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Corentin Dury Evariste Fouret (1807-1863): A French Collector, Amateur and Connoisseur of *Trecento* Painting^{*1}

The collection of Evariste Fouret (1807-63) consisted of more than four hundred paintings, of which until recently all that was known was an auction catalogue and twenty-three paintings bought by the city of Le Mans (his hometown) after his death. This collector is of importance to art historians since he had an early interest in Italian Trecento and Quattrocento painting. This paper is the result of the discovery of unpublished documents and of a catalogue written in 1842. It reveals a passionate collector. As early as the 1830s Fouret had a special preference for Trecento Sienese painters and seems to have been quite a connoisseur of late Medieval and early Renaissance painting.

The Musée de Tessé in Le Mans displays a collection of around twenty-five Italian paintings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In his preface to the exhibition *De Giotto à Bellini*, André Chastel mentioned that they were bought by the city in 1863 at the sale held upon the death of Evariste Fouret². Until recently, this name was only linked to the catalogue of an auction held at the Hôtel Drouot on 12 and 13 June 1863. It reveals that Evariste Fouret might have been the first French collector to own paintings of El Greco and above all reveals the early importance of the «*écoles gothiques*»³. Thanks to the archives held in Le Mans, we can rediscover Fouret not only as a collector, but also as an early connoisseur of the Italian Trecento.

Etienne Evariste Fouret was born on 27 September 1807 in Le Mans⁴. For at least three generations his ancestors were solicitors in and around the city⁵. His library, which was inventoried after his death, shows that he probably also studied law. However, he does not appear to have ever been professionally employed. The earliest known document describes him as a *«propriétaire au Mans»* (landowner)⁶. He had a sister, Jenny Mathilde (1815-28), who died when she was twelve years old, and a brother, Bernard Alphonse (1808-62), with whom he shared the family house in Le Mans throughout his life. Neither Evariste nor his brother ever married or had children, and appointed a nephew as heir. The brothers both benefitted from a comfortable inheritance when their parents died, first their father in 1823, and then their mother in 1843. Through three generations of only children, the

ancestors on their mother's side had achieved significant wealth based on land ownership around Le Mans⁷. This allowed Fouret to dedicate his life to his passion for Old Masters.

Inventories of Evariste Fouret's possessions drawn up after his death in his house at Le Mans and in his Parisian apartment reveal a collection made up of no fewer than four hundred and three paintings⁸. Since neither his father nor his brother owned more than a few engravings at their deaths, it appears that collecting was not a family tradition and that Evariste Fouret created his collection *ex nihilo*⁹. He appears to have dedicated most of his life to this passion; even at the point of death he was still purchasing and had paintings restored¹⁰. His brother's will written in 1859 illustrates the importance that the act of collecting had become to Fouret¹¹. Indeed Bernard did not bequeath his property to Evariste but only the usufruct for the following reasons:

Je désire bien vivement que mon frère ne voie pas dans cette clause par laquelle je ne lui laisse pas la toute propriété de mes biens, une marque de mon affection. Je l'aime sincèrement, je le lui déclare ; qu'il en soit bien persuadé; c'est sa passion pour les tableaux qui lui a déjà fait dépenser une somme considérable qui m'a fait prendre cette détermination pénible. J'ai la crainte que s'il avait des capitaux à sa disposition ils ne fussent bientôt engloutis comme l'ont été ceux qu'il possédait. C'est donc uniquement pour qu'il ne se trouve pas un jour dans une position de fortune toute autre que celle où il devrait être que j'ai cru de mon devoir d'agir ainsi¹².

This entertaining quotation, appropriate for a vaudeville, leaves no doubts about Evariste Fouret's passion, also described by his friend Francis Wey. The two men are the protagonists of the beginning of Wey's book *William Hogarth et ses amis ou Londres au siècle passé*¹³. The book begins with Fouret and Wey in Calais. Staying at an inn, Evariste discovers an important engraving. He is able to identify it at a glance and explain his discovery to his friend, quoting from memory several books. Francis Wey concludes, writing¹⁴:

