

Dürer's Nuremberg Legacy:

The case of the National Gallery portrait of Dürer's father

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In November 1636 Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), who was making a tour of Germany, was presented with a pair of portraits of Dürer and his father as a present from the city of Nuremberg to King Charles I (1600–49). William Crowne, part of Arundel's embassy, recounted in his diary their visit to Nuremberg: 'They invited His Excellency to visit their Stadthouse, which turned out to be a large stone building more than one hundred yards long.' Upstairs, they entered a gallery 'ninety yards long' and at the end 'a square room which they use sometimes as their Council Chamber', and another three rooms, in the last of which were hung portraits of six Habsburg Emperors from Charles the Great to Ferdinand, the present Emperor'. The final room 'was similarly furnished with several rare pictures, including two by Albrecht Dürer of himself and his father which the City fathers presented to his Excellency.'¹ The pictures were brought back to England and received by the King by 18 March 1637.²

The two paintings are recorded in the inventory of Charles I in 1639. The self-portrait was described as: 'Item the Picture of Alberdure himself when hee was young in his long yellow haire in an old antick fashioned black and white leathorne-Capp and habbitt wth gloves on his hands whereby through a windowe a Lanskip to be seene painted upon board in an ould wooden



Plate 1 Attributed to Albrecht Dürer NG 1938, The Painter's Father, oil on limewood panel, 52.5 x 41.3 cm, National Gallery London. Copyright 2001 National Gallery, London. All rights reserved.

frame presented to ye kinge by the City of Neronborch in high Germany sent by the Lord Marshall, Lord Ambassador to the late Emperor fardinando'.³ That the self-portrait owned by Charles I is identical with the self-portrait of Dürer dated 1498 now in the Prado can be shown by the presence of a label on the reverse, first brought to light by Oliver Millar. The text reads: 'to the Kinge/ of Nere...e brought by/the Erle...Arundell Ear.../Marshall KG, Ambasso.../Extraordinary to the Emp.../1636'.⁴ In 1653, when much of the collection had been dispersed, the two portraits were seen 'at Mr Knightleyes' by Richard Symonds.⁵ They were bought by the King's tailor David Murray and subsequently acquired by the Spanish ambassador in London, Alonso de Cardenas; the self-portrait has been in Spain ever since.⁶ (http://museoprado.mcu.es/ihistoria/historia5_cont_05.html)

The description of the portrait of Dürer's father in Charles I's collection is as follows: 'Alberdure his father in an old Hungarian fashion black cap in a dark yellow gown wherein his hands are hidden in the wide sleeves painted upon a reddish ground all crack'.⁷

That the picture now in the National Gallery (**Pl. 1**) is Charles I's picture is suggested by the description in his inventory of the 'reddish ground all crack't' which fits the National Gallery painting and none of the other extant versions. The National Gallery picture is, like the Prado picture, painted black on the reverse, and fragments of two paper labels remain at the bottom (**Pl. 2**). One label inscribed in ink, possibly in a 17th-century hand, on which the word [p]'ictur' can be read, lies beneath another label in English in a later hand, possibly 18th century, describing the sitter and his marriage. It evidently gives a potted biography of Dürer's father 'Elder was/his prof/ession/married in Nuron(?)/daughter'. Conceivably the label underneath it is a label matching that on the reverse of the Prado picture. The handwriting may be similar. If the labels were found to be alike, this would provide another, possibly

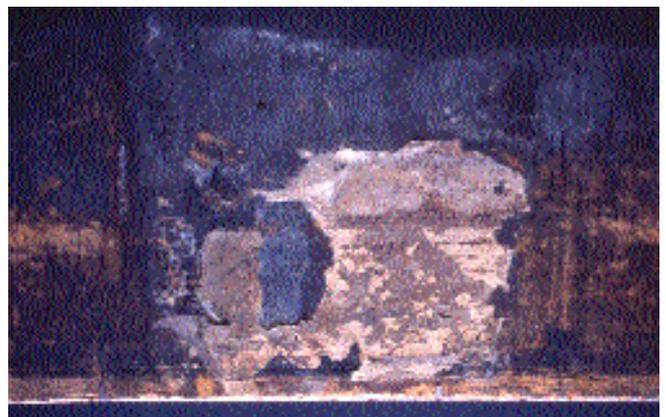


Plate 2 Labels on the reverse of NG 1938

conclusive, reason for believing that the National Gallery picture was indeed that in the collection of Charles I.

The provenance of the National Gallery picture is obscure. It was owned by Louisa Lady Ashburton, widow of the 2nd Lord Ashburton. After Lady Ashburton's death in 1903, the portrait was sold in 1904 to the National Gallery, with other pictures, by her executor and son-in-law William, 5th Marquess of Northampton (d. 1913), who had married her daughter Mary (d.1902) in 1884.⁸

I shall return to the question of its earlier history later on in this paper. The status of the National Gallery portrait has been much debated. In the 1959 catalogue of the German pictures by Michael Levey, it was given the attribution 'ascribed to Dürer' because although Levey himself was not convinced it had the qualities of a painting by Dürer, sufficient numbers of other scholars whom he respected held a different opinion.

