



The World's Largest Art Sale (the origins of collecting, collecting under Charles I and 'The Commonwealth Sale')

- **Collecting** in the Tudor and Stuart Periods.
 - The period of the 'Wunderkammer' ('Cabinet of Curiosities', literally 'room of wonders') and cabinets of curiosities went out of fashion and collecting paintings became the pursuit of the sophisticated monarch and aristocrat. Collecting paintings required connoisseurship (p.49) as there were so many copies 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 had become the most important aspect of the painting in England and prices for 'big name' artists increased.
 - The Wunderkammer was the progenitor of the art collection and then the painting collection. The wunderkammer was a room that contained the world in miniature and it therefore represented the owner's control over the world. The Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II (1576-1612) had an early Kunstkammer. The first natural history cabinet was in 1599 in Naples.
- **Collectors**
 - **The Whitehall Group:**
 - **Charles I** (see below).
 - **Thomas Howard, Lord Arundel** (1585-1646), was one of the earliest of the connoisseur collectors and has been described as the 'father of collecting'. He 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. 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 collection to rival the king. Buckingham had 300 paintings at York House including Rubens, Caravaggio, Titian, Tintoretto and Bassano overseen by Balthazar Gerbier.
- **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 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.
- **William Herbert**, collector.
- **James Hamilton**, 3rd Marquess of **Hamilton**, collector, acquired 600 paintings in two years! He bought both the della Nave collection and the Priuli connection for £3,000 and 250 paintings, the most successful English purchase of the 17th century.
- **Other Collectors**
 - **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 affections 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. Courtied James VI and was favoured when he became king.
 - **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.

- **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 dealer and connoisseur
 - Daniel Nys, 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.
- **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. 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. Gerrit van Honthorst Duke of Buckingham. Van Dyck the young Duke of Buckingham and his brother (his father George Villiers was reviled and assassinated in 1628). The Stuarts were more connected to Europe, France and Italy than the Tudors and collecting was sweeping the Continent. He 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. See p. 149 he spent lavishly even when indebted 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 being removed 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 misadventure 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 in 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.
- Art had become by 1627 the new religion in London.
- 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, they lose.
- 1640 Charles needs money to raise another army so he recalled Parliament but it only wanted to discuss the issues and limit his power. He disbands the so called 'Short Parliament'.
- 1639 Orazio Gentileschi died, 1640 Artemisia left England and Rubens died and 1641 Van Dyck died.
- 1642 Charles attempts to arrest five MPs but they have fled. Charles fled to Hampton Court and sends Henrietta Maria abroad. 22 August Civil War declared. Charles moves to Oxford. Dobson paints a portrait of Charles II.
- 1643 (p. 205) art collections are defined as commodities not religious objects to be destroyed. Arundel smuggles his collection abroad and sells it for £54,000. The Buckingham collection was sold for £7,000 and the Hamilton collection sold. The Duke of Northumberland obtains many pieces cheaply. He takes custody of the king's children and pays Lely to paint *The Three Children of Charles I* and *Charles I with James, Duke of York*, p. 208.
- **Artists**
 - William Larkin, portrait of George Villiers, p.67
 - Inigo Jones, 1619 Banqueting House burned down and Inigo Jones designed a new one.
 - Rubens. Important works:
 - Charles bought Rubens self-portrait, p. 76.
 - Rubens painted Aletheia Talbot's portrait, p.76
 - P. 150-1 Rubens *Landscape with St. George and Dragon*
 - *Allegory of Peace and War*
 - P. 152 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 paintings (p. 170-1), 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 other 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 VD and Gerbeir (p. 152) who was given the task to bring him to England. Eventually VD arrived in 1632 and was treated and paid well and also knighted. England was growing. 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 in 1632.

- Compare Mytens Charles and Henrietta with VDs to see VDs strengths.
- *King Charles and Queen Henrietta with their Children*, 'The Great Piece', p. 159. VD brings domestic intimacy for the first time and creates a 'normal' family. It cost £100 and was placed at the end of the Long Gallery at Whitehall. It was so successful it enabled VD to double his rates, a full length portrait increased from £25 to £50.
- *King Charles I with M. Antoine*, 1633 Charles rule seemed unassailable. This is an aggressive, threatening image of power. It was placed at the end of gallery in St. James's Palace.
- In 1629, Charles purchased a Rembrandt through Robert Kerr, p. 176, but he never valued Rembrandt or Carravaggio.
- 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.
- **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.