J'avouais [Francis Wey] qu'il me paraissait difficile d'être si subtil sans devenir un peu aigrefin. Mais abaissant sur moi un regard empreint de la quiétude des convictions arrêtées, il [Evariste Fouret] me quitta avec ces mots: «On voit bien que tu n'es pas collectionneur»¹⁵. In order to fulfill his passion, Evariste Fouret attended auctions and travelled widely. A number of paintings described in the 1863 sale catalogue were bought by him at auctions held in Paris¹⁶. A Descent from the Cross attributed to Andrea Mantegna and a Bust of a Young Girl attributed to Leonardo da Vinci in the auction catalogue¹⁷ were bought by him on 10 December 1860 at the Vallardi Auction¹⁸. A Portrait of Bianca Cappello attributed to Veronese¹⁹ came from the auction of Leroy d'Etiolles which was held in Drouot on 21 February 1861²⁰. Apart from these connections to the Parisian art market, it remains impossible to know precisely where Evariste Fouret bought his paintings. However, the curator who bought Fouret's collection for the museum of Le Mans wrote²¹: «il avait recueilli, à Paris, en Italie, en Espagne, un peu partout, de nombreux tableaux»²². Indeed, the Parisian inventory made after Fouret's death listed debts he owed to an art dealer and a restorer in Rome²³. In addition, six panels from his collection now in Le Mans were marked on the reverse side with the seal of the Amministrazione delle Regie rendite (fig. 1). From 1786 to 1846 this Florentine government body was responsible for all the art works that were secularized after the suppression of the clerical confraternities²⁴. Fouret could have bought these in Paris, but he might also have purchased them directly in Tuscany²⁵. It has also been said that he bought the painting by Francesco Francia, now in the Louvre, in Spain²⁶. An extract from Francis Wey's serialized article «Les Anglais chez eux», that recounts the author's travels in England, describes Fouret as a great traveller²⁷:

Le lendemain matin, au lever du soleil, j'allais [Francis Wey] réveiller mon vieil ami Evariste Fouret, que l'on rencontre volontiers partout ailleurs que chez lui. Nous avions jadis fait ensemble quelques centaines de lieues sous un autre ciel, et, l'avant-veille, je l'avais rencontré dans la rue sans surprise, comme douze ans plus tôt sous la bâche d'un corricolo.

_Où donc allons-nous ? demanda-t-il en se frottant les yeux.

_Nous partons pour Oxford.

_Per Bacco ! s'écria-t-il, c'est une idée !

Et tout en fredonnant certains couplets de l'opéra de l'Eclair sur l'Université d'Oxford, il mit ses guêtres avec célérité²⁸.

This quotation also reveals another passion of Evariste Fouret: the opera. He appeared to know by heart Fromental Halévy's light opera *L'Eclair*, and the inventory included around thirty musical sheets by Mozart, Boieldieu, Rossini and Bellini²⁹.

An important rediscovery concerning Evariste Fouret's collection is that of a

divided collection. Until now, art historians attempted to connect the paintings in the museum of Le Mans to the Parisian auction of June 1863. It now appears that Evariste Fouret divided his collection in two parts. The majority was in Paris, but a few paintings were in his house at Le Mans. With the exception of the *Adoration of the Christ Child* by Francesco Francia, bought by the Louvre in 1863³⁰ and El Greco's *Pietà*³¹, the Parisian part of the collection is only known through the inventory of his apartment and the auction catalogue. The paintings connected to the Fouret's collection in the museum of Le Mans were not bought in Paris. In the 1864 catalogue of the Musée de Tessé³², the curator, who bought Fouret's collection, declared that *«son cabinet a été vendu partie à Paris, partie au Mans. Dans cette dernière figurait une suite de Gothiques d'un grand intérêt, qui ont été acquis par le Musée»³³. This reveals that an auction concerning the Fouret's estate was also held in his hometown, almost forgotten and without a known catalogue.*

It remains difficult to know when Evariste Fouret developed his taste for collecting. Fortunately, the rediscovery of an exhibition catalogue published in Le Mans in 1842 reveals a section of paintings loaned by Evariste Fouret for the event held by the city³⁴. At this date, he had already collected at least thirty-one paintings, almost fifteen of them from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which remained unusual in France at this date.

When it comes to French collectors and the general history of the rediscovery of Italian primitive paintings, one must start in Rome with the work of the scholar Jean-Baptiste Séroux d'Agincourt³⁵. From 1779 he had built up a collection that led him to publish his Histoire de l'art par les monuments depuis sa décadence au IV^e siècle jusqu'à son renouvellement au XVI^e siècle. In the eternal city he welcomed many individuals whom he then introduced to his knowledge of art from the Middle Ages. Even before the publication of his book (delayed until 1810 due to the French Revolution), his name and his collection were known in Europe (Goethe visited him) and especially in France (Chateaubriand considered him to be the French Winckelmann). However, his primary aim was not to promote interest in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century painting. Séroux instead considered it important to extend knowledge about the Middle Ages in order to prevent art falling into a new period of decline. Nonetheless, he helped to develop a taste for the Italian primitives amongst members of the French embassy to the Holy See. The first two ambassadors of the nineteenth century, François Cacault and Cardinal Joseph Fesch, were both owners of well-known collections in which «primitive» painters featured. Back in France, François Cacault's collection was bought in 1810 by his home town of Nantes³⁶. The museum of this city became the first in France to display such painters. Indeed, the Louvre had to wait until the exhibition of 1814 to exhibit the «Primitives». This show was organized to present the seizures of 1811 made in Italy by the Director, Dominique Vivant Denon³⁷. Artaud de Montor, another French ambassador in Rome and subsequently in Florence, developed an interest in the Italian «Primitives» that led him to create a collection of approximately eighty Italian paintings, solely from the «*siècles qui ont precédés Raphaël*». He brought his collection back to France in 1807, published a catalogue of it in 1808, opened his gallery to the Parisian public in 1811 and republished the catalogue in 1843 with more than a hundred engravings³⁸. Thanks to these pioneers, the taste for the Italian «Primitives» spread throughout France. Collectors like Thomas Henry (Cherbourg), Bernard Mancel (Caen) or the artists Jean-Baptiste Wicar (Lille), François-Marius Granet (Aix-en-Provence) and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (Montauban) dedicated parts of their collections to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries³⁹.

