

The reception of French painting in Britain, c. 1690–c. 1740

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ABSTRACT

The reception of French pictures, artists and art literature in Britain during the early eighteenth century has hitherto remained an understudied area within British art history. Modern scholarship has often characterised this period as experiencing an influx of continental influences which aided the development of British art, collecting, and patronage. However, there is the tendency to focus such a study within the latter decades of the century. This thesis combines document-based research with pictorial study in order to determine the ways that English audiences responded to the presence of French pictures, but also imitated, modified and criticised French artistic ideas and forms during the period.

Four chapters explore the different ways in which English travellers, collectors and patrons came to acquire, commission and learn about French painting. This will firstly be achieved through a consideration of English artists visiting Paris during this period, and associated travel literature, particularly the notebook of the painter James Thornhill. This leads to an examination of the interactions between collectors and their agents and dealers in the acquisition of French pictures on the London art market and abroad. This study also establishes the impact of French visual and literary sources on the mural paintings of Louis Laguerre and his English patrons. Lastly, this thesis considers the readership for French art literature and English translations and treatises. Together, these topics serve to illustrate the multitude of ways in which French art and ideas became embedded within English artistic culture during this period.

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INTRODUCTION

This study explores the presence of, and taste for, French painting and ideas on art among artists and collectors in Britain during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. This period witnessed an enthusiasm and ambivalence towards all things French. The integration of French artistic styles, trends and discourses in British visual culture has been acknowledged in existing research—music, fashion and interior decoration and furnishings show how far there was an awareness of French taste, but also mixed opinions.¹ The point to be made here is that whilst certain cultural influences have been identified as French others need further research. Picture collecting formed part of an emerging trend for ‘Frenchness’ during the early eighteenth century, which had by the end of the decade become firmly embedded in English visual culture.

The complexities of English attitudes towards the French can be understood through the political and military conflict, with the English declaring war on France commencing the Nine Years’ War (1689–97) being followed by the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–13). Nevertheless, factors such as these did not hinder the occurrence of cross-channel artistic exchanges and interactions. The presence of a multi-national community of artists working in London and large numbers of imported paintings on the art market, as well as the increasing mobility of British travellers abroad, encouraged a growth in public interest in the visual arts.

To ensure the validity of the approach, English taste for French art will be considered in relation to attitudes to foreign art more generally. This consideration is crucial in order to overcome the potential challenge of distinguishing French influence from the broader range of patronage and cultural interchange within continental Europe. The major difference from the earlier seventeenth century was arguably that, around 1700, French and Italian art, no longer stood out so strikingly in an English context. A greater internationalisation of style and an element of overlap and ‘contamination’ between national groups had developed in the work of British, French and Italian artists.

This research adopts an approach based on a consideration of ‘reception history’. The term as defined here, deals with changing taste and interpretations as historical events in their own right. The study places less emphasis on how French artists made particular works, or responded to direct commissions, and more about the contexts for those changes and why they occurred. It follows that the purpose behind investigating how and why people obtained French pictures, wrote about them, and placed them in particular contexts in early eighteenth-century Britain, needs to be further explored. An approach based on the history of interpretation, which forms part of a study on reception, considers the ways that English audiences responded to the presence of French pictures, but also imitated, modified and criticised French artistic ideas and forms during this period. By placing an art work in its cultural and historical context for its reception, this helps us to

¹ On the wider influence of French artistic culture see Peter Thornton, *Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France and Holland* (New Haven and London, 1978); Aileen Ribeiro, *The Art of Dress: Fashion in England and France, 1750 to 1820* (New Haven and London, 1995); Frédéric Ogée, ed., *“Better in France?”: The Circulation of Ideas Across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century* (Lewisberg, 2005).

understand what a work might have meant for its audience over time. Therefore, this study considers the ways in which an engagement with French pictures in Britain developed from collecting patterns, patronage and art education in France, and less directly in Italy, established during the seventeenth century.

A traditional approach when dealing with the topic of French art in Britain has been in terms of ‘influence’, whether through the study of individual artists, such as Poussin and Claude, as with the Rococo, or through the movement of artists and artisans, as with the Huguenots in Spitalfields. These topics have been explored in a number of individual studies and exhibitions.² One study in particular prepared the ground for the present one, although it only addresses a single strand of it. This is Richard Verdi’s thesis on *Poussin’s critical fortunes* submitted in 1976.³ This research focuses on Poussin’s reputation rather than his influence in England and France, with particular attention given to the ways art critics in both countries responded to his pictures during the long eighteenth century. Verdi argues that a shift in preference for the work of Poussin in France contributed to an increased number of his paintings coming to the English market.⁴ The present thesis will go a step further by identifying the cross-continental networks, key collectors and collections, and the work of Poussin and his contemporaries that enabled this French taste to emerge.

Verdi’s thesis appeared at the same time as a shift in the influential work of Francis Haskell, whose approach to the period around 1700 through social history, collecting and patronage, changes in taste, and the development of the art market, and the links between England, Italy and France, has provided the ground for much recent work.⁵ This can be traced in the scholarship of David Solkin, Helen Jacobsen and Jacqueline Riding, among others, as well as the present thesis,

² On the impact of the Rococo in England see ‘France in England’ in Michael Snodin, *Rococo: Art and Design in Hogarth’s England*, exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1984); Elizabeth Einberg, *The French Taste in English Painting during the first half of the eighteenth century: summer exhibition 1968* (Kenwood House, London, 1964); Charles Hind, *The Rococo in England: a symposium* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1986). Research on Huguenots artists in England includes, Tessa Murdoch, ‘Huguenot artists, designers and craftsmen in Great Britain and Ireland, 1680-1760’ (University of Oxford, 1982), and Murdoch’s *The Quiet Conquest: the Huguenots 1685–1985*, exh. cat. (Museum of London, London, 1985).

³ See Richard Verdi, ‘Poussin’s critical fortunes. The study of the artist and the criticism of his works from c. 1690 to c. 1830, with particular references to France and England’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1976).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–46. Other research that deals with the presence of work by Poussin and his French contemporaries in England includes, Ellis Waterhouse, ‘Poussin et l’Angleterre jusqu’en 1744’, in André Chastel, ed., *Nicolas Poussin*, symposium held 19–21 September 1958, CNRS, Colloques Internationaux, 2 vols (Paris, 1960), vol. 1, pp. 283–96; and Elizabeth Wheeler Manwaring’s doctoral thesis which was later published as, *Italian Landscapes in eighteenth-century England: a study chiefly on the influence of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa on English taste, 1700–1800* (New York, 1925). Also see Anne French, *Gaspard Dughet, called Gaspar Poussin 1615–75: a French landscape painter in seventeenth-century Rome and his influence on British art*, exh. cat. (Kenwood House, London, 1980).

⁵ See Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: Art and Society in Baroque Italy* (New Haven, 1980); *Rediscoveries in art: some aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England and France* (London, 1976).

even though some of these writers may well be critical of Haskell's approach.⁶ Reception history occupies a particular space within this field.

Modern scholarship

It is necessary to explain the key studies on English art of the period, particularly those of Anglo-French interactions and English perceptions of European art, collecting and collections. *The art world in Britain, 1660–1735* serves as an extensive online database of primary and secondary resources, which has been extremely useful to this study, especially in providing access to digitalised auction sale catalogues, inventories and correspondence. That project, along with my own research, was conceived in order to re-address an art-historical imbalance caused by the relatively well explored later decades of the eighteenth century. This project is part of a wider initiative, *Court, Country, City: British Art, 1660–1735*, based at the University of York, which has led to the publication of essays, several of which focus on the work of French mural painters in England.⁷

Recent scholarship has adopted a wider and revised approach on artistic developments occurring in Britain. One example is David Solkin's *Art in Britain 1660–1815* published in 2015, effectively replacing Ellis Waterhouse's *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*, first published in 1953. Solkin's approach considers the social conditions for the production of British art during the long eighteenth century, taking into account recent political and cultural developments. The study focuses largely on the process through which British art was created and developed rather than the responses of patrons and collectors. There is little attention given to the impact of France and French painters on British artistic culture. In Solkin's bibliography, there is a noticeable gap in the coverage of English artists and collectors to France in a section on 'Artists and Patrons on the Continent' which testifies to imbalanced nature of scholarly engagement with eighteenth-century Italy when compared to France. The presence of French artists in Britain is restricted to the work of Philippe Mercier (1689–1760), Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) and Jean-Baptiste van Loo (1684–1745).⁸ Claude Lorraine's work is considered as an important source for eighteenth-century British landscape painters such as John Constable and Richard Wilson.⁹ The mural paintings of Louis Laguerre (1663–1721) is mentioned briefly as part of a discussion of the Italian-born painter

⁶ See John Barrell's famous antipathetic review of Haskell's *Past and Present in Art and Taste* in *London Review of Books*, vol. 9, no. 2, 25 June 1987.

⁷ See Richard Johns, 'Antonio Verrio and the Triumph of Painting at the Restoration Court' and Lydia Hamlett, 'Rupture through Realism: Sarah Churchill and the Louis Laguerre's Murals at Marlborough House', in Mark Hallett, Nigel Llewellyn, Martin Myrone eds., *Court, Country, City: British Art and Architecture, 1660–1735* (New Haven, 2016).

⁸ See Chapter Nine 'The Portraiture of Politeness, 1730–5' and Chapter Twelve 'From Island to Empire: The Cosmopolitan Turn in British Art, 1737' in David Solkin, *Art in Britain, 1660–1815* (New Haven, 2015).

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 69–70, 115, 210.

Antonio Verrio (c. 1636–1709) in England and the commissions given to their English contemporary, James Thornhill (1675/6–1734).¹⁰

However, there are studies which provide a more comprehensive account of the importance of French influences in the creation of British painting during this period. Robin Simon's *Hogarth, France and British Art: The Rise of the Arts in 18th-Century Britain* (2007) discusses the French and European context within which the paintings and prints of William Hogarth (1697–1764) were formed. In doing so, this study recognises the ambiguity between the artist's anti-French sentiment with his trips to Paris and interactions with foreign contemporaries. Simon briefly introduces James Thornhill's Paris notebook, compiled several decades before Hogarth's arrival in France, to contextualise the topic of English artistic responses to continental art. This thesis will provide a more in-depth analysis of Thornhill's entries to broaden our understanding of this topic.

The following scholarship represents a shift in emphasis from the study of art production in Britain to the developments in picture collecting, artistic patronage and the formation of taste.

Iain Pears's *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* (1988) looks at the surrounding social conditions, the taste and aspirations of society most likely to become collectors, the availability of objects and trends in collecting. The emphasis is on how painting had a primary importance in the surge in collecting and played a role in creating the cultural identity of the elite and middling classes. However, in discussing the idea of taste behind an English interest in the arts, the study largely ignores the role of continental models and theory in shaping English attitudes to art, or the significance of the Grand Tour.

Such topics are explored in Helen Jacobsen's *Luxury and Power: the Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (2012), which identifies how continental influences shaped the careers of the British diplomat through an exposure to court culture and artistic patronage whilst abroad. Through five case studies, Jacobsen adopts a biographical approach based on individual diplomats and luxury consumption, with an emphasis on the transfer of French fashions and artists home to England. Of particular interest to the present study is Matthew Prior (1664–1721), whose painting acquisitions and experiences in Paris significantly shaped English artistic tastes and his own professional life.¹¹

It is necessary to consider literature that focuses on earlier collecting practices in France through which to form comparisons with English picture collecting and collections during the eighteenth century. Antoine Schnapper's discussions in *Curieux du Grand Siècle: Collections et Collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (2005) are heavily supported by documents (household inventories, post-mortem inventories, marriage contracts, sale catalogues and correspondence), however he rejects any sociological study of collecting. Nevertheless, Schnapper's research is useful for this study in establishing an earlier taste for French pictures among the French elite and royalty, and the private collections that brought English travellers to Paris.

¹⁰ See Chapter Six 'Making History after the 'Glorious Revolution' in *Ibid.*, pp. 48–51.

¹¹ See Chapter Eight 'The Connoisseurial Advisor: Matthew Prior, 1664–1721' in Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power: the Material World of the Stuart Diplomat, 1660–1714* (Oxford, 2012).

There is an extensive range of literature on the British and the grand tour, however this focuses predominantly on travellers to Italy and the second half of the eighteenth century.¹² When France is considered, through studies such as Jeremy Black's *France and the Grand Tour* (2003), the emphasis is predominantly on British observations on France's social and political situation rather than artistic culture. Several studies adopt a biographical approach in order to explore the presence of English travellers to France. Anne Felicity Woodhouse's doctoral study 'English travellers to Paris: 1660–1789: A study of their diaries' (1976) is largely based on primary sources (notebooks, diaries and letters), however there is little consideration of how this material relates to a broader cultural and social understanding of Anglo-French exchanges. Elizabeth Johnston's transcription of Joseph Highmore's Paris notebook of 1734, published in the *Walpole Society Journal* in 1968, and more recently, Jacqueline Riding's article on Highmore and the French Académie provides one of the few accounts of English travel to France during this period.¹³ These studies provide a context for an exploration of James Thornhill's reasons for travelling abroad, his interactions with the artistic community and involvement in the commercial market for pictures.

There are a number of studies that deal with the emerging London picture market during the period under discussion. Louise Lippincott's *Selling Art in Georgian London: the rise of Arthur Pond* (1983) offers a useful introduction to the London art world through the study of Pond's papers on his life and career. This research focuses on the changing role of dealers and artists as they acquired professional status during the period. Other areas of research have considered the social and economic condition for the circulation of art works. Michael North and David Ormrod's *Art Markets in Europe 1400–1800* (1998) includes several essays that explore these topics. Brian Cowan's 'Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in Later Stuart England' considers the ways in which auctions were arenas of exchanges in knowledge and social interactions, and David Ormrod's 'The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660–1730' considers the legal changes effecting the importation of paintings and analyses the flow of paintings into England. These studies on the market for pictures can be placed with scholarship on consumer culture in relation to the wider arts and the ownership of goods in Britain. Examples of such research includes Lorna Weatherill's *Consumer Behaviour and Material Culture in Britain, 1660–1760* (1996) and Neil McKendrick, John Brewer and J. H. Plumb's *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialisation of Eighteenth-Century England* (1982).

There has been a recent growth in research projects on patronage and mural painting during the period. Richard Johns's doctoral thesis 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England after 1688' (2004), and more recently Lydia Hamlett's work on Laguerre's commissions at

¹² See Ilaria Bignamini and Clare Hornsby, *Digging and Dealing in eighteenth-century Rome* (New Haven and London, 2010); Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour* (New Haven and London, 2003); Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, *Grand Tour: the Lure of Italy in the eighteenth century* (London, 1996); Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (Stroud, 1992).

¹³ Elizabeth Johnston, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', *Walpole Society*, vol. 42 (1970), pp. 61–104; Jacqueline Riding, 'An Englishman in Paris: Joseph Highmore at the Académie Royale', *Journal 18*, Issue 2 Louvre Local (Fall 2016), <http://www.journal18.org/841>.

Marlborough House and Petworth House.¹⁴ The efforts of Johns and Hamlett, along with Brett Dolman, in establishing the British Murals Subject Group, part of the British Art Network, has encouraged wider academic interest on native and foreign painters working in Britain. Johns and Hamlett adopt a thematic approach through detailed pictorial analysis and a consideration of the relationship between the patron, artist and the subjects represented. However, whilst Johns considers how Thornhill distinguished his work from that of his European counterparts, Hamlett examines Laguerre's work in relation to French and continental influences. These studies can be seen as a progression from the survey of painters and their work in Edward Croft-Murray's two-volume *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, the first of which, *Early Tudor to Sir James Thornhill* devotes a chapter to the commissions given to Laguerre.¹⁵

The presence and reception of French art literature in eighteenth-century Britain has received little scholarly attention. Schlosser's survey of art literature (first edition 1924) in discussing this period does not include English translations of French texts, particularly those of Roger de Piles.¹⁶ However, Carol Gibson-Wood's *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, originally written as a doctoral study in 1982 and then published in 1988, devotes one chapter to the work of French writers—Abraham Bosse, De Piles and A. J. Dézallier d'Argenville—and the themes of connoisseurship and attribution. Gibson-Wood's *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment* (2000) provides one of few studies on taste and Anglo-Continental exchanges in relation to the writing on art of Jonathan Richardson senior (1667–1745). Whilst Gibson-Wood focuses on understanding the meaning of these theoretical debates, this thesis aims to establish an English readership for such texts and the connection between an engagement with art literature and the art itself.

Timeframe and topics chosen

This study takes the 1680s as its starting point as this witnessed the beginnings of the London art market and an emerging readership for French art literature, English translations and editions. The timeframe concludes during the 1740s, which saw an increasingly saturated market for French and other continental pictures around the middle of the century. Further to this, modern scholarship on an English interest in French artistic culture has increasingly focused on the second half of the eighteenth century, as already shown.

The emphasis of this study will be predominantly on elite consumption and patronage, although this does not undermine scholarship on the middling sorts and their purchase of pictures

¹⁴ Lydia Hamlett, 'Pandora at Petworth House: New Light on the Work and Patronage of Louis Laguerre', *The Burlington Magazine*, no. 1365, vol. 158 (December 2016), pp. 950–55. Lydia Hamlett, 'Rupture through Realism: Sarah Churchill and the Louis Laguerre's Murals at Marlborough House'.

¹⁵ Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, vol. 1, pp. 61–68.

¹⁶ See Julius von Schlosser, *Die Kunstliteratur. Ein Handbuch zur Quellenkunde der neueren Kunstgeschichte* (Wien, 1924).

and luxury goods.¹⁷ However, the high-status pictures by French artists and their ownership in Britain has been complimented by placing more emphasis on display as a way of investigating how French art was received. The circulation and acquisition of prints is a major activity during this period, as those made by French engravers or after French paintings. Engraved imagery is of central importance to the perception of French art in Britain, and is frequently mentioned in this study.

In addressing wider changes of taste, collecting and patronage means that certain topics are more suitable than others. The presence of French portraitists in Britain and the impact on their work on English artists and patrons has not been discussed here in any depth, due to there being comparatively less scope for a discussion on continental exchanges during the chosen period, when compared to so called mural painting, which will be the focus of one chapter.

It is necessary to explain some of the terms adopted throughout this study and establish the critical assumptions in current scholarship in relation to phases such as 'decorative painting', 'mural painting' or 'architectural painting'. Edward Croft-Murray uses 'decorative painting' in the title of his study, and David Solkin exclusively uses this phase in his latest publication.¹⁸ Whereas the recently established British Murals Group, part of the British Art Network, have chosen alternative terminology for their group name. In defining these terms, I would suggest that 'mural painting' applies more specifically to the application of paint directly to a wall or ceiling, whereas 'decorative painting' could relate to a wider range of artistic forms.¹⁹ For the purpose of my own research, the former will be adopted for the title of the chapter and section headings, as well as in the main body of text.

The methodology for this study is broadly empirical, relying heavily on unpublished and published primary sources. My chosen research topics are led by the study of known archival sources that have received little scholarly attention and other material that has been newly discovered as part of my research. These sources include travel notebooks and diaries, household inventories on art collections and the contents of libraries, correspondence, and sale catalogues.

Structure

By concentrating on key overlapping themes—travel, collecting, patronage and art writing—four chapters seek to ask why and how an interest in French painting developed in Britain during the early eighteenth century. This central argument of this study is that whilst the activities of English collectors and artists during this period reflect an eagerness to adopt earlier French artistic trends, which often formed a hybrid with Italian influences, they also strived to adapt this French taste to create their own national identity and artistic culture. The thesis attempts to answer several key

¹⁷ An example of this would be Carol Gibson-Wood, 'Picture Consumption in London at the end of the Seventeenth Century', *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 84, no. 3 (September 2001), pp. 491–500.

¹⁸ Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, 2 vols (London, 1970); David Solkin, *Art in Britain 1660–1815* (London, 2015).

¹⁹ See Clare A. P. Willsdon, et al. "Mural." *Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press. Web. 22 Aug. 2017. <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T060429>>.

questions: who were the people responsible for an emerging interest in French painting in Britain? To what extent can this taste be distinguished from other continental influences? In what ways were English collectors and patrons adopting an earlier fashion for French pictures and ideas in France?

The connections between the four chapters is predominantly based on key people whose reception of French pictures contributed to a wider appreciation of, and participation in, foreign travel, picture collecting, artistic patronage and art education in Britain. These individuals appear across the chapters, such as James Thornhill (artist and collector), Jonathan Richardson senior (theorist), Charles Jervas (agent and artist), and Matthew Prior (collector). Further connections are based on the artworks that enabled such an engagement to take place during the period, for example the easel paintings of Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) and Claude Lorrain (1600–1682), and the painted murals of Louis Laguerre and Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), as well as the engravings after their work and mentions in art literature.

The most significant element in this thesis is the notebook in the National Art Library containing notes and sketches made by James Thornhill on his travels to Paris from February to April 1717. This material has occasionally been mentioned in scholarly works but has never received the attention it deserves as a major source of early eighteenth-century travel literature.²⁰ I provide a complete transcription of the notebook which is included here as appendix A. This valuable document provides an important contribution to the study of art in Britain and France (and encounters between the two) during the period. However, it raises the challenge of understanding how English collectors and artists perceived European art. One consideration is whether Thornhill and his contemporaries identified paintings and painters as distinctly French, and if so, in what ways. This distinction could have been defined by the artist's place of birth or training, the nationality of their patron, or where a collector purchased a painting. However, perhaps these individuals did not think in this way at all, but instead in terms of continental art more generally and the merging of national schools, such as with Italy and Italian artists.

Chapter One begins by considering the significance of Thornhill's journey and notebook in relation to other British travellers to Paris and their unpublished and published journals of the period. Thematic sections consider what Thornhill's notebook can tell us about his interest in paintings, both as originals and engraved reproductions, his network of contacts, visits to private and royal collections, and involvement in the art market. This material also adds to our understanding of Thornhill and his work. By mapping his curiosity about French artistic culture provides a vantage point through which to consider the broader interest in collecting and artistic patronage in Britain. One key example would be Thornhill's aspiration to study and collect Poussin's work in France and how far this interest reflected a wider taste among his English contemporaries during the period. Thornhill remains an important figure throughout this study: as a collector of French easel painting, as a mural painter who worked alongside and was influenced by

²⁰ Thornhill's notebook was mentioned most recently in Robin Simon's *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp. 16–20.

French contemporaries, and as a member of an artistic circle who sought to improve art education in Britain through an engagement with French art literature and academic learning.

Chapter Two focuses on individual collectors, dealers and agents, and identifiable paintings. These case studies aim to establish the processes through which French paintings were purchased, dispersed, interpreted and appreciated. Each study considers the extent to which English collectors were adopting earlier collecting trends established by the French elite. In doing so, it is necessary to establish whether they differentiated between the work of recently-deceased French painters, particularly Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain, as opposed to those of living French artists. In addition to this, these studies explore whether there was a shift and widening appreciation for painting in England among the English elite and members of the gentry and professional classes. These case studies are placed within three thematic sections: firstly, the role of collectors outside London with an emphasis on France and Italy, secondly, the presence and display of French works in English collections, and thirdly, the London art market.

