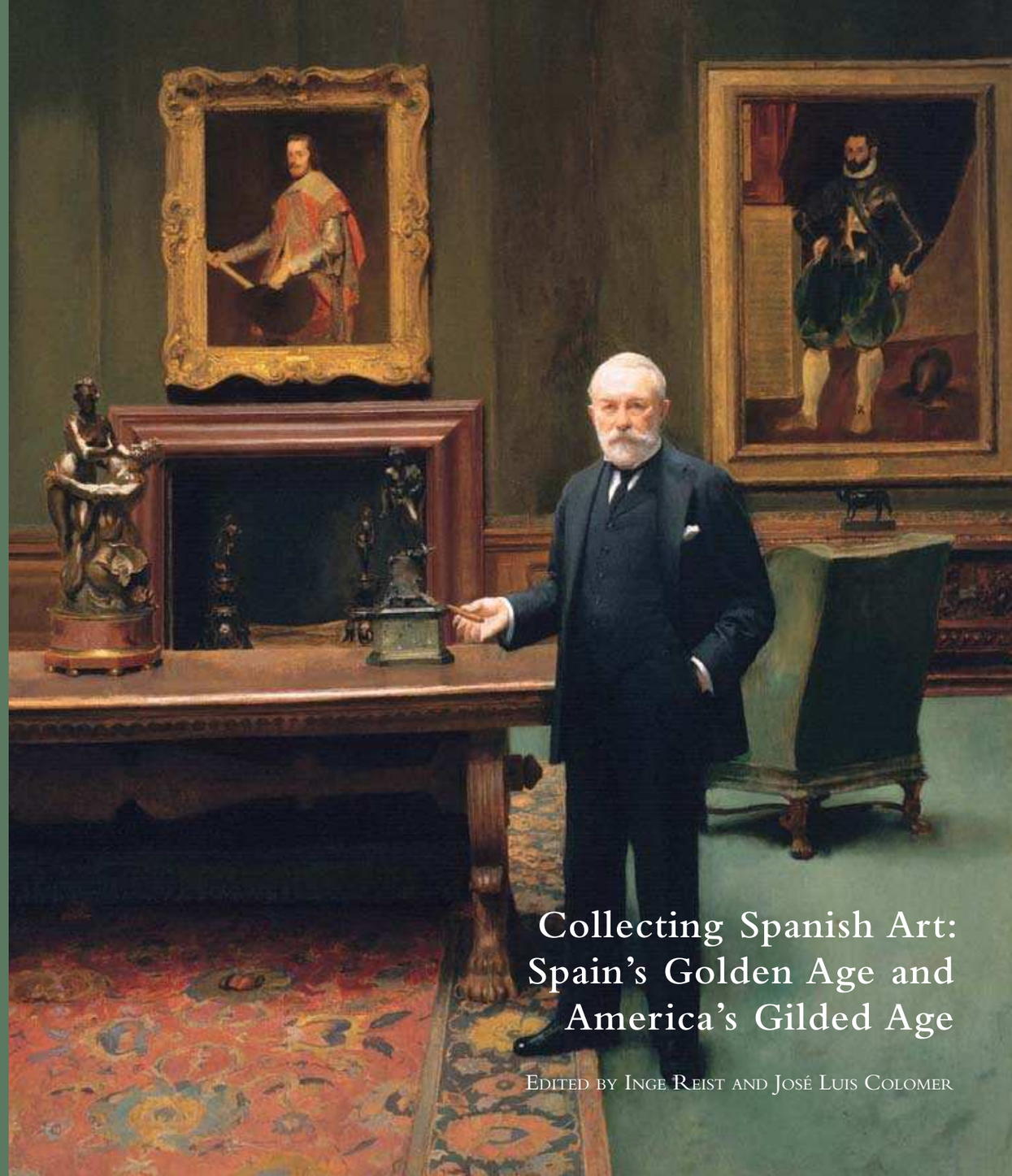
Collecting Spanish Art: Spain's Golden Age and America's Gilded Age

Edited by Inge Reist and José Luis Colomer



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Competing for a Velázquez: New York Collectors after the Spanish Master

José Luis Colomer

Detail of Galassi fig. 12. Sir Gerald Kelly (1879–1972), *Portrait of Mr. Frick in the West Gallery*, 1925. Oil on canvas, 121.92 x 101.6 cm. Pittsburgh, Frick Art & Historical Center

THERE are nine Velázquez paintings in New York today and five more works that were once attributed to him and now ascribed to his workshop. This is by no means an inconsiderable number, bearing in mind that the artist's total known output amounts to little over a hundred canvases (at most 130, including those painted in collaboration with other colleagues and those regarded as dubious), and that nearly 80 percent are in Spain, mostly in the Museo del Prado.[1] If to the New York paintings we add those in other American museums, we find that the body of works located in the United States is the largest outside Spain. This is surpassed only by the sixteen Velázquez paintings in Great Britain, more significant in number than the six marvelous portraits that have remained in Vienna owing to close family and political ties with Madrid in the seventeenth century, and the only two paintings in the Louvre, which are both works of his school, from which the Spanish master's hand is absent.

The vast majority of the New York paintings were acquired between 1880 and 1920 by some of the most distinguished collectors of the Gilded Age. These men were part of a new class of benefactors and museum founders who formed a kind of aristocracy based on immense wealth, accumulated through banking and trade, industry, and railroads.[2] Although—with one notable exception, as we shall see—they did not specialize in Spanish art and are better known for their penchant for other European schools, it is highly significant that they treasured Velázquez paintings among their masterpieces, emulating each other and competing for the very few works by the master on the international market. This essay examines the relationships between these paintings and their former owners by retrieving information scattered among diaries, correspondence, and account

[1] Most scholars agree with the 120 extant paintings examined by López-Rey, see López-Rey 1963, to which other works have been added in subsequent editions following criteria alien to its author.

[2] Constable 1964.

books now in various American and Spanish institutions. These sources, largely unpublished, shed light on the circumstances and agents involved in bringing Velázquez to New York, and on the influence certain collectors had on others in amassing, enlarging, and displaying their picture collections to the public. A history of great personal ambitions and proud possession of artistic treasures, but also of huge generosity and a sense of service to the community—sentiments that underpinned the establishment of many of America's museums.[3]

"I want to be sure it is by his hand": Henry G. Marquand (1819–1902)

The first of the eminent businessmen and philanthropists relevant to this history, Henry G. Marquand, was an avid collector of paintings, porcelain, tapestries, bronzes, and enamels, who started out in the family jewelry business and later invested in real estate, banking, and railroads. He retired from these activities in the early 1880s in order to assemble a remarkable group of old-master paintings for the Metropolitan Museum, becoming its second president in 1889—the year of his major bequest to this institution—until his death in 1902.[4]

With his paintings of the Dutch school and elegant portraits of the English aristocracy, Marquand set trends in collecting that were imitated by others after him. He is responsible for bringing the first authentic Rembrandt to the United States, *Portrait of a Man*, and also the first autograph Vermeer, *Young Woman with a Water Pitcher*; both are among the set of fifty-two paintings donated to The Metropolitan Museum of Art between 1889 and 1890, including masterpieces by Frans Hals and Anthony van Dyck. It was Marquand who commissioned the design for the new museum building on Fifth Avenue from the architect Richard Morris Hunt, who had previously designed Marquand's private residences in Newport and New York, as well as the Marquand Chapel at Princeton. He was also in contact with some of the finest American painters of the day: in 1887 John Singer Sargent painted a portrait of his wife, Elizabeth Allen Marquand (Princeton University Art Museum), thus securing in his own country the success he had sought in vain in Paris and London. Ten years later the Trustees of The Metropolitan Museum of Art commissioned Sargent to paint a portrait of Marquand, then seventy-eight.