Evariste Fouret was part of a new generation of collectors. Even if the taste for the Italian «Primitives» remained relatively rare, he benefitted from these earlier pioneers. Living in Le Mans, he might have seen Cacault's collection in the nearby city of Nantes. The first time he visited the Louvre, the Italian «Primitives» would have already made their appearance on the walls. He might also have seen some Parisian private collections that held paintings of this period. As early as the 1830s Fouret began to collect early Italian paintings, since fifteen are described in the 1842 catalogue. At the end of his life both his Parisian apartment and his house in Le Mans contained Trecento and Quattrocento panels. In his Parisian auction catalogue (1863) there were listed two paintings by Jacopo Bellini and three by his son Giovanni⁴⁰, one by Cima da Conegliano⁴¹, one by Hans Memling⁴², one by Raffaellino del Garbo⁴³ and six by the «ancienne école de Sienne»⁴⁴. None of these paintings are known today. On the contrary, most of the paintings listed as «gothiques» in Fouret's Le Mans inventory are now held in the local museum⁴⁵. He kept around twenty panels from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in his house⁴⁶. Among them were at least nine panels from the Trecento: a Female Saint by Pietro Lorenzetti (fig. 2), two panels from a triptych by the Memmi family (figs 3-4), a Crucifixion by Bartolomeo Bulgarini (fig. 5), a Madonna and Child by Lippo Vanni (fig. 6), a Saint James by Taddeo di Bartolo (fig. 7), a Pilgrimage Scene by Giovanni del Biondo (fig. 8), a panel of Saints James and Bartholomew by Matteo di Pacino (Maestro della Cappella Rinuccini, fig. 9) and Three Saints by Niccolò di Tommaso (fig. 10)⁴⁷. This is more than most of the contemporary French collections that in-

cluded primitive Italian paintings. Collectors in this period were mostly interested in fifteenth-century paintings and almost always collected less than ten panels from the previous century⁴⁸. Amongst French collectors of this epoch, only Artaud de Montor, the Chalandon family and Cardinal Fesch had more paintings from the Trecento than Evariste Fouret.

Fouret's trecento panels are also unique for the importance given to the Sienese school: seven paintings are from Siena whilst only three are from Florence. Most of the fourteenth-century Italian panels owned by French collectors in the first half of the nineteenth century were Florentine. This preference evidently followed the Vasarian focus on the Medici's city. For example, the abbot Luigi Lanzi, at the end of the eighteenth century wrote about Siena⁴⁹: «Lieta scuola fra lieto popolo è la scuola senese; e nella elezion de' colori, e nell'aria de' volti rallegra tanto che alcuni esteri ne son restate presi talvolta fino a preferirla alla fiorentina»⁵⁰. The taste for this school over that of Florence appeared to him to be so strange that it could only be attributed to foreigners! Lanzi explained this preference for Siena as due to the fact that the majority of the greatest works of Sienese masters were on public display, whilst most of the Florentine ones were displayed in private collections⁵¹. Moreover, in his introduction to the Sienese school he remained an apologist for Florentine painters. In France, Alexis-Francois Rio (1797-1874) was the first to give major importance to the Sienese school in De l'Art Chrétien published in four volumes between 1861 and 1867⁵². He was a major theorist of the concept of Christian Art and its application to «primitive» paintings. In 1861, he argued that the Sienese school was dedicated to «combiner dans les images de dévotion la grâce avec *la maiesté*»⁵³. In contrast with the Florentine school, according to Rio, the Sienese painters achieved a resolution of the essential opposition in art: «la conciliation du respect pour les types traditionnels avec le libre développement des facultés de l'artiste»54. This analysis was contemporary to the construction of Fouret's collection55. It might even have been what attracted Fouret to these paintings.