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), the earliest illustration of a natural history cabinet

- The Wunderkammer ('Cabinet of Curiosities') as the progenitor of the art collection and then the painting collection. A cabinet was originally a room and a Wunderkammer or was a room containing the world in miniature and it therefore represented the owner's control of the world in miniature.
- The most famous was that of the Holy Roman Emperor Kunstkammer of Rudolf II (1576-1612)
- A kunstkammer which contained sculptures and paintings, 'curious items from home and abroad' and 'antlers, horns, feathers and other things belonging to strange and curious animals'.
- 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.
- 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. **Collecting art for aesthetic and secular purposes started in Italy in the 1400s.**
 - A select number of Italian families, the Farnese, the **Medici**, the Gonzaga and the Borghese created **galleries of art** for reasons of splendour and magnificence. 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. Cardinal Mazarin 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.

Notes

Slides

1. Art Collections, picture of a room full of paintings
2. Robert Carr
3. Arundel, picture of him and his wife Aletheia in front of their galleries.
4. Arundel collection, example
5. Duke of Buckingham, example
6. Algernon Percy (1602-1668), 10th Earl of Northumberland
7. Philip Herbert (1584-1650), 4th Earl of Pembroke, collector, Wilton House
8. James, 3rd Marquis of Hamilton, collector, acquired 600 paintings in two years
9. Charles, the person, father, brother, mother
10. Charles as a collector
11. Charles, Gonzaga purchase, example, Titian
12. Triumph of Caesar
13. Civil War
14. Charles beheading Banqueting House
15. Arundel sale
16. Buckingham and Hamilton sales
17. Commonwealth sale, example, talk about the process, creditors
18. Commonwealth sale, example, Spanish ambassador
19. Commonwealth sale, example, list 1 failure and list 2 dividend process
20. Commonwealth sale, example, French and Low Countries
21. Commonwealth sale, example
22. The Restoration, the process
23. The Restoration, Charles 1 equestrian statue
24. The Restoration, the end result



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

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

- The wealthy families of **Italy had been collecting** paintings and sculpture since the fifteenth century but in England it did not take place until the beginning of the seventeenth 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.
- **Thomas Howard** , Earl of Arundel (sometimes known as "the collector earl") and his **wife Aletheia** (1585- 1654) were dedicated **art connoisseurs**. Thomas had gained some works from the collection of his uncle, Baron Lumley. In 1613, 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 a **pair of portraits painted by Daniël Mytens** by depicting them in front of their sculpture and picture galleries.
- They fled abroad as a result of the Civil War. Their collection was slowly dispersed because of the need to sell to support themselves. When Arundel died, he still possessed 700 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. What remained of the collection was sold by their

son, following Aletheia's death.

Notes

- **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. Carleton, 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.



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, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

- **Bordeaux:** Titian's *Tarquin and Lucretia* (1571) was acquired by Thomas Howard probably during his stay in Venice in 1613.
- 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.
 - **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? It appears to have a good provenance but let's look at another version.
- **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.

- 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.



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

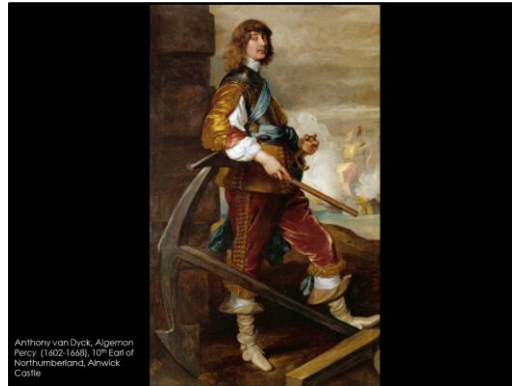
- **George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.** Buckingham and Arundel had the only collection to rival the king. **Buckingham had 300 paintings** at York House including Rubens, Caravaggio, Titian, Tintoretto and Bassano overseen by his trusted agent Balthazar Gerbier.
- This is an allegorical painting by Honthorst that suggests the drama enacted during a court masque. 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 leading all the others out of a dark cave—they are Logic, Rhetoric, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic and Music.
- 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.
- The collectors around Charles were known as the **Whitehall Group**.
- **Members of the Whitehall Group**
 - King Charles I
 - Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel
 - George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham
 - William Herbert, 3rd Earl of Pembroke
 - Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke
 - James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, later 3rd Marquis and 1st Duke of Hamilton
- **Their advisors and agents included:**

