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12-12

CHARLES I: KING AND COLLECTOR

DR. LAURENCE SHAFE WWW.SHAFE.UK

Anthony van Dyck, Sir George Villiers and Lady Katharine Manners as *Adonis and Venus*, 1620-21

This is in Section 12 on Tudor and Stuart art and it was inspired by an exhibition at the Royal Academy called 'Charles I: King and Collector'. I cover the development of collecting in Britain, the King's collection and its subsequent sale after his execution.

EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY, 'CHARLES I: KING AND COLLECTOR'

Note that this talk is inspired by the exhibition but is not intended as a guide to the exhibition and it doesn't cover all the same works and topics. For reference the exhibition was divided between the following rooms at the Royal Academy:

- Room 1: Artists and Agents, Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I in Three Positions*, 1635-36, The Royal Collection
- Room 2 Madrid and Mantua, Aphrodite ('The Crouching Venus'). Roman, second century AD, The Royal Collection
- Room 3: The Triumph of Caesar, Andrea Mantegna, *The Triumph of Caesar*, c. 1485-1506, The Royal Collection
- Room 4: The Northern Renaissance, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Three Soldiers*, 1568, The Frick Collection, New York
- Room 5: The Italian Renaissance, Titian, *The Supper at Emmaus*, c. 1534, Musée du Louvre, Paris
- Room 6: The Royal Portrait, Anthony van Dyck, *The Greate Peece*, 1632, The Royal Collection and *Henrietta Maria with Sir Jeffrey Hudson*, 1635, National Gallery of Art, Washington
- Central Hall: Charles I in the Hunting Field, Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I in the Hunting Field*, c. 1636, Musée du Louvre, Paris

- Room 7: The Italian Renaissance, Jacopo Tintoretto, *Esther before Ahasuerus, c.* 1546-47, The Royal Collection
- Room 8: The Queen's House
- Lecture Room: The Mortlake Tapestries, Mortlake workshop after Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes*, c.1636-37, Mobilier national, Paris
- Room 9: The Whitehall Cabinet, Hans Holbein the Younger, *Anne Cresacre, c.* 1526-27, The Royal Collection
- Room 10: Van Dyck and Rubens in England, Anthony van Dyck, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1639-40, The Royal Collection

NOTES

- **Royalty**
    - **James I** (1566-1625), married to **Anne of Denmark** (1574-1619) who started the royal art collection.
    - **Charles I** (1600-1649), French wife Queen **Henrietta Maria** of France (1609-1669, queen consort 1625-1649), Charles tried to emulate the achievements of Prince Henry (1594-1612) but never quite achieved it. He collected across Europe from the Low Countries, to Spain and then Italy.
- **Artists**
    - William Larkin, portrait of George Villiers.
    - Inigo Jones, in 1619 the Banqueting House burned down and Inigo Jones designed a new one which was completed by 1623.
    - Rubens. Important works:
        - Charles bought Rubens self-portrait.
        - Rubens painted Aletheia Talbot's portrait.
        - Rubens *Landscape with St. George and Dragon,* representing Charles and possibly Henrietta Maria.
        - Rubens painted *Allegory of Peace and War*
        - Rubens discussed the Banqueting House with Inigo Jones in 1630 when it had already been built for 8 years. There was a lack of money. Before returning Charles gave him a £500 diamond, a jewelled sword and knighted him. The ceiling paintings were installed in 1635, *The Benefits of the Reign of James I, The Apotheosis of James I, The Union of the Two*

Crowns. They were the first example of English baroque.

- Van Dyck (1599-1641) visited in 1620 briefly and Arundel and others negotiated for his return in 1630. He painted *Rinaldo and Armida* (1629, Baltimore Museum of Art) which impressed the court. But in 1632 there was an argument between Van Dyck and Gerbeir who was given the task to bring him to England. Eventually Van Dyck arrived in 1632 and was treated and paid well and also knighted. In 1631 the Earl of Bedford bought Covent garden, Inigo Jones had added a classical portico to St. Pauls, the Strand was being improved. There were many artists in London by 1632.
    - Compare Mytens *Charles and Henrietta Maria* with Van Dyck's to see Van Dyck's strengths.
    - *King Charles and Queen Henrietta with their Children*, 'The Great Piece', Van Dyck brought domestic intimacy for the first time and created a 'normal' family. It cost £100 and was placed at the end of the Long Gallery at Whitehall. It was so successful it enabled Van Dyck to double his rates, a full length portrait increased from £25 to £50.
    - *King Charles I with M. Antoine*, By 1633 Charles rule seemed unassailable. The painting was placed at the end of gallery in St. James's Palace to demonstrate Charles's control and power.
- In 1629, Charles purchased a Rembrandt through Robert Kerr, but he never appreciated or valued Rembrandt or Caravaggio.
- The two biggest purchases by Charles were Mantegna, *Triumph of Caesar* and the Raphael cartoons of the *Acts of the Apostles* which were made into tapestries at Mortlake.

A Brief History of the Period

- 1600 **Birth of Charles**, second son and youngest surviving child of James VI of Scotland and Anne of Denmark, at Dunfermline Palace, Fife.
- 1603 **Death of Elizabeth I**; James VI of Scotland succeeds her as **James I** of Great Britain. Union of Scottish and English Crowns.
- 1605 Charles becomes Duke of York. **Gunpowder Plot** to assassinate James I fails.
- 1611 Charles becomes a Knight of the Garter. Completion of the **King**

James Bible.

- 1612 **Death** of Charles's older brother **Henry, Prince of Wales**, at the age of eighteen; Charles becomes heir apparent.
- 1613 Elizabeth Stuart, Charles's sister, leaves England to marry Frederick V, Prince Palatine of the Rhine. **Thomas Howard,** 14th Earl of Arundel, his wife, Aletheia Howard, Countess of Arundel, and **Inigo Jones** travel to **Europe** (until 1614).
- 1615 Inigo Jones is appointed Surveyor of the King's Works.
- 1616 Charles becomes Prince of Wales. **Death of William Shakespeare**.
- 1618 Daniel **Mytens** arrives in London.
- 1619 **Death** of Charles's mother, **Anne of Denmark.** The Old Banqueting House at Whitehall Palace is destroyed by fire; **Inigo Jones** is commissioned to design a **new Banqueting House**. James I establishes a tapestry works at **Mortlake**.
- 1620 Anthony **van Dyck** visits London for the first time; he stays for five months.
- 1621 Charles attends his first parliament. Death of Philip III of Spain; he is succeeded by Philip IV.
- 1623 **Charles travels to Madrid** with **George Villiers**, 1st Duke of Buckingham, to explore the possibility of marriage to the Infanta Maria Anna of Spain; negotiations eventually break down. Sir Francis Crane purchases seven of Raphael's cartoons of the Acts of the Apostles from Genoa for use at Mortlake. Death of Pope Gregory XV; Maffeo Barberini succeeds him as Pope Urban VIII.
- 1625 **Death of James I**; he is succeeded by **Charles I**, who marries fifteen-year-old **Henrietta Maria**, daughter of Henri IV of France and Marie de' Medici. Abraham van der Doort is appointed Surveyor of the King's Pictures. Hubert Le Sueur arrives in London. War breaks out between the Crowns of England and Spain. Plague in London.
- 1625 Coronation of Charles I at Westminster Abbey. Orazio Gentileschi arrives in London at the age of 63. **Death of Ferdinando I Gonzaga**, Duke of Mantua; he is succeeded by Vincenzo II Gonzaga.
- 1627 Alliance between the Crowns of France and Spain against the Crown of England; English forces, led by the **Duke of Buckingham, are defeated** by the French at La Rochelle. **Daniel Nijs** completes the first purchase of

pictures from the **Gonzaga** on behalf of Charles I.

- 1628 The **Duke of Buckingham is assassinated** at Portsmouth. The first shipment of the Gonzaga purchase leaves for London. Gerrit van Honthorst visits London. Charles I dissolves Parliament and begins an eleven-year 'Personal Rule'. **Peter Paul Rubens** visits London as a diplomat to the Spanish court; it is decided he is to decorate the **ceiling of the Banqueting House**. Peace is agreed between the Crowns of England and France.
- 1630 **Birth** of Prince Charles, the **future Charles II**. The second shipment of the Gonzaga purchase, including **Andrea Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*** arrives in London. Rubens is knighted by Charles I at Whitehall Palace before his return to Antwerp. **Equestrian statue** of Charles I commissioned from Le Sueur. Peace is agreed between the Crowns of England and Spain.
- 1632 **Van Dyck arrives** in London; he is appointed Court Painter and knighted by Charles I at St James's Palace; he paints the *Greate Peece*. The third and final shipment of the Gonzaga purchase arrives in London.
- 1633 Scottish Coronation of Charles I at St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. **Birth of Prince James**, the future James II and VII.
- 1634 Van Dyck visits the Southern Netherlands (until 1635). Mytens leaves London. Gregorio Panzani, papal envoy to England, arrives in London.
- 1636 **Rubens's ceiling canvases** are reported as safely installed in the Banqueting House. **Van Dyck's triple portrait** of Charles I is sent to Gianlorenzo **Bernini** in Rome. **The Queen's Chapel**, designed by Jones, opens at Somerset House. Completion of the **Queen's House at Greenwich**. Cardinal Francesco Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII, sends a gift of paintings to Henrietta Maria from Rome, to give to the King.
- 1637 **Bernini's bust** of Charles I arrives at Oatlands Palace, Surrey. Charles I enforces a new prayer book on Scotland; rebellion in Edinburgh.
- 1639 First Bishops' War between England and Scotland. Van der Doort compiles an **inventory of the royal collection**. Van Dyck marries Mary Ruthven. Death of Gentileschi.
- 1640 Second Bishops' War. Charles I summons 'Short Parliament' for money to fight the Scots; it is dissolved three weeks later. Charles I summons 'Long Parliament', which lasts until 1650. Death of Van der Doort. Death of Rubens in Antwerp.
- 1641 **Death of Van Dyck**; he is buried in Old St Paul's Cathedral. Catholic

Rebellion in Ireland. Le Sueur leaves London.

- 1642 Charles I attempts to arrest five Members of Parliament and fails. **Civil War begins** in England.
- 1643 Charles I moves his court and military headquarters to **Oxford**. Parliamentarians and Scots form an alliance. Henrietta Maria is impeached for high treason.
- 1644 Parliamentarians, led by Oliver Cromwell, defeat Royalists at the Battle of Marston Moor, Yorkshire. **Henrietta Maria flees England for France**.
- 1645 Parliament establishes a 'New Model Army'; the Royalists are defeated at the Battle of Naseby, Northamptonshire.
- 1646 Charles I surrenders to the Scots.
- 1647 Charles I is handed over to the Parliamentarians. He escapes imprisonment at Hampton Court and flees to the Isle of Wight, where he is recaptured. Charles I signs a secret treaty with the Scots following the collapse of Scottish—Parliamentarian relations.
- 1648 Second Civil War; Parliamentarians defeat Scottish—Royalist army.
- 1649 **Charles I** is tried by Parliament and found guilty of high treason; he is **beheaded** in front of the Banqueting House, Whitehall Palace. Great Britain becomes a republic. The **Commonwealth Sale of** the royal collection begins at Somerset House.
- 1660 **Charles II returns** from exile and is restored to the throne.
- 1669 **Death of Henrietta Maria** at the Château de Colombes, near Paris.

REFERENCES

Notes and page numbers are Jerry Brotton's excellent book, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*.

Fold-out engraving from Ferrante Imperato's *Dell'Historia Naturale* (Naples 1599)

Fold-out engraving from Ferrante Imperato's *Dell'Historia Naturale* (Naples 1599), the earliest illustration of a natural history cabinet

- How did collecting begin?
- A select number of Italian families, the **Farnese, the Medici, the Gonzaga and the Borghese** created **galleries of art in the late 1400s** for reasons of **splendour and magnificence**.
- In Northern Europe in the late 1500s it started with an interest in creating a cabinet or room of curiosities illustrating natural history, geology, ethnography, archaeology, religious and other relics and works of art. These rooms were also known as Wunderkammer or Kunstkammer.
- The most famous Kunstkammer was that of the Holy Roman Emperor, Rudolf II (1576-1612). It contained sculptures and paintings, 'curious items from home and abroad' and 'antlers, horns, feathers and other things belonging to strange and curious animals'.
- By 1600 the pre-eminence of classical statues was assured but it was not until **after 1600 that the esteem of paintings started to grow**. However, **even during the 1600s paintings were not valued as highly as tapestries and plate and jewels**.
- The 'Wunderkammer' ('Cabinet of Curiosities', literally 'room of wonders') slowly went out of fashion and collecting paintings became the pursuit of the sophisticated monarch and aristocrat.

NOTES

- A select number of Italian families, the **Farnese, the Medici, the Gonzaga and the Borghese** created **galleries of art in the late 1400s** for reasons of **splendour and magnificence**.
- In Northern Europe, by 1600 the pre-eminence of classical statues was assured but it was not until **after 1600 that the esteem of paintings started to grow**. However, **even during the 1600s paintings were not valued as highly as tapestries and plate and jewels**. In France, Cardinal Mazarin's paintings were valued at 224,873 livre but his jewels and goldsmith work at 417,945 livres and eighteen large diamonds alone at 1,931,000 livres. By **1600** there were **large art collections** held by the **various Italian families, the Spanish royal family, the French royal family, and by the Hapsburgs**. The Dutch and Flemish did not collect art until later in the 1600s. The **English were also late** and **Arundel** was the first major collector and **Charles I** was the first English monarch to collect art seriously as a connoisseur.
- In seventeenth-century parlance, both French and English, a *cabinet* came to signify a collection of works of art, which might still also include an assembly objects of virtù or curiosities, such as a virtuoso would find intellectually stimulating. The word *cabinet* originally referred to one or more rooms containing the collection but later it meant a cabinet with sections, drawers or pigeon holes for the items.
- Art was created for religious purposes and wealthy individuals would have religious art. Tapestries and gold plate were also collected to demonstrate wealth and power.

David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), *Archduke Leopold William in His Gallery*, c. 1647, Prado, Madrid

David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), *Archduke Leopold William in His Gallery*, c. 1647, Prado, Madrid

- This is a typical Northern European seventeenth-century art collection. This one belongs to **Archduke Leopold Wilhelm Habsburg, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands** from 1646 to 1656.
- In 1647 **David Teniers became court painter to the Archduke** and keeper of his collection of painting and sculpture. He painted several of these gallery portraits of the collection.
- The Archduke is shown **wearing a tall hat** conducting visitors round his collection. It was mostly Venetian and **almost half of the paintings were by Titian**. Other Venetians represented in the painting are Giorgione, Antonello da Messina, Palma Vecchio, Tintoretto, Bassano and Veronese; also there are Mabuse, Holbein, Bernardo Strozzi, Guido Reni and Rubens. The sculpture supporting the table, representing Ganymede, is a bronze by Duquesnoy the Younger. Teniers himself is represented as the figure on the far left.
- Collecting paintings required **connoisseurship** as there were so many copies, forgeries and works by mediocre artists. Connoisseurship enabled art to be appreciated based on formal properties such as brushwork, style and composition as distinct from content. This meant the sophisticated Protestants collector could appreciate Catholic art without needing to believe what was represented. By 1626, the artist's reputation had become the most important aspect of collecting in England and prices for 'big name' artists increased.

NOTES

- Paintings shown in the picture include:
    - Top centre, **Titian, *Diana and Callisto***, 1556-9, National Gallery London/Scotland. *Diana and Callisto* and *Diana and Actaeon* were painted for King Philip II of Spain between 1556 and 1559 and belong to a group of large-scale mythologies inspired by the Roman poet Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' – Titian himself referred to them as 'poesie', the visual equivalent of poetry. At the same time, Titian began another painting associated with this pair, *The Death of Actaeon*, also in the National Gallery. For some reason, Titian never sent this painting to the king and it remained in his studio unfinished at his death.
    - Bottom right, fourth from right, Titian, *Woman with a Mirror*, 1512-5, Louvre.
    - Top right, **Titian, *Danae*. Now known to be studio of Titian**.
    - Top left, **Titian, *Nymph and Shepherd***, 1575-6, 149.6 x 187 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, a late painting, roughly painted and not commissioned. The nude's pose is borrowed from Campagnola's *Reclining Nude* of 1513.
- European art was originally produced for religious reasons and patrons did not own the art but were funding it for a particular religious organisation.
- The **Italian Renaissance** was associated with an interest in the **antique and collecting antiquities**. Plutarch assembled a library and antique coins in the late 14th century.
- Rulers created a room for their collections, such as the one created by Isabella d'Este, wife of Francesco Gonzaga III, at the ducal palace in Mantua. Decorated by Andrea Mantegna it showed off her **collection of jewellery, antique cameos and sculptures**.
- Collecting painting for aesthetic and secular purposes started in Italy in the 1400s but an art market, as such, required collectors, the production of moveable works of art that could be owned and a mechanism for selling the works, either by the artists or through intermediaries.