Much of the past debate concerning the status of the National Gallery painting has focused on the idea that if it could be proved beyond doubt that the picture belonged to Charles I, and was therefore the painting that he was given by the city of Nuremberg, it must be a work by Dürer himself. In this paper, starting with the assumption that the picture was indeed that given to Charles I (though I will return to this problem later), I want to explore the possibility that the city of Nuremberg gave to Charles I one painting by Dürer himself and one painting which was a copy. The history of the dispersal and replication of Dürer works in 16th and early 17th century Nuremberg is complex. How did the Nuremberg Town Council come to own works by or believed to be by Dürer? What were they? Why should they have possessed them?

In 1511 Dürer received 60 florins from the city for two pictures. This may have been advance payment for the portraits of the Emperors Charlemagne and Sigismund for the Heiltumskammer in the Schopperhaus in the main square in Nuremberg.⁹ The imperial treasure, robes and relics had been presented by Sigismund in 1423 to the free imperial city of Nuremberg, and had to be preserved for use in future imperial ceremonies. They were kept in the Heilig Geist Kirche, and each year on the eve of the feast of the Heiltumsweisung in the church, for participation in which an indulgence was received, they were publicly exhibited in the Schopperhaus. The panels were made to serve as doors flanking a niche in which the coronation robes and imperial insignia were displayed. The portraits were on the reverses of the panels, visible when opened. When closed the obverses showed inscriptions referring to the gift of the insignia and the annual display, and coats of arms. Dürer was paid 85 florins, one pound and ten shillings for these paintings on 16 February 1513. In 1525, following the town's conversion to Lutheranism, the feast of the relics and their display was ended, and the portraits were transferred to the Town Hall.

The Town Council acquired two more paintings during Dürer's lifetime. In October 1526 Dürer presented to the Town Council as a 'remembrance' his two panels of the four apostles, now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich; they warn against false prophets, and show St John holding open Luther's gospel. Dürer received 112 Rhenish florins in return. These paintings are mentioned in 1547 in a note by Johan Neudorffer as located in the upper room in the town hall.¹⁰

Nuremberg town hall was completed in 1340. It had shops on

the ground floor, one of which was the goldsmiths shop owned by Albrecht Dürer the Elder.¹¹ On the first floor was an extensive, barrel-vaulted ceremonial hall, 38.7m long and nearly 12m wide, where Dürer's paintings of apostles hung. A brass screen by Peter Vischer divided the room from 1540 onwards; bought in 1530, it had originally been made for a church.

It was usual in the 15th and 16th centuries in Germany and in the Netherlands for town halls to be decorated with paintings, in particular those related to the execution of justice, notably the last judgement or classical stories of the dispensing of justice; they reflected the fact that local magistrates courts took place there. These were not the only acceptable themes. In the 15th century Jan Matthijsen wrote in the *Rechtsboek of Den Bril* in the Netherlands: 'The Council Chamber [in the Town Hall] shall be kept beautiful inside and decorated with portraits and inscriptions with good old wise teachings which inspired wisdom and prudence'.¹² It was therefore to be expected that Nuremberg city council would commission Dürer to make paintings for the interior of the Town Hall.

In 1516, Dürer first became involved in the decoration of the Town Hall's office, the Ratstube, and four years later he was commissioned to decorate the council chamber. These paintings, devised as a programme with the humanist Pirkheimer, replaced a series of painted histories from classical authors on the theme of justice.¹³ Dürer's designs for these included images of the power of women, the continence of Scipio and the Calumny of Apelles (executed by Georg Pencz). In 1613, four artists were commissioned by the Town Council to restore the assembly room which had been decorated by Dürer and his workshop.¹⁴ Then, in 1616–22, alterations took place in which the upper room was divided into 3 smaller rooms; the paintings were destroyed and replaced.

Why should a town council have owned portraits by a local artist? It was not unusual for town halls to include portraits of rulers as part of a decorative scheme. In the Netherlands in the 15th century portraits of the counts of Holland appeared, and later in the 17th century portraits of the houses of Orange. But towns in the Netherlands also accumulated pictures from locations or collections in the towns themselves, which were distinct from decorative adornments to the interiors or specific town commissions. They appeared to have wished to preserve them as examples of paintings of high quality. In Delft in the 17th century there were religious paintings by Heemskerck and Aertsen, from local churches; in Dordrecht there were similar works.¹⁵ The example of the collections of Haarlem Town Hall in the Netherlands also provides an instructive parallel: Truus van Bueren has identified four different categories of paintings which had been acquired by the early 17th century. These included paintings acquired or commissioned by the Town Council, such as the paintings by Cornelis van Haarlem with subjects exemplifying the duties of princes; gifts, including prints, relating to history and genealogy; portraits including those by Jan van Scorel of the Jerusalem pilgrims and works with biblical subjects, and finally paintings the town acquired from the convent of St John (including work by Geertgen tot sint Jans). These works, displayed in the Town Hall, testified to pride in the state of Haarlem, and also to pride in its painters.¹⁶ The heterogeneous and opportunistic characteristics of a town hall collection such as this may find echoes in Nuremberg.

