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**Trecento «Characteristic»,
Trecento «Grotesque»:
Frederic Burton, Charles Fairfax
Murray and Early Sieneese Painting
in the National Gallery**

This paper examines the efforts made under Frederic Burton (1816-1900), its director from 1874 to 1894, to see trecento painting properly represented in the collection of the National Gallery in London. With particular regard to the then still undervalued Sieneese school, it investigates the important role played in this process by the painter, connoisseur and dealer, Charles Fairfax Murray (1849-1919). The history of his not unproblematic personal and professional relationship with Burton sheds light on a decisive but little explored late phase in the reception of early Sieneese painting.

Among the purchases made by the Director of the National Gallery, Frederic Burton, during his official journey to Italy in the autumn of 1881 was a panel acquired in Florence, described in his report to the Gallery's Trustees as

a small early Sieneese picture in good condition, signed by Niccolò Buonacorso [fig. 1], a master whose works are otherwise unidentified, but of whom some notices are given by Gaetano Milanese in his «Documenti per la Storia dell'Arte Senese»¹.

Stressing its value for the Gallery as a «signed work and a characteristic specimen of *trecento* Sieneese Art», Burton justified the panel's acquisition for eighty pounds and identified the vendor as «Mr. Charles Fairfax Murray [fig. 2], an admirable connoisseur, who constantly keeps me informed as to the whereabouts of pictures on sale or likely to come into the market»².

The episode is emblematic of a personal and professional relationship connoting Burton's entire directorship (1874-94), if more intensive during its first decade. It is a relationship of particular interest here. For both its positive achievements and its setbacks throw light on a decisive late phase in the reception of early Sieneese painting and of the Trecento generally, one however little explored by historians of that reception. Indeed, it is not so much as touched on in the influential but chronologically and ideologically limited account of the *fortuna*

of Italian «Primitives» offered fifty years ago by Giovanni Previtali³, in which he disputed the received importance in this context of extra-Italian Romantic historiography and criticism, championing rather a native tradition of scholarly investigation stretching back to the time of Vasari and beyond. Certainly, in its climactic late eighteenth-century development that tradition led to proclamation of the autonomy and anteriority of the school of Siena with respect to the Florentine⁴. Yet even as historical knowledge of the school increased, Sieneese painting remained aesthetically opaque. As subsequently stated by Robert Langton Douglas (himself a key actor in the process), it was not until the next turn-of-century that a «complete change» in the opinions of critics and collectors transformed the long «misunderstood and undervalued» art of Siena into something «fashionable»⁵. What this change consisted in, and how it related to the school's appeal for early nineteenth-century enthusiasts of «Christian art» and to subsequent broad shifts in taste, Douglas did not venture to say. Yet perhaps his own remarks in the catalogue to the London Burlington Fine Arts Club's epoch-marking Sieneese exhibition of 1904 may be taken as an example of a mode of aesthetic appraisal of the school more consonant with its specific qualities than the previously prevalent naturalist mode, ultimately deriving from and perpetuating the hegemony of Florentine *disegno*. In characterizing the art of Siena Douglas routinely invoked religious sentiment but also, and more concretely, «an effect of hieratic sumptuousness», a disdain for «feats of modelling», «subtle effects of graceful line, bright, pure colour, and an exquisitely scrupulous technique»⁶.

The comparatively sustained acquisition under Burton of trecento panels – all Sieneese or then thought such – and the stimulus and assistance afforded him, not unproblematically as we shall see, by Murray provide some insight into the gradual emergence of this new mode of appraisal, showing how the partial failure of their collaborative promotion of early Sieneese painting had crucially to do with their unequal «sympathy» (Murray's own term⁷) with the school. It also suggests that Previtali's differentiation of native and non-native reception of early Italian art in terms of the causal ordering of taste/collecting and scholarship/knowledge⁸ is artificially imposed upon a situation of inextricable interdependence. Unfortunately, in Murray's case there is little explicit record of how marked sympathy with the school translated into actual aesthetic appraisal. It seems however to have sharpened his commercial acumen and also invigorated his commitment to the historicist rationale informing the national collection and his general belief in the documentary function of public collections. And it earned him an important, if little visible and still hardly acknowledged, role in the late nineteenth-century international «rediscovery» of early Sieneese painting.

Burton's efforts to see trecento painting properly represented in Trafalgar Square were not without precedent. In accordance with the recommendations of the Select Committees of 1835/6 and 1853 and of the Treasury Minute of 1855, which reconstituted the National Gallery and motivated his appointment that same year as its first Director, Charles Eastlake had set out to form, «by means of a chronological series of works by early masters, an historical foundation for a complete gallery of pictures»⁹. The new Director's first purchases were of paintings ascribed to Botticelli and Cosimo Rosselli¹⁰, revealing his preference among «early masters» for those of fifteenth-century Florence¹¹. In the spring of 1856, however, the collection acquired its first correctly dated painting of the Trecento¹², one significantly ascribed to Giotto, the founding father of the Florentine school.

Around the same time Eastlake proposed the purchase *en bloc* of the historically organized collection assembled in Florence by Francesco Lombardi and Ugo Baldi, earlier negotiations for which had stalled on account of the owners' refusal to break it up¹³. An agreement was reached in 1857 and the Gallery thus acquired a select group of paintings from this collection, eight of which were considered to date from the Trecento¹⁴. As Eastlake himself stressed, the selection included «all the most historically valuable pictures»¹⁵. Indeed, it was clearly meant to supplement the recently acquired «Giotto» by illustrating this painter's Vasarian genealogy: a work given to his master Cimabue¹⁶ was accompanied by others ascribed to a representative of the superseded *alla greca* style, Margaritone¹⁷, to Giotto's pupil Taddeo Gaddi¹⁸, to Taddeo's pupil Jacopo di Casentino¹⁹ and to Jacopo's pupil Spinello Aretino²⁰, as well as to Taddeo's contemporary, Andrea Orcagna²¹. In addition, the Gallery acquired a minimal Sienese series, consisting of a painting by the acknowledged patriarch of this school, Duccio di Buoninsegna²², and another by Segna di Bonaventura²³, traditionally considered his master, though probably, as Gaetano Milanese would later point out²⁴, his pupil.

No other specimens of trecento painting were purchased by Eastlake in the remaining eight and a half years of his directorship. This is probably explained by the fact that he disapproved of the «rage for very early works of art», which he thought «full of affectation and grimace», holding that «many persons who have, or fancy they have, a taste for those pictures, are insensible to the essential elements of painting, such as beauty of arrangement, harmony of colouring, and natural action and expression»²⁵. Nor did he nurture any particular interest in the Sienese school as such. As editor of the English edition of Franz Kugler's *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte* Eastlake had questioned the author's commendation of Duccio's «spirit of invention» and «power of individualizing»²⁶. And in his notes to the *Plan for a Collection of Paintings, illustrative of the History of Art* proposed

by Prince Albert he recognized the marked «religious tendency» and «devotional fervour of expression» shown by the early Sieneese and Umbrian painters but criticized their failure to exhibit

that variety of form and study of nature which are conspicuous in the Florentines generally [...] With the Sieneese, the prevailing tendency of feeling referred to involved a certain limitation in the forms and in the character of the heads.²⁷

It is perhaps not surprising then that in 1859 Eastlake should have informed the newly appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, William Gladstone, that the National Gallery's need for early Italian paintings, especially of the Florentine and Sieneese Schools (significantly treated as one), had been «in a great measure supplied»²⁸. And yet at this date the entire Sieneese school was there represented by only four works: the two paintings from the Lombardi-Baldi collection, a drawing by Baldassare Peruzzi presented in 1839²⁹ and a *Virgin and Child* then ascribed to Pacchiarotto and acquired in 1854³⁰. And this was still the situation at the time of Burton's appointment in 1874, when the collection numbered just under a thousand paintings, of which around two hundred and sixty were Italian and fifty-five Florentine³¹.

In the twenty years of Burton's directorship, nine trecento panels entered the collection, all, as remarked above, Sieneese or then thought such³². In addition, Burton acquired six Sieneese paintings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries³³. Thus, at the time of his retirement in 1894 the Gallery held a total of nineteen Sieneese paintings (in a collection however now numbering just under one and a half thousand). Five of the trecento panels³⁴ and two of the later paintings³⁵ came to the collection from or through Murray. Who, then, was this «admirable connoisseur»? How did he come to possess such a keen interest in early Sieneese painting and to have dealings with Frederic Burton and the National Gallery?

It was in the spring of 1873 and in the company of Edward Burne-Jones, his «master in painting»³⁶ and himself an admirer of the early Sieneese school, that Murray first visited Siena and began exploring the «old pictures» there³⁷. Murray was *en route* for Rome, where he was to copy the Botticelli frescoes in the Sistine Chapel with and for John Ruskin³⁸. Ruskin's long-deferred arrival allowed Murray to prolong his stay in Tuscany and to cultivate an already informed and critical interest in the early history of Italian painting³⁹. After Burne-Jones' departure, Murray remained in the city, his study of the Sieneese school focusing first on the

work of Ambrogio Lorenzetti. Having drawn a *predella* representing the *Lamentation over the Body of Christ* in the Istituto di Belle Arti⁴⁰, Murray moved to the Palazzo Pubblico and proposed to Ruskin he should make a copy of Ambrogio's «great fresco of "Peace" [the *Allegory of Good Government*]»⁴¹. There thus began what a decade later he would describe to Julius Meyer, Director of the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, as «a special study» of the works of Ambrogio and his brother Pietro, in the course of which he «copied or had photographed every known work of theirs»⁴².

Following his marriage two years later to the Tuscan Angelica Colivicchi Murray settled in Siena, residing there (intermittently) until the couple moved to Florence in 1878. Contemporary evidence of his systematic study in and around the city of the painting of the Lorenzetti and of early Siennese painting in general is found in his diaries and correspondence; in the photographs he had Ruskin commission or himself commissioned from the Siennese photographer Paolo Lombardi, among them the first known images (fig. 3), taken in 1874, of the school's *Hauptwerk*, Duccio's *Maestà*⁴³; and, especially, in two vellum-bound sketchbooks⁴⁴ containing drawings (figs 4, 5) of trecento and quattrocento panels in local churches and collections. Chief among the latter were the gallery of the Istituto di Belle Arti⁴⁵ (the 1872 edition of whose catalogue is interleaved with the pages of one of the sketchbooks) and the Archivio di Stato, where Murray catalogued, copied and even restored the recently reassembled series of small painted panels commissioned by medieval civic offices and institutions such as the *Biccherna* (the treasury) and *Gabella* (the tax office) as covers for their documents⁴⁶. In September 1878, shortly before leaving Siena for Florence, he was able to enhance the documentary value of this series through the sale for 200 francs to the Municipality of Siena of two *Biccherna* panels⁴⁷. The episode attests to his early involvement in the local art market⁴⁸ and sets a pattern to which much of his later commercial activity conformed, whereby monetary motives were balanced by, or often subordinated to, more scholarly considerations.