- **Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria** (1614-1662) was an Austrian military commander and patron of the arts. From 1647 he employed David Teniers as a painter and as keeper of his collection at the Coudenberg

Palace. He spent enormous sums on acquiring paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists as well as Italian masters. During the Commonwealth Sale he commissioned the British painter John Michael Wright to travel to Cromwell's England, and acquire art and artefacts. He bought paintings owned by Charles I and by the Duke of Buckingham and when Leopold returned to Austria he moved the collection to Vienna and they are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum. This painting is now in the Prado as it was presented to Philip IV of Spain by Archduke Leopold Wilhelm before 1653. Paintings were perfect gifts between monarchs as they were not exorbitantly expensive and demonstrated erudition and discernment.

- It has been suggested that **Velázquez borrowed** the device of the half-open door at the back of this picture for his Las Meninas; at least Las Meninas can be understood as a similar picture, designed to illustrate the enlightened patronage of the patron and the corresponding pride of the court artist.
- **Callisto** was the favourite of Diana, virgin goddess of the hunt. Her beauty aroused the attention of Jupiter, king of the gods, who seduced her by disguising himself as Diana. Nine months later Callisto's pregnancy was discovered when she was forced by her suspicious companions to strip and bathe after hunting. Titian chose to paint the moment of her humiliating exposure and banishment from Diana's chaste entourage.

References

Web Gallery of Art

Titian, *Woman in a Fur Wrap*, 1535, 95 x 63 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), *Charles I (1600-1649) with M. de St Antoine,* 1633, 370 x 270 cm, Royal Collection

Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*, 1603, Prado,

Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), *Charles I (1600-1649) with M. de St Antoine,* 1633, 370 x 270 cm, Royal Collection

Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640), *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*, 1603, Prado, Madrid

Titian, *Woman in a Fur Wrap*, 1535, 95 x 63 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum

- In England Charles I was the biggest collector.
- This is *Charles I (1600-1649) with M. de St Antoine.* With great fluency Van Dyck here portrays Charles I on horseback on an **unprecedented scale, as ruler, warrior and knight**, in the long tradition of antique and Renaissance equestrian monuments.
- (CLICK) Both artist and patron admired and collected works by Titian, but a more **direct influence** was Rubens's 1603 **portrait of the Duke of Lerma** (Madrid, Prado) which Charles I would have seen on his visit to Spain as Prince of Wales in 1623. A comparison of the two shows how the naturalness and psychological depth has became enriched over this thirty year period.
- He first became aware of a substantial European collection when he **visited Spain** in 1623 to woo the Infanta Maria, sister of Philip IV. He failed to become engaged because of the Spanish demands for the conversion of England to Catholicism but he **made purchases** as he went including this, (CLICK) **Titian's *Woman in a Fur Wrap***. He purchased the painting at the estate sale (or *almoneda*) of a Spanish nobleman. Many Spanish collectors were resistant to selling but Philip IV compelled them. He also obtained **paintings as gifts from Philip IV, such as the Titian's *Pardo Venus***. This was an important picture but

Philip IV could spare it as he had the largest group of works by Titian ever owned by a single individual and his total collection was over **2,000 paintings**.

NOTES

- James and his courtiers sought to emulate the European courts by importing paintings, sculptures and decorative arts from the first decade of the seventeenth century. The **most fashionable were Italian artists**. Perhaps the **earliest Venetian pictures arrived at the English court for Prince Harry in 1610**. When he died in 1614 he **owned 14 Venetian** paintings brought back by his great nephew Henry Howard, son of Thomas Howard. The Duke of Tuscany gave Prince Henry 15 statuettes by Giovanni Bologna (Giambologna) in 1612.
- **Women were active collectors. Queen Anne** (Danish: Anna) of Denmark, wife of James I, bequeathed her art collection to Charles in 1621 which started his collection four years before he became king. The collection included Italian, English and Dutch landscapes and Dutch interiors.
- Charles built an extensive collection of paintings, mostly Dutch, Flemish and Italian. It was considerably **boosted by** the purchase of a large part of the **Mantuan or Gonzaga collection in 1627 for £18,000** (the Gonzagas were the Dukes of Mantua). It was further extended by his acquisition of the *Triumphs of Caesar* from the collection for £10,000 in 1631. Charles found paintings by Veronese "not verie acceptable" but Titian was well-represented. He had perfected "a style combining sensuousness and elegance that, because it could nourish the genius of later generations of artists, never ran the risk of appearing old-fashioned."
- Charles was largely unsuccessful in luring Italian painters to his court with the exception of the Gentileschi but he had paintings by Guido Reni, Caravaggio, Gentileschi and Baglione.

Charles I as Collector

- Royal Collection website: On his appointment as Principal Painter to Charles I in 1632, Van Dyck was required to specialise in portraiture. This is one of the **chief paintings** to result from his appointment, which **revolutionised British painting** and provided us with the enduring image of the Stuart court. The prominent display of the crowned royal arms and the **triumphal arch** framing the armed King reinforce his image as ruler of

Great Britain, while the King's refined features, loose hair and the sash of the Order of the Garter worn over his armour convey the impression of a **chivalrous knight**. Van Dyck may have designed the painting for its first position at the end of the Gallery at St James's Palace, where its theatrical effect impressed visitors.

Notes

- Skilled horsemanship was regarded as the epitome of *virtu* and here **Pierre Antoine Bourdin**, Seigneur de St Antoine, a master in the art of horsemanship, carries the King's helmet. Sent by Henry IV of France to James I with a present of six horses for Henry, Prince of Wales, in 1603, he remained in the service of the Prince and later of Charles I, as **riding master** and equerry. He looks up at the King, whose poise stabilises a scene filled with baroque movement.
- Van Dyck went on to paint two other major portraits of the King with a horse: Charles I on horseback, c.1636-8 (London, National Gallery) and Le Roi à la Chasse, c.1635 (Paris, Louvre). The present painting hung at Windsor Castle for much of the nineteenth century; it is recorded in the Queen's Presence Chamber and the Queen's Ballroom (also known as the Van Dyck Room).
- Provenance, painted for Charles I, 1633; valued by the Trustees for Sale and sold to `Pope', 22 December 1652; Remingius van Leemput; recovered for Charles II, 1660

References

Royal Treasures, A Golden Jubilee Celebration, London 2002

Workshop of Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), *Portrait of King Charles I in his robes of state,* 1636, private collection

Workshop of Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), *Portrait of King Charles I in his robes of state,* 1636, private collection

THE ART COLLECTORS

- Although Charles I acquired the biggest art collection the first and most intellectual art collector was Thomas Howard, he was known as the 'father of art collecting' and was part of what is known as the **Whitehall Group or Whitehall Circle**. This consisted of **Charles I shown here, Thomas Howard, George Villiers, Philip Herbert, William Herbert and James Hamilton**. Charles's collections over 1,500 paintings, Howard had 500-700, Buckingham 300 and Hamilton 600 and there were many minor collectors. When Charles was executed all these collections flooded onto the market. Philip and William Herbert became Parliamentarians and kept their collection.
- Let us first look at the members of the Whitehall Group. This is the most important member Charles I.

NOTES

- **Principal Collectors**
    - **Charles I**.
    - **Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel** (1585-1646), was one of the earliest of the connoisseur collectors and has been described as the 'father of collecting'. In 1605 he married Lady Alatheia (or Alethea) Talbot, granddaughter of Bess of Hardwick who inherited vast estates and became a collector in her own right. Howard had a collection to rival the king. He acquired Carleton's paintings and a collection from Carr

and from Roos. He became Earl Marshall, the most senior aristocrat. In 1642 he accompanied Mary to marry William of Orange and he decided not to return. He died near Padua having returned to Roman Catholicism. Arundel used agents such as Wenceslas Holler and William Petty and by his death he had become the greatest collector with 650 paintings, including 37 Titians, 13 Raphael, 20 Veronese, 44 Holbein, 16 Durer, 50 Van Dycks.

- **George Villiers**, Duke of Buckingham. **Buckingham** and Arundel had the only collections to rival the king. Buckingham had 300 paintings at York House including Rubens, Caravaggio, Titian, Tintoretto and Bassano overseen by Balthazar Gerbier.

- **Other Collectors**
  - **Philip Herbert** (1584-1650), 4th Earl of **Pembroke**, collector, **Wilton House** was the family home, designs by Inigo Jones and paintings by Van Dyck. Shakespeare's first folio was dedicated to him and his brother William in 1623. Charles visited Wilton House annually for hunting and recommended Inigo Jones to rebuild it in Palladian style. Salomon de Caus performed the work when Jones was not available and his brother Isaac de Caus designed the formal and informal gardens. He amassed a large art collection and was patron of Van Dyck. He disagreed with Charles over Protestantism, thought an agreement should be reached with the Scots and opposed the appointment of William Laud. His older brother William Herbert (1580-1630), 3rd Earl of Pembroke, was an important patron of the arts but he had no legitimate children so the earldom passed to his brother Philip.
  - **James Hamilton**, 3rd Marquess of **Hamilton**, collector, acquired 600 paintings in two years! He bought both the della Nave collection and the Priuli collection of 250 paintings for £3,000, the most successful English purchase of the 17th century.
  - **Algernon Percy** (1602-1668), 10th **Earl of Northumberland**, collector, had 20 Van Dyck. Military leader who supported Parliament in the Civil War. The 9th Earl was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. Married daughter of William Cecil. Lord High Admiral, portrait by Van Dyck standing by an anchor.
  - **Robert Carr** became James's favourite. He married Francis

Devereux and caused a scandal as she was already married, they were tried for murdering Overbury. He was a collector and used Sir Dudley Carleton who sold half the collection he had bought for Carr to Arundel. Carr was replaced in James's affectations by George Villiers, later Duke of Buckingham, in 1615.

- **Henry Wriothesley**, collector.
- **Robert Cecil**, Earl of Salisbury. Cecil, Lord Salisbury (Elizabeth's advisor), collector, Hatfield, Salisbury House on the Strand, used Sir Henry Wotton in Venice (ambassador and purchaser).
- John, Lord Lumley, collector
- **Henry Howard** (1540-1614), Earl of Northampton, collector. Built Northumberland House in London and Audley End. Crypto-Catholic. Courted James VI and was favoured when he became king.
- **Thomas Wentworth**, 1st Earl of Strafford, 60 Van Dyck, Mytens, van Honthorst.

- **Important People**
  - **William Laud**, Archbishop of Canterbury. His obsession with points of liturgy led to dissent from all sides.
- **Connoisseurs and Dealers**
  - William Trumbell, ambassador and connoisseur.
  - Nicholas Lanier, court musician and art connoisseur. Sent abroad as spy and to purchase art.
  - Sir Dudley Carleton, ambassador and connoisseur. Carleton dealt with Rubens, p. 69-70 and became financially exposed.
  - Balthazar Gerbier, artist, dealer and connoisseur
  - Daniel Nys (pronounced 'nice'), notorious art dealer, stole statues belonging to Carleton in 1615.
  - William Petty.
  - Abraham van der Doort was curator of the King's collector and completed a comprehensive inventory by 1639 despite all the loans and borrowings.

Daniel Mytens, *Thomas Howard, 21st (2nd) Earl of Arundel, 4th (2nd) Earl of Surrey and 1st Earl of Norfolk*, c.1618, 207x127cm, National Portrait Gallery

Daniel Mytens, *Aletheia (née Talbot), Countess of Arundel and Surrey*, c.1618, 207x127cm, National Portrait Gallery

Daniel Mytens (c. 1590-1647/48), *Thomas Howard, 21st (2nd) Earl of Arundel, 4th (2nd) Earl of Surrey and 1st Earl of Norfolk*, c.1618, 207x127cm, National Portrait Gallery

Daniel Mytens, *Aletheia (née Talbot), Countess of Arundel and Surrey*, c.1618, 207x127cm, National Portrait Gallery

Accepted in lieu of tax by H.M. Government and allocated to the National Portrait Gallery, 1980

- Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel started collecting in the early seventeenth century. Of course, the wealthy families of **Italy had been collecting** paintings and sculpture since the fifteenth century. **Henry VIII and Elizabeth I had portraits** of monarchs and of important events mostly designed to enhance their personal magnificence but the **most prestigious items hung on their walls were tapestries**.
- **This is a well known portrait of Thomas Howard (1585-1646)**, Earl of Arundel (sometimes known as "the collector earl") and his **wife Aletheia** (1585- 1654, 'al-leeth-ia') both dedicated **art connoisseurs**. **In 1613-14, Arundel and his wife paid an extended visit to Italy in the company of Inigo Jones** and 34 attendants. In Venice, they were joined by Sir Dudley Carleton who was the ambassador to Venice.
- When the Countess inherited a third of her father's estate they were able to pursue their passion for collecting art. Their activities in collecting statues and paintings was emphasised in this **pair of portraits painted by Daniël Mytens** by depicting them in front of their sculpture and picture galleries.

- When the Civil War started they fled abroad and their collection was slowly dispersed because of the need to sell paintings to support themselves. **When Arundel died, he still possessed 300-400 paintings including 44 works by Holbein**, along with large collections of sculpture, books, prints, drawings, and antique jewellery. Most of his collection of marble carvings, known as the Arundel marbles, was eventually left to the University of Oxford.

NOTES

- Thomas had gained some works from the collection of his uncle, Baron Lumley.
- **National Portrait Gallery**: **Inigo Jones** had been inspired by Renaissance and Classical Italianate architecture. We can see his cutting edge designs for the sculpture and picture galleries, which form the backdrops of the twin portraits by **Daniel Mytens**. We know that **Jones refurbished these galleries** for Lord Arundel, but Mytens' two portraits further embellish the redecoration. Contemporary accounts state that these portraits were painted as a gift for the art dealer **Dudley Carleton**, Viscount Dorchester. Carlton, who lived in Venice, was unlikely to see the real thing to verify the painted version of Jones' work. This is a good example of how portraits can not only enhance a sitters' vanity by improving their looks, but also their status by adding specific elements to their recorded (and invented) environment.
- This pair of portraits illustrates contemporary knowledge of the new system of **perspective** and also develops the idea of the sitter's personal context within the painted portrait. Receding behind them, we can clearly see their collections of portraits and marble sculpture. The use of perspective allows the viewer to feel that the corridors behind the sitters really do go off into the background, and that this is a prime example of creating 'depth' in a picture.
- Howard is holding the Earl Marshal’s baton. The Earl Marshall is the eight of the Great Officers of State and was originally responsible for the king’s horses but the role has evolved into organising major ceremonial state occasions.

Anthony van Dyck, Sir George Villiers and Lady Katharine Manners (died 1649) as *Adonis and Venus*, 1620-21, 233.5 x 160 cm, London, private collection

Titian, *Venus and Adonis*, 1554, Prado

Anthony van Dyck, Sir George Villiers and Lady Katharine Manners (died 1649) as *Adonis and Venus*, 1620-21, 233.5 x 160 cm, London, private collection

- The member of the Whitehall Group closest to Charles I was **George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham**. Buckingham and Arundel had the only collections to rival the king. **Buckingham had 300 paintings** at York House including Rubens, Caravaggio, Titian, Tintoretto and Bassano overseen by his trusted agent Balthazar Gerbier.
- The Duke of Buckingham started as the lowly son of a country gentleman and his handsome appearance found favour with the **bisexual James I**. He was rapidly showered with honours until he became Duke of Buckingham. He was **assassinated by a disgruntled army officer** called John Felton in 1628, the year of this painting.
- The Duke of Buckingham was not a connoisseur but he collected as it was the **latest fashion** established by the art loving Charles I. Buckingham **used agents** to collect works around Europe in order to build the largest collection.
- In this painting Buckingham is shown as **Adonis, an ever-youthful god** who represented the cycle of birth, death and rebirth. He is the archetypical handsome youth.
- (CLICK) It is inspired by Titian's ***Venus and Adonis***. **Shakespeare poem *Venus and Adonis*** had been published in 1592-3 based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In the poem Venus seizes Adonis as he is about to go hunting and Shakespeare writes '**Backward she pushed him as she would be thrust**' and '**Panting he lies, and breatheth in her face**' and Venus tells him to '**be bold in play, our**

sport is not in sight'. Adonis is keen to go hunting, leaves Venus and is killed in a hunting accident. It is **possible that Shakespeare had seen a copy of Titian's *Venus and Adonis***. Van Dyck shows the two lovers strolling together and avoids hinting at the death of Adonis.

- The woman next to him is his wife Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham. When representing a mythological figure it was acceptable for a woman to be bare-breasted, in context it represented virginity. One biographer wrote that she "... **was one of the few women of rank of the time whose gentleness and womanly tenderness, devotion and purity of life, were conspicuous in the midst of the almost universal corruption and immorality of the Court. No scandal was ever breathed against her name."**

Notes

- **Katherine Manners, Duchess of Buckingham**, Marchioness of Antrim, 19th Baroness de Ros of Helmsley (died 1649) was the daughter and heir of Francis Manners, 6th Earl of Rutland. She was known as the **richest woman in Britain**, apart from royalty. She **married George Villiers**, 1st Duke of Buckingham, the favourite, and possibly lover, of King James I of England; and secondly, she married the Irish peer Randal MacDonnell, 1st Marquess of Antrim in 1635.
- **The Duchess of Buckingham was one of the few women of rank of the time whose gentleness and womanly tenderness, devotion and purity of life, were conspicuous in the midst of the almost universal corruption and immorality of the Court. No scandal was ever breathed against her name**, and the worst that was ever said of her was that by her influence she at one time nearly persuaded her husband to become a Roman Catholic, she herself having returned to her own faith soon after her marriage. (William H. Shaw (1882), *George Villiers, First Duke of Buckingham,* Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. pp. 12–14.)