By the early 17th century there were in the Nuremberg town

hall, in the council's possession, not only Dürer's apostle paintings and the two pictures of the Emperors moved from the Schopperhaus but also portraits of Dürer himself, his mother and his father; in addition there was a portrait of the town scribe Johannes Neudorfer by Nicolas Neufchatel. In 1996 a document was discovered in the Nuremberg archives showing that in 1555 the Nuremberg Council paid the sum of 50 florins 'Für Albrechten Durers seligen contrafect', a date that, perhaps significantly, coincides with the year in which Dürer's brother Endres died.¹⁷ It has been thought likely that this refers to the self-portrait dated 1500 now in the Alte Pinakothek Munich (http://www.pinakothek.de/alte-pinakothek/sammlung/kuenstler/kuenstler_inc.php?inc=bild&which=7571), though there is no means of confirming this connection and the possibility that the painting purchased was another self-portrait or a copy cannot be excluded. The history of the Munich painting is surprisingly obscure. It cannot be securely identified before 1805, although there are a number of references to self-portraits of Dürer in Nuremberg from 1555 up to 1801. The reason for the purchase of 1555 is also obscure, but the Town Council may well have wanted to preserve the image of its famous painter.

There are three surviving painted self-portraits by Dürer. As well as the famous Munich portrait of 1500, there is the portrait of 1493 now in the Louvre (http://www.louvre.fr/media/repository/ressources/sources/illustration/atlas/image_60564_v2_m56577569830637166) and the Prado portrait of 1498. It is very difficult to be certain which portrait early authors refer to. A second reference to a self-portrait in Nuremberg occurs slightly later than the reference to the purchase of 1555. The painter and writer Carel Van Mander had admired some works by Dürer in the Nuremberg Town Hall on a visit there in 1577, and recorded in his *Lives of the Painters* of 1604 that there was a portrait of Dürer's mother there and that: 'there is a small self-portrait also, in which he painted his face with long hair, hanging down.'¹⁸ A third reference occurs in 1611, when Hans Stark mentioned 'a small portrait of the famous painter AD that was in the upper room of the town hall' (*Starkische Chronik*, 1611).¹⁹ In yet another document of 1625 now in Berlin, a list of Dürer's works in Nuremberg, Hans Wilhelm Kress von Kressenstein referred to a portrait of the Emperor Maximilian in 'wasserfarben' of 1512 in the 'rathaus stub' (perhaps the same as the version now in Nuremberg), as well as a Dürer self-portrait of 1500. The interpretation of the document is difficult, but it may be taken to read that this portrait was given away in 1625.²⁰

No references are known to portraits of Dürer's father during his lifetime or during that of his son. The earliest references to a portrait of the elder Dürer occur in the inventories of the Nuremberg merchant Willibald Imhoff, in 1573/4, 1580 and 1588, together with a companion portrait of his wife, Dürer's mother. Imhoff had acquired the contents of the Dürer workshop in 1560 from the heir of Dürer's brother. The Imhoff portrait is usually believed to be identical with the signed portrait of 1490 showing the elder Dürer holding a rosary, now in the Uffizi, Florence. The portrait of his wife also mentioned in the inventory may be identical with the portrait now in Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, acquired in 1925, which has not generally been accepted as the work of Dürer.²¹ The portraits do however have matching reverses with dark, heavenly scenes, with additionally,

in the case of the portrait of Dürer's father, an heraldic design incorporating the arms of Dürer and his wife's family of Holper, an indication that they were paired at an early date; by 1628 the Imhoff portrait pair had been separated. In an Imhoff inventory of 1630 the portrait of Dürer's mother is said to be by Dürer's own hand, but an entry in the pocket book of Hans Hieronymus Imhoff (1633–58) for 1633 records that there were many who doubted the authorship. According to van Mander's record, as we have seen, there was in the Town Hall in 1577, at the same period as the Imhoff portrait is recorded, a second portrait of Dürer's mother, along with a self-portrait. These references suggest that more than one portrait of Dürer's father might have existed, and that such portraits might well have been paired with a portrait of a family member, the mother or the son. Indeed in the same document of 1625 in which a self-portrait and a portrait of Maximilian are mentioned in the Town Hall, the record by Hans Wilhelm Kress von Kressenstein, we also find the first reference to a portrait of Dürer's father in the same place, along with one of his son, described as 'zweyn Tafeln, in formb eines Altäleins, vf welchen seines Vattern vnd sein Albrecht Durers Prust Bild gestanden' – a diptych of father and son.²²

