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BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN MURILLO
Y LA COPIA PICTÓRICA

RAFAEL JAPÓN (editor)

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Y LA COPIA PICTÓRICA

GRANADA, 2018

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Murillo in Australia

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COLLECTING FOR CONVERSION BY EUROPEANS IN THE NEW World is a novel subject in the history of art, one that emerges from the activities of Catholic missionaries of European origin in faraway places. It may begin with two rebellious brothers, the Abbés Desjardins, French émigré priests who imported into Canada many hundreds of French late Baroque seventeenth-century paintings for churches in Quebec and the surrounding region². The paintings were by artists such as Simon Vouet, Philippe de Champaigne, Jean Jacques Lagrené, and François Guillaume Ménageot, to name a few. The Desjardins were interested in making money from their paintings, and like Napoleon Bonaparte's uncle, Cardinal Joseph Fesch, had acquired them during the revolutionary period in France, when the goods of the church were expropriated and sold for little money. They arrived in Quebec in 1817

1. I am grateful to Rafael Japón for inviting me to participate in this volume and for suggesting attributions among Murillo's pupils for the paintings associated with Murillo in Australia. The article forms part of our studies for an Australian Research Council Discovery project (2017-2019), and my colleagues have all contributed to my understanding of this project, Shane Carmody, Max Vodola, Helen Gill, Rachel Naughton, Callum Reid, and Paola Colleoni. For the reproduction of the miraculous medal of the Immacolata I thank Terry Lee as well as for giving me information about it. Sophie Matthiessen shared with me her unpublished notes on paintings in the National Gallery of Victoria. At New Norcia the Abbot has generously given me permission to publish Salvado's paintings, and I am indebted to Dom Chris Powers, Peter Hocking and Marina Baker for information about their paintings.

2. Lacroix, 1999: 26-41. The author persuaded ecclesiastical authorities to take the collection seriously, resulting in an exhibition that reconstructs some of the collection, see Kazerouni y Drouin, 2017.

and the paintings, often thought to have been previously the property of Napoleon, were hidden in minor churches in tacit support of the values of the *ancien régime*.

A different form of collecting for conversion was practiced by Catholic priests in Australia, who believed that the acquisition of Sacred Images, especially by late Baroque artists from Italy and Spain, was a necessary missionary activity to excite devotion in the first churches in Australia among the first Catholics from many different European countries. They were encouraged to do this from the colonial office of the Catholic Church, the Propaganda Fide, which occupied a Baroque building in Rome. The priest collectors were disinterested in connoisseurship or who had painted the images, never referring to them with artists' names, but were always committed to finding sacred images that would convert local populations to Catholicism and which were about theological subjects of concern for the New World. These priest collectors were indifferent to making emotional comments or judgements about their activities. To date this art historical subject has remained alien to art theory until Australian art historians have proposed this as an art historical enquiry.

My study will explore the Spanish content of two Catholic collections, created in mid nineteenth-century Australia, one made by James Goold (1812-1886) the first Catholic Bishop (later first Archbishop) in Melbourne (fig. 1)³, and the second much smaller collection in the Spanish mission of New Norcia in Western Australia, that was begun by two Spanish Benedictines (fig. 2), Rosendo Salvado (1814-1900)⁴ and Joseph Serra (1810-1886)⁵. The foundation stone of New Norcia was laid on 1 March 1847 and Goold was appointed first Bishop of Melbourne on 6 August 1848. These Catholic missions, one remote

3. James Goold is the subject of an Australian Research Council Discovery Grant, *A Baroque Bishop in Colonial Australia*, which has stimulated this research.

4. Dom William, 'Salvado, Rosendo (1814-1900)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography*, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/salvado-rosendo-2627/text3635>, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 20 October 2018.

5. I am grateful to the Abbot of New Norcia for permission to publish their paintings in this article, and to Dom Chris Powers and Peter Hocking for generously sharing their knowledge about the collection with me.



