of the knowledge of most important monuments of paintings and sculpture, by engravings and other mechanical means of reproduction”.<sup>12</sup> While stressing on the importance of fresco

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<sup>8</sup> Heath 2018, 3.

<sup>9</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIV, Add MS 38944, fol. 42r: A.H. Layard to M.A. Gordon, Innsbruck, 1 September 1855.

<sup>10</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS38948, fol. 21: A.H: Layard to S. Austen, Naples, 5 November 1853.

<sup>11</sup> See, *Third annual report of the Council* (London: Arundel Society, 1852).

<sup>12</sup> The Arundel Society Prospectus is taken from Layard 1858b, 277. On the Arundel Society, see Ledger 1978; Cooper 1978; Harrod 1988; Ward 2016.

painting and its preservation,<sup>13</sup> Layard could also articulate his opinions on historical and political events, both from the past and the present, which, in his view, had extensively shaped the “progress” of art, alternating periods of growth and decay, drawing on the arguments of Sismonde de Sismondi, *Italian Republics or the Origin, Progress and Fall of Italian Freedom*, and Lord Lindsay, *Sketches of the history of Christian art*.<sup>14</sup> Besides the stimulus afforded by the *Arundel Society*, it should not be forgotten that in 1841 the Fine Arts Commission resolved to decorated the recently re-built Houses of Parliament with the most up-to-date information about fresco painting.<sup>15</sup>

His early interest in the so-called Italian ‘primitives’, nurtured by the pioneering texts by Seroux d’Agincourt, William Young Ottley, and William Roscoe, was in line with his contemporaries, such as Thomas Gambier Parry and the Eastlakes.<sup>16</sup> As John Fleming and Dorothy Anne Simmons have observed, Layard’s initial approach to Italian art was marked by the reading of Johannes Gaye, Alexis François Rio, and , though none of these volumes can be found in the catalogue of Layard’s library.<sup>17</sup> It

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<sup>13</sup> “It is a noble art – the one declared by Michel Angelo [sic] to be best fitted to show the genius of a man – the one which gives the really great painter the widest influence over, and can bring him into the closest communion, with the great mass of his fellow-men”. Layard 1869, 4.

<sup>14</sup> A copy of the book can be found in his library, see Layard 1904, 179. With regard to the “progress” of art, it is worth noting that Layard had divided the history of art into seven periods, about which he discussed in a series of lectures at the Royal Academy in May-June 1859. This classification of art, however, was soon abandoned. On this account, see Simmons 2000, 85-105. About Lord Lindsay’s work and appreciation, Layard had expressed that it was “most instructive and gracefully written”. Layard 1858b, 283.

<sup>15</sup> On this account see, Boase 1954; Pond 1994. Layard’s first publication on fresco dates 1858 (Layard 1858b), however the following year Lady Eastlake “pull[ed] him up for an article in *The Times* questioning the progress of the decoration of the Houses of Parliament”. See Sheldon 2009, 12.

<sup>16</sup> On Thomas Gambier Parry’s collection, see Farr 1993, 30-45. On the Eastlake’s collection, see Avery-Quash 2015.

<sup>17</sup> Fleming 1973, 8. Simmons 2000, 103, n. 4. In Layard’s Venetian library there was a copy of the edition of 1890 of Mrs Jameson, *Sacred and legendary art* (see Guglielmi 1939, 83, lot 999). Evidence of his readings can be found in the notes he prepared for the lectures at the Royal Institution. It is more difficult that Layard read Passavant in this early stage. In 1840 Eastlake, however, reviewed *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* for the *Quarterly Review*. Although the *Rafael* was translated into French in 1860 and in English only 1872, Layard makes several references to Passavant in the notice he published on Giovanni Santi for the *Arundel Society*. See Layard 1859, 6, 9, 11, 17, 18, 21-2.

may also be noted that he did not read German, so it is natural that he focussed on English, Italian, and French literature on the subject. His library comprised both volumes of art historiography, such as Vasari, Baglione, Ridolfi, and Boschini; contemporaries monographs on painters or schools of painting, i.e. *A short treatise upon art and sciences* by Jean Palairret, *Pietro Perugino* by Antonio Mezzanotte, *Giovanni Santi* by Luigi Pungileoni; the *Memoirs of Benvenuto Cellini* translated by Thomas Roscoe, the *Trattato della pittura di Cennino Cennini* by G. Tambroni, the *Life of Leo X* by William Roscoe, *Della Origine e delle vicende della pittura in Padova* by G.A. Moschini, *Lectures on Painting* by J. Barry, J. Opie, J.H. Fuseli, to name just a few; along with catalogues of the private collections and museums, such as the *Engravings of the most noble the Marquis of Stafford's collection of pictures in London* by William Young Ottley, and several books on the history of Italian cities and literature.

A first response to these readings and to his travels around Italy resulted in specific publications for the Arundel Society. In 1856 it appeared his first descriptive text for *The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian* by Pietro Perugino at Panicale, within short distance *The frescoes by Bernardino Pinturicchio, in the collegiate church of S. Maria Maggiore at Spello* (1858), *Giovanni Sanzio and his fresco at Cagli* (1859), *La Madonna e i Santi: pittura a fresco di Ottaviano Nelli nella chiesa di S. Maria Nuova di Gubbio* (1860) and *Domenico Ghirlandaio and his fresco of the death of S. Francis* (1860).<sup>18</sup> Interestingly enough, as Donata Levi pointed out, “in 1838 James Dennistoun had spent six weeks travelling ‘among the mountains and small towns of

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<sup>18</sup> The essays on Ghirlandaio and Pinturicchio were referenced in Lady Eastlake’s edition of the Kugler (1874, I, 242, 243, 276). The one on Giovanni Santi was re-edited by Ranieri Varese, with an introduction by Jaynie Anderson. See Varese 1994. On Pinturicchio, see Mancini 2008.

Central Italy”<sup>19</sup> A few years after the new edition of Murray’s *Handbook* even Müндler and Eastlake began touring around Umbria and Marche, seeking paintings by Crivelli and Lotto.<sup>20</sup> In 1861 the Italian art historians and critics, Giovanni Morelli (1816-1891) and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle (1819-1897), travelled throughout these regions to draft a catalogue of the most important works of art to be preserved.<sup>21</sup> Here, Layard’s foresight is significant, and his Arundel publications were especially noteworthy, as they “sollecitavano Cavalcaselle a un più attento esame di certi cicli affrescati [... benché] a fronte della genericità di Layard, la lettura di Cavalcaselle appare svolgersi su un piano ben diverso”.<sup>22</sup>

Political activities kept Layard busy until 1868, when he published his last art historical essay for the Arundel Society; namely, *The Brancacci Chapel and Masolino, Masaccio, and Filippino Lippi*. As Simmons observed, this is the publication that best illustrates Layard’s method of study and analysis of a work of art.<sup>23</sup> Besides the use of coeval sources, the text offered a critical and direct examination of the artworks and, in order to ascertain or query an attribution, it argued that the ambiguous work should be compared with a more certain one, “in style and technical treatment, in composition, in the costumes of the figure, and in the architecture”.<sup>24</sup> This method anticipated Layard’s inclination to embrace the Morellian frame of analysis, which emphasised the importance of objective criteria, such as signatures, monograms, documentary evidence and formal comparisons.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Levi 1988, 142.

<sup>20</sup> See Levi 1988, 134-43s. On Müндler and Eastlake’s travels in 1856-8, cf. the table of the notebooks, Avery-Quash 2011, 47

<sup>21</sup> On this account, see Levi 1988, 152-8; and Levi 1993.

<sup>22</sup> Levi 1988, 142.

<sup>23</sup> Simmons 2000, 123-4.

<sup>24</sup> Layard 1868b, 18.

<sup>25</sup> For a complete overview of Morelli’s work and method, see Agosti, Manca 1993.

In 1858 Layard already set the agenda of the Arundel Society in his article on “Fresco-Painting” published on the columns of *The Quarterly Review*.<sup>26</sup> He aimed to revive the state of the Society’s publications, endorsing the Copyist Fund with new subscription, as well as good and inexpensive “graveur des têtes”,<sup>27</sup> such as Bartolomeo Bartoccini (1816-1882), or copyists like Cesare Marianecchi (active 1856-1882), and favouring the adoption of chromolithography.<sup>28</sup> His *political pilotage*, as Henry Cole (1808-1882) would term it, was exercised in gaining permission for the society to take copies, for instance in obtaining the licence to make drawings in the churches of Padua.<sup>29</sup> Layard’s engagement in this regard could not be better summarised than in the terms of the author of the *Athenaeum* article: “Mr Layard has been very intelligent and indefatigable in putting off the Arundel life-boat and rescuing very Old Masters, fast sinking into oozing Lethe”.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to supervising copyists, Layard himself made tracings of frescoes by Bergognone (Certosa of Pavia), Lorenzo Costa (Bologna), Giotto (Padua), Bernardino Luini (Saronno), Masolino (Castiglione Olona), Lorenzetti (Siena), Piero della Francesca (Arezzo) and others – now in the Prints & Drawings Study Room of

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<sup>26</sup> Layard 1858.

<sup>27</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 10: G. Conestabile to A.H. Layard, Perugia, 9 May 1856.

<sup>28</sup> See Ledger 1978, 74-95; Cooper 1978, 273-6. Cf. Prete 1998. For a comprehensive discussion on the use of copies and the Arundel Society, see Ward 2016. It would be interesting to draw a parallel with Ruskin and his involvement in the Society, for the moment see Plampin 2005, Tucker 2011. A noteworthy avenue for future research would be the analysis of the relationship between Layard and John Ruskin, as well as the influence that the latter might have exerted on the former. It is known that they were both actively engaged within the *Arundel Society* and in 1856 they also travelled together around Italy for a short period, but they never engaged in a true friendship. In several letters to Lady Eastlake, who was well-known to be caustic about Ruskin, Layard observed that “Ruskin is always interesting although generally paradoxical and not unfrequently [sic] ‘ridiculous’”. [NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 5, 20 February 1870]. However, their relationship remained on good terms even after the outcry over the restoration of the mosaics of the Basilica of Saint Marks in Venice. In October 1888 Ruskin visited the Layards at Ca’ Capello and “expressed himself as much delighted with the [painting collection]. The ‘Cima’ and Gentile Bellinis ‘entirely lovely’”. [BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add 38950, fol. 49: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 13 October 1888].

<sup>29</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXLV, Add MS 39075, fol. 28: Licence from the Podestà, Barone de Zigno, to A.H. Layard, Padua, 17 September 1856. For a complete account on Henry Cole, see Bonython 2003.

<sup>30</sup> *Athenaeum* 1858, 54.

the Victoria and Albert Museum (**Plate 3, Figures 15, 16, 17**).<sup>31</sup> This production can be dated chiefly around 1855-56, thanks to references in the letters to his family, and can be seen as a later expression of Layard's "childish desire"<sup>32</sup> to become an artist. Although he did not possess an exceptional talent, his tracings were exhibited publicly during the *Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition* (1857), "at the Crystal Palace in a court like the Giotto's of the Arundel Society", on account "of their great importance to the history of Art".<sup>33</sup>

In that same year, Gustav F. Waagen (1794-1868), who had seen Layard's tracings at Aldermaston at the Higford Burrs' house, expressed a less flattering, though very revealing comment.

A tour undertaken by Mr Layard in Italy during the winter of 1855 convinced him that many of the frescoes of the great masters of the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries were hastening to destruction; and deeply imbued with a sense of their importance he boldly resolved to preserve at all events their outlines, by means of tracings, for posterity. As the greater part of these frescoes are on arched ceiling, or very high walls, scaffoldings were in most cases require for the purpose. To take tracings of ceiling pictures at all is a work of great exertion and inconvenience. Not only had such principal difficulties to be overcome, but all those minor impediments, such as the obtaining proper materials, and the securing means of safe transport, which in Italy are attended with much trouble, and finally that also of total inexperience of this kind of employment. All these the Nineveh energy succeeded in conquering, and I had the gratification of inspecting a series of tracings from works which were not in all instances known to myself. It was interesting to me also to observe that, as the tracings advanced, Mr Layard's power of rendering the forms considerably improved.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Miss Du Cane presented these pen and pencil tracings to the museum in 1913.

<sup>32</sup> Layard 1903, 27.

<sup>33</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 67: G. Scharf to A.H. Layard, 15 November 1856.

<sup>34</sup> Waagen 1857, 298.



This interesting account demonstrates Layard's heartfelt response to fresco deterioration and his sensitive stance in their preservation. In terms of taste, scholars have argued that

The frescoes of Giotto and even those of Fra Angelico were thought to relate to the masterpieces of Raphael's maturity much as the Assyrian hunting reliefs and colossal lion sentinels were thought to relate to the Elgin marbles. They were regarded as the curious products of an earlier phase of artistic evolution, with a real beauty of their own which was just becoming apparent.<sup>35</sup>

This correspondence also discloses an early appreciation also for Luca Signorelli at Orvieto, Gaudenzio Ferrari at Varallo, and Bergognone "a wonderful painter [...]" He had all the sentiment and devotional feeling of Fra Angelico, with far greater power and breadth".<sup>36</sup> Most of his "fresco tours", as he named them, were made in company of the Higford Burrs or the Somers Cocks and were used as an opportunity to visit British friends residing in Tuscany, such as Francis Joseph Sloane (1794-1880) or the American artist Miner Kilbourne Kellogg (1814-1889).<sup>37</sup> Sometimes the party travelled through France and the Simplon, stopping on Lake Como and down to Milan, Bologna, Ferrara, towards Florence and Rome and passing through Umbria, where they stopped to visit the Etruscologist Count Giancarlo Conestabile della Staffa at Perugia (1824-1877).<sup>38</sup> In his company they explored Cortona, Chiusi

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<sup>35</sup> Penny 2004, 372. The same opinion was asserted by Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011, 149.

<sup>36</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 38948, fol. 50: A.H. Layard to S. Austen, Verona 7 September 1856. Layard's library also contained the *Guida divota e popolare del Sacro Monte di Varallo con relative incisioni* by Francesco Guidetti.

<sup>37</sup> Sloane was an English expatriate, who lived between Palazzo Compagni (Florence) and Villa Medicea (Careggi). He provided most of the funding for the façade of Santa Croce. For a more detailed account, see Rosticci 2010, 149-208; Paolini 2013, 112-4. On Miner K. Kellogg, see Richardson 1960; Fales 2011. For the "fresco tour" reference, see NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 4: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 25 July 1856.

<sup>38</sup> Layard maintained a life-long friendship and correspondence with Conestabile, especially on art and archaeology. Through him Layard was nominated member of the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia. On Conestabile, see Polverini 1998.

and Volterra,<sup>39</sup> which stimulated Layard's interest not only for Etruscan art, but also for "early Christian monuments, especially the Catacombs, and [...] the early frescoes and mosaics which abound here, and which are generally less known and studied than the later and more renowned works of art".<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, Layard emphasised the importance of "Lombard architecture – a style not sufficiently appreciated in England",<sup>41</sup> but also recognised the quality of Palladio, notably he appreciating the "admirable relation of all the parts which gives grace and beauty to his buildings".<sup>42</sup> A position that appears rather unconventional for his time, especially in relation to Ruskin's views and appraisal of Gothic architecture.<sup>43</sup> To Palladianism Layard would later recur at the time of designing a new scheme for the National Gallery, which he envisaged as a "grand, massive and imposing structure, distinguished not so much by elaborate details and ornaments, as by just proportions, well disposed masses and the utmost variety [...] with simplicity in the general design, by colour in the materials and by the play of light and shade".<sup>44</sup>

His assessments on some overlooked Italian masters are not least interesting, such as the case for Botticelli, Crivelli and Piero della Francesca.<sup>45</sup> In 1865 Layard toured John Everett Millais (1829-1896) through the Pitti Gallery and the Uffizi: "He is very much pleased with what he has seen – especially delighted with the Raphael Portraits, Titians, the Bronzinos, the Tintoretts etc. and greatly struck by the

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<sup>39</sup> See BL, Miscellaneous, Add MS 42711, fol. 99: A.H. Layard to M.K. Kellogg, Perugia, 21 October 1853.

<sup>40</sup> Layard 1903, 221.

<sup>41</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 38948, fol. 50: A.H. Layard to S. Austen, Verona, 7 September 1856.

<sup>42</sup> Layard 1903, 228.

<sup>43</sup> In 1854 it was published an off-print of "On the Nature of Gothic Architecture: and herein of the true functions of the Workman in Art", reprinted from the sixth chapter of the second volume of *Stones of Venice*. Literature on this topic is large, see the principal contributions by Clark 1950; Pevsner 1969; Brooks 2003; Connelly 2015.

<sup>44</sup> See Layard 1868a, 1-2.

<sup>45</sup> It is worth noting that Lord Lindsay's volume (1847) was among the first to appreciate the qualities of Piero della Francesca, which Layard also valued perceptively.

splendid Mantegna in the Tribuna and the allegorical picture by Sandro Botticelli La Calunnia”,<sup>46</sup> wrote Layard to the Eastlakes. Further evidence of his interest in a broad range of schools of painting can be inferred from a private letter to his dear friend and fellow trustee William H. Gregory (1816-1892, **Plate 4, Figure 20**).<sup>47</sup> Indeed, Layard expressed in it his desire “to get a specimen or two of the Sicilian school for the National Gallery. I remember several Sicilian painters whose works struck me, at Messina especially – amongst them the Monrealese”.<sup>48</sup> Such a wide and varied taste was sustained by numerous readings and matched with the necessity of a national gallery, which Layard envisaged as representative of all schools:

Who are the best masters? What school is most deserving of study and imitation? What works should be selected to improve or form the public taste? Within the last 25 years how great has been the change in estimation of pictures!<sup>49</sup>

This affirmation is clearly pertinent to the fact that “the urge to preserve and to pass on a heritage legitimised by the contemporary motivated the development of the Victorian historical consciousness”.<sup>50</sup> Of course, John Steegman was right in defining Layard as “a romantic rather than a scholar in his approach to pictures”,<sup>51</sup> but it cannot be said that he did not value connoisseurship and art historical scholarship, especially in his edition of the Kugler, which can be considered one of

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<sup>46</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 83: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 6 Lung’Arno nuovo, 6 November 1865.

<sup>47</sup> On Gregory, see Falkiner 2004.

<sup>48</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS 38949, fol. 75: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 30 December 1870. Pietro Novelli was called the Monrealese, on whom had written Luigi Lanzi, *Storia pittorica della Italia dell’Abate Luigi Lanzi antiquario della R. Corte di Toscana* (Bassano: A spese Remondini di Venezia 1795-1796), and Agostino Gallo, *Elogio storico di Pietro Novelli da Monreale, famoso dipintore, architetto ed incisore* (Palermo: R. Tipografia, 1828).

<sup>49</sup> Layard 1857.

<sup>50</sup> Levine 1986, 4.

<sup>51</sup> Steegman 1950, 241.

his most important achievements in art historical writing.<sup>52</sup> On the contrary, Layard highly praised and studied Eastlake's publications, of which he also possessed a copy in his library, as well as those by the Italian art critic Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle. In fact, on his account Layard had stated: "There is probably no living art-critic who has so carefully studied the whole history of paintings and painters, or who has a wider acquaintance with the various schools, not only of Italy but of other countries, and with public and private collections in all parts of Europe".<sup>53</sup> Notwithstanding, Layard did not fail to criticise his later publications, because of the "art jargon" used by J.A. Crowe and, puzzlingly enough for an opinionated character as he was, to jump the "hasty and dogmatic" conclusions.<sup>54</sup> Layard was more inclined to pair with Giovanni Morelli's ideas and those of his pupils, Frizzoni, Minghetti, Visconti Venosta, Richter, and Wickhoff.<sup>55</sup> Ultimately, he would abandon the aesthetic and the discourse of art, to embrace the more "scientific" Morellian analysis.<sup>56</sup> As he revealed in a letter addressed to Lady Eastlake (1809-1893, **Plate 4, Figure 23**):

I have abandoned Kugler division into developments, which appears to me arbitrary and unscientific, and have traced the history and development of each school – bringing together those painters which belonged to it – rejecting to a great extent those theories and influences of which Crowe and

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<sup>52</sup> "My highest expectations of the new edition of Kugler have been far surpassed by the volumes themselves and I most heartily thank you for sending me a copy with your valued autograph. The work in its present form with a good index is a perfect mine of wealth and will be needed by everyone for purposes of references. The illustrations are profuse and admirably chosen. I am reading the book carefully through and derive great pleasure from its freshness". BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXI, Add MS 39041, fol. 53: G. Scharf to A.H. Layard, 18 February 1887. For a more recent sympathetic assessment of Layard's work, see Sutton 1985, 120.

<sup>53</sup> Layard 1872b, 123. For a detailed account on the relationship between Layard and Cavalcaselle, see Levi 1988, 68, 78-80, 288-9, 406, 412.

<sup>54</sup> Layard 1872b, 121. Cf. Layard's letter to Lady Eastlake (NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 93r, 23 February 1877). "Why cannot Mr Crowe use sound English words and ideas – and give up coining new ones? However, the book contains a good deal of useful and interesting information, and would be even more valuable as an authority if the partners were less dogmatic and knock-me-down in their criticisms and judgements". On the difficulties of the language and the criticisms of Crowe, see Levi 1988, 285-8.

<sup>55</sup> Layard 1857, 183-187. Cf. Sutton 1985, 120.

<sup>56</sup> On the debate of connoisseurship and the scientificity of art, see Gibson-Wood 1988, Agosti 1993.

Cavalcaselle are so fond. I have adopted, almost in every instance, Morelli's views in preference to those of Messrs. C & C but at the same time I have avoided, for reasons which you will easily understand, saying anything disparaging of their work – which after all, contain an immense number of ill-digested facts; as Morelli says they are like truffle-dogs, who when they have found the truffles don't know what to do with them.<sup>57</sup>

Layard's interest in art straddles both scholarship and concrete action. Alongside his strong political connections, Layard's expertise and self-fashioning as connoisseur granted him the access to the major artistic ventures of the Victorian age. In January 1866 he was nominated Member of the Memorial Executive Committee for the Albert Memorial, succeeding Charles Lock Eastlake's post.<sup>58</sup> This appointment represented the highest recognition of his artistic expertise, not only because the Albert Memorial would be later considered to be "the most important piece of purely national art",<sup>59</sup> but mainly for the reason why he had been chosen.

Mr Layard would be the best man. He, I believe, knows more about art than almost anybody, and his connection with the Govt. might be useful in communicating with them.<sup>60</sup>

In late 1865 his name had been proposed also for the Directorship of the National Gallery, but he had to refuse due to his post at the Foreign Office. Nevertheless, he became a Trustee of the museum in February 1866 and he remained so throughout his life.

His participation in the Reform Administration of Art Public Institutions peaked with his appointment as First Commissioner of Works (1868-9). As he would later

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<sup>57</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 91: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Ca' Capello, S. Polo, Venezia, 1 July 1885.

<sup>58</sup> See Simmons 2000, 168-193.

<sup>59</sup> *Art Journal*, 1 May 1871.

<sup>60</sup> RA, Add H2/1333: Letter C. Phipps to A. Spearman, 11 October 1866. Quoted in Simmons 2000, 169; Sheppard 1975, 148-176.

remark, “I had always looked to the time when as the head of the Office of Works or in some other capacity I could do something for art and artists, and for the improvement of our public buildings”.<sup>61</sup> By that time, discussion concerned the new design for the National Gallery, Natural History Museum, Royal Court of Justice, and the internal decoration of the Houses of Parliament.<sup>62</sup>

Aside from these official appointments, in 1866 Layard, together with other English gentlemen, decided to take part into a private business enterprise for the revival of Murano Glass and Mosaic. It is very likely that through the British Vice-Consul General in Venice, William Perry (1801-1874), Layard got to know Antonio Salviati (1816-1890), a Vicentine lawyer, who had founded a workshop for the production of mosaic few years before. Layard got swiftly interested in it, as he considered mosaic one of “the best suiting material for architectural decorations, for effect, durability and ultimate cheapness”.<sup>63</sup> In this way, mosaic served the twofold purpose of educating while delighting. Aesthetic and social concerns were equally combined in the other production branch: blown glass. The revival of glassmaking applied to manufacture would contribute in good design, as much as in broadening the market for fine arts. Therefore, Layard immediately welcomed Salviati’s proposal to join the enterprise and actively promoted the use of mosaic. He advised it for the adornment of the staircase of the National Library of Art within the South Kensington Museum, the Wolsey Chapel at Windsor (1864), St. Paul’s, the Albert Memorial, and for the Houses of Parliament. This latter move, however, elicited attacks in the press on account of his own financial interest in the business and led

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<sup>61</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 15: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 2 February 1870.

<sup>62</sup> See Simmons 2000, 152-168, 241-266; Port 1984, 151-76.

<sup>63</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS 38949, fol. 75: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 30 December 1870.

somehow to his removal from the Office.<sup>64</sup> Layard's involvement in the glass business did not wane, but instead was taken up by Lady Enid at his death. In spite of the several changes within its management, the Company was able to undertake work of primary importance, which included the repairs of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice (from 1867), the decoration of the Berlin Siegestsäule – the Victory Column (1871-3), and that of the apse of Saint Paul within the Walls in Rome (1883-1907).<sup>65</sup>

It may be noted that Layard's engrossment for this commercial experience was chiefly artistic and social, rather than economic. He was not guided by mercantilist principles, though he believed that an active and flourishing commerce would represent a solid opportunity for the prosperity of Venice. Yet Sir Henry attached great importance to local manufactures, such as glassmaking, woodcarving, silken fabrics, and needlework, as they were the living memories of that well-known Venetian attitude for commercial enterprises. A letter to Gregory clearly conveys such an optimistic prospect.

I take a great interest in the place and there is much to be done there. [...] Another interesting branch of industry in which I am endeavouring to push is the revival of the manufacture of the old Burano and Venetian point lace. There are already a great many poor girls at Burano and near Chioggia employed in it – and most successfully – and I hope to introduce it in Murano. Unfortunately, the price is at present too high for general sale. I have got some good hints from Blackburn, the great authority on lace in England. The damask silk hangings are doing well. There is now a great demand for Venice carved wood furniture – especially for America – and some excellent wood carvers are springing up.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> See Layard 1903, 261-62.

<sup>65</sup> On the Basilica of St. Mark, see Andreescu Treadgold 1999. For a detailed account on the Victory column, see Alings 2000. On St. Paul Within the Walls, see Benedetti 1978; Minardi 2017.

<sup>66</sup> Oxford, BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 62: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, The Retreat, Bere Regis, Blandford, 22 August 1875.

Layard was full of hopes and ambitions towards the possibility of aligning Venice to the general economic impulse that stirred Europe in those days and that had been imparted by the industrial progress. It is no accident, therefore, that he welcomed any expression of local initiative that could furnish employments, bring trade, and revenue to Venice. Conversely to Ruskin, Layard dreamt of a modern, active, and self-reliant city within a united Italy.

Notwithstanding, with the traditionalist attitude worthy of a staunch Venetian, Layard shared the same feelings of expectancy and spoke of new “days of prosperity and splendour” for the late Queen of the Adriatic. At the same time, he was convinced that such a “resurrection” would be possible only within a broader outlook, up with the progress of civilization.

Venice itself is making considerable progress. I should think that with the Suez Canal she ought to open a trade with the East in mirrors, chandeliers and such like things, suitable to Eastern tastes and climates.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Oxford, BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fols. 48-9: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 20 October 1872.



## 2. Connaisseur or Marchand-Amateur?

He had almost a dealer's knowledge. It was no new taste, for as early as 1868 he had written on the Brancacci chapel. But his chief contributions to art criticism belong to his last years, such as his revised edition of the Kugler's [...] and his introduction to the translation of Morelli.

The Athenaeum 1894, 67.

Although his knowledge of art could not compare to that of his friends, Charles Lock Eastlake (1793-1865, **Plate 4, Figure 22**) and Giovanni Morelli (1816- 1891), Layard was regarded as “a man of the world and of taste and an MP [Member of Parliament] who knows foreign Countries and Galleries and dealers and has a genuine feeling for art”.<sup>1</sup> Hence, Layard was offered the post of Director of the National Gallery, subsequent to Eastlake's death in 1865, although he preferred the role of Trustee, in order to maintain his employment at the Foreign Office.<sup>2</sup> In this way, he could continue to fulfill an advisory role and assist in the Gallery's administration. Furthermore, from his private correspondence it can also be gleaned that “both Panizzi and Cole should have proposed [Layard] as their successor in the offices they respectively held in the British Museum and at South Kensington”.<sup>3</sup> From these facts, one considers the extent of Layard's involvement in the art market, namely which role and strategies he adopted in relation to dealers, collectors, and

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<sup>1</sup> NGA, NG5/166/2: Lord Clarendon to A.H. Layard, 25 January 1866; NG5/166/1: J. Russell to A.H. Layard, 28 December 1865. See also Steegman 1971, 240-2.

<sup>2</sup> NGA, Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, IV: 19 February 1866, 377. See Conlin 2006, 86-7.

<sup>3</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 66: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 12 January 1889.

scholars, and the question of how his position of trustee and collector coexisted. “The importance of the concept of material possession in the discourse around collecting meant that throughout the nineteenth century the collector was perceived [...] as having a privileged relationship with material culture”.<sup>4</sup>

## 2.1 Private purchases for an expert of art

By the time of his appointment as a trustee, Layard had already built up the major part of his painting collection and established a solid and profitable network of acquaintances at first hand with the London’s main institutions, as well as with aristocrats, diplomats, publishers, art critics, dealers, and restorers throughout Europe. Beyond a trained eye, Layard had also developed an expertise regarding the market and “learnt some curious particulars of the picture dealing trade”.<sup>5</sup> Namely, the tricks of picture dealers and forgers, a practice that he described in these terms:

Picture-dealers of Rome, Florence, and other cities frequented by wealthy travellers, who think that a tour in Italy cannot be conscientiously performed without the outlay of a certain sum of money in the purchase of pictures, send their agents through the length and breadth of the land to buy up every work of art whatever its merits, which may be procurable. There are few Italian cities [...] which have not had their own school of painting, distinguished frequently by very eminent men. But as the names of these painters are little known [...] their pictures, however intrinsically valuable and excellent, would meet with very little favour in the eyes of most amateurs. To render them saleable [...] it becomes necessary to convert them by retouching or

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<sup>4</sup> Bielecki 2011, 3.

<sup>5</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol.XIV, Add MS 38944, fol. 49v: A.H. Layard to A.M. Gordon, Ravenna, 1 October 1856.

repainting, or by imparting to them some well-known quality of colour or technical execution, into the production of a popular master.<sup>6</sup>

Therefore, friends such as the Earl of Somers, Charles (1819-1883) and Virginia (1827-1910, née Pattle) Somers Cocks, did “not intend entering any negotiation without the advantage of [his] opinion and advice”.<sup>7</sup> Their correspondence with Layard sheds light on the practises they adopted in order to finalise purchases for their collection at Eastnor Castle (Herefordshire). Notably, the Somers Cocks supplied Layard with detailed descriptions and accurate examinations of the state of preservation of the pictures seen. If possible, Layard was asked to have a look at the canvases, otherwise he suggested only “the outside price which [they] might safely offer”.<sup>8</sup>

Lady Charlotte Schreiber (**Plate 4, Figure 18**) also felt in good hands when Layard undertook negotiations on her behalf. For instance, in 1888 he found some “Holbein-looking”<sup>9</sup> playing cards worthy of her mighty collection.<sup>10</sup> Interestingly, Layard reported to his friend Gregory that

Some of the cards [...] were indescribably filthy, whilst other were of singular beauty. I have informed Lady C. of the ‘trouvaille’ but have declined the responsibility of either recommending or affecting their purchase. I should not be surprised if she were to insist upon having them. Collectors seem insensible to all feelings of decency and English ladies with a taste for

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<sup>6</sup> Layard 1857, 184. On the Italian art market during XIX century see, for instance, Martinelli 1978; Levi 2005; Cecchini 2011; Bernardello 2013; Tüskés 2013.

<sup>7</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIII, Add MS 38993, fol. 214: C. Somers-Cocks to A.H. Layard, 29 October 1866.

<sup>8</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIII, Add MS 38993, fol. 214: C. Somers-Cocks to A.H. Layard, 29 October 1866.

<sup>9</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 17 March 1888.

<sup>10</sup> In this respect, see the catalogue by O’Donoghue 1901, 5, no. 1.

literature and the fine arts will not hesitate to spend an hour in the ‘camara riservata’ of the Naples Museum simply, of course, for study.<sup>11</sup>

But to Layard’s eyes Lady Charlotte was “an extraordinary woman and her character a remarkable one – in some respects, it appears to me, resembling Madame de Sta[ë], in the union of the feminine and masculine qualities”.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, he continued the transaction in order to secure the cards, which had been offered to him by the art critic and dealer Jean Paul Richter, “our little dirty friend”,<sup>13</sup> as Lady Charlotte had unkindly named him. Before concluding the purchase, however, Layard verified that “four of them are engraved in the history of playing cards by Singer” because to his eyes Richter did “not seem to have been acquainted with the whole pack”.<sup>14</sup> The negotiation was satisfactorily concluded, though it is not known whether Layard was able to obtain the pack for 50 francs, as Lady Charlotte had hoped.<sup>15</sup>

Two years later, in 1890, Layard informed his friend Gregory that “by a most unexpected piece of good fortune I have been able to procure for [my mother-in-law] the greatest treasure to the card collector, and indeed to the lover of art, the so-called Mantegna playing cards, which, as you probably know, are of the greatest rarity and of very great beauty”.<sup>16</sup> Admittedly, Layard referred to five prints belonging to the second version of a group of fifty engravings known as the “Tarocchi Cards of

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<sup>11</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 17 March 1888.

<sup>12</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 154: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 30 November 1890.

<sup>13</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 154: C. Schreiber to A.H. Layard, 2 April 1888.

<sup>14</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fols. 36-7: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 27 March 1888. Layard referred to the volume by Samuel Weller Singer, *Researches into the history of playing cards, with illustrations of the origin of printing and engraving on wood* (London: Benseley and son, 1816).

<sup>15</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 154: C. Schreiber to A.H. Layard, 2 April 1888.

<sup>16</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add Ms 38950, fol. 150: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 4 November 1890. See Catalogue 1901, 5, no. 1.

Mantegna”, though nowadays they cannot be considered tarots, nor by Mantegna (British Museum, inv.1896,0501.1101-5).<sup>17</sup> At any rate, Layard was particularly proud of his finding, even if Lady Charlotte “has had to pay heavily for them – [it is] a good deal less than has been paid before, and, I believe, than their value in the market. The pack is not quite perfect – three cards being missing – but 47 remain. For six of these cards she was asked last year in London the ridiculous price of £600!”.<sup>18</sup>

Layard proved to be skilled even when selling. Robert Browning, the famous poet (1812-1889), turned to him when engaged in selling a picture in Henry Cottrell’s possession for £150, who also used to recur to Layard when “in want of money”.<sup>19</sup> Janet Ross, née Duff Gordon (1842-1927), when eager to part with a pretended original sketch of the *Deposition* by Andrea del Sarto for £200, also asked his advice.<sup>20</sup> Mrs Ross, in fact, recurred often to Layard’s help in order to sell the paintings or artworks she had purchased as economic investment.<sup>21</sup> No evidence has survived concerning Marchese Carlo Alberto Maffei di Boglio’s request to help him in selling some “gothic tapestries”<sup>22</sup> through the Venetian art dealer Richetti. Notwithstanding, it is significant that the Marchese turned to Layard in the hope that

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<sup>17</sup> See Mark J. Zucker, 'The Illustrated Bartsch, Commentary', vol. 24, part 3, 2000, 18, no. 009a. Cf. also the note of the British Museum’s curator for the print of the “Misero”, inv. 1895,0915.1 <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1335139&partId=1&museumno=1895-9-15-1&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1335139&partId=1&museumno=1895-9-15-1&page=1)>

<sup>18</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add Ms 38950, fol. 150: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 4 November 1890.

<sup>19</sup> The quotation is taken from NLS, John Murray Archive, MS42336, fol. 83: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 6 Lung’Arno nuovo, 6 November 1865. See also BU, Armstrong Browning Library, 67132: R. Browning to I. Blagden, 31 December 1867; 68037-20: R. Browning to A.H. Layard, 7 May 1868. According to the Bank of England Historic Inflation Calculator, £150 equates to £15,965.35 in 2017. <<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>> [accessed September 2017].

<sup>20</sup> BI, Waterfield collection, Wat, I, E, 23, H-6-8: J. Ross to A.H. Layard, Castagnolo, 29 March 1886. On this account see Campolmi 2012, 96-7.

<sup>21</sup> Campolmi 2012, 89-137.

<sup>22</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 56: C.A. Maffei di Boglio to A.H. Layard, 11 January 1888.

he could “pronounce a very valuable opinion [on the account]. Besides your relations with the artistic world are numerous and important. Perhaps you might even induce the Kensington to make a purchase”.<sup>23</sup>

### 2.1.a An appropriate collection for Sir Ivor Bertie Guest

Layard’s cousin and later brother-in-law, Sir Ivor Bertie Guest (1835-1914, **Plate 4, Figure 19**), more than others, enjoyed the privilege of his assistance in several purchases, especially for Old masters.<sup>24</sup>

From 1860 Layard had begun selecting paintings for Ivor, plus superintending the refurbishment of Canford Manor, Sussex, the Guest’s country house, where he set up on display the Nineveh porch, wood carved pediments and panels designed by the Venetian woodcarver Giuseppe Biraghi, following examples in the Scala d’Oro of the Ducal Palace.<sup>25</sup> Layard also purchased a great number of statues, which came from the Orti Oricellari in Florence, for the Manor’s garden. He had been informed of the sale by an old friend, John Temple Leader (1810-1903), who recommended the acquisition “for a winter garden or a large conservatory in England” as the price was moderate and the statues “decorative”.<sup>26</sup> Eventually, therefore, on behalf of

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<sup>23</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 56: C.A. Maffei di Boglio to A.H. Layard, 11 January 1888.

<sup>24</sup> In 1868 he married Cornelia Churchill, first daughter of the 6<sup>th</sup> Duke of Marlborough, and in 1880 he was raised to peerage as Baron Wimborne.

<sup>25</sup> The works for the Nineveh porch started in 1851; see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIV, Add MS 38944, 8: A.H. Layard to M.A. Gordon (Coutess of Aboyne, after 1853 Machioness of Huntly), Canford, 29 October 1851. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CIX, Add MS 39039, fols. 13, 30, 40, 43, 64, 90, 92, 178: A.H. Layard to I.B. Guest; Vol. CXVIII, Add MS 39048, fol. 172: G. Biraghi to A.H. Layard, 16 June 1891. On the Nineveh porch, see Russell 1997, 73-112.

<sup>26</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVII, Add MS 39047, fol. 153: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 24 January 1891; fol. 127: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 8 January 1891. The catalogue offered “1. Apollo, marmo, statua, Lire It. 1000 [£39ca]; 2. Bacco, L. 500; 3. Eio, L. 400; 4. Idolo L. 200; 5. Venere, L. 250; 6. Primavera, pietra, L. 250; 7. Musicante-battipiatti; L. 170; 8-9. Due torsi, marmo, L. 325; 10. Piccolo Marte, deperito, marmo, L. 90; 20. Busti, soggetti diversi, marmo, L. 500; 21. 22. Figurine, soggetti incerti, marmo, L. 180; 23-24. Due statue sdraiate, terracotta, L. 200; 25-31. Otto

Temple Leader, “the statues and oggetti which adorned the Orti Oricellari” were purchased for 2,800 Lire (equivalent to £110ca), packed in twenty-two cases and shipped with insurance from Leghorn to Southampton Docks, via London, for a total amount of 5,000 Lire (£200ca).<sup>27</sup>

Despite the “good bargain”, Layard was hardly persuaded of the merits of “purchasing damaged marble statues”,<sup>28</sup> and Temple Leader as well feared that the statues “will look very small and poor in comparison with your winged bulls from Nineveh”.<sup>29</sup> In fact, Temple Leader would regret the purchase within a few months:

It is mortifying to hear that the ‘oggetti’ from the Orti Oricellari did not suit Lord Wimborne and that he has sold them for what they cost, minor the carriage which was considerable. I am told, and I believe, that two of the marble statues were alone worth more, than the price paid and the carriage combined.<sup>30</sup>

Very little is known of Layard’s involvement in the sumptuous refurbishment of Sir Ivor’s London estate at 22 Arlington Street, formerly Hamilton House.<sup>31</sup> “Extremely opulent, with coupled Ionic pilasters supporting a deep entablature beneath a high coved ceiling” the mansion had been redesigned by George Trollope and Sons, “the interior was French in character: heavy and elaborate, with boiserie panelling filled with French-style furniture, as well as mirrors, paintings, chandeliers [...] Wimborne House was the quintessential late-Victorian palace”.<sup>32</sup> According to

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guanciali, terracotta, L. 240; 31-32. Due vasi triangolari, gesso ornato, L. 80; 33. Flora, statua, gesso, L. 70; 33. 34. Due panieri con frutti e putti, terracotta, L. 80”.

<sup>27</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVIII, Add MS 39048, fol. 23: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 19 February 1891.

<sup>28</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVIII, Add MS 39048, fol. 23: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 19 February 1891. See also at fol. 5: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 10 February 1891.

<sup>29</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVIII, Add MS 39048, fol. 39: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 21 February 1891.

<sup>30</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVIII, Add MS 39098, fol. 78: J. Temple Leader to A.H. Layard, 18 September 1891. See also Baxter 1893, 81; Bartoli, Contorni 1991; Baldry 1997, 138.

<sup>31</sup> See Beresford 1908, 367; Sykes 1985, 280-1; Pearce 1986, 206-11; Penny 2004, 376.

<sup>32</sup> Pearce 1986, 209.

Nicholas Penny, “the interiors [...] included baroque revival plasterwork and what looks like Venetian rococo furniture” that Layard may have provided through his numerous contacts in the Lagoon.<sup>33</sup> No doubt the gallery contained marble family bust portraits, as was fashionable among the nobility, and the numerous drawing rooms were enriched with *objets d’art* that the Layards possibly acquired for Ivor during their travels, such as a “fine chest of oriental lacquer with ormolu mounts”.<sup>34</sup> Yet, the extant correspondence between Sir Henry and Sir Ivor does not specifically refer to whether the objects discussed were for one or the other mansion. It is, however, evident that Ivor did not really select any specific item without first seeking Layard’s opinion, as was the case with his coat of arms: “I don’t quite know about what subjects should we choose for the heads Heraldic device I do not care for. If the tondi pleased me I should have to give the size to the artist”.<sup>35</sup>

Not only did Layard assemble a prestigious collection of paintings for Ivor, but also he took a great interest in publishing their catalogue in 1888. Remaining overlooked by scholarship, such catalogue can be considered, together with the re-writing of the Kugler, an important art-historical achievement of Layard, who “certainly regarded himself as unofficial curator to”<sup>36</sup> Ivor’s collection and might be most likely the author of the volume. The style and the manner in which information are provided is indeed reminiscent of Layard’s writing.

Strangely enough, unlike most of his peers of the nouveau bourgeoisie it appears that Lord Wimborne did not commission any photographic album of his estates, but

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<sup>33</sup> The Layards were well-acquainted with the majority of the art dealers in Venice, where they spent many afternoon in search of paintings or bibelots for their house or that of friends. Lady Layard’s journal widely testifies to this hobby. It is unsurprising that the Layards provided help even to Pen Browning when furnishing Ca’ Rezzonico. See *New Letters of Robert Browning*, edited by W. Clyde DeVane (London: Murray, 1951), 367.

<sup>34</sup> Beresford 1908, 371.

<sup>35</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 182: I.B. Guest to A.H. Layard, 28 April 1888.

<sup>36</sup> Penny 2004, 376. For an overview of Lord Wimborne’s collection, see Catalogue 1888.



instead a quasi-scholarly catalogue of his paintings. It could thus be argued that Ivor consented to have a catalogue since he might already have had in view a potential sale of the pictures and such a tool would facilitate the acknowledgement of their authenticity and provenance. Among its various objectives, the catalogue served to make the collection known and include it in the network of well-respected private galleries throughout the country. Each entry briefly described the painting and its history, indicated its peculiar character, whether there were copies, engravings or drawings for the work, and often included letters and documents concerning its acquisition. Even though the catalogue is unsigned, it is very likely that Layard compiled it. In acknowledging receipt of that “charming present” illustrating the pictures at Canford, Lord Savile indeed congratulated Layard on it by saying that it was “most interesting and a model of what a Catalogue ought to be. I had no idea that the collection was so fine and as the pictures were, I believe, principally chosen by yourself their beauty and authenticity must be undoubted”.<sup>37</sup>

Setting aside a detailed analysis of Lord Wimborne’s collection and its deployment, which would exceed our purpose, it is interesting to observe the manner in which Layard acted as a curator. It is evident that in this privileged position he could form a wide, illustrative collection of paintings of the principal schools, as he would dream for himself. Without the restraints of money and space, when not in person, Layard made use of his most trusted and best acquaintances to secure high quality pieces. For instance, at the Pourtalès sale, he directly entrusted Otto Müндler with the purchase of two paintings the *Saint Paul* by Rembrandt and *A Venetian*

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<sup>37</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 132: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 9 October 1893.

*Lady and Knight* by Paris Bordone, then assigned to Giorgione.<sup>38</sup> It comes as no surprise that Giovanni Morelli was also involved in the formation of Sir Ivor's collection. In October 1865, Morelli purchased "a head of a youth in a red turban"<sup>39</sup> by Fra Galgario, from the Count Lupi of Bergamo. The painting was initially intended for Sir Henry, who, however, ceded it to Ivor without giving a reason.<sup>40</sup> On that same occasion, Morelli had also provided Layard with a *St. Jerome* by Moretto from the Moracchi family at Bergamo, which he had hoped to negotiate a good price, but ultimately secured for "50 on en plus 55 Napoléons. C'est le prix de Bergame, ou les Moretto se vendent plus bon marché qu'à Brescia et à Milan".<sup>41</sup> As will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, Sir Henry usually bought pictures for lower prices and thus left the *St. Jerome* to his cousin.

The acquisitions of pictures for Ivor's collection are illustrative of one of the main characteristics of Layard's shrewd collecting practice: purchasing *en bloc*. He knew that it was far more expedient, than selecting few pieces at a time. In this way, he could negotiate a better price, whilst pleasing Italian aristocratic families, which frequently aimed to sell their collections as a whole and at once. Therefore, Layard did not fail to use this technique with the Costabili collection at Ferrara. Besides securing certain pictures for his own, Layard gladly informed Ivor's sister, Miss Blanche Guest, that

I have bought some very fine pictures for Ivor – and when all his purchases are collected at Canford he will have no reason to be ashamed of his gallery. I

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<sup>38</sup> The catalogue includes the letters Müндler wrote to Layard. See Catalogue 1888, 9, 62-4. The pictures corresponded to the Pourtalès catalogue, no. 60, 185.

<sup>39</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 39.

<sup>40</sup> Canford 1888, 31, no. 66. The painting was later sold at Christie's, see the catalogue Christie's 1923, lot. 15. See Fleming 1973, 8, n. 47.

<sup>41</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 25v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bellagio, 2 October 1865. See also Catalogue 1888, 9, no. 15. The painting was auctioned in 1923, where Agnew secured it for 84 guineas. Cf. Christie's 1923, lot 23.

long to see them all placed – but it will be sometime before this can be done as many of them require repair – being old family pictures which have been neglected.<sup>42</sup>

The same strategy would be applied to the Manfrin collection in Venice, from which Layard acquired a significant number of paintings, both for Ivor and for himself, as will see.<sup>43</sup>

In Venice, Layard had also purchased the *Agony in the Garden* by Tintoretto, “formerly in the church of S. Silvestro”, for 50 Napoleons (£40), “from Sig. Toffoli who possessed a decree of the Republic mentioning this picture and the *Adoration of the Magi*, by Paul Veronese”.<sup>44</sup> Although the Tintoretto results in the handbook of Layard’s collection, it was sold for £50 to Ivor five years later its purchase, namely in 1867.<sup>45</sup> Probably, its imposing dimensions (approximately 2.68x2.22 m) did not suit his small flat at 130 Piccadilly.

Although Sir Ivor “devient de jour en jour plus riche”<sup>46</sup> and could buy at great expense, Layard did not advise him without consideration. For instance, Layard had

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<sup>42</sup> Blanche Guest was the sister of Ivor and Enid. She married Edward Ponsonby, 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Bessborough. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 103: A.H. Layard to B. Guest, Venice, 1 November 1866. Among the choice were the altarpiece of the *Virgin and Child enthroned* by G.F. Maineri (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. 42.57.5); the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, attributed to the same author (now in the Courtauld Institute Gallery, P.1947.LF.231); the Niccolò Pisano now in the Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts (1940.64); the *Portrait of Annibale Saracco* (last documented in Borenius 1934) or the *Saint John the Baptist* by Dosso Dossi (Genoa, Coll. Gnecco 1940, never seen again). See Fleming 1973, 7-8, 10. On the Constabili collection and on Layard’s purchases see Mattaliano, Agostini 1998, in particular at 23.

<sup>43</sup> Layard bought for Ivor the *Pietà* by Girolamo Romanino, a *Portrait of a girl* by Paris Bordone, The Venetian Toilet by Carlo Caliari, a *Portrait of a gentleman* by Hans Holbein, a *Portrait of a gentleman* by Giovanni Battista Moroni, the Presentation in the Temple by Sebastiano del Piombo, a Virgin’s head by Marco Zoppo, and *Herodia’s Daughter* by Il Pordenone. On the dispersal of the Manfrin collection, see Davies, 1961, 135; Robertson 1978, 124; Anderson 1996, 107-119; Pezzini 2017, 4-5; Borean 2018.

<sup>44</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 18. Charles L. Eastlake had acquired the Veronese some ten years before for the National Gallery (NG268), see Penny, Roy, Spring 1996, 46; Penny 2008, 396-409.

<sup>45</sup> In a letter dated 17 November 1862 to Lady Eastlake (NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 45), Layard announced the purchase of the Tintoretto, which is recorded in his handbook NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): n. 18. The painting was burnt in Canford fire in 1884.

<sup>46</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 167v : A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Canford, 25 July 1872.

hoped to acquire “two magnificent Canalettos – the finest I ever saw”<sup>47</sup> in the Sormani collection that he saw on display at the Exhibition in Milan in 1872.<sup>48</sup> These were the same specimens that Hudson had failed to acquire for John Samuel in 1866<sup>49</sup> and, in both cases, Morelli had taken part in the transaction. “Je vous serais vraiment très reconnaissant si vous pourriez nous informer du prix que l’on en demande” Layard had said, and added “je laisse la chose entièrement entre vos mains car il n’y a personne qui saurait mieux la traiter”.<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, the negotiations failed because the price demanded was deemed to be excessively large and Layard did not wish to pay such a high sum for “des tableaux de [...] decoration”.<sup>51</sup>

By 1888 the collection was virtually complete and Layard thus established the catalogue of over 280 paintings, in possession of Lord Wimborne. The volume also included those burnt in the fire of 1884, such as the six canvases by Francisco Zurbarán, formerly in the collection of the Duca de La Foes, Lisbon, and purchased through J.C. Robinson (1824-1913).<sup>52</sup>

But, in fact, Lord Wimborne did not have a true interest in art, as Lady Layard observed when he resolved to sell some of his paintings at Christie’s after the death of Sir Henry.

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<sup>47</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 39v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 29 October 1872.

<sup>48</sup> “We saw 2 splendid Canalettos w[hic]h Morelli wants Ivor to buy”. LLJ, Milan, 2 September 1872.

<sup>49</sup> On Hudson’s attempt and John Samuel, see Fleming 1973, 9-10.

<sup>50</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 175: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 19 September 1872.

<sup>51</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 152: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 30 November 1872. Cf. also fol. 148 and Layard’s letter, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 177. Layard had four prints after Canaletto with views of Venice, used for decorating Ca’ Capello; see Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot. 357. It is worth noting that Morelli did not appreciate XVIII and XIX centuries, it comes as no surprise if he commented: “Quattro giorni fa il Guggenheim vendette ad un signore di Vienna, certo Miller, 10 tele (grandi) di G.B. Tiepolo, che ornavano una sala di Casa Dolfin, al prezzo di 46000 franchi. Le pitture erano, veramente, fatte con assai brio e spirito, ma non erano, in [\*illegible word], che pitture di decorazione”. BL, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 127v : G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 5 mars 1872.

<sup>52</sup> On Robinson’s activity as a private art dealer, see Drew 2018, 14; and Conlin 2014, 133-143. With regard to the loss of the Zurbarán, Lord Savile would later comment: “It is however sad to think that so many fine and rare specimens were destroyed [...] The works by Zurbar[á]n are so rare that the loss of six pictures by that artist is a national calamity”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 132: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 9 October 1893.

I am disturbed in my mind at Ivor's resolution to sell 4 of his finest altarpieces; pictures got for him by Henry & the gems of the collection here. He finds them too big for his drawing room! & has sent them to Christie's to be sold. They are pictures by Botticelli, Romanino, Lorenzo Costa & Dosso Dossi. What a thing it is not to understand art! & yet to have so much money.<sup>53</sup>

This would be the first in a long series of sales, culminated in July 1924.<sup>54</sup> These numerous sales barely disguise his indifference to the artistic interest and qualities of the artworks that Layard had selected for him.<sup>55</sup> In fact, both Wimborne House and Canford Manor displayed the mostly appropriate collections for an ambitious industrialist, with important paintings, precious tapestries, glass, mosaics and other fine decorative art. The interiors devised were mainly decorative and aesthetic creations, signs of a much coveted social membership and aspiration. It is no accident that *Vanity Fair* lampooned him as "the paying Guest". Lord Wimborne can be thus correctly ascribed to the Victorian bourgeoisie who sustained the patronage and art collecting thanks to their newly richness, engrossed by commerce and trade, but lacked a catholic taste for art.

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<sup>53</sup> LLJ, 28 May 1899.

<sup>54</sup> From Christie's catalogues, it can be inferred that there were seven sales between 1899 and 1924. Besides the ones already mentioned, one took place in 1917 and four in 1923.

<sup>55</sup> Admittedly, Ivor had previously sold about fifteen Greek and Byzantine manuscripts, mainly lectionaries, canonical texts, and a mathematicarion of XII and XIV centuries, to the British Museum. Unfortunately, Ivor rarely discussed his art collections in his letters, and the surviving correspondence with his relatives bears any reference to these manuscripts. Therefore, it is not possible to say whether he entered into possession through Layard or not. The manuscripts were purchased from Ivor B. Guest on 11 November 1871 and now are held at the British Library, Add MS 28815-28. See Catalogue 1877, 559.

## 2.2 The National Gallery: a swinging trusteeship (1866-1894)

Collecting for private collections or museums went hand in hand with Layard's views about the value of such institutions as places intended "to convey instruction to the art-student, and to afford enjoyment to the lover of art"<sup>1</sup> at the same time. In addition, by helping to provide pictures for the national collection was a way to assert the dignity of his activity, even when related to private individuals.

With regard to the National Gallery, Layard played an active role in sustaining and developing collections, informing acquisition policies, campaigning for the need of display space, applying for endowments, sponsoring achievements in the press, and encouraging gifts and bequests.<sup>2</sup> Not only did Layard know the content of several private collections, but he also possessed the valuable skills of understanding the monetary value of individual objects and the ability to apply for, and secure funds.

The correspondence between Layard and the directors of the Gallery testifies to his commitment to maintaining the post of Trustee – even when far from London – and demonstrates his collaborative relationship with the institution lasting thirty years.<sup>3</sup> Although his advice was not always followed, his experience and expertise were held in high regard, as the National Gallery registers evidence.

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<sup>1</sup> Layard 1886, 407.

<sup>2</sup> All these activities were well summed up in the article above-mentioned, Layard 1886, 395-433.

<sup>3</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/33/13: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 20 December 1869; NGA1/1/52/27: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 23 February 1871; London, BL, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, f. 122: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 14 March 1871; NGA, NGA1/1/53/12: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 18 March 1871.

The epistolary with four directors, Charles Lock Eastlake, William Boxall, Frederic William Burton, and Edward Poynter, gives an insight into his contribution to the management and development of the museum collection. Aside from revealing failed negotiations, these exchanges contribute evoking a broader political and cultural context, punctuated by patriotism, as well as legislative, and financial implications.

Of particular relevance is also the group of letters exchanged with his fellow trustees, in particular William Henry Gregory, Walter James and John Savile Lumley, but also with Lady Eastlake, which shed new light on private opinions and personal projects for the national collections. Especially noteworthy are the correspondences with the art historians and dealers Jean Paul Richter and Charles Fairfax Murray, hitherto less explored.

From the combined evidence, it emerges that on several occasions Layard also acted as a travelling agent, appearing in pro forma transactions,<sup>4</sup> or supplying first-hand information about the art market, upon which he examined and reported during his travels on the Continent, especially in Italy. Although the present discourse does not aim to convey an exhaustive picture of Layard's trusteeship, it seeks to explore lesser-known cases in which Sir Henry was involved and thus reposition his activity within the National Gallery's history and the rise of the museum professional.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2.a Museum delectat et instruit

Accordingly, the concept of a "national gallery" could assume different meanings in the coeval debate. In Britain, this term was used indistinctly to

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<sup>4</sup> Most of these transactions took part during Burton's directorship (1874-94).

<sup>5</sup> On this latter aspect, see the 18<sup>th</sup> issue of the *Journal of Art Historiography* (Jun. 2018).

indicate both a collection focused on the British school (both past and present) and a collection of old masters of different schools (mainly Italian). In the former meaning, the collection was intended to celebrate the art of the national, while the latter represented the art treasure of the nation. Within this second meaning, we should further distinguish between a collection aimed merely at academic training and a collection intended for a wider public.<sup>6</sup>

To this extent, it is worth trying to fathom how Layard envisaged *his* national gallery. His views upon the subject were distinctly stated in a series of articles he wrote for *The Quarterly Review* between 1857 and 1888. In his first article, intended as a review of the *Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition*, Layard wrote that the main object “of a national collection [was] that of preserving and exhibiting the masterpieces of the principal painters of all countries” as well as showing “the history of the origin and development of the art under different conditions and in different localities”,<sup>7</sup> not only British. On the contrary, Layard was far more concerned with the comprehensiveness of foreign schools, such as the Italian, Spanish, and Dutch, than the national one. Interestingly enough, few years later, when discussing about where to place Henry Tate’s gift, Layard confessed to William H. Gregory: “We need not be in a hurry about the Gallery of British Art [...] It is much more important that we should have the required additions to our Gallery in Trafalgar Square which are urgently required”.<sup>8</sup>

In 1859 Layard published his first paper entirely devoted to the National Gallery, wherein he discussed the system upon which a public picture collection should be formed and arranged. In particular, he argued that such a gallery should be promoted

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<sup>6</sup> Levi 2007, 68.

<sup>7</sup> Layard 1857, 168.

<sup>8</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVII, Add MS 39097, fol. 49: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 1 March 1891. On the history of a British Art Gallery, see Hoock 2010.



“for public amusement and instruction”.<sup>9</sup> With regard to the first aspect, Sir Henry specified that it corresponded to the “gratification of the people”<sup>10</sup> in forming taste and judgement. At the same time, such a museum should “not only contain works for the artist to copy, but materials for study and comparison”.<sup>11</sup> Thereby, the collection was to be formed with a very precise purpose in mind, which Layard would express in an article for the *Quarterly Review*, already showing an institutional interest in that museum by 1859.

The principle upon which the National Gallery should collect is a selection of the works of the painters of different schools and periods arranged historically and chronologically for general instruction, without reference to their artistic merits alone, and that only pictures of undoubted authenticity and fairly representing the peculiar style and characteristic of the master should be admitted.<sup>12</sup>

Such a perspective certainly derived from Sir Charles L. Eastlake (**Figure 11**), whose policy aimed at widening the scope of the museum collection, in order to develop it into a representative gallery of the entire tradition of Western painting.<sup>13</sup> It is no accident that Lady Eastlake, well-known for her blatant and vigorous protests, sympathised with Layard’s article. In fact, she wrote to him that she could not “manage to see any more mistakes”, apart from two marginal “little fault[s], or you will think I have not been myself”.<sup>14</sup>

The collection should be thus enriched through the acquisition of works of artists not or inadequately represented, whatever importance they could have. Interestingly

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<sup>9</sup> Layard 1859b, 342.

<sup>10</sup> Layard 1859b, 354.

<sup>11</sup> Layard 1859b, 354.

<sup>12</sup> Layard 1859b, 357.

<sup>13</sup> On this account see Avery-Quash, Meyer 2018.

<sup>14</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42168, fol. 11: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Sq., 26 March 1859.

enough, Layard underscored that “the example chosen [should be] the best that can be produced”.<sup>15</sup> Though it was impossible to acquire masterpieces only, the genuineness of the work, which could be proved by the presence of an authentic signature or by sufficient documentary evidence, and the representativeness of the artist were to be considered among the chief criteria. Although Layard was of the opinion to curtail the National Gallery collection to paintings, it comes as no surprise that he did “have no objection to Burton buying the 4 Roman-Egyptian portraits if he thinks them desirable acquisitions for our collection as illustrating the history of painting”.<sup>16</sup> As much as he favoured comprehensiveness, Layard did not intend “to collect Egyptian antiquities and Pompeian frescoes”, otherwise the collection would “be encroaching upon the British Museum”.<sup>17</sup>

The article, as well as the ones in the years to follow, was clearly devised to attract the attention of the Government and shame it into action, whilst explaining to the public the merits and success of the gallery in question. Not less interestingly, it pointed out the necessity of changes to the museum management. In this respect, Layard upheld the necessity to make use of a travelling agent as a substitute for a competent resident in suggesting which purchases better suit the gallery. A role that, in Layard’s opinion, Otto Mündler had performed most adequately. At the same time, Layard lamented the want of taste and knowledge on behalf of the trustees, which resulted in a “dilettante administration”.<sup>18</sup>

Given the lack of a precise nature of the collection and of a “great national art building”, Layard envisaged a grandiose scheme to transfer all painting and

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<sup>15</sup> Layard 1859b, 353.

<sup>16</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 39850, fol. 42: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 July 1888.

<sup>17</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 42: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 August 1888. The reference is to some mummy portraits that he acquired in 1888 (NG1267-70), transferred to the British Museum in 1994. See Walker, Bierbrier 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Layard 1859b, 381.

sculptural works under one roof, following the example set by the Vatican and the Louvre.<sup>19</sup>

As these pages show and the following case studies will further exemplify, this was the critical stance that typified Layard's trusteeship.

### 2.2.b A zealous and useful Trustee

Over twenty-eight years of trusteeship (1866-1894), Layard assiduously performed his duties, both attending the Board Meeting whenever in town, and variously contributing to the development and enhancement of the collection and building of the National Gallery.

Although his official appointment dates to 13 February 1866, Layard had already assisted with his serviceable art knowledge and diplomatic contacts the first Director of the National Gallery, Charles Lock Eastlake, since their early contacts through the Austens and the *Fine Arts Club*, in the 1850s. As it has been well outlined, in its early days the National Gallery made use of a wide range of individuals, who, despite having no specific training, could provide a high degree of scholarship in a particular field or were well acquainted with collectors, restorers or *marchand amateur*.<sup>20</sup> Layard was one of these, possessing a high level of self-trained experience of art and, more importantly, a European consular corp.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, Layard's excess and enthusiasm in assessing the quality of the artworks made his opinion less reliable, as was the case with a Montagna that he pointed out to Sir

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<sup>19</sup> "The Louvre was the prototypical public art museum", Duncan 1999, at 304; 313-5. For a wider account on the debate about museums' nature and collections, see Whitehead 2005, 69-87.

<sup>20</sup> For a history of the National Gallery, see Whitehead 2005; Conlin 2006; and Avery-Quash, Crookham 2014.

<sup>21</sup> It is worth noting that both Layard and Eastlake were involved in supporting the publication of Crowe and Cavalcaselle's volumes on the history of Italian painting. See Levi 1988, 68-83.

Charles. It is no accident that the Director replied: “The signature is unquestionable and the head of St John is fine, but on the whole it is not so good a specimen as I expected from your description”.<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless, Layard was perceptive about what sort of art and artist found favour in the director’s taste, as well as appealed to the Britain of the time.

Evidently, the most remarkable insight into the dynamics of Layard’s early connection with the National Gallery emerges from the correspondence between Henry, Sir Charles and Lady Elizabeth Eastlake (**Plate 4, Figure 23**). Aside from their sincere and lifelong friendship, the epistles reveal several details about certain acquisition quandaries or lengthy transactions, along with some cunning ploys to elude exportation procedures. Layard’s most significant contributions, such as the Uzielli purchase or the exportation of the Crivelli’s altarpiece from Matelica (NG724.1-2),<sup>23</sup> have been addressed by previous studies, though these circumscribe his role to a more instrumental and subordinate one than that he actually played. In spite of having no official connection to the Gallery, Layard acted as a prompter of acquisitions and provided Eastlake with detailed reports about possible works, as was with the negotiation of the Lombardi-Baldi pictures or the *Aldobrandini Madonna* (known also as the *Garvagh Madonna*, NG744).<sup>24</sup> His propositional and enthusiastic

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<sup>22</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 188r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 10 March 1857.

<sup>23</sup> Avery-Quash 2012, 269-271. On these episodes see also, Fleming 1973, 7, note 31; Levi 1988, 156; Levi 2005, 43-4.

<sup>24</sup> “Last autumn I visited more than once the collection of Pictures by the Old Italian masters belonging to Sig. Lombardi. I had, moreover, opportunities of making enquiries concerning it of persons well qualified to give a sound opinion as to its merits. I came to the conclusion that whilst a few of the pictures are of doubtful authenticity, devoid of interest, and that the restorations had been conscientiously performed as a whole the collection was well worthy of being purchased for the National Gallery, and would prove a most important and describable addition to a series of paintings, illustration of the history of Art such as I should wish to see in our National Gallery, for the Lombardi collection an undoubted historical picture of great interest and value, as for instance the Incoronation of the Virgin by Orcagna (which appeared to me to have been very carefully cleaned and restored), but I attach almost more importance to the series which has been brought together. It is most probable that no such collection will [\*come] again in the market-pictures”. NGA, NG5/114/2: A.H. Layard to

attitude became even more apparent and unflinching throughout the years, although Boxall and Burton knew, as well as Sir Charles, how to curb it.

Layard was eager to be of practical service to the Gallery in any possible way and every time he travelled on the Continent he provided the Eastlakes with accurate reports regarding artworks he had seen. Interestingly enough, Layard wrote often to Lady Eastlake, whose persuasion might incite Sir Charles to purchase pictures. For instance, by the end of September 1860, Henry sent her a full account of his artistic trip around Friuli, even though he “was much disappointed in this respect. It would appear that there was an early school of painting there of any importance”.<sup>25</sup> In his wanderings, likely prompted by political reasons, Layard often brought historical sources and in this case he was driven by the *Storia delle belle arti friulane scritta dal conte Fabio di Maniago* (1819). The use of this source could be no doubt deceiving, as Layard seems to take for granted that there was “nothing before nearly the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and the works of that time are of little merit or importance”.<sup>26</sup> Layard related with great care about churches and historical buildings he had visited, while on the traces of Pellegrino da San Daniele, also known as Martino da Udine, and Giovanni Antonio de Sacchis, called il Pordenone. After a thorough description of some of their works, he reckoned that “from what I have now seen of Pellegrino I have conceived that many fine pictures known as Dosso Dossi are his. It appears that he laid long at Ferrara, and was employed by the

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C.L. Eastlake ,9 Little Ryder Street, 18 April 1855. See Bomford 1985, 23-5. For the Garvagh Raphael, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LVI, Add MS 38989, fols. 130, 132, 152.

<sup>25</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 20v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 27 September 1860.

<sup>26</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 20v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 27 September 1860. On painting in Friuli there was almost no literature. Only in 1875 Cavalcaselle would be entrusted to compile an inventory of works of art in the Friuli, whose result was *Vita ed opere dei pittori friulani dai primi tempi sino alla fine del secolo XVI* published by the Deputazione di Storia Patria per il Friuli in 1876. Cavalcaselle’s entire work would be published only in 1973. G.B. Cavalcaselle, *La pittura friulana del Rinascimento* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1973).

Dukes”.<sup>27</sup> Then he turned to art market issues, regretting that “Udine seems to have been ransacked. Perhaps with [\*liberty] of time to spare something might be found in the villages but I almost doubt it”.<sup>28</sup> The only picture he could recommend for purchase was the altarpiece by Pellegrino da Udine in the church of Santa Maria dei Battuti, at Cividale.

In five pieces (something like our Romanino) one is missing - very Giorgionesque in character in some parts – with grand Palma like [\*\*] heads. The pictures are neglected but do not appear to have suffered much for retouching I heard from one old gentleman at Cividale that the ‘pala’ was ‘vendibile’ – and the person told me that hundreds or thousands of lire had been offered for it in vain. At any rate it might be worth looking after. It could be a fine addition to our National Gallery. It is in the church of the ‘Spedale’ and sometimes these institutions are in want of funds.<sup>29</sup>

Eastlake’s reply is missing. Nevertheless, Layard’s account might have been interesting for Eastlake and some of his later comments, jotted in a notebook of 1863, testify very similar comments.<sup>30</sup> A further proof of Eastlake’s appreciation of Layard is demonstrated by the numerous requests for him to inspect paintings; for instance, a Sebastiano del Piombo at 32 Great Cumberland Place, London, the Uzielli’s Piero della Francesca, or a picture in the convent of Monte Oliveto, Siena.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 20v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 27 September 1860. On Martino da Udine, see Bergamini 2000; Tempestini 1999.

<sup>28</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 20v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 27 September 1860. The underlining is original.

<sup>29</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 20v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 27 September 1860.

<sup>30</sup> Eastlake appears to have seen the Friulian area early in 1830; an undated manuscript reports also a visit to Udine, San Daniele del Friuli and Cividale del Friuli (NG22.1). However, the first manuscript to document a thorough visit - including Casarsa della Delizia, Spilimbergo, Valvasone, Pordenone and Torre - is dated 1863 (NG 22.33). See Avery-Quash 2011, 49, 636-8.

<sup>31</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42168, fol. 14r: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Sq., 8 May 1857; MS 42169, fol. 21r: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Sq., 6 April 1861; MS 42169, fol. 15: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Paris, 24 October 1860. Layard possessed a copy of the *Catalogue of the Collection of Matthew Uzielli* by J.C. Robinson (1860). See Layard 1904, 164.

As known, Eastlake exchanged his view with Layard's also on titles and attributions, such was the case with a painting by Bronzino (NG651), for which Layard had proposed "the best title [...] "Venus, Cupid and Time – an Allegory"". <sup>32</sup>

At the same time, Sir Charles was grateful to Layard for keeping an eye on the market. In fact, Eastlake once wrote to him: "I will only say once for all [...] that you cannot do me a greater service than to tell me if any really important opportunities". <sup>33</sup> Layard, in his position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, did much profitable picture dealing. He could furnish Eastlake with updated list of pictures on sale throughout Europe; such was the case with certain Spanish paintings that the Consul at Cadiz had selected on request of Layard. <sup>34</sup> At any rate, the British Vice-Consul General in Venice, William Perry, appears to have been the principal middleman in supplying English collectors with the pictures they wanted, besides facilitating the transport of the works to Britain, through Vienna. For instance, in June 1862 Perry informed Layard that he had "bought 3 very grand pictures for Fane, and all very fair prices. The [first] is a Gianbellino, the 2<sup>nd</sup> a Palma Vecchio and the third a Bonifacio". <sup>35</sup> Not only Perry had profitable relationships with a number of painter-restorers of Venice, such as Paolo Fabbris, Michelangelo Grigoletti, and Vincenzo Azzola, but was also on very good terms with Venetian aristocracy, as will see.

Among the interesting opportunities that Perry brought to Layard's attention was the sale of a picture traditionally ascribed to Carpaccio and belonging to Count

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<sup>32</sup> NGA, NG5/329: C.L. Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, 14 March 1860. For attributions see, NGA, NG5/139/4: C.L. Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, 13 September 1860.

<sup>33</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 38987, fol. 56r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Sq., 24 January 1861.

<sup>34</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 24r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 27 January 1865.

<sup>35</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXVIII, Add MS 39103, fol. 157: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 7 June 1862.

Alvise Mocenigo of Venice. The painting represented the *Virgin and Child with Saints Christopher and John the Baptist and Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (NG750). Layard spared no time in reporting this to the director of the National Gallery, through Lady Eastlake, saying: “Count Mocenigo is now very anxious to sell his Carpaccio and Perry thinks that this would be a good time to treat with him”.<sup>36</sup> The negotiations had been opened in February, when the Perry had written to Layard to ascertain what offer he might make to Mocenigo. Given the poor economic conditions of Count Mocenigo, the Vice-Consul hoped that an offer superior to the 40,000 francs that the Venetian antiquarian Consiglio Richetti had already proposed would have been certainly accepted. Perry, in fact, was in good relations with Count Mocenigo, or rather “on very friendly terms”,<sup>37</sup> and as such he advised Layard to deal directly with the owners. In spite of the initial proposal, the Count now seemed willing to sell the pseudo-Carpaccio for not less than 100,000 francs. However, Perry was convinced that half of the amount would have been far enough, “as [the Count] wants money, having lately restored his Palace”.<sup>38</sup> By that time, Eastlake was already negotiating for the *Incredulity of St. Thomas* by Cima da Conegliano in the church of San Francesco at Portogruaro, through the Venetian art dealer Pajaro, or Pagliaro, and was thus compelled to wait until the affair was settled.<sup>39</sup> Eastlake was very anxious to conclude this purchase of the Cima and invited Layard to write on his behalf to Pajaro to name a price for the picture.

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<sup>36</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 80r, A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 12 October 1865.

<sup>37</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 81v, A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 17 October 1865.

<sup>38</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXXIII, Add MS 39113, fol. 351: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 21 February 1865.

<sup>39</sup> Boxall eventually secured the picture for the National Gallery in 1870 (NG816).



Entre nous, it is very important that this affair should be settled soon, for the plain reason that the good balance which is now at the disposal of the Trustees must be surrendered at the close of the financial year, and all that is to be provided independently of that balance will be absorbed, if not by the Pourtales pictures, by two other important sales, that of the Duchess de Berri's pictures and that of the Van Brienen collection (at Amsterdam). The present balance is more than £5,000, but I have offered £2,000, and may perhaps increase the offer, for some of the Balbi-Piovera pictures.<sup>40</sup>

Layard swiftly informed Perry, who would in his turn speak directly to Pajaro and tell him "that it [was] important to set the price of the Cima".<sup>41</sup> The Carpaccio could wait, especially because Eastlake wished to see it again before finalising a deal, as it had been "repaired and possibly much repainted by Tagliapietra".<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the negotiation for the Cima of Portogruaro remained pending having not reached a deal before the closing of the financial year of the National Gallery's budget.<sup>43</sup> On exhortation of Layard, Eastlake thus resolved to request Paolo Fabris – the Venetian official restorer at the Ducal Palace, who "sometimes transact[ed] business for"<sup>44</sup> him – to inspect the Carpaccio Mocenigo and eventually offer 80,000 francs (£3,200ca) for it. By October 1865, however, Eastlake was already confined to bed and as far as he could rely on his previous notes, which related to the painting before the restoration, he would be "greatly influenced by the impression, restorations included, which the picture produced on"<sup>45</sup> Layard. The latter, who was by then in

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<sup>40</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fols. 37v-38r: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Hotel du Louvre, Paris, 30 January 1865.

<sup>41</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXXIII, Add MS 39113, fol. 167v: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 6 February 1865

<sup>42</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 70v: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Square, 11 February 1865.

<sup>43</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 131: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Square, 15 March 1865.

<sup>44</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 118r: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Square, 9 March 1865.

<sup>45</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 35v: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 16 October 1865.

Venice, could easily undertake the task. Furthermore, Eastlake felt reassured by the fact that he already showed to the Trustees “a rough engraving of the Carpaccio” that Perry had sent him, and the Board had “admitted that it was apparently a desirable acquisition”.<sup>46</sup> Sir Charles’ desiderata list equally included *The Virgin and Child with the Baptist and an Angel* by Paolo Morando, also called Cavazzola, from the Portalupi collection in Verona (NG777), *The Madonna of Humility* by Lippo Dalmasio (NG752), from the Ercolani Gallery in Bologna, and a Giovanni Santi in the Collection of Antonio Mazza, Ferrara (NG751). Nevertheless, the money at his disposal amounted to £4,700 and he was thus obliged to prioritise the acquisitions. Unable to make a personal inspection, Eastlake once more requested that Layard examined, either the picture by Giovanni Santi and the one by Lippo Dalmasio, in order to “know whether [...] sufficiently attractive or important to be worthy of the National Gallery independently of the name”.<sup>47</sup>

With alacrity, Layard addressed an enthusiastic report to Lady Eastlake:

I am very anxious indeed that he should secure this magnificent picture for the National Gallery and I feel sure that he would greatly regret to find that it passed into other hands. Mr Perry who is on very friendly terms with Count Mocenigo, the owner, tells me that he is in difficulties at the present moment and that he will certainly sell the picture if he can get a good price for it. He came to Venice to see me, and we dined together at Mr Perry’s. The picture was taken down and I examined it very carefully with Sig. Fabris. I do not like to press the matter too much upon Sir Charles as it might trouble him but I should be glad if he could say a word. I think if Sir Charles has any doubt about the picture it might be worth while to send Mündler here on purpose to see it that such an addition to our National Gallery would be most desirable. I cannot doubt. I suppose it to be the finest Carpaccio in existence. The Virgin

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<sup>46</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 35v: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 16 October 1865.

<sup>47</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 35v: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 16 October 1865.

wants refinement perhaps, but the kneeling Doge – the St. Christopher with the Child, the St. John the Baptist and the landscaper are magnificent. The picture, as you know, is signed, and been the arms of the family the portrait is that of the Doge Mocenigo. Fabris has this moment called upon me. He tells me that he had since conversation with Count Mocenigo before he left Venice and that for the first time he named a price – 110,000 francs (no copy to be left with him). Fabris requests me to tell Sir Charles this. The price seems large, but the picture would be a noble addition to our national collection, and the Count would probably take less.<sup>48</sup>

Together with the Carpaccio, Fabris proposed to include in the negotiation a “Grazioso’ Basaiti at the Casa Mocenigo”,<sup>49</sup> of which, however, Eastlake did not have any recollection. Thereby, he invited Layard to inspect it. “The Basaiti may or not be a picture which I should have selected but “thrown in” under the circumstances would not hesitate to take it if it is of sufficient importance. If not I would rather have it alone”.<sup>50</sup> And that’s what happened. The purchase was finalised, but not without causing some stir. Fabris and Pajaro, who had both concurred in the transaction at different stages, contended the commission on the purchase. In fact, Pajaro had initially sent to Eastlake a description of the painting along with a print of it.<sup>51</sup> Fabris, however, had reminded Sir Charles that Carpaccio paintings were his exclusivity and, in fact, the transaction had been entrusted to him.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, the painting had to be stored at the British Consulate in Venice for a few weeks, before

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<sup>48</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fols. 81-82: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 17 October 1865.

<sup>49</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 37: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville Milan, 18 October 1865.

<sup>50</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 37: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville Milan, 18 October 1865.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 70: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, 11 February 1865; fol. 131: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, 15 March 1865.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 118: C.L. Eastlake to A. H. Layard, 9 March 1865.

obtaining the export licence from the Austrian Government.<sup>53</sup> The course was somewhat lengthy, as revealed by the subsequent letters.

Wornum applied to the Foreign Office officially for permission to be obtained through the Vienna Embassy for the export of the Carpaccio. I hope there will be no difficulty. If so I hope he will let me know at once. It would have been much better if this course could have been considered. In general the best place appear to me to be to leave it to the proprietor of the picture to make the necessary arrangements and to obtain the necessary permission for getting the picture out of the country. When the British Government applies the difficulty of obtaining the permission is [\*illegible word] much greater.<sup>54</sup>

The matter was ultimately resolved and by the end of January 1866 the Carpaccio reached London, where it was immediately transferred to the restorer Raffaele Pinti for cleaning.<sup>55</sup>

Through Layard, the picture by Giovanni Santi, formerly in the Mazza collection, had been also secured and would arrive to Trafalgar Square a month later.<sup>56</sup>

Layard eventually had attempted to involve Morelli in the National Gallery's business, in a somewhat covert manner. In 1862 Morelli sold directly to Eastlake the portrait of *The physician Giovanni Agostino della Torre and his son, Niccolò* by Lorenzo Lotto once in his private collection (NG699). As Jaynie Anderson has discussed, the Veronese art critic skilfully asked to Sir Charles to state his name as the former owner of the painting in the Annual report of the Gallery. No doubt, this

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<sup>53</sup> See London, NGA, NG5/161/17: C.L. Eastlake to R. Wornum, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 31 October 1865.

<sup>54</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 95r: A.H. Layard to C.L. Eastlake, 130 Piccadilly, 18 December 1865.

<sup>55</sup> A profile of Raffaele Pinti (1826-1881) has been traced by Brambilla Ranise 2007, 17-22. It appears that he had escaped from Italy thanks to Charles Compton, through whom he was employed by Eastlake to clean the paintings purchased for the National Gallery. On his activity for the National Gallery, see Penny 2004, XIV-XV; Sheldon 2009, 230, 236, 238.

<sup>56</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 107r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 8 February 1866.

would promote him as a collector and connoisseur, whilst comparing him to those “degli altri disgraziati, che al pari di me furono costretti a privarsi de’ migliori tesori loro”.<sup>57</sup>

Besides picture hunting, Eastlake commended Layard’s expertise, especially when dealing with exportation issues, as evidenced by the case of the Crivelli from Matelica. Other difficulties in exporting artworks from the Papal States regarded a painting by Dosso Dossi in possession of “Mr W. Moore”, about which Eastlake informed to Layard that since its exportation had been denied, though “Mr Lyons had personally requested Cardinal Antonelli”, he then supposed “that Ancona would be the outlet”.<sup>58</sup> Although the information cannot be further detailed, it outlines another geographical point on the map used by British collectors to export paintings.

The organization and display of pictures was another matter dear to Eastlake, as well as to Layard. The latter highly praised the art-historical and chronological principles proposed by continental museums, which he had visited on purpose, especially

The Museums and Galleries of Berlin, Dresden and Munich, in order to be able to compare their administration and arrangement with those of similar Institutions in England. One is really ashamed when sees what has been done in those places and reflects upon the discreditable condition of our own Museum.<sup>59</sup>

Waagen, in particular, deserved high praise for what he had pioneered in Berlin and which appeared to Layard to be “the most valuable in Europe for the illustration

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<sup>57</sup> Anderson 1987, 135, note 84.

<sup>58</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LVI, Add MS 38986, fol. 150v: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 3 August 1858.

<sup>59</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 2: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 27 September 1860.

of the history of art”.<sup>60</sup> He was not alone in this eagerness for the “models of good practice in terms of [...] architecture, internal spaces and display of collections”.<sup>61</sup> Layard, instead, joined that intense debate about the management of the National Gallery, spearheaded by C.L. Eastlake, Ralph Nicholas Wornum, and William Dyce.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, in 1861 Layard still complained about “the old system of hanging, that [\*Dyckness] should be between Van Eyck and other early Flemish masters and that no chronological order whatever should be kept. I shall think that this is a great [\*vinculation] in anyway. The interest of the collection is greatly diminished and many who would give a loan picture are prevented from so doing”.<sup>63</sup> Layard believed that the museum space chiefly determined art appreciation, as well as the context in which art ought to be viewed. To this extent, Layard was inclined to make great use of his political position to campaign for the expansion, redecoration, and redisplay of the National Gallery. It is no accident that once he asked Lady Eastlake “confidentially whether [he] could take any step which might help Sir Charles in getting means of making some kind of chronological arrangement”.<sup>64</sup> When appointed First Commissioner of Works, Layard would spare no effort in this sense. As the museum records show, Layard, who also devised a scheme for a new National Gallery, chaired most of the meetings relating to this matter.<sup>65</sup> The design he proposed, assisted by Gilbert Redgrave, was Palladian or Renaissance Italian in style and proposed “the general form [...] of a skeleton of an animal with head, backbone

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<sup>60</sup> Layard 1859b, 342. Cf. Whitehead 2005, 12-13, 135.

<sup>61</sup> Avery-Quash, Crookham 2014, 168.

<sup>62</sup> See Avery-Quash, Crookham 2014, 169-174.

<sup>63</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 28r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 12 January 1861.

<sup>64</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 28r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 12 January 1861.

<sup>65</sup> NGA, NGA5/173/8(i): Draft scheme of what a National Gallery should be, 15 December 1867; Letter W. Russell to A.H. Layard, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, 11 July 1868.

and ribs”.<sup>66</sup> Such an arrangement of parallel, divisible, long galleries was believed to be the most convenient and inexpensive, in terms of further “indefinite extensions”.<sup>67</sup> The plan included suggestions for lighting, possibly skylight; dimensions of rooms; width and decoration of great galleries, as well as warming and ventilation.<sup>68</sup> No doubt he sought to expand on the Trafalgar Square, and asked for the removal the barracks, which he saw as potential fire hazard.<sup>69</sup> Plans, however, were carried out under the tenure of Acton Ayrton in a way that did not fulfil Layard’s expectations.<sup>70</sup> Apart from this account, it is interesting to consider how his position developed throughout the years. By 1891, the National Gallery was in need of additional space to display its recent purchases. To this effect, Layard had personally written to the Chancellor of Exchequer, George Joachim Goschen (1831-1907), in order to

Explain to him that the high position to which [the National Gallery] has attained, not only with those in England capable of forming an opinion, but throughout Europe, as being the most complete and instructive in existence, is entirely owing to the classification of the pictures and their arrangement according to schools. To do away with this arrangement and to mix up the pictures merely to fill up a little wall space would be to utterly destroy the value and reputation of our fine collection. And after all there is only one room – the Umbrian – in which the walls are not crowded, the others have scarcely any available space left. We shall have to encumber the rooms with screens to the great discomfort of the public and of the students.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Layard 1868a, 7.

<sup>67</sup> Layard 1868a, 7.

<sup>68</sup> See NGA, NGA2/3/1/6: Report on Requirements for a New National Gallery Building, 3 June 1867.

<sup>69</sup> NGA, NGA2/3/6/3: F. Burton to R.N. Wornum, 26 September 1874. See also NGA, National Gallery Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 5: Meeting held on 8 May 1885, 338. The Barracks were cleared away in 1911. See Conlin 2006, 400-4. The risk of fires was a common occurrence in those days, such as Alexandra Palace (1873) and the Pantechnicon’s disasters (1874) show.

<sup>70</sup> See Conlin 2006, 86-7, 394-7; Whitehead 2005, 238-45.

<sup>71</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 76: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 27 November 1891.

The reluctance of the Government in granting the expansion of the Gallery had compelled the Board to devise a partial re-arrangement of the paintings. To this end, Layard proposed to Gregory a plan to carry this out.

Chance of getting additional room for sometime to come is small and that we must break up our Umbrian room. I regret it greatly, as the great merit of our Gallery, and its claim to a first rank, consist mainly in the classification and arrangement of its content. But I cannot think that the placing Canalettos and works of the late Italian schools on the same walls as pictures of the Umbrian school would be a desirable arrangement. The contrast and incongruity would be too great. What I should rather see would be the division of the room into two distinct part (not by wall or screens), and the removal to the west half of it the Ferrarese and Bologna pictures – the Francias, Ercole Grandi etc. – and the Crivellis and other works of that character and period. They had some connection with the Umbrian school and they would be in harmony with the works composed of it. Tablets placed above them describing them as of the schools of Ferrara and Bologna would be a sufficient indication to the visitors and students. I should be inclined to include amongst them the Correggios – as Correggio, it is now generally admitted, belonged to the Ferrarese school. A superb room might thus be made of the present Umbrian room, which would be filled with master-pieces. A place could then be found for the Longford Moroni in the Venetian room and with a little manoeuvring room XIII – the late Italian – might be emptied to receive the Dutch paintings. Think over this, and if you agree with me I will then write to Burton on the subject. There would be probably a great outcry if Raphaels and Canalettos and Longhis were placed in juxtaposition. They would injure each other. Under the circumstances we could scarcely refuse to lend our Libérale to the old Masters Exhibition.<sup>72</sup>

Such an arrangement shows Layard's proposal to Gregory, detailed in the following:

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<sup>72</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 85: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 7 January 1892.



I have been thinking much over the changes that could be made in the National Gallery to provide room for our new pictures and others which we are likely to get during the next few years. I can only suggest that we should move the Ferrara-Bolognese pictures and the Correggios (I think it important that the latter should be placed with the Ferrarese school) in the Umbrian room. That the best early Florentine and Sieneſe pictures ſhould replace them (in room V). Taking the beſt rooms II and III – that the remainder from thoſe two rooms and the contents of room IV ſhould be packed into rooms II and III and that the late Italian pictures ſhould be hung in room IV. We might then give room XIII to the Dutch pictures – the Dutch and Flemish ſchools would then be placed together in ſame part of the building. I ſee no other mode of dealing with the matter. Of courſe a good deal of trouble muſt be incurred in making the change, but the knight muſt make up his mind to go through with it. The greater part of the Gallery would have to be cloſed whiſt theſe changes are going on. But it is not our fault if the public be placed to inconvenience. If the Government won't give us the neceſſary ſpace we muſt have recourſe to ſhifts. I would further ſuggeſt that the beſt early Tuſcan and Sieneſe pictures might be moved into room I, and the pictures of the Tuſcan ſchool of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries be moved from room I to room V – an historical ſequence would thus be maintained, thus room I – Tuſcan ſchool up to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century – room II 14<sup>th</sup> century pictures of the ſchool and time of Giotto – room V Tuſcan ſchool of 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, room III and IV late Italian ſchools. Think over this. The arrangement I propoſe, although not entirely ſatisfactory is the beſt that I can ſuggeſt under the circumſtance.<sup>73</sup>

Gregory appreciated Layard's idea and recommended that he refer it to the Director.

I have written, as you requeſted me to do, to Burton giving him my ideas about the new arrangement of our pictures. If carried out there will be no difficulty in giving up Room XIII entirely to the Dutch ſchool and getting the late Italian pictures into n. IV. The Dutch, Flemish and German pictures would then make a very fine and consecutive ſeries. But I fear that Burton will be

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<sup>73</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fols. 86-7: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 16 January 1892.

alarmed by the trouble which such alterations would cause him. We should have to close half of the Gallery for some time to make them.<sup>74</sup>

Another lesser-acknowledged service that Layard carried out on behalf of Sir Charles is an enquiry for the Perugino at Villa Albani, Rome. Eastlake had previously asked Wornum to seek information on it, especially in Roman guides, Giuseppe Vasi, and Johan D. Passavant.<sup>75</sup> Once obtained, Sir Charles passed it onto Layard, through his Lady Eastlake.

Sir Chas begs me to write to you on some picture business in Rome, which he omitted to mention to you. I must precise it by saying that it is a great secret. The pictures in the Albani Villa (& statues) are for sale, tho' at present the fact is kept quite quiet. There is but one picture which Sir Charles would desire to acquire for the Nat: Gallery – which is a fine Perugino, in three compartments. No other picture of the master there. He would wish you, if you have time, to examine the picture. For this purpose you must apply to Minghetti the Dealer, in the Via Brabrino [sic], telling him that Sir Chas has communicated to fact of proposed possible sale in that expedience to you & that he greatly desires that you sh[oul]d see the collection. Minghetti is so very earnest for secrecy that you will have to make the most of Sir Chas' injunction to that effect. There is nothing else Sir Chas w[oul]d consider suitable for the Gallery. He reminds me to tell you that the lower part of the picture is injured. In due time he will be very glad to hear your opinion. He hopes that you may return to Pisa – so do I truly.<sup>76</sup>

Layard's reply is highly interesting as it reveals that he was already well acquainted with the fact that

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<sup>74</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 91: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 5 February 1892.

<sup>75</sup> See NG5/161/12: E. Rigby to R.N. Wornum, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 10 September 1865. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 228-29.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 233.

The Villa and its contents had been sold to Torlonia, and he said that it was now useless to think of the Perugino or any other article in the building. But I hear from another and a very good source that it is not impossible that Torlonia may [\*illegible word] to obtain permission from the Pope to sell the Villa and its content by auction breaking up the collection and selling this piecemeal – and that if his request is refused – which is probable – that he may sell the whole [\*illegible word] again. Nothing, however, must be said about this at present. I am promised full information. I am assured that no sale was be made of any picture in the Schiarra [sic] gallery. They are all entailed – but I have reason to believe that Prince Torlonia is willing to sell some of the pictures – are there any in the Colonna Gallery that you would like to make an offer for? If so will you let me know. This must be kept secret.<sup>77</sup>

At Eastlake's death, not only Layard received a symbolic bequest of £50, but also an oil sketch.<sup>78</sup> Yet he inherited a broader and refined approach to the history of art, as well as a direct access to the National Gallery.<sup>79</sup> Eastlake was one of the earliest, if not the first, of Layard's significant scholarly relationships. Thanks to him and Tom Taylor, Layard had established a direct contact with another relevant personality of the history of art, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, whom dedicated to him the third volume of the *History of Painting in North Italy*. However, their relationship did not last long, unlike the one with Giovanni Morelli.

The vacancy of the directorship needed to be filled soon. Lady Eastlake did not hesitate to inform Layard that her “Beloved one always thought that there was no one

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<sup>77</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 94: A.H. Layard to C.L. Eastlake, 18 December 1865.

<sup>78</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS.42169: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 9 July 1866; quoted in Sheldon 2009, 256. For the reference to the sketch, see the unpublished letter in Edinburgh, NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 130: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 26 February 1869. Lady Eastlake refers to it as a Sicilian landscape, whereas it is reported as a *View of Naples* in the “List of pictures at n.1 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, forming part of Sir Henry Layard Bequest to the National Gallery”, NGA, NG14/3/2.

<sup>79</sup> Avery-Quash, Crookham (2014, 178) have well pointed out that “Eastlake's true significance and lasting legacy lay in making foreign thinking (about both art and about museum theory and practice) comprehensible to a native audience and, moreover, acceptable as a practicable basis on which to re-establish the National Gallery».

so like himself in mind, taste & education of art as Boxall”.<sup>80</sup> In this regard, however, the Prime Minister, Lord Russell (1792-1878), had rather offered the post to Layard, to whom he had also declared: “To my mind there is no one to fit as yourself. You know the pictures of Europe, and where and when good pictures are to be purchased. Your position at the Foreign Office would give you additional knowledge and influence”.<sup>81</sup> On the contrary, the post as Under Secretary posed an obstacle to Layard, since he could not hold two public offices at once. In addition, it must be considered that at the time, an academically trained painter was thought to be the most suitable candidate for directorship. Notwithstanding, Layard proposed to take up the post provisionally and unsalaried.<sup>82</sup> The decision possibly ensued from Morelli’s encouragement. The art critic had skilfully enticed Layard to accept the post by promising his help, as he wished to be more involved with the National Gallery’s affairs. It should come as no surprise, therefore, to read the following words.

Je pense qu’il ne sera pas facile de le remplacer à la Galerie Nationale, si vous même, mon cher ami, ne seriez pas vous rescinder de prendre la place vacante. Et vraiment c’est une belle place que celle du directeur général des collections artistiques de Londres – elle est digne de vous. Comme nous autres, Molteni et moi, et je crois tous ceux qui aiment les beaux arts, se réjouiront d’une telle nouvelle ! Ou est-ce que peut-être cela vous obligerait à quitter le poste que vous occupez maintenant ? Mais en tout cas je pense que ce serait plus facile de trouver un bon Ministre des affaires étrangères qu’un directeur exceptionnel à vos collections de beaux arts, comme vous

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<sup>80</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 49: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 10 January 1866. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 241-2 and Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011, 186-7. For an account on Boxall, see Levey 1975, Avery-Quash, Davoli 2016.

<sup>81</sup> NGA, NG5/166/1: Lord Russell to A.H. Layard, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, 28 December 1865.

<sup>82</sup> NGA, NG5/166/6: A.H. Layard to Lord Russell, 130 Piccadilly, 6 January 1866.

le seriez sans doute. Et comme je serai heureux de vous aider, dans tout ce que je pourrai pour rendre votre œuvre plus agréable et plus facile.<sup>83</sup>

Sir Henry held the Veronese art critic in high regard and considered him “the most distinguished connoisseur in Italy”, as well as “his assistance [which] would be of great importance to a decision of the National Gallery, as it had been to Eastlake”.<sup>84</sup> Interestingly enough, this can be considered Layard’s first attempt to introduce Morelli in Britain and it is no accident that he did not hesitate to forward the letter to Lord Russell, to enhance his position as well. The appointment, even though unpaid and “legal, was deemed to be ‘impolite and dangerous’”<sup>85</sup> and thus fell through. The directorship was entrusted to William Boxall (1800-1879, **Plate 4, Figure 24**) and Layard was nominated trustee.<sup>86</sup> At least, Lord Russell assumed that such an appointment “may afford [Layard] an agreeable variety of labour from the Foreign Office work, which is not always amusing”.<sup>87</sup> And that was the case.

The decision was favourable to Lady Eastlake, who, in the meantime, had done her best to further Boxall’s cause. With this purpose, she had even begged Layard to “do all in your power with those with whom the appointment rests & if permissible I may say how Sir Charles thought of him”.<sup>88</sup> Eastlake’s wishes could be said to be

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<sup>83</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 31: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 3 January 1866. Giuseppe Molteni was a Milanese restorer, secretary to the Academy in Milan and, from 1861, director of Brera. In 1857 he was introduced to Eastlake by Müндler, since then he restored the majority of Eastlake’s purchases for the National Gallery. He also worked for several foreign collectors, included Layard. See Anderson 2014; Avery-Quash 2011, 19-20. For a detailed account on Molteni and the ethic of his restorations, see Gould 1974; Zanni 1982; Anderson 1987, 116; Anderson 1996b; Anderson 1999, 46-50; Mazzocca 2000; Conti 2005, 240, 251-4, 258-9, 322.

<sup>84</sup> NGA, NG5/166/6: A.H. Layard to Lord Russell, 130 Piccadilly, 6 January 1866.

<sup>85</sup> NGA, NG5/166/9: Lord Russell to A.H. Layard, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, 17 January 1866.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. NGA, NG5/166/10: Lord Russell to A.H. Layard, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, 9 February 1866. See also NGA, NG1/4: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, IV: 19 February 1866, at 377.

<sup>87</sup> NGA, NG5/166/10: Lord Russell to A.H. Layard, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, 9 February 1866.

<sup>88</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 49: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Sq., 10 January 1866. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 242.

fully honoured, as “Boxall & [Layard] were the two men he most loved”.<sup>89</sup> At this first stage, Layard was quite reluctant to share with Lady Eastlake the plans for the National Gallery, both for tact and respect, and maybe also for fear of her spiky character, he replied that

I have already done what I could for Boxall. There are certain circumstances at present connected with the feeling of the appointment at the National Gallery, which I will explain to you hereafter, and there are certain matters connected with my own position, which makes it difficult for me to take any further step at the moment. But your letter may be of use. I quite agree in what you say about him.<sup>90</sup>

As Susanna Avery-Quash and Julie Sheldon have argued, “Layard may have felt it was diplomatic to let the sorrowing widow believe that she had accomplished Boxall’s ‘commissionship’”.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, in a subsequent letter Layard wrote to Lady Eastlake that

I may mention to you in confidence that Lord Russell proposed to me to take the Directorship with my present office – thinking that it might be advantageous to have the department represented in Parliament. I accepted on condition that the appointment should be provisional and unpaid – and this arrangement has been proposed to the Queen. It was found that there were Parliamentary objections to it, and it fell through. I understand that, for the present, no appointment will be made [...] I would willingly have accepted Lord Russell offer – and indeed that was my motion for officing [sic] to do so because I should have the sincerest pleasure in carrying out the views of him who has

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<sup>89</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 49: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Sq., 10 January 1866. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 242 and Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011, 186.

<sup>90</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 97: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Foreign Office, 10 January 1866.

<sup>91</sup> Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011, 187.

made our National Gallery what it is, and to whom the country owns so great a debt of gratitude.<sup>92</sup>

No doubt the following events highlight the transitional role performed by Layard. Both he and Boxall were truly close friends and executors of the will of the director of the National Gallery, in whose footsteps they carefully followed. In fact, Layard played no minor role in finalising the negotiations opened by Sir Charles and any “contemplated purchases”<sup>93</sup> he had in mind. Once provided by Lady Eastlake with “a memorandum of [those] pictures”,<sup>94</sup> Layard discussed the matter directly with Lord Russell and did his best to secure among them the Portalupi Cavazzola, the Morolin Cima and four Sandro Botticelli. Layard’s initiative and forceful personality were well appreciated by Lord Russell, who had explicitly written to him: “I wish you would see [Boxall] and offer him your assistance in the business of his office and especially at the Meetings of the Trustees”.<sup>95</sup> In addition, Layard should have defended him from the attacks that Robinson’s supporters would rally against him. Despite a recommendation by the Queen, Boxall’s name had not been the first choice, being “a less much energetic and knowledgeable figure”<sup>96</sup> compared to his predecessor.<sup>97</sup> As Julie Sheldon has argued, Lady Eastlake’s had a certain

Proprietorial interest in the National Gallery is thoroughly documented in the letters to the new Director William Boxall and to [...] Austen Henry Layard. The letters generally concern the disposal of Eastlake’s art collection and library, although many also comment upon Gallery business. Elizabeth probably

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<sup>92</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS.42336, fol. 98: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Foreign Office, 25 January 1866.

<sup>93</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS.42336, fol. 98: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Foreign Office, 25 January 1866.

<sup>94</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS.42336, fol. 102: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 1 February 1866.

<sup>95</sup> NGA, NG5/166/10: Lord Russell to A.H. Layard, Pembroke Lodge, Richmond Park, 9 February 1866.

<sup>96</sup> Conlin 2006, 83.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Levey 1975, 354.

had little direct influence on the affairs of the National Gallery but she was certainly indulged by Boxall and Layard, both of whom courteously or diplomatically allowed her to imagine her importance.<sup>98</sup>

Nonetheless, the rich correspondence Layard exchanged with her proves that he had a sincere pleasure in sharing opinions and to a certain extent they agreed on most issues.

### 2.2.c “I shall have the greatest pleasure in giving him any assistance in my power”: Layard’s attitude towards Boxall

In 1866-1867, the second Director of the National Gallery, William Boxall (1866-1874, **Plate 4, Figure 24**), was about to begin his first European journeys in that post. Layard offered advice about places to visit or paintings to see and, furthermore, provided him with letters of introduction.<sup>99</sup> In a period when purchasing at the source, directly from the seller, was still preferred, this was of significant assistance.<sup>100</sup> Layard did not fail to recommend Boxall to Morelli, to whom he had written

Il n’est pas à sa première visite en Italie, mais il [Boxall] n’a pas encore l’expérience nécessaire pour sa mission un peu délicate. Ainsi votre expérience et vos connaissances étendues lui seront de la plus grande utilité.<sup>101</sup>

Although Boxall had expressed that he and Morelli had “parted soon friends and I shall always think of him with the warmest feelings of affection and regret”,<sup>102</sup> he

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<sup>98</sup> Sheldon 2009, 13.

<sup>99</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/4/6: A.H. Layard to Bartsch, 26 April 1866; NGA1/1/19/11: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 19 October 1867.

<sup>100</sup> Guerzoni 1996, 102-3; Levi 2005, 37.

<sup>101</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 50: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, 26 April 1866.



had also understood that “Morelli and Cavalcaselle [...] are both enemies to our carrying off fine pictures and I cannot tell you how impossible such acquisitions are becoming throughout the country”.<sup>103</sup> Cavalcaselle, in particular, was “not the man to be employed for [\*ferretting] out pictures for any foreign Gallery, he believes that it is a shame and a crime to export any picture from Italy, but he knows more about the pictures in Italy than anybody else”.<sup>104</sup> At any rate, Boxall was grateful of Layard’s active support, since he felt hindered by the difficulties arising from the Third War of Italian Unification. As he wrote, it was “a most unfortunate time for my first visit. The Government has put its seal upon every picture belonging not only to the Church but to the Confraternities – so that I can do nothing”.<sup>105</sup> In fact, the newborn Italian State still needed effective measures, at a national level, against the spoliation of its widely scattered cultural heritage and primarily a better awareness of its significance, in order to curb the continuous exportation of works of art ensuing from the suppression of churches and confraternities.<sup>106</sup> Fragmentation, gaps, and loopholes in the legislative framework for the protection of the artistic patrimony, as well as the regulation of private sales, represented a thorny problem for the Italian Government, but also an occasion to profit by shrewd dealers and merciless foreign museum agents.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXV, Add MS 38995, fol. 328: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 21 September 1868.

<sup>103</sup> NGA, NG14/125: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, Milan, 21 June 1866.

<sup>104</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/4/25: F. Pulszky to W. Boxall, 26 August 1866. On Cavalcaselle’s policy on the protection of Italian works of art, see Levi 1988, 214-6; Buonanno 1998.

<sup>105</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/4/19: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, June 1866.

<sup>106</sup> This topic has been extensively explored by scholarship. For instance, see Emiliani 1978; Haskell 1981; Musacchio 1994; Gioli 1997; Troilo 2005; Balzani 2003; Fusar Poli 2006; Balzani 2010; De Tomasi 2013.

<sup>107</sup> On smuggling episodes see the most recent contributions by Napoleone 2017; Smalcerz 2017; Cleri, Giardini 2016; and the conference organised by Andrea Bacchi and Giovanna Capitelli, *Mercanti, collezionisti e conoscitori nella Roma Sabauda (1870-1915)*, held at the Fondazione Federico Zeri Bologna (Bologna, 15 Nov. 2017).

## 2.2.d The case of the Conestabile Raphael

Like many other masterpieces in that period, for example, the little Madonna by Raphael in the collection of Count Scipione Conestabile della Staffa (now in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, **Figure 13**) represented a point of contention not only between its owner and the Italian Government, on account of its removal from Perugia, but was coveted by several foreign museums.<sup>108</sup>

Indeed, both Boxall and Gregory, wished to negotiate its purchase and were quite confident “to have any “concurrence” on the part of Prussia or France”,<sup>109</sup> whose governments were then engaged in war. The Director had been informed by Lady Marion Alford of the sale and, as Eastlake had previously done, promptly requested Layard’s help in order to obtain first-hand information from an old acquaintance of his, Count Giancarlo Conestabile della Staffa, who was the brother of the owner.<sup>110</sup> He was said to have set the asking price at 500,000 Francs (£19,904ca) for the painting and had previously declined Russia’s offer of 400,000 Francs, but remained engaged with other negotiators.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, as Count Giancarlo lamented: “La guerre a ensuite mis fin à quelques négociations qui ce soit”.<sup>112</sup> He feared that the high price requested by his brother would induce Layard, and consequently Boxall, to interrupt the negotiation. The Director, indeed, had pleaded that the British Government would not grant large sums for purchases abroad, and thus had

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<sup>108</sup> See Nucciarelli, Severini 1999; Pantò 1999, 189-253; Pantò 2000, 241-58.

<sup>109</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/47/6: W.H. Gregory to W. Boxall, 6 October 1870.

<sup>110</sup> Lady Marian Alford had been offered two paintings of the Conestabile collection for 120,000 Lire (£4,715ca), see Pantò 2000, 250. On Eastlake’s episode, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 201r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 24 May 1865.

<sup>111</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 299r: G. Conestabile to A.H. Layard, 16 October 1870. See also Pantò 1999, 205-6.

<sup>112</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 299r: G. Conestabile to A.H. Layard, 16 October 1870.

attempted to offer 400,000 Francs, as the Russian had already done.<sup>113</sup> Boxall was nonetheless confident that “the wretched state of Europe at this moment and the clouds that still gather over us will [...] bring down the extravagantly high prices to which pictures have risen” and begged Layard to “give [him] one line of advice”.<sup>114</sup> Layard too expected that Count Scipione “may ultimately be more reasonable in his demand”<sup>115</sup> and as such suggested that Boxall “leave the Conestabile negotiation for a while”.<sup>116</sup> Layard knew that such an offer would not be accepted, but at the same time he could not put pressure on Count Giancarlo, who had just the attorney procurement to sell the whole family collection. The Count had proposed that Layard to include in the bargain at least “les trois pérugins, les dessins, et les deux petits tableaux de Raphael”,<sup>117</sup> to counterbalance the price. But Boxall was interested only in the little Madonna and did not intend to buy other parts of the collection.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, when he communicated to the nobleman that Eastlake had previously priced it £2,500,<sup>119</sup> Conestabile wrote irritably to Layard that “sur cette base il est impossible de continuer une discussion”.<sup>120</sup> Eastlake’s price, it may be assumed, had been set in terms of current market value, especially if compared to growing appreciation for small works of the master as confirmed by the price paid for the *Vision of the Christian Knight* in 1847.<sup>121</sup> In fact, Conestabile’s inventories had never evaluated the picture “sopra scudi 4,000 (Fr. 22,000). Ma in cap[o]lavori di questa specie vi ha un prezzo morale, che, sebbene abbia i suoi limiti, si allarga nondimeno,

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<sup>113</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/50/10(ii): W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 18 December 1870. Actually, the National Gallery disposed of an annual purchase grant of £10,000. On this aspect, see Conlin 2006, 83, 358-60.

<sup>114</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/50/10(ii): W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 18 December 1870.

<sup>115</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/50/16: A. H. Layard to W. Boxall, 23 December 1870.

<sup>116</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/52/3: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 3 Jan. 1870.

<sup>117</sup> BL, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, f. 413: G. Conestabile to A.H. Layard, 15 December 1870.

<sup>118</sup> On this aspect of Boxall’s policy see Levey 1975, 354-9; Avery-Quash, Davoli 2016, 225-41.

<sup>119</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/52/11: Minutes of the Board of the Trustees, The Director’s report, 10 November 1856, 50-1.

<sup>120</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, fol. 55: G. Conestabile to A.H. Layard, 7 February 1871.

<sup>121</sup> See Reitlinger 1961, 113.

in contratti di questo genere, in proporzioni grandissime”.<sup>122</sup> No hesitation indeed occurred on the side of the Russians, who eventually obtained the picture for 330,000 Francs (£13,137ca), “much beneath [Conestabile’s] pretensions”<sup>123</sup> as Layard remarked derisively. He wished it had been secured for the National Gallery or rather remained in Italy, instead of being sent to Russia, “où il ne sera plus vu des vrais amateurs et connaisseurs”.<sup>124</sup> Such a bitter remark sounded as a crushing blow, especially since Boxall hesitated in acquiring another work by Raphael, the Colonna Altarpiece (now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, 16.30ab).<sup>125</sup>

### 2.2.e The Spanish experience

During his stay in Madrid as Minister Plenipotentiary (1869-77), Layard immediately began to inspect what was available to purchase and report such opportunities to the directors of the National Gallery and the South Kensington Museum, to the extent that he was later criticised for having “converted the Legation into a receptacle for bric-à-brac, which was selling cheap, owing to a revolution”.<sup>126</sup>

Boxall was “inclined only to look for quality and to eschew as much as possible common place representations even of great names and out of condition beyond any

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<sup>122</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/52/12(i): G. Conestabile to W. Boxall, 3 February 1871.

<sup>123</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 95: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 11 May 1871.

<sup>124</sup> Montemelino, Archivio Cristiano Conestabile della Staffa: A.H. Layard to G. Conestabile, 24 September 1871, quoted in Nucciarelli, Severini 1999, 188.

<sup>125</sup> See Wolk 2006, 49-52. Layard’s aversion to Russia was mainly due to political matters. The Conestabile affair remained an open wound that he would recall years later in a letter to Lady Eastlake; see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 68: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 17 December 1878; and NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A. H. Layard, Windsor, 29 December 1878.

<sup>126</sup> Truth 1880.

reasonable hope of recovery”.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, the Duke of Villahermosa’s Velázquez did not suit his expectations, though highly recommended by the art historian and critic Pedro de Madrazo y Kuntz (1816-1898).<sup>128</sup> In case of works of art by Velázquez, they should be “full-length dark pictures, low and dull in colour [...] of first rate excellence”.<sup>129</sup>

Layard was quite discouraged at being unable to find any good specimens for the National Gallery on the Spanish market, and even had an idea “to establish a Fine arts club [...] and have interested several leading gentlemen in the thing. It may lead to the discovery and preservation of many treasures now hidden in private houses”.<sup>130</sup> Certainly he entertained the main artistic salon and societies of the capital and had a friendly relationship with the Minister of Works, to whom he had suggested

To send to the Gallery the large and most interesting collection of early Spanish paintings which were taken from Convents and churches and which are now scattered about his Office. He will, I think, do so at once and if they are properly arranged they will give a very good view of the origin and rise of painting in Spain.<sup>131</sup>

Furthermore, Layard had been appointed académico honorario extranjero at the Real Academia de San Fernando.<sup>132</sup> But concerning paintings, as he explained to Morelli, “il n’existe pas dans les maisons particulières et ceux qui existent on ne peut

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<sup>127</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXV, Add MS 38995, fol. 328: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 21 September 1868. In a short while the controversy regarding the attribution of *Christ blessing the Children* (NG757) would bring into question Boxall’s acquisition policy.

<sup>128</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/46/8: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 18 August 1870. On Madrazo see Calvo Serraller 1985, 67-80.

<sup>129</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 274: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 4 October 1870.

<sup>130</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 33: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 23 April 1870. On the organization of the Spanish patronage societies, see Vázquez 2001, 90-6.

<sup>131</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII Add MS 38972, fol. 7: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 23 April 1870.

<sup>132</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVI, Add MS 58164, fol. 54: E. de la Cámara to A.H. Layard, 9 February 1870.

pas les voir”,<sup>133</sup> and in addition, there was “no intention on to part [with masterpieces] by those who have valuable pictures, like the Duke of Pastrana”.<sup>134</sup>

Layard had searched through antique shops as well as restorers’ studios, where he had found “a fine Bosch one of those strange ‘Diableries’ [...] but the owner asked £2,000 for it – which is absurd”.<sup>135</sup> Despite his toil and zeal, Spain proved to be an infertile soil for bargains. In 1864 a member of the British Legation already informed Layard that “Andalusia has been so often ransacked that few remain, but still there are a few, and they sometimes may be secured at reasonable rates [...] especially at a season of financial crisis”.<sup>136</sup> Layard was of the same opinion; nevertheless, he was not able to hunt down anything for the National Gallery.

There is a Murillo on sale at Granada – one of the usual ‘Conceptions’ – undoubtedly original but over-cleaned and too much restored. The owners ask some fabulous price for it. It is scarcely worth our attention, therefore, I made enquiries at Seville for pictures but heard of nothing on sale. I wish we could get a fine Roelas – but his pictures seem to be exceedingly rare – and are unequal.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 144: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 4 January 1871.

<sup>134</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/69/13: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 9 May 1873. The collection of the Duke of Pastrana, with its “superb Rubens’ and a magnificent early Van Dy[c]k”, was one of the few private ones that Layard could easily visit. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII Add MS 38972, fol. 24: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 8 May 1872. The collection was bequeathed by the Duchess of Pastrana to the Museo del Prado in 1889. See Madrid, Museo del Prado, Caja 98, Legajo 16.0, 21/1-4; Caja 1365, Legajo 11.279.

<sup>135</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 82: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 30 Jan. 1871.

<sup>136</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXXII, Add MS 39112, fol. 306v: A. Graham-Dunlop to A.H. Layard, 12 December 1864. In those years, several works of art had been stolen or illicitly sold. In a letter to W.H. Gregory (BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949) dated 22 May 1870, Layard retraces the one of the Toledo Treasury. On the protection of the Spanish cultural heritage see Cabelo Carro 2011, 98-122. References to this issue were also introduced by Brown 2012, 17-8.

<sup>137</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 95: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 11 May 1871.

In contrast to the enthusiasm of some of his contemporaries, such as Richard Ford, William Stirling Maxwell, Charles Morse or John Savile Lumley, Layard was not a great admirer of Spanish art.<sup>138</sup> He thought that

It has been very much overrated – having been brought into fashion in England by Ford, Stirling and other writers. Vel[á]zquez and Murillo stand very high in the second class for their technical skill, and with these exceptions there is scarcely more than three or four Spanish painters whom one would place in the third class [...] I cannot get any real enthusiasm for Murillo – although admitting his great ability as a colo[u]rist.<sup>139</sup>

Evidently, he particularly appreciated Velázquez, on which he had been “occupying a few leisure moments in scribbling some remarks”,<sup>140</sup> which appeared in *The Quarterly Review*. Interestingly enough, he also valued the lesser-known Juan de Valdés Leal, Francisco de Zurbarán, Joan de Joanes, and Goya.<sup>141</sup> Layard considered this latter “a distinguished painter had he lived at a good time”,<sup>142</sup> and in particular he admired his frescos in San Antonio de la Florida, Madrid.

As emerges from a letter to Gregory,

I had intended to write an article upon Murillo and some other Spanish painters as a pendant – but it would be difficult to do so without giving offence to the Spaniards if the position and merits of Murillo, Zurbarán and others is to be properly analysed. Whilst Vel[á]zquez represents the last gleam of the better side of the Spanish character, Murillo represents the worst, that religious

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<sup>138</sup> His dismissal of Spanish art could be associated to Ruskin’s view as far as concerns the link between artists and the society. Effectively, in a letter to Gregory (BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 119: 6 February 1873), Layard stated that it was “religious fanaticism and intolerance to which Spain owes her misfortunes”. On the reception of Spanish art in Britain, see Harris 1987; Glendinning 1989; Glendinning, Macartney 2010; McEvansoneya 2010.

<sup>139</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 108: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 13 June 1872.

<sup>140</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 108: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 13 June 1872. For his article on Velázquez, see Layard 1872a.

<sup>141</sup> On Goya’s early reception in Britain, see Glendinning 1964.

<sup>142</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 11: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 23 October 1870.

fanaticism and intolerance to which Spain owes her misfortunes. They have translated the Vel[á]zquez article in the principal review purchased her, but leaving out every word which might interfere that Spain was not the greatest country in the world and Vel[á]zquez the greatest painter. This morbid sensitiveness to criticism and the national pride (if such sentiments can be called ‘pride’) are dreadful stumbling blocks in the way of Spain.<sup>143</sup>

## 2.2.f “I am in doubt what I should do about my Trusteeship”

Although Layard’s trusteeship was maintained seamlessly from 1866 until his death and his amiable relationship with Boxall was a lifelong one, it did not prevent the Director to ask Sir Henry to step down from his post of trustee as soon as he left for Madrid. However, Layard replied:

I am in doubt what I should do about my Trusteeship. I do not like to resign because [\*illegible word] for long I may continue in banishment and if I return to England I should like to retain my connection with the Gallery. Will you let me know what the opinion of my colleagues may be on the subject. You can easily ascertain it at the first meeting.<sup>144</sup>

He was aware that being confined to Spain did not allow him to discharge his duty actively, although his letters to Boxall were quite frequent, as well as his suggestions about possible pictures on sale. The director, however, required a more constant presence especially since he lamented that

The business of the Gallery is incessant and the little strength I have is completely given up to its interests and I am too exhausted after the labours it

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<sup>143</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 119: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 6 February 1873.

<sup>144</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/33/13: A. H. Layard to W. Boxall, 20 December 1869.



demands every day to do any thing else. I do not but lament your absence from the Office of Works.<sup>145</sup>

In spite of the initial resoluteness with which Layard had addressed to Boxall, “I ought to resign my Trusteeship especially as I hear that Lord Overstone is going”,<sup>146</sup> the subsequent letter appeared more moderate. Layard had, in the meanwhile, consulted with Gregory: “As I appear to be destined to live out of England I ought to resign my Trusteeship. Do you not think so? If you are of my opinion I will do so at once”.<sup>147</sup> The reply, however, is unknown, although it seems that Gregory did not fully agree with it and Layard was quite discouraged with the present state of things. Boxall’s five-year tenure had lapsed and a successor had to be nominated. Thereupon, Layard had confessed to Gregory

The idea of having Robinson there alarms me – at the same time I should equally dread Solomon Hart. Redgrave would be less objectionable. I do not think that he would be found a bad man to deal with and he has a certain amount of knowledge and critical skill. However I am losing my interest rapidly in questions connected with art in England. We are daily advancing to the time when we shall be governed by men without education, refinement or knowledge – who will think, like our friend Dillwyn, that British Museum and National Gallery should be put on the same footing as Cremorne. [...] If Robinson is to get this appointment it is perhaps well that Overstone withdraws. It would be a proper compliment to Boxall to make him a Trustee and he would, no doubt, be very useful to the Board – only he is very infirm, I hear, but I would rather not interfere in any way - and what you tell me of Lowe’s intention makes me almost decide upon retiring.<sup>148</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 117: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 30 June 1870.

<sup>146</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/52/27: A. H. Layard to W. Boxall, Madrid, 23 February 1871.

<sup>147</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 84: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 21 February 1871.

<sup>148</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fols. 86-7: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 23 February 1871. With regard to “Lowe’s intention” Layard referred to the decision that the Chancellor of Exchequer, Robert Lowe, was to take about the acquisition of the Peel collection for the National Gallery. The purchase was sanctioned by the House of Commons and the collection was

The Board of Trustees, together with Gladstone and Lowe, insisted on Boxall's re-appointment, but, by that time, Lord Overstone had already resigned his post and the Prime Minister had appointed Sir Walter James, later Baron Northbourne (1816-1893), in his place. In Boxall's own words

[Overstone's] place is ill supplied by the new trustee, who is however a gentleman in every sense of the word. On my re-appointment I made it a condition with Mr Gladstone that Lord Overstone should be replaced on the first opportunity – the number of the Trustees is confined to six by the Minute but it is of course in the power of the Treasury to increase the number or to break the rule [...] I have delayed till now to summon up enough courage to ask to you to resign in Lord Overstone's favour, as well known how sincerely I feel the value of your services at the Board, but your absence deprives us of your usefulness. You have hinted that you "ought to resign" more than once but I have never consented in my own mind that your name should be removed and now I would not ask you to do so if your desire is too strong against it. Whenever you come back to us a place could be made for you at the Board = I should like Lord Overstone among us and I think he would not refuse to return but I would rather have your name than that of a new Trustee. The business habits of Lord O. have helped me most efficiently upon so many concerns and as this is well known to you I know you will understand in the true sense all that I have said and never dream that my affection to you is [\*one just] diminished.<sup>149</sup>

As one can easily imagine, Layard did not welcome the news, especially on account of the fact that the National Gallery represented his only remaining link with

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bought for £75,000. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, fol. 123v: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 14 March 1871. See also Conlin 2006, 83.

<sup>149</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, fols. 122v-123v: W. Boxall to A.H. Layard, 14 March 1871.

England by then.<sup>150</sup> In his reply, therefore, he asked Boxall whether he could hold back his resignation until his homecoming.

However, if you still think that this delay could be prejudicial to the interest of the Gallery let me know at once. At any rate write me a line and tell me frankly what you think: you may feel quite certain that O[verstone] shall not misunderstand you, but that on the contrary it will give me sincere pleasure to do anything what may be agreeable to you.<sup>151</sup>

As evident from a subsequent letter addressed to Gregory,

[Overstone] resigned on the understanding that Boxall had actually withdrawn and now Boxall feels that having consented to remain he has placed himself in rather a disagreeable position with regard to Lord O[verstone] who now wants to get back again. I have told Boxall that I had wished, for various reasons, to withhold my resignation until I went home in the summer but that if he makes a point of my going at once and it is quite understood that Lord O[verstone] is to succeed to the vacancy shall be happy to meet his wishes. My decision will, therefore, be guided by the answer that I may receive from him.<sup>152</sup>

To Boxall “Lord Overstone absence from the board w[ould] be a very terrible loss”,<sup>153</sup> however, the director had not been able to persuade him as to resume the trusteeship. Layard also wrote to Lord Overstone, who, however, “told me that he did not wish to return and that he would decline the Trusteeship if offered to him”.<sup>154</sup> Thus Layard could withhold his post. It is no surprise that Boxall was much attached to Lord Overstone, who had defended him when attacked for the purchase of the

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<sup>150</sup> He used to grudge that “my friends in England have dropped all correspondence with me. I never hear from anyone. One might as well be buried”. BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 53: Private letter from A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 18 June 1873.

<sup>151</sup> London, NGA, NGA1/1/54/16: A. H. Layard to W. Boxall, 21 March 1871. See also London, NGA, NGA1/1/53/12: A. H. Layard to W. Boxall, 18 March 1871.

<sup>152</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 28: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 30 March 1871.

<sup>153</sup> NGA, NGA1/15/22: W. Boxall to Gladstone, 31 May 1871.

<sup>154</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fols. 36, 37: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 24 November 1871.

*Entombment* by Michelangelo (NG790).<sup>155</sup> Yet Layard had expressed his support in favour of Boxall, though not so actively.<sup>156</sup> As Lady Eastlake confided in him years later “if you and Gregory would have resigned I believe L[or]d Overstone w[oul]d have resumed his Trusteeship, whom Boxall I believe thinks worth Gregory & you put together. However you may lay this last impertinence to my unassisted imagination”.<sup>157</sup>

Uncertainty about Layard’s trusteeship recurred in 1874, when the director’s weariness and ill health led him to retirement one year before the formal end of his tenure. On having received no formal communication of the fact, Layard complained to Lady Eastlake about it. However, in her reply she observed that

The reasons for [the retirement] he [Boxall] manages to ascribe in equal share to you [Layard] & to Gregory! He feels that y[ou]r unsupplied places at the Board, you both retaining y[ou]r seats, have been a great loss<sup>[ ]</sup>& hindrance to business. For many months there have been as good as no Trustees, W[ilia]m Russell long ill, good J. Baring dead, L[or]d Northampton incapable, Sir Walter James away. So Boxall fell from depression, to despair and could not bear the weight of the Gallery on his shoulders alone [...] As to your not being consulted about his resignation Boxall seems astonished at the unreasonableness of your expecting such a stretch of form on his part. As you could not discharge your duty to the Nat: Gal: and to him, he argued that he could not discharge his to you, which he feels was of far less importance to the public interests. He heaps no end of responsibilities on your shoulders, and, being of a forgiving disposition, no end of coals on your head!<sup>158</sup>

Layard did not feel discouraged and replied to Lady Eastlake dotting the i’s.

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<sup>155</sup> Cf. Avery-Quash, Davoli 2016, 227, 237, note 14. See also, Levey 1975, 358.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 13: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 3 August 1869.

<sup>157</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 4 May 1874. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 389.

<sup>158</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 4 May 1874. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 389.

