

The persistence of national identity in the international art market

Review of:

Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914, edited by Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna, Amsterdam: Brill, 351 pp. and 45 full-colour ill., EUR 127.00 hdbk, ISBN 978-90-04-29199-7

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The introduction to the volume *Art Crossing Borders: The Internationalisation of the Art Market in the Age of Nation States, 1750-1914*, edited by Jan Dirk Baetens and Dries Lyna (Brill, 2019) brings to mind an account produced on the occasion of the Great Exhibition of 1851. Although very long, the title must be transcribed in full: *A Frenchman's Visit to England, and the Crystal Palace. All he saw there, with his remarks upon England and the English people in general, London in particular, translated into English by a Belgian, revised and corrected by an American, printed by a Prussian, published everywhere, and dedicated to everybody*.¹ Such an extended enumeration of the nationalities purportedly involved in the production of this guidebook connects its scope and ambition to that of the exhibition itself, whose full title—The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations [emphasis mine]—likewise emphasised its global ambitions. This single example suggests the inherent tension between nationalism and internationalism—the latter dependent upon the former. It is this tension that necessarily informs the individual case studies that constitute the most recent contribution to the ever-growing literature on the art market of the long nineteenth century.

Baetens and Lyna's introduction gives a useful overview of the existing literature on the art market of the period covered in this volume, as well as studies that have focused on earlier centuries in which structural characteristics of what we consider the modern art market were established. Rightly pointing to the increasing interest in the subject, they cite the foundational texts that any scholar should consult, such as Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich's *The rise of the modern art market in London, 1850-1939* or Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal's *Collections et marché de l'art en France, 1789-1848*.² The need for their volume, they

¹ *A Frenchman's Visit to England, and the Crystal Palace. All he saw there, with his remarks upon England and the English people in general, London in particular, translated into English by a Belgian, revised and corrected by an American, printed by a Prussian, published everywhere, and dedicated to everybody*, London: W. N. Wright, 1851.

² Pamela Fletcher and Anne Helmreich, eds., *The rise of the modern art market in London, 1850-1939*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011; Monica Preti-Hamard and Philippe Sénéchal, eds., *Collections et marché de l'art en France, 1789-1848*, Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2005. The work of Burton B. Fredericksen, who founded the Getty Provenance

contend, is that more often than not, the publications of the past ten years or so have had a narrow, nationalistic focus.³ What is missing from this focus on either Great Britain or France, they argue, is 'an overall understanding of...the international dynamic of the art market as a whole'.⁴ According to the editors, the elements necessary to construct such an understanding are 'the geographically divergent social, political and economic contexts'; an analysis of the role of 'producers, consumers, and middlemen'; and an explication of 'the complex interplay between the national and the international'.⁵

Baetens and Lyna recognise that a volume that seeks to emphasise a broader understanding of the nineteenth-century art market must rely upon the work of those who have investigated in depth specific markets. With its selection of eight 'case studies' as chapters, framed by their own chapter on 'The Education of the Art Market', and an epilogue contributed by Fletcher and Helmreich, whose volume on the London art market is cited in several of the essays, the editors grapple with the perennial problem of analyses of the art market. On the one hand, a wider perspective necessarily leads to generalised statements for which the reader calls to mind counterexamples; on the other hand, each case study usefully dives deeply into a particular example, its specificity often problematising a simplified narrative. Baetens and Lyna give coherence to the divergent studies identifying thematic unity to the case studies each of which deal with 'structures of knowledge, information networks, and the fields of tension created by them'.⁶ To expand the appeal of owning fine and decorative arts, both contemporary and historical, it was, therefore, essential to expand an appreciation for what these objects represented. The irony of this expansion of knowledge beyond local markets was that the terms by which works of art were most frequently categorised was according to national schools, a theme the editors develop in their chapter, 'The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the "Long" Nineteenth Century'. We will also see that even as artists moved across Europe, the identity of their country of origin and artistic practices associated with that country were often integral to their reputation in their adopted city.

The question of nationalism is understandably a primary focus of this first chapter. Baetens and Lyna point to the example, first analysed by Fletcher, of the

Index, and whose *Index of Paintings Sold in the British Isles during the Nineteenth Century*, Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1988-1997, is cited a number of times in several essays.

³ Baetens and Lyna, 'Introduction: Towards an International History of the Nineteenth-Century Art Trade', 6.