Fig. 1.- Achille Simonetti, *Portrait Bust of Archbishop James Alipius Goold*, 1859. Marble of Carrara, 72 x 50 x 23 cm. Melbourne: Catholic Archdiocese Collection.



Fig. 2.- *Bishop Rosendo Salvado (1814 - 1900). Seated, studio portrait, taken in Spain, 1849. Daguerreotype, 90 x 70 cm. Archives of New Norcia, NNA 72717P.*

in the Western Australian bush, the other in an emerging urban Melbourne at a period when the city was being invented, had parallel interests in acquiring works by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (fig. 3), a highly desirable and deeply religious artist for both Catholic institutions.

It was not until a century later that a public museum in Australia acquired a work by Murillo, when Sir Kenneth Clark advised the National Gallery of Victoria to buy Murillo's *Immaculate Conception* (fig. 4) in 1947 as a purchase from Roland, Browse and Delbanco, for 2400 guineas⁶. Among Englishmen Clark was exceptional in his liking of Murillo, as his predecessors at the National Gallery in London, whom Clark admired, namely Sir Charles Eastlake, the first director of the National Gallery in London, had detested that Spanish artist,

6. Hoff, 1973: 198-199.

finding his Catholicism abhorrent⁷. In 1959 the National Gallery of Victoria acquired a celebrated print after Murillo's self-portrait in the National Gallery of London (fig. 3) the first popular image circulated in 1682, to compliment the most famous Spanish artist of the golden age in Seville⁸. It was bought as an image of the artist who had painted the *Immacolata*, as part of a bequest to the Gallery by Everard Studley Miller, that was dedicated to buying portraits. Several years later, from the same bequest, the National Gallery acquired Pompeo Batoni's delightful portrait of Sir Sampson Gideon and an unidentified companion on the grand tour (fig. 4), Gideon being the first known owner of the Melbourne *Immacolata*. To date we do not know who was the very first owner, a work of outstanding originality. Considering the quality of the work it is strange that there has been so little critical discussion of it in recent decades.

Murillo's legacy is extraordinary and enduring. He was a deeply religious artist, whose work often developed through friendships with Catholic intellectuals, such as the Jesuit, Fernando de la Torre Farfán⁹ and Justino de Neve¹⁰. Within his own lifetime Murillo was extremely productive and popular, his works were often appropriated by his pupils and disciples, known as the first generation *Murillescos*, who literally copied Murillo's creations for patrons. These copies had an aura about them, they were not just 'copies'. The power of Murillo's inventions ensured their survival, the style of a few of Murillo's images becoming the spiritual property of Catholic colonialism in Australia. The few discussions of these Australian *Murillescos* fail to understand their religious and artistic significance.

7. Stratton-Pruitt y Brown, 2002: 103.
 8. Salomon y Treves, 2018: 40-43.
 9. Navarrete Prieto, 2017a: 111-127.
 10. Finaldi, 2012.



Fig. 3.- Richard Collin, *Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's Self-portrait*, 1682. Engraving, 35.1 x 23.6 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria (Everard Studley Miller Bequest, 1959 (423-5)).



Fig. 4.- Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *The Immaculate Conception*, c. 1665. Oil on canvas, 235 x 208 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria.

THE SPANISH PICTURES IN GOOLD'S LATE BAROQUE COLLECTION

The first Catholic Bishop in Melbourne, James Goold, an Irishman educated in Italy, was a Catholic missionary with cultural ambitions for the new Australian colony. His relationship with an architect of genius, the English born Catholic convert, William Wardell, at the time of the Gold Rush, resulted in some architecturally distinguished thirteen churches and the cathedral of St Patrick's, larger than any other built anywhere in the nineteenth century. Wardell's churches, together with about seventy other churches commissioned by Goold, have made a permanent and distinguished impact on the built environment of Melbourne. Goold was a considerable collector in Colonial Victoria and to date we have identified some sixty Baroque paintings that he bought for the churches he was building as well as a copy after a significant painting by Murillo. They came to Australia in at least three shipments, that we know about, two in 1853, another in 1869.