Our good friend Boxall appears to be as unreasonable and inaccurate as ever. I always understood that he wished Gregory and myself to remain on the board of Trustees of the National Gallery. Sometime ago I told him that I should probably decide this summer whether or not I should continue to do so. If he had only told me frankly that my absence caused him trouble and inconvenience and that he wished to have someone in my place who could attend to business I would have resigned at once. I fancied that as there was to be no further grant to the Gallery until that for the Peel collection was paid off, there was little or nothing to do at the Board, and that he was much more independent without its interference. And as for Lord Overstone I believe that when he had an opportunity of returning to the Board he positively refused to do so. I know that we are a set of cripples – but then according to the old proverb, Boxall ought to have been a King amongst us. Pray ask him to show you my last letter to him, and if he does you will be able to judge how far he is justified in saying that I complained because I had not been consulted as to his resignation. I did nothing of the kind. I was very sorry that he had resigned without giving me an opportunity of talking the matter over with him, and before the new rooms were opened with which his name ought to be connected. But I did not know to this day officially that he had resigned and that his successor has been appointed. Now I think that as a Trustee I ought to have been informed of this, but it's Wornum's duty, as Secretary, to have done so and not Boxall's, I fancy.<sup>159</sup>

Although the prospects of returning to England was even more distant than ever, Layard resolved to maintain the post without doubt thereafter.<sup>160</sup>

## 2.2.g “Is Burton a good man for the place?”

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<sup>159</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 35: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 18 May 1874. For the opening of the new rooms at the National Gallery in 1876, see Conlin 2006, 395-6. On the matter Walter James had sent to Layard a note “on the anomalies in the distribution of the National collection of pictures” to send to the Treasury. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVIII, Add MS 39008, fol. 231: W. James to A.H. Layard, 11 August 1875. For the draft to the Treasury see also fols. 233-36.

<sup>160</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/75/10: A. H. Layard to W. Boxall, 21 January 1874.

By the time of Boxall's resignation, Layard was still in Madrid and had received the news from the Times before it reaching him through the official channel. Therefore, his first reaction was to write to Gregory seeking more information: "I know very little of his successor, but what little I do know is, on the whole, favourable. I am afraid that he will not have the social influence or position which the Director should have".<sup>161</sup> This reference was to the Royal Hibernian Academician, Frederic William Burton (1816-1900, **Plate 4, Figure 25**).<sup>162</sup> Some weeks later, Layard also enquired from Lady Eastlake whether the newly appointed director was suitable for the post or not, though most of his fears had been cleared, since Robinson had not been nominated Boxall's successor.<sup>163</sup> To this, she replied a couple of months later, after having invited Burton to dine at 7 Fitzroy Square, in order to make his acquaintance and offer him her assistance with regard to Sir Charles' notebooks. Therefore, she could express a sound opinion on him.

Mr. Burton is, I may say entirely, his [Boxall's] choice. Of course I had known his name as a watercolour artist, but I was unaware of anything further. Boxall had no reason to know that he is a man of education – a good scholar – a gentleman. He had been of much service to B. in making out the real subject of Mr. Virnon's fine Mantegna which required some accurate and some classical knowledge – as you would see in the latest N. Gal. Cat. Mr. Burton is also one of the few modern artists who had devoted himself to the study of old masters. In short, tho' wanting that technical knowledge and acquaintance with the diseases of pictures, and modes of remedy, which I fancy will be indispensable

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<sup>161</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 132, A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 26 February 1874.

<sup>162</sup> For a complete account on his life, see Crowley 2017.

<sup>163</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 33: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 9 March 1874. See also fol. 35: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 18 May 1874. Layard's doubts about Robinson's appointment had been expressed as early as 1869, before the second tenure of Boxall. "On nous propose Mr Robinson, mais je n'ai pas le moindre confiance en lui. Il remplierait notre galerie de croutes". BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 126v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 21 Grafton Street, 1 June 1869.

(and which I trust he may pick up) there was positively no one else in the shape of a cultivated gentleman who could be found.<sup>164</sup>

In fact, Lady Eastlake had little sympathy for him, who she thought to be “an intelligent agreeable man, but on talking with him on pictures I feel how utterly he falls below the level of what I have been accustomed to hear”.<sup>165</sup> On his part, Layard appreciated his artistic knowledge and expertise, which Burton later translated and condensed into the catalogue of the National Gallery.<sup>166</sup> What Sir Henry mostly criticised was Burton’s hesitation in purchasing and his reluctance to travel, stating that “he [Burton] appears to want backbone”.<sup>167</sup> Nonetheless, Layard’s willingness to play advisory and supporting role became more tempered during his tenure. As correspondence shows, the number of letters reduced on account of Burton’s disinclination in replying. Needless to say, Layard continued to promote Morelli’s assistance, still looked on with suspicion by the new director of the National Gallery. It is no accident if Layard reported with annoyance to Gregory that

Brera has bought the two pictures belonging to Signor Prinetti of Milan, which he [Morelli] had so strongly recommended to Burton – a superb portrait by Paris Bordone and a picture by Gaudenzio Ferrari – for 50,000 francs. It is a pity that the Knight did not expend his £2000 upon them instead of upon that wretched so-called Ghirlandajo and the anonymous landscape. Mr Claude Phillips, the art-critic of the Academy and whose knowledge of art is extolled

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<sup>164</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 4 May 1874. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 389.

<sup>165</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 30 March 1875. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 405.

<sup>166</sup> F.W. Burton, *Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the pictures in the National Gallery with biographical notes of the painters*. Foreign Schools (London: Printed for H.M. Stationery Office, 1889). Among Burton’s scholarly publications, see ‘Mantegna’s Triumph of Scipio’, *The Portfolio: An Artistic Periodical* 5 (1874): 4-7; ‘The Virgin of the Rocks’, *The Nineteenth Century* (Jul., 1894): 79-86.

<sup>167</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 41: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Aldermaston, 19 August 1875.

by Morelli, is here, and expresses much admiration for the Prinetti pictures – especially the Paris Bordone.<sup>168</sup>

No doubt Burton maintained an independent thought when purchasing.<sup>169</sup> As far as sieged by Morelli's advice<sup>170</sup> – for instance, the Andreossi's paintings (the *Madonna and Child* by Bonifacio de Pitati, NG1202; and *The Holy Family* with Saints and a Donor possibly by Giovanni Cariani, NG1203) – likewise Burton did follow several of them. It comes as no surprise that on behalf of Morelli, he acquired a *Virgin and Child* by Montagna (NG1098) and two canvases by Longhi (NG1100-01) from Baslini in 1880.<sup>171</sup> Three years later Burton would also purchase a *Madonna with Child* from the Manfrin collection, then attributed to Cesare da Sesto, but actually by Marco D'Oggiono (NG1149).<sup>172</sup> Burton also knew how to navigate his relationships diplomatically with Layard and Morelli, as this letter clearly shows.

The pictures purchased by Dr Richter of which you [Layard] spoke, and found them very interesting. The Dosso Dossi and the Fra Bartolommeo were not those I had supposed them to be. The latter is of miniature size, and a very pretty thing. The other, though genuine, I don't care for. It is raw and screeching in colour, and very straggling in composition. Morelli however admires it. But the most interesting things are two cassone subjects by Dom. Moroni [sic] of Verona, representing festivities (jousts etc.) which took place at the wedding of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella D'Este - these are regular gems in their way – splendid in their peculiar colouring, and full of life – the life of the time. If I had

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<sup>168</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 143: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 14 September 1890.

<sup>169</sup> Greer 2018, 15.

<sup>170</sup> “Monsieur Burton n'avait pas encore cette familiarité avec nos grands peintres qui serait pourtant nécessaire pour diriger avec succès une collection telle que la votre”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38964, fol. 182v : G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 25 March 1875.

<sup>171</sup> See Tucker 2017, 208, n. 342. The acquisition is also mentioned in LLJ, Milan, 12-13 October 1880.

<sup>172</sup> Greer 2018, 13-14. With regard to the attribution see, Spring 2011, 106-8. Giuseppe Baslini was a well-known art dealer in Milan, through whom several private collectors, such as Poldi Pezzoli, and museum directors, like Bode, bought many paintings. At his death, the rich collection he had gathered was auctioned by G. Sambon and A. Genolini in Milan in 1888. See the catalogue Baslini 1888. For a complete account on him, see Zanni 2000.



seen them before, they should not have escaped us. Now I suppose Richter would sell them – and if Morelli is right in believing that the former is now at Florence, perhaps you would cautiously send him on the subject and ascertain whether he is disposed to part with them, and if so, at what price. They would be extremely desirable for the NG I don't mind your saying that I wrote to you on the subject. But do as you think fit. Morelli has so agreeably and profitably absorbed my time that I have not been to Baslini yet.<sup>173</sup>

Undeniably, Layard's active and zealous attitude contrasted with the more reserved temperament of Burton. For this reason, the Knight was frequently criticised by Layard as "lazy and indifferent and would rather not leave his armchair at the Athenaeum to encounter the dangers and privations of a journey in Italy".<sup>174</sup> As such, Layard had considered it necessary to revert to the role of advisor or a travelling agent, "as Müндler was in former days".<sup>175</sup> For the post he thought of the German art historian, collector and dealer, Jean Paul Richter (1847–1937).<sup>176</sup> Although he defined "Richter" book on the National Gallery presumptuous and pretentious",<sup>177</sup> he agreed with Morelli in appreciating "his knowledge and sagacity" and to Gregory expressed his concern about the fact that "if the Knight will not give himself the trouble to travel in search of pictures, such a man as Richter might be invaluable in finding out things of value and importance to the Gallery".<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CIX, Add MS 39039, fol. 123: W. Burton to A.H. Layard, 31 October 1885. The two cassone panels correspond to the *Rape of the Sabines* (NG1211-2).

<sup>174</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 4: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 13 November 1887.

<sup>175</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 4: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 13 November 1887.

<sup>176</sup> See Lady Eastlake's introduction to Layard. Sheldon 2009, 473.

<sup>177</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 50v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 3 Savile Row, 6 March 1883. The reference was to J.P. Richter, *Italian Art in the National Gallery* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1883).

<sup>178</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 34: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 17 March 1888.

Burton did not dismiss the idea of Richter's services, although he restricted them to a certain extent. It is no accident that Layard bemoaned the director's behaviour in a letter to Gregory, saying that

Richter seems very bitter against the Knight, who he says requested him to go to Ferrara to see the picture [a lunetta by Ercole Grandi] three or four months ago, and to whom he wrote describing the picture, and has received no answer or any acknowledgement of either. He is considering, he adds, whether he should not send the Knight a bill for his travelling expenses. I wrote Burton some time ago forwarding to him the official letter of the Treasury sanctioning the charge for his travelling expenses and urging him to come to Italy; but have received no reply.<sup>179</sup>

Between 1881 and 1888, Layard and Richter were "in frequent communication", with regard to "some highly interesting pictures which he [Richter] has offered to the Gallery and which we must make an effort to secure, especially a portrait by Gentile Bellini".<sup>180</sup> Richter had soon understood that it was easier to leverage Layard as Trojan horse in dealing with the National Gallery. Nevertheless, the director was right to be cautious when dealing with Richter, as the episode of Palma Vecchio's *Blonde Woman* (NG3939) demonstrated.<sup>181</sup> Prudence and a flair of mistrust characterised Burton's relationship with another important agent of the gallery, Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919). As Paul Tucker has discussed, "comparatively few among the proposals Murray made to Burton were acted on [...] For one thing [...] Murray's fretful urging of opportunity clashed with Burton's phlegmatic

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<sup>179</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 22: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 5 January 1888.

<sup>180</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fols. 109-110: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 1 Queen Anne Street, 16 February 1886.

<sup>181</sup> The picture was sold to Ludwig Mond at last, double-crossing the negotiations with the National Gallery, to which the painting had been offered first for £1500. The painting, however, entered the national collection with Mond's Bequest in 1924. See Saumarez Smith 2006, 7.

autonomy and unhurried deliberation”.<sup>182</sup> More confidence was allowed to Federico Sacchi, whose attitude was less forceful and his good services had been tested by Boxall.<sup>183</sup> Burton thus appears to have never to have relied on a singular source of information, and rather consulted a larger number of agents in order to protect the Gallery from astute tacticians.

As repeatedly emerges, Layard was quick-tempered as well as very opinionated. In his article on the National Gallery, he had stressed the attention to the recent catalogue compiled by G. Scharf on the National Portrait Gallery’s collection, as he hoped to shame Burton into completing that for Trafalgar Square. *The National Gallery Foreign Schools, Descriptive and Historical Catalogue* would be published in 1889, simply irritating Burton.

The Knight [...] seems to have a quarrel with me. I suppose that he has never forgiven me that allusion to the catalogue, and to his neglect to visit the Spanish Galleries (which you [Gregory] maliciously induced me to insert) in my Quarterly article. I don’t care for his personal rancour, but I do as a Trustee, resent the way in which he has treated the Board and the public in the matter of the catalogue. His conduct in this respect is quite unjustifiable and ought to be noticed severely.<sup>184</sup>

In response to the suspension of the annual grant received from the acquisition of Blenheim pictures (1885) and the “Bloody Sunday” riots (1887), Layard resolved to write directly to the Chancellor of Exchequer, Viscount Goschen, hoping to “put the

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<sup>182</sup> Tucker 2017, 8.

<sup>183</sup> On Sacchi’s relationship with Burton, see Avery-Quash, Davoli 2016, 233-4.

<sup>184</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 5: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 13 November 1887.

case of the National Gallery quite as clearly before me” had to declare Goschen himself “as any deputation could have done”.<sup>185</sup> Layard justified it by saying that

As I take a very great interest in the National Gallery, and feel an earnest desire that it should continue to hold the high place that it has acquired among the great art collections of Europe, which it can only do by the Trustees and Director having at their disposal the means of purchasing pictures which come into the market, sometimes very [illegible word], and which are necessary for the complete illustration of some particular school of painting. There is one point to which I forgot to allude in my letter to you – the travelling expenses of the Director, which the Treasury have refused to sustain. It is very necessary that the Director should annually visit Italy or other parts of the Continent in order to ascertain what pictures are to be purchased or likely to be offered for sale – and as to be ready to acquire them when he has the means at his disposal. I know of several pictures of great interest which if not actually in the market are likely soon to be so and which I think it very desirable that he should see. These travelling expenses do not amount so much – one or 2 hundred pounds at most and it would be a kind and liberal thing on Your part to authorise them. Unless the Director of the National Gallery has the opportunity of seeing such pictures, and of acquiring these considered desirable for our collection we are placed at great disadvantage in respect to the competing galleries of Berlin, Paris and which have agents constantly travelling about to see and purchase works of art.<sup>186</sup>

The action had, however, made the Director’s position fairly uncomfortable. Albeit Layard had informed Burton of his “semi-official letters”<sup>187</sup> to the Chancellor of Exchequer, while the Director, indeed, felt uneasy about writing the annual report for 1887.

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<sup>185</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXI, Add MS 39041, fol. 237: G.J. Goschen to A.H. Layard, 12 November 1887. On the history of the National Gallery see Conlin 2006, 91-5.

<sup>186</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXI, Add MS 39041, fol. 245: A.H. Layard to G.J. Goschen, 17 November 1887.

<sup>187</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 6: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 24 November 1887.

He [Burton] is, I fancy, put out by my having written to Goschen. He wants to know what he can say about the renewal of the grant and of the travelling expenses of the Director after my semi-official correspondence with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I replied that he had simply to express a hope that the Government would soon see their way to the renewal of our grant and to make the usual application for his travelling expenses, which after Goschen's letter to me would, I doubted not, be acceded to.<sup>188</sup>

Disagreements and tensions apart, it is evident that Layard highly valued Burton's tenure. It is no accident that Lady Eastlake, who considered simply him "easy to secure good pictures at inordinate prices",<sup>189</sup> once wrote to Sir Henry challenging him to "find some excuse for your beloved friend, w[hic]h if possible, will incense me against him more still!".<sup>190</sup> However, it was only at the time of Burton's resignation that Sir Henry fully recognised and praised his merits.

The Trustees owe to him some of the most valuable addition that have been made to the Collection such as the Blenheim Raphael and the Holbein and Vel[á]zquez from Longford Castle \besides many other [\*paintings] of artists previously unrepresented in the Gallery which our too [\*illegible word] to record/ additions which have placed the National Gallery amongst the first collection in Europe. By his arrangement of the pictures accordingly to their schools he has added greatly to do the usefulness of the Gallery as a means of public instruction. The Catalogue which he has compiled of the contents of the Gallery, from its literary merits and knowledge of art history has made it perhaps the best of any European work of the class.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>188</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 13: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 14 December 1887.

<sup>189</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 10150, fol. 52: E. Rigby to W.E. Gladstone, 7 Fitzroy Square, 5 May 1893. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 637.

<sup>190</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42173, fol. 2: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 FitzRoy Sq., 5 January 1890. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 604. The episode refers to the debated attribution of the portrait supposed to represent Ludovico Ariosto, formerly in the Beau cousin's Collection (NG636).

<sup>191</sup> NGA, NG7/173/1(ii): Minute of A.H. Layard. Copies were sent to Burton, *The Times* and *The Athenaeum*.

## 2.2.h “I should do my best, relying on your advice and counsels for assistance”: Layard and Poynter

Edward John Poynter (1836-1919, **Plate 4, Figure 26**) was the last director of the National Gallery under which Layard served, indeed it was through him that Poynter obtained the post.<sup>192</sup>

Rumours about Burton’s retirement had been rife since late 1891, a perspective that Layard had recorded as “prejudicial to the public service”<sup>193</sup> and hoped that it could be postponed as long as possible. According to him and Gregory, there were very few suitable candidates to take his place and they feared the post might be filled by Charles Locke Eastlake (1836-1906), Sir Charles’ nephew, who had been Keeper of the National Gallery for the last fifteen years.<sup>194</sup> “He is looking forward to stepping into Burton’s shoes, and is very impatient to do so”, wrote Layard to Gregory,

He is supported and encouraged by his aunt who will be more exasperated that ever with Burton. I am much afraid that this may lead to some disagreement between her and me for which I should be exceedingly sorry, as I have know her for so many years and have great friendship and esteem for her. I could not, in conscience, support her nephew in his claim to succeed to the Directorship. As I do not think him the proper man for the place. He has neither the knowledge nor the social connections required for it.<sup>195</sup>

At first, Layard was inclined to support Henry Doyle, the former director of the National Gallery of Ireland, who he considered “the fittest person for this post. [...]

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<sup>192</sup> On E.J. Poynter, see Inglis 2004, doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/35600. See also Arscott 1999.

<sup>193</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 31 December 1891.

<sup>194</sup> On his “race for directorship” see Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011, 216-8. See also BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 112: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 1 September 1893.

<sup>195</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 82: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 7 January 1892.

His not being an R.A. is undoubtedly a qualification”.<sup>196</sup> However, events took another course and the contest was between Poynter and Sidney Colvin, Keeper of the prints and drawings at the British Museum.<sup>197</sup>

Layard had thus turned to his friend, the painter Edward Burne Jones (1833-1898), to enquire into E.J. Poynter’s interest in undertaking the directorship, as Sidney Colvin was also writing to Layard to ask for his support.<sup>198</sup> In response, Poynter himself had informed Layard that “I am bound to say that if the question of offering it to me seriously arises it is a place which I should like to have”.<sup>199</sup> As one might expect, this would cause Lady Eastlake great disappointment, who, unaware of Sir Henry’s true opinion, had written to him:

I hear a rumour that Poynter may be invited to be Director, whether a painter largely employed w[oul]d accept it I cannot say, but this w[oul]d frustrate the economy of public funds, & also he is not versed in the work. I believe your fellow trustees Lords Northbourne, Carlisle, & Saville w[oul]d not be disinclined to recommend the junction of the two offices in Charles’ person. I am sure a more hono[u]rable public servant c[oul]d not be found, he has also for years aimed to make himself something of a connoisseur. I now leave the matter to y[ou]r judgement well aware of y[ou]r good will towards him whatever the result.<sup>200</sup>

Likewise, Lady Eastlake had peremptorily addressed to the Prime Minister, emboldened by her nephew in so doing.<sup>201</sup> Not only did she suggest Mr Eastlake for

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<sup>196</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 82: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 7 January 1892.

<sup>197</sup> See Bell 1975; Avery-Quash, Paget 2013, at 40-3.

<sup>198</sup> See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXIX, Add MS 39099, fol. 233: S. Colvin to A.H. Layard, 17 February 1893.

<sup>199</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXIX, Add MS 39099, fol. 48: E.J. Poynter to A.H. Layard, 28 Albert Gate, 12 August 1892.

<sup>200</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42173: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy Square, 29 January 1893. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 637.

<sup>201</sup> See Lady Eastlake’s letter to Layard, dated 23 May 1893, quoted in Sheldon 2009, 639.

the post, but also reinforced his candidature by proposing the merger of the offices of the Director, Keeper and Secretary in one role.<sup>202</sup>

Lord Carlisle, who has just returned from Algiers, came to see me yesterday, with further reference to the National Gallery appointment. He has already had an interview with Sir William Harcourt, in whose hands it would seem the appointment will be, and has passed my competence for the post strongly upon him and on Mr Gladstone. As I have decided to go in for it, I think it better to write and let you now, and under these circumstances I shall be very glad if any assistance you can give me, by writing to any member of the Cabinet whose influence would be of value, as for instance Lord Spencer under whom I served at South Kensington while he was Lord President. Carlisle is very desirous of the post being filled by a painter, and I think would rather have me there than anyone else who is likely to go in for it. Millais and Burne Jones have both strongly supported me with Mr Gladstone and Harcourt but without any application to them on my part. But I think it better now that I should stir in the matter, according to your advice that should let people know that I am willing to undertake the duties.<sup>203</sup>

However, Poynter had been accused by Colvin of being “a specialist who has given his whole time to these studies and also that Poynter has neither the degree of special knowledge, nor quite the conciliatory ways and tact which are desirable in the holder of this office”.<sup>204</sup> Despite all the fears that “Gladstone [would] make his own selection and that politics may have more to do with it than a knowledge of art”,<sup>205</sup> Poynter was nominated Director by Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, with the support of the majority of the Board, particularly of the most senior Trustee after Layard,

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<sup>202</sup> Cf. NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 10150, fol. 52: E. Rigby to W.E. Gladstone, 7 Fitzroy Square, 5 May 1893. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 637 and Avery-Quash, Sheldon 2011, 217-8.

<sup>203</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXIX, Add MS 39099, fol. 259: E.J. Poynter to A.H. Layard, 13 March 1893.

<sup>204</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXIX, Add MS 39099, fol. 233: S. Colvin to A.H. Layard, 17 February 1893.

<sup>205</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 191: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 28 December 1893.



George Howard (9<sup>th</sup> Earl of Carlisle). At the same time, a Treasury minute redefined the Gallery's management, reducing the director's power to that of a "chief executive and administrative authority of the Gallery",<sup>206</sup> and equalling his vote to that of the Board, under whose control the roles of Keeper and Secretary was now linked. But Layard would only briefly experience these changes.

The correspondence with Poynter interrupts just few days before his death, with an interesting account on the purchases made by the new director at the Adrian Hope's sale (London, 30 June 1894).<sup>207</sup> Apart from being part of his professional duties, this also shows Poynter's friendship and affection towards those who had been both interested and influential in enhancing his position. In addition, Poynter would continue to reciprocate the same cordiality even at the time of accepting Layard's bequest, as will see in the following chapters.

### 2.2.i Epilogue

In the light of these events, it can be said that Layard's promise when appointed trustee was truly fulfilled. He did seize upon each opportunity to "do [his] best to promote the interest of [the] National Gallery, and to render it still more worthy of the nation".<sup>208</sup>

Significantly, Layard took part in the expanding debate and reappraisal of the figure and role of director at the National Gallery. From his point of view what was deemed to be relevant was the maintenance of having a good network of cultural and

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<sup>206</sup> See Conlin 2006, 95, 98-9. Cf. also Greer 2018, 3-4.

<sup>207</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 322: E.J. Poynter to A.H. Layard, 1 July 1894. See also Catalogue of the renowned collection of pictures by Old Masters formed by the late Adrian Hope, Esq. also, a few by modern artists (Christie's, Manson and Woods): 30 June 1894.

<sup>208</sup> NGA, NG5/166/11: A.H. Layard to Lord Russell, 130 Piccadilly, 10 February 1866.

political elite, scholarly art knowledge, and the museum professional skills.<sup>209</sup> He was sceptical about artists, because they might bring in rivalries and professional jealousies to a body that required impartiality, both in aesthetic judgements and in educating the taste of the nation.

In such a perspective, it is unsurprising that as a former politician, he deliberately used his connections to draw attention to the museum's needs and campaign for endowments and expansion. An important achievement pioneered by Layard was the possibility for the National Gallery to carry over the unspent grant from one financial year to the ensuing ones (1889).<sup>210</sup> After the purchase of Blenheim and Longford pictures the annual purchase grant has been stopped for two years, and only regained gradually.<sup>211</sup>

Besides being trustee-collector himself, Layard devoted great efforts to securing gifts for the Gallery, for example, with the Velázquez in Savile's collection and the *Portrait of Piero de' Medici* by Bronzino (NG1323), in the collection of his friend and colleague William R. Drake (1817-1890, **Plate 5, Figure 28**).<sup>212</sup> However, Layard expressed his criticism that "the Knight accepts bad pictures from his friends. The Moretto given to him by Palgrave is quite unworthy of the collection, and one of these days it will be well to insist upon its removal to the 'cellars' or at least to some

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<sup>209</sup> La connaissance de l'histoire de l'art, on qui surtout juger les mérites dans tableaux de l'école italienne", BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 126v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 21 Grafton Street, 1 June 1869.

<sup>210</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 106: G. Goschen to A.H. Layard, 29 July 1889.

<sup>211</sup> See Conlin 2006, 95.

<sup>212</sup> "I am surprized that Burton has not yet been informed of Drake's legacy of the Bronzino to the National Gallery. Mrs Hornsby Drake in writing to me to announce her adopted father's death, told me that he had left the picture to the National Gallery, and Drake himself more than once informed me that he had done so". BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38950, fol. 36: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 20 January 1891. Layard was also one of the trustees of Francis Clarke's Bequest (1879), together with Viscount Hardinge, the Earl of Carlisle and Alfred Charles de Rothschild. NGA, NG1/6a: Minutes of the Board Meeting, 237, 250. It may be of interest the fact that Drake was also a member of the Fine Arts Club; his name has been proposed by Fisher and he was elected on 20 February 1869. See NAL, MLS1952/1329: Fine Arts Club, Candidates' Proposal Book.

place where it would not occupy space urgently required for more important pictures”.<sup>213</sup>

One of Layard’s main concerns was the increase of a larger, interested and educated arts audience, which corresponded to the introduction of the ‘Student days’ and the Sunday openings of the Gallery.<sup>214</sup> In addition, he actively promoted the enlargement and arrangement of the collection by recommending the purchase of unrepresented Italian, Dutch and Spanish artists, even reverting to advisors he trusted or making use of his diplomatic network to export works of art, both from Spain and Italy.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38950, fol. 41: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 13 February 1891. Layard referred to the Moretto presented by Francis Palgrave in 1884, *The Virgin with the Infant Christ, seated upon clouds above Saint Hippolytus and Saint Catherine of Alexandria* (NG1165).

<sup>214</sup> NGA NG5: Minutes of the Board Meeting, 330.

<sup>215</sup> Wright’s (2015, 154-5) statement that the British consular service became a pivotal instrument to acquire intelligence on foreign countries holds true; notwithstanding, it retained its main function to promote British trade interests, included picture hunting and exporting. See also Wright 2005.

## 2.3 A longstanding association: Layard and the South Kensington Museum (1868-1885)

In 1860 Layard openly declared: “I think the South Kensington Museum of considerable importance in improving the public taste, and in affording means of reference, comparison and study”.<sup>1</sup> The museum promoted indeed a hive of activity that combined theoretical instruction with practical application to manufactures for a wider dissemination of culture and utilitarian purposes, especially after the failure of the Great Exhibition in terms of aesthetic quality.<sup>2</sup> The South Kensington Museum allowed one to “experience stimulating and didactic displays of unfamiliar objects in a huge variety of historical styles” while offering “educational programmes and publications”.<sup>3</sup>

For this reason, Layard established an enduring association with the museum and its leading officials, for whom he performed all sort of roles as adviser, lender, seller, and donor. The areas of interests proposed by the museum matched well with Layard’s attitude and expertise, as well as with his Whiggish political belief in employing museums and exhibitions as educational tools.<sup>4</sup> He had a great passion both for fine and decorative arts, between which he clearly stated that there was no

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<sup>1</sup> BH, Parliamentary Papers, Reports and Committees, Select Committee on South Kensington, Vol. XVI, 1860, 102.

<sup>2</sup> Transactions of the National Association for the Liverpool Meeting 1888, London. See Greenhalgh 1988, 82-11; Burton 1999, 27-31. Brandon 1999, 67-91.

<sup>3</sup> Collard 2003, 36. Literature on this topic is large. See, in particular, Dionisotti 1989, 157-69; Pavoni 1997; Bolzoni, Payne 2018.

<sup>4</sup> On this topic, largely discussed, see Taylor 1999, 67-92; for the years 1830s-40s, Altick 1999, 240-57.

distinction: “We are apt to assume that because an art is fine it cannot be useful – the inversion of the proposition being because an art is useful it cannot be fine”.<sup>5</sup>

His early association with the museum dates back to the 1860s. He had been appointed member of the selecting committee for the design of a stained glass window of the North Staircase (1864), and in 1867 he assisted Henry Cole, then director, in the selection of the objects to purchase at the Paris Exhibition and also applied to obtain funds for £25,000.<sup>6</sup>

Layard was strongly convinced that museums needed to employ regular travelling agents for ameliorating their collection. For this purpose, when he moved to Spain in 1869, he immediately introduced to Cole “an excellent man for the work – with taste and judgement – and always able to avail himself of limited power”.<sup>7</sup> It was Juan Facundo Riaño (1828-1901), who was appointed art referee for the museum in 1870 and really proved to be of great help to the South Kensington Museum in collecting Spanish decorative arts.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, Sir Henry suggested availing of the assistance of consulates to acquire the widest variety of specimens from different arts, epochs, and regions. It is noticeable that Layard advocated the purchase of everyday and standard products, rather than of those of exceptional beauty. In so doing, he demonstrated to have a clear historical perspective, as well as an unconventional anthropological attention. Such an attitude would re-emerge on several subsequent occasions. At Layard’s recommendation, for instance, Mr Herbert, a consular agent at Baghdad, helped the

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<sup>5</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXLII, Add MS 39072, fol. 5: Lecture I, delivered to the Royal Institution of Great Britain on May 5, 1859. The underlining is Layard’s. His interest is manifested also in the ownership of books, such as the volume of George Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1880). It may also be noted that this connection between art and crafts had been already promoted by Palgrave and Ruskin. See Hale 1954, 125.

<sup>6</sup> In fact, they received only £15,000. See Burton 1999.

<sup>7</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 44: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 22 May 1870.

<sup>8</sup> For archival sources, see V&A, MA/1/R741/1-8: Nominal file, J. F. Riaño. With regard to printed materials on him, see Wainwright 2002, 58; Trusted 2006, 225-36; Trusted 2008.

Science and Art Department in securing “a collection of pottery stuffs, objects in metal, arms, and various other articles illustrative of the customs and mode of life of the inhabitants of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan and Persia”.<sup>9</sup> Once more Layard’s main concern was motivated by the need of preserving: “As the influence and commerce of Europe extend eastwards, and they are extending rapidly, many ancient customs disappear, and with them costume, entire manufactures arms, utensils articles of jewellery etc. etc. It would be [\*illegible word] to secure specimens of such things before they are altogether lost”.<sup>10</sup>

Among the greatest services Layard offered to the South Kensington Museum was facilitating the museum in obtaining permissions to make reproductions of monuments. Due to his appointments at the Foreign Office, Layard had become indeed well acquainted with several Italian politicians throughout the peninsula. For this reason, referring to the treasury of St. Antonio at Padua, Cole had openly declared

We must lay siege to this Church and get casts of all the bronzes. We can give the Municipality something – so as gain its good report – a glass window for the church – or something from S.K.M. Do you know any one at Padua to inquire of the Municipality and get its permission before we write to the Foreign Office?<sup>11</sup>

He periodically reported upon objects for sale suitable for the museum, as well as on costs and on the progress of reproductions. However, in a period of fierce international competition for fine objects it was not enough to have good advisory reports, but also fair means for purchasing, as was the case of the Zaragoza jewels.

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<sup>9</sup> BH, MA/1/L561: A.H. Layard to H. Cole, 20 March 1868; Lord Stanley to Duke of Marlborough, 13 May 1868; C. Herbert to H. Cole, 16 February 1869.

<sup>10</sup> BH, MA/1/L561: A.H. Layard to H. Cole, 20 March 1868; Lord Stanley to Duke of Marlborough, 13 May 1868; C. Herbert to H. Cole, 16 February 1869.

<sup>11</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXV, Add MS 38995, fol. 335: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 24 October 1868.

Layard indeed cooperated in drawing the attention of Lord Grey, stressing the presence of French agents in Spain, in order to obtain funds, and guaranteeing a safe transfer to England through one of his secretaries of the Legation.<sup>12</sup>

After a week of touring around Madrid and Toledo, Layard successfully convinced Cole to have

Casts and reproduction of some of the most interesting objects, which will serve to give people in England some idea of Spanish art and will especially illustrate that influence which the Arabs have had upon the arts in this country. These casts, with a few things I have been able to help him to obtain here, such as Spanish cabinets, embroidered vestments, ancient tiles, ironwork etc., will be useful additions to South Kensington, where Spain has hitherto been but poorly represented.<sup>13</sup>

To the South Kensington Museum, Layard donated a group of Spanish white pottery jars and bottles (**Plate 5, Figure 27**), that Cole “arranged with [the] [C]eramic collection to which it [would] add interest and value”.<sup>14</sup>

In addition, Layard had been entrusted to provide Spanish cabinets, ancient tiles, woollen cloths and “a good collection of Toys”, for which he was allowed to spend up to £20 or even £50 in case he found “objects of Pottery [...] suggestive to our manufacture”.<sup>15</sup> It is significant that Layard’s purchases exercised a relevant influence on his friends too. In particular, his collection of Hispano-Moresque plates attracted the attention of Stephen Lushington (1782-1873) and William R. Drake

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<sup>12</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 64: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 17 June 1870. See also Wainwright 2002, 59; Trusted 2006, 229.

<sup>13</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 33: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 23 April 1870.

<sup>14</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 206: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 11 August 1870; see also Ray 2000, 280-4.

<sup>15</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 429r: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 21 December 1870. It may be of interest that the V&A is currently undertaking a Marie Skłodowska-Curie project funded by the European Commission, called “Interwoven”, which aims at exploring the V&A’s influence on the collecting textiles, exhibition and education in Spain.

(Plate 5, Figure 28), who asked him to provide them with some good specimens for their own collections.<sup>16</sup> Such excitement over collecting Spanish objets d’art was also endorsed by a series of exhibitions organised by the South Kensington Museum (1871, 1872, 1881) and one at the New Gallery (1895-1896).<sup>17</sup> In this regard, the Layards participated as lenders and, in one case, they responded to the “growing tendency to present objects of importance and value once deposited in the Museum”.<sup>18</sup> In this sense, Layard had offered to the Museum a silver-gilt monstrance, a chalice, the foot of a Crucifix, a crown for a life-sized statue of a Madonna, a salver and a combined chalice and monstrance by Noe Manuel, for which the South Kensington Museum paid him £1,200.<sup>19</sup> In a letter to Gregory, Layard admitted to having bought some of them by the end of 1871, when “penury at South Kensington [...] led [him] to ruin [him]self in buying a beautiful Spanish Gothic silver-gilt ‘custodia’ by D’Arfe”,<sup>20</sup> and which he “used to decorate his table”,<sup>21</sup> as Lady Gregory had observed. In fact, the silver crown for a statue of the Madonna and a silver box were purchased in 1871 and displayed the following year at the “Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Jewellery and personal ornament” at the South Kensington Museum.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 364v: W. Drake to A.H. Layard, 28 November 1870. For Drake, Layard also purchased a silver-gilt cross. As regard Layard’s collection of Hispano-Moresque dishes, it was sold in London in 1918. See Christie’s 1918, lot. 41-52, presently untraced. It is worth mentioning that W.R. Drake had a vested interest in potteries, demonstrated also by his book *Notes on Venetian ceramic* (London: Murray, 1868).

<sup>17</sup> A taste for Spanish art and culture was progressively spreading also on the other side of the Atlantic. The Philadelphia’s International Exhibition (1876) and the Chicago’s World’s Columbian Exposition (1893) epitomise such an interest. On this topic, see Barón 2012, 65-93.

<sup>18</sup> Wallis 1870, 368.

<sup>19</sup> BL, Vol. CV, Add MS 39035: fols. 201, 307; Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036: fol. 67. See also Heredia Moreno 2002, 163-82.

<sup>20</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 39: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 7 January 1872. To Gregory Layard sent also a photograph, see also, fol. 40.

<sup>21</sup> Gregory 1973, 160.

<sup>22</sup> The loan is discussed with Henry Cole, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, Fol. 462: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, Folkstone 3 November 1871. For the exhibition catalogue, see Catalogue 1872, 42, n. 284.



Interestingly, these efforts to purchase objects for the museum and later having them reimbursed at cost price was germane to what John Charles Robinson had previously done.<sup>23</sup>

In July 1874 Layard presented to the museum a piece of cloth, which “probably belonged to an English Ambassadors servant in Madrid”.<sup>24</sup> It was a “coat, of scarlet cloth, embroidered with white and coloured silks, in satin stitch with bands of diamond panelled ornament set with medallions containing the arms of the United Kingdom”.<sup>25</sup>

As James Stourton has outlined, “from [Manchester] onward, public exhibition was to be a serious motivation for collectors”.<sup>26</sup> This was the most effective way to make one’s collection visible to his peers and to assert one’s status both as collector and connoisseur. Like many leading figures of his age (e.g. the Queen and the Prince Consort, the Khedive of Egypt, William E. Gladstone, Lord Elcho) and many members of the *Fine Arts Club* (such as Alexander Barker, Baron Marocchetti), Layard made several temporary loans to the South Kensington Museum.<sup>27</sup> The most important consisted of 54 paintings, 2 illuminations, 4 majolica, and glass plates (1869-71), which had been “hung in the Gallery on the ground floor overlooking the RH Gardens”.<sup>28</sup> The practice guaranteed reciprocal benefits. The institution could offer to its visitors new artworks, without depending on purchasing grants, which could be instead obtained by demonstrating how successful certain loans had been in

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<sup>23</sup> See Drew 2018, 14.

<sup>24</sup> BH, MA/1/L561: Minute paper addressed to the Director of the South Kensington Museum, 2 July 1874. The document is torn and thus illegible.

<sup>25</sup> Cole 1877, 167.

<sup>26</sup> Stourton 2014, 38.

<sup>27</sup> On the role of the loans at the South Kensington Museum, see Eatwell 2000. Carlo Marocchetti and Layard were also friends, as the correspondence held at the British Library reveals. For an account on Marocchetti’s collection see Fusari 2013.

<sup>28</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVII, Add MS 38997, fol. 210: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 17 January 1870.

terms of visitors.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, the Museum had the prospect that the objects lent might be converted to gifts, as would be the case with the collections of Layard's mother-in-law, Lady Charlotte Schreiber, George Salting, and David Martin Currie.<sup>30</sup> By lending the collection, moreover, Layard gave tangible proof of his utmost liberality and acquired considerable visibility, as well as fulfilling the *Fine Arts Club's* rule to exhibit at least once every two years.<sup>31</sup> In addition, this enabled him to solve the problem of housing his collection in his small London flat at 21 Grafton Street, where he had moved soon after he married. At the same time, the museum offered him a secure place to store his collection while he was in Madrid. Furthermore, the South Kensington was a good showcase for exhibiting the collection to a wider public. This strategy enabled him to make an exchange with another member of the Club, Marchese Emanuele Taparelli D'Azeglio (1816-1890), of a gold engraving under glass for a painting representing a Venetian costume scene (presently untraced).<sup>32</sup> In 1870 three paintings – the Savoldo, the Bramantino, and the so-called Bernardino Luini – were displayed at the Royal Academy.<sup>33</sup> Instead of being sent around the country, as was the case with other circulating collections, Layard's was requested on loan by Henry E. Doyle (1827-1892), the Director of the National Gallery of Ireland, since it "formed a very valuable and instructive adjunct to the permanent collection".<sup>34</sup> Whilst the more delicate works like frescoes

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<sup>29</sup> This happened with the display of the collection of Alessandro Castellani, see Rudoe 1983.

<sup>30</sup> On this point see MacGregor 1997, 11, 17-20; Eatwell 2000, at 27-8.

<sup>31</sup> See Eatwell 1994, 27.

<sup>32</sup> On this exchange, see the accurate account by Giacomelli 2011, 62-9. The glass, formerly in the Layard collection, is now in Turin, Palazzo Madama, Museo Civico d'Arte Moderna e Antica, inv. 264/VD.

<sup>33</sup> Catalogue 1870, no. 16, 54, 62.

<sup>34</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXIII, Add MS 39003, fol. 279: H. Doyle to A.H. Layard, 31 July 1873. The collection was housed at the National Gallery of Ireland from 1871 to 1876. Although the Loan Book of the National Gallery of Ireland (1857-1922) does not record its presence, evidence can be gleaned from Layard's correspondence with Henry Doyle and from the documents held at Blythe House. In addition, there is a letter of Henry Cole, in which he prevents Layard from sending the

remained in the South Kensington Museum, the remainder was shipped to Dublin, where it remained on display until 1875-6.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the services previously offered to Cole and always aimed at educational purposes, Layard was requested by Thomas Armstrong (1832-1911), now Director of the Art Division and responsible for the organization of art education throughout Britain, to provide the South Kensington Museum with casts of important Italian monuments or woodcarvings reproducing Renaissance examples of columns, capitals and entablature to serve as models for the students of the Government School of Design.<sup>36</sup> Given that making arrangements with Italian authorities could be a difficult and lengthy process, Layard had advised Armstrong to negotiate with the former Italian Prime Minister and Deputy of Bologna, Marco “Minghetti, who is a very enlightened man, and very proud of the monuments of his native city, would do all in his power to help you to obtain these casts you required for South Kensington Museum”.<sup>37</sup> Sir Henry had been acquainted with Minghetti since the early 1860s and thus provided the Director of the South Kensington with a letter of introduction to the Italian politician, in order to obtain “casts of the fine sculptures of Jacopo della Quercia on the façade of S. Petronio”<sup>38</sup> (**Plate 5, Figure**

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frescos to Dublin because of their delicate support. See BH, MA/I/L561: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 24 July 1871.

<sup>35</sup> BH, MA/I/L561: H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 24 July 1871.

<sup>36</sup> NAL, MSL/1976/5451/1-3. As to the objects: entablature, 1884, carved walnut, 100x34.5cm, London, Victoria and Albert, n. 1115-1884; Capital, 1884, carved walnut, 38x45x24cm, London, Victoria and Albert, n. 1118-1884.

<sup>37</sup> NAL, MSL/1976/5451/4: A.H. Layard to T. Armstrong, Ca' Capello, San Polo, Venice, 2 July 1885.

<sup>38</sup> NAL, MSL/1976/5451/3: A.H. Layard to T. Armstrong, 1 Queen Anne Street, 18 April 1885. The reproductions were entrusted to the cast-maker Oranzio Lelli, who executed the work between 1885 and 1887, under J.P. Richter's supervision (Guidarelli's tomb, REPRO 1885-159, Jacopo della Quercia's casts, REPRO 1885-216-29). For the cast of the façade of St. Petronio (REPRO 1887-41), see Cormier, Thom 10216, 80-2.

29) and “that of the beautiful tomb of Guidarello Guidarelli in the mansion at Ravenna”.<sup>39</sup>

The aspects of marchand amateur, fine expert and, as will see later, of collector, combined with his role as Trustee and unofficial independent advisor, conferred upon Layard a pivotal role in the circulation of works of art and in shaping the development of British public museums in the Victorian age. This section has sought to highlight this important aspect of Layard’s work and, in so doing, to define a number of issues. Among these, the provenance of the items gathered by Sir Henry conveys the sense of his involvement in an extensive commercial and learned network, while his own combination of mercantile shrewdness and scholarly passion. Further points of interest that arise from this first part are Layard’s significant and direct relationship with museum directors and the varied purchasing practises adopted by national art galleries. In addition, these extensive relationships demonstrate a rich, suggestive exchange between components of the art trade, of which these chapters have provided an overview. The circulation and consequent relocation of artworks is a delicate framework where national, economic, geopolitical and social identities are involved and whose effects echo on a vast scale. The transactional dynamics in which Layard was involved equally underpin the intimate and profitable relationship between diplomacy and purchasing strategies, an issue that it would also arise for his private acquisitions.

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<sup>39</sup> NAL, MSL/1976/5451/4: A.H. Layard to T. Armstrong, Ca’ Capello, San Polo, Venice, 2 July 1885.

## II. In Pursuit of a Collection

# 1. Building a collection

Paradoxically, a complete overview of the composition and richness of the Layard collection can be gained from the catalogues compiled when it ended up in the salerooms and museums. According to his last will and testament, dated 2 August 1892, Sir Henry Layard bequeathed the most beautiful pictures that had adorned his Venetian and London residences to the British Nation. However, the horizons of his collection are much wider, and aside from containing masterpieces from the Italian and Flemish schools, also included tapestries, glasses, illuminated manuscripts, porcelain and precious metalwork.<sup>1</sup> Its dispersal out of Italy was grieved and fuelled an intense debate concerning the then-ongoing pillaging of Italian heritage.

The study of provenance has now become an essential tool for establishing the authenticity, quality and legality of artworks, yet it represents “an alternative way of narrating a history of art”.<sup>2</sup> With this framework, I would like to conduct my survey of the Layard Collection in its entirety.

Considered to be the greatest asset of the whole Layard collection by far, most of the essential facts surrounding the formation of the Old Masters collection have already been illustrated.<sup>3</sup> However, these accounts do not offer all the precise details of how this collection came into being, and what collecting practises and pursuits were envisaged. This will be, therefore, the main purpose of this section. Secondly,

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<sup>1</sup> Among the books auctioned in 1939 was Richard Champion’s volume on *The history of the manufacture of the true porcelain* (1873). See Catalogue 19139, 81, lot 969.

<sup>2</sup> Feigenbaum, Reist 2012, viii.

<sup>3</sup> The principal studies on the Layard collection are Anderson 1987; Lennon 1987; Lennon 1993; Anderson 1994; Favaretto 1987; Mazzucchelli 1998; Penny 2004.

the objects that form the rest of the collection – sculptures, manuscripts, tapestries, and decorative arts – will be analysed. This second part aims to investigate the most unknown aspects of the Layard Collection, and is fundamental in order to understand the complex and varied habits of a Victorian man. Complementing this chapter is an appendix, which provides a first, concise analysis of the Armenian manuscripts.

Layard's activity witnesses a crucial moment in the evolution of nineteenth-century approaches to collecting, and more or less coincides with the formation of the major British private galleries, such as those of John Bowes (1811-1885), Richard Wallace (1818-1890), and William Hesketh Lever (1851-1925). According to the distinction made by Arthur Sandford Strong, Layard's collection aligns with the notion that a collection is "deliberately and systematically formed, either to gratify a genuine personal taste, or as a necessary part of the apparatus of luxury".<sup>4</sup>

The period of his major purchases occurs between 1859 and 1866, though his collecting activity begins in 1855 and lasts until 1892. Layard's collecting is deeply embedded with certain key biographical episodes, and this becomes even more apparent when contextualised within a wider political and economic frame of decline and unrest. The Napoleonic suppressions, the Wars of Unification in Italy, and the Carlist wars in Spain had resulted in a massive number of artworks becoming available on the European market, and consequently had an impact on the general purchase tendencies, as discussed above. The possibility to purchase at moderate or low prices whetted the appetite of countless collectors, Sir Henry among them. While the market for Renaissance masters was well-established, it was only slowly

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<sup>4</sup> Sandford Strong 1905, 135.

getting underway for the early masters of the fifteen century when Layard began his chase.<sup>5</sup>

The largest obstacle that prevented Layard from buying desirable pictures for his collection was a shortfall in terms of budget. Sir Henry, in fact, did not possess large resources, as was the case with other mid-nineteenth century collectors, such as Thomas Gambier Parry or the nouveaux riches. In accordance with his social position and possibilities, however, Layard made fair acquisitions. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that his first purchases coincide and thrive along with the royalties obtained from his books on Nineveh, which amounted to £1,750 10s 7d, and his salaried position of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (1852, 1861-66), which brought him £1,500 per annum, and as MP for Aylesbury and Southwark (1852, 1855).<sup>6</sup> This income was supplemented by several investments in various stocks and shares, such as the *Ottoman Bank* or the ‘Venice and Murano Company’. At the same time, Layard’s earliest incomes from writing would continue throughout his life. It is well known that his bestsellers on the archaeological discoveries at Nineveh earned him not only fame, but also a sound profit. In later years, he continued to write for *The Quarterly Review*. In one instance, he plainly admitted: “I think of making a magazine article out of [these rare and curious cookery books of 16<sup>th</sup> century] to pay their cost, as they are dear books. The subject is new, and is interesting as illustrating the manners and customs of the Italians in the time of the Renaissance”.<sup>7</sup> From 1884 he started receiving a diplomatic pension of £1,700 per

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Hale 1954, 127-168.

<sup>6</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXXXVI, Add MS 39066: Layard’s ledger.

<sup>7</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 151: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 4 November 1890. See Layard 1892.



annum. His financial resources amount on his death to some £92,464 16s 4d, quite a surprising sum for a self-made man who devoted his life to politics and art.<sup>8</sup>

Beyond the high asking prices that may have hindered Layard, Morelli also contributed by dissuading him, either through downgrading a painting or securing it for someone else. While it has been observed that Morelli had great influence in shaping Layard's policy, it would be misleading to underestimate the formative influence that Charles Lock Eastlake had on Layard. The notebooks of Sir Charles raised, in fact, a lively interest in Layard, who borrowed them in order to study Spanish art, a matter with which Morelli had admitted having little acquaintance.

To facilitate the export of paintings Layard, like Eastlake and many collectors or dealers, had frequent help from English consuls in various Italian cities, and their names frequently recur in his correspondence. If Tuscany and the Papal States were more careful and sensible with regard to the exportation of artworks, as Eastlake's incident proved for instance,<sup>9</sup> the territories under Austro-Hungarian control did not wish to antagonise the local aristocracy and let works more easily slip out of their borders.

Layard's bias for Italian art had been evident since the very beginning and evolved into a passion for collecting as soon as his financial position allowed it. As Jonathan Parry has justly outlined, "expertise was the big theme of his career"<sup>10</sup> and such an attitude should be applied not just for politics, but also for artistic matters. Inasmuch as he had always been determined to speak only on subjects he knew about, the first artworks he acquired were some fresco fragments. As Dorothy Anne Simmons has pointed out, these "were collected almost in the same manner as the

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<sup>8</sup> Resworn probate, Dec. 1894, CGPLA Eng. & Wales quoted in Parry 2004.

<sup>9</sup> I refer to the debate sparked by the exportation of the Pollaiuolo, see Moore 1857; Robertson 1978, 234; Avery-Quash 2011, 267.

<sup>10</sup> Parry 2018.

Assyrian artefacts – as archaeological finds, loose fragments picked up on site, or works in the last throes of total decay”.<sup>11</sup> To a certain extent, as with most of collectors, Layard studied what he collected and collected what he studied. Germane to this perspective is the introduction Layard made to his *Suggestions for a National Gallery*:

I do not pretend to possess any practical experience of architecture. The plans which I have prepared with the able assistance of a young architect, Mr Gilbert Redgrave, are founded upon a long consideration of the subject, an acquaintance with the principal pictures galleries of Europe, and a knowledge, as a Trustee of the National Gallery, of its requirements.<sup>12</sup>

Layard did not envisage a dogged and systematic collecting project at the outset; on the contrary, he shaped it gradually proving once more his being “a clear reasoner”.<sup>13</sup> As will be shown, Layard’s attitude towards collecting was much different from that of his mother-in-law, Lady Charlotte Schreiber, which he happened to define “the most ardent and irrepressible of collectors”.<sup>14</sup> She had formed a systematic and comprehensive collection of English ceramics, playing cards and fans, with a pace hardly sustainable by Layard.<sup>15</sup>

While connoisseurial pursuits and exercises did frame his collecting practices, these relied heavily on market availability and prices. Consequently, Layard was able to build up a quality collection comparatively cheaply: he is thought to have spent less than £1,500 on its accumulation over the space of some thirty years. In 1873 part of the collection was insured for £5,000 against fire when it was lent to the National

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<sup>11</sup> Simmons 2000, 60.

<sup>12</sup> Layard 1868a, 1.

<sup>13</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXX, Add MS 58178, fol. 82: Press cutting from the *Illustrated London News*, 3 March 1855.

<sup>14</sup> NLS, MS 42340, fol. 38v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 2 November 1890.

<sup>15</sup> Her obsessive collecting activity is recorded in detail in her *Journals*. See Schreiber 1911. For an overview of her collections see the bibliography quoted in the first chapter of the first section, note 30.

Gallery of Ireland,<sup>16</sup> and in 1912 it was evaluated, by the director of the National Gallery, as being worth “up to £100,000 taking year sales at Christie’s into consideration”.<sup>17</sup> Though its destiny proved to be different from this first appreciation, Roger Fry’s words appear far more appropriate to describe “the value of the collection [which] was not artistic but historical or due to associations; the main part of almost any great collection is likely to be of this nature”.<sup>18</sup>

A point of access in retracing the formation of the collection is furnished by primary archival sources, such as notebooks and correspondences, as well as auction catalogues and museum records, which have assisted me in identifying approximately 1450 items owned by Layard and his wife (see Appendix B). Like many other collectors, he bought and exchanged artworks according to his evolving tastes. When available, the details of his acquisitions help to chart and probe the development of his interests and preferences. A large part of his late possessions are now scattered in museums, such as the National Gallery, the National Portrait Gallery, the British Museum, the Victoria and Albert, and the Tate Britain, all allocated in London; the Murano Glass Museum, the Correr Museum, the Archaeological Museum of Venice, the State Archive of Venice, the Library of the Mekhitarist Fathers of Saint Lazarus, Venice; the Palazzo Madama, Turin; the National Archaeological Museum of Florence, and the Metropolitan Art Museum of New York.

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<sup>16</sup> For more on this account see the correspondence between Henry Doyle and Layard, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXIII, Add MS 39003, fol. 279, 31 July 1873; fol. 285, 30 August 1873; Vol. LXXVI, Add MS 39006, fol. 304, 6 December 1874.

<sup>17</sup> BL, D’Abernon Papers, Vol. Add MS 48930, fol. 8: C. Holroyd to E. Vincent, 30 December 1912.

<sup>18</sup> Fry 1914.

This section seeks to position the Layard collection within its contemporary practices, outlining the methods of acquisition Sir Henry employed and the connoisseurial aspirations he pursued.

## 1.1 Forebears in collecting

Much of my boyhood was passed in Italy, where I acquired a taste for the fine arts, and as much knowledge of them as a child could obtain who was constantly in the society of artists and connoisseurs. I also imbibed that love of travel which has remained to me through life.

Layard 1887, 6.

Several letters addressed to his family proudly linger on the results of Sir Henry's purchases of Italian works of art; indeed, both his parents and his maternal aunt, Sara Austen (d. 1888), shared a genuine interest for art and could be considered collectors in their own right. It is more than likely that Layard's cultural outlook was widened and fostered by precocious contact with "a circle of very able men – in literature and art. Disraeli ... Plummer Ward ... Samuel Warren, Laurence, Sir M[artin] Shee, Eastlake, Turner, Stanfield, Roberts etc. etc." with whom he "was in the habit of meeting at [his Aunt's] table when [he] was a boy".<sup>19</sup>

Henry Peter John and Marianne's taste was rather eclectic and principally confined to affordable items, as can be gleaned from their probate inventory (**Plate 6, Figure 36**), ranging from copies after Raphael to Dutch sixteenth-century prints, watercolours with Italian landscape views, Carl Werner's orientalist paintings, and prints of Angelica Kauffmann.<sup>20</sup> In a passage of his autobiography, Layard mentioned that during his Florentine years, he used to help his father in visiting

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<sup>19</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38950, fol. 39: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 July 1888. Cf. Layard 1903, 47.

<sup>20</sup> The inventory was intended to facilitate the division of the artworks between the heirs. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.

bookshops in search of “portraits of the various statesmen, warriors, painters, and other men of note mentioned in [Roscoe’s Lives of Lorenzo de Medici and Leo X], and engravings of pictures or other objects of art referred to by the author”.<sup>21</sup> Such a collection then passed into Sir Henry’s hands.

The main piece was a panel of *St. Jerome in his study* attributed to Lucas van Leyden, which might be a copy of an engraving by the artist, signed and dated 1521 (Bartsch no. 114), like the one purchased in 1846 by Prince Albert from Ludwig Gruner (Edinburgh, Palace of Holyroodhouse, RCIN 403496). Albeit “wrongly attributed”<sup>22</sup> to Lucas van Leyden, Layard had encouraged his mother to lend it to the Manchester Art Exhibition in 1857.<sup>23</sup>

From his father, Layard had received an ebony cabinet inlaid with ivory, once held at Palazzo Rucellai (BM, inv. 1976,0903.4), alongside with a “*Head of a youth* – Florentine school; School of Correggio – *Holy Family*; Po[e]lenburgh – Women bathing; a *Holy Family*; Attrib. to Salvator Rosa – *A Brawl*; a portrait of a French painter and another portrait of a painter”.<sup>24</sup> In December 1879, following his mother’s death Henry also inherited two works by Carl Werner – *Interior of the Cathedral of Cefalù* (**Plate 6, Figure 35**) and *Interior of a mosque at Jerusalem* -;<sup>25</sup> eight unspecified Arundels; a *Resurrection* and *Old Monuments of Italy* by the same author; a *St. Cecilia* by Elisabetta Sirani in a gold frame; *Virgin and Child* by Burney; the *Portrait of Henry Peter John Layard* by Fowles; a *Landscape with*

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<sup>21</sup> Layard 1903, 34.

<sup>22</sup> NGA, 7/292/13(ii): Layard’s notebook, no. 88.

<sup>23</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 67: G. Scharf to A.H. Layard, 15 November 1856. See also Manchester 1857, 42, no. 458. The painting passed to Henry in 1879 and was later sold at Christie’s. It was sold to Spielmann for £52.10, but it is presently untraced. See Christie’s 1913, 11, lot. 53.

<sup>24</sup> NGA, 7/292/13(ii): Layard’s notebook, no. 89-95. The Cornelis van Poelenburch was auctioned in Rome. See Guglielmi 1939, 63, ill. 710. The so-called Salvator Rosa was sold in London in 1913. See, Christie’s 1913, 12, lot. 62.

<sup>25</sup> Both were recorded in NG7/292/13(ii), no. 26, and were auctioned at Christie’s 1913, 9, lot. 42, 43.

figures; a *Head relief of an ox* by an unknown painter; a *Marriage of St. Catherine*; a *Head* said to be by Giorgione (**Plate 6, Figure 34**);<sup>26</sup> *Angels* said to be by Raphael; six paintings by Ricci; a print of the forum in Rome; a watercolour representing Therapia maybe by Lady Layard, who was recognised as the author of a *Sketch of Venice in oil*; a watercolour of Mitigliano by Mrs Burr; a bronze relief with *Christ bearing the Cross*; and lastly, a silhouette by Rassam and a photograph of his house at Aden. To the majority of these works, Henry did not attach a particular value, beyond the sentimental. As a matter of fact, they were kept at 1 Queen Anne Street, London – his second residence – and in his own will he decided to leave them to Lady Layard with the exception of the *Portrait of Benjamin Austen* by Martin Archer Shee, which he destined to the Incorporated Law Society, of which Austen had been president in 1848-1849.<sup>27</sup> The portrait had entered Layard’s collection at the death of Aunt Sara Austen (1888), along with “a very acceptable legacy”.<sup>28</sup> This included her house in Montague place, London, a quarter of her wealth, and above all two pencil drawings by Daniel Maclise portraying his uncle and aunt (now in the British Museum, 1976.0925.14-15), two drawings by William Brockedon (British Museum, 1976.0925.10-11), some Dutch paintings by Caspar Netscher, Nicolaes Maes, and the one after Franz von Mieris (comprised in his bequest to the National Gallery, NG2952-54), and “some fairly good example of English masters”,<sup>29</sup> now housed at the Tate Britain, London. Among these were Benjamin Blake (N02946), James Burnet (N02947), James Duffield Harding (N02955 – destroyed in the Tate flood, 1928), Julius Caesar Ibbetson (N02948), Frederick R. Lee (N02949), Patrick

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<sup>26</sup> In 1913 the *Head of a boy* was sold as Bronzino at Christie’s (Christie’s 1913, 10, lot 47; cf. Christie’s 1961, lot. 57). Federico Zeri assigned it to an unknown Florentine master (Fototeca Federico Zeri, Bologna, inv. 37028).

<sup>27</sup> See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 56196, fol. 36. The portrait is currently held in the reading room of the Law Society, of 4 Raymond Buildings, Gray’s Inn.

<sup>28</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 39: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 July 1888.

<sup>29</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 39: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 July 1888.

Nasmyth (N02950, N02951), David Roberts (N02956), and a *Stable interior* by George Morland (presently untraced).<sup>30</sup> In addition, there was group of two hundreds prints and engravings (now in the British Museum, through the bequests by Lady Layard 1910, and Gordon Waterfield 1989).

Sara Austen also had “one of the finest collections [of watercolours] in England. Prouts, B[o]ningtons, Stanfield &c &c [sic]”, which was auctioned at Christie’s on 12 April 1889 and sold for a total of £11,450; notably, the “small Turners having fetched £1,000 & a Copley Fielding over £800”.<sup>31</sup> To Layard’s great regret, Aunt Sara “did not leave [him] her very fine collection of watercolours. She had done so in her will, but revoked the bequest in a codicil on the ground that [he] only cared for art-pictures!”<sup>32</sup>

## 1.2 The Collection or the Collections?

A collection is basically determined by the nature of the value assigned to the objects, or idea possessed. At some point in the process the objects have to be deliberately viewed by their owner as a collection, and this implies intentional selection, acquisition and disposal. It also means that some kind of specific value is set upon the group by its possessor, and with the recognition of value comes the giving of a part of self-identity. But collecting is too complex and too human an activity to be dealt with summarily by way of definitions.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> This painting was included in the list of the pictures at 1 Queen Anne St. It was auctioned at Christie’s (1913, 11, no. 55) and might be similar to the one in Tyntesfield, Wraxall, North Somerset, though the measures differ.

<sup>31</sup> LLJ, 11 Apr. 1899. Cf. Layard 1903, 47. The sale comprised 206 lots, including twenty-three framed engravings, four miniatures by Alessandri, and among the watercolours five by Turner; see Christie’s 1889. In Layard’s library there were two volumes on the *Sketches* made by Samuel Prout in the Flanders, Germany, France, Switzerland, and Italy. See Layard 1904, 154.

<sup>32</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 973, fol. 106v: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Sylte, 12 August 1888.

<sup>33</sup> Durost 1932, 10, quoted in Pearce 1994, 157-9.

Surrounded by these works as he was brought up, young Henry's appetite for art had been nurtured by Florentine galleries and churches, primed by his readings and it would develop thanks to regular travels throughout the Italian peninsula through the 1850s.<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to determine the full range of works which encompass the Layard collection. Compared to the large number of artworks auctioned or donated posthumously, the Old Masters consists only of a minor, albeit distinguished, part of it and are likely to be the only works to have been considered a collection tout court. In fact, Layard never inscribed his acquisitions of decorative arts within a connoisseurial realm, nor made a record of them, except for the two tapestries that he listed along with the paintings in his manuscript inventory. Unlike his acquisition policy for pictures – where he demonstrates a more deliberate and systematic approach in the selection – Layard is still anchored in an amateur collecting tradition concerning decorative arts. In fact, these artefacts chiefly represent no more than an intellectual curiosity and followed the examples set by his fellows of the *Fine Arts Club*. As will be discussed in the chapter on the display of Ca' Capello Layard, Sir Henry did not have any specific interest for French or Italian culture when buying furniture, he was instead captivated by either the aesthetic appeal of certain pieces or their convenience. Yet such decorative purchases nevertheless emerged within his collecting aspirations as a logical response to changing attitudes towards both commodification and the standardised vocabulary of domestic deployment. I will, therefore, retrace the Layard collections not as separate entities, but in their entirety. As such, it is necessary to employ a chronological and synchronic organisational approach, in order to follow Layard's omnivorous, concurrent and multifarious collecting patterns.

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<sup>34</sup> At Palazzo Ruccellai, Layard slept under Filippino Lippi's altarpiece of *The Virgin and Child with Saints Jerome and Dominic* (now in the National Gallery, NG293).



Whereas the official purchases suggested or made for public museums are mentioned far more extensively in his papers, references to Layard's private purchases appear scattered and embedded throughout his notebooks and correspondences. At any rate, as the inventory shows (Appendix B), in terms of paintings it had been possible to determine quite precisely what he bought, where, when and for what price. A close scrutiny of the various sources of supply, which Layard made use of, indicates that the majority of purchases can be traced back to specific Italian aristocratic collections (**Plate 7, Figure 37**). Most of the acquisitions, moreover, have a distinguished provenance, even when coming from an art dealer shop.

Some considerations can be marshalled with regard to the sources and the expenditure that Layard sustained for his collecting activity. Regarding prices, although Dorothy Anne Simmons had previously observed that "his annual spending on paintings rose steadily during the period, from under £100 in 1860 to almost £500 in 1866", additional evidence has revealed that his maximum expenditure actually peaked £611 in 1865 (**Plate 7, Figure 38**).

Connoisseurial advice and hints considerably shaped Layard's policy, though he was not completely driven by them. He trusted his own knowledge and taste, as the first purchases testify. He privileged dealing directly with collectors, though some transactions were entrusted to intermediaries, such as William Perry, Saverio Cavallari, Ludwig Gruner or Giovanni Morelli. The latter, as it has been widely illustrated, wielded a strong influence on Layard and fostered a pursuit for Lombard painters.<sup>35</sup> Besides the acquisitions made in Italy, Layard also made purchases through dealers and at auctions in Paris and Dresden (**Plate 7, Figure 39**). At the

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<sup>35</sup> Cf. Anderson 1987; Lennon 1987 and 1993; Mazzucchelli 1998.

dealers and restorers' studios, Layard could handle and inspect paintings closely and even discuss the attributions of the paintings purchased. In this way, it becomes apparent that interconnections between the National Gallery and his private collection are closer than initially thought. Sometimes they share the same provenance, as in the case of the Costabili or Manfrin collections.

If the documentation for some of later picture purchases is disappointingly patchy, these difficulties are even more pronounced with regard to the acquisition of decorative art, in particular glass and tapestries. Compared to painting acquisition, the horizons of this kind of collecting are far more reduced and chiefly related to the last twenty years of his activity (1870-1890), when shortage of space was no longer a constraint. No doubt the Layard Papers represent a great source for retracing and parsing these collections, but key documents in this sense are represented by Sir Henry's last will and auction catalogues, especially the one dated 1939, concerning all the belongings of Ca' Capello Layard. Whenever possible, investigation has been expanded to museum or auction house records and the evidence retrieved has been gathered in the inventory, which seeks to be a comprehensive reference guide to his properties, as well as to his cultural biases.

Before delving into the collection chronologically, it is worth starting by analysing the terms of his will, which indicate what Lady Layard inherited.

All my copyrights and I declare that all my papers memoranda manuscripts copies and drafts of official dispatches private and other correspondence shall be at the disposal of my said wife with discretion as to their publication [...] I also give and bequeath to my said wife absolutely and beneficially all and singular my plate and plated articles linen china glass consumable stores horses harness carriages books of all kinds prints jewels ornaments of the house or person curiosities and (with the exception after mentioned) all objects of art and vertu together with my household furniture and all my household goods and

whether the same be contained in my said house at Venice or in my said house in Queen Anne Street or wheresoever the same may be at my death but excepting from the last mentioned gift and bequest my pictures and also excepting therefrom my pieces of plate casket medals or other objects presented to me by the City of London or any other corporate or public body parliamentary constituency.<sup>36</sup>

### 1.3 “Peu à peu je me fais une galerie. C’est mon plus grand plaisir d’avoir des beaux tableaux dans une chambre”

Layard’s collecting started humbly with the archaeological objects he retained for himself during the excavations at Nineveh and Nimrud, showing how antiquities were still deemed as a personal property.<sup>37</sup> The Assyrian sculptures used to decorate his London flat or the Nineveh porch at Canford Manor are a blatant example of such an attitude (**Plate 7, Figures 30, 31**). Another proof of it is found in the fact that he

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<sup>36</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 56196, fols. 36-37: Last Will and Testament of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Austen Layard. Interestingly enough, the legacy included also Layard’s papers, which he deemed historically important, in particular those relating to his tenures in Spain and Turkey. Layard, in fact, aimed to publish them, but was unable to at the time. His wife, however, typewrote most of his memories concerning his ambassadorship, but they remained unedited until a few years ago, when Dr Sinan Kuneralp (2009) published the accounts on Layard’s ambassadorship at Porte. The handwritten copies are at the British Library (Layard Papers, Vol. II- IV, Add MS 38932-34); the typewritten ones are held at the John Murray Archive (MS 42362-84 relates to Turkey; MS 42386-99 relates to Spain, MS 42410 concerns Layard’s correspondence). Layard’s “handwriting and official papers and despatches to him and copies and drafts of from him whilst in the Diplomatic Service relating to Public matter and all his correspondence and letters with people of note” was bequeathed by Lady Layard to the Trustees of the British Museum. ANVe, Atti Carlo Candiani, Vol. 296 (1913), rep. N. 29782.

<sup>37</sup> On this point, it is worth reporting the letter Layard addressed to Gregory in 1893, at the time of Hormund Rassam’s complaint vs. the Keeper of the British Museum, E.A. Wallis Budge, who had accused him of smuggling antiquities out of Nineveh and sending second-rate objects to the British Museum. “Mr Maude Thompson (if he be, as I am assured that he is, the author, or inspirer of the articles in ‘Nature’) has in the last number [21 Sept. 1893] included me by name as having stolen the Assyrian marbles at Canford. It seems not to be generally known that the monuments etc. which I discovered in Assyria and Babylonia were my own property, that the Sultan’s firman authorising the excavations given to me personally, that I might have sold the whole of my discoveries and could have made a considerable fortune thereby, that I presented them voluntarily to the Nation, that in discovering them I spent the whole little money I had, Lord Stratford de Redcliff having helped me only to the extent of £60, and that I never received any remuneration in money from the Trustees either for the marbles or for my labours, but only the bare payment of my expenses. Mr Thompson asks for an enquiry as to the way in which public money was squandered on the Canford marbles. I hope he may succeed in obtaining one. Such is one’s recompense for serving the public!” BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVII, Add MS 39097, fol. 28: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 11 October 1893.

used the bricks with inscriptions as a business card, of which he made as gifts to many of his friends, such as Alessandro Castellani (1863), Giuseppe Molteni (1864) or Francis Joseph Sloane.<sup>38</sup> The city of Venice and the British Museum, particularly, would be the main recipient of Layard's archaeological collection of finds and fragments, and included Rhodesian and Cypriot ceramics, coins, an objects from a range of areas, for example Celtic and Pompeian.<sup>39</sup>

Beginning with antiquities Layard gradually turned to pictures around the 1850s, thanks also to his membership with the *Fine Arts Club* (1857). While retaining a certain amount of archaeological spirit, Henry's first purchase in the field of art was a series of three portions of a fresco by Spinello Aretino – representing the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* and two decorative borders – that he acquired in 1855, subsequent to the dismantling of the chapel of the Compagnia di Sant'Angelo in the Church of San Michele, Arezzo (NG1216.1-3).<sup>40</sup> Admittedly, he had hunted them down by reading Lindsay's *Sketches*, which already described them in a precarious state.<sup>41</sup> The entry in Layard's notebook recalls Vasari's notice, according to whom the work was the last one by Spinello; the master had made such a horrible figure of Lucifer that it led him to death. Furthermore, Layard reported that the fresco had been “transferred to canvas under my direction by Sig. Pampaglini of Perugia”.<sup>42</sup> The operation occurred in the following year, as detailed in a letter by George Scharf

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<sup>38</sup> This attitude has been clearly investigated by Di Paolo 2005, particularly at 141; Di Paolo 2012, at 33, 35; Ermidoro 2018, 2, 8. Two fragments once in the Castellani collection can be found in the National Archaeological Museums of Florence (inv. 93806) and Naples, the ones given to Sloane passed into the collection Barraco Rome (inv. MB 47-50, 57), that of Molteni is at Como, Museo Civico Archeologico Paolo Giovio.

<sup>39</sup> See AMC, Registro Doni, n. 411. The pieces are currently on loan display in a room of the National Archaeological Museum of Venice (inv. 41-43, 45, 49-50). ASVe, Direzione dell'Archivio, 1882, fasc. 210. With regard to the archaeological fragments donated to the British Museum, see the bequest of Miss Julia Du Cane to the museum in 1952.

<sup>40</sup> See NGA, NG1216 Dossier; Davies 1961, 500-1.

<sup>41</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXLIII, Add MS 39073, fol. 37: Notes to Lecture VI.

<sup>42</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), no. 12. On the activity of the painter-restorer Silvio Pampaglini there is little information. It is known that he removed many frescos at Assisi, see Troilo 2005, 116.

dated 15 November 1856. Layard had proposed to loan him his new pictures for the Exhibition of Art Treasures at Manchester. In response, Scharf had written to him “I hope indeed that your recent acquisitions may arrive in time to make their appearance on our walls. The Spinello fragments will be a great glory to us”.<sup>43</sup> Charles Eastlake also congratulated with Layard for the purchase of a “real treasure”,<sup>44</sup> and also enquired about the price and the name of the executor of the Florentine frame Layard had commissioned. However, due to the difficulties in preserving the frescos, they always remained in London and were presented to the National Gallery early in May 1886. The donation was welcomed as “a most interesting and valuable addition to the examples of ancient Italian Art in this Collection”.<sup>45</sup> The museum, indeed, possessed just one work by Spinello Aretino, a fresco with *Two Haloed Mourners* (NG276) – formerly decorating the chapel of Vanni Manetti in the Carmine, Florence, which Eastlake bought a year after Layard’s purchase.

Between 1855 and 1856 Miner K. Kellogg was “good enough to give” a “little pretty” *Virgin and Child* by a follower of Botticelli (NG3082) to Layard, who considered it “as a remembrance of Italy and of you [M.K. Kellogg]”.<sup>46</sup> Although it is not known whether he paid for the picture or it was intended as a gift, it is evident that Layard paid for the *Virgin and Child* by Giovanni Bellini (now attributed to the

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<sup>43</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 67: G. Scharf to A.H. Layard, 15 November 1856.

<sup>44</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 188r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 7 FitzRoy Square, 10 March 1857.

<sup>45</sup> NGA, National Gallery Minutes of Board Meetings, Vol. 6: Meeting held on 10 May 1886, 9. See also NG6/11 Letter book 1885-1886: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 19 May 1886, p. 882.

<sup>46</sup> “Have you done anything about a frame for that pretty little Sandro Botticelli you were good enough to give me? I long to see it hanging up in my room. You may find some means to sending it over”. BL, Miscellaneous, Add MS 42711, fol. 110: A.H. Layard to M.K. Kellogg, 9 Little Ryder Street, 29 January 1856. The painting was lent to the South Kensington Museum, see London, NGA, NG7/292/13(iv): Collection of pictures belonging to the R.H. A.H. Layard lent for Exhibition to the South Kensington Museum, 1869, no. 46.

workshop, NG3078), which Miner K. Kellogg provided him from Paris. According to a letter dated 11 March 1856

I have give order to your draught upon me for 1350 francs should be honoured by Lapitte and Co. and you will have no difficult in procuring the money at once. My banker in London is Willis Percival &Co. I should like to have a glass place before the picture. If you think it could be done better and cheaper in Paris than in London could you kindly give the order for me? [...] your varnish will do no harm I presume. I should be glad if any further note on the picture you could send me. It is a great piece of extravagance I ma committing, but I cannot resist the temptation. I hope one of these days to get a worthy frame for the picture. Do you think the Child's head has been much retouched?<sup>47</sup>

1350 francs (ca. £54) was an exceedingly high sum for Layard's pockets at the time, but documents are unclear on this point. His notebook in fact reports that he paid 40 Napoleons (ca. £32) for the picture,<sup>48</sup> a sum that would be far more reasonable when one considers that in those days Layard was only starting his partnership with the *Ottoman Bank*, which would not give him any revenue until the following year.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, he wrote to John Murray III (1808-1892): "I have seen [...] many things which could be had if the money was ready – and cheap too".<sup>50</sup>

At any rate, in the autumn of 1856, Layard secured a second fresco fragment, a *Virgin with Child* (NG1696), from the Church of Magrè (Vicenza) that likewise coincides with his second gift to Trafalgar Square in 1900, albeit on behalf of Lady

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<sup>47</sup> BL, Miscellaneous, Add MS 42711, fol. 111: A.H. Layard to M.K. Kellogg, 9 Little Ryder Street, 11 March 1856.

<sup>48</sup> NG7/292/13(ii): n. 6.

<sup>49</sup> In a letter dated less than week before and addressed to Lady Huntly he lamented that "the Bank gives me plenty to do and I pass the whole of my days in the City – but as far as remuneration is concerned I get nothing from it at least at present". BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIV, Add MS 38944, fol. 44: A.H. Layard to M.A. Gordon, 9 Little Ryder Street, 6 March 1856.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Simmons 2000, 61.

Layard.<sup>51</sup> During the same Italian trip, Sir Henry had also purchased an “unquestionable”<sup>52</sup> work by Bartolomeo Montagna, a master that Layard much enjoyed: “In his pictures the harshness of Mantegna appears to have been softened by the study of the works of Giovanni Bellini”.<sup>53</sup> Layard had bought an oil on canvass by him representing *Saint Zeno, Saint John the Baptist and a Female Martyr*, formerly in the Tanara chapel in San Giovanni in Ilarione, Vicenza. Sir Charles commented on the painting that while “the head of St. John is fine, it is not so good a specimen”.<sup>54</sup> Layard, on the contrary, partook the same judgement of his friend “the Professor of the Brera at Milan [Molteni] to whom I sent to do it put in order for me, [and who] calls ‘una meraviglia di bellezza’”.<sup>55</sup> Later on, in his edition of the Kugler, Layard continued referring to it as “an excellent signed altar-piece”.<sup>56</sup> The work had suffered a large loss in the lower part during the transition from panel to canvas; an intervention had been realised by an unknown restorer, perhaps “Brison [presumably, the painter and restorer Alessandro Brissore], riparatore di dipinti a Milano” which Saverio Cavallari, professor of architecture at Brera (1854-1856) had indicated to Sir Henry so that “ne assicurasse le parti sollevate”.<sup>57</sup> In fact, the hive of activity for restorations was the studio of Giuseppe Molteni:

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<sup>51</sup> NGA, NG7/249/4: E. Layard to E. Poynter, 1 June 1900. See also NGA, Minutes of Board Meetings, Vol. 7: Meeting held on 3 July 1900, 116.

<sup>52</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 188r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 7 FitzRoy Square, 10 March 1857.

<sup>53</sup> Layard 1872b, 129.

<sup>54</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 188r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, 7 FitzRoy Square, 10 March 1857.

<sup>55</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIV, Add MS 38944, fol. 49v: A.H. Layard to M.A. Gordon, Ravenna, 1 October 1856.

<sup>56</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), no. 1. See also Layard 1887b, 290.

<sup>57</sup> Venturi 1912, 449. On Saverio Cavallari, see Ciancolo Cosentino 2007. Alessandro Brissore is mentioned in Anderson 2014.

Era un punto di incontro del tutto particolare. Non solo per Morelli, Eastlake e Mündler; ma per antiquari come Giuseppe Baslini e per collezionisti come il conte Taverna, Gian Giacomo Poldi Pezzoli e Henry Layard.<sup>58</sup>

As will see, a great number of Layard's picture provenances come from that circle that revolved around Molteni's studio and Brera. During the late 1850s and through Saverio Cavallari, Layard purchased a pair of saints by the school of Bergognone from the Bruschetti Collection, Milan, for 10 Napoleons (NG3080-1).<sup>59</sup> "They are not in his best manner" Layard observed, "but the extreme rarity of his work makes them valuable".<sup>60</sup> Originality has always been an attractive feature for collectors, and Layard shared in its pursuit.

It is quite uncertain when Layard entered into possession of three fresco portions: one representing a male saint, presumably *Saint Peter* (NG3120), had been painted for the Church of Carmine in Florence by a master that Layard called Giotto, the other two were by Pietro Lorenzetti and workshop (NG3071-2). The latter formerly belonged either to the Cloister or the Chapter House of St. Francis in Siena.<sup>61</sup> In his notebook, Layard recorded that he "purchased from a man who had cut them out of the wall".<sup>62</sup> It appears reasonable that these acquisitions – germane to his initial focus on fourteenth and fifteenth century painting – occurred in the first half of the 1860s or at least before 1869, when they were lent to the South Kensington Exhibition.<sup>63</sup> In the years after, Layard's interest in fresco painting declined significantly and he did not buy any other specimen.

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<sup>58</sup> Mottola Molfino 1993, 152. See also Anderson 2014, 7.

<sup>59</sup> See Anderson 1987, 113.

<sup>60</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS 38948, fol. 49: A.H. Layard to S. Austen, Verona, 7 September 1856.

<sup>61</sup> See Boskovits 1986, 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> NGA, NG292/7/13(ii): no. 15-16.

<sup>63</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(iv): Collection of pictures belonging to the R.H. A.H. Layard lent for Exhibition to the South Kensington Museum, 1869, no. 41-2, 53.



In October 1860 Layard purchased for £3 an illuminated *Initial B*, historiated with Abraham and the three angels, in the school of Gaddi, at the important sale of Johann Gottlob von Quandt's collection in Dresden.<sup>64</sup> Layard attributed it to Lippo Memmi, and now it is believed to possibly be by Lorenzo Monaco (NG3089, transferred to the British Library in 1997, Additional 74233B). The cutting, in fact, belonged to the antiphony Corale 1, illuminated in the Camaldolese monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli, Florence.<sup>65</sup> From Layard's correspondence, in fact, it emerges that he did not physically participate at the auction in Dresden and someone else must have bid for him. By that time, he was in Verona intending to go to Padua to survey the Austrian troops' movements, after the Expedition of the Thousand, and from there to Ferrara, Bologna, and reach Florence a fortnight later.<sup>66</sup> From Verona, however, he would inform his uncle Benjamin Austen that

I made one purchase for myself in Venice; a pleasing picture attributed to Palma Vecchio, and perhaps by him, with a fine female head in fair preservation and of the grand Venetian type that one sees in his best work. At Vicenza I was for three days bargaining after the Italian fashion for a very fine old German picture, a crucifixion, dreadful to look at, but for expression and power one of the most extraordinary bits of painting I ever saw. I believe it to be by Martin Schon. I have not yet succeeded in getting it, but I hope to do so, as the owner does not know its value, and only makes a difficulty about selling it because I picked it out of a number of worthless pictures he offered me.<sup>67</sup>

This conspectus proves extremely significant, reflecting another distinct feature of Layard's acquisition policy. Concurrently, it documents the acquisitions of the *St.*

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<sup>64</sup> Quandt 1860, lot. 365. On Quandt's drawing collection, see Maaz 1989.

<sup>65</sup> See Freuler 2006, 266-271; Gordon 2003, 188.

<sup>66</sup> For a historical frame of the British position, see Trevelyan 2001; Trojani 2008; Del Boca 2010, Del Boca 2011.

<sup>67</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS 38948, fol. A.H. Layard to B. Austen, Verona, 11 October 1860.

*George and a female saint* attributed to Palma Vecchio (NG3079). By integrating this information with other notes, we discover that he bought it from the Venetian dealer Consiglio Richetti for £30.<sup>68</sup> In the jotter, Layard eventually annotated that the work came from the Grimani family. Such a provenance might embolden him in purchasing the painting, regardless of its condition - in fact, it was far from being “in fair condition”<sup>69</sup> - and the uncertain attribution. In a well-known letter, Layard confided openly to Janet Ross that

It is attributed to Palma Vecchio, and may or may not be by him, but I think you will like it. The subject is St. George and the damsel he has delivered kneeling down to return thanks over the vanquished dragon. She has a grand Venetian head, like Palma's daughter, who is so often represented in his pictures. I have seen one or two other things I should like to have, but travellers spoil the market by giving absurd prices for worthless things.<sup>70</sup>

The other things mentioned here refer to three paintings formerly in the collection of Count Thiene of Vicenza that he would later secure thanks to the assistance of the British Consulate at Venice. By September 1861, the Consul General, William Perry wrote to Layard: “Dunlop went with me to Vicenza to purchase your pictures – voilà tout!”<sup>71</sup> The cases were then shipped along the recent Venice-Liverpool commercial route – run by the English steamer company “John Bibby & Sons” – which the president of the Venice Chamber of Commerce had strongly promoted for the improvement of local trade conditions.<sup>72</sup> The pictures in

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<sup>68</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), no. 7. The information has been partially reported in the Catalogue 1896, 42. On Richetti, or Ricchetti, see Guida 1877, 99; Zorzi 1988, 160.

<sup>69</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS 38948, fol. A.H. Layard to B. Austen, Verona, 11 October 1860.

<sup>70</sup> Ross 1912, 81-82.

<sup>71</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXI, Add MS 39101, fol. 41v: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 5 September 1861. Alexander Graham Dunlop was then attached to the British Legation of Vienna.

<sup>72</sup> ASVe, Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, Primo deposito, b. 345, fasc. 5:

question were the *Crucifixion* by the so-called Martin Schön (NG3067), a head of *Saint John the Baptist* (NG3076) then attributed to Montagna, but possibly by Giovanni Buonconsiglio, as Morelli had already pointed out, and the *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin*, considered to be by Girolamo dei Libri (NG3077).<sup>73</sup> Their attributions were all quite uncertain and with regard to the *Crucifixion* Wilhelm von Bode (1845-1929) had written on purpose to Layard. The letter read

Sir,

In my notebook of a journey in Italy last year I found I notice relating to the old Flemish picture of your collection. I did not believe in G. David, but I thought that a somewhat older Dutch master would be the painter, Giertsen van St. Fano or, Giertzen von Harleem [Geertgen tot Sint Jans], who lived in the second half of the XV century. The two important pictures by the master, identified by documents, are at Vienna, in the Belvedere. Some other pictures are in Utrecht, Amsterdam &c.<sup>74</sup>

Finally, he concluded by suggesting that Layard consult his recent publication *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei* (1883). In a subsequent epistle, surely written on 20 April 1884 and in a more friendly tone, the German connoisseur restated the attribution and informed him that

Geertgen tot Sint Jans a Dutch painter of about 1460 to 1480 who lived in Haarlem and whose finest pictures are in the Belvedere at Vienna. Two other pictures of the Master are at Amsterdam [...] the master is perhaps the most

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Presidente della Camera di Commercio a Società delle Strade ferrate L.V. e dell'Italia Centrale, n. 215, 11 January 1861.

<sup>73</sup> Layard appreciated Girolamo dei Libri's paintings as they were mainly "distinguished by their gay and attractive colours, by the graceful action of the figures, generally by correct drawing, and by a considerable advance in the representation of landscape". Layard 1872b, 133.

<sup>74</sup> Burekhardt 1884, 658. The only extant copy of the letter is typewritten in the Catalogue 1896, 45-6, 65. The catalogue reports the date 21 July 1881, but the transcription must have been mistaken, since Bode's volume appeared only in 1883.

important artist of his time in Holland; he is earlier in style as Gerard David and has more energy in his character and is more vigorous in colouring.<sup>75</sup>

This opinion was then included in *Der Cicerone* and echoed by Henry Thode (1857-1920), who was well acquainted with the Layards and visited them several times in Venice.<sup>76</sup>

The episode of the Thiene pictures highlights once more the strong support Layard received from the diplomatic corp in acquiring works of art, both for his collection and that of the Nation. In June 1861 Perry was nominated Vice-Consul for Venice and the Austrian ports of the Adriatic Sea. Therefore, along with the ordinary 600 tons of goods, comprehending “manufactories, cottons, cast iron, iron, [...] rum, grains, sumacs, clover and hemp, glass beads”,<sup>77</sup> it is possible that works of art could also travel, regardless of explicit declaration. An example of such travel is found by following the journey of two paintings by Francesco Bissolo.

Though Layard did not go to Italy in 1861, he had been informed by Perry that a *Virgin and Child with Saints* by Francesco Bissolo was on sale at “F.lli Podraider Negozianti di Venezia”.<sup>78</sup> Given the impossibility to provide first-hand details, the consul had entrusted the Malcolms “to take a connoisseur they know and if he gives a favourable opinion of it I have desired them to secure it for 50 Naps”.<sup>79</sup> John (d. 1875) and Alexander (d. 1893) Malcolm were two Scottish agents of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, who resided at Palazzo Benzon at San Beneto and had

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<sup>75</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVII, Add MS 39037, fol. 112: W. von Bode to A.H. Layard, 20 Apr. 1884. Bode called Layard “Dear Sir Henry”.

<sup>76</sup> Lady Layard’s Journal recalls several visits from Thode and his wife. See, for instance, 9 December 1893, 17 and 22 January 1894. For the reference in the *Cicerone*, see Burckhardt, Bode 1884, 658.

<sup>77</sup> ASVe, Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura, Primo deposito, b. 345, fasc. 5: Interesse a convenire con la Società Inglese dei vapori marittimi John Bibby Sons per un viaggio mensile diretto da Liverpool per Venezia e viceversa, n. 215, 11 January 1861.

<sup>78</sup> The shop was enlisted in the Commercial Guide of Venice as “Chincaglieri” (Guida 1858, 134), but also under the heading “Terraglie, Porcellane, Vetri e Cristalli” (Guida 1858, 248).

<sup>79</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXI, Add MS 39101, fol. 142: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 2 October 1861, [Florence], Casa Annalena.

established an important timber business in Longarone, Belluno.<sup>80</sup> Following this initial job, Alexander, “the cleverest and most active of the two brothers Alexander” would become Layard’s “special Agent”<sup>81</sup> for all his commercial and artistic activities in the years that followed.

The evaluation of the Bissolo had been entrusted to the Venetian dealer Francesco Pajaro, Leonardo Gavagnin – painter and restorer at the Academy –, and Spiridione Marini – painter and dealer himself. A few days after of the inspection, Perry forwarded a copy to Layard. The painting was satisfactorily certified as an authentic work by Bissolo, without any trace of repairs, covered “dal sporco del tempo e da moltissime lordure di mosche”.<sup>82</sup> It was advisable to restore it preferably in Venice, owing to the fact the Academia held “due opere indubitate del medesimo pen[n]ello, che possono servire di traccia più sicura al r[e]stauratore che venisse prescelto”.<sup>83</sup> Thereupon, Perry suggested the name of Vincenzo Azzola, who could turn it into “a gem”.<sup>84</sup> Disregarding this advice and after having secured the painting for the initial proposal of 50 Napoleons, Layard requested to have it forwarded to England with the first steamer. The Bissolo was included within the same case as two portraits for

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<sup>80</sup> According to the Commercial Guide of Venice (Guida 1846, 122) the Malcolms’ activity was enlisted under the heading “Negozianti in ogni ramo” and they were settled in Santa Maria del Giglio, Calle Barbarigo, no. 2505. By 1857 it appears that they also sold coal and carbon coke in Venice (see Guida 1857, 172). The shop was located at Santa Maria del Giglio, fondamenta Barbarigo e Duodo, no. 2804. They also provided delivery services, being enlisted under the heading “Negozianti e commissioni in ogni ramo”, see Guida 1857, 249. From 1867 their address was reported as Calle Benzon. In Longarone, along with the sawmill, they had built a bridge and a villa surrounded by a huge garden, which were wiped out in October 1963 by the collapse of the Vajont dam.

<sup>81</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 42: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 16 December 1875.

<sup>82</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXI, Add MS 39101, fol. 151r: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 3 October 1861.

<sup>83</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXI, Add MS 39101, fol. 151r: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 3 October 1861.

<sup>84</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXI, Add MS 39101, fol. 149: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Florence, Casa Annalena, 7 October 1861. Azzola was a restorer and art dealer, originating from Bergamo, who was based in 2931 Santa Margherita and had been previously employed by the National Gallery and Layard for the acquisition of a Bellini painting. See BL, Vol. LV, Add MS 38985, fol. 207r: V. Azzola to A.H. Layard, 20 Mar. 1857. On Venetian restorers and the ethic of restoration at the NG, see Anderson 1996b; Perusini 2013; Perusini 2016.

Frederic Elliot, so that the freight could be subdivided and the costs kept low at £36.15. Perry had, moreover, sent it off with another case containing “Mr [\*Langham’s] Photograph Machine [...] as I consider that you may have some agent in the City who will take care of the cases on their arrival” and eventually reassured Layard that “Mr Captain of the Nicholas Wood has promised to keep the boxes in the cabin”.<sup>85</sup> Despite such care and precautions, the goods never arrived in England. The steamer vanished without trace past Gibraltar, and most likely sank into the Atlantic.

At the same time, Perry had been updating Layard on the recent National Exhibition held at Florence, providing him with a copy of the catalogue, and promising to send him further details on the sale of a Cima da Conegliano - considered to be genuine by the Italian-Greek painter Giorgio Mignaty (1824-1895) – and on another Bissolo in the hands of Michelangelo Guggenheim.<sup>86</sup> This latter painting was to be luckier.

In fact, the correspondence shows that Layard appeared more inclined to postpone the acquisition of the second Bissolo until he would come to Venice, even risking not being able to secure it. To avoid the problem, Perry offered Layard the chance to have the work evaluated by Paolo Fabris, “Eastlake’s right hand man”.<sup>87</sup> This care, however, may have increased the price of the painting, which was already too high for Layard: “It is difficult to purchase a picture without seeing it, and I should be

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<sup>85</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXII, Add MS 39102, fol. 11: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 4 December 1861.

<sup>86</sup> See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXI, Add MS 39101, fol. 142: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Florence, 2 October 1861; fol. 184: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Florence, 18 October 1861; fol. 255: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Florence, 11 November 1861; Vol. CLXXII, Add MS 39102, fol. 11: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 4 December 1861. For a full account on the Venetian art dealer Michelangelo Guggenheim, see Martignon 2015.

<sup>87</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXII, Add MS 39102, fol. 72r: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 19 December 1861.

glad if any judge, not connected with the place, could see it”.<sup>88</sup> The owner requested 100 Napoleons (ca. £80), whereas 150 Napoleons had been asked for the Cima. Perry preferred the former, saying that - though he had been “busily employed in pictures hunting”<sup>89</sup> with Pajaro - he had not been able to find anything better than the Bissolo. This seemed to be the

Best specimen of the School I have seen: it appears to have been very little retouched, but has been too much varnished. The man will not take a sixpence less than 100 Naps. It is worth all the money he asks, and so much has been made of your desire to purchase it, that some richass [sic] will pick it up. If you can afford it therefore, give an order to buy it, and I will offer 85 or 90 Naps, but I feel sure nothing under a hundred will buy it.<sup>90</sup>

The Bissolo came from the collection of the late Pope Gregory XVI, hence the owner was sure he could make a good profit out of it and did not intend to lower the offer to less than 90 Napoleons. The picture had also tempted Lord Warwick, but even for him the price was exaggerated.<sup>91</sup> Pressed by Perry's constant comments that it was “a good moment to purchase, as very little money is stirring”,<sup>92</sup> Layard resolved to buy the Guggenheim Bissolo in August 1862 (NG3083). This time the picture was duly insured, so that “if the steamer should go down in the Bay of Biscay you may console yourself by touching a good sum”,<sup>93</sup> as Perry jokingly commented.

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<sup>88</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXII, Add MS 39102, fol. 72v: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 19 December 1861.

<sup>89</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXIII, Add MS 39103, fol. 75v: Private, W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 7 May 1862.

<sup>90</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXIII, Add MS 39103, fol. 157v: Private, W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 7 June 1862.

<sup>91</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXIII, Add MS 39103, fol. 76r: Private, W. Perry to A.H. Layard, Venice, 7 May 1862. Lord Warwick was a member of the Fine Arts Club, he was elected on 19 April 1858. See NAL, MLS1952/1329: Fine Arts Club, Candidates' Proposal Book.

<sup>92</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXIII, Add MS 39103, fol. 304: Perry to Layard, 2 August 1862.

<sup>93</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXXIV, Add MS 39104, fol. 282: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 9 January 1863.

It is worth observing that by 1862 Layard had gathered only a few pieces and could not participate in the Special Exhibition of Works of Art of the Mediaeval, Renaissance, and more recent periods, on loan at The South Kensington Museum, organised by J.C. Robinson. Nevertheless, he was invited to display his *Saint John the Baptist* by Buonconsiglio and the *Crucifixion* by Gerard David at the British Institution, whose director, Henry Danby Seymour (1820-1877), was a Liberal MP and friend of Layard, as well as a member of the *Fine Arts Club* and a collector in his own right.<sup>94</sup>

During his regular trip to Italy in 1862, Layard managed to acquire a Tintoretto, likely *The Agony in the Garden* that he sold to Ivor Guest in 1867.<sup>95</sup> Throughout the years 1862-1864, it is possible to chart the purchase of Augustus and the Sibyl – at the time the subject was identified as the *Virgin appearing to a kneeling man* – as Carpaccio for 200 Lire (£8ca) from the Venetian dealer Richetti (NG3086).<sup>96</sup> Probably, Layard might attribute the panel to Carpaccio, who he considered the Ariosto of the painters for “the freshness and sparkle” which he conveyed in his “lively episodes, [...] naïve traits of character, [...] charming costume and accessory details [...] represented in a simple artless way”.<sup>97</sup> Between 1863 and 1864 Henry bought the *Annunciation* by Gaudenzio Ferrari, once belonging to the Acerbi Collection, Milan (NG3068.1-2).<sup>98</sup> Layard bought “ces deux pages très intéressantes

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<sup>94</sup> For a history of the British Institution, see Fullerton 1982; Pomeroy 1998. Seymour’s collection comprised Dürer’s *Portrait of a peasant woman* (BM 1930,0324.1) and the triptych attributed to Goswin van der Weyden entitled *Saint Catherine and the Philosophers* (Southampton City Art Gallery, inv. 1/1958). It may be noted that he was MP for Poole from 1850 to 1868, when he was succeeded by Arthur Guest, Layard’s brother-in-law.

<sup>95</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 45: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 17 November 1862.

<sup>96</sup> The attribution was maintained by Berenson 1894, 102.

<sup>97</sup> Layard 1872b, 143. The idea had been already expressed in a private letter to Gregory in November 1870, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38950, fol. 67.

<sup>98</sup> See Colombo 1881, 23.



et très sympathiques”<sup>99</sup> through the Milanese dealer Baslini for 500 Francs (ca. £20). From the same art dealer, Layard also secured two other paintings for 150 Napoleons (ca. £120), in 1863 “un précieux souvenir de l’école Lombarde”,<sup>100</sup> namely, the *Virgin and Child* by Bernardino Luini (NG3090), formerly in the Borromeo Collection, and the *Virgin and Child with four Saints* by Francesco Bonsignori (NG3091), “l’un des meilleurs écoliers de Mantegna”.<sup>101</sup> He appreciated in particular his “vigour, individuality, and colour”, as well as the “correct drawing and admirable rendering of character”.<sup>102</sup> The negotiation had been finalised thanks to Giovanni Morelli, “car sans votre opinion je ne m’aurai guère décidé à les prendre”.<sup>103</sup> The purchase was later praised by Eastlake, who had declared that Layard’s Luini was “the finest”<sup>104</sup> when compared to the Holy Family in the Louvre (inv. 359).

Interestingly enough, the graph on provenance shows (**Plate 7, Figure 36**) that Layard not only enjoyed picture dealing, but also exchanging artworks with friends and other collectors. For instance, the *Sparrowhawk* by Jacopo de Barbari came from the collection of his friend James Hudson (NG3088), and from Mündler he obtained two paintings: a portrait by Giovan Battista Moroni (NG3128) and *Christ Blessing* by Andrea Previtali (NG3087). From this latter master, though at that time it was identified as Boccaccio Boccaccino, Layard also had a *Virgin and Child adored by*

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<sup>99</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 7r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bergamo, 26 December 1864.

<sup>100</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, f. 16v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 27 January 1865.

<sup>101</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 7r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bergamo, 26 December 1864.

<sup>102</sup> Layard 1872b, 131.

<sup>103</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, f. 13r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 30 December 1864.

<sup>104</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 28.

*two angels* (NG3111).<sup>105</sup> He obtained it from Sir Ivor Bertie Guest in 1864, in exchange for an altarpiece in six compartments then attributed alternatively to Girolamo da Santa Croce and to Dosso and Giambattista Dossi.<sup>106</sup> In 1876 Boxall gave to Layard the *Portrait of the Doge Marcello*, said to be by Gentile Bellini (NG3100), and afterwards a *Portrait of an Old Man* variously assigned to Giovanni Bellini and Francesco Morone (NG3130). Layard received from Morelli a panel representing *Pegasus and the muses* by Romanino (NG3093), which cannot be considered an exchange tout court, but instead an extra benefit for the significant profit Morelli may have derived from the negotiation for two paintings by Moretto from Ettore Averoldi's collection in 1864. The Morettos in question were the *Praying man with a long beard* (NG3095), for which Layard paid his highest sum, i.e. 4000 Francs (£160, currently ca. £19,111.11), and *Virgin and Child with Saints* (NG3094), representing the master's "'silver style'",<sup>107</sup> which was obtained for 2500 Francs (ca. £100).<sup>108</sup>

Le portrait de ce bel homme barbu, qui doit être un Averoldi, semble être un fragment d'un grand tableau d'autel, dont ce chevalier aura été le donateur. C'est certainement un des plus beaux et intéressants portraits qu'on puisse voir et qui, placé dans un grand salon, attirera les regards de tout le monde. C'est une page de Galerie. Avec peu de chose Molteni vous le remettra dans son état primitif.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The Boccaccino had formerly belonged to the Castellani Collection, Turin, where Müндler bought it for Ivor Guest. See NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 45.

<sup>106</sup> From a crosschecking of the sources, it appears that the altarpiece in question was the one that Layard bought as Girolamo da Santa Croce at Montagnana in 1864, not in Venice as he jotted down in his notebook (NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 23). The altarpiece was sold as Dosso and Giambattista Dossi for £78.15 at Christie's in 1899 (see catalogue at lot 35). Cf. also Catalogue 1888, 26, no. 55.

<sup>107</sup> NLS, MS42336, fol. 73: A.H. Layard to E. Eastlake, F.O., 10 January 1865.

<sup>108</sup> Prices are named in Morelli's letter. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 5v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bergamo, 26 December 1864. To convert the relative value of the amount paid by Layard into a present-day price I have used the inflation calculator provided by the Bank of England. <<https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation>> [accessed September 2017].

<sup>109</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 15: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Turin, 8 February 1865.

Layard, in fact, greatly benefited from the dismemberment of destitute Italian aristocratic collections, from which he purchased directly. One of the principal sources from which Layard gleaned a considerable part of his purchases was the Venetian private collection of the late Girolamo Manfrin (1742-1802).<sup>110</sup> The collection had been available for sale soon after the death of his descendant, Giulia Giovanna Manfrin Plattis (d. 1848/9). In 1851 an agent of the National Gallery, William Woodburn (1778-1860ca), was sent to Venice to inspect the pictures and negotiate their purchase, but eventually “the Trustees [...] resolved ‘not to be in the position to make a recommendation to enter in negotiation for the purchase of such collection’”.<sup>111</sup> As Eastlake’s notebooks reveal, the Director inspected the gallery eight times, between 1852 and 1863, and also had a copy of the *Catalogo dei quadri esistenti nella Galleria Manfrin in Venezia* published in 1856. Though he “[could not] recommend the purchase of the *Astrologer* ascribed to Giorgione”<sup>112</sup> and did not care for the *Tempesta* of the same master, Eastlake secured for the National Gallery Vincenzo Catena’s *St. Jerome in his study* (then called either Bellini or Lotto, NG694), Andrea Previtali’s *Virgin and Child with a tonsured supplicant and St. Catherine* (NG695), and *Marco Barbarigo* by a follower of Jan van Eyck (NG696). Eastlake had also set his sights on a Ghirlandaio and Marco Zoppo’s *Virgin and Child enthroned*,<sup>113</sup> but eventually did not buy them. To Layard’s eyes the Manfrin

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<sup>110</sup> On the dispersal of the collection, see Davies, 1961, 135; Robertson 1978, 124; Anderson 1996, 107-119; Penny 2008, 321; Pezzini 2017, 4-5.

<sup>111</sup> See Pezzini 2017, 4.

<sup>112</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/52/11: Copy of the Director’s report, 10 November 1855, 56.

<sup>113</sup> See NGA, NGA2/3/3/64: C.L. Eastlake to R. Wornum, 8 September 1859. Compare with his notebooks: “Among the few pictures left in the Manfrin collection is a Madonna kneeling & adoring the Child lying on the ground in the lower left corner – ascribed to Fra Filippo Lippi (most wrongly), but certainly by the painter of our “Ghirlandaio” – thus constituting a fifth example”. NG22/22, fol. 16r: 8 September 1859. On Eastlake’s acquisition policy, see Avery-Quash 2011, 125-8; Avery-Quash 2015, 15-7.

Collection included “a number of admirable pictures”<sup>114</sup> suitable for the National Gallery. For this reason, many years later he would regret with Gregory: “I never could make out why Eastlake did not take a whole lot [...] They were offered to him in my presence at a very moderate price one fifth of their real value. This, and allowing the splendid Lochis collection to slip through his fingers, were the greatest mistakes he ever made”.<sup>115</sup>

From 1862 onwards, Layard thus began to purchase from the Manfrin a series of paintings for his own collection. Among the first acquisitions were the *Pietà* then assigned to Cima da Conegliano (now Andrea Busati, NG3084), which he paid 100 Napoleons (£80ca), a *Madonna with Child and Saints* by Bernardino Licinio (NG3075), the *Departure of Ceyx* Vittore Carpaccio secured for 40 Napoleons (£30ca, NG3085), and for 60 Napoleons (£45ca) he also bought the splendid *Adoration of the Kings* by Bramantino (NG3073), then misattributed to Mantegna.<sup>116</sup> Layard thought that the presumed Cima da Conegliano could “turn out to be a fine Bellini and a very fine thing”,<sup>117</sup> therefore, he sent it to Molteni, along with the so-called Mantegna, which Müндler correctly identified the *Adoration of the Kings* as by Bramantino,<sup>118</sup> a master which Layard admired for his “originality and power”.<sup>119</sup> The restorer, in the meantime, had consulted Morelli with regard to the Cima and

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<sup>114</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 67: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 20 November 1870.

<sup>115</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 67: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 20 November 1870.

<sup>116</sup> The information derives from the Manfrin catalogue (Manfrin 1857) and was reported in Layard’s notebook, NGA, NG7/292/13(ii). On Bramantino’s attribution, see Venturi 1912, 450; Anderson 1987, 114, 129.

<sup>117</sup> NLS, MS 42336, fol. 45v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 17 November 1862.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. NG5/152/1863: C.L. Eastlake to R.N. Wornum, 8 October 1863: “Mr Layard has lately purchased from the remains of the Manfrin Gallery a little picture in a not very promising state which looked like Bramantino & which Müндler, with his usual sagacity, pronounced to be by that painter. It is now here in the hands of Molteni who has already removed the repainting. It is unquestionably Bramantino (who is known here if anywhere). If in England in time it would, though an earlier work, be of assistance in the restoration of our large example”. See also Müндler’s travel books, Anderson 1985, II, fol. 56.

<sup>119</sup> Layard 1872b, 135.

baptised it an early work of Sebastiano del Piombo, on the ground of what they had been able to decipher from the much-ruined cartellino “Bastian...Lucia... fuit discipulus Joannes Belinus”.<sup>120</sup> It was precisely on that occasion, Layard and Morelli’s relationship “blossomed”,<sup>121</sup> albeit they may have met at the British Legation in Turin in the late 1850s. As Jaynie Anderson has recognised, Morelli did not influence Layard’s taste “so dramatically, although it is certainly true that he was introduced to the charm of Bergamasque painting through Morelli”.<sup>122</sup> In fact, Layard switched his allegiance from Venetian paintings to Lombard and Bergamasque painters, even if he would continue to buy paintings by Paris Bordone, Bellini and Rosalba Carriera, or Ferrarese masters in the following years.

Layard continued buying both for himself and for his cousin, from the Manfrin collection.<sup>123</sup> In 1871, soon after the division of the remainder gallery between the two children of Giulia Giovanna Plattis, he acquired “a little head – which I had long wished for”.<sup>124</sup> Enlisted by Giuseppe Nicoletti’s catalogue as a Carpaccio,<sup>125</sup> the portrait was variously assigned to Antonello da Messina and Alvise Vivarini, but actually is by Jacometto Veneziano (NG3121). Yet, as will be shown, this attribution continued to be uncertain even during the legal proceedings between Layard’s heir, Major Arthur Layard, and the National Gallery. In this regard, it is worth noting how Layard referred to the painting throughout his correspondence with Morelli, who had first proposed to name it an Alvise Vivarini. Jokingly, Layard had commented: “C’est un vrai bijoux, et je suis sur qu’un négociant de tableaux pourrait le baptiser

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<sup>120</sup> On the restoration and its present attribution, see Anderson 1987, 110-1. The attribution was discussed by Crowe, Cavalcaselle (1871, 311), who proposed to assign it to Girolamo da Udine. Curiously, Berenson (1894, 121) maintained the attribution to Sebastiano del Piombo in his Indexes.

<sup>121</sup> Anderson 1987, 110.

<sup>122</sup> Anderson 1987, 118.

<sup>123</sup> Lord Wimborne acquired eight paintings from the Manfrin Collection, see Catalogue 1888, no. 17, 32, 100, 117, 128, 151, 166, 275.

<sup>124</sup> NLS, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872.

<sup>125</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/60/11: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, Madrid, 18 November 1871.

‘Antonello da Messina’, avec de très grandes chances de pouvoir le faire passer pour tel”.<sup>126</sup> Morelli, on his side, reasserted his opinion and added flatteringly: “Pourrait être présenté à la masse des amateurs et soi-disant connaisseurs pour une œuvre d’Antonello da Messina”.<sup>127</sup> In a letter to Jean Paul Richter dated October 1885, however, Morelli already proposed to assign it to Jacometto.<sup>128</sup> Lady Eastlake, for her turn, scarcely agreed with the former attributions. Albeit “admiring its force & character”, she had intended “to look closely at some Vivarini heads & convince myself whether that name be justifiable. In truth I have not seen an Ant. da M. so large & fully carried out”.<sup>129</sup> As far as it could appear to be “an excellent work”<sup>130</sup> by Alvise Vivarini, Layard was quite reluctant to accept this name. Antonello da Messina was more resonant, especially in a catalogue. Yet the note in his handbook, meant to be a preparatory catalogue is quite revealing, the work was “attributed to Carpaccio, Antonello da Messina, etc.” and the entry was supplemented by the claim: “Signor Cavenaghi, who repaired some little damage to this head in Nov. 1880, and who has some knowledge, as a restorer of Antonello’s pictures, maintain that this is a work by this master”.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, the portrait had been restored and framed under Morelli’s surveillance, immediately after the purchase. The critic should, moreover, have delivered it personally to Layard, who resided in Madrid in 1872. Nevertheless, “ai confini francesi le cornici nuove pagano un forte dazio”, hence it was advisable to seek to the support of the British Consulate. “Non sarebbe

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<sup>126</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 162: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 20 June 1872.

<sup>127</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 137: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 28 June 1872.

<sup>128</sup> Morelli, Richter 1960, 441-2.

<sup>129</sup> NLS, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 4 February 1877. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 433.

<sup>130</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 73.

<sup>131</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 73. On the restorer Luigi Cavenaghi, see Zanni 1982, 250-3; Anderson 1999, 45-56.

forse meglio ch'io consegnassi la cassetta al console britannico a Genova, perché gliela faccia avere direttamente già a Barcellona?"<sup>132</sup> And that's what happened.<sup>133</sup>

The Manfrin collection represented an incredible mine for Layard up until 1880. In October of that same year he wrote to Lady Eastlake:

I have bought for very little three more pictures out of the Manfrin – a fine full length female figure (allegorical) by Moroni which was in a dark corner and passed for Lattanzio Gambara, a very pretty little Bonifazio (primo), and an early Bazzi (Sodoma) which was once attributed to Correggio in the collection and afterwards to that unknown painter 'Ignoto'.<sup>134</sup>

For £28 (Lire It. 700), indeed, Layard acquired *The Vestal Virgin Tuccia* as a Lattazio Gambara, but actually by G.B. Moroni (NG3123), a *Holy Family* by an unknown Italian XVI century painter (NG3125), and a *Naval Battle* (NG3108), believed to be by Bonifacio de' Pitati. The selection had been carefully operated with the assistance of Morelli. Though there were some "pickings left",<sup>135</sup> they were hardly suitable for the National Gallery, even his bargain was "not sufficiently important for the Gallery".<sup>136</sup>

The unattributed historical scene representing a naval battle introduces a set of complications. Both the dimensions (17.1x38.9cm) and the subject represented suggest the present panel originally served as a wainscot. By the time of Layard's acquisition, it was attributed to Bonifacio de Pitati, though it was later renamed by Berenson and Zeri as Schiavone and later classified in the museum as 'Venetian'.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 128: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 5 March 1872.

<sup>133</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 162: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 20 June 1872.

<sup>134</sup> NLS, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.

<sup>135</sup> NLS, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.

<sup>136</sup> BOL, Dep. d. 970, fol. 108: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Ca' Capello, Venice, 16 October 1880.

<sup>137</sup> See Penny 2008, 318.

The elongated figures and the compositional motifs that recur in the work, such as movement and colour, speak to a Venetian origin and chime well with the name of Pozzoserrato, as Nicholas Penny has suggested.<sup>138</sup> This hypothesis is supported by the existence of a large number of panels similar in character and subject gathered by Penny, to which I would compare the two formerly in Henrietta Hertz collection, ascribed to Bonifacio de' Pitati and workshop (now in the Galleria Nazionale di Arte Antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, inv. 1639, 1640).<sup>139</sup> With regard to the panel named by Penny *Scene of warfare*, the Fototeca Federico Zeri Bologna records it as *Scipio receiving the Ambassadors* and while tracking its provenance reports that by 1880 it was part of the Layard collection, though this has not been charted yet.<sup>140</sup> Curiously enough, Federico Zeri's photo library pinpoints in the Layard collection by 1880 another cassone illustrating the *Journey of the Queen of Sheba* by Apollonio di Giovanni.<sup>141</sup> The Layard Papers, however, do not keep any record of it, and does not seem to have been related to Ivor B. Guest's collection either. Further research would be deserved.

The clearest evidence of Layard's collection is that the highest expenditure and number of paintings acquired belong essentially to the biennium 1865-1866, which can be considered a real heydays in terms of purchases. During this time, Layard started referring to his paintings as "ma galerie – car je commence vraiment à

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<sup>138</sup> Penny 2008, 318.

<sup>139</sup> A strong similarity can be found with the panel representing the episode of Brenno and Marco Furio Camillo, taken from the *History of Rome* by Tito Livio (inv. no. 1639). See Mochi Onori, Vodret 2008, 181; Di Monte 2013, 138.

<sup>140</sup> Zeri, unfortunately, did not make any detailed comment on the verse of the photograph and any archival sources concerning the Layard purchase is wanting. The panel did not appear to have made part of the collection of Lord Wimborne, with whom Layard is usually confused. It appeared at Sotheby's on 30 June 1965, sale n. 39. Penny locates it in a private collection. See Penny 2008, 320.

<sup>141</sup> The information was reported by Callmann 1974, n. 26. The picture has been traced until 1979 when it was sold at Christie's. Zeri erroneously retained that by 1880 the panel was already in the collection of Alfred Moritz Mond (1868-1930), who was only twelve years old by that time. It is more likely that the cassone was purchased by his father, the well-known chemist and industrialist Ludwig Mond, before passing into that of his younger son, later Baron Melchett. The panel is recorded in Christie's auction catalogue 23 April 1936, no. 75. At that sale, it was acquired by Lady Merton.



posséder une collection qui mérite ce nom”.<sup>142</sup> In January 1865 Morelli secured for him “at a reasonable price – two Morettos in the Averoldi Gallery at Brescia”,<sup>143</sup> as previously seen. Following this, he bought the portrait of a woman in the style of Van Dyck (NG3132), for 1,500 Francs (£60) at the Prince de Beauvau sale (Paris, Hotel Drouot, 21 April 1865). The lady was then identified as Marie-Anne Schotten and the picture thought to be destined for her tomb in the church of St. Gudula and Michael, Brussels.<sup>144</sup>

On 15 April 1865 Hudson forwarded to Layard a report on a picture by Paolo Morando, known as Cavazzola, in the collection of the Veronese lawyer Giovanni Battista Malenza.<sup>145</sup> The painting had been valued at 2,500 Francs, however Hudson believed it could be purchased for something less. Indeed, a few weeks later, he announced to Layard that the picture had been secured for 2,200 francs (£90). Once packed, the Cavazzola was to be sent “to MacCracken to whom [Hudson would] send the Bill of Lading”.<sup>146</sup> A subsequent letter that Layard addressed to Morelli reveals the subject of the painting:

C'est le S. Jean Baptiste qui forme la deuxième planche de l'ouvrage oublié à Vérone sur les oeuvres de ce peintre. C'est un travail de sa jeunesse – faible dans certaines parties, mais ne manquant pas de force et d'originalité – surtout dans le paysage et les petits groups des figures. Je suis content de posséder quelque chose d'un peintre si rare et si peu connu chez nous.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 34v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 21 October 1865.

<sup>143</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 73: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, F.O., 10 January 1865.

<sup>144</sup> Catalogue 1865, 14, no. 4.

<sup>145</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 153: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, Pistoia, 15 April 1865.

<sup>146</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 175v: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, Pistoia, 8 May 1865.

<sup>147</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fols. 18v-19r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, 12 May 1865.

Hudson agreed with Layard's recollection of the painting, which they both considered to be "not one of C's first class pictures so far as the Principal figure is concerned but it is superior to many of his Pictures in the details in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and last Distance which makes me think it is one of his earliest".<sup>148</sup> Strangely enough, the Layard Papers do not mention the painting anymore, it has been impossible to determine its whereabouts.

In October of the same year, Layard managed to purchase from the Arrigoni family, Bergamo, a portrait of a man, initially believed by the school of Filippino Lippi, though Morelli judged it "très probablement de Raffaellino del Garbo"<sup>149</sup> (NG3101), for the moderate sum of 30 Napoleons (£24). At the same time, "le fils Arrighoni [sic]"<sup>150</sup> had proposed to Layard a painting signed by Moretto for 400 Francs (£16ca). Suspicious of its authenticity and the merit of its cost, Layard thought it preferable to enquire through Morelli, who dissuaded him from such a purchase. Inasmuch as "la seule signature de Moretto vaille pour [\*considère] 400 francs", Morelli retained one of Arrigoni's "spéculations en anciens tableaux".<sup>151</sup> Regardless of the Moretto in question, which is presently untraceable, it comes across that Morelli's reply was also aimed at not dispersing Sir Henry's acquisition power in too many directions. By that time, the critic was indeed negotiating for Layard a bust portrait, likely of a member of the Lupi family, by Giovanni Battista

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<sup>148</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fols. 175v-176r: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, Pistoia, 8 May 1865.

<sup>149</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 24v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bellagio, 2 October 1865.

<sup>150</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 31r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Milan, 7 October 1865.

<sup>151</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 27r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Taronico, 11 October 1865.

Moroni (NG3129), which Layard would acquire for 50 Napoleons (£40).<sup>152</sup> From the same master Layard bought, on his own, another portrait from the Vicentine collection of Count Thiene. It was a portrait of “un bel homme en costume noire, avec un bonnet noire – tenant à la main un livre rouge et doré sur le quel on voit écrit en lettres bien dessinées les mots ‘privilegium civitatis Bergami’”.<sup>153</sup> The picture had captivated Layard for “sa manière argentée, les mains admirablement peintes”,<sup>154</sup> and no doubt for its price, “à bon marché”,<sup>155</sup> i.e. £80. The portrait records in the top left an inscription, “Leonardus Salvaneus”, which cannot be considered original.<sup>156</sup> The inscription seems to have appeared from the cleaning made by Pinti in 1865-1866; indeed, Layard wrote to Morelli: “J’ai retrouvé le nom sur le tableau même”.<sup>157</sup> For this reason, however, Layard referred to it as the portrait of the “jurisconsulte” Salvagno, whose origins were from Bergamo according to Morelli.<sup>158</sup>

Layard was still discussing “les corrections” for the portrait of the so-called young Lupi with Morelli, “dans sa lettre [Molteni] me propose d’élargir la toile – et que me paraît très nécessaire”.<sup>159</sup> In particular, “joindre à la partie supérieure du cadre trois doigts de toile pour donner au tableau des plus justes proportions”.<sup>160</sup> In addition,

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<sup>152</sup> “Vous ne m’avez pas dit comment je puis vous rembourser les 50 Napoléons que vous avez [...] payer au Conte Lupi pour moi”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 36r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 24 October 1865.

<sup>153</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 33r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 13 October 1865. The transcription, in fact, was not accurate, the inscription reads: “AC CIVITATIS BERGOMI PRIVILEGIA”.

<sup>154</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 34v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 21 October 1865.

<sup>155</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 33r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 13 October 1865. He mentions the price paid in his notebook. See, London, NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 36.

<sup>156</sup> Penny 2004, 247.

<sup>157</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 47v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, 1 February 1866.

<sup>158</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 25r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bellagio, 2 October 1865.

<sup>159</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 34r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 21 October 1865.

<sup>160</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 24v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 21 October 1865. Quoted in Anderson 1987, 131, note 48.

Morelli suggested to “corriger le corps de ce jeune homme, qui semble emmaillotté dans des linges”.<sup>161</sup>

After the restoration, Layard would praise it as “un de plus charmant exemple de ce grand maître que je connais – il y un simplicité, un vrai et un vie, admirable”.<sup>162</sup>

All the purchases, except for the Moroni bought at Vicenza, had already been sent to the Milanese restorer. It was in his studio that Lady Eastlake saw Layard’s recent acquisitions and commented:

I am delighted with the quattrocento portrait. I give it another name – viz: Marco Zoppo. There are things in it which recall the picture of St. Dominic in N. Gallery. Your Moroni head I do not envy you – you know my partiality for handsome men! The little girl is very sympathetic.<sup>163</sup>

Layard informed Morelli that, from Count Thiene, “j’ai été assez heureux d’avoir acheté un très beau tableau de Gentile Bellini – grand de plus de deux mètres de longueur sur un de largeur. Le sujet est l’Adoration des Rois Mages”.<sup>164</sup> The painting, now assigned to the workshop of Giovanni (NG3098),<sup>165</sup> in fact, “has been in the possession of the family of Count Thiene of Vicenza, who sold it a few days ago to Favenza”,<sup>166</sup> from whom Layard bought it for £75. To Morelli he wrote that the picture “est en très bon état et sans restauration”,<sup>167</sup> without elaborating upon any particular detail. To the Eastlakes, instead, he specified that

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<sup>161</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 24v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 21 October 1865. Quoted in Anderson 1987, 131, note 48.

<sup>162</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 46v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, 1 February 1866.

<sup>163</sup> NLS, MS42169: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 13 October 1865. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 230.

<sup>164</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 32v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 13 October 1865.

<sup>165</sup> The provenance of this painting will be discussed at the time of its exportation to England.

<sup>166</sup> NLS, MS42336, fol. 79v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 12 October 1865.

<sup>167</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 33r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 13 October 1865.

It is dirty but seems to be in good condition. It requires some restoration relining etc. I should be glad to have Sir Charles' opinion on to whether I should send the picture to Molteni or give it to Pinti to put in order for me under my own superintendence. The picture appears to me so valuable and important that I should like to have it restored as much as possible – at the same time if I send it to Molteni he will probably keep it an age and I do not like to be without it long. At the same time I should like to know what Sir Charles thinks about it.<sup>168</sup>

Layard's interested was piqued by the historical value of the painting. "C'est un tableau très important, qui m'intéressera beaucoup".<sup>169</sup> To his keen description, Lady Eastlake replied:

As regards your new treasure Sir Cha[rle]s is much interested in your description. The fact of its being on canvas is quite compatible with the hand of Gentile Bellini. Sir Cha[rle]s thinks that it would be wiser to entrust to Pinti, and to have it repaired under your own eye. Pinti is equally capable of managing either tempera or oil and the practice he has had of late ought to have improved him.<sup>170</sup>

1865 also records a prominent acquisition for the collection, namely the *Portrait of Mehmet II* by Gentile Bellini (NG3099). Much purple prose has flourished around this purchase, which no doubt was rather shadowy. Nevertheless, the only evidence we have is Layard's notebook, where he claimed to have bought the picture "at Venice for £12. It came from the Venturi family in the last century".<sup>171</sup> In a more

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<sup>168</sup> NLS, MS42336, fol. 79v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 12 October 1865.

<sup>169</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 33r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 13 October 1865.

<sup>170</sup> NLS, MS42169: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 13 October 1865. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 230.

<sup>171</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 41. Horatio Brown (1896, 217-8) was the first one to furnish a fictive account of the purchase.

detailed appendix, included in the same notebook, Layard specified to have purchased the portrait

In 18[65] from an old man, the son of an Englishman who had been a contractor in the service of the Republic. This contractor had, according to his son's account, received this portrait with other property from the Venturi family in discharge of a debt.<sup>172</sup>

Layard then provided a series of references aimed at proving the attribution to Gentile Bellini; namely, he quoted a passage from a letter by Giovan Battista Giovio to Tiraboschi, reported in the Campori volume. In addition, Layard read the inscription on the balustrade of the painting in excerpt from the catalogue of the *National Exhibition of Art in Leeds* in 1868; a reference to the edited edition of Kugler and finally added a comment by Luis Thuasne. Such a bold resoluteness, however, was lacking in the epistles sent to Giovanni Morelli, with whom he initially shared some doubts on the poor condition of the painting.

Malheureusement la tête est dans un état déplorable et je doute qu'on puisse le restaurer sans presque le repeindre, mais une espèce d'encadrement avec des ornements d'architecture et un tapis orné de broderies en perles et or sont de la plus grande beauté – et l'inscription avec la date de 1480 est parfaitement conservée et ne me laisse aucun doute sur l'originalité du portrait. Si la tête était aussi bien conservée que les accessoires, le tableau serait d'une assez grande valeur.<sup>173</sup>

The correspondence with Lady Eastlake confirms 1865 as the right year of the purchase.

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<sup>172</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): Appendix.

<sup>173</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 38966, fols. 36v-37r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 24 October 1865.