⁴ Baetens and Lyna, 'Introduction: Towards an International History of the Nineteenth-Century Art Trade', 7.

⁵ Baetens and Lyna, 'Introduction: Towards an International History of the Nineteenth-Century Art Trade', 8.

⁶ Baetens and Lyna, 'Introduction: Towards an International History of the Nineteenth-Century Art Trade', 10.

different galleries on London's Bond Street that adopted the name of a national school or 'brand'.⁷ Whether Ernest Gambart's French Gallery or the German Gallery (or to cite an example farther afield, the Düsseldorf Gallery in New York), the origin of the works of contemporary art available at these dealers was advertised in the name of the gallery. That art by foreign artists was available for purchase in London, is, according to the authors, a reflection of the internationalisation of the art market. Repeatedly, the editors emphasise that nationalism and internationalism are inseparable. For example, they state 'the "international" logically suggests, and is meaningless without, its opposite term, the "national"'.⁸ But are international and national 'opposites'? Their conclusion that 'The nineteenth-century art market...became radically international, but it could only do so on the firm basis of ideas tied to national identity' suggests otherwise.⁹

The two examples that Baetens and Lyna choose to illustrate their argument of the internationalisation of the nineteenth-century art market are both from the latter part of the century and exemplify two different perspectives on the art market. The first is that of an agent of commerce. For Baetens and Lyna, French gallerist Paul Durand-Ruel's activities in London during the Franco-Prussian War (examined at length in the exhibition held at the National Gallery in London in 2015)¹⁰ demonstrate that dealers of the 1870s could not rely on their local market but needed to find methods of marketing their stock abroad. Their second extended analysis focuses on a work of art. Lawrence Alma-Tadema, another European who found a more permanent home in Britain, painted *The Picture Gallery* (1876) for Gambart's villa in the south of France.¹¹ Although set in classical antiquity, the canvas depicts personalities involved in the art trade of the time, including Gambart himself and P.J. Pilgeram and Léon Lefèvre, who took over the French Gallery. Drawing upon earlier interpretations of the painting by the author of Alma-Tadema's catalogue raisonné, Vern Swanson, and historian of Victorian painting, Jeremy Maas, Baetens and Lyna instead see the subject matter as evidence of the

⁷ Fletcher, 'The Grand Tour on Bond Street: Cosmopolitanism and the Commerical Art Gallery in Victorian London', *Visual Culture in Britain* 12: 2 (2011): 139-53.

⁸ Baetens and Lyna, 'The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the "Long" Nineteenth Century', 17.

⁹ Baetens and Lyna, 'The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the "Long" Nineteenth Century', 55.

¹⁰ Sylvie Patry, ed., *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the modern art market*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2015.

¹¹ Jeremy Maas, *Gambart: Prince of the Victorian Art World*, London: Barrie and Jenkins, 1975, 242; Vern Swanson, *The Biography and Catalogue Raisonné of the paintings of Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema*, London: Garton & Co., in association with Scolar, 1990, 175. Baetens and Lyna, 'The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the "Long" Nineteenth Century', 18-23.

changes in the art market where the growing middle-class clientele enabled an expansion beyond borders.¹²

These two examples—the one the physical movements of a dealer; the other a work of art—set up the two different approaches of the essays by other scholars and underscore the multiplicity of ways it is possible to understand the meaning of crossing borders. Whether it is people or goods, however, borders in the nineteenth century were not just lines drawn randomly on a map. Import and export duties and even export bans played a significant role but are not mentioned. For example, Isabella Stewart Gardner, loath to paying the high import duties on works she had acquired in Europe, is known to have resorted to bringing in smaller works of art without declaring them. This activity resulted in her paying a penalty imposed by the Treasury Department shortly before the tariff duties were eliminated with the passage of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act of 1909. Even before the removal of the import duties, works of art brought into the United States for the benefit of educational purposes were exempt. This exemption was meant to encourage the establishment and expansion of museums and would be an apt example of the knowledge economy that Baetens and Lyna describe.

Although the first chapter argues that the art market of the nineteenth century is distinctive, the individual essays cover a broader range of time; taken together they demonstrate that the European art market of 1899 was in scale and in kind unrecognisable to either a collector or seller active in the first decade of the century. However, as with so many studies of the long nineteenth century, aside from Lukas Fuchsgruber's essay on the Berlin auction house Lepke and the German agent Otto Mündler, the middle decades of the century are given short shrift.