Although uninterested in the Spanish school of painting, Marquand appears to have been one of the first American collectors to be keen to add the Sevillian master to his collection: "I am crazy to get that Velázquez," he stated in August 1882, writing from New York to the London dealer Charles Deschamps, who was offering him a *Prince Baltasar Carlos* from his New Bond Street gallery.[5] Marquand

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[3] On this generation of collectors and their important role in the development of American museums, see the classic SAARINEN 1958 and more recent research in SALTZMAN 2008.

[4] ALEXANDER 1897; LIEDTKE 2007; QUODBACH 2007, 10–14.

[5] Nephew of the powerful Belgian dealer Ernest Gambart, Charles William Deschamps was in the art trade in London and was appointed Secretary of the Society of French Artists in 1872. In the 1880s his gallery was at 1a New Bond Street. During that and the previous decade he often exchanged letters with James Whistler and came to sell a considerable number of his paintings, pastels, and watercolors.

1. Workshop of Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *Mariana of Austria (1634–1696), Queen of Spain*, 1660. Oil on canvas, 81.9 x 100.3 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

regretted being unable to send his daughter as on previous occasions—"I am sorry . . . as she is a good judge of pictures and porcelains."[6] The following month, however, he expressed his willingness to pay £2,000 for the work provided that his trusted restorer gave his approval, adding: "I want to be sure it is by his hand, not by [a] pupil. To get an original seems almost out of any American's power."[7]

Marquand later decided that he had paid too high a price for the painting after learning that it had cost its previous owner only £800 two years earlier; perhaps he was disappointed when it finally came into his possession.[8] Although Marquand gave the painting to the Metropolitan as a Velázquez, it was later deattributed and deaccessioned. He set about acquiring two more works by Velázquez in 1889: a *Mariana of Austria* from Colnaghi and a presumed self-portrait, now called *Portrait of a Man*, also purchased in London, from Agnew & Sons of Old Bond Street (figs. 1, 2).[9] The latter painting came from the collection of the Marquesses of Lansdowne, even though such an illustrious provenance turned out to be no guarantee of authenticity: *Portrait of a Man*, known to date back to the collection of Manuel Godoy at the beginning of the nineteenth century before passing into the hands of the Scottish

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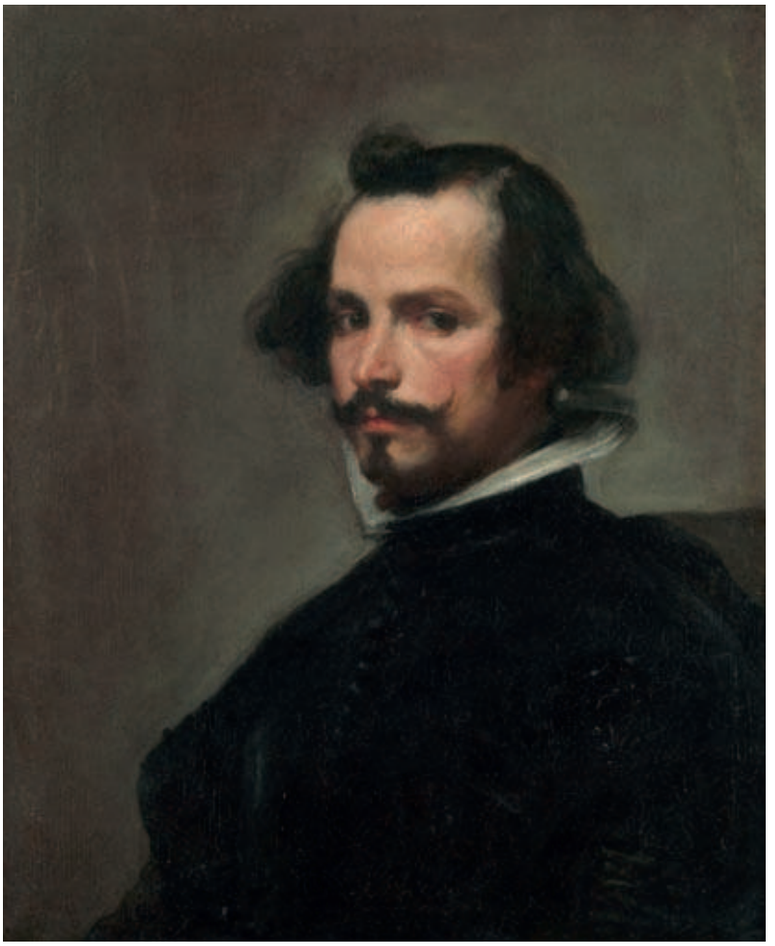
[6] Henry G. Marquand to Charles William Deschamps, 26 Aug. 1882, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter MMA) Archives.

[7] Henry G. Marquand to Charles William Deschamps, 21 Sept. 1882, MMA Archives.

[8] He awaited the first painting "with some interest," later with "great curiosity": Henry G. Marquand to Charles William Deschamps, 9 and 17 Nov. 1882; 15 Dec. 1882; 5 June 1883, MMA Archives.

[9] Agnew's to Henry G. Marquand, London, 2 March 1889, MMA Archives.



2. Workshop of Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *Portrait of a Man*, 1660. Oil on canvas, 69.2 x 56.5 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

dealer William Buchanan, is now considered a studio product and is not generally on view at the Met.[10] *Mariana* is one—and certainly not the best—of the different-sized surviving copies of the full-length portrait in the Prado that was painted around 1652, three years after she became Philip IV's second wife.[11]

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[10] BRIGSTOCKE 1982. Before the Napoleonic Wars spread to Spain in 1808, the Scot William Buchanan sent his agent George Augustus Wallis to the peninsula in search of pictures. Among those he obtained from Godoy's collection was *The Toilet of Venus*, known today as "The Rokeby Venus" because Buchanan then sold it to the Morritt Collection at Rokeby Hall in Yorkshire before its acquisition by the National Gallery, London.

[11] A smaller variant of this painting, also attributed to Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, is housed in the New-York Historical Society. It was donated in 1867 by Thomas Jefferson Bryan, who acquired it as a *Portrait of Infanta Margarita* by Velázquez from the collection of the Philadelphian Richard W. Meade, a former American consul in Cádiz (see also the essay by Richard Kagan in this volume, mentioning Marquand's acquisition of an alleged Zurbarán on his stopover in Cádiz in 1887).

3. The Marquand Gallery of Old Masters at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1897. From *Harper's Magazine* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1850–). Print, 14 x 21 cm. New York, The New York Public Library

The three canvases bought as autograph works by Velázquez featured in the exhibition of the Marquand Gallery of Old Masters at the Metropolitan Museum in 1897, as shown by the print illustrating the laudatory article on the magnate and benefactor in *Harper's Magazine* (fig. 3).[12] The fact that time has confirmed the doubts then voiced about the authorship of the royal portraits, and that the dapper gentleman is not considered an original today either, does not detract from the genuine interest Henry G. Marquand showed in the Spanish artist by seeking masterworks for the museum he so helped shape in its beginnings.[13] He was not the only American whose good intentions came up against a market in which misattributions and wishful thinking abounded.

[12] ALEXANDER 1897, illustrating works by Velázquez on 565, 567, and 570.