In 1627 it was necessary to reassure the city of Nuremberg, in the face of Maximilian of Bavaria's overwhelming desire to acquire the paintings of the four apostles from the town hall, that the town could give them up because there would still be there among the works owned by the Nuremberg city council portraits of Dürer and his father: 'einiger Durer'scher Kunstwerke z.B. des Bildnisses von Durer und dessen Vater'.²³ At this time the political situation in Nuremberg – in the middle of the Thirty Years war – was a difficult one.²⁴ Both the Emperor Rudolph and Maximilian of Bavaria were extremely eager to obtain works by Dürer, and the town felt under pressure to comply. Copies of the apostle paintings were made in 1627 by the Munich painter Georg Vischer and taken to Munich with the originals for Maximilian in the hope he would send the originals back to Nuremberg, but the hope was a vain one. The town had to be content with its remaining works. It is usually assumed that both the 1625 and the 1627 documents refer to the pictures given by the city to the Earl of Arundel in 1636 for Charles I, and that Charles I's picture of Dürer's father is that today in the National Gallery. The proximity of the dates make this plausible, but should one assume that, even just 100 years after Dürer's death, this guarantees that both portraits were painted by Dürer himself?

By this date the admiration for Dürer's work, particularly at the courts of Maximilian of Bavaria and the Emperor Rudolf II at Prague, had led not only to their acquisition of many original works by the artist, but also to the making of copies by artists such as Hans Hoffman and Daniel Froschl.²⁵ It is possible in fact by this period to distinguish a number of different types of copies of Dürer's work: copies made by the artist or under his supervision in his lifetime; the continuing use of Dürer's works as compositional patterns; the celebration of Dürer's work in partially copying and transforming it; the conscious copying of his works, of drawings as well as paintings, when originals could not be obtained, or where the originals were to be removed; the deceitful copying of his work, and, perhaps, instances where knowledge of the origins of the works had been lost, and it was uncertain whether originals or copies were being replicated.

Copies made knowingly may be supplemented by those made or sold deceitfully, and copies made after Dürer's lifetime may have mingled with those made earlier on, even, and perhaps especially, in Nuremberg. By the 17th century copies of Dürer's works were clearly being passed off as original works: Hans Hieronymus Imhoff, grandson of Willibald, noted in the 1630s: 'Thank God we were able to conclude a much better deal than we ever could have hoped for, as there was not a single piece of importance among the things we sold... It may well be doubted of many among them whether they were actually painted by Dürer.'²⁶ Into which of these categories does the National Gallery portrait of Dürer's father fall? Or could it be an original work by Dürer himself?

It has only relatively recently been realised how prevalent copying works was in working practice in early Northern Europe.²⁷ Modern views of the originality of a work of art, including the desire of museums to own 'the original', have made it difficult for us to regain this perspective. In Dürer's time and before, it was normal for workshops to have their own copies of the drawings and paintings of others – a practice which was then supplemented if not superseded by the advent of the print, and for them to make in many cases not one or two but multiple versions of painted compositions, particularly for example small devotional paintings but also larger paintings. Thus artists regularly absorbed the work of others within their own, and did not promote their own individuality by limiting the production of particular compositions. We know from legal disputes over contracts earlier in the century that patrons might take exception to work being sub-contracted to another artist rather than the one with whom the contract had been signed; how far this relates to quality and how far to style and authorship is impossible to quantify.²⁸ How far the master's hand was to be distinguished, and how far production might conspire to subdue it, is an interesting question for the 16th century. Cranach's production provides examples which seem to illustrate the latter; his monogram cannot be read as a sign of particular quality or of a distinguishable hand or style.

Dürer's monogram of course made his works instantly distinguishable and also made the monogram endlessly attractive to the unscrupulous. Prints were both works for connoisseurs and mass-produced patterns. How were Dürer's paintings seen? How important was the idea of individual authorship of works of art in Northern Europe in the latter part of the 16th century? By the early 17th century, Holbein was also an artist much in demand whose name was applied to prints not by him: the Earl of Arundel confessed a weakness for his works and the Lumley inventory compiled around 1590 for John Earl of Lumley includes a number of works said to be by him. One of its most interesting features is the list of paintings in which the compiler or a subsequent hand has had difficulty in distinguishing which paintings are by Holbein, and has struck through some of the list as these were 'not by Holbein'.²⁹ Whether this was the result of mistranscription or misattribution, a change of mind in viewing the original works, is hard to say. However, the parallel with the works being recorded in Nuremberg at much the same time as Dürer's – or not – is an interesting one.