We can assume that Fouret's choice of Sienese pictures and more generally his preference for «primitive» paintings, especially trecento panels, was also linked to their spirituality. While some *amateurs* of the «primitive» painters preferred the grace of Filippo Lippi and his school, Evariste Fouret chose strongly religious images. This hypothesis can be strengthened by the archives that reveal a specific link between Fouret and the Catholic Church. Whilst neither his father nor his brother left any money in their wills to the Church, Evariste Fouret signalled out two priests in his will⁵⁶:

5° A M. Tison Curé de Mayenne, une somme de Six cents francs comme souvenir dont il emploiera une partie à «sa volonté», en messes pour le repos de mon âme.

6° et M. le Curé de Chevillé Six cents francs dont 450 pour messes. Cent à l'intention de mon père, 100 à celle de ma mère et cent pour moi, les 150 francs restant seront distribués aux plus pauvres de la commune en s'entendant pour cela avec mes cousines⁵⁷.

However, Evariste Fouret's preference for the Trecento is not only based on spiritual devotion. The already cited catalogue of 1842 reveals a very specific knowledge about painting of this period. Yet it would first appear that there is no proof that the collector wrote the pages of the catalogue dedicated to the paintings loaned by him. However, shortly after his death in 1863, the curator of the museum in Le Mans described him as an *«amateur de peinture aussi zélé qu'éclairé, membre du comité de surveillance du musée»*⁵⁸ and then reminded the reader how useful his advice had been for the museum. Since no other collector or scholar in 1842 in Le Mans seems to have had any interest in *«primitive»* painters, Evariste Fouret seems to be the only possible author of the short descriptions of his paintings. The catalogue mentions seven panels from the Trecento⁵⁹:

SIMONE MEMMI, de Sienne, contemporain de Giotto, né en 1286, a peint au Campo Santo de Pise.

134. Vierge et Enfant jésus mordu par un oiseau, expression de la dou leur es plus hardie, pour l'époque, qui évitait toujours les sujets d'action.

PIETRO DI LORENZO, de Sienne, appelé par Vasari Pietro Laurati, vivait dans la première moitié du 13e S.⁶⁰, a peint aussi au Campo Santo.

135. (2 Tableaux). Sainte Agnès et saint Simon.

TADDEO GADDI (attribué à), élève de Giotto et florentin comme lui, né en 1300, vivait encore en 1352.

135 bis. Saint Jacques.

PEINTRE MINIATURISTE SIENNOIS de cette époque.

136. (2 Tableaux). Saint Nicolas et sainte Catherine.

AUTRE INCONNU SIENNOIS.

136 bis. Christ en croix, pleuré par la Vierge, saint jean et deux Anges⁶¹.

The biographical facts shown by this extract reveal that the author knew Luigi Lanzi's *Storia pittorica* rather than Giorgio Vasari's *Vite*. Both the authors linked

Simone Martini and Pietro Lorenzetti to the Campo Santo of Pisa⁶². However, it is Lanzi who revealed that the name «Laurati» was created by Vasari⁶³. Lanzi also mentioned the fact that Taddeo Gaddi was still alive in 1352, while the sixteenth-century author had placed his death in 1350⁶⁴.

The Taddeo Gaddi panel mentioned in the catalogue is in fact a painting by Taddeo di Bartolo (fig. 7). The other attributions are for the most part quite accurate for this period. The Saint Agnes, numbered in 1842 as 135 bis (fig. 2), can be identified as a panel in the museum of Le Mans still assigned to Pietro Lorenzetti while the Saint Simon (also 135 bis) cannot be identified⁶⁵. The Madonna and Child (no. 134) is now attributed to Lippo Vanni (fig. 6). Fouret's identification, although incorrect, remains an understandable mistake. The importance of the impact of Simone's works on this painting even led Bernard Berenson to assign it first to Barna da Siena⁶⁶. The Christ child can be compared to those of Simone Martini (for example, the Maestà of the Palazzo Pubblico or the Madonna and Child at the Metropolitan Museum, New York). Finally, what really reveals Evariste Fouret as a connoisseur is his attribution of the Two Saints and the Crucifixion (no. 136) (figs 3-4), and no. 136 bis (fig. 5): the Bishop Saint and the Saint Catherine now assigned to the Memmi family's bottega (Lippo Memmi and ex-Barna) and the Crucifixion to Bartolommeo Bulgarini. Both these authors were forgotten by the time Evariste Fouret purchased the panels. While Bulgarini was subsequently rediscovered by Millard Meiss in 1936⁶⁷, the question of Simone's Chompagni and especially the Memmi-ex-Barna group remains a controversial subject⁶⁸. As early as 1842 Evariste Fouret identified the Sienese elements in these paintings. He described the painters as miniaturists, something that corresponds to the style of Bartolomeo Bulgarini and to the painters of the circle of Simone Martini in Tuscany. He was also able to distinguish two different hands. On the contrary, the curator of the museum, after the purchase of these paintings, brought the three paintings together in a fanciful triptych which he attributed to the Florentine school of the fourteenth century⁶⁹. Even if the 1842 catalogue is the only known document that informs us about Evariste Fouret's knowledge of his paintings, it is sufficient to elevate him to more than a simple collector. In the history of the rediscovery of Italian «primitive» painters, Fouret should be placed amongst the innovative collectors described earlier, as well as alongside the second important step to their new found fame that began precisely one year after Fouret's death with the publication of the first volume of Cavalcaselle and Crowe's New History of Italian Painting.