I have learnt the history of my Gentile Bellini. It appears to me perfectly authentic. I will send it to England with a rather fine Morone Portrait [G.B. Moroni, Portrait of Leonardo Salvagno (?)] which I have just bought and will place the two in Pinti's hands.<sup>174</sup>

Interestingly enough, the restorer would later send “alcune osservazioni sul quadro di Gentile Bellini”<sup>175</sup> to Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle, who had already congratulated with Layard at the time of its acquisition. In fact, on that occasion, he had also expressed his interest both for the *Portrait of Mehmet II* and the *Adoration of the Kings*, about which he commented that “certamente devono essere veduti e studiati, per cui non uscirà la parte della scuola veneta senza che ciò sia fatto nello interesse del lavoro”.<sup>176</sup> As a matter of fact, the *Portrait of the Sultan* was illustrated in the first volume of the *History of Painting in North Italy*.<sup>177</sup> It may be interesting to note that the description was based on Layard's own notes, as Cavalcaselle declared: “Manderò al Crowe quest'ultima sua [lettera] unitamente alla fotografia perché veda se mai vi fosse qualche cosa di più da aggiungere”.<sup>178</sup> From closer comparison with Layard's notebook, it is evident that the text had been followed quite faithfully.<sup>179</sup>

Possibly in the same 1865, Layard acquired the picture by Giampietrino, *Christ carrying the cross* (NG3097). The extant evidence shows that it was bought from Giuseppe Baslini of Milan for 30 Napoleons (£24), and it was restored by Giuseppe Molteni, who considered it “il più bello ch'io m'abbia visto in vita mia di

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<sup>174</sup> NLS, MS42336, fol. 81, A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 17 October 1865.

<sup>175</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIV, Add MS 38994, fol. 50r: G.B. Cavalcaselle to A.H. Layard, Padova, 23 April 1867.

<sup>176</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXII, Add MS 38992, fol. 143: G.B. Cavalcaselle to A.H. Layard, date unspecified, 1865.

<sup>177</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, I, 126-7, 129.

<sup>178</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIV, Add MS 38994, fol. 50r: G.B. Cavalcaselle to A.H. Layard, Padova, 23 April 1867.

<sup>179</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): Appendix.

quell'autore. In quanto poi all'impressione della testa del Christo [sic], né Luino, né Leonardo potevano far di più – per cui io lo consiglio a tener bene d'acconto quel prezioso dipinto”.<sup>180</sup> Interestingly enough, a letter from Molteni to Morelli reveals that: “Tanto voi che il Cavaliere Eastlake mi andate dicendo che Layard compera quadri e che me li manderà ma fin ora non mi giunse nulla, e credo ch'Egli non me li inverà se Voi non lo consigliate a fare ciò”.<sup>181</sup> However, in October “le Christ de GianPetrini [sic] était déjà au complet”.<sup>182</sup>

It comes as no surprise that Layard took a certain interest into the depletion of the Lechi collection at Brescia and of the Lochis' at Bergamo.<sup>183</sup> In fact, on 8 May 1865, the British Ambassador at Florence, James Hudson, informed him that “the Lochis Gallery which you saw near Bergamo is to be divided one ½ to Bergamo and the other ½ to be sold for the benefit of the heir of Lochis? It will be a good chance for you – if you want anything out of it write to Morelli who is to make the division”.<sup>184</sup> But Morelli did not intend to favour Layard nor any of his English friends and proposed to Layard only pictures quite unworthy of his collection.<sup>185</sup> In his attempt to secure the Lechi collection for the Italian nation, Morelli skilfully succeeded in deterring Layard also from making any purchase out of it. By the end of 1864, the art critic wrote:

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<sup>180</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 38.

<sup>181</sup> The letter, dated 27 November 1865, is cited by Mottola Molfino 1993, 152 and Anderson 2014, 57, letter 24.

<sup>182</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 25r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bellagio, 2 October 1865.

<sup>183</sup> For an account of the Lechi collection, see Lechi 1968. For a detailed account on the dispersal of the Galleria Lochis, see Levi 1988, 212-3; Panzeri 1993, 221-39; Brambilla Ranise 2007, at 9-10, 16 for Layard's interest in it.

<sup>184</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 176V: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, Pistoia, 8 May 1865.

<sup>185</sup> See Anderson 1987, 119.



Quant à la Sainte Catherine de L. Lotto chez Lechi à Brescia en y sondant le terrain, j'ai dû me persuader que la chose n'était pas encore mûre. J'espère pourtant que ce tableau-là ne nous échappera pas aussi.<sup>186</sup>

Some months later Morelli came back to the matter by informing Layard that

J'ai fait une course à Brescia pour tâcher d'y combiner l'affaire avec Lechi et vous acheter cet intéressant tableau de Lotto, mais le custode de la galerie Lechi me dit que son maître, après la vente du comte de Pourtalès a [\*illegible word] devoir hausser les prix de tous ses tableaux, de manière que je n'ai pas même fait mot du tableau de Lotto. Mais soyez tranquille, cette Sainte ne nous échappera pas – Lechi est vieux, il a 88 ans, et tôt ou tard il viendra lui aussi payer son tribut à la nature, et alors il sera plus facile d'acheter [...] La division de la galerie Lochis est faite, j'ai présenté hier mon projet à notre Syndique; je ne sais pas cependant si les héritiers du feu comte Lochis accepteront la part que je leur ai faite, mais je pense qu'ils y seront obligés – bon gré mal gré.<sup>187</sup>

Conversely, Morelli did not prevent Layard from delivering a coup de grace to the Costabili Collection, Ferrara, by hoarding over twenty pictures. Arguably, Sir Henry had been introduced to Casa Costabili by Eastlake, who first visited it with Otto Mündler in 1842.<sup>188</sup> Layard, in turn, appears to have stepped into that “quite unique”<sup>189</sup> gallery of Ferrarese masters around 1856. The director of the National Gallery sought to secure some paintings, but his first offers had been discarded, mainly on the account that the Marchese Giovanni Battista Costabili (1815-1888) was determined to sell the collection as a block.<sup>190</sup> Nevertheless, in September 1858, however, he allowed Eastlake to purchase some paintings for his private collection, because in so doing he expected “the merits of his Gallery [would] be made known

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<sup>186</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 7r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bergamo, 26 December 1864.

<sup>187</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 18v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bergamo, 18 May 1865.

<sup>188</sup> NGA, NG22/9, fols. 3v-4r: Eastlake Notebook, 1855. See also Mattaliano, Agostini 1998, 22.

<sup>189</sup> Anderson 1993, 539.

<sup>190</sup> Mattaliano, Agostini 1998, 23.

among English connoisseurs”.<sup>191</sup> For the occasion, Eastlake had selected some valuable pictures but ones that were in the poor conditions: namely, two canvases representing *St. Jerome*, one by Bono Ferrarese (NG771) and the other by Cosimo Tura (NG773), a *Virgin and Child and Saints Anthony Abbot and George* by Pisanello (NG776). A few years later, he would be enabled to also buy *The Este Diptych* by Ercole de’ Roberti (NG1411.1-2).<sup>192</sup>

The poor state of preservation of most of the pictures represented a further deterrent in preventing Mündler and Eastlake in their purchases for the museum collection.<sup>193</sup> Yet this did not discourage Layard, who, on the contrary, would avail himself of this drawback in order to limit the prices requested by Marchese Costabili. Sir Henry had developed a strong penchant for the Ferrarese school and was convinced that “there must be something worth having in the Costabili collection”.<sup>194</sup>

Among the eligible pictures for the National Gallery, Eastlake had selected three paintings that Layard would later acquire: the two large temperas by Ercole Grandi (now said by Lorenzo Costa, *The Story of Moses: The Israelites gathering the Manna* and *The Dance of Miriam*, NG3104-05) and a female figure by Cosimo Tura.<sup>195</sup> In particular, Sir Charles deemed the canvas representing *The Israelites gathering the Manna* “the best & the best preserved”,<sup>196</sup> whereas in regard to the Cosimo Tura, which would also be secured by Layard, he had commented: “No doubt that Frizzoni’s altarpiece in Bergamo is by same. Drapery ‘wulstig’”.<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> NGA, C.L. Eastlake to Trustees, 27 November 1862; NG22/29, fol. 2v. See also Mattaliano, Agostini 1998, 23.

<sup>192</sup> See Avery-Quash 2015, 16.

<sup>193</sup> Anderson 1985, 34.

<sup>194</sup> NLS, MS 42336, fol. 20: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 27 September 1860.

<sup>195</sup> NGA, NG22/28, fol. 14r: Eastlake Notebook, 4, 5 October 1861, in Avery-Quash, 2011, 567.

<sup>196</sup> NGA, NG22/17: Eastlake Notebook, 1858, fol. 23r, no. 158.

<sup>197</sup> NGA, NG22/9, fol. 4r: Eastlake notebooks, 1855.

It is apparent that Layard and the Eastlakes shared the same interest for the Costabili paintings, especially those by Lorenzo Costa. Lady Eastlake, indeed, was surprised by the fact that Layard “recommended to Sir Charles exactly what he most covets and for which he had bid”.<sup>198</sup> Therefore, she jokingly warned him: “I hope you have not set your heart on the little Costas in the Costabil[i], because it happens that I have!”<sup>199</sup> But Layard did not intend to seize any artwork from the National Gallery and thus let Sir Charles conclude his own purchases, before establishing a contact with Ubaldo Sgherbi, the dealer in charge of the Costabili collection. It must be kept in mind that Layard would have no formal connection until 1866, when he became involved in the National Gallery’s affairs by being appointed Trustee. As the following examples will show, the museum’s needs remained Layard’s constant priority and by 1865 it was already apparent that the pictures he was gathering would, sooner or later, flow into the national collection.<sup>200</sup>

In late October 1860, Sir Charles informed Layard about the Costabili paintings

I had written again to Sgherbi about them and had even invited the Sig. Marchese to name his price. Sgherbi in reply to my first offer (that is, my first this year; for I had made proposals for the same things two years since) intimated that the price offered – doubtless considering the state of the pictures – was not “inconveniente”, but that the proprietor declined to deal on so small a scale. I certainly begin to fear that my repeated applications may induce Costabili to estimate the pictures in question more highly and that he may speak of my offer to others. If however these seemingly worthless things are still unsold when you return to England I shall be glad to confer with you

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<sup>198</sup> NLS, MS 42169, fol. 14r: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Paris, 23 October 1860.

<sup>199</sup> NLS, MS 42169, fol. 14v: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Paris, 23 October 1860.

<sup>200</sup> Eastlake obliged permission to have Layard’s *Adoration of the Kings* by Bellini restored by Pinti in the cellars of the National Gallery, because he suspected Layard’s intention to bequeath the picture to the museum. See NGA, NG5/161/24: E. Rigby to R. Wornum, Pisa, 17 December 1865. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 238.

Layard had envisaged to buy for his cousin the three portraits by Lorenzo Lotto, formerly in the collection of Count Castellane Harrach, Turin (now in Milan, Brera, inv. 370, 372, 373). According to Lady Layard’s journal, Layard had withdrawn on hearing of Eastlake’s interest.

as to the possibility of making up a larger group of pictures so as to make a more tempting offer.<sup>201</sup>

This exchange of views was likely unsuccessful, as by November 1862 Layard wrote again to Eastlake: “The Count Costabili (of Ferrara) must sell all his pictures as he has got deep into debt”.<sup>202</sup> From these repeated failing contacts, Layard had understood that the most advisable thing to do was to make a large selection of paintings. For this reason, Lady Eastlake was puzzled at the notice and asked him “how you can make up so large a lot, I do not easily see”.<sup>203</sup> But Layard’s strategy would succeed.

Beside the Costa and the Ortolano altarpiece in the Costabili collection I have picked out two of the Ercole Grandi Tempera (there are six I think), a fine but damaged Dosso Dossi (a Saint John the Baptist), the seated allegorical Figure by Cosimo Tura, the Palmezzano and one or two such Ercole Grandi and Garofalo.<sup>204</sup>

By the end of October 1866, finally, Layard was on his way to Ferrara.

Il faut que je les paye et que surveille l’emballage. Après, si j’ai le temps, j’irai à Milan pour consulter Molteni à propos des restaurations qu’il y aurait à faire pour la plupart de ces tableaux, qui sont malheureusement dans un mauvais état.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 15r: C.L. Eastlake to A.H. Layard, Paris, 24 October 1860.

<sup>202</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 45: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 17 November 1862. The highlighting is original.

<sup>203</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 39: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Hotel de la Ville, Milan, 3 November 1865.

<sup>204</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS42336, fol. 83: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 6 Lung’Arno nuovo, 6 November 1865.

<sup>205</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 72: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, Pension Suisse, 20 October 1866.

Due to the poor conditions of the paintings, he was able to haggle the whole lot for 38,000 Francs (ca. £1,520). Notwithstanding, he regarded that his previous offer of “32,000 Franchi mi pare non essere giusta ma anche generosa”.<sup>206</sup> At any rate, far from being stingy, Layard intended to reward “old Sgherbi”,<sup>207</sup> who acted as negotiator in the transaction. Thereby, he called Lady Eastlake to ask whether she knew “what used to be given to him for his aid in buying pictures [...] He surely has no claim to a percentage. I have given him what I consider a handsome present”.<sup>208</sup>

The selection was to be divided with Ivor Bertie Guest, who thanks to these pictures had “the foundation for a very interesting gallery”.<sup>209</sup> Layard would retain for his own collection the *Mystic Figure of Christ* uncertainly attributed to Bono Ferrarese or Marco Zoppo (now said probably by Antonio Cicognara, NG3069); the allegorical figure by Cosmè Tura (NG3070), which Layard valued on its own at £60; a portrait of a man and his wife, sold as Paolo Veronese and then attributed to Garofalo, but actually uncertain (NG3117); *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* attributed to Garofalo (NG3118), the *Nativity* by Ludovico Mazzolino (NG3114); *The Virgin and Child with Saints* by Garofalo (then believed by Ercole Grandi, NG3102); *The Adoration of the Shepherds with Angels* by Lorenzo Costa (NG3105), which was valued at £200; and the *Marriage of the Virgin* by Romanino.<sup>210</sup> Ivor Guest was entitled to *The Holy Family and Saints* by Niccolò Pisano, believed by l’Ortolano (Worcester Art Museum, 1940.64), the two large temperas by Ercole Grandi (NG3104-5), *Virgin and Child* enthroned by Lorenzo Costa, three Dosso Dossi’s,

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<sup>206</sup> Mattaliano, Agostini 1998, 24.

<sup>207</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 124r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>208</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 124r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>209</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 124r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>210</sup> For the evaluation of each picture, cf. the list published by Anderson 1993, 549.

two portraits of Annibale Saracco and a boy (probably of the Este family, recorded until 1998 at Ashby St Ledgers, Rugby) and *Saint John the Baptist* (Worcester); *The Annunciation* by Garofalo; a *Pietà* by a Ferrarese master; *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* attributed to Maineri (London, Courtauld Institute Gallery, P.1947.LF.231); *Virgin and Child enthroned* by G.F. Maineri (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 42.57.5), *The Baptism of Christ* by Marco Palmezzano. The criteria for the selection had been based on the dimensions, as well as on the cost of the paintings, as Layard had stated: “Je retiens pour moi quelques petites toiles. Les grands sont pour mon cousin”.<sup>211</sup> Later on, Sir Henry exchanged the two large temperas with the Stories of Israel for the *Marriage of the Virgin* by Romanino. Aside from Morelli’s preference for them, Layard had already expressed the desire to retain them for him in a letter to Lady Eastlake, but at that time he did not have enough space to hang them.<sup>212</sup> With regard to the *Saint John* by Dosso, Morelli believed that “ce tableau fera un grand effet et fera éclat en Angleterre”.<sup>213</sup>

If Eastlake’s negotiations had already concerned Morelli, to the degree that he attempted to draw the attention of the Government by making a list of the most desirable pictures to secure; Layard’s bargain tore apart all his expectations. Morelli wrote to him that, though his project had vanished,

J’ai au moins la satisfaction que la plupart des tableaux de cette intéressante collection se trouvent maintenant en possession de personnes qui

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<sup>211</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 72v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, Pension Suisse, 20 October 1866.

<sup>212</sup> On Morelli see, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 54r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 3 November 1866. With regard to Layard’s epistle to Lady Eastlake, see NLS, John Murray Archive, MS42336, fol. 83: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 6 Lung’Arno nuovo, 6 November 1865; fol. 124r, 15 November 1866.

<sup>213</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 54r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 3 November 1866.

savent les apprécier et qui se font un plaisir de les montrer et de les faire agréer aussi aux autres.<sup>214</sup>

On the contrary, however, Morelli was not so pleased with the news, as is evident in the letter he wrote to his friend Niccolò Antinori (1818-1882):

Layard purtroppo ha acquistato preziosi quadri dalla galleria Costabili di Ferrara, 22 per 38.000 lire – ve ne ha 3 o 4 che soli valgono più di quella somma. Ma qui da noi i ricchi sono troppo imbecilli per sapere apprezzare e gustare siffatte cose.<sup>215</sup>

This extract, along with other letters to Antinori, are quite revealing of Morelli's sound opinion towards Layard and his painting collection, about which he deemed only “una mezza dozzina [...] molto importanti e rari”.<sup>216</sup>

Not only were the Costabili pictures that Layard bought the very same that Eastlake had once proposed to buy, but they are also found among Morelli's selection for the Italian Government. “Ce que me fait plaisir car il me prouve que ma choix a été bonne”,<sup>217</sup> Layard had commented satisfactorily. Furthermore,

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<sup>214</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 53v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 3 November 1866.

<sup>215</sup> Lennon 1987, 242. On the correspondence between Morelli and Antinori, see Agosti 1985, 1-83. On Morelli's ancipital behaviour towards the art market and the foreign purchasers see, for instance, Anderson 1987, 118, 120; Anderson 1999, 35-45; Nicita 2010, 62-80; and Morelli's own declaration relating to the Cima of Portogruaro (London, NG816): “Del gran quadro di Cima da Conegliano acquistato dalla Galleria Nazionale e sul quale per incarico avutone dal ministro Correnti io avea scritto una dettagliata relazione. Comeché quell'opera fosse molto danneggiata non solo dal tempo ma più ancora da replici e barbari restauri, io non potei a meno di dichiararla una delle migliori e più importanti pitture del Cima, e se questo autore non fosse così bene rappresentato, com'è realmente, in varie Pinacoteche del nostro Regno, io con tutto il desiderio che ho di compiacere ai miei amici di Londra non che di vedere arricchita quella bella loro raccolta di una splendida opera di più dell'arte italiana, non avrei potuto come ho fatto, al nostro Governo il consiglio di permettere l'esportazione dal Regno di quella splendida tavola di Portogruaro”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fols. 108v-109r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 30 November 1870.

<sup>216</sup> Anderson 1987, 118.

<sup>217</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 75r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 6 November 1866.

Vos prix sont aussi à peu près les même que j'avais fixé – seulement j'estime l'Ortolano à presque le double. [...] Mais, comme vous dites, depuis que vous avez fait l'appréciation les prix des tableaux sont doublé, et quoique j'ai payé une somme assez [\*élevée] pour ceux que j'ai pris à Ferrara, je [ne] crois [pas] que je les ai payés cher.<sup>218</sup>

1866 also sees the acquisitions of two more interesting pieces: a terracotta figure from Cyprus (unidentified and untraced), “one of the very few perfect specimens we had found”,<sup>219</sup> according to Dominic Ellis Colnaghi (1834-1908); and a miniature representing a Jesse-tree, bought on the advice of Ludwig Gruner (1801-1882).<sup>220</sup> The miniature, now assigned possibly to Girolamo Genga (NG3119), was formerly believed to be by Giulio Clovio, on whom Layard did possess a German monograph by Ivan Kukuljievic Sakcinski.<sup>221</sup> An unpublished letter that Sir Henry addressed to Gruner provides a remarkable insight into the purchase and its delivery (**Plate 8, Figure 40**). Layard fully confided in his old friend, with whom he had been acquainted since his joining the Arundel Society, and thus replied to his invitation to buy the work by saying: “If you really think so well of the Giulio Clovio, and you

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<sup>218</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 75v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 6 November 1866.

<sup>219</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXC, Add MS 39120, fol. 249r: D.E. Colnaghi to A.H. Layard, Milan, 1 June 1866.

<sup>220</sup> Dominic Ellis Colnaghi served as consul in Cyprus in 1864-5 and developed an interest in Cypriote archaeology. In 1866 he donated to the British Museum a group of 370 terracotta objects from Cyprus, particularly from the Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia. In 1867 he was appointed consul in Florence and there entertained a cultural circle, see Gobbi Sica 2004, 76-7, 211. Paolini 2013, 44-6. It should be mentioned that Colnaghi would later provide Layard with carved chairs for his new London house. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVIII, Add MS 39038, fols. 7-8: D.E. Colnaghi to A.H. Layard, 3 December 1884. Ludwig Gruner was Keeper of the Royal Print Room at Dresden and was an engraver and art publisher. He directed the production of chromolithography at the Berlin firm of Storch & Kramer, and he assisted Layard with the lithographs of the palace of the Assyrian King Ashurnasirpal II (see Layard 1853). Gruner also acted as adviser to Prince Albert with regard to the Royal Library and art, particularly the Raphael Collection.

<sup>221</sup> Ivan Kukuljievic Sakcinski, *Leben des G. Julius Clovio: ein Betrag zur slawischen Kunstgeschichte* (Agram: Franz Suppan's Buchdruckerei, 1852). The book was part of the Layard Bequest to the National Art Library, where it is now recorded under no. 192.L.11. Likewise the volume on *Illuminated Ornaments selected from manuscripts and early printed books* by Henry Shaw (1833), NAL no. 93.F.2.



can obtain it for me at the price you mention £25 – I should be glad to have it”.<sup>222</sup> In addition, Layard proposed to forward the work “through the British Legation at Dresden – and if packed with care it will reach me safely. If, however, you known a safer way of sending it pray adopt it. I should be very sorry if it met with any injury on the road”.<sup>223</sup> At any rate, Layard received the miniature a few weeks later and gave immediate account of its “rare beauté”<sup>224</sup> to Morelli.

Alongside these substantial purchases within a very short time span, Sir Henry resolved to buy another painting (NG3096) that Morelli had proposed to him for £33, namely “le Moretto que vous [Morelli] avez retrouvé à Brescia représentant le baptême du Jésus Christ”.<sup>225</sup> The painting was restored by Molteni, who informed Morelli that “ci lavoro giorno e notte e pel tempo che avete avuto la degnazione di fissarmi, il che significa comando, per me, sarà ultimato, dunque calcolateci pure”.<sup>226</sup>

As mentioned before, during his stay in Venice while waiting for the cession of the city to Italy, Layard purchased “two small Cimas for very little money”<sup>227</sup> from Favenza. Namely, two Cimesque Holy Conversations, “treated in the usual conventional manner”.<sup>228</sup> one on wood, representing the *Virgin and Child with Saint Paul and Saint Francis* (NG3112), the other on canvas and accompanied by Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Nicholas from Bari (NG3113). Sir Henry communicated the purchase to Morelli explaining that “il me manquait un Cima à ma

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<sup>222</sup> SBB, Slg. Darmstaedter 1 1845, fol. 19r: A.H. Layard to L. Gruner, 130 Piccadilly, 3 January 1866.

<sup>223</sup> SBB, Slg. Darmstaedter 1 1845, fol. 19: A.H. Layard to L. Gruner, 130 Piccadilly, 3 January 1866.

<sup>224</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 47v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, 1 February 1866.

<sup>225</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 46r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, 1 February 1866.

<sup>226</sup> Letter G. Molteni to G. Morelli, Milan, 25 June 1866, quoted in Anderson 2014, 59, n. 26.

<sup>227</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 123v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>228</sup> Layard 1872b, 143.

petite collection, et je n'ai jamais vu un plus tableau du maitre".<sup>229</sup> He was referring to the specimen on panel "which was thickly covered with dirt", but as he enthusiastically informed Lady Eastlake it "has turned out the finest Cima I ever saw for sale - and untouched. Molteni declared it to be "arcibellissima e della sua più bella maniera, eccessivamente splendid".<sup>230</sup> His judgement towards the canvas with Saint John and Saint Nicolas was less enthusiastic, but nevertheless, was expected to "turn out a very pleasing picture after it leaves Molteni's hands".<sup>231</sup> The restoration of the latter work, however, was ultimately entrusted to Pinti, with Molteni having died in January 1867.<sup>232</sup>

During his stay in Venice, Layard had been advised by Morelli to see a painting by Boccaccino in the collection of Luigi Sernagiotto,<sup>233</sup> but he replied that "je n'ai fait d'autres acquisitions à Venise, car je suis ruiné et je n'ai plus d'argent à dépenser".<sup>234</sup> He would spend some extra money to clean and 'rehabilitate' the Costabili paintings in an attempt to transform these obscure, underrated pictures into major pieces. He also wished to entrust this restoration to the able Milanese restorer Giuseppe Molteni, but a few months later after the restoration began this latter passed away. "Si j'avais pu prévoir ce qui est arrivé" Layard commented with sorrow "je doute si j'aurais acheté les tableaux Costabili. C'est Molteni seul qui les pouvait rendre justice et les restaurer dignement".<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 76r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 6 November 1866.

<sup>230</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 124r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>231</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 124r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>232</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 52.

<sup>233</sup> Luigi Sernagiotto married Giulia Schiavoni in 1852, he was a member of the Ateneo Veneto and of the Royal Academy of Venice.

<sup>234</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 79: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Florence, 6 Lung'Arno Nuovo, 18 December 1866.

<sup>235</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, London, 4 February 1867. He had already expressed such a thought to Lady Eastlake

The restorer had already sent him some paintings, including the Savoldo Layard had purchased for 700 Francs (£28) from Bruschetti's heirs in Milan and which Molteni himself had termed "quadrone da galleria".<sup>236</sup> At any rate, "le plus part [...] de mes tableaux" commented Layard "est resté dans son atelier".<sup>237</sup> He thus resolved to ask the British Consul at Milan "de se charger de leur encaissement et de me les expédier".<sup>238</sup> The paintings were then put into the hands of Raffaele Pinti, "notre meilleur restaurateur que travaille assez bien. J'espère seulement que mon beau Cima a été restauré par notre pauvre ami. Il ne même parlait pas dans sa dernière lettre".<sup>239</sup>

The gradual pillaging of the old Costabili palace of via Voltapaletto continued until 1885, when 220 lots were auctioned in the foyer of the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, by Giulio Sambon.<sup>240</sup> Some years before, Morelli had announced to Layard that

Quel minchione di Gaetano Giordani di Bologna fu incaricato di redigere il catalogo e di farne la stima.<sup>241</sup> Fece male e l'una cosa e l'altra. Sono stato, giorni or sono, a Ferrara, e n'acquistai per un amico mio di Milano: Abele e Caino di Ercole Grandi (l'una di quelle 8 tempere, di cui Lei possiede 2) per lire 500<sup>242</sup> – una bellissima mezza figura di Santa [-Caterina] Maddalena, prima ritenuta di Lorenzo Costa, poi dal Giordani aggiudicata a B. Luini, ma che invece è di Bartolomeo Montagna, per lire 400<sup>243</sup> – un ritrattino d'uomo di

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before the purchase from Costabili. See NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 122r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, Pension Suisse, 28 September 1866.

<sup>236</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42336, fol. 124v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Florence, 15 November 1866.

<sup>237</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, London, 4 February 1867. See also Mazzucchelli 1999, 96, n. 16.

<sup>238</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, London, 4 February 1867.

<sup>239</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 130 Piccadilly, London, 4 February 1867.

<sup>240</sup> The catalogue was penned by Giulio Carotti and the sale was held from 27 to 29 April 1885; see, Costabili 1885.

<sup>241</sup> Gaetano Giordani was the Director of the Pinacoteca of Bologna from 1822 to 1859. As regards the catalogue see *Catalogo de' quadri di varie scuole pittoriche nella Galleria Costabili in Ferrara* (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1871).

<sup>242</sup> Costabili 1871, 13, no. 135.

<sup>243</sup> Costabili 1871, 17, no. 202.

Amberger (detto di D. Dossi da Giordani) per L. 120<sup>244</sup> – e una stupenda “Flora” di Dosso (detta da Giordani di Girolamo da Carpi) per L. 80.<sup>245</sup> Ad altro conoscente feci acquistare il San Sebastiano di Cosimo Tura (detto Costa) per L. 500<sup>246</sup>. La tavola segnata del nome di Lattanzio da Rimini per L. 800 – una piccola tavoletta assai bene conservata del senese Giovanni di Paolo, e un altro dipinto (con l’anno 1408), a parer mio, di artefice veneto, e della scuola dei fratelli dalle Massegne, è cosa assai interessante, ma il vetro, purtroppo è spaccato in due.<sup>247</sup>

During this occasion, the Venetian art dealer Michelangelo Guggenheim bought four pieces, among which were the *Saint Sebastian* by Lorenzo Costa (now in Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Gal. - Nr. 42 A) and the *Portrait of Tito Vespasiano Strozzi* by Baldassarre D’Este (Venice, Palazzo Cini).<sup>248</sup> At this moment in time, Layard had almost concluded his chase and decided not to implement his collection further with Costabili paintings. By 1875, on behalf of Lord Bath, Rawdon Brown inquired through Layard whether “there [were] many good pictures remaining in”<sup>249</sup> the Costabili collection. Layard’s reply to Brown, however, is missing and there is no evidence of any purchase from Lord Bath.

This intensive acquisition campaign was succeeded by a fallow year (1867), necessary to dilute the costs of cleaning, restoration and re-framing of the huge number of pictures acquired at Ferrara and Venice. In February 1868, however, Layard was ready to buy “a very charming thing”,<sup>250</sup> the supposed sketch for Bonifacio de’ Pitati’s *Dives and Lazarus* in the Accademia at Venice (NG3106). He had secured it for 40 Napoleon (£32ca) from a certain Francesco Vason, through

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<sup>244</sup> Costabili 1871, 31, no. 473 (?).

<sup>245</sup> Costabili 1871, 16, no.187.

<sup>246</sup> Costabili 1871, 11, no. 95.

<sup>247</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 130: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 20 March 1872.

<sup>248</sup> See Mattaliano, Agostini 1998, 24-5.

<sup>249</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVII, Add MS 39007, fol. 366r: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 29 March 1875.

<sup>250</sup> NLS MS42336, fol. 160r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 20 February 1868.

“Rawdon Brown discovered it and traced its history for me”.<sup>251</sup> In his notebook, indeed, Layard had jotted down:

On the back of the panel before it was cut down, was written ‘Di mano di Bonifatio. Originale et modello del quadro famoso delle Nozze del Ricco Epulone in Casa Giustinian a Stae per cui il Zanetti vuole pagar doppie di Spagna n. mille e cinquecento a Marco’.<sup>252</sup>

Sir Henry would continue collecting information about this painting throughout his life, as it shown in the typewritten catalogue, which includes a letter, dated 1890 and signed by a member of the Grimani family.

Mi riesce [l]a somma compiacenza di convenire ai vostri desiderii relativamente alle ricerche ch’io feci nel mio Archivio intorno al modello del Quadro Grande del Bonifazio rappresentante il Ricco Epulone.<sup>[SEP]</sup>Da un inventario dei quadri che [esistevano] pr[e]sso la mia famiglia del, 2. Settembre [sic]. 1790 trascrivo quanto segue.

N. 1 Bonifazio grande rappresenta il Ricco Epulone.<sup>[SEP]</sup>2. Modello del detto.<sup>[SEP]</sup>Ciò, mi sembr[a], prova abbastanza che anche il Modello sia opera dello stesso Bonifazio, perch[é] se il quadro grande esisteva nella mia famiglia assieme al modello del medesimo, è ben naturale che il Bonifazio, a cui venne commesso il lavoro (come viene indicato da Luigi Sernagiotto nel suo discorso letto alla dispensa dei premi nel 29 Luglio 1883 del R. Istituto dei [sic] belle arti in Venezia), prima dell’esecuzione del quadro grande ne abbia eseguito il modello.<sup>253</sup>

1868 was also a significant year with the loan of eleven pictures to the *Leeds National Exhibition of Art*, which aimed at presenting a reduced, though illustrative, selection from the Layard Collection. Included were four Venetians, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio and Cima; and three Lombard masters, Savoldo,

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<sup>251</sup> NLS MS42336, fol. 160r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 130 Piccadilly, 20 February 1868.

<sup>252</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 47.

<sup>253</sup> Sernagiotto mentioned the existence of three copies of the work, see Sernagiotto 1883, 23.

Moretto and Moroni. Also featured were the illumination of a *Jesse-tree* by Girolamo Genga and the Raffaellino del Garbo, then identified as the portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici by Lippi.<sup>254</sup> By participating in this loan exhibition, Layard intended to present himself exactly as that kind of enlightened man of knowledge and culture, who aspired to educate the public by granting a broader access to artworks, whilst equally bolstering his name as a knowledgeable collector.<sup>255</sup>

In the following year, 1869, Layard achieved his first recognition by participating in the loan exhibition at the South Kensington Museum, and consequently at the National Gallery of Ireland (1871-6). This choice clearly portrayed a collection of “general taste for art”,<sup>256</sup> which included a broad range of objects and reflected the same policy that had been pursued by many of the members of the Fine Arts Club, firsts among them Matthew Uzielli (1805-1860) and Alexander Barker (1797-1873).<sup>257</sup> In particular, in the field of objets d’art Layard’s collection seems to have followed the example set by his fellows at the *Fine Arts Club*. As the proceedings of the club reveal, in 1861 Layard was among the member-exhibitors of the *Conversazione* illustrating “Dresden and all the minor German Porcelains – Amstel and Hague, Copenhagen, Zurich, Nyons, Capodimonte, Doccia, Venice, Vieneuf, Buen Retiro, Vista Alegre, &c.; English Porcelain and Earthenwares; Illuminations, manuscripts, and other ancient illustrated books-miniatures; Cameos and Intaglios, in

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<sup>254</sup> Catalogue 1868, no. 35, 38, 72, 74, 75, 76, 79, 84, 91, 278, 596.

<sup>255</sup> Nor should it be forgotten that in 1868 he would publish his essay on Masolino and Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel. As Eatwell (2000, 24) observed, “The status and identity of the lender had a real importance and lenders were named on the labels accompanying their objects”.

<sup>256</sup> Robinson 1860, preface.

<sup>257</sup> Uzielli was a partner of the merchant bankers' company Charles Devaux and Co., involved in government loans and railway finance. He was famous for his extensive art collection of paintings and decorative art, which he had accrued it on the advice of J.C. Robinson. The collection was auctioned at Christie's in 1861. Several paintings went to the collections of the National Gallery, Victoria and Albert Museum, Walker Art Gallery, and Ashmolean Museum. On Alexander Barker see Harry Dougal, *Alexander Barker (1797-1873) and the South Kensington Museum: Private Serving Public in the Victorian Art World* (MA dissertation, Courtauld Institute of Art, London) <<https://www.vam.ac.uk/blog/news/guest-post-alexander-barker-and-the-south-kensington-museum>>

hard stone or shell; Coins, medals, and seals”.<sup>258</sup> Unfortunately, the minutes simply record the names of the lenders and the categories on display; therefore, it can be argued that Layard might have lent either some of the Nimrud cylinder seals or the two pieces of Italian majolica, which he would later exhibit at the South Kensington Museum.<sup>259</sup> One was a lustred majolica of Gubbio, signed by Maestro Giorgio and dated 1527; the other one represented *The Angel of the Annunciation* and related to the sixteenth century (presently untraced).<sup>260</sup> Among these earliest acquisitions that he had lent to the South Kensington Museum were also two modern Venetian glasses by “Salviati &Co” (presently untraced). Both had an aventurine border: one represented “a group of Europe in the centre”, the other a “scroll foliage and ring of dancing cupids”.<sup>261</sup> In the following years, Layard would continue to expand this section of glass, including chandeliers, vases, crystals, and other precious items, as can be seen in the auction catalogue of 1939.<sup>262</sup> It appears that he possessed just a few paintings on glass, an *Adoration of the Kings* on crystal (lent to the *Exhibition of Early Italian Art from 1300 to 1550* at the New Gallery in 1893), a *Virgin and Child* by a Venetian master and a German specimen, representing *Virgin with Child*.<sup>263</sup> The latter was ceded to Marchese Taparelli d’Azeglio, who, in those years, was beginning to amass a valuable group of verre églomisée.<sup>264</sup> Yet the collection

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<sup>258</sup> NAL, MSL/1952/1315: Fine Arts Club Minute book from 1857, fol. 28: Conversazione st the room of the Arundel Society, 30 January 1861.

<sup>259</sup> On the seal collection, see Collon 1986; Curtis, Reade 1995, 250.

<sup>260</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(iv): Collection of pictures belonging to the Right Honourable Austen H. Layard lent for Exhibition to the South Kensington Museum, 1869, 4, lot. 55-56.

<sup>261</sup> BH, MA/1/L561: General stores division. October 1869, n. 410. Science and Art Department, fol. 357, n. 314.086, 15 November 1869. A description of the plates is also reported in the catalogue of the items lent to the South Kensington Museum in 1869. A copy is held at NGA, NG7/292/13(iv), 4.

<sup>262</sup> One lot comprised seventy-three glasses and seven bottles of old Murano glass. See Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 372.

<sup>263</sup> Cf. Catalogue 1893, 70, n. 505; Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 135; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 35.

<sup>264</sup> The Italian specimen is presently untraced. For the one given to Marchese Taparelli D’Azeglio (now in Palazzo Madama, Turin, inv. 264/VD), see Giacomelli 2011, Pettenati 1978, IL-LXIII; 83-4.

comprised a wide number of decorative vases, such as a “Hebrew vase”,<sup>265</sup> which he was required to lend for the *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition* at the Royal Albert Hall (1887), a crater with red figures on black ground from Rhodes, and many china examples.<sup>266</sup> During their journeys, the Layards did not fail in hunting out objects in order to further furnish and decorate their house. In Spain, for instance, their first purchase was an Italian cabinet with blue plaques and Triana pottery.<sup>267</sup> At Blois, they purchased local “pottery a kind of rough faience with bright colouring”.<sup>268</sup> Many more examples could be listed by reading Lady Layard’s journal or the inventory in Appendix B.

## 1.4 Changing perspectives

The period between 1869 and 1892 was relatively less lively with regard to picture hunting. The burdens of the ambassadorial office kept Layard away from art business. But, actually, his marriage in 1869 marked a watershed moment. In order to accommodate the priorities of marital life, his collecting activity was re-adjusted. Accordingly, the acquisitions for the house were privileged over those of purely intellectual pleasure. Very telling in this sense was the phrase used by Layard to decline Morelli’s proposal to buy more paintings: “Je vous remercie beaucoup de la liste de[s] tableaux que vous avez eu la bonté de m’envoyer. Malheureusement le

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<sup>265</sup> BL, Supplementary Layard Papers, Vol. XIX; Add MS 58167, fol. 84: F.D. Mocatta to A.H. Layard, 11 March 1887. The list of exhibitors does not feature Layard’s name. It is possible that he might not have been able to send any of the requested items since the letter was forwarded to him just three weeks before the opening of the exhibition.

<sup>266</sup> Layard does not appear among the lenders of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, as he received the request for the vase three weeks before the opening and was likely unable to arrange its forwarding. The Rhodesian crater is mentioned in a letter exchanged with the Director of the British Museum. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVI, Add MS 39046, fols. 93-4: E.M. Thompson to A.H. Layard, 1890.

<sup>267</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 5 October 1912.

<sup>268</sup> LLJ, Blois, 29 September 1873.



ménage mange l'argent, et pour le moment je ne suis plus dans le cas de faire des dispenses sur les tableaux. De plus mes murs en sont couverts et j'ai peu de place".<sup>269</sup>

If Layard had developed good skills in dealing with Italian works of art, he did not miss the opportunity to train his eye on other schools of painting, such as the Spanish and the Dutch ones. As soon as he settled in Madrid he started "studying the Spanish school"<sup>270</sup> and began sifting through the local curiosity shops. Among the first pieces acquired were a small collection of twelve Hispano-Moresque dishes, which was auctioned in London in 1918.<sup>271</sup> By the end of 1870, he complained about the lack of good paintings to buy with Lady Eastlake: "Since I have been here I have not seen a picture worth a shilling on sale – so that I have not added to my small collection".<sup>272</sup> Apart from the fact that the most popular Velázquez and Murillo appeared to be rare and too costly for his budget, Layard continued to pursue his acquisition policy of lesser-known artists.

I have been looking up, as far as materials and opportunities will allow me, the early Spanish schools. They are interesting and very little known. There is a very curious altarpiece, signed and dated. Of the early part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the Academy of History – and in the churches of Toledo and Seville I have found some interesting early works. But all Spanish art is founded upon Italian art directly derived from it one may say.<sup>273</sup>

In this light, the acquisitions he then made on the Madrilenian art market reveal somehow a daring attitude. As Marjorie Trusted pointed out, "Spanish sculpture and

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<sup>269</sup> See Anderson 1987, 120. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 126: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 21 Grafton Street, 1 June 1869.

<sup>270</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 9: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 23 April 1870.

<sup>271</sup> For the sale catalogue see Christie 1918, 7, lot. 41-52, presently untraced.

<sup>272</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 11: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 23 October 1870

<sup>273</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 11: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 23 October 1870.

the decorative arts of Spain were hardly considered at all until the mid-nineteenth century, when John Charles Robinson acquired Spanish sculptures for the museum at South Kensington”.<sup>274</sup> Robinson had in fact travelled around the Iberian Peninsula three years before the Layards’ arrival, buying both paintings and decorative arts, which Sir Henry might have seen and subsequently become interested in.<sup>275</sup> Undoubtedly, Layard was acquainted with most of the Spanish paintings present in London, such as the Dulwich Murillos, John Bowes’ collection, or the Velázquez in John Savile Lumley’s collection (later bequeathed to the National Gallery, NG1148), just to name a few.<sup>276</sup> His first steps into this new world were undoubtedly slightly hesitant. Certain unease, for instance, was shown when he was about to purchase *The Rest during the flight into Egypt*, now considered by a follower of Patinir (NG3115). Layard sought advice from Boxall, before naming a price for it.

Pray tell me, if you write, what a good little ‘Patinir’ a Virgin and Child in a carefully furnished landscape – something about the size of our S. John at Patmos or perhaps larger – in width – could I give £30 or £40. There is one on a sale here for which the latter sum is asked.<sup>277</sup>

At the same, Layard had spotted “a clever head of a Magdalen[e] by an early Italian or a Flemish imitator”,<sup>278</sup> which he would secure in due course (NG3116). By 24 November, he informed Gregory that he had bought both of them being “the only pictures I have seen since I have been here on sale worth anything”.<sup>279</sup> The market,

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<sup>274</sup> Trusted 2010, 75.

<sup>275</sup> Pergam 2018, 7.

<sup>276</sup> “I should much like to see Lumley’s picture again. My recollection of it (entre nous) suggests doubts as to its authenticity”. NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 46: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 6 November 1872. On Savile’s Velázquez, see McEvansoneya 2010. On early British collection of Spanish art, see Trusted 2010.

<sup>277</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/60/11: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, Madrid, 18 November 1871.

<sup>278</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872.

<sup>279</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 37: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 24 November 1871.

however, might not have been as thin and sluggish as he complained. Besides communicating the recent acquisitions to Morelli and Lady Eastlake, he added that “Il y a aussi en vente une esquisse de Murillo, de son grand tableau de la Sainte Elizabeth que je voudrais bien acquérir mais pour la quelle le possesseur demande plus que je puis lui donner”.<sup>280</sup> Occasions were, of course, at first hand, if one knew. But Layard’s networks were still too feeble, his wallet reduced, and therefore these connections were mainly used to the benefit of the South Kensington Museum, as shown. Though “the Layards gained their entrée to Spanish artist society”,<sup>281</sup> they experienced more hesitancy and reluctance on the part of the Spanish people. As Layard himself recorded

I have done the best I could to get together some artistic and literary society – but without much success. They elected me a member of the Academies of Fine Arts and History – and I gave dinners to the principal members of each – and there our intercourse pretty well ended – as Spaniards of this class go but little into society – and I have had to fall back on ministerial and diplomatic dinners and weekly receptions – which are better calculated for the development of dancing than of the intellect.<sup>282</sup>

Although the Layards were befriended by the Riaños, the Gayangos and the Madrazos, namely, Pedro and Federico (1815-1894), Director of the Royal Academy, Sir Henry lamented a lack of intellectual life.<sup>283</sup> It is no accident that Layard was looking forward to touring around Spain with Morelli, in order to “brush

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<sup>280</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 389666, fol. 156: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Madrid, 21 December 1871. He addressed the same words to Lady Eastlake: “There is now on sale Murillo’s original sketch in oils for the fine picture of St. Elizabeth tending the sick in the Academy – but the owner asks more than I can afford to give for it”. NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872.

<sup>281</sup> Symmons 2000, 87.

<sup>282</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fols. 12-3: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 1 February 1871. For the honours received see Appendix A. See also Symmons 2000, 87, 99-100, n. 12, 13.

<sup>283</sup> On the Madrazos see Calvo Serraller 1985; on the Gayangos, see Alvarez Millán, Heide 2008.

up [his] art recollections”.<sup>284</sup> In the meanwhile, he informed Lady Eastlake that he had “bought a few interesting ‘object d’art’, amongst them a fine Spanish gothic silver gilt ‘custodia’, by D’Arfe, the father, of whom Ford speaks so enthusiastically”.<sup>285</sup>

Notwithstanding, Sir Henry tried to entice his Morelli’s curiosity by mentioning some interesting works in the churches of Barcelona, Tarragona and Valencia:

Je n’ai pas eu le temps de les étudier et comme personne ne s’est occupé [pas] de fouiller les archives pour trouver les noms des artistes et les dates des leur travaux et d’autres matériaux pour l’histoire de la peinture espagnole il est très difficile de former une opinion sur ces tableaux. Nous comptons absolument sur votre visite.<sup>286</sup>

Busy with politics, Morelli postponed his travel to Spain until the following year, 1872, when Layard once again exhorted him to visit. “J’ai besoin d’étudier la collection de tableaux du Musée avec vous. Je m’occupe à présent d’une petite étude sur Velázquez pour le *Quarterly Review* et je voudrais bien avoir votre opinion sur ce grand peintre avant de le finir”.<sup>287</sup> In response, Morelli admitted

Il Velazquez non lo conosco ancora, cioè a dire lo conosco solo superficialmente, dai pochi suoi quadri, che ebbi occasione di vedere al di qua dei Pirenei; ma anche da codeste poche opere di lui ho capito ch’egli de’ pittori più singolari e originali che conosca. Toccherà a Lei, caro amico, di farmi fare

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<sup>284</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 12: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 1 February 1871.

<sup>285</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872. In 1855 Murray published the *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* edited by Richard Ford. On Ford’s comments about Juan de Arfe, see Ford 1855, vol. I, 182; vol. II, 576, 846.

<sup>286</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 156: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Madrid, 21 December 1871.

<sup>287</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 160: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 11 March 1872. The article would be published in the number of July – October, 1872. See Layard 1872.

una relazione più intima con quel grande artista, e sarà questo un titolo di gratitudine di più ch'ella vanterà verso di me.<sup>288</sup>

Interestingly enough, Layard borrowed Sir Charles' notebooks in 1871, in order to enhance his little knowledge of Spanish art.<sup>289</sup> Eastlake's notes represented indeed an important source of information to Layard, as well as an invaluable guide for Madrid's public and private galleries.<sup>290</sup> With a touch of disappointment, Sir Henry wrote to Lady Eastlake that

Judging from his notes there are few pictures in it which he considered good and genuine, or which have not been greatly damaged by restorers and repairers. I wish he could have visited the Gallery a second time and have revised these notes. Although agreeing with him in many of his criticisms – especially as regards Vel[á]zquez – I am inclined to think, or perhaps hope, that he has underrated some of the pictures. However perhaps the notes were merely memoranda of the points which principally struck him and not intended as general criticism on pictures. [...] I wish I could transfer the notes to a catalogue of my own – so as to have them when I return to Madrid and to go over the Gallery with them.<sup>291</sup>

Apparently, Lady Eastlake sent Layard a copy of the notes, of which he made wide use to study the pictures in the Ministerio de Fomento, in the San Fernando Academy and in the National Museum, but also when writing his article on Velázquez. In particular, Layard had referred to Eastlake's "immense admiration for

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<sup>288</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 130: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 20 March 1872.

<sup>289</sup> Layard might have read Eastlake's notes when in England (NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 26: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Canford Manor, 2 August 1871) and later he received a copy of them from Lady Eastlake (NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872). As Avery-Quash (2011, 38-9) has observed, Lady Eastlake "tried press her husband's notes into other people's hands Unsurprisingly, her opinion of the husband's successors and colleagues seems to have been largely conditioned by their response to, and the use they made of, the Eastlake Notebooks".

<sup>290</sup> Eastlake had visited Barcelona, Alicante, Madrid, and Burgos in late September, early October 1859. See Avery-Quash 2011, 506-16.

<sup>291</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 26: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Canford Manor, 2 August 1871.

the ‘Meniñas’ and his remark as to the extraordinary ‘fluidity’ of Velázquez’s brush”.<sup>292</sup> It is thus unsurprising that Lady Eastlake would be pleased of Layard’s act and later commented that his paper was

Solid & dignified & most interesting. I never learnt so much of the great master before, & for all y[ou]r superior love for Titian, you have done the Spaniard justice. I write Boxall how much the article interested me (I have read it twice) & he answered that with all respect for Velasquez “& you know how much I love him” he knows nothing by him that can compare with Titian’s Charles V on horseback, thus anticipating y[ou]r comparison. The result was that I had to lend him the number, which I very much grudged! However he has quite satisfied me in his approbation of the article tho[ugh] he has not yet returned it. Thus I have it not at hand to enter further into, but there are words & allusions in it w[hic]h you know well I do not require to have at hand to remember! For which I thank you heartily. I am glad that the notes have been of any use.<sup>293</sup>

If Eastlake’s notes served Layard to form a sound opinion on Velázquez, in Morelli’s company, he was able to secure for £10 the sketch of the *Queen of Sheba before King Solomon*, now said to be by Lambert Sustris (NG3107).<sup>294</sup> Once more, Layard’s correspondence with Lady Eastlake provides a valuable comment, notably one of the very few private responses that Sir Henry made on the works he collected. While discussing the attribution of the sketch a few years later after its acquisition, Layard stated:

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<sup>292</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 35: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 27 April 1872. On the Spanish national collections and their organization, see Vázquez 2001, 97-121.

<sup>293</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 Fitzroy square, 31 October 1872. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 360. The highlighting is original by Lady Eastlake.

<sup>294</sup> Frizzoni would comment on it: “La tela abbozzata, del Ricevimento della Regina Saba, trovata a Madrid, non mi fece l’effetto di Paris Bordone bensì di un altro veneto tizianesco geniale, Andrea Schiavone, che ha lavorato spesso, parmi, a quel modo pittoresco ma poco finito”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVIII, Add MS 39048, fol. 131: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milan, 29 May 1891.

It is, I think, unquestionably by the Bonifazio, and I have a suspicion that it was brought to Madrid by Vel[á]zquez. When Morelli was here we alighted upon it by mere accident and rescued it from the hands of a wretch who was going to finish it. Morelli was delighted with it, and the Artists at Venice who have seen it have been more struck with it than with perhaps any other of my pictures. It is very interesting as showing the process employed by the Venetian painters. Although in its unfinished state the Architecture is very fine and reminds me of that in the Painter's pictures in the Gallery, and some of the figures are charming.<sup>295</sup>

Layard admired Bonifacio de' Pitati's paintings intensely, he particularly favoured Moses saved from the waters at Brera (inv. 365), and the original of *Dives and Lazarus* in the Academia at Venice (inv. 291), "for I like lovely, gay and graceful women to look at, although I am far from wishing to have something to do with them",<sup>296</sup> as he informed to Lady Eastlake.

Around October 1872 Layard also purchased a triptych representing the *Virgin with Child* by a follower of Hugo van der Goes (NG3066), of which Lady Eastlake spoke highly.

I have admired from the first. The finish & delicacy are worthy of any first rate name – & there is but one. The child indeed is better formed & grown than Van Eyck's little rats. Its limbs, & the Virgin's hands quite beautiful. I have almost deciphered the inscription – the flourishes of which are charming.<sup>297</sup>

Though pleased, Layard did "dare not assign [it] to the great Master, but which is a great favourite with me",<sup>298</sup> and generally referred to it as the "Gothic triptych".<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>295</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 86: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Constantinople, 19 January 1877.

<sup>296</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.

<sup>297</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca' Capello, 4 February 1877. Quoted from Sheldon 2009, 432.

<sup>298</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 92: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Constantinople, 23 February 1877.

Curiously enough, during his Madrilenian sojourn, it appears that Sir Henry also bought a *Head of Saint Peter* after El Greco (NG3131), albeit he had once commented: “I am by no means a convert to Robinson’s friend ‘El Greco’ – his drawing is abominable, his colour ashy grey, untransparent [sic] and disagreeable. He has occasionally a fine head, but that is rare”.<sup>300</sup> This might be the case of the specimen he bought.

With regard to the Valencia artist Joan de Joanes, which Layard deemed as “a painter of considerable power – but far behind his great Italian contemporaries”,<sup>301</sup> he purchased two panels representing *St. John the Baptist* and *St. Jerome*.<sup>302</sup> Details of this transaction, however, remain shadowy, likewise those concerning the purchase of a painting by Juan Carreño de Miranda portraying Maria Luisa of Orleans.<sup>303</sup>

Alongside painting purchases, several other objects entered the Layard Collection throughout 1871 and 1884. Among these was a box sent by the jeweller-antiquarian Alessandro Castellani (1824-1883) containing

1. n. 12 piattini di scuola Abbruzzese.

2. due vasi decorativi idem.

3. n. 6 piatti di scuole italiane del rinascimento

I 12 piattini costano lire italiane 108. I due vasi lire Italiane 200, in tutto lire Italiane 308.

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<sup>299</sup> See also BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 177: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Madrid, 26 October 1872.

<sup>300</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 44: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 22 May 1870.

<sup>301</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872.

<sup>302</sup> The pictures were recorded in Colección Lladró, Valencia until 2000. See Doménech 2000, 172-3.

<sup>303</sup>

The painting is enlisted in the works on display at Ca’ Capello, as will be shown below. On the activity of Castellani see Munn 1984; Moretti Sgubini 2000; Weber Soros, Walker 2004.



I sei piattini del rinascimento sono specimes di studio che ha fatto mio figlio [Torquato Castellani], e che io mi prendo la libertà di offrire.<sup>304</sup>

In fact, Castellani had previously provided Sir Henry with other reproductions; for instance, “a couple of modern majolica heads”,<sup>305</sup> a statuette representing Narcissus with the “patina imitata fedelmente dall’antico originale”,<sup>306</sup> as well as two bronze statues after unspecified originals in the Archaeological Museum of Naples.<sup>307</sup> The breadth of Layard’s interest in sculpture is illustrated by the variety of schools, periods and materials that the collection gathered.

In 1872 the sculpture group had been enriched by “un piccolo e grazioso busto di guerriero di marmo di scuola lombarda del principio del secolo XVI”,<sup>308</sup> which Morelli had acquired for Layard from the Picenardi Collection at Cremona. Not only the collection encompassed Renaissance bronze busts, such as the one of Julius Caesar, or terracotta specimens (for instance, Christ bearing the Cross), but also biscuits of Napoleonic military figures, a XVIII-century clay bust of a man with a wig, and several ivory sculptures of Chinese figures.<sup>309</sup> No doubt the latter group can be associated to the numerous porcelain and hardstones figures of exotic animals and deities on display at Ca’ Capello, which possibly belonged to Lady Layard.<sup>310</sup> The presence of such artefacts testifies to a clear fascination with the Far East, which included, moreover, ivory and mother-of-pearl inlaid snuffboxes, porcelain vases

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<sup>304</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, fol. 21: A. Castellani to A.H. Layard, Napoli, Chiatamone, 12 January 1871.

<sup>305</sup> LLJ, Naples, 11 October 1869.

<sup>306</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LIX, Add MS 38989, fol. 382: A. Castellani to A.H. Layard, Napoli, 5 Chiatamonte, 23 December 1863.

<sup>307</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXII, Add MS 38992, fol. 129: A. Castellani to A.H. Layard, Napoli 6 Chiatamone, 28 December 1868.

<sup>308</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 110v : G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Bergamo, 30 November 1871. See also fol. 113r, Rome, 5 March 1871.

<sup>309</sup> See Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 115; 26, lot 262; 49, lot 523; 50, lot 537; 51, lot 558; 58, lot 643; 66, lots 736, 746, 747; 76, lot 873.

<sup>310</sup> Cf. the inventory of the Layard Collection, Appendix B.

decorated with dragoons and leafy scrolls, but also several specimens of tableware. Although the provenance of these items cannot be traced, it is likely that they were mainly bought on the market, both in London and Venice. An exception is represented by the precious Ming bowl with relief, turquoise and iron-red enamels, gold and gem overlay (BM 1904.7-14.1), which the Sultan Abdul Hamid II donated to the Layards in 1877.<sup>311</sup>

Beside authentic objects, the collection inevitably comprised fakes and pastiches. Layard probably took to be authentic some of them; notwithstanding, he was well aware of the origin of a terracotta bust of Marsilius Ficinus, held at Ca' Capello since 1884. It had been modelled by the Florentine faker Giovanni Bastianini (1830-1868), from whom Francis Sloane bought it.<sup>312</sup> In 1884 his widow, Mrs Francis Sloane, resolved to gift it to Layard, as “she knew he would appreciate it”.<sup>313</sup>

Conversely, it is impossible to know whether Layard was wrong in thinking genuine a statue by Alonso Cano or not. He described it as

One of those wonderful wooden figures that one only sees in Spain – attributed of course to Alonso Cano. I have only seen two since I have been here. The first Bauer, Rothschild's Agent, unluckily saw before me and secured. I am hesitating whether I ought to buy the one I have now before me, or secure it for Cole. It represents a Franciscan Saint – wonderfully modelled.<sup>314</sup>

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<sup>311</sup> The bowl was later gifted to Lady Charlotte Schreiber, from whom George Salting is said to have acquired it before later donating it to the British Museum. See Harrison-Hall 2001, 243-4.

<sup>312</sup> On Bastianini, see Moskowitz 2013 and Ócal 2018. The sculpture was auctioned in the Roman sale and is presently untraced; see Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 187 bis.

<sup>313</sup> LLJ, Florence, 19 October 1884.

<sup>314</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fols. 88-89: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 15 March 1871.

Although there is no mention of the sculpture in the extant correspondence with the Director of the South Kensington Museum,<sup>315</sup> two valuable visual sources provide us with more details about the presumed Alonso Cano. Layard did in fact retain the little statue for his collection. A watercolour, probably executed by the Spanish painter called in Layard's inventories Franco (**Plate 9, Figure 41**) and a later pencil drawing, made by Lady Augusta Gregory in 1896 (**Plate 9, Figure 42**), show a little statue of a Franciscan Saint, which very likely corresponds to the one described by Sir Henry: the first in the interior of the British Embassy at Madrid and the second in Venice.<sup>316</sup>

In addition, Lady Gregory's drawing bears the name of the author and shows that the little saint might be displayed on top of a wooden column with Corinthian capital (**Plate 9, Figure 42**). A further reference to the sculpture can be found in a letter Henry Hucks Gibbs, first Baron Aldenham (1819–1907), wrote to Layard: "I have seen your house today, and I am delighted with it and that which it contains. Of course the Alonso Cano caught my eye at once!"<sup>317</sup> The sculpture was dispersed after Lady Layard's death, though none of the extant auction catalogues mentions it.<sup>318</sup>

The watercolour illustrating the interior of the British Legation at Madrid (**Plate 9, Figure 41**) reveals two more collecting interests that Layard pursued, namely

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<sup>315</sup> Cole's letter to Layard relating to 1871 are gathered in BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXIX, Add MS 38999, fols. 32, 58, 208, 462.

<sup>316</sup> Possibly it corresponds to the watercolour mentioned in NG7/292/13(ii), n. 66: *Interior of Mrs Layard's boudoir at Madrid with portraits of Mr and Mrs Layard and Morelli*. See also LLJ, Madrid, 13 May 1872.

<sup>317</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 58167, fol. 23: H.H. Gibbs to A.H. Layard, 11 November 1885.

<sup>318</sup> It is always very risky to pair artworks when one has seen only poor reproductions of one, such as these visual documents, but presumably Layard's sculpture could be linked to *San Diego de Alcalá* in the Fundación Rodríguez-Acosta, Granada, as well as to the four statues by Alonso Cano and Pedro de Mena, made for the Convento del Santo Ángel Custodio, Granada, now in the Museo de Bellas Artes de Granada. See Gómez-Moreno 1926, 202-6; Wethey 1955, 78-80, 176, fig. 125-130; Moya Morales, Rodríguez-Acosta Márquez 2008. See **Plate 9, Figures 42, 43**.

copies and tapestries. In line with the well-established market for copies of Spanish painting and prints, which had become popular since the late eighteenth century,<sup>319</sup> the drawing room of the British Legation displayed two copies of Old Masters, which stand out from the distant wall: on the left, the *Bacchanalia* by Titian, and *Las Lanzas* by Velázquez, on the right. Layard had entrusted these copies to

‘A little man’, one Grau a Catalonian, who has been making some very good copies for me of my favourite pictures in the Gallery, the ‘Lanzas’ amongst them. He has copied the two fine Titians, the ‘Fecondità’ and the Bacchantes, admirably, besides many others. He is not dear - nor is he cheap. I should say that he would charge L. 20 (at least I paid him that sum) for the ‘Lanzas’ and about the same – perhaps a little less – for the ‘St. Peter and St. Paul’. His copies for me are in watercolours – which I prefer to oils for copies of small size, and he uses his watercolours with uncommon vigour.<sup>320</sup>

Conversely, Savile Lumley had commissioned several replica in oils to Charles Molony, and likewise did “aristocrats such as Lord Grandville, the British Ambassador Howden ad Portalington; gentry such as Messrs Sykes and Beaumont; as well as the art dealer Colnaghi, and a Russian gentleman, Koloshim”.<sup>321</sup> In this

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<sup>319</sup> See Macartney 2012, 104-13; Lobstein 2002, 326-41.

<sup>320</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 53: Private letter from A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 18 June 1873. See also Layard 1872a, 471. Copies were mainly used by Layard to decorate the walls of his rooms, the auction catalogue of the contents of Ca’ Capello comprises a high number of prints after Old Masters, such as those copied after the *Twelve Hours* by Raphael. See Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 377.

<sup>321</sup> Macartney 2012, 112. Together with the Velázquez (NG1148), Savile donated to the National Gallery a collection of fifty-nine copies after the master. To this respect Layard wrote to Gregory: “The Velazquez copies, which he has presented to us, have also been hung in the basement rooms, which until recently held the English school pictures. I confess to be disappointed by them... They are weak and give but a poor representation of the great painter. However, they will be useful as reference”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 47: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 7 September 1888. On the copies after Velázquez that Lord Savile donated to the National Gallery, see McEvansoneya 2008. It must be noted that the Spanish market offered, in addition, an abundance of motley plates and prints after the royal collections fuelled by the Real Calcografía. See Vázquez 2001, 44-9.

context what is noteworthy is that copies “reflected not only the original painting but the contemporary way of looking at”<sup>322</sup> these Old Masters.<sup>323</sup>

Furthermore, from Franco’s watercolour, one can recognise a tapestry on the right side of the wall, possibly resembling the Flemish specimen that Layard said to have bought for £30. In a letter dated 30 January 1871, Layard informed Gregory: “I bought a fine piece of tapestry last week. Flemish of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with heads of Holbein. There are some superb specimens of this tapestry at the Escorial, preserved as if worked yesterday. My bit is unfortunately, not so well preserved”.<sup>324</sup> Nonetheless, the arras might be hung in the drawing room of the British Legation of Madrid, as suggested by the watercolour. In spite of its poor quality, yet one can recognise in it a great number of people, surrounding a standing figure on the right top hand side. According to Layard, the subject was a marriage, and if so it appears to have a strong similarity, at least in composition, with the tapestry housed at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, representing *Esther fainting before Ahasuerus* (inv. T24w3).<sup>325</sup>

It was only some years later, about the time of his appointment as Ambassador at Constantinople (1877), that Layard resolved, following Morelli’s advice, to send the tapestry to the Roman restorer Eraclito Gentili.<sup>326</sup> Layard had asked to Morelli to

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<sup>322</sup> Hale 1954, 113.

<sup>323</sup> On the phenomenon of copymaking and buying, see Macleod 1996, 68-74.

<sup>324</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 81: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 30 January 1871. The price is named in Layard’s notebook, NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 86.

<sup>325</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 86.

<sup>326</sup> Little information is known about Gentili, who was described by Lady Layard (LLJ, Rome, 14 December 1880) to be “like a man on the stage. A little old man with a long nose & squeaky voice dressed in a long coat to his heels – full of obeisance & polite speeches & glory of being a Cavalliere [sic]”. Between 1846 and 1858 Eraclito Gentili sewed for Pope Pius IX an arras representing the *Mosaic of the doves*, formerly in the Villa Adriana; see Rodolfo 2000. In 1916 his son Pietro directed the school of tapestries with Luigi Cavenaghi.

arrange a contract with Gentili and to supervise the restoration.<sup>327</sup> Shortly after, Sir Henry thanked Morelli

Pour ce que vous avez fait pour la restauration de mon tapis de Flandre. Votre description me donne l'envie de le voir – mais quand serions nous dans la Ca Capello ? Le style est si beau que quoique le tapis était dans un assez mauvais état, je ne doute pas qu'une bonne restauration lui donnerait une grande valeur. Ci-jointe vous trouverez une lettre pour M. Malcolm, que je prie de vous remettre les 1000 francs que vous êtes mis d'accord avec M. Gentili pour lui payer en anticipation. Vous pourrez envoyer la lettre à M. Malcolm en lui priant de vous remettre cette somme à Milan ou ailleurs, c'est le seul moyen que je trouve pour vous rembourser. Si M. Gentili voulait très garder le tapis pour quelque temps je lui serais reconnaissant. Je crains qu'en l'envoyant à Venise il pourrait être exposé aux [\*vers]. Mais si vous êtes d'accord, il serait mieux de le retenir des mains de Gentili, je vous prierai de me le dire, et je suivrai vos conseils.<sup>328</sup>

The tapestry was forwarded to Venice, soon after its restoration, which had improved it so much that Alessandro Castellani had offered Layard 16,000 francs (£640ca) for it.<sup>329</sup> In the meantime, Layard sent to Morelli two old Turkish carpets “comme un souvenir de deux des vos amis les plus dévoués”.<sup>330</sup> In fact, he apologised “comme les tapis son anciens et les couleurs ne sont plus aussi brillants qu'ils auraient du être”.<sup>331</sup> Despite this, Morelli replied: “Non dubito che saranno

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<sup>327</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fols. 275-6: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Constantinople, 22 March 1878.

<sup>328</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fols. 281-2: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, British Embassy, Constantinople, 21 July 1878.

<sup>329</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 251: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 7 (September?) 1878. Castellani's valuation is recorded in Layard's notebook, NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): no. 86.

<sup>330</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 293r: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 6 February 1880.

<sup>331</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fols. 291: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Therapia, 1 August 1879.

preziosi e che faranno onore al gusto di Giovanni da Caravaggio”.<sup>332</sup> The rugs had been bought at the bazar in Constantinople, along with the majority of the Layards’ carpets, whose acquisition remains unknown. Evidence about them can be gleaned from the Roman auction catalogue, which describes a pair of Royal Bokhara carpet, several Melas prayer rugs, an Ushak carpet, just to name the principal (**Plate 10, Figures 44-50**).<sup>333</sup> Although Sir Henry lamented that “les bons anciens tapis son devenus très rares”,<sup>334</sup> by 1880 he could boast over seventy rugs and several tapestries in his Venetian palace, a number that would be increased by later purchases by Lady Enid. This is quite telling if compared to the fashion of carpets that would burgeon in the following years.<sup>335</sup>

## 1.5 The image regained

Among Spanish wooden sculpture, old Venetian glass and Oriental carpets, the collection also included four Armenian manuscripts.<sup>336</sup> Layard was not a bibliophile, and appears more simply as a collector of curiosities in this field, as was his cousin Ivor with his collection of Greek and Byzantine manuscripts.<sup>337</sup> It is in this light, therefore, that his collection of manuscripts and old books ought properly to be

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<sup>332</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 252: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 7 August 1879.

<sup>333</sup> Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 166; 36, lot 382; 36, lot 381, 385; 55, lot 605; 72, lot 823; 9, lot 57.

<sup>334</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fols. 291: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Therapia, 1 August 1879.

<sup>335</sup> On this topic, see Roth 2004; Ceccutti 2012. On the fortune of tapestries across the Atlantic, see Budd 2017.

<sup>336</sup> Two manuscripts are held at the Library of the Armenian Mekhitarist Fathers of Saint Lazarus, Venice (inv. 1583, 1591), a third one is in the Library of the Correr Museum (inv. No. PD 10a). Favaretto (1987, 235, n. 51) had briefly mentioned the existence of this latter, referring exclusively to the Correr Museum registry. No survey seems to have been done before on any of the manuscripts.

<sup>337</sup> It is worth noting that Layard possessed Shaw’s volume on *Illuminated ornaments*.

seen.<sup>338</sup> The evidence that emerges in his private correspondence further helps underpin this point. In the letter previously quoted and addressed to Morelli, Layard admitted that he had exchanged “quelques-unes de mes bibles auxquelles je n’attachais pas de grand valeur”,<sup>339</sup> for the purchase of the tapestry through Guggenheim.<sup>340</sup> Yet, the question remains as to how these Armenian manuscripts entered his collection.

It is possible, therefore, that his benevolent attitude towards the Christian communities during his ambassadorship at Constantinople and the high regard in which he was held by the local Christian authorities, resulted in a gift to him of the four illuminated Armenian manuscripts.<sup>341</sup> There is no definitive record of when they entered the Layard collection, nor regarding their provenance, but, according to Lady Enid, “he must have got [them] while at Constantinople”.<sup>342</sup> Indeed, they were to appear at the “Exhibition of Ancient and Modern Art and Applied Art” in Venice in September 1881.<sup>343</sup>

For this occasion, Sir Henry had also lent other objects still less known to the Venetian public, such as several archaeological objects, either from Nineveh or Samos, two Spanish armours, and a Hispano-Moresque plate.<sup>344</sup> The choice seems by no means to have been accidental. Layard envisaged re-establishing his public persona; therefore, he had carefully combined antiquities that had contributed to his

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<sup>338</sup> Layard possessed several first editions of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries books; see Layard 1904.

<sup>339</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, f. 319: Letter A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 26 November 1880.

<sup>340</sup> For a full account on the Venetian art dealer Michelangelo Guggenheim, see Martignon 2015.

<sup>341</sup> For a detailed account, see Riva 2018.

<sup>342</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 26 February 1902.

<sup>343</sup> The Exhibition was held to coincide with the meeting in Venice of the *Third International Geographical Congress*, to which Layard participated as delegate for England, India, and colonies. See the articles appeared in the *Illustrazione Italiana*, vol. 38 (1881), 190; and in the *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 27 September 1881, 2: *Esposizione d’arte antica e moderna e d’arte applicata all’industria*. Cf. the articles published between 27 August and 19 October 1881.

<sup>344</sup> See *Esposizione 1881*, room I, no. 25, 34, room II, no. 81-2, 94-7, 118, 120, 133. On the archaeological items exhibited, see also Favaretto 1987, 245, n. 45, 46; Riva, Ermidoro 2017.



fame with others of less acknowledged merits. Effectively, the exhibition proved to be successful and Layard's items garnered great attention. After a short while, Layard received a request from the Director of the State Archive, Bartolomeo Cecchetti (1838-1889), to donate specimens akin to those lent to the exhibition for scholarly purposes.<sup>345</sup> The manuscripts, too, had captivated the attention of the Armenian Mekhitarist Fathers of Saint Lazarus, with whom the Layards appear to have been well acquainted.<sup>346</sup>

It should be thus unsurprising that, in May 1885, Layard resolved to sit for a portrait with one of these codices (**Plate 11, Figure 51**).<sup>347</sup>

The portrait, made by a young and little-known artist named Charles Vigor, depicts Sir Henry in the foreground of a generic interior with a greyish wall, seated in a red velvet, wooden armchair, and holding on his lap an open codex, which I have identified as one of his Four Gospels (now at Venice, Library of the Armenian Mekhitarist Fathers of Saint Lazarus, inv. 1591), open on the Gospel of Luke (see Appendix C, **Plate 12, Figure 52**).<sup>348</sup> The brightness and exuberance of the pages of the manuscript are counterbalanced by the solemnity of this “Victorian worthy of later years”.<sup>349</sup> In this sense, the richness of the symbol is limited by the concinnitas

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<sup>345</sup> See the chapter on the dispersal of the collection.

<sup>346</sup> Lady Layard's journals chart many visits to the island of Saint Lazarus.

<sup>347</sup> Charles Vigor, *Portrait of Austen Henry Layard*. 1885. Oil on canvas, 120.5x80.5 cm. London, British Museum, 1968,0518.1 On Charles Vigor there is little information, he was active in London between 1882 and 1907 and painted mainly “portraits and figurative subjects” (see Wood 1995, 542). If one considers that among the portraits painted by Vigor in that same 1885, there were those of Lady Layard (BM, 2006,0307.1), General Layard, Edward Layard, Alexander Malcolm, Antonio Cortelazzo and Lord Hammond, it can be fairly said that Layard played the role of Maecenas with him. With the exception of the latter portrait, the rest were displayed in Layard's London house, at 1 Queen Anne, and by terms of Henry Layard's will passed to Major Arthur Layard in 1912, and are presently untraced.

<sup>348</sup> Charles Vigor was a British painter, distinctly of portraits and figurative subjects. He was active between 1881 and 1917. Among the principal venues where he exhibited his works are the Manchester Art Gallery (1888), the Grosvenor Gallery (1889), and the Royal Academy (1894). In 1912, Queen Alexandra bought one of his paintings entitled “A Golden Stream”; see *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 11 July 1912.

<sup>349</sup> Curtis, Reade 1995, 221.

of the portrait, as Polignano outlined,<sup>350</sup> resulting in a perfect visual statement obtained through a cumulative effect. Ironically, Layard wrote to his friend Lady Eastlake,

I have been sitting for my portrait to a young artist, Mr Vigor, who has produced what is genuinely considered a very good likeness. I can only say that I look so virtuous, benevolent and pious that it only requires that an aureola should be put round my head to make me a perfect Saint!<sup>351</sup>

Despite Lady Eastlake's reply, "I fear I sh[oul]d not recognize it! or rather you",<sup>352</sup> essential aspects of Layard's late diplomatic career, in this portrait, come alive before one's very eyes. Yet paradoxically Layard, 'the man who unintentionally had proved the Bible true' through his discovery of Nineveh, again recurred to a hint of early Christianity to restate his image.<sup>353</sup> The object was thus invested with an even deeper symbolic resonance, whilst "the meticulous rendering of the minute [appears] an excuse for blurring over the implications of the whole".<sup>354</sup>

His joking aside, Layard was fairly proud of the result of portrait, as appears from his correspondence with Gregory.<sup>355</sup> In it, Layard happily asserted that the portrait "is certainly clever and is said to be like".<sup>356</sup> By December of that same year, the painting was sent to 1 Queen Anne Street, the Layards London house, and there hung.

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<sup>350</sup> Cf. Polignano 1989, 214.

<sup>351</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS.42336, fol. 94v: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Ca' Capello, San Polo, Venice, 1 July 1885.

<sup>352</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS.42171: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 FitzRoy Square, 12 July 1885. Quoted in Sheldon 2009, 547.

<sup>353</sup> In 1886 Layard was elected President of the Society of Biblical Archaeology. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVI, Add MS 58164, fol. 68: Rylands to A.H. Layard, 12 January 1886. On the the relationship between the Bible and archaeology in Victorian Britain, see Larsen 2009.

<sup>354</sup> Conrad 1973, 11.

<sup>355</sup> On William Henry Gregory, see Falkiner 2004.

<sup>356</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 972, fol. 64: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Ca' Capello, San Polo, Venice, 16 June 1885.

## 1.6 The last acquisitions

Layard's return to Venice corresponds with the last additions to the collection. In November 1880 Layard informed Morelli: "J'ai acheté pour très peu il y a quelque jours – et pour Madame Layard [...] un très beau Pastel, portrait d'un jeune homme par Rosalba, et un portrait d'elle même par Pietro Longhi".<sup>357</sup> The works – destined to Lady Enid's studio – had been acquired from the Venetian dealer Podio for 200 Italian Lire (NG3126-7).

A few days later, Layard seized on the opportunity to buy at Guggenheim's a Burgundian tapestry. "It apparently represents a marriage of some [\*elated] personages, and contains a large number of pictures about life size – ladies the bride and bridegroom, attendants, musicians etc. It is of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and of very good style; but without a border".<sup>358</sup> He had initially proposed it to his brother-in-law, Lord Wimborne, but, in fact, he seemed almost equally bent on retaining it for his collection. He considered it "d'une finesse remarquable, et les têtes et les détails [...] d'une beauté extraordinaire".<sup>359</sup> Lord Wimborne did not intend to pay a large sum for it, as he was aware that it would require additional costs to have it restored by Gentili.<sup>360</sup> Sir Henry insisted on that point since he was of the opinion that "la belle tapisserie [...] demande une restauration complète, car elle est dans un très mauvais

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<sup>357</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 319: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 26 November 1880.

<sup>358</sup> NAL, MSL/1976/5451/5: A.H. Layard to T. Armstrong, Ca' Capello, San Polo, Venice, 5 October 1885.

<sup>359</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 317: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 17 November 1880.

<sup>360</sup> "Telegram from Ivor that he will not have the old tapestry Guggenheim has for sale & which Henry recommends him to buy". LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 19 November 1880.

état” and he had no doubt that “il fera beaucoup mieux de le confer à M. Gentili”.<sup>361</sup> The tapestry had been well known also by Morelli, who emboldened Layard by saying: “Ne vous laissez pas échapper la belle tapisserie de Guggenheim – elle vaut bien l’argent qu’il en demande”.<sup>362</sup> Apparently, Guggenheim had valued it at 20,000 francs. As Layard had just bought the two so-called Rosalba Carriera for Lady Layard (NG3126, NG3127), he was able to clinch the negotiation with Guggenheim and paid only £75 for the tapestry, while ceding “various things in exchange”.<sup>363</sup> Namely, the above-mentioned “bibles[,] auxquelles je n’attachais pas de grand valeur, et L. 75 en dessins”.<sup>364</sup> Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these drawings are at present unknown and no evidence has been found in the extant Layard archival material.

Once secured, the piece of Burgundian tapestry was immediately sent to “Vicolo Ascanio n. 131”,<sup>365</sup> Gentili’s Roman address, so that the case would reach Gentili by the time the Layards and Morelli went to Rome. In this way, they would be able to discuss the restoration together, as recorded also in Lady Layard’s journal.<sup>366</sup> In addition to an oral agreement, the two parts signed also a contract, which stressed the

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<sup>361</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 317: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 17 November 1880.

<sup>362</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 277v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 21 November 1880.

<sup>363</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), no. 85. The haggling is also recorded in Lady Layard’s journal; see LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 22 and 24 November 1880.

<sup>364</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fols. 318-9: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 26 November 1880.

<sup>365</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 278r: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Milan, 29 November 1880. The

<sup>366</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 321: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 1 December 1880. The meeting occurred on 16 December 1880, as documented by Lady Layard. See LLJ, Rome, 16 December 1880.

application of good quality techniques to the tapestry, specified the setting of a time limit, and agreed on the payment in three instalments.<sup>367</sup>

Il sottoscritto dichiara

Art. 1 avergli Sir Henry Layard consegnato ed affidato nel mese di Dicembre 1880 un arazzo, degl'intelligenti ritenuto opera di sommo artista fiammingo della fine del secolo XV, per essere da lui restaurato secondo le buone regole dell'arte e riconsegnato al proprietario Sir Henry Layard alla fine del mese d'Agosto 1881;

2. Avere d'accordo con Sir Henry Layard stabilita la somma di Lire Italiane 5000 (diconsi cinquemila) a remunerazione dell'opera di ristauo;

3. Finalmente avere ricevuto quest'oggi in anticipazione la terza parte della suddetta somma di L. 5000, cioè It. Lire 1666:66<sup>mi</sup>. Del resto suo [sic] Sir Henry Layard si obbliga di pagare al sottoscritto Sig. Cav. Er. Gentili la seconda rata, ossia il secondo terzo delle L. 5000 – quando il Cavaliere dichiarerà compita la metà del lavoro di restauro, il saldo poi alla consegna dell'arazzo. In fede di ciò mi sottoscrivo. Mi obbligo in tutto e per tutto e quanto sopra Eraclito Cav. Gentili<sup>368</sup>

The restoration had been so successful that the tapestry was valued at 80,000 francs by Morelli, and at 50,000 by Alessandro Castellani.

Interestingly enough, the Burgundian tapestry might not have been displayed on the walls of Ca' Capello for long, as were the other purchased in Constantinople. By 1885, it results that Layard told Thomas Armstrong in a letter that the tapestry was “too big for my house – whether in Venice or in London”, he expressed his willingness “to dispose of it if I ever had a chance to sell it at a good price. In the meanwhile, would the Authorities of the South Kensington Museum be willing to

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<sup>367</sup> This is the only written document I have found concerning restorations; agreements with Molteni or Cavenaghi appear to be no more extant. Curiously enough, this contract was included within the Layard catalogues at the National Gallery Research Centre.

<sup>368</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(vii)(e): Contract E. Gentili and A.H. Layard.

allow it to be suspended in one of their walls?”<sup>369</sup> The offer was accepted and few days later the tapestry was packed and addressed to the Science and Art Department.<sup>370</sup> Following the death of Sir Henry, Lady Layard renovated the loan through her lawyer, Louis Du Cane. At the same time, she asked for instruction and information as to the value and insurance of the article, as she believed that it was of “some value and probate duty is presumably payable upon its value”.<sup>371</sup> However, it was “contrary to the practise of the Dept.to place valuations on works of art”<sup>372</sup> and the matter remained suspended until 1897. By that time, the tapestry “required cleaning” and Lady Layard, who did not particularly care about it, thought it was better “taking it away & selling it”.<sup>373</sup> For this reason, Alan S. Cole, the Assistant Secretary of the South Kensington, “asked me if I would sell it to the Museum & asked me to write & mention a price”.<sup>374</sup> A few months later Lady Layard was able to inform the Director of the South Kensington Museum that “I have had [the tapestry] valued by two of the best experts in London”, namely two agents of Christie’s, “who tell me that is well worth £400”.<sup>375</sup> Due to the high sum requested and considering it quite faded, the Museum declined the proposal. The arras was then transferred to a certain Mr Trollope on 1 August 1899 and since then it is untraceable.<sup>376</sup>

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<sup>369</sup> NAL, MSL/1976/5451/5: A.H. Layard to T. Armstrong, Ca’ Capello, San Polo, Venice, 5 October 1885.

<sup>370</sup> See NAL, MSL/1976/5451/7: A.H. Layard to T. Armstrong, Ca’ Capello, San Polo, Venice, 22 October 1885.

<sup>371</sup> BH, MA1/L561: L. Du Cane to the Director of the South Kensington Museum, 2 August 1894.

<sup>372</sup> BH, MA1/L561: Minute paper, Science and Art Department, registered n. 73219/94.

<sup>373</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 29 January 1897.

<sup>374</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 29 January 1897.

<sup>375</sup> BH, MA1/L561: Lady Layard to the Director of the SMK, 2 August 1897. For the valuation she had consulted with Mr Woods; see LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 5 March 1897.

<sup>376</sup> BH, MA1/L561: Minute paper, n. 28805, 1 August 1899.

Although the pace of collecting had dramatically slowed down and his financial position did not allow him to buy extensively, Layard never gave up his interest in collecting. By 1885, Layard wrote to his friend Gregory

I saw a very dirty picture by Boccaccino at Baslini at Milan, which I should like to buy, but I have not the money at present. It would, I think, when cleaned (it is in good repair) be a fine thing. It is an altarpiece, and Baslini declares that he gave 7000 francs for it, which means, I presume, that he would take that sum for it.<sup>377</sup>

Nevertheless, three years later Layard followed Gustavo Frizzoni's suggestion.

Quando Ella fa una passeggiata ai Frari vedrà, che di faccia al fianco della chiesa sta un antiquario. Io vi entrai ultimamente e vidi al piano superiore [...] dodici graziosi quadretti (forse opere del 2° Bonifazio) rappresentanti altrettante figure, intese a raffigurare i mesi dell'anno. Ne chiedevano un migliaio di lire, ciò che trovai troppo forte. Se piacciono a Lei, che certo li potrebbe ottenere per meno, sarei lieto rivederli un giorno in casa sua. Però sono piccoli così, quanto poco più di una mano ciascuno.<sup>378</sup>

The collector's curiosity had been enticed by the possibility of buying something, during a relatively thin market period, however Layard claimed that "I have neither seen nor heard, of anything in the picture line worth having".<sup>379</sup> Though his first comment on the paintings was "not bad",<sup>380</sup> Layard resolved to buy them (NG3109.1-6, NG3110.1-6). Possibly he may have appreciated the fact that they

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<sup>377</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 972, fol. 59: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Ca' Capello, 17 May 1885.

<sup>378</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, via Pontaccio 14, Milan, 21 November 1888. Layard bought the purchase for 750 Francs.

<sup>379</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 57: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 8 December 1888.

<sup>380</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 57: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 8 December 1888.

once “formed part of a cabinet or some article of furniture”,<sup>381</sup> and these were to become the first specimen he would eventually possess, besides the two decorative panels by Romanino and Bonifacio. Frizzoni further suggested to him to have them restored by the Milanese painter and restorer Giuseppe Landriani (1824-1894)

Che se non è della abilità di Cavenaghi è pure persona coscienziosa e non priva di abilità [...] conosciuto anche da Morelli. S’Ella ne è persuaso li indirizzi pure a me tutti e dodici per renderli ben uguali nella leggiera riverniciatura che sarà opportuna, da poi che alcuni richiedono qualche piccolo r[e]stauro.<sup>382</sup>

Layard followed the advice and by the end of February the little panels were cleaned and ready to be displayed at Ca’ Capello in “two curious gilded frames [...] perhaps intended to evoke that of the ornamental cabinets of the late sixteenth century, since it was supposed that the paintings came from one of these”.<sup>383</sup>

The last documented acquisition corresponds to nine decorative panels of fruit and flowers by Lavagna, which Layard bought for 2500 Italian Lire (ca. £100).<sup>384</sup> Paradoxically, such a high expenditure does not correlate to any particular interest in still life, not even in seventeenth century paintings, which he considered simply decorative.

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<sup>381</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 61: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Venice, 29 December 1888.

<sup>382</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, via Pontaccio 14, Milan, 6 December 1888. On conservation, see Penny 2008, 314.

<sup>383</sup> Penny 2008, 316. See also BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXV, Add MS 38965, fol. 178: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, Milan, 21 February 1889.

<sup>384</sup> Layard gathered some information about the artist, see NG7/292/13(viii)(d).



## 1.7 Contemporary art

An account on Layard's collecting would be incomplete without a reference to his stance towards contemporary arts. As the probate inventory of the Layard Collection shows, the collection comprised mainly works of the early nineteenth-century academicians (e.g. M.A. Shee, T. Clarke), which Layard had inherited from the Austens, and other paintings whose subjects ranged from occasional modern history paintings, to landscapes (A. Nasmyth, J. Ward), and scenes of oriental taste (C. Werner, S.C. Malan, W. Allan, C. Landelle).

From an interesting letter to Lady Huntly, dated April 1856, it appears that Layard was in the habit of having "déjeuner artistique" with some friends, either collectors or artists. In this case the party included "the Godericks, Miss Fraser [...] Ruskin, Watts, Ros[s]etti".<sup>385</sup> In addition, Layard was a good friend of William Brockedon (1787-1854), with whom he had travelled around France and the Alps in 1835;<sup>386</sup> John E. Millais, with whom, as mentioned before, he also toured around Florence, George Frederick Watts (1817-1904), Frederick Leighton (1830-1896) and Edward Burne Jones (1833-1898), among others. He had also corresponded with Albert de Belleroche (1864-1944) and Daniel Maclise (1806-1870), the portraitist and friend of his uncle and aunt Benjamin and Sara Austen (BM, inv. 1976.0925.14-15, **Plate 6, Figures 32, 33**).<sup>387</sup> Nevertheless, Layard did not buy any paintings of these artists,

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<sup>385</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIV, Add MS 38944, fol. 47r: A.H. Layard to M.A. Gordon, 12 April 1856.

<sup>386</sup> See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXI, Add MS 39091: Original journal of A. H. Layard's tour in France, etc., 1835. Holograph.

<sup>387</sup> For his correspondence with Belleroche, see SBB, Slg. Darmstaedter: 1 1845: Layard, Austen Henry, fols. 1-3, 17-18.

on account of the high prices that their works fetched.<sup>388</sup> He only commissioned the portraits of himself and of his wife to some of his artist friends or to whom he had a personal connection, as was the case with Brockedon and Watts (**Plate 1, Figures 4, 5, 6**).<sup>389</sup> For instance, at Layard's request to have a chalk portrait, Watts replied that he had "latterly given up making drawings" but instead proposed to him an oil head for "100 guineas [ca. £95.24] a large price I know, and indeed I am rather ashamed of asking so so [sic] much but I have been in some degree influenced by the picture of my brother artists, and also by the necessity of paying my bills!".<sup>390</sup> A general account on the Layards' appreciation of living British artists is furnished by the journal of Lady Enid.

Henry & I went out in the brougham to Alma Tadema's house in St John's Road. He was very polite to us & showed us the 2 pictures he was finishing for the Academy. One a Sappho -& the other a very small picture the Death of Claudius so finely painted that he gave you a lens by which to examine it. Tho[ugh] only ab[ou]t a foot & half long it contains ab[ou]t 40 figures – We were very much struck by the decorations of the house – which is however too small & cockney to be really nice. The walls are a dull gold, the windows are composed of thin slices of marbles & precious agates thro' w[hic]h a wonderfully mellow light comes – There is a wonderfully inlaid piano on w[hic]h several celebrated people have played these have been made to sign

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<sup>388</sup> See Macleod 1996; Bayer, Page 2010; Fletcher, Helmreich 2011.

<sup>389</sup> William Brockedon, *A.H. Layard*, 1850 (?), pencil and chalk, 37.5x27cm, London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG2515(103); Richard Cockle Lucas, *A set of nine Victorian wax profile relief busts of Notoriety*, 1851, wax, 25.5x9cm, sold at London, Christie's on 14 Mar. 2001, lot 128; Patrick Park, *Portrait bust of A.H. Layard*, 1855, marble, 77.5x31.6cm, London, British Museum, 1922,0708.1; William Menzies Tweedie, *Portrait of A.H. Layard* [untraced, exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1856, no. 306]; Julia M. Cameron, *A.H. Layard*, 1869, albumen print, London, Victoria & Albert Museum, inv. 931-1913; William Blundell Spence, *Portrait of A.H. Layard*, 1880, untraced; John Warrington Wood, *Portrait of A.H. Layard*, 1881, Carrara marble, 64x37cm, London, National Gallery, NG5449; Charles Vigor, *Portrait of A.H. Layard*, 1885, oil on canvas, 120.5x80.5cm, London, British Museum, 1968,0518.1.

<sup>390</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LVI, Add MS 38986, fol. 325: G.F. Watts to A.H. Layard, 14 March 1860. The two portraits by Watts in the National Portrait Gallery are chalk heads and date to c.1852 (George F. Watts, *Sir A.H. Layard*, c.1852, black chalk, 59.3x48.4cm, London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG1006; Id., *Sir A.H. Layard*, c.1852, chalk on paper, 58.4x48.3cm, London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG3787). If these dates are real, it is most likely that Layard declined the artist's offer to have an oil head.

their names on a parchment w[hic]h has been purposely attached to the inside of the lid. Mme Tadema was in the drawing room as we returned from the studio. She is English & was a daughter of a Dr Epps. She has gold hair w[hic]h she wears very tangled & wore a shapeless garment of Louis XV silk very quaintly made. She was not absolutely pretty tho[ugh] picturesque. We drove round to Leighton's studio at Holland Park a good distance. Found a tremendous crowd there; did not much care for the pictures. Elisha reviving the Widow's son – a portrait of himself done for the Florence gallery – & another picture called an Idyll – a man with his back towards one piping to 2 affected girls who were lolling on the ground – They are all rather weak pictures. Leighton's house is lovely & he has an oriental room with old faience tiles & a fountain w[hic]h tho[ugh] beautiful does not seem well adapted [to] our cold climate. We went on to Mr Poynter's studio in Fulham Rd & saw his pictures a portrait of L[or]d Wharncliffe (weak), Helen of Troy (a portrait idealized) & a sketch of a future picture of Solomon receiving the Q. of Sheba w[hic]h promises to be fine. We met Mr Hallé and he took us into his studio next door but we saw nothing there worth remembering.<sup>391</sup>

On the contrary, the Layards had taken a more genuine interest in living Spanish painters, who seemed fairly promising to Sir Henry: "There are several young men who are following in the steps of [Mariano] Fortuny and have great ability. They excel especially in colo[u]rists".<sup>392</sup> For this reason, Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales (1834-1896), who Layard had already noticed at the Paris International Exhibition (1867),<sup>393</sup> was commissioned for a portrait of Lady Enid; a work that, during the sittings, was much praised by Sir Henry who enthusiastically wrote both to Lady Eastlake and to Boxall that it "promises to be a success, and if so it should be sent to

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<sup>391</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 3 April 1881.

<sup>392</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 94: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 11 May 1871. Jeremy Roe published a graph related to imports of Spanish paintings into Britain about 1870-82, which confirms this. See Roe 2010, 40.

<sup>393</sup> For the occasion the painter had been awarded a medal for *El sermón de la capilla Sixtina* (now Caja Duero, Salamanca).

the next Royal Academy Exhibition”.<sup>394</sup> As Sarah Symmons has observed “the Layards represented a North-European, post-Romantic style of aesthetic judgment which sought for realism and emotion in paintings with vivid colours and dramatic figures”.<sup>395</sup> Indeed, they possessed other works by Palmaroli and other lesser-known contemporary Spanish painters, i.e. Vicente Esquivel and Franco, representing the so-called *escenas costumbristas*.<sup>396</sup> “In the tableaux de genre were some clever things” Sir Henry had declared “but in the higher branch of art very little even reaching mediocrity”.<sup>397</sup> At any rate, Layard’s predilection for these painters would fade as soon as they started working in Paris for Adolphe Goupil. As he observed in a letter to Lady Eastlake

Fortuny is now here with the pictures that he has been painting for the devil, to whom he, and all the young Spanish Artists have sold themselves – Goupil. I am afraid that this disposal of their artistic souls will not do them much good. Fortuny is not improving by painting for French taste and the Boulevards. ‘Chic’ is the destruction of all art. Fortuny is still a master of colo[u]r but he is getting, I fear, into a careless way of drawing and painting – which suits the French and sells his pictures. Young Madrazo, Palmaroli and almost every young man of merit as a painter have bound themselves to Goupil – and cannot work for anyone else. They say that he pays them well while no one in their own country will give this an order – and there is, no doubt, some truth in this.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>394</sup> NGA, NGA1/1/44/9: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 15 Jun. 1870. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII Add MS 38972, f. 8, Layard to E. Rigby, 23 Apr. 1870. Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales, *Portrait of Lady Layard*, 1870, oil on panel, 101.5x78.5cm, London, British Museum, 1980,1216.1. None of the Royal Academy catalogues record the picture.

<sup>395</sup> Symmons 2000, 88.

<sup>396</sup> See NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), n. 66-69, 72. It appears that Palmaroli y Gonzales portrayed Layard conferring on him “an impudent, insolent look”, as the sitter commented in a letter to Lady Eastlake (BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 18: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 18 May 1871). The whereabouts of the picture are unknown. The Seville painter Vicente Esquivel was the son of Antonio María and Palmaroli brother-in-law. See Pantorba 1959.

<sup>397</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 31: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 7 January 1872.

<sup>398</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 40: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 29 October 1872. On Fortuny’s activity in Paris, see Montse Martí, ‘Stages of the artist’s development seen through the works exhibited’, in María Corral, ed., *Fortuny 1838-1874*, exh. cat. (Barcelona: Fundació Caixa de Pensions, 1989), 62.

With regard to French painting, a letter exchanged with Gregory informs us that Layard “admire[d] Millet for his effective simplicity and his touching mode of expressing the character and sentiment of the French peasantry who ought to feel highly honoured at having such a man to represent them. But I think that the value, if not the merits, of his pictures has been greatly exaggerated. The price paid for his ‘Angelus’, and his ‘Glaneuses’ seem to be simply ridiculous” Layard affirmed and added “I entirely concur in your judgement of Decamps as a colourist. He appears to me to hold the highest place in the French school of painting. I do not appreciate Corot”, but the “portraits by Bonnat [...] have much struck me”.<sup>399</sup> No comment concerning the Impressionists has been found in his correspondence.

With regard to the leading artist of the period for decorative arts, it is worth briefly recalling Layard’s relationship with the Vicentine metalworker Antonio Cortelazzo (1819-1903). The motivations behind his patronage of this artist were chiefly guided by the fact that Cortelazzo, as well as Alessandro Castellani, produced jewels and artefacts in a revival style.<sup>400</sup> Layard considered him the new Benvenuto Cellini and, as Judy Rudoe has pointed out, thanks to his support Cortelazzo gained international fame by exhibiting in London in 1871 and undertaking works for a distinguished group of collectors, such as the Empress Frederick (Princess Victoria Adelaide Mary), William Spottiswoode, William R. Drake, and Lord Wimborne, just to name a few.<sup>401</sup>

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<sup>399</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 112: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 6 October 1889.

<sup>400</sup> It is unsurprising that Cortelazzo’s artefacts were initially employed as forgery. For a complete account of Layard’s patronage see Rudoe’s contributions 1983, 1987 and 1991. See also Shifman 2004, at 200 and ss.

<sup>401</sup> See 1983, 66-7;

## 1.8 Considerations

In the light of this evidence, it becomes apparent that Layard's selective taste was simultaneously advanced and conservative. It found its realisation in the acquisitions of Spanish art and Armenian manuscripts, on one side, and of Italian Renaissance painters, on the other, which reveals that Layard maintained a sense of independent thought and consideration with his purchases. The character of the collection was well established by 1880, demonstrating a strong allegiance for paintings, notably of Venetian and Ferrarese masters; but nevertheless, the acquisition of an eclectic and varied selection of artworks was a crucial feature of Layard's consumption and this pursuit, as will be shown, also permeated throughout the domestic display of objects.

His concern for a representative history of painting was already in practice, though confined to public collections. Layard did not attempt to recreate a museum collection. On the contrary, his aim was to provide himself with a sufficient knowledge of art history through real specimens and primary sources of any kind, thus gaining the privileged title of collector. This vanity would result in Morelli's satirical and mocking comment labelling Layard a "vieux diplomati[que] retire, qui dévient collectionneur".<sup>402</sup>

As studies have already observed, Layard's collecting practices were affected by his unqualified financial power and market availability, but, I would argue, they equally engaged with a precise cultural identification with the nineteenth-century self-made man, in terms of both cultural and social position.<sup>403</sup> His insatiable thirst

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<sup>402</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVIII, Add MS 38968, fol. 95: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 1 Queen Anne Street, 4 June 1888. The episode relates to a satirical and fairly abusive pamphlet concerning *Kunstwissenschaft* that was written by Morelli in 1888. See Gibson-Wood 1988, 290-7; Uglow 2014, 26.

<sup>403</sup> Simmons 2000, 121; Penny 2004, 372-3.

for knowledge was no doubt the main driving force behind his collecting. Every place he visited furnished him with new material to investigate and the possibility to acquire deeper knowledge, as the Spanish and Turkish episodes have revealed. The result was a collection that could be intended as a powerful narrative of his life. He surrounded himself with a juxtaposition of beautiful objects and paintings of different chronological and geographical areas, each representative of a specific moment of his cultural experience, and far from being a mere souvenir. In addition, it is evident that Layard distinguished objects he really deemed of general importance, namely the Old Masters paintings, from those of a more personal meaning. This characterised his bequest from those he saw which did not make any selection and presented a collection in bloc to the National Gallery. The distinctive profile of the Layard collection, with its clear focus on Old Masters, is made abundantly clear when compared with other nineteenth century collections, marked by a strong diversity of styles and subjects. In addition to the collections of his fellow members of the Fine Arts Club, the extraordinary gallery composed by Gian Giacomo Poldi Pezzoli (1822-1879) represented another important reference for Layard, who might have known him since the early days at Molteni's studio.<sup>404</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> "Don't forget to go to [the] Poldi collection" recommended Layard to Gregory when about to visit Milan. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 2, 17 October 1887. On the history of the Poldi collection and his museum see Mottola Molfino 1993; Galli Michiero 2011.

## 2. Ca' Capello Layard, a Palace of Art

This section proposes to extend the discussion of the nature and pertinence of the Layard collections by focusing on the Venetian dwelling, in which they were lodged and displayed, and how access to those spaces was managed. In order to develop a deeper understanding of the meaning of the collections to their owners and their significance to contemporaries, who had access and how the location itself could have been used to characterise the collections or enhance the reputation of the collector himself will be also examined. In doing so, the chapter will consider how, in the late nineteenth-century, the consumption of an Old Master collection intersected with decorative arts and what cultural identification-appropriation was envisaged.

Despite any photographic trace that remains, a combined analysis of less-explored documentary sources, along with new evidence, provide evocative insights. A typewritten inventory of the paintings, compiled by Lady Layard in 1896, witnesses their exact disposition within each room, and adds some hints about their arrangement.<sup>1</sup> Analysis of the Layards' hitherto unpublished private papers, sales contracts, as well as paintings, handbooks, articles and auction catalogues enable new hypotheses to be advanced regarding the contents and display of the palace. By crosschecking of all this substantial amount of documentary material, it is therefore possible to reconstruct the conceptual and

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<sup>1</sup> To the typewritten catalogue 1896 I have devoted a paper, which originally appeared in *Predella*, 35 (2014), 53-78.



visual programme underlying the Layard collections, as well as the breadth of his interests.

Collections are not only to be intended as a dialectical interaction between spaces, objects and artworks, but primarily as a narrative formed by its creator. These constructed and evocative settings indicate, furthermore, how a Victorian man deployed art to tell about his personal story and emphasise his connection to national identity. In addition, this section attempts to answer the crucial question of how visitors might have interacted with the objects on view.

This chapter, thus, explores the mechanisms of display and reception at different levels, and shows how artistic value can be equally transferred from national to personal wealth and vice versa, and ultimately what circulation and re-semanticization it implies. For this conclusion to be framed with sufficient clarity, however, certain aspects of Layard's biography recur and are situated in a broader context.

## 2.1 "Parmi mes rêves un palais sur le Canal Grande tient place"

Unlike other members of the *Fine Arts Club* – Thomas Gambier Parry or Marchese Taparelli D'Azeglio, for instance<sup>2</sup> - Layard did not choose from the outset to acquire a property to house his collection. He rather had opted to lend part of it to national exhibitions or to museums until he found a mansion. Layard in fact had been longing to buy a dwelling on the Grand Canal from the early

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<sup>2</sup> On Thomas Gambier Parry, see Farr 1993. On Taparelli D'Azeglio's collection, see Maritano 2011, 41-4, 58-9.

1870s since he, as well as his wife, wished to spend part of the year there. Unlike the majority of their compatriots, who had settled in Florence or Rome, the Layards may “look forward to many years of peace and quiet in Venice”.<sup>3</sup> In September 1871 they were thus shown Palazzo Corner Spinelli, but the assessment seemed to them extravagant and, moreover, the building had “no sun during the winter”,<sup>4</sup> and therefore was hardly suitable for accommodating works of art. Just a few months later, through Niccolò Barozzi - then Director of the State Archive of Venice - Morelli referred to Layard that a compatriot of him, Owen Edward Williams, had recently died; hence, his residence on the Grand Canal was for sale. The heirs were willing to part with it as soon as possible, and asked for 100,000 Italian Lire (ca. £4,000), yet they were willing to accept 60,000 Italian Lire.<sup>5</sup> The palace in question was Ca' Capello, a building of no special distinction, but, as Barozzi had guaranteed, “di ottimo stato di costruzione e fornito di tutti i comodi e conforti immaginabili”.<sup>6</sup> Sir Henry, however, did not appear to be fully determined to buy it. In fact, he had no clear plans for the future, in particular with regards to his diplomatic career. Therefore, in reply to Morelli's encouragement to the purchase, he underscored: “Avant d'acheter une maison il fait bien réfléchir”.<sup>7</sup> In the meanwhile, on May 24, 1873 John and Alexander Malcolm - two Scottish brothers, agents of the Peninsular & Oriental Company - purchased the Ca' Capello for 50,000 Italian Lire. The sale was made

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<sup>3</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVI, Add MS 39006, fol. 164: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, 8 June 1875. On the Anglo-American communities in Italy, see for the Roman community, though at the end of XIX century, Huemer 2005, Strehlke 2017; for Florence, Paolini 2013, Fantoni 2000.

<sup>4</sup> LLJ, Venice, 18 September 1871.

<sup>5</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 125v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 25 December 1871.

<sup>6</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 125v: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 25 December 1871. “Oggidi il palazzo Cappello non offre nella sua semplicità cosa alcuna che possa attirare l'attenzione dell'amico delle Arti Belle”. G. Tassini, *Alcuni palazzo ed antichi edifici di Venezia storicamente illustrate* (Venice: Tipografia M. Fontana, 1879), 220.

<sup>7</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 158: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 3 January 1872.

by means of the Vice Consul General of Venice, Edward Valentine, acting as attorney for Mr Thomas Randal Wheatley, who was Owen Edward Williams' heir.<sup>8</sup> A year later Valentine – who had since become Consul for Capo Verde Island - would perform the same role for Henry Layard.

In 1874, during their usual summer stay in Venice, the spouses took the opportunity to see some properties “in case we carry out our wish of buying a house here”,<sup>9</sup> penned Lady Layard in her journal. Notably, they were shown Casa Dario and Casa Alvisi, later acquired by their friend Katherine Bronson, but finally resolved to buy Ca' Capello, or Ca' Capeo.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, on October 1 of that same year, Valentine was authorized to stand as proxy for Layard. The Italian Consul of Madrid, Aurelio Alcon, drew up the act, which was undersigned by two members of the same Legation: the Chargé d'Affaires Count Alberto Maffei di Boglio, and the Secretary Giulio Franchetti.<sup>11</sup> By October 31, it was possible to conclude the sales contract. Thereby, Layard came into possession of

Un palazzo in Venezia, Sestriere, Comune Censuario e Circondario di S. Polo, Parrocchia di S. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Calle Grimani agli anagrafici n. 2034, 2035 [...] colla cifra di Lire 666.206 nel censo stabile attuale descritto al mappale n. 1305 per Casa Civile colla superficie di Pertiche 0.50 (Ari 5) e la Rendita Censuaria di Lire 712 ed imponibile di Lire 3000 [...] La compravendita viene stipulata dietro il convenuto corrispettivo d'Ital. Lire 72.500 settantadue mila cinquecento, le quali vennero già pagate dal Sig. Layard ai Sig. Fratelli Malcolm che fanno pel prezzo della compravendita piena quietanza.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Venice, ASVe, Notarile, II Serie, Antonio De Toni, b. 3595, n. 7910/866, 24 May 1873.

<sup>9</sup> LLJ, Venice, 1 August 1874.

<sup>10</sup> See LLJ, Venice, 24-25 August 1874. Lady Eastlake was amused by the fact that “all speak some venetian – wh: consists in leavng out every possible consonant – so that this house is Ca' Capeo”. Sheldon 2009, 435.

<sup>11</sup> ASVe, Notarile, II Serie, Angelo Pasini, b. 2371, n. 4801/2306, Sub A, 1 October 1874.

<sup>12</sup> ASVe, Notarile, II Serie, Angelo Pasini, b. 2371, n. 4801/2306, 31 October 1874. See also ASVe, Censo stabile attivato, San Polo, mappale 1305, 3 November 1874, petizione n. 111.

## 2.2 Ca' Capello

Ca' Capello was a XV century building, whose “whitewashed & plain”<sup>13</sup> façade had been once adorned with mythological frescoes by Paolo Veronese and Giovan Battista Zelotti (**Plate 13, Figure 53**).<sup>14</sup> This does not seem, however, to have been known to Layard, who never mentioned it.<sup>15</sup> In 1887, the Layards even had the façade painted in “old Venetian red”<sup>16</sup> and bedecked with a typical Venetian decorative feature, the *patere*, as well as with their coat of arms – an operation intended to give a sound historical underpinning and to convey an impression of severe dignity to the palace.<sup>17</sup>

Overlooking the Grand Canal at the corner of the Rio of San Polo, Ca' Capello “is capitally situated and gets all the sun that there is to be had”<sup>18</sup> from both façades, since it was slightly positioned towards the centre of the Grand Canal. The palace was, therefore, a most adequate place for a picture gallery, where paintings could be fully appreciated.

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<sup>13</sup> LLJ, Venice, 25 August 1874.

<sup>14</sup> Most of the fresco decoration perished soon after its realization and was greatly damaged by a fire in 1627. Antonio Zanetti was thus able to engrave only the remaining frescoes by G.B. Zelotti and included them in his volume *Varie Pitture a fresco de' principali maestri veneziani. Ora la prima volta con le stampe pubblicate* (Venice, 1760), X-XI, ill. 15-18. Few coloured specimens have survived and are housed at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cicognara.X.3471; Bibliotheca Hertziana, Ca-ZAN 390-3601; Houghton Library, Harvard. For a full account on these coloured copies, see Piva 2015, 160, 164, ill. 11. On the history of the palace and its frescoes see also A. Lotto, *Aspetti della committenza veneziana*, unpublished Doctoral thesis submitted to Università Ca' Foscari Venezia (2009), 117-119.

<sup>15</sup> This is rather curious because Sir Charles Eastlake had a copy of the Zanetti in his library [NGA, NG Lib. (O.S.) NH 1076.3 Zanetti].

<sup>16</sup> LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 25 January 1887. The intervention was criticised in a Venetian guide: “Cappello (ora A. H. Layard). S. Polo – stile del decadimento semplice che vorrebbe essere lombardesco. Il recente restauro tolse lo scarso effetto di quella facciata la male suggerita tinta rossa, e peggio l'abbassamento a lastroni di marmo di Carrara”. E. Volpi, *Tre giorni a zig-zag per Venezia e isole* (Venice, F.lli Visentini, 1888), 80-1.

<sup>17</sup> See also BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 35: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 24 October 1887: “From your account the exterior adornment of your house, Ca' Capello, with marble panels must look lovely at the corner of the two canals now that it has the colour and material befitting a Venetian Palace”. In addition, cf. Régnier 1913, 322.

<sup>18</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 47: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Aldermaston, 20 August 1876.

From a description of the house along with a plan, made by Lady Enid for her sister Maria, details can be gleaned concerning the momentary disposition of the piano nobile in 1875 (**Plate 13, Figure 56**).

We have on 3 sides of us the water and therefore we are very wiry. Like all Venetian houses it stands crooked. We have been obliged to have our bedrooms rather a long way from the dressing room but (as no one else sleeps on this floor it does not matter). We also make the Long Gallery the dining room as it is airy and cool. There is a very pretty corner room which is hung with old red damask silk. The others are hideously papered. The red silk drawing room looks on to and up the Grand Canal as the house opposite it on side canal stands back a good bit. We are having all our pictures out from England and are going to get Morelli here to help and advise about hanging them. The lower floor is very pretty but rather low and for the present the servants are living there as [\*up to] their rooms upstairs we are having a staircase made.<sup>19</sup>

At the beginning, Ca' Capello was simply intended “as a pied-à-terre”, and Layard noted that, “if we don’t go we can always let the house so as to give a very fair return for one’s money”.<sup>20</sup> Indeed, they intended to let the upper floor in order to “get about £80 a year”,<sup>21</sup> and they seemingly succeeded in doing it since by 1880 Layard would write to Morelli that “J’ai l’intention de me défaire de mon [\*locataire], et d’occuper toute la maison”.<sup>22</sup> However, when Lady Eastlake spent there the winter season 1876-77 there,<sup>23</sup> she was lodged in the apartments on the

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<sup>19</sup> PRL, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fols. 2r-2v: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875. I am indebted to Stefania Ermidoro for generously sharing this information. See also LLJ, 31 January 1901: “I arranged the dressing room for a dining room so as to keep on the 2nd floor altogether while it is so cold”.

<sup>20</sup> OBL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fols. 58, 59: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 September 1874.

<sup>21</sup> PRL, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fol. 2v: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875.

<sup>22</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 297v: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Therapia, 21 Mai 1880.

<sup>23</sup> NLS, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 7 FitzRoy Sq., 16 August 1876, also in Sheldon 2009, 419.

first floor<sup>24</sup> and the only expenses she faced were to “pay & keep [Layard’s] servants, & pay the taxes for the time”.<sup>25</sup>

Besides, the palazzo had been purchased as “a delightful place for repose and the enjoyment that one requires [...] when the time of rest comes”.<sup>26</sup> Eventually, the decision to make his abode in Venice came in 1881 and stemmed from a necessity to find a low budget place, refined though not too expensive, to settle down, “renouncing the pomp and amenities of the Ambassadorial world”,<sup>27</sup> as Layard openly admitted to Lady Eastlake. The situation, therefore, was reversed and the spouses then “propose[d] to seek for a small house in London to serve as a pied-à-terre for a part of the year – the remainder [they would] spend at Venice where [they could] live pleasantly and comfortably”.<sup>28</sup> The much-coveted ambassadorship to Rome had not been attained;<sup>29</sup> notwithstanding, he continued acting as an ambassador for the royalties who visited Venice. Ca’ Capello Layard indeed enjoyed the reputation of “one of the gayest and most liveable of Venetian

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“Whether Venice proves (on further enquiring) to be, what some assure me it is, decidedly anti-rheumatic. For me any place warmer than Engl[an]d & tolerably bright will do, but my sister needs to be thought of. I apply to you, before enquiring much further, for in case of there being any barrier to y[ou]r kind willingness to entrust y[ou]r home to me, I sh[oul]d at once turn my attention in another direction – & still in Italy [...] I think of starting the end of October & should like to be in Venice from 3 to 4 months”. See also BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 46: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Eastnor Castle, 17 August 1876; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 47: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Aldermaston, 20 August 1876. Lady Eastlake sojourn is mentioned also in a private letter to Sir Gregory, see OBL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 75: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 30 November 1876.

<sup>24</sup> NLS, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 14 January 1877. For the whole text see the Appendix.

<sup>25</sup> Sheldon 2009, 435. Lady Eastlake also wrote to Layard: “I have asked Mr Malcolm what sh[oul]d be Antonio’s full pay for board & service weekly – he promises to tell me. I shall beg Mr M: to continue to be paymaster”. NLS, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 14 January 1877.

<sup>26</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 137: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 17 December 1874.

<sup>27</sup> NLS, MS 42338, fol. 22: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Rome, 21 January 1881. As Waterfield (1963, 457) commented, “Leave on full pay had ended in the autumn. [Layard] had lost about £5,000 in the failure of his banker Willis Percival, a few years earlier, so that there was a problem of money, for the Layards had acquired a liking for good living with plenty of entertaining”.

<sup>28</sup> NLS, MS 42338, fol. 22: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Rome, 21 January 1881.

<sup>29</sup> If the plans had worked and Layard had obtained office as Ambassador in Rome or Berlin, the couple would have taken “a house in London & settle down & take to public life again”. LLJ, 2 July 1880.

residences”<sup>30</sup> and, in addition, it was a hive of cultural activities, where the most illustrious personalities of European society mingled, such as the Empress Frederick and her son Kaiser Wilhelm, Princess Charlotte of Prussia, Queen Alexandra, the Crown Princess of Greece, Count Paul von Hatzfeldt-Wildenburg, Lord Kitchener, the Dukes of Sermoneta, the Baroness Angela de Reinelt and many more.<sup>31</sup> As John Pemble correctly said,

Although Ca’ Cappello is one of the smaller palaces on the Grand Canal, Layard and his wife never contrived to make it intimate. Their style of life was public rather than private, and the atmosphere of their Venetian home was more institutional than domestic.<sup>32</sup>

Accordingly, it is no coincidence that just in 1880 the palace underwent a more systematic renovation project “in the prospect of making Ca Capello the gem of the Gran Canale [sic]”.<sup>33</sup> The couple had “the rooms on the waterfront lined with wood and parquettèd [forming] a very comfortable suite of three bed rooms and a sitting room for friends”,<sup>34</sup> so as to create a more dignified environment, befitting their social role and economical possibilities. In fact, this sequence of rooms - that commanded a view over the Grand Canal - corresponded to the State Apartments and provided a backdrop of sociability. They were a focal point, as well as a remarkable opportunity for aesthetic display and self-representation. In these light and spacious rooms, Sir Henry had provisionally arranged part of his painting

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<sup>30</sup> E.M.P., ‘Lady Layard. A personal reminiscence’, *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 November 1912.

<sup>31</sup> Most of the names that visited Ca’ Capello are listed not only in Lady Layard’s Journal, but also in her autograph album (1881-1912), now in the repositories of the BL, Western Manuscript, Add MS 50149.

<sup>32</sup> Pemble 1985, 35.

<sup>33</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVI, Add MS 39006, fol. 164: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, 8 June 1875.

<sup>34</sup> NLS, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880. With regard to the flooring, the Layards installed “parchetti a grandi riquadri intarsiati”. ASMVe, Protocollo 18862/59, b. X/7/5, Descrizione generale dell’immobile.

collection since 1875 and the most valuable pieces of furniture included a Portuguese wooden bed that Lady Layard later adorned with an angel she had modelled.<sup>35</sup> The palace, thus, was rearranged into two principal stories: on the ground floor there were the kitchens, storerooms, and some guest rooms.<sup>36</sup> The piano nobile was occupied by a Long Hall, a Dining room, a Drawing room, a Music room with a harmonium and other instruments, a Boudoir and a small card room.<sup>37</sup> The second floor was reserved for the use of the couple: there were the bedrooms, the dressing rooms, Sir Henry's library and a studio for Lady Layard,<sup>38</sup> the servants had rooms in the attic. The remaining rooms were organised for friends and guests.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> As regards the arrival of the paintings at Venice, see Venturi 1912, 456. For the damages to the boxes, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 225: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 9 June 1875.

On the Portuguese bed, see LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 17 July 1906: "I got some clay & began to model a sketch of an angel kneeling w[hic]h I want to make to put into the niche of the old Portuguese bed I have downstairs". The work was almost completed by 16 October 1911, when Lady Enid jotted down in her journal: "I finished modelling the wings of my little guardian angel which I purpose putting into the niche at the head of the big Portuguese wooden bed in the Royal apartment downstairs". It must be kept in mind that beds still represented one of the major objects articulating interiors in XIX century.

<sup>36</sup> On October 28, 1882, they experienced a flood due to a high tide, which Lady Layard described in her journal: "All our cellars were full of water & our coals & wood floating about". The kitchen was furnished with a "Cucina economica", as reported by Rawdon Brown. London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 15v: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, Venice, 9 May 1876.

<sup>37</sup> Some of the changes are also reported in Edinburgh, NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880. In 1906 Lady Layard "went to see Guggenheim & settled with him about painting the ceiling & walls of the small card room next my boudoir. It is to be done for 123 fcs & promises to be very nice". LLJ, 26 July 1906.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Edinburgh, NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.

<sup>39</sup> Morelli, for instance, had a room reserved for himself, as appears from a note to Malcolm. BL, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 242: A.H. Layard to A. Malcolm, Madrid, 10 February 1876.



## 2.3 Setting the stage

Soon after securing the palace, the Layards had the pictures sent there<sup>40</sup> and added “a back staircase and servant’s entrance – so as to turn the hall into a pleasant sitting or dining room”.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, they had the walls of the rooms covered with precious hangings and suite of tapestries, fully in keeping with the aristocratic look they pursued. A black bound volume with notes on their Spanish stay reports, among a wider range of information, the prices of some the fabrics bought specifically for Ca’ Capello.<sup>42</sup> The “hideously papered”<sup>43</sup> walls were then to be ennobled: those of the future *Music room*, for instance, would be dressed in old dark crimson silk hangings – entirely in compliance with Waagen’s advice.<sup>44</sup> Carpets, which were purchased by the Layards had during their time in Spain and Turkey, as well as in Venice, were put “down in all the rooms”.<sup>45</sup> As Lady Layard’s journal records: “Rubelli brought some Oriental carpets & we bought 2 for the centre drawing room”;<sup>46</sup> and later on “the Turk brought the [big green] carpet & after much bargaining I got it for 670 lire. We think it a bargain. I had it put down in the little green boudoir”.<sup>47</sup> In fact, the collection contained over seventy specimens and a huge number of fabric hangings, either old patterns or modern imitations of the old. The Boudoir would be lined with green brocatelle; the Dining room, one of the last to be decorated, with old brocade based on the

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<sup>40</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 61: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, Madrid, 8 May 1875.

<sup>41</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 62: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, The Retreat, Bere Regis, Blandford, 22 August 1875.

<sup>42</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXIII, Add MS 58171, fols. 96-122.

<sup>43</sup> PRL, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fol. 2v: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875.

<sup>44</sup> See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIX, Add MSS 58187. Cf. Waagen 1854, 7, 157.

<sup>45</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 386: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, Venice, 16 December 1876.

<sup>46</sup> LLJ, 4 November 1890.

<sup>47</sup> LLJ, 7 February 1902.

example of Countess Pisani's long room<sup>48</sup> – further proof of their intent to emulate the model of old Venetian palaces.<sup>49</sup>

With regard to furniture, the Layards had bought en bloc that of the late Consul General of Venice, William Perry, since they considered it clean “coming from an English house” and this had saved them “from the trouble of furnishing peace-meal”, and besides, allowed them to “have ornamental furniture enough to make the house look pretty”.<sup>50</sup> However, this “scratch lot” would “all go upstairs” – specified Layard – “when we take possession of our second floor, and we intend to have some handsome furniture in our ‘state rooms’”.<sup>51</sup> In the absence of a detailed inventory, it is impossible to determine what kind of furniture and decorative art pieces were installed at Ca' Capello. However, as emerges from the Roman auction catalogue (1939), most of the furniture (i.e. secrétaires, fauteuil, console) was in the style of Louis XIV, XV and XVI, which of course continued to represent “the epitome of good taste within plutocratic circles”.<sup>52</sup> In general, as Henri de Régnier later reported, “les appartements [...] parurent élégants et confortables, meublés moitié à l'anglaise moitié à l'italienne”.<sup>53</sup>

Furthermore, the Layards had singled out antique architectural elements and furnishings, for instance “a large old iron candelabra to hang in the middle of [the]

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<sup>48</sup> LLJ, 26 August 1880: “Went out in the gondola with Henry to C[ounte]ss Pisani's house to see the decoration in her long room to decide whether we w[oul]d have our dining room done like it. We decided to have the colour but I found a better pattern on some old brocade”.

<sup>49</sup> In fact, Lady Layard recorded in her journal that she could not stand the “terrible furniture of the early Victorian gothic of the fifties” which adorned the Giovanelli Palace. See LLJ, 2 October 1904.

<sup>50</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, f. 38: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 13 March 1875. See also PRL, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fol. 1v: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875. From Consul General W. Perry they bought also the crockery, see NLS, MS 42337, fol. 82: E. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 14 December 1876.

<sup>51</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 85: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 19 January 1877.

<sup>52</sup> Lasic 2012, 194.

<sup>53</sup> Régnier 1913, 323.

gallery”,<sup>54</sup> stools and settees, as well as screens, all intended to give the interiors an air of ceremony and formality. In line with Lady Layard’s interest and passion for lace, furniture covers, and cushions were richly embroidered or upholstered by Luigi Trapolin.<sup>55</sup> Great attention was paid to elements of display, several custom-made supports had been commissioned in order to distribute and exhibit the various objects they were progressively accruing. Among these were frames, shelves and other pieces of furniture like stands.<sup>56</sup> In compliance with their passion for Renaissance-style craftsmanship, the Layards commissioned several items to Giuseppe Biraghi, a Venetian wood carver, and a table to the celebrated “worker in tarsia”<sup>57</sup> Federico Lancetti<sup>58</sup>. In Castagnolo, Sir Henry bought “a very pretty writing table like those used by the monks”<sup>59</sup> for 650 francs from Count Pelagi to furnish Lady Layard’s studio. Notable was also “a circular table-top composed of specimens of Sicilian agates and jaspers” that Layard had received from George Dennis, a member of the British Consular Service, “as a token of my

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<sup>54</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 27 July 1875. They bought it at Michelangelo Guggenheim’s.

<sup>55</sup> On lace see Brazzà Savorgnan, 1893, 52. Cf. LLJ, 30 August 1880: “Spent a long time with the upholsterer settling about making of curtains, covering of chairs &c.”; then on 9 September 1882: “The upholsterer brought back the chairs we gave him to cover for the drawing rooms”. The name of Luigi Trapolin is reported in the Commercial Guide of Venice under the heading “Carpenters”: “Trapolin Luigi, falegn., s. Samuele corte del Duca, 3046”. *Guida Commerciale della città di Venezia per l’anno 1875* (Venice: Tip. Antonelli, 1875), 43.

<sup>56</sup> LLJ, 12 April 1899: “Louie gave me as a surprise a beautiful large old book rest to stand in the drawing room. It is a thing I have wanted since I saw one in the Queen of Italy’s room this winter. It is very decorative”; LLJ, 13 April 1899: “Arranged drawing room furniture & put the new book stand in the middle drawing room where it looks lovely”.

<sup>57</sup> LLJ, 15 October 1884. The table was to cost 230 francs and had “a little decoration to [the legs]”. Within a couple of months, Lancetti forwarded the case to Venice by stating that he had done his best “per accontentare lo squisito gusto che Ella [A.H. Layard] possiede nel genere di disegno classico” (BL, Add MS 58166, fol. 175: Letter F. Lancetti to A.H. Layard, 22 December 1884).

<sup>58</sup> Federico Lancetti (Bastia Umbra, 1817 – Perugia, 1899) participated to several International Exhibitions, notably in Paris (1855), Florence (1861), London (1862), Vienna (1873), and Milan (1881). In Florence he was awarded a prize medal for an inlaid wood table-top, which was purchased by the King Vittorio Emanuele II for Palazzo Pitti (Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Quartiere degli Arazzi, Anticamera di Bona). It is likely that due to this international acclaim, Layard might get to know him, and notably through the purchase of a marquetry panel (inv. 2716-1856) made by the South Kensington Museum in 1855. On Lancetti see Fidanza 2006, 283-7, and Colle 2007, 68-71, 446.

<sup>59</sup> LLJ, 23 October 1884.

unbounded admiration of your character and talents, and more especially to testify my grateful sense of your unvarying kindness towards me, when I had the honour of serving under you”.<sup>60</sup> Yet most of the items had been bought at dealers and antique shops, especially “chez les riches marchands du Grand Canal, Vincenzo Favenza, Giuseppe Nani, Rietti, Guggenheim, ces célébrités commerciales, ces musées de la vieille Venise”.<sup>61</sup>

## 2.4 The management of the palace and la *Grammaire de l’ameublement*

Sir Henry had entrusted his “special agent”<sup>62</sup> Alexander Malcolm with “everything connected with [Ca’ Capello]. He is a very able man and a very shrewd Scotchman, he has made himself a very prominent position in Venice and is much looked up to”.<sup>63</sup> As a matter of fact, Layard had no doubt that “our interests were always safe in his hands, and we knew that for however long we might be absent, our house and servants were looked after by him as if they were his own”.<sup>64</sup> Rawdon L. Brown offered his help to supervise the arrangement of the palace, “in fine apple-pie order”.<sup>65</sup> In this respect Lady Layard’s diary entries

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<sup>60</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXIX, Add MS 39099, fol. 139: G. Dennis to A.H. Layard, 6 December 1892.