[13] "Although we can never properly appreciate Velasquez out of Spain, the 'Selbstportrait' is a fine specimen of his incomparable art, and there is much to be admired in the portraits of the Infant and Queen Mariana, although they are not altogether satisfying, and it would not be surprising to learn that they, like the small *Infanta* at the Louvre, are probably the work of his son-in-law, Del Mazo, with finishing touches added by Velasquez himself": ALEXANDER 1897, 570.

4. Interior of J. Pierpont Morgan's residence at 13–14 Princes Gate, London, ca. 1900. On the wall, Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo (1612–1667), *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain*, 1644–45 (now at The Metropolitan Museum of Art), then attributed to Velázquez. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library

J. Pierpont Morgan (1837–1913)

A dominant figure in the industrial and financial development of the United States for more than fifty years, J. P. Morgan devoted much of his extraordinary energy to building an encyclopedic collection of art, books, and manuscripts, which is now mostly divided between the Metropolitan Museum and the institution that bears his name on New York's Madison Avenue. Even before his semi-retirement in 1901, but particularly during the first decade of the twentieth century, the railroad and Wall Street giant forged a legendary reputation for the voraciousness and ambition of his acquisitions, succeeding within a very short time in amassing impressive examples of Western art and literature from antiquity to the modern age.[14]

Although he never stated this as explicitly as Marquand, it appears that one of the main driving forces behind Morgan's indefatigable collecting zeal was his wish to enrich and transform the nascent Metropolitan Museum, helping make New York one of the world's art capitals. In parallel with his support to other American cultural institutions, his ties to the museum grew over four decades: appointed a patron in 1871 and a trustee in 1888, Morgan began to make gifts in 1897 before becoming president in 1904, a post he held until his death in 1913. Although he had not yet made definite plans for his legacy, he nonetheless stated in his will that it was intended for the art education and pleasure of the public. Accordingly, in 1917 his son J. P. Morgan, Jr., donated most of the collections to the Met, where they had been brought together and shown to the public for the first time in 1914. A group of works went to the Wadsworth Atheneum in Pierpont's native Hartford, Connecticut, while the books, manuscripts, and drawings made up a separate corpus that formed the core holdings of the current Morgan Library.[15]

During his years as a collector, Pierpont kept several residences in the United States and England. He spent periods abroad, often at the London town house he inherited from his father at 13 Princes Gate, facing Hyde Park. Reluctant to pay the 20 percent import duty on antiques introduced by the U.S. government in 1897, he assembled his most important acquisitions there until the abolition of the tax in 1909—thanks partly to the petitions of his friends in the Senate—and, perhaps, a feeling of his impending death led him to transfer his collections to his native country in 1911. A photograph taken before that date shows a corner of the "red drawing room" of Morgan's London residence, the Sancta Sanctorum of his old masters (fig. 4). Gracing its walls is a *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain*—executed about 1644–45, when she was only six or seven—which the art market regarded as an original Velázquez during the nineteenth century and part of the twentieth. It was considered as such by Morgan in 1896 when it joined his collection, where it hung alongside other particularly prized pieces such as Gainsborough's *Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire*, Rembrandt's *Nicolaes Ruts*, and Van Dyck's full-length Genoese *Portrait of a Woman and Child*.[16]

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[14] Gennari Santori 2003.

[15] Pierpont Morgan Library 2000; Strouse 2000b.

[16] Morgan 1907, n. p.

The attribution to Velázquez, however, did not survive the test of time: when the *María Teresa* was sold to the Metropolitan Museum through the Knoedler Gallery following the death of J. P. Morgan, Jr., in 1943, critical literature had already judged it to be the work of Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, whose skillful adoption of the technique of the master, his father-in-law, has led his paintings to be misattributed on more than one occasion.[17]

Like Marquand some years earlier, Morgan included only one Spanish artist in his picture gallery, though he seems to have been interested in acquiring more than one of his works: in 1905 he paid for another portrait by Velázquez—or at least held to be so—also of a Spanish infanta, from the palace of Putbus, a small town on the Baltic coast of northern Germany. Its princely owner acknowledged having received from Pierpont the remaining £4,000 required to complete the transaction, although there is no record of the canvas finally reaching its new owner.[18] In any event, the document suggests that Morgan ventured beyond the London market in his thirst for works by the Sevillian painter. One such work came his way a few years later: in October 1911 the New York branch of the Parisian Maison Braun offered the magnate a canvas whose description and measurements matched the *Three Musicians* executed by a teenage Velázquez (1616–17) during his apprenticeship at Pacheco's workshop.[19] But for some reason Morgan did not buy it. Neither the tight deadline nor the price—$110,000—would have discouraged an art hunter of his stature. Perhaps he was aware that the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin had acquired a painting on the same theme in 1906, the only of the four surviving versions now considered autograph.

Viewed over a century later, Marquand's and Morgan's failed attempts to secure works by Velázquez neither detract from their significance in the history of the collecting of Spanish art nor deny their role as pioneers of the American taste for Velázquez. The boundaries between original and workshop, school of, copy, or fake were still difficult to trace in the last decades of the nineteenth century, when connoisseurship was only starting out and the almost scientific certainty of today's attributions was a long way off. Morgan combined a good eye with professional expertise, partly avoiding the unscrupulous conduct of those who favored a prestigious authorship in order to raise their prices. But

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[17] The painting's provenance and the exhibitions in which it was shown are listed by D. Roldán in TINTEROW, LACAMBRE ET AL. 2003, 430–31.

[18] "Rechnung für Mr. Pierpont Morgan. Über ein Bild von Velazquez, darstellend eine spanische Infantin. Üb[r]ige £4000 von Mr. Pierpont Morgan in New York erhalten zu haben bescheinigt. Schloss Putbus, 27 July 1905" Fürst zu Putbus to J. P. Morgan, 20 Aug. 1905, Morgan Collections Correspondence (1887–1948), Morgan Library Archives (hereafter MLA). It seems that this was not the only painting attributed to Velázquez in that German collection: http://www.lostart.de. (*Bildnis des Velázquez*, seized from Putbus by the Russian troops during World War II, then restituted to Germany and now in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, where attributed to a nineteenth-century follower of Velázquez.)

[19] The picture is described by Braun's manager in New York in a letter to Morgan's personal librarian and assistant: Philippe Ortiz to Belle da Costa Greene, 4 Oct. 1911, PMLA, Morgan Collections Correspondence, Morgan Collections Correspondence (1887–1948), MLA.

even the most skilled advisors could not help making mistakes when an artist's output was only partially known or inaccurately catalogued. Such was the case of Velázquez, whose catalogue compiled by the Scottish collector and art historian Sir William Stirling Maxwell in 1848 included no less than 226 works—more than 20 of them in Great Britain—most of which are no longer considered autograph today.[20]

Even so, Velázquez's critical fortunes and the success enjoyed by his paintings on the international art market in the late nineteenth century had an unmistakably British flavor. The many works by or attributed to him that found their way into England after the Peninsular War (1808–14) made his art known outside Spain, giving rise to subsequent acquisitions by London's National Gallery and distinguished collectors.[21] Accordingly, when it was still rare for Americans to visit Spain as part of their Grand Tour, Britain boasted a splendid selection of the most celebrated of Spanish artists. The enthusiasm Velázquez aroused among the magnates of the Gilded Age no doubt owes much to their visits to London, as well as to the British scholars who strove to bring him to the attention of the modern public from the 1840s onward: the early studies by Richard Ford, Sir William Stirling Maxwell, Robert Stevenson, and Walter Armstrong mostly preceded or followed closely after those of other non-British Velázquez scholars such as the American Charles B. Curtis, the German Carl Justi, and the Spaniard Aureliano de Beruete.[22] To give the British credit, it should be noted that their texts were the first to be accompanied by illustrations—prints and talbotypes in Stirling Maxwell's, and later photographs in those of Curtis and Armstrong[23]—that were pivotal in establishing Velázquez's international fame and whetting the appetite of American collectors.