To conclude, it should be remembered that the 1863 purchase of twenty-three «gothigues» by a small French museum remains unique. They were bought for three hundred and fifty francs since the local curator, Charles Dugasseau (1812-85), recognized the importance of such a collection even if he was mistaken about the attributions. This clearly reveals how French museums had come a long way since the beginning of the century. Since the first exhibition at the Louvre in 1814, Italian primitives were beginning to benefit from greater attention. The only comparison that can be made in contemporary France is the 1861 purchase of the Campana collection⁷⁰. Although on a larger scale, it is the only other acquisition by a French administration in the nineteenth century that involved mostly fourteenth- and fifteenth-century paintings. It can also be compared to the private purchase in 1879 by the Duc d'Aumale of the Reiset collection, which included around twenty paintings from the Trecento and Quattrocento. The duke was clearly interested in the collection in order to supply Chantilly's museum-to-be with paintings made before Raphael⁷¹. Thus, during the second half of the nineteenth century, Italian «primitive» paintings moved from marginal collections to public museums and the walls of high society homes.

- * This paper is the result of research held at the Ecole du Louvre, for the first time from 2011-2012: La Collection Etienne Evariste Fouret (1807-1863), Mémoire d'étude, under the supervision of Isabelle Bardiès-Fronty, Michel Laclotte, Dominique Thiébaut et Jean-Christophe Ton-That and for the second time in 2012-2013: Les Peintures italiennes et hispaniques du musée de Tessé (Le Mans). Catalogue raisonné et présentation historique, Mémoire de recherche, under the supervision of Olivier Bonfait and Michel Laclotte. I would like to thank my professors, especially Dominique Thiébaut and Michel Laclotte for introducing me to Evariste Fouret, and also Nathalie Volle who encouraged me to present this paper in London.
- 1 In the subsequent notes the following abreviations will be used: Archives nationales de Paris (ANP), Archives des musées nationaux (AMN), Archives municipales du Mans (AMM) and Archives départementales de la Sarthe (ADS). Since this is the first publication of the documents, they are quoted in the original and translations are provided in the endnotes.
- 2 A. CHASTEL, *Le Goût des préraphaélites en France*, in *De Giotto à Bellini*, exhibition catalogue (Paris 1956), under the direction of M. Laclotte, Paris 1956, pp. VII-XXI.
- 3 Two paintings are described under the name of «Grecco [sic.]»: a «personnage espagnol» and a «Mise au tombeau» in Catalogue d'environ 300 tableaux [...] de M. Evariste Fouret [...], auction catalogue (Paris 12-13 June 1863), Paris 1863, n. 76-77. This last one has been identified as the so-called Pietà Narchos (see S. ALCOLEA I GIL, El Greco, Barcelona 2007, p. 55).
- 4 AMM, 1 E 43, Registre des naissances au Mans, 1807.
- 5 G. ESNAULT, Mémoires de René-Pierre nepveu de la Manouillière, 2 vols, Le Mans 1878, II, p.

435.