Chapter Three considers the career of Louis Laguerre in England and the impact of his mural paintings on artistic patronage and the country house interior. This chapter discusses how Laguerre and his patrons reinterpreted and reimagined existing visual and literary sources to project the ideas of British patrons. In doing so, it determines the extent to which these murals represented an interplay between continental, particularly French and Italian prototypes, and native traditions. It also considers the impact of Charles Le Brun's murals on Laguerre's work, and the traditions associated with heroic imagery and the royal image. The first section explores female patronage and related mythological imagery and symbolism in Laguerre's schemes at Castle Bromwich and Petworth House. The second section looks at the workmanship of Laguerre and Thornhill at Wollaton Hall and Blenheim Palace. It will consider the ways that this mural imagery represented the social and political aspirations of the patrons, and significant phases of professional development for these painters. The last section considers the numerous schemes painted at Cannons which represented the culmination of Anglo-Continental artistic talent in an English interior during this period.

Chapter Four examines English responses to the French school and academic learning through the work of Roger de Piles, André Félibien, Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, and Charles Le Brun. The first section provides a chronology of French texts with art theoretical, historical and biographical approaches, and the English translations and editions. Following on from this, a section identifies the presence of these texts in library inventories and sale catalogues, revisiting where possible the collectors and collections discussed in chapter two. This enables comments to be made on the extent to which foreign ideas on painting became embedded in the education of English collectors. A third section establishes the place of French painting in the English theory of art, such as Dryden's 1695 translation of Du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* and the independent writings on art by Jonathan Richardson senior. It considers how these texts aided the development of an English school, engaged new audiences, and encouraged a greater appreciation of continental pictures. This final section brings the study back to where it started: Thornhill and his interest in Poussin, but here the emphasis is placed on his knowledge of French academic debates surrounding the artist's work.

CHAPTER ONE

Contextualising James Thornhill's notebook: English travellers
in early eighteenth-century Paris

Introduction

The growth of foreign tourism, in the so-called 'Grand Tour', saw an increase in the numbers and range of social classes eager to experience the cultural centres of France, Italy and other parts of Europe.²¹ The complexities of English attitudes towards the French can be understood through the religious anxieties and political hostilities created by the wars of Louis XIV (1638–1715), as well as events such as the revocation of the Edict de Nantes and French support for the Jacobite uprisings.²² Despite this, travel literature often revealed an admiration for, and engagement with, French customs, manners, fashions, and artistic tastes.²³ This study deals with the accounts of English artists to Paris, through unpublished journals not accessible to contemporaries in the period, and published examples, which are placed in the context of wider British travel abroad during the early eighteenth century.²⁴

At the same time, the accounts of several non-artistic travellers provide a useful point of departure due to their interest in art collections. An early example of this is Richard Symonds (1617–1660), whose notebooks written during his time in exile in Paris in 1648 listed paintings displayed in churches, monasteries, colleges and hospitals.²⁵ He revealed that his notes were styled according to Claude Malingre's *Les Antiquitez de la Ville de Paris*, published in 1640. The philosopher, John Locke (1632–1704) spent three years in France from 1675 recording his grand tour in a four-volume journal.²⁶ During his stay in Paris he was supplied with a list of hôtels and collections to see by the protestant Henri Justel (1620–1693), who would later become a refugee in

²¹ As shown in studies such as Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand tour: the Lure of Italy in the eighteenth century*, and Black, *The British Abroad: the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century*.

²² Chapter Eleven 'Political and Social Reflections' in Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour* (Basingstoke, 2003), pp. 140–41.

²³ Examples include William Bromley, *Remarks in the Grand Tour of France and Italy. Perfrom'd by a person of Quality, In the Year, 1691*, 8 vols (London, 1705); Edward Wright, *Some Observations Made in Travelling in France, Italy etc. in the years 1720, 1721, and 1722*, 2 vols (London, 1730); and Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour, or, a Journey through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France*, 4 vols (London, 1749).

²⁴ For a wider survey of English travel literature during the eighteenth century see Anne Felicity Woodhouse, 'English travellers to Paris: 1660–1789: A study of their diaries', (unpublished PhD thesis, Stanford University, 1976).

²⁵ See Oliver Millar, 'An Exile in Paris: The Notebooks of Richard Symonds' in *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th birthday* (London, 1967), pp. 158–64.

²⁶ See *Locke's travels in France, 1675–1679, as related in his journals, correspondence and other papers*, ed. John Lough (Cambridge, 1953).

England.²⁷ The account of Martin Lister (1638–1712), physician to Lord Portland during his diplomatic mission in 1698, was published the following year.²⁸ This author imparted his personal experiences and tastes in order to educate a broader audience. Lister entered the cabinet of André Le Nôtre, the King's gardener, and studied the Marie de'Medici cycle by Rubens at the Luxembourg Palace.²⁹ However, he was more concerned with those collections and individuals relating to natural history, astronomy and medicine, for example, visiting the collection of 'Monsieur Turnfort', the anatomist 'Merrie' and several members of the Académie des Sciences, Monsieur Morrin and the Marquis d'Hopital.³⁰ Another traveller to France was Thomas Gray (1716–1771), the poet and later professor at Cambridge University, who made brief notes on the paintings and sculptures that caught his eye whilst accompanying Horace Walpole (1717–1798) around Paris in 1739.³¹

Whilst the tendency for artists to travel abroad increased as the century progressed, few documented their travels. Several accounts reveal that the purpose of their trip was to build upon artistic training. Jonathan Richardson junior (1694–1771), an amateur painter, made notes during his visits to Flanders and Holland in 1716, and later France and Italy, that were published by his father, the renowned painter Jonathan Richardson senior as *An account of some of the statues, bas-reliefs, drawings and pictures in Italy &c with Remarks*, in 1722.³² The publication listed the pictures and drawings according to collection, moving from one group of objects to the next, and recording the artists and subjects that interested him most. The decision to publish this account was in keeping with Richardson senior's aim to instil in his readers the importance of appreciating works of art and of forming individual judgements on their quality, attribution and originality. The numerous references made to Richardson senior's celebrated collection of drawings suggests that his son travelled abroad chiefly to visit collections housing paintings he had previously only seen as reproductions. For instance, whilst in the Louvre he admired Poussin's *Autumn*, part of the Four Seasons series, which he stated as, 'his best manner: my Father has two Drawings of this'.³³ He was granted the opportunity to study the celebrated drawing collection of Pierre Crozat (1661–1740), the picture agent to Philippe II, Duc d'Orléans, the Regent of France.³⁴ The amount of time spent in Italy during 1721 and 1722 and the quantity of collections he visited, suggests an overarching preference for this national school.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 197–98.

²⁸ Martin Lister, *A Journey to Paris in the year 1698* (London, 1699).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 36–39, 42.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 52–53, 60–61, 64, 77, 94–95, 126–27.

³¹ See 'Gray's Notes of Travel' in Duncan Tovey, *Gray and his Friends* (Cambridge, 1890), pp. 204–08.

³² See Chapter Six in Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, pp. 210–12.

³³ See Richardson, *An Account* (1722), pp. 8–15.

³⁴ On Crozat's collecting see Pierre-Jean Mariette, *Description sommaire des dessiens des grands maîtres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France au cabinet de feu M. Crozat* (Paris, 1741); also Cordélia Hattori, 'The drawings collection of Pierre Crozat' in Christopher Baker, Caroline Elam and Genevieve Warwick eds., *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe, c. 1500–1750* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 173–81.

The journal of Alexander Cunyngnam (1703–1785), later Sir Alexander Dick, was compiled later in life from notes made during his travels around France and Italy in 1736 and 1737.³⁵ He was accompanied in Paris by the painter Allan Ramsay (1713–1784), spending around one month sightseeing before travelling to Italy. In thanking Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774) for his letters of introduction, Ramsay wrote to him from Rome in praise of the resources of the French Académie which ‘had dried up the fairest spring in Italy and collected them in such good order, that one might say that it [was] at the French Académie alone that Youth [could] profit from in the study of the fine arts’.³⁶ An important consideration for Ramsay during his time abroad was to improve his drawing: it being Italy rather than France that he regarded as most beneficial to his education through time spent attending life classes and securing patrons for employment back in England.³⁷ This is indicated further through his time in Rome where he entered the studio of Francesco Imperiali (1679–1740) and then in Naples where he studied under Francesco Solimena (1657–1747). Whilst Richardson and Ramsay continued on to Italy, the significance of those not travelling further around Europe must be considered. An early example of English travellers who only travelled as far as Paris includes the architect Christopher Wren (1632–1723) who visited Paris during 1665 to study the projects undertaken by Louis XIV and to form contacts through his meetings with the French architect François Mansart (1598–1666) and the Italian sculptor Gianlorenzo Bernini (1598–1680).³⁸ In 1669 Wren became the King’s surveyor of works, his earlier cross-channel influences providing inspiration for his designs of royal and ecclesiastical architecture.

The main focus of this chapter is the notebook of the decorative painter James Thornhill, which was compiled during his three-month stay in Paris in 1717. The object takes the form of a small pocket book created for personal use and never intended to be published. Thornhill’s entries are mostly hastily written in pencil as he walked around the city and are often accompanied by sketches. Several pages include more detailed notes in pen perhaps written at the end of the day or on his return home. The chronology of his activities is difficult to determine since he dated only a few pages. Many of his observations were recorded on randomly selected pages rather than moving methodically through the notebook from beginning to end.

As already shown, Thornhill was by no means unusual in deciding to visit the continent during this period. Yet for an artist to have the financial means and time to venture abroad for pleasure was certainly rare, even more so that he recorded his experiences. The remaining sections of this chapter will determine how this notebook adds to our understanding of Thornhill and his work, of collecting at the time and of British artists and tourists visiting Paris. I propose that

³⁵ For an incomplete transcript of Cunyngnam’s travel notes see Atholl Forbes, ed., *Curiosities of a Scots Charta Chest, 1600–1800* (Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 99–108. This published version of Cunyngnam’s text is reportedly inaccurate, see Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay: Artist, Essayist, and Man of the Enlightenment* (New Haven and London, 1992), p. 287, n. 1.

³⁶ See *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30. On British portraitists abroad see Samantha Howard, ‘A new theatre of prospects’: Eighteenth-Century British Portrait Painters and Artistic Mobility (unpublished PhD thesis, The University of York, 2010), pp. 109–12.

³⁸ See Kerry Downes, ‘Wren, Sir Christopher (1632–1723)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2012 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30019>, accessed 7 March 2017].

Thornhill's time spent abroad was predominantly intended to improve his skills as a collector and connoisseur, although this inevitably had an impact on this professional training and subsequent mural painting projects. This determined where he chose to visit, what he thought most important to document and who he met.

The study will firstly determine Thornhill's involvement in the art market and how he sourced works for his own collection and English acquaintances. The prices he paid for household and decorative objects provide an understanding of his patterns of consumption. The difficulty in interpreting this material is due to factors such as supply and demand that pushed up prices although bargains could be found. Secondly is the need to determine how his itinerary was shaped by an enthusiasm for studying paintings, both as originals and engraved reproductions. His notes will be explored through an engagement with royal collecting practices, directly through access to palace interiors, and indirectly through visits to private collections with royal, political and academic affiliations. Of particular interest to this study is Thornhill's intention to study the works of Poussin and how far this taste could be found in England, which will be considered in chapter two of this thesis.

The private diary of the portraitist, Joseph Highmore (1692–1780), written during his time in Paris in 1734 included an itinerary that bears a close resemblance to that of Thornhill. Highmore probably knew of this earlier excursion through his uncle, Thomas Highmore (1660–1720), the former Sergeant-Painter to King George I, who had overseen Thornhill's apprenticeship during the 1690s. The physician, Dr Nathan Hickman (1695–1746) acted as Highmore's guide and tutor in Paris and provided introductions to James (1684–1741), 1st Earl Waldegrave, the British Ambassador to Paris, and Evelyn Pierrepont (1655–1726), 2nd Duke of Kingston, both of whom accompanied them to the royal estate at Marly. Hickman remained his companion during visits to the Palais-Royal and Versailles. He also took Highmore to see Poussin's *Moses sweetening the bitter waters of Marah* (Baltimore Museum of Art) (fig. 1), which Hickman eventually purchased and sold in England to the painter George Knapp (1698–1778).³⁹ Highmore carried letters from England, including one from the engraver Hubert Gravelot (1699–1773) to his sister, and another from the sculptor Louis François Roubilliac (1702–1762) to the former professor of the French Académie, Jacques Bousseau (1681–1740). However, despite visiting the private collections of several eminent individuals, much of his time was spent visiting the studios or residences of painters, such as Nicolas Lancret, Noël-Nicolas Coypel, Nicolas Largillière, Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Hyacinthe Rigaud and Jean-Baptiste van Loo.⁴⁰

In comparison, Thornhill formed relationships with artistic professionals whose expertise was entirely dissimilar to his own, these being sculptors and craftsmen rather than painters. For artists such as Ramsay, Richardson and Highmore, travelling abroad to further their artistic education was of greater importance than developing their collecting practices, although these individuals became

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 86. See Anthony Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin. A Critical Catalogue* (London, 1966), pp. 22–23, cat. 28.

⁴⁰ Johnston, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', pp. 75, 86, 88–90.

avid collectors as their careers progressed.⁴¹ By comparison, Thornhill travelled to Paris as an established painter during his most productive years, having already secured several prestigious commissions.⁴² Between 1708 and 1714 he worked on the Great Hall at the Royal Hospital in Greenwich (fig. 2) and the following year decorated the cupola of St Paul's Cathedral (fig. 3), establishing him as the leading native decorative painter in a field hitherto dominated by foreign-born artists.⁴³ The timing of his trip may have been in part dependent of political circumstances, with the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 ending the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1715) and a separate treaty agreed in November 1716 forming an Anglo-French alliance.

Whilst in Paris, Highmore relied upon a particular guidebook, Claude-Marin Saugrain's *Les Curiositez de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Vincennes, de Cloud, et des environs*, first published in 1716.⁴⁴ Thornhill makes no reference to a particular guidebook, although he would have certainly been aware of the most widely-circulated Parisian guides. Most of his entries are entirely original although would undoubtedly contain the observations of his companions and contemporary opinion taken from guidebooks. He did buy a map of the city for '1 livre and 5 sous'.⁴⁵ One of the first portable fold-out maps was published by Nicolas de Fer in 1694, with each building numbered in such a way as to easily locate it. Guides to Paris aimed at foreign visitors established trends on where to visit and practical advice that would appeal to a broad audience.⁴⁶ From the late 1670s, the pocket guidebook began to grow in popularity, enabling the city's cultural attractions to become more accessible.⁴⁷ Visitors no longer wanted detailed information on the city's historical past, ancient Roman monuments and medieval churches, as was predominately the focus of early seventeenth-century guides.⁴⁸ The changing aspirations of visitors to Paris brought about significant changes in the material being provided in guidebooks and travel accounts. The layouts varied from alphabetical, topical, or by itinerary or quarter. Germaine Brice's *Description nouvelle de ce qu'il ya de plus remarquable dans la ville de Paris*, first published in 1684, was one of the most popular pocket-guides aimed at visitors with little or no specialist

⁴¹ Highmore produced several portraits of English sitters whilst in Paris see *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 90. On his career see Jacqueline Riding, 'Joseph Highmore, 1692–1780' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2008).

⁴² For a detailed study of his career see Richard Johns, 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England after 1688' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2004).

⁴³ See Richard Johns, "'An Air of Grandeur & Modesty": James Thornhill's Painting in the Dome of St. Paul's Cathedral', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 24, no. 4 (2009), pp. 501–27.

⁴⁴ Johnston, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', p. 65.

⁴⁵ James Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France February – April 1717, National Art Library, 86.EE.87/MSL 1455, p. 5.

⁴⁶ Similar guides were produced for foreign visitors to London such as, François Colsoni, *Le guide de Londres pour les estrangers* (London, 1693) and Edward Hatton, *A new view of London* (London, 1708).

⁴⁷ See 'Exploring Paris, Guidebook in hand' in Robert Berger, *Public Access to Art in Paris: A Documentary History from the Middle Ages to 1800* (Pennsylvania, 1999).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

knowledge.⁴⁹ An English translation appeared in 1687, followed by numerous French editions throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, including one in the year of Thornhill's visit. Particular attention was given to recent architectural achievements, private and public buildings, and churches, as well as modern squares and gardens that in the course of the eighteenth century would become central to the image of Paris. On several occasions, Lister directs his readers to Brice's guide in relation to private residences and recommends reading published material prior to visiting Versailles and Marly.⁵⁰ This new type of urban literature shaped the perceptions and portrayals of Paris, and the emerging consumer culture. Saugrain's guide provided visitors with a detailed insight into the historical background of the royal residences in the centre and on the outskirts of Paris.⁵¹ Louis Liger's *Le voyageur fidèle, ou Le guide des étrangers dans la ville de Paris* published in 1715, tutored readers interested in high culture and foreign fashions within private homes. The importance of published guides, and more indirectly, unpublished diaries, is that they transmitted French culture back to England, thereby contributing to emerging tastes in art collecting and modes of display.

The market for commodities in Paris

Thornhill's involvement in the Parisian art market of the period, can be seen through his purchases of fine and decorative objects for his own collection and for those of English acquaintances. In eighteenth-century guidebooks and travel accounts, Paris was distinguished by the growth of its luxury trades and industries specialising in furnishings, jewellery, porcelain, precious metals, prints and paintings. This sentiment formed the premise for the satirical publication, *A Treatise upon the Modes: or, a Farewell to French Kicks*, written by Dr. John Harris, the Prebendary of Canterbury, in 1715, in which he declared that: 'The End of my Book is, to dissuade my Country-men from the Use of *French Fashions*, and from applying to Foreigners in Matters of this nature, where we have a Right, and Power, and Genius to supply ourselves'.⁵² In another section 'On French Painting', the author states that he could 'give a Thousand Instances of their transgressing (I mean the most renowned masters among them) against what, in other Nations, is called common sense. [...] it is my Opinion that it proceeds from an incurable Vanity', and continues:

⁴⁹ Later editions appeared in 1685, 1687, 1694, 1698, 1701, 1706, 1713, 1717, 1725, 1752. Other examples of guidebooks include, Charles Le Maire, *Paris ancien et nouveau...ou l'on voit la fondation, les accroissements...de cette ville; avec une description nouvelle de ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable dans toutes les églises, communautés* (Paris, 1685); Jean Aimar Piganiol de la Force, *Nouvelle Description des Châteaux et Parcs de Versailles et de Marly*, 2 vols (Paris, 1717); Joachim Nemeitz, *Séjour de Paris, c'est-à-dire Instructions fidèles pour les voyageurs de conditions, durant leur séjour a Paris; comme aussi une description...de la cour de France, du parlement...* (Leyde, 1727); Annibale Antonini, *Mémorial de Paris et de ses environs à l'usage des voyageurs* (Paris, 1732).

⁵⁰ Lister, *A Journey to Paris*, pp. 185–90, 202, 220. This is discussed in Constantia Maxwell, *The English Traveller in France, 1698–1815* (London, 1932), pp. 46–56.

⁵¹ See Claude-Marin Saugrain, *Les Curiosités de Paris, de Versailles, de Marly, de Vincennes, de S. Cloud et des environs...Ouvrage enrichi d'un grand nombre de figures. Par M.L.R* (Paris, 1716, 1723, 1760, 1771, 1778).

⁵² *Treatise upon the Modes* (Paris, 1715), p. 3.

Do not employ a *French Painter* to copy the *Transfiguration*, or any other celebrated Piece, and leave him entirely to himself, I will engage that he shall add a Figure or two of his own, with a view to improve the Piece [...] which gave occasion to an *Italian* to say of the *Roman Poussin*, That he would have made an excellent Painter, if his Father had not been a Frenchman.⁵³

In a similar vein, 'On the Cheapness of the French Workmanship' persuaded English audiences against being drawn to French commodities due to their affordability, and instead encourages them to support English craftsmanship.⁵⁴ In contrast, Liger's *Le voyageur fidèle*, published in the same year, promoted the unique and eclectic shopping experience to be had in Paris:

They have always been geniuses [amateurs or enthusiasts] have had different tastes about what are called real curiosities; there are those who love beautiful furniture, others rare paintings: some have a taste for medals, some look for prints and others fine porcelains: thus each collector bows to his passion whenever he has the opportunity until there is a need to justify the expenditure; today it is in this way that when one sees so many cabinets which are so particular and of such a great value with all the rarities that they contain.⁵⁵

The prosperity of the semi-luxury markets in London and Paris during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, gave less affluent consumers the opportunity to purchase affordable items and emulate aristocratic tastes.⁵⁶ The rue Saint-Honoré represented the vibrant centre of the luxury trade and the base for a diverse group, the *marchand merciers*, providing their elite clientele with high-quality and imported goods, and co-ordinated the production and repair of objects through their workshops.⁵⁷ The aristocracy were frequent suppliers to this market, exchanging

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 23–24.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 31–32.

⁵⁵ 'Il y a eu de tout temps des curieux dont les genies ont eu des goûts differens sur ce qu'on appelle *veritables curiositez*; les uns aiment les beaux meubles, d'autres les tableaux rares: ceux-ci ont du goût pour les médailles, ceux-là recherchant les estampes, & d'autres les fines porcelaines: c'est ainsi que chaque Curieux contente sa passion lorsqu'il est en passe de fournir à cette dépense; c'est ce qui fait aujourd'hui qu'on voit tant de Cabinets qui sont si singuliers & d'un si grand prix par toutes les raretez qu'il contiennent'. Liger, *Le voyageur fidèle* (Paris, 1715), pp. 369–70.

⁵⁶ On the semi-luxury markets during this period see Natasha Coquery, 'The Language of Success: Marketing and Distributing Semi-Luxury Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris', *Journal of Design History*, vol. 17, no.1 (*Disseminating Design: The French Connection*, 2004), pp. 71–89; also Cissie Fairchild, 'The Production and Marketing of Populuxe Goods in Eighteenth-Century Paris' in John Brewer and Roy Porter eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London and New York, 1993). On the growth of consumer culture in England see Maxine Berg, 'New commodities, Luxuries and their Consumers in Eighteenth-Century England' in Maxine Berg and Helen Clifford eds., *Consumers and Luxury: Consumer Culture in Europe, 1650–1850* (Manchester and New York, 1999), pp. 63–85.

⁵⁷ See Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchand Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London, 1996), pp. 18–23.

used objects for those in fashion or as a means of paying tradesmen. Parisian shopfronts and shopkeepers increasingly targeted specific groups of consumers by promoting objects as curiosities or novelties, thereby associating these individuals with the 'man of taste' and fulfilling their need for the new and unique. Jacobsen's study of the correspondence and accounts of English ambassadors abroad during the late Stuart period has revealed the extent to which owning luxury goods was an essential part of court etiquette.⁵⁸ Individuals such as Ralph Montagu (1638–1709), 1st Duke of Devonshire, Matthew Prior, Hans William Bentinck (1648–1709), 1st Earl of Portland and Edward Villiers (1656–1711), 1st Earl of Jersey, fulfilled roles as conduits for the importation of foreign goods and cultural tastes to England.