<sup>61</sup> Toudouze 1877, 60-1.

<sup>62</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 42: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 16 December 1875.

<sup>63</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 42: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 16 December 1875.

<sup>64</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII Add MS 38972, fol. 95: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 12 February 1893. The Layards discovered that they had been robbed in 1880. Their gondolier, Antonio, and his wife stole piecemeal their belongings (embroideries and blankets included) and sold some of them to the Monte di Pietà. Cf. NLS, MS 42338, fol. 13: Letter A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Ca’ Capello, 30 August 1880 and LLJ, 7-8 June 1880.

<sup>65</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 386: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 16 December 1876.

record many details, and complement those present in the letters to her relatives, such as in this instance.

For servants, we are living in the Italian fashion. We have 2 gondoliers who clean the house etc. etc. [sic], wait at table and row the gondola. A kind of charwoman who comes for the day. She is to make her appearance at 7 am to clean my room and Hill's and then to retire to the kitchen for the rest of the day.<sup>66</sup>

In addition, in the journal she would detail: "The wages of the gondoliers 2¾ lire a day for Caetano & 2½ for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Pietro the latter to sleep in the house".<sup>67</sup> Another primary and interesting source on this topic is the correspondence with Giovanni Merlini, the trustworthy "Maestro di Casa" who served the couple from 1860 to 1883.<sup>68</sup> His letters to Lady Layard allow us to appreciate the level of attention that went into managing and displaying choice objects at Ca' Capello, of which Enid was the real mastermind. She knew perfectly how to represent and legitimise their social role by attending to the rules of respectability concerning the dwelling. As Ulrike Müller well observes: "Women's roles in and contributions to the arrangement and display of the collections of their husband-collectors in the house might have been substantial, as their involvement in the field of interior decoration was common and considered appropriate for middle- and upper-class wives at the time".<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> PRL, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fol. 2v: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875.

<sup>67</sup> LLJ, 5 June 1875.

<sup>68</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 69r: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Ca' Capello, San Polo, Venice, 7 November 1883. For the extant correspondence between Giovanni and Lady Layard, see London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XVIII, Add MS 58166, fols. 149, 151, 154, 157, 158, 162, 164: Letters G. Merlini to E. Layard, 20 March – 15 May 1882.

<sup>69</sup> Müller 2017, 430. For a thorough analysis of the topic see also Pavoni 1992, at 29-44; Zanni 1997, 128, 130.

The extant letters from Giovanni, for example, shed light on the interesting process of choosing, acquiring and installing decorations and objects. Not only did the servant participate in the “hunting for curiosities”,<sup>70</sup> but he also had to

Take over the silver, china and glass and to gather the scattered things together, some pieces of the china and glass [has] been broken as well as some pieces of the furniture, as small tables and stools which requires mending. The stove in his Excellency’s Office is completely burnt and cracked, it would be better to have it replastered at once. Yesterday I have been gardening all day and I set all the clocks to work. [...] I told [Mr Malcolm] about your Ladyship desiring to make a partition in a bed-room.<sup>71</sup>

In fact Giovanni superintended all kind of works, of major and minor importance, and reported them accurately; for example that “Pepe is making a new gondola and he had the carved pieces done with His Excellency’s coat of arms in the centre”,<sup>72</sup> or that Cortelazzo was “making a nice stand for the teapot vase for Lord Wimborne”.<sup>73</sup>

Not only the devised schemes had to respond to demands of functionality – for instance, carpets were used in winter for insulating reasons, or to prevent dust, “that curse, from flying up to the Pictures”<sup>74</sup> – but more importantly these schemes had to comply with a distinctive feature of display: performance. This meant to be impressive and, of course, was closely related to occasional time and reasons of representation. In this new culture where people committed to public life through intellectual and economic exchange, as Bourdieu has pointed out,

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<sup>70</sup> LLJ, 1870. Giovanni was also in charge to buy a Turkish carpet for Morelli, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fols. 251, 252: G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, s.d. 1878, 7 August 1879; Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 291: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 1 August 1879.

<sup>71</sup> BL, Add MS 58166, fol. 149: G. Merlini to E. Layard, 20 March 1882 (?).

<sup>72</sup> BL, Add MS 58166, fol. 157v: G. Merlini to E. Layard, 31 March 1882.

<sup>73</sup> BL, Add MS 58166, fol. 151: G. Merlini to E. Layard, 26 March 1882 (?).

<sup>74</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVI, Add MS 38996, fol. 66v: J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, 8 February 1869.

sociability and refinement could but be cherished and valued as much as wealth. Thereby, it was essential to orchestrate a backdrop for social events and arrange the display in the most appropriate composition of lamps, artefacts, tools and musical instruments. Having a significant impact on space, tapestries were usually hung during these public and social activities, such as weekly receptions, musical evenings, tableaux vivants, even a cinematograph during the later years, and of course, the arrival of important guests.<sup>75</sup> Illustrative in this sense is the postcard taken for the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria (**Plate 13, Figure 54**), which shows the façades of Ca' Capello Layard sporting flags and banners of Britain and their families, the Layards, Guests, Austens and Berties (June, 20 1887).<sup>76</sup> In this light, it could be said that the relationship between the object and their surroundings was deeply redefined on account of sociability.

The necessity to be comfortable and at ease were, no surprise, to be taken into consideration, along with functionality and the need for parade. It is unsurprising that “parole come home, privacy, comfort nella loro originaria locuzione inglese entravano non a caso nel vocabolario continentale [...] per designare un concetto di domesticità e una nuova attenzione al suo involucro che avevano in Inghilterra il loro modello più compiuto”.<sup>77</sup> Accordingly, Lady Layard would comment about Madame Stern’s palace at San Barnaba:

She put the whole thing into the hands of a 2<sup>nd</sup> rate artist here [Raffaele Mainella] by name, a man who has evidently no idea of the wants of the life of a lady & he has therefore made domes & mosaics & put up pictures &

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<sup>75</sup> See LLJ, 15 December 1911.

<sup>76</sup> Waterfield 1963, 472. See also LLJ, 21 June 1887.

<sup>77</sup> Selvafolta 1990, 372.

statuettes & sheets of alabaster behind w[hic]h are electric lamps. The whole thing is one huge mistake & must be very uncomfortable to live in.<sup>78</sup>

Behind the apparent necessity to arrange the palace according to personal tastes, the distribution of Ca' Capello underwent the models and rules dictated by the etiquette and the lexicon of the widespread manuals and magazines on interior decoration. Principal among the sources to which the Layards might have referred, notably Lady Enid, was the celebrated volume *L'Art dans la maison* by Henri Havard, a copy of which was included in their Venetian library.<sup>79</sup> Thereby, it was true that “il n'est personne, en effet, [...] à qui ce guide précieux ne soit nécessaire, indispensable même, car le bon gout a sa place marquée dans toutes les habitations, aussi bien dans les plus humbles que dans les plus magnifiques”.<sup>80</sup>

Besides satisfying their curiosity by seeing ancient aristocratic Italian palaces, the Layards also looked for inspiration to furnish and arrange Ca' Capello suitably. In recounting a visit to Count Maffei di Boglio at Brussels, Enid appreciated his collection and enjoyed examining carefully “the pretty things everywhere hanging, silver plates, silks, tapestries, faience &c. &c”.<sup>81</sup> Unsurprisingly, she admired very much Longford Castle, where she said they “were in admiration of the lovely things [...] and the beautiful order everything was in – the pictures were wonderful [...] Some of the galleries have lovely furniture & hangings of Venetian cut velvet – there is china – enamels & every kind of interesting things – notably a splendidly worked steel chair made at

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<sup>78</sup> LLJ, 3 April 1912. On Palazzo Stern, which can only be touched upon here, see Fuso, *Mescola* 1984, 17-8.

<sup>79</sup> The volume is listed in the Roman auction sale catalogue. See Guglielmi 1939, 82, lot. 980.

<sup>80</sup> Havard 1884, VII-VIII.

<sup>81</sup> LLJ, Brussels, 24 May 1886.



Augsburg for the Emp. Maximilian II”.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, preference was accorded to the Venetian model, in particular to Palazzo Pisani on the Grand Canal and Villa Pisani at Vescovana, Palazzo Albrizzi, or Palazzo Morosini Gatterburg at Santo Stefano, of which Lady Layard gave a throughout description in her diary.<sup>83</sup> The restoration of Ca’ d’Oro, which Baron Franchetti had been conducting since the early-1890s, also pleased her.<sup>84</sup> On the contrary, she described the interiors of Palazzo Cavalli Franchetti and in particular “the famous staircase” as “a nightmare of marbles false gothic & indifferent bas relief”.<sup>85</sup>

Framing had a key role in interior decoration and greatly contributed to the display. It must be kept in mind that it was of paramount importance “to unify the walls [and to] harmoniz[e] their visual aspect”,<sup>86</sup> and therefore to match pictures to palaces and decorative schemes. Nevertheless, it seems that Layard was chiefly concerned with the impact that the frame might have on the picture itself, rather than that on the whole interior decoration.

From the 1820s onwards, it was a common and widespread practice to have reproductions of old frames. In fact, “reframing pictures on acquisition was one tendency. Another was the regilding of frames”<sup>87</sup> and both are quite apparent in the case of Layard’s paintings. In line with the vogue of gilding that “was seen as a neutral boundary which enhanced the colour of a painting”,<sup>88</sup> most of his pictures had a gilt frame, be them genuine or a reproduction. Despite the lack of documentation for framing, a letter from Rawdon Brown provides significant information about that of the *Portrait of Mehmet II*, for which Layard seemed to

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<sup>82</sup> LLJ, Inwood, Henstridge, Somerset, 7 April 1885.

<sup>83</sup> LLJ, 27 October 1882.

<sup>84</sup> LLJ, 25 January 1898.

<sup>85</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 12 April 1907.

<sup>86</sup> Amendola 2014, 231.

<sup>87</sup> Simon 1996, 118.

<sup>88</sup> Simon 1996, 16.

have commissioned a pair of medals in the style of Gentile Bellini to Antonio Cortelazzo

For insertion in the frame of his portrait. I had supposed, that the frame was to be carved at Vicenza, and therefore did not send them to London; but if you are employing a native artist, let me know how they should be forwarded, so as to reach you with the least loss of time; and in the meanwhile remember, that the diameter of Mahomet's medal is 3 1/2 inches English measures: and that to a certain extent, must regulate the design of the frame, so bear with me, if I bore you about these particulars.<sup>89</sup>

From an examination of the surviving frames in the storerooms of the National Gallery, it is evident that the majority of Layard's frames were made on acquisition or restoration, and when made on purpose for a painting, they were conceived to be historically in keeping with it. As was customary, the most recurrent typologies employed were gilded frames carved with stylised leaves, scrolls, or flowers, composition ornament on ogee mouldings, otherwise simple cassetta frames, but also Renaissance tabernacle frames (such as NG3102). The provenience is generally English and Italian, Spanish in case of old frames purchased in Madrilenian antiquity shops. Another revealing detail, which emerges both from the extant frames and old photographs, is that most of them were labelled with the name of the artist, such as in a public gallery. This can be seen, for instance, in the case of the *Vestal, Virgin Tuccia* by Moroni (NG3123).

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<sup>89</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXII, Add MS 38992, f. 256: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 1 March 1866. See also Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 392.

## 2.5 Exploring Ca' Capello Layard

No photograph of the interiors of the palace has come to light yet, and the only visual source is represented by the interesting drawings of Lady Augusta Gregory (**Plate 13, Figure 57; Plate 19, Figure 64; Plate 20, Figure 67**). Nonetheless, several disparate descriptions provide a glimpse of the layout of the rooms and their arrangements. In particular, Sir Henry's correspondence with his most intimate friends, like Giovanni Morelli, William Gregory, Lady Eastlake or Rawdon Brown recounts the space of Ca' Capello. Later articles and accounts on the painting collection and especially the typewritten catalogue (1896) provide further details on the display of the pictures. By complementing and lumping all these sources together, it is possible to reconstruct an ideal visit of the Ca' Capello Layard starting from the waterfront entrance (**Plate 13, Figure 57**), where the guest was greeted by a servant and afterwards would ascend the main stairs to meet the host in person.<sup>90</sup> Nonetheless, the Nineveh marbles and the other archaeological reliefs that adorned the stairwell immediately announced the owner, whilst harking back to his successful enterprises in the Middle East.<sup>91</sup> Through a wooden doorway with the inlaid coat of arms of the Capellos, one was introduced to a Long Hall facing the canal of San Polo, through a stained glass window, as Charles Vigor depicted in the *Portrait of Lady Layard* (**Plate 14, Figure 58**). The floor, laid with the peculiar terrazzo alla Veneziana, was covered with precious Oriental carpets, chairs were lined up along the walls; the ceiling, which had been "taken away [presented] the beams left uncovered, thereby

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<sup>90</sup> Cf. Régnier 1913, 323-4.

<sup>91</sup> "I marmi rapportati dagli scavi siriaci e incrostati lungo le scale". Levi 1900, CCXLI.

lightening the room & giving the true Venetian look to the house”,<sup>92</sup> as Lady Layard reported in her journal.

It is evident that the most valuable artworks were paraded in the portego and arranged through a clever game of mirrors, which introduced the visitor to Layard’s personal story. At the same time, Sir Henry “intend[ed] to fit up the long hall as a kind of Museum, with a number of cabinets”.<sup>93</sup> Nevertheless, the system of picture hanging he adopted was rather distant from the clarity and consistency he claimed for a public gallery, whose foremost aim was to instruct and educate. At Ca’ Capello the pictures were organised following an artful personal and domestic scheme, yet devised under Morelli’s supervision.<sup>94</sup> As Susanna Avery-Quash clearly pointed out, there was a substantial convergence between Layard and Eastlake’s bias for distinguishing the kind of arrangement in public and private spaces, fully “in keeping with most contemporary practice, mirroring, for instance, the published opinions of Mrs Jameson”.<sup>95</sup> In Layard’s case, there was neither differentiation of schools, nor by themes. Each room juxtaposed examples of Venetian, Lombard or Ferrarese masters, a variety of subjects and techniques, and eventually incorporated decorative and applied arts. It seems therefore that this kind of display sought to be simultaneously representative and unique. Although at first glance it might have appeared controversial, Layard pursued an aesthetic discourse that required a comparative way of looking, whilst engaging

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<sup>92</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, 3 September 1903. Thanks to a letter from Brown, it can be inferred that “the “teraseri” had been at work on the floors” soon after the acquisition of the palace. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 15v: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, Venice, 9 May 1876. With regards to the chairs, mainly bought at Rietti’s, see LLJ, Ca’ Capello, 6 June 1876.

<sup>93</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 85: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 19 January 1877.

<sup>94</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLII, Add MS 38972, fol. 38: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 13 March 1875; LLJ, July 1875. With regard to this, Jaynie Anderson (1987, 118) quotes an interesting letter Morelli addressed to his friend Niccolò Antinori: “Ieri mi occupai della distribuzione di questi 50 quadri nelle 4 sale, e domani si darà principio al collocamento di essi, fra I quali ve n’ha mezza dozzina di molto importanti e rari”.

<sup>95</sup> Avery-Quash 2015, 22.

the beholder to unravel the hidden connections between the artworks themselves, while also detecting their narrative bonds with the owner. Such an exemplary scheme offered, indeed, the possibility to make equally aesthetic, stylist, geographical, and historical comparisons, and yet to detect the subordination of aesthetic to the function superimposed *a posteriori* by its owner.

The Long Hall introduced the visitor to the art collection in the palace; therefore, it had to be an impressive space attesting to the owner's personal aspirations, and "manifest[ing the] 'public' persona in private",<sup>96</sup> as Annalisa Zanni has compellingly argued. Here one was welcomed by the *Portrait of the Sultan Mehmet II* by Gentile Bellini (NG3099), set on an easel at the centre of the room and surrounded by Persian and Caucasian carpets, panoply of Persian arms and armour,<sup>97</sup> Hispano-Moresque plates,<sup>98</sup> and "the big V[enetian] glasses".<sup>99</sup> All these items, redolent of Layard's studies and sojourns in the East, were effectively imbued with a clear political and social message, as well as an identity.<sup>100</sup> The portrait of the Sultan Mehmet II - "an especially appropriate work for the former ambassador of Constantinople"<sup>101</sup> - occupied a focal point of interest in the hall. Its commanding position was meant beyond doubt to establish an ambitious visual narrative between the original message of the painting and Layard's diplomatic aspirations; "toute la physionomie exprimait un mélange singulier d'orgueil,

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<sup>96</sup> Zanni 1997, 126.

<sup>97</sup> Régnier 1913, 323. On armours, see BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XC, Add MS 39020, f. 84, R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 12 May 1878: "Amongst the many people taken by me to see the house was Baron Koller, a very old friend of mine and who was Austrian minister in London in 1848, has delight at the sight of the Persian armour is not to be told". A pair of Spanish armours were lent to the Venice Exhibition in 1881, see Catalogue 1881a, 5, n. 25, 6, n. 34.

<sup>98</sup> LLJ, 23 August 1881: "Superintended the putting up of the [M]oorish plates in the long gallery which took all the morning".

<sup>99</sup> LLJ, 20 September 1880.

<sup>100</sup> In Appadurai's terms (1994, 82), political is to be intended here "in the broad sense of relations, assumptions and contests pertaining to power".

<sup>101</sup> Penny 2004, 375.

d'astuce, de volonté".<sup>102</sup> In fact, as Alan Crookham has clearly set out, rather than its artistic worth,

For Layard the significance of a portrait painted as part of a fifteenth-century diplomatic mission between east and west would have had a historical and sentimental resonance in its documentary importance and its evidential representation of that original Venetian mission.<sup>103</sup>

The display, moreover, corresponded to a precise intent to symbolic transposition of his public role in a domestic space; what Rosanna Pavoni has defined the "enunciazione retorica del valore e dei valori (economico e sociale) della famiglia".<sup>104</sup> Being illustrative of the most significant episodes in Layard's life, the items served to communicate the invisible materiality that is one's own past within an ethic and aesthetic narrative. This discourse was easily smartened up by showing things side-by-side.

The result was a blend of Oriental allure and Italian tradition, but nothing akin to Frederick Stibbert's exoticism or to what Gabriele D'Annunzio would later display in his extravagant residencies.<sup>105</sup> Here everything was finely nuanced by the Victorian etiquette of decorum, and thus far away from performing opulent aesthetic or environmental displays, which could not be deemed socially attractive.<sup>106</sup> The arrangement was devised to a degree of countenance and altogether judgement and dignity. It is not by chance that Murano glass was here profusely displayed. It perhaps best exemplified how Layard's otium and

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<sup>102</sup> Régnier 1913, 324.

<sup>103</sup> Crookham 2015, 31.

<sup>104</sup> Pavoni 1992, 66.

<sup>105</sup> On Stibbert see Aschengreen Piacenti 2001, Di Marco 2008. On D'Annunzio's taste see Guerri 2018; Terraroli 2001; Cristina 1980.

<sup>106</sup> Kerr (1865, 85-6) suggested that "persons even the most exalted in station and dignified in demeanour shall seek relief in their private retreats by the adoption of simplicity" and therefore advocated "that decoration and display [would] be kept within moderate bounds".

negotium were intertwined prudently: glass was one of the principal commercial strands in which he was involved – The Venice and Murano Glass and Mosaic Company – and represented the ultimate and best results of the application of art into industrial manufacturing. Thereby, the presence of Murano Glass concurred in enhancing his identity as a proud self-educated man and entrepreneur, whose variety of interests attested to a complex intermingling of fine and decorative art, and commerce in a domestic atmosphere.

Accordingly, on those same crammed walls there hung a little fresco fragment with the *Head of St. Peter*, which Layard had attributed to a follower of Giotto. This illustrated the first phase of his buying, dating back to the 1850s, when he particularly favoured frescos of which he acquired portions of by Spinello Aretino, Pietro Lorenzetti, Bartolomeo Montagna, as aforementioned.

Interestingly, in 1892, the Long Gallery was complemented by “nine decorative pictures of fruit and flowers by Lavagna”.<sup>107</sup> Despite having no particular value, they were included in that grand decorative scheme of the portego and besides testified to the last documented addition to the painting collection.

The presence of the armchairs, as well as the descriptions of several receptions, revealed the twofold use of the room: it was equally a space for exhibiting art and a living room. Yet one can see how this intellectual and cultural pursuit led also to consumption. Works of art were, in fact, a close complement to domestic life, so much so that from an account of Lady Gregory we know that Layard used a Spanish Gothic silver-gilt ‘custodia’ by D’Arfe “to decorate his table”.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, f. 82: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 7 January 1892. See also Venturi 1912, 457.

<sup>108</sup> Gregory 1973, 160.

In a similar degree, Alfredo Melani said:

The various objets d'art harmonise admirably with the pictures and charm the eye without undue insistence upon their number or their preciousness [...] the residence of Sir Henry Layard has none of that character which demands the hushed voice and silence tread as in a museum, but remains the home of a gentleman of good taste, to whom perhaps the great picture galleries do not give a sufficiently convincing proof of their utility.<sup>109</sup>

The visit proceeded along the *Dining Room*, once used as a bedroom. There, two large canvases by Lorenzo Costa (NG3103-04) were hung oppositely to the *Saint Jerome* by Savoldo (NG3092)<sup>110</sup> and “next to this, for comparison, a photograph of the drawing in the Louvre”,<sup>111</sup> with which Morelli had recognised a connection and thus re-established the right attribution (previously attributed to Titian).<sup>112</sup> Thereby, Layard intended to elicit discussion with the visitor, possibly a connoisseurial conversation.

It is likely that on the shortest sides of the room there showed *The Entombment* of Andrea Busati (NG3084) and – as Brockwell observed in his article of 1912 – “over the door near by”<sup>113</sup> the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Bernardino Licinio (NG3075) was displayed. Since it was one of the State Rooms, it adequately included the portraits of two sovereigns, i.e. the one of *Charles IV of Spain's wife* by Juan Carreño de Miranda (**Plate 30, Figure 30**) and that of the

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<sup>109</sup> Melani 1913, 304.

<sup>110</sup> Brown 1896, 218.

<sup>111</sup> Brockwell 1912.

<sup>112</sup> Morelli 1880, 254, no. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Brockwell 1912.



*Doge Niccolò Marcello's* (NG3100), which, upon receiving it from Boxall, Layard had commented: “Conviendra à notre Ca’ Capello”.<sup>114</sup>

The display of this room, however, was later modified by Lady Layard, who introduced two pictures by and after Rosalba Carriera (NG3126-7). Sir Henry bought them on purpose for Enid’s studio, “perhaps specifically to encourage her own efforts as an amateur artist”,<sup>115</sup> as Penny rightly conjectured. However, Lady Layard rather deemed them worth being exhibited and, in 1899, decided to move them “where they are seen”,<sup>116</sup> and clumsily chose the space next to the Licinio.

Before passing to the following room, I would like to stress on the significant importance of the position of the Savoldo. Once again, the canvas was placed prominently, both in the room and in the typewritten catalogue (where it is described first), because of its meaning. Effectively, it epitomised a turning point in Layard’s acquisition policy, then marshalled by Morelli. The picture, as aforementioned, was among the first and most valuable purchases of the Lombard masters.

As indicated by the typewritten catalogue, the visitor passed into a “very pretty corner room which [was] hung with old red damask silk”<sup>117</sup>, labelled the First drawing room. It hosted twenty-three more pictures by Old Masters. The information provided by this script, though woven with other sources, is too summary to draw any definite conclusions on their disposition. Considering the dimensions of the room (about 41 square metres), however, it can be argued that

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<sup>114</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 21 November 1876.

<sup>115</sup> Penny 2004, 374. It is noticeable that Lady Layard deployed the prints, as well as the paintings in her husband’s collection, as primary and inspiring sources for her entertainment be they the watercolour copies for the charity sales of the Sailor’s Institute or models for the *tableaux vivants* she organised at Christmas.

<sup>116</sup> LLJ, 28 November 1899.

<sup>117</sup> PRL, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64, fol. 2r: E. Layard to M. Guest, 9 June 1875.

the paintings were hung rather densely, a characteristic of Victorian taste.<sup>118</sup> An added difficulty is ascertaining whether the rococo decoration of the room – still present nowadays - was covered or integrated within the picture display. It seems more likely, however, that it was completely hidden by the silk hangings, suffice it to mention Layard's general assessments of XVIII century painting and his necessity to uniform the walls. In addition, no description of the room's decoration survives.

In the middle of the ceiling an oval panel was inserted representing two mythological figures, *Flora and Zephyrus* (?), most probably by Antonio Zanchi,<sup>119</sup> framed by plaster rising moulding with reverse profile and beading at the slight edges (**Plate 15, Figure 59**).

Two of the walls are adorned with a linear stucco frame with flower wreath and a cascade at the centre. They enclose the main panel (114.7x155 cm), which is flanked by a wall sconce with a single figure at each (567x354 mm). In both cases the support are ceramic tiles surrounded in their turn by a further plasterwork frame, even more elaborate. The principal panels are decorated with scenes taken from Giandomenico Tiepolo (**Plate 15, Figure 60**). The main panels show a copy with variations of *L'Arracheur de dents (or Cavadenti)* and *Scène de carnaval, ou Le Menuet*, whose originals are in the Musée du Louvre (inv. R.F. 1938-99; R.F. 1938-100).<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> Layard himself would declare: "I have no more room for pictures – my walls are crammed". NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.

<sup>119</sup> This attribution to Zanchi has been discussed and approved by Dr Sebastian Schütze, during the Doktorandenkolloquium held at Villa Vigoni (Lovenno di Menaggio, 26 February – 1 March 2018). The composition recalls that proposed by Giandomenico Tiepolo at Ca' Rezzonico (1730-35).

<sup>120</sup> It is worth mentioning that a different version of these scenes could be found in the Papadopoli palace, with which the Layards were, evidently, well acquainted.

The sconces represent four stock characters: the Capitano, his lover, a servant and Colombina. Between the two windows towards the Grand Canal stands a chimney with a sixteenth-century polychrome marble jamb.<sup>121</sup> The inside, rear wall of the fireplace displays a typical English delftware decoration, widely used for living room hearths; namely, tin-glazed tiles painted in blue or manganese designs in the Dutch manner. Over the mantelpiece now stands a mirror inscribed, in its turn, in a rococo stucco frame. On the contrary, Lady Eastlake had described there *The Virgin and Child with four Saints* by Bonsignori (NG3091),<sup>122</sup> and at the sides of the fireplace two little panels in the style of Bergognone with *St. Paul* and *St. Ambrose* (NG3080-1).<sup>123</sup> In her sketch dated 1875, and thus prior to the refurbishment, Lady Layard named it the red silk drawing room, but throughout the journal and letters as corner drawing room. Following the systematic description given by the typewritten catalogue, we know that the room huddled together *The Adoration of the Kings* by Bramantino (NG3073), *Christ Blessing* by Previtali (NG3087), *The Adoration of the Shepherds with Angels* by Lorenzo Costa (NG3105), twelve little panels representing the labours of the months (NG3108.1-6, NG3109.1-6), an *Allegorical figure* by Cosmè Tura (NG3070), the *Triptych* by Hugo van der Goes (NG3066), the *Sacra Conversation* by Garofalo (NG3102) beneath a *Saint Catherine of Alexandria* by a Ferrarese painter (NG3118), which was believed by Lady Eastlake to be “a very pretty specimen of [Garofalo]”.<sup>124</sup> The inventory proceeded with *Christ bearing the Cross* by Giampietrino (NG3097), which also appears in a pen drawing by Lady Gregory.

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<sup>121</sup> “The man came about putting in the new chimney piece in the corner drawing room”. LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 22 January 1894.

<sup>122</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 14 January 1877, quoted in Sheldon 2009, 429.

<sup>123</sup> NGA, NG3080-1 Dossier: E. Layard to E. Poynter, 24 October 1896.

<sup>124</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 14 January 1877, quoted in Sheldon 2009, 428.

Though its verisimilitude can be argued, this drawing represents one of the few, if not the only, surviving visual record of Ca' Capello interiors and allows for speculations on the arrangement of the artworks throughout the room. Notably, it reveals the tendency of disseminating and juxtaposing quite a large number of pieces throughout the room. On the table are arranged a statue protected by a glass dome, some vases, and a table clock, in front of the Giampietrino one recognises the clay bust of Sir Henry, later sold with the Japanned table clock in the Roman auction (**Plate 19, Figure 64**).<sup>125</sup> Lady Gregory's drawing, therefore, reflects a taste for integrating decorative art and ornaments in an eclectic way.

The disposition of the paintings within the catalogue continued with a *Weeping Magdalene* (NG3116), under which hung *The Nativity* by Ludovico Mazzolino (NG3114), *Saint John the Baptist* by F. Buonconsiglio (NG3076), two portraits by Moroni (NG3128-9), *Saint John the Baptist, Saint Zeno and a Female Martyr* by Bartolomeo Montagna (NG3074), the *Mystic Figure of Christ* by A. Cicognara (NG3069), the *Holy Family* once attributed to Sodoma (NG3125), the *Portrait of a Man* by Raffaellino del Garbo (NG3101), a *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt* by a follower of J. Patinir (NG3115), and *Pegasus and the Muses* by Romanino (NG3093). It therefore appears true what Charles Eastlake had said in his own case

A certain congruity is sometimes to be accomplished, by attending to impressions rather than the names and schools. Many an Italian picture would not be out of place with the Flemish and Dutch school; while

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<sup>125</sup> The sculpted bust over the pedestal was the clay model of the marble one now at the British Museum, which Layard's friends had commissioned to Joseph Edgar Boehm (BM 1891,0613.27). The clay bust, auctioned at Rome (Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot. 96), was bought by Baron Basil Lemmermann (Christie's 1976, 46, lot. 255). The pendulum can be identified with that illustrated in Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot. 270, ill. II.

Vandyck [sic], Ruysdael, Cuyp, and others, might sometimes harmonise in may respects with the genius of the south.<sup>126</sup>

Furthermore, the first drawing room seems to contain an image of the household, and precisely “the last record of [Sir Henry]”.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, it should display the portrait of Layard (**Plate 17, Figure 61**) that Lady Enid had commissioned to Ludwig Passini, “the Austrian artist, who excels in water-colour portraits”,<sup>128</sup> as she defined him. Aside from its high price, the watercolour responded to Lady Layard’s desire to celebrate her husband publicly (this intent is further evidenced by her support to place Boehm’s bust in the British Museum,<sup>129</sup> the exhibition of the same watercolour at the Venice International Exhibition in 1899, and maybe also at Burlington House in 1892); thereby, the choice to collocate it within the drawing room may be hers.<sup>130</sup> Its presence in there should be dated after 1894, since Horatio Brown recorded it in his essay for *The Magazine of Art*.<sup>131</sup> This, however, contrasts with what would be said during the lawsuit *Layard v. Bessborough* (1913-17), concerning Sir Henry’s bequest to the National Gallery of London. On that occasion, Lady Augusta Gregory, who was an intimate friend of the Layards and had sojourned several times at Ca’ Capello, affirmed that just the Layards’ portraits by Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales “were hung in a Reception Room at the Casa Capello,

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<sup>126</sup> Eastlake 1848, p. 343, reported in Avery-Quash 2015, 22.

<sup>127</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 156: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 9 December 1890.

<sup>128</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVII, Add MS 39097, fol. 32: E. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 4 January 1891.

<sup>129</sup> See *St. James’s Gazette*, 12 June 1891.

<sup>130</sup> Layard always considered the portrait “a piece of senseless extravagance”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 156: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 9 December 1890. It appears that Lady Layard paid it “6000 fcs. It is rather a large one for us to give, but the portrait is so fine I am to pay it”. LLJ, 10 March 1891. Cf. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVII, Add MS 39097, f. 49: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 1 March 1891.

<sup>131</sup> Brown 1896, 219.

[though] separate from the Old Masters. The others [portraits of the spouses] were all hung in [their] London house”.<sup>132</sup> Augusta Gregory appears to have visited the palace for the last time in 1909.<sup>133</sup> Hence, the watercolour might have been already transferred to England – perhaps after 1899, when it was lent to the Third International Exhibition at Venice.<sup>134</sup> Nevertheless, the presence of Sir Henry’s portrait – within the Venetian drawing room – was meant to suggest a more intimate setting, in addition to being a reception space. The picture served to attest and celebrate Layard as an educated man in his last years, although he complained about having been portrayed “like an old Jew dealer in his bric-a-brac shop [...] writing at [the] table – covered with books, papers, objects of art, etc. – truly, to repeat an old [J]oe Miller, in the character of a ‘littler-ary’ [sic] man”.<sup>135</sup> In fact, the watercolour epitomised what Layard himself had declared to Morelli only few years before: “Je crois me reconnaître dans le vieux diplômât retiré, qui devient collectionneur!”<sup>136</sup>

At any rate, the interplay between the objects and the sitter is compelling and once more does not conceal a sense of pride: Layard emerges from piles of books, geographical maps, scrolls, and seals neatly scattered. In the foreground, above the desk, one can recognise a silver ink stand, probably one of those sold in the Roman auction,<sup>137</sup> a bowl and other archaeological objects, a photograph, an

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<sup>132</sup> NGA, NG14/3/6: Affidavit of Augusta Gregory, 30 March 1915, no. 124.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. LLJ, 5 June 1909.

<sup>134</sup> ASAC, 3. Esposizione Internazionale d’Arte della Città di Venezia (1899), sala F, Austria-Ungheria, Ludwig Passini, *Ritratto del fu Sir Henry Layard*, id. opus 86608. Cf. “*Ritratto del fu Sir Henry Layard di Lodovico Passini*. È il ritratto del famoso Enrico Layard, l’ambasciatore inglese, scopritore delle rovine di Ninive e che tanto tempo di sua vita abitò qui a Venezia. Questo acquerello è veramente squisito di fattura”. *Guida popolare di Venezia e della III Esposizione d’arte con 62 vedute* (Venice: Tipografia del Gazzettino, 1899), 79.

<sup>135</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVII, Add MS 39097, fol. 30: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 4 January 1891.

<sup>136</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVIII, Add MS 38968, fol. 95: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 4 June 1888.

<sup>137</sup> See, Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot. 584.

aryballos with black figures, maybe the one that Suleiman Bey, the Viceroy of Rhodes, gave them as a souvenir,<sup>138</sup> the gold pocket watch donated to Layard by the Sultan Abdul Hamid II,<sup>139</sup> and a compass.

The watercolour, in addition, opens a further window on a space mainly reserved to the master of the house and sometimes used for supper. It was not usually visited and did not require to be mentioned or described.<sup>140</sup> Thereby, the painting represents an interesting source to bridge this gap, by showing part of the interior décor. This had to be functional and meet the masculinity needs of the space, severe, solid and austere, here acknowledged by the dark wood colour of the bookcase (perhaps mahogany or walnut, as most of the furniture auctioned in Rome), the chair with embossed leather and a spacious, linear desk. Layard's studio contained also the library, "le complément inéluctable du cabinet de travail [...] pour tout esprit cultivé, pour tout homme qui pense et qui réfléchit, une compagnie aimable, sûre, discrète, [...] consolatrice aux mauvais jours, aux jours heureux".<sup>141</sup>

Adjacent to the first drawing room was the music or second drawing room, where chiefly Lombard and Veneto painters could be found, two of Layard's greatest passions. The wooden beams of the ceiling were embellished, at the centre, with a copy after the tondo representing *Music* by Paolo Veronese in the Libreria Marciana (**Plate 18, Figure 62**), which Sir Henry had commissioned to a certain Mr Caldara (1875/6), an acquaintance of Rawdon L. Brown, who seems to

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<sup>138</sup> "Before we left Suleiman B. presented me with an old terra cotta Greek vase w[hic]h he said had been found in the town". LLJ, 14 September 1879.

<sup>139</sup> The pocket watch was presented through Lady Enid to Layard "as a specimen of Turkish workmanship". LLJ, 18 February 1879. The last time the item was traced was at Sotheby's, London, 6 October 2010, lot. 344.

<sup>140</sup> An exception was made for the Queen of Italy, as we will see below.

<sup>141</sup> Havard 1884, 437.

have realised other copies for Layard, along with giving painting lessons to his wife.<sup>142</sup>

In continuity with the first drawing room and in order to revive paintings, the walls were soon adorned with red silk hangings, which Lady Enid had collected while in Spain, and Mr Malcolm had put them up by mid December 1876.<sup>143</sup> With respect to the previous room, the paintings here displayed were less in number but of larger size. The dedicated section of the typewritten catalogue began with *Christ baptising St. John Martyr* by Paris Bordone (NG3122), *The Vestal Virgin Tuccia* by G.B. Moroni (NG3123, it appears in the left side of **Plate 13, Figure 55**), *Saint George and a female figure* once attributed to Palma il Vecchio (NG3079), which Lady Layard, however, had described “in the dining room over the doorway”,<sup>144</sup> then there was *A Man Praying* by Moretto (NG3095), *Augustus and the Sibyl* by an early Venetian painter of XV century (NG3086, it appears on the right side of **Plate 13, Figure 55**), and *Christ Nailed to the Cross* by Gerard David (NG3067). One could also “examine the long unfinished picture representing the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon”,<sup>145</sup> with which Layard was really delighted (NG3107); the *Portrait of Leonardo Salvagno (?)* by Moroni (NG3124), over the door towards the boudoir stood *Dives and Lazarus* by

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<sup>142</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVIII, Add MS 39008, f. 339: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 31 October 1875; fol. 372: 25 November 1875; Vol. LXXIX, Add MS 39009, f. 40: 16 December 1875; fol. 131, 24 June 1876; Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 386: 16 December 1876. As to Lady Layard’s painting lessons see LLJ, 25 July 1874.

<sup>143</sup> “I long to see the red silk hangings in the music room. I collected the silk here bit by bit for the purpose, and I am now trying to find enough for the curtains and have already got some pieces”. Edinburgh, NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, f. 89v: E. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 2 February 1877. On Malcolm’s intervention see LLJ, 22 June 1876; and BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 386: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 16 December 1876. Cf. also NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 14 January 1877, quoted in Sheldon 2009, 428.

<sup>144</sup> NGA, Dossier NG3079: E. Layard to E. Poynter, 24 Oct 1896. The Paris Bordone was bought for 1000 Italian Lire, from the art dealer Marcato, Venice, in the summer 1876. See NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 87: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 19 January 1877.

<sup>145</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 85: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 19 January 1877.



Lambert Sustris (NG3106),<sup>146</sup> and the little *Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin* by Girolamo da Vicenza (NG3077). After 1880 Sir Henry had also moved into the room the large *Adoration of the Kings* by the workshop of Giovanni Bellini (NG3098, 109.9x208.9cm), so as to make it “better seen”.<sup>147</sup>

The canvas filled “the whole end of the room”<sup>148</sup> and concluded the list. Beneath those “figures in the costumes of the Janissari[e]s and of Turks of various classes and ranks of the time”,<sup>149</sup> Lady Layard used to have tea or Turkish coffee with her guests.<sup>150</sup> Their long stay at Constantinople, as well as their cosmopolitanism, provided the excuse to perform those rituals, which found a visual appeal in the artworks and a tangible reminder in the furniture displayed. Such was the case of this room, where the *Adoration of the Kings* conversed with the Moorish wooden mother of pearl inlaid hardwood occasional table, which can be seen in this portrait picture of Lady Layard of late 1890s, early 1900s (**Plate 13, Figure 55**). The traces of the exotic were cast off, clung to domestic habits and personal reminiscence, which immediately destroyed their foreignness.

Social practices aside, the visit ended in the boudoir: a small-scale intimate space that featured pictures befitting a lady, such as devotional paintings, illuminations, still life, and even scenes of spouses, which had to give “the impression of the most refined comfort”.<sup>151</sup> The walls were lined with a green broccatello that the Layards had “made at Venice by some people near the Rialto (Agnini [sic], I think is their name) who have attempted to revive the old Venice

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<sup>146</sup> See NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 11 March 1877 quoted in Sheldon 2009, 440.

<sup>147</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 85: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 19 January 1877.

<sup>148</sup> Brown 1896, 219.

<sup>149</sup> Layard 1887, 305.

<sup>150</sup> “I led [the Emperor and the Empress] into the drawing rooms & the Empress & I sat in the centre drawing room on the sofa under the great Gian Bellini, & began to chat & I had Turkish coffee served”. LLJ, 15 April 1909.

<sup>151</sup> Waagen 1854, 409.

brocatelle”.<sup>152</sup> The colour was perceived together with red as a mid tone, and therefore chosen to brighten the room. Besides, it might chime well with the stucco cornice of the ceiling painting, the latter representing “Diana and Juno with twenty or so putti” (**Plate 18, Figure 63**).<sup>153</sup> In fact, the decoration of the room garnered much praise. Lady Eastlake wrote to Sir Henry: “I can assure you that the green silk in Enid’s boudoir is perfection I never saw a more beautiful green – & it is quite the right thing for your pictures. If Venice were to revive in all respects as well as in this brocatello she w[oul]d soon be as great as ever”.<sup>154</sup>

Lit by a three-mullioned window by day and by silver sconces found in a Venetian antique shop<sup>155</sup> by night, the boudoir “contain[ed] the gems of the collection”<sup>156</sup> in the pursuit of exhibiting magnificence and splendour: *The Virgin and Child with two kneeling angels* by A. Previtali (NG3111); a miniature cut representing a Jesse tree probably by Girolamo Genga (NG3119); a *Madonna and Child* by the workshop of Giovanni Bellini (NG3078); another illumination, the *Initial B* (NG3089, now at the BM); *Christ baptising Saint John the Baptist* by Moretto (NG3096); two *Holy Conversations* by Cima da Conegliano (NG3113) and a North Italian painter (NG3094); *The Annunciation* by Gaudenzio Ferrari (NG3068.1-2) hung “above a fine cabinet”,<sup>157</sup> as indicated by Horatio Brown; a *Madonna* by the workshop of B. Luini (NG3090), the *Sparrow* by Jacopo de’ Barbari (NG3088); the *Portrait of a lady* in the style of Van Dyck (NG3112); the

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<sup>152</sup> NLS, MS 42337, f. 92: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 23 February 1877. The Commercial Guide of Venice reports under the headings “Fringes stripes and braids” and “Silk, wool, cotton yarns”: “Agnino Gio. Battista e fratelli, rappr. da Agnino Nicolò, S. Bartolomeo campo 5045”. *Guida Commerciale della città di Venezia per l’anno 1875* (Venice: Tip. Antonelli, 1875), 50, 71.

<sup>153</sup> Penny 2004, 374.

<sup>154</sup> NLS, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 11 March 1877 quoted in Sheldon 2009, 440.

<sup>155</sup> Layard might have bought them from an art dealer, see LLJ, 17 June 1876.

<sup>156</sup> Brown 1896, 219.

<sup>157</sup> Brown 1896, 220.

*Departure of Ceyx* by Carpaccio (NG3085), whose beauty would deserve a note by Gabriele D'Annunzio;<sup>158</sup> the little panel with a naval battle (NG3108); the *Virgin and Child with Saints* by F. Bissolo (NG3083, **Plate 19, Figure 64**); the portrait of *A Man with his Wife* (NG3117); another *Virgin and Child with Saints* by Cima da Conegliano (NG3112), and lastly the *Portrait of a Man* by Jacometto Veneziano (NG3121).

As Henri Havard would later point out in his manual: “Le boudoir est, par excellence, le sanctuaire de la maîtresse de maison”.<sup>159</sup> It is unsurprising that it was Enid's favourite room. She kept there her ephemeral collections there until the 1880s, when she moved it to her own studio upstairs. From her journal it is apparent that she had outfitted her many specimens of fans, textiles and laces in special cupboards, which she used to show whenever she had visitors such as Countess Andriana Marcello or Countess Pisani, both engaged in the revival of the Burano lace.<sup>160</sup>

The room expanded outwards on a “charming terrace garden”,<sup>161</sup> a liminal space fundamental both for relaxation and sociability in its wider sense. It was deemed as an outward image, portraying the nationality, status and identity of the

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<sup>158</sup> On October 15, 1897 he was introduced by Countess Pasolini to the “Galleria Layard. Ca' Capello a San Polo”. Among the pictures which aroused his attention (Cosmé Tura, Savoldo, Bramantino and the *Portrait of the Sultan Mehmet II*), there was “un Carpaccio, un episodio dell'Istoria di Sant'Orsola, delizioso, saporoso. Il fondo è mirabile. L'acqua del mare è trasparente. Una Grande galera è ancorata, attende per salpare, involta di tutta la poesia dei viaggi lontani e favolosi. Sul primo piano, come su una predella, è posato un cardellino amorosamente dipinto”. G. D'Annunzio, *Altri taccuini* (Milan: Mondadori, 1976), 65-66. Cf. LLJ, 15 October 1897.

<sup>159</sup> Havard 1884, 430. A copy of the book was auctioned during the Roman sale; see Guglielmi 1939, 82, lot. 980.

<sup>160</sup> In this sense, it is interesting to read the following report, LLJ, 25 April 1901: “I had a visit from Mme Noce who brought with her young Baron Franchetti who wished to study the pictures in this house. I took him also upstairs to my studio & also opened the lace box in my bedroom & showed him the curious pieces of lace I had collected while we were in Spain. He appreciated them better than anyone I have shown them to for a long time & indeed was quite enthusiastic so that he brought back for a time my own enjoyment of & interest in them”.

<sup>161</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVII, Add MS 39007, fol. 366r: R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, Venice, 29 March 1875.

owners of the house (**Plate 13, Figure 54**).<sup>162</sup> The veranda, therefore, negotiated the boundary between public and private worlds. It overlooked the Grand Canal and was adorned with rejoicing plants and flowers selected at the Botanical Garden.<sup>163</sup> “Les fenêtres toujours fleuries, de larges et riantes taches de verdure”,<sup>164</sup> so that the lavish vegetation appeared as a “diffuso sorriso”.<sup>165</sup> The only extant evidence of this domestic garden is a washstand with a frieze of hippocampi and dolphins, which is, I believe, a reproduction in the style of sixteenth century water-basins that the Layards might have purchased in some antiquity shop (**Plate 22, Figure 72**).<sup>166</sup>

The space had been covered with a wooden veranda, which was to be removed in 1936 and replaced by an Istrian stone cornice above the three-mullioned window, Istrian stone pillars were put in lieu of the iron balustrade (**Plate 22, Figure 73**); in response to the evolution of this domestic space.<sup>167</sup>

During the visit one could be assisted by an inventory or list, as Lady Eastlake named it,<sup>168</sup> probably the extant red manuscript notebook, now at the National Gallery Archive.<sup>169</sup> Each entry furnished essential information about the painting, its author, the date and sometimes the itineraries before entering the Layard collection. Setting aside for now the different functions of this inventory –

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<sup>162</sup> Let’s keep in mind that in November 1880 the Layards bought a relief with the Capello coat of arms from Guggenheim and later they would add their own; LLJ, Venice, Ca’ Capello, 13 November 1880.

<sup>163</sup> See LLJ, Venice, 8 June 1875. In her book in memory of Lady Layard, Julia Cartwright would recount “the trailing roses and white convolvulus of the loggia”. J. Cartwright, *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance* (London: Smith, Elder and co, 1914), 101.

<sup>164</sup> Jahn Rusconi 1913, 1.

<sup>165</sup> Serra 1913, 294.

<sup>166</sup> There were several examples of this kind; it is therefore unsurprising to find one of them at Holland Park, London.

<sup>167</sup> ASMVe, Protocollo 71161/36, b. X/7/5: Domanda di progetto di riforma esterna a nome di Francesco Carnelutti, 16 November 1936. On the use of verandas, see Martin 2013, 13-26.

<sup>168</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 11 March 1877; quoted in Sheldon 2009, 441.

<sup>169</sup> See NGA, NG7/292/13(ii): List of pictures and tapestry in the possession of A.H. Layard. The jotter will be tackled in detail in the following chapter.

especially after Sir Henry's death – it is interesting here to notice just how such a device might be functional for an interactive looking, rather than a substitute for a conversation. It is highly plausible that the inventory, like the photograph of the Savoldo or the copies of the medal of Mehmet II, were meant to widen and fuel discussion on paintings.

A note is also required on the presence of various display cabinets (**Plates 20-21, Figure 68, 71**), whose content is mainly identifiable in the Roman auction catalogue 1939, which corresponds to the sale of the palace's content.<sup>170</sup> It lists chiefly Sèvres porcelain, Antonibon manufacture, wax and ivory portrait miniatures (**Plate 21, Figures 69, 70**), medals, prints, as well as bronze and wooden statues. In addition, there were mirrors, bureaux, console tables, and English eighteenth-century table clocks (**Plate 19, Figure 66**).

China closets that gathered porcelain vases of various kind, statues, snuffboxes and several other decorative artefacts from China and Japan were not lacking. Besides, there were “4 glass cabinets Spanish Urnas [sic] in the long hall”.<sup>171</sup> However, it is impossible to determine how they were arranged. As might be expected, these artefacts hardly spoke for themselves, needing to be combined in a narrative or underpinning an already existing one. At any rate, these cabinets still retained an eighteenth-century character in their non-functional use.<sup>172</sup>

From the available evidence, it could be presumed that the set of prints was deployed to decorate and was mainly displayed on the upper floor, in Sir Henry's library and in Lady Layard's studio, where she used to spend most of her time painting, modelling or reading. “The careful distinction between copies and

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<sup>170</sup> Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot. 397.

<sup>171</sup> LLJ, 9 February 1902.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. Somers-Cocks 1989, 195-215.

originals and the details given in attributing works in this inventory suggest that authorship mattered to the compiler and, by extension, to the owner as well as to the members of his anticipated audience".<sup>173</sup>

Descriptions of how a tour of Ca' Capello Layard should be were documented in Lady Layard's journal; that of the Queen of Italy is rather illuminating.

H. M. stopped on the stairs to examine the bits of Nineveh marble wh[ich] are there & as soon as she got to the hall at once turned to the Bellini portrait of Mahomet II. Then she went thro' all the rooms examining almost every picture - asking questions ab[ou]t them & admiring them. At last she sat down in the end room the green boudoir [...] Then she went into the long hall examining everything & asked where were my bed rooms - Hearing that there was another story where are the bedrooms & the library she said "Can't I see it." Of course I gladly took her up & she went thro' each room [...] Then I asked H.M. if she w[oul]d sign her name in my book & offered to fetch it from the green boudoir but she said no she would go there herself as it would give her another opportunity of seeing the pretty rooms [...] Then ab[ou]t 11.30 H.M. took her departure - thanking me profusely for her pleasant morning & praising the taste displayed in arranging the house. I thought of the pride Henry & I had had to doing it all together & was glad.<sup>174</sup>

It is worth comparing this with the description of the palace which appeared in the Pall Mall Gazette within the obituary of Lady Enid. Obviously, the tone is flattering, but it conveys the atmosphere of Ca' Capello Layard.

Passing within its hospitable doors and mounting to the piano mobile [sic], the visitor found himself in a long suite of apartments, spacious, yet not too large, and furnished with a delightful blending of ancient splendour and English comfort. And what a setting there was to those rooms; walls covered with rich gloom, and radiant light. And among them all moved the

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<sup>173</sup> Leone 2013, 207.

<sup>174</sup> LLJ, 16 July 1903.

hostess, tall slender, and stately, her white hair raised under a Maria Stuart headdress, her dark velvet and laces, her magnificent and carefully-chosen pearls and diamonds, making her something like a picture of Bronzino. Lady Layard's parties brought together a large proportion of passing visitors to Venice, as well as English and American resident artists and many distinguished Italians, and she was well-accustomed to entertain Royalty.<sup>175</sup>

Save for a series of ink drawings made by Lady Gregory in 1896 – which provide the most valuable cross section of how Ca' Capello Layard should look like - a very concrete idea of the Layards' taste for furnishing is conveyed by this watercolour showing the elegant drawing room of the British Legation at Madrid, illustrated in the first section (see **Plate 9, Figure 40**). The room is crammed with objects: vases, statues, mirrors, Moorish plates and musical instruments are spread all over with a studied carelessness. The programmatic value of the watercolour is evident: it celebrates both the taste and the intimate complacency of Layard, here depicted while discussing with his trusted consultant and dear friend Giovanni Morelli. Furthermore, it represents, along with the drawings by Lady Gregory, one of the few “context-set portrait of [the collector] surprised in the privacy of [his] rooms” and clearly “yields information on the secret ambitions of those protagonists”.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Pall Mall Gazette 1912.

<sup>176</sup> Morandotti 1997, 67.

## 2.6 “Il suo palazzo a S. Polo è un Museo veneziano”

Sir Henry Layard’s gallery was an endless source of pleasure and satisfaction to him during his lifetime. He has generously desired to extend that pleasure to countless others, and to render it perennial by making the nation the heir to his treasures.  
Brown 1896, 220.

Ca’ Capello Layard, “devenu par [les] soins [du Layard] un musée”,<sup>177</sup> aroused significant admiration for the artworks it contained among connoisseurs and otherwise. Although there were several other prominent private collections in Venice by that time, none was so recent and well publicised throughout Europe. Aside from the early loaning to British exhibitions, the Layards’ collection was mentioned in popular handbooks, such as the Cicerone, Baedeker, Kugler, Karoly, and Lafenestre Richtenberger’s, along with references to singular pictures within several other monographs.<sup>178</sup> A further attraction was the fact that it had been partly accrued thanks to Morelli’s advice and that “équivaux, en un sens, à une garantie”,<sup>179</sup> in the words of the reviewer of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*.

So it is unsurprising that the Layards had frequent applications from visitors and were happy to oblige permission; for instance, Károly Pulszky wrote to Layard to have “an opportunity to study your collection which can boast of so many first rate pages of the XV century. You would confer to me a very great

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<sup>177</sup> Revue 1896, 149. The same idea was reported in Layard’s obituary, which appeared in the Venetian newspaper, *La Gazzetta di Venezia* 1894.

<sup>178</sup> Karl Baedeker, *Italy. Handbook for travellers*, vol.1 (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1886), 262; references to the gallery were scattered throughout the Kugler edition edited by Layard himself (1887); Karl Karoly, *A Guide to the Paintings of Venice being an historical and critical account of all the pictures in Venice, with quotations from the best authorities and short lives of the Venetian masters* (London: George Belle and Sons, 1895), pp. 161-162; George Lafenestre, Eugène Richtenberger, eds., *La peinture en Europe. Venise* (Paris: Mainson Quantin, 1897), 303-12. As regards monographs, see Giuseppe Colombo, *Vita ed opere di Gaudenzio Ferrari pittore* (Turin: Fratelli Bocca, 1881), 23; Louis Thuasne, *Gentile Bellini et Sultan Mohammed II: notes sur le séjour du peintre vénitien à Constantinople (1479-1480)* (Paris: Leroux, 1888), just to name a few.

<sup>179</sup> Revue 1896, 149.



favour if you would Sir give me leave to visit your Gallery a few times”.<sup>180</sup> However, it is difficult to ascertain how admittance was regulated. It is likely that visitors were required to notify their desire in advance or introduced by an acquaintance of the Layards. At Lady Eastlake’s suggestion and through her letter of introduction, Enrico Costa and Bernard Berenson were allowed to visit the Layard Collection in 1890.<sup>181</sup> Nevertheless, they “found me on the point of going out” reported Sir Henry to Lady Eastlake “and I was unable to do more for them than to take them through the rooms, and then to leave them through in undisturbed possession of the house – your recommendation being sufficient guarantee for their honesty and good conduct. They spent, I believe, more than an hour over my pictures, and being alone they could criticise them and me as much as they thought proper”.<sup>182</sup> This might be possible, though Berenson confirmed most of the attributions in his indexes of the Italian Painters of Renaissance.<sup>183</sup> Later on Berenson would go back both alone and in the company of Mary Costello, who also “seized upon the opportunity to visit the collection twice to make a complete inventory”.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXVI, Add MS 39046, fol. 68: K. Pulszky to A.H. Layard, 6 July 1890. The practice to open the doors of the house to a select audience and present one’s collection derived from Horace Walpole and William Beckford, continued by the Duke of Northumberland and Earl Grosvenor and was later adopted by the members of the Fine arts Club. The loans of private collections at the South Kensington Museum can be seen as a continuation of this tradition, as well as an opening to a broader public. See Sykes 1985, 231-267; Pearce 1986, 167-171; Eatwell 1994.

<sup>181</sup> NLS, MS 42173, f. 29: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 28 October 1890. Also quoted in Sheldon 2009, 612-3. The visit occurred on 1 November 1890, as it can be inferred by Layard’s reply to Lady Eastlake.

<sup>182</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42340, fol. 33: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Venice, 2 November 1890.

<sup>183</sup> Berenson 1894, 81, 89, 92, 93, 102, 105, 112, 117, 121, 126, 129, 149. Curiously enough, most of the attributions given to Berenson in the first index of the Venetian painters corresponded to those by Layard, included the Sebastiano del Piombo and the Carpaccios.

<sup>184</sup> T. Latham Johnston, *Mary Berenson and the conception of connoisseurship*, unpublished Doctoral thesis submitted to Indiana University (2001), 447-8. See also Emanuel 1987, 169.

The gallery was accessible to a select, refined audience – mainly scholars, royalties and cultured élite.<sup>185</sup> In this respect Lady Layard’s journal, as well as her autograph album, which served also as a visitor book, provide an indication of the number and variety of people who visited the palazzo until 1912.<sup>186</sup> Many personalities from the international art and archaeological world appear to have visited Ca’ Capello: Charles Ephrussi with the Marquis D’Azeglio (22 Sep. 1880), and two days later in the company of Gustave Dreyfus (1880, 1903); Pasquale Villari and his lady (1881-2); John Addington Symonds (1882); Henrietta Hertz (1892); Nellie Jacquemart and Édouard André (1893).<sup>187</sup>

Germans stood out foremost among the visitors of Ca’ Capello, this should come as no surprise being the collection widely mentioned in the Cicerone, as well as in the Kugler and Baedeker.<sup>188</sup> As Layard reported to Lady Eastlake: “Some of your German friends Dr Richter (who has been long staying with Morelli working at Leonardo) Dr Lipmann and other learned and tasteless professors have been to see my collection and have contented to express themselves satisfied with it”.<sup>189</sup> A decade later Sir Henry still observed: “I have constant application from Germans and others to see the house, which is

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<sup>185</sup> An English tour guide reported in 1896: “The Palazzo Cappello contains many beautiful works of art, including the celebrated Sultan Mehemet by *Gentile Bellini*. The palace, however, is not shown”. A.J.C. Hare, *Venice*, fourth edition with map and twenty-three woodcuts (London: G. Allen, 1896), 217. Nevertheless, a more precise guide specified “Palazzo Capello (now Layard) containing a fine collection of pictures of the best masters, especially Venetians. Admission by personal introduction only”. H.A. Douglas, *Venice and her treasures* (London: Methuen, 1909), 145.

<sup>186</sup> See note 28.

<sup>187</sup> The spouses visited the collection for the first time on February 27, 1893, and again in 1912 “Mme Jacquemart André came to see me in the morn[in]g and more specially to look at the pictures. She has a fine collection, I believe in Paris & is a painter. She seemed to enjoy herself & sat down opposite the different pictures to gaze at them - chatting the while”. LLJ, 11 April 1912.

<sup>188</sup> See Burckhardt, Bode 1884, 620, 633, 634, 638, 643, 658, 776; Baedeker 1895, 265. For the references in the Kugler see next chapter.

<sup>189</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42338, fol. 16: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 30 October 1880.

somewhat of a bore. I had the Director of the Vienna Gallery a few days ago”.<sup>190</sup> Albeit admission policies might be implemented to retain a degree of privacy and tranquillity, it is undoubted that Layard would take great pride in showing and discussing his collection with the guests.

The gallery continued to be visited after Sir Henry’s death as well. Lord Burton and his lady, Harriett Georgina, were the first to be received in 1895, as Lady Layard noted down sorrowfully.<sup>191</sup> To the visitors must be added Walter Armstrong, Gertrude Bell, Emil Jacobsen, Gabriele D’Annunzio and Eleonora Duse,<sup>192</sup> Giorgio Franchetti, Ugo Fleres,<sup>193</sup> Emilio Visconti Venosta,<sup>194</sup> Giacomo Boni, Ugo Ojetti and Corrado Ricci; the latter was remembered in Lady Layard’s journal to be “tremendously enthusiastic over the pictures especially the one by Savoldo & he held forth to us on their various merits & remained discoursing till near 12 o’clock”.<sup>195</sup> Not the least interesting aspect of these accounts is the moral judgement that Lady Layard expressed.

At 11 this morning Mr Pierpont Morgan called. He had never seen the pictures in this house & was duly impressed with them & of other things in the house. He kept remarking what opportunities Henry must have had—and I added “and knowledge.” He admired also the Hispano mauresque [sic] plates, Cortelazzo’s works & the Bourges enamel vases given me by Queen Margherita. I could not help comparing in my own mind the advantage of knowledge over money. With very limited means Henry had brought together a collection of fine things as Morgan the millionaire had

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<sup>190</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 73: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 6 November 1891. See also LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 23 September 1912: “German professors came with letters of introduction to view the pictures”. It is no accident that Layard’s paintings were mentioned throughout the Cicerone, see Burckhardt 1884.

<sup>191</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 5 April 1895.

<sup>192</sup> It seems that Eleonora Duse decided to visit Lady Enid on account of the very glowing report D’Annunzio made her. Cf. LLJ, 16-17 October 1897.

<sup>193</sup> SNS, Fondo Adolfo Venturi, Carteggio, VT F2 b38,7: U. Fleres to A. Venturi, 21 May 1898.

<sup>194</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 25 May 1908.

<sup>195</sup> LLJ, 25 April 1910.

to pay immense sums for those he has acquired. After going round the rooms he said he must hurry away as he is leaving Venice this afternoon.<sup>196</sup>

According to several descriptions, the collection “has proved a constant source of attraction to those strangers who have made proper application in advance [though] the Ca’ Capello has not always been as easy of access as the Giovanelli and other palaces of lesser importance”.<sup>197</sup> The gallery indeed was not completely isolated from the private realm, in spite of the growing tendency towards privacy, but it must be kept in mind that degrees of accessibility varied widely.<sup>198</sup> Notwithstanding, in 1917 the pictures could be easily admired at Trafalgar Square, when they were displayed in the main rooms of the National Gallery, as we will see in the next chapters, “gifts link things to persons and embed the flow of things in the flow of social relations”.<sup>199</sup> By his will, Layard destined the collection “for the use and enjoyment of the British public for ever [sic] as part of the National Collection”.<sup>200</sup> In this respect, the exclusivity of a private treasure was definitely transcended, becoming an integral part of the country’s heritage.

## 2.7 The dawning of the palace

Lady Layard bequeathed “the freehold house on the Grand Canal at Venice – known as ‘Ca Capello’ with all its contents”<sup>201</sup> to her niece Olivia Blanche Du

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<sup>196</sup> LLJ, 17 June 1907.

<sup>197</sup> Brockwell 1912.

<sup>198</sup> Cf. Bryden, Floyd 1999. It may be noted that Lady Layard allowed Baron Franchetti to go upstairs to her studio.

<sup>199</sup> Appadurai 1994, 81.

<sup>200</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, I Vers., b. 745: Austen Henry Layard’s Will, 2 August 1892.

<sup>201</sup> ANVe, Atti Candiani, vol. 296 (1913), rep. N. 29782, n. 117.

Cane, who immediately started renting it out.<sup>202</sup> In October 1917 she sold it to the famous jurist Francesco Carnelutti (1879-1965).<sup>203</sup> By 1939, the Roman auction house Guglielmi sold the furniture and furnishings, including paintings, prints, books and any kind of valuable belonging contained at Ca' Cappello. Thirty years later the Istituto di Vendite Giudiziarie of Venice auctioned the last part of the collection, namely the prints (1969).

Just two years before the house had completely changed its identity, becoming the Department of African and Asian Studies of Ca' Foscari University, which endures to present days. The university inevitably modified the sense of the former division of the space in order to provide adequate space for its functions, i.e. classrooms, professor's offices, a library, a porter's lodge, and toilets (**Figures 53, 54, 55, 56**).

Actually, the palace had already undergone some significant renovations. In addition to the removal of the wooden veranda on the Grand Canal, the stone railing of the balcony on the second floor, facing the Rio of San Polo, had been replaced by an iron one (1949-50).<sup>204</sup> Due to wave motion and the consequent erosion of the pile foundation, a more serious recovery plan - on the side of the Rio of San Polo - was needed. Therefore, the static renewal and strengthening works began in 1959, in compliance with the new law on the monumental protection (law March 31, 1956, n. 294).<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>202</sup> In the first stage of the dispute about the exportation of the painting collection, the National Gallery rented a room at Ca' Capello to store the pictures for 115 days. See NGA, NG13/1/9: 'Account book, Register of Orders for Payments by His Majesty's Paymaster General, 1908-1918'.

<sup>203</sup> ASVe, Cessato Catasto. San Polo, map. 1305. I wish to express my thanks to Giovanna Giubbini for granting permission to consult this repository.

<sup>204</sup> ASMVe, Protocollo 23393/50, b. X/7/5.

<sup>205</sup> Venice, ASMVe, Protocollo 18862/59 b. X/7/5. The total amount of the restoration costs was 3.945.715 It. Lire, 1.471.183 It. Lire were paid back by the Comune di Venezia.

On that occasion a photographic campaign took place and enables us to see the decoration of some doorways and the remaining wall hangings (**Plates 25-26, Figures 75, 76**). “Gli stucchi artistici, le preziose tappezzerie, i dipinti e l’arredamento originale [che] fanno dell’edificio uno degli ultimi grandi esempi di conservazione dei Palazzi del Canal Grande” were partly of the Layards.

Some of the extant ceilings and the State rooms - now offices – are the only reminders of former splendour. At the present moment the library arguably occupies the card room and most of the Long Hall. On the ground floor there is a curious room with the ceiling frescoed with grotesque motifs, now used as administration office.

## 2.8 Considerations

It is evident from this survey that Ca’ Capello worked as a redemption for Layard’s reputation. Even though Sir Henry hardly reconciled with the impossibility to hold office again, he immediately understood the necessity to redefine himself in a new context and to elaborate a strategy of self-representation capable of manifesting his identity. Venice offered the perfect scenography for a man, who “free at last of English snobberies and ingratitude, [could] live in seigneurial style, running an unofficial embassy-cum-gallery”.<sup>206</sup> Ca’ Capello, indeed, gathered simultaneously ceremonial, political and entrepreneurial functions. Furthermore, Layard had been running a business there since 1866, and had already gained reputation within the Italian cultural élite.

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<sup>206</sup> Parry 2004.

Although the opportunity to showcase the collection was not deferred until taking up residence at Venice, it is undeniable that Ca' Capello served to Layard as the most important stage for cross-referencing to his multifarious activities and aesthetic taste. It sought to be a palace of art, in that sense described by Giles Waterfield, as a “challenge of creating appropriate buildings and interiors in which to show works of art, as well as changing attitudes to picture hanging and display”.<sup>207</sup>

In fact, Ca' Capello Layard represented a site-specific whole, carefully redesigned as a domestic-style gallery, where artworks, objects, and space were placed in dialogue with one another forming a unique entity, as it would be said “un'armonia perfetta”.<sup>208</sup> There is no doubt that the painting collection was regarded as the principal one, but separating and pulling out distinct pieces from this wider spatial construct has delayed the study of the whole ensemble. In fact, Ca' Capello had to function as a transitional space and visual discourse, in order to epitomise Layard's desire of attaining, or better re-conquering, a living social status, ruffled by the sudden and abrupt interruption of his diplomatic career. By willing his pictures to the National Gallery, Layard was confident to leave behind a part of himself, which would perpetuate his name and gain him the highest distinction, which otherwise would have died out after his demise.

Furthermore, the arrangement of the palace clearly shows how it was but a device that contributed to frame and validate a personal narrative that the pictures by themselves would not have fully communicated. Of interest in this regard are the items collected in the Middle East, which were not intended to convey an image of the domesticated Orient or hints of the exotic. They did not enter

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<sup>207</sup> Waterfield 1991, 17.

<sup>208</sup> Serra 1913, 294.

through literary descriptions or cliché, since the goal was not to simulate. On the contrary, they were exhibited as an integral part of their experience and, therefore, interrelated with the whole context. In other words, this celebration of the personality had also to engage with “the canons of design. And the result was the expression of individual choices according to externally imposed standards”,<sup>209</sup> such as the paramount principle of restraint. Yet it did not prevent the Layards from realising a wonderful *mise-en-scène*.

Many questions still need to be answered about the exact disposition of the rooms and artworks at Ca' Capello Layard. Nevertheless, the analysis conducted thus far enables us to reconstruct in large part the substance of the Layards' belongings and to include them within a broader context in which they lived and operated. In this sense, one can discern that these collections of pictures, prints, laces, glass, china and musical instruments, when grouped, were functional to establish ties with the local culture, yet calibrated by a Victorian etiquette and flair, both in taste and display. In effect, Ca' Capello Layard was not governed by any specific dictate, but incorporated different collecting traditions, resulting a *trait d'union* between the Anglo-American milieu and the Italians.

As different forms and qualities of artworks coexisted, there was no clear alignment between the social class and the contents of Layard's collections. Notwithstanding, the possession of decorative arts concealed a certain level of aspiration, namely identification and assimilation with the patrician class on one side, and the entrepreneur on the other. The emulation of the aristocratic model was counterbalanced by his artistic education and expertise, especially if one thinks of his glass and mosaic enterprise. As Pierre Bourdieu suggested, taste is

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<sup>209</sup> Zanni 1997, 130.



not merely a reflection of class distinctions, but the instrument by which they are created and maintained.<sup>210</sup> In this perspective, one can argue that the collecting of Old Masters enabled Layard to construct his social identity as a collector and connoisseur.

In addition, displaying the artworks in this manner within a private dwelling assured that the viewer would acknowledge them first as Layard's achievements, and only afterwards as representatives of artistic and historical studies. Yet the domestic ensemble set them apart from being mere works of art and re-semanticized them.<sup>211</sup> Again, when they came to be displayed at the National Gallery, they were pulled out and dispersed in different rooms, thus losing their original aura, and consequently they needed to become significant on their own.

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<sup>210</sup> Bourdieu 2000, 1-55. 257-317, at 277-78.

<sup>211</sup> In other words, this is the major exemplification of what Bourdieu wrote on distinctive practice: "The appropriation of a work of art is to assert oneself as the exclusive possessor of the object and of the authentic taste for that object, which is thereby converted into the reified negation of all those who are unworthy of possessing it, for lack of the material or symbolic means of doing so, or simply for lack of desire to possess it strong enough to "sacrifice everything for it". Bourdieu 1984, 280.

### 3. Conservation and promotion, two essential paradigms

Closely inter-related to the issue previously considered is the way in which Sir Henry Layard sought to foster the knowledge and public awareness of his painting gallery, by means of publications and photographic reproductions, from the 1880s onwards. Indeed, the analysis of this time period provides indeed an opportunity to challenge preconceived notions of conservation and promotion.

Layard's relish for extensive and increasingly better-quality photographic illustrations would no doubt facilitate the study and knowledge of the paintings not only among scholars, but also among the public in general. Several publications devoted to the entire painting collection, or to single masters represented in it, could greatly benefit from these reproductions, which covered almost the whole gallery (Table 1). Photographs, in fact, would also provide a valuable support during the inventorying at the time of the painting exportation.<sup>1</sup>

The keeping and advertising of this part of the collection also constituted Lady Layard's main concerns over the two decades during which she was responsible for the paintings (1894-1912). Lady Enid embraced the custody of her late husband's collection with a strong sense of responsibility and also recognition of its public duty. Unjustly her efforts to maintain and enhance the prestige of the picture collection, both as keeper and curator, have been hitherto unjustly neglected.

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<sup>1</sup> On the matter see the most recent contributions, Gronchi 2016; Callegari 2010, but also Roberts 1995.

Through the study and analysis of a small typescript devoted to the Layard paintings displayed in their palace on the Grand Canal and of Lady Layard's journal, this survey will examine as far as possible to what extent Lady Enid contributed to keep her husband's legacy alive – particularly, with regard to the conservation of the paintings and the kind of restoration practices that were undertaken.

It is noticeable, however, that despite her limits she made the most to gain visibility both through photographic reproductions and mentions within articles and handbooks. For this purpose, Lady Layard's unpublished correspondence with Adolfo Venturi represents an important novelty. It sheds new light on her project to have an illustrated catalogue of the paintings, as required by the exhibition age in which she lived.

### 3.1 The manuscript notebook

A long and well-established tradition – descending from Horace Walpole and William Beckford, and then prompted by Gustav Waagen - had encouraged private collectors to give account of their own dwellings and treasures of art. As Émilie Oléron Evans has pointed out, “these descriptions of exhibition spaces also reveal the resilience, on the part of the aristocracy in particular, of a sense of ownership and social privilege attached to their collections”.<sup>2</sup> But such a practice was embraced especially by those “who were keen to complement their social ascent through the enhancement of their cultural prestige as art connoisseurs”,<sup>3</sup> and this was case of Sir Henry Layard.

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<sup>2</sup> Evans 2018, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Evans 2018, 2.

He had indeed compiled a sort of inventory of his collection, which corresponds to the extant red leather notebook with a gilt-stamped profile, now at the National Gallery Archive (**Plate 27, Figure 77**).<sup>4</sup> The jotter was named “List of pictures and tapestry in the possession of A. H. Layard. Manuscript notebook with descriptive notes of each picture”, presumably corresponds with to the “list”<sup>5</sup> at disposal of those visiting Ca’ Capello Layard, as previously seen.

The manuscript – which was supposed to be readable and straightforward, in order to provide ready information and basic details on the artworks - is altogether well legible and contains just a limited number of foreign words, specifically Italian, especially when he reports passages from Molteni and Morelli’s letters. No. 19 is the only case where Layard himself opts for an Italian word, lacking a proper English equivalent: “Sebastian del Piombo. A pietà – a dead Christ supported by the Virgin and surrounded by St. John, the Magdalen [sic]”.<sup>6</sup>

The notes are quite succinct and dry, Layard’s enthusiasm and pride do not go beyond expressions like: “A very fine and genuine specimen of the Master”.<sup>7</sup> Anecdotal information is limited to the history of ownership, as in the case of No. 47. Nevertheless, the notebook represents the most valuable and useful primary source for retracing the history of the collection since each entry is numbered (from 1 to 105). The left side details the author (usually underlined), subject, date and signature when occurred, provenance and price paid, and seldom more recent assessments; on the opposite page cleaning and restoration works, relevant bibliographical references and connoisseurial judgements are presented. In particular, the manuscript gathers

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<sup>4</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii).

<sup>5</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca’ Capello, 11 March 1877; quoted in Sheldon 2009, 441.

<sup>6</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), No. 19. The highlighting is original.

<sup>7</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), No. 35.

passages from Morelli or Bode's letters, cuttings from *The Times* concerning the Leeds Exhibition (1868), and references to some of the most distinguished scholars, i.e. Vasari, Boschini, Campori, but as well as his Kugler edition and Crowe and Cavalcaselle (**Plate 27, Figure 77**).

This structure is interrupted just once in correspondence with No. 65 to 71, where Layard jots down the main text also on the right page. There, the list of Old Masters is cut off by pictures of Miner Kilbourne Kellogg (New York, 1814 – Toledo, Ohio, 1899) and some Spanish painters of the day, i.e. Franco, Vicente y Palmaroli, and Esquivel, whose works Sir Henry had bought in Madrid during the 1870s (**Plate 27, Figure 77**). At the end, there is an appendix, entirely devoted to Bellini's Portrait of the Sultan.

Concerning the handwriting – in a general uniform in style - one can easily recognise two other handwritings in addition to that of Layard. One belongs to the final annotations, before the appendix, which might have been pencilled at the time of the pictures transfer from the Layards mansions to Trafalgar Square (1913-1914), since they report on two paintings kept in the London flat, presently untraced (two angels by Moretto, “bought from Mrs Burr's collection” and a “Small head of a Saint by Boccaccino”).<sup>8</sup> With more certainty, the second handwriting – No. 75, 76 – is to be attributed to Robert Henry Benson, one of the Trustee of the National Gallery effectively in charge of the Layard bequest, as we will see subsequently.

The manuscript is undated, however, mentions of it in Lady Eastlake's correspondence provide a reliable terminus ante quem, and thus fix its existence before 1875.<sup>9</sup> Thanks to telltale internal evidence, it can be surmised that it might

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<sup>8</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), under the heading “In London”. On the Moretto, see also Fleming 1973, 7.

<sup>9</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, Ca' Capello, 11 March 1877; quoted in Sheldon 2009, 441.

have been begun at least in the late 1860s: No. 18 records Tintoretto's *Agony in the Garden* as still Layard's possession. Two marginal notes on the adjacent page - each penned with a different ink and style - witness that the painting was "sold to Sir Ivor Guest for £50" in 1867 and "burnt in the fire at Canford"<sup>10</sup> in 1884. The works are not ordered following the date of their purchase until no. 66, afterwards this seems to be a possible criteria that was implemented.

Mentioning the price paid for each object seems to indicate not only an ability in transacting, but also in detecting sales opportunities of quality and taste. Therefore, reports consisting of the connoisseur's opinions and the item's current assessment, when included, highlight multiple aims: to recognise Layard's skills, enhance the object's value and chiefly substantiate its authenticity (or attribution). For this purpose, he proudly certifies provenance, which is mainly acknowledged by belonging to ancient noble families or acquired by important dealers or connoisseurs and when unclear he attaches documents (letters or permits of exportation).<sup>11</sup> Sometimes Layard even declares: "Purchased of O. Müндler", "given to me by Sir James Hudson", or "by Sir William Boxall".<sup>12</sup> In this way, he bound together authority, ownership, and personal friendship, ultimately redefining the cultural narrative. Yet, the notebook served as a device to broaden information on his paintings, for those who could make use of it during the visit of Ca' Capello Layard. Though less formal, it was not less intentional.

A further step would be achieved with the Kugler edition (1887), wherein Layard accurately spread references to his own collection: in the first volume he mentioned five of his paintings, in the second volume seven. In addition, he had illustrated two

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<sup>10</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), No. 18.

<sup>11</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), No. 47.

<sup>12</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(ii), No. 24, 25, 84.

of them with drawings; namely the *Portrait of the Sultan Mehmet II* and the *Adoration of the Kings* by Bramantino.<sup>13</sup>

These latter had already been mentioned in the fourth edition of the Kugler, curated by Lady Eastlake, along with the Bonsignori.<sup>14</sup> By including the illustrations, Layard further highlighted their importance and seemed to provide an imaginative access to his palace of art to those who wished to see it, but could not.

Eight pictures by Ercole, representing Scripture subjects, were formerly in the Costabili Gallery (Ferrara). The two best of the series, ‘Moses leaving the Land of Egypt’, and the ‘Children of Israel gathering Manna’, - remarkable for their graceful figures and their spirited drawing - are in the possession of the editor as also a small and highly finished Virgin and Child and Saints, known as the ‘Madonna della Scimia,’ [sic] from a monkey which the painter has introduced seated on a step of the throne.<sup>15</sup>

It is likely that Layard would take pride in publishing a catalogue of his own pictures, like the one he had prepared for his brother-in-law, Lord Wimborne, which had been defined “most interesting and a model of what a Catalogue ought to be”.<sup>16</sup> However, it appears he did not succeed in organising the material in time, as will be discussed later. A true advertisement, by means of publication, was still to come.

### 3.2 Keeping and restoration

With regard to the pictures, and more specifically the Old Masters, Lady Enid entertained a life interest “without any responsibility for accidental loss destruction

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<sup>13</sup> Kugler, Layard 1887, I, 304; II, 380.

<sup>14</sup> Kugler, Eastlake 1874, II, 302, 314, 324.

<sup>15</sup> Kugler, Layard 1887, II, 356.

<sup>16</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 132: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 9 October 1893.

or injury”,<sup>17</sup> the works no longer being her property, but instead belonging to the Nation since they had been bequeathed to the National Gallery. The collection, however, was to remain in Lady Layard’s custody until her own death in November 1912, and, during this period, it experienced very slight changes – apart from some relocation within the spaces of Ca’ Capello, as has already been pointed out.

In spite of being constantly at her consort’s side, from 1869 onwards, Lady Enid had very little acquaintance with the art-historical world, and thus, she did not dare involve herself in any decision-making as far as it concerned the keeping of the paintings. Instead, she completely relied on the advice of experts and friends, such as Gustavo Frizzoni, Carlo Malagola, Giulio Cantalamessa, and Sir Edward Poynter, by then Director of the National Gallery (1894-1904). The latter, on receiving communication of the Layard bequest to the Gallery, had promptly gone to Ca’ Capello to inspect the pictures.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, it would not be surprising to find out that Poynter might ask Luigi Cavenaghi to examine the paintings periodically, in order to guarantee their good state of preservation, as Ugo Ojetti correctly speculated.<sup>19</sup> There is no documentary evidence to prove this assumption outside of Lady Layard’s journal, which records several visits from the restorer, between 1896 and 1910, specifically “on purpose to see some of my pictures which require his care”,<sup>20</sup> as she noted down. Besides, it was known that Sir Henry, as well as Morelli,

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<sup>17</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II Ver., b. 745: Sir Henry Layard’s Will, 2 August 1892.

<sup>18</sup> NGA, NG7/176/1: L. Du Cane to E. Poynter, 1 August 1894. See also NGA, NG6: Minutes of Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VI, 288, 293. Cf. LLJ, 31 October 1894.

<sup>19</sup> Ojetti 1912.

<sup>20</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 12 July 1904. See also, the following entries: Milan, 29 October 1896; Ca’ Capello, Venice, 16 December 1897; Milan, 10 January 1900; Ca’ Capello, Venice, 13 May 1901; Ca’ Capello, Venice, 12-13 July 1904; Ca’ Capello, Venice, 16 June 1905; Ca’ Capello, Venice, 10 April 1910. The National Gallery account books do not record any payment to Cavenaghi, therefore his services might be charged on Lady Layard.



had “the greatest confidence in Cavenaghi”; despite this, Lady Layard did “not take the responsibility of sending him the pictures without consulting”<sup>21</sup> Poynter first.

As a matter of fact, when the Palma Vecchio (NG3079) appeared in a deplorable state, Lady Layard worriedly informed Poynter: “[It] is scaling off and Frizzoni says that it ought to be laid down at once lest it should be quite ruined”.<sup>22</sup> After having received confirmation, the painting was promptly sent to Cavenaghi’s at 12 Via Pontaccio, Milan.<sup>23</sup>

At the same time, Lady Layard put into the hands of Cavenaghi the two saints in the Bergognone style (NG3080, NG3081) for “revarnishing”, and the “badly blistered”<sup>24</sup> oil on canvas after Rosalba Carriera (NG3127).

On another occasion, while going to Milan, Lady Layard “had brought from home the picture of our collection by Giovanni Bellini Madonna & Child by Edward Poynter’s request to show to Signor Cavenaghi the picture restorer & to have his opinion as to the advisability of having it put in order”.<sup>25</sup>

For minimal interventions only, Lady Layard availed herself of the help of the new Director of the Regie Gallerie dell’Accademia of Venice, Giulio Cantalamessa (1846-1924).<sup>26</sup> In fact, he once sent to her “an artist from the Accademia [...] to do a slight repair to the picture by Moretto (Holy Family) & Sir Edward explained what he wished done”.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> NGA, Dossier NG3079-80-81: E. Layard to E. Poynter, 24 October 1896.

<sup>22</sup> NGA, Dossier NG3079-80-81: E. Layard to E. Poynter, 24 October 1896.

<sup>23</sup> LLJ, Milan, 29 October 1896. The painting returned to Ca’ Capello the year after. Cf. LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 16 December 1897. It is no accident that the painting now exists in a heavily damaged and repainted state, to the degree that it is no longer on display. It is unlikely, therefore, to agree upon a firm attribution of the painting, especially if we consider that it was already questionable when Layard purchased it. See also Layard 1903, 228 and Ross 1912, 81-2. Cf. Zampetti 1975, 211, n. 34; Rylands 1992, 282.

<sup>24</sup> LLJ, Milan, 29 October 1896.

<sup>25</sup> LLJ, Milan, 10 January 1900.

<sup>26</sup> On Cantalamessa see M.C. Pavan Taddei, Cantalamessa, Giulio, in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 18 (1975).

<sup>27</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 13 May 1901.

Nevertheless, Cavenaghi continued to undertake “any necessary repairs to the pictures”<sup>28</sup> until 1910. Every now and then he went to Venice and “had the pictures taken down from the walls that he was to inspect” such as “the fine Cima, the L. Lotto & the D. Gherard [that he] decided to have them packed to take them away with him this afternoon when he returns to Milan. We sent for Della Torre to make the box & to pack them for him”.<sup>29</sup>

Given the encouragement of Morelli, Sir Henry had removed the glass from the frames or, in case of new frames, he even had them made without caring for glass.<sup>30</sup> It was considered unnecessary in Venice and, moreover, “they interfere very much with the pictures – particularly when the light is not over good”.<sup>31</sup> This, however, had given rise to the reproaches of Lady Eastlake, who had exclaimed: “I am sorry to see [the Bramantino,] without its glass – tho[ugh] it can take no harm in this dry room”.<sup>32</sup> Almost thirty years later, Cavenaghi would come back to the same issue and strongly advised Lady Layard “to have glasses put over many of [the pictures] for their preservation”.<sup>33</sup> In 1905, however, when the restorer returned to Ca’ Capello “to varnish any such of [the] pictures as required it”,<sup>34</sup> the glasses were still absent. It can be surmised that at this point Lady Layard followed the advice seriously, “by degrees”,<sup>35</sup> if a few years later she annotated sorrowfully in her journal:

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<sup>28</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 10 April 1910

<sup>29</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 13 July 1904.

<sup>30</sup> See Penny 2008, 323.

<sup>31</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 85: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, 19 January 1877.

<sup>32</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42170: Letter to A.H. Layard, 14 January 1877 in Sheldon 2009, 428.

<sup>33</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 13 July 1904.

<sup>34</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 16 June 1905.

<sup>35</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 16 June 1905.

A sad thing happened– The Picture of St Jerome by Savoldo fell from the wall & the glass over it smashed. I was terribly upset. After all the pride I have in the pictures & the care I have taken! That such a thing should happen!<sup>36</sup>

### 3.3 The composition of a domestic catalogue

Lady Layard's engagement was not confined to the keeping of the collection and her pride can be easily detected in a series of attempts she made to advertise the collection.

In line with the current practice of having a catalogue illustrated and penned by a well-known connoisseur, Lady Layard started reorganising her husband's notes in a more clear and readable inventory. The result was the "CATALOGUE by Sir Henry Layard. Cà [sic] Capello Venice. Typed by Enid Layard. 1896", once held in Giulio Cantalamessa's archive in the repositories of the Regie Gallerie dell'Accademia of Venice, and now in the library of the Polo Museale Veneziano (Venice).<sup>37</sup>

The volume was entirely devoted to the principal paintings kept in the dwelling on the Grand Canal and, besides combining Sir Henry's scattered notes, it updates their content by adding comments by Frizzoni and new restorations carried out by Cavenaghi. In this case, the interventions are well identifiable thanks to the presence of the mark "E. L.", Enid Layard (**Plate 28, Figure 78**, in particular see no. 42).

This provisional and domestic catalogue, set out as an inventory, consists of seventy-two pages and unfolds across five sections, according to a topographical

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<sup>36</sup> LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 16 October 1908.

<sup>37</sup> The typescript is housed at Venice, Polo Museale Veneziano, ART.VZIA.148. There is another copy, identical to this one, in the folder of the Layard Gallery at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome, along with a loose photograph of the *Adoration of the Kings* by Bramantino. ACS, MPI, AABBA, I Ver., b. 745. The material has not been catalogued yet; so, there is no specific reference to its parts.

criterion. Each one corresponds indeed to the space where the pictures were displayed: Long Hall, Dining Room, First Drawing Room, Second Drawing Room, and Boudoir. It reads as a guided tour of the palace, or rather as a bracing reminder of its treasures. It was a benefit for those, be they scholars or otherwise curious, interested in the history of the collection, a history that Sir Henry “used to be so proud of [...] explaining”.<sup>38</sup>

The extant script alternates sheets of tissue paper for the beginning of each section, and is numbered by machine, with sheets of photographic paper of various sizes (21x29.7cm, 5.2x7.4cm) reproducing the original typescripts numbered by hand with black ink and pinned to a support. The sheets are then fixed with tape and bound with green cardboard. The structure of each entry resembles the one used by Layard in the manuscript notebook, but is more straightforward (**Plate 28, Figure 78**).

From the outset Lady Enid had decided not only to merge Sir Henry’s notes into a single document, but also to provide them with copies of the pictures, reproduced by her in watercolour. The work spanned the vast majority of her widowhood, dating from between 4 May 1896 and 27 November 1899, when she announced: “Typed & finished the Catalogue with Henry’s notes that I am going to get bound up with the small water colour copies I am making of the pictures. After lunch I carried the sheets to Nardo opposite S. Lorenzo the Greek Church – & gave them to him to bind”.<sup>39</sup> At any rate, the reproductions in watercolour were to extend well beyond those years, as the diary chronicles the work up to 1910. In January 1900, however, Lady Layard says to have shown to Edward Poynter “my illustrated copy of the Catalogue of the Pictures at Ca Capello & complimented me on my little water[-

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<sup>38</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 5 April 1895.

<sup>39</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 27 November 1899.

]colour copies in it".<sup>40</sup> The catalogue, regrettably, has not come to light yet, not even the watercolour copies. The Venetian and Roman specimens equally analysed are devoid of such illustrations and, at the same time, do not seem configured to contain them. They appear more likely to be a "home catalogue",<sup>41</sup> a draft of the catalogue shown to Poynter, or rather the mere copy made for the Italian Authorities when they aroused by the exportation issues. Underpinning this latter hypothesis is a letter addressed to the Italian Director of the Fine Arts Department, Corrado Ricci, wherein the British Ambassador, James Rennell Rodd, detailed the content of the lists relating to the paintings bequeathed to the National Gallery. For this purpose, he had made use of a certain "Catalogo della Collezione Layard copiato al Ministero",<sup>42</sup> which should correspond to the extant one in Rome.

### 3.4 The Illustrated Catalogue

Along with the public recognition of Layard's merits, beginning with the erection of his bust in the British Museum (1891), Lady Layard was anxious to publish an autobiography of her husband,<sup>43</sup> as well as a proper catalogue of his painting collection, complete with exhaustive descriptions and scientific flair. The genesis of the project was, however, somewhat troubled and the end result very partial. At

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<sup>40</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 22 January 1900.

<sup>41</sup> LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 31 December 1900.

<sup>42</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II Ver., b. 745: J. Rennell Rodd to C. Ricci, 6 December 1912. The evidence is further strengthened by another telltale affirmation: "A catalogue was completed by Lady Layard from Sir Henry's own notes and was sent to Rennell Rodd and by him sent on to the Belle Arti. Where can it be now? We want all the particulars we can get". NGA, NG3099 Dossier: R.H. Benson to C. Holroyd, 30 January 1913.

<sup>43</sup> W.N. Bruce, ed. by, Sir A. Henry Layard G.C.B., D.C.L. Autobiography and letters from his childhood until his appointment as H.M. Ambassador at Madrid, with a chapter on his parliamentary career by the RT. Hon. Sir Arthur Otway, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1903). Lady Layard was quite disappointed when Sir Arthur Otway presciently foresaw that "Henry will be known & remembered for nothing but his Nineveh discoveries". On the development of the work, see LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 13, 17 July 1901.

Malagola's suggestion, she had entrusted the task to a prominent figure of the Italian connoisseurship, Adolfo Venturi (Modena, 1856 – Santa Margherita Ligure, 1941).<sup>44</sup>

Their earliest documented contact dates back to 15 July 1901, when Lady Enid chronicles a visit from “Professor Venturi”<sup>45</sup> at 3 Savile Row, London. In 1892 Sydney Colvin had encouraged Layard to write “to Venturi, who is really a thorough student in his way, to call attention to the mess they are making of”<sup>46</sup> the Uffizi. Although it is unlikely that Layard followed the advice, they could be, arguably, acquainted since the Ferrarese Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club.<sup>47</sup> For this occasion, Sir Henry Layard had lent a copy of the Borghese Circe by Dosso Dossi and four photographs of some of his paintings – namely, Lorenzo Costa, The Nativity; The Story of Moses; Garofalo, The Virgin and Child with the Saints Domenico and Catherine - taken by Carlo “Naya’s man”.<sup>48</sup>

In addition, it should be kept in mind that since his appointment at the Minerva, the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione (1888), Venturi had been compiling a list of paintings in private collections.<sup>49</sup> So, it was quite predictable that Venturi's early jotter, known as “Taccuino Europeo” (1896/7 - before 1901), recorded the Layard collection; notably, a comparison between the *St. Jerome* by Cima da Conegliano

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<sup>44</sup> For a full account on Venturi, see Agosti 1990; Agosti 1992; D’Onofrio 2008.

<sup>45</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 15 July 1901.

<sup>46</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXIX, Add MS 39099, fol. 110r: S. Colvin to A.H. Layard, 28 October 1892. Colvin's polemy referred to the partial closure of some rooms at the Uffizi.

<sup>47</sup> The Layards succeeded in visiting on 9 June 1894. Sir Henry would die few weeks later, on 5 July. See LLJ, 1 Queen Anne Street, 9 June 1894. No documentary evidence can be found in Venturi's archive with regards to a letter from Henry Layard.

<sup>48</sup> LLJ, Venice, Ca' Capello, 15 January 1894. On the photographer Carlo Naya and his studio, see Hannavy 2008, 1145. Cf. Burlington 1894, xxiv, 22, 38, 43. It should also be kept in mind that Ivor Bertie Guest, Lord Wimborne, had lent 7 paintings to the exhibition. See Burlington 1894, 1, no. 2; 13, no. 40; 14, no. 43; 17, no. 53; 19, no. 57; 21, no. 64-5.

<sup>49</sup> On the lists of private collections, see Sicoli 2017, 138-145.

(NG1120) at the National Gallery and that by Savoldo at Ca' Capello Layard (NG3092).<sup>50</sup>

In summer 1901 Venturi was travelling around Europe and by early July he was in London. Lady Enid's journal enables us to know that he "asked me to publish an illustrated catalogue of Henry's collection of pictures - & that I was willing but did not know how to set about it".<sup>51</sup> As a matter of fact, Lady Layard sought advice from the orientalist and art historian Sandford Arthur Strong (1863-1904), who on receiving the news "at once exclaimed enthusiastically, Oh I am so glad! I should like to do it to help you & to write the text & he promised to set to work at once to find out ab[ou]t the illustrations from Braun".<sup>52</sup>

In spite of this initial eagerness, the project lingered until 1906. In fact, a new law regulating the preservation of the Italian monuments, antiquities and artworks was passed on 12 June 1902, and regarded seven paintings of the Layard collection, as will be discussed in detail below. Therefore, it is unsurprising that Lady Layard set aside the idea of the catalogue until the exportation issue had been resolved (1906).<sup>53</sup> Despite this, Lady Layard received a further proposal from the Venetian publisher Rosen through Attilio Marzollo.<sup>54</sup> The proposal was, however, discarded since she had "already promised to let S[igno]r Venturi do it".<sup>55</sup> Lady Layard wasted not time in resuming the contacts with the connoisseur. A few months later, Malagola

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<sup>50</sup> "No. 1981. 1120. Piccolo San Girolamo di Cima. Come quello di Layard!". SNS, Archivio Venturi, Taccuini: Taccuino Europeo, fol. 112r. On the notebooks of Venturi and their classification, see Pellegrini 2011, at 19-27.

<sup>51</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 17 July 1901.

<sup>52</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 17 July 1901.

<sup>53</sup> On September 21, 1906 the Italian Council of State resolved "to consider as not inscribed in the Catalogue of objects of great artistic and historical values in the possession of private person the pictures of which Lady Layard has the right of usufruct, with the exception of the Portrait of a Man by Antonello da Messina, the inscription of which in the aforesaid catalogue is confirmed". NGA, NG7/315. For a detailed account see III.1 The Exportation Issue.

<sup>54</sup> Little information can be found on Marzollo. He had been the Director of the *Gazzetta degli Artisti* of Venice (1901-1903), later he appears as the manager of the Venice and Murano Company. Cf. LLJ, 1903-1907.

<sup>55</sup> LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 7 July 1905.

addressed, on her behalf, a letter to Venturi urging him to confirm his appointment and arrange the conditions for the publication.

Amico Carissimo

Un anno o due fa, io ti scrissi, interpellandoti a nome di Lady Layard, se tu fossi disposto ad assumere l'incarico di redigere il catalogo della sua galleria, e tu mi rispondesti adesivamente [sic], proponendomi di stamparli [sic] nell'Arte, con molte illustrazioni. Lady Layard mi ha ora pregato di sentire da te se sei sempre dello stesso parere, e quale sarebbe il modo che vorresti tenere per l'esame dei quadri, e in qual tempo te ne potresti occupare.

Io poi debbo chiederti più precisamente quale sarebbe il compenso che tu chiederesti al tuo lavoro, e quale altresì sarebbe la spesa che esso potrebbe importare sia nel modo proposto, per la tiratura a parte per Lady Layard di 100, o di 200 copie; o quale per una edizione fatta direttamente e non inserita nell'Arte. Ma ritengo che Lady Layard preferirà il primo modo a risparmio di spesa di un tutto forse inutile.

Ti sarei grato se mi potessi risponder subito perché S.E. il 27 corr.te parte e non torna a Venezia per qualche mese.

Ti anticipo vive grazie e mi confermo

Affett. Tuo

C. Malagola

PS Scrissi all'Arte per aver alcuni fascicoli persi, per L. Layard (che forse li ha perduti) e ancora non ebbi riscontro. Ti pregherei sollecitarli.<sup>56</sup>

It becomes apparent that the original idea was to publish the catalogue “in the Illustrated paper L'Arte”;<sup>57</sup> however, in a letter of engagement dated 21 October 1906, Lady Layard asked for a separate catalogue.

A norma delle intelligenze precorse a mezzo del S. Prof. Malagola, io son lieta di affidare alla S. V. Ch.a l'incarico di comporre l'illustrazione storico-artistica in forma di Catalogo da stamparsi, della Galleria Layard da me

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<sup>56</sup> SNS, Archivio Venturi: C. Malagola to A. Venturi, Venice, 19 October 1905. The underlining is Malagola's.

<sup>57</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 20 January 1903.



posseduta in Venezia, obbligandomi di contribuire a titolo di compenso la somma italiana di lire mille trecento (L. It. 1300). Resta convenuto che per tal modo io acquisto la proprietà del manoscritto e di qualsiasi sua traduzione, colla piena facoltà di farlo stampare e pubblicare colle necessarie illustrazioni in una o più edizioni, e resta pur convenuto che esso manoscritto dovrà da Lei essermi effettivamente consegnato pronto per la stampa, entro il mese di Dicembre del prossimo anno 1907. Sicura che Ella farà cosa degna del suo nome.<sup>58</sup>

In spite of these precise agreements, Venturi started late on the task, as he would not visit Ca' Capello Layard until September 1907. On that occasion, he spent a whole “week working at the text of the catalogue of Henry’s collection of pictures w[hic]h I am going to publish”,<sup>59</sup> as Lady Enid proudly reported in her journal. In its turn, her name recurs several times throughout Venturi’s so-called “Taccuino Pittorico” (after 1906 - before 1910).<sup>60</sup> The works associated with her collection would later find place also in the scholar’s main publications.<sup>61</sup>

Six months later the project was still pending. Venturi “was getting on slowly with the catalogue of my pictures & would come again to Venice in the summer to put the finishing touches”.<sup>62</sup> In fact, the scholar was besieged by many commitments, including university lessons, the catalogue of Giulio Sterbini’s collection, and chiefly the colossal enterprise of the *Storia dell’Arte Italiana*.<sup>63</sup> The project may have still been incomplete at the time of Lady Enid’s death, but this is difficult to fully ascertain, because no further surviving documents discuss the project after 1908.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> SNS, Archivio Venturi: Letter E. Layard to A. Venturi, Venice, 21 October 1906.

<sup>59</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 21 September 1907.

<sup>60</sup> SNS, Archivio Venturi, Taccuini: Taccuino Pittorico, fols. 82r, 84r, 86v.

<sup>61</sup> Just to quote a few examples, see Venturi 1903, 141; Venturi 1928, 437; Venturi 1930, 39-40.

<sup>62</sup> LLJ, Rome, 31 March 1908.

<sup>63</sup> On the Sterbini collection, Adolfo Venturi, *La Quadreria Sterbini in Roma, L’Arte VIII*, (1905), 422-40; Id., *La Galleria Sterbini in Roma* (Rome: Casa Editrice L’Arte, 1906). See Morozzi 2006; Bacci 2017.

<sup>64</sup> The last letter concerns a missing appointment to visit the crypt of St. Peter in Rome. SNS, Archivio Venturi: Letter E. Layard to A. Venturi, 11 April 1908. See also LLJ, Rome, 11 April. 1908.

At any rate, Venturi published an extensive article on the formation of the Layard collection in the last issue of *L'Arte* in 1912 and subsequently an offprint.<sup>65</sup> Lady Layard's sudden demise would, moreover, prevent the art historian from returning her part of Sir Henry's correspondence with Giovanni Morelli, Giuseppe Molteni, Saverio Cavallari, and some other people, which he had requested in order to know every detail concerning the purchase of the individual works in the collection.<sup>66</sup>

In fact, Venturi's research was chiefly based on the content of the typewritten catalogue and made use of eleven choice photographic reproductions by Danesi and Alinari, as we will see hereunder.<sup>67</sup>

Though Venturi made no attempt to hide his resentment towards Morelli for having favoured foreigners in the purchase of Italian artworks, he did not pronounce on the exportation issue of the Layard collection, simply stating that it was a matter of law.<sup>68</sup> Nevertheless, the article aimed at detailing the instrumental elements for the course of the events, beyond the polite formula of giving “interessanti per gli studiosi le qui unite notizie, che Lady Layard ebbe la liberalità di permetterci di raccogliere e di sfruttare”.<sup>69</sup> The emphasis was chiefly focused on indicating the provenance of each painting and the method of illustrating the article with such an accurate selection of photographs seems to betray the neutrality of his stance. Compared to the previous articles on the collection, it becomes apparent that Venturi gathered illustrations never before published, such as the one of the *Sparrowhawk* by Jacopo

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<sup>65</sup> Venturi 1912, 449-62; Venturi 1913. A few copies of the offprint have survived: one is in the Dutch University Institute at Florence, the other in Venturi's own Library, now at the Istituto Superiore per la Conservazione ed il Restauro in Rome.

<sup>66</sup> Unfortunately, this correspondence has not yet come to light, and might have disappeared. For more on this, see Anderson 2014, 7.

<sup>67</sup> On the Roman family of photographers Danesi, see Becchetti 1988, 295. Apparently, the reproductions marked “Danesi Roma” correspond to the shots made by the Venetian photographer Tomaso Filippi.

<sup>68</sup> “Morelli stesso si unì al Layard per aiutarne l'incremento, per rallegrarsi ogni qualvolta arrivavano casse di bei quadri dall'Italia a Trafalgar Square, per segnalare al Burton quadri in vendita pubblica, presso private”. Venturi 1912, 458.

<sup>69</sup> Venturi 1912, 449, note 1.

de' Barbari (NG3088), the *Portrait of a Man* by Rosalba Carriera (NG3126), *Christ blessing St. John the Baptist* by Moretto (NG3096), and two portraits by Moroni (NG3129; NG3128).

For a sketch of the collector, Venturi had relied on the recent autobiography published by Murray (1903). Layard was depicted altogether as an enlightened spirit, full of enthusiasm for Italy and its manufactures; his passion for collecting moderate and mainly linked to the idea of national wealth, “aveva fatto il suo bozzolo a Ca' Cappello e non chiedeva di più”.<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, Venturi praised Layard's enterprise to revive Murano glass and mosaics, and, paradoxically, his attempts to safeguard Italian frescos and monuments.<sup>71</sup>

Although Venturi had proposed to avoid any consideration on the exportation issue, in concluding, he could not avoid complaining about the wretched state of things in Italy:

In Italia era un continuo disfacimento delle collezioni private, né contrastava all'esodo lo spirito patriottico dei cultori dell'arte, pochi e incompresi da un pubblico non educato a godere delle cose belle [...] Ed eran gli anni in cui la ricchezza del patrimonio artistico italiano, per continuo esodo delle collezioni private, veniva scemata, o si raccoglieva a Londra e a Berlino nelle grandi collezioni di Stato, a Parigi nelle raccolte private.<sup>72</sup>

### 3.5 “A well known subject for photographic reproduction”

By 1912, however, the Layard painting collection had already been partly explored and discussed on several art magazines (British, German, and French), and

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<sup>70</sup> Venturi 1912, 453.

<sup>71</sup> Venturi 1912, 460.

<sup>72</sup> Venturi 1912, 460.

likewise had become “a well-known subject for photographic reproduction”.<sup>73</sup> In fact, the idea of photograph reproductions dated back to 1883 and found in Gustavo Frizzoni one of its foremost advocates, who might have encouraged Layard to take photographs of his pictures.<sup>74</sup>

Photography represented a new, powerful complement for the study of the history of art, thanks to its documentary potential and relevance, and was soon to become a hallmark of nineteenth century methodology.<sup>75</sup> In Frizzoni’s views, it also aimed to “faire connaitre [les œuvres] aux amateurs”<sup>76</sup>, and, thus, needed to be of the best quality. Lastly, but not least interestingly, photographs helped facilitate the trading of art, even when these “non sono ben riescite a dir vero, ma intanto servono a dare un’idea dei quadri”.<sup>77</sup>

Thereupon, Frizzoni’s letters to Layard allows us to delve into the matter and, when combined with the photographers’ catalogues and Lady Enid’s journal, help to distinguish at least four different campaigns undertaken on the Layard paintings. A comparison of these campaigns enables us to make further considerations on the restorations that occurred.

The first “entreprise de photographier [les] tableaux”<sup>78</sup> seems to have been entrusted to Giovanni Battista Brusa, who had an atelier in Venice (3833-44 St.

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<sup>73</sup> London, NGA, NG14/3/6: Affidavit of Robert Clermont Witt, 16 March 1915.

<sup>74</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883.

<sup>75</sup> On this matter see Roberts 1995; Callegari 2010; Gronchi 2016. Interesting case are provided by G.B. Cavalcaselle (Mozzo 2010), Henry Thode (Mozzo 2009) and Pietro Toesca (Callegari 2009).

<sup>76</sup> London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883.

<sup>77</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVIII, Add MS 39038, fol. 89v: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Firenze, Lungarno Acciaiuoli 22, 28 February 1885. In this letter Frizzoni requested Layard to help him selling two pictures of his collection; namely, the *Virgin and Child* signed Andrea Previtali, 1506 (in the Sully collection first, and in the Haddington later. See Zampetti, Chiappini 1975, 137), together with an unknown work by Bergognone.

<sup>78</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883.

Pantaleone) and a shop in the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, Milan.<sup>79</sup> Although the Layard's paintings were not included in the catalogue published by Brusa in January 1882 – a fact that led Francesca Mambelli to associate the albumins to the years 1886-1887, when Brusa took photographs of the Esposizione Artistica Nazionale di Venezia – yet, the campaign is to be dated as occurring in 1882-1883.<sup>80</sup> In an epistle to Frizzoni of November 1882, Layard appears to complain about the photographer's slowness in delivering the work. Beyond this letter, further evidence can be inferred from Frizzoni's reply, dated 16 January 1883, wherein he declared: "A ce qui semble M. Brusa s'est tout à fait éclipsé".<sup>81</sup> Frizzoni, thus, directed Layard to "Antoine Perini qui a le magasin tout près de Florian et que j'ai expérimenté moi-même autrefois comme habile et ponctuel dans l'accomplissement de sa tâche".<sup>82</sup> Because of the frustrating delay, Frizzoni had thus suggested to Layard to experiment the

Système de l'héliographie. Il me semble que vous pensez être satisfait en obtenant un résultat pareil pour vos tableaux. Naturellement il faudrait en exclure ceux qui sont plus sombres du couleur. Je crains p. ex. que l'Adoration des Mages de Gentili Bellini ne rendrait pas. Mais on pourrait commencer une tentative avec votre beau Montagna, qui a été si admirablement restauré (ainsi que le précédent du reste). Puis, on pourrait prendre le Bramantino, la Vierge au singe du Grandi, quelque portrait de Moroni, surtout celui à l'aspect maladif à l'œil sectateur (ton grisâtre), la Vierge de Bonsignori avec quatre Saints (auteur rare à trouver), le petit Costa charmant, le Previtali, puis le Moretto, Cima,

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<sup>79</sup> The only catalogue published by Brusa dates back to January 1882, wherein he reported to have been awarded the "Grande Médaille l'Exposition de la Société de Photographie à Paris en 1876 ; [la] Seule Médaille d'Or et Diplôme à l'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1878 ; [la] Seule Médaille d'Or à l'Exposition de Milan 1881". See Brusa 1882. For a complete account on his activity, see Mambelli 2014, 64-70.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Mambelli 2004, 65.

<sup>81</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milan, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883.

<sup>82</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milan, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883. The Commercial Guide of Venice (Guida 1867, 31) reports: "Perini Antonio, autore e proprietario del fac-simile del Breviario Grimani, San Marco calle dell'Angelo, 403, con deposito sotto il Campanile n. 28 e 29 e Procuratie nuove, 55". According to the *Encyclopaedia of nineteenth-century photographer*, Antonio Perini results dead by 1879.

Alvise Vivarini, Carpaccio, Luini, le petit buste du Francis Gonzaga sur la cheminée.<sup>83</sup>

Despite the partiality of this first attempt, Layard resumed the idea of having a photographic catalogue of the paintings in February 1885.<sup>84</sup> Frizzoni had suggested to him the name of other two photographers “Ant[oni]o Perini, che [...] ha così bene e a così mite prezzo riprodotto i disegni dell’Accademia. Se si rivolge a Naya invece, converrà gli raccomandi bene di non ritoccar troppo le negative”.<sup>85</sup> In addition, five months later, Layard informed Morelli that

M. Alinari de Florence a été me voir, voir, recommandé par M. Frizzoni pour me proposer un arrangement pour photographier mes tableaux. Mais il a commencé par me demander une somme très élevée, et nous n’avons pas pu nous mettre d’accord.<sup>86</sup>

Unfortunately, Layard’s subsequent correspondence does not provide any detail on the matter until November 1888. Notwithstanding, it results that the task was re-assigned to Giovan Battista Brusa. The Prints and Drawings Library of the British Museum holds indeed a selection of 24 “Photographs from pictures in the collection of the Right Hon. Sir A. H. Layard”.<sup>87</sup> The volume is dated 1886 and the albumins – that partly coincide with those in the Fototeca Federico Zeri – were made by Brusa. As Hugo Chapman, the Simon Sainsbury Keeper of Prints & Drawings, kindly informed me, the photographs were gathered in a British Museum blue binding and

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<sup>83</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883.

<sup>84</sup> “Mi rallegra di sentire ch’Ella abbia l’intenzione di riprendere l’illustrazione fotografica della sua bella galleria in Venezia”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVIII, Add MS 39038, fol. 90v: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Firenze, Lungarno Acciaiuoli 22, 28 February 1885.

<sup>85</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVIII, Add MS 39038, fol. 90v: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Firenze, Lungarno Acciaiuoli 22, 28 February 1885. The Hertziana Library holds the illustrated catalogue of the bas-reliefs of the Basilica of Santi Giovanni e Paolo, Venice (E-Ven 1825-5240 gr raro).

<sup>86</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIV, Add MS 38967, fol. 188: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, Ca’ Capello, 10 July 1885.

<sup>87</sup> BM, Prints and Drawings Library, inv. PD10017467.

1886 should correspond to the year when the Museum received the photographs, as they used to register them in those days. Therefore, the hypothesis of anticipating Brusa's work before 1886 seems compulsory.

The result did not appear to fulfil Layard's expectations, who would gradually substitute them by other shoots. As Mambelli pointed out with regard to Brusa's albumins at the Fototeca Federico Zeri, Bologna, "la leggibilità delle opere [...] risulta talvolta compromessa a causa dell'evidente difficoltà del fotografo a tradurre nel bianco e nero i rapporti tonali dei dipinti [...] l'assenza di contrasto e di luminosità rende impossibile cogliere i dettagli più fini".<sup>88</sup> Indeed, when in 1888 Frizzoni restated his intention to write an article on the Layard paintings, he lamented that

La difficoltà principale sta nell'ottenere delle buone riproduzioni, da che molti quadri per se stessi sono difficilmente fotografabili. Me ne sono nuovamente convinto facendo passare la raccolta fotografica da Lei favoritami.<sup>89</sup>

The "raccolta fotografica" he referred to was the one by Brusa. By that time, Alinari could not have begun his session. It seems that the photograph of the Virgin and Child with Saints attributed to Moretto (NG3094) must have been missing, as Frizzoni proposed: "Si potrebbe cavarne una simpatica acquaforte, considerato il piacevole chiaroscuro che vi si manifesta".<sup>90</sup> The same could be said for the Muse (Calliope?) by Cosmé Tura (NG3070).

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<sup>88</sup> Mambelli 2014, 65.

<sup>89</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 21 November 1888.

<sup>90</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 21 November 1888. With regard to a publication on Moretto, Frizzoni wrote an article for the *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, but did not mention the Layard specimen. See Frizzoni 1892.

Ho proprio verificato che non si trova nel numero delle opere fotografate. Almeno io non l'ho. Se col tempo Ella avesse la bontà di procurarmela gliene sarei molto riconoscente, interessandomi ed occupandomi io principalmente dei Ferraresi. Se mai Ella avesse a rivolgersi al Brusa, l'avverto ch'egli ha negozio sotto le Procuratie presso Florian.<sup>91</sup>

Frizzoni was indeed trying to detect the connections between Layard's allegorical figure and the one by Michele Pannonio in the Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest (*The Muse Thalia*, inv. no. 44, **Plate 29, Figure 79**).

Ella saprà forse che una corrispondente figura allegorica (l'Estate) si trova nella galleria di Pesth. È opera di uno scolaro del Tura, Michele Ungaro. È uno strano pittore, molto inferiore al maestro per valore artistico. Le sarò grato se a suo comodo vorrà favorirmi le misure di larghezza e d'altezza della tavola sulla quale è dipinta la sua Primavera, acciò io veda se corrisponde precisamente a quella di Pesth.<sup>92</sup>

Just a few days later Layard sent the information and attached the photograph, which further enhanced Frizzoni's comparison.<sup>93</sup> At the same time, the German art historian Fritz von Harck (1855-1917) was questioning the attribution of Layard's painting in the pages of the *Jahrbuch der Preußischen Kunstsammlungen*.<sup>94</sup> Frizzoni,

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<sup>91</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 21 November 1888.

<sup>92</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 81: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 6 December 1888. Frizzoni was then working on 'Il Presunto Stefano da Ferrara della Pinacoteca di Brera in Milano' *Archivio Storico dell'arte* 2, 2 (1889), 66-72. Adolfo Venturi had already published 'I primordi del Rinascimento artistico in Ferrara', *Rivista di storia italiana*, I (1884), 591-631. Venturi would later write an extensive article on the matter; see 'I quadri di scuola italiana nella Galleria Nazionale di Budapest', *L'Arte*, III (1900), 185-240, at 192.

<sup>93</sup> "Quelle noblesse dans cette figure à la comparer avec l'Été qui est a Pesth et qui doit être pourtant de la même grandeur ! Où seront les autres deux Saisons ?". BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 87: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 13 December 1888. Cf. Lollini 2007, 241-247.

<sup>94</sup> Harck 1888, 38, no. 65.



therefore, urged Layard to send him another photograph of the picture to hand to his “giovine amico [...] che vorrei si convincesse essere opera autentica”<sup>95</sup> of Tura.

The unidentified “raccolta fotografica” was undoubtedly the result of a photographic session, which was occurring around November 1888 and early 1889. Thereupon, Frizzoni had commented:

La ringrazio della sua gentile lettera e della prospettiva ch’Ella mi dà di vedere prossimamente altre fotografie dai suoi bei quadri. \Le desidererei non montate/. Peccato che alcuni dei più pregevoli si prestano poco: tale il suo finissimo Bramantino e il gran Gentile Bellini. Il ritratto di Antonello, o Alvise che sia, dovrebbe riescire meglio di prima: così pure l’Ercole Grandi (gli Ebrei nel deserto). In ispecie mi rallegro per la figura del Tura.<sup>96</sup>

The circumstances appear fairly entangled. Frizzoni still wondered whether “Brusa riuscisse farne una migliore riproduzione”.<sup>97</sup> Thus, it is possible that the Venetian photographer might have had another opportunity to take photographs for Layard. Nonetheless, it must be observed that if all the specimens here mentioned were taken by both Brusa and Alinari of Florence, then the debated Antonello/Alvise Vivarini’s portrait is witnessed in the Alinari’s catalogue only.<sup>98</sup> So, is it conceivable that, despite his general dissatisfaction with Brusa’s work, Layard had asked him to take other photographs? And in that case, have these photographs survived? Or shall we suppose that Alinari had already started his photographic session at this juncture?

At any rate, it must be said that if Alinari had started the enterprise, it would be unlikely that, by mid October 1891, Frizzoni renewed his enquiry about a good

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<sup>95</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 120: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 19 January 1889.

<sup>96</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 81r: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 6 December 1888.

<sup>97</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol.120: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 19 January 1889.

<sup>98</sup> Alinari 1897, 34, no. 13611.

reproduction of the Annunciation by Gaudenzio Ferrari.<sup>99</sup> From the extant evidence Alinari appears to be the first one to have taken a photograph of the picture. Therefore, Frizzoni could have included it in his article for the *Archivio Storico dell'Arte*. Instead, the publication records just a mention of the painting. Moreover, by November of that same year, Frizzoni expressed his regret for the lack of a good photographer in Venice.

Quel dommage que vous n'ayez pas à votre disposition un photographe pareil [\*a Marcozzi] pour les reproductions de votre collection, si belle et si intéressante, au lieu de ce misérable Brusa. Il est bien vrai pourtant que les progrès du procédé photographique datent d'une époque très récente.<sup>100</sup>

Despite this, it is possible that Layard might have decided to have different sessions with the Florentine Alinari, in order to subdivide the cost that at first had prevented him from reaching an agreement with the photographer. It can be argued that a first session – comprising the Antonello and the afore-mentioned pictures – occurred about 1888-1889, and during a later session the Gaudenzio Ferrari and other pictures were included.

At any rate, in 1897, Alinari published their catalogue concerning Venice and, under the heading “Galleria Layard”,<sup>101</sup> were enlisted twenty-nine full-length pictures, plus a detail of a paliotto (Figure 71). Eleven of them had previously appeared on *The Magazine of Art* (January 1896), as illustrations for Horatio Brown's article,<sup>102</sup> and, precisely, five of these did not result from Brusa's collection.

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<sup>99</sup> “Si jamais Vous Vous décidiez a la faire reproduire pour un bon photographe je serait bien ainsi de la faire paraître dans le périodique”. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVIII, Add MS 39098, fol. 86v: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Calepio, Prov. Bergamo, 13 October 1891. Cf. Frizzoni 1891, 320.

<sup>100</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXVIII, Add MS 39098, fol. 106r: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milan, Via Pontaccio 14, 17 November 1891.

<sup>101</sup> Alinari 1897, 34, no. 13609.

<sup>102</sup> Brown 1896, 219.

Therefore, Alinari's photographs could be dated between 1889 and 1895. This time span can be further restricted to the first quarter of 1894, inasmuch as we consider that the inscription beneath the photographs, which reads: "Galleria di Sir H. Layard". It can then be assumed that Sir Henry was still alive when the photographs were printed.<sup>103</sup> Later illustrations, on the contrary, report "Palazzo Layard" only.

Within the extant nucleus of photographs by Tomaso Filippi, I was able to identify twenty-seven undisputed reproductions of Layard's paintings.<sup>104</sup> The Venetian photographer possibly correspond that "Naya's man"<sup>105</sup> was sent to Ca' Capello to take photographs of the Ferraresi for the Burlington Fine Arts Club exhibition (1894).<sup>106</sup> Given that Filippi was already well-acquainted with Venturi and undertook several other works for him, it could be argued that by the time of preparing the illustrated catalogue of the Layard collection was being prepared, the art historian commissioned the missing photographs to Filippi. This hypothesis is indeed strengthened by the fact that the subjects represented in this photographic fund differ entirely from the previous ones and seems envisaged to complete the series.<sup>107</sup> As a matter of fact, it also included minor works, such as the twelve little panels with the *Labours of the months* (NG3109.1-6; NG3110.1-6, **Plate 30, Figure 82**) still mounted in their original frames.

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<sup>103</sup> On the use of Alinari photographs, it is worth mentioning this episode reported by Lady Layard: "I bought Postal cards with reproductions of 2 of my pictures in a shop in the Piazza & I went to make a complaint at the Alinari the photographer to ask if they know about it as it is a contravention to the law, my permission never having been asked". See LLJ, Venice, Ca' Capello, 22 November 1899.

<sup>104</sup> In the same folder of the Layard's photographs, I have recognised a "Roman landscape with figures" that could be referred to the collection, as it is one of the most recurring subjects among the pictures auctioned in 1939.

<sup>105</sup> LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 15 January 1894.

<sup>106</sup> Tomaso Filippi indeed worked in Naya's atelier until 1894ca. For a full account on his activity and his photographic archive, see Resini, Zerbi 2013.

<sup>107</sup> There is also a photograph from the illumination representing *A Jesse-tree* possibly by Girolamo Genga (TFN2586).

Therefore, 1888, which corresponds to the year of purchase of the little panels, becomes a possible terminus post quem to set the chronology of this photographic session undertaken by Filippi.

His photographic catalogue offers, moreover, another important feature: it contains the only visual reproduction known so far of the so-called Juan Carreño de Miranda, *Portrait of wife of Charles IV of Spain* (**Plate 30, Figure 81**). In addition to its presence, those of the Rosalba Carriera and the pretend Pietro Longhi (originally thought for Lady Layard's studio) concur in relating this photographic enterprise to Lady Layard, rather than to Sir Henry. Thereby, the chronology could be shifted more towards the years of Venturi's engagement. His publication, indeed, combines four Alinari photographs with seven by Filippi, even though they are labelled "Danesi Roma".

Lady Layard's decision certainly corresponds with the photographs taken by Domenico Anderson in 1897. She had been introduced to the Roman photographer by Michelangelo Guggenheim in September of that same year, and immediately "gave permission" for him "to photograph the pictures in this house".<sup>108</sup> Such readiness might be due to the fact that, in January 1894, Frizzoni had already advised that Layard: "Que Vous ferez photographeur de nouveau vos beaux tableaux quand l'excellent photographe Anderson de Rome reviendra à Venise".<sup>109</sup>

The selection comprehended nineteen paintings, four of which were inedited (i.e. Moretto's *Portrait of a man praying with a long beard*, Bellini's *Virgin and Child*, Mazzolino's *Nativity*, and Garofalo's *Virgin and Child with the Saints Dominic and Catherine*. Cf. Appendix D), the rest had been previously photographed by Brusa or

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<sup>108</sup> See LLJ, Ca' Capello, Venice, 15-17 September 1897.

<sup>109</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 233: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 29 January 1894.

Alinari. By 1898, the carbon prints were already available in Anderson's catalogue, listed under the heading "Palazzo Layard".<sup>110</sup> It comes as a surprise, however, that none of the later articles on the Layard paintings make use of any Anderson photographs, but instead continue to reproduce those by Alinari or Filippi.

### 3.6 La Galerie Layard in the *Gazette des beaux-arts*

Among the first and most significant articles on the Layard paintings there was the one penned by Gustavo Frizzoni for the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. As anticipated, the project of "illustrer [les tableaux] en rapport a leur mérite et a l'intérêt qu'ils offrent comme monument de l'art"<sup>111</sup> dated back to 1883. The terms of publication were stated again in a letter dated 21 November 1888,<sup>112</sup> but the major obstacle was the lack of good photographic reproductions. No doubt this might have deferred Frizzoni's article until 1896.<sup>113</sup>

Together with Horatio Brown's article, Frizzoni's article was the first one to be so rich in photographic illustrations. If Brown aimed to make Sir Henry Layard's pictures known among the British public, emphasising that "noble bequest",<sup>114</sup> Frizzoni's contribution was based on different premises - not by chance, it was addressed to the refined readers of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. It was an interesting chronological and topographic analysis of the paintings, with a clear historical-critical goal. It started with the Veneto school, "qui a fourni à la collection Layard le

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<sup>110</sup> Anderson 1898, 27.

<sup>111</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 182: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 16 January 1883.

<sup>112</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 73: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milano, via Pontaccio 14, 21 November 1888.

<sup>113</sup> See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIV, Add MS 38967, fol. 188: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 10 July 1885.

<sup>114</sup> Brown 1896, 223.

contingent le plus abondant”,<sup>115</sup> and moved to the Florentine school, concluding with a brief comment on the “productions de l’art cultivé dans les régions du Bas-Rhin”.<sup>116</sup> The collection represented a valuable opportunity for Frizzoni’s critical work, since he could largely discuss and demonstrate his attributions, not only in the case of the allegorical figure by Cosmè Tura - for which, as we have already seen before, he proposed a comparison with “la déesse Cérès”<sup>117</sup> by Michele Pannonio - but also with the *Portrait of an Old Man* (NG3130), once in Boxall’s collection. He assigned this work to Gentile Bellini: “Celle-ci s’accorde bien avec une série de portraits réunis aujourd’hui à la National Gallery de Londres”.<sup>118</sup>

With regard to the *Portrait of a Man* (NG3121) “que sir H. Layard se plaisait à considérer comme une œuvre d’Antonello de Messine [...] aujourd’hui, il es, à juste titre, rapporté à cet Alvisè Vivarini”.<sup>119</sup> He proposed again his assignment to Francesco Caroto *The Saint Catherine* (NG3118), as he had already done in his letter to Layard.<sup>120</sup> In contrast to Morelli’s opinion, Frizzoni suggested the name of Andrea Schiavone, rather than that of Bonifazio, for that “main légère et habile”<sup>121</sup> that had sketched *The Queen of Sheba before King Solomon* (NG3107). Conversely, with regard to the attribution of the *Portrait of a Young Man* (NG3101) to Raffaellino del Garbo, he would embrace Morelli’s analysis and conclude that

L’analogie sensible entre le style de l’auteur et celui de Filippino Lippi [to whom the painting had also been ascribed] prouve surabondamment que nous nous trouvons en présence d’une œuvre exécutée par Raffaelino à sa plus belle

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<sup>115</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 456.

<sup>116</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 476.

<sup>117</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 472.

<sup>118</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 459-460.