An occasional companion in these early studies of Siennese painting appears to have been Murray's near-contemporary, the German art theorist and historian Robert Vischer (1847-1933)⁴⁹, then preparing a series of articles on Siennese art published in the course of 1875 in the «Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst». Murray's diaries for 1874 and 1875 and two surviving letters of the same period record exchanges of information and opinion as well as shared visits to churches and galleries when the German was in Siena⁵⁰. In June 1874 Murray had Lombardi photograph drawings of his own to send to Vischer⁵¹. These must have been the outline studies (figs 6-10) of the centre panels of Pietro Lorenzetti's dismembered Carmine and St Sabinus altarpieces⁵² found in one of the two sketchbooks cited

above⁵³, wood engravings (figs 11-13) of which illustrated the third of Vischer's «Sieneſische Studien»⁵⁴.

Murray's study of early Sieneſe painting, and of that of the Lorenzetti brothers in particular, continued after his removal to Florence in 1878. An important group of unpublished letters (1878-79) addressed to the art historian Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle⁵⁵, whose *New History of Italian Painting* (1864-66), co-authored with J.A. Crowe, was Murray's principal guide in his researches and whom he had met in Rome in the winter of 1874-75⁵⁶, propose numerous revisions to the *New History's* account of the work of the Lorenzetti, including several new attributions of Murray's own. These entered the literature via Cavalcaselle's revised Italian edition of the *New History* (*Storia della pittura italiana*, 1883-1908)⁵⁷ and the fifth edition (1884) of Jakob Burckhardt's *Der Cicerone*, edited by Wilhelm Bode, who entrusted Murray with the task of revising the section devoted to the early Sieneſe school⁵⁸.

Murray had first met Burton during the winter of 1866-67: on the recommendation of Dante Gabriel Rossetti the Irish watercolourist had commissioned Burne Jones' newly acquired studio assistant to make a «drawing on wood» for an unidentified Society⁵⁹. They met again in Siena in September 1875, a little more than a year after Burton's appointment as Director of the National Gallery. Murray probably brought low expectations to the encounter: a recent visit to Trafalgar Square to see the «new pictures»⁶⁰ and contrasting fresh report of the ambitious acquisitions campaign inaugurated by the Berlin Gemäldegalerie in 1872-73⁶¹ seem to have fuelled some harsh criticism of the National Gallery's Directors as a class expressed in a letter to Vischer written earlier that summer. Torn between disappointed patriotism and disinterested elation at the prospect of a systematically assembled public collection of historical painting, Murray had confessed to Vischer the wish he too were German, that he might thoroughly enjoy the news of Berlin's latest purchases. He went on to deplore his own countrymen's and government's indifference to historical art:

Abbiamo noi pochi conoscenti o per dir peggio pochi curanti delle Belle arti[. N]on sarebbe nulla di male se non vi fosse pochi intendenti ma amanti ci vuole – e in questi ultimi giorni mi pare a me miei compatrioti sono matti sopra quadri moderni – bell'è passato è il tempo quando quei signore [*sic*] offrivano loro quadri alla nazione per fare una bella collezione pubblica e il governo non si cura nemmeno[.] Il posto di Curatore della Galleria è dato ad uomini più o meno incompetenti o per ignoranza o per timidità comprano quadri che non sono degni di posti nella Galleria fino ad ora conosciuto per

la bellezza degli esemplari esposti e loro perfetta conservazione. Fra gli ultimi quadri che ho veduto era uno di Signorelli[:] basta di far arrizzare cappelli[,] [E]ra di lui forse ma non è [.]⁶²

Renewed personal acquaintance, on a different footing, seems to have induced Murray to revise his opinion of Burton. Within three months they would be «going over the [National] Gallery [...] together» and Murray would be shown «several new pictures not yet hung»⁶³. In Siena he must have been excited by the Director's evident interest in Siennese painting. Murray's diary records five separate meetings with Burton in the course of two days, including time spent together at «the Academy», i.e. the gallery of the Istituto di Belle Arti, and at Lombardi's, as well as a visit to Murray's home «to see pictures»⁶⁴. These would no doubt have included Murray's own work, but Burton must also have been shown the dozen or so paintings, mainly early Siennese, which Murray had by now acquired, and in particular a recent addition to the collection of which he was especially proud, a small panel he attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti (fig. 14), bought the previous summer⁶⁵. On his return to London the following month Burton urged Murray not to part with this panel without first alerting him. Nearly two years later Murray practised what he had preached to Vischer and presented it to the Gallery⁶⁶. He was the first to suggest it had formed part of the predella to the St Sabinus altarpiece painted by Pietro for the Duomo in Siena. Stated in a letter to Cavalcaselle of 1 May 1878⁶⁷, this opinion would be reported in the third volume (1885) of *Storia della pittura in Italia*⁶⁸. By contrast, no echo of Murray's suggestion found its way into the 1889 edition of the National Gallery's catalogue, where the panel retained the generic title (*A Legendary Subject*) given it when its acquisition was first officially registered⁶⁹.

Within weeks of his presenting the panel by Pietro, Murray notified Burton of the probably imminent sale in Siena of a fresco fragment by Ambrogio⁷⁰. Representing the heads of a group of Poor Clares, this was said to have been «removed on the demolition of the old refectory to the church» of San Francesco and «saved» by the Bursar of the Seminary occupying the former convent buildings, who had had it set into a wall in his room⁷¹. What Murray considered the «reasonable» offer of £40 had already been made by others and it was vital to act quickly. Four days later Burton had obtained the Trustees' sanction to «go in» for the fragment. Negotiations proved long and tortuous, however, owing to complex legal questions regarding ownership and the exportation of artworks and to the interest of four other prospective buyers, including Paolo Lombardi, whose photograph of the fragment (fig. 15) helped intensify competition and inflate

ideas of the work's value. The owner finally named a price three times the amount he had already been offered and refused to negotiate except with the photographer. It was thus *through* Murray (but at the original price of £40) and *from* Lombardi that the Gallery purchased the fragment nearly a year later⁷². Burton was himself in Siena when the fresco was cut from the wall and prepared for transportation and was personally responsible, together with Murray, for reparative work on it there⁷³.

The Gallery made no further purchases from or through Murray until Burton bought the signed Niccolò di Buonaccorso in 1881. Indeed, the intervening period apparently saw a temporary crisis in their relations. Financial necessity, personal *bravura* and, not least, the pursuit of *practical* forms of historical criticism all worked to intensify and complicate Murray's art-dealing activities. He began to seek commissions to buy paintings in Italy, offering his services to Ruskin, and through him to the Liberal MP Lord Selbourne and to the University of Oxford, as well as to private collectors such as the textile trader Francis Cook (later made first Viscount of Monserrate)⁷⁴. By patriotic and scholarly preference, however, it was to Burton and the National Gallery he looked for satisfaction, especially when it came to advancing knowledge of early Siennese painting. Yet in this particular regard the response on all fronts was disappointing. The purchase of a «pretty painting» by Neroccio di Bartolomeo Landi⁷⁵ with money advanced by Ruskin for another purpose illustrates Murray's motives and tactics, as well as his frustration. Offended by Ruskin's adverse reaction to a Botticelli acquired for him in Florence⁷⁶, he offered the Neroccio to Burton⁷⁷. The Director's reply intones a refrain sounded throughout their correspondence: «As to the Nat: Gallery, we are still *senza argento* [...] So that I can do nothing at present»⁷⁸. Whereas the connoisseur-dealer's peculiar predicament is clearly stated in a subsequent letter:

The Siennese picture I most regret buying & should not have bought except to form part of an historical series of examples of the Siennese school[.] As such it is of value as a tolerable specimen of a rare master – alone it is of not sufficient interest to attract a private buyer⁷⁹.

In a letter to Burton of August 1877 Murray had voiced his disappointment that «the powers of the Gallery [were] so restricted that so many fine pictures should be lost to the country» (meaning of course Britain, not Italy)⁸⁰. And the fact that neither of the Lorenzetti paintings acquired in this period were actually displayed in the Gallery for several more years can only have added to his exasperation⁸¹. Yet the episode that seems to have transformed disappointment and frustration into

a degree of resentment concerned a then considerably more valuable painting of his by Palma il Vecchio⁸². In refusing its purchase in 1879-80 the Gallery failed to rescue Murray and his growing family from chronic «impecuniosity»⁸³. There is no reference to the negotiations in his correspondence with Burton, nor in the minutes of the Trustees' meetings, but they are alluded to in Murray's letters to Dante Gabriel Rossetti. On 20 January 1880 he explained that the Gallery's delay in coming to a decision over the Palma was due to «the peculiar temperament of its Director (between ourselves) who likes nothing that is not presented to him by a scoundrel at Milan who has already made a small fortune out of this infatuation»⁸⁴. Exactly three months later he reported that negotiations with the Gallery were at an end⁸⁵. Possible accidents of preservation aside, it seems significant that only one letter between Murray and Burton should have survived for the period between 19 April 1880 and 12 December 1881⁸⁶.

This somewhat tense situation may have encouraged Murray to cultivate the business and historiographical opportunities presented by a new set of acquaintances, associated with the imperial art museums of Berlin. Already by December 1879 he had come into contact with the wealthy industrialist and collector Adolf von Beckerath, a member of the board responsible for approving acquisitions⁸⁷. And it was probably not long afterwards that he met the Gemäldegalerie's Director, Julius Meyer, and his young assistant and later successor, Wilhelm Bode, who was to be one of Murray's principal clients in the later 1880s and early 1890s, after he moved his principal base of operations to London and began buying intensively at Christie's. It would be through Bode that the Gemäldegalerie eventually acquired Murray's Palma for one thousand three hundred pounds in 1884⁸⁸.

So when in March 1881 Murray heard that a privately owned picture by Duccio was available for purchase in Siena, it was to Bode and Berlin he turned. The painting (fig. 16), he reported, was «said to be a part of the predella of his great altarpiece in the Cathedral», the *Maestà*: the central *Nativity* scene, he pointed out, was flanked by two figures (the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel) as in some of the other small panels traditionally associated with the dismembered *Maestà* then recently transferred from the cathedral sacristy to the Opera del Duomo. He presumed to interest Bode in the panel on account of its «being historical» and because Stefano Bardini, the Florentine dealer with whom Bode and Meyer had already built a close business alliance, was «indisposed to spend much money on a Sienese picture[,] having little sympathy with the school». The price – eight thousand francs (around three hundred and twenty pounds) – was a «heavy» one, but in Murray's view (and the comment is indicative of the still limited local and inter-

national market for such paintings) would «no doubt come down considerably as soon as the “Opera [del Duomo]” [refused] decisively to purchase it»⁸⁹. Three years later it did indeed prove possible for Murray to buy the panel, and probably for less than half the price previously mentioned. In April 1884 the mayor of Siena himself (ineffectually) notified the Maestro dell’Opera of its imminent sale to «Ingesi» for just over three thousand lire⁹⁰, and rumour of its availability independently reached Burton⁹¹. The panel had already been proposed to Bode, however, and in the autumn of 1884 it was sent to Berlin for inspection. The Prussian authorities seem to have been reluctant to deploy state funds in the purchase of a trecento Sienese panel⁹², and Bode himself may have advanced the purchase money while casting around for a donor⁹³.