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[20] Enriqueta Harris, "*Velázquez and His Works*, by William Stirling," in STIRLING MAXWELL 1999, 21–52; also in HARRIS 2006, 311–25.

[21] HARRIS 2004, 23–30; also in HARRIS 2006, 327–37; BRAY 2006. For a complete survey on British taste for Spanish art, see GLENDINNING AND MACARTNEY 2010; Europe's discovery of Spanish old masters has been studied by GARCÍA FELGUERA 1991.

[22] Ford wrote his biography of the artist for the *Penny Cyclopedia* (London: Charles Knight, 1843), and later discoursed on him in FORD 1845. In 1848 Stirling Maxwell published a first biography and catalogue raisonné of Velázquez in *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, which he subsequently revised in 1855 in *Velázquez and His Works* (STIRLING MAXWELL 1855). Curtis's catalogue raisonné, *Velazquez and Murillo*, came out in 1883 (CURTIS 1883). The books by Stevenson and Armstrong were published in 1895 (STEVENSON 1962) and 1896 (ARMSTRONG 1896), respectively. Carl Justi's monograph, originally published in German in 1888, was not translated from German into Spanish until 1953, by Pedro Marrades. The English translation appeared in 1889 (JUSTI 1889). Aureliano de Beruete, the first Spaniard to catalogue Velázquez's oeuvre, published his book initially in French in 1898 (BERUETE 1898), and later in English in 1906 (BERUETE 1906).

[23] Stirling Maxwell attempted in 1873 to bring together visual records of Velázquez's oeuvre in the form of prints and talbotypes, thus producing the first art-history publication illustrated photographically, see MACARTNEY 2006. Of the aforementioned pioneering studies on Velázquez, only those of Armstrong and Beruete were illustrated, as Nigel Glendinning has kindly pointed out to me.

"He seems to gobble up most of the best things these days": Benjamin Altman (1840–1913)

Born of Jewish Bavarian immigrants in New York in 1840, Benjamin Altman was the founder of the famous department store that bore his name and came to be located on Fifth Avenue and 34th Street—in a building erected between 1905 and 1913 by architects Trowbridge and Livingston. Although interested in primitive Flemish painting, Chinese porcelains, and Oriental rugs as a young man, Altman did not become a serious collector of old-master paintings until 1905, when he was sixty-five. From then until his death in 1913 he managed to assemble an impressive collection of fifty-one paintings, which he bequeathed entirely to The Metropolitan Museum of Art, with the condition that they should never be dispersed.

It was Altman's works by Rembrandt, Hals, and Vermeer that gave real shape to the holdings of Dutch masters, as shown by Walter Liedtke at the exhibition on the history of this school of painting in the museum.[24] But the catalogue published the year of Altman's death proudly reminds us that his interest also extended to the Italian, German, and Flemish schools.[25] The presence of the Spanish school, although much smaller in comparison, was nonetheless highly significant as far as the present essay is concerned, as Altman acquired two works by Velázquez. The first, *The Supper at Emmaus* (fig. 5), is close in date to the Prado's *Triumph of Bacchus* of 1628–29, which repeats some of the heads in the earlier painting. A *Philip IV*, painted in 1624 for Don García Pérez de Araciel, a high-ranking court official, shortly after Velázquez arrived in Madrid, was reattributed to the master after recent restoration confirmed his authorship.[26] Both paintings hung in prominent places in the gallery Altman built in 1905 behind his Fifth Avenue residence, alongside other famous acquisitions that placed him among the most important New York collectors (figs. 6, 7).

As Francis Haskell has shown in a study of his bequest, Altman must have realized that, as a latecomer to collecting, time was short and, like Marquand and Morgan, he was only interested in great masters. But he acted with extreme discretion, careful not to give publicity to his acquisitions.[27] Indeed, the great secrecy he showed during his lifetime—no newspaper ever managed to procure and publish a photograph of him before he died—contrasts with his desire for posthumous fame, expressed through the insistence that his paintings not be mixed with others in the museum. Even so, contemporary testimonies prove that his rivals monitored his every move on the art market: "That horrible old Altman seems to gobble up most of the best things these days," the wife of the connoisseur-dealer Bernard Berenson wrote to Isabella Stewart Gardner in 1913.[28]

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[24] Liedtke 2007; Quodbach 2007.

[25] "Benjamin Altman Bequest" 1913.

[26] See Gallagher 2010, with full discussion of authenticity, condition, restoration, relation to other paintings, etc. Previous bibliography on this painting is listed on the website of The Metropolitan Museum of Art under "References" in the entry for the picture: http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/110002327.

[27] Haskell 1970.

[28] Berenson and Gardner 1987, 500.

5. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1622–23. Oil on canvas, 123.2 x 132.7 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Altman's correspondence with Henry Duveen, his favorite dealer, attests to his intelligence and good judgment in making the most of the magnificent opportunities of the Gilded Age.[29] He always relied on the opinion of specialists: Wilhelm von Bode and Walter Friedlaender for Flemish, Dutch, and German painting;

[29] On Henry and his nephew Joseph, one of the most influential twentieth-century dealers, see FOWLES 1976 and SECREST 2004.

6, 7. Interior of the house of Benjamin Altman (1840–1913), 1 West 50th St., New York. Views of paintings gallery, ca. 1913. Center back walls with Velázquez's *The Supper at Emmaus*, 1622–23 and *Philip IV (1605–1665), King of Spain*, ca. 1624 (both now at The Metropolitan Museum of Art). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Berenson for the Italian school. His Spanish paintings also came with guarantees provided by critical authorities: the purchase of *The Supper at Emmaus* from Gimpel & Wildenstein of New York in 1910 was backed by the expertise of the Madrid painter Aureliano de Beruete, who had first published the picture in 1898 in his monograph on Velázquez, and expressed an opinion on it again in 1909 when it was placed on sale from Málaga in 1909.[30] *The Supper at Emmaus* was also offered to another major New York collector, Henry C. Frick, whose laconic reply—"not in the market for pictures at present"—was proven untrue shortly afterward by his acquisition of another even more important Velázquez.[31] Altman paid $150,000 for his, which, according to the vendors, the Metropolitan had attempted to buy through Roger Fry, then curator of painting at the museum.[32]

Less fortunate and much more costly was the acquisition of *Philip IV*, which Altman bought in 1912 together with a portrait of the Count-Duke of Olivares. Agnew's had acquired both from the Palacio de Villahermosa in Madrid the previous year, and had Velázquez's signed receipts of payment. The London gallery published the paintings and related documentation in a luxurious brochure before selling them to Joseph Duveen, who offered them to his New York clients Huntington and Altman.[33] It was the latter who agreed to pay over a million dollars for the king and his favorite. However, when the extremely high price of the operation was leaked to the press, the public repercussions so irked the discreet collector that he initially wished to return both paintings, and subsequently—after bitter complaints—decided to rid himself only of the *Count-Duke* (now in the Museu de Arte in São Paulo).[34] Before dying in 1913, Altman had the opportunity to inquire about *Juan de Pareja* on learning that Lord Radnor might be willing to sell the portrait along with the rest of his pictures. However, as strange as it may seem, when informing Duveen of his preferences in that significant collection, Altman stated that the Velázquez "did not strike me hard."[35]

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[30] BERUETE 1898, 13–14. The correspondence on the sale of *The Supper at Emmaus* and Beruete's expertise are in the curatorial files for the picture, Department of European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. A friend of Joaquín Sorolla and Ramón Casas, Beruete was famous for his Spanish landscapes painted outdoors in a style similar to that he saw his contemporaries of the Barbizon School employ in France. Less known than his editorial and creative work is his involvement in the international market for Spanish old-master paintings, to which he had natural access on account of his cosmopolitan background and status as historian, as well as his own collection of paintings, which included works by El Greco, Murillo, and Goya. See BERUETE 1983.