On 19 April 1852 Goold was given permission to export 135 old master paintings (*antichi maestri*) and ten modern pictures from Rome

to Melbourne, without paying any tax¹¹. One of the peculiarities of the Roman export office at this time, which was ecclesiastical as it was administered by ministers who were Cardinals, from at least 1850 until 1870, was that it listed the paintings as 'Sacred Images' with titles, but no artists' names. As no inventory is recorded there is no way of knowing whether Spanish paintings were among those first chosen to decorate the churches Goold built in Melbourne. At the time of the shipment gold had not been discovered and only one church had been completely built, the cathedral of S. Francis on Elizabeth Street, Melbourne. From the beginning and even before the Gold Rush began Goold was ambitious. The shippers were the American banking company of Freeborn and Co. After the paintings left Rome they went via London to the Australian colony. The export order was signed by the director of the Papal museums in Rome.

The jewel of Goold's collection was an altarpiece by Poussin's friend, Jacques Stella, originally commissioned by Sublet de Noyers and Cardinal Richelieu for a principal altar in the Baroque Church of the Jesuits in Paris in 1642¹². When the church of the Jesuits was disbanded the pictures were sold and this altarpiece ended up for sale in a job lot by the Citizen Caillou, where Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch bought it, together with other paintings, for his collection. The altarpiece hung prominently in the Cathedral of St Patrick's, Melbourne, unrecognised for what it was, dismissed as a copy, until 2016.

The majority of Goold's acquisitions might be defined as late Baroque religious painting, of a remarkably consistent taste, a style which specialised in saints and martyrdoms, objects of conversion for the increasing Catholic community in Melbourne at the time of the Gold Rush. Most are Italian, but there is also a small group that are Spanish or that Goold believed were Spanish. Although there is no evidence that Goold ever travelled to Spain, or that he was involved with Span-

11. «Io sottoscritto ho visitato cento quarantacinque quadri, dieci de quali moderni, e 135. Antichi, rapp.te. Sacre Immagini, di varie dimensioni, quali complessivamente stimo scudi cinquecento sebbene S. E. Il Signor Ministro delle Finanze l'abbia esentito dal dazio, nel riflesso che davono questi servira per le Missioni dall'Australia'. Signed by: 'L'assessore della Pittura, Fiorini, Pittore», en Archivio di Stato, Rome, *Ministero dei Lavori pubblici, Commercio, Belle Arti, Industria e Agricoltura*, Busta 680.

12. First published by Anderson, 2016: 245-250.

ish Catholicism, there are two pictures that testify to his interest in the Spanish Baroque, one a copy after Murillo's *Immacolata* in the Escorial, the other a large altarpiece that he mistakenly believed was by Roelas.

In Goold's extensive library there are two volumes from the guidebook, Count Alexandre Laborde's *Voyage pittoresque et historique de l'Espagne* in fact large folio albums, with hundreds of engravings by French artists, Charles Percier, Jacques Moulinier, François Dequevauviller, after the most important works of Seville artists¹³. Was Goold hoping to acquire treasures from Seville, or was he merely curious. Laborde was an aristocrat, archaeologist, traveller, and politician, while Goold was an intrepid traveller who went to South America, but not to Spain as far as we know. Goold may or may not have been aware that Napoleon Bonaparte gave his generals, when they invaded Spain, copies of the *Voyage pittoresque* to help them plunder works of art to take back to Paris, for at the back of the work there was a list of Spanish antiquities, and descriptions of important paintings by Velazquez, Ribera and Murillo, as well as many others¹⁴. In this way Napoleon made Spanish Baroque painting highly desirable to European collectors and even perhaps missionary Irish Bishops who went to Australia.