Gerrit van Honthorst (Utrecht 1590-Utrecht 1656), *Apollo and Diana,* 1628, 357 x 640 cm, Royal Collection, Hampton Court

Gerrit van Honthorst (Utrecht 1590-Utrecht 1656), *The Liberal Arts presented to King Charles and Henrietta Maria,* 1628, 357 x 640 cm, Royal Collection, Hampton Court

- This is an allegorical painting by Honthorst that suggests the drama enacted during a court masque. It can be seen today above the Queen's Staircase at Hampton Court.
- **Charles I and Henrietta Maria represent Apollo and Diana** on the clouds above the **Duke of Buckingham as Mercury and his bare-breasted wife as Grammar.** Grammar, the leading Liberal Art, is holding a key and a book and is leading all the others out of a dark cave—they are:
    - Logic with scales,
    - Rhetoric with a scroll,
    - Astronomy with an armillary sphere and dividers,
    - Geometry with globe and dividers,
    - Arithmetic with a tablet and
    - Music with a lute.
- Note that Astronomy has a black attendant holding a cross-staff (a navigational instrument).
- On the left, attendant children **drive off Envy and possibly Hate (or Ignorance) with a torch of Knowledge** and a **trumpet of Fame** and another drives away a **goat representing bestial appetites** that keep one from studying.

- From the 1630s Van Dyck's fame was increasing rapidly but there were many paintings commissioned from lesser known but competent Dutch painters like Honthorst.

NOTES

- Bare breasts were found in other works and prints indicating romantic love, inner beauty and maternal devotion. A bare-breasted young woman was regarded as a vulnerable innocent. Bare breasts were also used to indicate a prostitute as Honthorst painted in *Brothel Scene* in the same year, 1628. The setting is everything when interpreting symbols.

REFERENCES

- Royal Collection website.

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio, c. 1488/90-1576), *Ecce Homo*, 1543, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio, c. 1488/90-1576), *Ecce Homo*, 1543, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

- The **three main ways** to acquire art were to **commission** a work from a patron, to receive it as a **gift** or to **purchase it from an agent and all the great collectors used agents to negotiate a purchase**.
- All three ways were difficult as good artists were permanently busy satisfying existing patrons, receiving gifts was unpredictable and purchasing was fraught with problems as there was no market and no way to authenticate a painting.
- **George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham**, was the opposite of Thomas Howard, Buckingham loved the aesthetic and bought impetuously and with flair. He appointed the unsavoury character **Balthasar Gerbier** (1591-1667) to tour Europe and find suitable paintings. Gerbier was the son of a Huguenot who had fled France and he was trained as a painter but his real skill was as a connoisseur. In 1621 he went to Rome and managed to acquire *Four Seasons* by Guido Reni and in Venice, during the same trip, he purchased eleven pictures with the help of the ambassador Sir Henry Wotton and the dealer Daniel Nys. The paintings included this one, **Titian's *Ecce Homo* for which he paid £275**.
- It was painted for Giovanni d'Anna, a Flemish merchant resident in Venice and was probably started not long after Titian completed *The Presentation of the Virgin* and is in many ways a studied revision of the earlier work.

Daniel Mytens (c. 1590-1647/48), *William Herbert* (1580-1630), 3rd Earl of Pembroke, National Portrait Gallery

Daniel Mytens the Elder (c. 1590-1647/48), *William Herbert* (1580-1630), 3rd Earl of Pembroke, National Portrait Gallery

- William Herbert was a courtier and **important patron of art** who held office under both James I and Charles I. Both Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones benefited from his patronage. Herbert appears to have **paid for Inigo Jones to tour Italy in 1605**. The **first folio of Shakespeare's plays was dedicated to William Herbert**.
- He was a bookish man and a heavy pipe smoker which he said kept his migraines at bay. His first bethrothed came with a dowry of £3,000 when her grandfather died but he wanted the money immediately and negotiations fell through. He had an affair with Mary Fiton and she became pregnant. He admitted to it but refused to marry and so ended up in Fleet prison. She had a son who died and he was released from prison and married the dwarfish and deformed daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury. He then had an affair with his cousin and they had two illegitimate children. He is thought by some to be the 'fair youth' in Shakespeare's sonnets that the poet urges to marry. We know Herbert had also been urged to marry the granddaughter of Henry Carey, the Lord Chamberlain, who ran Shakespeare's company but Herbert refused.
- When he died in 1630 the title was **inherited by his brother Philip Herbert**, both were keen collectors of art.

Daniel Mytens (c. 1590-1647/48), *Portrait of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, Later 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton, Aged 17* 1623, 200.7 x 125.1 cm, Tate Britain

Titian (1485/90-1567), *Nymph and Shepherd*, 1570 – 1575, 149.6 x 187 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Daniel Mytens the Elder (c. 1590-1647/48), *Portrait of James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, Later 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton, Aged 17* 1623, 200.7 x 125.1 cm, Tate Britain

Tiziano Vecellio, called Titian (1485/90-1567), *Nymph and Shepherd*, 1570 – 1575, 149.6 x 187 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum

- **The final member of the Whitehall group was James Hamilton** (1606-1649), a Scottish nobleman and military strategist. He also shared an interest in art-collecting with the future Charles I, whom Mytens painted in a similar pose. In 1623, the date of this picture, Hamilton had attended the Prince in Madrid with Buckingham during Charles's unsuccessful attempt to marry a Spanish princess.
- Although younger than other members of the group, Hamilton became noted as an art collector. **Between 1636 and 1638 he acquired 600 paintings**.
- (CLICK) Despite the record speed his collection contained many masterpieces such as this one, **Titian's *Nymph and Shepherd*** and well as his *Madonna and Child with Sts Stephen,* Giovanni Bellini's *Young Woman Holding a Mirror,* Giorgione's *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Three Philosophers*, *Jerome and Maurice*, Tintoretto's *Susanna and the Elders* and Veronese's *Christ and the Woman with Issue of Blood*. Most are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.
- When he died, many of his paintings went to Antwerp and some **can be seen in the background of *Views of the Archduke's Picture Gallery*** by Teniers that we saw earlier.

- It was Hamilton's vacillating, ineffectual leadership did great damage to Charles I cause during the English Civil Wars between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians.
- Hamilton was executed shortly after Charles I in 1649.

NOTES

- **Daniel Mytens** was born and trained in the Netherlands. From 1618 he worked in England for the most advanced court patrons. Compared with local artists, he offered a striking naturalism but his work did not have the psychological depth and painterly panache of Van Dyck.

Daniel Mytens (c. 1590-1647/8), *Portrait of Charles I and Henrietta Maria,* 1631, Royal Collection

Daniel Mytens the Elder (c. 1590-1647/48), *Portrait of Charles I and Henrietta Maria,* 1631, Royal Collection

- The English court had no great painters like Titian. The big coup for Charles I was retaining van Dyck. I would like to try to explain the impact Van Dyck had on the British court by first showing you this portrait by Daniël Mijtens (c. 1590 – 1647/48), known in England as Daniel Mytens the Elder
- This is his painting of ***Charles and Henrietta Maria*** intended for Somerset House, in the withdrawing room over the fireplace. Henrietta Maria was repainted at the time it was originally painted, was this done by Mytens on the instruction of the king to make her look more like the Van Dyck portrait we shall see in a moment?
- By 1631, when this was painted Charles had been in power for six years and established himself as an important collector of paintings. This raised their status in England substantially as suddenly the court needed to be knowledgeable about art and artists.
- Anthony van Dyck had been in England briefly in 1620-21 during the reign of James I but the visit was unsuccessful and he returned to Flanders after a few months.
- In 1632 he was invited back by Charles I and recognised immediately. He was knighted shortly after he arrived, made "Principal Painter in Ordinary to their Majesties" and granted a pension of £200 a year, a gold chain and lodgings in Blackfriars. He was also paid about £20 to £100 per portrait. Let's see why…

Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), *Portrait of Charles I and his wife Henrietta Maria*, 1632,
Kroměříž Archdiocesan Museum

Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), *Portrait of Charles I and his wife Henrietta Maria*, 1632, Kroměříž Archdiocesan Museum, Czech Republic

- Van Dyck changed the standard. People asked Van Dyck to **glamorise them.** Henrietta Maria, for example, was described as having **long thin arms, crooked shoulders and protruding teeth**.
- When Sophia, later Electoress of Hanover, first met Queen Henrietta Maria, in exile in Holland in 1641, she wrote: "**Van Dyck's handsome portraits had given me so fine an idea of the beauty of all English ladies, that I was surprised to find that the Queen, who looked so fine in painting, was a small woman raised up on her chair, with long skinny arms and teeth like defence works projecting from her mouth...**"
- Within a few weeks of Van Dyck's arrival he painted this portrait, 1632, there are many versions. It was placed in Charles bedchamber.
- **Mytens looks like a "Punch & Judy show portrait"** according to the art historian Oliver Miller compared to the **three-dimensional Van Dyck**. Van Dyck's dark green curtains against a dark sky. The curtains are used to frame the figures.
- He has a laurel branch, Henrietta has laurel leaves and they are exchanging them. Victory of Henry IV, King of France, Henrietta's father and peace of Charles's father, James. It could be myrtle associated with love and marital fidelity or it could mean both. Note the old-fashioned ruff in the Mytens and the fashionable new soft collar in the Van Dyck. This is the first instance of the new lace collar in a Van Dyck, it was brought in by Charles (suggested by Van

Dyck?) Mytens Charles hair is short one side and long the other, this was just a normal fashion at the time.

- **Van Dyck was made the Principal Painter, paid more and knighted within a year. Mytens title was just one of the king's "drawers".**
- Charles was already aware of leading Continental painters, particularly Italian painters such as Titian and Raphael and van Dyck was in this league and in England.
- He visited England in 1620 but between 1621 and 1627 he lived in Italy studying the Italian masters and beginning his career as a successful portraitist. He was already presenting himself as a figure of consequence, annoying the rather bohemian Northern artist's colony in Rome, says Bellori, by appearing with "the pomp of Zeuxis ... his **behaviour was that of a nobleman** rather than an ordinary person, and he shone in **rich garments**; since he was accustomed in the **circle of Rubens to noblemen**, and being naturally of **elevated mind**, and anxious to make himself distinguished, he therefore wore—as well as silks—a hat with feathers and brooches, gold chains across his chest, and was accompanied by servants."
- The status of artists was clearly changing.

NOTES

- "This is a reduced copy after the original (now in the collection of the Archiepiscopal Castle and Gardens, Kromeríž, Czech Republic), painted in 1632 by Anthony van Dyck, to sit above the chimney in the drawing room in Somerset House, London. King Charles I had granted Somerset House to the Queen in 1626 as part of her jointure; and soon after an elaborate program of redecoration began. Daniel Mytens [Mitjens] was first commissioned to paint a double portrait for the cabinet room but his work was deemed unsatisfactory. Van Dyck was then engaged and his version must have pleased for its emphasis on the union of the King (his sovereignty made plain by the regalia behind him) and the Queen, symbolised by the exchange to a garland of laurel, presented by the Queen to her husband and partly in allusion to her father's (Henry IV) martial fame. The olive branch held in her left hand may also refer to Charles' peace-loving father James I. There is a miniature copy of the queen's head in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam which is signed and dated 1632 and a copy in miniature by John Hoskins of the whole picture, both of which were painted for the King. There are several more copies both of the

entire composition and of single figures in various collections and the work was also engraved by Van Voerst in 1634." (V&A)

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- V&A website

Anthony van Dyck, *Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, with his Family*, c.1634-35, Earl of Pembroke's Collection

Anthony van Dyck, *Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke, with his Family*, c.1634-35, Earl of Pembroke's Collection

- **Philip Herbert** (1584-1650) inherited both the **title and art collection on the death of his brother**, the 3rd Earl in 1630. According to Aubrey, he "exceedingly loved paintings" and was "the great patron of Sir Anthony van Dyck". **As he supported Parliament in the Civil War**, his **collection remained more or less intact**. It is displayed at **Wilton House** in Wiltshire.
- Let me tell you a little about what is going on here. It is about a wedding. The fifteen year-old boy in scarlet is the Earl's oldest son and is to marry the twelve or thirteen year-old Mary Villiers, daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, and she came with a dowry of £25,000. The Pembrokes hated the Buckinghams but King Charles I insisted on the marriage.
- Examine the hands. On the far right is the Earl's daughter with her husband, the **Earl of Carnarvon,** a gambler and notorious womaniser and rake. Their hands touching is the only human contact in the painting and there is a sexual element to the hand gesture. Next the countess and the earl are very different. She has her hands folded and a face full of melancholy. She is his second wife and she gave birth to two sons but both died. The earl rejected her and had her virtually confined and she has no contact with any one in the family.
- The early hold the white staff of his office of Lord Chamberlain. His right hand points to Mary Villiers as if accepting her and her left hand points towards her womb, signifying her role in life although the marriage contract specifically

state they would not sleep together for four years. The bridegroom in scarlet does not look at her, in fact, no one looks at any one else, and his hand gesture reflects back towards himself.

- Next left is the younger brother, **Philip**. It was whispered at court that that **Mary Villiers had fallen in love not with Charles** the older brother, but **with Philip**, and that love had been denied because the corporate merger of the two families could not allow it. That may explain his look and his hand on his heart.
- On the left are the three young Herbert boys on the ground are gloriously alive with their hounds and their books. The three **young Herberts who died** as children are shown here above them as **angels**, throwing roses into the wedding party.
- The painting is full of uncertainty, fragility, sorrow and grief but also beauty, ancestry and continuity. However, **within a year Charles** had **died of smallpox**. His **widowed bride married** the future **Duke of Lennox and Richmond**, another of the Pembrokes' long-standing enemies. The Pembrokes' own marriage never recovered and the family was split by the civil war. The **Earl of Carnarvon** on the far right was a royalist and was **run though** by a trooper at the first battle of Newbury. **The earl** was **dismissed** as Lord Chamberlain, **turned Parliamentarian** and ended his life as an MP **stripped of his titles, ridiculed and despised by friends and enemies alike**. The world van Dyck painted preserves a fleeting moment in time.

NOTES

- This is the largest picture van Dyck painted and shows a depth of psychological subtlety as we can see from Nicholson's insightful analysis.
- **Tate website** (Adam Nicholson): Van Dyck was portraying a family at a particularly tender and **vulnerable moment**, one in which fragility and failure underlay all the more glimmering aspects of worldly success.
- The portrait was painted in the late winter of 1634 or the spring of 1635. It is **about a wedding**. The earl's oldest surviving son**, fifteen-year-old Charles**, Lord Herbert, **in scarlet**, was to marry a young heiress, the **twelve or thirteen- year-old Mary Villiers**, who was to bring to the marriage a **dowry of £25,000**, roughly equivalent to 2,000 years' wages of a Wiltshire shepherd. She was the **daughter of the Duke of Buckingham**, the great parvenu of seventeenth-century England, who had

risen to prominence and riches first on the back of James I's lust (they first slept together in August 1615) and then as an invaluable guiding presence to his son Charles. The **Pembrokes had loathed Buckingham** and the marriage was one product of a treaty between the two families arranged by Charles, bringing together the old and new nobility, the ancient country-based Pembrokes and the new court-based Buckinghams, in what was intended as a single, unifying, mutually fertilising union.

- **But all is not well** in this family and van Dyck's design subtly mobilises the private and human dimensions of the grand, corporate event. He turns it, in effect, into a drama of fertility, time and death, much of whose meaning is carried by a ballet of the hands that is woven through the picture. On the **far right** stands the **earl's daughter, Anna Sophia**, and her **husband, Robert Dormer**, Earl of Carnarvon, at this stage in his life a traveller and **gambler, a notorious womaniser and rake**, a man filled with the vigour of an active life. They are already the parents of a young heir, Charles, born two years before. They glow with sexuality and health: Anna **Sophia's bosom is deeply revealed** and between her fingers she holds a single pearl, standing for the precious heir which she and her husband have conceived. Their **hands dabble** together in an unmistakably **sexual way**, **the only sign of human contact** in the painting. Theirs is the realm of fecundity and fullness. But still their eyes do not meet. **No member of the family, in fact, looks at any other**.
- Next to that fertile and engaging pair is **its opposite**, the **Earl of Pembroke** and his countess, Lady **Anne Clifford**. Her **hands are folded** together in a way that is repeated nowhere else in the entire body of van Dyck's work: an explicit gesture of enclosure and **melancholy, shut off** from those around her. She is **the tragic failure** at the heart of the picture. She is not the mother of the children arrayed around her. Pembroke's first wife had died five years earlier and Anne's marriage to the earl had collapsed. She had given birth to two sons, both dead. The earl had rejected her and virtually **confined her** in a subsidiary Pembroke house at Ramsbury in Wiltshire. Both of them are painted shadowed and pushed back within the scene. Her averted eyes and folded hands are the gestures of a woman who is no longer 'mingleinge anie part of [her] streames' (mingling any part of her streams, i.e. not engaging) with this family, as she wrote in her own memoir. She is **central but absent**, her relationship with everyone around her cut away and inarticulate.