For many, travelling abroad was seen as an educational trip and an opportunity to buy art objects as souvenirs. These commonly included objects such as medals and works on paper which were more affordable and transportable than easel paintings and pieces of sculpture. In a letter written by John Perceval (1683–1748), 1st Earl of Egmont to Edward Southwell (1671–1730), the Secretary of State for Ireland, during the former's second trip to Paris in 1726, he describes how his son had grown 'very fond of antiques, and bought a great many glass seals, coppys of the French Kings Collection which he proposes to place in a Cabinet, this is the beginning of Virtuosoship.'⁵⁹

Artists travelled abroad to fulfil the requests of their patrons, to improve their own education, or as a commercial venture. In 1698, Charles Jervas (1675–1739) an Irish portrait painter, spent several months in Paris before travelling to Italy. Whilst visiting the former, he embarked on an ambitious project at the request of Dr George Clarke (1661–1736), an amateur architect and Tory politician.⁶⁰ Jervas arranged for Gérard Audran (1640–1703) to produce engraved copies of the Raphael Cartoons, the originals at that time in Hampton Court, although only two plates were completed from the set of seven.⁶¹ In addition to this, a letter dated 1 May 1698 from John Ellis (1646–1738), the assistant to the secretary of state, James Vernon (1646–1727), reveals a list of engravings he required Jervas to source, the majority being after paintings by Nicolas Poussin held in the French royal collection, among them 'The Seven sacraments in little' priced at seven livres and 'The Death of Germanicus' at two livres.⁶² A receipt gives the total value of the prints as ninety-eight livres, with additional costs covering the crate and customs charges. These works were

⁵⁸ See Chapter Six and Eight in Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*.

⁵⁹ Letter from Perceval to Southwell, 7 May 1726, Egmont Papers, BL Add MS 47031 f. 169v. Edward Southwell Jr (1705–1755) spent time with his father in Paris in 1723, during which time they visited various private and royal collections see 'Journal of travels in Lorraine and France', BL Add MS 34753, ff. 20–22.

⁶⁰ See Caroline Pegum, 'The Artistic and Literary Career of Charles Jervas (c. 1675–1739)' (unpublished MPhil thesis, University of Birmingham, 2009), p. 52. On Clarke see Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 253–55.

⁶¹ For a detailed study of the Cartoons see Arline Meyer, *Apostles in England. Sir James Thornhill and the Legacy of Raphael's Tapestry Cartoons*, exh. cat. (Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, New York, 1996), pp. 32–33.

⁶² Letter and list from John Ellis to Charles Jervas, 1 May 1698, Ellis Papers, BL Add MS 28882, ff. 253–254. This is quoted in Pegum, 'The Artistic and Literary Career of Charles Jervas', p. 51.

supposedly intended for the merchant Robert Pooley (c. 1644–c. 1699), the brother of the Irish painter Thomas Pooley (c. 1640–1723). A subsequent letter written by Jervas to Ellis reveals: ‘Mr Pooley shewd me y[ou]r letter, I went with him to choose the Prints, & went to several other Shops beforehand that I might find the best impressions & the easiest rates.’⁶³ He continues ‘I have bought some [prints] for Mr George Clarke & some for Pereyra. & a great many for our English gentlemen now in Town.’⁶⁴ Jervas was himself an extensive collector of prints and drawings: his 1739 sale spanned twenty-four days and included around 2000 objects, some of which were single sheets and others being multiples either bound or kept in parcels.⁶⁵

These Englishmen were participating in the overlapping markets for luxury and semi-luxury goods, and the fine arts, predominantly prints and paintings. Likewise, the items purchased by Thornhill for English acquaintances and his own home would have varied considerably in terms of function, quality, and value. His notes reveal that he visited a range of districts known for dealers’ shops, namely rue St Honoré and the areas of St Antoine and Pont Neuf.⁶⁶ These commodities were intended for everyday use and decorative display, some as newly-made and others being second-hand goods. Many would have reflected the craftsmanship of the Parisian workshops, as either original pieces or copies. Thornhill listed six pairs of beaver skin gloves for Mr Bateman, a bookseller and auctioneer who was active in London between 1698 and 1730, and a pair of silvered candle sticks and snuffers for John Huggins (1655–1745), appointed high bailiff of Westminster in 1713.⁶⁷ Huggins owned sixteen large cartoons for the window in the north transept at Westminster Abbey, attributed to Thornhill, and donated them to the parish church of St Andrew in Chinnor, where his son became the rector in 1728.⁶⁸ Thornhill made further purchases for ‘G. Clark’, presumably George Clarke, of brass medals depicting Louis XIV, or those produced during or after the King’s reign.⁶⁹ From 1710 he was responsible for replacing the college buildings at Oxford University, in collaboration with Thornhill and Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661–1736).⁷⁰ Thornhill acquired for Thomas Walker (d. 1748), the commissioner of customs and later Surveyor General of

⁶³ Letter from Jervas to Ellis, 26 May 1698, *Ibid.*, f. 292. Also in Pegum, ‘The Artistic and Literary Career of Charles Jervas’, p. 52.

⁶⁴ Jervas is most likely referring to Isaac Pereira (c. 1658–1718), a Jewish Portuguese merchant. See Edgar Samuel, ‘Pereira, Isaac (c. 1658–1718)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/75162>, accessed 5 April 2017].

⁶⁵ A catalogue of the valuable collection of prints and drawings, in architecture, history, battles, landskips, antiquities, &c late of Charles Jarvis Esq, deceased [London 1740]; in ‘The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,’ at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 13 March 2017.

⁶⁶ Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, pp. 18–20.

⁶⁷ James Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 5. On Bateman see Henry Plomer et al., *A dictionary of the printers and booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 24–25.

⁶⁸ See June Cray, ‘Paintings by Thornhill at Chinnor’, *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 132, no. 1052 (November 1990), pp. 789–93.

⁶⁹ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 1. The most celebrated examples were produced by Jean Warin (1600–1672) during the 1660s and 1670s. See Mark Jones, *Catalogue of the French Medals in the British Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1988), vol. 2, pp. 177–246; in addition Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 135–51.

⁷⁰ See Timothy Clayton, ‘Clarke, George (1661–1736)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5496>, accessed 23 March 2017].

Crown Lands, a Poussin landscape and an engraving of St Catherine that he acquired from Boit's collection or had been sourced by him.⁷¹ Walker's collection is remarkable in conveying the taste of a man not part of high ranking society yet accumulated wealth and possessed pictures of considerable quality (fig. 4).⁷² He probably became acquainted with Walker during gatherings of the London art club, the Virtuosi of St Luke.⁷³ It is believed that Thornhill painted the staircase at his London residence at No. 8 Clifford Street in around 1719–21.⁷⁴

The names listed in the notebook show that these requests were made by members of the gentry and professional classes, to which Thornhill belonged. However, he also purchased items for prominent political and court figures, as suggested by the reminder to acquire painted wall hangings, as well as statues, for Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693–1768), 4th Duke of Newcastle upon Tyne.⁷⁵ In April 1717, Thomas married Lady Henrietta Godolphin (d. 1776), the eldest granddaughter of John (1650–1722) and Sarah (1660–1744) Churchill, the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. Shortly after, Churchill became Lord Chamberlain. These objects were intended for either his London residence which he had inherited in 1711 or the Claremont estate in Surrey, acquired from Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726) in 1714. Thornhill also procured, two snuff boxes for

⁷¹ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 1. This is probably a version of *The Triumph of Neptune*, passed by decent to Sir Eliah Harvey, or alternatively a work was sold by General Sir Francis Lloyd the grandson of Louisa Lloyd (née Harvey) in Birmingham in 1923, the original version is now in Philadelphia Museum of Art. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 120; Richard Morris, *Thomas Walker (1664–1748): "toadeater and notorious userer" and collector of fine pictures* (Loughton, 2006), p. 14.

⁷² Among his French pictures was 'Landscape with Figures' by Claude (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham), see Morris, *Thomas Walker*, p. 22; also Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: the Paintings* (London, 1961), p. 253, no. 93. He attended the Duke of Portland sale in 1722, jointly purchasing with 'Skinner' 'A Landscape with figures and goats' by Poussin for £84 (lot. 104), see 'D. of Portland's Sale of Pictures, 1722' in Houlditch 'Sale catalogues of the principal collection of pictures...sold by auction in England within the years 1711–1759, the greater part of them with the prices and names of the purchasers', 2 vols, mid 18th cent, National Art Library, 86.00.18, vol. 1, p. 6. Also in his collection were works by Bourdon, Le Sueur and Watteau.

⁷³ See Ilaria Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions in London, 1689–1768: A Study of Clubs and Academies', *Walpole Society*, vol. 54 (1988), pp. 23–24.

⁷⁴ 'Cork Street and Savile Row Area: Clifford Street, North Side' in Francis Henry Sheppard, ed., *Survey of London: Volumes 31 and 32, St James Westminster, Part 2* (London, 1963), pp. 466–82. *British History Online*, at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/survey-london/vols31-2/pt2/pp466-482>, accessed 22 April 2017.

⁷⁵ For a general introduction see Reed Browning, 'Holles, Thomas Pelham-, duke of Newcastle upon Tyne and first duke of Newcastle under Lyme (1693–1768), prime minister', *ODNB*, online edn May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21801>, accessed 30 April 2015]. On his political career see Chapter Four in Dick Leonard, *Eighteenth-Century British Premiers: Walpole to the Younger Pitt* (New York, 2011), pp. 56–57.

the Duchess of Marlborough at three guineas each.⁷⁶ Shortly before before his journey abroad, Thornhill had been commissioned by the Marlboroughs to paint the Hall ceiling at Blenheim Palace, the organisation and subject of which is discussed in a subsequent chapter.⁷⁷

Thornhill recorded his visit to the workshop of Michael Butterfield (1634/5–1724), an Englishman who lived and worked in Paris from the 1660s, with the intention of sampling the high-quality craftsmanship for which Paris was renowned.⁷⁸ During his visit to the city in 1698, Lister had received from Butterfield written recommendations on art-related purchases and places of interest.⁷⁹ In that same year Butterfield had received a grant of arms and in 1717 ran one of the instrument workshops visited by Peter the Great, Tsar of Russia. On the rue Saint-Antoine ‘almost fronting y^e Grand Jesuits Church’, Thornhill entered a shop selling artists’ materials and made a note of the price of canvas for painting or fabric for tapestries and upholstery.⁸⁰

In addition to buying decorative objects and those for everyday use, he also took notice of French fashions, acquiring gold wire buttons for his brocade waistcoat and his first lace neckcloth to wear during his stay.⁸¹ He also bought several types of ‘glands’, a type of tassel often used as coat fastenings to decorate both formal and everyday dress. His entries reveal that rather than buy new pieces of clothing in Paris, he made minor additions and adjustments to his existing attire. Clothing production and consumption formed part of the growth in luxury and ordinary markets, reflecting transformations in moral and social behaviour in early eighteenth-century public life.⁸² The *marchand drapiers* were one of the largest corporations in Paris, representing the tailors, linen-drapers and fashion merchants among others, renowned for the superior quality of their items and highly-skilled production.⁸³ For members of the aristocracy and gentry, the three main components—a coat, long waistcoat and breeches—functioned as a form of communication, through which to assert social position, occupation, and conformity to standards of decorum. Liger’s guide advised visitors on where to acquire garments for formal occasions and public

⁷⁶ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 1. Due to the low value of these boxes it is unlikely that they were made of silver or enamel rather than gold. For biographies see Francis Harris, *A Passion for Government: the Life of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (Oxford, 1991); Ophelia Fields, *The Favourite: Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough* (London, 2002). On the Duchess’s collecting practices see Marcia Pointon, ‘Material Manoeuvres: Sarah Churchill, Duchess of Marlborough and the Power of Artefacts’, *Art History*, vol. 32, no. 3 (June 2009), pp. 485–515; Krzysztof Szpila, ‘Sarah Jenyns Churchill at Blenheim Palace: Setting the record straight. A reevaluation of the first duchess of Marlborough as a patron of the arts’ (unpublished PhD thesis, Temple University, 1997).

⁷⁷ On the commission see David Green, *Blenheim Palace* (London, 1951), pp. 306–08.

⁷⁸ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 5. See Anthony Turner, ‘Butterfield, Michael (1634/5–1724)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53919>, accessed 13 March 2017].

⁷⁹ See John Lough, *France Observed in the Seventeenth Century by British Travellers* (Stocksfield, 1985), pp. 338–39.

⁸⁰ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 4.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92

⁸² See ‘The hierarchy of appearances in Paris from Louis XIV to Louis XVI’ in Daniel Roche, *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge, 1994).

⁸³ Liger, *Le voyageur fidèle* (1715), pp. 357–65. See also Daniel Roche, ‘From crafts to customers: tailors, dressmakers, linen-drapers and fashion merchants’ in *The Culture of Clothing*.

entertainments whilst in Paris, and would have been consulted in addition to fashion plates and books.⁸⁴ Appearance would therefore have been an important consideration for Thornhill when attending the 'Opera Dominique' and the Saint-Germain fair 'a wonderful fine sight is chiefly at night after y^e play is done. beginning of March'.⁸⁵ The fair became the centre of public amusements and theatrical performances, with the opportunities to purchase an array of fashionable goods housed in vast semi-permanent pavilions.⁸⁶ Thornhill may have sourced many of the requested items, having arrived in Paris just prior to the start of this event.

The forms of consumption carried out by Thornhill and other English travellers mentioned here are of interest in what they tell us about the nature of the objects chosen and the reasons why they were purchased abroad. I would suggest that the answer is twofold: firstly, whilst some of these objects were readily available in England as imported or imitated goods, albeit inevitably in smaller quantities, those acquired in Paris fulfilled a taste for 'Frenchness' due to their perceived provenance, as the place of production or purchase. Secondly, many would have represented superior French craftsmanship obtainable directly from the workshop. In combination, the status associated with these functional or decorative objects brought English individuals without the means or inclination to travel abroad closer to French collecting practices and tastes, which they aspired to imitate.

The collector of continental pictures

Thornhill was one of a growing number of prominent artists working in England who formed their own collection of paintings, a few examples being Jonathan Richardson senior, Charles Jervas, Michael Dahl (1659–1743) and Joseph van Aken (c. 1699–1749).⁸⁷ He would have been familiar with gentlemanly conduct books based on Renaissance ideals, such as an English translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* published in 1561 and Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* of 1634. The Italian term 'virtuoso', first appeared in England in Peacham's second edition. The French term 'connoisseur', included in Jonathan Richardson senior's *Two Discourses* published in 1719, was defined as an understanding of artistic theory and practice, and the ability to dictate the standards of good taste.⁸⁸ Thornhill embodied a new type of gentleman connoisseur, his purchases contributing to the wider promotion and dissemination of foreign pictures, art-historical knowledge, and emerging notions of taste within eighteenth-century Britain. When a painting interested him in Paris he often identified the artist and subject matter, its size and

⁸⁴ Liger, *Le voyageur fidèle* (1715), pp. 364–65, 69–70.

⁸⁵ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 4.

⁸⁶ For Lister's account see *A Journey to Paris*, pp. 175–76. Also Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London, 1985), pp. 45–54.

⁸⁷ 'Mr Richardson's Sale of Pictures 1746/7' in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, pp. 1–5; 'Mr Jarvis's Sale of Pictures', vol. 1, pp. 44–59.

⁸⁸ Harry Mount, 'The Monkey with the Magnifying Glass: Constructions of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 29, no. 2 (2006), p. 170. Also see Brian Cowan, 'An Open Elite: the Peculiarities of English Connoisseurship in Early Modern England', *Modern Intellectual History*, vol. 1, no. 2 (2004), pp. 151–83.

condition of the painting, and recorded his own judgement on its quality of workmanship. Inevitably, some of these details would have been provided by his companions and those people he encountered during his stay. To express his opinion on these matters in relation to paintings, he used simple words such as 'fine', 'good', 'best' and 'weak'. On a few occasions he adopted French phrases, such as 'gout' ('taste'), 'plafond' ('ceiling') and 'toises' ('yards'), perhaps reflecting additions to his existing vocabulary. An understanding of historical paintings and the traditional attributes associated with particular figures was essential in order to appreciate fully the complex biblical and classical narratives depicted in the works he observed. He would have acquired this knowledge of continental pictures from studying original masterpieces, painted copies and engravings as part of his artistic training, in English private collections and at auction sales. His sketchbooks produced throughout his career contain numerous sheets of studies of historical subjects, portraits and landscapes, not all of which were intended as designs for his own decorative paintings. The posthumous sale of his collection held in February 1735 spanned five days and contained around 300 items.⁸⁹ Many of the lots were continental pictures that greatly outweighed those by native painters. In addition, numerous folios of prints after the works of Poussin, Raphael, the Carracci, and Rubens were listed.

There is no mention of Thornhill having visited the studios of contemporary painters and commissioning his portrait or copies whilst in Paris. Instead, his attention was drawn to examples by sixteenth and seventeenth-century painters being marketed by dealers and private collectors. Thornhill visited the collection of Pierre Poincnet (d. 1744), an officer of the French judicial court, who offered works by leading Netherlandish and French masters such as Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), Jacques Fouquier (c. 1580–1659), and Rembrandt (1606–1669), and the contemporary French painter, Jean-Baptiste Santerre (1658–1717).⁹⁰ Thornhill identified the subject matter of several paintings, notably 'a large Poussin of the finding of Moses 4000 livres', probably Poussin's *The Exposition of Moses* (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) (fig. 5).⁹¹ He also commented on 'A pict[ure]: of St Jerome on Marble w[hi]ch has been broke & well mended.' by the Italian artist Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) for 3500 livres, and *Horatius Cocles defending the Bridge* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London) (fig. 6), 'in y^e manner of N[icolas]. Poussin 3000 livres'.⁹² During the early eighteenth century, pictures such as these were exceptionally rare in England, with only a small number of works reaching these high prices, the equivalent of between £200 and £250. A discussion of the presence of French pictures on the London art market and the role of dealers and agents involved in cross-channel exchanges during this period, can be found in the

⁸⁹ See 'Editorial: Sir James Thornhill's Collection', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 82, no. 483 (June 1943), pp. 133–36.

⁹⁰ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 87. On Poincnet see *L'état de la France: ou l'on voit tous les princes, ducs et pairs, maréchaux de France, et autres officiers de la couronne...*, 2 vols (Paris, 1718), vol. 2, p. 41. Mentioned in Ellis Waterhouse, 'Poussin et l'Angleterre jusqu'en 1744', in André Chastel, *Nicolas Poussin*, symposium held 19–21 September 1958, CNRS, *Colloques Internationaux*, 2 vols (Paris, 1960), vol. I, p. 289.

⁹¹ See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 11–12, cat. 10.

⁹² For the most comprehensive study see *Courage and Cruelty. Paintings in their Context III: Le Brun's Horatius Cocles and The Massacre of the Innocents*, exh. cat. (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London, 1991), pp. 47–50.

next chapter. Poincinet also owned a version of Poussin's *The Flight into Egypt* (Cleveland Art Museum (fig. 7); the original in Dulwich Picture Gallery).⁹³ On visiting an unidentified dealer in the area of Saint-Germain near the Pont-Neuf, an area long established for picture-dealers, Thornhill remarked on 'a vast quantity of ill pictures', in recognition of their poor condition or appearance as copies or forgeries.⁹⁴ On meeting the dealer and surgeon, Monsieur Ronde, Thornhill identified six pictures and attempted to lower the combined price offered to him.⁹⁵ These were listed as:

Mons[ieu]r Ronde y^e Surgeon. has to sell [livre symbol]
 Virgin, w[ith] Angels & Cherub: by Ca[r]rach[e]⁹⁶ ——— 3000
 Rubens little fig[u]r[e]s w[ith] fruit by Brughe⁹⁷ ——— 3000
 Albano, Bacch[us]. Ven[us]: & ceres⁹⁸ ——— 3000
 Large dark Lands[cape]: Albano, St John &c.⁹⁹ ———
 Albano, our Saviour & y^e poor wom[an] &c.¹⁰⁰ ——— } 2000
 a study of Raphael ———

I offer[e]d him 600 ^<livre symbol> Sterling for
 y^e 6 above nam[e]d. he demands 11000 livres
 w[hi]ch is 9000 livres

The notebook provides no explanation as to which pictures were eventually purchased, the price agreed, and how they were transported and imported with his many other purchases to England.¹⁰¹ The auction catalogue of Thornhill's collection reveals that he did purchase *The Virgin and Child in the Clouds* by Annibale Carracci (Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford) (fig. 8), which sold at his

⁹³ Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 48–50, cat. 68.

⁹⁴ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 86. See Mickaël Szanto, 'The Pont Notre Dame, Heart of the Picture Trade in France' in Neil de Marchi and Sophie Raux eds., *Moving Pictures. Intra-European Trade in Images, 16th–18th Centuries*, Studies in European Urban History 34 (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 77–93.

⁹⁵ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 87.

⁹⁶ See Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: a Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, 2 vols (London and New York, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 33–34, cat. 80.

⁹⁷ See Anne Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen, *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship*, exh. cat. (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, 2000), p. 160.

⁹⁸ Perhaps one of several versions by Albani now lost, *Bacchus, Ceres, and Venus*. See Catherine Puglisi, *Francesco Albani* (New Haven, 1999), p. 223, cat. L102–104.

⁹⁹ Perhaps Albani, *Baptism of Christ* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon) or one of several versions that are now lost. See Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Inventaire Le Brun de 1683: la collection des tableaux de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1987), p. 413, cat. 429; in addition, Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, pp. 187–88, 222, cat. 105.

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps a version of Albani, *Landscape with Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (last seen Piero Corsini, inc., New York). See Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, pp. 161–62, cat. 74.

¹⁰¹ Recent scholarship has debated the impact of legal controls on the trade of pictures in England during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. See David Ormrod, 'The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660–1730' in North and Ormrod eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 169–70.

sale for £53.11s.¹⁰² *The Graces unveiling Nature*, by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Jan Breughel (1568–1625) sold for £225.15s (Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow) (fig. 9), and Francesco Albani's (1578–1660) *Christ appearing to his Disciples* (location unknown) for £32.¹⁰³ Despite the pictures bought in Paris reaching some of the highest prices at Thornhill's sale, they most likely sold at a loss when compared to the prices he paid for them, the Rubens being the exception. Using the currency exchange chart supplied by Thornhill in the notebook, the price offered to him for the Carracci of 3000 livres, was equivalent to around £200, however this work sold at his sale for £53 (just under 1000 livres).¹⁰⁴ One possible explanation for these objects achieving lower values in England is that they were sold during a temporary slump in auction sales during the 1730s. However, these figures may simply have been dependent on the numbers and kinds of collectors in attendance at the auction.¹⁰⁵ Another consideration is that it was common for works bought at auction to achieve more modest sums than those directly purchased from a dealer.