Standing at the earliest end of temporal parameters the editors establish, Bénédicte Miyamoto's essay—"Directions to Know a Good Picture": Marketing National School Categories to the British Public in the "Long" Eighteenth Century"--examines how national categories developed in British auctions of the eighteenth century and contributes to the volume's theme of how a knowledge economy was the foundation upon which the nineteenth-century art market could expand. Her research builds upon her earlier essay on the Georgian art market.¹³ In both, Miyamoto studies the role of auctions. Given the surviving documentation of auction catalogues and auctioneer books in the archives, her focus on this channel of the distribution of paintings is understandable. Miyamoto's analysis of these documents displays a deep familiarity with the catalogues, as well as the artistic theories prevalent at the time. For example, she compares the writings of the Abbé Du Bos and his criticism of British painting from the first half of the eighteenth

¹² Baetens and Lyna, 'The Education of the Art Market: National Schools and International Trade in the "Long" Nineteenth Century', 25-26.

¹³ Bénédicte Miyamoto, "'Making Pictures Marketable': Expertise and the Georgian Art Market,' in *Marketing Art in the British Isles, 1700 to the Present: A Cultural History*, eds. Charlotte Gould and Sophie Mesplède, Farnham: Ashgate, 2012, 119-134.

century to that of Sir Joshua Reynolds in his *Discourses* in the last quarter of the century and shows how these texts provided an important intellectual basis for the market.¹⁴

To give structure to her essay, Miyamoto subdivides the period under examination into three sections—1680s-1720s; 1720-1740; 1740-1800—and examines the changing understanding of national school. Even though national schools are only understood loosely in the earliest period, Miyamoto reads closely the language used to describe paintings brought from the Continent, arguing that there was a close connection between the insistence on the works' origins and the fact that they were original.¹⁵ According to Miyamoto, the development in the second and third decades of the eighteenth century of a notion of the distinct styles associated with different countries was dependent upon an understanding of Continental theories of art. She rightly underscores the significance of the writings of Jonathan Richardson, Senior—his *Discourses* (1719) and *Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting* (1725)—to the development of a new, specifically British, language of judging works of art.¹⁶ By the 1750s, the language of national schools was standard in British sales catalogues. Furthermore, according to Miyamoto, the associations of foreignness had evolved. Miyamoto chronicles how by the second half of the eighteenth century French and Italian were no longer synonymous with Catholicism and its implied threat to British nationhood. Rather, such labels had primarily aesthetic connotations.¹⁷ Miyamoto's astute analysis of the symbiosis of art criticism and art marketing demonstrates that the market was dependent upon theory that was becoming institutionalised under the auspices of the Royal Academy (founded in 1768).

From late eighteenth-century London, we skip to late nineteenth-century New York. Zalewski examines both auction catalogues and collection catalogues in her essay 'Creating Cultural and Commercial Value in Late Nineteenth-Century New York Art Catalogues'. She usefully shifts the date of the first collection catalogue from 1879 to 1853, correcting her earlier claim that William Henry Vanderbilt's collection catalogue was the first of its kind to be published.¹⁸ Rather, she cites the *Companion to the Bryan Gallery of Christian Art* as 'possibly the first in

¹⁴ Miyamoto, "'Directions to Know a Good Picture": Marketing National School Categories to the British Public in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', 66-67.

¹⁵ Miyamoto, "'Directions to Know a Good Picture": Marketing National School Categories to the British Public in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', 71.

¹⁶ Miyamoto, "'Directions to Know a Good Picture": Marketing National School Categories to the British Public in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', 81-82.

¹⁷ Miyamoto, "'Directions to Know a Good Picture": Marketing National School Categories to the British Public in the "Long" Eighteenth Century', 92.

¹⁸ Vanderbilt's collection was first published as *The Private Collection of W. H. Vanderbilt*, 459 *Fifth Avenue, New York*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1879. Leanne Zalewski, 'Art for the Public: William Henry Vanderbilt's Cultural Legacy', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 11, no. 2 (Summer 2012).