- Beside her, but nowhere touching her, **the earl holds the white staff of his office of Lord Chamberlain** easily in the relaxed and lengthened fingers of his left hand. With his other hand, he reaches forward to the virginal promise of **Mary Villiers**, **gesturing openly and generously towards the heart** of the young woman who is to marry his son. These are the signs of power. She, however, holds a **closed hand to her womb**, a self-preservation even as she is to be married. In the picture space she is nearly but not quite connected to **Charles**, Lord Herbert, in **red**, who holds his **left arm out as if in love**, an openness to the world, but **the hand itself is reflexed and withdrawn**, perhaps also a sign of his virginity. Part of the marriage contract specified that they would not sleep together for four years.
- These **three pairs** make a diagrammatic set: the Carnarvons' **fertility achieved**, the Pembrokes' **barrenness accepted**, the young Herberts' **breeding promised**. The **younger brother Philip**, sharing with his brother the reddish-brown hair which had come down though the generations, hangs back on the edge of the group of six, not part of it and not quite distinct. It may be that in his portrayal there is some reflection of the story told by George Garrard, a **court gossip**, that **Mary Villiers had fallen in love not with Charles** the older brother, but **with Philip**, and that love had been denied because the corporate merger of the two families could not allow it. And there may be an element, in Mary Villiers's own look of disdain, of a discontent with this marriage which was forced upon her for dynastic reasons. The final elements are the **two sets of three children** on the left. The three young Herbert boys on the ground are gloriously alive with their hounds and their books. The three **young Herberts who died** as children are shown here above them as **angels**, throwing roses into the wedding party.
- The painting as a whole flickers between **content and discontent**, between a celebration of the **beauty of existence and a recognition of its sorrows** and travails. It is a form of **sermon on mutability, time, beauty, inheritance and grief**. There is nothing cruel in it, nor even unkind, but it is full of hesitation and even surprise, a tentativeness which makes complacency impossible. Where are they? Not in a comfortable interior, but **half inside and half out**, half in a theatre, half in the margins of a palace. Once you notice this **sense of insecurity** in the picture, it seems pervasive. There is **no ease** in Philip's pose. It is uncertain, his face

unsure. A little less edgily, his elder brother stands beside him, performing it appears to nothing but the air. Only the three young boys at the left-hand side, framed by their dogs, a greyhound and a setter, are immune to this atmosphere.

- Van Dyck had a famous and treasured ability to give a scene the sense that it was a caught moment, to imply from his nearly mobile figures that within a second their perfect arrangement would change and collapse. It is **a stilled dance**. **Transience was at the centre of his art** and here it is set against its opposite. Behind the figures, two enormous certainties preside: the landscape of perfection on the left, receding into deep-shadowed calm, and in the centre-right, the vast coat of arms on the cloth which hangs behind them all, the inheritance of nobility, an assertion of the permanence from which they come. But do those certainties transmit themselves to the anxious figures in the foreground? Or do they serve to throw those figures into question? How do the two glorious young men really compare with the solidity and fixity of the two fluted columns behind them? They seem momentary beings by comparison, balanced on the balls of their feet, no more lasting or substantial than the clouds or the putti or the fading of the sunset.
- Look beneath the surface of this painting and you see in it **not a story of worldly glory, but of transience and fragility**, of failure and disconnection, of the place of death and the erosion of time even in the most perfect circumstances. **Within a year** of its being painted, **Charles**, Lord Herbert, had **died of smallpox** in Florence. His **widowed bride married** the future **Duke of Lennox and Richmond**, another of the Pembrokes' long-standing enemies. The Pembrokes' own marriage never recovered and the family was riven in the civil war. The beautiful royalist **Earl of Carnarvon** [far right] was **run though** by a trooper at the first battle of Newbury. **The earl**, loathed by the Queen, was **dismissed** as Lord Chamberlain, **turned Parliamentarian** and ended his life as an MP **stripped of his titles, ridiculed and despised by friends and enemies alike**. The world van Dyck had painted was preserved only on canvas.

Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I in Three Positions*, 1635-36, 84.4 x 99.4 cm, The Royal Collection

Anthony van Dyck, *Charles I in Three Positions*, 1635-36, 84.4 x 99.4 cm, The Royal Collection

- In 1635, Queen Henrietta Maria commissioned a marble bust of her husband from the sculptor *Gianlorenzo Bernini*.
- This triple portrait, was to allow **Bernini to create a likeness** of the King. Its unofficial purpose was **to warn Bernini** not to underestimate the artistic culture of the English court.
- The three portraits are more finished and varied than they need to be, and their arrangement refers **to Lorenzo Lotto's *Portrait of a Goldsmith in Three Positions***, then thought to be by Titian.
- Van Dyck flaunts his powers with paint — melting, mobile features, brilliant highlights in the eyes, and soft, cloudy hair — perhaps knowing that these were reasons that Bernini himself gave for preferring painted to sculpted portraiture.
- **Henrietta Maria paid for the completed bust** in 1638 with a **diamond ring** valued at 4,000 scudi (**about £800**). The **bust was destroyed in the 1698 fire at Whitehall Palace**; before that it had been displayed there for sixty years. Dyck's painting fared better: it was kept by Bernini in Rome and exhibited at the Pantheon, where it was apparently much admired by Roman painters of the second half of the century.

NOTES

- **Charles I** (1600-1649), French wife Queen **Henrietta Maria** of France (1609-1669, queen consort 1625-1649), Charles tried to emulate the achievements of

Prince Henry (1594-1612) but never quite achieved it. He collected across Europe from the Low Countries, to Spain and then Italy. Charles created an enormous debt by plunging the country into wars with Spain and then France. His imposition of the Anglican prayer book led to the Bishop's Wars in Scotland. His policies also caused the Ulster Uprising of 1641. In the late 1620s Charles paid £18,000 for the Gonzaga collection from Mantua, one of the greatest collections in Italy. The collection included Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*. Charles used collecting to define his royal authority and perhaps to console him for the deaths of his brother, sister and mother and his father in his early twenties. Charles collection was overseen by van der Doort. The Stuarts were more connected to Europe, France and Italy than the Tudors and collecting was sweeping the Continent. Charles followed European taste for Mantegna, Giorgione, Raphael and, above all, Titian. He also collected the new baroque style artists, Rubens, Guido Reni and Orazio Gentileschi.

- **Collector**. He became one of the most voracious collectors of art the British royal family has ever seen. Charles was a passionate collector but not a connoisseur, he relied on intermediaries to advise him. He spent lavishly even when in debt to achieve 'splendour and liberality'.
- **Prices**. It was not astronomically expensive, he spent about £8,000 a year and his biggest purchase was £18,000 against his total crown revenues of nearly £1 million a year. He spent far more on buildings, masques and clothes. A fashionable suit cost £500 but a full length Van Dyck cost £50.
- **Spain**. Charles travelled with Buckingham to Spain to woo the Infanta. It was a crazy and dangerous expedition carried out without permission. The Spanish insisted on Charles becoming Catholic, anti-Catholic laws being rescinded and Catholicism allowed in England. In the end Charles agreed and swore agreement to all their demands and agreed to marry the Infanta. On his return he changed his mind. He continued to purchase art during his visit advised by Endymion Porter and Balthazar Gerbier. Charles adopted Spanish habits, he learnt to dress soberly, keep his collection private, value the artist over the subject and value the composition and style over the subject. For the first time the artist was noted. He also realised that the artists he had collected

previously were old-fashioned. Charles's purchasing across Europe **tripled the price** of masters like Titian as he competed with Philip IV of Spain. The Spanish trip was a serious error of judgement which cost £30,000 but no one in England was aware of the fiasco and Charles was praised. James died in 1625 and Charles became king. Buckingham went to France to bring back Henrietta Maria (also a Catholic) as a bride and Rubens painted his portrait for £500. England drifted into a war with Spain. Henrietta was never crowned queen as she refused to attend a ceremony led by William Laud, a protestant archbishop.

- **Gonzaga collection**. Between 1627 and 1629 Charles bought the Gonzaga collection in Mantua, 400 paintings for £18,000. This established his reputation as a collector throughout Europe. It included Raphael, Mantegna, Correggio, Giulio Romano and Guido Reni.
- By 1627, art had become the new religion in London.
- In 1629 Charles disbanded Parliament and start the 'Eleven Years of Tyranny', as it was later called.
- In the mid-1630s Charles ruled supreme, he was healthy, had an heir, a happy marriage and did not need Parliament. He also had one of the largest art collections in Europe at a time when paintings represented prestige and discernment.
- 1639, 28,000 troops invade Scotland headed by Arundel but they lost the battle.
- 1640, Charles needed money to raise another army so he recalled Parliament but it only wanted to discuss the issues and limit his power. He disbanded the so called 'Short Parliament'.
- 1639, Orazio Gentileschi died, in 1640 Artemisia left England and Rubens died and in 1641 Van Dyck died.
- 1642, Charles attempted to arrest five MPs in Parliament but they had already fled. Charles realised he was in danger, fled to Hampton Court and sent Henrietta Maria abroad. On 22 August 1642 the First Civil War was declared when Charles raised his standard in Nottingham. He moved to Oxford where Dobson painted a portrait of Charles II.
- 1643, art collections were defined as commodities not religious

objects to be destroyed. Arundel smuggled his collection abroad and donated £54,000 to the King's cause. The Buckingham collection was sold for £7,000 and the Hamilton collection sold. The Duke of Northumberland obtained many pieces cheaply. Northumberland took custody of the king's children and paid Lely to paint *The Three Children of Charles I* and *Charles I with James, Duke of York*.

- **The last decade**. Charles I's collecting was overshadowed by the bitter **Thirty Years War** (1618-1648) which he used to buy art from bankrupt kings and states. In 1629 Charles dismissed Parliament and embarked on a decade of personal rule. When he left London in 1642 to raise an army against Parliament his palaces at Whitehall, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond and Windsor were crammed with treasures, statues, tapestries, medals, cameos and over 1,000 paintings.
- **The Commonwealth Sale**. On 30 January 1649 Charles was beheaded and Parliament drew up the Act for the Sale of his property and his vast art collection. The sale was intended to reduce the magnificence of monarchy to a simple cash value. In terms of the needs of the state, the sale of the paintings raised very little money but some individuals made substantial profits by buying wisely and reselling in Europe. Paintings were increasingly given away to pacify state debtors and Cromwell increasingly retained art works to confer authority and prestige on the new Commonwealth. Royalists rapidly recast Charles as a noble patron who enriched the country with an art collection that rivalled any in Europe and this brief flowering had been destroyed by the barbarous rebels.
- **Restoration**. In the early years of the restoration much of Charles I's collection was forcibly repossessed. The Sale had defined the value of paintings and it created an art market in England for the first time.

Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes,* 1515-16, bodycolour over charcoal underdrawing on paper, mounted on canvas, 319 x 399 cm, V&A (Royal Collection)

Raphael, *The Miraculous Draught of Fishes,* 1515-16, bodycolour over charcoal underdrawing on paper, mounted on canvas, 319 x 399 cm, V&A (Royal Collection)

- **Gold and jewellery has an intrinsic worth** but a painting is canvas covered with pigment and has no intrinsic worth. Its value lies in the skill of its execution and increasingly during the seventeenth century its value was determined by the artist that produced it. This is fraught with problems as the work may be a forgery or may have come from the artists studio but not have been touched by the hand of the master.
- One practical problem was finding a seller. Wealthy patrons would commissions works from well known artists and would then have no reason to sell them. Charles I and the Whitehall Group benefitted from the Thirty Years War (1618-1648) as many wealthy families needed to sell some of their possessions. Initially a war between Protestant and Catholic states in the fragmenting Holy Roman Empire, it gradually developed into a more general conflict involving most of the great powers of Europe.
- The other lesson collectors learnt was to **move quickly when a masterpiece became available.**
- Charles was an avid collector and while still Prince in 1623 he ordered £700 to be sent to Genoa to buy seven of the ten cartoons made by Raphael for the tapestries depicting the Acts of the Apostles which were to be installed in the Sistine Chapel.
- The Raphael Cartoons were commissioned by Pope Leo X in 1515 and are

among the greatest treasures of the High Renaissance. Painted by Raphael (1483-1520) and his assistants, they are full-scale designs for tapestries that were made to cover the lower walls of the Vatican's Sistine Chapel. The tapestries depict the Acts of St Peter and St Paul, the founders of the early Christian Church.

NOTES

- Between 1516 and 1521, the compositions were woven into tapestries at the workshop of Pieter van Aelst in Brussels, the main centre for tapestry production in Europe. In 1623 the cartoons were brought to England by the Prince of Wales, later Charles I. From 1865 onwards, they have been on loan from the Royal Collection to the V&A.
- The biblical story is from Luke 5:1-11. According to the Gospel of St. Luke, Christ chooses the poor fishermen Simon, Peter and Andrew as his first Apostles. They have been fishing unsuccessfully in the Sea of Galilee when Christ appears and tells Peter to let down his nets into deep water. They make a miraculous catch, so that their boats overflow with fish. In another boat James and John struggle to pull up a net with a huge catch, while their father Zebedee tries to keep the vessel steady. Peter recognizes Christ as a holy man and kneels before him in an attitude of prayer, while Andrew steps forward with his hands spread in amazement at the miracle. A consecutive chain of action runs across this balanced composition to culminate in the figure of Christ, who calmly raises his hand in blessing. On the distant shore the faithful gaze and point at the miraculous events. The fish are traditional Christian symbols and may represent saved souls in contrast with the discarded shellfish picked over by the cranes on the foreshore.

Titian, *Madonna of the Rabbit*, 1530, Louvre

Titian, *Madonna of the Rabbit*, c. 1530, Louvre

- **The other lesson was to buy from those who desperately needed the cash.**
- Mantua was ruled by the wealthy Gonzaga family but the main Gonzaga family died out, there was a war over who would inherit, Mantua was sacked and the family was ruined and had to sell their art collection.
- The *Madonna of the Rabbit* is an oil painting by **Titian**, dated to 1530 and now held in the Louvre. It was **acquired** with the rest of the Gonzaga collection in **1627 by Charles I** and on his execution **sold**.
- The sale was brokered by **Daniel Nys** (1572-1647) and was the **greatest art deal of the seventeenth century**. Nys was a Flemish merchant who lived in Venice and is famous for brokering this deal. Nys was a rich merchant who had acquired a substantial art collection. Charles agreed to pay £28,000 but only paid £18,000 leaving a shortfall of £10,000 which bankrupted Daniel Nys and Filippo Burlamachi the dealer and financier who had organised the sale.
- It was acquired in 1665 by Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV of France.
- It is signed "Ticianus f." and is named after the white rabbit held in Mary's left hand. **The rabbit is a symbol of fertility and - due to its whiteness - of Mary's purity** and the mystery of the Incarnation, and **is** also a symbol of her Virginity; female rabbits and hares can conceive immediately after giving birth and gestation is usually about a month so it can appear they have given birth without having been impregnated.

NOTES

- Records show that **Federico Gonzaga** commissioned three paintings from **Titian in 1529**. One of these can with some certainty be identified with *The Madonna of the Rabbit*. The painting's **small format** shows it was intended for private devotion. The painting also contains echoes of the artist's personal circumstances at the time - on 6 August 1530 his wife Cecilia died giving birth to their third child, Lavinia, who was then entrusted to Titian's sister Orsa (just as the Christ child in the painting is entrusted into another woman's hands, in this case Catherine of Alexandria). He was mourning and melancholic until at least October that year, as shown in the letters sent to Mantua by the ambassador Benedetto Agnello.
- **Catherine** is dressed as a maid of honour and is shown with her traditional attribute of a **broken wheel** at her feet. She and Mary are sitting in a meadow beside a fruit basket which contains **apples** representing **original sin** and **grapes** representing the **Eucharist** and the **redemption of sins**. In the background a shepherd looks on - a motif drawn from Giorgione and perhaps intended as a **portrait of Federico Gonzaga**, since an X-ray shows that the initial composition had Mary turning her eyes towards the shepherd, or of the artist, since the shepherd appears sad and aloof like the mourning Titian.
- In the foreground, the wildflowers evoke the idyllic 'locus amoenus' in classical poetry and the **Arcadian landscape**, which is also found in works like the Pastoral Concert or the Baccanali series of Ferrara. The sensitive landscape painting is also notable, with orange stripes over a blue twilit sky, typical of Titian's highly mature phase.