In writing to congratulate Bode on the decision to retain this «absolutely authentic picture of the master» Murray hinted at the availability of four other panels, these only «*attributed* to» Duccio, however, and less well preserved than the *Nativity*. He referred to a group of paintings at Colle di Val d’Elsa thought originally to have formed part of the *Maestà*, of whose existence he had known for over ten years⁹⁴. In 1886 he would purchase the group for the British banker and collector R.H. Benson⁹⁵. Indeed, as is well known, a total of seven dispersed *Maestà* predella panels passed through Murray’s hands during this period. In addition to the five already mentioned these included the *Annunciation* and *Healing of the Man Born Blind* (figs 17, 18) which were Burton’s next purchases from him and which the National Gallery thus acquired in 1883⁹⁶. Murray would later tell Bode, who seems to have seen the two paintings in London, that they had been «some time» in his possession and «came from Fagnano»⁹⁷, presumably the Bandini Piccolomini villa of that name at Vagliagli (Castelnuovo Berardenga)⁹⁸. James Stubblebine’s mistaken and somewhat naïve supposition that Murray acquired all seven predella panels at the same time and from a single «church or home whose identity is lost to us»⁹⁹ and embroidered variants of this fantasy¹⁰⁰ betray ignorance of the *Maestà*’s complex material history and misrepresent Murray’s achievement by failing to see it as part of a true process of *discovery*, driven by resolute and resourceful if naturally errant desire for knowledge.

It should be emphasized that Murray’s handling of the seven predella panels validates his firmly held belief in the role played by public collections in advancing knowledge of art. The purchase of the *Nativity* by Berlin led directly to the first historically informed attempt to reconstruct the *Maestà*, published by Eduard Dobbert (figs 19, 20) in 1885¹⁰¹. Murray further enabled this reconstruction by providing Dobbert, at Bode’s request, with precise measurements of all the small panels in the Opera del Duomo traditionally associated with the *Maestà*¹⁰²;

and, as Dobbert reports, himself suggested that the Berlin *Nativity* had originally formed part of the predella together with five other depictions of episodes from the infancy of Christ preserved in the Opera, whose correspondence in size, form and subject Dobbert meticulously documents¹⁰³. However, whereas Dobbert's reconstruction features a predella on the front and another on the rear depicting episodes from the ministry of Christ, Murray, it appears, was convinced that there had been only one, on the front of the altar-piece¹⁰⁴. When agreeing to go to Siena and record the measurements he had asserted to Bode that these would not be «much use» to Dobbert «as [the Opera panels] certainly never belonged to the same altarpiece as the Passion», i.e. the main rear panel of the altarpiece¹⁰⁵. And his and Dobbert's difference of opinion on the matter is recorded in an 1885 supplement to the Gemäldegalerie catalogue¹⁰⁶.

Murray also suggested to Dobbert that the (front) predella had begun with an *Annunciation*¹⁰⁷. However, they both seem to have assumed this panel to be lost¹⁰⁸. Neither made the connection with the *Annunciation* Murray had recently sold to the National Gallery, whose original engaged frame (as now at least is apparent) had shared the angled corners of those containing the *Nativity* and the other panels in the Opera which he and Dobbert concurred had formed part of the front predella¹⁰⁹. Nor does either seem to have recognized the possibility that the representation of the *Healing of the Man Born Blind* which Dobbert inserted in his reconstruction of the rear predella was to be identified the other panel sold by Murray to Burton.

It is not known precisely what Murray's views were, or came to be, regarding the relation between the *Maestà* and the two London panels or, for that matter, the four from Colle di Val d'Elsa he bought for Benson. In 1889, several years after Dobbert had published his article, Burton enquired of him what altarpiece he thought the two panels bought by the Gallery six years earlier had come out of:

There is a series in the Opera del Duomo at Siena which we once saw together [...] and which, if my treacherous memory does not deceive me, we found that exactly these two subjects were wanting – Or did they once form part of that same great Pala of the Duomo – of a predella perhaps? And whence comes the Nativity at Berlin?¹¹⁰

Unfortunately, Murray's reply has not survived. Nor do immediately subsequent editions of the Gallery's catalogue mention the *Maestà* in direct relation to the *Annunciation* and *Healing of the Man Born Blind*. The latter panel, but not

the former, was first stated in print to have «formed a part of the two predelle», together with the four panels from Colle di Val d'Elsa belonging to Benson, by Langton Douglas in 1902¹¹¹.

Murray was evidently dissatisfied by Dobbert's reconstruction: in 1887 he commented to Bode that it made «a very bad design»¹¹². The move the previous year to secure the four Colle di Val d'Elsa panels (though for a private collector) and the commission given Paolo Lombardi only a few months before that for a complete photographic record of all works by Duccio then in the Duomo and in the gallery of the Opera¹¹³ seem to corroborate the intention, explicitly stated to Bode, to «go into this matter»¹¹⁴. However, Murray's investigations, if undertaken, apparently failed to issue in a definitive statement, public or private.

The two panels by Duccio were the last trecento paintings that the National Gallery would acquire from or through Murray during Burton's directorship. Indeed, they were among the last trecento paintings – of any school – it would purchase for several decades¹¹⁵.

The reasons for this hiatus in the Gallery's deliberate acquisition of the earliest of early Italian paintings are no doubt many and complex. Certainly, however, they have to do with increasing disregard or misapprehension of historical principles, such as characterized both the internal struggle for power and «cultural authority» aggravated by the infamous Rosebery Minute of 1894¹¹⁶ but also external criticism of Gallery policy. What is interesting here is the variously paradoxical invocation of its holdings of Sieneese paintings by different players in this conflict, symptom perhaps of a novel but still compromised appreciation of the school. Thus, in a virulent unsigned critique of the Gallery's acquisitions in the first four years of Edward Poynter's directorship, Herbert Horne objected that no single picture «of first-rate importance» had been added to the collection, while «a large number of third and fourth-rate pictures [had] been bought for small sums»¹¹⁷. The latter included one by Barnaba da Modena (the last trecento painting to be purchased by the Gallery until 1926), dismissed as of «entirely antiquarian» interest, «and that of a very limited kind», its place being «in some museum of archæology, not in the National Gallery.» In Horne's view the Gallery was emphatically

not a mere museum or repository, where pictorial documents of all kinds are to be preserved, irrespective of their artistic value, but it is a gallery of the great masters, to which artistic excellence alone, should procure the right of admission¹¹⁸.

And yet, with specific regard to the school of Siena, Horne invokes the *historiographical* principle of completeness or adequacy of representation. Reproaching Poynter for having «gone out of his way» to purchase an «unpleasing and unimportant», even dubious specimen of the work of Matteo di Giovanni¹¹⁹, «already represented in the National Gallery by two works, one of which, No. 1155, “The Assumption of the Virgin,” [purchased through Murray] is, perhaps, his masterpiece,» Horne protests:

When the Sieneſe School is ſo poorly represented in our Gallery, when we poſſeſs no repreſentative work by Ambrogio Lorenzetti, except the fragment of a freſco, nothing by Vecchietta, Cecco di Giorgio [*sic*], Neroccio di Landi [*sic*], not to mention leſſer maſters, upon what grounds, we aſk, does the Director juſtify the purchaſe of this picture?¹²⁰

On the other hand, four years later, when Lord Lansdowne called him to order for having made a purchase without first consulting the entire board of Trustees and demanded a detailed accounting of his purchases of the previous five years¹²¹, Poynter would justify the acquisition of a painting attributed to Pacchiarotto as tending to make more complete the representation of the Sieneſe ſchool of the fifteenth century, already, he boasteſt, ſomething of a ſpeciality of the national collection¹²². The fact that this purchaſe of a Sieneſe painting remained an almoſt isolated incident in Poynter’s directorſhip, complemented ſolely by that of a panel by Francesco di Giorgio the previous year and by no ſingle work of the Sieneſe Trecento, ſuggeſts his complacency actually maſked inveterate reſiſtance or indifference to the ſchool. This is all the more apparent in the light of later avowals of the *inadequacy* of the Gallery’s representation of the Sieneſe ſchool. In 1925, for inſtance, in a booklet ſpecifically devoted to this part of the collection (whoſe Preface by Langton Douglas was cited at the beginning of this eſſay), Edward Hutton would analyſe the imperfect representation in the Gallery of «this delightful ſchool of painting». Certainly, the collection included «ſome four pieces by the great maſter who founded the ſchool, Duccio di Buoninſegna [NG 566, 1139, 1140, 1330]», as well as «a very notable picture by a very cloſe follower (No. 565 [Maſter of the Albertini]), and ſeven pieces from an altar-piece by Ugolino [NG 1188, 1189, 3375, 3377, 3378, 3473, 3376], and a work by Segna [NG 567]». Yet there was no Simone Martini, no Lippo Memmi and no Barna, and only a tiny, exquisite picture by Pietro Lorenzetti [NG 1113] a much repainted Pietà [NG of a Sieneſe painting remained an almoſt isolated incident in Poynter’s directorſhip, complemented ſolely by that of a panel by Francesco di Giorgio the

previous 895], and some fragments of frescoes by Ambrogio Lorenzetti [NG 1147 (and probably also 3071 and 3072, attributed to the workshop of Pietro)] [...] The two small pictures by the rare master Niccolò di Buonaccorso [NG 1109, 3543 = Veneto-Byzantine, transferred to the British Museum] are a fortunate possession, but cannot make up for the absence of works by Bartolo di Fredi [...] represented by a mere fragment [NG 3896 = Giovanni di Nicola], Andrea di Bartolo [...] and Martino di Bartolommeo [...]

Nor, Hutton pointed out, was the Gallery «better off for Sieneſe fifteenth-century art». There were no examples of the work of Sassetta, with the exception of a picture loaned by the Bowes Muſeum [*Miracle of the Sacrament*; but ſee NG 1842], Giovanni di Paolo, Neroccio, Pietro di Domenico or Andrea di Niccolò:

We poſſeſs, however, a work by Francesco di Giorgio [NG 1682] [...], and three works [NG 247, 1155, 1461] by Matteo di Giovanni [...] and two by Benvenuto di Giovanni [NG 909, 2482] [...]. But theſe are not enough to give us a real idea of Sieneſe fifteenth-century painting.

«However,» Hutton concluded optimiſtically, «the realiſation of our poverty in works of the Sieneſe ſchool is the firſt ſtep towards obtaining them»¹²³.

If the two Duccio panels were the laſt works of the Sieneſe Trecento purchased by the Gallery from or through Murray, they were not the laſt he propoſed to it¹²⁴. Yet in the mid-1880s the Gallery's finances were conſtrained by negotiations with the government concerning purchases at the Duke of Marlborough's ſale. In September 1884 Burton informed Murray that the Gallery was forbidden to ſpend the balance of its grant after the government's «generoſity (?) in agreeing to buy the Blenheim Raphael & Van Dyck», adding gloomily, «I don't feel very much hope in remonſtrances»¹²⁵. Three months later he reported that «in anticipation of the Blenheim purchase» the Gallery's ſubſidy would be ſuſpended and it had even been «forbidden [...] to uſe the ſum voted [...] for the current financial year, without expreſs permission»¹²⁶.