On one occasion Dürer produced two versions of one of his own painted works: as Katie Lubber has shown, Dürer reworked his drawn image of the Emperor Maximilian to create the image

on canvas now in Nuremberg as well as the panel now in Vienna.³⁰ The Nuremberg painting has been hard for art historians to categorise because of its technique as well as the existence of two versions. But Dürer does not appear normally to have produced multiple versions of his own work. Like other artists of his time, he ran a workshop with assistants, several of them identifiable today as artists who also worked independently, but some of whom produced work based on designs by Dürer himself.³¹ The 'Madonna of the Iris', another problem picture in the National Gallery, is probably just such a picture.³²

As we have seen, the Town Council owned two pairs of works on panel by Dürer before his death in 1528, the *Emperors* and the *Apostles*, and also commissioned him to carry out decorative paintings. Dürer received payment for these works, but it is worth noting there is no evidence that the Council was exercised about distinguishing works from Dürer's own hand from that of Dürer's workshop, although Netherlandish contracts of the period are known to have demanded the master's participation, and in 1508 Dürer assured Jacob Heller, concerned for news of progress on his now lost altarpiece of the assumption, that 'noone shall paint a stroke of it except myself'.³³ In Dürer's lifetime, therefore, what passed as Dürer's work as far as the Town authorities were concerned, might have been executed under his supervision rather than painted in every stroke by his own hand.

Many Dürer scholars have doubted whether the National Gallery portrait could be Dürer's original, among them Campbell Dodgson, Panofsky, Friedlander, Buchner and Levey.³⁴ Others have argued in favour of the attribution to Dürer, including Winkler and Anzelewsky.³⁵ These arguments have usually accounted for the uncharacteristic inscription and background colour as well as sometimes the cruder appearance of the lower part of the face, by assuming the portrait has been added to and altered. In 1956 the painting was cleaned, after which the pink colour of the background became obvious; earlier commentators who had seen the picture saw a painting covered in a 'brownish glaze'.³⁶ Understanding of the condition and technical evidence presented by the portrait is crucial to arguments concerning the attribution.

The panel of the National Gallery portrait is limewood, and unfortunately cannot be dated by dendrochronology or by carbon-dating.³⁷ The portrait is covered in broad disfiguring drying cracks visible in the X-rays (Pl. 3) (although much is now

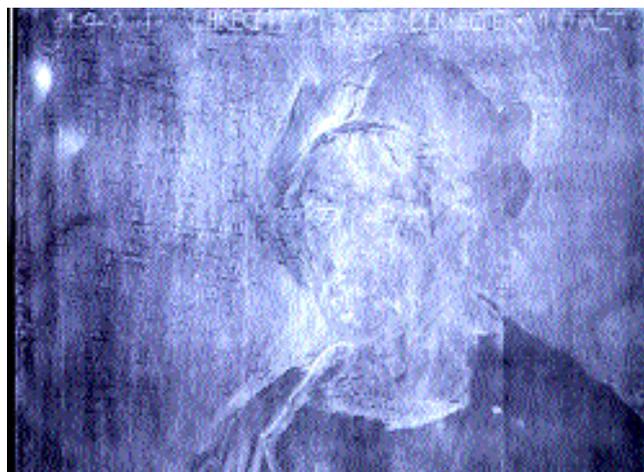


Plate 3 X-radiograph of the upper part of NG 1938



Plate 4 Ultramarine inscription on NG 1938

covered by modern retouching). These cracks run over most of the painting, especially over the background and coat of the sitter. The face is relatively unaffected by such cracking, and this as well as an apparent qualitative disparity between head and body has led to suggestions that the portrait's head alone might be by Dürer. However, close examination has not shown any evidence which would confirm separate campaigns of painting for the head and body. On the contrary, there can be no doubt that the head, body and background are part of a single campaign of painting. The streaky pinkish-red background is somewhat faded; the pigment used is madder, and the fading has made the streaks more prominent.³⁸ The somewhat crudely formed inscription is painted in blue, using ultramarine made from lapis lazuli (Pl. 4); there is no evidence, as has been suggested, that either the inscription alone or the background to the figure were repainted following early damage to the picture.³⁹

The suggestions that the painting was executed by two painters at differing times, and that the painting has suffered damage, were put forward to provide explanations for the incongruities and disparities seen in this painting in comparison with other works by Dürer. Background cracks of the type visible in the National Gallery picture are not seen in other works by Dürer, whose technique generally produced a flawlessly smooth painted surface. Nor are reddish-pink backgrounds, other than in the portrait of Bernard van Reesen in Dresden (http://bildarchiv.skd-dresden.de/skddb/SearchResult_Details_View.jsp?recordView=SearchResult_DetailsView&page=3). Madder is a vegetable pigment that is known to have been available and in use in the 16th and 17th centuries.⁴⁰ Ultramarine inscriptions are not found elsewhere in Dürer's work, though he is known to have used ultramarine in a number of works.

Limewood panels were used for many of Dürer's works, but were also commonly used by other painters of the period and region.

Infrared reflectography reveals very little underdrawing in the National Gallery painting, but there has been some alteration to the line of the right shoulder (Pl. 5). This is in clear contrast to other paintings of this period, above all the Munich self-portrait where there is, exceptionally, an extremely detailed underdrawing, but also the portrait of Oswald Krel, where there is less but still evident underdrawing.⁴¹ In the Prado self-portrait several areas of the painting have revealed impressions of palm prints, consistent with other paintings by Dürer, for instance the Munich Glim Lamentation.⁴² NG 1938 has no such palm or finger prints.