New York published simply to document an important collection and to educate readers'.¹⁹ However, Zalewski does not explain the context in which Bryan published the catalogue: after being spurned by his hometown of Philadelphia, in an effort to expose New Yorkers to hitherto unknown examples of European art, he set up a public exhibition. Having failed to engage his intended audience, Bryan first lent the collection to the Cooper Union in 1857 before bequeathing it to the New-York Historical Society.²⁰ Unlike the other collections and sales Zalewski describes, Bryan's collection was composed of old master paintings and not the contemporary works that characterise the other collections to which she dedicates the rest of her essay.

Her essay focuses on four collections and the catalogues produced for different purposes: the August Belmont and A. T. Stewart catalogues, the former produced on the occasion of a benefit exhibition organised by the dealer Samuel P. Avery in 1877 and the latter for the department store owner's auction staged by the American Art Association in 1886; Vanderbilt's collection catalogue and the catalogue published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art when they put on view the collection of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe in 1895. Identifying the different schools represented in these four examples, she notes the ways in which institutional success provided bona fides to the artists. Zalewski concludes, 'Catalogues played an important role in communicating social and cultural capital'.²¹

Barbara Pezzini in her engagingly written, wide-ranging essay, '(Inter)national Art: The London Old Masters Market and Modern British Painting (1900-1914)', underscores how the secondary market for old masters can be deeply implicated in the primary market for contemporary painting. By examining the work of artists such as Charles Conder, Charles Shannon, and William Strang, the criticism of Roger Fry, D. S. MacColl and others, and the dealers such as Agnew's or Carfax, Pezzini deftly demonstrates how deeply intertwined the London art world was. Pezzini argues convincingly that living artists responded to the booming market for old master painting, recognising the potential of new ways of marketing their work commercially. These structural changes were, according to Pezzini, essential for the positioning of contemporary paintings as modern in the British

¹⁹ Leanne Zalewski, 'Creating Cultural and Commercial Value in Late Nineteenth-Century New York Art Catalogues', 102. Prior to the publication of *Companion to the Bryan Gallery of Christian Art*, New York: Baker, Godwin & Co., 1853, a listing of the works in the Bryan collection was published as *Catalogue of the Bryan Gallery of Christian Art*, New York: George F. Nesbitt, 1852, which grouped the paintings by national school.

²⁰ Nathaniel Burt, *Palace for the People: A Social History of the American Art Museum*, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1977, 54-5. In 1995, the New-York Historical Society sold the old master paintings from the collection [Sotheby's, New York, 12 January 1995].

²¹ Zalewski, 'Creating Cultural and Commercial Value in Late Nineteenth-Century New York Art Catalogues', 120.

context.²² Furthermore, Pezzini consciously chooses works of art which have been 'excluded from the history of art by a reductive modernist mapping'. By first outlining the conditions of the old master market in London at the end of the nineteenth century and the ways in which new scholarship was essential to commercial success, Pezzini demonstrates how these two aspects of the London art trade presented an alternative for the paintings produced by British artists associated with the Royal Academy. Whereas in the 1860s and 1870s highly-detailed subject paintings usually with easily deciphered moral lessons were highly popular, within thirty years this type of painting had suffered from a distinct fall from fashion.²³ Pezzini traces how a new generation of painters responded to this crisis, moved away from the moralism and high detail of the late Victorians and instead looked to European old masters and dealers who were also active critics or painters.

The culminating section of Pezzini's essay examines the role of *The Burlington Magazine* as a nexus for these trends in both the British market for old masters and as an important vehicle for the expression of contemporary theory. Analysing early editorials dating from the first years of the twentieth century, Pezzini underscores the extent to which the journal was invested in the careers of the generation of artists who were exploring new visual language. To this day, art historians have located the origins of modernism in France, in no small part due to the writings of one of the founders of the *Burlington*, Roger Fry. Pezzini's examination of the British art scene and the relationship between the primary and secondary markets in this period, then, necessarily expands our understanding of the mechanisms of the markets.

London remains the focus for Camilla Murgia's essay on the Italian community in the capital of the United Kingdom around 1800. While the disruptions of revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe have more often been studied from the perspective of the importation of works of art, Murgia brings to the forefront the movement between countries of people rather than objects. At the centre of the Italian community, Murgia argues, was printmaker Francesco Bartolozzi, who was born in Florence in 1727, arrived in London in 1764, and died in Lisbon in 1815. Tracing his career in London, which was established well before the end of the Ancien Régime, provides Murgia with a way to describe the strategy immigrant artists might employ to establish themselves in their new country. In the case of Bartolozzi and the print trade more broadly, distribution was an essential factor. Thus, strong relationships between engravers and dealers were the norm for Bartolozzi and others. Furthermore, Bartolozzi connected other Italian printmakers

²² Pezzini, '(Inter)national Art: The London Old Masters Market and Modern British Painting (1900-1914)', 128-129.