Thornhill's most prestigious and valuable purchase made in Paris for his own collection was Poussin's *Tancred and Erminia* (fig. 10), which he recorded in his notebook cost 1500 livres (equivalent of around £80), and bought by the previous owner for 2500 livres.¹⁰⁶ In *An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting*, the first volume of his *Two Discourses*, published in 1719, Jonathan Richardson senior described the painterly qualities of this picture at great length, so contributing to an emerging taste for Poussin in England during the period.¹⁰⁷ *Thornhill showing his Poussin to his friends* (Beaverbrook Art Gallery, New Brunswick) (fig. 11) attributed to Gawen Hamilton (1697–1737), reflects the importance of this particular acquisition in Thornhill's transformation from artist to collector and virtuoso. At Thornhill's sale, *Tancred and Erminia* sold for around the same amount he had paid for it to another member of the gentry, William Lock (d.1761) an MP for Grimsby, and was inherited by his son of the same name (1732–1810) of Norbury Park.¹⁰⁸ William began his own art collection whilst on his tour of Italy during 1749, purchasing Claude's *Embarkation of St Ursula* (National Gallery, London).¹⁰⁹ I would suggest that the acquisitions made in Paris set a trend among Thornhill's peers belonging to the professional classes for owning French pictures, particularly those by Poussin. In doing so, he could be regarded as not merely emulating emerging English elite taste but as an early contributor to it.

The effect of Thornhill's experiences abroad on his career and activities in England are difficult to evaluate. On the one hand, the visits he made to dealers and private collectors served

¹⁰² See 'Sir James Thornhill's Sale of Pictures 1734/5' in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 14.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 65.

¹⁰⁵ See Pears, *The Discovery of Painting: The Growth of Interest in the Arts in England, 1680–1768* (New Haven and London, 1988), p. 89.

¹⁰⁶ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 66.

¹⁰⁷ Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses* (London, 1719), p. 76.

¹⁰⁸ See 'Sir James Thornhill's Sale of Pictures 1734/5' in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 17. On Lock see Kenneth Garlick, 'Lock, William (1732–1810)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16889>, accessed 22 Oct 2015].

¹⁰⁹ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 190–91, no. 54.

as an instructional framework of existing continental models through which Thornhill could fashion his own collecting practices, and on the other, these enabled him to make purchases that had a wider didactic purpose. In 1716 Thornhill had become a member of the London-based art club, the Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke.¹¹⁰ Since its creation during the 1690s, this group gave members the opportunity to discuss, learn about and even purchase pictures.¹¹¹ Many of those in attendance opened their own picture collections in order to instruct other members at the club's gatherings. In 1718, the year after his return from France, he hosted the annual Feast of St Luke at his house in Covent Garden.¹¹² A preliminary design for an invitation card to the annual Feast of St Luke (fig. 12), shows the patron saint of artists surrounded by a Greek temple thereby promoting the study of the classical arts, and studying a painting depicting the Virgin and Child. The emergence of prestigious art clubs coincided with efforts to form an academy of arts to represent the British school, as will be explored further in another chapter. In doing so, Thornhill recognised the importance of studying continental pictures first hand, in addition to reading art theoretical and biographical literary sources, to increase his own social and professional status, and crucially, to educate his contemporaries.

Thornhill's French connections

From this it is logical to consider the usefulness of Thornhill's notes as a source of insight into Anglo-French relations during the period. Many of those involved in his francophile circle were artists associated with the French Académie, which gave him access to royal institutions and residences, and provided advice on art-related purchases. His personal association with Charles Boit (1662–1727) and Jean Tijou (fl. 1689–1712) in Paris, as documented in the notebook, probably originated in England.¹¹³ Boit, the son of a French silk merchant arrived in England in 1687, securing commissions for enamelled miniatures from influential patrons.¹¹⁴ He was commissioned by Queen Anne to create an enamel to commemorate the Battle of Blenheim, which resulted in financial and technical failure and in 1714 he was asked to return the funds granted to him.¹¹⁵ Thornhill is likely to have met Boit at gatherings of the Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke.¹¹⁶ In 1715 Boit returned to Paris where his career once again flourished, securing the patronage of Louis (1667–1723), Duc d'Aumont, former French ambassador to England, whom he had encountered in London. Just before Thornhill arrived in Paris, on 6 February 1717 Boit was elected

¹¹⁰ Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions in London', *Walpole Society*, p. 23.

¹¹¹ George Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 26 (Vertue V, 1938), p. 13.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

¹¹³ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), inside cover and p. 3. See Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 18 (Vertue I, 1930), p. 33; vol. 20 (Vertue II, 1932), p. 21; vol. 22 (Vertue III, 1934), p. 30.

¹¹⁴ See V. Remington, 'Charles Boit (1662–1727)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2783>, accessed 10 March 2017]; Gunnar Lundberg, 'Charles Boit (1662–1727)', *Konsthistorisk tidskrift*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1933), pp. 33–50.

¹¹⁵ Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 20 (Vertue II, 1932), p. 20.

¹¹⁶ Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions', *Walpole Society*, p. 33.

as a member of the French Académie. A memorandum to acquire directions to his house affirms that Thornhill met him in person rather than simply exchanging letters. On several occasions he acted as Thornhill's picture-agent, making the payment for a painting by Bamboccio, also known as Pieter van Laer (1599–c. 1642), which had originally been bought by 'Baptista, y^e Painter for 200 livres'.¹¹⁷ For whom this purchase was intended is unknown, perhaps remaining with Boit or sold by Thornhill on his return to England.

To a lesser extent, Thornhill received assistance from Jean Tijou (fl. 1689–1712), a French craftsman, who had arrived in London in 1689. He became one of the most influential ironworkers in England, securing royal commissions at Hampton Court in 1689 (fig. 13) and St Paul's Cathedral in 1695–1707.¹¹⁸ Thornhill may have become acquainted with Tijou through their mutual association with Christopher Wren, who had supervised their time spent working on royal architectural projects. Alternatively, Tijou's son-in-law, Louis Laguerre, was known to Thornhill as a fellow governor of the Queen Street Academy.¹¹⁹ Whilst in England, Laguerre designed the frontispiece to accompany Tijou's *A New Book of Drawings*, published in 1693 (fig. 14). Tijou had returned to Paris by 1712. His advice to Thornhill on where to find an ironmongers in Paris and a reputable French silversmith and clock-maker working in London, conveys the ways in which cross-channel relationships were formed and developed.¹²⁰

Thornhill's third companion, Guillaume Hubert, a 'marchand joaillier' (jewellery merchant) was introduced to him by the goldsmith and banker John Warner (d. 1722).¹²¹ This is probably the Hubert who married Anne-Marie Gaudron (d. 1754), the daughter of a master clockmaker, Antoine Gaudron (1640–1714).¹²² Hubert could be found on the 'quai des Morfondus', also referred to as quai de l'Horloge, located on the Cité.¹²³ He assisted Thornhill in overseeing acquisitions that would later appear in his collection, perhaps including those acquired from Monsieur Ronde. Hubert made the payment of 106 livres for *The inside of a Church* by Pieter Neefs, the elder (c. 1573–1661), which was listed as number 90 in Thornhill's sale catalogue and sold for £12.12s on the first day.¹²⁴

In addition to merchants and artists, Thornhill made himself known to individuals who held prestigious administrative, political and military offices in service to the King. Thornhill delivered a number of letters whilst in Paris, some of which were surely intended as introductions to those who

¹¹⁷ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France* (1717), p. 66.

¹¹⁸ Walter. A. Dyer, 'The Art of Jean Tijou', *The Art World*, vol. 2, no. 4 (July 1917), pp. 355–59.

¹¹⁹ Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions', *Walpole Society*, p. 64.

¹²⁰ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France* (1717), pp. 2, 3, 75, 87.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7. On Warner see G.S. Boulger, 'Warner, Richard (1713?–1775), botanist and literary scholar', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28765>, accessed 30 April 2015].

¹²² On Gaudron see Gillian Wilson et al., *European Clocks in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles, 2013), pp. 174–75.

¹²³ This quay, along with the nearby quai des Orfèvres and Place Dauphine, was renowned for jewellery and goldsmith workshops. See Liger, *Le voyageur fidèle* (1715), pp. 369–70.

¹²⁴ See 'Sir James Thornhill's Sale of Pictures 1734/5' in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 14.

could assist him during his stay.¹²⁵ This included a letter from an unidentifiable Captain Mandel for Monsieur de Bossernd, Baron de Schivre, a 'chevalier' of the military orders of Saint Louis and Saint Lazare, Lieutenant Colonel infantry, at the address of Charles-Auguste Benoise (1686–1762), advisor to the Parlement of Paris, on the rue Vieille-du-Temple.¹²⁶ Thornhill delivered another letter to the playwright, l'abbé Augustin Nadal (1659–1741), who was staying at the house of Aumont.¹²⁷ The second person for whom Thornhill carried a letter was the George Clarke, to a Mr Green staying at the house of Richard Cantillon (c. 1680–1734), the Irish economist and later renowned author of *Essai sur La Nature du Commerce en Général*.¹²⁸ Thornhill also intended to see the grand residence of Louis-Antoine (1665–1736), Duc d'Antin, the director general of royal buildings and protector of the French Académie. The 1717 edition of Brice's guidebook boldly declared that, 'cet hôtel surpasse tout ce que l'on voit à présent dans cette Ville' ('this mansion surpasses anything we now see in this city'), referring to the lavishly-decorated interiors which displayed pictures from the King's collection.¹²⁹

On several occasions he was granted access to private residences, providing him with an insight into the necessity of luxury consumption as integrated in social and political life in early eighteenth-century Paris.¹³⁰ Thornhill's fourth companion, the royal sculptor Corneille van Clève (1646–1732), provided the introduction to his brother-in-law, Nicolas de Launay (1646–1727).¹³¹ Van Clève's extensive career had largely been spent executing high-quality pieces in the royal workshops, making models for furniture, and silver and gold-ware, some of which were cast by de Launay.¹³² According to the 1713 edition of Brice's guidebook, de Launay had been appointed royal goldsmith in 1679, with much his collection of porcelain and bronzes situated in a private cabinet within the Louvre.¹³³ The *Portrait of Nicolas de Launay and his family* (Musée de Beaux-

¹²⁵ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 1.

¹²⁶ On Bossernd see Poncelin de la Roche Tilhac, *L'état de cours de l'Europe et de provinces de France pour l'année 1785*, 3 vols (Paris, 1785), vol. 1, p. 61. For Charles-Auguste Benoise (1686–1762), Counsellor to the Paris parlement, see *L'état de la France contenant les princes, le clergé, les ducs et pairs, les maréchaux de France et les grands officiers de la couronne et de la Maison du Roi: les chevaliers des ordres, les officiers d'armée, tant sur terre que mer: les conseils, les gouverneurs des provinces: toutes les cours supérieures du royaume: les généralitez et intendances: les universitez et académies, etc*, 4 vols (Paris, 1736), vol. 4, p. 287.

¹²⁷ On Nadal see Louis-Gabriel Michaud, *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Paris, 1820–5), vol. 30, pp. 5–6. On the hôtel and collection of Aumont see Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (1717), vol. 2, pp. 39–40; also Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle: Collections et Collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 2005), pp. 385–87.

¹²⁸ See Antoine E. Murphy, *Richard Cantillon: Entrepreneur and Economist* (Oxford, 1987).

¹²⁹ Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (1717), vol. 1, p. 297.

¹³⁰ On Parisian elite decorative interiors see 'Theatres of Distinction' in Katie Scott, *The Rococo Interior: Decoration and Social Spaces in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New Haven and London, 1995).

¹³¹ See Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, 'Le maître et son élève: Claude Ballin et Nicolas Delaunay orfèvres de Louis XIV', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, vol. 161, no. 1 (2003), pp. 221–39.

¹³² See François Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries: The Reign of Louis XIV*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1977), vol. 3, pp. 367–402.

¹³³ De Launay's collection is known through two inventories compiled in 1705 and 1727. See Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, pp. 404–06.

Arts, Caen) painted by Robert Tournières (1667–1752) in around 1704, shows the kind of room in the Louvre that Thornhill may have visited (fig. 15). This painting celebrates the sitter's prolific career—his skilled craftsmanship signified by the elaborate candelabra and vast cabinets of related objects which signified his position as director of Finance and Medals obtained in 1696. In the same year as the portrait was painted, de Launay purchased the position as secretary to the King with the aim of obtaining noble status and social advancement.¹³⁴ Thornhill's description of his visit presents a similar view to that depicted in the family portrait. He commented on de Launay's 'many fine Curiosities' including 'Copys of Raphaels work in Rome in small' and lustre chandeliers decorated with rock crystals costing 30,000 livres.¹³⁵ During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, *cabinets* of curiosities were commonly found throughout Europe within private homes and spaces displaying the most prized possessions, reflecting the collector's individual tastes and interests.¹³⁶ Shop signs and advertising material referred to the consumers as 'curieux' implying their position among the 'amateurs' and 'connoisseurs' of polite society.¹³⁷ Auction catalogues published in England and France often described collections of objects as originating from the most celebrated French *cabinets*, in an attempt to entice specific types of buyers. De Launay owned around 200 pictures, yet surprisingly for an individual with such wealth and artistic expertise, a great number of his pictures were recorded in an inventory after his death as attributed works or copies, with the majority of works valued at around one hundred livres. This may have been because the inventorist did not possess the expertise and specialist knowledge and simply recorded the opinions to hand. Brice's guidebook highlighted several works in his picture collection, one of these being a *Vision of Ezekiel* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence) which its previous owner, the French Ambassador to the Papal Court, Paul Fréart de Chantelou (1609–94) believed to be an original by Raphael (1483–1520).¹³⁸ De Launay commissioned Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659–1743) to paint his portrait in 1712 for the sum of 500 livres, now known through François Chéreau's engraved reproduction of 1719 (fig. 16).¹³⁹

¹³⁴ In eighteenth-century France there was a complex structure of governmental offices that could be purchased, this being an attempt by the monarchy to augment state revenue.

¹³⁵ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 6.

¹³⁶ See 'The Cabinet of Curiosities: Concept and Realisation' in Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven and London, 2007), pp. 21–33.

¹³⁷ For an explanation of the term 'curieux' during the eighteenth century see Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, trans. Elizabeth Wiles-Porter (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 53–57.

¹³⁸ See Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (1717), vol. 1, pp. 143–44.

¹³⁹ See Joseph Roman, *Le livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud* (Paris, 1919), p. 164; Stéphane Perreau, *Hyacinthe Rigaud: catalogue concise de l'œuvre* (Sète, 2013), p. 235.

A second residence belonged to the royal treasurer, Pierre Gruyn (d. 1722).¹⁴⁰ Rigaud's portrait commissioned in 1707 is the only known portrayal of the sitter, the location of which is unknown.¹⁴¹ During his visit, Thornhill recorded that:

Mons[ieu]r Grouin y^e Treasurer has many excellent
 Pictures, partic[ularly]:
 The Good Samaritan by A[nnibale]: Carrac[ci]: income:^{ble} 142
 A Venus Cupids & nymphs by Titian,¹⁴³
 A little Magdalen by Guido Reni.¹⁴⁴
 A Sacrifice by Castiglione¹⁴⁵
 Jacob & Rebecca by Bourdon
 Discov[ery]: of Archil[Achilles]: by Poussin.
 An adm[irable]: large Bassan[o].
 y^e Rape of Proserp[ine]: by La Fosse.¹⁴⁶

An 1723 inventory of the collection listed around sixty pictures as being at his hotel on the rue d'Orléans in the parish of Saint-Jean-en-Grève, several of which had been observed by Thornhill during his visit, such as Leandro Bassano's (1557–1622) *Christ in the house of Simon the Pharisee*,¹⁴⁷ and Poussin's *Discovery of Achilles on Skyros*, a copy after the original painted in 1649–50 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) (fig. 17).¹⁴⁸ He may also have owned a copy of Sébastien Bourdon's (1616–1671) *The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well* (the original in Krannert Art

¹⁴⁰ On his collecting practices see Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, pp. 414–16.

¹⁴¹ See Roman, *Hyacinthe Rigaud*, p. 132; Ariane James-Sarazin, 'Proposition pour une identification: le portrait présumé de Pierre Gruyn par Hyacinthe Rigaud', *La revue du Louvre et des musées de France*, no. 3 (2011), pp. 33–42.

¹⁴² Perhaps a copy of Annibale Carracci, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest). The original was recorded as being in the French royal collections from the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century. See Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, vol. 2, pp. 42–43, cat. 98.

¹⁴³ Painting and location unknown.

¹⁴⁴ For Guido Reni's paintings on this subject see Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 322–23.

¹⁴⁵ Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (1609–1664) painted several works of this subject: *The Sacrifice of Noah* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes); *The Animals leaving the Ark* (Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa); and *Noah's sacrifice after the Deluge* (Los Angeles County Museum of Art). See Philip Conisbee et al., *The Ahmanson Gifts: European Masterpieces in the Collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art* (Los Angeles, 1991), pp. 128–31.

¹⁴⁶ Charles de la Fosse, *Rape of Proserpine* (École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris). See Clémentine Gustin-Gomez, *Charles de la Fosse, 1636–1716: Catalogue raisonné*, 2 vols (Dijon, 2006), vol. 2, pp. 19–20, cat. 23.

¹⁴⁷ Perhaps Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, *Christ in the House of Mary, Martha and Lazarus* (The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston). See Alessandro Ballarin, *Jacopo Bassano: scritti 1964–1995* (Citadella, 1995), p. 464. Also Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, p. 415.

¹⁴⁸ See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 88, cat. 126.

Museum, University of Illinois) (fig. 18).¹⁴⁹ Thornhill also observed the abundance of marquetry furniture, porcelain and clock cases from the workshop of the royal cabinet-maker, André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732).¹⁵⁰

Early eighteenth-century guidebooks, such as those of Brice and Liger, encouraged accessibility to private homes, yet offered little guidance on the practicalities of gaining entry and the kinds of objects visitors could expect to see.¹⁵¹ Often guides briefly referred to objects by artist or school and selecting those according to their popularity or the author's individual tastes. As the century progressed, the quality of this information improved with artworks being regarded as separate decorative elements within interior spaces.¹⁵² Having gained entry, appearance and knowledge were important considerations for visitors participating in spaces of sociability and in the presence of the owner. As already observed, Thornhill conformed to current clothing fashions and trends in art collecting whilst in Paris. Increased access to private collections allowed the visitor and owner to participate in an exchange: the former given the opportunity to gain new contacts and insight into foreign forms of luxury consumption, and the latter, the exposure of objects in their collection and opportunity to sell them.¹⁵³ In terms of accessing royal galleries and *cabinets*, these spaces described in guidebooks were often completely prohibited to members of the public or had restrictions placed on the number of rooms open. Visitors were often required to make appointments with members of the household staff or the specialist in charge of the collection - the royal sculptor François Girardon (1628–1715) guided Lister around the Palais Royal - or the owner.¹⁵⁴ Reverend James Hume (1703–1783), the schoolmaster at Dulwich College and later Professor of Cambridge University, wrote in his journal whilst in Paris in 1714 that he had travelled to Marly to see the King in residence: 'we were, to our no small mortification and disappointment deny'd Admission; and the sentinel, one of the gens d'Armes, told us that we must excuse him for it was his orders to let none pass' apart from those who 'had acquaintances there to introduce them'.¹⁵⁵ In 1717 Lord George Carpenter (1657–1731) visited the King's *cabinet* of rarities,

¹⁴⁹ This is probably a version in a private collection, Paris. See Jacques Thuillier, *Sébastien Bourdon, 1616–1671. Catalogue Critique et Chronologique de L'Oeuvre Complet* (Paris, 2000), p. 166, cat. 19. On the original version see *Ibid.* p. 330, cat. 195.

¹⁵⁰ See Jean Nérée Ronfort, *André Charles Boulle, 1642–1732: un nouveau style pour l'Europe*, exh. cat. (Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Frankfurt, 2009); Jean Nérée Ronfort, 'The Surviving Cabinets on Stands by André Charles Boulle and the New Chronology of the Master's Oeuvre', *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art 8* (Cleveland, 2003), pp. 44–67.

¹⁵¹ Etienne Jollet, 'L'accessibilité de l'œuvre d'art. Les beaux-arts dans les guides de Paris au XVIIIe siècle' in Gilles Chabaud et al., *Les Guides imprimés du XVIIe au XXe siècle. Villes, paysages, voyages* (Colloque 1998, Université Paris VII, Paris, 2000), pp. 167–68.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

¹⁵⁴ Suggested in *Ibid.*, p. 172. See Lister, *A Journey to Paris*, pp. 27, 43. On Girardon and the royal collection see Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, pp. 400–03.

¹⁵⁵ For a published version of his account see William Young, *The History of Dulwich College*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1889), vol. 2, p. 369. Also 'A Journal of what occur'd to me in a Trip to France, A.D. 1714', in 'Common-place book of the Rev. James Hume Schoolmaster and fellow of Dulwich College, containing copies of his letters and other writings, 1708–1733', BL Add MS 29477, ff. 3.2.

remarking in his published account that few had been granted this privilege.¹⁵⁶ Locke visited the Garde-meuble de la Couronne at the Louvre, a storehouse for royal furniture, pictures and ornaments.¹⁵⁷ Accessibility was often dependant on the visitor's attributes—rank, office and wealth—although this could be overcome when accompanied by an influential companion. In *An Account*, Richardson junior remarks on the extent he relied upon his companion, Crozat, who, whilst both were in Paris visited prestigious collections:

Several of the King's Pictures; and particularly that famous one of Raffaele, the Holy Family (of which my Father has the fine Copy) were in the Possession of the Duke d' Antin. These I could not possibly get sight of, tho' tho' Mr Crozat was so kind as to go with me. The Duke was not in Paris, and had the key with him.¹⁵⁸

Access to the royal collections was dependent on practical factors, such as the availability of the duke's gentleman who escorted visitors around the royal palaces in return for a modest fee.¹⁵⁹ One guide warned his readers to acquire a letter of recommendation from their banker prior to visiting Versailles, presumably to establish their identity, financial status and trustworthiness of character.¹⁶⁰ The accessibility to royal palaces was often dependent on whether the King was in residence, which determined the arrangement, movement and storage of royal objects.¹⁶¹ In establishing whether these factors determined when Thornhill visited these palaces, there is a noticeable shortage of entries made at Marly, with comments mainly on the gardens, which could suggest that the interiors at Versailles were more accessible and the objects more plentiful during his spring visit.

The key factor in establishing why Thornhill chose the contacts identified here, was their connection to the French crown. I would suggest that forming these Anglo-French relationships and channels of communication through the exchange of letters and conversing in person, enabled him to shape his itinerary and tailor his requests for access, with the aim of emulating established royal models. Furthermore, his reliance on contacts established in England were developed to enable further interaction within the French artistic community, in both cases involving sculptors and craftsmen with academic affiliations. Whilst the previous sections identified the ways in which Thornhill sourced pictures for his own collection through participation in the commercial picture

¹⁵⁶ See *A private journal, containing remarks on several parts of Flanders, Brabant, France, Italy, written in the year 1717* (London, 1717), p. 80.

¹⁵⁷ *Locke's travels in France 1675–1679: as related in his journals, correspondence and other papers*, ed. John Lough (Cambridge, 2008), p. 180. See Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1685), vol. 2, pp. 17–19.

¹⁵⁸ Richardson, *An Account* (1722), pp. 16–17.