There are other differences which can be discerned in the manner in which the National Gallery picture is painted, in comparison to other paintings indubitably by Dürer himself. The X-radiograph (Pl. 3) that shows the cracking so clearly also shows up a method of the application of paint which clearly differs from works such as the Prado self-portrait of 1498 or the portrait of Oswald Krel of 1499, both works which should be close in date and are superficially similar in format. They both



Plate 5 Infrared reflectogram of head and shoulders of NG 1938

show clearly a system of hatching in a graphic manner using lead white, whereas Dürer's father shows no such clarity in the manner in which it was painted. Whereas the Krel portrait, the Prado portrait and other works of the period by Dürer are carefully built up over dry layers of paint, the portrait of Dürer's father was evidently painted quickly, largely in a single layer, possibly accounting for the extensive drying cracks. The Prado self-portrait by contrast shows only a network of a very fine craquelure, and the modelling of the face is much smoother. In the portrait of Dürer's father there is some rather crude brown hatching along the edges of the sleeves of the brown robe, very unlike the much more subtle ways in which Dürer hatches with paint.

The painting of the face of the National Gallery portrait is thin and the modelling is carried out by means of many small hatching strokes. The irises of the eyes in particular are painted with thick brown strokes in a concentric fashion which gives little sense of the radial construction of the iris, or of the eyeball itself (Pl. 6). There is no sense of the thickness of the inner eyelids, and the construction of the flesh around the eyeball is drawn in minimal fashion. Levey referred to 'the scratchy technique of the eyes'.⁴³ This seems to describe the way in which paint is pushed around by the brush acting more like the nib of a pen. Although Dürer used this technique occasionally, it is never



Plate 6 Detail of left eye of NG 1938

dominant as in the National Gallery portrait. The system of describing the pupil and iris as well as the catchlights on the left-hand eye lacks coherence, and the extensive, well-formed white catchlights on the eyeballs of Oswald Krel or the Prado self-portrait.

The Prado self-portrait, evidently once in Charles I's collection along with the portrait of Dürer's father likely to be identical with NG 1938, looks quite different, although allowance must be made for the fact that this is a depiction of a young and not an old man. The depiction of the eyes shows a clearly defined inner lid, and a system of highlighting and painting the radiations of the iris that appears much more logical and refined than in the National Gallery picture. As Levey noted, there seems very little closeness between the National Gallery portrait and other portraits of the period such as the portrait of Oswald Krel or Dürer's famous self-portrait of 1500. In both pictures the detailed description of the eyes in particular echoes the manner in which the eyes of the Prado painting are created, and not that of the National Gallery picture, which lacks the characteristic catchlights seen even in the 1490 portrait of Dürer's father.⁴⁴ The painting of the hair can be contrasted with the painting of the hair and beard of the Munich self-portrait, though some allowance must be made for slight disparities in scale. The National Gallery picture is therefore likely to be a copy made after a lost original by Dürer, perhaps in the second half of the 16th century; the uncharacteristic form of the inscription makes it seem unlikely that it could have been made in Dürer's lifetime under his supervision.

The National Gallery portrait appears to be one of a number of copies after a lost original: these include a painting at Frankfurt on a brownish background, the image of which matches exactly the National Gallery one when a tracing was placed over it, a painting in the Bavarian state collection which has an inscription '1497/Das malt ich nachmeines vatters gestalt/Da Er war sibenzich Jar alt/Albrecht Durer Der elter' which closely parallels that of the Prado self-portrait, and a painting at Syon House.⁴⁵ The copy at Syon House is probably that commissioned by the Earl of Arundel from Richard Greenbury. Copies of portraits of Dürer and his father received by King Charles I were made by Richard Greenbury (d. 1670?) on the orders of the Earl of Arundel, apparently soon after their arrival in England. According to the record of the originals in store, these copies were to be sent to Nuremberg in recompense for the original gift; but a note made by Abraham van der Doort, responsible for the royal picture collections, states that they were instead bought by the King.⁴⁶

NG 1938 may be the painting represented in an engraving by Hollar (Pl. 7) dated 1644, although it is possible that the engraving was made after the Greenbury copy, as the National Gallery picture is not known to have entered Arundel's possession. A second engraving by Hollar shows an image similar to the Prado self-portrait and bears the designation 'Ex Collectione Arundeliana' (Pl. 8). There is no record of a portrait of Dürer's father in the 1655 Arundel inventory, though a portrait of Dürer himself is listed there which is unlikely to be the Prado picture.⁴⁷ It is possible that Arundel obtained one or both of the Greenbury copies, or alternatively that he commissioned other copies; if this was not the case the indication of his ownership must be a mistake. The engraving of the portrait of Dürer's father could possibly have been made

after NG 1938. Its inscription gives VIID instead of VND, a misunderstanding that could derive from the weak cross stroke of the N in the NG 1938.⁴⁸ However, it could derive from copying the Greenbury copy, significantly the inscription on the copy of the portrait of Dürer's father now at Syon House in the collection of the Earls of Northumberland also has VIID for VND. This is a misunderstanding of the German, indicative of an English origin, that, arguably, Hollar was less likely to have made if he was working from the original inscription on NG 1938. The evidence provided by the Hollar engravings and by the Syon portrait do not contradict the possibility that the National Gallery picture is the painting owned by Charles I, but they do not provide certain proof.