²³ Pezzini, '(Inter)national Art: The London Old Masters Market and Modern British Painting (1900-1914)', 145.

to points of distribution.²⁴ Bartolozzi's arrival in London was timely in that he was a founder member of the Royal Academy and was also involved in the founding of the Society for Engravers. These institutions transformed the status of artists in Britain.

Most intriguing of Murgia's observations is how there was a visual language associated with Italian printmaking. Exemplified by the trade cards of Mariano Bovi and Bartolozzi's title page for Cipriani's *Rudiments of Drawing* in which frolicking putti entertain the more serious female personifications of plenty or painting, which Murgia identifies as particularly Italianate. How these figural flourishes were understood with the British public could have been explored in greater depth. For example, to what extent did they differ from other trade cards; the British Museum has an extensive collection of these cards. Although Murgia begins with the context of the upheavals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in fact, these conflicts were instrumental in the disruption of the print trade. Most famously, Alderman Boydell's ambitious Shakespeare Gallery ended in bankruptcy because of the loss of Continental outlets for the selling of prints. Bartolozzi's move in 1802 to Portugal is just one in a series of such concessions to a market impacted by political events.

To what extent does the history of the art market reflect or inform the history of art? For example, more often than not in the nineteenth century, those artists that were the most successful of their day—think of Landseer in Britain or French academic painters—have been relegated to the margins of the art historical narrative that privileges those artists who are seen to disrupt conventions. The artists who are the focus of Pezzini's study of the London art market from 1900 to 1914 are cases in point: few will have studied Conder or Strang in a survey course. Art market studies focusing on earlier periods tend to look at data such as imports and exports or accounts of the *pand*²⁵ but are unable to connect those numbers with works of art themselves. Lukas Fuchsgruber's essay alludes to this paradox when he defines 'circulation' to mean not just people and objects but the intangible asset of knowledge.²⁶

To study the exchanges between Paris and Berlin in the second half of the nineteenth century, Fuchsgruber examines the role of the agent Otto Mündler and the auctions run by the Lepke family of dealers (founded by Nathan Levi in 1839, continued by Louis Eduard and his son Rudolph). The author, who wrote his dissertation on the Hôtel Drouot, provides a useful overview of the conditions of auctions in the Paris of the 1850s and Berlin, where auctions only became prevalent

²⁴ Murgia, 'The Artistic Trade and Networks of the Italian Community in London Around 1800', 174.

²⁵ Dan Ewing, 'Marketing Art in Antwerp, 1460-1560: Our Lady's *Pand*', *Art Bulletin* 72: 4 (Dec. 1990): 558-584.

²⁶ Lukas Fuchsgruber, 'Berlin-Paris: Transnational Aspects of French Art Auctions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', 194.

later in the century. Citing the sale in 1855 of copies of works from the museums of Dresden, Munich, Vienna, and Berlin, which Lepke held in Paris under the auspices of the commissaire-priseur Charles Pillet, Fuchsgruber argues that the firm was testing to see if this model for selling art was viable.²⁷ According to Fuchsgruber, that Lepke was involved in a French auction at this date is evidence that they were probably involved in such sales in Berlin at an earlier date than the 1860s recorded in an early history of the firm.²⁸ Although we do not hear of further activities of Lepke in promoting German art in Paris, Fuchsgruber demonstrates that not only did the Lepkes bring the French auction model to Berlin, but they also brought French art—that of the Barbizon School—to Berlin.²⁹

While the case of Lepke involves art being produced at the time, Fuchsgruber's second example, the dealer Otto Mündler, engages with the circumstances of the secondary market for old master, particularly Italian, painting. He details the evolution of Mündler's career from a dealer with physical spaces in Paris beginning in the 1840s, to auctions he organised in Paris, London, and Amsterdam in the 1850s, to his turn to writing about art and reporting on French sales in the German press.³⁰ Fuchsgruber characterises Mündler's scholarship of Italian painting as an 'intangible' asset in the trade that needs to be given greater consideration if we are to understand the mechanisms of the international transfer of works of art.