It is understandable then that at the ſtart of 1885 Burton ſhould not have ſeemed «diſpoſed» – as Murray now advised Bode – to add a ſecond unique ſigned picture by a little known artiſt of the Sieneſe Trecento to the national collection and thus complement the Niccolò di Buonaccorso, which Murray now regretted having ſold the Gallery¹²⁷. The picture in queſtion was a double-sided reliquary panel adapted for proceſſional uſe by Francesco di Vannuccio (fig. 21), ſtill his only known ſigned work¹²⁸. Bode had already expreſſed an intereſt in the

panel and had invited Murray to send it to Berlin for inspection in November of the previous year¹²⁹. In December Murray had written that he

would not now care to sell it for less than 2000 francs & indeed would rather not part with it alone. I put it aside for the present as I hope to acquire one or two other rare early Sieneſe maſters & I will make you an offer of them together¹³⁰.

His motive in proposing «a little collection of Sieneſe painters» to Berlin, he ſubſequentlŷ explained, was «that theŷ would be more intereſting hiſtoricallŷ & perhaps therefore more valuable to the gallery than *isolated ſpecimens*». Such a collection, he ſpecified, might include «a little picture by Pellegrino [di Mariano Roſſini] da Siena» he had recentlŷ bought, «ſigned with his name [and] formerlŷ in the Toſcanelli collⁿ». Though in itſelf of «no importance», this was nonetheleſs «a document»¹³¹. ſince the Francesco di Vannuccio was «intereſting» to Berlin, he was willing to withdraw it and not ſell it without firſt informing Bode of his intention to do ſo: he particularlŷ wiſhed it «to reſt in a public gallery»¹³². A third painting, by Naddo Ceccarelli (fig. 22) and alſo ſigned¹³³, was one he had had his eye on for ſome time:

This picture like one mentioned by C[roſſe] & C[avalcaſelle] was bought in Paris. He is unknown in Italy but a few panels at Siena have been attrib^d to him for want of a better name[.] In realitŷ the picture ſeen by Cavalcaſelle & theſe are his onlŷ authentic works. The other picture has diſappeared into private unknown hands. I found this picture & told Cavalcaſelle who immediatelŷ propoſed to the owner to offer it to one of the Italian galleries althoŷ he knew I much wiſhed to have it. It is now no longer eaſŷ for me to purchaſe it as the owner wants 5000 francs [around two thouſand pounds] for it which I ſuppoſe is about its full value & I can't afford to keep it at that price¹³⁴.

Of theſe three paintings, onlŷ the Francesco di Vannuccio was acquired by Berlin – like the Duccio as a gift, this time by the textile manufacturer, collector and patron James Simon¹³⁵. The Pellegrino di Mariano would remain in Murray's poſſeſſion until his death¹³⁶. He would buy the Naddo Ceccarelli for two and a half thouſand francs in 1889 on behalf of Charles Butler, a Director of the Royal Insurance Company with whom Murray had firſt begun to do buſineſs in 1883, when he had ſold him a triptŷch by Ottaviano Nelli¹³⁷ as well as further pictures

from the Toscanelli collection, including several more of the early Siense school.

The Francesco di Vannuccio was one of the last early Siense paintings to be acquired by a public collection from or through Murray. In 1889 he sold the Uffizi in Florence a thirteenth-century *Virgin and Child* of the school of Guido da Siena¹³⁸. Then in 1892 Butler entrusted Murray with selling a portion of his collection, including the Ceccarelli and other Siense paintings, and a final chance was offered to both London and Berlin. It was the occasion for Murray to offer another «little collection» to Bode: «I wish you could find a home for the 3 little Siense pictures, they only cost 210 guineas the 3. Ceccharelli, Neroccio¹³⁹, Andrea di Niccolo¹⁴⁰ – only one other picture by Ceccharelli is known»¹⁴¹. Neither Bode nor Burton took up the opportunity, and the Ceccarelli was sold, with Bode's assistance, to the Prince of Liechtenstein. Burton's reasons for rejecting this «curio» are of particular interest. Their reasonableness is vitiated by the old dilemma between historical understanding and aesthetic taste, which even at this late date compromised institutional attitudes to the school. Burton's dislike of Naddo's work even allows him to confuse the artist with the quattrocento painter and sculptor Neroccio:

I don't know that it throws much light on the history of the Siense school, or that it has much intrinsic interest. I admit that its frame is interesting¹⁴² & might be useful. But I think you must allow that whatever may be the due of *Neroccio* as a sculptor, *this* example of his painting is simply grotesque, & only shows the Siense school at its worst. After all a general Gallery like ours must restrict itself to illustrative examples of the several schools. It cannot afford to embrace everything which, in special collections like those of Siena, Padua, Verona & others, might be desirable, because native [...]¹⁴³

Eight Siense paintings from Butler's collection were bought by the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1893, the first of this school to enter the collection¹⁴⁴. About twenty years later this missed opportunity was denounced in a document entitled *Sketch of the Deficiencies in the National Gallery Collections*, prepared by R.H. Benson, now a Trustee, for the use of his fellow board members in connection with the so-called Curzon Report¹⁴⁵:

Among the Italian schools the Siense masters, preeminent in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries with Duccio, Simone di Martino, Lippo Memmi, Barna, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, and others nameless, were almost extinguished by the plague of 1447 [sic], and their works are rare. Only Duccio is represented and the rest hardly at all [...] The Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge stole a march on the National Gallery

when in 1891-2 they bought for under £1,000 the late Charles Butler's Sieneese pictures – an opportunity that cannot recur.

They are, however, safe in this country.¹⁴⁶

Benson does not mention Murray by name; nor (perhaps in emulation of «the aristocratic pattern of limited benefaction»¹⁴⁷) does he give any indication that in this area especially his personal outstanding collection might, if made over to the nation, have filled many of the gaps he enumerated. His *Sketch* thus implicitly and negatively testifies to the still more important role which the Gallery might, through Murray, have had in the late nineteenth-century revaluation of the Sieneese school. For Murray had advised and bought for Butler, Benson himself and of course Bode (who, Benson recalls, «sent someone to Lady Lindsay and got her Sassetta»¹⁴⁸). And in the course of his career Murray transacted (at a current count) around a hundred and ten paintings of the Sieneese school, mainly of the Trecento and Quattrocento, including paintings by most of the artists the absence of whose works from the national collection was lamented in turn by Horne, Benson and Hutton¹⁴⁹. Benson's *Sketch* concludes by drawing the Trustees' attention to a small *Crucifixion* by Pietro Lorenzetti (fig. 23), about to be sold at auction in Paris, of which he also submits a photograph. The sale in question was of paintings from Murray's collection¹⁵⁰. The National Gallery did not take up Benson's suggestion and, after being bought in at Paris, the painting would join the transatlantic exodus which the Curzon report was intended to help staunch¹⁵¹.

This essay is a revised and expanded version of a paper on *Charles Fairfax Murray and the Development of the National Gallery Collection* given to the National Gallery History Research Group on 9 March 2000. Another version was presented at the conference *Discovering the Italian Trecento in the 19th Century*, held at the National Gallery and the Wallace Collection, London, 1-2 March 2013. My thanks to the following collections for permission to quote from unpublished material in their possession: Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz – Zentralarchiv; Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini, Soprintendenza Polo Regionale della Toscana, Florence; National Gallery Archive, London; Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Abteilung Handschriften. I also thank the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge for permission to reproduce images from Charles Fairfax Murray's «Book of Sketches from Italian Paintings» (1402) and Professor Andrea Bacchi, Director of the Fondazione Zeri, Bologna for allowing me to reproduce the photograph of Pietro Lorenzetti's *St Sabinus before the Roman Governor of Tuscany*.

- 1 NG 1109 (*Marriage of the Virgin*). The Director's Report was read at the Trustees' Meeting of 8 February 1882 (National Gallery Archive [hereafter NGA], NG7/27/1882). G. MILANESI, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, 3 vols, Siena 1854-56, I, pp. 31-32 records two works by Niccolò (one signed and dated 1387) in the church of Santa Margherita, Costalpino, near Siena. By the time Murray had first informed Burton of NG 1109's availability (C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 6 December 1877, NGA, NG 54/9), these had disappeared. They would not be identified until 1980 (see D. GORDON, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Italian Paintings before 1400*, London 2011, p. 380).
- 2 NGA, NG7/27/1882.
- 3 G. PREVITALI, *La fortuna dei primitivi. Dal Vasari ai neoclassici*, Torino 1989 (orig. ed. 1964).
- 4 G. DELLA VALLE, *Lettere sanesi sopra le belle arti*, 3 vols, Venezia 1782-86.
- 5 R.L. DOUGLAS, Preface to E. HUTTON, *The Sienese School in the National Gallery*, London 1925, p. v.
- 6 *Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures of Siena and Objects of Art*, London 1905, p. 11.
- 7 See below in the text.
- 8 PREVITALI, *La fortuna*, p. 237.
- 9 Annual Report 1857-58, Appendix 9, letter from the Director to the Trustees, p. 59.
- 10 NG 226 (Workshop of Botticelli) and NG 227 (Francesco Botticini).
- 11 S. AVERY-QUASH, *The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting in Britain with particular reference to pictures in the National Gallery*, in D. GORDON, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings*, I, London 2003, p. xxix.
- 12 NG 276 (Spinello Aretino). This was not, however, the first picture to be acquired as a work of the Trecento: NG 215 and 216 (Lorenzo Monaco) had been presented in 1848 as by Taddeo Gaddi.
- 13 AVERY-QUASH, *Growth of Interest*, p. xxx.
- 14 NG 565, 566, 567, 568, 569-578, 579, 580, 581.
- 15 Quoted in AVERY-QUASH, *Growth of Interest*, p. xxx.
- 16 NG 565 (Master of the Albertini).
- 17 NG 564 (Margarito d'Arezzo).
- 18 NG 579.1-5 (Niccolò di Pietro Gerini).
- 19 NG 580.1-12 (Giovanni dal Ponte).
- 20 NG 581 (Nardo di Cione).
- 21 NG 569.1-3, 570-578 (Jacopo di Cione and Workshop).
- 22 NG 566.
- 23 NG 567.
- 24 G. VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, I, Firenze 1878, p. 653n.
- 25 Eastlake's testimony to the 1853 Select Committee, quoted in AVERY-QUASH, *Growth of Interest*, p. xxix.
- 26 F. KUGLER, *A Hand-Book of the History of Painting, from the Age of Constantine the Great to the Present Time. Part I. The Italian Schools of Painting*, ed. C.L. Eastlake, London 1842, p. 38n.