The two portraits recorded in the royal collection in 1639 are presumably those listed in the Charles I sale in 1650. In 1653, when much of the collection had been dispersed the two portraits were seen 'at Mr Knightleyes' by Richard Symonds.⁵⁰ Dürer's self-portrait was subsequently acquired by the Spanish ambassador, as mentioned above. The Spanish royal inventories from as early as the 1666 Alcazar inventory list paintings by Dürer including one of a 'philosopher', and a note against this reference refers to 'Padre de Durero?'; however this may refer to a portrait of an unknown man now in the Prado rather than the National Gallery painting.⁵¹ If the upper label on the back, written in English, is in a hand dating from the period between the Restoration and c.1855, (Michael Levey in his 1959 National Gallery catalogue described it as an '18th century?' hand) then either the painting went to Spain with the self-portrait but left again, or the tentative inventory reference to a painting of Dürer's father must be to another painting. In favour of the possibility that NG 1938 was once in Spain is the fact that the number inscribed on the lower right (208) is similar to the red inventory number (372) on the lower left of the self-portrait by Dürer dated 1498 now in the Prado, and to other inventory numbers painted on pictures now in the Prado and formerly in the Spanish royal collections.

NG 1938 was owned by Louisa Mackenzie, Lady Ashburton (1827–1903). It is not mentioned in her will.⁵² Lady Ashburton and her husband, William Baring, 2nd Lord Ashburton (1799–1864), whom she married as his second wife in 1858, had a large collection of Old Master paintings, many of which – but not NG 1938 – were shown at the Royal Academy in 1871. Some of these paintings were inherited from Alexander, 1st Lord Ashburton (1774–1848).⁵³ However, a small group of paintings appears to have entered the Ashburton family collections in the mid-19th century following an advance of £170,000 to the Spanish government by Barings bank, and negotiations carried out by Thomas Baring (1799–1873). Thomas Baring was a collector of paintings and he may have been responsible for the acquisition of at least three paintings which were in the family collections in the late 19th century and which were associated by family tradition with a 'gift from the King of Spain' in about 1855 of paintings from the Escorial. These included Zurbaran's Saint Margaret in the National Gallery, Mor's portrait of Mary Tudor and a portrait of Charles V by Jakob Seisenegger and his workshop, the latter two today at Castle Ashby.⁵⁴ These paintings display similar painted inventory numbers, eg. Charles V has a 909, but these have not so far been related to any Spanish inventories.