<sup>119</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 460.

<sup>120</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 206: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milan, via Pontaccio 14, 15 March 1883. Cf. Frizzoni 1896, 463.

<sup>121</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 466.

époque, c'est-à-dire dans les années où il travailla sous l'influence directe de Lippi.<sup>122</sup>

With regard to the so-called Sebastiano del Piombo, Frizzoni had already expressed his doubts in a letter to Layard, saying that

Le tableau portant le nom de Sebast. Luciani (dal Piombo) m'a toujours semblé une énigme, et encore ne saurais je me persuader qu'il soit vraiment de lui. Quelle relation y'a-t-il en effet entre cette peinture et celle tout à fait giorgionesques (c'est à dire de sa jeunesse) à S. G. Grisostomo et à San Bartolomeo di Rialto?<sup>123</sup>

Uncertainty remained also in the article, where he declared that if it were not for the cartellino "certainement authentique [...] personne n'y aurait cru".<sup>124</sup> And, he was right; it is a work by Andrea Busati.

Finally, Frizzoni concluded by making a commendation to Cavenaghi's restoration work, recognising his "mérite vraiment extraordinaire [...] pour l'œuvre consciencieuse et savant qu'il a menée à bonne fin, en restituant à maintes pièces détériorées et altérées leur aspect primitif".<sup>125</sup> In this sense, he had stated in a letter to Lady Layard about the painting by Palma: "Quand il sera rétabli dans sus état normal il méritera d'être bien plus signalé de ce que j'ai fait dans la Gazette".<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 474.

<sup>123</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 206: G. Frizzoni to A.H. Layard, Milan, via Pontaccio 14, 15 March 1883. About the so-called Sebastiano del Piombo, Crowe and Cavalcaselle had expressed their doubts by saying that "the barbarous form of that signature suggests suspicions which are confirmed by the painting, the treatment being that of a follower of Cima, not that of a follower of Giovanni Bellini; and resembling to some extent that of Girolamo da Udine". Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 204, n. 2.

<sup>124</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 461.

<sup>125</sup> Frizzoni 1896, 476.

<sup>126</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 335r: G. Frizzoni to E. Layard, Milano, Via Pontaccio 14, 22 December 1896.

### 3.7 Critical reception in the principal European art historiography and handbooks

A close examination to the articles and mentions, which appeared between 1871 and 1912, shows that “les principales attractions de la galerie”<sup>127</sup> were considered the *Portrait of the Sultan* by Gentile Bellini, Antonello / Alvise Vivarini variously attributed, Carpaccio, the so-called Sebastiano del Piombo, Luini, Moretto, Moroni, Previtali, Savoldo, Cosimo Tura, Garofalo, Ercole Grandi, and Raffaellino del Garbo. Short mentions regarded the paintings of non-Italian provenance and even more rare were those relating to the decorative arts included in the Layard Collection. One of the few to report their presence was Cesare Augusto Levi, who had briefly referred to “i marmi rapportati dagli scavi siriaci [...] i vetri presi a Cipro, le majoliche spagnuole”.<sup>128</sup> Alfredo Melani is the only one to include a photograph of the paliotto photographed by Alinari, now untraced.

In the *History of Painting in North Italy* Crowe and Cavalcaselle mentioned the majority of the paintings belonging to the Layard Collection, including an illustration of the *St. Jerome* by Savoldo.<sup>129</sup> The Cicerone and the Baedeker invited to visit the “interesting collection of pictures”.<sup>130</sup>

Karl Karoly in his *Guide to the paintings of Venice* wrongly associated, as many had done before and would continue to do so, Ca' Capello Layard to the palace where Bianca Capello had lived. “As these works will eventually go to the National Gallery (London)” the selection proposed only “the most important”<sup>131</sup> paintings,

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<sup>127</sup> Revue 1896, 149.

<sup>128</sup> Levi 1900, CCXLI.

<sup>129</sup> Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 63, 78-8, 128, 130, 183, 185, 190, 204-5, 212, 214, 236, 265, 282, 295, 307, 318, 319, 342, 343, 380.

<sup>130</sup> Baedeker 1895, 265.

<sup>131</sup> Karoly 1895, 162.



listed in alphabetical order.<sup>132</sup> Similarly, the guide published by Georges Lafenestre and Eugène Richtenberger stated that “à l’extrême obligeance de [...] Lady Layard [...] devons les renseignements sur les provenances”.<sup>133</sup> On such a basis Emil Jacobsen conducted his brief survey for the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* (1899).<sup>134</sup> The article, however, rightly questioned some of the attributions that were reported. Notably, Jacobsen refused to assign to Giovanni Bellini the *Virgin with Child* (NG3078) on the premises of the signature Joannes Bellinus, but without proposing another name; he mildly accepted the attribution to Sebastiano del Piombo, whilst he fully recognised those of Raffaellino del Garbo and Cosimo Tura.<sup>135</sup> These convictions were the result of a direct visit to the Gallery, confirmed also by a letter addressed to Lady Layard, where he stated: “Je soussignai qui a l’intention d’écrire une œuvre critique sur les importantes Galeries de Venise désiré vivement quelquefois d’avoir [sic] l’occasion de visiter et [de] faire des études dans la célèbre ‘Galerie Layard’”.<sup>136</sup>

### 3.8 Ultimate aim

In the growing advertising era of magazines and photographs, the collection received profuse and positive coverage from influential and specialised periodicals

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<sup>132</sup> Apparently the Layards did not associate their palace to that of Bianca Capello. At any rate, they possessed an Eighteenth-century print of her portrait wearing a black gown with lace collar, a string of pearls and a veil trimmed with pearls (BM, inv. 1910,0610.149) and in 1883 they visited her villa at Poggio Caiano. See LLJ, Castagnolo, 24 October 1883.

<sup>133</sup> Lafenestre, Richtenberger 1897, 304-12, at 304.

<sup>134</sup> Jacobsen 1899, 362-3.

<sup>135</sup> The attribution of the Giovanni Bellini’s *Virgin and Child* had already been doubted by Crowe and Cavalcaselle, who retained that Marco Basaiti had collaborated on the work. See Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 186.

<sup>136</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 58167, fol. 185: Letter E. Jacobsen to E. Layard, 9 July 1897.

and popular journals, testifying to a public recognition. Lady Layard's more or less indirect contribution to make the paintings visible endorsed a wider investigation into the story of the collection.

If the scope of the first descriptions of the gallery was principally to make it known and scholarly discuss its attributions, from 1904 onwards the concern shifted towards the exportation of the paintings. Articles were becoming the best stage where to consider and generally discuss the problem posed by "the new Italian law regulating the preservation of monuments, antiquities, and works of art".<sup>137</sup> It is no accident that the British magazine *The Connoisseur* promptly informed its readers of this legal novelty and accompanied the subsequent news about the *Official Catalogue of valuable works of art in Private collections* in Italy with photographs of the Layard collection exclusively.<sup>138</sup> The changing tempers and this issue will be discussed thoroughly in the next chapter.

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<sup>137</sup> *The Connoisseur* 1904, 178. Cf. *The Connoisseur* 1903, 258.

<sup>138</sup> See *The Connoisseur* 1904, 178-180.

### III. Legacy and Bequests

# 1. The Exportation Issue\*

A full history of the dispersal of the Layard collection by public auctions and bequests has yet to be undertaken. I would thereupon like to start dealing with his bequest to the National Gallery of London, whose course was fairly thwarted and took a long time before being accomplished. This issue encompasses a broad time span (1888-1916) and highlights several aspects of the attempts of Italian law to protect its national heritage at this early stage. Furthermore, the matter offers an extraordinary insight into the foreign policy adopted by two friendly nations, Italy and Great Britain, on the eve of the First World War. It thus provides a striking example of how blurred the boundaries of legislation could be, particularly notable in such a complex historical and political context.

The accomplishment of the legacy to the British nation was controversial and painful, both for the removal of the collection from Italy and the misinterpretation of Layard's intentions. At any rate, his unruly passion for art was rewarded by the equally beloved diplomacy. Despite his disappointment after failing to be nominated as British Ambassador to Italy, diplomacy would assist Layard post mortem.

Drawing from hitherto neglected documentary evidence, coupled with a fresh perspective on the relations between the various actors involved, this chapter will attempt to untangle the complexities of the above episode giving consideration to both the English and Italian sides.

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\* Supplementary material is provided in the form of a transcription of relevant documentation held at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome, Museo Correr Archive, and National Gallery Archive (see Appendix E).

Nicholas Penny and Saho Matsumo-Best have already outlined a general picture of the manner in which Layard paintings entered the British collections and through which channels, yet there remain significant historical and diplomatic aspects hitherto untold.<sup>1</sup> These fresh perspectives on the episode serve to emphasise the nexus between legislation, art policy, diplomacy, and the history of museums. To highlight this, I will examine new archival documents I have discovered in the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome. In addition to this important new source, I will consider other relevant information that has not been investigated closely enough and which lays the foundations for a wider contextualisation: newspaper articles, parliamentary reports, ministerial orders, and private correspondence. This abundance of material, ultimately, conveys a broader perspective of all the events and presents them for the first time in full, whilst in addition posing interesting problems.

## 1.1 The exportation licence, a well-known obstacle

On 2 August 1892 Layard drew up the final version of his will, where he bequeathed the bulk of his art collection to the National Gallery of London.<sup>2</sup> As previously stated, most of Layard's paintings had been purchased before the unification of Italy, and originally brought to England at a time when legislation concerning the export of works of art was not particularly restrictive.<sup>3</sup> Nonetheless, Layard kept a constant eye on the enforcement of the law both as a Trustee for the purchases of the museum and as the owner of the collection which he had been

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<sup>1</sup> See Penny 2004, 372-80; Matsumoto-Best 2008, 83-101.

<sup>2</sup> There are two versions of the will, one dated 4 April 1892 and the other 2 August 1892.

<sup>3</sup> See Emiliani 1978, 60-4; 192-224.

transferring back to Italy from 1875. Although he condemned that “flagrant abuse”<sup>4</sup> of dispersing works of art indiscriminately, and welcomed Morelli’s attempts to prevent it, he despised the efforts made by the Italian government.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, Layard regarded them as “illiberal and short-sighted”, because of the manner in which they “prevent the owners of pictures from disposing of them to private persons or to public galleries, and forbidding their exportation – regulations which only cause trouble to honest people, and give occasion to the employment by unscrupulous persons of fraudulent means for evading them”.<sup>6</sup> However, his main criticism was reserved for the “petty jealousy of foreigners, which enacts or threatens [Italian] laws prohibiting the exportation of all pictures and other works of art without special permission, whilst some of the finest paintings are allowed to decay and perish”.<sup>7</sup> From his early travels in the peninsula for the Arundel Society, he had positioned himself as a defensor artis and reminded the Italians that “after all, they owe the preservation of many of their most valuable monuments of art to the liberality of enlightened strangers”.<sup>8</sup> And somewhat ironically, as Donata Levi observed, the role Layard played in preservation was often achieved through pillaging.<sup>9</sup>

As argued previously, Layard had remained well-informed about regulations surrounding artworks. Having in mind to bequeath his pictures to the National Gallery, he began to consider the requirements relating to their exportation. As it is apparent, Layard always used his diplomatic relations for his artistic interests and

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<sup>4</sup> Layard 1892, 13.

<sup>5</sup> See *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, VIII Legislatura, sessione 1861-1863, Discussioni*, 19 July 1862, 3413-3416. Morelli’s speech has been entirely published by Dalai Emiliani 1993, 123-128. See also Levi 1993.

<sup>6</sup> Layard 1892, 14. To this respect, in 1859, he wrote about the Pacca edict “encourages the shameless system of corruption and bribery”. Layard 1859b, 362.

<sup>7</sup> Layard 1860, 32.

<sup>8</sup> Layard 1860, 32.

<sup>9</sup> Levi 2005, 42. A variation of what Elsner and Cardinal have defined “conscious rescuing from extinction - collection as salvation”. Elsner, Cardinal 1994, 1.

used his artistic interests to maintain his diplomatic relations. It was this vicious or virtuous circle that allowed Layard to more easily navigate the complex legal landscape, particularly when the young Italian government became increasingly interested in the protection of its artistic heritage and consequently more vigilant. In fact, in December 1887 the British Ambassador at Rome, John Savile Lumley (1884-88),<sup>10</sup> promptly informed Layard that due to mounting criticism against the continuous depletion of artworks, and their removal abroad, the Italian Chamber of Deputies were beginning to establish a proper legislative framework in response. Savile, who was in his turn involved in the archaeological excavations at Nemi and Civita Lavinia,<sup>11</sup> wrote to Layard:

If I have not sooner replied to yours of the 15<sup>th</sup> is because I wished to send you all the documents relating to the Bill for protecting works of art in Italy, which was discussed in the Chamber of Deputies at the end of last month; and especially the Bill itself amended by the Comm[endatore] whose corrections the Government accepted. I think you may make your mind entirely at ease as to the possibility of the new law when it is past affecting in any way the collection you brought with you to Venice: if necessary an affidavit to that effect would be sufficient to prevent any attempt on the part of the Customs Offices to claim duty on your pictures while a letter from the President of the Academy stating the fact that the pictures in your possession were brought by you to Venice would make assurance doubly sure. The duty, I fancy, will not be more than 25% ad valorem which is already far too much but it will be enforced generally over the whole of Italy whereas the Pacca law really only took effect in the ancient Pontifical States. You will therefore be free to send your pictures out of Italy without paying any duty on them. I quite agree with what you as to the impotence of the Embassy being held by a man of conciliatory character, any attempt to browbeat or bully the Italian would not only fail but would convert a

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<sup>10</sup> For Savile's biography, see the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, <<https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24743>> [accessed November 2018].

<sup>11</sup> De Tomasi 2013, 160-161, 163-169; Attenni 2011, 164-168.

nation of first allies into [\*unknown] friend just when we may want them most.<sup>12</sup>

Layard spared no time in following the instruction given to him by Savile Lumley and on 26 June Sir Henry made an affidavit.<sup>13</sup> In order to avoid any potential difficulty with regard to the removal of his picture collection from Venice, he declared that it was of notoriety that he had imported fifty-five paintings “di alto pregio”<sup>14</sup> from the United Kingdom to Venice from 1875. To corroborate this statement, he swore attestation with Alexander Malcolm, the Academician and restorer Guglielmo Botti, as well as with two loyal members of the Venice and Murano Company – Giovanni Castellani and Giovanni Astolfi. This way, he sought to remedy the lack of legal proof for the original exportation to England, whilst hoping to pave the way for the re-importation of the paintings into Italy.

Within few months, Savile Lumley reassured Layard that he had discussed the matter with Rodolfo Lanciani (1845-1929), with whom the Ambassador was personally in contact,<sup>15</sup> as well as with

Other specialized on the subject of the action of the Bill on the exportation of works of art, without mentioning any name, and I am assured in the most positive manner that the new Law when it is passed will not apply to pictures that have been brought into the country which it may be desired to send from

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<sup>12</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXII, Add MS 39042, fol. 27: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, 19 December 1887. For the Bill Savile referred to see *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei deputati*, Legislatura XVI, 2<sup>a</sup> sessione, Discussioni, 23 November 1887, 49-66. *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei deputati*, Legislatura XVI, 2<sup>a</sup> sessione, Discussioni, 24 November 1887, 71-91.

<sup>13</sup> There are two copies of the document; one is housed in the National Gallery Archive at call number NG7/276/1(ii); the other one is included in the main folder of the Layard issue at the Archivio Centrale di Stato at Rome, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale Antichità e Belle Arti, II versamento, busta 745.

<sup>14</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Atto di notorietà, 26 June 1888.

<sup>15</sup> See De Tomasi 2013, 165.



Italy all that is required is an affidavit or a certificate from some person acquainted with the pictures that they were brought into the country.<sup>16</sup>

Along with his trusteeship, it is clear that well before 1888 Layard felt that “just pride in adding to [the nation’s] art-treasures”<sup>17</sup> his picture collection. He shared Charles Eastlake’s opinion, for which “a great public picture gallery should be formed [...] showing the history of painting in all its branches and in its successive periods of development”<sup>18</sup>. This is the very reason why Sir Henry decided to leave his “own pictures, insignificant as they are”<sup>19</sup> to the National Gallery. As insignificant as they could be, he was convinced that these paintings would contribute towards filling up the gaps that existed in the national collection, by illustrating the work of lesser-known artists, such as Gaudenzio Ferrari, Bernardino Luini, Girolamo de’ Libri. At any rate, the collection could also boast some desirable names including Carpaccio, Cosimo Tura and Bramantino. Moreover, since 1870, the political landscape had changed, finances had diminished and fierce competition proliferated among the growing number of museums, dealers and collectors had increased the demand of Old Masters, and consequently the market prices they could expect to fetch.<sup>20</sup> Despite the means of purchasing at its disposal, Layard was convinced that the National Gallery “chiefly depends [...] upon gifts and bequest”.<sup>21</sup> In addition to this concern, Layard feared that “the Italian law already strict for the

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<sup>16</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CXIII, Add MS 39043, fol. 98: J. Savile Lumley to A.H. Layard, Rome, 29 December 1888.

<sup>17</sup> Layard 1886, 409. In 1865 Eastlake authorised Layard to have *The Adoration of the Kings* by Bellini’s workshop (NG3098) restored by Pinti in the cellars of the NG, because he already suspected Layard’s intention “to bequeath the picture to the Gallery”. NGA, NG5/161/24: E. Rigby to R. Wornum, Pisa, 17 December 1865, quoted from Sheldon 2009, 238.

<sup>18</sup> Sheldon 2009, p. 424.

<sup>19</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 62: A.H. Layard to W. Gregory, 12 September 1870.

<sup>20</sup> See Reitlinger 1970, 110, 127; Guerzoni 1995; Guerzoni 1996, 111.

<sup>21</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 108: Letter A.H. Layard to W. Gregory, 13 June 1872.

prevention of the export of works of art will probably very shortly be made much more stringent, and that it will be difficult if not impossible to get any picture out of the country if it be of the least value”.<sup>22</sup> By 1870, Layard had however expressed another worry.

I feel with regard to my own pictures, insignificant as they are, that I should not have much pleasure in thinking that they are going to Trafalgar Square – now that we have entered upon the policy of Ayrtonism. I had intended to leave them to the nation.<sup>23</sup>

Notwithstanding, Sir Henry resolved, by a will made in 1892, to devise his pictures in London and Venice “for the use and enjoyment of the British public for ever as part of the National Collection”.<sup>24</sup> The Director and the Trustees might accept the entire bequest or a selection of the paintings, except for certain family portraits which were to pass to the members of Sir Henry’s family.<sup>25</sup> Lady Layard should maintain a life interest “without any responsibility for accidental loss destruction or injury”,<sup>26</sup> the works being no longer her property.

In fact, the paintings remained in Lady Layard’s custody till her death, apart from a fresco, *The Virgin and Child* attributed to Bartolomeo Montagna (NG1696), which had been kept at London, and was to be removed at the request of her brother. It was “hard to give up what Henry liked”,<sup>27</sup> had commented Lady Layard, but the fresco required a safer place. Therefore, she did not hesitate to write to Edward Poynter, in

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<sup>22</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, fol. 55: A.H. Layard to W. Gregory, 12 November 1888. He had previously pointed out the issue in the ‘Annual Report of the Director of the National Gallery to the Treasury for the year 1885’. See also Layard 1886, 432.

<sup>23</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38949, fol. 62: A.H. Layard to W. Gregory, 12 September 1870.

<sup>24</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, I Ver., b. 745: Austen Henry Layard’s Will, 2 August 1892.

<sup>25</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, I Ver., b. 745: Austen Henry Layard’s Will, 2 August 1892.

<sup>26</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, I Ver., b. 745: Austen Henry Layard’s Will, 2 August 1892.

<sup>27</sup> LLJ, London, 1 June 1900.

order to ensure that the work would be “sufficiently good for the Gallery to accept”.<sup>28</sup>

## 1.2 Defining the legislative framework

Since the late Sir Henry Layard had passed away, increasingly restrictive legislation concerning the exportation of works of art had been adopted in Italy. On 12 June 1902 a new law was passed for the preservation of monuments and objects of antiquity and art (No. 185/1902, known also as Nasi Law). It required the owners of private collections to register these possessions with the relevant governmental office. If specific objects were deemed to be of great antique and artistic value, they should be inscribed in the *Catalogo degli oggetti di sommo pregio per la storia e per l'arte appartenenti a privati* and their exportation forbidden. Meanwhile, the remainder of these collections were permitted to be removed from the country, as they were of lesser importance and as such, their potential loss would not cause significant damage to national heritage.<sup>29</sup>

On May 15, 1903 Lady Layard received a letter from the director of the Regie Gallerie dell'Accademia, Giulio Cantalamessa, referring to the provisions of the new law No. 185/1902. Consequently, Cantalamessa requested permission to take measurements and record descriptions of five paintings housed at Ca' Capello Layard, namely Antonello da Messina, *Portrait of a Man* (NG3121); Gentile Bellini, *Portrait of Mahomet II* (NG3099); Vittore Carpaccio, *The Departure of St. Ursula* (NG3085); Sebastiano del Piombo, *The Entombment* (NG3084); Cosmè Tura, *Figure*

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<sup>28</sup> NGA, NG7/249/4, Letter E. Layard to E. Poynter, 1 June 1900. See also LLJ, 4 June 1900.

<sup>29</sup> On this topic see again Emiliani 1978; Gioli 1997; Balzani 2003.

of *Spring* (NG3070). Lady Layard immediately suspected possible difficulties in exporting these pictures, and as such, did not hesitate to take precautions. First, she “asked an Italian gentleman, a friend of her own and of the Director of the Gallery, to speak to him on the subject”.<sup>30</sup> In collaboration with the legal adviser of the British Embassy, she then communicated officially to Cantalamessa that she only had a lifelong interest in the aforementioned paintings. As a result of Layard’s dispositions, the picture collection was bequeathed to the National Gallery of London, and thus belonged to the British government. The paintings, therefore, not being private ownership, could not fall into the law’s remit.<sup>31</sup>

In spite of that, on 13 June 1903, the Ministry of Public Instruction, which controlled the General Department of Fine Arts, notified to Lady Layard that by reason of their historical and artistic value, seven paintings of the collection were subjected to the dispositions of the clause 5, 6, 23, 26, 27, 28 of the law in force.<sup>32</sup> To the former list, *The Adoration of the Kings* by Gentile Bellini (NG3098) and a *Madonna and Child* by Giovanni Bellini (NG3078) were added after being deemed of supreme artistic value. The notices had been signed by Lady Layard’s butler as a receipt and promptly sent to Rome by the Mayor, Filippo Grimani,<sup>33</sup> together with the royal decrees concerning the works of art of Baron Franchetti, Prince Giovanelli, and Leone Orefice.<sup>34</sup> Despite being abroad, Lady Layard immediately brought it to the attention of Sir Francis Bertie, the British Ambassador in Rome. The Embassy was already acquainted with similar cases and fairly concerned with this “desire on

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<sup>30</sup> NGA, NG7/276/9: Letter F. Bertie to Marquess of Lansdowne, 7 July 1903. It is possible that the gentleman in question was the Director of the State Archive of Venice, Carlo Malagola. See also ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Letter G. Cantalamessa to N. Nasi, 27 December 1904.

<sup>31</sup> NGA, NG7/276/5: E. Layard to G. Cantalamessa, (?) May 1903.

<sup>32</sup> ACS, III versamento, II parte, b. 238: Ordine di notifica del Ministro Fiorilli, 11 June 1903. It exists a copy translated into English at the NGA, NG7/276/6.

<sup>33</sup> ACS, III versamento, II parte, b. 238: Letter Grimani to C. Fiorilli, 2 July 1903. As regards Grimani, see M. Gottardi, ‘Grimani, Filippo’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 59 (2002).

<sup>34</sup> See Gardner 2002, 130, 176-77; Gardner 2005, 165.

the part of the Italian Authorities to place every possible difficulty in the way of the export of works of art”.<sup>35</sup> Bertie therefore informed the Foreign Office of the course they intended to pursue, and eventually “have any directions [...] in regard to a representation to the Italian Government on behalf of His Majesty’s Government”.<sup>36</sup>

By the end of October, the reply was ready to be delivered to the Minister of Public Instruction, Nunzio Nasi, one of the advocates of the law No. 185/1902.<sup>37</sup> However, the Ambassador knew that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Enrico Costantino Morin,<sup>38</sup> did not share the same view on the subject as his colleague Nunzio Nasi. He thus chose to hand this communication to Morin and explain him personally the facts. This way, Morin was to convey the protest to the Ministry of Public Instruction and in doing so, was prevented

His giving much a reply direct to Lady Layard, independently of the Foreign Department, as would make it difficult for the Italian Government to give way later on in the event of it becoming necessary for His Majesty’s Government to make official representations on the subject.<sup>39</sup>

This action was perfectly in line with the National Gallery’s expectations. Poynter indeed had requested the Minister Sanderson to “spare no effort to induce the Italian Government to recognise the rights of the Trustees”<sup>40</sup>, as such restrictions could potentially invalidate the provisions of the bequest.

In the formal protest it was explained how the paintings had been introduced into Italy and that by virtue of Layard’s Will they already belonged to the National Gallery, though in Lady Layard’s custody. Therefore, the order she had been issued

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<sup>35</sup> NGA, NG7/276/9: F. Bertie to Marquess of Lansdowne, 10 July 1903.

<sup>36</sup> NGA, NG7/276/9: F. Bertie to Marquess of Lansdowne, 10 July 1903.

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, G. L. Fruci, ‘Nasi, Nunzio’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 77 (2012).

<sup>38</sup> See A. Malatesta, *Ministri, deputati, senatori dal 1848 al 1922*, II (Roma, 1946), 225.

<sup>39</sup> NGA, NG7/277/4(ii): Confidential letter from F. Bertie to Marquess of Lansdowne, 8 October 1903.

<sup>40</sup> NGA, NG7/276/10: E. Poynter to T. Sanderson, 7 August 1903.

on June 11 was ineffectual, as she was not the owner of the pictures, but the National Gallery<sup>41</sup>. In the meantime, however, the seven paintings had already been included in the *Catalogo degli oggetti di sommo pregio per la storia e per l'arte appartenenti a privati*, in line with the law June 27, 1903, No. 242.<sup>42</sup> As above-mentioned, this fact had been reported even in the English magazine *The Connoisseur*, with the aim “to offer to [the] readers a notice of the principal objects”, and to highlight these “masterpieces of exceptional value”<sup>43</sup> included in the recent issued Official Catalogue. However, it is evident that the focus was primarily on the “Layard Gallery”, with the entirety of the illustrations taken from that collection.

In response to the formal protest of Lady Layard, the Ministry of Public Instruction asked for further proof, and chiefly for the permit of importation. On April 25, 1904 Bertie sent to the new Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tommaso Tittoni, a copy of the Notarial deed (1888), which would prove the permission of importation issued to Layard in 1875, together with the two versions of the late Sir Henry Layard's Will (1892).<sup>44</sup>

### 1.3 Un Velenoso Pasticcio

Considering the extreme delicacy of the matter, the Ministry of Public Instruction decided to consult the Legal Advisers of the Treasury at Rome – or rather the Crown Lawyers at Venice, and the Central Office of the Crown Lawyers. In compliance

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<sup>41</sup> NGA, NG7/277/5(iii): Memorandum left with Admiral Morin, 24 October 1903.

<sup>42</sup> ACS, III versamento, II parte, b. 239: *Catalogo degli oggetti di sommo pregio per la storia e per l'arte appartenenti a privati*.

<sup>43</sup> See *The Connoisseur* 1904, 178-80, at 180.

<sup>44</sup> NGA, NG7/290/2(ii): F. Bertie to T. Tittoni, 25 April 1904. The copy of the permission has not been found yet. It might be possible that they had not. See BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CLXX, Add MS 39100, fol. 344: F. Bertie to E. Layard, 7 January 1904.

with the clause 5 of the law 185/1902, Lady Layard was bound to respect the notices, as the remit of the law extended to the detainer of works of art as well. Furthermore, the Notarial deed was considered inadequate to exempt the paintings from the dispositions of the extant law. Could more satisfactory evidence be produced, the case might be altered. Though the Ministry had “reserved its right to give a further opinion”,<sup>45</sup> it compromised by stating that this precautionary measure would be withdrawn

On the day when proof shall be established that, as works of art exported from England are in question, the said works of art may, without any regard to the laws in force, again be transported to England or be at the free disposal of the Museum to which were bequeathed.<sup>46</sup>

In addition, the Crown Lawyers at Venice set forth the limited effectiveness of the law over the works of art previously exported. In fact, it was not just the regulatory system to show its fragility and oddities.<sup>47</sup> If the legality of the first exportation had been investigated earlier, the issue might have taken another course. However, the opinion of the Regia Avvocatura Erariale (Crown Lawyers) at Venice – endorsed by the Regia Avvocatura Erariale Generale (Central Office of the Crown Lawyers, Rome) – was assumed *sic et simpliciter* by the Ministry of Public Instruction, who signed it, somewhat incautiously, without reserving further observation. On August 11 the Foreign Office transmitted it to the British Embassy.

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<sup>45</sup> NGA, NG7/290/2(ii): Extract from a Note from the Ministry of Public Instruction to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n. 11956, 30 July 1904. The original copy is at Rome, ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745.

<sup>46</sup> NGA, NG7/290/2(ii): Extract from a Note from the Ministry of Public Instruction to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n. 11956, 30 July 1904. The original copy is at ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745.

<sup>47</sup> See Mabellini 2016, 12, 13.

## 1.4 An able diplomat

The issue had ground to a halt: there was no legal permission of importation. But to the resolute Chargé d’Affaires at Rome, James Rennell Rodd (1858-1941; **Plate 31, Figure 83**), it seemed worth making further investigation into the matter.<sup>48</sup> Through Tittoni’s letter of recommendation, he was able to discuss it directly with the Undersecretary of Public Instruction, Emilio Pinchia, and attempt to discover the best course of action to undertake in order to prove the re-importation of the paintings. A deposition on Lady Layard’s part would hardly be conclusive, as well as one by Poynter. Nevertheless, Pinchia observed that once the National Gallery had claimed the pictures and had notified their removal from Venice, “it was not likely that the Italian Government would rise an objection to the will of the testator being carried out”.<sup>49</sup> In addition, Pinchia suggested acting at once, because this amiability might change as quickly as the Italian governments<sup>50</sup>. But it depended on Lady Layard, who was “entitled to the usufruct of the pictures, and she was not disposed to sanction their removal at that time”<sup>51</sup>. Thus, the only course to pursue was thus to provide satisfactory evidence as to the re-importation in Italy. If so, the Department would recognize an equitable view on the right of re-exportation, as maintained before the law 185/1902.

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<sup>48</sup>P. Lorraine, A. Campbell, ‘Rodd, James Rennell’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, in <http://oxforddnb.com/view/article/35809>. See also R.J.B. Bosworth, ‘Sir Rennell Rodd e l’Italia’, *Nuova Rivista Storica* LIV (1970), 420-579.

<sup>49</sup> NGA, NG7/290/2(iv): R.J. Rodd to Marquess of Lansdowne, 20 August 1904.

<sup>50</sup> Since 1903, seven governments had succeeded in Italy: I Zanardelli Gov.mt 15.01.1901-03.11.1903; II Giolitti Gov.mt, 03.11.1903-12.03.1905; I Tittoni Gov.mt 12-28.03.1905; I Fortis 28.03-24.12.1905; II Fortis Gov.mt 24.12.1905-08.02.1906; I Sonnino Gov.mt 08.02.1906-29.05.1906; III Giolitti Gov.mt 29.05.1906-11.12.1909. Nevertheless, the main protagonists of the issue remained the same, Guido Fusinato, and Tommaso Tittoni.

<sup>51</sup> London, NGA, NG7/290/2(iv): R.J. Rodd to Marquess of Lansdowne, 20 August 1904. As Benson would have mocked later “Lady Layard is known to have been anxious, and to have contemplated shipping the collection to London in her lifetime, but was deterred by the thought of her bare walls”. NGA, NG7/430/1: Private Memorandum on the position of the Layard Collection, 6 May 1913.



In the following months, with the assistance of Lady Layard and of the Trustees of the National Gallery, Rodd succeeded in gathering a sufficient body of evidence to submit to the Italian authorities and was fairly confident that he would be able to carry out the point.<sup>52</sup>

Firstly, there was Lady Layard's deposition, and the catalogue of the Exhibition of Works of Art held at Leeds in 1868. On that occasion four of the disputed pictures had been lent, namely the Allegorical figure by Tura, the Carpaccio, Giovanni Bellini's Madonna, and Gentile Bellini's Portrait of Mahomet II. In addition, they included the reviews which appeared in the "Times" on 3 and 11 June 1868, certified by the manager of the newspaper, Mr Moberly Bell. The main evidence was just a catalogue of the South Kensington Museum, which proved beyond doubt that these six pictures had been publicly exhibited. Specifically, from 1869 to 1871 they had been on loan at the SKM, on 26 July 1871 most of the Layard' pictures were sent to the National Gallery of Dublin and kept there until 1876, when they were finally delivered to Venice.<sup>53</sup> To prove this fact, a letter from the secretary of the Board of Education, George Ambrose, was included. The final attachment was a statement by Edward Poynter, which recalled a visit to Sir Henry's collection in his house in London around 1867, during which he had seen the Portrait of Mehemet II. Eventually the evidence presented satisfied the conditions required, except for one picture, then attributed alternatively to Antonello da Messina and Alvisè Vivarini, but later revealed to be by Jacometto. The latter had been indeed purchased in

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<sup>52</sup> See NGA, NG7/290/3: R.J. Rodd to the British Foreign Office, 29 September 1904 and NG7/290/5(ii): J.R. Rodd to T. Tittoni, 5 October 1904. There is a copy of the declaration, with the subsequent six attachment is archived at the ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers.,b. 745.

<sup>53</sup> The Loan Book (1857-1922) of the National Gallery of Ireland does not mention the presence of the Layard Collection. Nonetheless evidence can be gleaned from Layard's correspondence with Henry Doyle and documents held at the V&A. In addition to the registers, there is also a letter of H. Cole, in which he prevents Layard from sending the frescos to Dublin because of their delicate support. See BH, MA/I/L561: Letter H. Cole to A.H. Layard, 24 July 1871.

Venice in 1874 and never transferred abroad. Nevertheless, as most of the provenances had been proved, the British hoped that the Department of Fine Arts would take an equitable view of the case as a whole and create no difficulty when the time for removal would come.

There was, moreover, evidence available to prove that [Layard] had taken such steps as were open to him at the time to place on record the fact of their removal from London to Venice, which suggested that, had the regulations which now provide for temporary importation then been in force, he would no doubt have fulfilled their prescriptions.<sup>54</sup>

Rennell Rodd obtained an early, though unofficial, reply from the Under Secretary. Pinchia assured the British diplomat that the question might be decided in favour of the Trustees, as the law 185/1902 was not retroactive. Nevertheless, the Italian government took a while before conveying a conclusive official reply. Some difficulties, in fact, had arisen with regard to the applicability of the Regulations no. 431, 17 June 1904, by which a proper exportation licence was required, and no other document could substitute it (clause 305).

Cantalamesa had immediately been entrusted with the examination of the pictures under dispute, requested to identify their subjects, and then report to the Ministry for a final resolution.<sup>55</sup> On one side, the Regia Avvocatura Erariale at Venice considered it inequitable to apply the Regulations n. 431/1904, because at the time of the re-importation of the paintings the Royal Resolutions 19 September 1818, and 18 March 1827, were still in place. On the other, the Regia Avvocatura Erariale Generale felt compelled to comply with the clause 305 of the Regulations, in order to

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<sup>54</sup> Rodd 1925, 45.

<sup>55</sup> See ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: A. Sparagna to G. Cantalamessa, n. 18526, 22 December 1904; 'Letter from G. Cantalamessa to A. Sparagna', n. 3550, 27 December 1904; G. Cantalamessa to A. Sparagna, n. 3577, 12 January 1905. The subject of Carpaccio's painting had been questioned, whether it was the departure of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus, or St. Ursula.

avoid setting a precedent.<sup>56</sup> The Department of Fine Arts therefore decided to submit the issue to the Council of Ministers. The case had transformed into an open battle between Ministers.

The Foreign Office maintained that the former decision taken by the Ministry of Public Instruction, on 30 July and 10 December – though based on the mere arbitrary power of administration – had already been communicated to the British Embassy, and could not be revoked, in order to prevent a potential diplomatic incident.<sup>57</sup> The Regulations n. 431/1904, moreover, could not be enforced retroactively, since the necessary conditions did not apply to this case. The discussion, therefore, was over.

After consideration by the Council of Ministers and by the Council of State, it was eventually resolved in favour of Tittoni's view, or rather of a certain political courtesy. The notification for six of the seven disputed pictures was withdrawn, on the basis of the evidence submitted.<sup>58</sup> The *Portrait of a Man* only remained contentious, forasmuch as its re-importation had not been proved.

On 4 October 1906, Tittoni conveyed the resolution of the Council of State to the British Ambassador at Rome, Edwin Egerton, who duly transmitted it to the National Gallery, and then to Lady Layard.<sup>59</sup> Meanwhile, she had already been informed by her friend, the State Councillor Giovanni Cassis (1853-1938), that “Henry's legacy of the pictures [...] had been passed by Supreme Council after a hard fight of 2 hours!”<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: A. Sparagna to L. Credaro, 6 April 1906.

<sup>57</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b.745: Memorandum on the release of the Layard's paintings by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1905 (?).

<sup>58</sup> ACS, III versamento, II parte, b. 240: Svincolo quadri Layard. See also NGA, NG7/315.

<sup>59</sup> NGA, NG7/315/4(ii): E.H. Egerton to E. Grey, n. 176, 6 October 1906; NG7/315/4(i): E.H. Egerton to C. Holroyd, 12 October 1906.

<sup>60</sup> LLJ, Venice, 28 April 1906. The relationship with the Cassis spouses dates back to early 1900 when they were living in Venice, as Lady Layard's Journal attest.

The sentence, however, did not rule on the remaining 74 pictures (excluding the 4 by non-Italian painters), which had formed part of the collection, but which were not considered of such exceptional value as to be included in the catalogue of non-exportable works of art. In this regard, the Head of Fine Arts at Venice, Count Gino Fogolari, had frequently suggested taking measures in order to avoid further problems, but in vain. From then on, the situation remained in abeyance.

## 1.5 The entanglement

After the death of Lady Layard (Venice, 1 November 1912), the British were confident that they could take over the six liberated pictures and remove them from Italy at any time. With regards to the Portrait of a Man, it had remained inscribed in the Catalogue of objects of the highest value and its exportation consequently forbidden. At that point, that may have also been the case for some other pictures of the collection, whose re-importation had not been proved (10 in total). At any rate, if the decision to remove the six pictures from the category of non-exportable had enabled them to export the paintings when time came, this right ought to have set a precedent with regard to the rest of the collection, which had not been claimed as liable to vinculation in 1903, and for which the original exportation had also been “proved” by the Catalogue. But the British ignored the fact that the status of supreme works of art had obviously to be confined to those objects, whose removal would constitute a significant loss to the national cultural and historical heritage. The Department of Fine Arts could not insert in the *Catalogue* all the objects on the territory, independently from their material value, because while retaining the right

of pre-emption, the government could not afford to acquire everything.<sup>61</sup> Once inscribed in the *Catalogue*, the value of those works of art would be automatically increased by this official recognition. Not only this modus operandi was specious – because it required the government to purchase an object at an elevated price, or allow it be exported – but also it revealed one of the principal drawbacks of the *Catalogue*.<sup>62</sup> Namely, it delimited a priori the totality of works of art to protect and consequently the governmental action.

In order to improve this system, a new law regulating the export of works of art indeed passed in 1909, under the name of his advocates Giovanni Rosadi and Luigi Rava (June 20, No. 364). It allowed authorities to determine the national interest of a work of art and its eventual retention in the country, even if the prohibition to export had not been notified to the proprietor. In addition, the law asserted that any objects more than fifty years old, of which were potentially due to be exported, had to be first submitted to the relevant governmental department with a valuation assigned by the intending exporter. The State therefore had two options: to acquire them at that valuation or, if export was sanctioned, impose a duty *ad valorem*, increasing in accordance with the amount of the valuation ultimately established. As such, the remainder of the Layard collection was liable to be affected both by a possible vinculation and the export duty.

On behalf of the National Gallery, Rennell Rodd, who was already well acquainted with the issue and had in the meantime become Ambassador, was requested to make arrangements with the Italian authorities and obtain permission to have the collection exported duty-free. In order to carry out the terms of Layard's

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<sup>61</sup> It would have been better to improve and facilitate the circulation of the works of art from hand to hand, in spite of letting them leave the country.

<sup>62</sup> See ACS, III, II, b. 238: Communication N. Nasi to A. Venturi, E. Ferrari, A. Pasqui n. 4551, 19 March 1903. See also Balzani 2003, 64.

Will, he immediately approached the new Director of the Department of Fine Arts, Corrado Ricci (1858-1934, **Plate 31, Figure 86**), to discuss the terms of this question vis à vis.

In view of the evidence already produced, the Ambassador confidently assumed that the six liberated pictures, as well as the rest, would be regarded as temporarily imported, and therefore sanctioned with no obligation to pay the export duty. Had this argument been accepted, Rennell Rodd proposed to leave the vinculated picture by Antonello da Messina and some others to the Academy of Venice.<sup>63</sup> This growing confidence had filtered through to English newspapers as well. In the Daily Telegraph, for instance, Claude Phillips remarked that

It [was] understood that some years ago arrangements were made with the Italian Government, under which the entire collection [...], as an exceptional concession to a friendly nation, [had been] allowed to leave Italy, with the exception of a precious little "Portrait of a Man" by Alvise Vivarini, which may very possibly be transferred to the British Embassy at Rome.<sup>64</sup>

But before this friendly and exceptional concession should be definitely sanctioned, as an act of grace, it took more than a year and a half.

Ricci was fully cognizant of the "grossa faccenda della Galleria Layard"<sup>65</sup> and intended to negotiate a compromise with Rodd, in the hope of keeping some paintings at Venice. In order to abide by the new dispositions of the law 364/1909, Ricci drew up an accurate report to submit to the Council of Ministers. In fact, he was not persuaded of the soundness of the former decision and asked to revise the entire issue. He questioned the legality of the original exportation, in relation to the Royal Resolutions of 1818 and 1827, and pointed out that the interpretation of the

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<sup>63</sup> NGA, NG7/414/1: Letter J.R. Rodd to Lord Bessborough, 5 November 1912.

<sup>64</sup> Phillips 1912.

<sup>65</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: C. Ricci to G. Biagi, 16 November 1912.

law 185/1902 had been inaccurate and erroneous. But could that former decision be reversed? Furthermore, quid iuris about the rest of the collection?

In a private note to the Minister of Public Instruction, Luigi Credaro, the Italian Ambassador at London, Antonino Paternò Castello marquis of San Giuliano (**Plate 31, Figure 84**), explained that the case could not be easily solved.<sup>66</sup> Even if the first decision was erroneous, it had been communicated to the British Government, and therefore had become an official pledge to which they had to stick to.<sup>67</sup> These same views were taken by the Council of State, which eventually concluded that it was desirable

Prima di tentare un amichevole accomodamento, al quale forse si potrebbe indurre il Governo Inglese portando ufficiosamente a sua conoscenza le ragioni che il R. Governo potrebbe invocare per non tener conto del decreto 1906 e quelle che ad ogni modo gli permetterebbero di applicare integralmente la nuova legge ai rimanenti quadri, e chiedendo, come riconoscimento della arrendevolezza nostra, una equa soluzione che possa accontentare anche l'opinione pubblica nazionale e i nobili interessi artistici del nostro paese.<sup>68</sup>

In the meanwhile, the affair had sparked off a fierce debate not only in Parliament, but also in newspapers and cultural magazines.<sup>69</sup> *L'Adriatico* and the *Gazzetta di Venezia*, of course, paid almost daily attention to the matter, which had caused a great stir also in the *Corriere della Sera*, *Nuova Antologia*, and *Il Giornale d'Italia*. They attached great value to the painting collection, which was considered “una delle più superbe pinacoteche private che l'Italia vanti”.<sup>70</sup> In fact, it partly counterbalanced the continuous losses of artworks that the area had been

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<sup>66</sup> See Ferraioli 2000.

<sup>67</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: A. San Giuliano to L. Credaro, 2 January 1913.

<sup>68</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Consiglio di Stato sezione I, protocollo n. 83. Oggetto Galleria Layard, 24 January 1913.

<sup>69</sup> The issue had even appeared on the pages of the *Kunstchronik* in 1906. ‘Von der Sammlung Layard’, *Kunstchronik. Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstwerke* VI (23 Nov. 1906): 93.

<sup>70</sup> Serra 1913, 294.

experiencing during the previous decades, representing an active part in the preservation of objects of national importance in the country. Yet, in keeping with what Gustavo Frizzoni had declared during the International Artistic Congress (Venice, 1905), Ca' Capello Layard had been widely perceived as a social and cultural meeting point and a focal point for local, national and international visitors.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, Venetian scholars made a plea for transforming the palace into a Venetian branch of the National Gallery.<sup>72</sup> *Il Marzocco* chiefly rallied the supporters for the retention of the Layard collection within the country, as they proposed to reconsider the whole case, but remained jeopardised by the sentence of 1906, and invoked the specifications of the new law in force. For this purpose, Luigi Serra concluded his detailed survey on the collection by saying:

Che tutta questa insigne raccolta abbia a scomparir dall'Italia, non ci sentiamo di crederlo. O lo spirito equo e cavalleresco del Governo Inglese, o l'osservanza scrupolosa, inflessibile delle nostre leggi devono riuscir nell'intento di assicurarla al nostro paese.<sup>73</sup>

However, the existence of the law did not guarantee its application, as Guido Cagnola had predicted: “Purché si sappia e voglia, si possono sempre eludere gli effetti dei provvedimenti legislativi più draconiani”<sup>74</sup>. The decision of 1906 had been approved *ultra vires*, and the one to come would be an act of grace. Arturo Jahn Rusconi wrote in his article on *Les Arts*:

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<sup>71</sup> On Frizzoni's lecture, see Frizzoni 1908.

<sup>72</sup> Fogolari proposed it to C. Holroyd in a letter dated 2 November (NGA, NG14/3/1), then the idea was revived by Ravà 1912, Melani, 1913, 309, and Serra 1913, 294; and referred again to Holroyd by Rodd, NGA, NG7/414/7, 18 November 1912.

<sup>73</sup> Serra 1913, 304.

<sup>74</sup> Cagnola 1912, 5-6. A similar sad conclusion was to be stated by Lionel Cust years later (Cust 1915a, 110-111), with regard to the law 364/1909, that had proved to have “only encouraged evasion and dishonesty, and had become both vexatious and ineffective”.



C'est en vain que contre l'exécution de cette disposition testamentaire, qui contrevient à toutes les lois italiennes pour la défense du patrimoine artistique du pays, l'on a protesté et discuté dans tous les journaux et au Parlement.<sup>75</sup>

The collection was a valuable pawn to play in the international area and the two eminent Venetian deputies Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti and Antonio Fradeletto were aware of this and were thus inclined to meet the British views. To corroborate it, Molmenti, who had long been an advocate for the protection of Venetian heritage, had also declared that the collection was “second rate”.<sup>76</sup> He did not deem the Carpaccio so valuable – the Academy of Venice could boast the entire series of St. Ursula – and he believed that the only value that could be attached to *Portrait of Mehmet II* was historical, being much repainted.<sup>77</sup> The Ambassador shared this opinion, remarking that “there is a feeling about that, like the attention feeling about the Elgin marbles”.<sup>78</sup>

On the other side of the Channel, newspapers were also proclaiming Layard's munificence, as “the importance of so valuable and educative a bequest to the National Gallery cannot be overstated, and a similar collection could not, in all human probability, be formed at the present day”.<sup>79</sup>

As negotiations continued, the collection required a safe custody. Ca' Cappello had passed into the hands of Miss Olivia Blanche Du Cane, under Lady Layard's Will, and the palace was due to be let.<sup>80</sup> In accordance with Ricci and “in manner not

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<sup>75</sup> Jahn Rusconi 1913, 69.

<sup>76</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 10 May 1913. For his opinion on the Layard collection, see L'Adriatico 1912c, L'Adriatico 1912d. For his campaign against the looting of works of art see P. G. Molmenti, 'Gli spogliatori di Venezia artistica e della necessità di una legge sulla conservazione degli oggetti d'arte', in *Atti del Regio Istituto Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 8/7 (Venice: Tip. Ferrari, 1897).

<sup>77</sup> On Molmenti and Fradeletto's opinion see also *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XXIII, 1° sessione, Discussioni*, 5 March 1913, 23747.

<sup>78</sup> NGA, NG7/419/7: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 26 January 1913.

<sup>79</sup> Brockwell 1912.

<sup>80</sup> See ANVe, *Atti Carlo Candiani*, Vol. 296 (1913), rep. N. 29782.

to arouse comment or excite public opinion which might equally misinterpret temporary transfer to Venice Academy or Embassy”,<sup>81</sup> Rodd arranged that the pictures would remain at Ca’ Cappello on payment of a rent for the use of the room where they were located<sup>82</sup>. Such an arrangement could, however, only be temporarily; the pictures had to be removed as soon as possible, “as delay may breed danger”.<sup>83</sup> Lionel Cust, together with Robert H. Benson and George N. Curzon (**Plate 31, Figure 87**), did “not trust the Italian Government in the matter, it has been discussed over and over again and what you may settle with the Minister will perhaps or [\*possibly] be ignored by the successors. What is wanted is a firm and decisive action, not talk or discussion”.<sup>84</sup>

However, the British Ambassador was reluctant to play a strong hand, as “to do that when dealing with a Foreign Government must have a strong case. That, in my opinion, we have not got, except as regards the 6 pictures”<sup>85</sup>. His pragmatic approach was to “treat the matter in a generous and large-minded international spirit”<sup>86</sup>, and seek “an arrangement [...] for mutual convenience”<sup>87</sup>. Retaliation, meanwhile, might ignite unwanted press protest and sharpen the situation.

In fact, the Italian Government was inclined towards a concession, but it could not entirely waive the law, and this was perfectly clear to Rodd.

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<sup>81</sup> NGA, NG7/414/16(iii): Telegram from J.R. Rodd, no. 173, 28 November 1912.

<sup>82</sup> NGA, NG7/414/10: J.R. Rodd to C. Holroyd, 19 November 1912. See also NGA, NG13/1/9: ‘Account book, Register of Orders for Payments by His Majesty’s Paymaster General, 1908-1918’: £115 to Louis Du Cane, for 115 days rent for a room at Ca’ Cappello for storing the Layard coll. from 11 Dec. 1912 - 4 Apr. 1913 incl.

<sup>83</sup> NGA, NG14/3/1: L Cust to C. Holroyd, 24 November 1912.

<sup>84</sup> NGA, NG14/3/1: L. Cust to C. Holroyd, 26 November 1912.

<sup>85</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: Letter J.R. Rodd to G. Curzon, 24 January 1913.

<sup>86</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: Letter J.R. Rodd to G. Curzon, 24 January 1913.

<sup>87</sup> NGA, NG7/423/17: Letter J.R. Rodd to H.H. Turner, 26 January 1913.

It has in fact been suggested to me indirectly from various sources, that if one or two pictures could be left in deposit to be exhibited permanently at the Academy at Venice, this would offer the Government the ground for taking the line that in view of the liberal spirit in which they had been met, they could not do otherwise than take themselves the most liberal view possible.<sup>88</sup>

In this sense, the Ambassador had greeted the proposal by the Venetian “Società degli Amici dei Monumenti” to organise a temporary exhibition of the collection at Ca’ Foscari.<sup>89</sup> This would have been a good way to buy time and an expedient to provide safe custody to the collection, pending a settlement. But the Trustees of the National Gallery, and in particular Benson, dismissed the idea, arguing that it would be “a sign of weakness calculated in defeating our object”.<sup>90</sup>

In a private colloquium with the Minister of Public Instruction, Guido Fusinato, Rodd offered to cede the *Portrait of Mehmet II* and the *Adoration of the Kings* by Bramantino to the Venetian Academy, in return for the exportation of the remainder of the collection. However, according to the *National Gallery Loan Act* of 1883, any gifted or bequeathed painting could not be lent “until the expiration of fifteen years from the date at which [it] came into the possession of such trustees and director”.<sup>91</sup> This difficulty aside, the Ambassador suggested surmounting it by a special act of Parliament, authorising the Trustees to keep certain pictures on exhibition as a deposit in Venice. He considered this as the best way to carry out the terms of Layard’s bequest, insofar as the Italian law forbade the exportation of some pictures. In addition, the Treasury’s solicitor, Charles H. Sargant, had assured the Trustees

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<sup>88</sup> NGA, NG7/423: J.R. Rodd to H.H. Turner, 26 January 1913.

<sup>89</sup> The proposal was reported by the local newspaper, *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 18 December 1912.

<sup>90</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 17 January 1913.

<sup>91</sup> NGA, NG68/6/24: National Gallery Loan Act, 10 April 1883, see in particular Chap. 4, paragraph 4.

that if they ceded some paintings as Rodd proposed, they “would [not] be exceeding their powers”.<sup>92</sup>

## 1.6 “When Sir Austen Henry Layard’s bequest is adjudged upon there may be a further gnashing of teeth”

In the meanwhile, the issue had been further complicated on the English side by the claim of the residuary legatee of the late Sir Henry Layard, to whom the family portraits had been left to. In particular, the Will read:

The portraits of myself and all my family and other portraits (except the said portrait of my said uncle Benjamin Austen deceased) and also all my said presentation testimonials I give and bequeath after the death of my said wife free of legacy duty to my nephew Arthur Austen Macgregor Layard Captain R.E. for his absolute use and benefit.<sup>93</sup>

The expression used in the Will was contentious, and thus the residuary legatee hoped to stretch the term to include all the portraits of the collection, which amounted to 14 in number.<sup>94</sup> The Trustees firstly attempted to settle the question through a monetary compromise, in order to avoid legal proceedings. They were concerned indeed about the fact that if a private individual were to claim the portraits, the Italian government might reverse the decision of 1906 and compromise their position. Any precautions to avoid the risk that the Italians got acquainted with

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<sup>92</sup> NGA, NG7/421/8: C.H. Sargant’s opinion in the matter of Sir Henry Layard’s bequest to the Trustees and Director of the National Gallery, 28 February 1913.

<sup>93</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Austen Henry Layard’s Will, 2 August 1892.

<sup>94</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS Eur F112/67: J.P. Heseltine to G. Curzon, 11 February 1913.

this difficulty had been useless.<sup>95</sup> On 16 February the Minister Fusinato informed Ricci that it was advisable to suspend the matter, until the interpretation of Layard's Will was clarified. Therefore, this claim led to a dead end in negotiation with the Italian Government.

The resolution of the Council of the Ministers conveyed to Rodd stressed the fact that they would abide by the decision taken 1906, even if it was *ultra vires*, and would concede them the right to export the six liberated pictures, as an act of international courtesy. In regard to the remaining paintings, they were required to be held subject to the provisions of common law and liable to the condition imposed by the law in place.<sup>96</sup> The opinion did not make reference to the fact that the question of the liberation of the whole collection had been already raised in 1906, though indirectly. In the absence of any objection to this request, the Trustees had in fact conceived that any other would be subsequently made, but this was not the case.

## 1.7 “La Bocca di Leone”: the transfer of the collection to the Museo Correr

Miss Du Cane urged meanwhile the removal of the pictures from Ca' Capello. Holroyd proposed thus to store the collection at “Cook and Sons”, a forwarding agency in Venice. However, the Ambassador disparaged the idea as, arguing that it might fuel criticism and the public dissent.<sup>97</sup> Instead, he advised the Trustees to

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<sup>95</sup> NGA, NG7/418/4: Confidential letter A. Crowe to H.H. Turner, 10 January 1913. See also Rome, ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: G. Fusinato to C. Ricci, 16 February 1913. The notice of Major Layard's claim had been already reported by the *Gazzetta di Venezia*, 18 December 1912. See also the private letter from Carlo Sforza to Ugo Ojetti in the appendix.

<sup>96</sup> NGA, NG7/427: San Giuliano to J.R. Rodd, 21 February 1913.

<sup>97</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: J.R. Rodd to G. Curzon, 24 January 1913.

deposit the paintings at the Museo Correr; but this solution, though authorised by the Board of the National Gallery, was criticised by the junior trustee Robert H. Benson.<sup>98</sup> He considered it far more convenient to transfer the Layard collection to the British Embassy at Rome, as the Museo Correr might be

The Bocca di Leone. Won't say it would bite our head off, but it will close over them, so that unless we have an unquestionable contract entitling us freely to remove them, we shall be confronted with a new set of difficulties arising from their being out of our own possession.<sup>99</sup>

However, the only course of action that could be taken was to draw up a list of all the pictures (67 in number, 12 pictures were in 2 frames) and a proper deposit receipt.<sup>100</sup> Everything had been almost arranged for the removal of the paintings and their subsequent transfer to the municipal museum.<sup>101</sup>

The proposed form of receipt allowed no possibility to exhibit the collection, which had to be accessible only to the director of the museum and his assistants but did not specify either the length or mode of the deposit. Benson shrewdly proposed to add a marginal note specifying the unconditional return of the collection at the request, and to the order of the British Ambassador upon surrendering the receipt.<sup>102</sup> Finally, the document was approved by the Italian authorities and signed by the director of the museum, Angelo Scrinzi, representing the Mayor of Venice, Count

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<sup>98</sup> NGA: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII,129. Previous agreements were arranged between Sir Rodd and the Ministry of Public Instruction; see ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: G. Fusinato to C. Ricci, 5 February 1913; C. Ricci to F. Grimani, 16 February 1913; F. Grimani to C. Ricci, 19 February 1913.

<sup>99</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 31 March 1913.

<sup>100</sup> See the Appendix.

<sup>101</sup> Scrinzi in fact had no written instructions, except for the communication from the Mayor Grimani that he had accepted to place the pictures in escrow at the municipal museum. See also ASMC: G. Fogolari to A. Scrinzi, no. 5024, 2 April 1913. In addition, Fogolari asked to have the pictures hung in case the British Government might sanction the possibility to show the collection to scholars.

<sup>102</sup> NGA, NG7/423: Private letter R.H. Benson to J.R. Rodd, 3 April 1913.

Fogolari, head of the Academia and acting on behalf of the Department of Fine Arts, the British Vice-Consul Gerald Campbell, and Horatio Brown.<sup>103</sup>

On April 4, the Layard collection arrived at the Fondaco dei Turchi, the original place of the Museo Correr, where it was locked up in the turret room. The Italian Authorities, namely the Mayor, were entrusted with its safety, the director of the Museum thereupon decided to pay for an iron door and additional patrols.<sup>104</sup>

The situation had become increasingly tense and uncertain: Major Layard's claim was still unsettled, and the Ambassador did not feel in a position to put increased pressure upon the Italian Government. The issue had to become "a Cabinet question"<sup>105</sup> to be settled. Rodd's policy appeared dissatisfying to the Trustees of the National Gallery, in particular to Lord Curzon and Benson, to whom the Layard affair had been specifically entrusted,<sup>106</sup> deprecated "the traditional policy of England towards Italy, to deal softly with [Italy] in hopes of the quadruplicate alliance or entente".<sup>107</sup> As it can be gleaned from his private correspondence with Curzon, Benson aimed to request for the export licence "before any agitation [...]"

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<sup>103</sup> The receipt was signed in a double original, one is housed at the NGA, NG7/423; the other at Museo Correr.

<sup>104</sup> ASMC: F. Grimani to A. Scrinzi, n. 230, 14 April 1913; 22 April 1913. Some problems arose with regard to the price agreed upon the transport of the collection, from Ca' Cappello to the Museo Correr, for which the agency "F.lli Tivan Ventura" was in charge. See Venice, ASMC: G. Campbell to A. Scrinzi, 9 April 1913; Letter A. Scrinzi to F. Grimani, May 1913. See also NGA, NG13/1/9: Account book, Register of Orders of Payment by His Majesty's Paymaster General, 1908-1918, 9 June 1914: Expenses in connection with the transport of the Layard Collection from Ca' Capello to the Correr Museum £21.69 (Lire It. 542,25ca). In 1909 the *Madonna with Child* by G. Bellini was stolen from the church of Madonna dell'Orto and it was feared that other episodes might happen. See *Emporium*, XXIX 172 (1909), 319.

<sup>105</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 31 March 1913.

<sup>106</sup> It might be worth recalling that on December 1911 Lord Curzon was appointed chairman of a committee of Trustees of the National Gallery – namely, Sir Edgar Vincent (from 1914 Lord D'Abernon), R. H. Benson and Sir Charles Holroyd – that had the aim to review the National Art Collections. See Farr 1978, 345, 353-54.

<sup>107</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 31 March 1913. Benson lately stated that the inaction was dictated by the interest of Triple Entente.

when the Italians Parl.t is not sitting and when most people are in Villeggiatura”,<sup>108</sup> arguing that it might be an option to overcome the impasse “without coming down in a warship like the German Emperor [...] what Sir H. Layard would have done and did”.<sup>109</sup> If the Trustees were to take a firm stand against the Italian Government, they would need to find someone other than the Ambassador, in order to avoid prejudicing his position.

With regard to Major Layard’s claim, Rodd had reminded the Foreign Office that the Italian Government might be allowed to negotiate a compromise in favour of a friendly State, but “they would have no justification for doing so”<sup>110</sup> towards a private individual. If the Ambassador had requested the Italian authorities to free the entirety of the collection, he had to specify that the ownership of the portraits was still uncertain, as they might be claimed by Major Layard. If so, they could remain in deposit in Venice until an arrangement with the Italian authorities – though still supported by the Embassy – could be settled under the specifications of the law 364/1909. But compared to the Trustees’, the bargaining power of a private individual with the Italian government would have been significantly lessened. The Italian government would have chance to purchase the coveted Gentile Bellini and Antonello da Messina, and moreover, at a price they could set.<sup>111</sup> As to the subject paintings, Rodd would endeavour to arrange for their exportation to London by compromising. A more satisfactory option for the Trustees might be to acquire

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<sup>108</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: Private letter R.H. Benson to G. Curzon (for the Trustees only), 3 April 1913.

<sup>109</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: Private letter R.H. Benson to G. Curzon (for the Trustees only), 3 April 1913.

<sup>110</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, 29 April 1913.

<sup>111</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, 29 April 1913.



directly from Major Layard any pictures they were interested in by a monetary transaction. Thereafter, negotiations with the Italian government could be reopened.

Although the Board of the National Gallery deemed that nothing could be done without previously making an arrangement with Major Layard, Benson was appalled by the lack of decisive action and resolved to take any effective step that might have “force[d] the Italians to show their hand”.<sup>112</sup> He thus proposed to demand permission to export the entire collection, although he was aware that he might not have successfully proved the importation of all the remaining 63 pictures. But in this way, the Exportation Office should state which pictures they considered inexportable (under clause 8 of the law 364/1909) and eventually name a price for acquiring them. The Trustees could then refuse, withdraw the request to export (under clause 9), and transfer the pictures to the British Embassy at Rome. Benson believed that they might be “liberated as part of some other bargain”<sup>113</sup> later on. The problem of the extraterritoriality could be resolved somehow; there were exceptions to every rule, as the Crespi affair had clearly proved.<sup>114</sup>

The hypothetical compromise to cede the Bramantino and the Portrait of Mehmet II was inadmissible for the Trustees, as it “appeared to indicate that the Italian Government were more concerned to acquire certain pictures to which they attach a high value than to establish their own reading of the law”.<sup>115</sup> In addition, Benson

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<sup>112</sup> NGA, NG7/430/1: Private Memorandum on the position of the Layard Collection, by R.H. Benson, 6 May 1913.

<sup>113</sup> NGA, NG7/430/1: Private Memorandum on the position of the Layard Collection, by R.H. Benson, 6 May 1913. The extraterritoriality problem was to be taken in consideration also after the freedom of the collection in 1915.

<sup>114</sup> “Dans la patrie de la *combinazione*, une transaction devait fatalement intervenir” and the one of the Crespi collection was perceived as “un événement exceptionnel, et qui, bien certainement, après les difficultés qu’il a soulevées, ne se reproduira jamais plus. Pour la dernière fois, on peut le dire, une collection de cette importance sera sortie d’Italie”; but that would not be the first and the last time. See Marcel 1914, XII-XIV.

<sup>115</sup> NGA, NG7/423: Memorandum as to the Bequest of the Layard Collection to the National Gallery, 11 November 1913. See also NGA: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII, pp. 138-139.

argued the necessity to consider what was the most convenient way and thus proceed to export the collection in the whole or in part. The issue had to be entrusted to someone acquainted with Italian laws but not bound to act through the Foreign Office or the Embassy, as the Prime Minister or Montgomery Carmichael would be.<sup>116</sup> Benson endeavoured to “define and protect the interest of the NG and distinguish from the general British policy of meeting Italy more than halfway”.<sup>117</sup> Independent opinion could be pursued by no less than Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919). He had a great experience in art dealing, advising both private and public institutions, and moreover, acted under private legal advice.<sup>118</sup>

## 1.8 Divergence in opinion

In accordance with Lord Curzon, Benson thus resolved to ask Fairfax Murray for a confidential opinion on the best course to pursue, in order to obtain the exportation of the collection as far as the laws allowed. He therefore submitted a detailed report of the entire case, pointing out the necessity to find an effective solution in order to secure the bequest. Lastly, he enquired as to the press controversy.<sup>119</sup> In relation to this issue, the originating fervour had dwindled and rekindled from time to time by Rosadi and Ojetti. Public opinion did not seem to be much stirred, and the legal advice, which Fairfax Murray was to furnish, was also to sooth the Trustees’ concerns as to their position.

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<sup>116</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: Letter R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 2 April 1913.

<sup>117</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 24 May 1913. On the other side, the Italians stated a similar opinion, “in tema di rapporti comunque internazionali, il nostro paese vede sempre la situazione delicata, senza reciprocità”. A. Musatti, ‘Ancora la Galleria Layard’, *Il Marzocco* XVII, 46, 1912, 5.

<sup>118</sup> On C.F. Murray see Tucker 2002, 115-137; Tucker 2017; Tucker 2018.

<sup>119</sup> NGA, NG/430/5(ii): Letter from Benson to Murray, July 1913.

For that occasion, Murray had hoped to consult “a very distinguished lawyer [...] named Muraturi”<sup>120</sup> at Florence, but due to his poor state of health, and Murray had to find recourse in another trustworthy lawyer of Genoa, Grillo and Federico Vassallo. The policy of compromise and the waiting game heretofore adopted had partly spoilt the situation; Murray even criticised “the weakness of the Ambassador [...] so evident and his advice (ex. placing the pictures in the Gov.t Museum at Venice) [that] so gravely complicated matters that he should not be allowed to conduct any further negotiations”.<sup>121</sup> Nevertheless, Murray granted the Trustees’ project a chance.

At first Grillo suggested that they export the six liberated pictures forthwith – in pursuit of the Ministerial decree of 21 Sep. 1906 and the confirm of 21 Feb. 1913 – while resigning to dispose of the remainders according to the laws in force. In addition, they should request a renewal of the demand of temporary importation within July 1914 when five years would have elapsed since the introduction of the law 364/1909. By so doing, they would preserve the right of having re-imported most of the pictures from England, except for the Antonello da Messina and a small number of others. Otherwise, the pictures would become Italian in compliance with clause 11. Once more, Grillo’s opinion endorsed the general feeling that if the undisputed paintings had not been included in the ‘Official Catalogue of objects of supreme historical and artistic value’, they might not to be of great importance, and the government, therefore, should not be interested in acquiring them. But it depended on the decision that the Exportation Office would sanction (clause 8). At any rate, it was convenient not to declare the value of the paintings alongside their

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<sup>120</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 13 July 1913.

<sup>121</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 13 July 1913.

demand for the exportation of the rest of the collection, in order not to arouse suspicion.

Finally, Grillo judged it necessary to find an agreement with the residuary legatee of the late Henry Layard, but without really understanding the point.<sup>122</sup> In conclusion, the opinion was good enough to encourage the Board of the National Gallery to reconsider the question, and Benson was determined to consider “the interest of the Gallery and how best to secure the bequest”.<sup>123</sup>

To corroborate the soundness of this firm policy, Benson also adduced the case of Adolph Thiem collection, which did not require so much time and compromise to obtain permission to be exported.<sup>124</sup> He therefore discussed with Lord Curzon the possibility of entrusting the Foreign Office with the case along with the new Italian Ambassador at London, Guglielmo Imperiali (1858-1944; **Plate 31, Figure 85**) and with the support of Fairfax Murray in Italy.<sup>125</sup> Benson was rightly convinced that “the authorities in Rome [would be] much more amenable to public opinion in England, emphasised as it will be in the press here, than to public opinion in Italy”, and moreover he wily assumed that the best time to act was “when they are so busy with their elections and the admission of some 5,000,000 more illiterate voters”.<sup>126</sup>

On November 1913 the Board adopted the course proposed by the two trustees in charge of the Layard’s bequest, though in contrast with Rennell Rodd’s views. They were in fact to act through the Foreign Office. Should their course be consented to,

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<sup>122</sup> G. Rosadi had already stated a similar opinion. He advocated for a firm resolution of the case on behalf of the Government. Were it to sanction the prohibition or the release of the collection, regardless of the legal action between the National Gallery and the residuary legatee. See Rosadi 1913, 4.

<sup>123</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 8 October 1913.

<sup>124</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: M. Bonham Carter to G. Curzon, 13 October 1913.

<sup>125</sup> See F. Grassi Orsini, ‘Imperiali, Guglielmo’, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 62 (2004).

<sup>126</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: M. Bonham Carter to G. Curzon, 13 October 1913.

they would then present the official demand for the forthwith delivery of the non-vinculated pictures, excluding the Portrait of Mehmet II. Afterwards they would demand for the exportation of the remaining 54 pictures. Although reluctant, Poynter and some of the Trustees considered the coveted portrait of the sultan as the basis for a compromise. If the negotiations requested, they were prepared to surrender it alongside the Portrait by Antonello da Messina, and eventually the Chastity by G.B. Moroni. Considering the importance of securing the bequest intact, the Trustees were even disposed to meet the expenses of Fairfax Murray's intermediation.

However, Major Layard had put forward a claim in Italy on his own and on November 26 had taken out an originating summon against the Trustees of the National Gallery, and Lord Bessborough, Sir Henry Layard's Executor.<sup>127</sup> The monetary transaction, that the Trustees had hoped to achieve, failed as well. The last offer named by the Treasury Solicitors, acting on behalf of the Trustees, had been refused. The minimum valuation of the 14 portraits was set at £25,000 by Major Layard.<sup>128</sup>

The failure of negotiations had upset the National Gallery's policy and needed to be revised. The Trustees resolved to establish their own claim, requesting the immediate removal of the freed subject pictures, with a private intimation that would enable them to request the portraits once the question of their ownership had been settled. In the meanwhile, they would remain in escrow at the Museo Correr. Furthermore, the Trustees put forward the necessity to renew their right of re-export for the undisputed 48 subject pictures, in pursuit of clause 11 of the law 364/1909. But the right to re-export them was proved only for 41 items. Nevertheless, the

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<sup>127</sup> NGA, NG7/430/8: Beaumont to C. Holroyd, 3 November 1913; BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: C. Holroyd to G. Curzon, 28 November 1913.

<sup>128</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: M. Bonham Carter to G. Curzon, 2 December 1913; J. Mellor to R.H. Benson, 6 December 1913.

Trustees were confident that these would not raise such an interest as to be vinctulated by clause 8 of the same law in force. Had the Italian government refused to release the paintings, they would have placed them in the Embassy at Rome.

## 1.9 A New Wrinkle

The political upheaval in Italy did seem to favour the position of the Trustees. In fact, Rennell Rodd was greatly concerned with the imminent Ministerial change. He enjoyed amiable relations with Corrado Ricci and feared that this friendly spirit might not be later guaranteed. The Ambassador was thus reluctant for the moment to enter into a negotiation with the Italian authorities, though he welcomed the assistance of Grey and Imperiali.<sup>129</sup>

The situation seemed deadlocked on all sides and the National Gallery felt even more liable to criticism. A division of the portraits with Major Layard had failed and no effective steps had been endeavoured, because the British Foreign Office considered inexpedient to re-open negotiations at that moment. Meanwhile, deplorable onslaughts connected with the Women's Suffrage Movement occurred at Trafalgar Square.<sup>130</sup>

On May 1914, the Treasury exhorted the Ambassador to apply for the renewal of the re-export permission. In his despatch, Rodd replied that such a procedure had already been made after Lady Layard's death, and if renewed without submitting any new argument, would be ineffectual. Furthermore, he appeared to be reluctant to demand the export of the five freed subject pictures, as he feared it would swell

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<sup>129</sup> On March 21 the IV Government of Giolitti left the floor to Antonio Salandra.

<sup>130</sup> It will suffice to remember the attack of the *Rokeby Venus* and the five Bellinis on March 10, and May 22, 1914.

public discussion and might prejudice the final decision concerning the removal of the rest of the collection. The new Under Secretary at the Minister of Public Instruction was Giovanni Rosadi, one of the advocates of the law 364/1909, as well as one of the press campaigners against the removal of the Layard Collection.<sup>131</sup> Once more, Rodd argued that the best way to strengthen their position was to settle first the claim of Major Layard. The Trustees and the Ambassador therefore maintained opposite views, but there was no time to spare.

The Trustees felt compelled to reserve this right to export, before it elapsed, and as such, they required the cooperation of the British Ambassador. It was thus necessary to elucidate the Foreign Office and Rodd of the legal opinion that Grillo had suggested to them. In this way, they would argue “that the policy of the Board [was] to play a stronger hand than the Ambassador was wishing to do”.<sup>132</sup> As reluctant as Rodd might be, he was urged by the Foreign Office – through an imperative wire – “to take whatever steps [were] necessary to renew [their] right [...] without waiting for further papers or instructions”.<sup>133</sup> After the official submission, he would be instructed as to the release of the five pictures.

On his part, Major Layard had made a plea with the assistance of a Roman lawyer, Eugenio Zabet.<sup>134</sup> The latter had been very meticulous and had also had a private interview with Rosadi, in order to ascertain the right procedure to comply with. The Under Secretary, though sceptical as to the pertinence of the plea, seemed, however, to be well disposed towards the whole case. “He considered that there

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<sup>131</sup> NA, FO 170/781: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, 27 May 1914. See also Rosadi 1912, 5; *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei Deputati, Legislatura XXIII, 1<sup>st</sup> session, Discussions*, 26 November 1912, 21721; and 10 December 1912, 22193.

<sup>132</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: C. Holroyd to G. Curzon, 29 May 1914.

<sup>133</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: Telegram E. Grey to J.R. Rodd, n. 143, 8 June 1914.

<sup>134</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: ‘Plea to renew the right to export’, 10 June 1914.

would be no difficulty in arriving at a compromise agreeable to His Majesty's Government as soon as the legal issue with Major Layard had been settled".<sup>135</sup> Zabet also visited the British Ambassador on the subject to propose him a joint action on the issue. However, Rodd "had no authority to recognise other parties to the issue with the Italian Government, and [addressed] communication to them as regards the collection as a whole".<sup>136</sup> This friendly attitude showed by Rosadi towards the Layard bequest and the recent sale of the Crespi collection at Paris reassured Rodd.<sup>137</sup> Important developments were about to come.

Instructions for the release of the 53 remaining subject pictures were ready. The Trustees had prepared a detailed list divided into three categories: paintings whose importation had been proved and release consented (5 in number); paintings whose importation, proved in 1904-6, had not been sanctioned (35); paintings whose importation proof was lacking (13).<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, the Board resolved to take a new course, of which the Treasury only had previously been informed. Finally, they had chosen to entrust officially Charles Fairfax Murray as their agent in Italy, providing him with full powers and the diplomatic support of the Foreign Office through Rodd.<sup>139</sup> This latter appeared suspicious towards this course, which, he believed, would "inevitably lead to the detention in this country of a considerable number of pictures, unless we can bring certain influence to bear to modify the six taken by the Council of State here and the Ministry of Public Instruction".<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, n. 210, 9 June 1914.

<sup>136</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, n. 210, 9 June 1914.

<sup>137</sup> The sale took place at the Galerie Georges Petit (Paris) on 4 June 1914; as to the catalogue see Marcel 1914.

<sup>138</sup> The list is supplied in the Appendix.

<sup>139</sup> See NGA: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII, 192.

<sup>140</sup> NA, FO800, 65, fol. 84: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, 20 July 1914.



Grey had already begun putting pressure on the Italian Ambassador in London, “and Rodd with the biggest man he can reach in Rome”.<sup>141</sup> The British Secretary for Foreign Affairs had wittily urged for a prompt resolution on account of the poor opinion held by the general public and by Parliament, due to the delay in resolving the Layard affair. He knew that he could easily intimidate the Italian authorities by putting forward this argument; furthermore, Britain had provided great assistance towards Italy in its colonial claims and it was time to reciprocate.<sup>142</sup> Imperiali gave subsequently notice to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Marquis of San Giuliano, specifying that Grey had proposed him to set the question in London, even though the most acquainted with the whole case was Rennell Rodd.

The Minister San Giuliano was startled. He was convinced that the issue had already been arranged and that the deposit at the Correr Museum was ongoing due to the legal controversy between the British Government and Sir Henry Layard’s heirs. He therefore wired to the Minister of Public Instruction, Edoardo Daneo (1851-1922), asking to be enlightened on the situation. San Giuliano appeared greatly concerned about the risk of souring the relations with the United Kingdom and, in a subsequent but private note to Daneo, stressed the necessity to define the matter as soon as possible.<sup>143</sup>

On June 20, the Ministry of Public Instruction seemed not to have received the request to renew the permission of re-export yet. Since when the collection had been deposited at the municipal museum of Venice, the case had remained in abeyance

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<sup>141</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 11 June 1914.

<sup>142</sup> Matsumoto-Best 2008, 97-98.

<sup>143</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, I vers. b. 745: Telegraph A. San Giuliano to E. Daneo, n. 2078, 19 June 1914; A. San Giuliano to E. Daneo, 19 June 1914.

and no new arrangement had been submitted, pending the legal settlement in England. Therefore, the delay did not depend on the Italian Government.<sup>144</sup>

At any rate, political reasons predominated. To amend the recent dirty tricks on the Mediterranean area, San Giuliano insisted on allowing the exportation of the entire collection.<sup>145</sup> In spite of having no official confirmation from Daneo and without considering to be bound to any previous decision, the Minister of Foreign Affairs informally reassured Imperiali of a prompt and positive resolution of the matter, so that the Italian Ambassador at London referred it in due course to Grey.<sup>146</sup>

To this effect, the note of the Ministry of Public Instruction, dated June 23, did not come up with the expectations created by the recent communication of Imperiali. The Ministry of Public Instruction granted the right to re-export for the six pictures only, without mentioning the rest. It seemed that the Ministry had not fully appreciated the point. But in spite of this misunderstanding, the Treasury and the Foreign Office suggested the Trustees to suspend any further action until they received new communications from the Italian government.

War, in the meantime, was about to erupt. The Balkan crisis had shattered the tenuous European peace, exacerbating the tension between the opposing power blocks. As the political events were precipitating, the main European great powers could not but declare their support to one or the other side. Italy wavered (**Plate 32, Figure 89**).<sup>147</sup>

The most conspicuous representatives of the Italian diplomatic corps were concerting to induce the Ministry of Public Instruction to release unconditionally the whole collection,

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<sup>144</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, I vers. b. 745: E. Daneo to A. San Giuliano, 20 June 1914.

<sup>145</sup> Bosworth 1979, 277-298.

<sup>146</sup> NA, FO 371/2005: E. Grey to J.R. Rodd, 24 June 1914.

<sup>147</sup> Bosworth 1979, 377-417.

Ciò è necessario ed urgente tanto per evidenti ragioni d'equità, quanto per interessi politici di ben maggiore importanza che i quadri Layard.<sup>148</sup>

In addition to Imperiali and San Giuliano, another figure who aided in supporting the British cause was Ferdinando Martini, an intimate friend of Rennell Rodd, Minister of Colonies, namely, “one of the most influential members of the present Cabinet”.<sup>149</sup>

On the morrow of the British declaration of war, the Council of Ministries felt even more compelled to authorise the removal of the whole Layard collection, “as an act of grace towards the British Government”.<sup>150</sup> Orders to give effect to the exportation were to be arranged with the Director General of Department of Fine Arts.

But such a satisfactory solution could only partly relieve the Trustees, who were still entangled in the lawsuit with Major Layard. The Italian government had made no distinction with regard to the ownership of the paintings. Hence, there remained the doubt of how far permissible the removal of the portraits would be, since these were still the subject of litigation and might eventually become private property. Martini had privately informed Rennell Rodd that Italy no doubt expected a positive settlement in favour of the National Gallery.<sup>151</sup> Nonetheless, the Trustees had no little difficulties in coming to terms with Major Layard and to Treasury Solicitor's Department their case appeared to be weak.

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<sup>148</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Telegram A. San Giuliano to E. Daneo, n. 1331, 13 July 1914.

<sup>149</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: from J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, n. 292, 2 August 1914. It should be recalled that Martini took part in the discussion of the draft law for the preservation and retention of works of art in Italy (1887); see *Atti Parlamentari, Camera dei deputati, Legislatura XVI, 2° sessione, Discussioni*, 23-26 November 1887.

<sup>150</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: Note A. San Giuliano to J.R. Rodd, 21 August 1914.

<sup>151</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: J.R. Rodd to E. Grey, n. 336, 21 August 1914.

By late July, Benson had proposed to find an amicable division of the portraits with the heir before Major Layard discovered that Italy had granted the export permit of the whole collection. Otherwise he feared that the National Gallery would lose all the possibilities to get any of the portraits. Major Layard's "Solicitors know quite well that they will win their case: what they don't know is how to get the portraits out. They think they may have to sell to some smuggler in Italy at half their international value".<sup>152</sup> Benson had thus devised a 7 to 7 division, which endeavoured to remove all the portraits from Italy, in spite of the settlement of the lawsuit. Notably, he offered to Major Layard

Mahomet – G. Bellini; P. of Lady – Van Dyck; P. of Man – Titian or Giorgione; Do – G.B. Moroni; Do – Do; P. of Doge – Gentile Bellini; Man – El Greco.

In its turn, the National Gallery would retain pictures it hoped would fill gaps in the collection, such as

P. of Rosalba – P. Longhi; P. of a Lady – Rosalba; P. of Man – Moretto; Do – G.B. Moroni; Do – Raffaellino del Garbo (or Filippino Lippi); P. of Man – Alvise Vivarini (late Antonello); Double portrait – Garofalo.<sup>153</sup>

But nevertheless, Major Layard did not intend to include the Portrait of the Sultan into the proposition, since he appraised its value to be between £25,000 and £50,000. Consequently, he replied that he was not inclined to "relinquish [his] claim to the

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<sup>152</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R. H. Benson to G. Curzon, 26 July 1914.

<sup>153</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R. H. Benson to G. Curzon, 29 July 1914.

portrait of Mahomet and hand over to the National Gallery “some” of the remaining portraits in return for the Government handing me the remainder”.<sup>154</sup>

At the same time, the Director of the National Gallery had been preparing a report on the paintings held in London and bequeathed to Major Layard.

These pictures are the work of painters of the XIX century and did they belong to the Nation would naturally go to the Tate Gallery at Millbank. The pictures that we think were bequeathed to us belong on the contrary to the class of the painters called “Old Masters” who died before the beginning of the XIX century – some of them as far back as the XVI – and which would naturally go to the National Gallery, Trafalgar Square.<sup>155</sup>

This list comprised the portraits that the late Henry Layard had commissioned, as well as family portraits, and that he considered separate from “his great collection”.<sup>156</sup> Holroyd clearly distinguished that the portraits claimed by Major Layard were, on the contrary, “masterpieces belonging to that [great] collection and [though] mentioned in Sir Henry Layard’s correspondence with Morelli [...] [and] alluded to as “picture” [t]hey [were] all first rate pictures, worthy of any first rate Gallery of Italian Old Masters”.<sup>157</sup>

It is peculiar that in Holroyd’s view the portraits, if they bequeathed to the nation, should have been sent to the Tate rather than to the National Portrait Gallery. In addition, his definition of Old masters was liable to a certain criticism, especially in comparison with the previous decision to send to the Tate a selection of works by late XVIII century painters, such as Benjamin Blake (c.1790-c.1830), James Burnet

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<sup>154</sup> See NGA, NG14/3/4. In particular see, Letter A.A.M. Layard to Beaumont and Son, 6 August 1914. On the inflation of the value of the Bellini, see Crookham 2015, 32.

<sup>155</sup> NGA, NG14 /3/2: Report of the Director of the National Gallery on the pictures bequeathed to Major Layard, and hung at 55 Victoria Road, Kensington, 23 October 1914.

<sup>156</sup> NGA, NG14/3/2: Report of the Director of the National Gallery on the pictures bequeathed to Major Layard, and hung at 55 Victoria Road, Kensington, 23 October 1914.

<sup>157</sup> NGA, NG14/3/2: Report of the Director of the National Gallery on the pictures bequeathed to Major Layard, and hung at 55 Victoria Road, Kensington, 23 October 1914.

(1788-1816), Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1759-1817), Frederick Richard Lee (1798-1879), Patrick Naysmith (1787-1831), James Duffield Harding (c.1797-1863), and David Roberts (1796-1864).

The situation needed to be handled very carefully. As the Ambassador stressed, the release of the whole collection on part of the Italian Government “was the more sympathetic, as it entailed a good deal of criticism from a public not sufficiently well informed to appreciate the complicated antecedents of the case”.<sup>158</sup> Approaching lawsuit with Major Layard, the Board of the National Gallery were obliged to decide which course to pursue about the pictures. Had Major Layard been entitled the Old Masters portraits and had had them at his disposal in England, the Trustees were sure that he would have sold them to the highest bidder, or even further afield to America.<sup>159</sup> This threat was tangible, especially upon consideration that in March 1914 Ernst Kind, the London library agent of H. Grevel and Co, inquired Wilhelm von Bode, on account go Major Layard, to have an opinion on the dispute in question with the National Gallery.<sup>160</sup>

The National Gallery risked being blamed, if it had failed to secure valuable portraits. However, pursuing legal remedy through the Courts could not ensure a favourable result, indeed quite the opposite. Yet, Benson argued that “a division with Layard seems our only chance to get them”.<sup>161</sup> Hesitation hinged on whether to export the entire collection, as apparently sanctioned by the Italian government, by

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<sup>158</sup> Rodd 1925, 247.

<sup>159</sup> See BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/67: R. H. Benson to G. Curzon, 24 July 1914. Carlo Sforza had already formulated the hypothesis in 1913. See, Rome, GNAM, Fondo Ojetti, Serie 2, Cassetta 104, Senatore Conte Sforza Carlo, Sottofascicolo 1, doc 65: Private Letter Carlo Sforza to Ugo Ojetti, Legazione d'Italia Pechino, 12 May 1913.

<sup>160</sup> SBM, ZA,IV/NL, Bode, 2927: E. Kind to W. von Bode, London, 19 March 1914.

<sup>161</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: R. H. Benson to G. Curzon, 19 September 1914.

shipping it via Genoa or to remove the subject pictures only or to leave the entirety in Venice, until the end of the war.

Divergences in opinion split the Board into two factions. Both Lord D'Abernon and Lord Ribblesdale were against a compromise with Major Layard, since this would require the disclosure of the official liberation of the collection by the Italian government, and consequently of the *Portrait of Mehmet II*. Furthermore, if they had lost any of the portraits through this division, they would be blamed for it. John P. Heseltine (1843-1929), in addition, argued that it was desirable to export the subject pictures only and leave Major Layard to make his own arrangements concerning the portraits with the Italians. In his opinion, the exceptional treatment, as the "atto di grazia" was, was exclusively intended for national property, and not for a private individual. At any rate, diplomatic support was granted to any private individual and the Trustees were not allowed to bargain for the price of their support in getting the pictures out of Italy.

On the other hand, the policy approved by the Treasury Solicitors, heretofore accepted by the Board, and carried out by Benson and Lord Curzon, envisaged to export the whole collection, as the Italian offer stood, and recognised that Major Layard's claim was as good as theirs. Lord D'Abernon, however, objected, arguing that if they were inclined to adopt a policy of division, they would have a better chance if the portraits remained in Italy. The disagreements made little difference to the course of events, since the decision was up to the Foreign Office.<sup>162</sup> As Benson stated, "if the FO don't like this (as Rodd and Percy suggest), and decide to sacrifice

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<sup>162</sup> NGA: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII, 208.

the interest of the British subjects to the interest of Italians, that is their affair. They can override us if they choose”.<sup>163</sup>

The Board, nonetheless, resolved to convey to the Foreign Office their intention to request the immediate removal of the subject pictures only, while reserving the right to export all the challenged pictures thereafter.<sup>164</sup> This course was duly communicated through the Ambassador to the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Sidney Costantino Sonnino.<sup>165</sup> However, wartime did not allow for safe transit, neither over land, nor by sea.<sup>166</sup>

## 1.10 The last strokes of a “rather sordid story”

That “velenoso pasticcio”<sup>167</sup> of the Layard Bequest, as Ojetti defined it years later, was about to end. The Italian government was about to enter the conflict, and on February 1915 had begun carefully removing the works of art from Venice. Hence, the National Gallery was urged to hasten the transfer of the collection, despite the difficulties with Major Layard. Despite the Ambassador’s attempts to avoid it, the paintings were liable to the export duty. Had the National Gallery put into practice the formalities of the law – discussing the value of each picture separately, and eventually appeal to an arbitral commission – it would have taken long. Since they had to act immediately, Rennell Rodd advocated a prompt settlement by accepting the valuation made by the Ministry of Public Instruction. It assessed at Italian Lire

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<sup>163</sup> BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS EUR/F112/68: R.H. Benson to G. Curzon, 27 September 1914. See also the letter from E. Percy to R.H. Benson, 23 September 1914.

<sup>164</sup> NGA: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII, 212; see also NG14/3/2: C.H. Collins Baker to Treasury Solicitors, 30 September 1914.

<sup>165</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: J.R. Rodd to S.C. Sonnino, 28 November 1914.

<sup>166</sup> As a matter of fact, the works of art exhibited at the Biennale were to remain in Italy as well and were transferred to England only in 1920.

<sup>167</sup> Ojetti 1940.



166 256, about £6,500, and included the whole collection, including the portraits, though it exempted the six pictures sanctioned in 1904-6.<sup>168</sup> The Treasury and the Board, ultimately, concurred with the opinion of the Ambassador and applied to the Government to obtain the necessary sum.

Nevertheless, the transfer had to be delayed once more because of the impossibility to ship the paintings to England safely, and besides the crippling financial conditions of wartime did not allow any extra expenditure. Both the delay and the high expenditure for the export duty needed, however, to be legitimized, as Lionel Cust's article shows.<sup>169</sup> The collection was thus provisionally transferred to the British Embassy at Rome, on the guarantee that no right of extraterritoriality would be applied.<sup>170</sup> The pictures had to remain packed under the Correr Museum's seals, until circumstances became more favourable.<sup>171</sup>

By the end of December 1915, the rate of exchange happened to be more advantageous, so that Rennell Rodd urged the payment of the export duty, which then amounted to £5,195.10, instead of £6,500.<sup>172</sup> It remained only to insure the pictures, including the disputed portraits, and arrange for their transfer. On February 1916, the Direzione Generale di Belle Arti authorised the exportation and sealed the boxes with lead. The collection was sent overland separately to Dieppe, Boulogne and Havre, and then shipped to Newhaven finally. The works arrived in London by

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<sup>168</sup> ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: C. Ricci to P. Grippo, 20 January 1915. Fogolari, who was in charge to draw up the valuation, had asked to defer the deadline, in order to create a select commission with E. Modigliani and P.G. Molmenti.

<sup>169</sup> Cust 1915b, 43.

<sup>170</sup> NGA: Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII, 247; ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Letter J.R. Rodd to S.C. Sonnino, 9 March 1915.

<sup>171</sup> NGA, NG14/3/3: C. Holroyd to J.R. Rodd, 5 August 1915; J.R. Rodd to C. Holroyd, 12 August 1915; Minutes of the Board Meeting of the National Gallery, vol. VIII, 275.

<sup>172</sup> NGA, NG13/1/9: Account book, Register of Orders for payments by His Majesty's Paymaster General, 1908-1918, 27 March 1916.

mid May.<sup>173</sup> Yet Major Layard's claim needed to be adjusted. The latter had lost his initial lawsuit and appealed to the House of Lords. On 16 March 1917, this unfortunate series of litigations came to an end: Major Layard agreed to withdraw his claim in return for a settlement of £17,000 and the National Gallery was at last entitled to all of the Layard bequest.<sup>174</sup>

### 1.11 The epilogue of a so-called free gift

Besides being illustrative of a political situation in a broader sense, this episode illustrates a series of considerations at different levels. In the light of the new documents examined, this case can be now seen in its fullest context. First, it eloquently demonstrates the incoherency of the Italian policy was on the conservation of its national heritage. The legislation, as far as reinforced with the laws no. 185/1902 and no. 384/1909, "had only encouraged evasion and dishonesty, and had become both vexatious and ineffective".<sup>175</sup> Indeed, it could be easily eluded, and the Italians were the first to find loopholes in it. The Layard affair shows, no accident, of how political agendas can override any kind of evidence and law. Even more so, it is interesting to observe that both the Parliamentary debate and hype on the importance and value of the collection did not focus on its historical and cultural meaning but was mainly enacted according to the taxonomy of the law in force. On its turn, this was shaped on aesthetic and economic terms of "pregio" and "interesse storico, archeologico o artistico", which sought to protect the national heritage,

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<sup>173</sup> NGA, NG14/3/4: C. Collins Baker to Lord Bessborough, 14 May 1916.

<sup>174</sup> NGA, NG14/3/5: Copy of the Judgment: Layard vs The Earl of Bessborough and others. The amount was then paid through the "Civil Contingencies Fund"; see NGA, NG13/1/9: *Account book, Register of Orders for payments by His Majesty's Paymaster General, 1908-1918*, 1 August 1917.

<sup>175</sup> Cust 1915a, 110.

without excessively vinculating the private property and the art market. But as the Layard collection outlined, there were still too many loopholes.

Lastly, this episode highlighted the necessity for the National Gallery to establish a clearer donation policy, in order to avoid such lengthy transactions, as well as possible misinterpretations of the testator's intentions. In this sense, a first plea was made on the columns of the Burlington Magazine by Lionel Cust, who compared a series of ill bequests, including the Layards, to "induce greater accuracy in the drawing of such bequests".<sup>176</sup>

Ironically, the collection that Layard intended as a free gift had become a burdensome responsibility for the National Gallery and needed to be paid for twice over. Notwithstanding the incredible convoluted process to acquire the Layard collection, the paintings did not defer much in leaving the main rooms of the National Gallery to amass in the storehouse.

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<sup>176</sup> Cust 1916, 135.

## 2. The Dispersal of the Collection: from Trafalgar Square to the auction rooms

The difficulties that ensued before the Layard collection was finally incorporated into the National Gallery would become a source of embitterment to the public. The press had unanimously praised and extolled Layard's generosity. The Times, Daily Telegraph and other newspapers had immediately announced the arrival of the "famous collection"<sup>1</sup> at Trafalgar Square, on the morrow of Lady Layard's death. This appreciation would partly decrease in the aftermath of the First World War, gradually disappearing from display and amassing in depots or provincial museums.

At the same time, the legacy of Henry and Enid Layard became progressively alienated to their respective heirs through subsequent bequests and auctions. By studying catalogues from Christie's and other auction houses, I have been able to clarify what was sold, and sometimes to whom and for what price.

### 2.1 The reception of the collection

Though the Keeper of the National Gallery, Hawes H. Turner, had obstructed Rennell Rodd's compromise to allow the "acceptance of pictures with a view to a

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<sup>1</sup> Phillips 1912.

gift or permanent loan to a Foreign Government”,<sup>2</sup> the extract of Layard’s will shows that the bequest was based upon very simple conditions.

I give and bequeath all my said pictures (except portraits) or such of my said pictures as the Trustees and the Director for the time being of the National Gallery may select unto the Trustees of the National Gallery and their successors to be held by them for the use and enjoyment of the British public for ever [sic] as part of the National Collection.<sup>3</sup>

The terms appeared fairly advantageous to the museum, especially when compared to those posed by other wills, which often required paintings to be placed in a special room, separate and apart from the other content of the museum, as was the case with the Wynn-Ellis and the Peel collections.<sup>4</sup> Layard, in fact, had experienced difficulties in dealing with several burdensome bequests during his trusteeship, such as Tate’s, and wanted to avoid any sort of complication for the Board of the National Gallery.<sup>5</sup> He did not care about the disassembling of his collection, which had been a main point of contention among the Italian press.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, in Layard’s view, distributing the pictures would work towards filling in gaps and “contribute in the instructive system of arrangement in chronological series by schools, illustrating the gradual development of each”.<sup>7</sup> The core mission of a national collection was “that of preserving and exhibiting the masterpieces of the principal painters of all countries” along with “the history of the origin and

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<sup>2</sup> NGA, NG7/419/1: H. Turner to Rennell Rodd, 9 January 1913.

<sup>3</sup> NGA, NG7/276/1(ii): Extract Layard's Will.

<sup>4</sup> Whitehead 2005, 238-40.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, NGA, NGA1/1/45: A.H. Layard to W. Boxall, 20 July 1870. See also BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38950, fol. A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 20 January 1891.

<sup>6</sup> Aldo Ravà (1912) proposed to leave the Layard Collection at Ca’ Capello as a branch of the National Gallery, arguing that: “La galleria Layard continuerebbe ad essere in tal modo una delle gemme veneziane più preziose e una delle gallerie private più cospicue del mondo anziché fondersi e smarrirsi nella già ricchissima National Gallery”.

<sup>7</sup> Layard 1857, 167.

development of the art under different conditions and in different localities”.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, Layard would have never wished to concentrate all his pictures in one room. The main goal of his bequest was to contribute to the national heritage works that the gallery would not have otherwise purchased, either because of their relative status. At the same time, Layard also took into consideration rising prices and the limited availability of certain works, such as the Carpaccio or the Bramantino. In 1875 Layard expressed this opinion to Gregory, in response to Sir Walter James’ proposal to adjust donations on the basis of the museum’s needs.

Pictures are now becoming so rare and dear (I mean really fine works by the Old Masters) that the National Gallery will, in future, have to depend a good deal upon bequests and gifts and I cannot conceive anything more likely to deter people from bequeathing and giving than to ask for powers to interfere with bequests and gifts which we have already accepted on certain conditions.<sup>9</sup>

In this light, I would argue that the absence of heirs had a very limited influence in favouring a public bequest. Layard could have tried to sell them to the dealer Thomas Agnew, for instance, who “condescended to express his approval of my pictures; but did not make me an offer for them”.<sup>10</sup> Even if he had made, it would be very unlikely that Layard would have sold them, as it has been examined art never represented a financial investment for him, quite the contrary. This conviction is underpinned not only by his private papers, but also by the fact that the collection would grant Layard a permanent reason to be remembered, alongside to his archaeological success. His gift, indeed, was not solely a disinterested one; by

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<sup>8</sup> Layard 1857, 168.

<sup>9</sup> BOL, Gregory Papers, Dep. d. 970, fol. 62: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, The Retreat, Bere Regis, Blandford, 22 August 1875.

<sup>10</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add MS 38950, f. 150: Letter A.H. Layard to W. Gregory, 4 November 1890.

distributing the paintings throughout the museum, in fact, his name would be chiselled in memory. As he had commented to Lady Eastlake after her bequest of *The Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr* by Bellini (NG812): “You will yourself rejoice to see so interesting a picture in the National collection and your name for ever connected with it. It is very generous on your part – but you will, I hope be repaid for the sacrifice by the public gratitude”.<sup>11</sup>

In addition, if Layard had not made this bequest, the Old Masters would have no doubt engrossed the auction rooms along with the rest of his belongings and his name would have completely faded from view. Despite this, his memory still remains principally connected to his archaeological enterprises, as it had been presciently foreseen.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of leaving a legacy free of charge, altogether the acquisition of the Layard collection proved to be quite expensive. Apart from the legal expenses, the National Gallery incurred a series of costs amounting approximately to £24,061.42. The first and foremost cause of such a high sum was due to the lawsuit with Major Layard (£17,000), and the heavy exportation duty (£5,195.10), this was followed by £1,426.60 for the transport from Rome to London, £120 for freight, £115 for the rent of a room at Ca' Capello Layard, and £22.79 for the removal of the collection from Ca' Capello to the Museo Correr.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, the cost appeared reasonable when compared to Charles Holroyd's valuation. As he informed one Trustee, Edgar Vincent (1857-1941), “my valuation was up to £100,000 taking year sales at Christie's into

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<sup>11</sup> NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42337, fol. 7: A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, Madrid, 23 April 1870.

<sup>12</sup> LLJ, 3 Savile Row, 13 July 1901.

<sup>13</sup> All the expenses are reported in the Account book of the National Gallery, Register of Orders for payments by His Majesty's Paymaster General, 1908-1918. See London, NGA, NG13/1/9.

consideration, Mr Heseltine thinks it too high and I may be able to modify it in detail and bring it down to £80,000”.<sup>14</sup>

Curiously enough, Layard himself had valued the paintings worth £11,720.<sup>15</sup> Notwithstanding, in a post scriptum, dated 29 November 1881, however, he pointed out: “Considering the prices which pictures of this class are now fetching, I believe this valuation of my pictures to be very moderate”, and, at an unspecified date, he added: “Very much beneath their market value”.<sup>16</sup>

## 2.2 The display of the Layard Bequest at the National Gallery

Concurrent to the positive reception fostered by the Italian debate and the press, a divergence in opinions divided the Board of the National Gallery with regard to the actual value of the collection. A “comparative unimportance”,<sup>17</sup> as it has been defined, had been attached to certain paintings, such as the Portrait of Mehmet II, and when the collection arrived at Trafalgar Square it was received with some reluctance. However, the painting had appeared among those considered suitable for the national collection because of its historical value. It was indeed included alongside “Filippino Lippi – Portrait of a Man, Rosalba (pastel) – Portrait, Pietro Longhi – Rosalba, Garofalo (Lotto?) – The Artist and Wife”,<sup>18</sup> as portraits of interest for the National Gallery. On the contrary, little interest was shown to

- Moretto, [Averoldi] family;
- Moroni, Salvagno family;
- Titian (Giorgione?), Man in back cap;

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<sup>14</sup> BL, D’Abernon Papers, Vol. Add MS 48930, fol. 8: C. Holroyd to E. Vincent, 30 December 1912.

<sup>15</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(v): Valuation of pictures in Ca’ Capello.

<sup>16</sup> NGA, NG7/292/13(v): Valuation of pictures in Ca’ Capello.

<sup>17</sup> Crookham 2015, 32.

<sup>18</sup> NGA, NG14/3/2: Layard collection, portraits not of NG importance and portraits of NG importance, undated, probably 1913-4.



- [- Gentile Bellini, Portrait of a man];
- Moroni, Portrait of a man;
- Gentile Bellini, The Doge Marcello;
- Moroni, A Member of the Lupi family;
- Van Dyck (on copper), Mme Schotten;
- Antonello da Messina ? (Alvise Vivarini?), A small Head;
- El Greco, Head of a man.<sup>19</sup>

Holroyd tried to combine the necessity of filling in gaps, whilst considering the possible museum value of each painting. In 1916 Charles John Holmes (1868-1936) succeeded Holroyd in directorship and thus became responsible for cataloguing and displaying the Layard bequest. As Crookham has well observed with regard to the Portrait of Mehmet II,

Whatever the private doubts about its authenticity and suitability for the national collection, the fact that the Bellini portrait had been primed in importance in the public mind as the most famous picture in the Layard bequest, meant that Holmes had little choice but to display the painting prominently. He might also have been prompted to use the display of a well-known painting from a renowned bequest as an early exercise in public relations, emphasizing the importance to the Gallery of munificent gifts.<sup>20</sup>

Similar comments could be made about the remaining paintings, which had suffered from over cleaning and restoration. The majority of the Layard bequest is not currently on view, either for conservation reasons or because it has vacated space to other pictures, which, in the light of the museum's new arrangements and a general reassessment of the collection's value, better suite the Gallery's core objectives.

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<sup>19</sup> NGA, NG14/3/2: Layard collection, portraits not of NG importance and portraits of NG importance undated, probably 1913-4.

<sup>20</sup> Crookham 2015, 34.

## 2.3 Bequests and auction sales

Beyond exporting several works of art from Italy, Sir Henry Layard gave further proof of his generous and sensitive spirit to the Museum of Glass at Murano, as well as to the Libreria Marciana, the Museo Correr and the State Archive of Venice.

Between 1874 and 1876 Layard presented “quelques verres de Espagne (anciennes) pour le Musée de Murano”.<sup>21</sup> The donations, three in total, comprised nearly 80 specimens of old glasses à la façon de Venise, which had been produced by the Muranese artisans who moved to Spain under the reign of Charles V. Among these gifts were chiefly beakers, cantirs, vases, ewers, glasses, tumblers etc. (**Plate 33, Figures 90-94**).

These donations came just few years before the breakup with Antonio Salviati (1877), with whom Sir Henry and other English businessmen had firstly established the glass and mosaic manufacturer “Salviati & Company”<sup>22</sup> in Murano. It is very likely, therefore, that Layard’s gifts – that would be considered “doni veramente cospicui e degni interpreti della sua magnanimità”<sup>23</sup> – were inspired by a desire to attract attention and appreciation from the glassmakers and the local community. Even later Layard would continue in a similar manner by donating the most interesting items produced by his new company “The Venice and Murano Glass and Mosaic Company”.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MS 38966, fol. 227: A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, Venice, 15 June 1875.

<sup>22</sup> For a biography on Salviati and the history of the enterprise, see Barovier Mentasti 1982a, 200, 203-208, 210; Barovier Mentasti 1982b; Liefkes 1994, 286; Sladen 2000, 294; Barr 2008, 9-57; Sarpellon 2013, 31-7.

<sup>23</sup> BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXVIII, Add MS 39008, fol. 178: V. Zanetti to A.H. Layard, Murano, 27 June 1875.

<sup>24</sup> Perfette e fedeli riproduzioni di vetri *fenici, etruschi, greco-romani (muhri) cristiani e gallo-romani*. La Compagnia Venezia-Murano veggendo che tali vetri mancavano [...] con distinta generosità volle riempire un vuoto ch’era troppo manifesto donando ben quindici delle dette

Effectively, the gifts were applauded by the community and recorded both in the local newspaper, *La Voce di Murano*, and in the catalogue-guide of the Museum, which equally praised Layard's intent to bring back such valuable documents to illustrate the history of the Venetian glass manufacturing.<sup>25</sup> The anonymous columnist, arguably the Abbot Vincenzo Zanetti wrote:

Questi vetri hanno un interesse massimo per la storia dell'arte vetraria. Infatti il numero più grande fu lavorato nella Spagna da vetrai muranesi al tempo di Carlo V, mentre pochi altri li riteniamo fabbricati a Murano e passati presso gli Spagnoli; ve ne sono poi 15 pezzi lavorati nel secolo passato in una vetraria regia piantata alla Garzia da vetrai francesi, tra i quali non è improbabile si trovasse qualche nostro maestro. Fra questi ultimi vi sono dei bicchieri e qualche vaso di vetro porcellana dipinti ad oro e smalti fusi con figure assai belle in costume spagnuolo del passato secolo; vi è anco qualche bel tipo di cristallo messo ad oro [...] Quanto agli altri tipi che risalgono all'epoca di Carlo V, vi sono fiasche, bicchieri, un cestello, qualche lucerna, animali fantastici e vasi [...] vi si vedono chiari i caratteri del soffio, della fantasia, della destrezza e della perizia somma nel maneggio della pinzetta del vetraio muranese, ma nel tempo stesso nella forma e negli ornati vi si scorge il gusto spagnuolo commisto a qualche cosa dell'arabesco. Rispetto poi alla materia prima con cui venivano questi vetri confezionati, le tinte del vetro sembrano le primitive, dacchè se toglì il vetro bianco non pulito che vi figura in qualche pezzo, gli altri sono lavorati in vetro ordinario trasparente di colore o verdastro o giallastro o tendente al nericcio.<sup>26</sup>

A further demonstration of his philanthropic generosity is evidenced by the donation of several books on his archaeological enterprises at Nineveh to the Libreria

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riproduzioni" in *La Voce di Murano*,<sup>[1]</sup>9 (1883). For further gifts from "The Venice and Murano Company", see Venice, AMVM, B. 11, fasc. 61, n. 3; B. 39, Atti Museo 1873: 5 September 1873; B. 40, Atti Museo 1883: 1 February 1883; B. 40, Atti Museo 1884: 28 October, 1 November 1884; B. 41: inv. ms. Angelo Santi (1908); B. 41: inv. ms Urbani de Gheltof, Santi, Classe VIII: Vetri muranesi del secolo XVIII-XIX. See also, Zanetti 1881, 45, 69-81. On Layard's glass enterprise,<sup>[1]</sup>see Bova, Migliaccio 2013.

<sup>25</sup> See Zanetti 1881, 30.

<sup>26</sup> *La Voce di Murano* XII, 30 June 1875, 54.

Marciana.<sup>27</sup> Between 1882 and 1891 Layard first presented some Assyrian bricks with cuneiform inscriptions and other relief fragments to the School of Palaeography, connected with the State Archive of Venice, and then to the Museo Correr (**Plate 34, Figure 95**).<sup>28</sup> In doing so, he continued pursuing his twofold aim of educating while simultaneously promoting his reputation. Additionally, his contribution to local institutions provided a stepping-stone towards a new field of studies, which was still overlooked in Venice at the time.

Along with the Armenian manuscripts, previously examined, the Museo Correr records another gift connected to the Layards. In February 1902, Lady Enid, indeed, donated a series of five Spanish tortoiseshell combs, which she deemed to be “interesting for the history of costumes”.<sup>29</sup>

At Lady Layard’s death the remainder of the collection was immediately dismembered and scattered across the world. According to the terms in her will, the Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery received the portrait in watercolour of Henry Layard by Ludwig Passini (NPG1797); all the furnishings of 3 Savile Row passed into the hands of Enid Cornelia Du Cane, the family portraits into the hands of Major Layard, while Ca’ Capello and all its contents were bequeathed to Olivia Blanche Du Cane.

The latter, upon taking possession of the palace, soon tried to get rid of it, being apparently in financial straits, and sold almost the entirety of its contents at the auction house Guglielmi in Rome in 1939. The sale was conducted over 9 days,

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<sup>27</sup> Layard presented his *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (London: Murray, 1853) – ref. n. 34 A 168; and his *Nineveh and its remains* (London: Murray, 1854) – ref. A 37 A 60.

<sup>28</sup> For the donation to the State Archive, see ASVe, Direzione dell’Archivio, 1882, fasc. 210. The Layards also donated a silk panel representing the map of Italy to the State Archive, see Favaretto 1987, 235, no. 51. For the Museo Correr, AMC, Registro Doni, no. 411, 1891. For a description the items in the museum cf. Favaretto, De Paoli, Dossi 2004, 219; Riva, Ermidoro 2017.

<sup>29</sup> LLJ, Ca’ Capello, Venice, 26 February 1902. For the museum records, see AMC, Registro Doni, no. 795. AMC, n. 51/1902: A. Scrinzi to Lady Layard, 28 February 1902.

beginning on Monday, 11 December, and included 1042 lots. Despite comprising a very wide selection of items, it is notable more for its multifarious nature than for the overall size. The pages of the catalogue reflect Layard's taste and interests, mainly paintings, sets of majolica, Murano glass, tapestries, precious textiles, chandeliers, objects of vertu, prints, books, and drawings.<sup>30</sup>

Although it has been impossible to trace the path of the various items, I have detected some of them in the sale of the collections of the diplomat, collector and Rome enthusiast Baron Basil Lemmermann (1898-1975).<sup>31</sup> Along with a Spanish cabinet and a good number of paintings and prints, chiefly representing landscapes or petit genre, Lemmermann might have secured the etchings by Bartolomeo Pinelli, of which Layard possessed a copy in blue Morocco leather with gilded borders.<sup>32</sup> In response to his diplomatic post at Istanbul, Lemmermann donated to the British Embassy at Ankara a portrait medallion of Layard, modelled by his wife (GAC5077), and an oil portrait by an anonymous painter (GAC,1974).<sup>33</sup> The Moorish plates were auctioned separately at Christie's on 11 June 1918. Whilst another conspicuous selection of the prints always housed at Ca' Capello was curiously sold at a judicial sale in Venice in 1969.<sup>34</sup>

Following the generous and enlightened spirit of her aunt and uncle, between 11 March and 3 April 1913, Miss Enid Cornelia Du Cane donated to the Victoria and Albert Museum two photographic portraits of the Layards by Julia Margaret

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<sup>30</sup> It is curious to note that the sale included a marble fragment of the ancient bell tower of St. Mark; Guglielmi 1939, lot 657.

<sup>31</sup> In 1982 a Foundation was established in his honour, committed to supporting scholars in the study of Rome, its history and art. On the figure of Lemmermann see Christie's 1976, 13-4. For the acquisitions, see Christie's 1976, lot 411; Christie's 1977a, lot 82, 113, 134.

<sup>32</sup> See Guglielmi 1939, 81, lot 960.

<sup>33</sup> The medallion was auctioned in Rome, see Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 447.

<sup>34</sup> It is unclear for whom they were sold. An added difficulty is provided by the fact the Layard prints were not distinguished from those of another collection, which partook in the same sale, and therefore cannot be identified with certainty. See Catalogue 1969.

Cameron (inv. 447-1913, 448-1913) and over 167 books and pamphlets belonging to Sir Henry Layard's library. As Rebecca Coombes has pointed out, "unfortunately the books in question cannot be readily identified since no book plate [had been] used. However, many of the volumes are signed by Layard".<sup>35</sup> At any rate, Layard's collection of books, as is represented in the typewritten catalogue dated 1904, was largely historical, archaeological, artistic and literary in emphasis.

The remaining thirty-nine paintings, which adorned Lady Layard's flat at 3 Savile Row, London, and had been considered unsuitable for the National Gallery, were sent to Christie's and sold on 15 May 1913 for £321.74. Among these were four paintings by Nasmyth, a Terburg, one Stable Interior by Morland, an Angel Gabriel said to be by Schiavone, a Brawl in the Guard room by Salvator Rosa, and the St Jerome said to be by van Leyden which fetched the highest price of £52.10.<sup>36</sup>

In November 1943 the National Gallery received the last gift related to the figure of Austen Henry Layard; namely, a Carrara marble bust sculpted by John Warrington Wood in Rome in 1881.<sup>37</sup> The bust was presented by Vice-Admiral Arthur John Layard Murray, who had inherited it through his uncle Arthur Du Cane, but considered it "not very suitable for a private house of these days".<sup>38</sup> Interestingly, the Trustees of the National Gallery suggested to Admiral Murray to first approach the British Museum, "since they felt that Sir Henry Layard's bequest to the British Museum was of even greater importance than his bequest to the National Gallery and they thought that if the bust was placed at the entrance to the room of Babylonian

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<sup>35</sup> Coombes 1995, 11.

<sup>36</sup> The picture by Morland can be linked to the one in Bradford museum.

<sup>37</sup> The portrait bust of Lady Enid by J. Warrington Wood is held at the British Museum (inv. OA10557). On the relationship between the sculptor and the Layards, see Rudoe 1983, 77; Rudoe 1987, 13. Cf. the museum catalogue entry <[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=39367&partId=1&searchText=john+warrington+wood&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=39367&partId=1&searchText=john+warrington+wood&page=1)>

<sup>38</sup> NGA, NG14/106/1: Admiral A. J. L. Murray to K. Clark, 2 September 1943.

Antiquities it would be more seen and in a more appropriate position than any which we could give it in the Gallery”.<sup>39</sup> The British Museum, however, declined the offer; possibly on account that they already possessed a herma of Layard by J.E. Boehm (BM, inv. 1891,0613.27). Therefore, the bust was sent to Trafalgar Square (NG5449).

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<sup>39</sup> NGA, NG14/106/1: K. Clark to Admiral A. J. L. Murray, 12 November 1943.

## Conclusion

“La collezione del Layard sembrò seguire anch’essa le alterne fortune del suo proprietario, ora illuminata da una notorietà improvvisa per quanto meritata, ora immersa nell’ombra dell’indifferenza, nonostante fosse il frutto di lunghi anni di pazienti ricerche e di instancabile dedizione”.<sup>1</sup> In response to this suggestive statement by Irene Favaretto, the present study aims to offer a comprehensive perspective on the history of the Layard Collection and of its creator, in order to reconsider the multifarious role that Austen Henry Layard had in the nineteenth-century art world. It examines how Layard approached the art world and how his collection evolved from its beginning as a private pursuit, from mid-1850s to 1892, to its legacy as a national treasure, as well as an international source of discord in the early 1900s. Yet the thesis also strived to challenge the collective memory of the Layard Collection as simply a bequest of paintings to the National Gallery by retracing it in its entirety. Furthermore, the present study shows how the collection was employed as a marker of cultural distinction by Layard, alongside the construction of a social identity, both in a public and domestic context. Indeed, the concern of this dissertation is not simply to shed light on a previously neglected collector, but also to provide a comparative framework with other figures within the art world of the period.

The introductory biography of Layard is deliberately wide-ranging to convey the multifaceted nature of his interests and activities. It focuses on the artistic education

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<sup>1</sup> Favaretto 1987, 227.



and political networks he made use of in order to gain admittance to the contemporary spheres of public and private collecting. By surveying the existing literature on the topic and implementing it with new and overlooked sources, the present work outlines Layard's engagement within the principal museums of London. This has been concentrated on the most representative cases of his work better highlight the different roles Layard undertook for different institutions. As a result, it is possible to draw several conclusions.

Layard's autodidactic art knowledge deserves credit for having been steadily built on study and direct experience at a time when the theory of art history was still a fledgling discipline. His good memory and discriminating eye, and his ability to distinguish one master from another, assisted his genuine curiosity, which was fostered by a remarkable eagerness for investigating new fields. Nevertheless, his initial enthusiasm failed in developing into a systematic approach or methodology. His abilities were confined to the topic-based knowledge of a connoisseur and thus were weaker when compared to the art historical scholarship of Charles Lock Eastlake, Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle or Giovanni Morelli. Furthermore, his writings struggle in advancing the threads of his argument and tend to be quite dogmatic and repetitive, showing that he was not a natural theorist: Layard was better at compiling catalogues or writing on confined, specific topics. In this light, one might question whether his approach was closer to that adopted by the curators of the South Kensington Museum in the early stages of that institution. It is also evident that he cannot be considered a connoisseur tout court, but rather an able trustee and advisor. In this sense, he shared strong similarities with Henry Cole. Contacts for networking, operative and diplomatic support in forwarding artworks were the main services Layard equally provided to both the National Gallery and the

South Kensington Museum, which needed to be investigated to understand his role at this time. By the force of his prowess, Layard reached across the public art world with the aim of shaping British cultural policy, particularly by seeking, selecting and acquiring works of art. Besides examining his role in expanding the national collections, this thesis outlines Layard's important endorsement of art education, especially by means of enlarging public access. As already noted, Layard presented himself as a man of the people and this is reflected in his non-elitist approach to culture. At the same time, he clearly believed that a greater access to the arts by the masses would increase the cultural and social market potential of a museum's collections. Therefore, his financial contributions to the various art schools established around the South Kensington Museum could be compared to his business enterprise in Venice, the "Salviati and Co". The support of glass and mosaic manufacture, in his view, promoted the revival of the old techniques of glass blowing, while benefitting the economy of the city; a key concern in the thorough Layard's Italian endeavour. It would be noteworthy to investigate into this possible connection of commerce, educational mission and cultural and social aspects, especially in a delicate historical context such as that of mid-nineteenth century Venice.

This thesis, in fact, argues that his collecting is permeated with this social dimension. In this sense, Layard's bequests and loans issued from a public-spirited mind. At the same time, these practices served to disguise his social ambitions, his struggle to become integrated into and valued within society. In the arts, as well as in politics, Layard was as an outsider who looked for inclusion and recognition and made use of his abilities to demonstrate his merits and credit. Yet, the question

remains as to what kind of collection he aspired to gather and what larger project his ambitions envisaged.

The task of retracing the collection was primarily based on untapped archival material, such as museum records, sale catalogues, periodical and newspaper articles, private papers, probate inventories and iconographic sources. What has emerged is that Layard's purchases were first made in order to furnish him with authentic specimens to study and deepen his knowledge of certain techniques or masters, as was the case with fresco painting or Bergamasque painters. In order to acquire these primary sources he did not fail to adopt every possible network, either scholarly or amateurish. Among his advisors and instigators were art critics of the calibre of Eastlake, Mündler, Morelli or Frizzoni, but also dealers and consul amateurs, such as Richetti, Guggenheim or Perry. Yet this comparative overview on his information sources indicates that it was Layard himself to make the choice, rather than leaning on the advice of a singular advisor. This shows also that he was recklessly overconfident and the impulsive manner in which he bought for his collection would have jeopardised and overshadowed the value of his bequest to the National Gallery. Layard, however, made the most of a wider selection of available works, though depending on the market availability and on a restrictive budget. This marshals another important consideration on the channels Layard made use of for his collecting activity: the diplomatic network. From its privileged position the consular corps could constantly and undisturbed gather and furnish, at no cost to Layard, as well as London museum directors, the first-hand information on potential acquisitions. Most importantly, it could ultimately provide safe transport for their purchases. As Saho Matsumoto-Best has pointed out, "the settlement of problems arising from the comparatively minor issue of the export of art could be used as a

symbolic signal of good intent, or as compensation for bigger disappointments”<sup>2</sup> on the international scene. An example of the use of such bargaining chips is found by following the exportation issue of the Layard Collection. In addition to issues of high politics, diplomats dealt with cases that as far as they appeared smaller, their echo and effects remained international. Inasmuch as the relationship between art and diplomacy has been investigated for the previous centuries, yet it needs to be better examined in relation to nineteenth and early twentieth century. The cases of James Hudson, Baron Marocchetti, Taparelli D’Azeglio, Baron de Triqueti, Lord Savile and Layard represent but a small number of the many figures that conducted their regular office, also for their unruly passion for art. James Rennell Rodd, along with many others, could also be included in this large group, as their story is yet to be illustrated.

The analysis of the formation of the collection has enabled us to reassess the importance of certain relationships in wielding influence over Layard’s purchases and artistic viewpoint. His correspondence had already disclosed that Layard established a profitable and durable friendship with Morelli, with whom he shared both political and artistic interests. The same may be said for Lady Eastlake and William H. Gregory, with whom Layard exchanged letters, even greater in number and more sincere. It is evident that Morelli represented an important source for Italian networking and was considered the authority in connoisseurship. Nevertheless, as has been uncovered here, Lady Eastlake was unequivocally another respectable authority and confidant advisor in Layard’s eyes. It is unsurprising that he submitted attribution queries to her throughout their correspondence and reported most of the National Gallery’s issues, seeking advice or sharing opinions. Gregory,

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<sup>2</sup> Matsumoto-Best 2008, 84.

in turn, was equally a close friend and the main confidant of Layard's misgivings about both private and public acquisitions, as well as personal matters. Only a very small number of letters of their rich and abundant epistolary have been examined by scholars, are mainly those to be found among the papers typewritten by Lady Layard, now held at the British Library. The Gregory Papers at the Bodleian Library comprise a wider group of letters, which in certain cases complement those in London, and to which I have referred in the present work. Given the sheer variety of domestic and world events addressed in this correspondence, it would be worthwhile publishing it in its entirety.

The analysis of the Layard Collection contained within this thesis has allowed his taste to be charted more clearly, but it has also prompted some considerations on the study of the circulation of works of art and the art market of the period. Interestingly, the examination of the composition of Layard's network has shown how wide and composite it was, including the distinct links in the art market chain: artists, friends, restorers, museum directors, art critics, dealers, as well as diplomats. This engaging interaction further proves Layard's autonomy in his dealings of art, whilst allowing closer study of the functioning and dynamics of art exchange within broader social, commercial, geographical and geopolitical systems. This data that has been compiled raises some larger questions for the field to grapple with in the future. Notably, further work might investigate the larger networks of trade and commercial relations that ruled both the Venetian and the Spanish art market and how historical events hindered their development.

Besides examining the processes of acquisition, in regard to Layard's collection, this study also investigates the logics of desire and imitation that governed the display and the promotion of the objects Layard amassed. By considering this kind of

exhibition as a mode of symbolic communication and self-expression, the present study has endeavoured to provide the first comprehensive account of the private display and deployment of a mixed collection of art in Venice, during the second half of nineteenth century. In spite of the scarceness of photographic material, the research has drawn on literary sources and complementary visual evidence, such as guidebooks, catalogues, drawings, watercolours, and photographic portraits, in order to gain an insight into the walls of Ca' Capello Layard. A digital reconstruction of some of the State room is still a matter of conjecture, but it might be of interest as it could offer a clearer picture of the space within which the Layards moved and lived. The thesis also questions how the Layard collection was inflected by the presence of other collections whether of the local, decayed aristocracy or of the new citizens. Another possible line of enquiry would be to observe whether the Layard collection and its publicisation affected the Venetian collecting landscape at this time, particularly that of the Anglo-American community. Rosella Mamoli Zorzi has provided a first glance at the socialite aspect of its collecting.<sup>3</sup> Though in recent years certain works on the city's art dealers and collectors have emerged, a systematic and general study of the history of collecting in Venice in nineteenth century is still wanting.<sup>4</sup>

The case study of the exportation issue represents a crucial moment in the history of Italian national heritage and of international diplomacy. Although scholars had

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<sup>3</sup> Mamoli Zorzi 2001; 2010; 2016.

<sup>4</sup> The noteworthy series of publications edited by Linda Borean and Stefania Mason interrupts with the fall of the Republic. For recent contributions on art collecting in Venice during the nineteenth century, see for instance Fabrizio Magani, *Il collezionismo e la committenza artistica della famiglia Widmann, patrizi veneziani, dal Seicento all'Ottocento* (Venice: Memorie dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 1989); C. Cremonini, F. Fergonzi, *Da Giorgio Franchetti a Giorgio Franchetti: collezionismo alla Ca' D'Oro* (Roma: Mondo Mostre, 2013); Martignon 2015; Giovanni Mazzaferro, *Le belle arti a Venezia nei manoscritti di Pietro e Giovanni Edwards* (Firenze: goWare, 2015); Isabella Collavizza, *Dall'epistolario di Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna: erudito, collezionista e conoscitore d'arte nella Venezia dell'Ottocento* (Udine: Forum, 2017); new studies on Girolamo Ascanio Molin are forthcoming.

previously dealt with it, the discovery of new archival documents concerning the so-called Galleria Layard has allowed me to unravel the complexities of the issue, both on part of the National Gallery and the Italian government. Yet my concern was not simply to shed light on a previously neglected case; the purpose was also to examine how much the weight of diplomacy influenced the events and how national interests shaped the assessment of a collection of art. In this light, it has been possible to advance some considerations of the concept of value, belonging and ownership, which would be worth comparing and expanding on through researching other contemporary cases.