¹⁵⁹ See Jollet, 'L'accessibilité de l'œuvre d'art', p. 172. Also Françoise Mardrus, 'Le guide, la curiosité et de galerie du Palais-Royal', *Histoire de l'Art*, no. 21–22 (May 1993), pp. 17–25.

¹⁶⁰ Jollet, 'L'accessibilité de l'œuvre d'art', p. 171.

¹⁶¹ On the management of the royal furniture during the period see Stéphane Castelluccio, *Le Garde-Meuble de la Couronne et ses Intendants du XVIIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2004), pp. 127–42.

market, this material relates to the private collecting of French contemporaries, in particular those of government officials and artists working under royal patronage. As shown here and below, the importance of entering royal residences for Thornhill was the chance this afforded to view pictures by Poussin and the seventeenth-century French and Italian schools.

Poussin and his contemporaries

These final sections further consider Thornhill's notes as a source for our understanding of the extent and scope of early eighteenth-century British interest in French art. Shortly after arriving in Paris, Thornhill compiled a memorandum of paintings 'to see', including works by Poussin.¹⁶² I would suggest that Thornhill had prior knowledge of these pictures, particularly those included in published inventories, for example Félibien's *Tableaux du Cabinet du Roi* published in 1677, which provided written descriptions and engravings of individual paintings. The *Liste des tableaux et des ouvrages de sculpture exposés dans la grande galerie du Louvre par MM. les peintres et sculpteurs de l'Académie royale, en la présente année 1699*, was published the same year. There may also have existed manuscript editions of Le Brun's 1683 inventory of Louis XIV's collection and Nicolas Bailly's *Inventaire des tableaux du Roy rédigé en 1709 et 1710*, as neither were published until after the period they were written.¹⁶³ Bailly listed the pictures according to artist rather than the location or order in which they were displayed. The popularity of Poussin is reflected through the selected thirty-four paintings, the majority of which were at that time displayed at Versailles. Comparatively fewer works were included by other equally-celebrated masters such as Le Brun, Rubens, Veronese and Titian. Dubois de St. Gelais's catalogue of paintings in the Palais-Royal, published in 1727, was one of the earliest eighteenth-century published inventories of the Regent's collection.¹⁶⁴ Despite the author declaring in the preface that care had been taken not to make critical judgements so as to leave this up to the viewer, the text focuses extensively on nine pictures by Poussin.¹⁶⁵ Additionally, engraved reproductions of paintings in the royal cabinets and galleries were accessible to English audiences as bound volumes or separate sheets. According to a study of posthumous inventories belonging to Parisian merchants between 1726 and 1759, the most popular engraved series was Poussin's *Seven Sacraments*, followed by Eustache Le Sueur's (1616–55) *St Bruno* series and Charles Le Brun's *Battles of Alexander*.¹⁶⁶ Thornhill's knowledge of such works was aided by access to engraved reproductions in English

¹⁶² Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, p. 3.

¹⁶³ See Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Inventaire Le Brun*. For a published version of Bailly's texts see Fernand Engerand, *Tableaux du Roy* (Paris, 1899); for an eighteenth-century manuscript version see 'Inventaire générale des tableaux du Roy, et des Exquisses', BL Add MS 19563.

¹⁶⁴ Dubois de St. Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal, avec la vie des peintres à la tête de leurs ouvrages* (Paris, 1727).

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. viii. This point is made in Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁶ Also mentioned in Crow, *Painters and Public Life*, p. 42. See Jean Chatelus, 'Thèmes picturaux dans les appartements de marchands et artisans parisiens au XVIIIe siècle', *Dix-huitième Siècle*, vol. 6, no. 1 (1974), pp. 309–24. Also Georges Wildenstein, 'Le goût pour la peinture dans le cercle de la bourgeoisie parisienne, autour de 1700', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 6, vol. 48 (1965), pp. 113–94.

collections, such as Matthew Prior's collection of bound volumes relating to French collections.¹⁶⁷ In combination, these literary and visual sources contributed to an engagement with Poussin's work by Thornhill and his English contemporaries.

Thornhill was accompanied around the Palais-Royal by Van Clève. In 1715 the sculptor had become the director of the French Académie, making him eminently suitable to discuss developments in royal picture collecting. Thornhill's entries on the paintings in the 'Cabinet des Poussin', in the Regent's *grand appartement* located on the first floor (fig. 19), provides a convincing insight into his preference for this artist's work.¹⁶⁸ This room had been re-modelled along with several other *cabinets* in 1716 by the eminent interior architect, Gilles-Marie Oppenord (1672–1742).¹⁶⁹ As shown in this preliminary design, this room was positioned to one side of the Regent's ceremonial bedchamber, which was separated into two halves by a row of columns (fig. 20). The timing of Thornhill's entry suggests he had a prior knowledge of the construction and completion of this gallery. Thornhill listed the works in the order to which they were hung, starting with the second set of Poussin's *Seven Sacraments* (Bridgewater Collection loan, Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh) and then *Esther and Ahasuerus* (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg) (fig. 21), remarking on the 'noble expressions but y^e flesh blackish'.¹⁷⁰ This hung above Charles Le Brun's *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Dulwich Picture Gallery, London) (fig. 22).¹⁷¹ Next he studied a 'tondo' by Le Sueur of *Alexander and his doctor* (National Gallery, London) displayed as the chimney-piece (fig. 23).¹⁷² Whilst Thornhill is complimentary about some of Poussin's work in this room, comparing *Moses striking the rock* (Bridgewater Collection; The Scottish National Gallery, Edinburgh) (fig. 24),¹⁷³ to his *Tancred and Erminia* purchased during his trip,¹⁷⁴ he responds more critically to Poussin's *Finding of Moses* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (fig. 25),¹⁷⁵ and 'y^e Baptism

¹⁶⁷ 'Catalogue of Mr Prior's Library', Prior Papers, BL Add MS 70362, f. 34v.

¹⁶⁸ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), pp. 88–90. See Mardrus, 'A propos du voyage de Sir James Thornhill en France. Remarques sur les tableaux de Poussin acquis par le Regent' in Alain Mérot, *Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665): Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre par le service culturel du 19 au 21 octobre 1994*, 2 vols (Paris, 1996), vol. 2, p. 813.

¹⁶⁹ For a detailed study see Jean-François Bédard, 'Political renewal and architectural revival during the French regency: Oppenord's Palais-Royal', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, vol. 68, no. 1 (2009), pp. 36–38; also Fiske Kimball, "Oppenord au Palais Royal", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 15 (1936), pp. 113–17.

¹⁷⁰ Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 76–79, cat. 112–18; p. 29, cat. 36.

¹⁷¹ See *Courage and Cruelty. Paintings in their Context III: Le Brun's Horatius Cocles and The Massacre of the Innocents*, pp. 58–61.

¹⁷² See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal (1727)*, pp. 127–29; also Humphrey Wine, *National Gallery Catalogues. Seventeenth-Century French Paintings* (London, 2002), p. 226.

¹⁷³ See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal (1727)*, p. 329–31; also Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 19, cat. 22.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 142, cat. 207.

¹⁷⁵ See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal (1727)*, pp. 350–52; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 12–13, cat. 11. Two other versions of *The Finding of Moses* (painted in 1638 and 1647) were also in the royal collection (both Louvre, Paris). *Ibid.*, p. 13, cat. 12 and 13.

in Jordan' (Louvre, Paris) (fig. 26),¹⁷⁶ on display in the same room, which are criticised as being painted in a 'black manner', presumably referring to the use of dark tones.¹⁷⁷ He would have been familiar with the term 'blackish' from reading Richardson's *Theory of Painting*, which commented on Raphael's method of applying black pigments to create shadow in his Cartoon series resulting in some of the composition losing a depth of tone over time.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, in Richardson's *An Account*, this term is used to criticise the rather sombre appearance of the Primaticcio paintings at Fountainbleau.¹⁷⁹ It can be suggested with some certainty that Thornhill was among the first to enter and certainly record the hanging arrangement in the 'Cabinet des Poussin', as shortly after his visit many of the pictures were re-located to other areas of the palace.¹⁸⁰ The 1719 edition of Le Rouge's *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs* confirms that within a few years paintings had been moved and additions made to the hang.¹⁸¹

The majority of the paintings by Poussin displayed in this room were recent purchases made by the Regent, having formerly been in the collections of some of the artist's major patrons, including Jacques Stella (1596–1657) and Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), former minister to Louis XIV. The last painting listed above was one of three Poussins given to Louis XIV in 1693 by André le Nôtre. This raises the question as to whether the display of paintings in this gallery reflected the Regent's artistic preferences and indeed those of wider French collectors during this period.¹⁸² In a royal context, this certainly seemed to be the case at the beginning of the Regent's reign, the position and function of this room within the palace serving as a hybrid of private and semi-public space, frequented by members of the court and visiting dignitaries.¹⁸³ In terms of wider French interest in Poussin, it must be observed that the collections owned by members of the French political and royal élite, to which Thornhill visited, were selling their paintings by this artist and his contemporaries. However, whether this eagerness to dispose of part of their collection was dependant on changes in financial stability rather than artistic taste is difficult to determine.

¹⁷⁶ Mardrus states that this is a reference to *Baptism*, the first scene of the *Seven Sacraments*. See 'A propos du voyage de Sir James Thornhill en France', vol. 2, p. 813. On the Louvre painting see St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), pp. 333–35; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 50, cat. 69.

¹⁷⁷ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 3.

¹⁷⁸ See Richardson, *Theory of Painting* (1715), pp. 161–62.

¹⁷⁹ Richardson, *An Account* (1722), p. 22.

¹⁸⁰ See Mardrus, 'A propos du voyage de Sir James Thornhill en France', vol. 2, pp. 816–17.

¹⁸¹ Georges-Louis Le Rouge, *Curiosités de Paris et de ses environs, de Versailles, Marly, Vincennes, Saint-Cloud, et des environs* (Paris, 1719), pp. 166, 171–73.

¹⁸² This suggestion is in opposition to Richard Verdi's statement that few works by Poussin entered the royal collection during the first half of the eighteenth century. See Verdi, 'Situation de Poussin dans la France et l'Angleterre des XVIIIe et XIXe siècles' in Pierre Rosenberg, *Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665*, exh. cat. (Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1994), pp. 98–99.

¹⁸³ See Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (Harmondsworth, 1978), p. 135.

During his time abroad, Thornhill often gathered the valuations given to pictures, and this is particularly apparent whilst discussing Poussin's *Sacraments* with Van Clève.¹⁸⁴ This series had been painted for the French ambassador to the Papal Court, Paul Fréart de Chantelou (1609–1694) between 1644 and 1648.¹⁸⁵ It is not known to whom the second set of paintings were bequeathed at Chantelou's death, although according to the inventory of his collection they were valued at 70,000 livres.¹⁸⁶ An earlier series of the same subject had been painted for the renowned scholar and collector, Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657) between 1738 and 1642 and displayed in a room named after them, the Stanza de' Sagramenti, in his palace in Rome.¹⁸⁷ The English antiquarian and engraver, George Vertue (1684–1756) recorded in his notebook in 1716 that the *Sacraments* had been purchased by the Regent through the assistance of the Regent's former tutor and trusted political advisor, Abbé Dubois (1656–1723), from Jacques Meyers (d. 1722), a merchant from Rotterdam, the works listed in his *Description du Cabinet de Tableaux de Mr. Meyers à Rotterdam*, published in 1714.¹⁸⁸ In a letter to Meyer dated 17 February 1716, James Brydges (1673–1744), 1st Duke of Chandos had shown an interest in purchasing the series although this was short-lived.¹⁸⁹ The Duke of Marlborough's unsuccessful attempt to buy them with an offer of 50,000 crowns is further indicative of the growing importance of Poussin among English collectors.¹⁹⁰ According to the Dutch painter Weyerman, the Regent had paid 7000 pounds sterling, the equivalent of around 100,000 livres.¹⁹¹ Despite generally being complimentary about the Poussins he observed in Paris, Thornhill's critical commentary on viewing the sacraments series was based on the modelling of the apostles' clothing and the tonal variations in the series as a whole:

y^e Extreme Unction & our L[or]d giving y^e keys to Peter are y^e best, but y^e Draperies in all are to bright red, & yellow & white & y^e

¹⁸⁴ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 88.

¹⁸⁵ On Chantelou as a collector of Poussin see Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, pp. 234–38. Also Hugh Brigstocke, *Poussin, Sacraments and Bacchanals. Paintings and Drawings on Sacred and Profane Themes by Nicolas Poussin 1594–1665*, exh. cat. (The National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1981), pp. 38–40. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 76–79, cat. 112–18

¹⁸⁶ See Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, p. 77.

¹⁸⁷ The series is no longer complete: *Marriage*, *Eucharist* and *Confirmation* remain in the Duke of Rutland collection, *Penance* was destroyed by fire in 1816, *Baptism* (National Gallery of Art, Washington), *Ordination* (Kimbell Art Museum, Texas), *Extreme Unction* (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). On the collecting of dal Pozzo see Patrizia Cavazzini, 'Nicolas Poussin, Cassiano dal Pozzo and the Roman art market in the 1620s', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 155, no. 1329 (2013), pp. 808–14.

¹⁸⁸ Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 18 (Vertue I, 1930), p. 36.

¹⁸⁹ Mentioned in Susan Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron: The Patronage and Collecting of James Brydges, 1st Duke of Chandos (1674–1744)* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 137–38.

¹⁹⁰ Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 76.

¹⁹¹ Pierre Rosenberg et al., *Chefs-d'oeuvre de la peinture française des musées néerlandais XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles: French paintings from Dutch collections, 1600–1800*, exh. cat. (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1993), p. 17, n. 13.

flesh always black. too much
 Aparell [Apparel] on all y^e Apostles, nor y^e folds
 large enough.¹⁹²

It is crucial to bear in mind that these remarks may have belonged to either Thornhill or Van Clève, there being several occasions in the notebook where he identifies comments as not being his own. Highmore held a similar critical viewpoint observing that the paintings had been ‘very ill col[ou]rd in the Carnations clay dark the Drapery overcomes the flesh in strength and brightne^{ss} drawing very correct expressions admirable’, although concluding that the paintings were ‘not better than the prints’.¹⁹³ Whilst at the house of ‘Mr L’allemagne’, he praised several work by Rubens but noted that ‘Poussin Boys <at some distance> bigger than front figures’.¹⁹⁴ Highmore’s preference for the works of Rubens is further apparent from his visits to the Luxembourg Palace and Palais-Royal.¹⁹⁵ I would suggest that, on viewing the Sacrament series, Thornhill, Van Clève, and Highmore were drawing upon their knowledge of French criticism and its characterisation of the theoretical and technical principles of painting, as introduced by *Académicians* and theorists during the late seventeenth century. The final chapter of this study considers the impact of French art literature on English audiences, and in doing so, will return to a consideration of Thornhill’s remarks and wider debates being discussed among the artistic community and aristocracy.

The value of this material is what it can convey about Thornhill’s engagement with works by Poussin and his contemporaries within the royal collection, some of which he had prior knowledge through the availability of visual and written sources. I would argue that his itinerary is suggestive of an emerging trend among collectors, whereby despite being informed about works by a broad range of continental painters, representing various styles and genres, this is juxtaposed with a tendency to form personal tastes in relation to individual artists. As shown here, Thornhill tended not only to distinguish between painters but to form comparisons between their body of work, Poussin being the leading example.

The Regent’s picture collection and the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture

At the Palais-Royal, Thornhill continued into ‘y^e little Gallery of y^e Regent’, known as the *Galerie en Lanterne* due to the unusual lighting, which celebrated artists of the Italian school.¹⁹⁶ Many of them had worked contemporaneously with Poussin and been the focus of Académie lectures during the

¹⁹² Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 89.

¹⁹³ See Johnston, ‘Joseph Highmore’s Paris Journal, 1734’, p. 78.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 70, 78, 80, 89.

¹⁹⁶ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 89; also see Rochelle Ziskin, *Sheltering Art: Collecting and Social Identity in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Pennsylvania, 2012), pp. 127–28.

late seventeenth century that were repeated during the early decades of the following century.¹⁹⁷

He listed the works as:

[...] St John in y^e Desert by Raphael¹⁹⁸
 y^e 3 Gold:ss[Goddesses] & Paris by Rubens¹⁹⁹
 St Francis by A[nnibale]. Carrache y^t was De Laun[a]ys
 A little Raphael, where God y^e father rides
 on y^e winds, Angels about him.²⁰⁰
 The Woman of Samaria by Carrache²⁰¹
 2 large Hist[ory]: by Carrache Diana, Calisto &c²⁰²
 The famous dead Christ by Car[r]ache.²⁰³
 a fine Dan[iel]: de Vollerra²⁰⁴
 fine Parmegiano holy family,²⁰⁵
 a delicate little Albano,²⁰⁶ Samar[itan]: wom[an]: ^<cost> 3000 ^<livres>
 Europa by Titian,²⁰⁷
 Descent of y^e holy Ghost on our lord. by Carrach[e]²⁰⁸
 a vast Quantity of fine Albanos, Guidos,
 Titian, Paulos, &c.

¹⁹⁷ A chronological list of the Académie lectures can be found in Christian Michel and Jacqueline Lichtenstein eds., *Les conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture*, 2 vols (Paris, 2008).

¹⁹⁸ Raphael, *Saint John in the Desert* (Louvre, Paris). See Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Inventaire Le Brun*, p. 369, cat. 368.

¹⁹⁹ Peter Paul Rubens, *The Judgement of Paris* (National Gallery, London). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), pp. 415–17; also Michael Jaffé, *Rubens: Catalogo Completo*, (Milan, 1989), pp. 332–33. For a study on the subject matter see Fiona Healy, *Rubens and the Judgement of Paris: a Question of Choice* (Turnhout, 1997), pp. 109–19.

²⁰⁰ Probably Raphael, *The Vision of Ezechiel* (Louvre, Paris). See *Raphaël dans les collections françaises*, exh. cat. (Galerias nationales du Grand Palais, Paris, 1984), pp. 118–19.

²⁰¹ Annibale Carracci, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well* (Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest). Mentioned in St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), p. 36. See Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, vol. 2, pp. 42–43, cat. 98.

²⁰² *Landscape with Diana and Callisto* (Bridgewater Collection); and *Landscape with the Toilet of Venus* (National Gallery of Art, Bologna). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), pp. 37–38; in addition Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, vol. 2, pp. 50, 68, cat. 112, 152.

²⁰³ *The Dead Christ Mourned* (National Gallery, London). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), pp. 35–36; Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, vol. 2, p. 73, cat. 177.

²⁰⁴ Probably a copy of Daniele Ricciarelli, known as Volterra, *The Decent from the Cross* (Trinità dei Monti, Rome). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), pp. 109–10.

²⁰⁵ Perhaps Francesco Mazzola or Mazzuoli, known as Parmigianino, *Holy Family with Saint Marguerite* (Louvre, Paris). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), pp. 146–48.

²⁰⁶ Francesco Albani, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (Dr L. A. Cauchi Collection, Silema). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), p. 134; also Puglisi, *Francesco Albani*, pp. 130–31, cat. 40.

²⁰⁷ *The Rape of Europa* (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston). See Peter Humfrey, *Titian: the complete paintings* (London, 2007), p. 300; also Charles Fitzroy, *The Rape of Europa: The Intriguing History of Titian's Masterpiece* (London, 2015).

²⁰⁸ Painting and location unknown.

Van Clève conveyed several details as to the value of certain pictures and the identity of their previous owners, for example, Annibale Carracci's *Vision of St Francis* (fig. 27) had been given to Louis XIV by Nicolas de Launay, whose collection they had visited earlier.²⁰⁹ Whilst in this gallery, Thornhill sketched the design of the ceiling and walls (fig. 28), annotated as 'Profile of the Regents new little Gallery, by Oppenord Arch[itec]t:', conveying his interest in the practical aspects of picture hanging and the crimson damask fabric lining the walls.²¹⁰

Thornhill intended to visit 'Academys of all sorts Models, Sculptors' to see 'all ye best Painters there'.²¹¹ This is almost certainly a reference to the Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture, founded in 1648. At the time of his visit, this institution was housed in the Louvre, in rooms adjoining the Grande Galerie, or Galerie d'Apollon. An engraving showing the 1699 exhibition of paintings and sculpture accepted by the Académie provides some idea as to the appearance and usage of this room (fig. 29).²¹² In 1712 the collection was re-displayed on the floor below and made regularly accessible to members of the elite and virtuosi rather than the general public. Nicolas Guérin's *Description de l'Académie Royale des Arts de Peinture et de Sculpture* published in 1715, provided visitors with foldout plans of six rooms with each object given a number and location (fig. 30). In the preface, Guérin described the purpose of the catalogue as:

to awaken the curiosity of those who love the Arts of design, to invite them to come judge for themselves the progress in France...to make it known to all Europe that the good taste that presides today, and which is distributed down to the minor arts, does not arise from chance or from the sole genius of the Nation, but takes its origin from within a Company uniquely resolved to ennoble and perfect it.²¹³

Highmore and many other English tourists visited the Louvre to observe students being taught to copy and study paintings and sculpture.²¹⁴ Thornhill certainly ventured to the Louvre, although there is no mention of him visiting the rooms that exhibited recent academic achievements.²¹⁵ Instead, he briefly recorded the names of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century masters whose

²⁰⁹ Annibale Carracci, *The Vision of Saint Francis* (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa). See St Gelais, *Description des tableaux du Palais Royal* (1727), p. 39; also Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, vol. 2, p. 43, cat. 99.

²¹⁰ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France* (1717), p. 90.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

²¹² Berger, *Public Access to Art in Paris*, pp. 74–75.

²¹³ 'de réveiller la curiosité de ceux qui aiment les Arts du dessein, de les inviter a venir juger par eux-mêmes du progrès qu'il sont en France...de faire connoître à toute l'Europe que le bon goût, qui règne aujourd'huy et qui s'est répandu jusque sur le Arts inférieurs, ne vient pas du hazard ou du seul génie de la Nation, mais qu'il a sa source dans une Compagnie uniquement appliquée à l'ennoblir et à le perfectionner.' See Guérin, *Description de l'Académie Royale des Arts de Peinture et de Sculpture*, pp. 10–11.

²¹⁴ Johnston, 'Joseph Highmore's Paris Journal, 1734', p. 75; also Woodhouse, 'English travellers to Paris', pp. 105–6.