- Balthazar Gerbier
- Daniel Nys
- William Petty
- Inigo Jones
- Sir Dudley Carleton (later Viscount Dorchester)
- Abraham van der Doort

Notes

- Royal Collection website, 'One of the most ambitious paintings created by Honthorst during the nine months, April to December 1628, he spent in London working for Charles I. By this date both artist and patron would have known the series of painted panegyrics which Rubens created in 1622-5 for Charles I's mother-in-law, Marie de Medici, in which modern history and portraiture are combined with mythology and allegory. The Duke of Buckingham visited Paris during their creation and persuaded Rubens to paint for him an allegorical equestrian portrait. It is probably that the Duke of Buckingham, who appears so prominently here, commissioned this work; one can imagine him advising Honthorst to create something along Rubensian lines. The Duke was assassinated in August 1628 during Honthorst's brief visit, probably while progress on this work was underway.
- One of the roles of the enlightened ruler is to encourage learning and the arts: in this image the Duke of Buckingham plays the role of Mercury, messenger and god of commerce, leading the seven Liberal Arts out of a dark cave in which they have been languishing and into the light of royal patronage. He presents them to Charles I (as Apollo, the god of art and learning) and Henrietta Maria (as Diana, Apollo's sister), who welcome them with gracious courtesy and benign smiles. Apollo is surrounded by nine women probably intended to be the Muses, though without attributes. Winged cherubs distribute the rewards of generous royal (or divine) patronage - bouquets of flowers, laurel crowns - and blow trumpets of Fame.
- The Liberal Arts are so called because they are the branches of learning appropriate for a person of liberal (that is free or noble) birth, as opposed to one of low birth, who knows only manual trades. In order of the procession they are: Grammar (possibly a portrait of the Duchess of Buckingham), holding a key (as door-keeper of all other learning) and book; Logic with scales; Rhetoric with a scroll; Astronomy with astrolabe and dividers (and black attendant holding a cross-staff); Geometry with globe and dividers; Arithmetic with a tablet; and finally Music with a lute. Further attendant children (like cupids but without wings) drive off the enemies of royal cultivation – Envy and possibly Hate – with a torch of Knowledge and a trumpet of Fame. Another prods a goat, possibly symbolising those bestial appetites that keep one from studying.
- The painting was first recorded stored near the Banqueting House at Whitehall

Palace, but we know nothing of the location for which it was originally intended.'



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

- As collecting became popular at court there were many other minor collectors such as Algernon Percy (1602-1668), 10th **Earl of Northumberland** who had 20 Van Dycks. Percy became a military leader who supported Parliament in the Civil War. His father, the 9th Earl was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot. Percy married daughter of William Cecil and was made Lord High Admiral. This portrait by Van Dyck shows him standing by an anchor.

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.
- Despite his opposition to Buckingham, he was made admiral of the ship money fleet.
- He was later a Parliamentarian and the most senior member of the Government opposed to the king..



Daniel Mytens, *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 betrothed 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 the title was inherited by his brother Philip Herbert.



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. Inigo Jones was involved in the redesign of the house in the 17th century including the single cube room which houses part of the collection.
- Both William and Philip were members of the Whitehall Group.

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 **Pembroke**s 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 Pembroke and the

new court-based Buckingham, 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 her own 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 'minglinge anie part of [her] streames' 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 through 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 through** 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.



Daniel Mytens the Elder, *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

- **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.
- **James Hamilton** (1606-1649) was 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. There they saw portraits by the young Velasquez. Years later, during the Civil War, the royalist Hamilton was to prove a poor military leader. He was beheaded shortly after Charles himself.
- Although younger than other members of the group, Hamilton became noted as an art collector. Between 1636 and 1638 he acquired 600 paintings. 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.
- 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.



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

Charles I as Collector

- **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.
- 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. 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. 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. 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 become enriched over this thirty year period.