- 27 *Report from the Select Committee on the National Gallery together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix and Index*, 4 August 1853. Appendix XVII, pp. 792 ff.
- 28 C.L. Eastlake to W.E. Gladstone, July 1859, BL Add MSS 44, 589.
- 29 NG 167, transferred to the British Museum in 1994.
- 30 NG 246, now attributed to Sodoma. Also in the collection were two Sieneſe paintings not yet (officially) recognized as ſuch. NG 565, cited above, would be attributed to Duccio's workshop by Jean Paul Richter in 1898. NG 246 (Matteo di Giovanni), on the other hand, would be catalogued as by Niccolò Alunno until 1889, though it had been recognized as the work of Matteo over twenty years earlier (J.A. CROWE and G.B. CAVALCASELLE, *A New History of Painting in Italy from the Second to the Sixteenth Century*, 3 vols, London 1864-66, III, p. 134).
- 31 The only work of the Trecento to be added to the collection by the ſecond Director, William Boxall, was a painting by Lippo di Dalmasio, conſidered the founder of the Bologneſe ſchool (NG 752). However, this had been ſeen and deemed «eligible» by his predecessor in 1861 (*The Travel Notebooks of Sir Charles Eastlake*, ed. S. Avery-Quaſh, «The Walpole Society», 73, 2011, 2 vols, I, pp. 566-567; II, p. 126).
- 32 In addition to NG 1109, NG 1108 (Giovanni da Milano, acquired as «early Sieneſe»), NG 1113 (Pietro Lorenzetti and workshop), NG 1139 and 1140 (Duccio), NG 1147 (Ambrogio Lorenzetti), NG 1188 and 1189 (Ugolino da Siena) and NG 1330 (Duccio).
- 33 Taking the ſchool as including Sodoma but excluding Pinturicchio, NG 909.1-3 (Benvenuto di Giovanni), NG 1144 (Sodoma), NG 1155 (Matteo di Giovanni), NG 1317 (catalogued as «Sieneſe School [early 15th c.]» and now thought probably by Gregorio di Cecco di Lucca), NG 1331 (Bernardino Fungai) and NG 1337 (Sodoma [attr.]).
- 34 NG 1109, 1113, 1139, 1140 and 1147.
- 35 NG 1144 and 1155.
- 36 C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 19(?) August 1877, NGA, NG 54/4.
- 37 C.F. Murray to W.S. Spanton, 25 May 1873, Dulwich Picture Gallery, London (Box H 10). Murray had met up with Burne Jones and William Morris in Florence on Good Friday. After ſpending a few days in Piſa he joined Burne Jones in Siena, where they paſſed a week together (*ibid.*).
- 38 J. CLEGG and P. TUCKER, *Ruskin and Tuscany*, London and Sheffield 1993, p. 100.
- 39 On 7 January 1873 William Michael Rossetti noted (ſomewhat ſardonically) in his diary that aſide from making copies of the Botticelli freſcoes, Murray thought «of examining the Old Maſter drawings in various galleries, and drawing up a catalogue of them, correcting errors of attribution, tracing the connection between drawings and pictures, etc, etc. He is under the impreſſion that nothing (or next to nothing) of the kind has yet been done in any Italian gallery» (quoted in D.B. ELLIOTT, *Charles Fairfax Murray. The Unknown Pre-Raphaelite*, Lewes 2000, p. 47).
- 40 Probably the predella panel (77a) then ſtill incorporated with the S. Petronilla triptych (77). Murray's drawing ſeems not to have ſurvived.
- 41 Murray's copy of the freſco is in the Ruskin Foundation, Ruskin Library, University of Lancaſter (1996P0375).
- 42 With the ſole exception of «the altarpiece ſaid to ſtill exiſt at Maſſa» (C.F. Murray to Meyer,

- 31 May 1885, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz-Zentralarchiv [hereafter SMB-ZA], Md788-136). Murray refers to the *Maestà* by Ambrogio now in the Museo d'Arte Sacra, Massa Marittima. This had been discovered in the church of Sant'Agostino in Massa in 1867 and appears to have been lost again before re-emerging and being transferred to the Palazzo comunale. Six years earlier Murray had written to Cavalcaselle, «Non so dove ho letto che quel quadro di Massa era di Pietro e se mi fu detto dal Conte Borghesi, S'jccome il quadro non si trova più mi interessava poco – guarderò» (C.F. Murray to G.B. Cavalcaselle, 21 January 1879, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cod. It. IV 2034).
- 43 P. TUCKER, *Charles Fairfax Murray and Duccio's Maestà. Photography, Art History and the Market in Early Paintings in Late Nineteenth-Century Siena*, Bembridge 2008. The episode is not referred to in Ken and Jenny Jacobson's recent monograph on Ruskin and photography, *Carrying off the Palaces. John Ruskin's Lost Daguerreotypes*, London 2015.
- 44 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PDP, 1402) and private collection, Italy; both bound in vellum and measuring around 25 x 19 cm.
- 45 The nucleus of the present Pinacoteca Nazionale.
- 46 Murray requested access to the Archivio for «studi sulla storia della pittura» in July 1874 and permission to study «codici miniati senesi» there for a month in 1876 (P. NARDI, *L'Archivio di Stato e l'Università di Siena come centri propulsori della ricerca storica nella seconda metà del XIX secolo*, in *Archivi e storia nell'Europa del XIX secolo. Alle radici dell'identità culturale europea*, conference proceedings (Florence, 4-7 December 2002), ed. I. Cotta-Rosalina Manono Tolu, Roma 2006, p. 537). He made a catalogue of «early bookcovers of the Gabella» in October 1875 and spent much of January 1877 drawing and restoring similar panels in the Archivio (see his diaries for these years, Fondation Custodia, Paris [hereafter FCP]).
- 47 Nos 22 (1394, attr. to Paolo di Giovanni Fei) and 104 (1458, attr. to Vecchietta), Archivio di Stato, Siena. See Murray's diary for 1878 (FCP), entry for 17 September and the Cash Account for that month; also L. BORGIA et al, *Le biccherne: tavole dipinte delle magistrature senesi (secoli xiii-xviii)*, Roma 1984, p. 124; W. LOESERIES, *La scoperta dell'arte medievale, in Viaggio di Toscana*, eds M. Bossi and M. Seidel, Venezia 1998, pp. 143-144.
- 48 A list drawn up in 1877 (Diary 1877, FCP) shows that since his first visit to Italy in the winter of 1871-72 he had acquired fifty-eight paintings there, the majority in or around Siena itself. A group of twenty-two pictures of the Siennese school largely consisted of trecento panels but was globally representative of over four centuries of painting, from the «Master of 1215» (the painter of the earliest dated panel in the Istituto di Belle Arti collection) to Astolfo Petrazzi.
- 49 Murray had met Vischer by April 1874: his diary (FCP) shows that they were already in correspondence at that time.
- 50 At the back of Murray's diary for 1874 (FCP) is a list of paintings to be seen (and places to stay) in Buonconvento, Monte Oliveto Asciano and Orvieto, headed «Vischer's note».
- 51 MURRAY, Diary 1874, FCP, entry for 30 June.
- 52 Representing the *Virgin and Child* (Carmine altarpiece) and the *Birth of the Virgin* (St Sabinus altarpiece), these were then displayed in the church of Sant'Ansano a Dofana and in the sacristy of the Duomo respectively; they are now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale and the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.
- 53 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PDP, 1402). The drawing of the *Virgin and Child with angels and saints* from the Carmine altarpiece was made in 1873 (C.F. Murray to R. Vischer, 25 June

1875, Universitätsbibliothek Tübingen [hereafter UT]). It shows the figure to the right of the Virgin and Child, originally representing the prophet Elijah, in the guise of St Anthony Abbot, one of the alterations made when the painting was transferred from the Carmine in Siena to the rural church of Sant'Ansano a Dofana. The repaint was removed in 1936 (P. TORRITI, *La Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena*, Genova 1980, I, p. 98). As Murray ruefully pointed out to Vischer (25 June 1875, UT), the engraving of the *Virgin and Child* from the Sant'Ansano panel reproduced an error in his transcription of the date below the throne, which should have read 'M.CCC.XXVIII' and not 'M.CCC.LXXVIII'. The original drawing was duly corrected by Murray (see fig. 10). The final 'I', recorded by Murray, has since perished.

- 54 «Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst», 10, 1875, pp. 135-146: 136, 139, 141. The earliest surviving letter from Murray to Vischer (n.d., UT) is unfortunately incomplete, but must relate to Vischer's request for drawings to illustrate his articles. Murray not only discusses the safety of transport by rail, but writes that he is addressing the letter to a friend of Vischer's in Vienna. This must be Karl von Lützow, the founder and editor of the «Zeitschrift», who has signed a note on the last sheet dated 1 May 1874 and stating that the letter was sent to Lützow's address in the belief that Vischer was then in Vienna. The letter evidently responds to a request from Vischer for «a little note on the colour» of the *Birth of the Virgin* and of the Carmine altarpiece: «As to writing you a little note on the colour I do not quite understand what you mean – Pietro Lorenzetti's colour speaking of it generally closely resembles that of Duccio[,] the "Nativity of the Virgin" in the Sacristy of the Duomo especially – the picture at Monte Aperto (S. Ansano) is too much damaged to admit of any opinion[,] the only thing particularly noticeable being the curious pale yellow dresses of the angels at the back of the throne[,] the fronts richly embroidered with pearls and jewels[,] also the sleeve bands – On the margin of the drawings of the Nativity you will find notes of the colour in detail[.][sketch; see figs 7-9] There is a rough note for you of the general arrangement». The engravings after Murray's drawings published by Vischer in 1875 were reprinted as illustrations to Eduard Dobbert's article on the Sienese school, which appeared in Robert Dohme's series *Kunst und Künstler Italiens bis um die Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts. Erster Band*, Leipzig 1878, pp. 40, 41. Murray's correspondence and collaboration with Vischer continued in the following years. A long letter written in London between 2 and 9 August 1876 gives a detailed account of the journey to Arezzo, Borgo San Sepolcro, Città di Castello, Perugia, Ancona and Loreto which Murray made some time that summer in order to see and make drawings for Vischer of works by Luca Signorelli, on whom Vischer was preparing a monograph. *Luca Signorelli und die Italienische Renaissance* was published in Leipzig in 1879 and carried as its frontispiece a colotype of a copy by Murray of Signorelli's self-portrait in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Orvieto.
- 55 Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cod. It. IV 2034, 2035.
- 56 C.F. Murray to R. Vischer, 25 June 1875, UT. His diary for 1875 (FCP) records that Murray called on Cavalcaselle in Rome on 16 January 1875.
- 57 P. TUCKER, *Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle, John Ruskin e Charles Fairfax Murray: interlocutori e antagonisti*, in *Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle conoscitore e conservatore*, ed. A.C. Tommasi, Venezia 1998, pp. 257-276.
- 58 *Ibid.*
- 59 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 9 January 1867, Harry Ransom Center, The University of Texas at Austin [hereafter HRC], MS-0627.
- 60 MURRAY, Diary 1874, FCP, entry for 19 August.