²¹⁵ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France* (1717), p. 2.

work hung in the Galerie d'Apollon, most of whom held no affiliation with the French school.²¹⁶ Therefore, this indicates that he was less concerned with the work of contemporary academicians, instead placing emphasis on the works of their predecessors, whose influence on the next generation of the French school was of interest to him. However, there were several occasions where Thornhill references the work of the recently deceased painter, Charles de la Fosse (1636–1716), who had become an académicien in 1673. In 1689 la Fosse had accepted an invitation from Lord Montagu, former British ambassador to France, to decorate the interiors of Montagu House in London, and returned to Paris in 1692.²¹⁷ In the Grand Salon at Marly (fig. 31), Thornhill was drawn to the set of paintings depicting the Four Seasons commissioned by Louis XIV in 1699, the artists being well-established academicians, De la Fosse's *Bacchus and Adriane, an allegory of Autumn* (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon) (fig. 32), hung alongside the work of Antoine Coypel (1661–1722), who had become Painter to the King in 1716, Louis de Boulogne (1654–1733), and Jean Jouvenet (1644–1717).²¹⁸ In the Regent's *appartement* at Versailles, Thornhill refers to la Fosse's *Saint Mark* and *Saint Luke*, and Le Brun's *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* (fig. 33), with Pierre Mignard's (1612–1695) *Saint Matthew* (all Palace of Versailles).²¹⁹ On entering the Saint Étienne church he recognised *The Provost and Aldermen of the City of Paris Thanking God for Deliverance from the Drought* by Nicolas de Largillière (1656–1746), painted in 1696, which remains in-situ.²²⁰ The artist had spent time in England between 1675 and 1679 working in the studios of Antonio Verrio and Peter Lely, and again briefly in 1686–7, this later period coincided with his acceptance at the Académie.²²¹ Within the interior of this church also hung François de Troy's (1645–1730) ex-voto panel painted in 1709 (now lost).²²²

Thornhill's engagement with works of the Italian school, as shown here, were indicative of existing tastes in England during this period. His intention to imitate teaching practices within French academic institutions can be understood as an attempt at self-improvement in relation to his own profession and academic position, and were in keeping of the aspirations of growing numbers of his English contemporaries. The timing of Thornhill's trip to Paris coincided with his

²¹⁶ See Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (1717), vol. 1, pp. 63–65.

²¹⁷ See Gustin-Gomez, *Charles de la Fosse, 1636–1716: Le Maître des Modernes*, vol. 1, pp. 66–72.

²¹⁸ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France* (1717), p. 42. On la Fosse see Gustin-Gomez, *Charles de la Fosse, 1636–1716: catalogue raisonné*, vol. 2, p. 85, cat. 121.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55. On la Fosse see Gustin-Gomez, *Charles de la Fosse, 1636–1716*, vol. 2, p. 86, cat. 122–23. On Le Brun see Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Inventaire Le Brun*, p. 173, cat. 117. For Mignard see Clare Constans and Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Musée National du Château de Versailles. Les Peintures*, 3 vols (Paris, 1995), vol. 2, p. 650.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26. See Myra Nan Rosenfeld et al., *Largillière and the Eighteenth-Century Portrait*, exh. cat. (The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), pp. 140–71.

²²¹ See Nicolas Sainte Fare Garnot and Dominique Brême, *Nicolas de Largillière 1656–1746*, exh. cat. (Musée Jacquemart-André, Institut de France, Paris, 2003), pp. 27–28.

²²² His son, Jean-François de Troy was responsible for painting another example of 1725 which remains in the church. See Christophe Leribault, *Jean-François de Troy (1679–1752)* (Paris, 2002), pp. 280–83. In addition, Richard Clay, 'Saint Genevieve, Iconoclasm and the Transformation of Signs' in Stacy Boldrick, Richard Clay, Leslie Brubaker eds., *Striking images, iconoclasm past and present* (London, 2013), pp. 98–101.

direct involvement in the development of an English school of art, making him an eminently suitable person to discuss the organisation of teaching bodies with French academicians and artists. In October 1711, he had become one of the first directors of the Queen Street Academy, led by Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723), principal painter to the King.²²³ In a letter dated 29 October 1715, Thornhill accepted governorship following Kneller's resignation. In 1714 he submitted architectural plans for an official Academy to Charles Montagu (1661–1715), 1st Earl of Halifax, the Whig politician, who had been appointed First Lord of the Treasury in October of that year. Thornhill supported the idea of an institution to educate and support native artists, and to rival those with superior training acquired from the well-established academies in France, Italy and the Netherlands.²²⁴ Many subscribers to the Academy were French artists, including Bernard Baron (1696–1762), Alexis Simon Belle (1674–1734), Louis Chéron, and Louis Laguerre.²²⁵ They were among a group of artists tutoring life-drawing classes, and the study of human anatomy, paintings and sculpture. Shortly after his return from France, Thornhill held many of these classes at his house in Covent Garden.²²⁶ Thornhill's Academy fell out of favour by 1720, being replaced by a new one in St Martin's Lane, run by Chéron and John Vanderbank (1694–1739).²²⁷ Nevertheless, Thornhill's contribution to the development of an official Academy paved the way for its eventual fruition in 1768.

The reproductive engraving as a form of national identity

The relationship between the study of engravings and originals is of central importance in establishing Thornhill's reasons for travelling abroad. Prints that recorded large decorative schemes were informative for artists who did not travel, or, even if they did, they might not have obtained access to them and one way or the other needed visual records. Further evidence of Thornhill's engagement with French artists is documented in the notebook, in the form of a reminder to send Van Clève, a set of engravings by the French Huguenot Simon Gribelin (1662–1733), after designs for *The Acts of the Apostles* by Raphael (fig. 34).²²⁸ Arriving in England in around 1681, Gribelin published several books of illustrations during his stay, including *A new book of ornaments* published in 1704, and the frontispiece for the 1695 and 1715 English editions of Dufresnoy's *De Art Graphica*, the latter of which I will return to in a later chapter. The exchange of gifts between Thornhill and Van Clève was not merely intended as a kind gesture but held symbolic importance. Significantly, this imagery can be placed in the relation to contemporary discourses surrounding notions of national identity and artistic rivalry, in relation to the royal collections in

²²³ Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions', *Walpole Society*, p. 64.

²²⁴ See David Ormrod, 'The Origins of the London Art Market, 1660–1730' in North and Ormrod eds., *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, p. 172.

²²⁵ Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions', *Walpole Society*, pp. 73–75.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 83–89.

²²⁸ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 91. See Meyer, *Apostles in England*, pp. 22–26.

England and France. Despite the Cartoons having been created by an Italian painter, they had formed a longstanding national affiliation with England. The Cartoons had originally been full-scale designs commissioned in 1515 by Pope Leo X from which tapestries were made to cover the walls of the Vatican's Sistine Chapel.²²⁹ In 1623, seven of the ten original Cartoons, depicting the life of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the founders of the early Christian Church, were brought to England by the Prince of Wales (later Charles I) and new sets of tapestries were woven at the Mortlake Factory (now Victoria and Albert Museum, London). Late seventeenth-century copies and tapestries had also been created in France.²³⁰ In 1699 William III had the Cartoons installed at Hampton Court, in a purpose-made gallery designed by Christopher Wren. Between 1711 and 1719, the French engraver Nicholas Dorigny (1658–1746), a fellow director of the Queen Street Academy, produced his own set of engravings, which were generally regarded as being more competently executed.²³¹ In 1720 Gribelin's series was republished with the frontispiece showing the Cartoons hanging in the Hampton Court gallery (fig. 35).

Around this period, the Cartoons were extensively promoted in Richardson's *Theory of Painting*, in which he argued for their importance as a study tool that would enable British artists to be trained in their own country.²³² For Van Clève, the value in owning an engraved reproduction of the original works remained important, due to the difficulty in studying such works without venturing to England, or Italy to see the tapestries. Thornhill first viewed the Cartoons whilst preparing his designs for the St Paul's Cathedral commission, and proceeded to create three sets of painted copies of varying sizes as an unpaid venture between 1729 and 1731.²³³ He and other members of the Academy placed great importance on making Raphael accessible to students. The act of copying the Cartoons was of equal importance for academic learning in England, as the Vatican Stanze frescos were in Italy.²³⁴ Thornhill's unfinished sketchbook of heads and limbs taken from the cartoons (Victoria and Albert Museum) were eventually incorporated into the English translation of a drawing manual, *The School of Raphael*, published in 1759 (fig. 36).²³⁵ His evident interest in the works of Poussin and Raphael, whose careers were predominantly spent in Rome, raises the question of why he did not venture to Italy. Yet as his notebook affirms, works by both artists were in plentiful supply in private and royal collections, and on the commercial market in Paris.

The second set of engravings being exchanged between Van Clève and Thornhill reproduced Charles Le Brun's interior painted schemes intended for the Galerie d'Apollon, which

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

²³¹ See Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions', *Walpole Society*, p. 65; also Meyer, *Apostles in England*, pp. 27–29.

²³² The works by Raphael were discussed in Richardson, *Theory of Painting* (1715), pp. 48–49. See Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson: Art Theorist of the English Enlightenment*, pp. 150–52.

²³³ The full-size set was purchased after Thornhill's death by John Russell, 4th Duke of Bedford, for Bedford House, and is now in the Royal Academy in London. See Jeremy Wood, 'Raphael Copies and Exemplary Picture Galleries in Mid Eighteenth-Century London', *Zeitschrift Fur Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 62, no. 3 (1999), pp. 394–417. The half-size set is at Columbia University, and the location of the quarter-size set is unknown. See Meyer, *Apostles in England*, pp. 34–45.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51–55.

they visited together during his stay.²³⁶ After a fire destroyed the 'Petite Galerie', Louis Le Vau constructed a new gallery between 1661 and 1663, in which Le Brun and a group of craftsmen were commissioned to decorate the vaulted ceiling. According to a memorandum in his notebook, Le Brun's designs were known through the engravings of Simon Renard de Saint-André (1613–1677).²³⁷ These had been published in *La Petite Galerie du Louvre du dessin de feu Monsieur Le Brun*, in 1695.²³⁸ During his trip, Thornhill had made attempts to acquire these objects, visiting 'Langois proche le Petit Chatelay rue St Jaque' who had an 'abundance of old Prints to sell always'.²³⁹ For Thornhill, these engravings offered an insight into Le Brun's intended project in its entirety, due to parts of the ceiling being left unfinished since the reign of Louis XIV. Among those designs completed by Le Brun, was a vaulted ceiling panel depicting *The Awakening of the Waters, or Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite* (fig. 37). Whereas, his composition for the same area at the opposite end of the room, *The Triumph of Cybele*, showing the figure being pulled by lions, never came to fruition (fig. 38).²⁴⁰ Le Brun's intention to depict in the central panel Apollo riding his chariot, as the personification of Louis XIV, was also never painted by him.²⁴¹ Further attempts to document the interior of this gallery took the form of published a set of detailed engravings of the ornamental panels and sculptural schemes (fig. 39), engraved in 1710 by Jean Bérain the Elder (1640–1711).²⁴² In the catalogue of Thornhill's sale, several engravings of French decorative interiors can be identified, including several unknown ceilings by Le Brun.

The portability and affordability of reproductive engravings enabled these objects to serve as exchanges of knowledge on late seventeenth-century royal patronage and decorative projects in France and England. The effect that Thornhill's time abroad had on his career is hard to evaluate, this being one of the few references to his profession. But his interest in Le Brun's work can be understood in relation to the wider impact of French and Italian decorative painters on his schemes, which will be considered in chapter three.

French architecture and sculpture

²³⁶ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 2. See Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, *La Galerie d'Apollon au Palais du Louvre*, exh. cat. (Musée du Louvre, Paris, 2004), pp. 69–86.

²³⁷ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 75.

²³⁸ Recorded in Nicodemus Tessin, *Catalogue des livres, estampes and desseins du cabinet des Beaux-Arts* (Stockholm, 1712), p. 43. On engravings after or by Le Brun see Louis Marchesano and Christian Michel, *Printing the Grand Manner: Charles Le Brun and Monumental Prints in the Age of Louis XIV*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 2010). On Le Brun's preliminary drawings for this gallery see Alexandre Gady, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries. La fabrique d'un chef-d'œuvre* (Paris, 2015), p. 92.

²³⁹ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 75.

²⁴⁰ These uncompleted areas of the ceiling were finished during the second half of the eighteenth century and the mid nineteenth century. For example, the design for this panel was adapted and painted in 1850 by Joseph-Benoît Guichard (1806–1880).

²⁴¹ Eugène Delacroix painted *Apollo vanquishing the Serpent Python* in 1850–1. On Le Brun's preliminary sketch for this panel see Bénédicte Gady, *Peupler les cieux: Dessins pour les plafonds parisiens au XVIIIe siècle*, exh. cat. (Musée Louvre, Paris, 2014), pp. 128–29. Also Bénédicte Gady, *L'ascension de Charles Le Brun. Liens sociaux et production artistique* (Paris, 2010), pp. 213–14.

²⁴² *Ornemens de peinture et de sculpture, qui sont dans la Galerie d'Apollon au Chateau du Louvre, et dans le Grand Appartement du Roy au Palais des Tuileries* (Paris, 1710).

As a painter of walls and ceilings, Thornhill was drawn to aspects of French architecture as much as interior design, in recognition that each element contributed to the overall decorative scheme. Many English travellers to France were versed in architectural theory despite having no aspirations to build on returning to England. Thornhill's book subscriptions included several specialising on architecture, such as John James's *A treatise on the five orders of columns in architecture*, translated in 1708 from the French version by Claude Perrault, all three volumes of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, composed between 1715 and 1726 celebrating English architectural achievements, and James Gibbs's *A book on architecture*, containing designs on buildings and ornaments of 1728.²⁴³ Likewise, in further correspondence to Southwell, Perceval listed his purchases of plans of hôtels and royal residences to be published in Jean Mariette's (1660–1742) *Architecture Française* in 1727.²⁴⁴ For Thornhill, his interest in such subjects is understandable when considering that he worked closely with architects and sculptors whilst carrying out painted commissions throughout his career. Furthermore, grand architectural and sculptural details were almost always incorporated within his painted scenery. The sale catalogue of his collection included models, casts and finished sculptures, such as 'Young Hercules in Marble by Bernini' and others made by him, covering a range of materials: wax, plaster, clay, wood and stone. Numerous detailed topographical and architectural drawings are observable in his sketchbook in the British Museum and the notebook (Victoria and Albert Museum), created during his trip to the Low Countries in 1711.²⁴⁵ Many of the sketches created in Paris depict the façades of religious and royal buildings, either in their entirety or in the form of ornamental detail.²⁴⁶ One such study shows classically-inspired pedestals, cornices, reliefs, vases, and pillars, whilst others are annotated with the proportions and building materials.²⁴⁷ His interest in the skill of statuary is further reflected by his visit to the sculptor Jean-Louis Lemoyne (1665–1755) who sold blocks of marble, ready-made figures and stucco work commonly used for ceiling decoration.²⁴⁸ Van Clève informed him on the cost of the workmanship in relation to particular commissions as they walked around the city:

²⁴³ Taken from Biography Database 1680–1830 (Romulus Press Ltd, 1996); in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 18 March 2017.

²⁴⁴ Letter from Perceval to Southwell, 22 January 1726, Egmont Papers, BL Add MS 47031, f. 85.

²⁴⁵ Katherine Fremantle, ed., *Sir James Thornhill's Sketch-book travel journal of 1711: a visit to East Anglia and the Low Countries*, 2 vols (Utrecht, 1975).

²⁴⁶ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), pp. 15, 33 36, 37, 46, 59, 72, 78, 84.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 48.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 83. On Lemoyne see Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 2, pp. 360–74.

Each Basso relievo consisting of 2 Angels
in lead 1800 livres only workmanship
at Notredam[e]

a little bigg[e]r y life.

The Fig[u]r[e]s on ye top of ye Chap[el]. at Versail[les]
7 ftt 1/2 high in soft but firm workman
ships only — it is call[e]d Pierre de Tonniere
900 livres each fig[u]r[e]: Van Cleve ye same

He also provided a detailed account of the Gallery of Ulysse or ‘Gallery of Primaticcio’ within the château at Fontainebleau.²⁴⁹ In the guidebooks written by Saugrain and Antonini, fewer pages are given to Fontainebleau when compared to other royal palaces outside Paris and this gallery is barely mentioned.²⁵⁰ This suggests that perhaps at this date, it was unusual for a foreign visitor to give close attention to the frescoes by the Italian artist Francesco Primaticcio (1503–1570) painted between 1541 and 1560, when compared to the more recent decorative schemes to be seen elsewhere. In addition, visits to Versailles and Marly were perhaps more common due to their closer proximity to Paris. Thornhill does not mention the history of the palace and Francis I as mentioned in guides but shows prior knowledge of decorative paintings. His reference to the Theodore van Thulden (1609–1669) etchings suggests he knew about the cycle before he left London and this had encouraged him to visit.²⁵¹ The gallery was demolished in 1739; the few surviving references to the original decoration include Primaticcio’s easel painting of *Ulysses and Penelope* (Toledo Museum of Art). Thornhill also recorded his observations of the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Fontainebleau, the vault painted in 1608 by Martin Fréminet (1567–1619), with six large scenes representing the doctrine of redemption.²⁵²

Thornhill’s time spent at Marly, built during the reign of Louis XIV as a retreat from the grandeur and court rituals of Versailles, was predominantly concerned with studying the works of French sculptors working under royal patronage.²⁵³ From 1679 the construction of this residence

²⁴⁹ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, pp. 30–31. On the commission see Giancarlo Fiorenza, ‘Penelope’s Web: Francesco Primaticcio’s Epic Revision at Fontainebleau’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, vol. 59 (2006), p. 796. For the most authoritative source see Sylvie Béguin, Jean Guillaume, Alain Roy, *La Galerie d’Ulysse à Fontainebleau* (Paris, 1985).

²⁵⁰ See Saugrain, *Les Curiosités de Paris (1723)*, vol. 2, pp. 641–47; Antonini, *Mémorial de Paris et de ses environs (1732)*, pp. 192–93.

²⁵¹ Jeremy Wood attributes a large group of drawings from frescoes at Fontainebleau (and in Paris) to van Diepenbeeck that has traditionally been given to Van Thulden. In his view this is a distinct group that can be distinguished from Van Thulden’s own preparatory drawings – which also survive – for the etchings. See Wood, ‘Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau’, *Master Drawings*, vol. 28, no. 1 (1990), pp. 3–53.

²⁵² See Saugrain, *Les Curiosités de Paris (1723)*, vol. 2, p. 645; also Jean Jacques Lévêque, *L’Ecole de Fontainebleau* (Neuchâtel, 1984), p. 279.

²⁵³ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France (1717)*, pp. 39–56. On Marly in contemporary guidebooks see Saugrain, *Les Curiosités de Paris (1716)*, vol. 1, pp. 326–33.

had been overseen by the royal architect, Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708), who had designed the innovative central and surrounding smaller pavilions placed either side of water parterres. Pierre-Denis Martin's painting of around 1722 captured this topographical view of the royal palace and surrounding gardens (fig. 40). Mansart worked in collaboration with Le Brun and André Le Nôtre (1613–1700), tasked with creating the formal gardens, ornamental fountains, and groups of statues. During the late 1690s a series of ponds were designed in front of the Château, which by the early years of the eighteenth century had been adorned with marble statues, some of which were based on antique representations of river gods, imitating the themes of wealth, as introduced in the Versailles gardens. These figures were commonly represented as bearded men holding an oar or horn of plenty and crowned in wreaths. Thornhill referred to Van Clève's *La Loire and Le Loiret* (fig. 41) and Coustou's *Seine and Marne* (fig. 42) which formed part of the marble groups in the *Bassin des Nappes*, now in the Louvre.²⁵⁴ Coysevox's two statues of Mercury and Fame each astride the legendary winged horse Pegasus (Louvre, Paris) (figs. 43 and 44) were placed either side of the *Abreuvoir*, or horse pond (figs. 45).²⁵⁵ Thornhill sketched one set of allegorical statues representing *La Seine* and *La Marne* completed by Coysevox in 1704 (Louvre, Paris) (figs. 46 and 47) that were positioned at the top of the Rivière (fig. 48).²⁵⁶ Another pair depicting the figures of *Neptune* and *Amphitrite* decorated the basin at the bottom (figs. 49 and 50).²⁵⁷ He also noticed Coustou's marbles depicting Meleager's stag and wild boar hunts created in 1706–7 (Marly Park) (figs. 51 and 52).²⁵⁸ Thornhill also mentioned copies after antique representations of the gods of the Nile and Tiber, created especially for Louis XIV by Lorenzo Ottoni in 1715.²⁵⁹ The theme was taken from the vast bronze statues at Versailles, symbolising the four sea-going rivers of France and next four largest rivers, cast by the Keller brothers between 1687 and 1694 to decorate the grand Water Parterre.

There are surprisingly few notes on Thornhill's time at Versailles which guidebooks promoted as offering superior architectural splendour, lavish interiors and formal gardens.²⁶⁰ Many of the sculptors represented at Marly had also been commissioned to work at Versailles, suggesting that his visit to the latter was not necessarily intended as an opportunity to study sculpture. Whilst walking around the gardens he was drawn to the *Stag and Dog*, one of a number of animal groups

²⁵⁴ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France*, p. 43. On Van Clève see Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 3, pp. 379–80, cat. 34; for Coustou see *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 160, cat. 22.

²⁵⁵ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France*, p. 51. Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1, p. 210, cat. 77–78.

²⁵⁶ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France*, p. 44.

²⁵⁷ See Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 206–8, cat. 65–68.

²⁵⁸ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France*, p. 45. Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1, p. 166, cat. 45–46.

²⁵⁹ See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), p. 272. Also mentioned in Betsy Rosasco, *The Sculptures of the Chateau of Marly during the reign of Louis XIV* (New York and London, 1989), pp. 473–74, cat. 19–20.

²⁶⁰ Saugrain, *Les Curiosités de Paris* (1716), vol. 1, pp. 281–325.

on *La Fontaine du Point du Jour*, cast in bronze by the Keller brothers in 1687.²⁶¹ He also entered the Colonnade, one of the groves designed by Mansart, identifying François Girardon's marble creation, *Proserpine ravaged by Pluto* of 1699.²⁶² Many English visitors ventured to these public gardens for pure enjoyment, to explore the formal and theatrical aspects of French garden design, which were remarkably different to the more informal and naturalistic English fashions.²⁶³ For Thornhill, these experiences served to further inform his understanding of the interactions between artists, architects and sculptors under royal patronage, to which he was involved in England.

Despite Paris often being regarded as the starting point on an extensive journey to and around Italy, this city was viewed by many as offering an adequate understanding of continental artistic achievements: the workings of the art markets and artisan production through the workshops. I would argue that Thornhill's notebook entries should be understood in terms of their wider resonance, in particular, through the Anglo-French exchanges occurring among his English contemporaries during the period. Furthermore, his activities can be seen as representing the growing aspirations of English artists, collectors, agents and academicians. An engagement with French élite and royal collecting practices was indicative of emerging English taste for French paintings, sculpture, interior design and architectural styles. Yet Thornhill's personal, academic and professional interests can be identified. His various attempts to study, discuss and purchase Poussin's work is of interest in establishing the processes through which English collectors learnt about and acquired continental, particularly French, paintings. This consideration serves to bridge the gap between the focus of this chapter and the next.

²⁶¹ Thornhill, *Notebook of a visit to France*, p. 71. See Souchal, *French Sculptors of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 317–18, cat. 71.

²⁶² See *Ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 41–43, cat. 42.

²⁶³ See Woodhouse, 'English travellers to Paris', pp. 117–19.