Adriana Turpin sees her consideration of the nineteenth-century British market for eighteenth-century French furniture as an occasion to reflect 'on the hitherto unclear interplay between market forces and taste patterns'.³¹ In tracing the expansion of the Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, trans. Leopold Wickham Legg (Clarendon: Oxford, 1937) vogue for French interiors from the early princely and aristocratic collections of the Prince of Wales and William Beckford, Turpin focuses in particular on the intricate inlaid pieces of André-Charles Boulle (1642-1732) and determines from sales records of the French royal collection in the 1790s that French dealers were the primary buyers. In turn, dealers, such as Philippe-Claude Maëlrondt (1766-1824), fostered the taste in their British clients,

²⁷ *Catalogue d'une collection de 70 tableaux, bonnes reproductions d'après les plus belles oeuvres des Musées de Dresde, Vienne, Munich, Berlin et autres provenant du Cabinet de M. X*** de Berlin*, Paris: Charles Pillet, commissaire-priseur, 3 December 1855. Fuchsgruber, 'Berlin-Paris: Transnational Aspects of French Art Auctions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', 198-9.

²⁸ Fuchsgruber, 'Berlin-Paris: Transnational Aspects of French Art Auctions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', 195, 199.

²⁹ Fuchsgruber, 'Berlin-Paris: Transnational Aspects of French Art Auctions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', 200.

³⁰ Fuchsgruber, 'Berlin-Paris: Transnational Aspects of French Art Auctions in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century', 204-212.

³¹ Turpin, 'Appropriation as a Form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', 221.

supplying not only examples from the eighteenth century, but new furniture in the old style, as well.³² Citing Geoffrey De Bellaigue's work on Edward Holmes Baldock, Turpin observes that the second phase of British collecting of French furniture was fueled by the activities of British dealers.

Turpin gives plentiful examples, drawing not only from the well-known sales held at Christie's but also those of Foster and Son. These sales show that the style was adopted not just for the country estates of the aristocracy, who could purchase exceptional examples at startling prices, but also in more modest homes. Turpin convincingly argues that a prerequisite to this expansion of appreciation of the craftsmanship represented by Boulle, Reisener and other French furniture makers, was a transformation of previously negative attitudes towards French style. French furniture was associated with elaborate ornamentation, exemplified by the extensive gilding. This trait, condemned as excessive and immoral by influential tastemaker Charles Locke Eastlake, was instead viewed as consistent with expressions of wealth and power that marked a Britain victorious over Napoleon.³³ In Turpin's view, because previous prejudice had to be overcome, the spread of French style furniture signalled a new cosmopolitanism that also found expression beyond the United Kingdom. Ironically, as Turpin points out, the market for Ancien Régime style was weak in France itself.³⁴

If Turpin's essay defines the crossing of borders as the reception of a type of object produced in an earlier century, Sharon Hecker's chapter on the career of Medardo Rosso takes the border crossing to be that of a living artist moving from his native country to another. While Italian engravers of the eighteenth century chose London, Rosso's choice of Paris in conjunction with the type of work he was intent on producing signifies the perception of the French capital as the favoured location for artists with progressive vision. In considering Rosso, Hecker outlines the conditions specific to monumental sculpture that posed a challenge to marketing it to the new audience of middle-class collectors.³⁵ Further, she identifies techniques—in this case the lost wax method of casting—that were understood as characteristic of a particular country's approach to reproduction.

Not surprisingly, many of the authors of this anthology reference both Harrison and Cynthia White's seminal interpretation of the French art market of the

³² Turpin, 'Appropriation as a Form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', 228

³³ Turpin, 'Appropriation as a Form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', 239.

³⁴ Turpin, 'Appropriation as a Form of Nationalism? Collecting French Furniture in the Nineteenth Century', 251.