Andrea Mantegna (c.1431-1506), *Triumph of Caesar, Chariot of Julius Caesar*, 1484-92, Hampton Court

Andrea Mantegna (c.1431-1506), *Triumph of Caesar, Chariot of Julius Caesar*, 1484-92, Hampton Court

- **Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* was to prove the undoing of Daniel Nys**. He had successfully negotiated the sale of part of the Gonzaga art collection in 1626 and was tempted to buy the *Triumph of Caesar* for Charles. When payment for the sale was not forthcoming Nys was forced into bankruptcy and spent the rest of his life in London trying to get paid.
- This was typical of many of Charles creditors, from tailors to grocers, they were never paid. On Charles's death about £40,000 was owed and Parliament devised a scheme to pay the creditors by selling all of Charles's worldly goods.
- *The Triumphs of Caesar* are a series of nine large paintings created by the Italian Renaissance artist **Andrea Mantegna** between 1484 and 1492 for the **Gonzaga** Ducal Palace, Mantua. They depict a triumphal military parade celebrating the victory of Julius Caesar in the Gallic Wars. Acknowledged from the time of Mantegna as his **greatest masterpiece**, they remain the most complete pictorial representation of a Roman triumph ever attempted and together they form the world's largest metric area of renaissance paintings outside Italy.
- **Acquired by Charles I in 1629**, they now form part of the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace. Originally painted in the fragile medium of egg and glue tempera on canvas, the paintings underwent successive repaintings and restorations through the centuries. In the 1960s a careful restoration to reveal

the original paintwork was conducted on all but the seventh canvas, where no trace had been left by previous restorers. Although now mere shadows of Mantegna's cinquecento paintings, they still convey a powerful impression of epic grandeur. In the words of Anthony Blunt, who as Surveyor of the Queen's Pictures supervised the restoration, "The *Triumphs* may be a ruin but it is a noble one, one as noble as those of ancient Rome which Mantegna so deeply admired."

NOTES

- The **Gonzaga dynasty was overthrown** in the late 16th century, and the major part of their painting collection was acquired by Charles I of England in 1629, using as an agent in Italy, the **courtier Daniel Nys**. The collection also included works by Titian, Raphael and Caravaggio. They **arrived in 1630** at Hampton Court Palace, where they have remained ever since. The Lower Orangery was originally built to house Mary II of England's collection of botanical specimens. It was chosen as a setting for the series, since it re-creates the interior of the **Palace of San Sebastiano in Mantua**, Italy, where the paintings were hung from 1506 in a specially built gallery. The paintings are displayed as a continuous frieze, separated by small columns.
- After the execution of Charles I in 1649, the *Triumphs* were listed in an inventory and valued at **1,000 pounds**; the entire **Gonzaga acquisition cost 28,000 pounds**. Oliver Cromwell refrained from selling these paintings, almost alone among Charles's collection, due to their fame, and perhaps as they celebrated a general like himself rather than a monarch or Catholic religious theme.

Anthony van Dyck, *Algernon Percy* (1602-1668), *10th Earl of Northumberland*, c. 1638, Alnwick Castle

Titian, *Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac and his Secretary Guillaume Philandrier*, Louvre

Anthony van Dyck, *Algernon Percy* (1602-1668), *10th Earl of Northumberland*, c. 1638, Alnwick Castle

Titian, *Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac and his Secretary Guillaume Philandrier*, Louvre

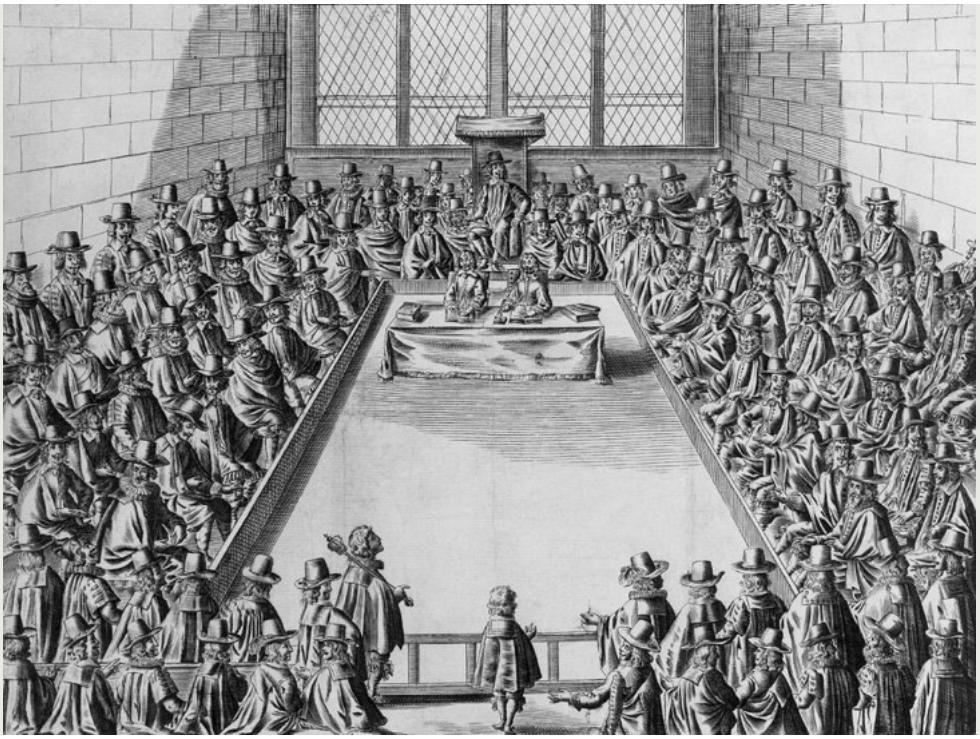
- As collecting became popular at court there were **many other minor collectors** such as Algernon Percy (1602-1668), 10th **Earl of Northumberland** who had a diverse collection of over **100 paintings including 20 Van Dycks**. Percy became a military leader who supported Parliament in the Civil War. His father, the 9th Earl (the '**Wizard Earl**') was implicated in the **Gunpowder Plot** and imprisoned in the Tower until 1621. Percy married the daughter of William Cecil and was made admiral in 1636 and Lord High Admiral in 1638. This portrait by Van Dyck shows him standing by an anchor.
- He was later a Parliamentarian and the most senior member of the Government opposed to the king. He visited the king at Oxfords as a member of the peace party. When peace could not be negotiated he retired to his estate at **Petworth, West Sussex**. However, he returned in 1643 and became a supporter of the new Model Army.
- In 1645 he was made guardian of the King's two children and there was talk that **he might be made king** if negotiations with Charles failed. He opposed any talk of trying the King for treason.
- He protested at plans to sell the Duke of Buckingham's collection, possibly as he did not want to lose them for himself. He agreed with Parliament to take the pick of the pictures in lieu of the £360 still owed him for losses incurred

during the war. He walked away with 12 paintings including Palma Vecchio, Andrea del Sarto and Adam Elsheimer

- (CLICK) but the best was Titian's *Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac and his Secretary*.
- He retired from active duties during the Commonwealth and re-entered politics as a Privy Councillor when Charles II came to the throne.

NOTES

- In 1618, Algernon and his tutor, Edward Douse, began a six-year tour of continental Europe, visiting the Netherlands, Italy, and France. Algernon returned to England in 1624 and joined his father, recently released from the Tower, at court.
- Algernon's first public service involved serving as MP for Sussex during the "Happy Parliament" of 1624–25 and as MP for Chichester during the "Useless Parliament" of 1625–26.
- In March 1626, Algernon was summoned to the House of Lords, assuming his father's barony and becoming known as "Lord Percy." In November 1626, he was appointed joint Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, Westmorland, and Northumberland. Percy became a leader in the House of Lords of the faction opposed to Charles I's favourite, George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham.
- Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac (c. 1501-1585), Bishop of Rodez and his Secretary Guillaume Philandrier (d. 1565). The picture was painted when d'Armagnac was French ambassador to the Venetian court from 1536-9. They were both scholars and wrote the first French commentary on Vitruvius.



Commonwealth Parliament, 1650

- Charles I was tried, convicted and executed for high treason on 30 January 1649.
- On 24 March the same year (although technically at the time it was the following year) an **Act was passed regarding the sale of the goods of the late King**, the Queen and the Prince of Wales.
- It was thought this would **easily raise a fortune** and would pay of the king's creditors (his servants and suppliers) and enough would be left over to fund the Royal Navy to the extent of £30,000. From our modern viewpoint is was **an act of 'incomparable folly'**.
- Nine trustees were sent around the Palaces to draw up an inventory and value the goods. The total valuation price of the Commonwealth Sale inventory of paintings was £33,690. All and the King's goods were **moved to Somerset House** to be sold by six men known as contractors. **Many of the goods were damaged in transit**.

NOTES

- **The Spanish were aware of the potential sale very early. In 1645 the Spanish ambassador Alonso de Cárdenas informed Philip IV that Parliament intended to sell the King's paintings**. Philip immediately ordered Cárdenas to find 'which might be originals by Titian, Veronese or other old paintings of distinction' but he was to acquire them without revealing the name of the purchaser. Cárdenas was bankrolled not by the King but by a

royal minister Luis de Haro who gave the best pictures to his monarch but kept the majority for himself. As soon as the Somerset House sale started Cárdenas visited the disordered piles of goods and paintings and wrote a list of the finest works which he sent to Haro. The list includes artist, size, subject, price and an evaluation of its quality and condition.

JERRY BROTTON, *THE SALE OF THE LATE KING'S GOODS*

The following summary is of Jerry Brotton, *The Sale of the Late King's Goods*

- **In March 1649 Parliament decided to sell Charles I's collection** including jewels and valuables to fund the navy and pay off creditors. They named a group of eleven individuals who visited all the palaces, drew up a detailed inventory and priced all the items down to pots and pans in the kitchens.
- Colonel **William Webb**, p.232, went on an extraordinary buying spree. Most people could not afford to buy the works in the sale as there was a recession partly caused by Charles I no longer spending about £1 million a year. The works were moved from all the royal palaces to Somerset House but many items were damaged during the move and they were badly presented. William Webb paid £1,302 when his annual salary was £15, so it is likely that he was buying **on behalf of other people** who wished to remain anonymous. John Hutchinson (p. 235) was another major buyer. It is likely that both made substantial profits from the transactions.
- In 1650, because of the **failure of the sale**, Parliament voted to produce a first list of creditors who would be **given royal goods** to the value of what they were owed.
- Balthazar Gerbier realised the value of the works and predicted they would be worth triple in a hundred years time (p. 244 for quotation).
- Alonso de Cárdenas (the **Spanish ambassador** for Philip IV) **started secretly buying** on behalf of Philip through agents. For example, Colonel William Wetton paid £570 for three paintings that Cárdenas bought the same day for £875.
- Some works were obtained extremely cheaply (p. 252), for example **Veronese, *Mars and Venus* for £11, Van Dyck, *Margaret Lemon* for £23** and Mantegna *Death of the Virgin* for £17 10s. In 2009 a self-portrait by Sir Anthony Van Dyck sold for £8.3million.
- The artist John de Critz (p. 256) had a house in the poor area of Austin

Friars (north-east of the Bank of England) but it was packed with the finest paintings and sculptures by 1651 including Bernini's bust of Charles I that was purchased for £400. De Critz was given the works as a creditor and it is likely he was one of the creditors that was able to use his connections to select the best works.

- 1651, the second list (p. 258-9) 'profoundly changed British attitude to art'. **Glaziers, plumbers, tailors etc. had Titians, Raphael, Correggio in their homes**, such as Correggio *Education of Cupid* £800, Durer *portrait of his father* 1636 and self-portrait, £100, Rembrandt *Old Woman* £4. Correggio *Venus, Satyr and Cupid* £1,000.
- **Fourteen syndicates or dividends were formed of creditors**. They drew lots and the winner had the first choice and so on. This avoided the state having to allocate paintings. Many creditors were betrayed, poor widows ended up with copies, paintings in poor condition worth a few pounds. **Well connected creditors made a killing**.
- 1651 Charles II army reached Gloucester but was defeated, Charles escaped.
- Leonardo *St John the Baptist*, p. 265 went to Jan van Belcamp.
- Fourteen dividends were given goods whose **total value was £70,000**, with paintings about one third, £20,000. Captain Stone and Emmanuel de Critz each headed up three dividends with a total value allocated of £15,000.
- **David Teniers** arrived representing the Low Countries and **spent £7,000 in a week**. He bought Titan *Venus and Cupid with an Organist* from John Hutchinson for £600. Hutchinson paid £165 in 1649 and up till then had been keeping a low profile waiting for more buyers to arrive and prices to rise.
- We can see some of the paintings from the Hamilton collection in Tenier's Gallery of the Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm. The Hapsburg empire re-established itself as the finest art collection in Europe.
- Not just Charles I collection but those of Arundel, Buckingham and Hamilton were being sold through different routes.
- **Mantegna's** *Triumph of Caesar* (p. 275) had been rejected by Cárdenas and retained by the state at Hampton Court. The Rump Parliament was dissolved by force by Oliver Cromwell on 20 April 1653 when he formed the Protectorate with him as Lord Protector. Hampton Court was then

used as his weekend retreat.

- **Cromwell does not seem to have appreciated any paintings**. **Tapestries made up £33,000** of the £35,497 total (p. 278). **He kept less than 30 paintings valued at about £2,000**. This does not mean he appreciated tapestries as art works but they were useful wall coverings and created a feel of splendour. He also **kept Mantegna's** *Triumph of Caesar* but this also does not mean he appreciated them artistically, they were in poor condition, valued highly and were difficult to transport. They were originally designed as **cheap wall coverings** compared to tapestries so Cromwell could have seen them in this light, a poor man's tapestry.
- Compared with the state's expenditure the **sale brought negligible returns**. Although there was disgust expressed at the religious iconography and the sexual content of some paintings this did not prevent the Parliament from creating a sale and handing out the goods to creditors. This undermined the magnificence of royal goods by placing them in a marketplace in which everyone participated. Parliament made few of the fundamental domestic reforms it had promised and anger grew.
- When **Cromwell** was made Lord Protector **all sales were stopped**.
- Parliament passed a law that if anyone named someone who had obtained **royal goods illegally** (p. 283) then they would get a **share of the profit** and the person would be fined the value of the goods. This was known as '**discoveries**' and, of course, gave rise to a lot of bad feeling although, in the end, it **raised very little money**. Poor, aged **Inigo Jones** was named and had to **pay £21 for some paintings he owned**. A staggering £1,800 of royal plate was discovered possessed by Henry Mildmay the former Keeper of the Jewel House.
- Note that there were also troubles in France, the future Louis XIV had to flee Paris days before Charles was beheaded because of clashes with Parliament.
- **By 1653 the sale was over** but private owners still had many paintings to sell. The French arrived, Antoine de Bordeaux arrived representing Mazarin. Sellers were now asking six or ten times the original value (p. 292-3) but Cardenas managed to buy three masterpieces cheaply. Evarard Jabach (p. 298) bought 20 of the best paintings for Louis XIV including Titian *Christ at Emmaus* and Guilio Romano *Nativity*, for £500-600, about half what they were valued at. Some dividends needed cash and were accepting half the value but some buyers paid over the top to individuals

that were holding out for high prices. Bordeaux paid £4,300 to David Murray for Correggio *Venus with Satyr and Cupid*.

- In 1653 (p. 301) the last six paintings sold for as much as Cardenas had paid over four years of negotiating.
- Wars started with Spain and in May 1652 with the Dutch.
- Artists did well as middleman both buying and selling and advising. Some, such as van Leemput were skilled at copying Van Dyck. Van Dyck's reputation grew as a result of the sale and the desire across Europe to obtain portraits of Charles and his family and prices for his work grew fourfold. Van Dyck flattered his sitters. Henrietta Maria's sister-in-law was astonished to see her in person , a 'small creature, with skinny arms and teeth like defence works'.
- In 1655 Cromwell declared war on Spain and made peace with France.
- In the past historians have viewed the sale as looting to raise money to enrich individuals and prolong their rule but modern historians have re-evaluated the sale. **The total paid to the Treasury was £134,383 5s 4d and £26,500 went to the Navy**. To put this in perspective by 1660 **the Navy debt was £694,112**. £53,700 was left in the state's possession (p. 308) including Mantegna and Raphael's cartoons. **1,300 paintings were sold for a total of £33,000**.
- A few individuals benefited. **De Critz and Hutchinson both did well**. Hutchinson spent £765 and sold two Titians for £2,000. The main buyers were Cardenas (Spain, the first and he stayed over four years), Teniers (Low Countries) and Bordeaux (France).

Restoration

- The day after the Restoration Parliament called for an investigation of the whereabouts of the king's goods (p. 315). Lists were ordered to be drawn up and they were empowered to seize any goods immediately. All exports were stopped although it was too late for most of the sales. A system was introduced where anyone who reported someone else with the king's goods would receive 20% of their value. This system of paid informers led to a lot of abuses. The worst was the officially appointed Hawley who raided houses, dug up floors and took away personal possessions. However, he eventually returned over 600 paintings and 203 statues. The bulk of Charles I's collection, although some were now copies. Hawley became a rich man from the 20% fee .