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



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

- The *Madonna of the Rabbit* is an oil painting by **Titian**, dated to 1530 and now held in the Louvre. 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 a second litter of offspring while still pregnant with the first, resulting in them being able to give birth seemingly without having been impregnated.
- Records show that **Federico Gonzaga** commissioned three paintings from **Titian in 1529**. One of these can with some security 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.
- It was **acquired** with the rest of the Gonzaga collection in **1627 by Charles I** and on his execution **sold at auction**. It was **acquired in 1665 by cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIV of France**.
- **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 Bacchanali 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

- *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."
- 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**; (£119 thousand as of 2015)[12] the entire **Gonzaga acquisition cost 25,000 pounds**. (£4.26 million as of 2015). 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.



The Commonwealth Sale

See http://www.shafe.uk/home/art-history/early_stuart_contents/early_stuart_16_-_collecting_under_charles_i/

and http://www.shafe.uk/home/art-history/early_stuart_contents/early_stuart_20_-_protectorate/

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.
- 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.

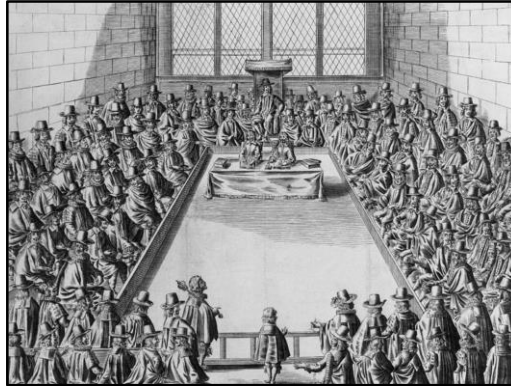
- Compared with the state's expenditure the **sale brought negligible returns**. Although there was disgust expressed at the religious iconography and the sexual content of some paintings this did not prevent the Parliament from creating a sale and handing out the goods to creditors. This undermined 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

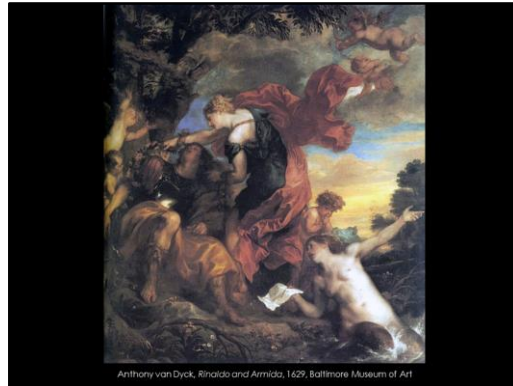
- The day after the Restoration Parliament called for an investigation of the whereabouts of the king's goods (p. 315). Lists were ordered to be drawn up and they were empowered to seize any goods immediately. All exports were stopped although it was too late for most of the sales. A system was introduced 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.



- Commonwealth Parliament, 1650
- The Interregnum started with the beheading of Charles I in 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 Marshall law run by Oliver Cromwell.

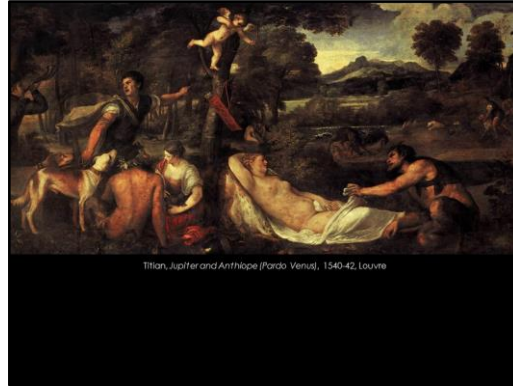
The Commonwealth Sale

- An Act was passed regarding the sale of the late king's goods. It was thought this would easily raise a fortune and would pay of the king's creditors and enough would be left over to fund the Royal Navy to the extent of £30,000.
- Eleven valuers were sent around the Palaces to draw up an inventory and the King's goods were moved to Somerset House with many being damaged on the way.
- There were many problems with the sale not least that no one could value the paintings and there was no market.
- 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.