- 6 The first mention of his social status is the electoral register of Le Mans of 1837 (AMM, 1 E 43, *Listes électorales pour le premier canton*, 1837).
- 7 ADS, 4 E 18 art. 294, *Etude de Maître Richard*, «Inventaire après le décès de M. E. E. Fouret, 7 avril au 8 mai 1863», f. 21.
- 8 *Ibid*. For the Parisian inventory see ANP, *Minutier Central, ET/XXV/225, Archives de Maître Julien Yver*, «Inventaire après le décès de M. Fouret, 16 avril 1863».
- 9 ADS, 4 E 21 art. 385/B, *Etude de Maître Vidal*, «Inventaire de la Communauté de M. & Mad^e Fouret, 16 décembre 1823» and ADS, 4 E 21 art. 286, Etude de Maître Richard, «Inventaire après le décès de M. Bernard Alphonse Fouret, 31 juillet au 21 octobre 1862».
- 10 Forty-seven paintings were still in the workshop of the restorer Louis Grand (ANP, *Minutier Central, ET/XXV/225, op. cit.* note 8, f. 8v-9r), eight in the art shop of Mlle Fauvel (*ibid.*, f. 9v) and two in the workshop of the restorer M. Minot (*ibid.*, f. 10r). Two thousand and five hundreds francs were claimed by M. Menchetti, an art dealer in Rome, and eight hundred francs by M. Orlandi, a restorer in the same town (*ibid.*, f. 11v)
- 11 ADS, 4 E 18 art. 286, *Etude de maître Richard*, «Dépôt des testaments olographes de Bernard Alphonse Fouret (27 et 28 mars 1859), 29 juillet 1862».
- 12 «I truly desire that my brother doesn't see in this condition with which I do not leave him the property of my possessions a sign of my affection; I do sincerely love him, I say it, and I hope he'll be persuaded of that, it is his passion for paintings which has already made him spend so much money that forces me to make this tough resolution. I am afraid, that if he had more capital he would spend it like that which he used to own».
- 13 In this text only Evariste Fouret's first name appears. However, in a subsequent edition of Wey's *Les Anglais chez eux* he reveals the name of his dearest friend Evariste. See the main text and note 26.
- 14 F. WEY, Les Anglais chez eux suivi de Hogarth et ses amis ou Londres au siècle passé. Nouvelle édition, Paris 1876, p. 256.
- 15 «I [Francis Wey] confessed that it seems to me difficult to be that discerning without becoming a little bit mischievous. However, lowering on me his eyes imprinted by the quietude of an assure conviction, he [Evariste Fouret] left me with these words: "You're clearly not a collector"».
- 16 Some of Fouret's purchases are quoted in P. BURTY, *Mouvement des arts et de la curiosité*, «La Chronique des arts et de la curiosité», 30, 21 June 1863, pp. 257-258: 258.
- 17 Catalogue d'environ 300 tableaux, n. 103 and 196.
- 18 Catalogue des tableaux [...] provenant en partie de la collection Vallardi de Milan, auction catalogue (Paris 10 December 1860), Paris 1860, n. 45 and 75. The copy of this catalogue stored at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (8-V36-5743) bears the handwriting inscription «fourrey», phonetic spelling of Fouret, in front of these two paintings and four more that cannot be linked to a work of art sold at Fouret's auction (n. 23 by Francia, n. 41 by Nicolas de Leyde, n. 49 by Mazzolini and n. 56 by Giulio Romano).
- 19 Catalogue d'environ 300 tableaux, n. 188.
- 20 *Galerie de feu le docteur Leroy d'Etiolles, tableaux anciens*, auction catalogue (Paris 21 February 1861), Paris 1861, n. 127.

- 21 C. DUGASSEAU, Notice des tableaux composant le musée du Mans précédée d'une notice historique, Le Mans 1864, p. 23, n. 1.
- 22 «He had gathered numerous paintings from Paris, Italy, Spain and many places».
- 23 See note 10.
- 24 M. LONJON, catalogue entry n. 66-67, in L'art gothique siennois, exhibition catalogue (Avignon 1983), Florence 1983, pp. 195-197: 195 and D. PARENTI, I Sigilli in ceralacca dei dipinti di Bernhard August von Lindenau, in Da Bernardo Daddi al Beato Angelico a Botticelli. Dipinti fiorentini del Lindenau-Museum di Altenburg, exhibition catalogue (Florence 2005), eds M. Boskovits and D. Parenti, Florence 2005, pp. 200-202: 201.
- 25 Margit Somevend discovered in 2016 a request signed by Fouret in Florence in 1839 for the export of paintings, including the two Pesellino now in Le Mans.
- 26 BURTY, Mouvement, p. 257.
- 27 WEY, *Les Anglais chez eux*, first published as a serialized article in *Le Musée des familles* from November 1850 to May 1851 and then compiled as a book. The first editions only mentioned an «Evariste F...» (1856, p. 271). It is only in the 1876 edition that the whole name appears (1876, p. 209).
- 28 «The next morning, at sunrise, I [Francis Wey] went to wake up my old friend Evariste Fouret who is more likely to be found everywhere but home. Long ago, we had travelled together for a hundred leagues and, two days before, I had met him in the street with no surprise, like twelve years ago under the canvas sheet of a *corricolo*. Where do we go? He asked, rubbing his eyes. We're heading to Oxford. *Per Bacco!* he exclaimed, that's an idea! And while he was humming some verses about Oxford University from the Opera *L'Eclaire* he quickly put his gaiters on».
- 29 ADS, 4 E 18 art. 294, op. cit. n. 7, f. 15r-16r.
- 30 AMN, P 6 1863, Arrêté au nom de l'Empereur du 23 juin 1863.
- 31 See note 3.
- 32 DUGASSEAU, *Notice*, p. 23, n. 1.
- 33 «His collection has been sold partly in Paris, partly in Le Mans. In this last place were sold a series of *Gothics* of great interest that were bought by the Museum».
- 34 Catalogue des tableaux anciens et modernes et des obets d'art et de curiosité placés dans une salle particulière à la préfecture, exhibition catalogue (Le Mans 1842), Le Mans 1842, n. 134-159.
- 35 For a brief history of the French rediscovery of Italian «primitive» paintings see N. VOLLE and C. DURY, *Pour une histoire des collections publiques françaises de Primitifs italiens, apports du RETIF à l'histoire du goût*, in *Primitifs italiens: le vrai, le faux, la fortune critique*, exhibition catalogue (Ajaccio 2012), ed. E. Moench, Milan 2012, pp. 25-43.
- 36 B. SARRAZIN, *Les collections italiennes de François Cacault*, in *Le Goût pour la peinture italienne autour de 1800: prédécesseurs, modèls et concurrents du cardinal Fesch*, conference paper (Ajaccio 2005), eds P. Costamagna et al., Ajaccio 2006, pp. 253-260.
- 37 Almost no «Primitives» were in the French royal collection when it became the Musée Central des Arts. Moreover, the seizures of artworks in churches and aristocratic houses did not provide the museum with paintings of this period. See *Dominique-Vivant Denon: l'œil de Napoléon*, exhibition catalogue (Paris 1999-2000), ed. P. Rosenberg, Paris 1999.