One of Goold's first purchases for his library was four volumes of plays in Spanish by the most famous comedian in Spain, Pedro Calderón de la Barca, edited by Juan Jorge Keil, which he apparently bought for £2 from Kern & Mader Book Binders and Stationers, at 7 Hunter St Sydney. Goold dates his purchase 1836 or 7, which is the earliest date with a signature in his library. The book itself is from a German publisher, Ernesto Fleischer, Leipzig. To date we have found no art history books on Italian or Spanish painting, apart from Laborde, though Goold had numerous books about architecture on the Gothic revival and on how to build and decorate churches.

In 1868 Goold commissioned an exceptional copy from the Florentine artist, Giulia Lega¹⁵ of Murillo's *Immaculate Conception of the*

13. Much of Goold's library has been digitised by Huw Sandaver of the Mannix Library, in the University of Divinity, Melbourne, and is now on line at, <https://goold-library.omeka.net/items/show/18>, accessed 16 September 2018.

14. García Melero, 2012, II: 183-184.

15. Little is known about Giulia Lega's biography, except that she was one of the



Fig. 5.- Giulia Lega (copy after Murillo), *Immaculate Conception of El Escorial*, 1868. Oil on canvas, 123,5 x 88 cm. Melbourne: The Church of St Francis. Reproduced with permission of St Francis' Church, Melbourne. Photo: Helen Gill.

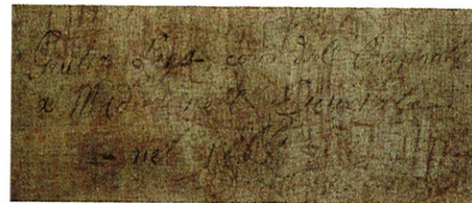


Fig. 6.- Reverse of Lega's copy with inscriptions with her name. Reproduced with permission of St Francis' Church, Melbourne. Photo: Helen Gill.



Fig. 7.- Label of the Villa Preciados, Madrid. Reproduced with permission of St Francis' Church, Melbourne. Photo: Helen Gill.

Virgin, then in the Escorial¹⁶, now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid (fig. 5). As documented on the reverse of the canvas the commission (fig. 6) was given to a talented Florentine woman Giulia Lega, who laboured in the shadow of her brother Silvestro Lega. It was nearly impossible at this date, 1868, to commission a copy of any work at the Escorial, but Gould somehow managed it, perhaps a tribute to his reputation. Or perhaps he may have been assisted by Salvado's brother, Santos Salvado, who was confessor to Isabella II of Spain at the Escorial. There is a label on the reverse (fig. 7)¹⁷, that shows the painting was housed in the Villa Preciados, 19, Madrid, before being exported to Australia in the shipment of 1869. Infra-red analysis made by Helen Gill, shows pencil drawing, as Lega began copying the original, some pencil line work being visible at the sole of the extended foot of the angel in the lower right-hand side, as well as on the palm that the infant is holding (figs. 8-9).

artists who decorated a house, with a small pantheon of copies, in Florence in 1861, see Tomea Gavazzoli, 1987: 391.

16. The history is given on the Prado website at: <https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/la-inmaculada-del-escorial/10a7a263-cec9-4bbc-8385-6c8c1893b4dd>, accessed 13 September 2018.

17. A brown ink inscription is handwritten in the upper right reverse of the canvas, within a hand-drawn circle «VILA / Preciados = 19 / MADRID». Handwritten in brown ink in the lower left reverse of the canvas «Giulia Lega copia dall' Originale / a Madrid nell' Escorial nel 1868». An aged paper label (55 x 105mm), with blue printed margin decoration and brown ink text is adhered to the reverse of the upper stretcher member in the left corner. The brown framer's paper has been cut away to expose this label. The label is discoloured and has losses. Legible text reads «... Real a Madrid... / Il Murillo. / Maggio...».



Fig. 8.- Infrared image of a detail of the Angels from Lega's copy. Reproduced with permission of St Francis' Church, Melbourne. Photo: Helen Gill.