- Clement Kinnersley, Keeper of the Wardrobe, demanded £7,000 in back pay and claimed he had saved £500,000 of the king's goods from being sold.
- Many members of the **former king's household** claimed that had engaged in **heroic acts** to save the king's goods and republicans admitted their guilt and swore their allegiance to the king. Those directly involved in the beheading of Charles I were hung, drawn and quartered.
- Peter Lely, who had lived in the king's court overseas, registered ten paintings and four statues including *Crouching Venus*. Viscount Lisle had spent £3,000 acquiring the king's goods.
- **Charles II bought 72 paintings from a dealer, William Fizell, for £2,086**. Charles II saw the need for art in the royal palaces but was much more careful than his father. He asked for delivery of the paintings to be delayed so that it would not appear he was overspending on art.
- Things had changed, the **Sale had created an art market in Europe and particularly in London and there were now public sales as a regular occurrence and price lists**.
- Kinnersley was given three days to prepare the king's palaces before Charles II's return. He did a good jump largely because Cromwell had kept so much.
- In the end a surprisingly large number of art works were reinstalled, either retained by Cromwell, seized by Hawley, returned by individuals seeking favours, given as a gift by the Low Countries or bought by Charles II from Fizell.

<u>The Causes of the Civil War</u>

- **Charles I was an intellectual without the common sense of both his father and Charles II**. Charles was **arrogant, conceited and a strong believer in the divine rights of kings**. He had witnessed the damaged relationship between his father and Parliament, and considered that Parliament was entirely at fault. He found it difficult to believe that a king could be wrong. His conceit and arrogance were eventually to lead to his execution.
- In 1629 Parliament committed suicide because of the fanaticism of Eliot. Charles refused to let Parliament meet for eleven years, known as the **Eleven Years of Tyranny**. In 1635 Charles ordered everyone to pay **Ship Money** as he could not raise money through taxes without Parliament. This

caused a huge argument and John Hampden, MP **refused to pay**, was tried and found guilty. He became a popular hero. Charles also angered the **Scots** over insisting they **use a new prayer book**. The Scots invaded and as Charles had no money to fight them he had to recall Parliament in 1640. In 1642 he went to Parliament with **300 soldiers to arrest the five ringleaders** but they had already fled. **Charles left London for Oxford to raise an army** to fight Parliament for control of England.

- **The Interregnum** started with the **beheading of Charles I on 30 January 1649** and ended with the request for Charles II to return as king in 1660. During the Interregnum there were two periods, the Commonwealth and the Protectorate (1653-1660). The Commonwealth started with the declaration by the Rump Parliament that England was a Commonwealth. Fighting continued in Scotland and Ireland (the Third Civil War). The Protectorate was governed under martial law run by Oliver Cromwell.

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Titian, *Venus with Organ Player*, c. 1550, 138 x 222.4 cm, Prado

Titian, *Jupiter and Anthiope (Pardo Venus)*, 1540-42, Louvre
Titian, *Venus with Organ Player*, c. 1550, 138 x 222.4 cm, Prado

- There were many problems with the sale not least that **no one could value the paintings and there was no market**. In England, some groups were already seeing the late King as a martyr. Also, the parliamentarians had executed or driven potential collectors into exile.
- The **potential buyers around Europe were monarchs who were appalled** at what had happened in England and did not want to be seen to be benefiting from Charles's execution.
- Most of the buyers were supporters of Parliament and speculators hoping to turn a quick profit.
- However, Colonel William Webb and John Hutchinson went on an extraordinary buying spree.
- **Colonel John Hutchinson**, a veteran of the Civil War became the largest cash buyer of the king's pictures. Hutchinson, who was part of the tribunal that sentenced Charles, bought **Titian's *Pardo Venus* for £600**, and (CLICK) ***Venus and the Organ Player* for £165**. In total Hutchinson spent £1,349 on paintings including *The Children of Charles I*.
- **Hutchinson turned out to be one of the most canny** of those who bought to make a profit. ***Venus and the Organ Player*** was described as 'a very pretty piece that is esteemed as one of the best by Titian, which is a nude woman and a man playing the organ, life-size'. Hutchinson sold it to Teniers for £600. We shall see later how much he received for the *Pardo Venus*.

PARDO VENUS

- In 1574, Titian described this painting in a letter to the secretary of Philip II as being "the naked woman with the landscape and satyr". Its present name, *Pardo Venus*, derived from the Spanish palace of El Pardo, where the painting was for a long time kept. The reclining naked figure was interpreted as a Venus. In fact, the painting depicts the moment when Jupiter, in the form of a satyr, approached Antiope (‘an-TIE-oh-pea’) , a king's daughter, who will give birth to twins.

Venus with Organ Player

- Accompanied by a dog and reclining on a bed in front of a window through which the gardens of a villa are visible, Venus listens to the music played by an organist.
- There are five known works by Titian on the subject of Venus and Music, and all follow the same model, though the organist is sometimes a lutenist and the dog is sometimes Cupid (Prado Museum, Staatliche Museum of Berlin, Metropolitan Museum of New York and Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge).
- These paintings have been interpreted in a variety of manners. Some historians see them as **simple erotic scenes**, while others consider them **neo-platonic allegories of the senses, in which vision and hearing** are instruments for knowing beauty and harmony.
- This work, probably the first of the series, **belonged to the legal expert, Francesco Assonica**. It differs from the others in the individualization of both figures' facial features, giving it the appearance of a portrait. It was later **acquired by Charles I of England**. When the latter's possessions were auctioned, it was **purchased by Luis Méndez de Haro** for the collection of Felipe IV (1605-1665). It entered the Prado Museum collection in 1827 and is listed for the first time in Spain in the 1626 inventory of Madrid's Alcázar Palace.

References

- Prado website and others

Titian, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, 1571, 188.9 × 145.1 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Titian (1489-1576), *Tarquin and Lucretia or rape of Lucretia,* 1570-1571, 193 x 143 cm, Museum of Fine Art, Bordeaux

Tiziano Vecellio, Titian (1489-1576), *Tarquin and Lucretia or rape of Lucretia,* 1570-1571, 193 x 143 cm, Museum of Fine Art, Bordeaux

Titian, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, 1571, 188.9 cm × 145.1 cm, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

- **Colonel William Webb** was another Parliamentarian who decided to play the market. He bought a number of paintings by Italian masters including *Tarquin and Lucretia*, then ascribed to Titian.
- **The risks** were considerable because they were not art connoisseurs and they were paying the evaluated price.
- The **Fitzwilliam** *Tarquin and Lucretia* was probably a commission for Philip II of Spain and remained in his successors' collection until 1813, when it seems to have been taken to France by Joseph Bonaparte after he gave up the Spanish throne. It then had several private owners, it is now held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.
- (CLICK) **There is a variant (perhaps a workshop replica or Spanish copy) now in Bordeaux purchased by Lord Arundel in Venice in 1613**
- **Bordeaux**: Titian's *Tarquin and Lucretia* (1571) was acquired by Thomas Howard probably during his stay in Venice in 1613. **It was given to Charles I by Arundel** and remained in the English royal collection until 1649 when the Commonwealth Sale resulted in its purchase by **Colonel Webb**. Webb sold it to **Cardinal Jules Mazarin** and it was in his collection until 1661 when he **gave the work to Louis XIV**. It remained in the French royal collection and so became part of the collection in the **Louvre**.

- But was it a genuine Titian? Paintings are easy to copy and so the ability to detect a forgery became very important to the collector. Connoisseurship became a vital skill for collecting either possessed by the collector or by their agents who then had to be trusted.

NOTES

- A study of the history of this painting is revealing and it highlights one of the issues of collecting and, I think, one of its joys and dangers.
- **Fitzwilliam**: Titian, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, 1571, 189 x 145 cm, Fitzwilliam
    - It was probably a commission for Philip II of Spain and remained in his successors' collection until 1813, when it seems to have been taken to France by Joseph Bonaparte after he gave up the Spanish throne. It then had several private owners, it is now held at the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.
    - The subject, found in both Ovid and Livy, of Tarquin threatening to kill Lucretia to force her to submit to his desires was probably suggested to Titian by northern prints (including two, dating from 1539 and 1553, by the German Heinrich Aldegrever and one, dating from the 1540s, by the Fontainebleau 'Master LD'). The picture is almost certainly the 'Roman Lucretia violated by Tarquin', which Titian says he had **sent to Spain** in a letter of 1 August **1571 to Philip II**. It is unusually highly finished and brilliantly coloured for such a late work, and Titian himself describes it as '**an invention involving greater labour and artifice than anything, perhaps, that I have produced for many years**.' It was taken from the Spanish royal collection by Joseph Bonaparte on his flight from the Spanish throne in 1813 and given to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Charles Fairfax Murray in 1918. **There is a variant (perhaps a workshop replica or Spanish copy) in Bordeaux purchased by Lord Arundel in Venice in 1613**, and a third, much smaller unfinished version (possibly by an assistant or imitator) in Vienna.
- **Bordeaux**: Titian's *Tarquin and Lucretia* (1571) was acquired by Thomas Howard probably during his stay in Venice in 1613.
    - **It was given to Charles I by Arundel** and remained in the English royal collection until 1649 when the Commonwealth Sale resulted in its purchase by **Colonel Webb**. Webb sold it to **Cardinal Jules Mazarin** and it was in his collection until 1661 when he **gave the**

work to Louis XIV. It remained in the French royal collection and so became part of the collection in the **Louvre**.
    - But was it a genuine Titian?
- There is also a third, much smaller unfinished version (possibly by an assistant or imitator) in Vienna.
- Paintings are easy to copy and so the ability to detect a forgery became very important to the collector. Connoisseurship became a vital skill for collecting either possessed by the collector or by their agents who then had to be trusted.
- Lucretia (died c. 510 BC) was a legendary Roman woman whose fate played a role in the transition from a Roman monarchy into a Roman republic. Roman historian Livy and Greek-Roman historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus from the time of Emperor Caesar Augustus agreed that there was such a woman and that her suicide after being raped by an Etruscan king's son was the immediate cause of the anti-monarchist rebellion that overthrew the monarchy. The last king of Rome, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus (Tarquin) was a tyrant who raped Lucretia, the wife of a prominent Roman. There are variations of the story but one version is that Tarquin threatened to either rape Lucretia or stab her and a servant and place them together so it appeared that had committed adultery. Lucretia was then raped but the next morning she went to her father, the chief magistrate of Rome, disclosed the rape, called for vengeance and then stabbed herself to death. The incident led to rebellion and the expulsion of Tarquin and the establishment of a Republic. As a result of its sheer impact, the rape itself became a major theme in European art and literature.

Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1629, Baltimore Museum of Art

Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1629, Baltimore Museum of Art

- One of Webb's the best known purchases was Anthony van Dyck, ***Rinaldo and Armida*** which had been **painted for Charles in 1629 for £78**. Webb paid £80 which suggests he had access to the prices previously paid.
- Webb also acquired portraits of all the Tudor monarchs from Henry VII for just £15. He began to attend the sale every day and purchased a portrait of Charles and Henrietta Maria for £60 and the following day a painting by Giulio Romano for just £8. Within a few weeks he had bought 56 pictures for a staggering £1,302. As the basic average wage for a military officer as £15 a year Webb was obviously acting on behalf of a consortia or a private buyer who did not wish to be identified.

RINALDO AND ARMIDA

- *Rinaldo and Armida* depicts a scene from Tasso's epic poem *Gerusalemme liberate* when the sorceress Armida falls in love with the sleeping Christian knight, Rinaldo, on whom she had cast a spell, intending then to kill him. The painting was one of two that were intended to convince Charles of Van Dyck's skill as a painter. Armida's cloak forms a reverse 'S' curve as she leans forward to garland him with roses. Cupid snickers behind her back at the success of his magic arrow and a putto in the sky is about to fire a second arrow. A naked water nymph with scaly legs serenades the lovers.
- One possible anonymous buyer was Philip, Viscount Lisle who spent nearly £700 on 30 pictures. Lisle was a keen collector but a senior member of the

Parliamentarians who wished to remain anonymous. The pictures Webb bought for Lisle ended up in his Sheen House collection. Sheen House stood to the north of Richmond Park and was demolished in 1907.

- One result of the Commonwealth Sale was that Van Dyck became very popular throughout Europe. His portraits of Charles I and his family were particularly popular.

Antony Van Dyck, *Charles I with M. de St Antoine*, 1633, Royal Collection

Antony Van Dyck, *Charles I with M. de St Antoine*, 1633, 368.4 x 269.9 cm, Royal Collection

- **Artists were keen buyers and were experts but had little money.**
- **Remigius van Leemput** was an assistant of Van Dyck and dabbled in the market making a number of purchases below £40 each. He acquired 35 paintings and sculptures over six months including Titian, Giorgione, Correggio and Andrea del Sarto and he was able to acquire the famous **equestrian portrait by van Dyck of *Charles I with M. de St Antoine* we saw earlier**. The painting was valued at just £150 and he tried to sell it in Antwerp but was unsuccessful because his asking price of 1,500 guineas was too high. It is also possible that he was in fact **trying to sell a copy of the portrait he had made himself**. After the Restoration in 1660, the painting was still with him. It was **recovered from him** for Charles II through legal proceedings.

CHARLES I WITH M. DE ST ANTOINE

- This was painted the year after Van Dyck returned to England and had been knighted by Charles.
- Charles was only 5’ 4” and by showing him on a horse from below his stature is emphasized.
- It may have been intended for the King’s gallery at St James’s Palace.
- Van Dyck's portrait echoes the imperial tone of Titian's equestrian portrait of Emperor Charles V from 1548, itself inspired by equestrian portraits of Roman emperors.

- A large Royal coat of arms of the House of Stuart stands to the lower left of the painting.
- There are other versions of this painting including one at Highclere Castle that featured in the TV series Downton Abbey.
- It was included in the auction of the Royal Collection following the execution of Charles I, valued at £150, and sold to "Pope" on 22 December 1652 and was subsequently acquired by the Flemish painter Remigius van Leemput who was a resident in London. It was recovered from van Leemput through legal proceedings and returned to Charles II in 1660. The painting remains in the Royal Collection and is usually on display at Windsor Castle.

David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), *Archduke Leopold William in His Gallery*, c. 1647, Prado, Madrid

David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690), *Archduke Leopold William in His Gallery*, c. 1647, Prado, Madrid

Titian (Tiziano Vecellio, c. 1490-1576), *The Death of Actaeon*, 1559-75, 178.8 x 197.8 cm, National Gallery

- **It was not just the king's goods that were sold but all the Whitehall Group including the collections of Arundel, Buckingham and Hamilton.**
- One of the first collections to be sold was that of the Duke of Buckingham. The 1st Duke had been murdered by one of his sea captains in 1628. His son, also George Villiers, the 2nd Duke of Buckingham was sent abroad in 1645 and in his absence the Commons attempted to seize his art collection. This was prevented by the Duke of Northumberland and when he returned he sent 200 paintings in 16 packing cases to Amsterdam. From there they were sent to Antwerp and over the next 18 months were pawned to raise cash to maintain his family who by then were living in exile. Through a series of complex transactions they were redeemed and sold in 1650 to Archduke Leopold William for 60,000 florins.
- **This painting by Teniers we saw earlier shows many of the paintings from the Hamilton collection that had just been acquired. At this time, James, Duke of Hamilton** was executed on 9 March 1649 and in his will he named his brother William as his heir. Somehow William, Earl of Lanark, was able to escape to Holland and take about a third of the art collection with him. By 19 April Archduke Leopold William had acquired some of Hamilton's paintings. We have a passport issued in The Hague allowing them to be transported to

Brussels. In the end Leopold William acquired just over 200 paintings from the Hamilton collection.

NOTES

- **This painting by Teniers shows many of the paintings from the Hamilton collection that had just been acquired.** It does not show the paintings acquired from Buckingham as they were sent to Prague to replace the pictures stolen by **Queen Christina of Stockholm**. Astonishingly Christina **abdicated in 1654** and left Sweden to become a Catholic. On her way to the Spanish Netherlands she stopped in Brussels and stayed with the Archduke, who whatever his feelings about her previous theft offered her hospitality and even **presented her with the jewel of his collection Titian's *The Death of Actaeon***.
    - Top centre, **Titian, *Diana and Callisto***, 1556-9, National Gallery London/Scotland. *Diana and Callisto* and *Diana and Actaeon* were painted for King Philip II of Spain between 1556 and 1559 and belong to a group of large-scale mythologies inspired by the Roman poet Ovid's 'Metamorphoses' – Titian himself referred to them as 'poesie', the visual equivalent of poetry. At the same time, Titian began another painting associated with this pair, *The Death of Actaeon*, also in the National Gallery. For some reason, Titian never sent this painting to the king and it remained in his studio unfinished at his death.
    - Bottom right, fourth from right, **Titian, *Woman with a Mirror***, 1512-5, Louvre.
    - Top right, **Titian, *Danae***
    - Top left, **Titian, *Shepherd and Nymph***, 1575-6, 149.6 x 187 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, a late painting so roughly painted and not commissioned. The nude's pose is borrowed from Campagnola's *Reclining Nude* of 1513.
- Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria (1614-1662) was an Austrian military commander and Governor of the Spanish Netherlands from 1647 to 1656. He was a patron of the arts. From 1647 he employed David Teniers as a painter and as keeper of his collection at the Coudenberg Palace. He spent enormous sums on acquiring paintings by Dutch and Flemish artists as well as Italian masters. During the Commonwealth Sale he commissioned the British painter John Michael Wright to travel to Cromwell's England, and

acquire art and artefacts. He bought paintings owned by Charles I and by the Duke of Buckingham and when Leopold returned to Austria he moved the collection to Vienna and they are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum.