- 61 See T. VON STOCKHAUSEN, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Die Geschichte ihrer Erwerbungs politik*, Berlin 2000, pp. 142-164.
- 62 C.F. Murray to R. Vischer, 25 June 1875, UT. The painting referred to is NG 910, a fresco re-presenting the *Triumph of Chastity*, acquired in 1874. It had been damaged when detached from a wall in the Palazzo del Magnifico in Siena and would have appeared less worthy still given Berlin's recent purchase from the Anglo-Florentine couple Henry and Janet Ross of Signorelli's *School of Pan*. According to Janet Ross herself (*The Fourth Generation. Reminiscences*, London 1912, pp. 185-186), they had bought the painting from the painter and dealer Angiolo Tricca for 15,000 francs and sold it to Berlin for 66,000 (cf. VON STOCKHAUSEN, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, p. 320 where the price is stated to have been 64,000 francs, following an initial demand of 100,000). She recounts how the painting had (to her «dismay») been offered by her husband to Burton's predecessor, William Boxall, for the price paid Tricca (plus a promised 10% commission) but was rejected as «rather undressed for the British public» (Ross, *The Fourth Generation*, p. 186). She also recounts how Burton later quizzed her about this missed opportunity and how, on hearing the story, «looked quite savage and wished he had been Director of the National Gallery then» (*ibid.*, p. 197).
- 63 C.F. Murray to W.S. Spanton, n.d. (December 1875; incorrectly dated, not by Murray, «dec/73»), Dulwich Picture Gallery, London (Box H 10).
- 64 MURRAY, Diary 1875/76, FCP, entries for 25-26 September.
- 65 Some time in the first week of August 1874 according to Murray's diary for that year (FCP; see note on page for 3-5 August, when it was brought to Murray in Pisa by «Paul», probably Paolo Masini of San Gimignano, a friend and something of a factotum, later a dealer or «intermediario» in contact with the dealer Stefano Bardini). The 1877 list of paintings in Murray's own possession (Diary 1877, FCP) records that he acquired the panel in Siena from a certain «Stasi», possibly the printer, bookbinder and bookseller Giuseppe Stasi, who had a shop just by the Loggia della Mercanzia. It also records that the panel had come from Colle di Val d'Elsa, earlier still from Montieri, near Massa Marittima.
- 66 NG 1113 (Pietro Lorenzetti and Workshop, *St Sabinus before the Roman Governor of Tuscany*) was presented together with a copy of the rare first edition of Ascanio Condivi's *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (1553). For the date of presentation see C.F. Murray, Diary 1877 (FCP), entry for 17 July. The date of 1882, later recorded by Burton (NGA, MS Cat. [NG 10 (5)]) and replicated in all subsequent catalogues of this part of the collection (including GORDON, *Italian Paintings before 1400*, p. 296), was the year in which the panel was finally hung in the Gallery (see n. 81).
- 67 Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, Cod. It. IV 2035 [=12276] (1828-29). On the other hand, in the letter to Vischer of 24 November 1874 (UT) in which Murray announced this find to his friend he voices no opinion as to the altarpiece to which it had originally belonged, having indeed not yet identified the subject: «Sappia che ho avuto la buona fortuna di trovare un quadrettino di Pietro Lorenzetti[.]Il soggetto [sic] non lo so – un certo santo vescovo predicando contro l'adorazione di Venere mi pare – indietro del vescovo si vedono anche un diacono ed un prete – un vecchio porta l'immagine di Venere con tanta riverenza fra una tela non toccando la figura colle mani – due ragazze portano candelae accese dall'una e dall'altra parte – Credo che sarebbe difficile di fotografarlo [-] voglio provare però».
- 68 G.B. CAVALCASELLE and J.A. CROWE, *Storia della pittura in Italia*, 11 vols, Firenze 1883-1908, III, p. 201n.
- 69 *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Pictures in the National Gallery. Foreign Schools*,

London 1889, pp. 230-231.

70 NG 1147.

- 71 C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 2 August 1877, NGA, Dossier NG 1147. It was suggested by Martin Davies (see GORDON, *Italian Paintings before 1400*, p. 284) that NG 1147 was one of a number of fragments described by Gaetano Milanesi in January 1855 as on the wall of a room once part of the chapter house. Compare V. LUSINI, *Storia della Basilica di S. Francesco in Siena*, Siena 1894, p. 214, which states that the chapter house was converted into a refectory in 1857 and at that time «[a]ltri frammenti più danneggiati, furono disposti per le pareti del Refettorio». It may, however, have been in or before 1853, when the convent buildings were adapted for use by the Seminario, that its bursar «saved» the present fragment. See Burton's note in NGA, MS Cat. NG 10 (5): «Fragment of a composition in fresco formerly on a wall of the Capitolo of the Church of S. Francesco at Siena. Somewhere about 1853 the Capitolo was partly pulled down to make way for a school-room & in the operations the ancient fresco was discovered under a thick coat of whitewash, too much injured, it is said, to be worth detaching from the wall. The priest of the Seminario obtained permission to rescue this fragment from destruction, & had it inserted over the door of his room.»
- 72 Burton reported the acquisition at the Trustees' meeting of 25 November 1878, when it was specified that £45 out of interest from the Lewis Fund had been used to pay for the purchase and packing of the picture, whereas £15.5.0 out of petty cash had been remitted to «Mr C.F. Murray at Siena for agency in connection with this and other matters» (NGA, NG 1, V, 114). NGA, NG7/5/1878 November 25 contains a receipt, signed by Lombardi and dated 5 October 1878, for the sum of L. 1,092 (= £40) for purchase of the picture from the bursar of the Seminario, Giacomo Merli, and for L. 61.80 for expenses incurred in detaching the fresco from the wall. It also contains a receipt from Murray, dated 7 November 1878, for thirty francs, the cost of having a special case made and of packing the fragment.
- 73 Murray's diary for the period 27 September-14 October 1878 (FCP) offers a concise record of the entire process, overseen by himself. See also the note in NGA, MS Cat. NG 10 (5): «The black headgear repaired.»
- 74 J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray, 9 November 1877, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 2150; C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 27 November 1877, NGA, NG 54/8.
- 75 *Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist and St Catherine of Alexandria*, bought on 29 November 1877 from Luigi Pellini, *parroco* of the church of San Donato for 3300 frs, or around £132 (C.F. MURRAY, *Diary 1877*, FCP). The painting was later in the Stoclet Collection, Brussels.
- 76 Studio of Sandro Botticelli, *Virgin and Child*, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (A413), bought from the dealer Tito Gagliardi in November 1877 (C.F. Murray, *Diary 1877*, FCP, entries for 15 and 24 November).
- 77 C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 30 December 1877, NGA, NG 54/11.
- 78 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 4 January 1878, HRC.
- 79 C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 19 January 1878, NGA, NG 54/12. The Neroccio was finally sent to Ruskin, who dismissed it as «utter rubbish» (J. Ruskin to C.F. Murray, 30 July 1878, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MA 2150) but nevertheless retained it.
- 80 C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 19 (?) August 1877, NGA, NG 54/4.
- 81 The panel by Pietro was hung in the Gallery under glass probably not long before 17 February 1882 (the date of Burton's Report for 1881, in which this fact was recorded). The fragment by Ambrogio was not hung until 1883 (NGA, MS Cat. NG 10 [5]).

- 82 *Portrait of a Woman with Bared Breast*, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (197B).
- 83 C.F. Murray to F.W. Burton, 6 December 1877, NGA, NG 54/9. These years saw the birth of Murray's first four children, of whom two survived infancy.
- 84 C.F. Murray to D.G. Rossetti 20 January 1880, University of British Columbia Library, Angeli-Dennis Collection. The «scoundrel» was the dealer Giuseppe Baslini, from whom Burton had just bought NG 1077 (Bernardino Bergognone) and 1077.1-2 (Ambrogio Bergognone).
- 85 C.F. Murray to D.G. Rossetti, 20 April 1880, University of British Columbia Library, Angeli-Dennis Collection.
- 86 The exception being F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 3 February 1881 (HRC, MS-0627).
- 87 See A. von Beckerath to S. Bardini, 1 December 1879, Archivio Storico Eredità Bardini, Soprintendenza Polo Regionale della Toscana, Florence: «Abbia la bontà di domandare l'inglese con le gambe storte [Murray was severely bow-legged], qual sia l'ultimo prezzo di tutti i disegni del Conte Connestabile insieme, prezzo per me, non da Museo.»
- 88 See Murray's acknowledgement of receipt of this sum, dated 13 September 1884, in SMB-ZA, I/GG 201 II C. Litt. A. The painting had already been considered and rejected by Berlin two years earlier (J. Meyer to C.F. Murray, 5 May 1882, SMB-ZA, I/GG 61 II A, Bd. 9).
- 89 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 3 March 1881, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 90 L. Banchi to F. Rubini, 17 April 1884, Archivio Opera Metropolitana, Siena, MS, 1627 (ex 936: IV [Correspondence with Rubini]), 23).
- 91 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 14 April 1884, HRC, MS-0627: «I am told there is a Duccio for sale at Siena, said to be one of the series in the Duomo (Opera del Duomo?) - a Nativity, 6000 francs - I don't know who has it.»
- 92 In the letter to Bode cited in the next note, Murray hints at the unwillingness of the Berlin gallery «to purchase anything but masterpieces of the Cinquecento». It should be noted, though, that they stood in greater supply of Sienese Trecento panels than did the National Gallery: already in 1821 they had acquired six from the British merchant and collector Edward Solly, to which another six had been added by 1878 (*Beschreibendes Verzeichniss der während des Umbaues ausgestellten Gemälde*, Berlin 1878).
- 93 On 2 January 1885 Murray thanked Bode for the «trouble taken in the matter of the Duccio & the personal sacrifice» he had made (SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832). The donor found by Bode was Wilhelm Wölff, of Niderschöneweide, Berlin, whose gift would not be formally approved by the Emperor until 1890 (VON STOCKHAUSEN, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, pp. 258-259, where however the painting is mistakenly stated to have come from the collection of Vincenzo Capponi). Cf. J. STUBBLEBINE, *Duccio di Buoninsegna and his School*, Princeton 1979, p. 37, where it is wrongly suggested that Murray gave the painting to Berlin. The panel was deaccessioned by Berlin in 1937, when it was exchanged, together with a painting by Filippo Lippi, for a portrait by Holbein (2154) offered by Duveen Brothers. It was bought the same year by the Andrew W. Mellon Trust and gifted to the National Gallery of Art (1937.1.8.).
- 94 *Temptation of Christ on the Mountain* (Frick Collection, New York), *Calling of the Apostles Peter and Andrew* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), *Raising of Lazarus* (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth) and *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid). See C.F. MURRAY, *Diaries 1874, 1875/76, 1877* (FCP), where Murray notes their possession by Marziale Dini of Colle di Val d'Elsa, with (in that for 1875/76) the query «if belonged to altarpieces of Duomo 45 centimetres circa». STUBBLEBINE, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, p. 36 and n. 24 cites an exhibition of *oggetti d'arte antica* organized by the Municipality of Colle di Val