[31] Henry Clay Frick, Letter press book, vol. 28, 4 June 1909, and Henry Clay Frick Papers, Correspondence, box 7, folder 7. The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.

[32] The correspondence is kept with the picture's curatorial file in the Department of European Paintings at MMA, and is quoted in HASKELL 1970, 272. On the sale of this picture, see GIMPEL 1963, 307.

[33] "He [unidentified] came to see me and submitted the two Villa Hermosa Velasquez's. Price 1,125,000 for the two. I was to decide on Monday, December 1911 whether or not I would take them (Olivarez & Philip)": Dec. 17, 1911, Archer M. Huntington Diaries, The Hispanic Society of America (hereafter HSA).

[34] HASKELL 1970, 272.

[35] Ibid., 278.

8. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *King Philip IV of Spain* (the Fraga Philip). Oil on canvas, 129.8 x 99.4 cm. New York, The Frick Collection

"Quite the finest portrait of Philip IV which I have ever seen": Henry Clay Frick (1849–1919)

After Benjamin Altman and John Pierpont Morgan died in 1913, their friend and rival Henry Clay Frick became New York's foremost collector. Snapping up the best offers on the art market through his ambitious policy of purchases, the industrialist, who had made his fortune in Pittsburgh, asserted his status as a member of the country's most powerful elite by amassing an impressive collection that soon outgrew the spacious gallery of his first Manhattan home—a mansion built by the Vanderbilts at 640 Fifth Avenue. This led him to commission a more extensive house-gallery only a few blocks away on the same street: the handsome building designed by architects Carrère and Hastings, which he only occupied during the last years of his life, from 1914 to 1919, and which now houses one of America's most attractive museums that bears his name. It is famous for its canvases by Holbein, Rembrandt, and Vermeer, but the Spanish school of painting is also superbly represented: three El Grecos, three Goyas, and a Velázquez, which appears in Frick's posthumous portrait by Sir Gerald Kelly, painted in 1925 (see Galassi fig. 12).[36]

Frick's purchases of Spanish masterworks were only slightly later than, and in some cases simultaneous with, those made by other New York collector acquaintances of his in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By then it was less uncommon for Americans to travel to Spain and visit the Prado, and painters like Thomas Eakins, Mary Cassatt, John Singer Sargent, and William Merritt Chase had shown signs of a greater interest in Spain and things Spanish in the United States, reflecting the earlier fascination of the French and English for the culture that fueled the artistic genius of Murillo and Velázquez.[37] Unlike Marquand and Altman, but like Louisine and Henry Havemeyer and Archer Milton Huntington, Frick had firsthand contact with Spanish art during his trips to Europe. He first made a brief stopover in Spain in 1893, and later accompanied his daughter Helen on part of her tour of several cities of the Iberian Peninsula in the spring of 1909. In the absence of personal testimonies of the father, the enthusiastic entry in twenty-year-old Helen's diary reporting her first visit to the Prado perhaps conveys the reaction of both on discovering Velázquez: "Words are not strong enough to say how much I enjoyed this wonderful gallery! I nearly went crazy over so many of them . . . But nothing could be more wonderful than "Las meninas" by Velasquez, especially when you see it reflected in the looking glass, for you actually see the room as though you were in it."[38]

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[36] HARVEY 1928; RYSKAMP 1992; RYSKAMP 1996; SANGER 1998. On Frick as a collector of Spanish art, see the essay by Susan Galassi in this volume.

[37] LIPSCHUTZ 1972; GARCÍA FELGUERA 1991; OSBORNE 1993; BOONE 2007; KAGAN 2007.

[38] Helen refers to the mirror which, until relatively recently, hung in the room where *Las meninas* had been displayed at the Prado, heightening even further the pictorial illusion that has made Velázquez's masterpiece so famous. Helen Clay Frick, Entry for Madrid, 8 March 1909, Travel Diary, 1909, Helen Clay Frick Papers, Calendars/Diaries. The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives. I am grateful to Lydia Dufour, Julie Ludwig, and Susan Chore for their generous help in consulting this material.

Among the surviving mementoes Frick kept of his stay in Madrid is the visiting card of the painter Ricardo de Madrazo, an active supplier of Goyas and El Grecos to the Havemeyers, as well as that of the Marquis of Vega Inclán (see Burke fig. 4), who, like Madrazo, offered Spanish old masters to Huntington. It is not surprising that Frick should have known the agents of the Americans who introduced the taste for Spanish art to New York.[39] After he returned to the United States they remained in contact by correspondence. However, in Madrid it was the landscape painter Aureliano de Beruete who sold Frick an El Greco on 13 March 1909, according to a brief entry in Helen's diary: ". . . with Papa, also went to see the studio of Señor Beruete. He presented me with a lovely picture. We saw two Grecos which Papa bought. We left Madrid at 8.10."[40]

A few days later Henry's account book only record the purchase of a *Purification of the Temple* by El Greco, now part of The Frick Collection, for which Beruete was paid $24,000 through the Knoedler gallery in New York (see Galassi fig. 4).[41] This was a modest outlay compared to the sums Frick was willing to pay back in the United States. Indeed, during the following years he embarked on a determined campaign of acquisitions in close competition with his collector "cousins" Morgan, Widener, Altman, and Arabella Huntington, as Cynthia Saltzman has shown in her study of the frenzied market for European old-master painting on the eve of World War I.[42] It was then that Frick secured trophies such as Rembrandt's *Polish Rider*, which cost him more than $300,000 in 1910.

But Frick got hold of an even more expensive piece: in 1911 he acquired a Velázquez known as "Philip IV at Fraga" because it was painted in that city in 1644, when the king of Spain led his troops in the campaign of Aragon against the French (fig. 8). The commemorative portrait of his victory was immediately sent to Queen Isabel at Madrid and later displayed in the church of San Martín, where other painters copied it.[43] Several agents and dealers were involved in the