- It has been suggested that Velázquez borrowed the device of the half-open door at the back of this picture for his Las Meninas; at least Las Meninas can be understood as a similar picture, designed to illustrate the enlightened patronage of the patron and the corresponding pride of the court artist.

The Death of Actaeon

- The subject of this painting approximately follows Ovid's account in the 'Metamorphoses'. In revenge for surprising her as she bathed naked in the woods, the goddess Diana transformed Actaeon into a stag and his own hounds attacked and killed him.
- Painted for Phillip II of Spain, but not know if it ever reached the King; Archduke Leopold William, Brussels; Queen Christina of Sweden; Dukes of Orleans, Paris; Sir Abraham Hume; the Earls of Brownlow; the Earls of Harewood; Christie's; J.Paul Getty Museum

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Web Gallery of Art

Giorgione (1477-1510) and/or Titian (1490-1576), *Fête champêtre*, c. 1509, 110 × 138 cm, Louvre

Giorgione (1477-1510) and/or Titian (1490-1576), *Fête champêtre*, c. 1509, 110 × 138 cm, Louvre

- By the **1630s Arundel** was in financial difficulties because of his hair-brained scheme to set up a commercial company to **exploit Madagascar**. In 1641, Arundel escorted Maria d'Medici abroad, even then he was selling drawings to pay his debts. In London he sent 60 cases of his belongings abroad and in 1642 he escaped with Henrietta Maria. He died in 1645 in Parma, a broken man. His wife survived to 1644. The collection was sold to support Charles and some went to Parliamentarians. In 1653 Arundel's grandson sought to sell the pictures to the French and Spanish ambassadors but Arundel's youngest son then sued the grandson and stopped the sale. An inventory was drawn up in 1654 and the agent of the Spanish ambassador bought 56 Venetian paintings straight away including eight Veronese (including Christ and the Centurion , still in the Prado). The difficulty of making money from these sales is shown by **Arundels' nephews** who also bought some of the works to make money. First they over-priced the work and sold none, they then set up a lottery but sold no tickets.
- **Parts of the Arundel collection were also bought for France.** Everhard Jabach bought masterpieces from the Arundel collection in Utrecht in 1662 for France. He bought a number of Holbeins now in the Louvre including *William Wareham, Archbishop of Canterbury*, *Nicholas Kratzer*, *Anne of Cleves* and *Sir Henry Wyatt*. He also bought Titian's *Concert Champêtre* (p.63 of *Kings and Connoisseurs*, Jonathan Brown).

NOTES

- The painting was originally attributed to Giorgione, but modern critics assign it more likely to his pupil Titian, due to the figures' robustness which was typical of his style. It is also likely that Giorgione (whose works included elements such as music, the pastoral idleness and simultaneous representation of the visible and invisible) began the work, and then, after his death in 1510, it was finished by Titian.
- The work was owned by the Gonzaga family, perhaps inherited from Isabella d'Este: it was later sold to Charles I of England and then to French banker Eberhard Jabach; he in turn sold it to Louis XIV of France in 1671.
- The subject was perhaps the allegory of poetry and music: the two women would be an imaginary apparition representing the ideal beauty, stemming from the two men's fantasy and inspiration. The woman with the glass vase would be the muse of tragic poetry, while the other one would be that of the pastoral poetry. Of the two playing men, the one with the lute would represent the exalted lyric poetry, the other being an ordinary lyricist, according to the distinction made by Aristotle in his *Poetics*. Another interpretation suggests that the painting is an evocation of the four elements of the natural world (water, fire, earth and air) and their harmonic relationship.

Titian (1490–1576), The Flaying of Marsyas, c.1570-1576, 212 × 207 cm, Kroměříž Archdiocesan Museum, Czech Republic

Titian (1490–1576), *The Flaying of Marsyas*, c.1570-1576, 212 × 207 cm, Kroměříž Archdiocesan Museum, Czech Republic

- The difficulty of making money from these sales is shown by **Arundels' nephews** who also bought some of the works to make money. First they over-priced the work and sold none, they then set up a lottery but sold no tickets even though it included **Titian's *Flaying of Marsyas***. In the end **Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein bought it for a vastly reduced price** for his Palace in Czechoslovakia.

NOTES

- ***The Punishment of Marsyas*** (also known as ***The Flaying of Marsyas***) is a painting by the Italian late Renaissance artist Titian, painted around 1570-1576. It is currently housed in National Museum in Kroměříž, in the Czech Republic. It's Titian's last finished work.
- Buckingham's eldest son was born in 1628 (the year he was assassinated) and was also called George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, in 1645 went abroad. Parliament seized his collection but the Earl of Northumberland intervened and managed to stop the sale, but took Titian's *Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac* with his secretary (still in his castle today). **In 1646** the 2nd Duke of **Buckingham** returned and **sent the collection to the Netherlands**, 16 chests including 200 paintings. He pawned them for cash to live and they were eventually bought by Archduke Leopold William (a great collector then living in the Netherlands) for 60,000 florins. he also **bought the Duke of Hamilton's collection** (Hamilton had been executed with Charles in 1649).

Anthony van Dyck, *Margaret Lemon*, c. 1638, 93.3 x 77.8 cm, Hampton Court Palace

Veronese, *Mars, Venus and Cupid*, 1580, National Gallery of Scotland

Veronese, *Mars, Venus and Cupid*, 1580, National Gallery of Scotland

Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641), *Margaret Lemon*, c. 1638, 93.3 x 77.8 cm, Hampton Court Palace

- **Returning to the main sale – the Commonwealth Sale of the late King's goods.**
- **Parliament first used Somerset House as a show room but for the paintings this was a failure. The second attempt** to pay the creditors was to offer them paintings as payment in kind. Tailors and plumbers wanted cash not paintings so they formed **14 syndicates known as dividends** headed up by someone charged with selling the paintings.
- By May 1650 it was clear the first attempt at the sale was a failure as only a quarter of the pictures had been sold for a total of £7,700 (the valuation price of the Commonwealth Sale inventory of paintings was £33,690). Partly because of increasing pressure from the creditors the Commons appointed a committee to expedite payment. The highest priority creditors were paid partly in cash and partly in the king's goods.
- **Some works were obtained extremely cheaply, for example the artist Jan Baptist Gaspars bought Van Dyck, *Margaret Lemon* for £23 and Veronese, *Mars, Venus and Cupid* for £11**. The Veronese had been bought by Prince Charles on his visit to Spain in 1623.
- In July a second list of creditors who received 684 paintings in lieu of back wages and after some squabbling over how they should be divided they started to leave Somerset House by the cartload.

- The creditors needed cash not paintings so they formed themselves into **fourteen syndicates known as dividends** each of which held about £5,000 of art. Ruben's *Peace and War* was valued at £100 and was given to a creditor. The goods were divided into lots and assigned to groups of creditors according to what they were owed. Each group assigned a leader who had some knowledge of how to value and sell the goods. This meant there were masterworks in houses all over London. For example, **Charles I's tailor had Durer's *self-portrait***.

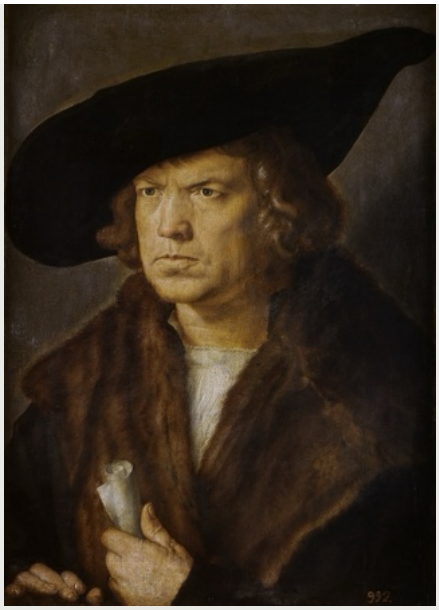
NOTES

- **It was a paradise for the Alonso de Cárdenas, the Spanish ambassador for Philip IV**, as he could buy at knock down prices from Charles's creditors as they needed the cash. De Cárdenas started secretly buying on behalf of Philip through agents. For example, Colonel William Wetton paid £570 for three paintings that Cárdenas bought the same day for £875. Gaspars is said to have worked on the unfinished painting of Margaret Lemon although no sign of another artist's brushwork remains. The painting was bought by the French ambassador, Antoine Bordeaux-Neufville and later returned to Charles II possibly because it was unfinished or thought to have been retouched by Gaspars.

Notes

- **Van Dyck**, *Margaret Lemon.* Van Dyck's mistress who Wenceslaus Hollar described **as violently jealous, on one occasion she tried to bite off Van Dyck's thumb**. It is believed to be unfinished because **Van Dyck married the respectable court beauty Mary Ruthven** in 1640. It is related to Rubens portrait of *Helena Fourment as Venus* although both are likely to have been based on Titian's *Woman in a Fur Wrap*.
- **Veronese**, *Mars, Venus and Cupid*, Venus gently comforts her son Cupid, who is startled by a lively little spaniel. This incidental detail enhances the immediate appeal of the mythological characters. The sensuous goddess of love, swathed in luxurious fabric, rests on Mars' knee. It is thought that the god of war may have been included late on in the design (possibly by an assistant) because **only the figures of Venus and Cupid appear in related preparatory drawings** (British Museum, London). The very sketchy treatment of Cupid's wings suggests that the painting may have been left unfinished.

Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), *Self-portrait*, 1498, 52 x 41 cm, Prado



Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, 1521, 50 x 36 cm, Prado

Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528), *Self-portrait*, 1498, 52 x 41 cm, Prado
Albrecht Dürer, *Portrait of an Unknown Man*, 1521, 50 x 36 cm, Prado

- Alonso de Cárdenas had little competition at this stage as the ambassador of France was nowhere to be seen yet. Leopold William, mentioned earlier, was still absorbing all the works he had bought from the Duke of Buckingham's collection and Hamilton's collections. Queen Christina of Sweden, another great collector was satisfied with all the works she had just looted from the castle of Prague in 1648 when she made off with the collection of Rudolph II.
- It was too good to be true as it enabled De Cárdenas to negotiate aggressively. He still paid £325 for Tintoretto's *Christ Washing the Feet of the Apostles* which had been valued at £300, but he acquired **two portraits by Albrecht Dürer for £75 each from the king's tailor** (they were valued at £100 each).

SELF-PORTAIT

- Dürer painted himself half-length and slightly turned, beside a window that opens onto a mountainous landscape. He wears a white Jerkin with black edging and a shirt with gold lace, long hair, a black and white striped cap with tassels, a brown cape and grey kid gloves. The choice of elegant, aristocratic clothing and the severe gaze he directs at the viewer with haughty serenity indicate Dürer's wish to show off his social standing.
- This work is outstanding for its rich details, the meticulous treatment of qualities, and its brilliant, gold-toned colour scheme, all of which complement

an impeccably precise drawing.

- His satisfaction with his own artistic capacity is manifest in the German inscription on the window ledge, which reads: "1498, I painted it according to my figure. I was twenty-six years old Albrecht Dürer". It was a gift from Nuremberg city council to King Charles I of England, and was acquired in 1654 at the sale of his possessions by Don Luis de Haro, who presented it to Felipe IV.

Portrait of an Unknown Man

- The as-yet-unidentified sitter wears a large hat and his clothing is complemented by a large fur collar. He holds a roll of paper in his left hand. This is probably a Burgher or an important imperial employee whose importance and high social standing are perfectly captured by Dürer.
- In a masterful psychological study, the painter brings out the facial features, emphasizing the severe wince of the lips and the concentrated gaze, which capture his authoritarian, distrustful character. The study of light, the way the bust is brought out over a neutral background, and the reduced space, multiply the sense of contained energy, making this one of Dürer's most intense portraits. This work is first listed at Madrid's Alcázar Palace in 1666.

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Raphael (Giulio Romano),
The Holy Family, or The Pearl,
1519 – 1520, 147.4 x 116 cm.
Prado, Madrid

Raphael, Giulio Romano, *The Holy Family, or The Pearl,* 1519 – 1520, 147.4 x 116 cm. Prado, Madrid

- **In 1652 France entered the market.**
- Alonso de Cárdenas domination of the market came to an end in **1652 when Cardinal Mazarin of France** decided to renew diplomatic relations with England and sent Antoine de Bordeaux as an agent.
- During 1653 the **two ambassadors fought to buy** the remaining art works. Initially Bordeaux **bought tapestries and thoroughbred horses** but by 1653 he was buying paintings.
- Perhaps the **greatest masterpiece** for sale was **Raphael's *The Holy Family***, known as ***The Pearl***.
- The Spanish ambassador led the way in the first stage of the sale but on the secondary market. He bought Raphael's *The Holy Family ("The Pearl")* **originally valued at £3,000 for £2,600**. Prior to the French ambassador entering the market de Cárdenas had said that 'The painting is well done, but so expensive that no one talks [of buying] it' and at that stage it had been marked down to £2,500.
- Titian's *St. Peter Enthroned* and *Pope Alexander X* was valued at £250, the Spanish ambassador said it was dark and melancholy and not a painting of taste so he was able to judge between different Titians. Titian's *Entombment of Christ* was £600. Nine tapestries of the Acts of the Apostles were £3,969.
- One of the creditors was Balthazar Gerbier who ran away when the Civil War started and returned and was able to weasel his way into the affections of

Cromwell's government even though he had been knighted by Charles. He wrote a pamphlet condemning Charles. *Emperor Charles V with Hound* was given to him to pay off his debt of £150 and he sold it to Spain (it is still in the Prado).

NOTES

- Philip IV called this painting *The Pearl*, as it was his favourite among all those in his collection. There is **some disagreement as to who painted it**, but the drawing of the **composition** is generally attributed to **Raphael**, who would have given it to **Giulio Romano to finish**.
- Notable here, as in other late works by Raphael, are the importance given to the **landscape**, and an interest in **contrasting light**. Both of these aspects can be attributed to the artist's renewed contact with Leonardo in Rome between 1513 and 1516. **Leonardo's influence** is also clear in the **pyramidal distribution** of the figures.
- The work was painted for Ludovico Canossa, and successively passed through the collections of the Duke and Duchess of Mantua, Charles I of England and Luis de Haro, who gave it to Philip IV.

Correggio (c. 1490-1534), *Venus and Cupid with a Satyr*, 1524-5, 190 x 124 cm, Louvre

Correggio (c. 1490-1534), *Venus and Cupid with a Satyr*, 1524-5, 190 x 124 cm, Louvre

- **With the competition between Spain and France prices jumped.**
- Earlier, in 1649, Alonso de Cárdenas had admired this painting but thought the subject matter was too troubling for Spanish eyes, he said, '**This painting is well done and, although it is very profane, is much esteemed**'.
- It was finely purchased by Bordeaux in November 1653. Bordeaux had received a letter from **Cardinal Mazarin which stressed the importance of buying it, 'In no case allow it to go to the Spanish ambassador'.** On that very day **he closed the deal for a staggering £3,000**. De Cárdenas had paid only £400 for the pendant *The Education of Cupid*. However, it was a near thing as de Cárdenas tried to bribe the seller into putting it back on the market.
- The sudden jump in prices was a result of the competition and as de Cárdenas had acquired the pick of the paintings he withdrew from the market at this point.

NOTES

- This painting is probably the companion-piece of *The Education of Cupid* in the National Gallery, London. It shows a lustful satyr uncovering Venus sleeping in sensuous abandon on the ground. She represents the Terrestrial Venus' of carnal passion. In the National Gallery canvas, a winged Venus and Mercury unite in instructing Cupid, as married lovers educate their offspring or the

benevolent planets which these divinities personify influence children born under their zodiacal signs. This 'Celestial Venus', however, appears no less desirable than her earthly Parisian sister.

- The painting is sometimes erroneously called *The Sleep of Antiope* or *Jupiter and Antiope*.
- Correggio's real name was Antonio Allegri and his career is poorly documented.
- This complex allegory of earthly love was probably accompanied by *The School of Love* (National Gallery, London), whose subject is rather heavenly love. Both works were painted around 1524-27, perhaps for Count Nicola Maffei, a close relative of Federico Gonzaga at whose home these two paintings could be found from 1536.