Fig. 9.- Detail of the Angels from Lega's copy. Reproduced with permission of St Francis' Church, Melbourne. Photo: Helen Gill.

Of the twenty versions of the Immaculate Conception that Murillo invented, Goold chose the Escorial one, usually considered emotionally more effective. It dispenses with symbolic attributes and amalgamate the Conception with the Assumption, a perfect Marian image for Catholic Baroque society. The original is believed to have been acquired by Charles III of Spain in Seville. The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was central to seventeenth-century Spanish Catholicism, but only became established dogma in 1854 with the decree of Pius IX, who appointed Goold to the Melbourne archbishopric. As a young man in Perugia, Goold knew the masterpiece of the *Immacolata* by Pietro da Cortona on the high altar of the baroque church of San Filippo Neri, but when it came to commissioning a copy Goold preferred Murillo. Lega's copy is faithful, made before the original, but has a much lighter tonality.

Between the first Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne and Pius IX there was a significant exchange of gifts involving images of the *Immacolata*. Pius sent Goold at least three important portraits of himself, the first a bust by an associate of Canova, Scipione Tadolini, in 1851, which has always been in St Patrick's Cathedral. In return on 27 January 1854 Goold gifted gold bars to Pope Pius IX early on in the Australian Gold Rush. Pius thanked Goold on 8 August and ordered



Fig. 10.- Bonfiglio Zaccagnini, *The Virgin Immaculate* (Obverse). Inscription Ordered by Pius IX on 8 December 1854 (Reverse). Medal of Australian Gold. 22.71 x 30.43 mm, 9.33 grams. Collection of Terry J. Lee, Canberra.

to be minted three hundred and three medals by Bonfiglio Zaccagnini with an image of Mary the Immaculate, a *medaglia miracolosa* (fig. 10), to be distributed to the dignitaries present when the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception was proclaimed on 6 December 1854. Goold was not in Rome on that date, but Archbishop John Bede Polding from Sydney was there, and brought back a medal to give to Goold, as he reported in his diary on 18th January 1856: «I received from the Archbishop the gold medal sent me by His Holiness in commemoration of the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin»¹⁸. Obverse shows the Virgin Mary standing, with bare feet, facing to the front and with her head turned to her right; there is a halo of rays and stars surrounding her. She wears loose fitting cloths with a girdle at her waist, a veil and a robe. Her arms are apart from her side with the palms of her hands facing the viewer and her left foot is shown crushing the head of a serpent. The outer legend reads:

«HONORIFICENTIA - POPVLI NOSTRI» (Honour of our People).

The circumstances of the gift and the iconography of the *Immacolata* are explained on the reverse of the rare medal:

«MARIAE
SINE LABE CONCEPT[AE] •
PIVS IX • PONT[IFEX] • MAX[IMUS] •
EX AVRI AVSTRALIAE
PRIMITIIS

18. Condon y Waters, 1997.



Fig. 11.- Italian artist, once attributed to Roelas, *The Crucifixion*. Oil on canvas, 360 x 210,8 cm. The Church of St Francis. Reproduced with permission of the Blessed Sacrament Congregation and St Francis' Church Heritage Centre, Melbourne. Photo: Jesper Nielsen.

SIBI OBLATIS
 CVDI IVSSIT
 VI • ID • DEC[EMBER] •
 A[NNO] • MDCCCLIII •
 B[ONFIGLIO] • ZACCAGNINI F[ERITUS]»¹⁹.

Goold had images of himself and Pius IX carved in effigy at either side of the great Gothic arch in the crossing of St Patrick's Cathedral in Melbourne, a confirmation of their loyalty. During Goold's bishopric there were many dedications to the Virgin Immaculate, such as the Mercy Convent and the Girls school, begun by Ursula Frayne, the Academy of the Immaculate Academy in Fitzroy, as well as a church built by the Jesuits in Hawthorn to Mary the Immaculate.