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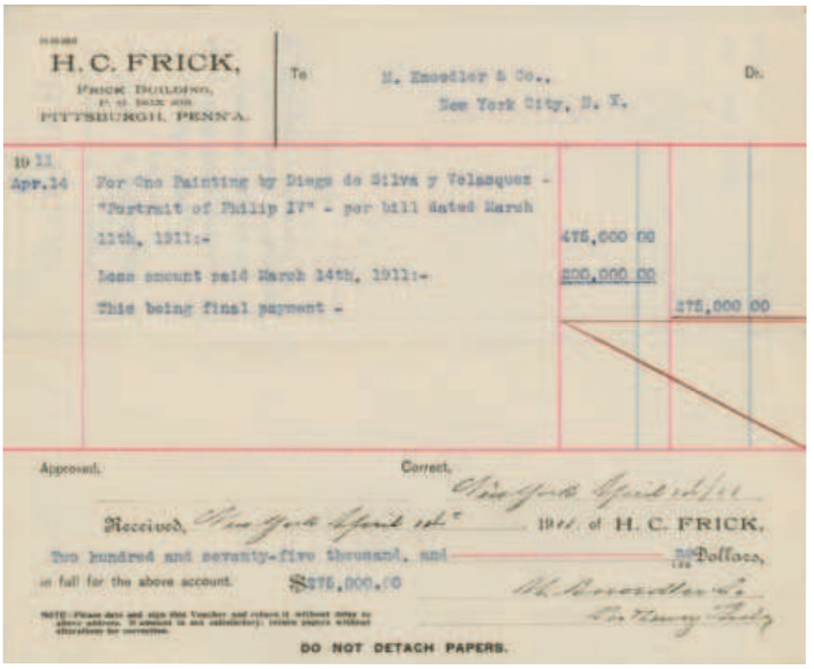
[39] On the Havemeyers and Spanish painting, see TINTEROW 1993, esp. 13–18, on their El Grecos. The Goyas in their collection are discussed by María Dolores Jiménez-Blanco in this volume. Madrazo purchased the *Head of a Man* for the Havemeyers from the dealer Berringham in 1907 as a Velázquez; it is listed as an anonymous work among the paintings they donated to the Metropolitan in 1929 (29.100.607); Louisine also bought a copy of a portrait painted by Velázquez of Philip IV from the Muñoz family in Madrid in 1924 (present location unknown). However, the Havemeyers were not interested in the Velázquez pictures in the Villahermosa collection when the agent Joseph Wicht took them to view the pictures in Madrid with Mary Cassatt in 1901.

[40] Helen Clay Frick, Entry for March 13, Travel Diary, 1909, Helen Clay Frick Papers, Calendars/Diaries. The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.

[41] Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, Purchases, El Greco, *The Purification of the Temple*, 1909 (1909.1.66). The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives. See Susan Galassi's essay in this volume on Frick's visit to Madrid and the purchase of this painting. As Galassi observes, there is no evidence of what the second El Greco was, in spite of a letter from Frick informing Knoedler's in Paris of the acquisition of two paintings from Beruete.

[42] SALTZMAN 2008, 214 ff.

[43] See a brilliant analysis of the technical execution of the painting in the classic monograph by Jonathan Brown, BROWN 1986, 173.



H. C. FRICK,
FRICK BUILDING,
PITTSBURGH, PENN'A.

To H. Knoedler & Co.,
New York City, N. Y.

Dr.

1911
Apr. 14 For One Painting by Diego de Silva y Velasquez -
"Portrait of Philip IV" - per bill dated March
11th, 1911:- 475,000 00
Less amount paid March 14th, 1911:- 200,000 00
This being final payment - 275,000 00

Approved: Correct.

Received, New York April 14th 1911 of H. C. FRICK,
Two hundred and seventy-five thousand, and ——— Dollars,
in full for the above account. $275,000.00

H. Knoedler & Co.
Per Henry Duveen

NOTE: Please date and sign this Voucher and return it without delay to above address. If amount is not satisfactory, return papers without alterations for correction.

DO NOT DETACH PAPERS.

9. Receipt for final payment for Diego Velázquez's *King Philip IV of Spain*, 14 April 1911. New York, Frick Reference Art Library

sale of the picture in 1911. Morland Agnew had bought it from Prince Elias of Bourbon-Parma at Vienna, and took it to his Old Bond Street gallery in London. He commissioned a study of it from Aureliano de Beruete, who concluded in a brochure published that year in English and Spanish that it was the masterpiece painted by Velázquez at Fraga, considering the version in the Dulwich Picture Gallery to be a copy by Mazo.[44] Agnew placed it on sale in New York, where his agent Charlie Williams offered it to collectors such as Widener and Altman. But Frick snatched it from them, reacting quickly to the offer made by the Knoedler gallery through the dealers Charles Carstairs and Otto Gutekunst, who delivered it to his mansion and gave him two days to make up his mind. He needed no longer: he was willing to pay the $475,000 in cash—more than he had ever spent on a single painting (fig. 9).[45] The press immediately seized on this huge sum and Beruete, writing from Madrid, congratulated Frick on acquiring a "capital" work, which Roger Fry had described as "quite the finest portrait of Philip IV which I have ever seen."[46] Indeed, it was precisely this quality that Frick gave as his reason

[44] BERUETE 1911.

[45] SALTZMAN 2008, 227 ff.

[46] Quoted by SALTZMAN 2008, 229. In a later letter from Roger Fry to Henry Clay Frick, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, 30 March 1911, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives, Fry congratulated Frick on his purchase: "I am so glad that you have got the Velasquez of Philip IV. You will see that we are publishing it *en grand luxe* in this next month's Burlington," he stated, announcing the article published in *Burlington Magazine* 19 (1911), 5–13.

10. Workshop of Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain* (later Queen Marie-Thérèse of France), ca. 1648. Oil on canvas, 48 x 37 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

for turning down other offers from Fry: "I do not wish to purchase anything unless it ranks with the Rembrandts I have and the Velasquez. . . . my standard is now so high it is not likely I will soon add any pictures to my collection."[47]

Today the well-known *King Philip IV of Spain* is the only Velázquez in The Frick Collection. It is less widely known that for a time Frick also owned the bust-length *María Teresa, Infanta of Spain* (fig. 10), painted about 1648 and now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art and attributed to the master's workshop. In 1908

[47] Henry Clay Frick to Roger Fry, 31 July 1911, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives. In 1912 the painting was included in the *Exhibition of Old Masters for the Benefit of the Artists' Fund & Artists' Aid Societies*, held at Knoedler & Co. on 5th Avenue. On Fry's difficulties with his temperamental client, SALTZMAN 2008, 222.

11. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *María Teresa (1638–1683), Infanta of Spain* (later Marie-Thérèse of France), 1651-54. Oil on canvas, 34.3 x 40 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

the painting cost $34,000, of which Frick only needed to pay Knoedler part, as the gallery accepted the return of a work by Josef Israëls to complete the transaction. It was then thought that the sitter was Queen Mariana of Austria, who ascended to the Spanish throne as the second wife of Philip IV; indeed, the resemblance between Mariana and her cousin and stepdaughter was remarkable. It featured as such in Beruete's monograph in 1909 and in the *Loan Exhibition of Pictures from the Collection of Henry C. Frick* at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1910, a public display that was quite an artistic and social event according to the local press.[48] But the portrait remained in Frick's possession for only five years: in 1913, by which time he owned *Philip IV*, he decided to use his first Velázquez to defray part of the expense of a more important acquisition from Knoedler's, Van Dyck's *James Stanley, 7th Earl of Derby, with His Wife and Daughter*, which cost him $350,000. Following Frick's return of the painting, the New York gallery sold it to Philip Lehman in February 1913; it entered the Met as part of Robert Lehman's collection in 1975.[49]

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[48] BERUETE 1909, 68–69; *Boston Post*, 2 Dec. 1910, Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives, "Loan Exhibition of Pictures from the Collection of Henry C. Frick," Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1–15 Dec. 1910. Henry Clay Frick Art Collection Files, The Frick Collection/Frick Art Reference Library Archives.

[49] I am grateful to Margaret Iacono, assistant curator at The Frick Collection, for helping me identify this painting correctly. In his catalogue raisonné, López-Rey attributes the Lehman picture to Velázquez, noting its "somewhat rubbed" condition and dating it about 1648, LÓPEZ-REY 1963, 250. BROWN 1986, 171, also includes it among the master's works.

12. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1630. Oil on canvas, 68.6 x 55.2 cm. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

"Mine is just as fine, if not finer": Jules S. Bache (1861–1944)

Frick's *Infanta* was not the only portrait of María Teresa to enter a New York collection. A smaller, finer portrait, with the sitter wearing a wig adorned with butterfly ribbons (fig. 11), was painted by Velázquez a few years before she married King Louis XIV, perhaps as a study for a larger portrait which was sent to France together with others of the royal family to be exchanged with equivalent pictures sent from Paris in 1655. It was acquired from Joseph Duveen by the German-born banker Jules Bache, who paid $175,000 for it in 1928. Having made a fortune on Wall Street and from directing numerous New York firms, Bache devoted part of his wealth to building a collection of old-master paintings, for which he relied above all on Duveen, then advisor to Andrew Mellon in his acquisitions for the National Gallery in Washington. Bache was possibly spurred

by Mellon's example and hints from his favorite dealer.[50] He thought of bequeathing all his paintings to the Metropolitan, among them the *Giuliano de' Medici*, celebrated as a Raphael when he bought it in 1929 but now considered a studio work, and significant canvases by Gainsborough, not to mention Goya's charming *Manuel Osorio Manrique de Zúñiga*, and two supposed Vermeers.[51] The financier opened his magnificent collection to the public in 1937. The catalogue he published features the small Velázquez, correctly identified as María Teresa as in the Metropolitan today (see fig. 11).[52] The sixty-three works that make up Bache's bequest include another that was bought as a Velázquez, a presumed self-portrait by the master, then long ascribed to his workshop. Recent restoration and study has led the museum to re-attribute the painting to Velázquez himself and it is now catalogued as *Portrait of a Man*, painted about 1630 (fig. 12).[53]

"I do not go to Spain to buy": Archer M. Huntington (1870–1955)

Unique among the Gilded Age collectors in that he centered his attention on a single country, Archer Milton Huntington was foremost in promoting interest in Spain and its culture in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century through The Hispanic Society of America (see Burke fig. 1). This museum and library, founded by Huntington in 1904 and opened to the public in 1908 in the building he had erected on 155th Street and Broadway, housed the holdings he acquired over the course of more than fifty years.[54]

Both Archer and his mother, Arabella (see Burke fig. 2), engaged intensively in collecting thanks to the huge fortune bequeathed to them by the latter's husband and the former's father, Collis P. Huntington, who died in 1900. By then Archer had already made several trips to the country of the Cid Campeador—whom he studied for several years.[55] He made use of his Spanish contacts and literary, artistic, and archaeological knowledge for the benefit of his New York

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[50] This is suggested by L. S. Levy in "The J. S. Bache Collection," unpublished essay [after 1943], Department of European Paintings, Curatorial Files, MMA, 49.7.43, referring to Bache's visit, accompanied by Duveen, to the National Gallery in London. On comparing the works on show there with his own, Bache reportedly stated: "Today, Joe, is the first time I have realized what gems you have given me. I know now that the quality of mine is as fine as any here and this is one of the greatest museums in the world." When viewing Velázquez's *Queen Mariana*, Bache apparently commented, in reply to Duveen's question that "this one is larger, but I think mine is just as fine, if not finer."

[51] CORTISSOZ 1930, 5.

[52] Today the painting is smaller than when owned by Bache, as in 1984 the museum decided to remove the strips that were added when Duveen had it in 1928. See the unpublished study by R. McMahon in Department of European Paintings, Curatorial Files, 49.7.43. MMA.

[53] Bache bought the picture as a Velázquez. After it entered the Museum it lost this attribution but that judgment has recently been reversed and the painting is once again regarded as autograph. See CHRISTIANSEN, BROWN AND GALLAGER 2009.

[54] PROSKE 1963; CODDING 2002. Also see Marcus Burke in this volume.

[55] Huntington translated and annotated the *Poema de Mío Cid* in three volumes and financed their publication in New York between 1897 and 1903.

institution, though he avoided buying painting directly in Spain so as not to remove it from what he considered its natural context.[56]

His advisor was initially the Anglo-American painter Francis Lathrop, who had been a disciple of Whistler and the Pre-Raphaelites Ford Madox Brown and Edward Burne-Jones in London, then advisor to Collis for his art purchases and in charge of decorating the family home on Fifth Avenue (see Burke fig. 3). Guided by his own tastes or acting as an agent for Huntington, Lathrop amassed a set of paintings by Spanish artists which he sold to Archer in 1904. The collection included two canvases attributed to Velázquez: the version of the *Juan de Pareja* now considered a copy of the Metropolitan's original, acquired by Lathrop from the Earl of Carlisle in London in 1901 as an autograph work; and the *Cardinal Astalli, known as Cardinal Pamphili*, purchased from the Paris dealer Trotti in 1904 (fig. 13).[57] Also among the ten paintings Lathrop sold to Archer that year for $50,000 was a copy of the Prado's *The Spinners* by Lathrop himself.[58] He had devoted part of his Spanish sojourn at the start of the century to producing smaller versions of Velázquez works at the Prado. At least part of them ended up in the Hispanic Society, which also holds a *Meninas* resulting from his artistic endeavor (fig. 14).[59] His interest in the Spanish master and monitoring of the Spanish market drove him to write to Huntington from Seville in 1902, encouraging him to buy "The Rokeby Venus" then being offered for sale in London.[60] Whether because it was a nude or for reasons unknown to us, Huntington did not heed his advice and in 1906 *The Toilet of Venus* passed into the National Gallery's holdings.

Lathrop was artistic director and a trustee of the Hispanic Society from 1904 until 1908, when he resigned owing to the illness that led to his death shortly afterward. Certain entries in Huntington's diary prove that the relationship between them was not without its squabbles—even over how to hang the

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[56] "I do not care to buy much of importance in Spain, owing to the fixed rule that I have been following in buying outside of the Peninsula only. The things come to Paris eventually and one is saved the long bargaining which is enough to drive one mad. It is an inheritance from an Oriental background. But I do not go to Spain to buy (with the exception of books)." Archer M. Huntington Diaries, 1910 [n.d.], The Hispanic Society of America (hereafter HSA). I am grateful to Mitchell Codding for kindly allowing me to consult unpublished materials in the Hispanic Society archives and to John O'Neill and Marcus Burke for generously helping me to work on them.

[57] The records of the Lathrop's purchase of the *Juan de Pareja* in London in September 1901 and its sale to Huntington in July 1904 are held in Object Files, *A Portrait of a Moor, said to be Juan de Pareja*, A 1897, HSA. For *Cardinal Camillo Astalli*, see Object Files, *Cardinal Astalli*, A 101, HSA.

[58] See his handwritten list made on 8 July 1904 among the documentation on these pictures. Lathrop kept other paintings of the Spanish school in his personal collection, according to the catalogue of the sale of his possessions held after his death: *Paintings and Studio Property of the Late Francis Lathrop . . . to Be Sold at the Anderson Art Galleries*, New York, 1911.

[59] On his "rendering" of *Las meninas*, see Members archives, Francis Lathrop, Correspondence with Archer M. Huntington, 5 December 1901, HSA.

[60] Ibid., March 26, 1902.

13. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *Cardinal Astalli, known as Cardinal Pamphili*, 1650. Oil on canvas, 61 x 48.5 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America

paintings by Velázquez.[61] Ultimately, Huntington preferred to do things his own way: "He wishes me to consult him about purchases and to have a commission. I find it much better to consult no one, so that the responsibility rests on me alone. Moreover as I am collecting with a fixed plan no one would agree with me."[62]

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[61] "He said it was natural for a painter to see pictures where they were at their best. But he had the Velázquez marked to hang facing the door, where no one could get near them." Not long earlier he had referred somewhat scornfully to his advisor's personal interest in fulfilling his duties: "Frank Lathrop suggested at once that I pay him 500 dollars for examining and hanging the pictures. I have made him art director out of friendship. As he needs the money I suppose I will pay him. I suggested the color for the frames and he agreed. He agrees to anything if he can get any money." Archer M. Huntington Diaries, 1907, Jan. 3, HSA.