Titian, *Jupiter and Anthiope (Pardo Venus)*, 1540-42, Louvre

Titian, *Jupiter and Anthiope (Pardo Venus)*, 1540-42, Louvre

- **Hutchinson decides at last to sell at 8 times his purchase price.**
- Prices by the end of 1653 skyrocketed and Cardenas with drew from the market leaving Bordeaux having to pay top prices to buy the remaining paintings of quality.
- Colonel Hutchinson had bought Titian's *Pardo Venus* for £600 in 1649 (it was given to Charles in 1623), but he was merciless in negotiating. He offered it to the French ambassador for £4,200 and a few days later raised the price to £4,900 and sold it.
- There were also buyers that operated in secret, such as the French banker Jabach but we do not know what he paid. We know he did not come to London and was represented by a French merchant called Adamcour but we do not have the wealth of correspondence that we have between Mazarin and Bordeaux.
- **Some important works were reserved for the Government including Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* and Raphael's Cartoons of the *Acts of the Apostles***. It was a peculiar rag-bag including tapestries, one or two portraits, old testament subjects. Possibly it was because they actively used the palaces to entertain foreign dignitaries and they **could not have bare walls so they kept the serious subjects they were not Catholic.**
- In total **it was the largest art sale in history** and although it depressed prices it established the first art market in Europe and simplified the buying and selling of art in future. This **made art more accessible** to a wider group of

wealthy individuals.

NOTES

- The sale was **concluded in January 1654** although some works changed hands on the secondary market.
- The **sale was a failure** as some 500 creditors on the second list were **still owed £14,000**.
- Although **many paintings were recovered** and are in the Royal Collection **the best were lost forever and are now found in the Louvre or the Prado**. Some monarchs were willing to discuss their return but Philip IV of Spain was unwilling even to discuss the matter.
- The **sale process was flawed** from the beginning as **it assumed that selling paintings were like selling cabbages**. It failed to take into account that there were **very few buyers** and the price was determined by creating an active market between these buyers. The sale which included the sale of the Royal collection and the collections of Arundel, Buckingham and Hamilton changed the distribution of art forever but it created the beginnings of an art market in England.

John Michael Wright (1617–1694), *Charles II of England in Coronation robes,* c. 1671-76, 281 × 239.2 cm, Royal Collection

John Michael Wright (1617–1694), *Charles II of England in Coronation robes,* c. 1671-76, 281 × 239.2 cm, Royal Collection

CHARLES II & THE REPOSSESSION

- Now we come to 1660 and the Restoration of Charles II.
- The day after the Restoration, Parliament called for an investigation of the whereabouts of the king's goods.
- Lists were drawn up and officials were empowered to seize any goods immediately. All exports were stopped although it was too late for most of the sales.
- A system was introduced where anyone who reported someone else with the king's goods would receive 20% of their value. This system of paid informers led to a lot of abuses. The worst was the officially appointed **Hawley** who raided houses, dug up floors and took away personal possessions. However, he eventually returned over 600 paintings and 203 statues. The bulk of Charles I's collection, although some were now copies. Hawley became a rich man from the 20% fee .
- Parliament passed a law that if anyone named someone who had obtained **royal goods illegally** (p. 283) then they would get a **share of the profit** and the person would be fined the value of the goods. This was known as '**discoveries**' and, of course, gave rise to a lot of bad feeling although, in the end, it **raised very little money**. The aged **Inigo Jones** was named and had to **pay £21 for some paintings he owned**. A staggering £1,800 of royal plate was discovered possessed by Henry Mildmay the former Keeper of the Jewel

House.

- Clement Kinnersley, Keeper of the Wardrobe, demanded £7,000 in back pay and claimed he had saved £500,000 of the king's goods from being sold.
- Many members of the **former king's household** claimed that had engaged in **heroic acts** to save the king's goods and republicans admitted their guilt and swore their allegiance to the king. Those directly involved in the beheading of Charles I were hung, drawn and quartered.

NOTES

- Peter Lely, who had lived in the king's court overseas, registered ten paintings and four statues including *Crouching Venus*. Viscount Lisle had spent £3,000 acquiring the king's goods.
- **Charles II bought 72 paintings from a dealer, William Fizell, for £2,086**. Charles II saw the need for art in the royal palaces but was much more careful than his father. He asked for delivery of the paintings to be delayed so that it would not appear he was overspending on art.
- Things had changed, the **Sale had created an art market in Europe and particularly in London and there were now public sales as a regular occurrence and price lists**.
- Kinnersley was given three days to prepare the king's palaces before Charles II's return. He did a good jump largely because Cromwell had kept so much.
- In the end a surprisingly large number of art works were reinstalled, either retained by Cromwell, seized by Hawley, returned by individuals seeking favours, given as a gift by the Low Countries or bought by Charles II from Fizell.
- **No major foreign monarch systematically returned Charles I's art to Charles II**. Returns were mostly voluntary gifts or private negotiations:
    - The bulk of the collection that had been sold abroad remained abroad; what Charles II recovered came through personal purchases, gifts, or diplomatic persuasion, rather than formal restitution by other monarchs.
    - France owned many of the paintings. After the Restoration, Charles II actively negotiated for the return of paintings. The **French** king Louis XIV did not systematically return works, but some items were returned

as gifts or on personal persuasion by Charles II. However, most high-profile pieces (e.g., works by Titian, Van Dyck) were retained in France.

- Charles I had acquired **Spanish** works during his lifetime. Spain was largely hostile to the English monarchy post-Civil War. There's no clear record that Philip IV returned works from Charles I's collection.
- Several **Dutch** dealers had purchased Charles I's paintings during the Commonwealth. After the Restoration, Charles II personally purchased or reclaimed some works, but these were mainly through purchase, not restitution.

Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Sannazaro*, c. 1514-18, Royal Collection

Titian, *Portrait of Jacopo Sannazaro*, c. 1514-18, Royal Collection

- **No major foreign monarch systematically returned Charles I's art to Charles II**. Returns from overseas were mostly voluntary gifts or private negotiations
- The **Dutch Government offered the king gifts in compensation including three Titians**. Two are still the only genuine Titians in the Royal Collection. One was *Portrait of Jacopo Sannazaro*. However, it is not clear if Charles I ever owned these works. The key word is "offered" rather than returned. It suggests they were offered in compensation for some diplomatic favour.
- In England, the king could bring **a lawsuit** of claim and delivery, originally known as **replevin** (also called revendication) and dating from the 14th century. This is a lawsuit that enables a person to get back personal **property taken wrongfully** or unlawfully and get compensation for resulting losses. However, most individuals wanted to ingratiate themselves with the new regime and returned the property.

NOTES

Royal Collection website:

- Titian's portraiture was much admired; early in his career, he recorded the features of friends, writers and Venetian noblemen before his international fame led to commissions from Emperor Charles V, the Pope and King Philip II of Spain. This imposing portrait shows a nobleman gazing fixedly forward, lost in thought, his finger tucked into a book to keep his place. It has been

suggested that he is the Neapolitan poet and humanist Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530).

- **Now universally accepted as by Titian**, the work has been recently restored to reveal the subtle play of the brown-patterned damask of the saione or skirted jerkin against the dark brown fur lining and the black of the gown. The **background would originally have been a subtle, paler grey**, giving a cool depth, so that the man's black silhouette stood out against it more clearly, as shown in the print by Cornelius van Dalen the Younger for the Reynst collection.
- The portrait has been dated variously from c.1511 to the early 1520s. The style of the subject's square-necked saione and gown (both with large, bulbous upper sleeves), the wide-necked chemise, the length of his hair with centre parting and the fashion for an indication of a moustache must date the work before 1520 and probably closer to 1513. The sitter wears the sober colours that were typically worn by Venetian male citizens over the age of 25. This portrait seems to fit into Titian's career between the 'Portrait of a Man with a Quilted Sleeve' of c. 1510 (National Gallery, London) and his 'Man with a Glove', generally accepted as c.1523 (Louvre). The half-length view and the fact that Titian experimented with a parapet places this work closer to the National Gallery painting. This earlier date is confirmed by the dress, which resembles other works dated to before 1520. The Louvre portrait exhibits slightly later fashions: shorter hair and the collar of the chemise tied at the neck. Titian seems to have favoured a restricted colour range in these early portraits, with cool blue-grey or green-grey backgrounds.
- The fact that the sitter has his finger in a book links him with portraits of humanists and writers. Various literary candidates have been suggested over the years: a seventeenth-century print after this portrait, by Cornelius van Dalen the Younger, is labelled as Giovanni Boccaccio; in the nineteenth century the portrait was variously identified as Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence and Pietro Aretino. The name Jacopo Sannazaro was first proposed in 1895. The suggestion accords with an early copy of the painting (Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) inscribed 'Sincerus Sannzarius': 'Actius Sincerus' was a pseudonym much used by Sannazaro.
- **Jacopo Sannazaro was a humanist and poet from a noble Neapolitan family**. Except for a brief exile in France in 1501-4 he lived and worked in Naples, serving as court poet to King Ferdinand I and belonging to

Giovanni Pontano's humanist academy. His principal work, 'Arcadia' (1502-4), is an Italian-language version of the classical pastoral, encompassing love, poetry and nostalgia, which was very influential throughout the sixteenth century, whether on the landscapes of Giorgione and Titian or the poetry of Spencer, Sidney and Shakespeare. It is not surprising that Venetians might have wanted to paint or to own a portrait of this famous Neapolitan: Sannazaro's work was published in Venice; he corresponded with the Venetian humanist Pietro Bembo, and composed an epigram dedicated to the city.

- **One problem** with this identification is that the this portrait would **seem to depict a thirty-year-old** and yet, as we have seen, **the clothes, cut of hair and style of painting date it to c.1512-15, when Sannazaro was in his mid-fifties**. This is **not impossible**: In his **portrait of Isabella d'Este** (Royal Collection), **Titian rendered the 60-year-old as a 30-year-old**. As in that case, Titian could here have based the poet's features on an earlier portrait (of c.1490), while depicting him in clothes that would have been fashionable in c.1513. The question therefore remains of whether this face records Sannazaro's appearance in c.1490. His likeness is known to us through a variety of images, including three medals, from which many later printed versions derived. These images of Sannazaro (most of them recording the appearance of a much older man) seem to match the Royal Collection portrait in the thick eyebrows, set of the eyes, long, slightly beaky nose and the heavy jaw. But there are features which do not appear in the present work. Titian might also have been expected to inscribe a portrait of such a famous man as he did with his 1523 portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin). In the end, the idea that this portrait depicts the inventor of the Renaissance pastoral is an attractive one, but is hard to prove. Titian's unsurpassed skill at characterisation conveys an imposing, erudite and intelligent man; whether it is Sannazaro or another humanist has yet to be decided.
  Catalogue entry adapted from *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection: Renaissance and Baroque*, London, 2007

PROVENANCE

Presented to Charles II, 1660, by the States of Holland and West Friesland

Marble statue of a naked Aphrodite crouching at her bath, Roman, 2nd century AD, a version of an original from Hellenistic Greece, British Museum, on loan from Royal Collection, height 112cm

Marble statue of a naked Aphrodite crouching at her bath, Roman, 2nd century AD, a version of an original from Hellenistic Greece,
British Museum, on loan from Royal Collection, height 112cm

- **Not everyone returned the goods so Parliament passed a law offering a reward of 20% to an informant**. This law resulted in **serious miscarriages of justice** as everyone was incentivised to accuse everyone else even those who had bought their works of art legitimately.
- The Restoration, the end result
- **Peter Lely**, who had lived in the king's court overseas, **registered ten paintings and four statues including this *Crouching Venus*** now in the British Museum.
- British Museum website: This statue is sometimes known as '**Lely's Venus**' named after the painter Sir Peter Lely (1618-80). He acquired it from the collection of Charles I, following the King's execution in 1649. After Lely's own death, it found its way back into the Royal Collection.
- Viscount Lisle admitted that he had secretly acquired 120 paintings, statues and gems for a total of £3,000. He had spent more than any other English aristocrat during the sale
- **Some made a fortune** from the Commonwealth Sale but many never even received the money that had been owed by Charles I. **In some cases Charles II paid off these debts**.
- Some tried to profit. Emmanuel de Critz claimed he had kept the king's

pictures in safe keeping and demanded £1,576 for 24 paintings when in fact he had been selling to many foreign buyers. In addition, he claimed £4,000 in backpay as his father John de Critz was Serjeant-Painter to James I and £1,200 he had spent on buying the paintings.

NOTES

- In the fourth century BC the sculptor Praxiteles created a life-size naked statue of Aphrodite (Venus). It was placed in a shrine in her temple at Knidos in south-western Turkey. It was an important innovation in classical sculpture, and subsequent Hellenistic sculptors created several new types of nude Aphrodite figures, that further emphasized the sexual nature of her cult. This trend perhaps reflected both the rising social status of women and changes in male attitudes towards women: previously only male statues had been naked.
- Most of these statues show Aphrodite ineffectually attempting to cover her nakedness with her hands. The action in fact only succeeds in drawing the viewer's eye towards the sexual areas. In this statue the voluptuous Aphrodite crouches down and turns her head sharply to her right, as if surprised by her audience.
- The three-dimensionality of the statue is **typical of Hellenistic sculpture**, as is the hairstyle with its elaborate top-knot. Another figure of Aphrodite in The British Museum (Sc. 1578) could almost be the same figure standing up. Other versions of the crouching Aphrodite are known: some have an additional figure of Eros, the god of love, while others show the goddess kneeling on a water jar to indicate that she is bathing.

Reference: B.S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic sculpture 1* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1990)

Hubert Le Sueur, *Charles I Equestrian Statue*, 1633

- Hubert Le Sueur, *Charles I Equestrian Statue,* 1633

- Finally, a remarkable story of how one major work was lost only to be found buried in someone's garden.
- Today this stands amid the traffic south of Trafalgar Square, unnoticed by the majority of passers-by.
- It was the **first Renaissance-style equestrian statue in England**, commissioned by Charles's Lord High Treasurer Richard Weston for the garden of his country house in Roehampton, Surrey (now in South London). Following the English Civil War the statue was **sold to a metalsmith** to be broken down. He sold cutlery allegedly made from the statue. However, he **hid it until the Restoration**. It was installed in its current, far more prominent location in the centre of London in 1675, and the elaborately carved plinth dates from that time.
- A little known fact, the site marks the official centre of London, and the point to and from which many distances to and from London are measured.

NOTES

- It was by the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur, probably cast in 1633 and its location near Charing Cross is on the former site of the most elaborate of the Eleanor crosses erected by Edward I, which stood for three and a half centuries until 1647 when it was destroyed by Puritan iconoclasts.
- Queen Eleanor was the wife of Edward I and died in 1290 six miles from Lincoln. The route of her body back to London was marked by 12 crosses at

Lincoln (the starting-point), Grantham, Stamford, Geddington, Northampton, Stony Stratford, Woburn, Dunstable, St. Albans, Waltham, Cheapside and Charing. Only three survive: at Geddington, Northampton and Waltham. That at Charing was by far the most costly of the twelve. The crosses were ordered to be destroyed in 1643 by the one at Charing was not destroyed until 1647.

- The sword and the order of the Garter were stolen from the statue in 1844 but replacements were added after WW II.
- The statue faces down Whitehall towards Charles I's place of execution at Banqueting House.
- Wikipedia: **Hubert Le Sueur** (c. 1580–1658) was a French sculptor with the contemporaneous reputation of having trained in Giambologna's Florentine workshop. He assisted Giambologna's foreman, Pietro Tacca, in Paris, in finishing and erecting the equestrian statue of Henri IV on the Pont Neuf. He moved to England and spent the most productive decades of his working career there, providing monuments, portraits and replicas of classical antiquities for the court of Charles I, where his main rival was Francesco Fanelli.

12-12

Charles I: King and Collector

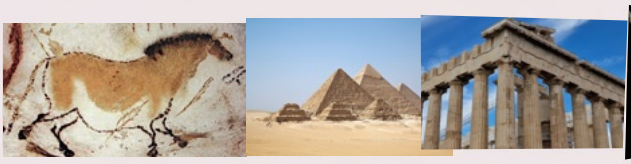
DR. LAURENCE SHAFE WWW.SHAFE.UK

Anthony van Dyck, Sir George Villiers and Lady Katharine Manners as *Adonis and Venus*, 1620-21

- Charles I was the greatest Royal collector but after his execution the Royal collection was sold to pay his debts. Some items were returned during the Restoration of Charles II but most artworks had been sold around Europe and were never returned.
- Thank you for your time and attention and goodbye for now.

Notes

- When the Commonwealth government sold Charles I's collection (1649–53), the buyers were almost entirely:
    - Spanish and Flemish agents (for Philip IV and Archduke Leopold William),
    - French collectors (notably Cardinal Mazarin),
    - Italian dealers (like the Duke of Mantua's circle),
    - Dutch merchants (for the Reynst collection),
    - and English aristocrats and officials.
- At that time, Russia had no Western art market presence. Peter the Great's reforms and his massive European acquisitions started only around 1700–1725, half a century later. Catherine the Great's acquisition of major European collections took place in the 1760s–1780s.



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