- 38 J.A.F. ARTAUD DE MONTOR, Peintres primitifs, collection de tableaux rapportée d'Italie, Paris 1843.
- 39 See VOLLE and DURY, Pour une histoire.
- 40 *Catalogue d'environ 300 tableaux*, n. 14-15 and 16-18.
- 41 Ibid., n. 37.
- 42 *Ibid.*, n. 105
- 43 *Ibid.*, n. 137.
- 44 Ibid., n. 203-208.
- 45 ADS, 4 E 18 art. 294, *op. cit.* n. 7, f. 17r. An *Ecce Homo* attributed to a Florentine painter of the beginning of the fifteenth century, a Lombard *Woman's Profile*, an *Adoration of the Magi* attributed to Giotto and a *Portrait of a Cardinal* attributed to the Lippi Family were also bought by the museum of Le Mans at the local Fouret auction. These paintings are now missing, having been stolen from the museum at the end of the nineteenth century.
- 46 From the fifteenth century: the Adoration of the Christ Child by Giovanni Francesco da Rimini, two panels of David by Francesco Pesellino, a Madonna and Child by Raffaellino del Garbo, a Madonna and Child by the Master of San Miniato, a Saint Agatha by Sano di Pietro, a Virgin and Child between Saints Nicholas and Sebastian by Pietro di Domenico and even a Mother and Child by Quintin Massys.
- 47 The Taddeo di Bartolo was given to the museum by Fouret's heir along with a landscape by a painter of the circle of Gaspard Dughet and the *Communion of Saint Jerome* attributed to Jerónimo Jacinto Espinosa. The other paintings were bought by the museum at the auction in Le Mans in 1863. Except for the «Primitives» quoted, the purchase of the museum at this auction also included a *Saint Peter* that can be attributed to Simone Barabino, a *Christ Leaving his Mother* maybe by Michele Tosini, five drawings by *il Falsario del Guercino*, a copy after Nicolas Poussin and a landscape by Jacob van Ruisdael.
- 48 Eight in Cacault's collection, four in François-Marius Granet's, two in those of Foucques de Wagnoville and François Reiset and only one in those of Ingres and François-Xavier Fabre.
- 49 L. LANZI, Storia pittorica dell'Italia, 2 vols, Bassano 1795-96, I, p. 275.
- 50 «Happy school of happy people is the Sienese school; and in the choice of colours, in the look of faces lighten up so much that some foreigners were captive of it such as finally prefer it to the Florentine school».
- 51 LANZI, Storia, I, p. 275.
- 52 About Rio see the contribution of Paul Tucker to the online *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art*, < http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/rio-alexis-francois.html> (accessed 23 March 2009).
- 53 A.F. RIO, *De l'art chrétien*, Paris 1861-67, I, p. 8. «To combine in the devotional images grace with majesty».
- 54 *Ibid.*, p. 7. «The conciliation of the respect to traditional forms with the free development of the artist's faculties».
- 55 However, Paul Tucker kindly confirmed that no link existed between Rio and Fouret.
- 56 ADS, 4 E 18 art. 293, *Etude de Maître Richard*, «Dépôt du testament olographe de M. Evariste Fouret (24 février 1854), 26 Mars 1863».
- 57 «5° to M. Tison, vicar of Mayenne, in my memory, six hundreds francs of which he will use

a portion according to his will, in masses for the rest of my soul. 6° and M. the vicar of Chevillé six hundreds francs among which four hundred and fifty francs for masses. A hundred intended for my father, a hundred for my mother and a hundred for me; hundred and fifty francs remaining to be distributed to the poorest of the town with agreement of my cousins».