19. *Mary/ Conceived without sin/ Pius IX Pontifex Maximus (Supreme Pontiff)/ From Australian Gold/ First Offerings/ They presented/ He ordered [this medal]/ 6th Ides of December [That is 8 December]/ Year 1854/ Bonfiglio Zaccagnini struck [this medal].*



Fig. 12.- Samuel Calvert, *Consecration at the Cathedral of St Francis*, with the altarpiece of the *Crucifixion*.

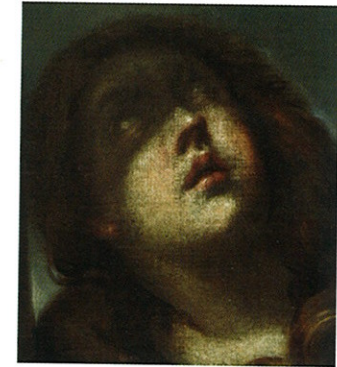


Fig. 13.- Detail of the Magdalen in the *Crucifixion* altarpiece. Reproduced with permission of the Blessed Sacrament Congregation and St Francis' Church Heritage Centre, Melbourne. Photo: Jesper Nielsen.

Foremost among the paintings that Goold believed to be Spanish in his collection was a large altarpiece, a *Crucifixion* that hangs high and most effectively above the high altar of the church of St Francis on Elizabeth Street (fig. 11). The church was Melbourne's first Catholic Cathedral, later superseded by St Patrick's, but still among the most vibrant churches in Australia. A print shows that the *Crucifixion* has always been in situ from the earliest days of the church, chosen for that sacred place above the altar (fig. 12). Since Goold acquired the painting the traditional attribution was to a rare artist, Juan de las Roelas (1560-1625). Roelas was a Flemish painter and priest, who at the end of his life, lived in Spain between 1570 to 1625. He had some knowledge of sixteenth-century Venetian painting. His small corpus is known only in Seville and Valladolid. Examination of the original canvas shows that it is later than Roelas' lifetime, the rough weave suggesting a date of about 1680. The style bears no relation to his known works. The painting has been heavily restored both in Europe and in Australia. The face of the Magdalen is the best-preserved section of the painting, if it ever were possible to make an attribution (fig. 13). It appears to be a later version of a *Crucifixion* of an altarpiece by Guido Reni in the Pinacoteca di Bologna, dating from about 1680. The condition of the painting does not allow for an attribution.

PAINTINGS BY MURILLO AND HIS SCHOOL AT THE SPANISH MISSION AT NEW NORCIA, WESTERN AUSTRALIA²⁰

Unlike Goold, Salvado struggled for funds. Like Goold, Salvado never made emotional pronouncements about artists and their works in his correspondence or diaries. On trips to Europe, when looking for furnishings and provisions for the monastery, Salvado was occasionally given paintings. In all his collection numbered four pieces, where Murillo was the most prominent artist represented acknowledging the exceptional quality of his art as an instrument of conversion in the new world, especially at a Spanish mission. The only reference to Murillo in the archives at New Norcia occurs in a letter dated Tuesday, 9 March 1858, from Bernarda Labarta de Pardo to Vigo Garrido, at the Swan River Mission. Bernarda gifts Salvado a Murillo print for his breviary and to Vigo a print of *Our Lady* from Paris²¹. The casual reference shows how Murillo was part of the quotidian life of missionaries in Australia.

One haunting image at New Norcia (fig. 14) is a painting of a miraculous *Madonna and Child with a Napkin* (*La Virgen de la servilleta*). The original was once on the main altar of the Convento de Capuchinos in Seville and is now in the Museum of Fine Arts at Seville²². There are many anecdotes about the creation of this painting. After dinner in a refectory, it is said that a cook requested Murillo to paint an image on his serviette. Thus, the Murillo napkin began as an ephemeral creation that ultimately survives because it is repeated as an act of genius, in many copies, some contemporary with Murillo, from his studio, always a favourite in monasteries and convents.