[62] Ibid., 1907, June 13.

Huntington personally bought most of the pieces in his museum through leading dealers and often at auctions in Paris, London, and New York. He was not lacking in expert advisors on certain artists—Beruete and Cassatt on Velázquez, Madrazo and Vega-Inclán on El Greco and Goya—or contact with scholars like Berenson, Mayer, and Von Loga. But his suspicion of recommendations grew when he was misled by dealers and experts, so he ended up making his own mind and rejecting offers of other paintings attributed to Velázquez, such as that proposed by Roger Fry during his stay in Paris in 1908, which he dismissed suggesting it was the work of Antonio Puga—as was later confirmed.[63]

At the time The Hispanic Society was viewed by dealers as the natural destination of any Spanish painting on sale,[64] especially those by Velázquez, whose market value skyrocketed owing to the competition between American collectors. However, as Marcus Burke shows in his essay in this volume, the sheer rivalry for artists in fashion did not excite Huntington as much as his contemporaries. Unlike them, he created a public institution meant to illustrate Hispanic culture in all its aspects, and therefore his motivation for buying was to build an encyclopedic collection for his museum, where the fine and decorative arts—along with books, manuscripts and photographs—served an ethnographic interest and an educational purpose. This did not compromise artistic quality, but made Huntington less likely to pay huge sums for the sake of beating his competitors: he had no wish for the two pictures by Velázquez from the Palacio de Villahermosa in Madrid, which Duveen ended up selling to Altman in 1912 for more than a million dollars,[65] or indeed for other canvases attributed to the Spanish master which were offered for sale by Duveen himself and by Bourgeois Galleries in 1914, their themes and prices unknown.[66] Moreover, the two other paintings by the Sevillian now at The Hispanic Society did not find their way into the museum by the initiative of its founder, but his mother's: it was Arabella Huntington who began negotiations for the purchase of the *Portrait of a Little Girl* (thought to be the painter's granddaughter) from the Rodolphe Kann collection in Paris through Duveen in 1904, although later, in 1909, her son paid the dealer half of the final purchase price of $100,000 (fig. 15).[67] *Gaspar de*

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[63] Ibid., 1908, June 3: "Roger Fry came in this morning and asked me to go with him to Godefroy Braners . . . to see a painting which he thinks is by Velazquez. However I could not agree with him. Suggested he look up Puga. But the thing is doubtful and we need more study. We agreed to see it again later." Huntington's good eye was confirmed years later by news published in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, 1914, June 6: "Rediscovered Puga masterpiece." The painting is now in the Museo del Prado. On Huntington's mistaken advisors see CODDING 2003, 316; further information about his better relation with Sorolla, Madrazo, and Beruete as advisors in Marcus Burke's essay in this volume.

[64] "Last month I was offered 57 Spanish pictures from here and abroad." Archer M. Huntington Diaries, 1919, June 2, HSA.

[65] AMH Memoir, 1911, Dec. 17. HSA.

[66] AMH Memoir, 1914, May 23, Sept. 30, and Dec. 10. HSA.

[67] Object Files, A 108, Velázquez, *Portrait of a Little Girl*, HSA, with further information on its provenance. See the most recent catalogue entry by Marcus Burke in SACHS, BROWN AND BURKE 1999, 22–23.

14. Francis Lathrop (1849–1909), copy of Velázquez's *Maids of Honor* (*Las Meninas)*, 1901. Oil on canvas, 162 x 139 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America

Guzmán, Count-Duke of Olivares was a gift for which Mrs. Huntington fully paid Duveen, who had acquired it in London—with Beruete's expertise—from the Holford collection at Dorchester House (see Burke fig. 12).[68] In 1910 Arabella established a record by paying $600,000 for it ($100,000 more than it had cost Duveen), a sum that long remained the largest fetched by a Spanish artist, though already forgotten by the time the Met bought *Juan de Pareja* at Christie's in 1971 for $5,500,000, the highest price paid for a work of art until then.[69]

The outbreak of World War I put an end to Huntington's acquisitions of books, paintings, and objects, and in 1918 he stated that museums had taken the place of collectors in the art market.[70] He devoted the rest of his life to

[68] There are transcriptions of the letter exchanged by Beruete, Duveen, and Huntington in the file on this painting in HSA.

[69] Burke 1999.

[70] Codding 2002, 164–66.

15. Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez (1599–1660), *Portrait of a Little Girl*, 1638–44. Oil on canvas, 51.3 x 41 cm. New York, The Hispanic Society of America

directing the museum that his early fascination for the Hispanic world had spurred him to establish, well deserving the epithet of champion of Spain in the United States.

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The universal admiration Velázquez enjoys today contrasts with the scant fame of his oeuvre during his lifetime, when his status as painter to Philip IV caused his artistic output to be practically confined to the Royal Palace in Madrid. His international reputation took a long time to spread—almost until Édouard Manet traveled to Spain in 1865 and called him "*le peintre des peintres*," establishing the cult of the virtuosity that was later adopted not just by Manet's French and English colleagues but also the American artists who went to

discover him at the Prado in the final decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the new century: one after the other, Thomas Eakins, Mary Cassatt, John Singer Sargent, William Merritt Chase, and Robert Henri all experienced the influence of Velázquez's naturalism in their own works, leading the way for critics such as Henry James and Royal Cortissoz to establish a direct connection between America's leading modern painters and Spain's old master, described by the latter as "the first of the Impressionists."[71]

Viewed in purely aesthetic terms, Velázquez seems to have escaped the Protestant prejudices of scholars who thought and wrote about Spain in the United States during the 1800s, when Habsburg rule was normally identified with an age of superstition, fanaticism, and decadence.[72] Nor was his fortune in America harmed by antipathy toward Spain at the moment of war between the two countries in 1898—as this volume shows, the market for Spanish art in the United States was then developing as a result of public exhibitions, the transatlantic voyages and avid collecting of the major magnates. Much like El Greco's abstract expressionism, Velázquez's modern realism had a special appeal for his first owners in the New World, whose galleries juxtaposed his canvases with those by contemporary artists. Some of these wealthy Americans were by no means familiar with Spain and had little interest in its art; indeed, they were following the example of the British collections, which enshrined the painter of *Las Meninas* in the universal pantheon of painting. Unlike them, Frick, the Havemeyers, Isabella Stewart Gardner and Huntington traveled to Spain and their firsthand contact with the Spanish school kindled their desire to possess paintings by Velázquez, El Greco, and Goya. In a climate of intense competition spurred by artful dealers, they strove to snap up Spanish trophies for their galleries. Indeed, a significant portion of the current prestige of this national school in America is due to these collections. As a frequent visitor to New York, I myself have had the chance to admire and appreciate the splendid Spanish works in The Frick Collection, The Hispanic Society of America, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art many times. May these pages be a grateful tribute to their founders.

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[71] See Richard Kagan's essay in this volume, quoting CORTISSOZ 1913, p. 272.

[72] A perfect example of this is the book by the American statesman and diplomat John Hay, see HAY 1871. See his nonetheless enthusiastic discovery of the Prado in chapter 6. A broader overview of this school of thought in the essential essay by Richard L. Kagan, see KAGAN 1996, also published in KAGAN 2002, 247–76.