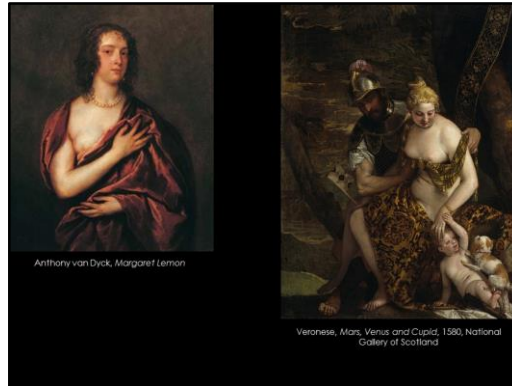
Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida*, 1629, Baltimore Museum of Art

- Colonel William Webb and John Hutchinson went on extraordinary buying sprees.
- Webb paid £1,302 but earned only £15 a year so he must have been secretly funded.
- One of Webb's the best known purchases was Anthony van Dyck, *Rinaldo and Armida* which had been acquired by Porter for Charles in 1630 for £78. Webb paid £80 which suggest he had access to the prices previously paid.
- Titian's *Rape of Lucretia* was also bought by Webb.



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

- Colonel John Hutchinson another veteran of the Civil War became the largest cash buyer of the king's pictures spending £1,349. He spent half this amount on Titian's *Pardo Venus*.
- So some individuals became wealthy but most of the creditors had paintings they could not sell or which they sold at a low price that did not cover the king's debt to them.
- The initial sale was in Old Somerset House and it was very slow to get started. Colonel Hutchinson, who was part of the tribunal that sentenced Charles, bought Titian's *Venus and the Organ Player* for £165 and later sold it for £600. In total Hutchinson spent £1,349 on paintings including *The Children of Charles I*.



Veronese, *Mars, Venus and Cupid*, 1580, National Gallery of Scotland
 Anthony van Dyck, *Margaret Lemon*

- By 1650 it was clear the first attempt at the sale was a failure.
- The valuation price of the Commonwealth Sale inventory was £33,690 but it was not all sold so syndicates known as dividends were set up and the remaining works were given to creditors to pay off the debt. 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's tailor had Durer's *self-portrait*. It was a paradise for the Alonso de Cárdenas, the Spanish ambassador for Philip IV, as he could knock down prices. Paintings continued to be sold into the 18th century.
- 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.
- Some works were obtained extremely cheaply, for example Veronese, *Mars and Venus* for £11, Van Dyck, *Margaret Lemon* for £23 and Mantegna *Death of the Virgin* for £17 10s.
- **Van Dyck, Margaret Lemon**
- **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.



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

- It was not just the king's goods that were sold but all the Whitehall Group including Arundel, Buckingham and Hamilton.
- 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).
- 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. 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 even though it included **Titian's *Flaying of Marsyas***. In the end Carl von Lichtenstein bought it for a vastly reduced price.

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.



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

- 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. 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.
- In the early stages the French were not involved but they entered during the second stage. 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).
- In 1650, 674 paintings were given to the creditors and many were sold to the Spanish ambassador. Ruben's *Peace and War* was valued at £100 and was given to a creditor.
- **By 1653 the market was saturated** and prices went down but the French ambassador entered the market representing Cardinal Mazarin and prices went up. Colonel Hutchinson bought Titian's *Pardo Venus* for £600 in 1649 (it was given to Charles in 1623), he then offered it to the French ambassador for £4,200 and a few days later raised the price to £4,900 and sold it.
- Some 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

- 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.



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

- The Restoration, the process
- Following the restoration of Charles II he tried to recover all his father's lost property.
- 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*.
- Potentially the king could bring a lawsuit of claim and delivery, originally known as replevin or revendication. 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.

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

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



- Hubert Le Sueur, *Charles 1 Equestrian Statue*, 1633
- The equestrian statue of Charles I in Charing Cross, London, is a work by the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur, probably cast in 1633.
- Its location at Charing Cross is on the former site of the most elaborate of the Eleanor crosses erected by Edward I, which had stood for three and a half centuries until 1647. It also marks the official centre of London, and the point to and from which many distances to and from London are measured. The statue faces down Whitehall towards Charles I's place of execution at Banqueting House.
- The **first Renaissance-style equestrian statue in England**, it was 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, but 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.
- The sword and the order of the Garter were stolen from the statue in 1844 but replacements were added after WW II.

Notes

- 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.



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

- The Restoration, the end result
- **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.
- 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.
- 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.

Notes

- 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.
- 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)