The reception of the Layard bequest at the National Gallery has been ultimately outlined in this dissertation, though it requires further study. In particular, one can question how the Layard collection could be presently understood. What value has the collection assumed? How could it be displayed in line with the current curatorial approach and the core mission of the museum? The fact that the majority of the pictures are in depots or on loan may be taken as evidence of an apparent reluctance on the part of the National Gallery to display problematic or unfashionable paintings or those of doubtful attribution. Although Alan Crookham has brilliantly confronted the problem focusing on Bellini's *Portrait of the Sultan*, a new assessment on the whole Layard bequest yet deserves to be addressed. A similar examination in terms of the impact on studies and museums' acquisition policies would be worth considering in the light of Layard's archaeological bequests to Venetian institutions. One might ask whether these gifts have encouraged others to do the same and what influence they arguably had on the study of the Near East in Italy. Recent contributions have appeared on this topic, but a closer scrutiny would be

worthwhile.<sup>5</sup> Similar questions could be raised in regard to the donations to the Glass Museum of Murano.

Finally, it may be worth suggesting a perspective for the future of Ca' Capello Layard, now part of Ca' Foscari University. Since the 1970s the palace has hosted the Department of Asian and North African Studies, a curious coincidence that chimes well with the nature of the interests and activities of its previous owner. This deep link represents an incredible opportunity for the university to transform the palace into an enviable cultural hub for scholars and students of Eastern studies, by converting the waterfront side, which still retains its historical aspect, into a house museum and in so doing, to honour the significance of Layard and his archaeological and collecting activities within the history of the city.

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<sup>5</sup> Ermidoro 2018.



# Appendix A

## Layard's honours

- Honorary member of the Accademia Filarmonica dei Concordi di Cuorné, Oct. 1837;
- Corresponding member of the American Ethnological Society, Nov. 1842;
- Royal Geographical Society, the Gold Medal 1846;
- Member of the Athenaeum, Jan. 1848;
- Hon. D.C.L, Oxford, Jul. 1848;
- Honorary member of the Royal Society of literature, Jan. 1849;
- Honorary and corresponding member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Jul. 1851;
- Member of the Nottingham Mechanic's Institution, Feb. 1853;
- Awarded the Freedom of the City of London, Mar. 1853;
- Honorary fellow of the Ethnological Society of London, Mar. 1853;
- Member of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, Mar. 1853;
- Elected Lord Rector of the Marishal College, Aberdeen, 1855;
- Honorary Member of the Accademia di Belle Arti di Perugia, Mar. 1856;
- Honorary Member and diploma of the American

Geographical and Statistical Society, Feb. 1857;

- Corresponding member of Institut de France, Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1857;

- Honorary Member of the Glasgow Archaeological Society, Nov. 1857;

- Fellow of the Accademia Etrusca di Cortona, Jan. 1859;

- Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquarian Copenhagen; Jan. 1863;

- Corresponding member of the Ateneo Veneto, Venice, Jan. 1868;

- RIBA Royal Gold Medal, Mar. 1868;

- Académico honorario extranjero de la Academia de las tres nobles artes de San Fernando, Feb. 1870;

- Académico honorario de la Academia de la Historia, May 1870;

- Elected Honorary Member of the American Institute of Architects; Jan. 1871;

- Elected Life Governor of the University College of London, Mar. 1871;

- Proposed, but declined Grã Cruz da Ordem da Rosa, Jul. 1872;

- Order of the Grand Cross of the Bath on Right Honourable, Jun. 1878;

- Honorary Fellow of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Apr. 1881;

- Member of The Society for the promotion of Hellenic studies, Feb. 1883;

- Honorary Member of the Huguenot Society of America, Aug. 1885;

- President of the Society  
of Biblical Archaeology, Jan.  
1886;

- Vice-President of the  
British and American  
Archaeological Society, Jan.  
1886;

- Associé étranger de  
l'Académie des inscriptions et  
Belles Lettres de l'Institut de  
France, Feb. 1890;

- Honorary Member of  
the American Oriental Society,  
May 1890;

- Honorary member and  
secretary for foreign  
Correspondence of the Royal  
Academy of Arts, London,  
1891.

## Appendix B

Inventory of the Layard Collection

Author	Title	Previous attribution	Technical information	Date of acquisition	Provenance	Sale price	To whom sold, date of sale, and amount sold for	Actual collocation	Bequest	Exhibition	Primary sources	Bibliographical references	Related works	Restoration notes
Clover	<i>A.H. Layard at 7 months old</i>		1817, photograph						Passed to Major Layard					
Amedeo Preziosi	<i>A.H. Layard in Bakhri dress</i>		1843, watercolour, 29.8x22.4cm	1843	Commissioned to the artist, inherited by H.P.J. Layard			London, British Museum, 1976.0925.9	Passed to Major Layard; donated by M. Philiis Layard in 1976 to the BM		BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27; Inventory of paintings and co.			
William Brockedon	<i>Portrait of A.H. Layard</i>		1849 (?), pencil drawing, graphite, 375x270 mm	1849 (?)	Commissioned to the artist (?)			London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG2515(103). Transferred from the National Gallery, 1994						
William Brockedon	<i>Portrait of James Reckitt</i>		black and red chalk on blue-green paper, heightened with white, 36.4x26.8cm, signed					London, British Museum, 1976.0925.11	Passed to Major Layard; donated by M. Philiis Layard in 1976 to the BM					
William Brockedon	<i>Portrait of General Layard</i>		black and red chalk on buff colored paper, heightened with white, 35.7x26.4cm, signed					London, British Museum, 1976.0925.10	Passed to Major Layard; donated by M. Philiis Layard in 1976 to the BM					
Samuel William Reynolds Jr, after Henry Wyndham Phillips	<i>Austen Henry Layard in Albanian costume</i>		1850, mezzotint, 503x382mm	1850			Acquired unknown source, 1951	London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D37226						
Richard Cockle Lucas	<i>Portrait A.H. Layard</i>		1851, wax, 25.5x9cm	1851	Commissioned to the artist (?)		The Harcourt Family, Stanton Harcourt and Nuneham Park, Oxfordshire. Sold Sotheby's London, 10 June 1993, part lots 205 and 207 Christopher Gibbs; London, Christie's, South Kensington, lot 128, 14 Mar. 2001	Unknown						
Joseph Brown, after Henry Wyndham Phillips	<i>Austen Henry Layard in Albanian costume</i>		1851, triple engraving, 229x151mm	1851	Commissioned to the artist (?)		Purchased with help from the Friends of the National Libraries and the Pilgrim Trust, 1966	London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D37225						
Joseph Brown, after Henry Wyndham Phillips	<i>Austen Henry Layard in Albanian costume</i>		1851, stripple engraving, 227x144mm	1851	Commissioned to the artist (?)		Purchased with help from the Whitin Fund, 1955	London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG D4043	Passed to Major Layard					
George Frederic Watts	<i>Portrait A.H. Layard</i>		post 1852, black chalk, 59.3x48.4cm	after 1852	Commissioned to the artist		Given by George Frederic Watts, 1895	London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1006						
Patrick Park	<i>Bust of A.H. Layard</i>		1855, marble, 77.5x31.6cm	1855				London, British Museum, 1922.0708.1				Dawson 1999, 128-31, no. 48.		
Spinello Aretino	<i>Saint Michael and other angels</i>		1408-10, fresco, 116.2x170.2cm	1855	Arezzo, S. Michele Arcangelo			London, National Gallery NG1216.1	Layard Bequest 1886	Manchester, 1857; South Kensington Museum 1869-1886	H. Cole to A.H. Layard 24 July 1871; V&A, Oct. 1869; BL, Add MS 38948, fol. 49; BL Add MS 38985, fol. 188.	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 3; Davies, 97-8		
Spinello Aretino	<i>Decorative border with a kneeling flagellant and saints</i>		1408-10, fresco, 55.9x153.7cm	1855	Arezzo, S. Michele Arcangelo			London, National Gallery NG1216.2	Layard Bequest 1886	Manchester, 1857; South Kensington Museum 1869-1886	H. Cole to A.H. Layard 24 July 1871; V&A, Oct. 1869; BL, Add MS 38948, fol. 49; BL Add MS 38985, fol. 188.	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 3; Davies, 97-8		
Spinello Aretino	<i>Decorative border with a Seraph and Saint Catherine</i>		1408-10, fresco, 55.9x127cm	1855	Arezzo, S. Michele Arcangelo			London, National Gallery NG1216.3	Layard Bequest 1886	Manchester, 1857; South Kensington Museum 1869-1886	H. Cole to A.H. Layard 24 July 1871; V&A, Oct. 1869; BL, Add MS 38948, fol. 49; BL, Add MS 38985, fol. 188.	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 4; Davies, 97-8		
W.M. Tweedie	<i>A.H. Layard Esq., MP</i>		ante 1856							Royal Academy 1856, n. 306				
Probably by Bartolomeo Montagna	<i>The Virgin and Child</i>	Bartolomeo Montagna; Giovanni Bellini	1481ca, fresco, 83.8x57.8cm	1856	Church of Magrè (Vicenza)			London, National Gallery NG1696	Lady Layard 1900			Davies p. 378		
Bartolomeo Montagna	<i>Saint Zeno, Saint John the Baptist and a Female Martyr</i>		1495, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 102.9x141 cm	1856	Tanara Collection, from their private chapel at S. Giovanni in Ilarione (Vicenza)			London, National Gallery NG3074	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL Add MS 38985, fd. 189; Murray MSS box 47.	Layard 1887, 290 Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1912, 134-135; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 6; Dal Forno 1972-3, 269; Davies 1961, 377; Puppi 1962, 106.	Raffaello Pinti, 1857; Luigi Cavenaghi, 1880	
Follower of Sandro Botticelli	<i>Virgin with the Child</i>	Sandro Botticelli	1485-1510, tempera on wood, 29.5x19.7cm	1856	Received from Miner Kellogg			London, National Gallery NG3082	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6; Long term loan, Arts Council of Great Britain, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2nd June 1958-3rd April 1963.		Catalogue 1869, n. 50; Richardson 1960, 271; Davies 1961, pp. 117-118; Seymour 1970, 128-130, n. 87; Zeri 1971, 166; Gabrielli 1971, 80, pl. 26.	Virgin and Child, Uffizi, Firenze, n. B49. Virgin and Child, Metropolitan Museum, NY, n. C13 - Lord Batereza Collection, and Sir Thomas Merton. Virgin and Child, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts [Another version is in the Galleria Sabauda, Turin]; Virgin and Child, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, related to two other versions: one in the Benson Collection till 1965 and in the Gibson-Carmichael Coll. Virgin and Child, National Museum, La Valletta.	
Workshop of Giovanni Bellini	<i>The Virgin and Child</i>	Giovanni Bellini	1490-1500, oil and tempera on wood, 80x64.8 cm	1856	Paris	40 Napoleons - £30		London, National Gallery NG3078	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL Add MS 38984, Letter from Miner K. Kellogg to Layard: suggerisce di comparare l'opera, 1.46; MS42711, fol. 111	Catalogue 1868, 16, n. 74; Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 13; Crowe Cavalcaselle 1871, 186; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 7, Davies 1961, 71.	Luigi Cavenaghi, 1900	
Style of Ambrogio Bergognone	<i>Saint Paul</i>		late XV cent., oil on poplar, 110.5x41.9cm	1856-1860	Bruschetti Collection (Milan), through Saverio Cavallari	10 Napoleons - £8		London, National Gallery NG3080	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	NLS, MS 42336, fol. 15 Letter to E. Rigby, 23 Jan. 1860; Letter from E. Layard to E. Pointer, 24 Sep 1896 about restoration; BL Add MS 38944 fol. 48.	Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 22; Venturi 1912, Penny 2004, 344		
Style of Ambrogio Bergognone	<i>Saint Ambrose (?)</i>		late XV cent., oil on poplar, 110.5x41.9cm	1856-1860	Bruschetti Collection (Milan), through Saverio Cavallari			London, National Gallery NG3081	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	Letter from E. Layard to E. Pointer, 24 Sep 1896 about restoration	Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 23.		
Possibly by Lorenzo Monaco	<i>B, Abraham with three angles</i>	Purchased by Layard as School of Gaddi; Lippo Memmi; In the NG Annual Report 1916 as Sienese School dated 1370	1396-1402, oil on vellum, 19x18.5cm	1860	Quandt sale, lot 365	£3		London, ex National Gallery NG3089; British Library Add. 74233B	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1862; 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6		Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 33; NG Annual Report 1916, 8; Davies 1961, 312-313; Freuler 2006, 266-271.		
Italian, North	<i>Saint George and a Female Saint</i>	Palma il Vecchio	1510-20ca, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 102.9x73cm	1860	Richetti (Venice), from the Grimani Collection	£50		London, National Gallery NG3079	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL Add MS 38994, fol. 60; Add MS 38948, fol. 84; 38966, fol. 310; E. Layard to E. Pointer, 24 Sep 1896; Vol. CLXX, Add MS39100, fol. 334 G. Frizzoni to E. Layard	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 6; Ross 1891, 116; Ross 1912, 81-82; Layard 1903, 228; Ludwig 1903, 78, n. 5; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 7; Venturi 1928, 437; Davies 1961, 188; Zampetti 1975, 211, n. 34; Rylands 1992, 282.	Henry Merritt, 1860; Guglielmo Botti, 1880; Luigi Cavenaghi, 1886.	
George Frederic Watts	<i>Portrait A.H. Layard</i>		chalk, colour, 58.4x48.3cm	1860	Commissioned to the artist		Given by the sitter's grand niece, Barbara Murray in 1951	London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 3787			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LVI, Add MS 38986, fols. 325r, 14 Mar. 1860			
Probably by Giovanni Buonconsiglio	<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>	Bartolomeo Montagna	1525-37, oil on wood, 47.6x41.9 cm	1861	Count Thiene (Vicenza) together with NG3067			London, National Gallery NG3076	Layard Bequest 1916	British Institution 1862; South Kensington Museum 1869-71; Dublin 1871-6		Catalogue 1868, 23, n. 278; Sheldon 2009, 428; Davies 1961, 129.		
Girolamo da Vicenza	<i>The Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin</i>	Girolamo dei Libri	1488, tempera on wood, 33.7x22.9 cm	1861	Count Thiene (Vicenza)			London, National Gallery NG3077	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 39101, fol. 41: W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 5 Sep. 1861	Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 49; Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1912, 205; Morelli, Richter 1860, 440; Layard 1903, 228; Chavasse 1996, 329.		

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Gerard David	<i>Crucifixion</i>	Martin Schön	1481ca, oil on panel, 48.4 x 93.9 cm	1861	Count Thiene (Vicenza)			London, National Gallery NG3067	Layard Bequest 1916	British Institution 1862; South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6; RA London 1927	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVII, Add MS 39037, fols. 112-113; W. von Bode to A.H. Layard, 20.4.1884; Add MS 39101, fol. 40; W. Perry to A.H. Layard, 5 Sep. 1861	Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 17; Layard 1903, vol. II, 228; RA 1927, 42, n. 35; Favarello 1987, 228; Waterfield 1966, 170; Campbell 1998, 158-163.		
Francesco Bissolo	<i>Virgin with the Child with Saint Michael and Veronica, two donors</i>		1500-1525, oil on panel, 62.2x84.1cm	1862	M. Guggenheim, it came from the collection of Pope Gregory XVI	100 Napoleons - £75		London, National Gallery NG3083	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MSS 39101, fol. 149, 151; 39103 fol. 304	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 9; Sheldon 2009, 433; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 7; Davies 1961, 84-85; Gentili 1991, 27-60.	Sotheby's Olympia, 16 Dec 1999, Follower Gio. Bellini, Madonna and Child, Sotheby's Olympia, 4 July 2008, Attrib. to F. Bissolo, Madona Child and St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome, sold for 10,800£; Sotheby's NY 28 Jan 2010, F. Bissolo, Madonna with Child and St. John Baptist-unsold, p. 21. Christie's, London, 13 Dec 1996, G. Belline and Associate Madonna with Child and Donor - from the version of Venice, Accademia	
Andrea Busati	<i>The Entombment</i>	Sebastiano del Piombo, Cima da Conegliano	after 1512, oil on poplar, 111.1 x 91.4 cm	1862	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	100 Napoleons - £75		London, National Gallery NG3084		South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL Add MSS 38949, fol. 6, 9107, fol. 23; Vol. CXXXVI, add MS 39036, fol. 206 Frizzoni to Layard; NLS, MS42336, fol. 45, Layard to E. Rigby, 17 Nov. 1862	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 1; Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 311; Layard 1887, 558. Morelli-Richter 1960, 36. Layard 1890, 364, 86; Davies 1961, 130-131; Humfrey 1983, 183-184; Tempestini 1993, 27, ff.		
Vittore Carpaccio	<i>The Departure of Ceyx</i>		1502-7, oil on spruce, 74.9 x 88.9 cm	1862	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	40 Napoleons - £30		London, National Gallery NG3085	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6; Venezia Vittore Carpaccio, Pal. Duc., 1963	BL Add MSS 38966, fol. 7; 38949, fol. 67	Catalogue Manfrin 1851, Stanza H, n. 14, Selvatico, Lazari 1852, 299; Catalogue 1866, 16, n. 72; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 14; Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 212; Molmenti 1893, 93; Berenson 1894, 96; S. Colvin 1897, 201; Testi 1904, 7, 26; Ludwig, Molmenti 1906, 271; Venturi 1907, 308; Venturi 1915, 720; Berenson 1932, 134; Davies 1951, 103-4; Pallucchini 1961, p. 31; Pokorny 1966, 418-21; Humfrey 1991, 93-4.		
Bernardino Licinio	<i>The Madonna and Child with Saints</i>		1510-30, oil on panel, 48.6x68.6 cm	1862 (?)	Manfrin Collection (Venice), with an unspecified Montagna			London, National Gallery NG3075	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6		Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 52; Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 298; Gould 1975, 130.		
Bramantino	<i>The Adoration of the Kings</i>	Mantegna in the Manfrin Collection	1500ca, oil on poplar, 56.8x55cm	1863	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	60 Napoleons - £45		London, National Gallery NG3073	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Royal Academy London 1870; Dublin; Pinacoteca Ambrosiana 2005-6 (Le Adorazioni del Bramantino)	NGS/152/1863 C.L. Eastlake to R.W. Wornum, 8 Oct 1863; NGS/152/1863 C.L. Eastlake to R.W. Wornum, 13 Oct 1863. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MS 38949, fol. 67, A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 20 Nov 1870. BL Add MSS 38990, fol. 143.	Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 37; RA London 1870, p. 7, n. 54; Layard, 380. Crowe Cavalcaselle 1871, 26, 32; Sheldon 2009, 429; Catalogue 1898, XLVIII, 38; Venturi 1900, 192-193; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 6; Venturi 1930, 39-40; Suida 1953, 67-9; D'Annunzio 1976; Davies 1961, 127-129; 65; Dunkerton 1993, Morale 2004.		Giuseppe Molteni, 1863; Gill Dunkerton, 1993
Jacopo de'Barbari	<i>The Sparrowhawk</i>		1510ca, oil on oak, 17.8x10.8cm		J. Hudson, who purchased it at Count Castellani			London, National Gallery NG3088	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6		Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 36; NG Annual Report 1916, 8; Davies 1961, 43-44; Sutton 1985, 121; Jackson 1993, 21.		
Workshop of Bernardino Luini	<i>Virgin with the Child</i>	Bernardino Luini	early XVI century, oil on panel, 48.9x43.8cm	1863	Basilini (Milano), previously Borromeo Collection	150 Napoleons - £115 with NG3091		London, National Gallery NG3090	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871, Royal Academy London 1870; Dublin 1871-6; Halifax, Backfield Museum 1931; Bradford City Art Galley 1934; Sheffield Graves Art Gallery, 1935/7; Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1958/63; Bulgaria, National Gallery of Sofia, 1979/80.	Eastlake Notebooks 1857, II, Genoa, 31 August 1857, 21; BL, Layard Papers, Add MS 38963, fol. 5; 38966, fol. 9v, 13r.	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 10; Catalogue 1870, 3, n. 62; Beltrami 1911, 527; Ottino della Chiesa 1956, 83; Davies 1961, 321	B. Luini, <i>The Holy Family</i> , wood, 51x43.5cm, Paris, Louvre, inv. no. 359; Bergognone, <i>Virgin with standing Child</i> , NG298, NG1077, NG1410.	Giuseppe Molteni
Francesco Bonsignori	<i>The Virgin and Child with four saints</i>		1490-1510, oil on canvas, 48.3x106.7cm	1863	Basilini (Milano)	150 Napoleons - £115 with NG3090		London, National Gallery NG3091	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS, 38963, fol. 15; G. Morelli to A. H. Layard, 26 Oct 1864, fol. 11; 3 Jan 1865. BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXVI, Add MSS 38966, f.5, 9v; A. H. Layard to G. Morelli, 5 and 20 Dec 1864;	Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 40; Layard, 266. Morelli-Richter 1960, p.356, 362, 364; Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1912, 185; Sheldon 2009, 429; Davies 1961, 95; Agosti 1995, 58; Moro 1995, 63.		
Andrea Previtali	<i>Christ Blessing</i>		1512-15, oil on panel, 47.7x38.1cm	post 1863	M. Mündler - Bergamo, maybe from the Lochis' collection in 1863			London, National Gallery NG3087	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL, Add MS, 38966, fols. 2v-3r; A.H. Layard to G. Morelli, 30.11.1863. Add MS 38963, fol. 4; G. Morelli to Layard, 20.2.1864; BL Add MS 39107, fol. 370.	Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 19; NG Annual Report 1916, 8; Zampetti 1975, 136; Agosti 1993, 62; Jackson 1993, 20-21; Penny 2004, 300-305.	See NG2501; Alvise Vivarini, <i>Salvator Mundi</i> , Venezia, S. Giovanni in Bragora; Christie's London, 13 Dec 1996, lot 349.	
Italian, Venetian	<i>Augustus and the Sibyl</i>	Carpaccio	1500ca, oil on panel, 0.175x0.385cm	1862-1864	Ricchetti (Venice)	200 It. Lire		London, National Gallery NG3086	Layard Bequest 1916			Catalogue 1896, 44; Davies 1961, 547-8; Tempestini 1993.		
Gaudenzio Ferrari	<i>The Angel Gabriel</i>		ante 1511, oil and tempera on wood, 58.4 x 58.4 cm	1863-1864	Basilini (Milano), Acerbi Collection	500 francs - £20 ca		London, National Gallery NG3068.1	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL, Add MS 39063, fol. 5; perhaps also BL, Add MS 39104, fol. 206.	Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 51; G. Colombo 1881, 23; Catalogue mostra lombardi Burlington Fine Arts, 1898, 25; Halsey 1904, pp. 35, 71; Catalogue NGIreland 1914, 49; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 6.		
Gaudenzio Ferrari	<i>The Virgin Mary</i>		ante 1511, oil and tempera on wood, 58.4 x 58.4 cm	1863-1864	Basilini (Milano), Acerbi Collection			London, National Gallery NG3068.2	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871		Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 51; G. Colombo 1881, 23; Catalogue 1898, 25; Catalogue NGI 1914, 49. National Gallery Annual Report 1916, 6.		
Italian, Florentine	<i>Saint Peter</i>	Giotto	1350s, fresco, 42.8x32.8cm	ante 1864	Florence, Church of Santa Maria del Carmine			London, National Gallery NG3120	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 15.11.1869-20.4.1876	Murray MSS box 47	Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 53, Davies 1988, 25.		
Andrea Previtali	<i>The Virgin and Child adored by two angels</i>	Boccaccio Boccaccino	1505ca, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 67.9x93.8cm	1864	Gaetano Bertalazzone d'Arache (Turin), Mündler, Ivor Bertie Guest, lord Wimborne (1856)	in exchange for an altarpiece by Girolamo da Santa Croce		London, National Gallery NG3111	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	NGA, NG7/292/13(ii); No. 23, No. 45; Vol. CXXXVI, add MS 39036, fol. 206 Frizzoni to Layard	Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 33; NG Annual Report 1916, 11; A. Venturi, <i>Storia dell'arte italiana</i> , VII, 4, 594-5; Penny 2004, 282-286; De Blasi 2011, 222.		
Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo	<i>St. Jerome</i>		1525-30, oil on canvas, 121x160.4cm	1864	Bruschetti Collection (Milan), previously Dellicco family	700 Francs - £28		London, National Gallery NG3092	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871, Royal Academy London 1870; Dublin 1871-6	BL Add MS 38966, fol. 6, 51v, 64; BL Add MS 38993, fol. 218 (1866)	Ridolfi 1838, I, 35; Catalogue 1868, 17, n. 91; Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 8; Catalogue 1870, 4, n. 16; Crowe, Cavalcaselle 1871, 429; Layard 1887, 584; Sheldon 2009, 429; D'Annunzio 1976, 65; Mündler 1985, 88; Penny 2004, 240-245.		
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>Portrait of a man with raised eyebrows</i>		1570-5, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 37.8 cm		M. Mündler through Morelli			London, National Gallery NG3128	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Graves Art Gallery - Sheffield 1935-7; Glynn Vivian Museum and Art Gallery - Swith handlea, 1952-4; Rhodes National Gallery - Salisbury, Rhodesia 1957-8; from 1978 at the NG.	Layard MS, valued 100£.	Catalogue SKM 1869, 2, n. 28; Catalogue NGIreland 1914, 106; Penny 2004, 250-251.		



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Giampietrino	<i>Christ carrying the Cross</i>		1510-30, oil on panel, 59.7x47cm	1865 (?)	Baslini (Milano)	30 Napoleons - £67		London, National Gallery NG3097	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6; Newcastle, Lain Art Gallery, 1958-1963	MS notebook by Layard, List of pictures in the possession of AHL, n. 38 Christ bearing the Cross - purchased of Baslini of Milan for 30 Naps. - Restored by Molteni, who says of the picture "il Gian Pietrino è il più bello ch'io m'abbia visto in vita mia di quell'autore, in quanto poi all'impressione della testa del Cristo, né Luino, né Leonardo potevano far di più - per cui io lo consiglio a tener bene (***) quel prezioso dipinto". BL Add MS 38963, fol. 24, 33	Lomazzo 1584, 679, 695; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 31; Layard, 415; Davies 1961, 296; Gabrielli 1971, 138; fig. 169.	Leonardo da Vinci, <i>Testa di Cristo con una mano che afferra i capelli</i> , metal point on grey-blue prepared paper, 116x91mm, Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia, 1966 Leonardo exhibit. cat., n. 18, fig. 24; Giampietrino, <i>Der kreuztragende Christus</i> , panel, 62x49cm, Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 58.2; Giampietrino, <i>Cristo portacroce</i> , Torino, Galleria Sabauda; One in the collection Lopez Cepero, Seville; Miat, San Tomaso in Terra Mara, Rovigo, Accademia dei Concordi, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste	Giuseppe Molteni, 1865; In 1876 Lady Eastlake wrote: "I regret to see it much injured".
Style of Van Dyck	<i>Portrait of a Woman</i>	Van Dyck, <i>Anne Marie Schotten</i>	after 1635, oil on copper, 59.7x47.2cm	21.04.1865	Paris, Prince de Beauvau sale	Fr 1500		London, National Gallery NG3132	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871, Dublin 1871-6; An Exhibition on Cleaned pictures, NG, London, 1947-8.	Layard MS, n. 43; BL Add MS 38966, fol. 19r.	Catalogue SKM 1869, 2, n. 20; Catalogue 1947, 83-84; Favaretto 1987, 229; Martin 1970, 62-3.	It bears some resemblance to the following portrait in the treatment of the face, the eyes and eyebrows, and nose. Van Dyck, <i>Amalia von Salms-Braunfels, wife of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange</i> , 1628-9. Current owner unknown, quoted in Larsen 1988, 225, 226., n. 557.	1947-8
Paolo Morando, called Cavazzola	<i>St. John the Baptist</i>			1865	Verona, Malenza Coll.	2,200 Francs		Unknown			London, BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXI, Add MS 38991, fol. 175v; J. Hudson to A.H. Layard, Pistoia, 8 May 1865.			
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>Bust portrait of a young man with an inscription</i>		1560, oil on canvas, 47.2 x 39.8 cm	1865	Lupi Collection (Bergamo)	50 Nap - £40		London, National Gallery NG3129	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	Letter Morelli to Layard, 21.10.1865, British Library, Add MSS 38963, fol. 24v; Letter Morelli to Layard, 11.10.1865, British Library, Add MSS 38963, fols. 27v-28r; Letter Morelli to Layard, 28.10.1865, British Library, Add MSS 38963, fol. 30v; BL Add MS 38966, fols. 32-34	Catalogue 1868, 28, n. 278; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 44; Catalogue 1896, 30; Catalogue NGIreland 1914, 106; Zampetti 1973, 278-279; Penny 2004, 226-231.		
Raffaellino del Garbo	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	Filippino Lippi, <i>Portrait di Lorenzo il Magnifico</i> - NG Annual Report Lippi but as a <i>Portrait of a Youth</i>	1500ca, tempera and oil on wood, 51.5x35.2cm	1865	Arrigoni (Bergamo)	30 Napoleons - £67ca		London, National Gallery NG3101	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	Not in Eastlake's notebook. Letter from Morelli to Layard, 21/31 Oct 1865, Add MSS 38963, fol. 27, A. H. Layard to G. Morelli, 13 Oct 1865, Add MSS 38966.	Catalogue 1868, 13; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 46; NG Annual Report 1916, 10; Jahn Rusconi 1924, 516; Davies 1961, 456-7; Zambrano 2004, 337-338.		
Workshop of Giovanni Bellini	<i>The Adoration of the Kings</i>	Gentile Bellini	1475-80, oil on canvas, 109.9x208.9cm	12 October 1865	Favenza (Venice), said to be previously property of Count Thiene, in his chapel in the Church of San Bortolo (Vicenza), where there was an Adoration by Fogolino.	£75		London, National Gallery NG3098	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	NLS, MS 42336, Letter Layard to E. Rigby, 12 Oct. 1865; Letter Layard to Morelli, 13 October 1865, Add MSS 38966, fol. 32; Letter A. H. Layard to F. Burton, 25th August 1881, NG Dossier.	Catalogue 1869, 1, n. 7. Layard, 305. Catalogue dattiloscritto 1896, p. 54; Catalogue NGIreland 1914, 12; Davies 1961, 135-137; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, 154;	Giovanni Mansueti, <i>Adoration of the Kings</i> , 220x103cm, Padua, Museo Civico, inv. no. 425.	Raffaele Pinti, 1866; Luigi Cavenaghi, 1881. In 1997 it was brought to the Conservation Department for examination: it was apparent that it was a much damaged painting, extensively repainted in the XIX cent. to cover areas of loss.
Gentile Bellini	<i>The Sultan Mehmet II</i>		1480, oil on canvas transferred from wood, 69.9x52.1cm	1865	Venturi family	£12		London, National Gallery NG3099	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-1876	Letter from R. H. Benson to C. Holroyd, 30 Jan 1913. BL Add MS 38966, fols. 36, 47; BL Add MS 38982 R.L. Brown 1866	Catalogue 1868, n. 75; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 32; Crowe Cavalcaselle, I, 126; Thuausne, Layard 1907, 304; Catalogue NGIreland 1914, 1; Morelli-Richter 1960, p. 464; Waterfield 1961, 69; D'Annunzio 1976, 65-6; Davies 1986, 51; Crookham 2015.		D. Bomford, Conservation of paintings 1997.
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>Portrait of Leonardo Salvagno (?)</i>		1570-5, oil on canvas, 100.6x74.9cm	Oct. 1865	Count Thiene (Vicenza)	£80		London, National Gallery NG3124	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6; London Museum 1924, Lancaster House; Wolverhampton 1952-4; Brighton 1958-61, Dorchester 1979-91.	Letter Morelli to Layard, British Library, Add MSS 38963, fol. 25r; BL Add MS 38966, fol. 32, 52.	Catalogue 1869, p. 1, n. 5; Catalogue NGI 1914, 106; NG Annual Report 1916, 12; Gould 1975, 70-171; Penny 2004, 247-249.		Raffaele Pinti
North Italian painter	<i>Virgin with the Child between Saint Anthony of Padua and Saint Nicholas of Tolentino</i>	Alessandro Bonvicino, detto il Moretto	1515ca, oil on panel, 44.9 x 63.2 cm	1865	Ettore Averoldi (Brescia)	4000 Francs - £160		London, National Gallery NG3094	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	Letter from Layard to Morelli, 30 Dec 1864., Add MSS 38966, fol. 12r. - Arrival of the painting: 38966, 12 August 1865, fol. 22v - Letter from Layard to Lady Eastlake, 19 Jan 1877, 38972, fol. 51. For the silk 23 Feb 1877, fol 54. BL Add MS 38963, fols. 5, 9; BL Add MS fols. 14, 17	Catalogue 1868, 16, n. 79; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 27; Layard, p.580; Sheldon 2009, 433; Molmenti 1898, 86; Gould, 163; Begni Redona 1988, 108; Penny 2004, 252-55.		Giuseppe Molteni, 1865
Alessandro Bonvicino, il Moretto	<i>Praying man with a long beard</i>		1545ca, oil on canvas, 103.7x89.4cm	1865	Ettore Averoldi (Brescia) - through Morelli	2500 Francs - £100		London, National Gallery NG3095	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL, Add MSS, 38963 26 Dec 1864, fols. 5v-6r, fol. 15; Layard to Morelli, 12 Aug 1865, Add MSS 38966, fol. 9r, 14v, 16r, 18v, 22v.	Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 15; NG Annual Report 1916, 9; Begni Redona 1988, 440-443; Penny 2004, 190-193.	Old copy of the NG3095, 187, 1x88.8cm, whereabouts unknown; Moretto, The Virgin and Child, St. John the Baptist, S. Elizabeth, Bartolomeo and Mario Averoldi kneeling, 1541, formerly Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (destroyed in 1945).	Giuseppe Molteni, 1865
Possibly by Girolamo Romanino	<i>Pegasus and the Muses</i>		1540ca, oil on panel, 38x115.4cm	1865	Morelli collection	gift		London, National Gallery NG3093	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL, 38963, fol. 6v; G. Morelli to A.H. Layard, 26 dec 1864; Layard to Morelli, 30 Dec 1864. Add MSS 38916, fol. 14fol. Add MSS 38963, vol. 18r. A.H. Layard to Lady Eastlake, 9 Jan 1877, BL, Layard Papers, Add MSS 38972, fol. 50. - Doubts of attribution	NG Annual Report 1916, 9 (attrib. doubted); Penny 2004, 332-336		
Luca della Robbia	<i>Madonna dei genovesi</i>			1866	Inherited from Charles Lock Eastlake	gift			presented in 1900 to the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin) by Friedländer-Fould			Robertson 1977, 240, n. 72.		

Author	Title	Previous attribution	Technical information	Date of acquisition	Provenance	Sale price	To whom sold, date of sale, and amount sold for	Actual collocation	Bequest	Exhibition	Primary sources	Bibliographical references	Related works	Restoration notes
Charles Lock Eastlake	<i>A view of Naples / A Sicilian Landscape</i>			1866	Inherited from Charles Lock Eastlake	gift					NLS, John Murray Archive, MS 42169, fol. 130; E. Rigby to A.H. Layard, 26 February 1869; NGA, NG14/3/2			
Charles Wiener	<i>A marble bust of Sir Austen Henry Layard, in uniform with a high collar decorated with leaf patterns, a cloak over his right shoulder. The bust rests on two books, the titles inscribed on the spines: Nineveh and Babylon and The Monuments of Nineveh.</i>		1866, marble, 700x490x280mm	1866	Commissioned to the artist and kept at 2 Willow Road, London		Bequeathed to the National Trust by Ernő Goldfinger (1902-1987) and Ursula Ruth Blackwell, Mrs Ernő Goldfinger (1909 - 1991), formally acquired in 1994.	National Trust collections (2 Willow Road, London/The Ernő Goldfinger Collection)				Jeremy Warren 2018		
Alessandro Bonvicino, il Moretto	<i>Christ blessing Saint John the Baptist</i>		1520-23, oil on canvas, 66.9x94.7cm	1866	Brescia through Morelli	£33		London, National Gallery NG3096	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6; Leeds 1966-75; Brescia 1988		Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 39; NG Annual Report 1916, p. 9; Begni Redona 1988, p. 80; Penny 2004, pp. 150-153.	Moretto, <i>Christ in the Wilderness</i> , 1515-17, oil on canvas, 45.7x55.2cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911.(11.53). Moretto, <i>Moses and the Burning Bush</i> , c. 1525, fresco transferred on canvas, 340x235cm, Brescia, Tosio Martinengo.	
Probably by Antonio Cicognara	<i>Mystic Figure of Christ</i>	Bono Ferrarese or Marco Zoppo	late XV century, tempera on wood, 50.8x33.3cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)			London, National Gallery NG3069	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6		Catalogue Costabilli, vol. I, 1838, n. 36; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 47; Crowe Cavalcaselle, <i>North Italian Painting</i> , p. 78, n. 5; Lady Eastlake, <i>The Letters O.L.E.</i> , p. 428; Davies 1961, pp. 177-178; Officina Ferrarese 1968, fig. 331; Ugolini 1990, p. 76; Anderson 1993, Giovannucci Vigi 1993, p. 45; Wienczorek 1994 p. ?; La Collezione Costabilli 1998, pp. 295-298.		
Cosimo Tura	<i>A Muse (Calliope?)</i>		1455-60, oil on wood, 116.2 x 71.1 cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara); previously in the Convent of St. Dominic, Bellio (?), sala del tribunale dell'inquisizione	£60 (?)		London, National Gallery NG3070	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	NG22/9, fol. 4r: Eastlake's notebooks; Letter from Morelli to Layard, 26 Oct 1864, BL Layard papers, Add Ms 38963, vol. XXXII, fol. 7	Catalogue 1868, 13, n. 35; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 18; Crowe, <i>Cavalcaselle 1884</i> , 119; Harck 1898, 38, No. 65; Jacobsen 1899, 363; Crowe, <i>Cavalcaselle 1912</i> , 226, 235; Sheldon 2009, 428; National Gallery Annual Report 1916, p. 6; Gould 1975, p. 97. G. D'Annunzio 1976, p. 65; Ugolini 1990, p. 54; Mattalano 1998, p. 38.		
Italian	<i>A man and his wife</i>	Sold as Paolo Veronese, then attributed to Garofalo	mid-1540s, oil on canvas, perhaps transferred from wood, 65.4x73.7cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)			London, National Gallery NG3117	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6		Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 24; Venturi 1912, p. 453; NG Annual Report 1916, p. 11; Gould 1975, pp. 123-124; Togneri Dowd 1985, p. 217; Ugolini 1990, p. 50-76; Mattalano Agostini 1998, p. 138.		
North Italian artist - formerly attr. to Garofalo	<i>Saint Catherine of Alexandria</i>	Benvenuto Garofalo - Francesco Caroto Frizzoni's opinion	1515-30, oil on panel, 45.1x38.7cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)	£80 (?)		London, National Gallery NG3118	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL Add MS 38963, fol. 53; BL Vol. CXXXVI, add MS 39036, fol. 206 Frizzoni to Layard	Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 48; Lady Eastlake, <i>The Letters O.L.E.</i> , p. 428; NG Annual Report 1916, p. 12; Gould 1975, p. 95; Ugolini 1990, p. 50; Fioravanti Baraldi 1993, p. 121; Pattanaro 1995, p. 39-53; Mattalano Agostini 1998, pp. 134-135 [Correggio]; NG Technical Bulletin 2002, 21.	Jill Dunkerton 2002	
Possibly by Girolamo Genga	<i>A Jesse-Tree</i>	Giulio Clovio	1535ca, gum or egg white, on parchment or paper, 22.2x14cm	1866	Ludwig Gruner			London, National Gallery NG3119	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871, Dublin 1871-6	BL Add MS 38996, fol. 47; Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Handschriftenabteilung, Slg. Darmstaedter 1845, Layard Austen Henry, Blatt 19-20: 03.01.1866	Ivan Kukuljevic Sakcinski, <i>Leben des G. Julius Clovio</i> , Agram 1852; Catalogue 1868, 203, n. 596; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 34; NG Annual Report 1916, p. 12; Gould 1975, p. 124.		
After Cima da Conegliano	<i>The Virgin and Child, with Saint Paul and Saint Francis</i>		1508-1530, oil on panel, 49.5x87cm	1866	Favenza (Venice)			London, National Gallery NG3112	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1876 (20.4)		Catalogue 1868, ?; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 16; Layard, p. 326; NG Annual Report 1916, p. 11; Davies 1961, pp. 148-149; Humfrey 1983, pp. 112-113		
Cima da Conegliano (possibly)	<i>The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Nicholas from Bari</i>		1513-18, oil on canvas, 50.8x70.5cm	1866	Favenza (Venice)			London, National Gallery NG3113	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	Σ	NG Annual Report 1916, p. 11; Davies 1961, p. 148; Humfrey 1983 p. 113.	Raffaella Pintì, 1867	
Ludovico Mazzolino	<i>The Nativity</i>		1504-10, oil on panel, 39.4x34.3cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)			London, National Gallery NG3114	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6		NG Annual Report 1916, p. 11; Gould 1975, p. 143; Ugolini 1990, p. 50; Anderson 1993, p. 539-549; Mattalano Agostini 1998, p. 226.		
Benedetto Tisi, il Garofalo	<i>The Virgin and Child with Saint Domenico and Saint Catherine</i>	Erocole Grandi	1499-1502, oil on panel, 46.3x34.8 cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)			London, National Gallery NG3102	Layard Bequest 1916	Leeds 1868, South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	BL Add MS 38963, fol. 53	Catalogue 1868, 16, n. 84; Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 43; Layard, 356; Crowe, <i>Cavalcaselle 1912</i> , p. 265; Sheldon 2009, 428, 444; Lady Layard, 10-15.01.1898; Davies 1961, 85; Moro 1992, 18; Anderson 1993, Pattanaro 1994-97-110; Mattalano, Agostini 1998, 279-280; Dunkerton, Penny, Spring 2002, 20-41.		
Lorenzo Costa	<i>The Story of Moses (The Israelites gathering Manna)</i>	Erocole Grandi	after 1508, glue on linen, 119.3x78.7cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)			London, National Gallery NG3103	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871		Laderchi 1838-41, 43, n. 75, 77; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 25, 26; Crowe Cavalcaselle 1871, I, 552; Morelli 1893, 138; Venturi 1903, 141; Berenson 1907, 212; Venturi 1914, 807-10; NG annual Report 1916, 10; Longhi 1934, 119-120; Gould, 75-7; Zerl Rossi 1986, 178-180; Mattalano, Agostini 1998, 55.		
Lorenzo Costa	<i>The Story of Moses (The Dance of Miriam)</i>	Erocole Grandi	after 1508, glue on linen, 119.3x78.7cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)			London, National Gallery NG3104	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871		Laderchi 1838-41, 43, n. 75, 77; Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 25, 26; Crowe Cavalcaselle 1871, I, 552; Morelli 1893, 138; Venturi 1903, p. 141; Berenson 1907, 212; Venturi 1914, 807-10; NG annual Report 1916, 10; Longhi 1934, 119-120; Gould, 75-7; Zerl Rossi 1986, 178-180; Mattalano 1998, 54-55.		
Lorenzo Costa	<i>The Adoration of the Shepherds with Angels</i>		1499ca, oil on wood, 52.4x37.5cm	1866	Costabilli Collection (Ferrara)	£200 (?)		London, National Gallery NG3105	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL Add MSS 38963, fol. 53	Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 45; Crowe, <i>Cavalcaselle 1871</i> , 260; Sheldon 2009, 428; Venturi 1914, 820; NG annual Report 1916, 10; Longhi 1934, 99; Gould 1975, 75; Ballarin 1995, 187, n. 7.		
Maestro Giorgio	<i>Dish</i>		majolica Gubbio, signed and dated 1527	1867 (?) , ante 1869	Coll. Lochis, Paris's sale			Unknown	/	South Kensington Museum 1869-1876 (20.4)		Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 55.		
After Bonifacio de Pitati	<i>Dives and Lazarus</i>		early XVI century, oil on panel, 47x84.5cm	1868	Vasen Collection (Venice)	40 Napoleons - £30		London, National Gallery NG3106	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL Add MSS 38949, fol. 67; Letter Rawdon Brown and Grimani to profol. Vasen	Catalogue 1869, 2, n. 29; Sheldon 2009, 294, NG annual Report 1916, 10; Moschini Marconi 1962, 36; Gould 1975, 34-35; Simonetti 1986, 116, 123	It is the copy of the one at the Gallerie dell'Accademia (Venice)	
Julia Margaret Cameron	<i>A.H. Layard, M.P.</i>		carbon print from copy negative	31 Mar. 1869	Commissioned to the artist			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 447-1913	Enid Du Cane, 3 April 1913					
Julia Margaret Cameron	<i>Mrs Enid Layard</i>		carbon print from copy negative	31 Mar. 1869	Commissioned to the artist			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 448-1913	Enid Du Cane, 3 April 1913					



Author	Title	Previous attribution	Technical information	Date of acquisition	Provenance	Sale price	To whom sold, date of sale, and amount sold for	Actual collocation	Bequest	Exhibition	Primary sources	Bibliographical references	Related works	Restoration notes
Pietro Lorenzetti and workshop	<i>A Crowned figure (Saint Elizabeth of Hungary?)</i>		1336-40, fresco, 38x33cm	ante 1869	Siena, S. Francesco, either from the Cloister or the Chapter House; NGA, NG7/292/13/ (iii): "Purchased from a man who had out them out of the wall".			London, National Gallery NG3071	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871; Dublin 1871-6	NG10/12, Manuscript Catalogue 2985-3250. "From S. Francesco, Siena (S. Agostino?) described by Ghiberti & Vasari. Purchased by Layard from a man who had them out of the wall".	Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 41; Crowe Cavalcaselle 1864, 136; National Gallery Annual Report NG17/7, 1916, 6; Davies, 302; Seidel 1978, 120, 124; Boskovits 1986, 8-9; Volpe 1989, 118-119.		
Pietro Lorenzetti and workshop	<i>A Female Saint</i>		1336-40, fresco, 39x30 cm	ante 1869	Siena, S. Francesco, either from the Cloister or the Chapter House			London, National Gallery NG3072	Layard Bequest 1916	South Kensington Museum 1869-1876 (20.4)		Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 42; supra.		
Unspecified	<i>Geographical map</i>		arrais					Venice, Archivio di Stato	A.H. Layard					
German painter, close to Ambrosius Holbein	<i>Virgin with Child</i>		1533ca, glass	ante 1869			Exchanged in 1870 with Emanuele Tapparelli D'Azeglio for a "quadretto all'olio del finir del secolo decimosesto con una veneziana in cima alla casa nell'atto di farsi biondi i capelli al sole coll'iscrizione in oro sull'angolo della pittura. Donna di Venezia che si sguia il capo. Essa ha quelle altissime calzature che allora usavano portar le cortigiane e che vedonsi nel quadro di Carpaccio al Museo Correr citate anche da Shakespeare".	Torino, Palazzo Madama, inv. 264/VD		South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	BL, Layard Papers, Add MS 38997, fols. 336, 359; Add MS 38998, fol. 71	Pettenati 1978, 83-84; Giacomelli 2011.		
Unspecified	<i>Piatto con Angelo annunciante</i>		majolica, XVI century	ante 1869				Unknown		South Kensington Museum 1869-1876 (20.4)		Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 56.		
Salviati&Co	<i>Plate with Europe at the centre</i>		glass with aventurinina border	ante 1869				Unknown		South Kensington Museum 1869-1876 (20.4)		Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 57.		
Mons. Devers for Salviati&Co	<i>Plate with foliage and dancing cupids</i>		glass with aventurinina border	ante 1869				Unknown		South Kensington Museum 1869-1876		Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 58.		
Vicente Esquivel	<i>Scene at a fair at Cordova</i>		1870s	1870-77	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown			NG7/292/13(ii), n. 72			
Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales	<i>Portrait of Lady Layard</i>		1870, oil on panel, 101.5x78.5cm	1870	Commissioned to the artist			London, British Museum, 1980.1216.1	Passed to Major Layard		NG7/292/13(ii), n. 68, NGA1/1/44/9 Layard to W. Boxall	Rudoe 1987, 214-215; Curtis, Reade 1995, 251.		
Vicente Palmaroli	<i>Charles V</i>		painting	1870	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard	NG7/292/13(ii), n. 70; BL Add MS 38999, f. 228; Stirling Maxwell to A.H. Layard, 23.5.1871	Catalogue 1896b, 105, n. 913.		
Vicente Palmaroli	<i>Miniature of Charles V</i>		old fillgree silver frame	1870 (?)	Spain			Unknown			NG7/292/13(ii), n. 71			
Antonio Jimenez	<i>Bottle with stopper</i>		1865-70, 43.3x20.4cm, unglazed white clay with slip-trailed and tooled decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 762	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 280-284, n. 526.		
Antonio Jimenez	<i>Bottle with stopper</i>		1865-70, 41.6x19.7cm, white, unglazed earthenware, with slip-trailed decoration in relief.	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 762A	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 281, n. 527.		
Antonio Jimenez			1865-70, 32.3x15.6cm, slip-trailed ware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, n. 528	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 281.		
Antonio Jimenez			1865-70, 32.3x15.6cm, slip-trailed ware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 763A	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 281.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Spouted drinking-vessel (biberón)</i>		1865-70, 27.3x22.2cm, unglazed white clay with slip-trailed and tooled decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 766	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 282.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Spouted drinking-vessel (biberón)</i>		1865-70, 24.5x25.1cm, slip-trailed ware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 767	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 282.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Drinking-vessel</i>		1865-70, 21.8x17.8cm, tin-glazed earthenware with impressed decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 768	Layard 1870					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Spouted drinking-vessel (biberón)</i>		1865-70, 20.9x16.8cm, slip-trailed ware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 769	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 282.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar (neck broken and repaired)</i>		1865-70, 26.3x16cm, tin-glazed earthenware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 759	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 283.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar</i>		1865-70, 25.9x15.9cm, unglazed white clay with slip-trailed and tooled decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 759A	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 283.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar</i>		1865-70, 19.4x13cm, slip-trailed ware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 760	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 283.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar</i>		1865-70, 18.6x13cm, slip-trailed ware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 760A	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 283.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar</i>		1865-70, 29.8 x 15.9cm, tin-glazed earthenware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 756	Layard 1870					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar</i>		1865-70, 28.9 x 16.8cm, tin-glazed earthenware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 757	Layard 1870					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Jar</i>		1865-70, 28.7 x 15.8cm, tin-glazed earthenware	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 758	Layard 1870					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Spouted drinking-vessel (biberón)</i>		1865-7031.6x24.7cm, impressed decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 765	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 283.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Spouted drinking-vessel (biberón)</i>		1865-70, 37.6x27.4cm, tin-glazed earthenware with impressed decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 764	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 283.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Flask</i>		1865-70, 21.3x17.3cm, impressed decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 761	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 284.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Flask</i>		1865-70, 21x16.6cm, impressed decoration	1870	La Rambla, Spain			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, inv. 761A	Layard 1870			Ray 2000, 284.		
Flemish manufacture	<i>Carpet</i>			Jan. 1871	Madrid	£30	Valuated by A.Castellani 10000 Francs or 18000?	Unknown	/		NG7/292/13(ii), n. 86			Eraclito Gentili, 1878
Spanish manufacture	<i>5 tortoiseshell combs</i>			1871 (?)	Palmaroli (?)			Venezia, Museo Correr, inv. storico del Correr 132-136, classe lavori e materie diverse	Lady Layard, 1902 - Registro Doni n. 795		LLJ, 28.2.1871 possible reference			
Spanish manufacture	<i>Custodia or Monstrance</i>		silver-gilt, 1500ca, Gothic design	1871	Unknown		Purchased altogether by the Victoria&Albert Museum for 1200£ in 1882	London, Victoria&Albert Museum		On loan since 11.7.1872; Special Loan Exhibition of Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MS 39035, fol. 307; A. J. R. Trendell to A. H. Layard, 24/09/1881; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 67; J. F. D. Donnelly to A.H. Layard, 21/04/1882	Catalogue 1881c, 98, n. 590.		

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Spanish manufacture	Chalice		silver-gilt, XV cent., Gothic architectural design	1871	Unknown			Unknown		Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 39035, fol. 307, A. J. R. Trendell to A. H. Layard, 24/09/1881; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 67, J. F. D. Donnelly to A. H. Layard, 21/04/1882	Catalogue 1881c, 98, n. 591.		
Spanish manufacture	Foot of a crucifix		silver-gilt, XV cent., Gothic architectural design	1871	Unknown			Unknown		Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 39035, fol. 307, A. J. R. Trendell to A. H. Layard, 24/09/1881; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 67, J. F. D. Donnelly to A. H. Layard, 21/04/1882	Catalogue 1881c, 98, n. 592.		
Noe Manuel	Combined Chalice and Monstrance		1580-90, silver, parcel-gilt, repoussé and chased, 17.4 cm (diameter, foot), 58.2 h, 25.2cm l	1871	Spain, Cuenca		The piece was lent to the SKM in 1873 and in 1882 the Museum purchased it for £400.	London, Victoria&Albert Museum, n. 146:1, 2-1882		Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXIII, Add MS 39003, fol. 273r; N. MacLeod to A. H. Layard, 21/07/1873; Vol. Add MS 39035, fol. 307, A. J. R. Trendell to A. H. Layard, 24/09/1881; Add MS 39036, fol. 67, J. F. D. Donnelly to A. H. Layard, 21/04/1882	Catalogue 1881c, 98, n. 594; López-Yarto Elizalde 1998, 342-4, 324-7; Heredia Moreno 2002, 163-181.		
Follower of Joachim Patinir	Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt		1518-20, oil on panel, 33x49.7cm	1871	Madrid, art market			London, National Gallery NG3115	Layard Bequest 1916	Brighton Museum and Art Gallery, 1966-9; Southampton City Art Gallery 1978-92	Letter to Gregory, 1.11.1871, British Library, Add MS 38949, f.101; Letter Layard to Morelli, 21.12.1871, British Library, Add MS 38966, fol. 158v.	NG Annual Report 1916, 11; Davies 1968, 161-162; Campbell 2014, 620-626.	Christie's Amsterdam, 10.11.2008, lot. 121, Circle of Joachim Patinir, <i>The Rest on the Flight into Egypt</i> .	
Workshop of Master of the Magdalen Legend	The Magdalen Weeping		1525, oil on panel, 52.7x381	1871	Madrid, art market			London, National Gallery NG3116	Layard Bequest 1916		Letter to Gregory, 1.11.1871, British Library, Add MS 38949, f.101; Letter Layard to Morelli, 21.12.1871, British Library, Add MS 38966, fol. 158v; Murray MSS box 47.	Davies 1968, 153; Campbell 2014, 338-341.		
Jacometto	Portrait of a Man	Antonello da Messina, Alvise Vivarini when entered the Gallery	1475-98, tempera and oil on wood, 26x19cm	1871	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	£24		London, National Gallery NG3121	Layard Bequest 1916		Letter Morelli to Hudson (Malvezzi MSS), 4.10.187; Morelli to Layard, 25.12.1871, British Library, Add MSS 38963, Letter Layard to Mrs Eastlake, 7.1.1872, British Library, Add MSS 38972. Layard MSS in the National Gallery. See also 38966, fol. 222 BL, Vol. CXXXVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 206, Frizzoni to Layard	Manfrin 1856, lot 62; Manfrin 1872, lot 159; NG7/290/5(ii); Sheldon 2009, 429; NG Annual Report 1916, 12 as Vivarini; Morelli-Richter 1960, 63; Davies 1961, 259-260; Fleming 1973, 12; Dal Pozzolo 1993, 291.		
Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales	Portrait of Lady Layard in a mantilla		1871, oil on panel, small dimensions	1871	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Passed to Major Layard		NG7/292/13(ii), n. 69, Lady Layard's Journal 14.4.1871			
Vicente Palmaroli y Gonzales	Portrait of A.H. Layard sitting in a chair with a cappa on		1871	1871	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Passed to Major Layard		NG7/292/13(ii), n. 67			
Attrib. To Alonso Cano	A Franciscan Sain		wood	1871	Spain			Unknown						
Lombard School	A marble bust of a warrior in armour		marble	1872	Picnardi Collection, Cremona			Unknown		Exhibition of Early Italian art from 1300 to 1550 at the New Gallery, London, 1893-4	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XXXIII, Add MS 38963, fol. 110v; G. Morelli to A. H. Layard, 30 November 1871. See also fol. 113r, 5 March 1871.	Catalogue 1893, 77, n. 601.		
Franco	Interior of Mrs Layard's boudoir at Madrid with portraits of Mr&Mrs Layard and Morelli			1872	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown			NG7/292/13(ii), n. 66; LLJ, 13.05.1872	Possibly reproduced in Waterfield 1963.		
Lambert Sustris	The Queen of Sheba before King Solomon	Bonifacio de Pitati, Andrea Schiavone in Frizzoni's opinion	1540-55, oil on canvas, 80x187.3cm	1872	Madrid, art market	£10		London, National Gallery NG3107	Layard Bequest 1916		Letter Layard to Morelli, 24.4.1874, British Library, Add MS 38966, fols 204r-204v; Murray MSS Box 47. Frizzoni to L. Add Ms 39048, fol. 131.	Sheldon 2009, 433; Layard 1903, vol. 2, 574; Venturi 1912, 456, NG Annual Report 1916, 10; Gould 1975, 313-314; Anderson 1999, 169; Penny 2008, 126-131.		
Boccaccio Boccaccino (?)	Small head of a Saint			1872 (?)	Milan, Baslini - Coll. Porta del Mayno	600/700 Francs		Unknown			NG7/292/13(ii), at the end of the notebook in pencil			
Follower of Hugo van der Goes	Virgin with the Child	Van der Goso Memling	1485ca, oil on panel, 32.3x21.4 cm	1872	Madrid			London, National Gallery NG3066	Layard Bequest 1913		"Depuis mon retour à Madrid j'ai acheté un petit triptich de l'Ecole flamande qui n'est pas mal" Letter from Layard to Morelli, 26 October 1872. BL, Layard Papers, vol. XXXVI, Add Ms 38966, fol. 177; "Le triptich de Christophsen, peint sur du bois très épais, paraît avoir excité les soupçons de MM. les Douaniers qui sans doute croyaient y trouver un faux fonds avec des cigares" Letter from Layard to Morelli, 6 Jun 1875, BL, Layard Papers, vol. XXXVI, Add Ms 38966.	Arndt 1964, 82; Winkler 1964, 231; Friedlander, vol. IV, n. 27, vol. VI, n. 210; Davies 1953, 108-111; Davies 1968, 47-8; L. Campbell, 1998, 240-247.		
Spanish manufacture	Cantrir		green and opaque white non-lead glasses; blown. Globular shape body, waisted below, with a bulbous band above a flaring foot	1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1305 (Inv. S. n. 2287)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Basket in vetro affumicato con manichi lavorati a pinzetta			1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1307 (Inv. S. n. 2314)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Bicchieri in vetro di color opale con dorature e pitture a smalto, rappresentante un costume spagnolo			1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2173 (Inv. S. n. 2447)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Bicchieri in vetro di color opale con pittura a smalti rappresentante una figura di donna			1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2174 (Inv. S. n. 2449)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Bicchieri in vetro di color opale con pittura a smalto rappresentante una scena di genere			1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2176 (Inv. S. n. 2448)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Vase in vetro di color opale smaltato a figurine policrome e dorature			1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2185 (Inv. S. n. 2358)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Vase da fiori in vetro di color opale con fiori smaltato			1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2204 (Inv. S. n. 2293)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.		
Spanish manufacture	Vase with two handles		XVIII cent., translucent opalescent, pattern-molded, enameled, with applied parts, enameling	1870-1875	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2205 (Inv. S. n. 2277)	A.H. Layard 1875			'La Voce di Murano', 15 June 1875, n. 11, 49, 30 June 1875, n. 12, 54.	Corning Museum, n. 55.3.25	
Spanish manufacture	Vase a quattro with handle in vetro verdastro lavorato a pinzetta a coste e fili nell'orlo (con catinelle)			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1296 (Inv. S. n. 2304)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					

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Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase with four handles in vetro verdastro lavorato a pinzetta a coste e fili nell'orlo con tre piccoli recipienti agli angoli</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1297 (Inv. S. n. 2301)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase with four handle in vetro verdastro lavorato a pinzetta a coste e fili nell'orlo</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1298 (Inv. S. n. 2303)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase with four handles</i>			1870-1876	Spain, green glass lavorato a pinzetta a coste e fili nell'orlo			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1299 (Inv. S. n. 23009)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Bocchetta</i>			1870-1876	Spain, green glass con applicazioni e lavori a pinzetta in vetro verde			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1300 bis (Inv. S. n. 2315)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Bocchetta</i>			1870-1876	Spain, vetro verde con applicazioni e lavori a pinzetta di color bruno			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1301 (Inv. S. n. 2296) Stolen in 1988	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Beaker</i>		Transparent green non-lead glass; blown-molded. Oval, straight-sided form; the sides patterned in a mold, with slightly swirled vertical ribbing at the top, inscribed "AVE MARYA" in a wide band, and vertical ribbing at the base; oval base with six raised circular bosses around the edge; concave, rough pontil mark	1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1302 (Inv. S. n. 2322)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876			Dorigato 1986, 42.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Cantir</i>		grey and opaque white non-lead glasses; blown. Globular shape body, waisted below, with a bulbous band above a flaring foot; applied ring handle with small bird at the top, applied straight spout and a lipped spout; body with vertical sections of lattimo twists, with short segments between; rough pontil mark	1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1304 (Inv. S. n. 2286)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876			Dorigato 1986, 42.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Bicchieri in vetro bianco, fiori smaltati e stemma d'Aragona con la iscrizione: "Viva el Rey de Espana"</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1610 (Inv. S. n. 2281)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876			Dorigato 1986, 50-1.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Patera in vetro bianco con fili blu</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2195 (Inv. S. n. 2327)	A. H. Layard 1876			'La Voce di Murano', 1876, n. 11, 42		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Patera in vetro giallastro a rilievi</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2196 (Inv. S. n. 2325)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876			Inv. Levi 1895 c. Div. III G n. 20		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Bocchetta con manici in vetro giallastro</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 2203 (Inv. S. n. 2318)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876			Inv. Levi 1895 c. Div. III G n. 23		
Paris Bordone	<i>Christ baptising Saint John Martyr</i>		1565ca, oil on canvas, 63.5x70.8cm	Jul. 1876	Venice, Marcato	1000 Lt. Lire		London, National Gallery NG3122	Layard Bequest 1916		Layard MS, n. 75; Murray MSS Box 45B; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MS 38972, fol. 46: letter to Lady Eastlake, 17 Aug. 1876; 1.50: letter to Lady Eastlake 19 Jan. 1877; LLJ 22 July 1876	Berenson 1897, 95; NG Annual Report 1916, 12; Holmes 1918, 106; Venturi 1928, 1032; Berenson 1957, I, 46; Gould 1959, 24; Mariani Canova 1964, 81; Fossaluzza Manzano 1987, 155; Penny 2008, 62-63.		
After Gentile Bellini	<i>Doge Niccolò Marcello</i>	Gentile Bellini, then one of the Vivarini	post 1474, oil on panel, 62.2x45.1cm	promised in 1870 - handed on 26 Aug. 1876	Coll. J. Strange till 1799. E. Coxo Sale 24 April 1807, 1844 owned by Rev. C. B. Taylor, Chester, W. Boxall			London, National Gallery NG3100	Layard Bequest 1916		LLJ, 26 Aug. 1876; NGA, Dossier NG3100: Letter from C. Taylor to NG Committee, 10 June 1844, offering this painting for sale with a Guercino - offer declined. NGA, Board Minutes, vol. I, p. 263; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXXX, Add MS 39010, fol. 106 Letter W. Boxall to A.H. Layard; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MSS 38966: Letter from A. H. Layard to G. Morelli, 9 Sep. 1876; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XX, Add 38950, fol. 6: Letter to Gregory, 13 Nov 1887.	NG Annual Report 1916, 9-10; Davies 1961, 52-53; Collins 1970, 168; Meyer zur Capellen 1985, 130-131.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase with two handles</i>		XVIII cent., translucent opalescent, pattern-molded, enameled, with applied parts, enameling	1870-1876	Spain			Unknown	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Unknown	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Unknown	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Spanish manufacture	<i>Bocchetta con manici in vetro giallastro</i>			1870-1876	Spain			Venice, Museo del Vetro, Classe VI n. 1165 (Inv. S. n. 2308)	A.H. Layard 1874-1876					
Jingdezhen, Jiangxi province	<i>A bowl with relief, underglaze blue, overglaze turquoise and iron-red enamels and with gold and gem overlay</i>		Ming dinastia, c. 1540-90, porcelain, gold, gem, 6x12cm	1877	Sultan Abdul Hamid II	gift	Donated to Lady Charlotte Schreiber, sold to George Salting	London, British Museum 1904.0714.1				Harrison-Hall 2001, 243-4.		
	<i>Armour</i>			1870-1877				Unknown		Esposizione d'arte antica etc., Venezia, 1881		Catalogue 1881a, 5, n. 25		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Ancient Spanish Armour</i>			1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Esposizione d'arte antica etc., Venezia, 1881		Catalogue 1881a, 6, n. 34		
After El Greco	<i>St. Peter</i>		perhaps early XVII century, oil on vellum (?), 20.3x15.9cm	1870-1877	Spain, Madrid			London, National Gallery NG3131	Layard Bequest 1916			NG Annual Report 1916, 13; Camón Aznar, 1950, 1378; Maclaren 1988, 39-41; Wethey 1962, II, 255.	El Greco, <i>The Tears of Saint Peter</i> , 1580-89, oil on canvas, 108x89.6cm, Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, B.M.642	
Palmaroli (?)	<i>Copy of the Pitti's Raphael</i>			1870-1877	Spain, Madrid						NG7/292/13(ii), n. 74			
Juan Careño de Miranda	<i>Maria Luisa</i>			1870-1877	Spain, Madrid			Unknown						



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Joan de Joanes	<i>St. John the Baptist</i>		1550-1555, oil on wood, 48x1.69cm	1870-1877	Spain			Private Coll.		London, Heim Gallery 1984, nn. 3, 4; London, Christie's 5.7.1991	An inscription on a label on the reverse of this panel reads "St. Jerome and St. John Baptist / Two pictures sent by Sir Henry Layard from Madrid when he was ambassador - by Juan Juanes 1523-1579 / He painted sacred subjects only", with P. & D. Colnaghi, London, R. C. Pritchard, and by descent to the present owner	Gaya Nuño 1958, 216, n. 1534, ill. 84; Auckland City Art Gallery Quarterly, 23, 1969, p. 6; Albi 1979 II, 26-7, n. 49, III, ill. CXV; Christie's 1992, 82, lot 84.		
Joan de Joanes	<i>St. Jerome</i>		1550-1555, oil on wood, 48x19.6cm	1870-1877	Spain			Private Coll.		London, Heim Gallery 1984, nn. 3, 4; London, Christie's 5.7.1991	An inscription on a label on the reverse of this panel reads "St. Jerome and St. John Baptist / Two pictures sent by Sir Henry Layard from Madrid when he was ambassador - by Juan Juanes 1523-1579 / He painted sacred subjects only", with P. & D. Colnaghi, London, R. C. Pritchard, and by descent to the present owner	Gaya Nuño 1958, 216, n. 1535, ill. 85; Albi 1979 II, 26-7, n. 50, III, ill. CXV; Christie's 1991, 82, lot. 84.		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with a coat of arms in the centre and foliage and trelliswork</i>		copper, 14 in. diameter, framed	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXVIII, Add MS 38998, fol. 364v, Letter W. Drake to A.H. Layard, 28 November 1870	Christie's 1918, 7, lot 41		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with shield in the centre and foliage round the well - border spirally gadrooned</i>		copper, 14.5 in. diameter, framed	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 42		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Fluted dish with raised boss in the centre - gadrooned border decorated with foliage in copper lustre and lines in blue</i>		copper, 12.75 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 43		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with raised centre decorated with rosettes and foliage - border modelled with leaves</i>		copper, 16 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 44		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with a fluted boss in the centre and vine leaves round the border, incised with foliage and festoons</i>		15.5 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 45		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with a blue and dark copper lustre boss in the centre, surrounded by gadrooning - willow-shaped leaves round the border</i>			1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 46		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with central boss decorated with a flower reserved in white, encircled by blue bands - border modelled with spiral gadrooning</i>		copper, 15.75 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 47		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish with a raised dark brown boss in the centre, the well and border decorated with flowers and foliage in copper lustre and blue</i>		copper, 16 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 48		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish decorated with foliage in blue and white on a ground of copper lustre</i>		16 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 49		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish decorated with star-shaped panel in blue and dark brown on white ground</i>		15 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 50		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Dish decorated with leaves and scrollwork</i>		copper, 15.75 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 51		
Hispano-Mauro manufacture	<i>Two small dishes decorated with foliage</i>		9 in. diameter	1870-1877	Spain		Sold at Christie's, London 1918	Unknown				Christie's 1918, 7, lot 52		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Crown for a life-size statue of a Madonna</i>		silver-gilt, enameled plaques, gems, XVI-XVII cent.	1870-1877	Spain			/		Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 39035, fol. 307, A. J. R. Trendell to A. H. Layard, 24/09/1881; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 67, J. F. D. Donnelly to A. H. Layard, 21/04/1882	Catalogue 1881c, 98, n. 593.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Salver</i>		silver-gilt, circular, repoussé with a shield of arms and foliage in the sunk centre and gadrooned on the edge, 1490ca	1870-1877	Spain			/		Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. Add MS 39035, fol. 307, A. J. R. Trendell to A. H. Layard, 24/09/1881; BL, Layard Papers, Vol. CVI, Add MS 39036, fol. 67, J. F. D. Donnelly to A. H. Layard, 21/04/1882	Catalogue 1881c, 98, n. 595.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Soprabito / cappotto rosso con le armi della Gran Bretagna e altri ornamenti in seta bianca e colorata</i>		silk, XVIII century, 2 ftx2 inch	1870-1877	Spain			/		Special Loan Exhibition of Spanish and Portuguese ornamental art, South Kensington Museum, London 1881		Catalogue 1881c, 191, n. 1420		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Monstrance with flowers and beads</i>		metal-gilt, beads, coral	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 45, n. 208		
	<i>Monstrance with punched floral designs and medallions of flowers</i>		metal-gilt	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 46, n. 217		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Border of tape lace with needle point fillings</i>		needle point fillings	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 47, n. 228		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Flounced veil of white thread net lace with pattern in silk, darned and outlined</i>		silk	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 47, n. 234		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Altar hanging with the Annunciation</i>		laxis	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 50, n. 262		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Broad border of coarse needle point</i>		white thread lace, plaited and twisted ground, design in close and open stitches	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 50, n. 267		
Chinese and Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - Chinese work surrounding Spanish painting, representing alter Hymen</i>		ivory mount pierced and gilt	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 56, n. 348		
Fabrica de Abanicos de Fernando Constellier y Compia - Paris	<i>Botanical Fortune-telling fan</i>		32 flowering plants in two tiers signed, printed on paper. Tortoiseshell mount	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 57, n. 353		
	<i>Fan</i>		enameled filigree	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 57, n. 355.		

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Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - The Sacrifice of Iphigenia</i>		painted on chicken skin, mother-of-pearl mount, pierced, carved, and painted, XVIII cent.	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 57, n. 362.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan</i>		tortoiseshell pierced as lace work, with vandycked edges, gold mounts, XVIII cent.	1870-1877	formerly belonging to Maria Louise, wife of Ferdinand VII			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 68, n. 518.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - Spanish drama</i>		painted on chicken-skin, pierced and gilt ivory mount, XVIII cent.	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 69, n.519.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan- allegorical subject. Peace in the centre</i>		painted on chicken-skin, ivory mount, pierced, gilt	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 69, n. 524.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan</i>		painted on silk, embroidered in gold thread and gold and silver paillettes, tortoiseshell mount, carved, gilt and inlaid, XVIII cent.	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 70, n. 535		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - Plaza Mayor de Madrid. On the back a bull-fight</i>		painted on chicken-skin, pierced and stained ivory sticks, XVIII century	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 70, n. 536		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - Hercules and Omphale</i>		ivory mount, carved, painted in small medallions and gilt, XVIII century	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 70, n. 537		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - figure subject</i>		printed in colors on paper, mount of ivory, pierced and painted	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 70, n. 540		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Fan - mythological subject</i>		painted on chicken-skin, mount of ivory and mother-of-pearl, pierced and carved	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 70, n. 541		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Tile with arms of Castile and Leon on double headed imperial eagle</i>		tile	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 73, n. 587		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Two mirrors</i>		coral and metal frame	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 87, n. 746.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>A bishop administering the torture</i>		tapestry	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 88, n. 757.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Cabinet</i>		ebony inlaid with tortoiseshell and mounted with metal gilt ornamentations	1870-1877	Spain			Unknown		Exhibition of Spanish Art, New Gallery, London 1896 - Lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1896b, 89, n. 768.		
Mehmet Sükrü	<i>Gold pocket watch</i>			18.02.1879	Made for Mehmed Rasim Pasa, and donated to A.H. Layard by the Sultan Abdul Hamid II	Gift		Unknown				London, Sotheby's , 6 October 2010, lot. 344		
	<i>8 Arundel</i>			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Elisabetta Sirani	<i>St. Cecilia</i>		in gold frame	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	<i>Landscape with figures</i>		small in gold frame	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	<i>Marriage of St. Catherine</i>		old frame	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Giorgione (?)	<i>Head</i>			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	<i>Therapia</i>		watercolour	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Mrs H. Burr	<i>Mitigliano and R.</i>		watercolours	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	<i>Silhouette of H. Rassam</i>			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	<i>Rassam's house at Aden</i>		photograph	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Lady Enid Layard	<i>Sketch of Venice</i>		oil painting	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Arundel	<i>Resurrection</i>			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Hall			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Fowles	<i>Portrait of H.P.J. Layard</i>		large oil	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Library			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	<i>Head relieve in ox</i>			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Library			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Ricci	<i>6 paintings</i>		black and gold frame	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Dining Room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			

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Raphael	Angels			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Dining Room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	Forum Rome		old print	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Dining Room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Arundel	Old Monuments of Italy			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Dining Room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Burney	Virgin and Child		oil	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Dining Room			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	Madonna		old frame	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Blue Bedroom			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	Italian view in Sophie			1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Bedroom			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
	Christ bearing Cross		bronze relief	1879	Inherited from Marianne Layard to Lady Layard			Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co.			
Italian Manufacture	An ebony inlaid with ivory cabinet, fitted with drawers and standing on four feet; on pediment of centre hinged door is crest of Layard family; on cabinet front are depicted three figures standing on plinths; two figures stand one on either side of central pediment		ebony, ivory, 104.2x65cm, inscription: Henry P.J. Layard Esq, Palazzo Rucellai, Florence	1879	Inherited from his father H.P.J. Layard, previously at Palazzo Rucellai, Florence			London, British Museum, 1976.0903.4						
J. Malan	Relics of Nineveh and the Holy Land		drawing, 17x24.5in	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown					Christie's 1913, 697, lot 40	
C. Stanbeld	Fishing boat off Treport		drawing, 9.5x14.75in	1879			Purchased by Bowden at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown					Christie's 1913, 697, lot 41	
Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner	Interior of the Cathedral of Cefalu		1836, watercolour, 31x24in	1879	Layard's father collection; Drawing room		Purchased by a certain Layard at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 697, lot 42	
Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner	Interior of a mosque at Jerusalem		drawing, 1863, 19x14in	1879	Layard's father collection; Dining room	£30	Purchased by Dr at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co. NG7/292/13(ii), n. 26		Christie's 1913, 697, lot 43	
/	The Marriage of St. Catherine; and Nymphs bathing		on copper	1879			Purchased by Dr at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 697, lot 44	
/	The Virgin, in blue dress and red robe		on panel	1879			Purchased by Ruthrey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 697, lot 45a	
	Virgin and Child with St. John		unframed	1879			Purchased by Ruthrey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 697, lot 45b	
	The Virgin and Child with an angel		drawing	1879			Purchased by Ruthrey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 9, lot 45c	
William Allan	Tartars dividing the spoil		on panel, 15x13in	1879			Purchased by Sampson at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 46	
Agnolo Bronzino	Head of a boy with dark does and white lace collar		on panel, 16.5x12in	1879			Purchased by Sabin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 47	Tate Britain, N00373 (larger dimensions)
Frederick Calvert	Fishing boats in a breeze		9.5x13.5in	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 48	
Frederick Calvert	A harbour scene		9.5x13.5in	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 48b	
Abraham Cooper	A Cavalry Skirmish		on panel	1879			Purchased by Justin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 49a	
Edward Villiers Rippingille	A peasant girl		on panel	1879			Purchased by Justin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 49b	
Abraham Cooper (?)	The presentation in the temple		on panel (?)	1879			Purchased by Justin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 49c	
Edward Villiers Rippingille	A peasant girl		tavola	1879			Purchased by Justin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 49d	
Abraham Cooper	La Presentazione al tempio		/	1879			Purchased by Justin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 49e	
A. Felici	A Venetian lace-maker		1888, on panel, 15x19.5in	1879			Purchased by Sampson at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 50	
A. Fraser	Peasants merrymaking		on panel, 10.5x8in	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 51	
George Henry Jenkins	The Lighthouse		/	1879			Purchased by Misell at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 52	
George Henry Jenkins	Highland figures			1879			Purchased by Misell at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 10, lot 52b	
Flemish painter	St. Jerome	Lucas van Leyden	on panel, 16.5x12in	1879	Inherited from H. P. W. Layard Collection, who purchased it at Florence		Purchased by Spielmann at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown		Manchester 1857	BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol.27: Inventory of paintings and co. NG7/292/13(ii), n. 88	Catalogue 1857, 42, n. 458; Christie's 1913, 11, lot 53.		
P.F. Van der Meulen	A Cavalry Skirmish		panel, 8x11in	1879			Purchased by Schroeder at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 58196, fol. 27: Inventory of paintings and co.		Christie's 1913, 11, lot 54	



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George Morland	<i>A stable interior</i>		31x38.5in	1879	Inherited from Mrs Sara Auster's Collection		Purchased by Reid at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XIX, Add MS 38950, fol. 39: A.H. Layard to W.H. Gregory, 18 July 1888.	Christie's 1913, 11, lot 55	Tyntesfield, Wraxall, North Somerset: after George Morland, Horses and Farmhands in a stable, oil painting, 45.7x61cm	
John Hamilton Mortimer	<i>St. Peter weeping</i>		6.5x5.5in	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 11, lot 56		
John Hamilton Mortimer	<i>Soldiers</i>		6.5x5.5in	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 11, lot 56b		
Alexander Naysmith	<i>Paesaggio con Stirling Castle, contadini vicino allo stagno in first floor</i>		1826, panel, 27x35.5in	1879			Purchased by Sooth at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 11, lot 57		
Alexander Naysmith	<i>Loch Katrine</i>		panel, 23.5x17.5in	1879			Purchased by Leggatt at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 11, lot 58		
Alexander Naysmith	<i>The pass of Glencoe</i>		panel, 23.5x17.5in	1879			Purchased by Dr at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 11, lot 59		
Alexander Naysmith	<i>A rocky river scene</i>		panel, 23.5x17.5in	1879			Purchased by Dr at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 11, lot 59b		
Alexander Naysmith	<i>An Ambush un a mountain gorge</i>		panel	1879			Purchased by Moore at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 60		
Alexander Naysmith	<i>A landscape, with a regiment on the march</i>		panel	1879			Purchased by Moore at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 60b		
Edward Pritchett	<i>The market place, Prague</i>		29.5x44in	1879			Purchased by Sampson at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 61		
Salvator Rosa	<i>A Brawl in the guard-room</i>		25.5x44in	1879	Inherited from H.P.W. Layard		Purchased by Smith at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown			NG7/292/13(ii), n. 93	Christie's 1913, 12, lot 62		
A. Meldolla, Schiavone	<i>The Angel Gabriel; a pair</i>		panel, 11x6in	1879			Purchased by Gooden V. F. at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 63		
H. W. Scheickhardt	<i>The mouth of river with sailing boat, moonlight</i>		10x12.75in.	1879			Purchased by Carey at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 64		
Robert Smirke	<i>The dance</i>		16.5x13in	1879			Purchased by Justin at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 65		
Gerard ter Borch	<i>A torper examining a coin</i>		8.75x6in	1879			Purchased by Leger at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 66		
Charles Towne	<i>Head of a bull</i>		panel, 5x3.5in	1879			Purchased by Smith at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 67		
Charles Towne	<i>Head of a horse</i>		panel, 5x3.5in	1879			Purchased by Smith at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 67b		
John Ward	<i>Sheep in a landscape</i>		11.5x14.5in	1879			Purchased by Reid at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 68		
John Ward	<i>Goats by a barn</i>		11.5x14.5in	1879			Purchased by Reid at Christie's, London May 15 1913	Unknown				Christie's 1913, 12, lot 68b		
Sir John Tenniel	<i>Drawing AHL and Sultan</i>		1879, pencil	1879	Made for 'The Punch'			London, Victoria&Albert Museum, SD.1026				Reproduced in 'Punch' 15 November 1879, 223.		
Theophilus Clarke A.R.A.	<i>Mr H.P.J. Layard</i>			1879					Passed to Major Layard					
F. Boisragon	<i>Portrait of Mrs H.P.J. Layard</i>		black and white chalk, touched with colored chalks, 56.5x43.2cm	1879				London, British Museum 1976.0925.12	Passed to Major Layard; M. Philiis Layard in 1976 to the BM					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Captain Arthur John Layard wearing uniform, a cloak with red lining draped over his left shoulder, holding a hat, his right hand resting on his sword</i>	Seymour Stocker Kirkup (?)	oval watercolor, over black chalk, 25.3x17.9cm	1879	Inherited from his father, H.P.J. Layard - Drawing room			London, British Museum, 1976.0925.13	Passed to Major Layard; donated by M. Philiis Layard in 1976 to the BM					
Noel Coypel	<i>Portrait of French painter Noël Coypel, after a self-portrait, half-length, directed to front, head turned to left and glancing to front, his left hand to his chest, wearing a long curled wig, a cravat and a cloak; in an oval frame</i>		1708, engraving, 369x264mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.64	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Joseph Baléhou	<i>Portrait of Anne Charlotte Gauthier de Loiserolle, wife of painter Jacques André Joseph Aved</i>		1743ca, engraving, 371x246mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.65	Lady Layard 1910					
Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet, after François Hubert Drouais	<i>Portrait of Edme Bouchardon</i>		1776, etching, engraving, 382x260mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.66	Lady Layard 1910					
Laurent Cars, after Hyacinthe Rigaud	<i>Portrait of French painter Sébastien Bourdon, after Rigaud; half-length, turned almost in profile to the left, in an octagonal border; brushes, palette, paper and book on the left.</i>		1733, engraving, 380x264mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.67	Lady Layard 1910					
François Chéreau, after Hyacinthe Rigaud	<i>Portrait of French goldsmith Nicolas de Launay.</i>		1719, engraving, 486x351mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.68	Lady Layard 1910					
François Chéreau, after Nicolas de Largillière	<i>Portrait of French painter Nicolas de Largillière, after a self-portrait; half-length directed to right, gesturing towards easel behind him, his right hand resting on a portfolio; in architectural border</i>		1715, engraving, 470x348mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.69	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Daullé, after Antoine Pesne	<i>Portrait of engraver Jean Mariette, half-length, directed to left and looking to front, resting his elbow on the back of an armchair, holding a pen in his left hand and a portfolio in his right hand</i>		1747, engraving, 439x297mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.70	Lady Layard 1910					
Pierre Drevet, after Nicolas de Largillière	<i>Portrait of Jean Forest</i>		1704-12, engraving, 478x333mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.71	Lady Layard 1910					
Nicolas Gabriel Dupuis	<i>Portrait of Dutch painter Philips Wouwerman, half-length, facing front, with right hand placed on chest and left hand holding a pencil-holder; in ornate frame, decorated with foliage and animals, and with cartouche in the lower part</i>		1734ca, etching, engraving, 420x286mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.72	Lady Layard 1910					
Nicolas de Larmessin III, after Jean Legros	<i>Portrait of Claude Hallé</i>		1730, etching, engraving, 370x258mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.73	Lady Layard 1910					
Nicolas de Larmessin III, after Jean Baptisme de Champaigne	<i>Portrait of Philippe Vleughels</i>		1732, etching, engraving, 358x249mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.74	Lady Layard 1910					
Nicolas de Launay, after Donat Nonotte	<i>Portrait of Sébastien Lecquer</i>		1789, etching, engraving, 367x250mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.75	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Simon Lempereur, after Alexander Roslin	<i>Portrait of Etienne Jeaurat</i>		1775, etching, engraving, 370x259mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.76	Lady Layard 1910					
Bernard Lépiclé, after Hyacinthe Rigaud	<i>Portrait of Louis de Boullongne</i>		1736, engraving, 451x342mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.77	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Surugue, after Antoine Mathieu	<i>Portrait of French painter Louis Boullongne the Elder</i>		1735, etching, engraving, 383x253mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.78	Lady Layard 1910					
Antoine Trouvain, after Jean Tortebat	<i>Portrait of French Painter René Antoine Houasse</i>		1707, engraving, 371x264mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.79	Lady Layard 1910					

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Simon Vallée, after François de Troy	<i>Portrait of French painter Jean de Troy; after François de Troy; three-quarter length, standing with head turned to left, right hand holding tool, left hand to chest; propped up on a pedestal on the right is a painting representing a swooning woman surrounded by four other women</i>		1695-1730, etching, engraving, 420x302mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.80	Lady Layard 1910					
Francesco Allegrini	<i>First of three sheets depicting the Medici family tree with the coats of arms of their territories along the left side. Lower left: 'Io Eapia Dei Sacrae Caes. Maieset Antiquarius fecit et delin. Floren. 1761.'</i>		1761, etching, 640x435mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.81	Lady Layard 1910					
Francesco Allegrini	<i>Second of three sheets depicting the Medici family tree</i>		1761, etching, 630x450mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.82	Lady Layard 1910					
Francesco Allegrini	<i>Third of three sheets depicting the Medici family tree with the coats of arms of their territories along the right side.</i>		1761, etching, 635x365mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.83	Lady Layard 1910					
Michele Marieschi, after Angelo Trevisani	<i>Titleplate to the series, with the head of Michele Marieschi within an elaborate escutcheon and the title in a cartouche below</i>		1741, etching, 329x480mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.84	Lady Layard 1910					
Cornelis Vermeulen, after Nicolas de Largillière	<i>Portrait of the medallist Joseph Roettier, half-length; in an oval; fourth state with extended inscription in cartouche below portrait</i>		1700, engraving, 477x337mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.85	Lady Layard 1910					
Ignaz Sebastian Klauer, after Blaise Nicolas Lesueur	<i>Portrait of the painter Charles Amédée Philippe Van Loo</i>		1786, engraving, 387x292mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.86	Lady Layard 1910					
Johann Gotthard von Müller, after Louis Tocqué	<i>Portrait of French painter Louis Galloche</i>		1776, engraving, 361x251mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.87	Lady Layard 1910					
After Gerard Dou, Jean Georges Wille	<i>La Deiveuse, mère de G. Douw</i>		1750-99, engraving, 305x246mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.88	Lady Layard 1910					
François Basan, after Gerard Dou	<i>The Violin Player; self-portrait of Gerrit Dou, as a violinist, an assistant grinding pigments in left background, seen through an arched window of which the sill is decorated with a relief showing putti playing with a ram</i>		1776, etching, engraving, 406x294mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.89	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Morin, after Jerome Francken	<i>Bust portrait of Jerome Francken, bust directed to the left, head slightly turned to face the viewer, wearing a ruff, in an octagonal frame on a pedestal; after a self-portrait</i>		1640-50, etching, 303x216mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.90	Lady Layard 1910					
François Chéreau, after Élisabeth Sophie Chéron	<i>Portrait of French painter Elizabeth Chéron, after the artist's self-portrait, seen half-length, turned to right and looking towards viewer whilst drawing; lettered slate</i>		1711-29, etching, engraving, 371x264mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.91	Lady Layard 1910					
François Joullain, after François Desportes	<i>Portrait of French painter François Desportes, whole-length, dressed as a hunter, sitting by a tree with hounds and small game around him</i>		1733, etching, engraving, 509x370mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.92	Lady Layard 1910					
Simon Charles Miger, Jean Baptiste Isabey	<i>Portrait of the French painter Hubert Robert</i>		1798-9, etching, engraving, 367x264mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.93	Lady Layard 1910					
Antoine Alexandre Morel, after Giovanni Manzoni	<i>Personification of Painting, as a semi-draped female figure sitting in front of an easel and painting; a winged putto stands on the right and holds some brushes</i>		1789-1807, engraving, 303x295mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.94	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Georges Wille, after Louis Tocqué	<i>Portrait of French painter Massé, after Tocqué; three-quarter length, turned to the right with head facing front, standing in front of a desk and holding a print; in the background, a painting on an easel, and a statue</i>		1755, etching, engraving, 493x354mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.95	Lady Layard 1910					
After Michelangelo	<i>A head of a satyr, with pointed eyes and ears; a cutting from an unidentified book with letterpress on the back. Primo lavoro in marmo di Michelangelo Buonarroti, fanciullo d'anni 14</i>		1800-1830, engraving, 120x88mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.96	Lady Layard 1910					
After Benvenuto Cellini	<i>Perseus, standing in profile to the right, holding up the decapitated head of Medusa</i>		180-50, etching, 172x117mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.98	Lady Layard 1910					
Giovita Garavaglia, after Guido Reni	<i>Bust portrait of Beatrice Cenci</i>		1818-35, engraving, 174x129mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.99	Lady Layard 1910					
Marie François Dien, after Raphael	<i>Double portrait of Raphael and Perugino, both seen bust-length and turned to the left, with Raphael glancing towards the viewer</i>		1820-20, engraving, 350x261mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.100	Lady Layard 1910					
Giovanni Battista Leonetti, after Luigi Agricola	<i>Bust portrait of Giovanni Francesco Penni</i>		1810-30, engraving, 485x375mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.101	Lady Layard 1910					
Pietro Ghigi, after Luigi Agricola	<i>Portrait of Marcantonio Raimondi</i>		1810-1830, engraving, 493x380mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.102	Lady Layard 1910					
Pietro Ghigi, after Luigi Agricola	<i>Bust portrait of Raffaello dal Colle</i>		1810-30, engraving, 495x385mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.103	Lady Layard 1910					
After Andrea del Sarto	<i>Portrait of a young man (Baccio Bandinelli?)</i>		XVIII cent., etching, 331x236mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.104	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Jean Désiré Delaistre, after Jacopo Tintoretto	<i>Portrait of Tintoretto, after the artist's self-portrait; bust-length, facing front, on dark ground.</i>		1830ca, etching, engraving, 343x243mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.105	Lady Layard 1910					
Matilde Bozzolini, after Titian	<i>The Madonna embracing the sleeping Child</i>		1830, etching, engraving, 242x253mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.106	Lady Layard 1910					
Pierre Audouin, after Angelica Kauffman	<i>Portrait of Angelica Kauffman after a self-portrait, sitting three-quarter length to right, head turned in three-quarter profile to left, holding a crayon down by her right side and a portfolio in her left hand, curtain behind at left, curtain at right and landscape in the distance behind</i>		1787-1822, etching, engraving, 282x305mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.107	Lady Layard 1910					



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John Saunders, after Luigi Martelli (?)	<i>In a forest, a woman riding a horse to right, looking back in profile towards a man in armour in the left background</i>		1822, etching, 377x273mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.108	Lady Layard 1910					
John Saunders, after Andrea del Sarto	<i>A man in 16th century dress with a soft cap and a doublet with puffed sleeves, turned three-quarters to right, looking towards the viewer, standing at a table set with lemons and a shallow bowl, holding a jug; after a self-portrait; unfinished proof before letters, blank patch on the lemon to left.</i>		1824, etching, engraving, 490x327mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.109	Lady Layard 1910					
John Saunders, after Andrea del Sarto	<i>A man in 16th century dress with a soft cap and a doublet with puffed sleeves, turned three-quarters to right, looking towards the viewer, standing at a table set with lemons and a shallow bowl, holding a jug; after a self-portrait; unfinished proof before letters, blank patch on the lemon to left.</i>		1824, etching, engraving, 490x327mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.110	Lady Layard 1910					
John Saunders, after Andrea del Sarto	<i>A man in 16th century dress with a soft cap and a doublet with puffed sleeves, turned three-quarters to right, looking towards the viewer, standing at a table set with lemons and a shallow bowl, holding a jug; after a self-portrait; unfinished proof before letters, blank patch on the lemon to left.</i>		1824, etching, engraving, 443x328mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.111	Lady Layard 1910					
John Saunders, after Andrea del Sarto	<i>A man in 16th century dress with a soft cap and a doublet with puffed sleeves, turned three-quarters to right, looking towards the viewer, standing at a table set with lemons and a shallow bowl, holding a jug; after a self-portrait; unfinished proof before letters, blank patch on the lemon to left.</i>		1824, etching, engraving, 490x327mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.112	Lady Layard 1910					
After Barthel Beham	<i>Portrait of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor</i>		1550-1600, etching, 207x140mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.116	Lady Layard 1910					
Hieronimus Wierix	<i>Portrait of Philip II of Spain</i>		post 1586, engraving, 76x59mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.117	Lady Layard 1910					
Johann Ernst Mansfeld	<i>Portrait of the Emperor of Austria, Francis II slightly turned to the left, wearing medals, shown at a young age, surrounded by a decorative frame</i>		1784, stipple, etching, 154x105mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.118	Lady Layard 1910					
Gaetano Vascellini	<i>Portrait of Ferdinand III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, his head turned to the left, shown before a table with a coronet, and the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti seen through a window behind; in an oval with an elaborate frame decorated with festoons, garlands and bay leaves, a pedestal beneath</i>		1790-1801, etching, engraving, 272x185mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.119	Lady Layard 1910					
Giovanni Battista Cecchi	<i>Portrait of Marie Clotilde, Queen Consort of Carlo Emanuele IV of Sardinia, knee-length, facing front, seated at a table and holding a book in her right hand before a crucifix</i>		1802ca, etching, 279x189mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.120	Lady Layard 1910					
Carlo Lasinio	<i>Portrait of Charles II, Duke of Parma, as an infant while Crown Prince of Etruria; standing full-length, wearing military uniform, his right hand resting on a plumed helmet; within an oval, with lettering and an allegorical impresa beneath</i>		1802, stipple, etching, 384x302mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.121	Lady Layard 1910					
After Godfrey Kneller	<i>Portrait of Joseph Addison</i>		1760-90, etching, 158x113mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.122	Lady Layard 1910					
William Ward, after William Collins	<i>Portrait seen seated half-length, almost in profile to right, eyes to front wearing plain coat, striped waistcoat and necktie, with a painting on an easel behind him to left</i>		1806, mezzotint, 176x104mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.123	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis François Mariage, after François Bonneville	<i>Portrait of Francesco Bartolozzi, bust-length, in an oval, slightly turned to the right, dressed in a fur-trimmed frockcoat over his double-breasted waistcoat with his hair fashionably curled and tied in a queue</i>		1787-1810, stipple, 213x135mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.124	Lady Layard 1910					
After Anton Raphael Mengs	<i>Portrait of the painter Anton Raphael Mengs</i>		1768-79, engraving, 151x123mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.125	Lady Layard 1910					
Johann Jakob Haid, after Gregor Brandmüller	<i>Portrait of Gregor Brandmüller, bust-length, turned to right, looking to the viewer, wearing a headscarf and a gown, within ornamental frame; a female figure holding a bowl with Venus' planet symbol to right, below a cupid carrying a quiver and holding brushes and palette</i>		1750ca, mezzotint, 359x272mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.126	Lady Layard 1910					
Johann Jakob Rudolph Huber	<i>Portrait of the painter Joseph Werner, slightly facing left, within an oval frame being fixed by two winged cupids to an obelisk placed on a pedestal with burning oil lamps at its edges</i>		1750ca, mezzotint, 387x268mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.127	Lady Layard 1910			Zurich 1974, 233.		
Théodore Sauvé (?)	<i>Portrait of Princess Maria Lubomirska, short half-length, directed to front, glancing to the left, wearing hair up, dark dress with white collar and pearl necklace</i>		1821, etching, 232x183mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.128	Lady Layard 1910					
Joao Cajetano Rivara	<i>Portrait of Giovanni Antinori, after a portrait medallion by Joao Jose de Aguiar</i>		1792, etching, 257x180mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.131	Lady Layard 1910					
Francesco de Grado, after Sebastiano del Piombo	<i>Portrait of Vittoria Colonna, Marchesa di Pescara</i>		1678-1733, engraving, 125x68mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.132	Lady Layard 1910					

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Ernst Morace, after Augusto Nicodemo	<i>Portrait of Philipp Jakob Hackert</i>		1796-1806, engraving, 356x269mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.135	Lady Layard 1910					
Johann Jakob Haid, after Gottfried Eichler the Elder	<i>Portrait of the artist and publisher Johann Daniel Hertz, almost full-length, seated at a table, smoking a long pipe and holding a porte-crayon in his right hand; skull and candle to right</i>		1770-80, mezzotint, 405x270mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.136	Lady Layard 1910					
Lucas Vorsterman I, after Anthony van Dyck	<i>Portrait of Hubert van den Eynden, half-length directed to right, wearing a doublet with a lace collar and cuffs and a cloak over his left shoulder, his right arm resting on a sculpted head and the hand pointing towards the right at the level of his abdomen; ninth state with initials of Gillis Hendrix burnished</i>		1630-45, engraving, 225x155mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.137	Lady Layard 1910					
Gérard Edelinck	<i>Portrait of Hendrik Goltzius</i>		1652-1707, engraving, 320x209mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.138	Lady Layard 1910					
Balthasar Moncomet	<i>Portrait of Lucas van Leyden</i>		1615-68, engraving, 156x115mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.139	Lady Layard 1910					
After Mathieu de Platte-Montagne	<i>Portrait of Mathieu de Platte-Montagne, after a self-portrait, bust directed to the left, head turned to the right, wearing a flat white collar; within oval.</i>		1752-62, engraving, 225x152mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.140	Lady Layard 1910					
Edmé Jeurat, after François Joullain	<i>Portrait of French painter Nicolas Vleughels, after Pesne; half-length directed to left, looking to front, painting on canvas, palette and brushes in hand; lettered state</i>		1725, etching, engraving, 378x255m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.141	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Olivier Gallimard, after René Michel Stodtz	<i>Funerary monument to Nicolas Vleughels, after the monument by Stodtz in the church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, with a portrait of the painter, bust in profile to left, in an oval propped up on a lettered slab, and a putto holding palette and brushes lifting a curtain above the portrait</i>		1744, etching, 407x202mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.142	Lady Layard 1910					
Bartolomeo de Petri	<i>Portrait of Pope Benedict XIV, half-length in profile to left, seated on an armchair, wearing mozzetta, pallium, camauro and a hat, holding a rosary in his left hand, his right hand raised in blessing, a landscape with mountains in distance at left; within an oval in a rectangular frame with the sitter's coat of arms below</i>		1724ca, engraving, 227x172mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.143	Lady Layard 1910					
Girolamo Rossi the Younger, after Francesco Trevisani	<i>Portrait of Pope Benedict XIII, bust-length to left, wearing mozzetta, pallium and camauro, the cupola of St Peter's Basilica in distance at left, in an oval on a ledge with the sitter's coat of arms</i>		1724, etching, engraving, 304x200mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.144	Lady Layard 1910					
Francesco Allegrini, after Giovanni Domenico Porta	<i>Portrait of Pope Clement XIV, half-length to right, wearing mozzetta, pallium and camauro, holding a paper in his left hand, his right hand raised in blessing, in an oval on a pedestal with the sitter's coat of arms</i>		1769ca, etching, 289x198mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.145	Lady Layard 1910					
Gaspar Fróis Machado	<i>Portrait of Cardinal Hyacinthe-Sigismond Gerbil</i>		1777-96, etching, engraving, 184x134mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.146	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Pope Pius VI, bust-length in profile to right, wearing mozzetta, pallium and skull cap, in a roundel surmounted by the papal arms, in a rectangular frame</i>		1782ca, etching, 235x169m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.147	Lady Layard 1910					
After Antonio Selvi	<i>Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici, bust-length, turned to the right wearing a chaperon; in a medallion</i>		XVIII cent., etching, engraving, 209x143mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.148	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Bianca Capello wearing a black gown with lace collar, a string of pearls and a veil trimmed with pearls</i>		1700ca, etching, 125x76mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.149	Lady Layard 1910					
Theodor Vercruyts, after Giovanni Battista Foggini	<i>Portrait of Cosimo III de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, full length, turned to the left, with his head in three-quarter view turned to the right; wearing the robes of the Grand Master of the Order of Santo Stefano, his left arm on his hip, his right arm pointing to the harbour of Livorno seen through an arch</i>		1700ca, etching, 264x185mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.150	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Donato Acciaiuoli, bust, facing front, wearing a hat and gown with fur trim; within an oval; surrounded by ribbons, a book, an owl, and an antique lamp; illustration from an unidentified publication</i>		XVII cent., etching, 148x96mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.151	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Bernardo Accolti, bust, facing front, wearing laurel crown and gown with fur trim; within an oval; surrounded by musical instruments; illustration from an unidentified publication</i>		XVII cent., etching, 148x96mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.152	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Leon Battista Alberti, bust to left, gazing front, with short curly hair, in an oval; print cut around the oval and stuck on a sheet of paper</i>		1550-1750, etching, 111x88mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.153	Lady Layard 1910					
Italian	<i>Portrait of Felix Albitus Romanus; bust to left, wearing a scarf around his neck</i>		etching, 274.5x184mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.154	Lady Layard 1910					
Guillaume Vallet	<i>Portrait of Alessandro Algardi</i>		1654.1704, etching, engraving, 163x130mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.155	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Arnolfo di Lapo</i>		1750-1800, etching, engraving, 203x147mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.156	Lady Layard 1910					

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Silvestre Pomarade	<i>Portrait of Baccio Bandinelli, bust, facing front; wearing doublet over shirt</i>		XVII cent., engraving, 259x176mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.157	Lady Layard 1910					
Giovanni Georgi	<i>Portrait of Giorgione</i>		1640-70, engraving, 168x120mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.158	Lady Layard 1910					
Wenceslaus Hollar, after Giorgione	<i>Self-portrait by Giorgione as David, bust, facing front, with shoulder-length curly hair; standing behind a parapet, holding the cut-off, bleeding head of Goliath with his right hand on the pedestal</i>		1650, etching, 256x186mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.159	Lady Layard 1910					
After Theodoor de Bry	<i>Portrait of Ermolao Barbaro, half-length, facing front, looking left, wearing cloak and cap; within a lettered oval, with lettered strapwork tablet below; floral decoration in the margins</i>		XVII cent., letterpress, engraving, 134x96mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.160	Lady Layard 1910					
Antoine Aubert, after Federico Barocci	<i>Portrait of Federico Barocci</i>		1790s, engraving, 238x178mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.161	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Giovanni Bellini, bust, facing front, looking left, wearing cap and tunic, and sporting shoulder-length curly hair; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x115mm (first plate), 235x173mm (bottom plate)	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.162	Lady Layard 1910					
Paolo Caronni	<i>Portrait of Guido Bentivoglio</i>		1790x1840, engraving, 157x106mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.163	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean-Laurent Bernin	<i>Portrait of Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini</i>			1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.164	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>A medal featuring a portrait of Camillo Borghese, prince of Sulmona, bust in profile</i>		1823, lithograph, 325x242mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.165	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Poggio Bracciolini</i>		XVIII cent., engraving, 148x95mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.166	Lady Layard 1910					
Achille Collas (?)	<i>Portrait of Michelangelo</i>		1831-59, print, 176x127mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.167	Lady Layard 1910					
Giuseppe Longhi	<i>Portrait of Michelangelo</i>		1815, engraving, 119x99ms	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.168	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Louis Potrelle, after Michelangelo	<i>Portrait of Michelangelo</i>		1811-14, engraving, 372x293mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.169	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Alessandro Borvicino, bust, facing front, wearing a doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 158x119mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.170	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Domenico di Giovanni, called "il Burchiello"</i>		XVIII cent., strippe, engraving, 146x96mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.171	Lady Layard 1910					
John Sanders (?), after François Xavier Fabre	<i>Portrait of Antonio Canova</i>		1820, engraving, 341x 243mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.172	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Louis Masquelier, after Ludovico Cigoli	<i>Portrait of Ludovico Cigoli</i>		1790s, engraving, 221x162mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.173	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Guido Cavalcanti, bust, facing front, wearing tunic and laurel crown; within an oval frame, with laurel branches on either side; illustration from an unidentified publication</i>		XVIII cent., stipple, engraving, 148x96mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.174	Lady Layard 1910					
Henri Simon Thomassin, after Felice Cignani	<i>Portrait of Carlo Cignani; bust, facing front, wearing gown and cap; within an oval, upon a plinth partially concealed by drapery</i>		1717, etching, engraving, 238x173mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.175	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Dino Compagni</i>		early XVIII cent., etching, 141x87mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.176	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Leonardo Corona da Murano, bust, facing front, wearing a gown with sash over a doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x122mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.177	Lady Layard 1910					
Pietro Monaco, after Carlo Francesco Rusca	<i>Portrait of Gaspare Diziani</i>		1727-67, etching, 213x160mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.178	Lady Layard 1910					
Gaetano Vascellini	<i>Portrait of Jacopo da Empoli</i>		1775-1805, etching, 116x82mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.179	Lady Layard 1910					
Carlo Lasinio	<i>Portrait of Lorenzo Luzzo, called Morto da Feltre</i>		1790s, engraving, 149x114mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.180	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Marsilio Ficino</i>		early XVIII cent., etching, 136x87mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.181	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Tomb of Galileo in S. Croce in Florence, comprising, among other features, a sculpted portrait of the scientist</i>		XVIII cent., etching, 263x182mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.182	Lady Layard 1910					
Francesco Allegrini	<i>Portrait of Dino del Garbo, bust, facing front, wearing doublet and ruff; within an oval frame, with laurel branches on either side; illustration from an unidentified publication</i>		1750-80, stipple, engraving, 148x97mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.183	Lady Layard 1910					
Raphael Morghen, after Antonio Fedi	<i>Portrait of Carlo Goldoni</i>		1819, engraving, 264x186mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.184	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Guarniento</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 165x120mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.185	Lady Layard 1910			This print comes from a series of portraits of Venetian artists published as "Ritratti delli più celebri pittori della scuola veneziana antichi e moderni nuovamente raccolti e pubblicati" (Venice: 1787). However, the plates used for the portraits were engraved much earlier.		
Carlo Lasinio	<i>Portrait of Francesco Guicciardini</i>		1780-1800, engraving, 153x100mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.186	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Baptiste Wicar, after Claude Louis Masquelier	<i>Portrait of Giovanni Lanfranco</i>		1811, etching, engraving, 308x277mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.187	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Giovanni Antonio Pordenone, bust, facing front, wearing chain over doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 159x118mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.188	Lady Layard 1910					
Nicolas Pitau the Elder, after Jean Daret	<i>Portrait of Italian historian Camillo Lillo, three-quarter length, facing front, with his left hand lifting his dark cloak and right hand pointing to the right; within an oval frame with fragments of sculptures in lower part, and cartouche decorated with medallions and ribbon</i>		1663, engraving, 395x277m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.189	Lady Layard 1910					



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Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Alessandro Maganza, bust, facing front, wearing a doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 161x117mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.190	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Pietro Malombra, bust, facing front, wearing cloak over doublet with fur trim; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x120mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.191	Lady Layard 1910					
Paolo Caronni	<i>Portrait of Lodovico Martelli</i>		1790-1840, engraving, 156x98mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.192	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Francesco Marucelli</i>		XVII cent., engraving, 211x148mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.193	Lady Layard 1910					
Nicolò Palmerini	<i>Portrait of Raphael Morghen, bust in profile</i>		1820, engraving, 198x138mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.194	Lady Layard 1910					
Angelo Ghizzardì	<i>Portrait of Gaetano Ottani, bust, facing front; within a laurel frame, with a lettered cartouche below and flanked by attributes of musicians (left) and painters (right)</i>		1766, engraving, 236x328mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.195	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis François Mariage, after Palma il Vecchio	<i>Portrait of Jacopo Palma il Vecchio</i>		1790-1820, engraving, 313x288mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.196	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Jacopo Palma il Vecchio, bust, facing front, wearing cloak over tunic; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 158x117mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.197	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Jacopo Palma il Giovane, bust, facing front, wearing cloak over tunic; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x121mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.198	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Alfonso de' Pazzi</i>		XVIII cent., etching, 164x115mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.199	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Francesco da Ponte, called Bassano, bust, facing front, wearing cloak over doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x115mm (first plate), 235x173mm (bottom plate)	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.200	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Jacopo da Ponte, called Bassano, bust, facing front, wearing a fur-lined gown over doublet and cap; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 161x117mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.201	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Leandro da Ponte, called Bassano, bust, facing front, wearing fur-lined cloak and chain over doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate; 18th century restrike of the portrait plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 162x121mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.202	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Giuseppe Porta called Salviati, bust, facing front, wearing a doublet; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 160x121mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.203	Lady Layard 1910					
Luigi Giarré	<i>Portrait of Francesco Redi</i>		1790-1840, etching, 229x161mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.204	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Domenico Tintoretto</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 165x125mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.205	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Jacopo Robusti, il Tintoretto</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 162x117mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.206	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Marietta Tintoretto</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 160x120mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.207	Lady Layard 1910					
Pietro Leone Bombelli	<i>Funerary monument of Andrea Sacchi, featuring a portrait of him</i>		XVII cent., engraving, 387x275mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.208	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Louis Potrelle, after Raphael, probably wrongly attributed	<i>Portrait of Raphael, bust, facing front; after a so-called self-portrait</i>		1811-14, etching, engraving, 346x255mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.209	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Two sides of a medal: obverse (top) with a portrait of Fra Girolamo Savonarola, bust, in profile, facing left, lettered with name; reverse (bottom) with allegorical image showing a dagger being held above Brunelleschi's Duomo, lettered with Latin text referring to the image</i>		XVIII cent., etching, 143x89mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.210	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Andrea Schiavone</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 161x120mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.211	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Giovambattista Strozzi</i>		XVIII cent., engraving, 167x114mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.212	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Francesco Valori</i>		1720-70, etching, 147x96mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.213	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Antonio Vassilacchi</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x120mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.214	Lady Layard 1910					
Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Tullian</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 164x117mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.215	Lady Layard 1910					
Gaetano Vascellini	<i>Portrait of Giovanni Villani, bust, facing front, wearing tunic and hat; within an oval, above a lettered plaque; in the margins at top, an owl, Perseus's shield and a cornucopia full of money; illustration from an unidentified publication</i>		1750-80, etching, 141x87mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.216	Lady Layard 1910					
Domenico Cunego, after Gaetano Collani	<i>Portrait of Leonardo da Vinci, full-length, seated, head in in profile, facing left, in a room with antique busts, a canon, architect's tools</i>		1782, etching, engraving, 380x238mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.217	Lady Layard 1910					
Pierre Gabriel Langlois (Oudin), after Domenichino	<i>Portrait of Domenichino</i>		1794ca, etching, engraving, 299x291mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.218	Lady Layard 1910					

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Giacomo Piccini	<i>Portrait of Battista Zelotti, bust, facing front; within a decorative frame printed from another plate</i>		1648 (portrait plate), 1787 (frame plate), engraving, 158x120mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.219	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Jacques Cathelin, after J. Arnavon	<i>Portrait of French engraver Baléchou</i>		1785-9, engraving, 302x208mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.220	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Duños	<i>Portrait of French architect Jean Berain, bust directed to left, looking towards the viewer, holding a scroll, wearing fur-lined hat and robes, in oval frame flanked by columns</i>		1709-11, etching, engraving, 426x303mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.221	Lady Layard 1910					
Bernard Lépiclé, after Jacques de Lyon	<i>Portrait of French painter Nicolas Berin, half-length looking to the right, in wig, shirt with open collar, palette in his left hand, in oval frame</i>		1740, etching, engraving, 375x262mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.222	Lady Layard 1910					
Jacques Tardieu, after Gilles Allou	<i>Portrait of French painter Bon Boullogne, wearing cloth hat and gown, holding palette and brushes in her right hand; in oval, on ledge</i>		1749, etching, engraving, 361x250mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.223	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Daulé, after Hyacinthe Rigaud	<i>Portrait of Marthe Marguerite, Marquise de Caylus, after Rigaud; half-length, standing at window, wearing a lace headdress and a fur-lined cape; a curtain on the left</i>		1743, etching, engraving, 420x295mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.224	Lady Layard 1910					
Jacques Philippe Le Bas, after Jacques André Joseph Camelot Aved	<i>Portrait of French painter Pierre-Jacques Cazes, after Aved; half-length, slightly turned to the left and looking to front, wearing long curled wig, wrapped in a cloak, in an oval frame on a ledge supporting a palette and some brushes</i>		1741, engraving, 380x260mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.226	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of French actor and singer Simon Chenard</i>		1800-50, print, 272x215mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.227	Lady Layard 1910					
Manuel Salvador Carmona, after Alexander Roslin	<i>Portrait of the painter Hyacinthe Collin de Vermont</i>		1761, engraving, 385x257mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.228	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Louis Potrelle, after François Joseph Navez	<i>Portrait of French painter Jacques Louis David, half-length, turned to the right, with short curly hair, cravat and coat</i>		1817-24, etching, engraving, 348x256mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.229	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Duños, after Antoine Pezey	<i>Portrait of Albert de Gondi</i>		1705ca, etching, engraving, 217x146mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.230	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Duños	<i>Portrait of Henri de Gondi, half-length directed to left, looking to front, with clerical vestment, and collar of the order of the Saint-Esprit; in oval with cross and crozier behind, and lettered cartouche at the bottom</i>		1698ca, etching, engraving, 216x144mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.231	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Duños, after Antoine Pezey	<i>Portrait of Philippe Emmanuel de Gondi, after Pezey; half-length directed to left, his left hand on his hip, wearing a feathered cap, a ruff, a doublet, and the collar and cloak of the Order of the Saint-Esprit; in oval with oars in upper corners, and lettered cartouche at the bottom; illustration to Corbinelli's "Histoire généalogique de la maison de Gondi"</i>		1705ca, etching, engraving, 214x147mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.232	Lady Layard 1910					
Antoine Trouvain, after Jean Jouvenet	<i>Portrait of French painter Jean Jouvenet, after the latter's self-portrait; half-length, turned to right, sitting in armchair, with palette and brushes in his left hand, his other hand gesturing to the upper right; in oval frame on plinth</i>		1707, etching, engraving, 335x367mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.233	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Joseph Baléchou, after François de Troy	<i>Portrait of Jean de Julienne Ecuyer, Chevalier de l'Ordre de St Michel</i>		1752, etching, engraving, 478x345mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.234	Lady Layard 1910					
Gaspard Duchange, after Hyacinthe Rigaud	<i>Portrait of French painter Charles de Lafosse, after Rigaud; his head turned to the right, with drapery on right shoulder; in oval frame on a ledge supporting a palette</i>		1707, engraving, 352x248mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.235	Lady Layard 1910					
Charles Dupuis, after Charles Etienne Geuslain	<i>Portrait of French painter Nicolas de Largillière, half-length, directed to left and looking to front, with long curled wig, cravat, jacket and drapery over his right shoulder; in oval on ledge with palette, brushes and scroll</i>		1730, etching, engraving, 357x252mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.236	Lady Layard 1910					
Antoine Aubert, after Nicolas de Largillière	<i>Portrait of Charles Le Brun; bust-length directed to left, looking to front, with long curled wig, lace cravat and loose gown</i>		1800-30, etching, engraving, 334x255m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.237	Lady Layard 1910					
Cornelis Vermeulen, after Pierre Mignard	<i>Portrait of the painter Pierre Mignard, aged 78, after the artist's self-portrait; half-length directed to right and looking to front, holding a pencil and a portfolio; in an oval frame; coat of arms below portrait; first state before Latin inscription</i>		1690, engraving, 438x355m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.238	Lady Layard 1910					
Augustin de Saint-Aubin, after Charles Nicolas Cochin Pis	<i>Portrait of French engineer Jean Rodolphe Perronet, half-length, turned to right and looking toward viewer, seated behind desk and holding a stylet; in oval frame, within rectangle borde</i>		1782, etching, engraving, 478x322m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.239	Lady Layard 1910					
Étienne Desrochers, after Nicolas de Largillière	<i>Portrait of French painter Charles François Poerson, after Largillière, half-length, directed to right and looking to front, with long curled wig, unbuttoned coat, cloak over his left shoulder, in oval on ledge with coat of arms below</i>		1723, etching, engraving, 360x256mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.240	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Louis Potrelle, after Nicolas Poussin	<i>Portrait of Nicolas Poussin, after the artist's self-portrait; bust-length, directed to right, with head turned to look to front</i>		1805-24, etching, engraving, 343x243mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.241	Lady Layard 1910					

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Edmé Jaurat, after Étienne Jourat	<i>Portrait of French painter, sculptor and architect Pierre Puget, bust-length directed to front, in oval frame on ledge, with palette, sculptor's tools and architectural plan on either side of the frame</i>		1732, etching, engraving, 299x220mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.242	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Jacques Cathelin, after Jean Marc Nattier	<i>Portrait of painter Louis Tocqué, after Nattier; half-length directed to left, head turned to right, holding palette and brushes, in an oval frame; lettered state</i>		1773, engraving, 380x262mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.243	Lady Layard 1910					
Gérard Edelinck, after Roger de Piles (?)	<i>Portrait of painter François Torreat, half-length, turned to the right, glancing to front; in oval frame with coat of arms in lower part</i>		1695-1707, engraving, 349x254mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.244	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean de Polilly, after François de Troy	<i>Portrait of François de Troy, after a self-portrait; half-length, directed to left and looking to front, wearing a long curled wig and a velvet cloak; in oval, on a ledge; lettered state</i>		1714, etching, engraving, 364x253mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.245	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean de Polilly, after Joseph Vivien	<i>Portrait of French sculptor Cornélie Van Clève, after Vivien; half-length, looking to left, wearing a long curled wig and a velvet cloak; in oval, on a ledge</i>		1714, etching, engraving, 354x249mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.246	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Michel Van Loo	<i>Portrait of French painter Carle Van Loo, after Louis-Michel Van Loo; bust directed to left, head to front, glancing to right, his left hand pointing; in oval above cartouche; touched proof, before letter</i>		1765-97, etching, engraving, 342x255m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.247	Lady Layard 1910					
François Basan, after Louis Michel Van Loo	<i>Portrait of French painter Carle Van Loo, after Louis-Michel Van Loo; bust directed to left, head to front, glancing to right, his left hand pointing; in oval above cartouche; touched proof, before letter</i>		1765-97, etching, engraving, 350x269m	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.248	Lady Layard 1910					
Étienne Desrochers, after Jean Ranc	<i>Portrait of François Verdier, after Ranc; half-length, looking to right, with head-scarf, shirt, unbuttoned jacket, and cloak; in oval, on a ledge</i>		1723, etching, engraving, 361x257mm	1879				London, British Museum, 1910.0610.249	Lady Layard 1910					
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of Sébastien-Jacquer Leclerc</i>		1755-90, etching, aquatint, 288x207mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.251	Lady Layard 1910					
Louis Jacques Cathelin, after Jean Marc Nattier	<i>Portrait of painter Louis Tocqué, after Nattier; half-length directed to left, head turned to right, holding palette and brushes, in an oval frame; a proof before letters</i>		1773, engraving, 376x261mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.0610.252	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Daullé, after Antonie Pesne	<i>Jean Mariette</i>		1747, engraving, 443x298mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.1126.1	Lady Layard 1910					
Jean Daullé, after Hyacinthe Rigaud	<i>Portrait of French painter Hyacinthe Rigaud, after a self-portrait; three-quarter length, sitting in an armchair directed to left, looking to front, and painting the portrait of his wife Elisabeth, within a trompe l'oeil stone window, with coat of arms</i>		1742, engraving, 469x341mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.1126.2	Lady Layard 1910					
Claude Duŕos, after Girard Audran	<i>Portrait of Sébastien I Leclerc, half-length directed to left, with long curled wig, gown and cravat; in oval on ledge, with coat of arms at bottom</i>		1680-1706, engraving, 249x175mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.1126.3	Lady Layard 1910					
Ottavio Leoni	<i>Portrait of Guercino</i>		1623, etching, engraving, 145x114mm	1879				London, British Museum 1910.1126.4	Lady Layard 1910					
Albrecht Dürer	<i>Second state of Calvary with Christ the cross in the centre, flanked by two further crosses</i>		1503-4, woodcut, 218x150mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.417	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Monogrammist AB cross	<i>The Annunciation to the Virgin</i>		1510-1550, woodcut, 272x176mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.418	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Heinrich Ulrich, after Paul Mair	<i>Mythological sea subject in a roundel</i>		1602, engraving, 151x145mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.419	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Dirk Volkertsz Coornhert, after Maarten van Heemskerck	<i>The Fall and Salvation of mankind through the Life and Passion of Christ</i>		1548, etching, engraving, 242x191mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.420	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Dominique Vivant Denon, after Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun	<i>Portrait of Isabella Teotchi Albrizzi</i>		1793, etching, 144x109mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.421	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Dominique Vivant Denon, after Louise Élisabeth Vigée-Le Brun	<i>Portrait of Denon resting on a statue of Diana of Ephesus</i>		1780-1825, etching, 227x175mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.422	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
After Annibale Carracci	<i>A man at right grabbing Christ's hair</i>		1627, etching, 186x223mms	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.423	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Attrib. to Matthias Greuter, after Raffaellino da Reggio	<i>The Entombment</i>		1585-1620, engraving, 236x166mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.424	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Francesco Bartolozzi, after Giuseppe Zocchi	<i>Allegory of the marriage of Joseph Archduke of Austria</i>		1761, etching, engraving, 258x191mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.425	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Ferdinand Landerer, after Martin Johann Schmidt	<i>Half-length portrait of an unidentified man wearing a fur hat</i>		1763 (?), etching, 199x137mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.426	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Jonathan Richardson senior	<i>Portrait of the artist's son, Jonathan Richardson II</i>		1665-1745, pen and brown ink, over graphite, 167x113mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.428	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Jonathan Richardson senior	<i>Self-Portrait</i>		1665-1745, pen and brown ink, over graphite	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.429	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
After Adriaen van Ostade	<i>The five sense: A man in rustic dress, shown three-quarters length seated to left, reading from a sheet of paper he holds in both hands</i>		Late XVII cent., mezzotint, 104x92mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.435	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Attrib. To Simon Frisius, after Johannes Wierix	<i>Portrait of Frans Floris</i>		1610, engraving, 164x123mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.436	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Herman Saffleven, after Dirck Saffleven	<i>Portrait of Herman Saffleven</i>		1660, etching, engraving, 162x114mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.437	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
After Adriaen van Ostade	<i>Portrait of Adriaen van der Werff</i>		XIX cent., pen and brown ink with red, yellow and brown watercolour with green wash in background, over graphite	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.438	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Jacob Houbraken, after Nicolass Verkolje	<i>Portrait of Nicolaas Verkolje</i>		1753, engraving, 203x148mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989.1104.439	Gordon Waterfield 1989					



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Paul Ponce Antoine Robert de Séri	<i>Portrait of the French sculptor Joseph Villerme</i>		1723, etching, 192x145mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.440	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Johann Friedrich Leonart, after Nicolaes Wiling	<i>Portrait of the painter Nicolaes Wiling, after a self-portrait</i>		1673-78, mezzotint, 192x145mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.441	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Jacques Fabien Gautier d'Agoty	<i>Portrait of Anne-Claude-Philippe, Comte de Caylus</i>		1750-85, mezzotint, 255x206mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.442	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Laurent Cars, after Charles Nicolas Cochin Pis	<i>Jean Simon Chardin, Peintre du Roy, Conseiller en son Académie Royal de S et S</i>		1740-71, etching, engraving, 191x142mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.443	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Jean François Rousseau, after Charles Nicolas Cochin Pis	<i>Portrait bust of Jean Simeon Chardin</i>		1776, etching, engraving, 195x140mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.444	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Jean Daullé, after Charles Nicolas Cochin Pis	<i>Portrait of Charles-Nicolas Chocin, after the latter's self-portrait</i>		1754, etching and engraving, 191x131mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.445	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Ottavio Leoni	<i>Portrait of Cristofano Roncalli, il Pomarancio</i>		1623, engraving, 143x113mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.469	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
After Andrea Mormori	<i>Portrait of Jacopo Vignali</i>		XVIII cent., engraving, 186x141mm	1879				London, British Museum 1989,1104.470	Gordon Waterfield 1989					
Italian	<i>Portrait of an Old Man</i>	Giovanni Bellini; Francesco Caroto	early XVI century, oil on canvas, 76.2x62.9cm	after 1879	F. Boxall	Gift		London, National Gallery NG3130	Layard Bequest 1916		Layard MS; Layard to G. Morelli, 30.9.75, Add MS 38966, fol. 231v.	Meyer zur Capellen 1985, 153-154; Davies 1986, 255		
Copist Stefano	<i>Four Gospels</i>		1469	1877-1880	Constantinople			Venice, Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro, inv. 1591	Lady Layard, 1902	Esposizione d'arte antica etc., Venezia, 1881		Catalogue 1881, 13, n. 133		
Bishop Lazzaro	<i>Psalter</i>		1600, paper, 151x104 mm, cc. 320	1877-1880	Constantinople			Venice, Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro, inv. 1583	Lady Layard, 1902	Esposizione d'arte antica etc., Venezia, 1881		Catalogue 1881, 13, n. 133		
Unspecified	<i>Four Gospels</i>		XVII cent., paper, 135x105 mm, cc. 271	1877-1880	Constantinople			Venice, Biblioteca Museo Correr, coll. PD 10-a	Lady Layard, 1902	Esposizione d'arte antica etc., Venezia, 1881	Archivio Museo Correr, n. 51/1902; Registro doni n. 790a	Uluhogian 2010, 3838, 399-401; Macler 1913, 593-594; Catalogue 1881, 13, n. 133.		
Italian, Venetian	<i>A naval battle</i>	Bonifazio, Bonifacio de Pitati	1580ca, oil on panel, 17.1x38.9cm	Oct. 1880	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	100 It. Lire		London, National Gallery NG3108	Layard Bequest 1916		NSL, A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, fol.16, 30 Oct. 1880.	Manfrin 1856, lot 49/58; NG Annual Report 1916, 10; Zampetti 1976, 558; Richardson 1980, 199; Penny 2008, 318-323.		
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>The Vestal Virgin Tuccia</i>	Lattanzio Gambara	1555ca, oil on canvas, 152.5 x 86.9 cm	Oct. 1880	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	400 Lire It		London, National Gallery NG3123	Layard Bequest 1916		Layard MS, n. 78; NSL, A.H. Layard to E. Rigby, fol.16, 30 Oct. 1880.	Manfrin 1856, lot 134; NG Annual Report 1916, 12; Davies 1961, 148; Zampetti 1973, 278; Gould 1975, 170; Penny 2004, 206-210.		
Italian XVI century	<i>The Holy Family</i>	Sodoma	XVI century, oil on panel, 49.5x38.4cm	Oct. 1880	Manfrin Collection (Venice)	200 It. Lire		London, National Gallery NG3125	Layard Bequest 1916		NSL, Layard to E. Rigby, fol.16, 30 Oct. 1880.	Gould 1975, 124-125.	Pietà, Stockholm, National Gallery.	
Rosalba Carriera	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>		1720s, pastel on paper, 57.8 x 47 cm	19 Nov. 1880	Podio (Venice)	200 It. Lire, 300 Francs - together with NG3127		London, National Gallery NG3126	Layard Bequest 1916		LLJ, 17-19 Nov. 1880	NG Annual Report 1916, 13; Levey 1971, 83.		Luigi Cavenaghi, 1880
After Rosalba Carriera	<i>Rosalba Carriera</i>	Pietro Longhi	XVIII century, oil on canvas, 57.6 x 39.4 cm	19 Nov. 1880	Podio (Venice)			London, National Gallery NG3127	Layard Bequest 1916			NG Annual Report 1916, 13; Levey 1964, 74; Levey 1971, 83-84.		
Burgundian manufacture	<i>A Marriage</i>		tapestry	27 Nov. 1880	M. Guggenheim (Venice)	£75		Unknown	/	On loan to the SKM from 1885 to 1899	NG7/292/13(ii), n. 85			Eraclito Gentili, 1880
W. B. Spence	<i>Portrait of A.H. Layard</i>		1880	1880	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Not passed to Major Layard			LLJ, 9 December 1880		
John Warrington Wood	<i>Bust of Enid Guest Layard</i>		1881, marble, 74x48.5cm	1881	Commissioned to the artist			London, British Museum, OA.10557	Carrara marble portrait bust of Lady Mary Enid Layard (1844-1912) by John 'Warrington' Wood (1839-1886), slightly to right, in classical dress wearing a laurel wreath with a row of berries and a central ornament of six small circles, perhaps representing gemstones, and a necklace formed of alternating amphora and bullet-shaped pendants. The bust is stuck on a polished carrara marble socle with intervening white marble disc.	Royal Academy 1882, n. 1553		Catalogue 1882, 58.		
John Warrington Wood	<i>Bust of Austen Henry Layard</i>		1881, marble, 64x37cm	reworked in 1881	Commissioned to the artist			London, National Gallery, NG5449	Presented by Vice-Admiral A.J. Layard Murray, 1943	Royal Academy 1870, n. 1181				
Charles Vigor	<i>Portrait Lady Layard</i>		1885	1885	Commissioned to the artist			London, British Museum, 2006.0307.1						
Charles Vigor	<i>Portrait A.H. Layard</i>		1885	1885	Commissioned to the artist			London, British Museum, 1968.0518.1						
Charles Vigor	<i>Portrait of General Layard</i>		1885	1885	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Passed to Major Layard					
Charles Vigor	<i>Portrait of Edward Layard</i>		1885	1885	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Passed to Major Layard					
Charles Vigor	<i>Portrait of Antonio Cortellazzo</i>		1885	1885	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Passed to Major Layard					
Charles Vigor	<i>Portrait of Alexander Malcom</i>		1885	1885	Commissioned to the artist			Unknown	Passed to Major Layard					
Italian, Venetian	<i>The Labours of the months</i>		1580ca, oil on canvas, 13.6x10.6cm	1888	Marini (Venice)	750 Francs or It. Lire with other unspecified objects		London, National Gallery NG3109.1-6; NG3110.1-6;			Letter Frizzoni to Layard 21.11.1888, British Library, Add MS 39043, fol. 73, 81, 136; Vol. CXVII, Add MS 39048, fol. 131 Frizzoni to Layard; Add MS 38950, pp. 57, 62. Letter Layard to Gregory, 8.12.1888.	Berenson 1894, 90; Westphal 1931, 96-97; Gould 1975, 32-33; Penny 2008, 312-317.	Cecil Higgins Art Gallery, Bedford	Giuseppe Landriani 1889; NG, 1999-2000
Benjamin Blake	<i>Still life</i>		1829 (?), oil on panel, 25.4x20cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02946	AHL 1913					
James Burnet	<i>View on the Thames</i>		oil on panel, 53.8x50.7x0.9cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02947	AHL 1913					
James Duff-Peld Harding	<i>Old mills, Sarbourg</i>			1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London Tate Britain N02955 (destroyed in Tate flood 1928)						
Julius Caesar Ibbetson	<i>San Quarry at Alum Bay</i>		oil on panel, 19x25.4cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02948	AHL 1913	1792 ?				