- d'Elsa in 1879 to which the four panels were lent by Marziale Dini together with his brother Giuseppe.
- 95 Murray, Diary 1886 (FCP), entry for 19 September and Cash Account pages for August and September, shows that the four panels were bought through the Sienese dealer Raffaello Corbini for 3,150 francs (around £126), including a 5% commission, apparently for Corbini, since Murray's commission for the entire group of purchases was added separately to the sum owed by Benson.
 - 96 NG 1139 and 1140 were bought for £178 the pair; see NGA, NG1 V, p. 236 and NG 5028.
 - 97 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 31 July 1885, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
 - 98 Where they may have been among the «bellissimi frammenti che sono in sagrestia e in casa sparsi e sconosciuti agli ignoranti possessori» noted by Gaetano Milanese in autograph marginilia to a copy of E. ROMAGNOLI, *Cenni storico-artistici di Siena e suoi suburbii*, p. 66, in the Biblioteca Comunale Siena (coll. B. LXXIV. D 30). My thanks to Piergiacomo Petrioli for supplying me with this information. Murray had been to «Fagnano» with a group of antiquaries from Florence on 30 June 1878 (Diary 1878 [FCP]).
 - 99 STUBBLEBINE, *Duccio di Buoninsegna*, p. 36.
 - 100 See especially the online provenance information regarding the Washington National Gallery's *Nativity* <<http://www.nga.gov/content/ngaweb/Collection/art-object-page.10.html>> last accessed 30 September 2014: «It seems that [Murray] initially had hoped to sell them all [i.e. the seven predella panels that passed through his hands] to the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and had tried to convince the gallery to purchase them, offering to give one of the panels as his gift».
 - 101 E. DOBBERT, *Duccio's Bild «Die Geburt Christi» in der Königlichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Berlin*, «Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen», 6, 1885, pp. 153-163. See TUCKER, *Charles Fairfax Murray*, pp. 8-9 for discussion of a prior reconstructed design, dating from 1873, by the painter and restorer Francesco Brogi.
 - 102 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 2 and 18 January 1885, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
 - 103 DOBBERT, *Duccio's Bild*, p. 154. Neither this suggestion nor the information regarding the Opera del Duomo panels acknowledged by Dobbert is found in Murray's correspondence with Bode and may have been made in a letter passed on to Dobbert or addressed directly to the latter, in either case now lost.
 - 104 As would be argued a decade later in A. LISINI, *Notizie di Duccio pittore e della sua celebre ancona*, «Bullettino senese di storia patria», 5, 1898, pp. 20-51: 27.
 - 105 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 2 January 1885, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
 - 106 *Nachtrag zum beschreibenden Verzeichniss der Gemälde*, Berlin 1885, p. 13n, where Dobbert's hypothesis is presented as doubtful, or as yet unproven.
 - 107 DOBBERT, *Duccio's Bild*, p. 155. Dobbert does not state how Murray had arrived at this conclusion, but it was probably on the basis of a perceived analogy with the New Testament fresco cycle in the Collegiata at San Gimignano, where the sequence of scenes from Christ's infancy in the lunettes begins with an *Annunciation*, and in which, as Murray certainly did remark to Dobbert (p. 155), the *Flight into Egypt* incorrectly follows the *Massacre of the Innocents*, just as in the reconstructed sequence of the *Maestà* predella.
 - 108 *Ibid.*, p. 154: «mit einer verschollenen Verkündigung».
 - 109 Until its cleaning in 1981-82 the angled corners of the *Annunciation's* original painted

- surface were «made up by later restoration» (private communication from Jill Dunkerton, 9 June 2015).
- 110 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 10 July 1889, HRC, MS-0627. Murray's diary for 1878 (FCP) records a visit with Burton to the Opera and afterwards to the Duomo, followed by an afternoon at home «writing out list of works of art in the Cathedral» (24 September).
- 111 R.L. DOUGLAS, *History of Siena*, London 1902, pp. 345-346, where the *Annunciation*, «obviously [...] mutilated», is placed «in the arches of the Gothic framework», i.e. among the pinnacles. This opinion is not repeated in the article «Duccio», published the following year in the «Monthly Review» (12, 1903, pp. 130-147), where the front predella is said to have begun «with the Nativity now at Berlin» and where Douglas claims «some years ago» to have arrived at the conclusion that «the panels belonging to Mr. Benson and two of the panels in the National Gallery formed part of the great *Majestas*» (p. 143). This passage is quoted in the Burlington Fine Arts Club's *Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures of Siena*, p. 44, but the text is altered to read «one at least of the panels in the National Gallery».
- 112 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 3 March 1887, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 113 TUCKER, *Charles Fairfax Murray*, pp. 3-4, 20-21, 24.
- 114 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 3 March 1887, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 115 In the last ten years of Burton's directorship only NG 1188 and 1189 (Ugolino di Nerio) would be purchased (at the Fuller Russell sale in 1885). For the purchase of a trecento panel by Poynter see below in the text.
- 116 Issued by the Treasury in 1894, this deprived the Director of the exclusive authority invested in him by the Minute of 1855 and made him chief executive officer of a newly empowered board of Trustees (see A. GEDDES POOLE, *Stewards of the Nation's Art. Contested Cultural Authority 1890-1939*, Toronto, Buffalo, and London 2010).
- 117 [H. HORNE], *The State of the National Gallery*, «The Saturday Review» (26 February 1898), pp. 275-279: 278. The article is attributed to Horne in D. SUTTON, *Herbert Horne. A Pioneer Historian of Early Italian Art*, «Apollo», 122, 1985, pp. 130-159: 131.
- 118 *Ibid.*, p. 276.
- 119 NG 1461.
- 120 [HORNE], *The State of the National Gallery*, p. 277.
- 121 GEDDES POOLE, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 82.
- 122 Minutes of the Trustees' Meeting of 10 June 1902 (NGA, NG 1 VII, p. 163).
- 123 HUTTON, *Sienese School*, pp. x-xi.
- 124 To Burton, that is. For reasons that are not clear, Murray's relations with Poynter were barely cordial and even reached a degree of open hostility in 1902, when, hinting mysteriously at «other matters that have led up to the present situation, the springs of which are possibly as well known to yourself as to me», Murray wrote a furious letter of complaint (NGA, NG7/266/1902) at the re-hanging of a painting presented by himself as a work by Vermeer in 1900 (NG 1699, attributed to Michiel Nouts). There is an element of paradox about this hostility, given that Murray and Poynter had effectively run together as painter-Director candidates for the position vacated by Burton, whereas they were lumped together in the «antiquarian» camp by Horne (see P. TUCKER, *Eyesight, Knowledge, Argument: Charles Fairfax Murray on «Scientific» Connoisseurship*, «Studi di Memofonte», 12, 2014, pp. 106-143).

- 125 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 11 September 1884, HRC, MS-0627.
- 126 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 21 December 1884, HRC, MS-0627.
- 127 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 2 January 1885, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 128 Gemäldegalerie, Berlin (1062B). Formerly in the collections of Giustino Campolmi in Florence, Emanuele d'Azeglio in Turin and Antonio Rusca again in Florence, it was included in the sale of the latter's collection held in Florence, 10-21 April 1883 (M. BOSKOVITS, *Frühe Italienische Malerei* (Gemäldegalerie Berlin. Katalog der Gemälde), Berlin 1988, cat. 18, pp. 35-37; D. SALLAY, *Early Sieneese Paintings in Hungarian Collections, 1420-1520*, PhD Thesis in Medieval Studies, Budapest, Hungary, 2008, p. 169n). Murray must have bought it at this sale or shortly afterwards.
- 129 W. Bode to C.F. Murray, telegram, 14 November 1884, SMB-ZA, I/GG 62 II A, Bd 10 (2754/84).
- 130 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 12 December 84, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 131 Pellegrino di Mariano, *Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist and St Bernardine of Siena*, Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee (K1120). Mentioned in CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *New History*, II, p. 81n as the artist's «only authentic picture» (see also Cavalcaselle and Crowe, *Storia della pittura*, IX, p. 43n, where the picture's location at the time is not stated).
- 132 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 2 January 1885, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 133 *Christ as Man of Sorrows*, signed and dated 1347, Liechtenstein Collection, Vaduz (inv. no. 862).
- 134 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 2 January 1885, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832. CAVALCASELLE and CROWE, *Storia della pittura*, III, p. 117, refers to a signed painting by Ceccarelli seen in London in the collection of «signor Donnadieu». This was the *Virgin and Child* later owned by Sir Frederick Cook (Francis Cook's son), by whom it was lent to the Burlington Fine Arts Club Sieneese exhibition in 1904 (*Illustrated Catalogue of Pictures of Siena*, p. 51 [cat. 23]). The panel was sold at Christie's on 8 December 2005 (22) for £1.2 million.
- 135 BOSKOVITS, *Frühe Italienische Malerei*, p. 36; VON STOCKHAUSEN, *Gemäldegalerie Berlin*, p. 267.
- 136 According to lists made out by the sons and relating to the division of Murray's Italian estate (private collection) it was then sold by one of Murray's sons, either Giovanni or Roberto, to Emilio Costantini for L.18.000.
- 137 *Virgin and Child with St John the Baptist, St Jerome and Donors*, flanked by the *Nativity* and the *Agony in the Garden*, whereabouts unknown.
- 138 Now in the Galleria dell'Accademia, P792; INV. 435.
- 139 Studio of Neroccio di Bartolomeo Landi, *Virgin and Child with St Bernardino and St Catherine of Siena*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (554).
- 140 *The Virgin and Child between St Jerome and St Peter*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (561).
- 141 C.F. Murray to W. Bode, 2 June 1892, SMB-ZA, IV/NL Bode 3832.
- 142 In Murray's view «nearly unique both in design & preservation» (*ibid.*).
- 143 F.W. Burton to C.F. Murray, 15 May 1892, HRC, MS-0627.
- 144 The Andrea di Niccolò already mentioned, formerly Murray's; a late thirteenth-century *Crucifixion* (564), formerly in the Toscanelli Collection (possibly not recognized as Sieneese at the time of purchase, being catalogued by Sidney Colvin in 1898 as of the Umbrian school); a *Crucifixion* attributed to Naddo Ceccarelli (558), formerly in the Tosca-

nelly Collection; Luca di Tommè, *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (563), formerly in the Toscanelli Collection; *St Geminianus, St Michael and St Augustine*, attributed to Simone Martini and Workshop (552), formerly in the Blayds and Fuller Russell collections; Martino di Bartolomeo, *Annunciation* (553), formerly Murray's; the Neroccio studio painting already mentioned, formerly Murray's; and Andrea Vanni, *Virgin and Child* (560), formerly in the Toscanelli Collection.

- 145 *Report of the Committee of Trustees of the National Gallery, Appointed by the Trustees to Enquire into the Retention of Important Pictures in the Country and Other Matters Connected with the National Art Collections*, London 1914.
- 146 NGA, NG 7/445/1914, pp. 7-8.
- 147 A. GEDDES POOLE, *Stewards of the Nation's Art*, p. 56.
- 148 NGA, NG 7/445/1914, p. 7. The reference is to a panel in Berlin (63D) depicting *St Anthony at Mass*, now given to the Osservanza Master. It was formerly in the collection of Sir Coutts Lindsay, where it was considered a work by Benozzo Gozzoli. The attribution to Sassetta was made by Langton Douglas, who believed it to represent St Francis. It was bought by Bode in 1910 (K. CRISTIANSEN et al., *Painting in Renaissance Siena. 1420-1500*, New York 1988, p. 108).
- 149 Among examples not sold to Butler or Benson are Giovanni di Paolo's *Adoration of the Magi* in the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo (inv. 607-17), sold to Richard von Kaufmann in 1888 for £50; the *Virgin and Child with St Nicholas and St Paul* by Luca di Tommè in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (K69); the *Virgin and Child* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (1975.1.12), now attributed to Simone Martini, previously given to Lippo Vanni and Lippo Memmi; *St Agnes* by Taddeo di Bartolo, purchased from Murray by the Prince of Liechtenstein and recently put up for sale at Sotheby's (7 July 2011, lot 186).
- 150 Galerie Georges Petit, 15 June 1914.
- 151 The painting was sold by Murray's son Giovanni to Paul Sachs, probably in 1919, and presented by Sachs to the Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1939 (1939.113). It was attributed to Ambrogio by F. Mason Perkins in 1920.