CHAPTER TWO

Acquiring French paintings in London and abroad: the role of dealers and agents

Introduction

This chapter seeks to establish a context for the collecting of French art in England in the early eighteenth century and will discuss how accurate it is to assume that a specific taste for French painting can be separated from that for other continental examples. This theme will be considered through a series of case studies of individual collectors, agents and dealers, which as far as possible will deal with identifiable paintings. Antoine Schnapper has introduced the notion of a social divide in terms of French collecting practices during the second half of the seventeenth century, in which contemporary easel paintings 'were not the most prestigious or the most expensive' being collected by 'a small world of second rate collectors' or the middling classes.²⁶⁴ Helen Jacobsen goes a step further in arguing that, with the exceptions of Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain, 'aristocratic French collectors at Louis XIV's court did not, for the most part, buy contemporary French paintings which were considered to be lesser quality and ranked behind works by Italian masters and some northern artists'.²⁶⁵ Schnapper adds that, 'only a few very great painters, and exceptionally Poussin, have known, from Rome, how to carve out a genuine market among French *curieux*'.²⁶⁶

The following examples take these views into consideration whilst adopting a contrasting approach based on English taste for French pictures during the first half of the eighteenth century. It is necessary to consider whether an historical shift and growth occurred in the appreciation for recently-deceased French painters as opposed to those still alive. I would suggest that this judgement did not exist among early seventeenth-century English collectors, whose taste for the recently-deceased Titian (c. 1490–1576) was as established as their patronage of the contemporary painter, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). This study deals with the work of seventeenth-century painters such as, Poussin, Claude, and Gaspar Dughet, also known as Gaspar Poussin, and to a lesser extent their contemporaries, Simon Vouet (1590–1649), Eustache Le Sueur, Sébastien Bourdon and Charles Le Brun. Paintings by contemporary artists include the genre scenes of Jean-Antoine Watteau and Jean-Baptiste Pater (1695–1736), and the mythological subjects of Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752) and François Lemoyne (1688–1737). In establishing the extent to which English collectors adopted earlier collecting trends

²⁶⁴ '...ni les plus prestigieux ni les plus chers'... 'petit monde de curieux de second rang'. Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle: Collections et Collectionneurs dans la France du XVIIe siècle*, p. 37.

²⁶⁵ See Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 70–71. This is also mentioned in Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, p. 33.

²⁶⁶ 'Seuls de rares tres grand peintres, et singulièrement Poussin, ont su, de Rome, se tailler un vrai marché auprès des curieux français.' *Ibid.*, p. 33.

established by the French, this study considers who was buying these pictures and whether patterns of consumption can be established.

The case studies are placed within three different but related sections: the role of collectors outside London, the presence and display of French works in English collections, and the London art market. This approach shifts the emphasis on to the mobility of paintings and the means by which they found their way to London. In order to establish how French pictures were dispersed in England, all three sections identify the agents and professional dealers acting as intermediaries between the picture market and the collectors by whom they were employed. These individuals have been chosen because evidence of their activities has survived and a particular feature of their collection, or because of the prestige and cultural influence of the collector, agent or dealer. Experts acting on behalf of elite collectors included those travelling abroad—in the case of John Ellis (1701–1757) for Robert Walpole (1676–11745), the 1st Earl of Orford, Matthew Brettingham (1699–1769) for Thomas Coke (1697–1759), later Earl of Leicester, and Andrew Hay for Edward Harley (1689–1741), 2nd Earl of Oxford—or attending a London auction, an example being Thomas Wright (d. 1749) for James Stanley (1664–1736), 10th Earl of Derby. Correspondence between dealers and clients often dealt with the challenges of navigating the art market as well as judgements on authenticity - the identification of the painter, composition and style—and the physical condition of potential purchases. In some instances, collectors relied on friends abroad on diplomatic missions or travelling for pleasure rather than experts. The latter's professional network of contacts often dealt with the practical arrangements: acquiring export licences, paying customs charges and overseeing transportation. Increasingly, English dealers worked in conjunction with their counterparts on the continent to source, purchase, and transport pictures.

Drawing on account books, letters, and household inventories, the first two sections use material spanning the late 1710s to the early 1740s, a period characterised by its extensive importation of continental art. This coincided with a time of relative peace between England and France making it easier to travel to, and transport works from, France and other parts of Europe. However, hostilities were renewed between the two countries with the War of the Austrian Succession during the 1740s. The third part of this study deals with the presence of French pictures at London auctions. An earlier timeframe during the 1680s and 1690s, then shifts to between the 1720s and 1740s, as two periods that witnessed a high quantity of public sales. Most commonly, pictures acquired at auction were circulated stock belonging to dealers or the dispersal of private collections. Paintings were otherwise received as gifts or by inheritance. The cases discussed below consider whether specific sales reflected an interest in, and circulation of, French pictures. Using annotated sale catalogues, this enables observations to be made on the frequency and variety of these paintings sold at auction.

The sources of supply for French paintings require consideration. Inevitably, Italy remained a place where some French artists past and present received their training. This was particularly the case for Poussin, Dughet and Claude who spent the majority of their careers in Rome and where they secured patronage. During the early eighteenth century, this remained the source for the majority of Claude's *œuvre*. However, the significance of Paris must not be overlooked, especially as the location of Poussin's work, due to the fact that he worked so extensively for French patrons.

The long-term economic decline in the art centres of Italy meant national stock was depleted as collections were dispersed and taken to France, England and the Netherlands.²⁶⁷ Furthermore and rather crucially, there was the geographical advantage of using Paris and the comparative ease with which the English could travel to, and transport pictures from the capital. It is necessary to bear in mind that whilst paintings were often taken by sea directly from Italy, others travelled by land to France before being exported to England.

Copies and Connoisseurship

The relative shortage and cost of good quality French pictures suitable for town and country interiors increased the demand for painted and engraved copies. For instance, the reputable English painters, Arthur Pond (1705–1758) and John Wootton (1682–1764) replicated landscapes after the works of Claude and Poussin and several Italian masters during the 1730s and 1740s.²⁶⁸ Easel paintings of varying quality produced by followers of French masters during the mid-seventeenth century as well as those by contemporary foreign and English painters could be found in large quantities on the art market. For example, in 1690 Constantijn Huygens (1628–1697) recorded his visit to the home of William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire (1640–1707): ‘When I was going with Berghesteyn to his carriage, Lord Devonshire asked him to look at a painting, which was in his apartment. When we saw it, we judged it to be a bad copy after Poussin.’²⁶⁹ In terms of contemporary attitudes to copies, to avoid purchasing an inferior version (sometimes sold as a genuine work) was seen as an essential skill of a connoisseur.²⁷⁰ Commissioning good quality copies was necessary when originals were scarce or as a way to own a version of a celebrated work in another collection. For the connoisseur, the prestigious and didactic value of owning copies, was therefore, sometimes regarded as more important than their authenticity. The idea of copying was promoted by Richardson senior who in his *Two Discourses* recognised the educational value it presented to native artists as well as providing them with a profession.²⁷¹ Furthermore, a wider audience could appreciate continental pictures through prints because they were relatively more affordable and produced in high numbers. Known paintings were popularised as engravings, for example Claude Du Bosc’s (1682–1745) *The Continnence of Scipio* after Poussin was engraved in 1741, shortly after entering Robert Walpole’s collection. Du Bosc moved to England in 1712 to assist Nicolas Dorigny engrave the Raphael Cartoons. Another Poussin in Walpole’s collection, *Moses striking the Rock* was copied by Ranelagh Barrett (fl. 1737–68), who was recorded by Vertue as being skilled ‘especially in colouring’ gaining him the support of Walpole

²⁶⁷ See David Ormrod, ‘The Origins of the London Art Market’ in North and Ormrod, *Art Markets in Europe, 1400–1800*, pp. 180–81.

²⁶⁸ Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 62.

²⁶⁹ *Diaries of Constantijn Huygens*, 3 April 1690, vol. 1, p. 255, cited on ‘The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735’, <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>, accessed 7 June 2016.

²⁷⁰ On notions of connoisseurship during the period under discussion see ‘Jonathan Richardson and the Rationalisation of Connoisseurship’ in Gibson-Wood, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli* (New York and London, 1988), pp. 96–138.

²⁷¹ See Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 195–97.

'who gave him leave constantly to be in a room at his house' resulting in increased 'business and employment there, for persons of Quality &c and others'.²⁷²

In the introduction to *A description of the Earl of Pembroke's Pictures* published in 1731, Carl Gamberini proposed to engrave exemplary works from the collections of the Dukes of Devonshire and Somerset, Sir Paul Methuen, Robert Walpole, James Thornhill, and Lord James Cavendish (1674–1751) among others.²⁷³ Arthur Pond and George Knapton published seventy engravings and etchings after drawings by foreign masters, entitled *Prints in the Imitations of Drawings* between 1735 and 1736.²⁷⁴ This project was largely inspired by *Cabinet Crozat*, encompassing 140 plates of the most exemplary works in French collections, published in 1729 by Pierre Crozat, whom Pond had met in Paris.²⁷⁵ Pond's series, *Italian Landscapes* of 1741–46 included forty-four engravings after paintings in English collections, the majority of which were after works by Dughet and Claude.²⁷⁶ Of these, examples included Claude's *Landscape with Narcissus and Echo* (National Gallery, London) from the Délme collection and Dughet's *The Falls of Tivoli* (Wallace Collection, London) with its pendant (The Duke of Westminster) from the Waldegrave collection in 1744.²⁷⁷ Many were engraved by French artists trained abroad, namely Jean-Baptiste-Claude Châtelain (1710–1758) and François Vivares (1709–1780), along with several English pupils.

Dealers and auctioneers marketed engravings and drawings through auctions and at their commercial premises. In 1717 Thomas Bowles (c. 1695–1767) and Henry Overton (1676–1751) published a series of engravings by Du Bosc and Louis Du Guernier (1677–1716), after Louis Laguerre's murals in Marlborough House. Bowles's catalogue of 1720 claimed that: 'Gentlemen may be furnished with all sorts of fine French and Dutch prints neatly fitted up on frames or without, viz. Alexander's Battles, Luxembourg Gallery, Girardon Gallery, Prospects of Versailles, with great variety of Historical pieces both profane and Sacred.'²⁷⁸ Solomon Gautier (1650–1725) held sales specialising in engravings in 1718, 1720 and two more during 1725. The 1720 catalogue arranged each lot in the order to which it had originally been bound as volumes, with each page sold separately to increase profitability.²⁷⁹ In 1726 Gautier held thirteen sales spanning consecutive nights, with sheets by or after Gérard Audran, Jacques Callot, Charles Le Brun and Simon Vouet,

²⁷² Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 24 (Vertue, IV, 1936), p. 112.

²⁷³ This is presumably the third son to the 1st Duke of Devonshire rather than James Cavendish (1701–1741), the third son of the 2nd Duke of Devonshire.

²⁷⁴ See Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, pp. 128–29; H. M. Hake, 'Pond's and Knapton's Imitations of Drawings' in Campbell Dodgson, ed., *The Print Collector's Quarterly*, vol. 9, no. 3 (London, 1922), pp. 322–49.

²⁷⁵ For a general introduction see Benedict Leca, 'An Art Book and its Viewers: The "Recueil Crozat" and the Uses of Reproductive Engraving', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 38, no. 4 (2005), pp. 623–49. Also Cordelia Hattori, 'The Drawing Collection of Pierre Crozat (1661–1740)' in Baker and Warwick eds., *Collecting Prints and Drawings in Europe*, pp. 173–181.

²⁷⁶ See Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, pp. 134–39.

²⁷⁷ On the Claude see Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 222–23, cat. 77; also Marie-Nicole Boisclair, *Dughet: sa vie, son oeuvre (1615–1675)* (Paris, 1986), p. 238–39, cat. 207 and 208.

²⁷⁸ Mentioned in John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2013), p. 362.

²⁷⁹ A collection of prints and drawings of Solomon Gautier [London 1720], in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 17 April 2017.

many of whose original works rarely appeared on the market. The posthumous sale of the decorative painter, Louis Chéron, founder of the St Martin's Street Academy, included his own sketches for projects he had worked on or those of interest to him, such as ceiling designs for Boughton, Ditton, and Burleigh House, the Earl of Exeter's chapel at Snape, and the Duke of Wharton's staircase.²⁸⁰ Whilst most of these sheets sold for only a few pounds, the final lot was a book containing seventy-four drawings from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Chéron which achieved £278.5s. The 1738 sale of prints and drawings arranged by Andrew Hay 'purchased from the most eminent and valuable collections in France' included 'The King of France's collection in twenty-six volumes unbound' which most likely refers to Crozat's celebrated series of engravings documenting the French royal collection. These were sold along with engravings after Watteau and the enamelist, Louis de Châtillon (1639–1734).²⁸¹ Of great importance to the education of English collectors in relation to Claude's work, was the 2nd Duke of Devonshire's purchase in around 1720 of the *Liber Veritatis*, a complete record of the artist's *œuvre* reproduced himself in 200 drawings, each annotated with the name of the original patron.²⁸² Around this time, a second index was created detailing the current whereabouts of some of the paintings, with further notations made by the Duke. If the presence of painted originals encouraged the appreciation of French painters and pictures, the production of copies and prints expanded the audience for such works. We will now turn to a series of examples of agents and dealers who were crucial in the exchange, transportation and circulation of these works.

PART ONE: The role of collectors outside London

A relationship with France and Italy: Andrew Hay and his elite clients

One of the earliest records of the professional undertaking of the dealer Andrew Hay (d. 1754) was documented in Thornhill's Paris notebook.²⁸³ His notes provide an insight into developing Anglo-French relations between dealers, in this case the Parisian merchant Guillaume Hubert, who assisted Hay in finding pictures and other objects, and transporting them from France to England.²⁸⁴ Some of the pictures mentioned may have been intended for one of his most affluent

²⁸⁰ A catalogue of the paintings and drawings of that great master Mr. Louis Cheron [London 1726]; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 27 April 2017.

²⁸¹ Jean de Julienne's *Oeuvre Gravé de Watteau* of 1735 included three engravings after paintings then in English collections. One of these, *Les deux cousines* was owned by Bernard Baron (1696–1762), who was responsible for producing all of the engravings whilst in England. The other two were in the collection of Richard Mead: *L'amour paisible* is now lost and the other, *Les comédiens italiens* is in the National Gallery of Art in Washington. See Émile Dacier and Albert Vuaflart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle*, 4 vols (Paris, 1922), vol. 3, pp. 72, 94–95.

²⁸² See introduction in Michael Kitson, *Claude Lorrain, Liber Veritatis* (London, 1978).

²⁸³ Thornhill, Notebook of a visit to France (1717), p. 5. Also discussed in Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, pp. 77–87.

²⁸⁴ Hubert married Anne-Marie Gaudron (d. ?1754), the daughter of a master clockmaker and jewellery merchant, Antoine Gaudron (1640–1714), who had been the goldsmith to Queen Anne.

clients, Edward Harley.²⁸⁵ On the 2nd February 1715, eighteen pictures and a statue of a head with a total value of £111.5s arrived at Wimpole sent from London by the architect James Gibbs (1682–1754).²⁸⁶ Among these was a *Battlepiece* on copper bought for £7 and *Man on Horseback* at £7.10s by Jacques Courtois, called Bourgoignone (1621–1676). A second shipment arrived in 1716 for which Harley paid £551.7s.6d, and included a painting on copper by Filippo Lauro (1623–1694) at £15 and a landscape by Dughet at £20. Despite the majority of these works being by Italian painters, they were obtained in Paris or sent there from Italy.

Among this shipment were pieces of maiolica for the collector Sir Andrew Fountaine (1676–1753), who had recently returned from his grand tour.²⁸⁷ In 1712 he arrived in Paris and then proceeded to Rome where he developed an avid interest in majolica—his family seat Narford Hall in Norfolk displaying an impressive collection to rival those found in Italy. Many of these wares had been executed for Lorenzo de' Medici (1492–1519), Duke of Urbino, with copies produced by the French from the late sixteenth century onwards. Guilio Pignatta's *Sir Andrew Fountaine and Friends in the Tribune of the Uffizi* (Private Collection) of 1715 (fig. 53) records Fountaine's time in Florence and shows him resting one arm on a pedestal and holding a medal or seal to signify his interest in classical antiquities. William Hogarth's *Portrait of Sir Andrew Fountaine with other Men and Women* (Philadelphia Museum of Art) (fig. 54) of around 1730–5 depicts Fountaine with one hand in his waistcoat—a gesture commonly found in portraiture to denote the sitter's intellect and status. He is shown discussing an Italianate picture which is being held by a picture-dealer, perhaps Hay. The dog sat beside him implies his loyalty to this client. The 1732 sale catalogue of Fountaine's collection and an inventory compiled in 1738 at Narford Hall, confirms his preference for Italian easel paintings and patronage of these artists, with comparatively little attention given to the work of French artists.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁵ On his life and career see Arthur Stanley Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners*, 2 vols (London, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 291–360.

²⁸⁶ See Richard W. Goulding, *Catalogue of the pictures belonging to his grace the Duke of Portland, K. G. at Welbeck Abbey* (Cambridge, 1936), p. xxx. Mentioned in Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, p. 78.

²⁸⁷ On his collecting practices see Brinsley Ford, 'Sir Andrew Fountaine: One of the Keenest Virtuosi of his Age', *Apollo*, vol. 122, no. 285 (1985), pp. 352–63. Fountaine is known to have collected numerous vases and other earthenware adorned with designs after Raphael, although the term 'Raphael ware' also referred to designs attributed to his contemporaries. A pair of Castelli maiolica campana vases adorned with scenes depicting the *Destruction of Pharaoh's Host in the Red Sea* and the *Adoration of the Magi*, which had originally been in his collection, were sold at Bonhams on the 23 May 2012 as lot. 50. See Andrew W. Moore, 'The Fountaine Collection of Maiolica', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 130, no. 1023 (June 1988), pp. 441, 444. These items are catalogued in, Christies, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of the celebrated Fountaine collection of majolica, Henry II ware, Palissy ware, Nevers ware, Limoges enamels, carvings in ivory, hone stone and rock crystal, Greek and Roman coins, ancient armour &c., removed from Narford Hall, Norfolk* (London, 1884), p. 13, lot. 72. Vases are also mentioned on pp. 13, 19–20, 31, 39, 48–49, 52.

²⁸⁸ 'Sr And. Fountains Sale of Pictures 1731/2', in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1. pp. 39–41; also see Inventory of paintings at Narford Hall, Norfolk, 17 September 1738; photocopy in Paul Mellon Centre, Ellis Waterhouse archive, in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 20 April 2017.

On 12 January 1719 Humfrey Wanley, Edward Harley's librarian wrote in his diary that Hay had recently returned from France and that 'next Spring he shall set forward for Italy, by the Way of France & will faithfully execute any Commissions he shall receive from my Lord'.²⁸⁹ Shortly after, on the 20 February 1719, the architect James Gibbs sent Harley a list of pictures 'packed in seven boxes' which included 'a landscape by Cl Lorraine' and 'a landskip by Gas. Poussin'.²⁹⁰ The first picture (annotated with 'in the closet' in a different hand and ink) refers to where it would hang at Wimpole, the Harley family seat. George Hay sent a further list of pictures most likely acquired during Hay's second trip abroad in 1719 which included, 'a Madonna by Luca Jordano & Landscape by G. Poussin' for £52.10s and 'two pictures of Claude Lorrain' at £60 being among those given the highest values. It was perhaps the extensive nature of Harley's requests not only for pictures but manuscripts, busts, sculptures, drawings and prints that caused Hay to write a pleading letter dated 15 August 1719 asking for financial assistance to the sum of £77.18s.²⁹¹ Harley was certainly not regarded by his contemporaries as a great connoisseur of painting, although his posthumous six-day sale held in March 1742 included the works by notable continental artists that any man of taste was then expected to acquire.²⁹² The sale catalogue frontispiece engraved by Vertue embodies Harley's true passion for collecting manuscripts and antiquities with numerous examples placed in the foreground, whereas the few portraits and a landscape are less visible.²⁹³

Hay's relationship with another client, Thomas Coke shifts the focus to show how clearly 'Italianate' Claude appeared to eighteenth-century collectors. Coke spent the first six weeks of his Grand Tour in Paris, whilst the majority of his six years abroad was spent in Italy. Writing to Sir John Newton on 24 May 1714, Coke declared: 'I am become since my stay in Rome, a perfect virtuoso, and a great lover of pictures, even so far as to encroach on the kindness of my Guardians as to buy some few, I wrote to Sir Edward and Mr. Coke to desire a separate allowance on that purpose...'.²⁹⁴ According to the Grand Tour accounts kept by Edward Jarrett, Coke's spending on pictures increased substantially as time went on. For instance, whilst in Rome between June and September 1716 he spent 480 crowns on pictures with out of a total expenditure of 2882 crowns (see Notes on Currency, appendix B).²⁹⁵ After this, when travelling around several other Italian

²⁸⁹ See Cyril and Ruth Wright eds., *Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715–1723*, 2 vols (London, 1966), vol. 1, p. 17.

²⁹⁰ Letter from James Gibbs to Edward Harley, Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70376, f. 138. Another bill had been sent by George Hay dated 20 January 1719 for pictures and prints totalling £433.10s and with a deduction of £355.5s, supposedly acknowledging an earlier settled payment. Mentioned in Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, p. 79.

²⁹¹ Letter from Andrew Hay to Edward Harley, Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70384; reproduced in Goulding, *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to his grace the Duke of Portland*, p. xxxi.

²⁹² On 3 March 1720/1 Hay gave Wanley 'a list of those books on Painting &c. which my Lord is willing to buy.' See Wright, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, vol. 1, p. 91.

²⁹³ On Harley's collection of manuscripts see Wright, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, pp. 41, 67, 79. As a collector more generally see John Harris, 'Harley, the Patriot Collector', *Apollo*, vol. 131, no. 283 (September 1985), pp. 198–203.

²⁹⁴ See Andrew Moore, *Norfolk and the Grand Tour: Eighteenth-Century Travellers and their Souvenirs* (Norfolk, 1985), p. 34.

²⁹⁵ Holkham Hall archive, 'Accounts of the Grand Tour 1712–18', F/TC 4, f. 175, viii–ix.

cities he spent 935 crowns out of from a total of 2,119, and on returning to Rome during the first three months of 1717 he spent 2,180 crowns on pictures, drawings and statues, from a total of 3,847. It was most likely around this period in Rome that Hay purchased Claude's *Landscape with Apollo and Marsyas* (Holkham Hall).²⁹⁶ However, it was not until May 1719 that he was reimbursed £200 to cover the price of the Claudes and the transportation and custom charges relating to a painting of Albani of 1200 livres and a Van Dyck of 4500 livres, acquired in Paris at the end of Coke's tour the previous year.²⁹⁷

Further acquisitions made by Coke during the 1720s included *Landscape with Erminia and the Shepherd* (Holkham Hall) formerly in the possession of the Florentine nobleman Paolo Francesco Falconieri (d. 1696), and purchased by Coke from the French dealer 'Mr Davenant' whilst in Paris.²⁹⁸ Claude's *Landscape with Apollo guarding the Cattle of Admetus and Mercury stealing them* and its companion *Sea View* (both Holkham Hall) had formerly hung in the bedchamber of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692–1779).²⁹⁹ Probably already in the collection were *Landscape with Argus guarding Io* and its companion, *Coast View with Perseus and the origin of Coral* (both Holkham Hall) acquired from the English dealer Humphrey Edwin (1673–1747), having originally been commissioned by Cardinal Carlo Camillo Massimi (1620–1676).³⁰⁰ The second edition of the *Liber* recorded *Coast View with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl* as being owned by 'Ld Leicester' but this work never entered his collection.³⁰¹

Once back in England, Coke was assisted by the architect William Kent (c. 1686–1748) and Richard Boyle (1694–1753), the Earl of Burlington, both of whom he had met in Italy, in drawing up plans for Holkham in Norfolk to display the vast collection acquired on his tour.³⁰² His recent acquisitions were housed at his London residence at Thanet House in Great Russell Street, to which James Gibbs (1682–1754) had made improvements between 1718 and 1719. The plans at Holkham were delayed due in part to Coke's financial losses caused by the collapse of the South

²⁹⁶ See Matthew Brettingham, *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Holkham, in Norfolk the seat of the Earl of Norfolk; to which are added, the ceilings and chimney-pieces; and also, a descriptive account of the statues, pictures, and drawings etc.* (London, 1773), p. 3; also Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 255–56, no. 95.