- 58 «Amateur of paintings as zealous as enlightened, member of the museum surveillance board». AMM, 1 D 24, Registre des délibérations du Conseil Municipal, 20 décembre 1862 au 4 mars 1865, «Séance du 16 juin 1863: don René Fouret», p. 85.
- 59 Catalogue des tableaux anciens et modernes, pp. 20-21.
- 60 Since he quotes Vasari as a reference, «13th century» might be a mistake for «14th century».
- 61 «SIMONE MEMMI, from Siena, contemporary of Giotto, born in 1286, worked in the Campo Santo of Pisa. 134. Madonna and Christ Child bitten by a bird, audacious expression of pain for the time, since the topic of action was always avoided. PIETRO DI LORENZO, from Siena, called by Vasari Pietro Laurati, lived during the first half of the 13th c., has also painted at the Campo Santo. 135. (2 panels). Saint Agnes and Saint Simon. MINIATURIST SIENESE PAIN-TER of this time. 136. (2 panels). Saint Nicholas and Saint Catherine. ANOTHER UNKNOWN SIENESE MASTER. 136 *bis*. Christ on the Cross, being wept over by the Virgin, Saint John and two angels».
- 62 G.VASARI, *Le Vite de più eccelenti architetti, pittori et scultori italiani*, Florence 1568, 2 vols., I, p. 145 and 172 ; LANZI, *Storia*, 1795-1796, 2 vols., I, pp. 289 and 293.
- 63 LANZI, Storia, I, p. 293.
- 64 Ibid., I, p. 42.
- 65 See C. DURY, Peintures italiennes et hispaniques. Collections du Musée de Tessé, XIVe-XVIIIe siècles, Gard 2016
- 66 B. BERENSON, Catalogue of a Collection of Painting and some Art Objects. I. Italian Paintings, Philadelphia 1913, p. 54.
- 67 M. MEISS, Bartolomeo Bulgarini altrimenti detto «Ugolino Lorenzetti»?, «Rivista d'Arte», XVIII, 1936, pp. 113-136.
- 68 L. BELLOSI, Moda e cronologia. B) Per la pittura di primo Trecento, «Prospettiva», 11, 1977, pp. 12-27, republished in *I vivi parean vivi*. Scritti di storia dell'arte italiana del Duecento e del Trecento, «Prospettiva», 121-124, 2006, pp. 438-452: 444-445. S. SPANOCCHI, Lippo e Tederigo Memmi, in La Collegiata di San Gimignano. L'architettura, i cicli pittorici murali e i loro restauri, ed. A. Bagnoli, Siena 2009, pp. 445-458.
- 69 DUGASSEAU, Notice, 1864, n. 4-6.
- 70 E. MOGNETTI, *La Collection Campana*, in *Peinture italienne, musée du Petit Palais, Avignon*, eds M. Laclotte and E. Moench, Paris 2005, pp. 9-14.
- 71 C. DURY, Frédéric Reiset, historien et collectionneur de Primitifs italiens, in Fra Angelico, Botticelli... Chefs-d'œuvre retrouvés, exhibition catalogue (Chantilly 2015), eds M. Laclotte and N. Volle, Milan 2014, pp. 21-23.



Fig. 1: GIOVANNI FRANCESCO DA RIMINI, *Adoration of the Child*, ca 1455, 34 x 24 cm, (detail of the back, seal of the *Amministrazione delle Regie rendite*), Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 2: PIETRO LORENZETTI, *Female Saint (Agatha?*), ca 1315, 64.9 x 33.3 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 3: MEMMI FAMILY BOTTEGA, *Saint Catherine*, ca 1320-1333, 54.5 x 16.7 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 4: MEMMI FAMILY BOTTEGA, *Bishop Saint*, ca 1320-1333, 54.5 x 16.7 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 5: BARTOLOMEO BULGARINI, *Crucifixion*, ca 1350, 46 x 20 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 6: LIPPO VANNI, *Madonna and the Child*, ca 1365-1370, 94.1 x 62.9 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 7: TADDEO DI BARTOLO, *Saint James*, ca 1400, 65.1 x 34.5 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 8: GIOVANNI DEL BIONDO, *Pilgrimage Scene*, ca 1360-65, 19.9 x 40.8 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 9: MATTEO DI PACINO (MAESTRO DELLA CAPPELLA RINUCCINI), *Saints James and Bartholomew*, ca 1371-74, 25.9 x 18.7 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.



Fig. 10: NICCOLÒ DI TOMMASO, *Three Saints*, ca 1360-65, 25.5 x 11.9 cm, Le Mans, musée de Tessé.