The New Norcia version may be attributed to Alonso Miguel de Trovar (1678-1758), known for his imitations of Murillo's paintings. Trovar's variants introduce subtle formal changes that, together with their high pictorial qualities, allow us to recognize his own style. In the

20. The first modern art historical account of the paintings was given by Lambourne, 1997: 19-23.

21. New Norcia Archives, 297, 2-2234A/13.027. I am grateful to Peter Hocking for this reference.

22. Angulo Íñiguez, 1981, II: 66-68.



Fig. 14.- Alonso Miguel de Trovar (attrib.), *Madonna and Child with a Napkin* (*La Virgen de la servilleta*), c. 1750. New Norcia, Western Australia: Museum and Art Gallery.

New Norcia painting some similarities can be seen (especially in the face of the Virgin), with other paintings attributed to him, such as the one preserved in the San Fernando Academy. In a recent restoration of the Seville original, it was discovered that the Virgin does not support her arm on a parapet (as she has been depicted in reproductive engravings) but that she is actually leaning out of a window²³. In the Australian painting, the Virgin is depicted in this way, perhaps because she is close to the original, or perhaps responding to a change in the format of the painting. The colours in the New Norcia version correspond precisely to the original. In addition, it is interesting to observe how the delicate pink tone of the Virgin's tunic is exactly the same used by the followers of Murillo in the 18th century. The New Norcia version is inscribed with a line from the Litany of the Immaculate Virgin, *Mater Pulchrae Dilectionis*.

23. Muñoz Rubio, 2017: 158-163.

The chronicler of New Norcia, Román Ríos recounts that: «How this Madonna found its way to New Norcia is well worth telling, because it shows the esteem in which Bishop Salvado was held everywhere. He was one day in the house of one of his titled friends – a duke or a count. Whilst waiting in the reception-room he was admiring the beautiful painting, and was still doing so when his friend came in quietly. 'It is a grand picture, is it not?' Asked the nobleman. 'Undoubtedly it is', said the bishop. 'Well', the former answered, 'you may take it to your Mission; I know what I am giving you, but Our Blessed Lady will repay me for it»²⁴. Whatever the truth of the anecdote, a note on the reverse of the canvas records that the painting was given to Salvado when he was in Spain.

A representation of the *Archangel Raphael*, traditionally attributed to Murillo was originally hanging in the Cathedral at New Norcia (fig. 15). Although Murillo painted the subject on a number of occasions, this is not a precise copy of a known version. It should be subject to further investigation, possibly as an authentic work by Murillo. It may also have been gifted to Salvado in Spain.

Another work that Salvado owned is *A Divine Shepherdess* (fig. 16) by the late Baroque Seville artist, Bernardo Lorente Germán (1680-1759). It was given to him for the mission by the Fathers of the Congregation of Saint Philip Neri in Seville in 1849 when Salvado was visiting Spain. This provenance is extremely distinguished. The iconography of the subject begins with Murillo's pupil Lorente for Murillo himself never made a version of it.

The fourth gift was a version of the well-known composition *Our Lady of Guadeloupe* by an unknown eighteenth-century artist of the México school (fig. 17). The painting celebrates the apparition of the Virgin Mary to Juan Diego, a poor Indian man in Mexico in the 17th century. In 1737 Our Lady of Guadeloupe was made patroness of Mexico City, in 1910 declared patroness of Latin America and in 1935 patroness of the Philippines by Pope Pius XI. Salvado's small collection is not comparable to Goold's, nor is the Spanish architecture as ambitious as Wardell's Neo Gothic cathedral and churches. Nevertheless, these four works that Salvado brought to the mission are of extraordinary quality.

24. Ríos, [1943 (2017)]: 237.



Fig. 15.- Studio of Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, *Tobias and the Angel Raphael*. New Norcia, Western Australia: Museum and Art Gallery.