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Frederick Richard Lee	<i>Lake in a park</i>		oil on panel, 35.2x45.7cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02949	AHL 1913					
Patrick Nasmyth	<i>Falls on the Tummell</i>		1816, oil on panel, 16.5x20.3cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02950	AHL 1913					
Patrick Nasmyth	<i>Landscape with a Ruin</i>		oil on panel, 15.2x21.6cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02951	AHL 1913					
David Roberts	<i>The porch of St Maclou</i>		1829, oil on panel, 54.6x40.6cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, Tate Britain, N02956	AHL 1913					
After Frans van Mieris the Elder	<i>An old Fiddler</i>		1660, oil on panel, 28.9x22.9 cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, National Gallery NG2952	Layard Bequest 1913			National Gallery Annual Report 1913, NG1777, 10; Maclaren 1991, 268-269, 226.		
Caspar Netscher	<i>Portrait of a Lady and a Girl</i>		1679, oil on canvas, 47.5x38.5 cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, National Gallery NG2953 - on loan to City art Gallery Sheffield	Layard Bequest 1913			National Gallery Annual Report 1913, NG1777, 10; Maclaren 1991, 268, 245; Wieseman 2002, 332.		
Nicolaes Maes	<i>Portrait of a Man in a Black Wig</i>	Caspar Netscher	1680ca, oil on canvas, 47.6x38.7 cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, National Gallery NG2954	Layard Bequest 1913			National Gallery Annual Report 1913, 177, 10; Maclaren 1991, 206, 247.		
Daniel Maclise	<i>Mr Benjamin Austen</i>		graphite, with grey wash, 25.5x19.2cm, 1828 inscribed and signed	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, British Museum, 1976.0925.15	Passed to Major Layard; donated by M. Phillis Layard in 1976 to the BM					
Daniel Maclise	<i>Mrs Benjamin Austen</i>		1828, pencil drawing, graphite, grey wash, 25.8x19.5cm	1888	Inherited from Mrs Sara Austen's Collection			London, British Museum, 1976.0925.14	Passed to Major Layard; donated by M. Phillis Layard in 1976 to the BM					
Alessandro Bonvicino, called il Moretto (?)	<i>Two angels</i>				Inherited from Mrs Burr collection			Unknown				NG7/292/13(ii), at the end of the notebook in pencil		
Flemish School	<i>Virgin with the Child with Renaissance ornament on the profile</i>		oil on glass, 1533					Unknown	/	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871		Catalogue 1869, 3, n. 35.		
Miner Kilbourne Keitogg	<i>Head of a Turkish girl</i>		Oil on canvas		donated by the artist			Unknown	/	South Kensington Museum 1869-1871	NG7/292/13(ii), n. 65	Catalogue 1869, 4, n. 54.		
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase with two handles</i>		XVIII cent., translucent opalescent, gold, pattern-molded, enameled, with applied parts, enameling					Unknown						
Spanish manufacture	<i>Vase with two handles and cover</i>		XVIII cent., lattimo, amethyst, pattern-molded, with applied parts					Unknown						
Anonymous	<i>Portrait of A.H. Layard</i>		1890, oil on canvas, 46x36cm	1890				Ankara, British Embassy, GAC, 1974	Baron Lemmermann, 1952					
Joseph E. Boehm	<i>Marble portrait bust of Austen Henry Layard depicted as an old man, full face, with a long beard and drapery, attached to an original polished grey-veined marble socle bearing an inscription</i>		1890, marble, 81.4x58.7cm	1890	Commissioned to the artist and presented by subscribers as a memorial of the services rendered to the British Museum by the sitter, 11 June 1891.			London, British Museum, 1891.0613.27			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MS 39042, fol.193; Add MS 39043, fol.43.	The Times, 12 June 1891; 'Pall Mall Gazette', 12 June 1891, 7; Dawson 1999, 131-33, n. 49.	Coloured clay copy in the Lemmermann Collection, see Christie's 1976, 46, lot 255.	
Ludwig Johann Passini	<i>Portrait of A.H. Layard</i>		1891, watercolour, 61.7x46.7cm	1891	Commissioned to the artist by Lady Layard 06.11.1890	£200		London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG 1797	Bequeathed by Lady Layard, 1917	Royal Academy 1891; Venice 1899.	LLJ, 06.11.1890; 9 Mar. 1891 "Passini sent home Henry's portrait".	Catalogue 1891, 38, n. 1166		
Ludwig Johann Passini	<i>Portrait of Lady Layard</i>			1896	Commissioned to the artist			Newcastle, PRL		Royal Academy 1897		Catalogue 1897, 42, n. 1370		
Lady Enid Layard	<i>Portrait Medallion of A.H. Layard</i>		1882-1900, bronze	1882-1900				Ankara, British Embassy, GAC5077	Baron Lemmermann, 1958		Lady Layard's Journal, 09.1882, 1884 etc.	Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 447		
Carlo Lorenzetti	<i>Portrait of Lady Layard</i>		1914, marble	1914				Unknown	/	XI Esposizione Internazionale, Venezia 1914, Sala Internazionale 12, n. 8.		Ogetti 1914, 3.		
	<i>A set of 6 small majolica plates decorated with fruit</i>		majolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 1		
	<i>An English porcelain teapot with festoons and gilt decoration</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 2		
	<i>A pair of stem glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 3		
	<i>Two paglierino Murano glass vases</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 4		
	<i>Winged goblet with sprinkled gold</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 5		
From R. Stothard	<i>Portrait of Rosina, from the comic opera</i>		print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 6		
French manufacture	<i>A set of 4 tea plates</i>		French porcelain, decorated with roses					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 7		
	<i>A Capodimonte porcelain figure, "The Winter"</i>		Capodimonte white glaze porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 8		
	<i>A set of English tea service comprising: milk jug, sugar bowl, 6 cups and 6 saucers</i>		English majolica all decorated with floral wreaths					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 9		
	<i>An old ivory plaque in a walnut bronze gilt frame</i>		ebony, walnut, bronze-gilt					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 10		
	<i>Goblet</i>		Murano glass imitating marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 11		
	<i>A set of six hunting scenes</i>		watercolours within a gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 12		
French manufacture	<i>Portrait of a Young Lady</i>		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 5, lot 13		
	<i>The Lagoon of Venice with Saint Mark's square</i>		watercolour and frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 14		
	<i>Pink silk blanket with big stripes</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 15		
Chinese Manufacture	<i>Vase with handle, decorated with chimeric animals</i>		decorative glaze crackle					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 16		
	<i>Cotton tablecloth with merletto a lombolo, antico Milano</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 17		
Oriental manufacture	<i>A small tripod table with a mother-of-pearl inlaid</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 18		
	<i>A French Empire brass fender with a cloth panel</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 19		
Oriental manufacture	<i>A small, lowboy mother-of-pearl inlaid</i>		mother of pearl					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 20		



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	<i>A Lady in dance dress</i>		oil on ivory, ormolu frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 21		
	<i>A fine porcelain 'Lion and Dog' group</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 21 bis		
	<i>A set of three Egyptian mummies, two glasses and ten small clay objects</i>		Scavate anch'esse a Nimroud, nel cimitero? Vedi L. Menin, Sugli scavi eseguiti a Nineveh dal Layard, e sulle iscrizioni cuneiformi, 23.4.1854, in Atti delle adunanze dell'Istituto veneto di scienze, arti e lettere, 12, II, 5, 1853-54, p. 115.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 22		
	<i>A China lacquer screen with silver inlaid and ivory figures</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 23		
	<i>A model of a Chinese house</i>		polychrome glazed porcelain tiles									Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 24		
	<i>A snuff box with marble lacquer, tortoiseshell inside and a gilt, pale blue cover</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 25		
<b>Dutch school</b>	<i>A family interior</i>		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 26		
	<i>A bay horse</i>		oil on canvas, mounted in a gilt walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 27		
	<i>A set of 4 engravings representing Venice</i>		mounted in a lacquered frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 6, lot 28		
	<i>A pair of old Vermeil Martin representing a procession of sacred functions</i>		ormolu frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 29		
	<i>An Empire style Portrait Miniature on ivory representing a dame leaning on her arm</i>		mounted in an ormolu chiselled frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 30		
	<i>A small vase en bloc de Chine</i>		teak stand					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 31		
	<i>A cloisonné potiche decorated with medallions representing family scenes and small flowers on a green background</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 32		
	<i>A Louis XVI piece of white and green cloth, decorated with little flowers</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 33		
	<i>Small porcelain vase with polychrome decoration</i>		ebony stand									Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 33 bis		
<b>L. Asplaud</b>	<i>The Mill</i>		watercolour, mounted in a gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 34		
<b>B. Breenberg</b>	<i>A set of landscapes with figures and animals</i>		oil on copper, mounted in a black gilt frames					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 35		
<b>Chinese embroidery</b>	<i>A dog holding the prey</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 36		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of silver filigrana vases decorated with blue and green enamals</i>		mounted on a majolica and silver stand					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 37		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>A small, low table inlaid with precious woods, ivory and tortoiseshell</i>		XVII-Century					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 38		
	<i>Roll-top desk</i>		marquetry of walnut and maple					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 7, lot 39		
<b>Venetian Manufacture in the style of Louis XV</b>	<i>A set of 3 old armchairs</i>		carved, upholstered with blue silk with pink and white stripes					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 40		
<b>Venetian Manufacture in the style of Louis XIV</b>	<i>An old console</i>		richly carved and gilt, shell plaques and the top is decorated with peach blossom					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 41		
	<i>A small portrait of a gentleman</i>		Empire style, ivory, ormolu frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 42		
	<i>A snuff box with a miniature on ivory</i>		ivory, ormolu edging cover					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 43		
	<i>An Italian majolica plate with a figure on a horse</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 44		
	<i>Vase with handle and cover decorated with roses</i>		old Wien porcelain and gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 45		
	<i>A small portrait of a young man with fur</i>		ivory mounted in an ormolu frame with little relief flowers					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 46		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of ivory divinity figures</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 47		
	<i>A small chandelier with three electric candles, decorated with Bohemia crystal drops and prisms</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 48		
	<i>An old ormolu, carved case with precious stone medallions in the style of Louis XV</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 49		
	<i>Bokara embroidery</i>		silk on canvas with a red border					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 50		
	<i>A Kazak gallery carpet with geometric motifs</i>		340x93cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 51		
	<i>A Nobarans rug: the blue field densely filled with flowers surrounding a small central roundel</i>		150x96cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 8, lot 52		
	<i>A Ghiordes rug: decorated with green, white and yellow lozenge</i>		150x93cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 53		
	<i>A Tien-Tzin rug</i>		300x210cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 54		
	<i>An old Hamadan Serrabent rug: the blue ground filled with little stylized palmettes</i>		223x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 55		
	<i>An Oriental carpet with a red field filled with geometric lozenge and scrolling vines</i>		145x96cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 56		
	<i>An antique Oushak (Ushak) carpet, called the Holbein carpet: the yellow field contains a central medallion and is framed by a large deep blue border</i>		XVII cent., 148x113cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 57		
	<i>A Kulack prayer carpet divided into two columns</i>		XVII cent., 185x135cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 58		
	<i>An antique "Demirgy" carpet: the red ground is adorned by a central medallion decorated with blossoms and leaves, green and yellow border</i>		400x300cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 59		
<b>Gerard ter Borch the Elder</b>	<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i>		1603ca, oil on copper, black and gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 60		

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Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres	<i>Portrait of a Young Man</i>		oil on canvas, mounted in a gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 61		
	<i>A large panel of antique laminated velvet with a blue celestial, counter-cut, rich border of red velvet on a yellow background</i>		XVI century, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 62		
Chinese Manufacture	<i>A vase decorated with dragons and leafy scrolls</i>		China porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 63		
French manufacture, Louis XV	<i>Snake skin snuff box, baskets of silver-gilt flowers surmount</i>		snake skin, silver, gilt, beads					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 64		
Empire style	<i>Portrait of Viscount Galway</i>		ivory; frame: gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 65		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>An old, small dressing table lacquered and gilt with chinoiserie motifs</i>		XVIII century					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 66		
Saxon manufacture	<i>An old porcelain figure of a "Girl with an arp"</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 67		
	<i>An ebony casket in relief squares, with handles in gilded bronze, two doors, inside: eight drawers and a central door, with panels embroidered in relief with birds, dolphins and various ornaments</i>		XVII cent., ebony, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 68		
English Manufacture	<i>Commode: mahogany veneer, gilt bronze, engraved handles</i>		XVIII cent., mahogany, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 69		
	<i>A set of 6 small chairs with braided backrest and channeled seat</i>		XIX century, walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 70		
French painter XVIII cent.	<i>A scene representing the entrance of the palace with fountains where they water the horses, the laundresses wash, at the bottom of the sea the herds are unloaded.</i>		XVIII century, oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 10, lot 71		
Hamilton	<i>A pair of prints "Silvia and the pilgrim"</i>		walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 72		
J.C. Dollman	<i>Interior of a stable with a cow, a cat and a dog</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 73		
Manufacture de Sèvres, France	<i>Cup and saucer with gilt monogram of Louis Philippe</i>		1844, porcelain				From the service of Louis Philip	Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 74		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>A pair of bronze chandeliers for electric light</i>		bronze, XVIII sec					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 75, 75 bis		
	<i>A Bohemian wheel-engraved goblet adorned with roses and red flowers</i>		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 76		
	<i>A pair of red damask panel</i>		Louis XIV period, 460cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 77		
	<i>A blanc porcelain figure "Swan"</i>		China white porcelain with gilt bronze decoration					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 78		
	<i>An Ivory Portrait Miniature of a Man with wit</i>		ivory, mounted in a silver frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 79		
	<i>A snuff box surmounted by an Enamel Portrait Miniature of a Young Lady</i>		pink lacquer, the interior: tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 80		
Saxon manufacture	<i>An old porcelain figure "Woodsmen"</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 81		
	<i>Portrait of a group of ladies in costume</i>		1840, frame: mahogany, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 82		
	<i>A rural scene</i>		enamel mounted in a red velvet, gilt bronze frame of XVIII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 83		
	<i>Portrait of a young man</i>		ivory mounted in gilt wooden frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 84		
	<i>A pair of paintings "Birds on the arms of a tree"</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 11, lot 85		
Flemish master of late XVIII cent.	<i>A pair of sea scenes with boats and sailors</i>		watercolour, gilt frames					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 86		
Miller from Roberts	<i>A print representing the Rustic courtship</i>		1793, mounted in a walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 86 bis		
Vienna porcelain manufacture	<i>Sugar bowl and cover adorned with roses and gilding</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 87		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>A pair of vases lacquer set in gilt bronze mounts richly adorned with gilded blossoms and leaves in relief</i>		gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 88		
	<i>An old gilt, wooden base</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 89		
	<i>A Cabinet with an inclined plane</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 90		
Chinese Manufacture	<i>An ebony figure of a divinity</i>		ebony					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 91		
	<i>A pair of pink silk, flower panels in the style of Louis XV</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 92		
Murano manufacture	<i>A set of 12 glass dishes</i>		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 93		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>A pair of embossed copper shapes</i>		copper					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 94		
Joseph E. Boehm	<i>Bust of Austen Henry Layard</i>		1891, clay				Commissioned to the artist In the Lermmermann Collection until 1976, sold at Christie's 1976, 46, lot 255	Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. , Add MS 39042, fol. 193; Add MS 39043, fol. 43.	Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 94bis; Christie's 1976, 46, lot 255.	London, British Museum, 1891,0613.27	
W. Cheesman	<i>A landscape</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 95		
L.L. Boilly	<i>La cocarde nationale</i>		colour print					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 96		
French school	<i>The wood</i>		XIX cent., oil on panel (?), gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 97		
Chinese Manufacture	<i>A pair of ivory figures</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 98		
Manufacture de Sèvres, France	<i>A Sèvres biscuit figure "Profile of a French marshal"</i>		Napoleonic period, Sèvres bisquit, glazed; walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 98 bis		
	<i>A miniature representing the interior of an Eastern temple</i>		ivory, frame: black and gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 12, lot 99		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>An Old, small gilt bronze Medallion</i>		gilt bronze, mounted in a frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 100		
	<i>A small ivory snuff box</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 101		
	<i>A Venetian cartella</i>		lacquer, mother-of-pearl					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 102		
	<i>A watercolour figure "Fishing boy"</i>		watercolour, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 103		
Murano manufacture	<i>A pair of little vases</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 104		
French manufacture	<i>A set of 12 little dishes decorated with roses</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 105		
	<i>A set of 3 Bohemian crystal glasses engraved with foliage motifs</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 106		
	<i>A pair of little spoons with the Layard's coat of arms, comprising the cover</i>		silver gilt					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 107		

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Murano manufacture	Flower green vase		green glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 108		
	A set of 3 cups and saucers and 12 small plates		majolica and porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 109		
	A pair of cornices for curtains		wood carved with green and gilded lacquer					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 13, lot 110		
English Manufacture	A set of 3 blue, gilded cups and saucers		porcelain, blue and gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 111		
	A small silver vase		silver outside and Murano glass inside					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 112		
	An antique porcelain figure "Elephant"		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 113		
	A goblet		white and yellow Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 114		
	A pair of ivory sculptures		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 115		
	A pair of bols		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 116, lot 116 bis		
	A small tortoiseshell Carnet		tortoiseshell, ivory, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 117		
	Vase with four handles		vetro antico di Murano					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 118		
	French manufacture	A pair of small porcelain vases decorated with blue and gold bunches of roses		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 119	
Berlin manufacture	A porcelain figure "The farmer"		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 120		
From Singleton	The Benediction		colour print, 1795, mounted in a walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 121		
Unspecibed	Portrait of a gentleman		watercolour, 1839, dated and signed					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 14, lot 122		
French school	Landscape with a river		XIX cent., oil on panel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 123		
	A set of 10 Bohemian crystal glasses engraved with foliage motifs		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 124		
	An old, silver medallion of Alessandrina Vittoria		silver, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 125		
	Four archaeological cups		clay					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 126		
Japanese manufacture	Profile of Napoleon, empereur et roi		bronze mounted in a walnut gilt bronze circular frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 127		
	A little vase		gilt porcelain									Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 127 bis		
	A little tripod table, inlaid chessboard top		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 128		
	A set 6 upholstered chairs		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 129		
	A small bottom drawer adorned with wine scrolls		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 130		
	An enamel plaque in colours representing a "Young Lady"		enamel, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 131		
Chinese Manufacture	A spouted drinking-vessel tankard		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 132		
	Boat with fishermen		carving					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 133		
Chelsea porcelain	A porcelain figure "The Hunter with dog"							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 134		
Venetian Manufacture	Virgin and Child		oil on glass, frame: silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 135		
	Portrait Miniature "The profile of a gentleman"		ivory plaque in colours, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 15, lot 136		
F. Bartolozzi	A love theme		colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 137		
M. Dubourg	Four views of Rome		1820, colour prints					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 138, lot 138 bis		
	Stone snuff box with tooled silver borders		stone, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 139		
	An antique enamel medallion with putti		enamel, gilt bronze, wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 140		
Louis XV	An old fabric with blossoms and tree branches on a pink ground							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 141		
	A set of four ivory miniatures in a single frame, showing the mosques and palaces of Constantinople		ivory, black and gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 142		
Manufacture de Sèvres, France	A Sèvres cup and cover with used as a veilleuse		porcelain, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 143		
	A Portrait Miniature of a Lady in Gala dress		enamel, silver frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 144		
Dutch Manufacture	Small tortoiseshell and ivory snuff box		tortoiseshell, ivory, iron					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 145		
Saxon manufacture	Porcelain tea box adorned with roses		XVIII cent., porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 146		
Chinese Manufacture	Porcelain jug with cover and handle, decorated with deer heads		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 147		
Dutch Manufacture	A low rosewood table inlaid with tortoiseshell and ivory, twisted legs		XVII cent., rosewood, tortoiseshell, ivory, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 148		
English Manufacture	An antique Commode with two large drawers and two small maple panels with mahogany veneer, and gilt bronze handles		XVIII cent., mahogany, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 16, lot 149		
Guerrazzi	An extendable gaming table with a blunt shape and fluted legs		mahogany solid wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 150		
French Manufacture	An antique Secrétaire à abattant d'époque Louis XVI		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 151		
John Finnie	Wood with a river		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 152		
Attributed to Teniers	The fish market		oil on panel, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 153		
	A small snuff box		tortoiseshell, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 154		
XIX cent. manufacture	Bukhara embroidery on a green fabric		225x90cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 155		
	An old, small Vernis Martin snuff box decorated with putti, tortoiseshell interior, with tooled silver borders		tortoiseshell, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 156		
	Small chandelier with electric light with crystal drops and prisms		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 157		
Chinese Manufacture	Panel with a landscape and medallions of divinities		silk, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 158		
	Silk velvet, yellow on red ground		Empire style, silk, 825cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 159		
XIX cent. school	Portrait of an artist		XIX cent., oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 17, lot 160		
Persian manufacture	An old Persian carpet on black ground with stylized shields, birds and chimeric animals		375x110cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 161		



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Persian manufacture	An Old Hamadan Gallery rug: blue ground filled with small chimeric animals and highly decorated borders		415x118cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 162		
Caucasian manufacture	Soumak carpet: pink ground filled with green and yellow geometric motifs		XVIII cent., 280x173cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 163		
Asia Minor manufacture	Oushak or Holbein carpet red ground and yellow arabesque with a central medallion		163x121cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 164		
Caucasian manufacture	An antique Schirvan carpet		192x133cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 165		
Persian manufacture	Royal Bokara: ruby-red ground with lozenges		115x103cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 166		
Iranian Kurdistan manufacture	Senneh Killim rug: tiny decoration on red ground, big floral medallion in the centre		204x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 167		
Hispano-Moorish manufacture	An old, rare Hispano Moorish carpet		late XVI/early XVII cent., 186x138cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 168		
Persian manufacture	An antique Meched carpet		535x378cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 18, lot 169		
L. Robbe	Sheep, goats and a donkey		oil on canvas, gilt frame, signed					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 170		
C. Lorrain	Fantastic Landscape with the Vesuvio in the background and a mythological scene in the wood		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 171		
Flemish master of XVII cent.	Still life with game		oil on canvas, Venetian lacquer and gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 172		
Saxon manufacture	Vase with pierced cover richly decorated with birds and roses		Saxon porcelain, gilt					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 173		
	Silk panel with scrolls and flower decorations in the style of Louis XIV		280x165cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 174		
Savona manufacture	A pair of old Savona maiolica lions		XVII cent., blue and yellow maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 175		
	Silk tapestry		2.40x2.40cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 176		
Dutch Manufacture	An old ebony and tortoiseshell mirror		XVIII cent., ebony, tortoiseshell, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 177		
Venetian Manufacture	A Louis XV settee with winged backrest and a four blue, pale rose and white silk stripes armchairs		walnut, silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 19, lot 178, lot 178 bis		
Venetian Manufacture	A wooden mirror light carved as Psyche, on an elliptical base supported by clawed paws, walnut columns with rich capital and gilt bronze seals		peach wood, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 179		
Venetian Manufacture	Corner cupboard decorated with grotesque blue lacquer and gilding		gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 180		
C.E. Brittan	Dogs looking at the game		1858, oil on panel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 181		
Bartolozzi, after H.T. Alken	Prince during a horse hunting scene		colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 182		
Chinese Manufacture	An Old China Vase		blue porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 183		
Unspec'ed	Miniature with Female nudes on the banks of a river		ivory, frame: gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 184		
G. Aureli	Roman cioceretta		watercolour, walnut and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 185		
French manufacture, Louis XVI	Oval Portrait Miniature of a Gentleman		old gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 186		
Chinese Manufacture	Screen with a central ivory inlaid figure		teak wood, ivory inlaid					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 187		
Giovanni Bastianini	Bust of Marsilius Ficinus		terracotta and bronze, 52.1cm height	1884		Francis Sloane collection, Villa Medici Careggi	gift of Mrs Sloane	Unknown			LLJ, 19 Oct. 1884, 25 Oct. 1888	Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 187 bis		A certain Sig. Felici, 1888
Chinese Manufacture	Frog		ivory mounted on a wooden base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 188		
Saxon manufacture	A Saxon porcelain figure "Portrait of a Gentleman"		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 20, lot 189		
	A Portrait Miniature of Maria Leszczyńska		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 190		
Dutch Manufacture	An antique rosewood box with tortoiseshell inlaid and gilt iron		rosewood, tortoiseshell, gilding, iron					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 191		
	A Portrait Miniature of a Prince		gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 192		
Chinese Manufacture	An antique China vase of square form, with figures, blossoms and gilt decorations		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 193		
Dutch Manufacture	A Miniature		copper, wooden frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 194		
Attr. to Ingres	Portrait of a Man		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 195		
	The Visit		Directory style, oil on glass, gilt oval frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 196		
H. Harding	Portrait of a Gipsy Girl		1820, watercolour, walnut and gilt bronze frame			Austen Coll.		Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 196 bis	LLJ, 05.11.1895	
Chinese Manufacture	China Teapot adorned with blossoms and gilding		porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 197		
	A pair of walnut bookshelves		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 198		
Oriental manufacture	A mother of pearl inlaid Koran case		mother of pearl					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 199		
Venetian Manufacture	Flowerpot		lacquer					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 200		
	Potiche decorated with medallions representing family scenes, blossoms and trees on the yellow ground		cloisonné					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 201		
Chinese Manufacture	An antique panel embroidered with gilded blossoms and tree branches		pink satin richly embroidered with gilt blossoms and blue borders					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 202		
	An embroidered panel representing the Virgin		silk, gilt silver panel, oval frame with tortoiseshell inlaid, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 21, lot 203		
	A porcelain dish decorated with dragons on a yellow ground		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 204		
Venetian Manufacture	An old basin		copper					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 205		
Delft manufacture	An Antique Delft maiolica Bowl		majolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 206		
	An Antique Shawl		old tulle netting with little blossoms and Turkish stylized feathers					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 207		

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Wheatley (?)	<i>A visit to the Nother [sic]</i>		colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 208		
English school	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Gentleman</i>		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 209		
China manufacture	<i>A small China Vase</i>		porcelain, enamel coating					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 210		
	<i>An ivory figure of a head of a dog with child</i>		bronze and horn stand					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 211		
	<i>A set of 12 English maiolica dishes decorated with butterflies and flowers</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 212		
Manufacture de Sèvres, France	<i>A Sèvres cup with saucer decorated with flowers</i>		porcelain, blue and gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 213		
	<i>A set of 8 bowls</i>		old Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 214		
	<i>A set of 12 silver-plated dinner knives</i>		silver-plate handle					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 215		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a military man</i>		lapis, gilt and carved frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 216		
	<i>A set of 4 old French maiolica plates</i>		maiolica, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 217		
	<i>A porcelain vase with two handles</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 218		
	<i>A set of 6 maiolica dishes</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 219		
	<i>A pair of green and gilt cornices for curtains</i>		carved gilt wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 22, lot 220		
	<i>An antique vase with leave handles</i>		white maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 221		
	<i>A set of 10 old English maiolica dishes with blue profile</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 222		
	<i>A pair of English maiolica pitchers with festoons and gildings</i>		maiolica, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 223		
	<i>A set of 6 English maiolica dinner plates with butterflies and flowers</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 224		
	<i>A set of 12 Roman-Egyptian mosaic fragments</i>		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 225		
	<i>A glass bottle in the shape of Diana</i>		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 226		
	<i>An old yellow and green Murano vase</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 227		
	<i>A small Oriental tapestry with mosques and minarets motifs</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 228		
	<i>A small glass vase excavated</i>		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 229		
English school	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Gentleman</i>		XIX cent., oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 230		
	<i>A rural landscape</i>		watercolour, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 231		
English school	<i>An Alpine landscape</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 23, lot 232		
	<i>A bronze medallion with the profile of a French gentleman</i>		gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 233		
	<i>An English porcelain coffee set of 8 cups and saucers decorated with floral wreaths and gilding</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 234		
Mintons	<i>A Minton porcelain bowl</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 235		
	<i>A small China Vase with a landscape ground and various decorations</i>		porcelain mounted on a teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 236		
	<i>An old casket</i>		hardstone					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 237		
	<i>A small China tripod table, lacquer, with marine motifs</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 238		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>An antique marbled lacquer flowerpot</i>		gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 239		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>An antique cabinet with fluted legs</i>		peach wood, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 240		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Young Lady in black and white</i>		walnut, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 241		
	<i>A pair of Japanese cloisonné enamel cachepots</i>		cloisonné enamel, gilt wood bases					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 243		
	<i>A miniature of an Officer in a red uniform</i>		gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 244		
	<i>A blanc de Chine vase</i>		teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 245 bis		
	<i>A small almanac in a blue gilt case</i>		1842, London					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 246		
	<i>An illustrated calendar</i>		1729					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 24, lot 246 bis		
After Hoppner, by Turner	<i>The Hon. Lady Louisa Maners</i>		colour print, 1801, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 247		
G. Perelle	<i>A wooded landscape with figures</i>		oil on copper, mounted in a French gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 248		
	<i>An antique miniature of a poet</i>		XVIII cent., gilt bronze frame and leather case					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 249		
	<i>A pair of small China vases</i>		green porcelain, teak bases					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 250 bis		
	<i>An antique ivory miniature of an English Admiral</i>		ivory, black, gilt bronze, beaded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 251		
	<i>An old China dish</i>		porcelain, ebony stand					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 252		
	<i>A miniature of a young lady in Venetian costume</i>		gilt metal frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 253		
Battersea manufacture	<i>A small basket with tapering pierced sides, the centre of the interior painted with a landscape</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 254		
	<i>A miniature ivory portrait of Madame de Pompadour</i>		pear wood, gilt bronze frame		Goldsmith collection			Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 255		
English master	<i>A lake surrounded by the mountains with some figures and trees along the shores</i>		XIX cent., oil on canvas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 256		
	<i>A set of 4 prints of Venice</i>		lacquer frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 257		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>A set of 6 pearl lacquered chairs, with a vase-shaped backrest</i>		XVIII cent., gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 25, lot 258		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>An antique ebony table with ivory medallions</i>		ebony, ivory, metal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 259		
Flemish Manufacture	<i>A gilt bronzed mounted ebony, rosewood, tortoiseshell inlaid Cabinet, of architectural form, with glass columns, an arrangement of 8 drawers around the central cupboard enclosing a mirrored interior, centered by a bronze standing figure, with a slide, on later clawed feet together with a console</i>		rosewood, ebony, tortoiseshell, glass, ivory gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 260		
	<i>Tortoiseshell snuff box with a repoussé plaque on top showing sailing boats</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 261		

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	<i>A big bust of a man with wig</i>		XVIII cent., clay					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 262		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A piece of old Venetian velvet with flowers</i>		580cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 263		
<b>After G. Morland</b>	<i>A pair of colour prints "Hunting scenes"</i>		1803, London, mounted in a walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 263 bis		
<b>XVIII-cent. Venetian school</b>	<i>Canal Grande</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 264		
<b>Berlin manufacture</b>	<i>A Berlin porcelain vase with a pair of handles decorated with blossoms and gilding</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 265		
<b>Sicilian art</b>	<i>An old yellow silk panel, finely embroidered</i>		XVI cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 266		
<b>J. Fyt</b>	<i>Still life</i>		oil on canvas, gilt black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 267		
<b>Milanese manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of two-handed Milanese maiolica vases decorated with fruit and flowers</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 268		
<b>School of T. Bergen</b>	<i>Fantastic architectures in the landscape with animals and figures</i>		oil on canvas, lacquer, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 269		
<b>XVIII-cent. manufacture</b>	<i>A black Venetian Japanned lacquer table clock: dial with mask and scroll spandrels, matted centre with mock pendulum and date apertures, signed on a plaque Pistor, London, the backplate engraved with a folly amidst rococo scrolls, the bell-top case with five flambeau finials, side brass carrying handles and ball finials, the plinth with a shaped apron and turned feet</i>		XVIII cent., gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 270		
	<i>A Kabistran rug: blue field with geometric patterns and chimeric animals</i>		late XVIII cent., 150x126cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 271		
	<i>An antique Katcu Bokhara on red ground, with small flower shields, lozenges</i>		193x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 272		
	<i>A Hamadan Camellar Gallery: camel ground with medallions and rhombus</i>		435x102cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 273		
	<i>A Herat rug with Persian feathers on a white ground, rich borders</i>		355x180cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 274		
	<i>A Keshan carpet, red ground filled with a blue central medallion adorned with blossoms and leaves</i>		213x145cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 275		
<b>North-West Persia</b>	<i>A Karadja Gallery with rows of diagonal colourful lozenges</i>		490x105cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 27, lot 276		
	<i>A Transylvanian carpet with a central ruby-red frame and large borders</i>		XVIII cent., 163x124cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 277		
	<i>A Rare Persian carpet featuring a framed panel with twin columns supporting an arch that represents the mihrab</i>		late XVI cent., 135x83cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 278		
	<i>A Sultan carpet with a yellow ground and stylized feathers and blossoms</i>		420x310cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 279		
<b>F. Van Mieris</b>	<i>Mandolin player</i>		oil on canvas, black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 280		
<b>XIX-Cent., English master</b>	<i>Still life with game</i>		XIX cent., oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 281		
	<i>A large French lampas blanket with red ground</i>		late XVIII cent., 7m					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 282		
	<i>A China vase decorated with horses and blossoms</i>		porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 283		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>An antique repoussé snuff box with a portrait of a lady inside</i>		XVIII cent., enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 284		
<b>Attrib. to J.B. Ondry</b>	<i>Lake with geese</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 285		
<b>English master</b>	<i>A portrait of brother and sister</i>		XIX-cent., watercolour, walnut and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 286		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A Venetian walnut and olive commode of serpentine bombé form, with three crossbanded long drawers, above a shaped apron carved the later base on squat cabriole legs</i>		second half XVIII cent., walnut, ormolu					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 287		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of antique carved giltwood armchairs Louis XV, upholstered in blue cut velvet on a yellow field</i>		wood, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 288		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of Chinese corner cupboards</i>		XVIII cent., wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 289		
	<i>An enamel plaque of Princess Schwarzenberg</i>		enamel, carved, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 290		
	<i>A rare Venetian cinnabar lacquer snuff box with a silver profile, the cover ivory inlaid supporting a humorous scene of the puppet theatre with moving mechanism</i>		wood, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 291		
	<i>A China perfume-burner with cover surmounted by a chimeric animal</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 292		
	<i>A Saxon porcelain coffee pot with Chinoiserie motifs</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 293		
<b>After H.T. Aiken</b>	<i>A pair of colour prints "A lively team", "An Awkward Corner" [sic]</i>		print, wood frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 294		
<b>English school</b>	<i>A landscape</i>		XIX-cent., watercolour, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 295		
	<i>A Saxon porcelain mythological figure</i>		XVIII cent., porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 296		
	<i>A China ivory figure "The artisan"</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 297		
	<i>An antique Saxon porcelain figure of a swan</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 298		
	<i>An antique miniature of a young boy with wig</i>		ivory, oval gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 299		
	<i>An antique miniature portrait of a gentleman in costume</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 300		
	<i>A large panel of antique embroidery with geometric motifs of various colours</i>		300x140cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 301		
	<i>A China teapot with polychrome decoration</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 302		
	<i>A biscuit figure of a flower seller in the style of Louis XV</i>		white biscuit					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 303		



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	<i>An interesting, antique China bronze figure of an elephant with flowerpot</i>		bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 304		
	<i>A similar figure, but smaller</i>		bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 304 bis		
	<i>A print of "Camel and Banter"</i>		1846, London, colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 305		
	<i>A view of a mountain lake</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 306		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>Green damask upholstery for a stool</i>		XVI cent., damask					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 307		
	<i>Display cabinet with a relief sculpture at the edges</i>		pear wood, glass, red velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 308		
<b>Piedmontese manufacture</b>	<i>A walnut low table</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 309		
	<i>A little brown velvet sofa</i>		brown velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 310		
	<i>A pair of ivory dogs, one in the doghouse</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 311		
	<i>A carved coconut profile of the Emperor Napoleon</i>		coconut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 312		
	<i>A China cloisonné and enamel plaque</i>		enamel mounted in a teak wood frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 30, lot 313		
	<i>A large walnut snuff box with Greek fret inlaid and central monogram</i>		walnut root					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 314		
	<i>An elephant tooth mounted with English silver to be used as a vase</i>		elephant tooth, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 314 bis		
	<i>An enamel plaque representing an Oriental landscape</i>		enamel, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 315		
	<i>An Antique Panel of red velvet with a richly gilt decorated braid</i>		velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 316		
	<i>A Murano Goblet with gold sprinkles</i>		glass, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 317		
	<i>A porcelain figure "The dancer"</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 318		
	<i>A glass cake stand</i>		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 318 bis		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>A brass circular dish</i>		brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 319		
<b>French school</b>	<i>A landscape with a castle</i>		XIX cent., oil on canvas, gilt Empire style frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 320		
<b>Venetian school</b>	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i>		XVIII cent., pastel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 321		
	<i>A Profile Portrait of a Man</i>		watercolour, black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 322		
	<i>A small, porcelain vase decorated with blossoms and leaves</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 323		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>A porcelain cup and saucer with gilt musical emblems</i>		porcelain, gilt					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 324		
	<i>A set of 8 old Murano drinking glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 325		
	<i>A cylindrical ivory pierced case</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 326		
	<i>A game box with a chess set inlaid on the cover</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 326 bis		
	<i>A set of 6 small Murano drinking glasses with gold sprinkles</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 327		
	<i>A set of 4 porcelain plates adorned with butterflies and blossoms</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 328		
	<i>A pair of glass figures "Mother-in-law" and "Daughter-in-law"</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 329		
	<i>A pair of lacquer gilt ivory comices</i>		ivory, lacquer, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 31, lot 330		
	<i>A set of 10 crystal dishes</i>		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 331		
	<i>A pair of antique cups and saucers with coat of arms</i>		Indo-China porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 332		
	<i>A pair of crystal bottles</i>		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 333		
	<i>A pair of gold and white bowls</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 334		
<b>Oriental manufacture</b>	<i>An antique bamboo snuff box with cover adorned with figures and dragons</i>		bamboo					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 335		
	<i>A Murano glass vase with white ribs</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 335 bis		
	<i>A silver basket</i>		silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 336		
	<i>An ivory figure of a samurai</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 337		
	<i>A tortoiseshell snuff box with a gilt plaque</i>		tortoiseshell, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 338		
	<i>A set of 5 porcelain cups and saucers</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 339		
<b>E.E. Cooke</b>	<i>Libyan mountains at sun dusk seen from the Nile</i>		oil on panel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 340		
	<i>The Venetian Lagoon</i>		watercolour, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 341		
<b>S. Prout</b>	<i>A pair of watercolors representing Venice</i>		watercolour, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 32, lot 342		
	<i>A wooden figure of an elephant</i>		teak wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 343		
	<i>A China ivory column sculpted with figures</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 344		
	<i>An antique blue China porcelain vase</i>		porcelain mounted on a teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 345		
	<i>An old piece of Venetian fabric decorated with green and yellow blossoms</i>		XVIII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 346		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Lady</i>		gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 347		
	<i>A small tripod table</i>		XIX cent., walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 348		
	<i>A set of 4 walnut chairs with striped backrest</i>		XIX cent., walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 349		
	<i>A walnut game table with a drawer and a sliding central panel with an inlaid chess board</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 350		
	<i>A case with 6 Murano drinking glasses with gold rim</i>		glass, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 351		
	<i>A Chinese green teapot in the shape of a Foo dog</i>		green porcelain, gilt base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 352		
	<i>A miniature of the Lady with the ermine</i>		ivory, bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 353		
	<i>An antique Venetian dressing mirror</i>		carved and gilt wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 354		
<b>English school</b>	<i>The portrait of a little girl</i>		oil on canvas, carved frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 355		
<b>Young, after T. Stothard</b>	<i>A print (unspecified subject)</i>		1800, London, colour print, mounted on a black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 356		
<b>After Canaletto</b>	<i>A set of 4 prints of Venice</i>		blue lacquered frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 357		

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	<i>A China vase with floral decoration</i>		porcelain, wood base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 33, lot 358		
	<i>A pair of glass figures</i>		green glass, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 359		
	<i>A panel of red satin with silver and silk embroidery</i>		XVIII cent., satin, silk, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 360		
<b>Jean-Baptiste Isabey</b>	<i>Portrait of the young Capt. James McDonald</i>		ivory, carved and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 361		
<b>Berlin manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of small porcelain figures</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 362		
<b>W.S. Lethbridge</b>	<i>Portrait Miniature of a British Officer</i>		ivory, black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 363		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>A sphere surmounted by a figure holding eight concentric pierced spheres</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 363 bis		
<b>French school</b>	<i>An enamel repoussé snuff box surmounted by a plaque with a Venetian subject</i>		XVIII cent., enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 364		
<b>Paul Sandby</b>	<i>A pair of watercolours representing the landscape</i>		watercolour					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 365		
<b>Attrib. to Brueghel</b>	<i>Landscape with a farmer's chariot</i>		oil on copper, black and gold frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 366		
<b>Attrin. to Turner</b>	<i>The Lagoon of Venice</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 367		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>An oblongue walnut, ivory and rosewood marquetry table</i>		walnut, rosewood, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 368		
	<i>An antique Dutch carved oak armchair</i>		oak					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 34, lot 369		
	<i>A Louis XVI style gilt bronze-mounted fruitwood marquetry and marquetry commode: the rectangular top above a frieze drawer and two long drawers sans traverse, on square tapering legs, the whole inlaid with scrolling foliage</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 370		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>An antique ormolu-mounted kingwood marquetry drop-front desk with a medallion containing musical instruments and flowers</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 371		
	<i>A set of 7 bottles and 73 glasses of various dimensions</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 372		
	<i>A small chandelier with 4 arms for electric light, decorated with crystal prisms and drops</i>		glass, crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 373		
	<i>A small Louis XV tortoiseshell, Vernis Martin snuff box</i>		tortoiseshell, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 374		
	<i>A pair of porcelain covered cups adorned with red and gold groups of fruit and flowers</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 375		
<b>Edward Pritchett</b>	<i>A pair of "Views of Venice"</i>		oil on panel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 376		
<b>French engraver, after Raffaello</b>	<i>Le dodici ore</i>		colour print, lacquer frames					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 377		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>Antependium with strapwork and vases</i>		XVI cent, red satin, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 35, lot 378		
<b>English Manufacture</b>	<i>An ebony, striking table clock with foliate-tied faceted gilt-brass handle to cushion-moulded top and glazed rectangular side panels, the above edges finely pierced and engraved gilt-brass frets, dial with mask and scroll spandrels, matted centre with mock pendulum and date apertures, pierced sound frets to front and sides, the front door with gilt-brass leaf escutcheons, on a moulded plinth base surmounting bracked feet, in the arch signed F.J. Jump, London.</i>		XVIII cent., ebony, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 379		
	<i>A pair of painted textile panels with war scenes</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 380		
	<i>A Melas Prayer Rug richly decorated with stylised vines, leaves, flowerheads and palmettes in the main border</i>		200x125cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 381		
	<i>A Royal Bokhara carpet with oblong medallions</i>		110x104cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 382		
	<i>An antique Hamadan Gallery carpet with camelhair ground filled with medallions and diamonds</i>		402x105cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 383		
	<i>A Kirman carpet: blue ground filled with medallions</i>		390x294cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 384		
	<i>An antique Melas the red ground filled with ribbons, stars and interlaced flowering tendrils</i>		170x113cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 385		
	<i>A Daghestan rug</i>		253x98cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 386		
	<i>A Kabristan rug</i>		XVIII cent., 145x124cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 36, lot 387		
	<i>A Damask carpet, similar to the one in Vienna</i>		XVI cent., 368x213cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 388		
	<i>A Caucasian rug (similar to Senna Kilim)</i>		XVIII cent., 465x380cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 389		
	<i>A Spanish red satin panel</i>		XVI cent., satin					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 390		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of blue China porcelain covered vases</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 391		
<b>Antonio Cortelazzo (?)</b>	<i>Portrait Medallion of Mehmet II</i>		1866, bronze, 3.5 inch					Unknown			BL, Layard Papers, Vol. LXII, Add MS 38992, fol.239v; R.L. Brown to A.H. Layard, 23 Feb. 1866; fol. 256, 1 Mar. 1866.	Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 392		
	<i>A Louis XV light-blue silk blanket</i>		6m					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 393		
<b>Salvator Rosa</b>	<i>Figures on a coastal inlet</i>		oil on canvas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 394		
<b>Salvator Rosa</b>	<i>A coastal scene</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 394 bis		
<b>Attrib. to J.B. Greuze</b>	<i>Head of a boy</i>		sanguigna, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 37, lot 395		
<b>Gaspard Dughet</b>	<i>Landscape</i>		oil on canvas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 396		



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	A Spanish gilt-bronze-mounted tortoiseshell, ebony and rosewood cabinet of architectural form: the front profusely engraved and inlaid, the moulded pediment above a panel flanked by a pierced and balustraded gallery with finials and a central crest, above a central cupboard door, depicting a central panel with a female figure in a niche, opening to reveal a mirrored architectural interior, flanked by twin spirally-turned columns, surrounded by six various panelled drawers, the stand with moulded rectangular top, on four bun feet		XVII cent., tortoiseshell, ebony, bronze, rosewood and other kind of woods, 131 cm				Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 397, ill. V; Christie's 1976, 64, lot 411, ill. XVI.		
	Chippendale carved mahogany open-armchair with red velvet slip seat		mahogany, marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 398		
Venetian Manufacture	An antique, small lacquer Louis XV commode adorned with blossoms and marbled top							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 399		
	A portrait miniature of a young lady		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 400		
French school	Landscape with a rider		XVIII cent., black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 401		
Young, after Downman	A colour print of "Edwin and Emma"		1789, London					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 402		
Saint-Cloud Porcelain Manufacture	A pair of white Saint-Cloud bowls with almond-tree branches in relief and silver rim		porcelain, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 403		
	An oval Vernis Martin snuff box decorated with subjects after Boucher, tortoiseshell inside and silver rim							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 404		
	A set of 4 gold metal spoons							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 38, lot 405		
	A China perfume burner, pierced silver cover mounted on a teak base		porcelain, silver, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 406		
	An ivory portrait miniature of a young lady		ivory, mounted on an oval gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 407		
	A China teapot decorated with figures		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 408		
	A set of 3 porcelain fruit baskets and 2 porcelain cake stands		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 409		
	A Portrait Miniature of a Lady		XVIII cent., frame with rhinestones and yellow stones					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 410		
	An old Venetian voided velvet panel with tulips		280cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 411		
	An Empire Style Portrait Miniature of a young British Officer		ivory, walnut and gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 412		
Berlin manufacture	A porcelain figure of a putto		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 413		
Attrib. to A. Brouwer	Portrait of a man		oil on panel, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 414		
S. Sardo	Portrait of Austen Henry Layard		oil on canvas, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 415		
Dutch school	Wayfarers at the castle gate		XVIII cent., oil on panel, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 416		
Venetian Manufacture	A wooden-gilt-carved stool		XVIII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 39, lot 417		
	A chaise-loungue upholstered with lightblue stripes							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 418		
	A small, walnut tripod table, mother of pearl inlaid							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 419		
	A China cloisonné vase		XVIII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 420		
	A blue porcelain figure of a rabbit		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 421		
	A Russian porcelain milk jug		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 422		
	An ivory figure of a lady with a fan		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 423		
	A gilt metal plaque on a red velvet ground		metal gilt, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 424		
Landini (?)	Portrait Miniature of Mr Barber		1798, glass, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 425		
	A porcelain dish yellow ground filled with blossoms on an ebony stand		porcelain, ebony					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 426		
Venetian Manufacture	A Vernis Martin snuff box with putti and tortoiseshell interior		wood, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 427		
Berlin manufacture	A porcelain figure of a baby		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 427 bis		
	A Persian engraved bronze dish		bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 428		
After Richard Cosway	A colour print of Mrs Fitzherbert		walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 429		
English school	Landscape		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 40, lot 430		
	Portrait of a British General		watercolour, velvet and gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 431		
	A China green, gilt bowl		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 432		
	A panel of red velvet with gilt trim		XVIII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 433		
	A Murano glass goblet		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 434		
	A set of 15 Italian maiolica dishes		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 435		
	A bronze profile portrait		bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 436		
	A drinking glass and a blue glass dish		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 437		
	An alabaster lamp for electric light		alabaster					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 437 bis		
	A small, two-handled iridescent crystal vase		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 438		
	A set of 4 English maiolica dishes with foliate rim		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 439		
	A pair of carved, lacquer ivory gilt cornices		ivory, wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 41, lot 440		
	A set of 4 Murano cups		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 441		
	A lacquer chest document holder inside lid, surface decorated throughout with gilt figures		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 442		
	A set of 3 French porcelain chocolate cups and saucers decorated with roses		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 443		
	An antique Murano glass green vase		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 444		

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	A set of 4 English maiolica dishes with green decorations		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 445		
	A set of 5 porcelain cups and saucers with flowers and gilding		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 446		
	A bronze medallion of Austen Henry Layard		bronze, ebony base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 447		
	An antique Murano glass vase, with pink and gold sprinkles		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 448		
	A panel of rose lampas with a XVIII-cent. coat of arm		XVIII cent., lampas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 449		
<b>Minton Manufacture</b>	A Minton coffee service with pale blue, gilding decorations, for one person		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 450		
	A small Saxon porcelain dish		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 451		
	A portrait miniature of a lady with dog		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 452		
	A portrait miniature of an artist. Profile		Empire style, watercolour, carved gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 42, lot 453		
<b>Humphrey</b>	A coastal scene with fishermen, boats and various figures		watercolour, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 454		
	An oval tortoiseshell, gilt engraved snuff box		tortoiseshell, gilt					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 455		
	A bisquit profile portrait of Marie Antoniette		bisquit, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 455 bis		
	A set of 19 dessert plates decorated with roses		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 456		
	A group of 3 bisquit figures flanked by a column and gilt branches		bisquit, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 457		
	A circular, walnut low table with marble top		walnut, marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 458		
	A small walnut display cabinet with a central front door, gilt bronze feet		walnut, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 459		
	A walnut low table with slate, marble inlaid top		walnut, slate, marbles					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 460		
	A Louis XVI, lacquer, gilt bellows		wood, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 461		
	A Vernis Martin snuff box with lozenges and flowers, tortoiseshell inside		wood, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 462		
	A China cloisonné vase		XVIII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 463		
<b>After G. Morland</b>	A bivouac		1796, print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 464		
	The brood mare with her foals		oil on canvas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 465		
<b>Dutch school</b>	A pair of "Wild game" scenes		XVII cent., oil on panel, black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 466		
	Tivoli cascade		tempera, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 467		
	A portrait miniature of a gentleman with wig		ivory, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 43, lot 468		
	A porcelain figure of a blue rhinoceros		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 469		
	A pair of liquor bottles		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 470		
<b>J. Lee</b>	Portrait Miniature of Man		1817, enamel, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 471		
	A Murano yellow iridescent flask with gold sprinkles		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 472		
	A China parrot		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 472 bis		
	A pair of interesting Faenza maiolica dish with blue foliage		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 473		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	A pearl grey silk cloth, richly decorated with flowers and arabesques		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 474		
<b>Oriental manufacture</b>	An antique silver and gold embroidered panel		silver, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 475		
<b>Bartolozzi, after Barker</b>	A colour print of "The Woodman"		1782, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 476		
<b>O. Oakley</b>	Flower sellers		watercolour, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 477		
	A drop-front commode-bureau with two drawers and bronze handles		bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 478		
<b>English Manufacture</b>	A perch with three mahogany sustains		mahogany					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 479		
	A perch							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 44, lot 479 bis		
	An ebony, bronze casket with enamel plaques, a hinged lid and 16 drawers, on a stand		ebony, bronze, enamels					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 480		
	A set of 8 Louis XVI gilt, caned armchairs		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 481		
	A pair of Louis XV rosewood commode, marquetry of ribbons and musical motifs, marble top		rosewood, marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 482		
	An antique pink and yellow brocatelle textile		XVI cent., brocatelle					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 483		
	Portrait miniature of Lady Jane Grey		gilt, red velvet frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 484		
	A small Murano chandelier with crystal prisms and drops, four electric lights		glass, crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 485		
	A Venetian blue lacquer snuff box, silver rimmed and decorated with scenes after Tiepolo, tortoiseshell interior		silver, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 486		
	A China painted silk panel with divinities in a landscape		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 487		
	A pair of blue China potiches couvertes on pierced teak bases		XVIII cent., porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 488		
	A gold plate table set: three cake stands and two oval plates		gold plate					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 45, lot 489		
<b>G. Dughet</b>	A pair of landscapes with riders and other figures		oil on canvas, gilt frames					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 490		
	A Sarouk carpet		198x132cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 491		
	A Shirvan rug		148x123cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 492		
	An Anatolian carpet with a central medallion on red ground		170x126cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 493		
	A Shirvan rug		207x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 494		
	A Hamadan Gallery carpet		525x112cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 495		
	A Shaabas rug		367x275cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 496		
	A Serrabent gallery carpet		430x117cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 497		
	An Isphahan carpet, the madder field with scrolling vines, cloudbands and palmettes with a dark indigo border		XVI cent., 207x131cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 498		

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	<i>A Persian carpet, the madder field with palmettes, classical white borders</i>		second half XVII cent. 568x230cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 499		
Attrib. to A. Locatelli	<i>A landscape with fishermen next to a waterfall</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 500		
G. Washington	<i>A caravan with camels and chevaliers</i>		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 501		
Signed I.R.W.	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a British Gentleman</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 502		
	<i>An ivory miniature of a man</i>		ivory, black and gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 503		
Vienna porcelain manufacture	<i>A porcelain covered cup with lemon finials</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 504		
	<i>A pair of enamelled China divinities</i>		gres, enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 505		
H.T. Alken	<i>A horse while fox hunting</i>		oil on canvas, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 506		
	<i>A Louis XV pale blue silk panel with flowers</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 507		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>A Dutch table with tortoiseshell and gilt metal inlaid top</i>		XVII cent., tortoiseshell, gilt					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 508		
	<i>A walnut cupboard with two doors and a drawer</i>		XVI cent., walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 47, lot 509		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>A Louis XV carved walnut sofa upholstered with a striped textile</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 510		
	<i>A pair of walnut armchairs</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 511		
	<i>A French enamel shell shaped snuff box</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 512		
	<i>A pair of porcelain putti</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 513		
Calabrese manufacture	<i>A Calabrese textile, applied silk embroidery</i>		XVII cent., 235x180cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 514		
Flemish painter	<i>View of little village</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 515		
French school	<i>Landscape</i>		XVIII cent., oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 516		
China manufacture	<i>An ivory figure of a deer</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 517		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a British Royal Prince</i>		ivory, carved, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 518		
	<i>A China porcelain vase with a war scene</i>		XVIII cent., teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 519		
	<i>A finely chased Venetian brass dish</i>		XVII cent., brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 520		
	<i>A Vernis Martin circular ivory snuff box decorated with putti on top</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 521		
Capodimonte manufacture	<i>A Capodimonte porcelain figure, "The card player"</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 48, lot 522		
China manufacture	<i>A pair of ivory sculptures</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 523		
Wedgwood	<i>A Wedgwood porcelain plaque with an allegorical figure</i>		Empire style, porcelain, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 524		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a British Gentleman</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 525		
Harris, after Joseph Henderson	<i>Pulling up to [illegible words]</i>		1843, London, colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 526		
Hunt, after Joseph Henderson	<i>Waking up</i>		1843, London, colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 527		
	<i>A pair of Louis XV carved walnut stools, upholstered with pale blue silk decorated with flowers</i>		walnut, silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 528		
	<i>A small, circular walnut table on a tripod stand</i>		Empire style, walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 529		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>A small lacquer flowerpot with gilt flowers in low relief</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 530		
French school	<i>Herd in the wood</i>		XIX cent., oil on panel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 531		
	<i>A colour print of "Palazzo Venezia a Roma"</i>		1794, London, colour print					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 532		
	<i>A pair of miniatures of "Il Campidoglio", "L'Arco di Costantino"</i>		gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 533		
French Manufacture	<i>A set of 12 silver plate dessert knives</i>		silver plate					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 534		
	<i>An ivory miniature of a young lady</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 535		
	<i>A Murano glass fish plate</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 535 bis		
	<i>A small China potiche with dragons and blossoms</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 49, lot 536		
	<i>An ivory sculpture of a Chinese deity</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 537		
	<i>A gilt bronze basket decorated with flowers and pearls</i>		gilt bronze, gilt wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 538		
	<i>A brown, white Venetian embroideries</i>		10m					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 539		
Locker	<i>Landscape</i>		oil on canvas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 540		
	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i>		watercolour, French gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 541		
	<i>Landscape with a bridge and figures</i>		Oil on panel, circular carved frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 542		
Chinese Manufacture	<i>A turning ivory figure</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 543		
	<i>A bronze bust</i>		bronze, marble base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 543 bis		
	<i>A covered maiolica cup with yellow heads and fruit on the top</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 544		
	<i>A China snuff box with gilding decoration in relief</i>		gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 545		
	<i>A Dutch brass teapot</i>		brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 546		
	<i>A pair of bowls with green and yellow decorations</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 547		
	<i>A set of 5 bottles</i>		glass, crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 548		
	<i>A set of 9 dishes</i>		porcelain, maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 548 bis		
	<i>Three flowerpots</i>		glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 549		
	<i>A pair of lacquer cornices</i>		wood, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 50, lot 550		
	<i>A pair of French porcelain dishes decorated with blossoms, ribbons and gilding</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 551		
Minton Manufacture	<i>A pair of Minton porcelain coffee mugs and saucers with flowers and gilding</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 552		
	<i>A set of 8 French porcelain dishes</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 553		
	<i>A covered bomboniera surmounted by a lemon</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 554		
	<i>A Venetian green lacquer snuff box applied paper figures</i>		wood, paper					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 555		
	<i>A carved soufflet</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 556		



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	<i>A China lacquer snuff box, applied metal and ivory in relief</i>		wood, metal, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 557		
	<i>A bronze bust of Iulius Caesar</i>		bronze, marble base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 558		
	<i>An ivory figure of a clown</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 559		
	<i>A panel of silk, applied Genovese tombolo</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 560		
<b>After Longhi</b>	<i>A print of a family interior</i>		Framed					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 561		
<b>Flemish master of late XVIII cent.</b>	<i>Landscape with houses</i>		oil on panel, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 51, lot 562		
	<i>Donkeys</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 563		
	<i>White embroidery with roses</i>		55x22cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 563 bis		
	<i>An Empire style miniature portrait of a man</i>		gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 564		
	<i>A pair of elephant teeth mounted on silver</i>		elephant tooth, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 565		
	<i>A China vase</i>		Blanc de China, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 566		
	<i>A set of 10 Murano glass dishes with green rim and gold sprinkles</i>		Murano glass, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 567		
	<i>A small lacquer table</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 568		
	<i>A small ebony armchair upholstered with Scutari velvet</i>		ebony, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 569		
	<i>A circular, walnut table decorated with three gilt sphinx</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 570		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of an Empire style dressed Lady</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 571		
	<i>A clay figure of a Chinese divinity</i>		clay, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 572		
	<i>A brass dish chased with Oriental decorations</i>		brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 573		
	<i>A pair of China enamel, cloisonné cups and saucers</i>		enamel, porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 574		
	<i>A Venetian pale blue lacquer snuff box with cut edges and tooled gold border</i>		wood, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 575		
<b>French school</b>	<i>A mountain landscape</i>		oil on canvas, Empire style, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 576		
	<i>A black horse with dog</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 577		
<b>English school</b>	<i>Oxen at the river</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 52, lot 578		
	<i>An English XVIII cent. walnut chest compartmentalised interior, document holder inside lid, frontal drawer, surface decorated throughout with silver metal</i>		walnut, silver metal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 579		
<b>China manufacture</b>	<i>A business card ivory case</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 580		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A window frame panel of Venetian silk, yellow and green blossoms and branches</i>		XVIII cent., silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 581		
<b>Dutch school</b>	<i>An ivory portrait miniature</i>		XVIII cent., black frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 582		
	<i>A porcelain figure of a dog with a puppy</i>		Porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 583		
<b>A. Cortelazzo (?)</b>	<i>A bronze inkstand with damascened gold and silver with the Layards coat of arms</i>		bronze, gold, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 584		
	<i>A Vienna porcelain bowl with rose decoration, gilding and small patterns on yellow field</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 585		
<b>Flemish master of XVII cent.</b>	<i>Winter landscape with skaters</i>		Oil on panel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 586		
<b>After H.T. Alken</b>	<i>A pair of colour prints "Breaking cover", "Full cry"</i>		colour print, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 587		
<b>After H.T. Alken</b>	<i>A pair of colour prints "Unkennelling", "The death"</i>		colour print, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 587 bis		
	<i>An Empire style gilt-bronze mounted walnut commode, the white marble top above three long drawers applied with sphinx and bronze decorations</i>		walnut, bronze, marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 588		
	<i>A pair of Dutch armchairs the backrest and seat covered in tooled leather, studs</i>		wood, leather, studs					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 589		
	<i>A Venetian Louis XV walnut bombé commode</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 590		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>A Dutch small ebony cabinet with front door, tortoiseshell and ivory interior</i>		ebony, tortoiseshell, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 591		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>A Dutch XVIII cent. gilt bronze mounted bombé commode, with mythological figures marquetry decoration and ivory inlaid, three drawers</i>		XVIII cent., wood, gilt bronze, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 53, lot 592		
	<i>Studio for wood trees</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 593		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>An ivory skull with snakes and frogs</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 594		
<b>China manufacture</b>	<i>A China porcelain vase painted in underglaze green enamel</i>		porcelain, enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 595		
	<i>A white porcelain inkstand with gilt, purple threads</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 596		
	<i>A portrait miniature of Admiral Kempelfelt</i>		ivory, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 597		
	<i>A circular Vernis Martin lacquer, gilt-metal mounts snuff box with the miniature of a hot-air-balloon and people with inscription</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 598		
<b>In the style of A. Fontanesi</b>	<i>Landscape with cows at the river</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 599		
	<i>A roll of Empire style pale blue satin with small flowers and yellow leaves</i>		satin, 20m					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 600		
	<i>A Kazak carpet</i>		180x124cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 601		
	<i>A Sarouk carpet</i>		202x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 602		
<b>Northwest Persia</b>	<i>A Tabriz rug</i>		185x125cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 54, lot 603		
	<i>A Hamadan carpet</i>		240x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 604		
	<i>A Melas Gallery carpet</i>		590x107cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 605		
	<i>A Kazak carpet</i>		228x128cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 606		
	<i>A Sieberburgen rug</i>		XVIII cent., 175x125cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 607		
	<i>A Ghiordes prayer rug</i>		XVII cent., 197x128cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 608		
	<i>A Hamadan carpet</i>		338x155cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 609		

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In the style of G.P. Pannini	<i>An architectural capriccio</i>		oil on canvas, grey, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 610		
Sicilian manufacture	<i>A pink silk panel embroidered with flowers, birds and animals</i>		XVII cent.					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 611		
	<i>A Murano chandelier decorated with crystal prisms and drops, mounting electric light</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 612		
In the style of Poussin	<i>Landscape with figures</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 613		
Attrib. to G. Zais	<i>Landscape with animals and figures</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frames					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 614		
	<i>A circular ivory snuff box with tortoiseshell interior, the lid inset with an enamel plaque painted with a hot-air-balloon</i>		1783, enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 615		
G. Newton	<i>Portrait of Mr Harrison</i>		1845, ivory, walnut gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 616		
French Manufacture	<i>A gilt bronze mounted marble snuff box, the lid decorated with a landscape scene</i>		XVIII cent., marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 617		
	<i>A group of three carved choir stalls with green damask and gold braid cushion</i>		XVI cent., wood, green damask, gold thread					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 618		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>A walnut ivory inlaid low table with a central coat of arms</i>		XVII cent., walnut, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 619		
	<i>A Louis XIV style carved walnut armchair, upholstered and embroidered with silk, Bayeux stitch</i>		walnut, silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 620		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>A small, marquetry ivory and tortoiseshell inlaid low table</i>		XVIII cent., ivory, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 621		
French Manufacture	<i>A Louis XVI white lacquer settee with pale blue velvet</i>		wood, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 622		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>A small wooden furniture (unspecified item)</i>		XVIII cent., wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 623		
J. Agar, after John S. Conway	<i>Mrs Duff</i>		engraving, walnut Empire style frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 56, lot 624		
	<i>A fan painted with "Lo sposalizio del mare"</i>		XVIII cent., tempera					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 625		
	<i>A Saxon porcelain allegorical figure</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 626		
E.F. Parris (?)	<i>A lady in rich costumes</i>		1836, watercolour, carved, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 627		
Russian Manufacture	<i>An enamels and mother of pearl mounted, carved ebony frame and polished mirror</i>		ebony, glass, mother of pearl, enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 628		
	<i>A small Celadon vase on teak, silver base</i>		celadon, silver, teak					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 629		
Venetian Manufacture	<i>A two-handed brass jardinière</i>		XVIII cent., brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 630		
	<i>A lacquer pierced and gilt screen</i>		wood, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 631		
G. Harden	<i>A Miniature Profile Portrait of a Gentleman</i>		ivory, oval gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 632		
	<i>Portrait of the Duchess of Hamilton</i>		ivory, black and gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 633		
	<i>A pair of antique Chinese costumes</i>		silver frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 634, 635, 635 bis		
Cardon, after Singleton	<i>"Sheep shearer"</i>		colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 636		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>An ebony, ormolu mounted clock</i>		ebony, ormolu					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 637		
	<i>A display cabinet of architectural form with red velvet interiors</i>		wood, glass, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 638		
	<i>An Empire style tripod table with sphinx legs</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 57, lot 639		
	<i>A rocking chair with cretonne seat</i>		wood, cretonne					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 640		
	<i>A pair of colour prints "Setting out to the fair", "The fair"</i>		colour print, wood frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 640 bis		
Oriental Manufacture	<i>A panel of striped silk</i>		255x140cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 641		
Chelsea Porcelain Manufacture	<i>A Chelsea porcelain figure of a young boy</i>		Chelsea porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 642		
Chinese Manufacture	<i>A pair of ivory sculptures</i>		Ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 643		
	<i>A coral figure of an Apostle mounted on an ormolu base</i>		coral, ormolu base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 644		
Dutch Manufacture	<i>An ivory miniature</i>		ivory, black and gilded frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 645		
	<i>A set of 21 English maiolica dishes with floral border decoration</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 646		
	<i>An XVII-cent, gilt-bronze sundial and compass</i>		XVII cent., gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 647		
	<i>A Berlin porcelain red softened vase</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 647 bis		
	<i>A maiolica figure of a female peasant</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 648		
	<i>A miniature of a young Scottish man within a case</i>		Unspecified					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 649		
H. Clifford Warren	<i>Wood with deers</i>		watercolour, walnut, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 650		
	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i>		watercolour, carved walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 651		
Baldi	<i>Portrait of a young popolana</i>		watercolour, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 652		
	<i>An antique embroidered cushion with punto unghero</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 652 bis		
Berlin Manufacture	<i>A porcelain figure</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 653		
	<i>A Murano glass vase</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 58, lot 654		
	<i>A porcelain coffee set comprising 6 tea cups and saucers with decorations in relief</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 655		
	<i>A pair of Murano glass vases with gilding</i>		Murano glass, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 656, 656 bis		
	<i>Brick of St., Mark's bell-tower with the seal of the Soprintendenza Venezia</i>		brick	1902	Venice, St. Mark's bell tower			Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 657		
	<i>A set of 12 Murano glass and others</i>		glass, Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 657 bis		
	<i>A pair of porcelain bowls with pink and gilding border</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 658		
	<i>A set of 4 English porcelain saucers</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 659		
	<i>A pair of cornices for curtains with flower and leaves stucco in relief</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 59, lot 660		
	<i>A pair of English maiolica chocolate cups and saucers with blue decoration</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 661		



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	<i>A set of 5 crystal goblets</i>		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 662		
	<i>A set of 8 Italian maiolica dishes</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 663		
	<i>An English clay tankard with relief decoration</i>		clay					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 664		
	<i>A pair of figural Murano glass salt cellar, swan</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 665		
	<i>A set of 12 English porcelain tea cups and saucers</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 666		
	<i>A Murano glass handled bottle</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 667		
	<i>A pair of bottles</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 668		
	<i>A portrait miniature of a gentleman with Empire costume</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 669		
	<i>A fragment of Alhambra polychrome maiolica</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 670		
<b>Venetian school</b>	<i>A portrait of a Venetian lady</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 671		
<b>English master</b>	<i>A portrait of a horse and rider</i>		XIX cent., oil on canvas, walnut, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 60, lot 672		
<b>After George Romney</b>	<i>Lady Croven</i>		colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 673		
<b>Berlin Manufacture</b>	<i>A porcelain potiche, white enamel and decorations in relief</i>		porcelain, enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 674		
	<i>A porcelain figure of a monk</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 675		
	<i>A small Japanned vase decorated with animals in a landscape</i>		porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 676		
	<i>A netsuke (?)</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 677		
	<i>A pair of walnut armchairs, seats covered with purple velvet</i>		walnut, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 678		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of Louis XV circular, carved walnut stool</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 679		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of gilt, carved wooden consoles</i>		wood, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 680		
	<i>Porcelain panels mounted on a silver, ormolu stand</i>		silver, ormolu, porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 681		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>A tortoiseshell snuff box, three medallions framed by garlands on the lid, gilt-bronze mounted</i>		tortoiseshell, gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 682		
	<i>A Louis XV panel of ivory textile with little flowers and green silk border</i>		textile, silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 683		
	<i>A Profile Portrait Miniature of a Man carved on ivory</i>		ivory, bronze, velvet frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 683 bis		
<b>Berlin Manufacture</b>	<i>A porcelain figure of a bird</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 684		
	<i>A dressing table with the original light</i>		mirror, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 685		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of ivory sculptures</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 686		
	<i>A black lacquer snuff box with an allegorical figure mosaic on top</i>		wood, mosaic					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 61, lot 687		
<b>Flemish painter</b>	<i>A portrait miniature on copper</i>		copper, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 688		
	<i>A pair of red velvet cushions with rich gilt embroidery</i>		XVI cent., velvet, gold thread					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 689		
<b>German school</b>	<i>A Still life</i>		XIX cent., oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 690		
<b>After G. Morland</b>	<i>The door of the village</i>		colour print, mahogany frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 691		
<b>Alessandro Zezos</b>	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i>		watercolour, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 692		
	<i>A snuff box gilt mounted with tortoiseshell interior and the inscription "à la plus vertueuse"</i>		wood, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 693		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Gentleman in XVIII cent. Red costumes</i>		ivory, red velvet frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 694		
	<i>A Chinese wood compass with mother of pearl compass needle</i>		wood, mother of pearl					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 695		
	<i>A China sang de boeuf vase</i>		porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 696		
	<i>A Louis XIV rosewood commode-bureau, olive wood marquetry, three drawers and drop-front with smaller drawers</i>		rosewood, olive wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 697		
	<i>A Louis XV cherrywood, bois de rose marquetry commode, with two small drawers and two wider drawers</i>		cherrywood, bois de rose (rosewood)					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 698		
	<i>A Louis XV carved armchair, with walnut feet and curved backrest and seatrail, upholstered with pink and white striped silk; a stool</i>		walnut, silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 699		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Lady with a white bonnet</i>		ivory, chased silver frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 62, lot 700		
	<i>An ivory figure "The little Japanese"</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 701		
<b>H.P. Heidemans</b>	<i>Portrait of a gentleman</i>		1849, ivory, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 701 bis		
<b>Japanese Manufacture</b>	<i>A porcelain vase decorated with birds</i>		porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 702		
	<i>A roll of XVIII cent. red damask with flower patter</i>		damask, 525cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 703		
	<i>A teak mother-of-pearl inlaid panel representing a family scene</i>		teak, mother of pearl					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 704		
<b>French XVIII cent. painter</b>	<i>Portrait of a prince</i>		XVIII cent., watercolour gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 705		
<b>English master</b>	<i>An Empire style portrait of a lady with two children</i>		oil on panel, black, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 706		
<b>Caspar Netscher</b>	<i>Portrait of a little boy with ears</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 707		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A Louis XV lacquer, gilt dressing table with original light</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 708		
<b>H. Rigg</b>	<i>Sheafs after the harvest</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 709		
<b>C. van Poelenburgh</b>	<i>Women bathing in a landscape with ruins</i>		oil on panel, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 63, lot 710		
	<i>A Guendye carpet</i>		212x115cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 711		
	<i>A Herat rug</i>		190x125cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 712		
	<i>An Anatolian prayer rug</i>		165x105cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 713		
	<i>A Hamadan carpet</i>		200x83cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 714		
	<i>A Killim carpet</i>		200x135cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 715		

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	<i>An unspecified precious carpet, woven with gold and silver thread</i>		180x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 716		
	<i>A Hamadan carpet</i>		615x370cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 717		
	<i>A Kulack prayer carpet</i>		157x112cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 718		
	<i>A Kazak carpet</i>		220x134cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 719		
	<i>A Soumakia carpet</i>		285x234cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 64, lot 720		
<b>Flemish XVIII cent. painter</b>	<i>Landscape with castle ruins</i>		oil on panel, black, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 721		
	<i>A Venetian green velvet panel</i>		XVI cent., velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 722		
<b>L. Steffani</b>	<i>Bragozzi in laguna</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 723		
<b>Thompson, after H.T. Alken</b>	<i>A set of 4 colour prints: "The meet", "The run", "Full cry", "The Death"</i>		1820, London, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 724		
<b>L. Gerardts</b>	<i>A pair of pictures "Billy goats", "Hens"</i>		oil on panel, gilt carved frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 725		
<b>Williamson, after Morland</b>	<i>Cottagers in winter</i>		colour print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 726		
	<i>A pair of China porcelain figures</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 727		
	<i>A small display cabinet with a door</i>		ebony, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 728		
	<i>A Louis XIV rosewood, olive wood desk with two central drawers flanked by three drawers</i>		rosewood, olive wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 729		
	<i>A pair of walnut armchairs with velvet seats and backrests</i>		walnut, velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 730		
	<i>A mythological scene painted on ivory with original leather case</i>		ivory, leather					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 731		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>A rosewood, tortoiseshell, ivory inlaid snuff box with metal decorations</i>		rosewood, tortoiseshell, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 732		
	<i>A Saxon porcelain figure of a musician putto</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 65, lot 733		
	<i>A Saxon porcelain figure of a musician monkey</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 734		
	<i>An oval hardstone snuff box, silver mounted</i>		hardstone, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 735		
	<i>A terracotta sculpture representing Christ bearing Cross</i>		terracotta, bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 736		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Lady in red velvet costume</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 737		
	<i>A French lampas textile representing St. Mark's Lion</i>		XVIII cent., lampas					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 738		
	<i>A castle among the trees</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 739		
<b>After G. Morland</b>	<i>The [illegible word] charge</i>		1796, London, colour print, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 740		
	<i>Portrait of a young boy</i>		1861, watercolour, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 741		
<b>English Manufacture</b>	<i>A telescope with its rosewood case</i>		rosewood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 742		
<b>Dutch Manufacture</b>	<i>A covered brass box</i>		XVIII cent., brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 743		
	<i>A buttress gold damascene</i>		gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 744		
	<i>A Chelsea porcelain figure of a man</i>		Chelsea porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 745		
	<i>A terracotta figure of a deity, green enamel and teak base</i>		terracotta, enamel, teak					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 746		
	<i>A group of 5 terracotta heads and three figures from an archaeological excavation</i>		terracotta					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 747		
<b>English Manufacture</b>	<i>A small mahogany display cabinet with polished crystal</i>		mahogany, olive wood, crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 748		
	<i>A walnut table</i>		XVII cent., walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 749		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A small lacquer gilt display cabinet</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 66, lot 750		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A set of 11 brass shapes</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 751		
	<i>A portrait miniature of a lady</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 752		
	<i>A pale blue silk pen holder</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 753, 753 bis		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of carved, gilt wooden sphinx</i>		wood, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 754		
	<i>A small, porcelain coffee pot decorated with birds and butterflies</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 755		
	<i>A Louis XV brocade bag</i>		brocade					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 756		
	<i>A cloisonné enamel teapot</i>		XVIII cent., cloisonné enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 757		
	<i>Three fragments of Venetian white silk, one with silver threads</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 758		
<b>Bartolozzi, after J. Reynolds</b>	<i>A Lady with her children</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 759		
<b>Lady Enid Layard (?)</b>	<i>A portrait of Austen Henry Layard</i>		1892, lapis, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 760		
<b>Wright</b>	<i>Napoleon</i>		print					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 761		
	<i>A set of 8 drinking glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 762		
<b>Wedgwood Manufacture</b>	<i>An oval Wedgwood white plaque on blue ground</i>		porcelain, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 763		
	<i>A Murano glass table service, comprising a salt cellar, an ashtray and a cup</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 764		
	<i>An ivory, silver damascene snuff box</i>		ivory, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 67, lot 765		
	<i>A set of 3 drinking glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 68, lot 766		
	<i>A set of 10 maiolica and porcelain items</i>		maiolica, porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 68, lot 767		
	<i>A set of 3 English maiolica cups and saucers</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 68, lot 768		
	<i>A pair of maiolica dishes with foliage and a central medallion</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 68, lot 769		
	<i>A pair of cornices for curtains with flower and leaves stucco in relief</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 68, lot 770		
	<i>A pair of English porcelain cups and saucers with floral decoration</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 771		
	<i>A set of 8 porcelain saucers</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 772		
	<i>A pair of Neapolitan maiolica figures</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 773		
	<i>A Murano Goblet and Vase</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 774		
	<i>A pair of Murano glass tankards</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 775		
	<i>A set of 43 porcelain and maiolica items</i>		maiolica, porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 776		

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	<i>A pair of porcelain dishes</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 777		
	<i>A Dutch brass pitcher</i>		brass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 778		
	<i>A pair of iridescent Murano glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 779		
	<i>A red lacquer snuff box, gold mounted</i>		wood, gold					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 780		
<b>Bartolozzi</b>	<i>Love and fortune</i>		engraving, black gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 781		
	<i>A watercolour portrait miniature</i>		watercolour, oval gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 782		
<b>After J. Reynolds</b>	<i>Lady Cadogan</i>		colour print, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 782 bis		
	<i>A fine portrait miniature of a little girl</i>		ivory, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 69, lot 783		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of wooden sculptures</i>		wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 784		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A crystal bowl with gilding decorations</i>		crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 785		
	<i>An Empire style silk stool</i>		silk, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 786		
	<i>A dressing table with crystal top</i>		walnut, crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 787		
	<i>A pair of walnut chairs</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 788		
	<i>A walnut bergère with striped textile</i>		walnut, textile					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 789		
	<i>A portrait miniature</i>		ivory, wooden frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 790		
	<i>A chased gilt bronze chandelier with crystal prisms</i>		bronze, crystal					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 791		
	<i>An Oriental textile with gold thread</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 792		
	<i>A pair of miniature "The Virgin" and "Saint Peter" set in a silver filigree, hardstones case</i>		silver, hardstones					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 793		
<b>Copeland Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of maiolica covered tureens with flower and gilding decorations</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 794		
	<i>A small, porcelain perfume burner decorated with dragons</i>		porcelain, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 795		
	<i>A cloisonné enamel teapot</i>		XVIII cent., porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 796		
<b>After Turner</b>	<i>Fox hunting</i>		1857, colour print, wood frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 797		
<b>After Singleton</b>	<i>Chastity</i>		1805, colour print, Empire style frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 798		
<b>Venetian school</b>	<i>Portrait of a Lady</i>		crayon, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 799		
	<i>An oval tortoiseshell, mother of pearl inlaid snuff box with a gold medallion on the lid</i>		tortoiseshell, gold, mother-of-pearl					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 800		
	<i>A pale blue silk pen holder</i>		silk					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 70, lot 801		
	<i>A portrait miniature of a young official</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 802		
	<i>A Louis XIV laminated, red damask wall-hanging</i>		damask					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 803		
	<i>A Portrait Miniature of a Lady with a light blue bonnet</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 804		
<b>French late XVIII cent. painter</b>	<i>Landscape with ruins</i>		Late XVIII, oil on canvas, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 805		
	<i>Ciociera</i>		XIX cent., watercolour, frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 806		
	<i>An oval porcelain enamel</i>		porcelain, enamel, velvet and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 807		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>A circular, ebony, gilt-bronze escutcheons with a French porcelain top</i>		ebony, gilt bronze, porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 808		
	<i>An Empire style walnut commode, with three drawers and two columns on the sides, with ormolu capitals</i>		walnut, ormolu					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 809		
	<i>An ebony, ivory inlaid low Carthusian table</i>		XVII cent., ebony, ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 810		
	<i>A walnut chest of drawers with recessed shape and side pillars, chased bronze mounted drawers</i>		XVIII cent., walnut, bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 811		
	<i>A porcelain figure of a bird</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 811 bis		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>A Boule, tortoiseshell, bronze inlaid cigar case</i>		XIX cent., bronze, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 812		
<b>British East India Company</b>	<i>A blue and white porcelain bowl</i>		porcelain, gilding, teak base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 813		
<b>Japanese Manufacture</b>	<i>A pair of pink satin embroidered panels with blue borders</i>		satin					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 814		
	<i>A portrait miniature of a young man</i>		ivory, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 71, lot 815		
	<i>A porcelain figure of a female cellist</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 816		
	<i>A ivory, mother-of-pearl inlaid lacquer tray with gilding</i>		ivory, mother-of-pearl, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 817		
<b>Dutch XVIII cent. painter</b>	<i>A fishermen village</i>		oil on panel, black and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 818		
<b>Jena-Baptiste Huet I (1745-1811)</b>	<i>A pastoral love scene</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 819		
<b>Charles Landelle</b>	<i>An Algerian girl</i>		1885, oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 820		
	<i>A Hamadan carpet</i>		200x77cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 821		
	<i>A Kazak carpet</i>		183x117cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 822		
	<i>A Melas Prayer Rug</i>		202x131cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 823		
	<i>A Kazak Kulah carpet</i>		297x92cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 824		
	<i>A Hamadan carpet</i>		192x130cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 825		
	<i>A Ghiordes prayer rug</i>		205x118cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 72, lot 826		
	<i>A Bokhara carpet</i>		XVIII cent., 145x100cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 827		
	<i>A Ushak rug</i>		144x106cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 828		
	<i>A Soumakia carpet</i>		335x208cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 829		
	<i>An unspecified carpet</i>		176x113cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 830		
<b>Attrib. to Michele Marieschi</b>	<i>Riva degli Schiavoni</i>		oil on canvas, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 831		
<b>Bergen school</b>	<i>Cows and sheep grazing</i>		gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 832		
<b>French painter</b>	<i>Wood with a river</i>		XIX cent., watercolour, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 833		
<b>George Henry Jenkins</b>	<i>A coastal scene with boats and fishermen</i>		oil on canvas, walnut gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 834		
	<i>A Vernis Martin snuff box with a central medallion, silver mounted, tortoiseshell interior</i>		wood, silver, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 835		



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	<i>An oval Vernis Martin snuff box with a central medallion on top, with tooled silver borders and tortoiseshell interior</i>		wood, silver, tortoiseshell					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 836		
	<i>A pair of textile panels representing a chrysanthemum and lotus, mounted on a silver frame</i>		textile, silver					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 837		
	<i>An antique marquetry walnut wardrobe with side columns and carved capitals</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 838		
	<i>An Empire style ebony display cabinet</i>		ebony					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 73, lot 839		
	<i>A walnut Breakfront Bookcase</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 840		
	<i>A mahogany door with mirror</i>		mahogany, glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 841		
	<i>A pair of pink satin embroidered panels with blue borders</i>		satin					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 842		
	<i>A Venetian Vernis Martin snuff box with enamels</i>		enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 843		
<b>Chinese Manufacture</b>	<i>An ivory carved needle case, comprising 11 needles</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 844		
	<i>A pair of red Havana wool rails</i>		595x67cm, 615x67cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 845, 845 bis		
<b>French Manufacture</b>	<i>A small enamel case, decorated with blossoms and gilding, with the inscription "sincero in amicitia"</i>		XVIII cent., enamel, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 846		
<b>Philip James de Louthborough</b>	<i>A hunter with dog</i>		oil on panel, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 847		
<b>Flemish painter</b>	<i>Landscape with animals at the fountain</i>		carved and gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 848		
	<i>An ivory head of Saint John the Baptist</i>		ivory, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 849		
	<i>A portion of XVIII cent. velvet decorated with a rose pattern</i>		velvet					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 850		
	<i>An eighteenth-century portrait miniature</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 851		
	<i>A yellow satin panel</i>		350cm					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 852		
	<i>A walnut snuff box, on top an enamel adorned with ivy, berries, and leaves</i>		walnut, enamel					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 853		
<b>Philippe Trière, after Moreau le Jeune</b>	<i>"J'en accepte l'heureux présage"</i>		engraving, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 854		
<b>After Joseph Henderson</b>	<i>The old times</i>		print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 74, lot 855		
<b>British painter</b>	<i>Portrait of a lady with bonnet</i>		Unspecified					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 856		
	<i>A perfume bottle, silver mounted</i>		XVIII cent., Marano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 857		
<b>Venetian Manufacture</b>	<i>A small display cabinet, marbled lacquered and gilding</i>		wood, gilding					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 858		
	<i>A carved, gilt shelf, lacquered, decorated with flowers</i>		carved wood					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 859		
	<i>A walnut table</i>		walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 860		
	<i>A pair of mahogany top tables</i>		mahogany					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 861, 861 bis		
	<i>An ivory figure of a bishop</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 862		
<b>Berlin Manufacture</b>	<i>A biscuit allegorical figure of Literature</i>		biscuit					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 863		
	<i>An Empire style gilt bronze plaque</i>		gilt bronze					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 864		
	<i>A striped, pale blue curtain</i>		textile					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 864 bis		
	<i>A China porcelain yellow vase on a teak base</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 865		
	<i>A small ivory figure of a deity</i>		ivory					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 866		
	<i>A mosaic fragment mounted on a walnut frame</i>		mosaic, walnut					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 867		
	<i>A set of 7 drinking glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 867 bis		
	<i>An ivory miniature</i>		ivory, gilt bronze frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 868		
<b>After François Simonau</b>	<i>Studio of a horse before the race</i>		1826, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 869		
	<i>A small portrait of a smoking lady</i>		oil on copper, gilt frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 870		
	<i>A colour print</i>		print, walnut frame					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 75, lot 871		
	<i>An ivory, silver mounted snuff box and a snakeskin snuff box with a mirror inside</i>		ivory, silver; snakeskin, glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 872		
	<i>A biscuit bust of a Napoleonic General with porcelain base</i>		biscuit, porcelain base					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 873		
	<i>A lacquer snuff box with gilding</i>							Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 874		
	<i>A blue Murano glass vase with gilding</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 874 bis		
	<i>An English porcelain tankard</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 875		
	<i>A set of 5 porcelain tea cups and saucers, floral decoration and green border</i>		porcelain					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 876		
	<i>A set of 5 Murano drinking glasses</i>		Murano glass					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 877		
	<i>An English maiolica covered tureen decorated with mythological scenes</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 878		
	<i>A set of 6 English maiolica dishes</i>		maiolica					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 879		
	<i>A small, yellow marble obelisque</i>		marble					Unknown				Guglielmi 1939, 76, lot 880		
<b>School of George Cattermole</b>	<i>Saluto delle truppe</i>		oil on panel, 25x20cm				Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1977a, 18, lot 82.		
<b>Leon-Joseph Bonnat</b>	<i>Profile of a lady</i>		oil on canvas, 46x36cm				Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1977a, 21, lot 113.		
<b>School of Uwins</b>	<i>La Conversazione; La Lettera</i>		oil on panel, 31x25cm (each)				Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1977a, 24, lot 133.		
<b>L. Blau</b>	<i>A Lady in blue</i>		1840, watercolour, signed				Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1977b, 3, lot 22.		
<b>School of Hondcoeter</b>	<i>A Perroquet</i>		oil on canvas, 44x32 cm			estimated price 50-80 Lit.	Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1976, 55, lot 264		
<b>School of Weenix</b>	<i>View of an harbour with merchants</i>		oil on panel, 32x39 cm			estimated price 120-150 Lit.	Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1976, 54, lot 255		
<b>School of Hogarth</b>	<i>Il concerto dell'oratorio Giuditta</i>		Oil on canvas, 46x32 cm			estimated price 300-350 Lit	Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1976, 26, lot 58		
<b>School of Teniers</b>	<i>Peasants in front of an inn</i>		oil on panel, 33x42 cm			estimated price 150-200 Lit.	Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1976, 28, lot 67		
<b>Harry Dixon</b>	<i>The pursuit</i>		oil on canvas, 41x61 cm			estimated price 150-200 Lit.	Lemmermann Collection until 1976	Unknown				Christie's 1976, 42, lot 139		

Author	Title	Previous attribution	Technical information	Date of acquisition	Provenance	Sale price	To whom sold, date of sale, and amount sold for	Actual collocation	Bequest	Exhibition	Primary sources	Bibliographical references	Related works	Restoration notes
Unspecified	<i>The Adoration of the Kings</i>		Painted on crystal					Unknown		Exhibition of Early Italian art from 1300 to 1550 at the New Gallery, London, 1893-4 - A.H. Layard		Catalogue 1893, 70, n. 505		
	<i>Carving in wood of a boy in the character of Hercules</i>		wood					Unknown		Exhibition of Early Italian art from 1300 to 1550 at the New Gallery, London, 1893-4 - lent by A.H. Layard		Catalogue 1893, 89, n. 755		
<b>Babella Catanea Parasole</b>	<i>Piece of punto reale</i>		1600, Rome					Unknown		Exhibition of Early Italian art from 1300 to 1550 at the New Gallery, London, 1893-4 - lent by Lady Layard		Catalogue 1893, 128, n. 1225.		

# Appendix C

## The Armenian Manuscripts

The codices presented here range from 1469 to early XVII century and consist of a Psalter and two so-called Four Gospels, each representing a different artistic trend. The information gathered derives mainly from a direct analysis of the manuscripts, combined with the notes of Father Ališan.<sup>1404</sup>

### 1. The Four Gospels in the Library of the Correr Museum

This pocket tetra-gospel (inv. no. PD 10a) presents the typical Armenian style binding, in wooden boards covered with blind-stamped brown leather, embellished with a floret border and intertwining motifs. In the centre, there is a cross with floral arms inscribed in a rhombus. The surface of both boards shows the holes left by studs or by a dust jacket, now missing as well as the clasp. The ex libris of the Correr Museum and a vignette reminiscent of Lady Layard's donation are glued on the front counter-plate.

There is no evidence either about the copyist or the miniaturist. A handwritten loose note reads: “Four Gospels without date; it seems written at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The first pages of St. Mark and St. Luke are missing, certainly cut for their ornaments, as well as the figures of the four Evangelists”.

The text, written in black ink on a compact and polished paper of oriental origin, is arranged on two columns bounded by thin red ink lines. The number of lines varies between 18 (fol. 1v) and 24 (fol. 112r), depending on the size of the bolorgir. The codex, severely mutilated and trimmed, consists of 24 gatherings of varying sizes and is numbered in Armenian letters (fols. 2-24).

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<sup>1404</sup> A concise analysis of the Correr *Four Gospels* (Inv. No. PD 10a) and the *Saghmosaran* (Inv. No. 1583) has been presented for the exhibition “Voglia d’Italia. Il collezionismo internazionale nella Roma del Vittoriano”, held in Rome and curated by Emanuele Pellegrini. See Riva 2017, 360-2. For a provenance account on the three manuscripts, see Riva 2018. I would like to acknowledge my warmest thanks to Father Hamazasp for having provided me with all the details relating to the manuscripts at San Lazzaro.

The recent foliation, pencilled on the recto of each folio in the upper right corner, numbers 271 folios. Apart from the removal of the incipit of the Gospels of St. Luke and Mark and the full-page portraits of all the evangelists, the Gospel of St. Mark preserves only the chapters from I, 14 to XVI, 8. Further mutilations involve the rear guards, membranaceous like the anterior ones. Most folios have water staining and consequently mould damage, causing some brown flecking throughout the manuscript. Due to trimming, all of the pages have lost pieces of decoration in the upper part. Often paint has been transferred from marginal ornaments to the adjacent page (see e.g. fols. 10, 121, 201) and has somewhat faded. Some folios are loose. Despite the common quality of the work and the numerous subtractions, the codex is qualitatively discreet thanks to a profuse ornamentation and its rich palette.

The structure is that of the Byzantine type of gospel, with the only addition at the end of the text being the pericope of the adulterous woman (fol. 227): Eusebius of Caesarea's epistle to Carpianus (fols. 1v-2r); four tables of concordances (fols. 3v-7v); Gospel of Matthew (fols. 8r-83r); Gospel of Mark (fols. 185r-222r); index of the Gospel of Luke (fols. 122v-123v); Gospel of Luke (fols. 124r-199r); index of the Gospel of John (fol. 199v); incomplete Trinitarian doxology, perhaps written by another hand (fol. 200r); Gospel of John (fols. 201r-227r); glosses (fol. 227v).

The proemial pages of Matthew and John (**Plate 36, Figures 98, 99**) are thus the richest: under the elaborate headpieces, xoran, embellished with guilloche plant volutes and crowned with colourful striped birds, the initial letter of each Gospel is formed by the symbol of the Evangelist, engaged in supporting the book. Along the right-hand margin extends the typical incipient ornament with floral interweaving, for the whole length of the text field. The first lines of the text are ornate and written in gold, blue and red *erkat'agir* – namely, letters of forged iron, a standard script used from the fifth to the thirteenth century. Conversely, the rest of the text is in *bolorgir*, which corresponds to the rounded, minuscule hand. The decoration is then expressed in the initials by the ornithomorphic motifs of each pericope and in the numerous marginalia, sometimes aniconic (see e.g., fols. 51r, 77v, 188v), sometimes figurative (fols. 81v, 121r, 196v). Rubrics are in red, as small secondary initials.

For the structure and the ornamental apparatus of the Eusebian canons, Macler used to compare the Correr Gospel with the Codex Parisinus no. 21 and the MS of

Bologna no. 3290.<sup>1405</sup> Further stylistic parallels, particularly in the structure of the figures and in the modelling of the faces, can be found in the Hymnal W. 547 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, see e.g. fol. 7v), in the MS Or. 14161 (London, British Library) and in the John Frederick Lewis Oriental MS No. 116 (Philadelphia, Free Library).

These stylistic features, typical of XVII century Constantinopolitan scriptoria, anchor the origins of the manuscript more firmly in this context.

## 2. The Psalter in the Library of Mekhitarist Fathers of Saint Lazarus

With regard to the Saghmosaran – namely, an Armenian Psalter – the colophon informs us that the codex was produced at Constantinople during the catholicosate of Melkisetek (1599-1600, inv. no. 1583). It was drafted by the Bishop Lazarus in the Monastery of Saint George, on behalf of a “cultivated person and astronomer”, who was also a bibliophile, but whose name had been obliterated “per mala voglia o invidia”. Further alterations, though discrete, are due to the preservation of the codex, which shows little colour falls, traces of burnishing of the paper and trimming in the top. It appears to be complete in pages. Altogether the manuscript is well preserved.

The binding, which appears to have been rebacked in modern times, is Moroccan red on cardboard plates, bordered by three gilded frames, stamped as well with the small floral iron cross at the centre of the field. The spine, in brown leather with five ribs, is decorated with golden geometric patterns. The ex libris of the Armenian Fathers of Saint Lazarus is glued on the front counter-plate, under which the origin of the gift has been handwritten in ink. The foliation, which corresponds to the same period, is affixed in Arabic numerals by means of a mechanical stamp on the front of each folio, in the bottom right hand corner.

The parchment flyleaves belong to an older manuscript written in *erkat’agir*.

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<sup>1405</sup> Macler 1913, 593. The parallel with the Bologna manuscript is also sustained by Uluhogian 2010, 400.

The manuscript, which measures 151x104 mm, is written in black ink on oriental laid paper, thick and yellowish white in colour and contains altogether 320 folios (plus the four unfoliated paper flyleaves). The text is in alternating colours of red, blue and gold. Red only is used for small secondary initials and rubrics.

The codex comprises: letter of Epiphany, bishop of Cyprus (fols. 1r-9r), the Prayer of the scribes (fols. 9v-11r), a full-page illumination of King David (fol. 11v), canonical psalms (fols. 12r-298v), apocryphal psalms (fols. 299r-300r), the Prayer to Manassé, King of Judas (fols. 300v-302v), the Magnificat (fol. 303r), the Benedictus (fols. 303v-305r), the Nunc dimittis (Canticle of Simeon, fol. 305v), antiphon composed by the scribe (fol. 309), prayer of San Nersēs of Glay called the Gracious (fol. 311), the Gloria, Pater nostrum and yišatakarank' (fol. 318).

The mise en page is refined and accurate: the text is written in bolorgir in one column of 17 lines per page. With the exception of the first folio, which appears incomplete in decoration and has been severely damaged, the others bear rich ornamentation, mainly of floral and geometrical patterns. Emphasis is given to the opening of the sections, that usually displays a larger ornithomorphic or zoomorphic initial; the first three lines alternate gold and red ink, the incipit is further highlighted by the presence of marginalia. These mainly consist of birds, scrolls and flower elements, executed in gold, blue and green. Colours are brilliant and intense, and richness is asserted also by chrysography.

There is just one full-page illumination depicting King David seated on a throne, resting his bare feet on a green pillow (**Plate 36, Figure 97**). A red frame borders the scene: the Beloved is portrayed with white beard and moustache, sporting on his head a crown richly adorned with pearls and gems, surrounded by a golden halo. In his hands he holds a zither, whose end part terminates in a goose shape. He wears a blue robe, above which there is a purple mantle. Above, in the upper right corner, the hand of God appears through round-disk clouds to bless him. Thanks to divine inspiration, King David intones the psalms, which start on the adjacent folio. Another figural illumination appears at fol. 223v, in which the prophet Ezekiel is represented sitting on a throne, wearing the robe of the sultan and a crown, and holding a scroll of parchment with his right hand, while with his left hand he supports his chin in a meditative attitude.

### 3. The Four Gospels in the Library of the Mekhitarist Fathers of Saint Lazarus

Codex inv. no. 1591 is the oldest among the three Layard manuscripts. It contains both figural and ornamental miniatures, though figural representations are limited to the full-page portraits of the four Evangelists.

According to the colophon, the manuscript was commissioned by Normanuk, the wife of the scribe Stephen, in memory of her parents, cousin and son. It was then donated to the church of the Holy Mother of God, which, together with the Churches of Saint John the Baptist and the Holy Apostles, was part of the Monastery of Avak Vank'.<sup>1406</sup> Dated 1469, it measures 255x180 mm and is bound in thick dark leather and decorated with a central stepped cross, flanked by ornamental motifs intertwined. The volume should have been adorned with a book cover, as suggested by the presence of hollows and grooves on both boards. The spine is decorated with vine-scroll stamp in the vertical and shows a modern label for shelf marking, written both in Armenian letters and Arabic numerals.

As indicated earlier, the scribe named Stephen wrote the manuscript. The miniaturist remains anonymous, or might be the same Stephen, as suggested by Father Ališan.

The extant binding, due to a certain Peter, dates back to 1636 and replaces the original one made by Knar. The parchment flyleaves having been lost were replaced by a sheet of parchment of an older manuscript, maybe a lectionary, written in two columns in angular, square erkat'agir. A part from those four unfoliated pages, the codex counts 278 folios with 23 lines each.

The manuscript is in fairly good conditions, apart from occasional creases and small deteriorations: some pages have brown flecking, and there is water staining, perhaps caused by mould damage, notably in the outer bottom and top margins throughout. Some folios were trimmed (fols. 123, 134) and others repaired with new paper. However, the missing pages are part of Mark 8:9-20; John 5:4 and 7:53- 8:11. The pericope of the woman caught in adultery might come from another manuscript, since the comments on the text and the chapter's numbers appear to be different.

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<sup>1406</sup> On the Monastery of Avak Vank', see Thierry de Crussol 2005, 109-12.

The text is written with perfect, very regular calligraphy, in black ink in *bolorgir*. The first letters of the Gospels adopt the shape of their symbols and the first three lines are entirely illuminated with foliate motifs. At the beginning of each section, the initial is a large uncial red ink letter.

The manuscript opens with the *Epistula ad Carpianum* (fols. 2v-3r). The Canons of Concordance then follow (fols. 4-11); these are included within multi-coloured columns and arches surmounted by shelducks (fols. 4, 5), glossy ibis (fols. 6, 7), pheasants (fols. 8, 9), and curlews (fols. 10, 11). Furthermore, the Canons's headpieces are filled with carpet-like designs and display a wide variety of red, green and blue flowers, birds, lions, anthropomorphic figures, and other decorative patterns. Arches are richly filled with geometric features, each one distinct. Marginal ornaments contribute to the animation of the composition, and vary between stylised palmette and acanthus scrolls, striped birds, eagle-headed men (fols. 89r, 123r, 135v), crosses, and elegant circumvolutions.

Each Gospel is preceded by the index. Full-page illuminations are devoted to the Evangelists only, and in spite of being deprived of their original golden embellishment, they display bright and vivid tonalities, which are yet one-dimensional. Attempts at shading are limited to the face, arms and feet of the Evangelists. Their figures are plastically modelled, in contrast to the ample bulging draperies and the more schematised architectural elements that fill the background.

Matthew (fol. 15v), Mark (fol. 88v), and Luke (fol. 134v, **Plate 12, Figure 52**) are seated on a wide wooden bench. Matthew is accompanied by the angel (fol. 16r, **Plate 35, Figure 96**), clad in a long skirt and a belted tunic, Mark by two facing lions (fol. 89r), and Luke by the ox (fol. 135r). John (fol. 211r), instead, represents an "iconographic variant [...] commonly used in Byzantine art from the 11<sup>th</sup> century on";<sup>1407</sup> he is traditionally depicted standing and dictating to his disciple Procoros on the island of Patmos. The Gospels are concluded by short summaries that were later added.

Similarities in the decoration of this codex can be found in some contemporary manuscripts designed in Constantinople or in its surroundings. The most remarkable parallels appear with the Four Gospels, dated 1488, inv. W. 542 (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery), especially with regard to the epistle of Eusebius and the Canon Tables

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<sup>1407</sup> Nersessian 1963, 63.



(fols. 3v-10r), and with most of the headpieces at the beginning of the Gospels (fols. 15r, 89r, 219r). However, the Venetian specimen is richer.

# Appendix D

## Photographs and publications on the paintings at Ca' Capello Layard

Author	Title	Technical information	Photographers	Illustrated Publication
Bartolomeo Montagna	<i>Saint Zeno, Saint John the Baptist and a Female Martyr</i>	1495, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 102.9x141 cm	Alinari 13603	Frizzoni 1896; Venturi 1912; Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Gentile Bellini	<i>The Sultan Mehmet II</i>	1480, oil on canvas transferred from wood, 69.9x52.1cm	Brusa; Alinari 13583; Anderson 11690	Brown 1896; Frizzoni 1896; Connoisseur 1904; Venturi 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Possibly by Lorenzo Monaco	<i>B, Abraham with three angles</i>	1396-1402, oil on vellum, 19x18.5cm		
Italian, North	<i>Saint George and a Female Saint</i>	1510-20ca, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 102.9x73cm	Alinari 13604	Venturi 1912; Melani 1912; Serra 1913
Style of Ambrogio Bergognone	<i>Saint Paul</i>	late XV cent., oil on poplar, 110.5x41.9cm	Filippi TFN2524	
Style of Ambrogio Bergognone	<i>Saint Ambrose (?)</i>	late XV cent., oil on poplar, 110.5x41.9cm	Filippi TFN2520	
Gerard David	<i>Crucifixion</i>	1481ca, oil on panel, 48.4 x 93.9 cm	Alinari 13608	Melani 1912; Melani 1913
Girolamo da Vicenza	<i>The Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin</i>	1488, tempera on wood, 33.7x22.9 cm	Filippi TFN2587	
Probably by Giovanni Buonconsiglio	<i>Saint John the Baptist</i>	1525-37, oil on wood, 47.6x41.9 cm	Filippi TFN2589	
Gaudenzio Ferrari	<i>The Angel Gabriel</i>	ante 1511, oil and tempera on wood, 58.4 x 58.4 cm	Alinari 13594; Anderson 12206	Frizzoni 1896; Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Gaudenzio Ferrari	<i>The Virgin Mary</i>	ante 1511, oil and tempera on wood, 58.4 x 58.4 cm	Alinari 13594; Anderson 12206	Frizzoni 1896; Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Workshop of Giovanni Bellini	<i>The Virgin and Child</i>	1490-1500, oil and tempera on wood, 80x64.8 cm	Anderson 11639	
Francesco Bissolo	<i>Virgin with the Child with Saint Michael and Veronica, two donors</i>	1500-1525, oil on panel, 62.2x84.1cm	Brusa; Anderson 11584	
Andrea Busati	<i>The Entombment</i>	after 1512, oil on poplar, 111.1 x 91.4 cm	Alinari 13599	Frizzoni 1896; Lafenestre Richtenberger 1897; Connoisseur 1904; Serra 1913
Bernardino Licinio	<i>The Madonna and Child with Saints</i>	1510-30, oil on panel, 48.6x68.6 cm	Brusa; Filippi TFN2513	
Vittore Carpaccio	<i>The Departure of Ceyx</i>	1502-7, oil on spruce, 74.9 x 88.9 cm	Brusa; Alinari 13589; Anderson 11944	Brown 1896; Frizzoni 1896; Connoisseur 1904; Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Italian, Venetian	<i>Augustus and the Sibyl</i>	1500ca, oil on panel, 0.175x0.385cm	Filippi TFN2526; Anderson 11943	Venturi 1912
Jacopo de' Barbari	<i>The Sparrowhawk</i>	1510ca, oil on oak, 17.8x10.8cm	Filippi TFN2516	Venturi 1912
Workshop of Bernardino Luini	<i>Virgin with the Child</i>	early XVI century, oil on panel, 48.9x43.8cm	Alinari 13600	Melani 1912; Serra 1913
Francesco Bonsignori	<i>The Virgin and Child with four saints</i>	1490-1510, oil on canvas, 48.3x106.7cm	Alinari 13585	Frizzoni 1896; Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Bramantino	<i>The Adoration of the Kings</i>	1500ca, oil on poplar, 56.8x55cm	Brusa; Alinari 13607	Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Andrea Previtali	<i>Christ Blessing</i>	1512-15, oil on panel, 47.7x38.1cm	Brusa; Alinari 13605	Melani 1912
Giovanni Girolamo Savoldo	<i>St. Jerome</i>	1525-30, oil on canvas, 121x160.4cm	Brusa; Alinari 13606; Anderson 13266	Brown 1896; Venturi 1912; Melani 1912; Serra 1913
Possibly by Girolamo Romanino	<i>Pegasus and the Muses</i>	1540ca, oil on panel, 38x115.4cm	Filippi TFN2523	
Giampietrino	<i>Christ carrying the Cross</i>	1510-30, oil on panel, 59.7x47cm	Filippi TFN2591	Venturi 1912

Andrea Previtali	<i>The Virgin and Child adored by two angels</i>	1505ca, oil on canvas, transferred from wood, 67.9x93.8cm	Brusa; Alinari 13584; Anderson 11709	Brown 1896; Melani 1912
Italian, Florentine	<i>Saint Peter</i>			
Style of Van Dyck	<i>Portrait of a Woman</i>	after 1635, oil on copper, 59.7x47.2cm	Filippi TFN2592	
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>Portrait of Leonardo Salvagno (?)</i>	1570ca, oil on canvas.	Alinari 13601	Melani 1912
Workshop of Giovanni Bellini	<i>The Adoration of the Kings</i>	1475-80, oil on canvas, 109.9x208.9cm	Brusa; Alinari 13582	Brown 1896; Frizzoni 1896; Connoisseur 1904; Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Raffaellino del Garbo	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	1500ca, tempera and oil on wood, 51.5x35.2cm	Alinari 13593	Brown 1896; Frizzoni 1896
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>Bust portrait of a young man with an inscription</i>	1560, oil on canvas, 47.2 x 39.8 cm	Filippi TFN2590	Venturi 1912
North Italian painter	<i>Virgin with the Child between St. Anthony of Padua and St. Nicholas of Tolentino</i>	1515ca, oil on panel, 44.9 x 63.2 cm	Alinari 13586; Anderson 12728	Frizzoni 1896
Alessandro Bonvicino, il Moretto	<i>Praying man with a long beard</i>	1545ca, oil on canvas, 103.7x89.4cm	Anderson 12727	Melani 1912; Serra 1913
Alessandro Bonvicino, il Moretto	<i>Christ blessing Saint John the Baptist</i>	1520-23, oil on canvas, 66.9x94.7cm	Filippi TFN2594	Venturi 1912
Da Cima da Conegliano	<i>The Virgin and Child, with Saint Paul and Saint Francis</i>	1508-1530, oil on panel, 49.5x87cm	Brusa; Alinari 13590	Serra 1912
Cima da Conegliano (possibly)	<i>The Virgin and Child with Saint John the Evangelist and Saint Nicholas from Bari</i>	1513-18, oil on canvas, 50.8x70.5cm	Alinari 13591	Melani 1912
Probably by Antonio Cicognara	<i>Mystic Figure of Christ</i>	late XV century, tempera on wood, 50.8x33.3 cm	Brusa; Anderson 14017	
Cosimo Tura	<i>A Muse (Calliope?)</i>	1455-60, oil on wood, 116.2 x 71.1 cm	Brusa; Alinari 13610; Anderson 12042	Brown 1896; Connoisseur 1904; Melani 1912; Melani 1913
Italian	<i>A man and his wife</i>	mid-1540s, oil on canvas, perhaps transferred from wood, 65.4x73.7cm	Filippi TFN2597	
Italian, Ferrarese - attr. to Garofalo	<i>Saint Catherine of Alexandria</i>	1515-30, oil on panel, 45.1x38.7cm	Brusa; Alinari 13588; Anderson 12203	
Ludovico Mazzolino	<i>The Nativity</i>	1504-10, oil on panel, 39.4x34.3cm	Anderson 12711	
Benedetto Tisi, il Garofalo	<i>The Virgin and Child with Saint Domenico and Saint Catherine</i>	1499-1502, oil on panel, 46.3x34.8 cm	Anderson 12125	
Lorenzo Costa	<i>The Story of Moses (The Israelites gathering Manna)</i>	after 1508, glue on linen, 119.3x78.7cm	Alinari 13596	
Lorenzo Costa	<i>The Story of Moses (The Dance of Miriam)</i>	after 1508, glue on linen, 119.3x78.7cm	Alinari 13595	Serra 1913
Lorenzo Costa	<i>The Adoration of the Shepherds with Angels</i>	1499ca, oil on wood, 52.4x37.5cm	Brusa; Alinari, 13592; Anderson 12484?	Melani 1912; Serra 1913
Possibly by Girolamo Genga	<i>A Jesse-Tree</i>	1535ca, gum or egg white, on parchment or paper, 22.2x14cm	Filippi TFN2586	
After Bonifacio de Pitati	<i>Dives and Lazarus</i>	early XVI century, oil on panel, 47x84.5cm		
Follower of Sandro Botticelli	<i>Virgin with the Child</i>	1485-1510, tempera on wood, 29.5x19.7cm		
Pietro Lorenzetti and workshop	<i>A Crowned figure (Saint Elizabeth of Hungary?)</i>	1336-40, fresco, 38x33cm		
Pietro Lorenzetti and workshop	<i>A Female Saint</i>	1336-40, fresco, 39x30 cm		
Follower of Joachim Patinir	<i>Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt</i>	1518-20, oil on panel, 33x49.7cm	Filippi TFN2525	
Workshop of Master of the Magdalen Legend	<i>The Magdalen Weeping</i>	1525, oil on panel, 52.7x381	Filippi TFN2514	

Jacometto	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	1475-98, tempera and oil on wood, 26x19cm	Alinari 13611	Melani 1912; Melani 1913; Serra 1913
Follower of Hugo van der Goes	<i>Virgin with the Child</i>	1485ca, oil on panel, 32.3x21.4 cm	Alinari 13598	Melani 1912; Melani 1913
Lambert Sustris	<i>The Queen of Sheba before King Solomon</i>	1540-55, oil on canvas, 80x187.3cm	Filippi TFN2593	
After El Greco	<i>St. Peter</i>	perhaps early XVII century, oil on vellum (?), 20.3x15.9cm		
After Gentile Bellini	<i>Doge Niccolò Marcello</i>	post 1474, oil on panel, 62.2x45.1cm	Brusa; Filippi TFN2596	
Paris Bordone	<i>Christ baptising Saint John Martyr</i>	*1565ca, oil on canvas, 63.5x70.8cm	Brusa; Filippi TFN2518	
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>The Vestal Virgin Tuccia</i>	1555ca, oil on canvas, 152.5 x 86.9 cm	Filippi TFN2595	
Giovanni Battista Moroni	<i>Portrait of a man with raised eyebrows</i>	1570-5, oil on canvas, 45.7 x 37.8 cm	Filippi TFN2519	Venturi 1912
Italian	<i>Portrait of an Old Man</i>	early XVI century, oil on canvas, 76.2x62.9cm		Serra 1913
Italian XVI century	<i>The Holy Family</i>	XVI century, oil on panel, 49.5x38.4cm	Filippi TFN2517	
Italian, Venetian	<i>A naval battle</i>	1580ca, oil on panel, 17.1x38.9cm		
Rosalba Carriera	<i>Portrait of a Man</i>	1720ca, pastello su carta, 57.8 x 47 cm	Filippi TFN2527	Venturi 1912
After Rosalba Carriera	<i>Rosalba Carriera</i>	1720ca, oil on canvas, 57.6 x 39.4 cm	Filippi TFN2522	
Italian, Venetian	<i>The Labours of the months</i>	1580ca, oil on canvas, 13.6x10.6cm	Filippi TFN2528; TFN2588	
After Frans van Mieris the Elder	<i>An old Fiddler</i>	1660, oil on panel, 28.9x22.9 cm		
Caspar Netscher	<i>Portrait of a Lady and a Girl</i>	1679, oil on canvas, 47.5x38.5 cm		
Nicolaes Maes	<i>Portrait of a Man in a Black Wig</i>	1680ca, oil on canvas, 47.6x38.7 cm		
Lavagna	<i>Nine decorative pictures with fruit and flowers</i>	untraced		
Juan Carreno de Miranda	<i>Portrait of the wife of Charles IV of Spain</i>		Filippi TFN2521	

# Appendix E

## The Exportation Issue

### **BL, Layard Papers, Vol. XLVIII, Add MS 56196, fols. 36-37: Last Will and Testament of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Austen Layard**

This is the Last Will and Testament of me THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR HENRY AUSTEN LAYARD (otherwise Austen Henry Layard) G.C.B. formerly Her Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople and now residing at No. 1 Queen Anne Street in the County of Middlesex I APPOINT my dear wife DAME MARY ENID EVELYN LAYARD and my friends LACHLAN MACKINTOSH RATE of 9 South Audley Street in the same county Esquire and EDWARD PONSONBY of 17 Cavendish Square in the same county Esquire EXECUTORS and TRUSTEES of this my Will and I bequeath to each of them (except my said wife) upon his acceptance of the office the sum of One hundred pounds free of legacy duty and as regards the disposal of my body it is my particular wish that it "be cremated" and I DESIRE that my funeral be conducted as economically as may reasonably be I DIRECT that my just debts funeral and testamentary expenses be paid by my Executors as soon as conveniently may be after my death out of my personal estate I LEAVE to my said wife all my copyrights and I DECLARE that all my papers memoranda manuscripts copies and drafts of official dispatches private and other correspondence shall be at the disposal of my said wife with discretion as to their publication or to be dealt with according to any direction that I may hereafter give by a Codicil to this my Will or otherwise and subject to such disposal or direction or in default thereof I DIRECT that all papers dispatches to me and copies and drafts or dispatches from me whilst in the Diplomatic Service relating to public matters shall be deposited to the British Museum AND I DECLARE that all other papers and manuscripts shall belong absolutely to my said wife I GIVE AND DEVISE all my freehold house situate at Venice on the Grand Canal there with the appurtenances and known as "Ca' Capello" unto my said wife Mary Enid Evelyn Layard her heirs and assigns for her absolute use and benefit in fee simple and I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to my said wife her executors administrators

and assigns absolutely and beneficially the sum of Twenty thousand pounds sterling and also all balances due to me at my death from any banker or bankers upon current account And also ALL THAT my leasehold messuage [sic] or dwelling house situate and being No. 1 Queen Anne Street in the same County of Middlesex for all the residue remaining unexpired of my term of years therein she personally paying the rent and performing and observing the covenants and stipulations of the lease in exoneration of my general or residuary estate I also give and bequeath to my said wife absolutely and beneficially all and singular my plate and plated articles linen china glass consumable stores horses harness carriages books of all kinds prints jewels ornaments of the house or person curiosities and (with the exception after mentioned) all objects of art and vertu together with my household furniture and all my household goods and whether the same be contained in my said house at Venice or in my said house in Queen Anne Street or wheresoever the same may be at my death but excepting from the last mentioned gift and bequest my pictures and also excepting therefrom my pieces of plate casket medals or other objects presented to me by the City of London or any other corporate or public body parliamentary constituency or scientific artistic or other association all which last mentioned all which last mentioned articles and things are hereinafter referred to as "my said Presentation Testimonials" And as to all and singular my said pictures (except the portrait of my late uncle Benjamin Austen by the late Sir Martin Archer Shee, P.R.A.) as well those in Queen Anne Street as those at Venice or elsewhere at the time of my death and all and singular my said presentation testimonials I BEQUEATH the use and enjoyment of the same unto my said wife during her life without responsibility for accidental loss destruction or injury and fter her dear I GIVE and BEQUEATH all my said pictures (except the said portrait of my said uncle Benjamin Austen deceased) And also all my said presentation testimonials I GIVE AND BEQUEATH after the death of my said wife free of lagecy duty to my nephew Arthur Austen Macgregor Layard Captain R.E. for his absolute use and benefit or in the event of his death in my lifetime to his younger brother my nephew Raymond de Burgh Money Layard if he be living at my death for his absolute use and benefit and if both my said nephews Arthur Austen Macgregor Layard and Raymond de Burgh Money Layard should happen to die in my lifetime than and in that case to my nephew Edgar Leopold Calthrop Layard (only son of my youngest surviving brother) for his absolute use and benefit hoping nevertheless (but without

fettering their discretion in anyway) that whichever of my said nephew shall become entitled to the subject matter of this bequest he will (as far as practicable) regard and use and dispose of the several articles and things comprised therein as though they were heirlooms properly so called and as to the said portrait by Sir Marten Archer Shee of the said Benjamin Austen I GIVE AND BEQUEATH the same free legacy duty to the Incorporated Law Society of the United Kingdom established in Chancery Lane London in case they shall desire to possess it my said uncle having been at one time their president but if the said society should decline the bequest then I DECLARE that the said portrait shall be treated and disposed of in the same way as above mentioned heirlooms I GIVE AND BEQUEATH to my goddaughter Olwin Ponsonby daughter of the said Edward Ponsonby the sum of Five hundred pounds free of duty also to each of my godson's Robert Gregory son of the late Right Honourable Sir William Gregory K.C.M.G. John Murray Esquire of Albemarle Street and Alexander Gordon Ross the sum of one hundred pounds duty free And AS TO ALL THE REST AND RESIDUE of my estate property and effects of every description belonging to me or which I have power to dispose of by Will and not specifically disposed of by me (hereinafter referred to as my trust estate) I devise and bequeath the same unto my said Executors upon trust to sell collect call in and out and invest the proceeds (after payment and satisfaction of my debts funeral and testamentary expenses and legacies) in the names or name or under the legal control of my said Executors the survivors or survivor of them or other the Trustee of trustees for the time being of this my Will in some or one or more of the modes of investment authorized by the Trust Investment Act 1889 or in any description investment for trust monies and also in the public Stocks or Funds or Government Securities of any British Colony or Dependency or whether or not guaranteed by the Imperial Government with power from time to time at discretion to vary the investments of the said trust monies and also of any securities of mine which shall not have been converted into money as aforesaid for or into other investments of an authorized description as they may deem expedient and with power likewise to invest in the purchase of land of any tenure under the declaration that any land so purchased shall be held by my Trustees in trust for sale and for disposal of the proceeds as personal estate and UPON FURTHER TRUST to stand possessed of all and singular the investments constituting my trust estate for the time being in trust to pay the entire annual income of the said investments unto my said wife during her life or so long as she shall continue my widow and from and

immediately after her second marriage (in case she shall marry again) upon trust as to one equal moiety of my said trust estate (the whole into two [...interrupted, f. 3] appointment upon trust for all and every my said nephews and nieces (being children of my said brother respectively) living at the date of this my Will to be equally divided between or among them share and share alike absolutely and beneficially as tenants in common But no nephew or niece of mine in whose favour or in favour of whose issue an appointment shall be made shall nor shall the person or in the unappointed portion of my said trust estate without bringing the benefit of such appointment into hotchpot and accounting for the same accordingly provided always and I declare that if any one or more of my said nephews or nieces should happen to die in my lifetime any gift share or beneficial interest hereby in default of appointment given to him her or them shall not lapse but shall take effect so that the person or persons who at the time of my death shall be entitled beneficially (whether by Will or intestacy) to the personal estate of the nephew or niece so dying shall take as purchaser or purchasers under this my Will the share which such nephew or niece would have taken had he or she survived to me PROVIDED ALSO AND I EXPRESSLY AUTHORIZE my said Executors and other the Trustees and Trustee for the time being of this my Will to postpone as long as they he or she shall think fit the sale or conversion of any part or parts of my estate whether consisting of reversionary future or contingent interest or not and to retain any investments of mine in existence at the time of my death although they may not be of any investments of mine hereinbefore authorized AND I DECLARE that the net rents and profits or other income produced from every or any part of my said trust estate previously to the sale and conversion thereof shall be applied in the same manner in all respects as if the same were income arising from investments hereinbefore authorized and that all income produced from my said trust estate in its actual condition for the time being whether and whether of a wasting or permanent character shall as well during the first year from my death as at all times afterwards be applicable as income under the trusts of this my Will no part thereof being in any liable to be retained as capital but no treated as producing income or as entitling any person to the receipt of income and I HEREBY DECLARE that my Trustees or Trustee for the time being may decide whether any monies shall be considered income or capital for the purposes of this my Will and may apportion blended trust funds and settle all questions arising in the course of the execution of the trusts thereof or incidentally thereto without being responsible



for loss occasioned thereby PROVIDED ALWAYS that so far as practicable there shall never be less than two Trustees of this my Will and that the Statutory Power of Appointment of new Trustees shall be exercised with the consent of my said wife during her lifetime and I DECLARE that my said Executors and other my said Trustees or Trustee for the time being may in their or his uncontrolled discretion instead of acting personally employ and pay a solicitor or any other person to transact any business or do any act of whatever nature required to be done in the premises including the receipt and payment of money and I hereby revoke all former Wills Codicils and Testamentary Writings and declare this and the five preceding sheets of paper to be and contain my last Will in witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand this Second day of August in the year of our Lord One thousand eight hundred and ninety-two. - A.H. Layard – signed and declared by the above-name Sir Henry Austen Layard the Testator as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of us present at the same time who in his presence of his request and in the presence of each other have hereunto subscribed our names as Witnesses – A.R. Harding, Solicitor, 11 Victoria Street, Westminster, C. Raymond Harding, B.A., Selwyn College, Cambridge.