³⁵ Hecker, 'The Modern Italian Sculptor as International Entrepreneur: The Case of Medardo Rosso (1858-1928)', 257.

nineteenth century, as well as David Galenson and Robert Jensen's 2007 revision.³⁶ The Whites' proposal that the decline of the Salon was paralleled by a rise in the importance of dealers has been countered by Galenson and Jensen who note the continued importance of the Salon and the rise of exhibitions organised by artists as a way of developing new markets. Hecker rightly points out that both these views of the French art market neglect sculpture and the importance of foundries in the marketing of serial reproductions.³⁷ As Hecker makes clear, the dominance of the French bronze foundry system was a double-edged sword: by perfecting sand casting, smaller scale bronzes could be produced in large numbers for a middle-class clientele; the result of this extensive replication was that these reproductions lost the aura of fine art.³⁸ Rosso capitalised on connoisseurs' recognition that the older lost wax method (known to be practiced by Italian artisans) produced a higher quality cast. Unlike other Italian sculptors who had moved to Paris for greater market opportunities, Rosso self-consciously, according to Hecker, portrayed himself and his methods as highly individual.³⁹ His position within the context of French impressionism was established, as Hecker demonstrates, through his inclusion in both museum and commercial shows in Central Europe—Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig, and Vienna.⁴⁰ Rosso's internationalism—that is, his move to Paris and his subsequent exhibiting in Central Europe—was by necessity. The lack of a market for avant-garde sculpture in Italy and for the work of a foreign in Paris drove Rosso to find alternative strategies for selling his sculpture.

By contrast, although it suffered during the Napoleonic Wars, the print market was a vital commercial area in the second half of the nineteenth century as demonstrated in 'Art Reproduction and the Nation: National Perspectives in an International Market'. Robert Verhoogt's examination of the reproductive print trade draws upon the research for his comprehensive study of the prints of Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary Scheffer.⁴¹ His proposal that print dealers, such as Goupil in France, Agnew's in Britain, and Frans Buffa in The Netherlands, 'managed to be successful in an international competitive art print

³⁶ Harrison C. and Cynthia White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, New York: Wiley, 1965; David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, 'Careers and canvases: The rise of the market for modern art in nineteenth-century Paris', *Current Issues in Nineteenth-Century Art, Van Gogh Studies*, I, 2007, 137-66.

³⁷ Hecker, 'The Modern Italian Sculptor as International Entrepreneur: The Case of Medardo Rosso (1858-1928)', 259.

³⁸ Hecker, 'The Modern Italian Sculptor as International Entrepreneur: The Case of Medardo Rosso (1858-1928)', 264.

³⁹ Hecker, 'The Modern Italian Sculptor as International Entrepreneur: The Case of Medardo Rosso (1858-1928)', 274.

⁴⁰ Hecker, 'The Modern Italian Sculptor as International Entrepreneur: The Case of Medardo Rosso (1858-1928)', 287.

⁴¹ Robert Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction: Nineteenth-Century Prints after Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary Scheffer*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007.

market ... *because* they were specialised in national artists' derives from his observation that these dealers relied upon the work of artists from their respective countries and that the international character came through the dealers' distribution networks.⁴² First, however, he examines the ways in which copyright laws were instituted in various countries but that the need for a more standardised law resulted in the signing of the Berne Convention of 1886, which protected the rights of authors.

Verhoogt also examines the ways in which engravers responded to the reproductive capabilities of photography. Thus, following a petition to Napoleon III, the French government commissioned engravings of works of art.⁴³ Similar steps to encourage engravings were commercially-driven, such as the *Musée Français, recueil complet des tableaux*, first conceived by Pierre Laurent and continued by his son. Buffa's reproductions of works by contemporary Dutch painters such as Israëls or old masters such as Rembrandt, were promoted as being in the national interest. Even so, Buffa relied upon Pilgeram & Lefèvre, the successors to Gambart in London, and they on Buffa, as a point of distribution for these same prints.⁴⁴ Verhoogt closes with the observation that as a collector's item, rather than being seen as a lower-cost substitute for original works of art, prints were often acquired to become part of a collection that included more 'exclusive' objects.⁴⁵

Taking a step back from these eight tightly-focused studies of aspects of the London, Paris, Amsterdam, and Berlin markets, Fletcher and Helmreich's 'Epilogue' is a brief consideration of where the field of art market studies is now and its relationship to the broader discipline of art history, as well as a proposal for future directions. They position the field, with its concern for the mobility and exchange of objects, within art history's recent efforts to adopt a transnational perspective and proceed to interrogate how 'international', 'art' and 'market' have been understood.⁴⁶ Both cities and nations come under scrutiny in their examination of 'international'. Questioning whether London or Paris are representative of the art market of Britain or France, they also note that Germany and Italy did not have stable geographic limits at this time. It is the very nature of geography as a frame for art historical investigation that Fletcher and Helmreich suggest needs further

⁴² Verhoogt, 'Art Reproduction and the Nation: National Perspectives in an International Market', 317.