Fig. 16.- Bernardo Lorente Germán, *The Divine Shepherdess*. Oil on canvas, 92.5 x 69.8 cm. New Norcia.



Fig. 17.- School of México, *The Virgin of Guadeloupe*. Oil on canvas, 252 x 166.5 cm. Spanish Chapel of New Norcia.

Moving back to Melbourne, collectors and institutions wanted works by Murillo for the first collections, but originals were hard to obtain. Alfred Felton, the great benefactor of the National Gallery of Victoria, had in his own collection a copy after Murillo's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*²⁵. For Felton, like Catherine the Great, this was Murillo's best creation.

Another copy after Murillo's *Virgin of the Rosary*, known also as the *Virgin of the Escorial* (fig. 18), was commissioned in 1869 for the National Gallery of Victoria, who acquired copies after masterpieces, with a rather chip on the shoulder mentality, that they would not be able to buy the best originals from Europe. In this instance the copyist, Chidley Maloney²⁶, son of Lambert Maloney, was born in 1811 in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire. According to Ruskin, he was an English gentleman who first went to Spain as an officer in the army of General Evans, and subsequently settled in Madrid, where he was a great favourite and well known, especially to the English Colony. Sir Charles Eastlake was said to have endorsed the quality of his copies of Spanish Old Masters painted in Spain in the 1860s. Mr. Maloney, was recommended by Mr. Robinson, the director of the South Kensington Museum to the NGV. The work was executed under the inspection of Sir John Crampton, the English ambassador at Madrid, who wrote to say that he considered it a remarkably good copy.

When Archbishop Thomas Joseph Carr from Galway, Ireland, was appointed to Melbourne he travelled via Rome, where Pope Leo XIII gifted the second Archbishop of Melbourne, in 1886, a Murillo painting of the *Immacolata* for the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne (fig. 19). Though the author hesitates to disagree with a Pope, even posthumously, the painting is more likely to be a fine representation by Domingo Martínez (1688-1749), an important artist from Seville who was and is considered an heir to Murillo. It is unlikely that Leo XIII would have been aware of such connoisseurial issues.

Of all these works in Australia it is the *Immacolata* at the National Gallery of Victoria that is Murillo's masterpiece. For a brief period after

25. Inglis y Poynter, 2014.

26. I am indebted to the unpublished catalogue notes by Sophie Matthiesson on Chidley Maloney.



Fig. 18.- Chidley Maloney (copy after Bartolomé Esteban Murillo), *Virgin of the Rosary*, 1870. Oil on canvas, 167 x 112.8 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria.



Fig. 19.- Domingo Martínez (attrib.), *The Immaculate Conception of the Virgin*. Gift from Pope Leo XIII to Archbishop Carr. Oil on canvas, 1.87 x 1.00 m. Melbourne: Catholic Archdiocese.



Fig. 20.- Pompeo Batoni, *Sir Sampson Gideon and an unidentified companion*, 1767 (painted in Rome). Oil on canvas, 275.189.0 cm. Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria. (Everard Studley Miller Bequest, 1963).

he left the directorship of the National Gallery of London, Kenneth Clark advised Melbourne on some remarkable acquisitions, this one dating from the end of his time as Felton Advisor²⁷. The purchase was confirmed for 2400 guineas by his successor as Felton Advisor, A. J. L. McDonnell to arrive in Melbourne in 1948. The altarpiece first emerges in the collection of Sir Sampson Gideon (1745-1824), created 1st Baron Eardley in 1789. A delightful portrait by Pompeo Batoni, of this famous collector and Jewish financier, converted to Protestantism, was bought by the National Gallery of Victoria, to accompany his Murillo (fig. 20)²⁸. The provenance of the Immacolata is easy to trace after Baron Eardley, but so far nothing is known of its origins, perhaps because it is so far away from Spain.

27. The classic study of the Felton Bequest is Poynter, 2003 (where Clark's visit to Australia is described from pp. 477).

28. Hoff, 1973: 198-199.