It would be satisfying to be able to conclude with certainty

- 24 *Albrecht Dürer*, Munich 1999, p. 542; for Maximilian's attitude towards Dürer's gift, p. 548, for the appendix reproducing the contemporary correspondence in full, pp. 551–9.
- 25 On the copies see G. Goldberg, 'Zur Ausprägung der Dürer-Renaissance in München', *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* xxxi, 1980, pp. 129–175; *Albrecht Dürer* Munich 1999, pp. 560–5; G. Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy*, exhibition catalogue, British Museum, London, 2002, pp. 266–75.
- 26 Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy*, 2002, p. 266.
- 27 See for a recent discussion P. van den Brink, 'The Art of Copying', in *Bruegel Enterprises*, ed. P. van den Brink, exhibition catalogue, Maastricht and Brussels 2002, pp. 12–43.
- 28 See L. Campbell, 'The Art Market in the Southern Netherlands', *Burlington Magazine* cxviii, 1976, pp. 188–98.
- 29 S. Foister 'My foolish curiosity': Holbein in the Collection of the Earl of Arundel', *Apollo*, August 1996, pp. 51–6; L. Cust ed., 'The Lumley Inventories', *The Walpole Society* vi, 1917–18, pp. 15–50, p. 24.
- 30 K. Crawford Luber, 'Albrecht Dürer's Maximilian Portraits: An Investigation of Versions', *Master Drawings* 29, 1, 1999, pp. 30–47.
- 31 See *Meister um Dürer*, exhibition catalogue, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, 1961, especially P. Strieder, 'Dürer-Werkstatt und Dürer-Schule', pp. 11–33.
- 32 See P. Ackroyd, S. Foister *et al.*, 'A Virgin and Child from Dürer's Workshop?', *National Gallery Technical Bulletin*, 21, 2000, pp. 28–42; S. Foister, *Albrecht Dürer and the Virgin with the Iris*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery, London 2004.
- 33 J. Campbell Hutchison, *Albrecht Dürer. A Biography*, Princeton 1990, p. 100.
- 34 See Levey 1959, p. 27, for a summary of doubts, also his review of the 1971 Nuremberg exhibition, *Burlington Magazine* 113, 1971, pp. 484–8, p. 487.
- 35 F. Winkler, *Albrecht Dürer. Leben und Werk*, Berlin 1957, p. 78, Anzelewsky *Albrecht Dürer. Das Malerische Werk*, Berlin 1971, rev. ed. 1991, pp. 151–4
- 36 Levey 1959, p. 30, note 14.
- 37 It is not possible to date limewood panels using dendrochronology; radiocarbon dating of a sample from the National Gallery panel carried out at the University of Oxford showed only that the panel dated from within the period 1480–1650.
- 38 The madder was identified by Jo Kirby of the National Gallery Scientific Department.
- 39 As argued by Anzelewsky 1971 rev. 1991, p. 15. The ultramarine inscription was sampled by Joyce Plesters in 1956 and was identified by its appearance under the microscope; Marika Spring has re-examined the sample and confirms that it is ultramarine.
- 40 I am grateful to Jo Kirby for information regarding the use of madder.
- 41 *Albrecht Dürer*, Munich 1999, pp. 240, 250, described p. 237; compare also the X-radiograph reproduced on p. 239.
- 42 C. Garrido, 'Albert Dürer: Deux manières différentes de travail', in eds. R. Van Schoute and H. Verougstraete with A. Dubois, *Le Dessin sous-jacent et la technologie dans la peinture*, colloque XI, 14–17 septembre 1995, Louvain-la-neuve 1997, pp. 61–6, pp. 63–4; *Albrecht Dürer* Munich 1999 p. 262. I am extremely grateful to Carmen Garrido for facilitating a close examination of the Prado self-portrait and for sharing technical information with me.
- 43 Levey 1959, p. 28.
- 44 For Dürer's depictions of eyes see J. Bialostocki, 'The eye and the window, Realism and Symbolism of Light-Reflections in the Art of Albrecht Dürer and his Predecessors', *Festschrift für Gert von der Osten*, Cologne, 1968, pp. 150–76; also compare details reproduced throughout *Albrecht Dürer*, Munich 1999.
- 45 I am grateful to Bodo Brinkman for facilitating the examination of the Frankfurt painting, to the Duke of Northumberland for allowing the examination of the Syon painting, and to my colleague Rachel Billinge of the National Gallery Conservation Department for assisting with its examination.
- 46 Levey 1959 p. 31, notes 20 and 21: Ms. Ashmole 1514, fol. 161 with a note by Van der Doort stating they were to be sent to Nuremberg in recompense for the portraits given and no record in Nuremberg of receiving copies. Levey 1959, p. 31, note 22 suggests a copy of the self-portrait was acquired by the Earl of Arundel and recorded by Hollar (a self-portrait of Dürer is listed in the 1655 Arundel inventory, but no father) and that a copy of the portrait of the father was acquired by the Earl of Northumberland.
- 47 For the Prado portrait after the sale of Charles I see note 6 above and 52 below.
- 48 As Levey notes, note 18.
- 49 See note 6 above.
- 50 See note 5 above.
- 51 A copy of the 1666 Alcazar inventory is in the National Gallery Archives. See Haskell 1996 cited in note 6 above.
- 52 The will of Louisa Lady Ashburton in the Public Record Office, London, made on 24 November 1902 and proved 1 July 1903 mentions only a handful of pictures of sentimental value, a picture of a child with a dog by 'Paul Veronese' left to her grand-daughter Lady Margaret Compton and family portraits by Watts, Landseer and Lawrence, as well as two pieces of sculpture. Her grandson later remarked that she had no collection of her own, but she was a patron of Watts and other Victorian artists. On Lady Ashburton see Surtees 1984, cited in note 8 above.
- 53 Some of his pictures came from the collection of Talleyrand, but there are no pictures that could be identical with NG 1938. His collection was viewed by Waagen: *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 3 vols, London 1854, II, pp. 97–101.
- 54 The precise circumstances of the acquisition of the paintings are unclear: see the letter of 13 April 1951 from the Marquess of Northampton (in the Gallery dossier for NG St Margaret by Zurbaran), who thought Lord Ashburton might have made a personal loan to the King. He refers to three pictures acquired at the time, two mentioned as Queen Mary Tudor and Charles V, the third presumably the Zurbaran. Baring's bank made a loan of £170,000 to the Spanish government in 1848 at the time of negotiating a contract relating to mercury production. See P.G. Matthews, 'Jakob Seisenegger's portraits of Charles V, 1530–32', *BM cxlii*, February 2001, pp. 86–9, citing P. Ziegler, *The Sixth Great Power. Barings, 1762–1929*, London, 1988, pp. 139–40, 168–70 and V. Surtees, *The Ludovisi Goddess: the Life of Louisa, Lady Ashburton*, Wilton, 1984, p. 106.