Sir Henry Austen Layard did on the 5<sup>th</sup> July, 1894.

His said Will was proved in the Principal Probate Registry by the three Executors therein named on the 27<sup>th</sup> July, 1894.

**ANVe, Atti C. Candiani, Vol. 296 (1913), rep. n. 29782, Atto di deposito di testamento olografo (di Lady Mary Enid Evelyn Guest in Layard, Allegato A (testamento olografo originale e tradotto in lingua italiana)).**

In His Majesty's High Court of Justice Be it known that upon Search being made in the Principal Probate Registry of the High Court of Justice it appears that on the fourteenth day of December in the year of our Lord 1912 the last will and Testament of Dame Mary Anid Evelyn Layard late of 3 Savile Row in the City of Westminster Widow deceased who died at Ca Capello Venice in Italy on the first day of November 1912 was proved in the said High Court of Justice The Honorable Vere Brabazon Ponsonby commonly called Viscount Duncannon a nephew and Charles Edward Wyld (in the will called Charles Wyld) the Executors named in the said will and which Probate now remains of record in the said Registry. The true tenor of the said Will is in the words following to wit This is my last Will I, Mary Enid Evelyn Layard I appoint my nephew Viscount Duncannon and Charles Wyld of the Tile House Denham Executors of this my Will and I bequeath to each of them the sum of £500 free of legacy duty I do hereby bequeath to my niece Alicia Maria Murray the wife of Alexander Henry Hallam Murray my diamond and turquoise necklace and all turquoise ornaments which I possess to my niece Edith Cecilia Alderson my silver repoussé Dressing table set now at Venice and an Indian necklace left me by the Empress Frederick of Germany and having been given to her by her brother King Edward VII when he travelled in India as Prince of Wales To my niece Evelyn Radegard Eliot my Gold Roman Coin necklace & my plain gold Roman coronet to my sister Blanche Vere Bessborough all my diamonds diamond and pearl and diamond and emerald ornaments which are all at present contained in one flat jewels box and in the event of her death I give all the same jewels to her eldest surviving son and I particularly request that the diamond bracelet given to me by His Majesty the Sultan Abdul Hamid the Sultan of Turkey may never be reset or sold or otherwise disposed of To my niece Olivia Blanche Du Cane my Venetian Lace Box with its contents and all my old lace and the gold and silver gilt Chatelaine given to me by the Empress Frederick of Germany who always wore it To my niece Enid Cornelia Du Cane my pearl necklace consisting of 4 rows of pearls to Isabel the wife of my late husband nephew Raymond de Burgh Money Layard the topaz necklace set in gold which formerly belonged to my mother in law To the Trustees of the

British Museum my Assyrian Cylinder necklace and bracelet set in gold the cylinder having been found by my late husband in the excavation made by him at Nineveh and also all manuscripts in my late husband handwriting and official papers and despatches to him and copies and drafts of despatches from him whilst in the Diplomatic Service relating to Public matters & all his correspondence & letters with people of note contained in one cupboard To the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery the portrait in watercolours of my late husband by Ludwig Passini I desire that my freehold property 3 Savile Row should be sold I bequeath all the [sic] my furniture plate plated goods linen china glass & contents of the said house to my niece Enid Cornelia Du Cane to my niece Olivia Blanche Du Cane my freehold house in the Grand Canal at Venice known as “Ca Capello” with all its contents To the International Hospital on the Island of the Giudecca I bequeath all my property now occupied for the use of the International Hospital I bequeath to my niece Olivia Blanche Du Cane the sum of seven thousand pounds to my niece Enid Cornelia Du Cane the sum of ten thousand pounds to my niece Margaret Helen Wyld wife of Charles Wyld three thousand pounds to my niece Blanche Elizabeth Eaton widow of – Eaton Esq. the sum of three thousand pounds to Helena Blanche Irène wife of John Congreve the sum of three thousand pounds to my niece Evelyn Eliot the sum of three thousand pounds to my niece Edith Cecilia Alderson three thousand pounds to the International Hospital three thousand pounds and to my nephew Daire Guest Du Cane one thousand pounds Should there be any money left after these legacies have been paid free of duty I request my executors to d[i]vide the residue amongst my three nieces Olivia Blanche Du Cane Enid Cornelia Du Cane and Edith Cecilia Alderson.

M Enid E Layard

As Witness my hand

Cecilia Baker

Guiseppe Morsiani

19<sup>th</sup> July 1912 Venice

**NGA, NG7/315/4(ii) Attachment: Ministerial decree 21 September 1906**

Whereas, in the catalogue of objects of great historical and artistic value, in the possession of private persons, published in accordance with the terms of Art. I of the Law of June 27<sup>th</sup>, 1903 n. 242, in the Official Gazette of the Kingdom of December 31<sup>st</sup>, 1903, n. 307, the following pictures belonging to Lady Enid Layard, domiciliary at Venice, are inscribed: 1. Antonello da Messina, Portrait of a Man, 2. Sebastiano del Piombo, la Pietà, 3. Giovanni Bellini, Madonna, 4. Vittore Carpaccio, the Departure of Saint Ursula; 5. Cosmè Tura, Figure of Spring; 6. Gentile Bellini Portrait of Mahomet II; 7. Gentile Bellini, Adoration of the Wise Me. In view of the demand made by Lady Layard, whereby she maintains: (a) that the aforesaid pictures, of which she only has the right of usufruct, were bequeathed by her deceased husband to the Gallery of London: (b) that they were imported into Italy at the time when her husband established himself there as His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of the King of Italy: (c) that, therefore, they should be removed from the Catalogue, in order that they may be transported to London whenever the moment arrives to consign them to the Gallery as legatee: in view of the opinion given on May 11<sup>th</sup>, 1904, by the Crown Lawyers at Venice, that the right of the State to detain the above-mentioned pictures in Italy cannot be upheld, if it be clearly proved that they were imported from abroad: to which opinion the Central Office of the Crown Lawyers also adhered by its letter of July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1904: as a result of an examination of the documents produced by Lady Layard, by which it is actually proved that the pictures specified above, with the exception of the first, a work by Antonello da Messina, were imported into Italy from London and their identification having been undertaken by the Director of the Royal Galleries at Venice, who reported on them in his letter of January 12<sup>th</sup> 1905: After consideration by the Council of Ministers After consideration by the Council of State: IT IS RESOLVED to consider as not inscribed in the Catalogue of objects of great artistic and historical values in the possession of private person the pictures of which Lady Layard has the right of usufruct, with the exception of the Portrait of a Man by Antonello da Messina, the inscription of which in the aforesaid catalogue is confirmed: this resolution to have all the consequences of law: and it is directed that this resolution be inserted in the Official Gazette of the Kingdom.

The Minister, Luigi Rava

**ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Consiglio di Stato sezione I, Prot.n. 83,  
24 January 1913.**

Vista la relazione del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione D.G. delle Antichità e Belle Arti n. 28848 in data 29 novembre 1912 con la quale si chiede il parere di questo Consiglio sulla esportabilità dall'Italia dei quadri costituenti la Galleria Layard in Venezia;

Visti il parere interlocutorio di questa Sezione in data 13 dicembre 1912 n. 2849 e la relazione del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione D. G. delle Antichità e Belle Arti n. 182, in data 10 gennaio 1913;

Esaminati gli atti e udito il relatore;

Si premette in fatto che nell'anno 1894 veniva a morire Sir Henry Layard, già ambasciatore Britannico a Roma, lasciando la sua preziosa collezione di quadri in Venezia alla NATIONAL GALLERY di Londra in proprietà, e alla consorte sua in usufrutto vitalizio. Trascorsi alcuni anni ed entrata in vigore la legge 12 giugno 1902 N. 185 e 27 giugno 1903 N. 242, il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione provvedeva ad iscrivere nel catalogo delle opere di antichità ed arte, come oggetti di sommo pregio, sette dei più pregevoli dipinti di quella collezione. Da tale iscrizione dipendeva, per effetto dell'art. 1 della legge 27 giugno 1903, il divieto della esportazione all'estero. Contro il provvedimento ministeriale ricorreva la Signora Layard per il tramite dell'Ambasciata Inglese affermando e provando: 1° che i quadri vincolati erano di proprietà della NATIONAL GALLERY di Londra alla quale avrebbero dovuto passare dopo la sua morte; 2° che si trattava di quadri importati in Italia dall'estero; - e in base a tali prove chiedeva che "i quadri anzidetti siano tolti dal catalogo affinché possano essere liberamente trasportati a Londra quando sia il momento di consegnarli alla Galleria legataria".

Preso in esame tale ricorso ed essendo sorti dubbi sul punto della legalità della prova fornita dalla ricorrente per certificare la provenienza dall'estero dei quadri vincolati, vennero provocati i pareri dell'Avvocatura Erariale e di questo Consiglio; dopo di che il Consiglio dei Ministri, nella adunanza del 28 agosto 1906, "autorizzava il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione a consentire la riesportazione dei quadri Layard, già venuti in Italia dall'estero". In seguito a tale autorizzazione, il Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, con suo decreto 23 settembre 1906, accogliendo,

per sei dei sette quadri, la istanza della Signora Layard, ordinava di quei quadri la cancellazione dal catalogo “con tutte le conseguenze di legge”. E di tale decisione veniva data dal Ministero degli Esteri ufficiale comunicazione alla Ambasciata Inglese. A tale punto rimase la questione; sinché, avendo recentemente cessato di vivere la Signora Layard, il Governo Inglese nella sua qualità di legatario, ha chiesto quali formalità fossero da compiere per ottenere la libera proprietà dei quadri costituenti la Galleria Layard. In seguito a tale richiesta il Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, dopo aver esposti alcuni dubbi che si sono presentati nel riprendere in esame la complessa questione, chiede il parere di questo Consiglio per sapere:

1° - se si deve consentire la libera esportazione dei quadri a cui si riferisce il decreto ministeriale 23 settembre 1906;

2° - quale sia la condizione giuridica degli altri quadri della collezione Layard nei riguardi della loro esportabilità dal Regno;

con ciò premesso la Sezione ha considerato, per ciò che riguardo il primo dei due proposti quesiti:

- che senza indugiare sulla natura giuridica del decreto ministeriale del 23 settembre 1906 per stabilire se esso debba considerarsi come un atto attributivo di un diritto che non potrebbe senza ingiuria venire ritolto, o non piuttosto come un provvedimento amministrativo che come tale, potrebbe in determinate circostanze venir revocato, certo è che un elemento nuovo si è aggiunto con la comunicazione ufficiale \che/ di quel provvedimento fu fatta all’Ambasciata Britannica il 4 ottobre 1906; al quale proposito il Ministero degli Esteri non esita ad affermare, nella sua nota del 2 gennaio corrente, che quella ufficiale comunicazione ha creato “un vero e proprio impegno per il R. Governo rispetto al Governo Inglese”.

- che, se sul terreno puramente e strettamente giuridico è forse possibile di discutere la rigida consistenza di quella affermazione, indubitabile è che la serietà, la ponderazione e la coerenza che è doveroso presumere in ogni atto dello Stato, specialmente nei rapporti internazionali, e le circostanze stesse nelle quali l’atto in questione fu compiuto dopo una lunga istruttoria e una serie di pareri autorevoli, gli hanno conferito un tal grado di sicurezza, ed un carattere così impegnativo, almeno dal punto di vista politico e morale, da rendere assai grave e delicato il compito del Governo qualora intendesse di revocarlo, sì da comprometterne la dignità stessa di fronte al Governo

straniero, come giustamente osserva il Ministro degli Esteri nella succinta sua nota;

- che in ogni caso, per potere in qualche maniera giustificare la revoca del provvedimento, sarebbe almeno indispensabile di poter addurre qualche NUOVA circostanza, di diritto o di fatto, che potrebbe consistere o in un posteriore mutamento della legislazione o nella scoperta di qualche fatto decisivo ignorato quando il provvedimento fu preso; e né l'una né l'altra circostanza si verifica nella specie;

- che quanto alla posteriore legislazione, bisogna anzitutto ben precisare il significato e la portata del provvedimento ministeriale del 23 settembre 1906; il quale, messo in rapporto col ricorso Layard che lo provocò, e con la ricordata deliberazione del Consiglio dei Ministri che lo autorizzò, questa dichiarava: 1° che secondo la legge Italiana, gli oggetti d'arte e d'antichità, di qualunque pregio e natura, possono essere liberamente esportati in franchigia dal Regno quando debitamente si provi che essi furono anteriormente importati nel Regno dall'estero; 2° che nella specie quella prova era stata fornita;

- -che nulla al riguardo ha innovato la vigente legge del 20 giugno 1909. Per essa infatti si mantiene egualmente il principio del divieto di esportazione per gli oggetti d'arte di SOMMO PREGIO; sol che mentre secondo la legge antica, il SOMMO PREGIO derivava dalla iscrizione nello speciale catalogo, esso viene rimesso invece, dalla legge nuova, al giudizio di una Commissione; e ciò è senza importanza, dal momento che il sommo pregio dei sei quadri non è contestato. Ma immutato è rimasto nell'art. II della vigente legge l'art.9 della legge del 1902, donde è dedotto il diritto della libera esportabilità;

- -che anzi viene aggiunta, nell'art. II della legge nuova, una clausola che rappresenta una espressa conferma del diritto controverso, anche per ciò che riguarda il modo di prova della precedente importazione nel Regno e cioè la clausola "...salvi i diritti acquisiti avanti la promulgazione della presente legge";

Che neanche si può constatare l'accertamento di qualche nuova circostanza, venuta in luce posteriormente al provvedimento ministeriale, atta a mutare gli elementi di fatto in base ai quali il provvedimento stesso fu preso. Tale bensì,

secondo la relazione ministeriale, dovrebbe o potrebbe essere il fatto che tutti o quasi tutti i dipinti di cui si discute deriverebbero alla lor volta da disperse collezioni italiane. Ma senza esaminare per il momento quale importanza potrebbe esercitare tale fatto sul merito della decisione, basta qui rilevare che es non può considerarsi come un FATTO NUOVO dal momento che lo stesso MEMORANDUM della Ambasciata Inglese del 24 novembre 1903, che iniziò la controversia, comincia col dichiarare l'antica provenienza italiana dei quadri della collezione; e ciò si ricava dalla nota, ripetutamente citata, del Ministero degli Affari Esteri;

Che per tutte le enunciate questioni la Sezione è d'avviso che non possa essere che affermativa la risposta al primo dei due proposti quesiti;

Che quanto al secondo quesito relativo alla condizione giuridica, nei riguardi della esportabilità dal Regno, degli altri quadri della collezione Layard al di fuori dei sei nominativamente compresi nel decreto ministeriale del 23 settembre 1906, non si può in verità contestare, in buona fede, che lo svincolo dal divieto di esportazione in favore dei sei quadri più preziosi, implicava allora, a più forte ragione, la libera esportabilità degli altri di pregio minore. Ma si può d'altra parte non inutilmente rispondere che ad ogni modo il Decreto ministeriale non contempla, nominativamente, che quei sei quadri; e se può essere dimostrato che quel decreto a norma di diritto non avrebbe potuto essere emanato, o quanto meno doveva essere preceduto da ulteriori indagini non ancora compiute, potrà il R. Governo sostenere senza suo danno morale, di non ritenersi obbligato a mantenere il proprio impegno oltre i termini precisi entro i quali, per qualunque ragione, l'impegno stesso si trova letteralmente e formalmente circoscritto;

Che, così posta la questione, giova, per ben chiarirla, di ricordare che tre erano le principali indagini che il Ministero avrebbe dovuto compiere nel 1906 prima di emanare il discusso provvedimento e cioè:

1° la dimostrazione della provenienza dall'estero era sufficiente per autorizzare la libera esportazione anche degli oggetti colpiti dal divieto di esportabilità perché giudicati di SOMMO PREGIO?;

2° quale influenza poteva esercitare, sulla libera esportabilità di oggetti d'arte importati dall'estero, la circostanza dell'antecedente originaria provenienza italiana?;

3° con quale mezzo doveva essere provata la importazione dall'estero? E cioè, la disposizione dell'art. 305 del regolamento 17 luglio 1904 che per tale prova



tassativamente prescrive il CERTIFICATO D'IMPORTAZIONE TEMPORANEA, era ed è applicabile anche agli oggetti importati anteriormente a quel regolamento?;

Che dall'esame di tutti gli atti risulta che mai il Ministero si propose né la prima né la seconda di tali questioni, tacitamente risolvendole in senso favorevole alla libera esportabilità; e tutta la discussione si svolse e si concentrò sul terzo quesito, e su di esso, e SOLTANTO SU DI ESSO fu domandato l'avviso a questo Consiglio, che rettamente, con parere della prima Sezione in data del 10 aprile 1906 N. 572/2164, dava negativa risposta;

Che se, per le enunciate ragioni, non è più possibile, dopo il decreto del 23 settembre 1906 risollevere le questioni che son qui sopra formulate ai numeri 1 e 2 in rapporto ai sei dipinti dal decreto medesimo svincolati, giova impedire peraltro ciononostante brevissimamente esaminarle potendosi trarre giovamento per meglio precisare la condizione giuridica degli altri quadri della collezione;

Che quanto alla prima questione (se la dimostrazione della provenienza dall'estero sia sufficiente per autorizzare la libera esportazione anche degli oggetti colpiti dal divieto di esportabilità perché giudicati di sommo pregio) la risposta affermativa veniva e vien tratta dall'art. 9 della legge 12 giugno 1902 (riprodotto nell'art. II della vigente legge) concepito così: "La tassa di esportazione non è applicabile agli oggetti d'arte e di antichità importati da paesi stranieri". Or dalla lettura di questo articolo apparisce che con esso non vien già garantita la libera esportabilità di tutti gli oggetti d'arte importati dall'estero, ma solamente vien consentito a lor favore l'esonero della tassa di esportazione presupponendosi quindi, implicitamente, che si tratti di oggetti dei quali la esportazione non è vietata; distinzione questa d'altronde che non aveva ragione d'essere sotto il governo della legge del 1902 che il divieto d'esportazione non conteneva. Tale divieto è contenuto invece nella legge posteriore del 27 giugno 1903, la quale genericamente vieta, per un periodo di due anni, che siano esportati gli oggetti iscritti in catalogo come oggetti di sommo pregio; e il divieto è assoluto per tutti gli oggetti in tale modo iscritti, senza distinguere la provenienza; mentre è chiaro che se una eccezione la legge avesse voluto fare per gli oggetti di estera provenienza, avrebbe dovuto espressamente dirlo. Né varrebbe invocare in contrario il 1° comma dell'art. 305 del regolamento 17 luglio 1904 N. 431 il quale parrebbe interpretare l'art. 9 della legge nel più largo senso; imperocché, prescindendo da ogni altra considerazione, quel regolamento espressamente di riferisce alla legge del 1902, mentre le norme, per

l'applicazione della legge temporanea del 1903, son contenute in \speciali ed/ apposite Norme pubblicate in appendice a quelle che si riferiscono alla legge anteriore;

Che la interpretazione, che qui si sostiene, dell'art. 9 corrisponde, oltre che alla lettera, anche allo spirito della legge; imperocché la interpretazione contraria esporrebbe ai maggiori pericoli il patrimonio artistico nazionale, che col divieto della legge del 1903 si volle invece difendere. Basterebbe infatti la prova, in qualunque modo fornita, che un oggetto d'arte fu, sia pure in remotissima epoca importato in Italia dall'estero per stabilire il diritto a liberamente esportarlo in franchigia. Né varrebbe opporre l'opposto pericolo e l'ingiustizia di colpire in tal modo anche gli oggetti che si trovassero per l'Italia di passaggio, a titolo veramente temporaneo; perché garantiva contro tale eccesso la necessità, per l'applicazione del divieto, della iscrizione nel catalogo, che è quanto dire come una specie di dichiarazione d'indigenato artistico nazionale. Tale eccesso potrebbe esistere invece dopo \che/ il catalogo fu abolito; ma fu introdotto invece come garanzia della temporaneità della importazione il certificato di IMPORTAZIONE TEMPORANEA (art. 305 del Reg.to 17 luglio 1904) e il limite dei cinque anni (art. II della legge 20 giugno 1909). Dalle quali considerazioni tutte si deduce che un equo criterio di soluzione da sancirsi nelle forme legali potrebbe essere quello di mantenere l'assoluto divieto di esportazione per gli oggetti di sommo pregio importati in Italia prima del reg.to del 1904 e di concedere invece la libera esportazione per quelli importati nel Regno sotto il regime legale posteriormente instaurato;

che dalle svolte considerazioni risulterebbe che, potendosi considerare come del tutto impregiudicata la condizione giuridica di tutti i quadri della collezione Layard non contemplati dal decreto del 23 settembre 1906, si potrebbe vietare l'esportazione di quelli, tra quei quadri, che a norma dell'art. 8 della vigente legge fossero riconosciuti di sommo pregio.

Che la soluzione proposta renderebbe superfluo l'esame della seconda questione relativa alle influenza che potrebbe esercitare, sulla libera esportazione dei dipinti in discussione, la circostanza della anteriore loro originaria provenienza italiana, al quale proposito, in ogni modo la Sezione non si opporrebbe all'opinione prospettata nella relazione del Ministero, nel senso che si potrebbe negare la qualità di quadri importati dall'estero, a quei quadri della collezione, dei quali potesse venir dimostrato che furono anteriormente esportati dall'Italia IN TRASGRESSIONE

DELLE NORME ALLORA VIGENTI; in guisa da considerare quella primitiva esportazione, come illegale AB ORIGINE; pur non tacendo peraltro le difficoltà di dare per tal modo, oggi, in base a leggi vigenti, una sanzione ai divieti di leggi sì antiche, e per un fatto consumatosi oltre 50 anni or sono. Ma in ogni caso non può contestarsi che l'onere della prova spetterebbe al Governo Italiano, costituendo indubbiamente, di fronte alla autorizzazione della legge, una presunzione, favorevole al proprietario, la dimostrazione della importazione nel Regno dall'estero; ed è da ritenere quasi impossibile, in fatto, che quella prova possa venir fornita;

Che nelle considerazioni suesposte sta la risposta della Sezione ai due quesiti proposti dal Ministero; ma la Sezione, pure ritenendo come conforme alle buone ragioni del diritto le soluzioni così suggerite, non si nasconde peraltro le difficoltà di varia indole, che già nel parere si trovano accennate, per giungere ad una pratica conclusione abbastanza soddisfacente, sul puro terreno giuridico; ed è perciò di opinione che sarebbe opportuno, prima, di tentare un amichevole accomodamento, al quale forse si potrebbe indurre il Governo Inglese portando ufficiosamente a sua conoscenza le ragioni che il R. Governo potrebbe invocare per non tener conto del decreto 1906 e quelle che ad ogni modo gli permetterebbero di applicare integralmente la nuova legge ai rimanenti quadri, e chiedendo, come riconoscimento della arrendevolezza nostra, una equa soluzione che possa accontentare anche l'opinione pubblica nazionale e i nobili interessi artistici del nostro paese.

Nelle precedenti considerazioni sta il parere della Sezione.

Visto Il Presidente della Sezione  
della Sezione

[P. Molmenti]

Per estratto dal verbale Il Segretario

[\*illegible signature]

**MCA: Receipt of the Layard collection's deposit, 4 April 1913.**

In accordance with instructions received from His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador at Rome and the Trustees of the National Gallery in London, acting on

the suggestion of the Italian Minister of Public Instruction, we, the undersigned, have this fourth day of April 1913 transferred from Ca' Capello to the Correr Museum, Venice, sixty seven pictures of the Layard collection. Which from this moment shall be entrusted to the temporary custody of the said Museum, where they shall be stored under lock and key on condition that they are to be seen solely by the Director and Officials of the Museum. It is understood that the custody is accepted as an act of courtesy on the part of the Sindaco of Venice and the Authorities of the Museum, and the responsibility for the care and custody of these pictures will be the same as that which the Director assumes towards all other artistic objects preserved in the Museum.

Venice, April 4<sup>th</sup>, 1913.

Gerard Campbell H. Brit. Vice Consul

Horatio F. Brown

MCA: List of the Layard pictures at Ca' Capello with valuation prices  
pencilled by Gino Fogolari, April 1913

The Layard Collection.  
List of pictures at Ca' Capello, Venice.

+ 1.	Montagna, B.	SS. John Baptist, Zeno and Catherine.	+ 75,000
X 2.	Licinio, Bernardo.	Virgin and Child with SS. Joseph and Catherine.	+ 2,000
+ 3.	Flemish School.	Christ nailed to the Cross.	+ 400
+ 4.	Montagna, B.	Head of S. John Baptist.	+ 400
+ 5.	Girolamo dei Libri?	Death and Ascension of the Virgin.	+ 600
+ 6.	Bellini, Giovanni.	Virgin and Child.	+ 80,000
+ 7.	Palma Vecchio.	S. George and Dragon with female figure.	+ 10,000
+ 8a.	Borgognone, A. (School of)	}+ Two full length Saints.	1000
+ 8b.	"		
+ 9.	Stticelli? (School of)	Virgin and Child.	+ 400
+ 10a.	Lorenzetti A.	}+ Two heads fragments of fresco.	2000
+ 10b.	"		
+ 12.	Biasolo,	Virgin and Child. SS. Michael and Veronica with donor.	+ 100,000
+ 13.	Piccolo, S. del.	Dead Christ.	+ 80,000
+ 14.	Erasmantino,	Adoration of Magi.	+ 100,000
+ 15.	Carpaccio. S.	Ursula meeting King of England's son.	+ 48,000
X 16.	Previtali,	Salvator Mundi.	+ 6000
+ 17.	Barbari, J. de	Falcon.	+ 1000
+ 18.	Manni?	Initial letter B.	+ 300
+ 19.	Luini.	Virgin and child.	+ 19000
+ 20.	Bonsignore F.	Virgin and Child with Saints.	+ 25,000
+ 21.	Ferrari G.	Annunciation. 2 panels in one frame.	+ 60,000
+ 22.	Savoldo.	St. Jerome.	+ 40,000
+ 23.	Romanino.	The Muses.	+ 500
+ 24.	Moretto.	Virgin and Child with two Saints.	+ 4000
+ P.25.	"	Portrait.	+ 80,000
+ P.26.	Moreno.	Portrait of a Salvagno of Bergamo.	+ 50,000
+ P.27.	"	" Lupi.	+ 9500
+ 28.	Pedrin, Giovanni.	Christ bearing Cross.	+ 4,000
+ 29.	Bellini, Gentile.	Adoration of Magi.	+ 250,000
+ P.30.	"	Portrait of Mahomet II.	+ 300,000

- + P. 31. Lippi, Filippino. Portrait of a Man. + 20,000
- X P. 32. Van Dyck ? Portrait of Marie Ann Schotten. + 10,000
- + 33. Grandi, Ercole. Virgin and Child enthroned between SS. Catherines and Benedict. + 100,000
- + 34. Rococino, B. Virgin and Child with Angels. + 25,000
- + 35. Costa, Lorenzo. Adoration of Shepherds. + 16,000
- + 36. Bonifazio. Sketch for Riccio Epulone. + 1000
- + 37. Cima. Virgin and Child with SS. Francis and Paul. + 10,000
- + 38. Bonifazio. Solomon receiving the Queen of Sheba. + 3000
- X 39. Flemish School (Tryptich) Virgin and Child. + 10,000
- + 40. Mazzolino. Nativity. Shepherds worshipping. + 6000
- + 41. Cima. Virgin and Child with Saints. + 10,000
- + 42. Patinir. Flight into Egypt. + 5000
- + 43. Flemish School. Magdalen weeping. + 5000
- + 44. Cosimo Tura. Allegorical Figure. Spring. + 200,000
- + 45. Garofalo. Portraits of Self and wife. + 15,000
- + 47a. Grandi, F. two paintings in tempera on canvas from a
- + 47b. " series of the Children of Israel. + 100,000
- + 48. Clovis, Giulio? Tree of Jesse. + 200
- + 49. Moretto. S. John Baptist kneeling to Jesus. 3500+
- + 50. Bono da Ferrara ? (or Zeppo) The Christ seated, bound. + 20,000
- + 51. Garofalo. Head of woman saint. + 500
- + 52. Giotto. Fragment of fresco from the Carmine, Head of Saint. + 1000
- + 53. Antonello da Messina. Small head on wood. + 10,000
- X 54. Bordone, Paris. Christ and two angels baptizing a doge. + 10,000
- + 55. Carpaccio ? Virgin appearing to kneeling men. + 5000
- + 56. Bonifazio? Naval engagement. + 5000
- + 57. Morone. Allegorical figure of Chastity. + 10,000
- + 58. Sodoma. Virgin, Child and S. Joseph. + 500
- + 59. Rosalba. Pastel protrait. + 5000
- + 60. Longhi, Pietro. Portrait of Rosalba. 3000 (in photograph)
- + 61. Morone, Portrait of a man. + 10,000

- + 62. Titian or Giorgione? Portrait of a man in a black cap. + 15,000
- + 63. Bellini, Gentile. Early copy of Doge Marcello. + 10,000
- 64. Greco. Head of old man. + 2,000
- X 65a. Bonifazio } + 12 small pictures of Months, 6 in each frame.
- X 65b. " } + 12,000

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These pictures are to be returned at the request and to the order of the British Museum's Commissioner in Rome against the surrender of this receipt  
 Paris  
 April 6. 1912.

J. G. Foggan  
 Esquisse, Peinture & Gravure  
 Angelo Savigni  
 Directeur du Louvre Museum, Rome

**GNAM, Fondo Ojetti, Serie 2, Cassetta 104, Senatore Conte Sforza Carlo, Sottofascicolo 1, doc 65: Personal and private letter Carlo Sforza to Ugo Ojetti, Legazione d'Italia Pechino, 12 May 1913.**

Caro Ojetti,

Quanto scrivesti sulla questione Layard mi piacque anche dal punto di vista dell'opportunità diplomatica. Come italiano e come diplomatico vorrei che nel nostro paese il rispetto al carattere rappresentativo dei diplomatici \esteri/ si mostrasse coll'astenersi da dimostrazioni o rozze o retoriche in piazza Venezia o piazza Colonna, [\*ma come sedere in consiglio] lì dove il nostro diritto può essere [\*asserito]. Una tale linea di condotta, va conservata sempre, sarebbe apprezzata sui rappresentanti esteri per primi.

Ma non è per dirti questo che ti scrivo, bensì per avvertirti che – siccome apprendo da amici inglesi – un nipote di Sir H. Layard cui questi lasciò per testamento la sua “collection of portraits” intende sostenere che in essa sono compresi anche tutti i ritratti della collezione italiana, non solo i “family portraits”.

Se la collezione va alla National Gallery questa dunque corre rischio che il nipote di Sir Henry trovi un tribunale inglese che gliene riconosca una parte; e il bravo nipote si appresterebbe probabilmente a venderli in America. Non ti pare anche questo un nuovo argomento? Inutile, caro Ojetti, si aggiunga che questa news è per te solo; e che, se la notizia del nipote ti fa comodo tu l'avrai appresa da Londra.

Io son partigiano della vecchia norma che i diplomatici non bazzichino col giornalismo. Senza contare che la cosa mi darebbe delle seccature. Ma non ho resistito a scriverne confidenzialmente al vecchio amico. Perché non ti fai tentare da un viaggio in Estremo Oriente?

Tuo aff. Carlo Sforza

**ACS, MPI, AABBA, II Vers., b. 745: Telegram no. 1331, Ministero degli Affari Esteri al Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica, Direzione Generale AA. BB. AA., 13 July 1914**

In relazione alla mia nota 7 corrente n. 139 prego V. E. mettermi in grado di assicurare questa Ambasciata britannica che è stata presa debita nota ad ogni effetto

di legge della rinnovazione da essa fatta nei voluti termini della richiesta di riesportazione della Galleria Layard. In quanto poi al fato della riesportazione della Galleria stessa non posso a meno di ripetere quanto ebbi a dichiarare nel telegramma 19 Giugno scorso n. 2071 ossia che per ragioni politiche sarebbe desiderabile che la riesportazione fosse consentita senza difficoltà.

[In calce a penna] Ciò è necessario ed urgente tanto per evidenti ragioni d'equità, quanto per interessi politici di ben maggiore importanza che i quadri Layard.

San Giuliano

**BL, India Office Records and Private Papers, MSS Eur F112/68: Letter J. Rennell Rodd to the Foreign Office, n. 292, 2 August 1914**

[...] I am even now not quite sure whether the Ministry have clearly appreciated the point which was thus raised, but their answer is sufficient to cover any such contingency as was apprehended, inasmuch as they undertake that any rights which may eventually be considered to derive from the fact of the pictures having been imported from abroad shall be regarded as prorogued until such time as the issue between Major Layard, whose legal advisers had put in a similar plea, and the Trustees of the National Gallery, has been settled. They also repeat in a categorical form that the Ministry will not go back on the decision previously taken to sanction the export of the six pictures removed from the catalogue of non-exportable works of art in 1906. This must of course always be understood to mean so long as these pictures are recognized as the property of the Nation. With regard to the rest of the collection I had taken no official steps since the time more than a year ago, when the suggestion of a compromise was put forward here, not having received any further instructions or any intimation of the views of the Trustees of the National Gallery until quite recently. I have nevertheless in a private manner, knowing that you were now dealing with the question directly with the Italian Ambassador in London, had an opportunity of perhaps rendering some small assistance under the following circumstances. Being on intimate terms with one of the most influential members of the present Cabinet, Signor Martini, the Minister of Colonies, I took occasion in a recent long conversation with him to deplore the disappointing insuccess of my



efforts here to adjust a number of questions, in spite of the friendly relations which professedly exist, and the goodwill which is always frankly expressed to me. Signor Martini enquired to what questions I referred. I said there were many and among them I specified the modification of the Capitulations in Egypt, with regard to which I had been waiting eighteen months for an answer, whole another to which I referred was that of the Layard pictures. He asked me for particulars and I briefly explained the facts of the case. This conversation was followed at no long interval by a communication from the Italian Foreign Office that they had now prepared a reply on the subject of the Capitulations and the day before yesterday Signor Martini told me that he had been interesting himself in the Layard pictures and had reasons to hope that he would be able to accomplish something. Already the note from the Ministry of Public Instruction enclosed, while careful drafted so as not be definitive, appears to me to show a more tractable disposition than any previous communication received. I shall reserve any further observations on the general question until I am in possession of your views at such time as there may again be leisure to deal with questions of this nature. In the meantime our situation is in no way prejudiced or deteriorated by the lapse of time.

**ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Il Capo di Gabinetto del Ministero dell'Istruzione – Promemoria, 8 August 1914**

Il Consiglio dei Ministri, nell'adunanza che ha tenuto oggi a Palazzo Braschi, ha deliberato sopra Relazione del Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione, on. Daneo, potersi autorizzare l'uscita dal territorio italiano dei quadri appartenenti alla Galleria Layard di Venezia, per essere trasportati in Inghilterra; tenuto conto delle speciali circostanze che l'Ambasciata Inglese ha ripetutamente fatte presenti.

Per le formalità e le modalità da osservare occorrerà che siano presi accordi tra l'Ambasciata Inglese e gli Uffici competenti.

E. Daneo

**ACS, MPI, AABBA, II vers., b. 745: Letter E. Daneo to A. San Giuliano, 12 August 1914**

Caro Di San Giuliano,

in seguito alle tue vive premure, non si è mancato di sottoporre a nuovo esame la questione relativa all'esportabilità dall'Italia dei quadri costituenti la Galleria Layard in Venezia e per i quali fu già prorogato con lettera 27 luglio p.p. lo stato di importazione temporanea.

Come ben sai su tale questione ebbe già anche occasione di pronunciarsi il Consiglio di Stato mediante parere 23 settembre 1906 nel quale opinò che il nostro Governo se poteva tener fermo l'assentimento per l'esportazione dei sei quadri della Galleria Layard, contemplati nel Decreto del Ministro della Pubblica Istruzione in data 23 settembre 1906, non egualmente avrebbe potuto comportarsi, allo stato degli atti, per gli altri quadri della Galleria stessa, dei quali non sarebbe stata sufficientemente provata l'importazione dall'Estero.

Però di fronte alle ragioni da te messe innanzi perché tutta la vertenza fosse risolta nel senso di non ostacolare le disposizioni di ultima volontà di Sir Henry Layard, che tutti i quadri della sua Galleria volle destinati alla "National Gallery" di Londra, io venni nella determinazione che la questione meritasse d'essere portata davanti al Consiglio dei Ministri; e, come sai, il Consiglio dei Ministri nell'adunanza del giorno 8 corrente, sopra mia relazione, ha deliberato potersi autorizzare il Ministro dell'Istruzione a concedere l'uscita del territorio italiano dei quadri appartenenti alla Galleria Layard di Venezia per essere trasportati in Inghilterra.

Coerentemente a ciò mi affretto a prevenirti che ho dato già gli ordini opportuni affinché il deliberato del Consiglio dei Ministri abbia corso, mentre per le formalità e le modalità da osservarsi per effettuare l'esportazione, sarà il caso che così l'Ambasciatore Inglese o altri per lui s'intendano con la Direzione Generale delle Belle Arti, perché essa possa dare a sua volta le istruzioni necessarie agli uffici dipendenti.

Cordiali saluti,

f<sup>o</sup> Daneo

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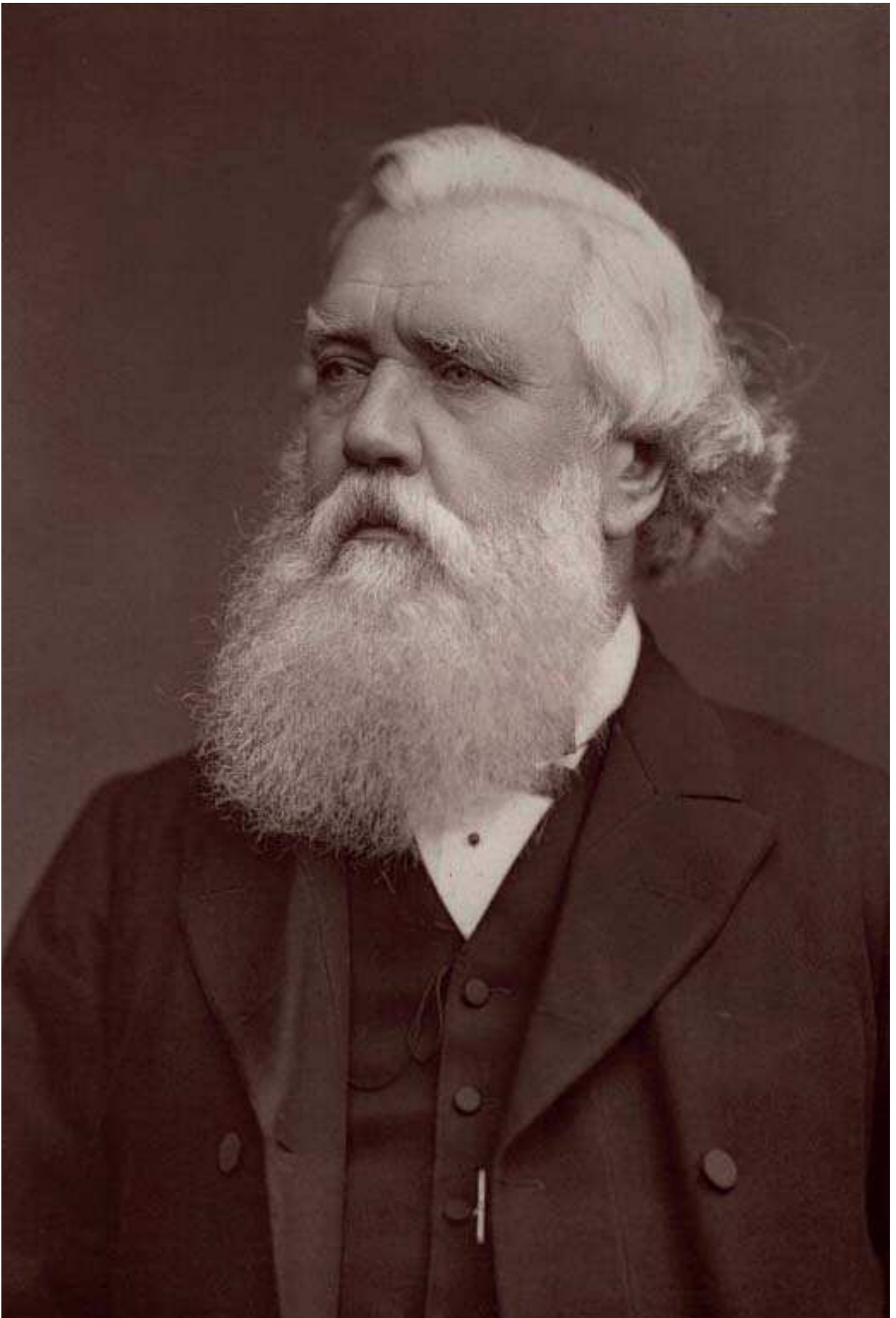
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AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD COLLECTOR AND AMATEUR  
DIPLOMACY, ART HISTORY AND COLLECTING IN  
NINETEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

ILLUSTRATIONS

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### Plate 2

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**Figure 11** Unknown photographer, *Lady Layard in her widowhood*. Bromide print, 140x95mm, NPG x19902 © National Portrait Gallery, London

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**Figure 23** After David Octavius Hill, Robert Adamson, *Lady Eastlake (née Rigby)*. 1843-48, carbon print, 207 x 155 mm, NPG Ax29534

**Figure 24** Ferdinand Jean de la Ferté Joubert, *Sir William Boxall*. 1860s, albumen carte-de-visite, NPG Ax14839 © National Portrait Gallery, London

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**Figure 26** Alexander Bassano, *Edward John Poynter*. 1883, half-plate glass negative, NPG x96609 © National Portrait Gallery, London

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**Figure 31** Lady Gregory, *Bust of an Assyrian figure facing right*. Drawing pencil, 137 x 224 mm, PD 3038 TX 1 © National Library of Ireland

**Figure 32** Daniel Maclise, *Sara Austen*. 1828, graphite, grey wash, 258 x 195 mm, inv. 1976.0925.14 © Trustees of the British Museum

**Figure 33** Daniel Maclise, *Benjamin Austen*. 1828, graphite, grey wash, 255 x 192 mm, inv. 1976.0925.15 © Trustees of the British Museum

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**Figure 88** George Charles Beresford, *Sir Charles Holroyd*. 1907, modern bromide print from original negative, 155 x 122 mm, NPG x32789 © National Portrait Gallery, London

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**Figure 98** Unknown miniaturist, *Xoran, or headpiece, and incipit of St. Matthew's Gospel*. XVII cent., paper, 135 x 105 mm, fol. 10r. Venice, Library of the Correr Museum, 2018 © Biblioteca Correr - Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia

**Figure 99** Unknown miniaturist, *Xoran, or headpiece, and incipit of St. John's Gospel*. XVII cent., paper, 135 x 105 mm, fol. 201r. Venice, Library of the Correr Museum, 2018 © Biblioteca Correr - Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia

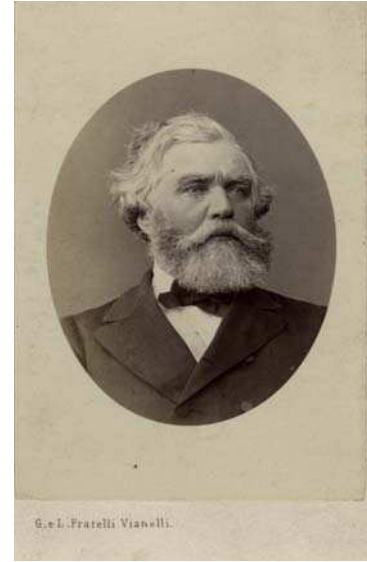
AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD



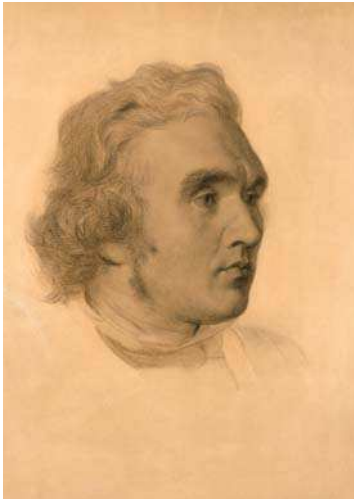
Amedeo Preziosi, *Portrait of Sir Austen Henry Layard in Bakhtiari dress*. 1843, watercolour heightened with gold, 298 x 225 mm, 1976,0925.9  
© Trustees of the British Museum



Joseph Brown, after Henry Wyndham Phillips, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1851, stipple engraving, 227 x 144 mm, NPG D4043  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



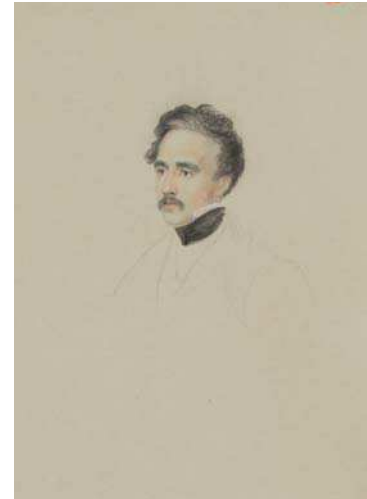
Fratelli Vianelli (Giuseppe & Luigi Vianelli), *Austen Henry Layard*. Late 1860s-early 1870s, albumen carte-de-visite, 63 x 46 mm, NPG Ax17765  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



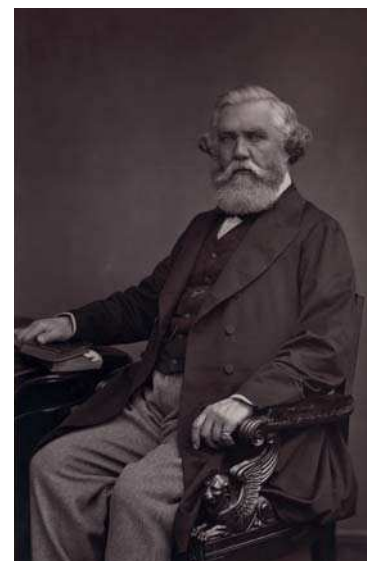
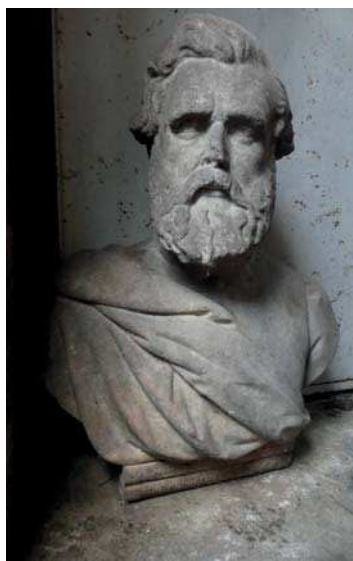
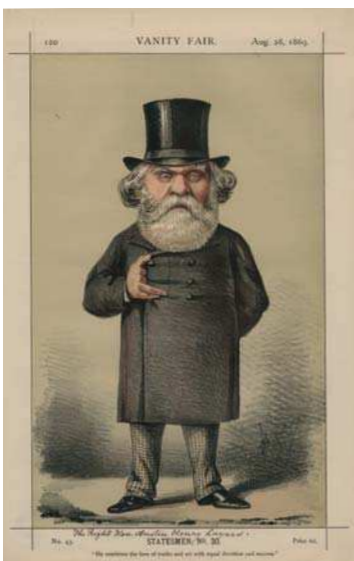
▲ George Frederic Watts, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1852ca, black chalk, 593 x 484 mm, NPG 1006  
▼ Carlo Pellegrini, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1869, chromolitograph, published in *Vanity Fair*, 359 x 242 mm, NPG D43394  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



▲ George Frederic Watts, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1852ca, chalk, 584 x 483 mm, NPG 3787  
© National Portrait Gallery, London  
▼ Charles Wiener, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1866, marble, 700 x 490 x 280 mm, NT 113257.  
Image courtesy of Jeremy Warren



▲ William Brockedon, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1849, pencil and chalk, 375 x 270 mm, NPG 2515 (103)  
▼ Unknown photographer, *Austen Henry Layard*. 1877ca, carbon print, 189 x 121 mm, NPG x197924  
© National Portrait Gallery, London







The photograph shows, according to Lady Layard's journal (but without allowing us to distinguish between the five standing figures) Austen Henry Layard, Lady Layard and their niece Alice Du Cane, Mr Nicholson, Mr Noel Temple Moore, the Armenian Patriarch, Mr Salami, Sir Arthur Sandison, on 20 September 1879 on the roof of the Armenian Convent in Jerusalem. © The Levantine Heritage Foundation



Unknown photographer, *Lady Layard in her widowhood*. Bromide print, 140x95mm, NPG x19902 © National Portrait Gallery, London



▲ The photograph shows one of the last picnics the Layards enjoyed together in the English countryside with Alice, Ola and Louis (?) Du Cane. Image courtesy of Stefania Ermidoro © Newcastle University, 2018

▼ F. Trombini, *Postcard for the inauguration of the the Cosmopolitan Hospital*. 28 September 1903, carbon print. Image courtesy of Francesco Basaldella.



▼ Lady Layard, *Virgin and Child*. 1902, marble, Venice. Photo by Cecilia Riva



AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD



► Austen Henry Layard, after Altichiero, *Saint Lucy brought to gallows*. Saint George's Oratory, Padua. 1856ca, pen and pencil tracings. E.1860-1913  
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London

► Austen Henry Layard, after Giusto de' Menabuoi, *Christ brought before Pilatus*. Baptistery, Padua. 1856ca, pen and pencil tracings. E.1846-1913  
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London



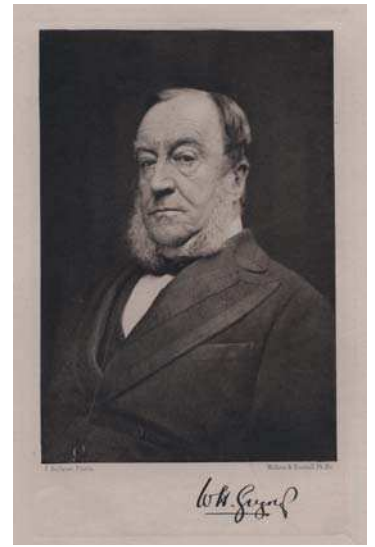
► Austen Henry Layard, after Altichiero, *Saint Barbara and Saint George (?)*. 1860ca, pen and pencil tracings. E.2068-1913  
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London



Camille Silvy, *Lady Charlotte Elizabeth Schreiber (née Bertie)*. 15 July 1861, albumen print, 86x57mm, NPG Ax54930  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



Théobald Chartran ("T"), *Ivor Bertie Guest, 1st Baron Wimborne*. 1882, chromolithograph, published in *Vanity Fair*, NPG D44086  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



Frederick Hollyer, *Sir William Henry Gregory*. 1870s, photograph, NPG x16356  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



▲ James Jacques Tissot, *Sir Henry Cole*. 1871, chromolithograph, 359 x 424 mm, published in *Vanity Fair*, NPG D43497

▼ Ferdinand Jean de la Ferté Joubert, *Sir William Boxall*. 1860s, albumen carte-de-visite, NPG Ax14839  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



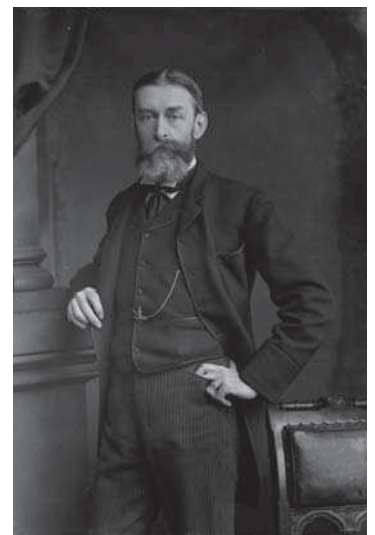
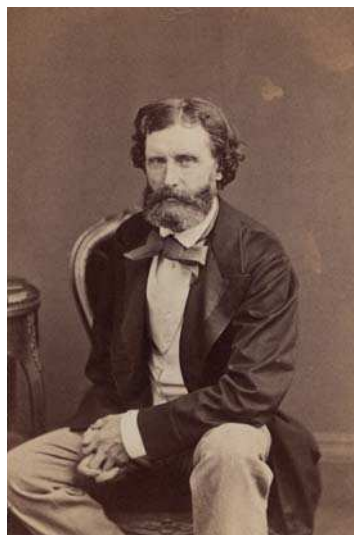
▲ Leonida Caldesi, *Charles Lock Eastlake*. 1860s, albumen carte-de-visite, 88 x 57 mm, NPG Ax11913

▼ Cundall, Downes & Co - J. Watkins, *Frederic William Burton*. 1863ca, albumen carte-de-visite, 88 x 58 mm, NPG Ax5077  
© National Portrait Gallery, London



▲ After David Octavius Hill, Robert Adamson, *Lady Eastlake (née Rigby)*. 1843-48, carbon print, 207 x 155 mm, NPG Ax29534

▼ Alexander Bassano, *Edward John Poynter*. 1883, half-plate glass negative, NPG x96609  
© National Portrait Gallery, London







► La Rambla, *Jars*. 1865-70, tin-glazed earthenware, 19.4x13cm, inv. 760-1870 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London

► Elizabeth Armstrong, after Thomas Cooper Gotch, *William Richard Drake*. Drypoint etching, 267x318mm (plate size), NPG D8462 © National Portrait Gallery, London

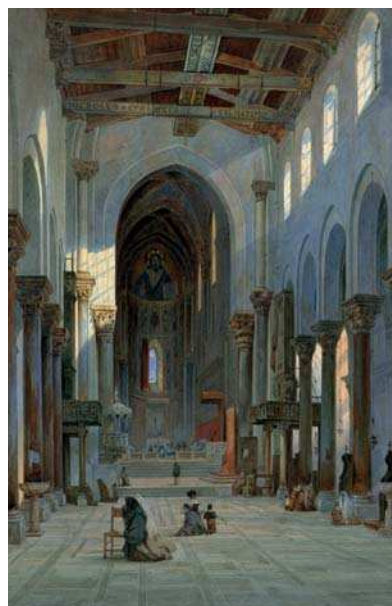


► Oronzio Lelli, after Jacopo della Quercia, *Reliefs of half-length busts of prophets*. 1885, plaster cast, REPRO, 1885-225, 219, 218 © Victoria and Albert Museum, London



▲ Florentine painter XVI century, *Head of a boy*.  
Christie's, 24 November 1961, lot 57

Daniel Maclise, *Sara Austen*. 1828, graphite, grey wash, 258 x 195 mm, inv. 1976.0925.14  
© Trustees of the British Museum



▲ Carl Friedrich Heinrich Werner, *Interior of the Cathedral of Cefalù*. 1836, watercolour, 787 x 609 mm, via Wikimedia Commons

Daniel Maclise, *Benjamin Austen*. 1828, graphite, grey wash, 255 x 192 mm, inv. 1976.0925.15  
© Trustees of the British Museum

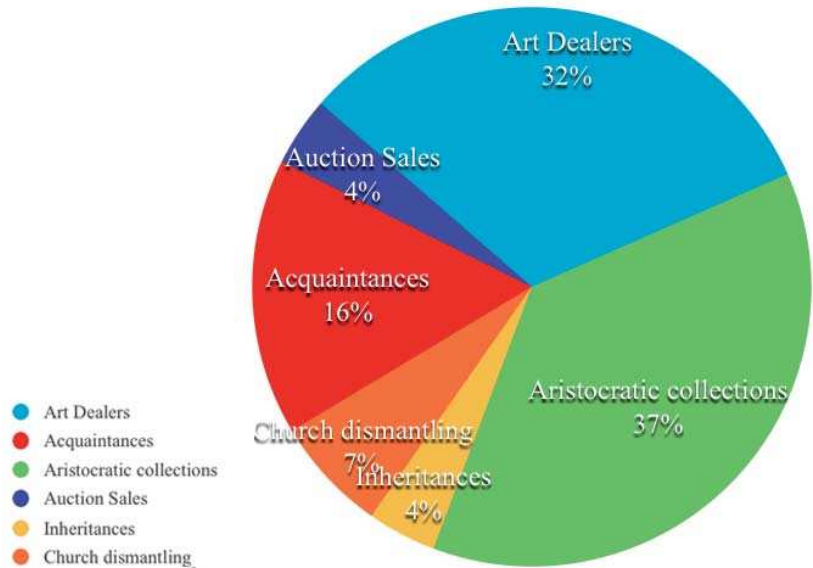


Lady Gregory, *Bust of an Assyrian figure facing right*.  
Drawing pencil, 137 x 224 mm, PD 3038 TX 3 ©  
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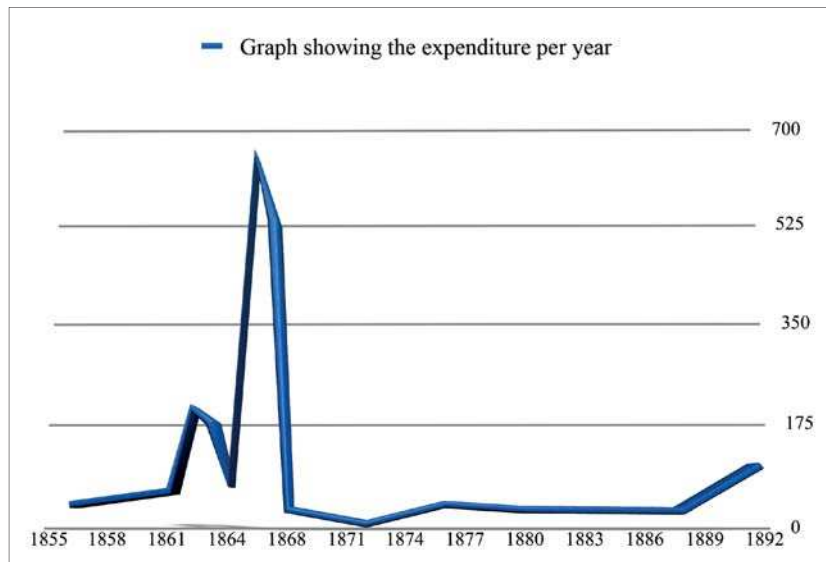
Lady Gregory, *Bust of an Assyrian figure facing right*.  
Drawing pencil, 137 x 224 mm, PD 3038 TX 1 ©  
National Library of Ireland





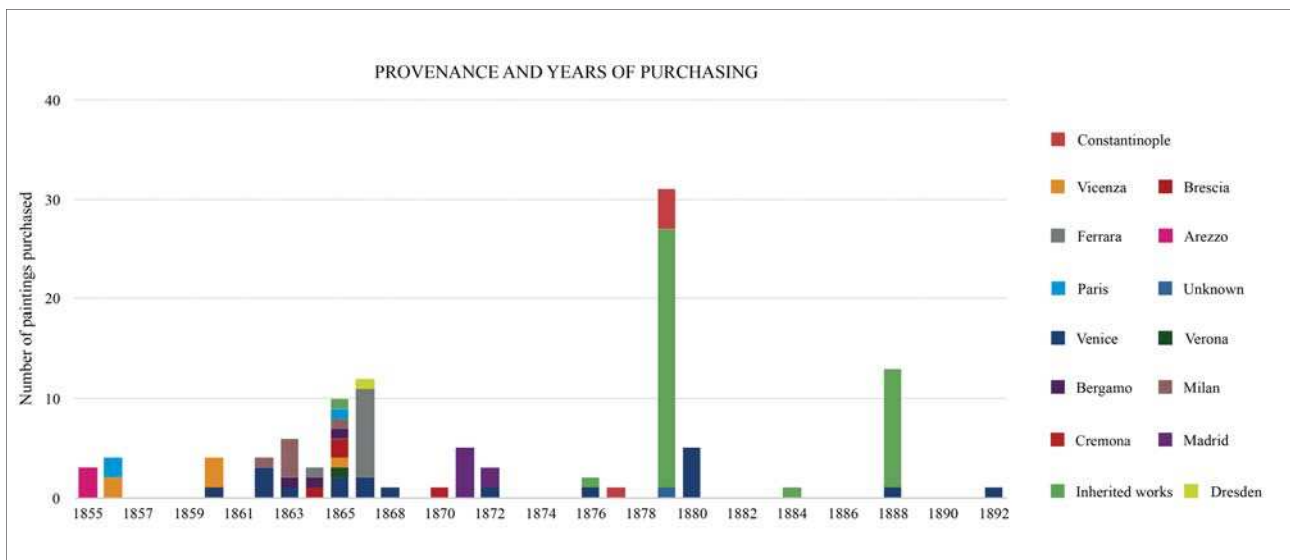
▲ The graph shows the provenance of the paintings purchased by Layard, from 1855 to 1892.

► The graph shows the expenditure per year, from 1855 to 1892.



Opposite: Letter from A.H. Layard to Ludwig Gruner, 3 January 1866  
© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, 2018

▼ The graph shows the provenance and the year of the paintings acquired or inherited by Layard between 1855 and 1892





PR. ST-BIBL.  
51.32  
acc. DARMST.

138 Piccadilly  
Jan<sup>y</sup> 3. 1866.

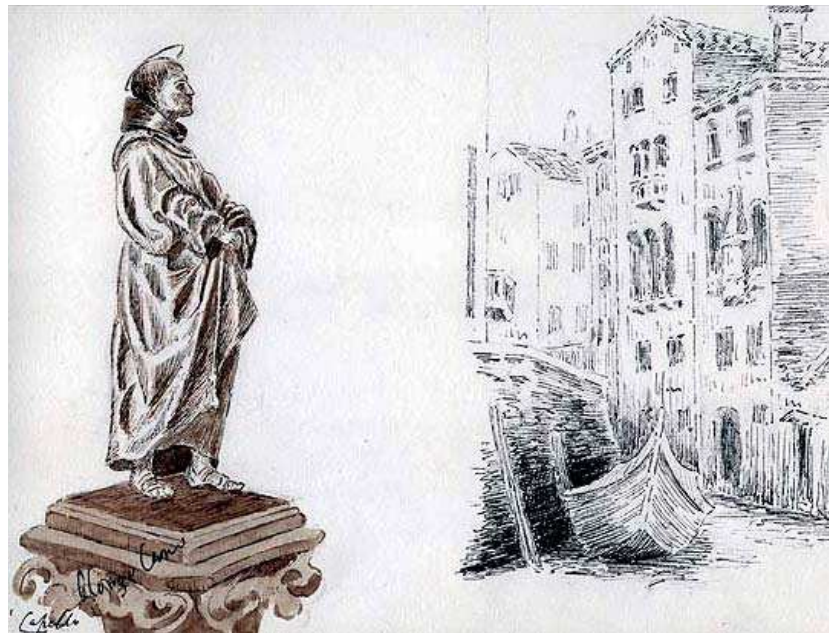
My dear Sir,

I am very much obliged  
to you for your further letter.  
If you really think so well of  
the Giulio Clovio, and you can  
obtain it for me at the price  
you mention £25. I should be  
glad to have it. You can  
send it to me thro' the British  
Legation at Dresden - but if  
packed with care it will  
reach me safely. If, however,  
you know a safer way of sending



► The watercolour, possibly by Franco, shows the interior of the British Legation in Madrid: Lady Layard at the desk, Austen Henry Layard and Giovanni Morelli in the background

► Lady Gregory, *Ca' Capello*. May 1896, drawing, ink and wash, 178 x 257 mm  
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► Alonso Cano, *San Diego de Alcalá*. 1647, wood, 605 x 237 x 235 mm. Granada  
 © Fundación Rodríguez - Acosta  
 ◀ Alonso Cano, *San Diego de Alcalá*. 1653-7, wood, 1960 x 640 x 590 mm.  
 Museo de Bellas Artes, Granada  
 © Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte





▲ A XVIII-century Turkish Transylvanian rug. Guglielmi 1939, 28, lot 277  
▼ A XVII-century Damask carpet. Guglielmi 1939, lot 398



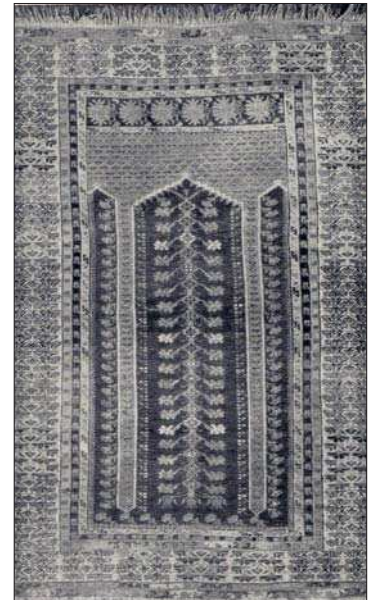
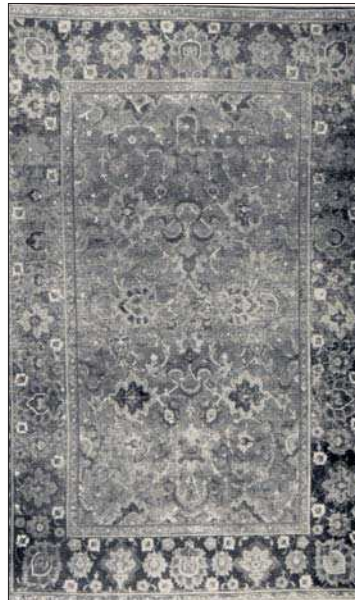
▲ A XVII century Kulack prayer carpet. Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 718  
▼ A XVI century Ispahan carpet. Guglielmi 1939, 46, lot 498



▲ A XVII century Ghiordes prayer rug. Guglielmi 1939, 55, lot 608  
▼ A XVII century Kulack prayer carpet. Guglielmi 1939, 9, lot 58

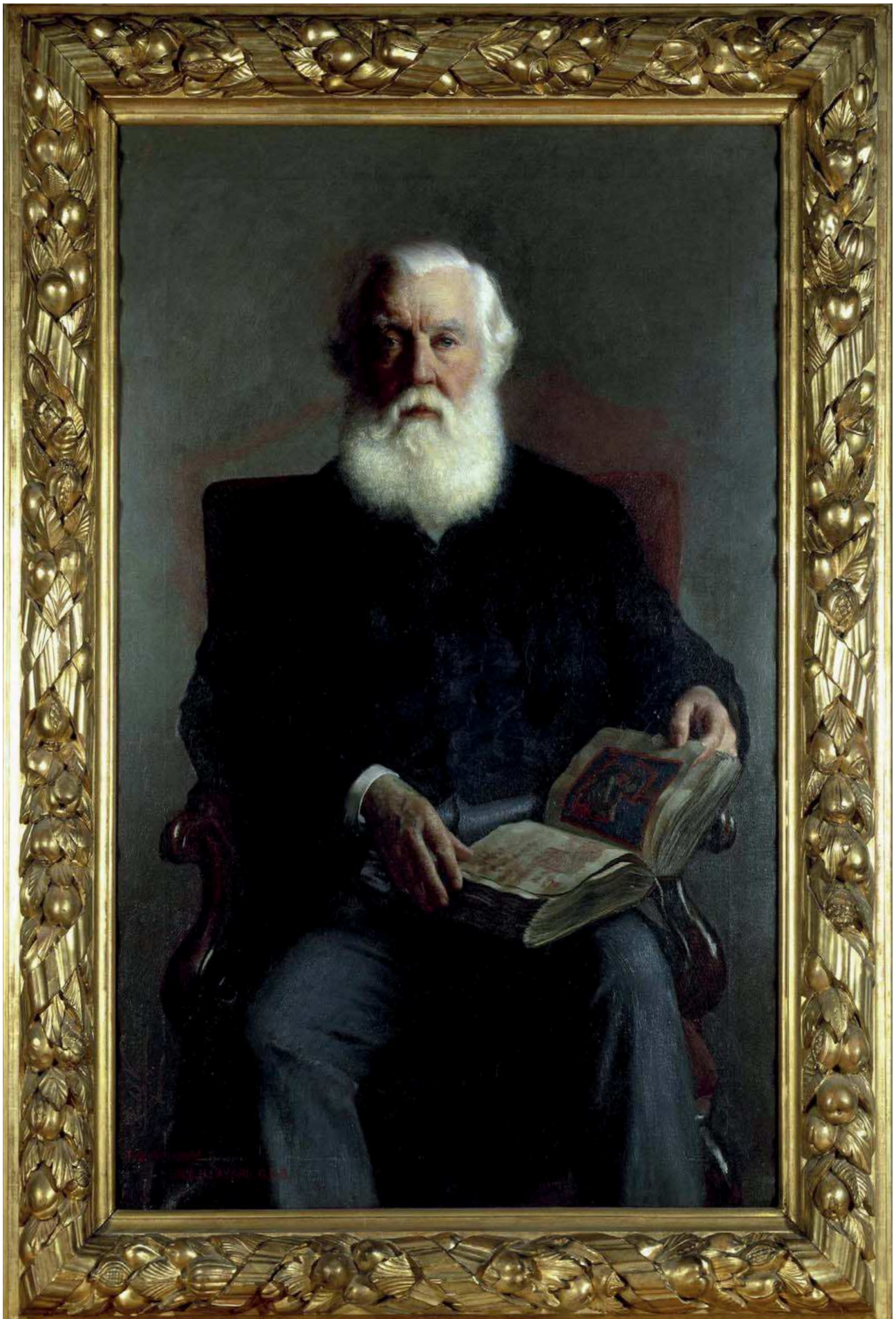


▼ A XVI-century Persian carpet. Guglielmi 1939, lot 278



The images from the Guglielmi catalogue are reproduced courtesy of Biblioteca della Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna, Rome







Unknown miniaturist, *Portrait of St. Luke*. 1469, paper, 255 × 180 mm, fol. 134v. Venice, Mekhitarist Library, 2018.  
© Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro

Opposite  
Charles Vigor, *Portrait of Sir Austen Henry Layard*. 1885, oil on canvas, 1205 × 805 mm. 1968, 0518.1  
© Trustees of the British Museum



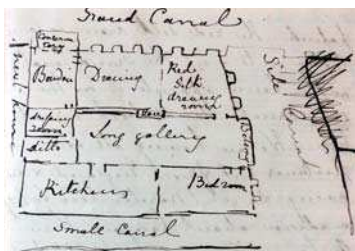


► After Antonio Quadri, *Il Canal Grande di Venezia*, illustrations by D. Moretti (Venice: Tipografia di Commercio, 1831). Ca' Capello is the first building on the right-hand side

► A postcard of Ca' Capello Layard for the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 20 June 1887

▼ F. Trombini (?), *Portrait of Lady Layard*, albumen print, Newcastle University, Philip Robinson Library, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64.

© Newcastle University, 2018

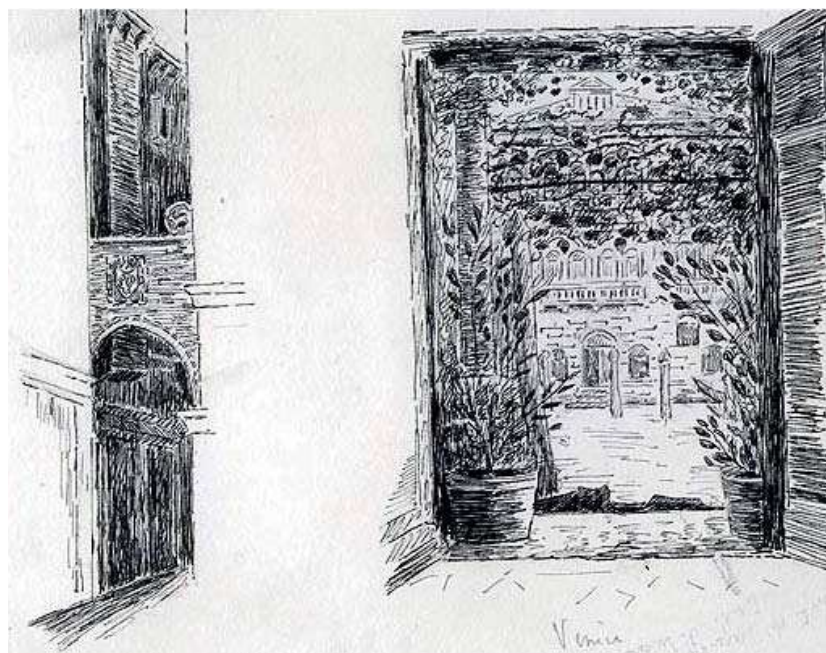


We have on 3 sides of us the water & therefore we are very airy like all Venetian houses it stands on stilts. We have been obliged to have our bed rooms rather a low

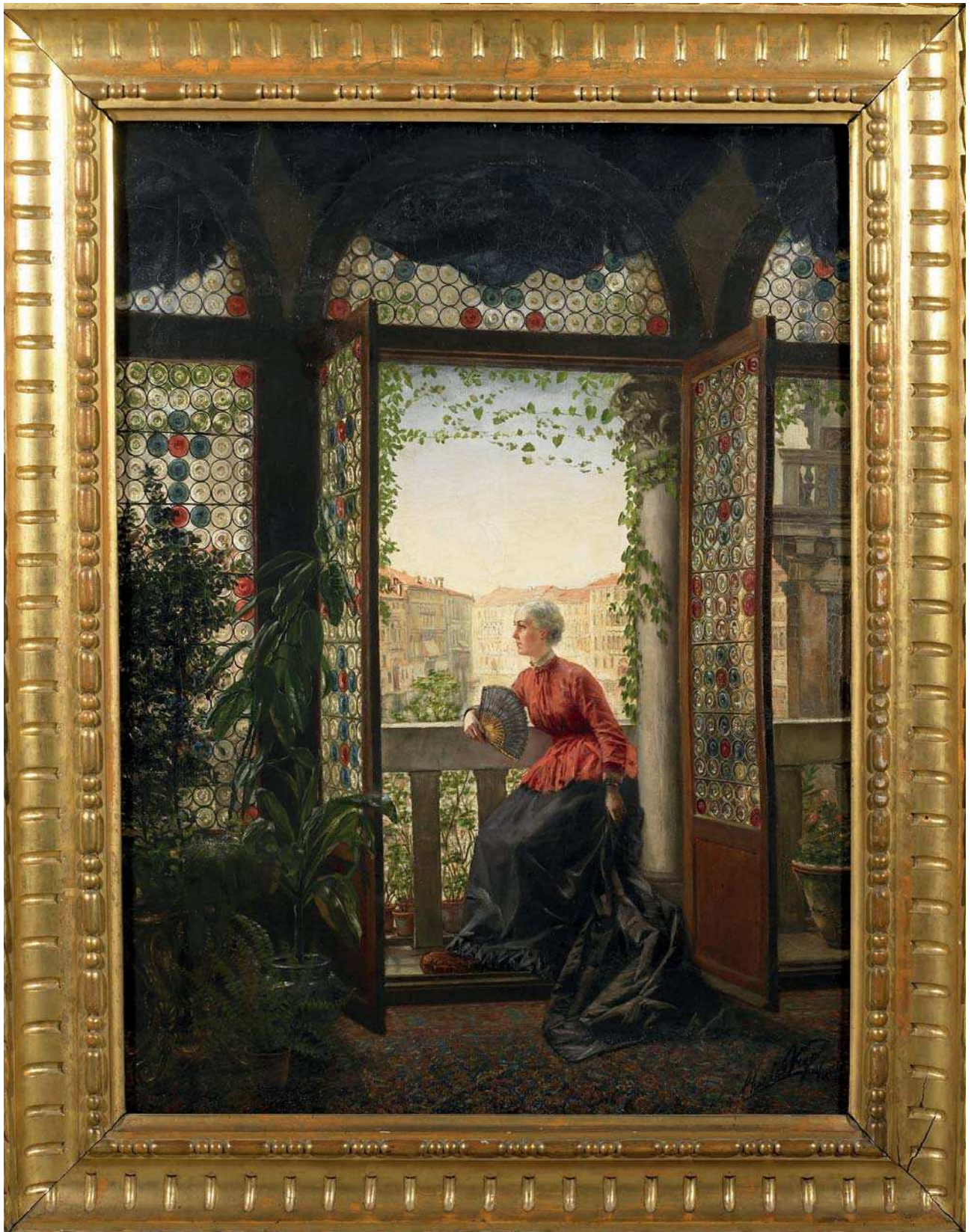
▲ Lady Layard, *Sketch of the piano nobile of Ca' Capello Layard*. Newcastle University, Philip Robinson Library, Layard Collection, Lay1/1/1/64.

© Newcastle University, 2018.  
Photo by Stefania Ermidoro

► Lady Gregory, *Venice. Ca' Capello*. May 1896, ink drawing, 178 x 257 mm. © National Library of Ireland, Dublin. This image is reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings Collection, PD 3032 TX 47







▲ Charles Vigor, *Portrait of Lady Layard*. 1885, oil on canvas, 860 x 620 mm, London, British Museum, inv. 2006.0307.1AN179280001  
© Trustees of the British Museum  
The painting depicts Lady Layard on the balcony of Ca' Cappello and part of the Long Hall.



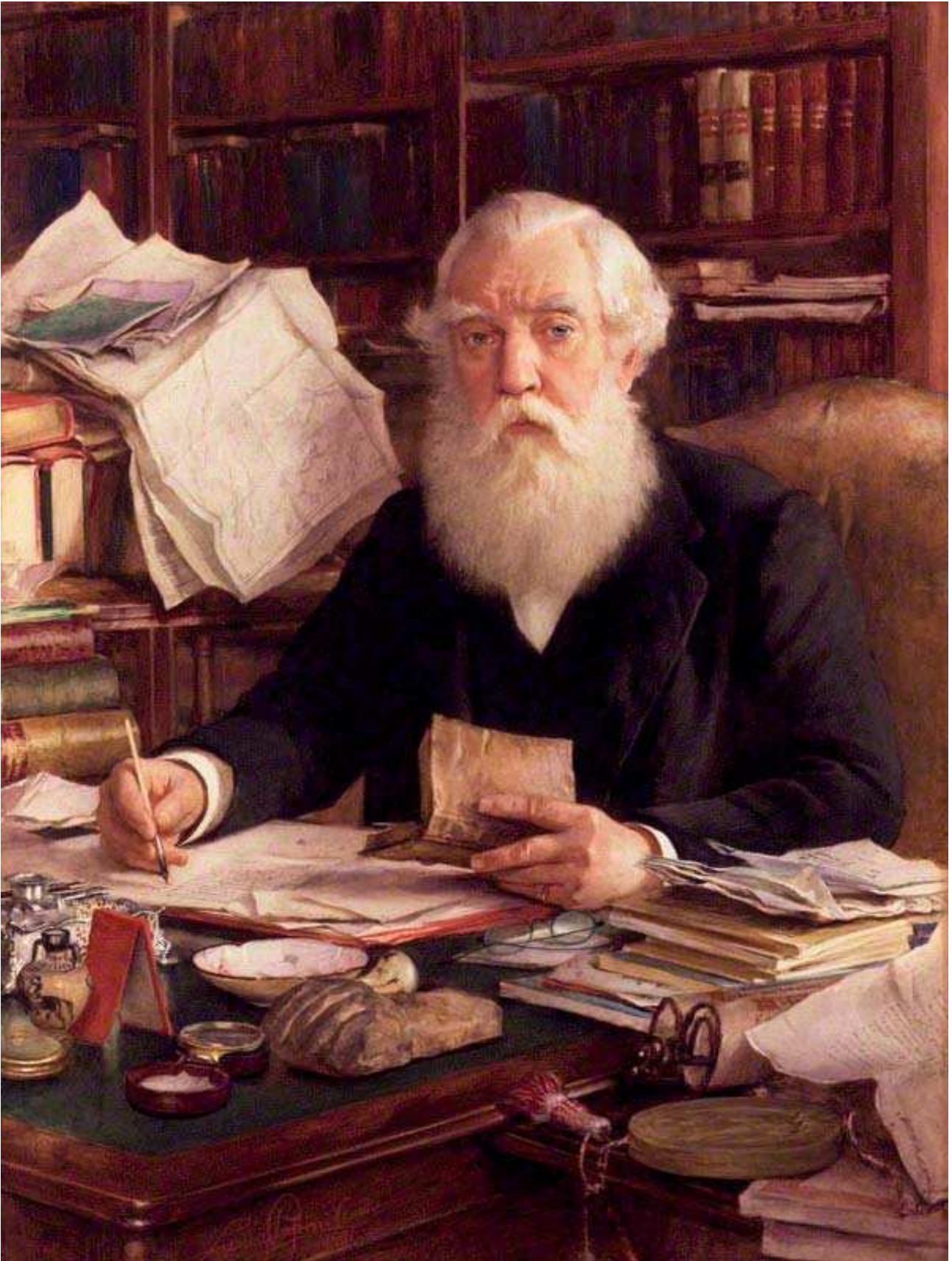
▲ Antonio Zanchi, *Flora and Zephyrus (?)*. XVIII cent., oil on panel. Venice, Ca' Capello, The Corner Room.  
Photo by Cecilia Riva

► Anonymous, after Giandomenico Tiepolo  
*Scène de carnaval, ou Le Menuet* (above)  
*L'Arracheur de dents* (below)  
XVIII cent., gold, oil, tiles. Venice, Ca' Capello, The Corner Room.  
Photos by Cecilia Riva













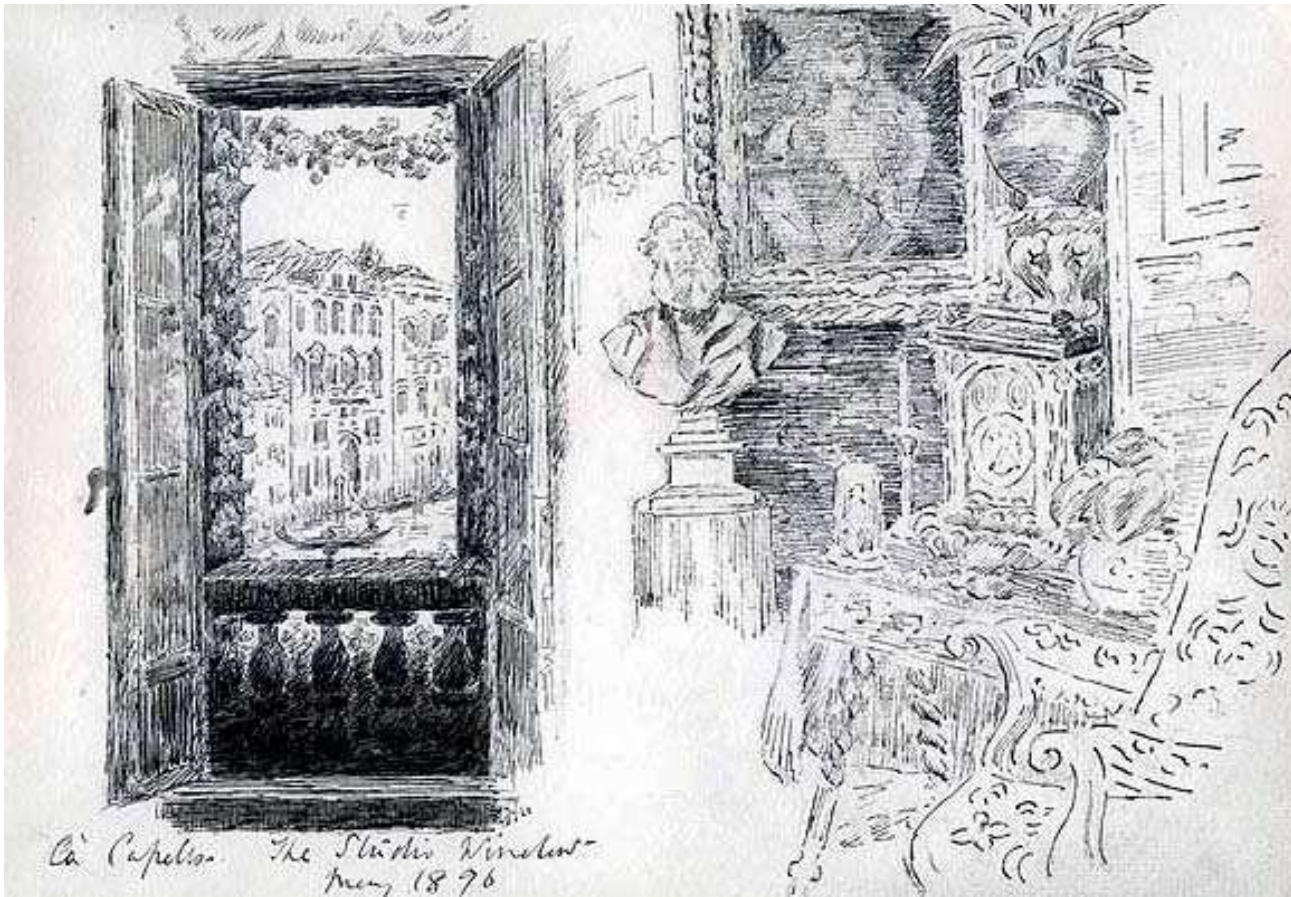
◀ Present-day photograph of Caldara, after Paolo Veronese, *Music*. 1875-6, oil on canvas, 250 cm. Venice, Ca' Capello, Music Room. Photo by Cecilia Riva



◀ Present-day photograph of the ceiling painting in the Boudoir. Unknown painter, *Diana and putti*. Venice, Ca' Capello, Music Room. Photo by Cecilia Riva

Opposite  
Ludwig J. Passini, *Sir Austen Henry Layard*. 1891, watercolour, 617 x 467 mm. London, National Portrait Gallery, NPG1791  
© National Portrait Gallery, London

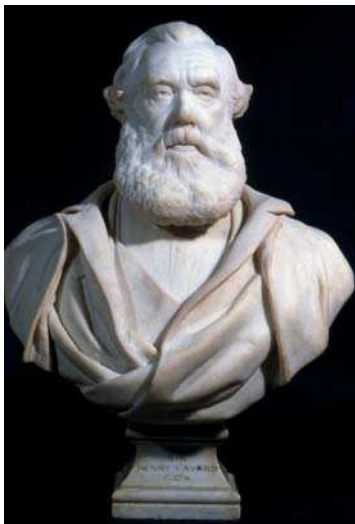




▲ Lady Gregory, *Ca' Capello. The Studio Window*. May 1896, ink drawing, 178 x 257 mm  
© National Library of Ireland, Dublin.  
This image is reproduced courtesy of the National Library of Ireland, Prints and Drawings Collection, PD 3032 TX 33

► *A Venetian XVIII-cent. commode of serpentine bombé form and a Japanned lacquer table clock.*  
Guglielmi 1939, 29, lot 270, 287, plate II  
© Biblioteca Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna, Roma 2018

▼ J.E. Boehm, *Bust of A.H. Layard*. 1890, marble, 814 x 587 mm, 1891.0613.27  
© Trustees of the British Museum







▲ Lady Gregory, *The Green drawing room*.  
May 13, 1896, ink drawing, 178 x 257 mm.  
© National Library of Ireland, Dublin.  
This image is reproduced courtesy of the  
National Library of Ireland,  
Prints and Drawings Collection, PD 3032 TX 37

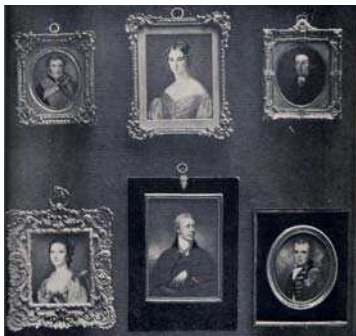
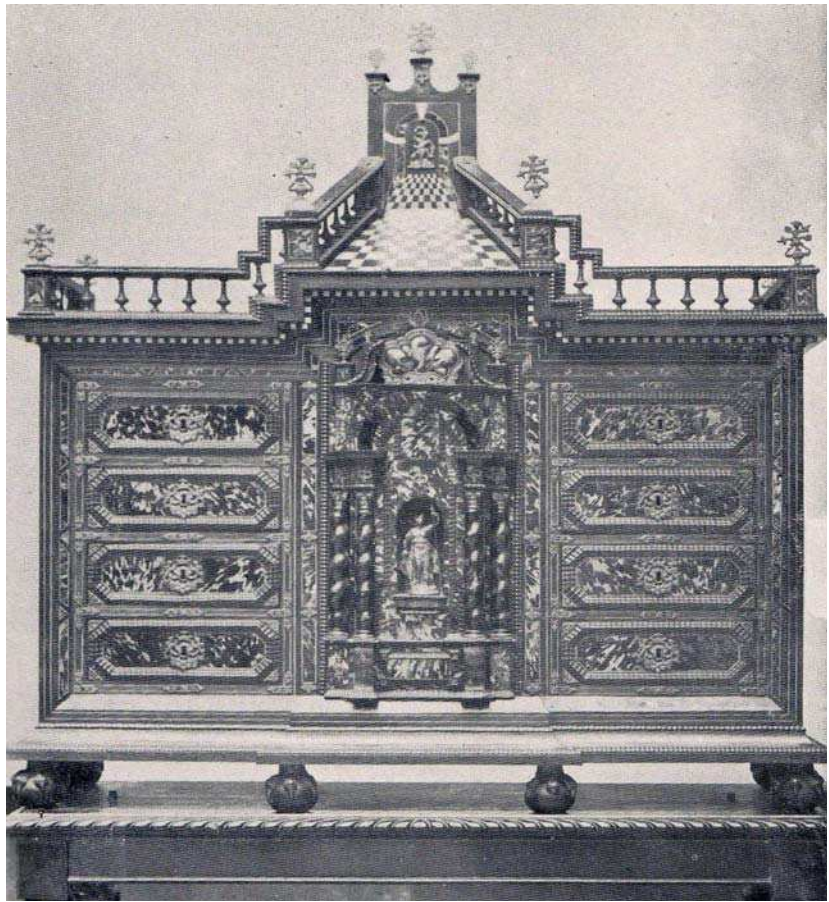


► A gilt bronzed mounted ebony, rosewood, tortoiseshell inlaid Cabinet, of architectural form, with glass columns, an arrangement of 8 drawers around the central cupboard enclosing a mirrored interior; centred by a bronze standing figure, with a slide, on later clawed feet together with a consolle.

Guglielmi 1939, 26, lot 260, plate II  
© Biblioteca della Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna, Roma

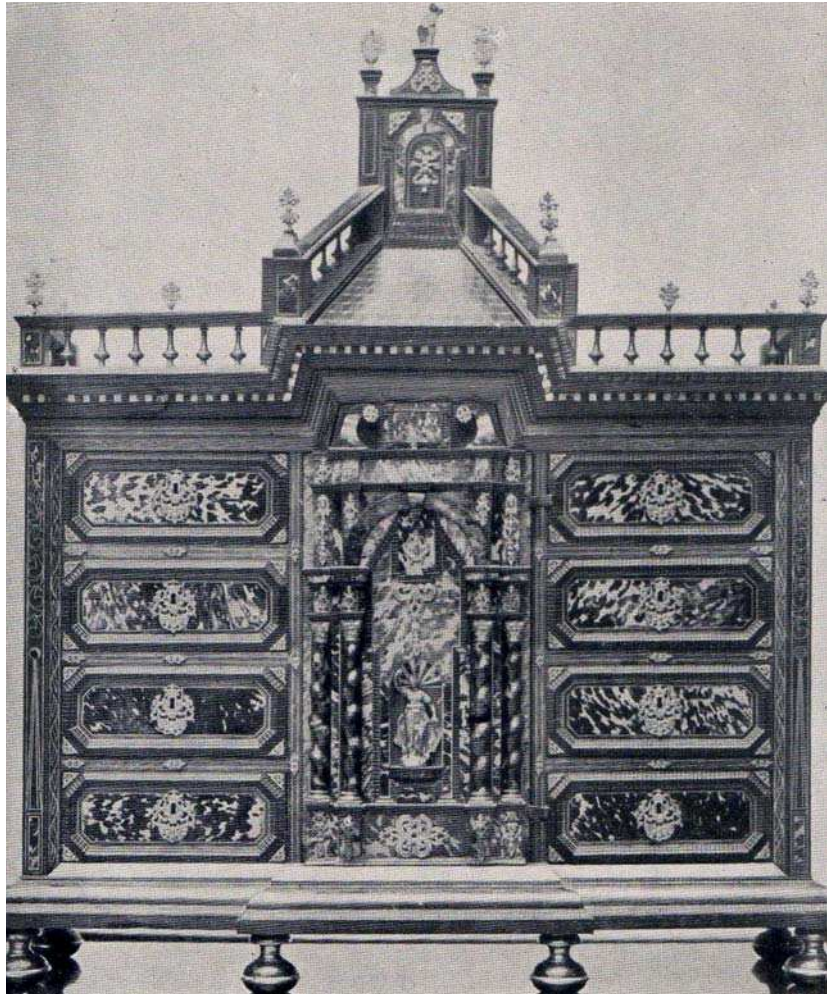
▼ A collection of portraits miniatures auctioned sold during the Roman auction sale 1939, from left to right lots 30, 410, 290, 136, 190, 502, 425, 790, 300, 65, 184, 700.

▼ A collection of portraits miniatures auctioned sold during the Roman auction sale 1939, from left to right lots 361, 400, 471, 21, 251, 503



► A Spanish gilt-bronze-mounted tortoiseshell, ebony and rosewood cabinet of architectural form: the front profusely engraved and inlaid, the moulded pediment above a panel flanked by a pierced and balustraded gallery with finials and a central crest, above a central cupboard door, depicting a female figure in a niche, opening to reveal a mirrored architectural interior, flanked by twin spirally-turned columns, surrounded by six various panelled drawers, the stand with moulded rectangular top, on four bun feet.

Guglielmi 1939, lot 397  
© Biblioteca della Galleria Nazionale di Arte Moderna, Roma

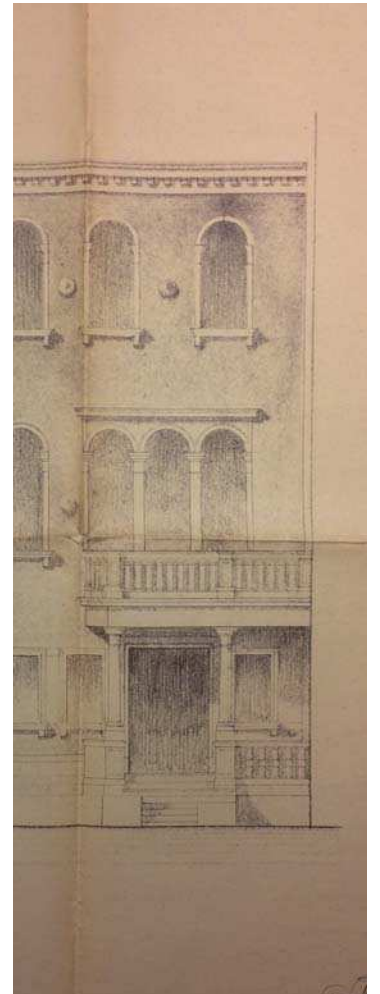
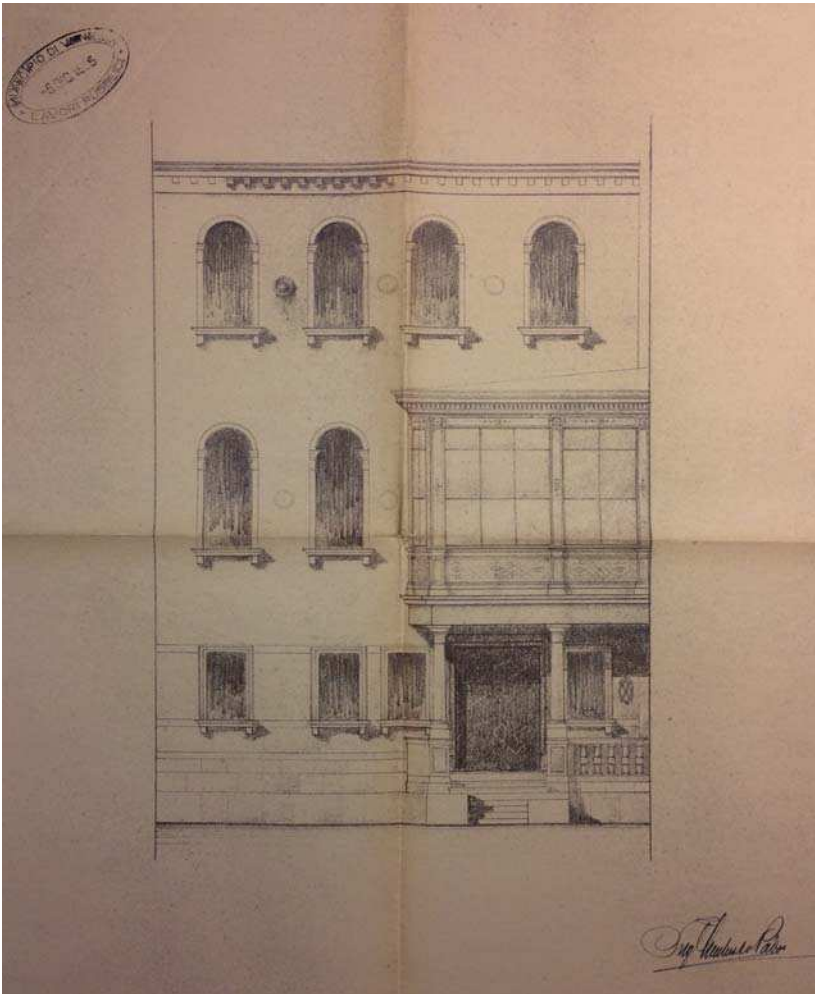


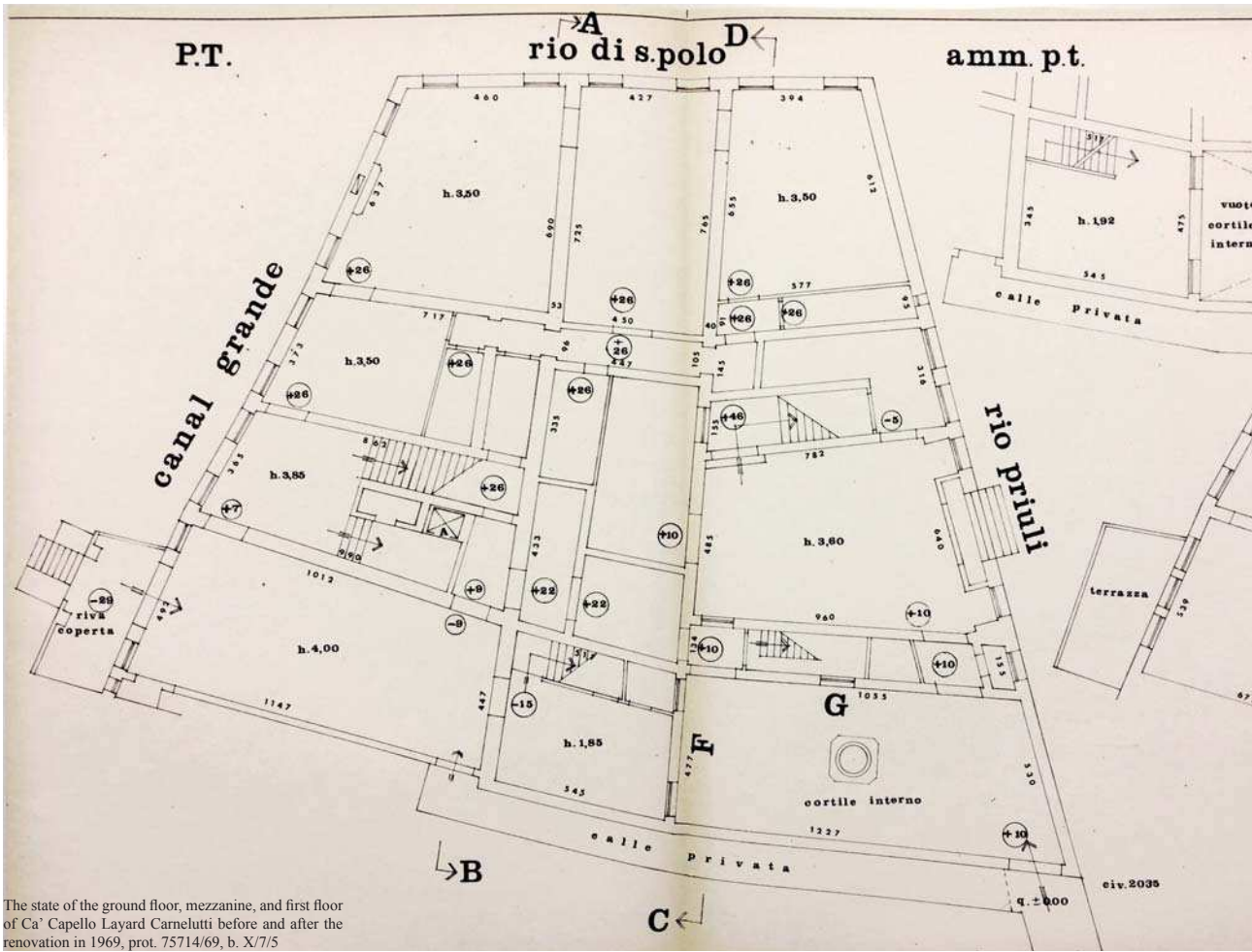




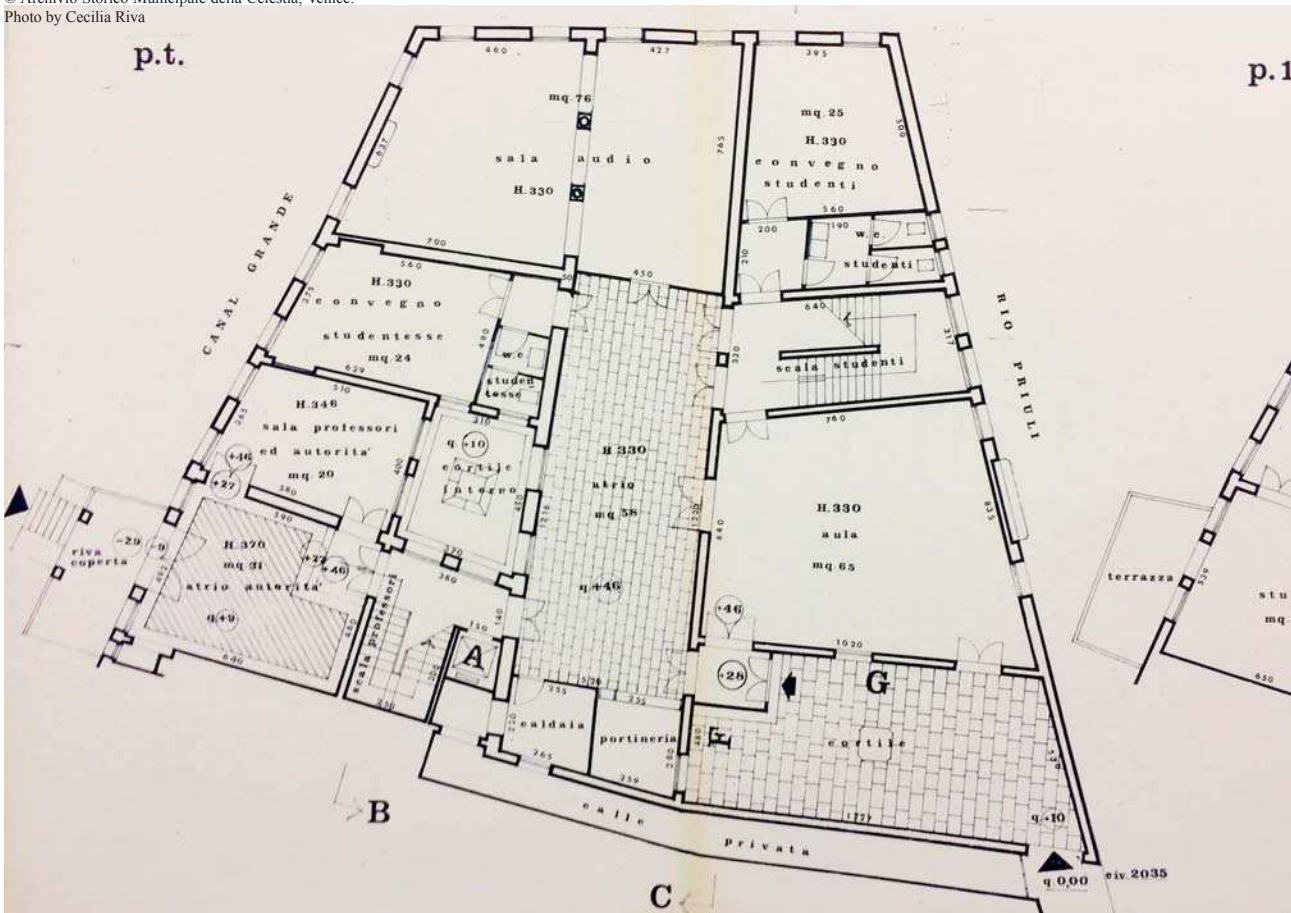
▲ Above, *The wash stand of Ca'Capello Layard, Venice.* On the left, a similar example at Holland Park, London.

▼ The renovation of the façade on Ca'Capello in 1936, prot. 71161/36, b. X/7/5  
© Archivio Storico Municipale della Celestia, Venice.  
Photo by Cecilia Riva



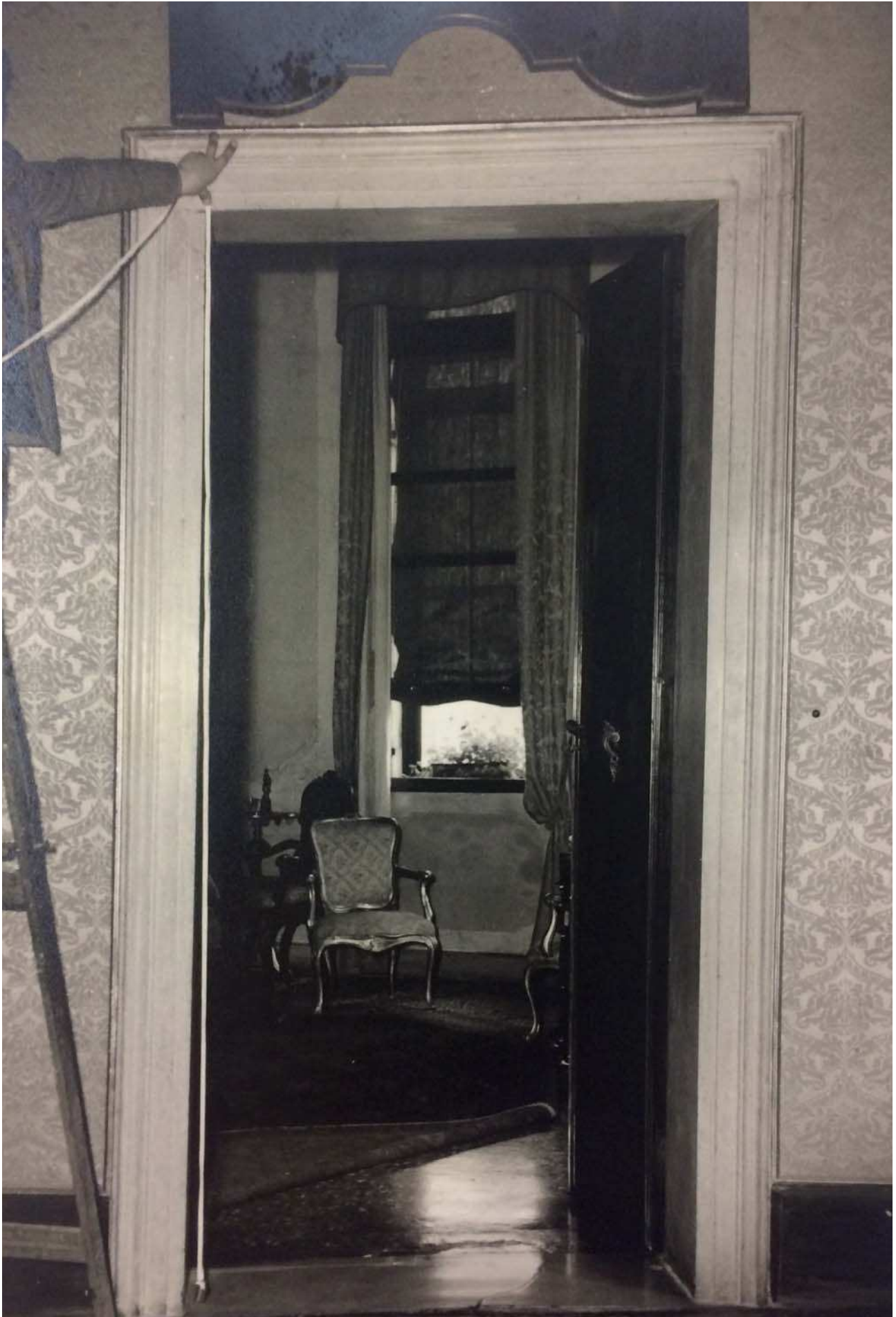


The state of the ground floor, mezzanine, and first floor of Ca' Capello Layard Carnelutti before and after the renovation in 1969, prot. 75714/69, b. X/7/5  
 © Archivio Storico Municipale della Celestia, Venice.  
 Photo by Cecilia Riva









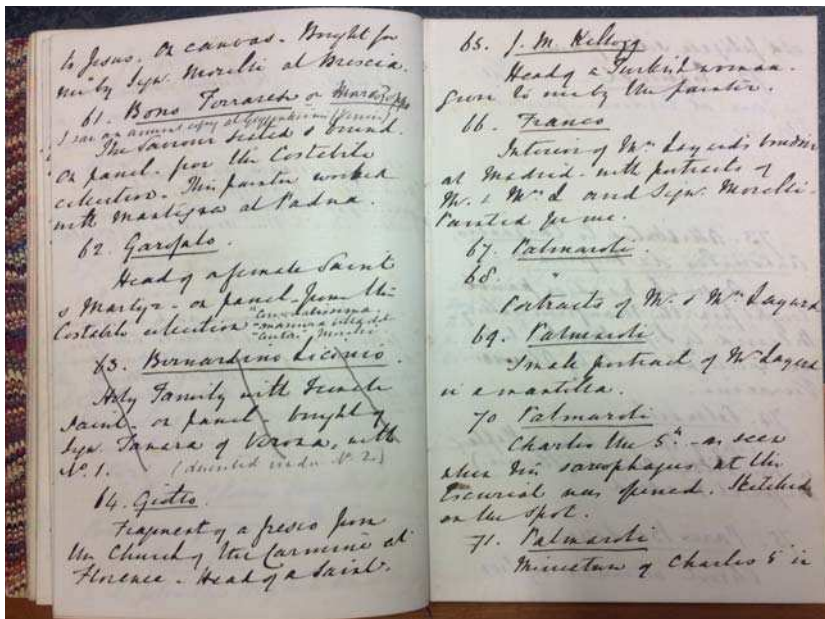
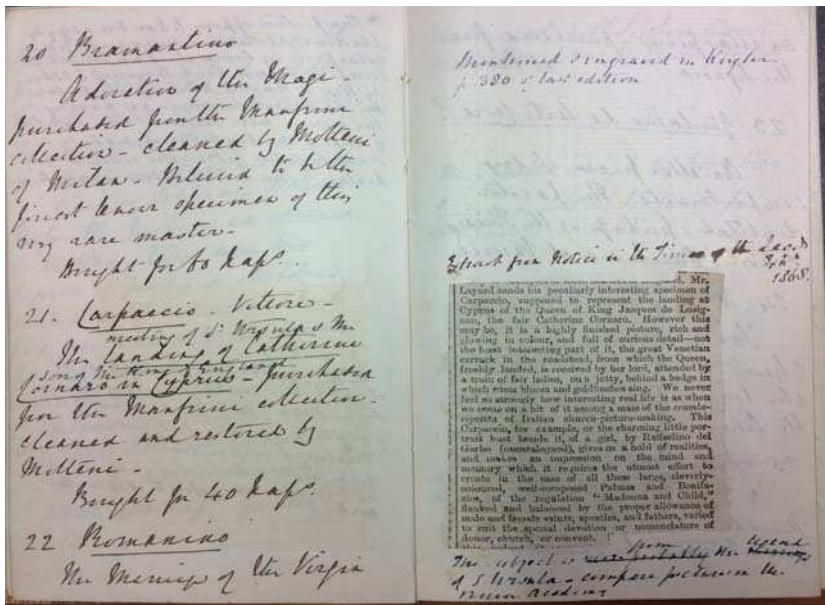




Survey of the interior of Ca'Capello Layard Camelutti, and a view of the first, or corner drawing room, 1969, prot. 75714/69, b. X/7/5  
© Archivio Storico Municipale della Celestia, Venezia

Opposite  
Looking inside the first drawing room, prot. 75714/69, b. X/7/5  
© Archivio Storico Municipale della Celestia, Venezia





List of pictures and tapestry in the possession of A. H. Layard. Manuscript notebook with descriptive notes of each picture. NG7/292/13(ii) © National Gallery, London 2018. Photo by Cecilia Riva

Opposite  
Pages of the typewritten catalogue related to the works of the second drawing room, No. 41 Moroni, *The Virgin Vestal Tuccia* and No. 42 Attrib. to Palma Vecchio, *St. George and the Dragon with a Female Saint*. Venice, Library of the Polo Museale Veneziano, ART. VZIA.148 © Venice, Polo Museale Veneziano 2018. Photo by Cecilia Riva

412  
413

PALMA VECCHIO.

St. George and the Dragon. with female figure.

Restored by Merritt. Formerly belonging to the Grimani family at Venice. Purchased from the dealer, Richetti, Transferred to canvas by Professor Betti. Nov. 1880. In very bad condition.

Restored by Cav. Cavanaghi. 1898. (E.L.)

Bought at Venice. October. 1860.

414

MORONI

Allegorical female figure of chastity.

Bought from the Manfrini Gallery (where it was attributed to Lattanzio Gambara) for 400 lire. Oct. 1830.





ΦΥΤΕΙΑΣ ΓΕΝΕΘΟΥΣ ΑΙΘΗΡΟΥ ΔΗΓΝΩΣΤΕ ΓΕΩΡΓΟΙ

PLANTANDI LEGES PER ME NOVERE COLPNI

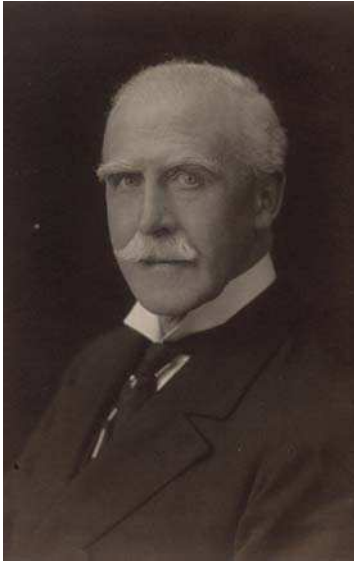




▲ Above,  
Unknown, *Scene of warfare (Scipio receiving the Ambassadors)*. 1530, Oil on panel, 171 × 387 mm.  
Sotheby's, 30 June 1965, lot 39

◀  
Tomaso Filippi  
(on the left), Juan Carreño de Miranda (?),  
*Portrait of the wife of Charles IV of Spain*, TFN2521  
(on the right) Italian, Venetian,  
*The Labours of the Months*, photographs, TFN2528,  
TFN2588  
Image Courtesy of / Per gentile concessione dell'I.R.E.  
Venezia,  
© Fondo Fotografico Tomaso Filippi

AUSTEN HENRY LAYARD



Walter Stoneman, *James Rennell Rodd, 1st Baron Rennell*. 1920, bromide print, 158 x 115 mm, NPG x66984 © National Portrait Gallery, London



Leslie Ward, *Antonino Paternò-Castello di San Giuliano*. 1908, chromolithograph, published in *Vanity Fair*, 359 x 242 mm, NPG D45420 © National Portrait Gallery, London



*Guglielmo Imperiali di Francavilla*. via Wikimedia Commons



Fotografia Bolognese, *Corrado Ricci*. carte-de-visite via Wikimedia Commons



Mario Nunes Vais, *Giovanni Rosadi*. 1900-10, half-plate glass negative, 180 x 240 mm, E098248 © 2018 ICCD



Mario Nunes Vais, *Ugo Ojetti*. 1909, half-plate glass negative, 238 x 178 mm, E098005 © 2018 ICCD

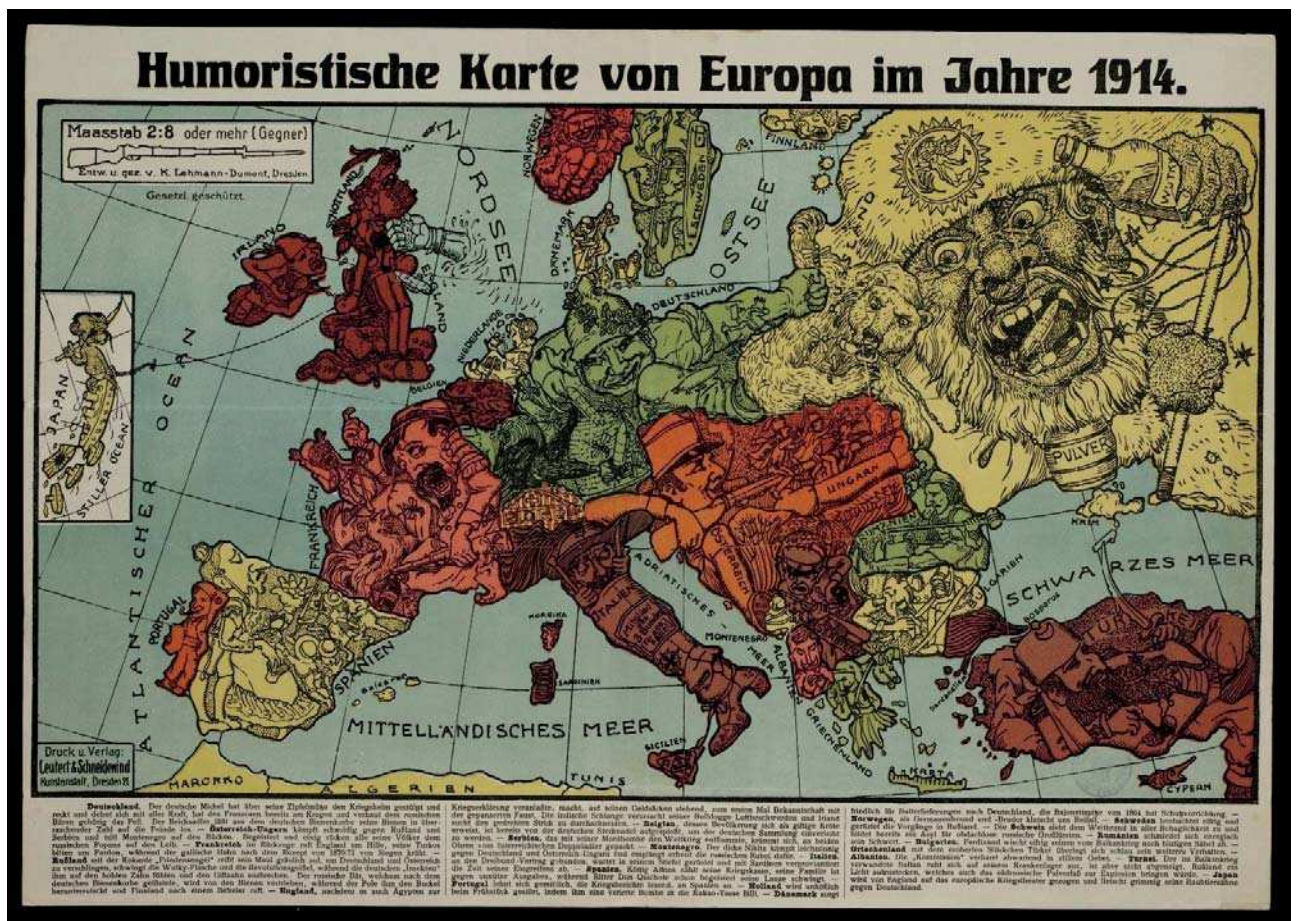


▶ On the left  
Leslie Ward, *George Nathaniel Curzon, Marquess Curzon of Kedleston*. 1892, chromolithograph, published in *Vanity Fair* 359 x 242 mm, NPG D44599 © National Portrait Gallery, London

On the right  
George Charles Beresford, *Sir Charles Holroyd*. 1907, modern bromide print from original negative, 155 x 122 mm, NPG x32789 © National Portrait Gallery, London







▲ Karl Lehmann-Dumont, *Humoristische Karte von Europa im Jahre 1914*, 1914, printed colour, 500 x 350 mm via Wikimedia Commons



A set of glasses donated by Layard to the Murano Museum of Glass between 1874 and 1876.

From top to bottom, from left to right:  
*covered bowl with fligree bands*, colourless, blue, red (inv. S. n. 2324); *a fligree vase*, red, blue, white (inv. S. n. 2285); *cantir with applied bird finial*, grey and opaque white non-lead glasses, blown (inv. S. n. 2286); *vase with applied bird finial*, lattimo decorated with amethyst sprinkles, inv. S. n. 2276; *four-handled vase*, transparent bubbly light green glass (inv. S. n. 2301); *a two-handled fower vase with spherical body*, colourless, blue, inv. S. n. 2340 © Museo del Vetro di Murano





◀  
Assirian manufactures, scenes of warfare. IX-VII BC,  
inv.n.49-50 Donation by Austen Henry Layard to the  
Museo Civico Correr, Venezia.  
© M





▲ Unknown miniaturist, *Xoran, or headpiece, and incipit of St. Matthew's Gospel*. XVII century, paper, 135 x 105 mm, fol. 10r. Venice, Library of the Correr Museum, 2018 © Biblioteca Correr - Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia



▲ From left to right

Unknown miniaturist, *King David*. 1599-1600ca, paper, 151 x 104 mm, fol. 11v. Venice, Mekhitarist Library, 2018 © Biblioteca dei Padri Mechitaristi di San Lazzaro

Unknown miniaturist, *Xoran, or headpiece, and incipit of St. Matthew's Gospel*. XVII cent., paper, 135 x 105 mm, fol. 10r. Venice, Library of the Correr Museum, 2018 © Biblioteca Correr - Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia

Unknown miniaturist, *Xoran, or headpiece, and incipit of St. John's Gospel*. XVII cent., paper, 135 x 105 mm, fol. 201r. Venice, Library of the Correr Museum, 2018 © Biblioteca Correr - Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia







Università  
Ca' Foscari  
Venezia

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**DICHIARAZIONE SOSTITUTIVA DELL'ATTO DI NOTORIETA'**

(Art. 47 D.P.R. 445 del 28/12/2000 e relative modifiche)

Io sottoscritto Cecilia Riva

nat a. a Lecco (prov. LC) il 06/10/1989

residente a Lecco in Via Catullo n. 7

Matricola (se posseduta) 842867 Autore della tesi di dottorato dal titolo:  
Austen Henry Layard collector and amateur. Diplomacy, Art History and Collecting in XIX-Century Europe

Dottorato di ricerca in Storia delle Arti

(in cotutela con .....

Ciclo XXXI

Anno di conseguimento del titolo 2019

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Studente: Cecilia Riva

matricola: 842867

Dottorato: Storia delle Arti

Ciclo: XXXI

Titolo della tesi:

Austen Henry Layard collector and amateur. Diplomacy, Art History and Collecting in XIX-Century Europe

Abstract:

This dissertation challenges the historical assessment of the Layard Collection as simply a bequest of paintings to the National Gallery. The thesis sheds light on the multifarious interests of Austen Henry Layard (Paris, 1817 – London, 1894) in forming a collection consisting of more than a thousand items. Albeit its importance has long been recognised, the Layard collection has not sustained a focused attention in its entirety yet. With versatile interests and always on the move, Layard purchased a great variety of fine and decorative arts, ranging from Cypriot pottery to Renaissance paintings, from Spanish metalwork to beautiful examples of Armenian manuscripts. Stemming from the extant literature, the current dissertation considers and marshals new sources, by challenging Layard's activities in pursuit of public and private collecting, in order to assess him as an art collector and amateur. The thesis is organised into three thematic sections. The first *Trading: An Issue of Art and Diplomacy* furnishes a biographical sketch of Layard and introduces to his art knowledge and purchases through diplomatic channels, either for public institutions and privates. Besides, it presents an analysis of his longstanding relationship with the London museums over thirty years (1863-1894). The second section, *In Pursuit of a Collection*, is an in-depth study on the history of his private collection, which will include an analysis of some lesser-explored items from this collection. Yet it presents the display of the collection, its conservation and promotion, through written and photographic sources. The third section *Legacy and Bequests* explores the issues concerning the exportation of the *Galleria Layard*, its bequest and reception the National Gallery, as well as the eventual dispersal of the collection.

La tesi si propone di accrescere la consolidata valutazione circa la Collezione Layard quale lascito di dipinti alla National Gallery. Ampliando il campo di indagine, il lavoro mette in luce gli interessi che portarono Austen Henry Layard (Parigi, 1817 - Londra, 1894) a formare una collezione di un migliaio di oggetti; la quale, benché riconosciuta nel suo valore, non è stata studiata finora nella sua interezza. Uomo poliedrico e dinamico cosmopolita, Layard acquistò una grande varietà di dipinti e manufatti d'arte decorativa: dalle ceramiche cipriote a dipinti d'epoca rinascimentale; dagli argenti spagnoli a splendidi esempi di manoscritti armeni. A partire dallo stato dell'arte ed avvalendosi di nuove fonti, la tesi lo valuta quale collezionista d'arte ed *amateur*. Il lavoro è quindi organizzato in tre sezioni tematiche. La prima *Trading: An Issue of Art and Diplomacy*, fornendo un quadro biografico del Nostro, introduce alle sue conoscenze artistiche ed agli acquisti effettuati, sia per istituzioni pubbliche che per privati, tramite i canali diplomatici; presenta, inoltre, un'analisi della durevole relazione da lui intrattenuta con i musei di Londra (1863-1894). La seconda sezione *In Pursuit of a Collection* si propone più specificatamente quale studio storico della collezione, soffermandosi dettagliatamente su quegli elementi ad oggi negletti. La terza sezione *Legacy and Bequests* indaga la questione relativa all'esportazione della *Galleria Layard*, la sua donazione e ricezione alla National Gallery ed infine la dispersione di quanto non musealizzato.

Firma dello studente

Cecilia Riva