⁴³ Verhoogt, 'Art Reproduction and the Nation: National Perspectives in an International Market', 309.

⁴⁴ Verhoogt, 'Art Reproduction and the Nation: National Perspectives in an International Market', 318.

⁴⁵ Verhoogt, 'Art Reproduction and the Nation: National Perspectives in an International Market', 321. DeCourcy E. McIntosh makes a similar point regarding the American market for reproductive prints in his essay, 'New York's Favorite Pictures,' in *Artwork through the market: the past and the present*, edited by Ján Bakoš, Bratislava: VEDA, 2004, 145.

⁴⁶ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Epilogue: Reframing the "International Art Market"', 327.

examination. Rather than a single 'market', the authors see the nineteenth-century political, financial, and technological developments as 'accelerating the processes of exchange'.⁴⁷ To understand more fully the variety of markets, they advocate more attention be paid to 'local variations', as well as markets for new media, such as photography.⁴⁸ It is in their definition of 'art' that Fletcher and Helmreich advance their argument for the relevance of art market studies: art, they argue, is often defined by those who circulate the objects in the market.⁴⁹ It is essential, therefore, that art history takes into account those involved in the trade of works of art during the nineteenth century. The authors conclude with a proposal to 'model' the international art world, by which they mean using the 'variables' of players and institutions to map the mechanisms by which objects circulated and in so doing gained meaning and value.⁵⁰

The essays in this volume identify a number of these intermediaries and institutions that made a mark on the nineteenth-century art world. Some, such as Christie's, Gambart and Durand-Ruel, have been studied extensively though by no means exhaustively. Others, such as Frans Buffa, are less familiar. Although they do not always explicitly state this question, the authors of the essays suggest that a history of the art market reveals a different narrative from the traditional art history. Certainly, the volume reflects the fact that the art created and exchanged in London has a prominence in art market studies that is not replicated in traditional art histories of the nineteenth century where France and French art has dominated. Is an understanding of the quotidian transactions that involved the engraver, print seller, the sculptor, the founder, the collector and many more fundamental to understanding what constitutes the history of art? I would argue that they are and that they elucidate the ways that the history of art is inseparable from the socio-political trends of the period.

To Baetens and Lyna's three themes of 'structures of knowledge, information networks, and the fields of tension created by them', I would add social networks as a fourth theme addressed in the essays. For art to cross borders, more often than not, dealers, agents and artists were required to move across those same borders. Dealers that had locations in multiple cities often relied upon family members to manage the expansion recalling the way banking dynasties, such as the Rothschilds, spread across Europe. As Murgia shows in her study of Bartolozzi in London, when immigrating to a foreign city, it was natural for ex-patriots to seek each other out—another way that national identity continued to assert itself even as there was greater movement between individual nation-states. The social networks Pezzini sheds light upon at the other end of the nineteenth century demonstrate that borders were permeable between professions. Roger Fry was both curator and

⁴⁷ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Epilogue: Reframing the "International Art Market"', 332.

⁴⁸ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Epilogue: Reframing the "International Art Market"', 333.

⁴⁹ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Epilogue: Reframing the "International Art Market"', 337.

⁵⁰ Fletcher and Helmreich, 'Epilogue: Reframing the "International Art Market"', 338.

editor, critic and intermediary. Fuchsgruber's analysis shows that Mündler's social networks were essential to his success as a dealer, agent and scholar. For a different perspective on the effect of social networks, Turpin's examination of the reception of Ancien Régime furniture in Britain suggests that taste is highly dependent upon a shared understanding of style and craftsmanship.

Readers directed to this volume will most likely be in search of an individual essay. Each author has contributed new insights into the mechanisms of circulation that are central to studies of the art market. Seeking to establish a coherence to disparate approaches and emphases, the editors have identified the circulation of ideas as an essential unifying element. While knowledge might be categorised as 'intangible' and, therefore, less susceptible to the physical barriers inherent to geographic borders, ideas confront impediments whether linguistic or access – to what extent were collection or auction catalogues accessible to an audience beyond those who were already involved in the art market? For a volume whose tripartite theme includes 'information networks', the fact that the content is open access should be applauded.

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