Fig. 1: NICCOLÒ DI BUONACCORSO, *Marriage of the Virgin*, ca 1380, egg tempera on poplar, 50.9 x 33 cm, London, National Gallery (NG 1109).



Fig. 2: C.F. MURRAY, *Self-Portrait*, 1872, watercolour, 10 x 14 cm, private collection.



Fig. 3: P. LOMBARDI after Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà* (detail with *Virgin and Child*), 1874, albumen print, Siena, Fondazione Monte dei Paschi.



Fig. 4: C.F. MURRAY after Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Angels and Saints* (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale), 1873-75, pen over pencil, in bound sketchbook, private collection.



Fig. 5: C.F. MURRAY after Bartolommeo Bulgarini, *Assumption of the Virgin* (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale), 1873-75, pen over pencil, in bound sketchbook, private collection.



Fig. 6: C.F. MURRAY after Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin* from the St Sabinus altarpiece (Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo), 1873-75, pencil, pen, in «Book of Sketches from Italian Paintings», Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (PDP 1402), f. 11 (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).



Fig. 7: C.F. MURRAY after Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin* from the St Sabinus altarpiece (Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) (detail with St Anne and an attendant), 1873-75, pencil, pen, watercolour, inscribed in pencil with autograph notes on colour, in «Book of Sketches from Italian Paintings», Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (PDP 1402), f. 12 (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).



Fig. 8: C.F. MURRAY after Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin* from the St Sabinus altarpiece (Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) (detail with two standing attendants), 1873-75, pencil, pen, wash, white, in «Book of Sketches from Italian Paintings», Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (PDP 1402), f. 12 (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

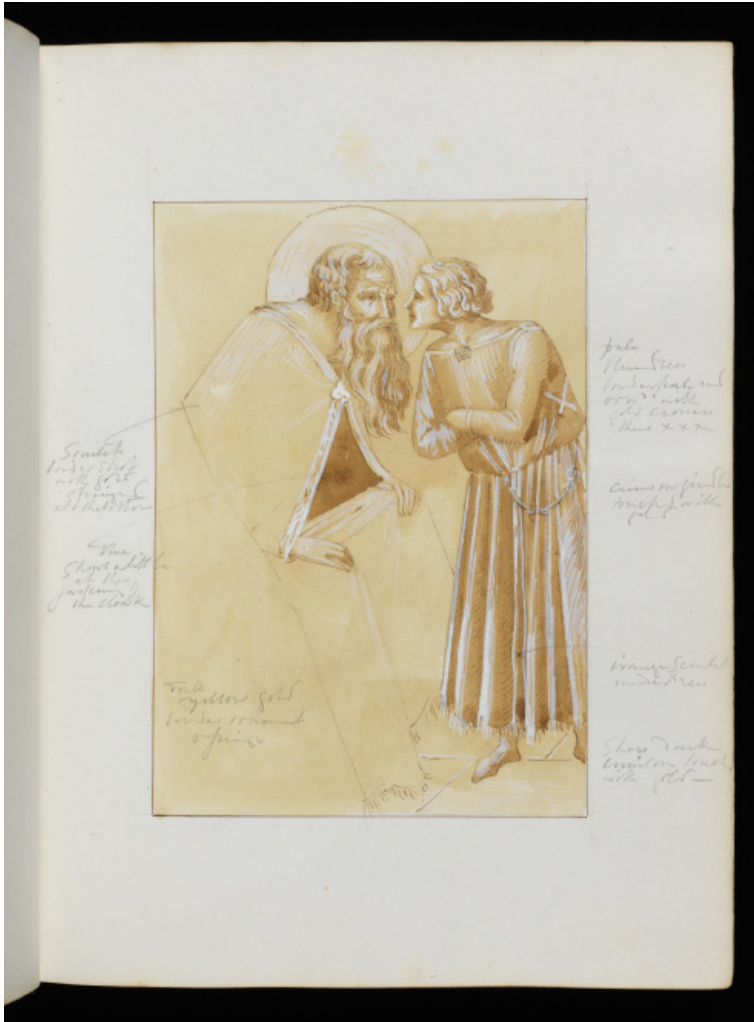


Fig. 9: C.F. MURRAY after Pietro Lorenzetti, *Birth of the Virgin* from the St Sabinus altarpiece (Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo) (detail with St Joachim and an attendant), 1873-75, pencil, pen, wash, white, inscribed in pencil with autograph notes on colour, in «Book of Sketches from Italian Paintings», Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, (PDP 1402), f. 12 (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).



Fig. 10: C.F. MURRAY after Pietro Lorenzetti, *Virgin and Child Enthroned with Saints and Angels* from the Carmine altarpiece (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale), 1873, pencil, pen, in «Book of Sketches from Italian Paintings», Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum (PDP 1402), f. 22 (© The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

Mit dem Kinde bei der Verkündigung gelehrt und in ihrer Wohnung gelehrt. Maria ist
 in der Mitte, rechts von ihr steht der Engel Gabriel, links von ihr steht der Heilige Geist
 in der Gestalt eines Taubens. Die Heilige Maria ist in der Mitte, rechts von ihr steht
 der Engel Gabriel, links von ihr steht der Heilige Geist in der Gestalt eines Taubens.
 Die Heilige Maria ist in der Mitte, rechts von ihr steht der Engel Gabriel, links von ihr
 steht der Heilige Geist in der Gestalt eines Taubens.



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Figs. 11-13: F.W. BADER after C.F. Murray, Studies of Pietro Lorenzetti, the Carmine
 altarpiece (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale) and Birth of the Virgin (Siena, Museo dell'Opera
 del Duomo), wood engravings published as illustrations to R. Vischer, *Siensische Studien*
 III, «Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst», 10, 1875, pp. 136, 139, 141.



Fig. 14: P. LORENZETTI, *St Sabinus before the Roman Governor of Tuscany*, 1333-52, egg tempera on poplar, London, National Gallery (NG 1113) (silver gelatin print on baryta paper, Fondazione Federico Zeri, Università di Bologna [inv. 20423]).



Fig. 15: P. LOMBARDI after Ambrogio Lorenzetti, *Group of Four Poor Clares* (1336-40?), ca 1878, albumen print, Siena, Fondazione Monte dei Paschi.



Fig. 16: DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA, *Nativity with the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel*, 1308-11, egg tempera on poplar, Washington, National Gallery of Art (1937.1.8).



Figs. 17, 18: DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA, *Annunciation*; *Healing of the Man Born Blind*, 1307/8-11, egg tempera on poplar, 44.5 x 45.8 cm; 45.1 x 46.7 cm, London, National Gallery (NG 1139, 1140).



Figs. 19, 20: E. DOBBERT, Reconstruction of Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Maestà*, in *Duccio's Bild «Die Geburt Christi» in der Königinen Gemälde-Galerie zu Berlin*, «Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen», 6, 1885, between pp. 156 and 157.



Fig. 21: FRANCESCO DI VANNUCCIO, Reliquary panel (front showing *Crucifixion with Virgin, St John the Evangelist, St Augustine and Augustinian Donor*), 1380, tempera on poplar, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie (Abb. 45-47) (photo by P. Tucker).

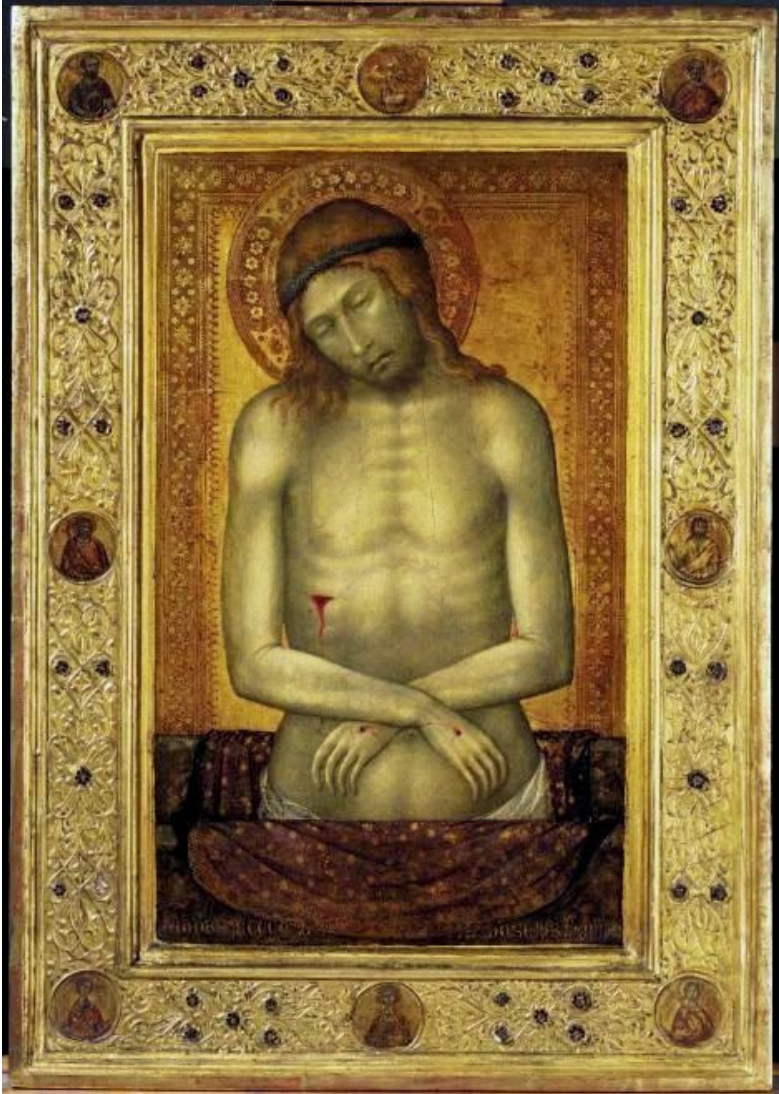


Fig. 22: NADDO CECCARELLI, *Christ as Man of Sorrows*, 1347, tempera on panel, gold ground, 61 x 36 cm (without frame), 71 x 50 cm (with frame), Vaduz, Liechtenstein Collection (inv. no. 862).



Fig. 23: AMBROGIO LORENZETTI, *Crucifixion*, ca 1348-49, tempera and gold on panel, with engaged frame, 61 x 29 cm, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, (1939.113) (photo from catalogue of Charles Fairfax Murray sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 15 June 1914 [as Pietro Lorenzetti]).