²⁹⁷ Holkham Hall archive, 'The Domestic Accounts of ye Honable: Thomas Coke Esq. posted quarterly for ye year 1719', A/8 f. 42; for the Paris purchases see 'Accounts of the Grand Tour 1712–18', F/TC 4, f. 246.

²⁹⁸ See Brettingham, *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Holkham*, p. 7; Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 392–93, no. 166. Its pendant *Coast View with the Embarkation of Carlo and Ubaldo*, (Baron Lucas, Wiltshire) went instead to Henry Grey (d. 1740), Duke of Kent. See *Ibid.*, pp. 397–98, no. 168.

²⁹⁹ Brettingham, *The Plans, Elevations, and Sections of Holkham*, p. 8; also Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 324, 214, no. 135 and a version of no. 70.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 239–41, 433–35, no. 86, 184; also Brettingham, *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham*, p. 7. On Massimi as a collector see Lisa Beaven, *An Ardent Patron: Cardinal Camillo Massimo and his Antiquarian and Artistic Circle* (London, 2010).

³⁰¹ Probably bought at Bragge's sale, 1756, 1st day, lot. 70 for £84 by the Duke of Rutland, now Bührle collection, Zurich. See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 389–90, no. 164.

³⁰² On Kent and Coke see Susan Weber, *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain* (London, 2013), pp. 66–67.

Sea Bubble in 1720.³⁰³ With his finances restored, in 1726 he employed the architect Matthew Brettingham to implement Kent's designs and later appointed him Clerk of Works.³⁰⁴ The house was completed shortly after Coke's death with the remaining interior furnishings and pictures chosen and displayed by Brettingham and Coke's wife, Lady Margaret Tufton (1700–1775), Countess of Leicester. Over a period of several decades, Claude remained Coke's favourite painter, whose works he collected eight genuine examples, more than any other continental artist in his collection.³⁰⁵ According to Brettingham's 1760 picture inventory, the Claudes were given a room to themselves, the State Dressing Room adjoining the State Bedchamber.³⁰⁶ They are now displayed in what is known as The Landscape Room. Brettingham's plans for the country house were published the year after, although it is in the 1773 edition of *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham* that the subject of each picture was identified. During the early 1750s, Brettingham took on the role as Coke's art agent whilst in Rome, purchasing Claude's *Landscape with the rest on the Flight to Egypt* and two landscapes by Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–1789) (both Holkham Hall), copies after the Claude canvases previously owned by the Pope's medalist, Alberto Hamerani (1620–1677).³⁰⁷

These examples of Anglo-French interactions between dealers serve to inform our understanding of the processes through which paintings and other art objects were sourced, moved around and taken from, the continent. Collectors such as Fontaine and Coke were among growing numbers of elite travellers abroad with a particular interest in Italy and the work of deceased and living native artists. Yet I would suggest that Coke stands out in terms of the prominence of Claude's work within his collection, sourced predominantly from wealthy Italian families, many of whom related to the original patrons and their descendants. In doing so, he was adopting the taste of seventeenth-century Italian collectors, rather than those of their French contemporaries.

The collector abroad and at home: Matthew Prior and Edward Harley

During the 1690s, much of Prior's early career had been spent in France working as the secretary to the English ambassadors, the Earls of Portland and Jersey.³⁰⁸ Outside of political matters he assisted these individuals in purchasing luxurious items for their ambassadorial hôtels and commissioning portraits from leading French artists of the day. In 1711 Prior returned to Paris as an intermediary during the administration of Robert Harley (1661–1724), 1st Earl of Oxford, Queen

³⁰³ See Nigel Jones, *Architecture of England, Scotland and Wales* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 139–40.

³⁰⁴ On Brettingham see Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects*, pp. 158–59.

³⁰⁵ This is noted by Brettingham in *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham*, p. 7.

³⁰⁶ *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great Country Houses. A Tribute to John Cornforth*, ed. Tessa Murdoch (Cambridge, 2006), p. 227.

³⁰⁷ See Brettingham, *The Plans, Elevations and Sections of Holkham*, pp. 7, 11.

³⁰⁸ See 'The Connoisseurial Advisor: Matthew Prior, 1664–1721' in Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*. For more on Prior's biography see Charles Kenneth Eves, *Matthew Prior: Poet and Diplomatist* (New York, 1939).

Anne's chief minister. The Treaty of Utrecht with France established two years later brought an end to British involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession. On leaving Paris in 1714 Prior had acquired several works for his own collection: 'a Seaport' by Claude, 'a scene of Moses' by Poussin, and another of 'Cleobis and Biton', a 'Judgement of Paris' and 'Charity' by Bourdon, two pictures by Albani, a 'Peasant family' by the Le Nain brothers, and 'Diana and Actaeon' by Carlo Maratta (1625–1713).³⁰⁹ Letters from Prior to Charles Montagu (1661–1715), 1st Earl of Halifax towards the end of his stay are concerned with Prior's extensive debts which suggests that he had been living beyond his means. Whilst these pictures were relatively inexpensive compared to the vast sums spent on household items, accommodation and travel by Prior, the act of buying pictures during his second residency formed part of his wider efforts to imitate the luxury consumption of his peers in the French government and royal court.³¹⁰

In 1718 Prior and his secretary Adrian Drift (d. 1737) compiled a picture inventory with valuations for his forty-five pictures.³¹¹ Some purchases were recorded in French livres suggesting that they been purchased abroad, whilst others were given estimates by the picture-framer John Howard. By the time of Prior's death in 1721 the number of pictures in his collection had effectively doubled, with many of his Paris acquisitions sent to him in England long after he had purchased them. In 1717 Prior had written to John Dalrymple (1673–1747), 2nd Earl of Stair, the current ambassador to France, referring to some effects left in Paris with the banker Richard Cantillon and asking that the goods and money be transferred to the English merchant in Rouen, Robert Arbuthnot.³¹² Prior's correspondence with Robert Harley in 1719, confirms the whereabouts of Andrew Hay, who Prior reports, had recently returned from France without the Earl's pictures as Arbuthnot 'was not at home'.³¹³ Two years later, Prior had successfully made contact with Arbuthnot to arrange the shipment of his own works.³¹⁴ A list of twenty works 'from Rouen' made in February 1721 includes 'figures by Poussin' and the Bourdon paintings. All of these works including Poussin's 'Moses' have been crossed out on the inventory probably to indicate their arrival in England that year.

By comparison, Edward Harley never travelled abroad. Much of his collection was acquired as the result of the travels of other individuals, such as Hay and Prior, from the latter inheriting pictures.³¹⁵ Prior's Will instructed that Harley was to receive six pictures 'such as he shall chuse'

³⁰⁹ See Bunker Wright and Montgomery, 'The Art Collection of a Virtuoso in eighteenth-century England', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 27 (1945), pp. 197–198, 201, 202.

³¹⁰ Letters from Prior to the Earl of Halifax, 1714, Longleat House archive, Prior Papers, vol. XIV, ff. 80–86, 95, 118. Shortly after, his debts were cleared by King George I, see vol. XIV, f. 130.

³¹¹ List of pictures belonging to Prior, 1718, Prior Papers, vol. XXI, ff. 162.

³¹² Letter from Prior to the Earl of Stairs, 11 September 1717, Prior Papers, vol. XIV, f. 182.

³¹³ Prior to Lord Harley, 29 December 1719, Prior Papers, vol. XIV, f. 257.

³¹⁴ Arbuthnot to Prior, 2/23 August and 7/18 September 1721, BL Add MS 70362, ff. 92–92v.

³¹⁵ According to Prior's Will, Lady Henrietta Harley was to receive a picture of Queen Elizabeth and her daughter Margaret, later Duchess of Portland, the miniature of Prior by Charles Boit. A letter with a poem, "My noble, lovely, little Peggy" was addressed to Harley's daughter. Prior Papers, 29 March 1720, vol. 1, f. 64.

and the marble bust of Flora by François Girardon from his collection.³¹⁶ Prior's co-executors, Drift and Harley, made a room-by-room inventory of his house in Duke Street in Westminster as part of the dispersal of his collection.³¹⁷ Harley's familiarity with the collection would have aided his selection of Prior's pictures: three of which were the French works Prior had acquired in Paris.³¹⁸ According to Prior's list, *Moses Found in the Water* by Poussin and Pierre Le Maire (1612–1688) was valued in 1719 at 300 livres (£17.12s.6d). At Harley's posthumous sale held on the 8 March 1742, this was probably 'Moses in the Bull-rushes' (lot. 42), re-attributed to a Flemish painter active in Italy, Jan Meil (1599–1663) which sold for £8.10s on the third day.³¹⁹ It is not clear as to whether the other two works were included in the sale: *Cleobis and Biton* was valued in 1721 at 200 livres (£11.15s) and may have been 'An exceeding fine Landscape and Figures, by G. Poussin' (lot. 57), bought on the fourth day for £35.14s by 'Brokesby'. *A Seaport* was not assigned a value by Prior but most likely relates to 'A small Landskip and Sea-port' (lot. 22) which sold on the second day for £1.12s to 'Dr Barnard'. The prices paid by Prior were significantly lower than those achieved by Hay through sales to Harley of around the same period, as discussed in the previous section. To a certain extent, these differences in value are to be expected considering the inevitable variables in the quality, size, and subject matter of the pictures. Additionally, Hay's asking prices were perhaps higher as a result of having overpaid for his stock abroad and needing to add his own commission. Harley's admiration for Prior's collection is telling in that he acquired a further sixty-five pictures at the appraiser's valuations from the 109 pictures at Dukes Street.³²⁰ According to the notes made by the appraiser Mr Peters, these pictures were valued at considerably less than Prior had paid - the total cost of his purchases coming to £470.4s in comparison to the appraiser's valuation of £180.7s, which is a shortfall of £289.7s.

Prior's time spent in Paris enabled him to engage with artistic tastes introduced through the French royal court, resulting in several commissions from leading native painters and sculptors. In 1698 he was involved in the production of souvenir portraits and copies from the studio of Rigaud, commissioned by the Earls of Portland and Jersey.³²¹ The following year, Rigaud painted Prior's portrait (Beinecke Library, Yale University) although this was not completed for another two

³¹⁶ 'Catalogue of Mr Prior's Library', Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70362, f. 68. Prior arranged for copies to be made of the bust which were distributed to his gardener Charles Bridgeman (1690–1738), the architect James Gibbs and the portraitist Michael Dahl (1659–1743). In a letter dated 21 November 1721, Harley insisted that the pictures could not be valued until he had chosen his six works, *Ibid.*, f. 148; mentioned in Wright and Montgomery, 'The Art Collection of a Virtuoso', p. 200.

³¹⁷ 'Inventory Mr Prior's Pictures', Prior Papers, BL Add MS 70362, ff. 16v–18.

³¹⁸ The remaining pictures were *Head of a Venetian Lady* by Titian, *Leo X and Cardinals, posed with Christ at Supper*, a copy attributed to Veronese after a design by Tintoretto, and *A Madonna* by Guido Reni.

³¹⁹ See Wright and Montgomery, 'The Art Collection of a Virtuoso', p. 202. Also 'Ld.Oxford's Sale of Pictures 1741/2'; transcribed in Houlditch 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 420.

³²⁰ See 'A Catalogue of the Pictures chosen by the Right honourable the Lord Harley with an account of the prices paid for them by Mr Prior at London and Paris, BL Add MS 70361, ff. 25, 44; reproduced in Goulding, *Catalogue of the pictures belonging to his grace the Duke of Portland*, pp. xxxii–xxxiv.

³²¹ See Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 191–93.

years.³²² Many of Prior's most cherished objects had been acquired from French artists and craftsmen, and after his death were given to friends as gifts. On 15 February 1721/2 Drift wrote to the political essayist, Dr Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) to inform him that Prior's portrait would be sent to Charles Jervas for copying.³²³ Prior also commissioned Alexis Simon Belle (1674–1734) to paint his likeness in 1713 (St John's College, Cambridge) (fig. 55) on his return to France as Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of France.³²⁴ Further to this, Coysevox was commissioned to produce Prior's portrait bust which eventually formed part of his funerary monument in Westminster Abbey.³²⁵ In 1722 Drift wrote to Lord Harcourt offering to send him Belle's portrait of his son which had been presented to Prior in Paris. In a letter to Harley he writes: 'I have been twice to Lord Harcourts to receive his commands about his sons picture and the fine collection of French Prints, which he is desirous to have, and sent Dr Mead to inspect and look over, But his lordship was abroad and I have heard nothing of either picture or book since'.³²⁶ In an unpublished letter to John Mosley, who had assisted in settling Prior's estate, Drift states his intention to send 'a Box inclosing the little group of flowers, which I some years ago brought with me from France. Your liking them makes me value my own judgement in the choice of this piece of painting, which I met with among others in an auction in Paris'.³²⁷ Prior's patronage of French painters continued after he had left France. In 1718 Chéron drew the frontispiece and the vignettes for the folio edition of his poems.³²⁸

I would suggest that Prior's collecting practices were indicative of his exposure to a market for deceased French artists in Paris, whose works were perhaps not as readily available in England during the 1710s. His choice of paintings suggests that he was imitating French courtly taste, in relation to the work of Poussin and Bourdon, and commissions for portraiture and sculpture. His private interactions with prestigious artists and political figures which often resulted in acquisition and patronage can be placed in contrast with Drift's comparatively modest purchase at public auction. It could be suggested that Prior's artistic preferences were adopted by Edward Harley, whose reliance on these Paris purchases served to inform his own early picture collection.

³²² Letter from Rigaud to Prior, 26 March 1701, Prior Papers, vol. VII, no. 1; also Roman, *Livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud* (1919), pp. 64–65, 68–69.

³²³ Letter from Drift to Jonathan Swift, 1721/2, Prior Papers, BL Add MS 70362, f. 112v. For a general biography see Leo Damrosch, *Jonathan Swift: His Life and His World* (New Haven, 2013).

³²⁴ Discussed in Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, p. 200.

³²⁵ Bunker Wright and Montgomery, 'The Art Collection of a Virtuoso', pp. 198–99. An engraved version of the portrait by Claude Duflos (1665–1727) was used as the frontispiece for several editions of Prior's poems.

³²⁶ Letter from Drift to Harley, 17 February 1721/2, Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70362, f. 113; 12 October 1722, *Ibid.*, f. 186. See Roman, *Livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud*, p. 67. On Mead's collection see Craig Hanson, 'Dr Richard Mead and Watteau's "Comédiens Italiens"', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 145, no. 1201 (April 2003), pp. 265–72; and M. Webster two-part article, 'Taste of an Augustan Collector: The Collection of Dr Richard Mead', *Country Life*, no. 147 (29 January 1970), pp. 249–51; no. 148 (24 September 1970), pp. 765–67. More recently Ian Jenkins, 'Dr Richard Mead (1673–1754) and his Circle' in ed. Robert Geoffrey Anderson et al., *Enlightening the British: Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003), pp. 127–35.

³²⁷ Letter from Drift to Mosley, 16 August 1722, Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70362, f. 123v.

³²⁸ See Bunker Wright and Montgomery, 'The Art Collection of a Virtuoso', p. 199.

PART TWO: The presence and display of French works in English collections

Identifying genuine works by Poussin: The Earl of Derby and Thomas Wright

The numerous reimbursements made to agents working in London and abroad for James Stanley, recorded by his distant relative Edward Stanley throughout the 1720s, attest to the rapid formation of the collection of continental pictures at Knowsley Hall.³²⁹ The correspondence between Thomas Wright and the Earl, spanning between 1723 and 1726, provides an insight into the practicalities of navigating the art market and the tactical ways in which agents persuaded their client to make potential purchases based on their judgements on, and knowledge of, French pictures.³³⁰ This exchange thereby ensured his ongoing patronage and in turn contributed to the collector's artistic education. On the 16 November, Wright wrote to the Earl to discuss a painting by Poussin,

This Pict[u]r[e] my L[or]^d is, as far as I can guess about 8 foot long by five foot high, and represents the decay of Rome under the Emblem of a Woman in very great Distress - The Arts w[hi]ch are represented by four other Women [...] the Price is 400£ [...] If yo[u]r Lords^h[i]p thinks fit to make yourself Master of this Pict[u]r[e] I am certain you may challenge all the nobility and all the fine Collections in England to show the like, 'twas w[i]th the greatest difficulty imaginable I got leave to let yo[u]r Lordship have the refusal on't [...] If yo[u]r Lordship has it not, I believe Mr Walpole will have it who spares no cost whatever to purchase those things that are curious but he knows nothing of it [...].³³¹

In a further effort of persuasion Wright draws attention to the competitive aspect of collecting through the Earl's rivalry with contemporaries. At this time, Robert Walpole's collection was without a Poussin; the first genuine example was acquired during the 1730s, as discussed below. Shortly after sending this letter, Wright paid the full asking price for *The Arts applying to the Genius of Rome* (Knowsley Hall, Liverpool) (fig. 56) out of his own pocket from the prominent dealer Henry Turner Broome (1683–1733), who ran an auction room in the Court of Wards adjoining Westminster Hall.³³² The attribution to Poussin has been firmly disputed by twentieth-century

³²⁹ According to Stanley's accounts made between July 1721 and December 1724, the Earl's purchases totalled £6443.19s.6d. On 15 September 1722 a payment of £84 was made to the Flemish salesman Pieter Casteels (1684–1749) for two works by Dughet. See Account of pictures bought for the Earl of Derby, 1721–4, Knowsley Hall Mss; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 30 November 2015.

³³⁰ Francis Russell, 'The Derby Collection (1721–1735)', *Walpole Society*, vol. 53 (1987), pp. 143–180, and appendix 2.

³³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

³³² A receipt of payment to Wright for £400 from Edward Stanley on behalf of the Earl is dated 26 November 1723. Account book of Edward Stanley for the Earl of Derby for the year ending 1 March 1724, Lancashire Record Office, DDK/2005/4. This acquisition is discussed in, *Art, Animals and Politics: Knowsley and the Earls of Derby*, ed. Stephen Lloyd (London, 1716), pp. 95–96.

scholars who suggest instead that it was the work of his contemporary, Thomas Blanchet (1614–1699).³³³

The series of letters discuss this work over a period of several months - more than any other between the Earl and Wright in relation to a particular painting. Whilst initially looking favourably upon the purchase, the Earl soon aired his reservations about the picture's attribution which prompted an anxious reply from Wright: 'I sent for Mr Walton who is keeper of the Kings Store houses of Pictures and has the care of most of the fine Collections belonging to the Nobility', and continues that he had also gone in search of 'Mr Richardson', presumably referring to Jonathan Richardson senior.³³⁴ As shown in this letter, Wright's familiarity with André Félibien's (1619–1695) *Vie de Nicolas Poussin*, published in 1688 as the eighth of the *Entretiens*, is identified here as a necessary benchmark for those aspiring to become connoisseurs of the artist's work.³³⁵ The absence of the picture in this biography and among those studied by contemporary experts indicated its inauthenticity, yet Wright insists this adds intrigue and desirability. He draws a comparison to Thornhill's painting which was being offered at £400, incorrectly identifying the subject despite this being well publicised at the time, arguing that the intricacy of the composition and superior size of the painting under discussion justified the high valuation. Despite seeming reassured by the reactions of the two highly revered connoisseurs of continental art, the Earl is unconvinced as to the physical condition of the canvas, commenting on the figures' appearance which he believes have been damaged during cleaning.³³⁶ The Earl complains of cracks to the picture surface, to which Wright replies by referencing Raphael's celebrated Cartoons in England which were 'torn & mended in a thousand places', arguing therefore, that the chance to own an object of national importance causes its condition to become inconsequential.³³⁷

Further correspondence deals with interpreting the subject matter, in particular the identity of the statue in the composition which has been identified by Jonathan Richardson junior.³³⁸ The Earl was clearly eager to improve his knowledge of narratives from classical antiquity and to confirm the work's authenticity. In his reply, Richardson states, 'I have not found any where an Account of your Poussin which I much wonder at since tis his very greatest Stile & one of the most capital I have seen'.³³⁹ He goes on to say that the composition includes one of two marble statues representing the Dioscuri curbing their horses and the figures of Castor and Pollux as horse trainers which stood

³³³ A similar composition attributed to Blanchet is in Lacock Abbey, National Trust. According to Blunt, Poussin's *The Ashes of Phocion collected by his Widow* was the first work by this artist to enter the Knowsley collection in 1782. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 125, cat. 174.

³³⁴ Letter from Wright to the Earl of Derby, 10 December 1723, Knowsley Hall Mss, cited in Russell, 'The Derby Collection', p. 157.

³³⁵ For a general introduction see Clare Pace, *Félibien's Life of Poussin* (London, 1981).

³³⁶ Earl of Derby to Wright, 28 December 1723, cited on 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 2 October 2015.

³³⁷ Wright to Earl of Derby, 2 January 1724, Knowsley Hall Mss, in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 2 October 2015.

³³⁸ Wright to Earl of Derby, 16 January 1724, Knowsley Hall Mss, in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 1 December 2015.

³³⁹ Mentioned in the memorandum from Richardson to the 10th Earl of Derby, circa January 1724, Knowsley Hall Mss, in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 1 December 2015.

outside the Palazzo del Quirinale or Monte Cavallo in Rome (fig. 57).³⁴⁰ Poussin's understanding of proportions is another topic of discussion. Wright explains that the human figures should appear small in scale when placed next to the colossal statue of Alexander taming Bucephalus (thought to have been the subject of the statues according to Onofino Panvinio in 1558) which is depicted true to size.³⁴¹ In the centre stand four female figures representing the Arts, facing the personification of Genius or Rome, whose role as the judge is to listen to the claims of those before her under the advocacy of a bearded figure crowned with a wreath, perhaps the poet Pindar.

Another agent, the painter Hamlet Winstanley (1698–1756) was given license to spend substantial sums on paintings whilst in Rome between 1723 and 1725, with much of his time spent identifying collectors who were willing to sell. In a letter to Derby he mentioned recently viewing Poussin's *Seven Sacraments* which were for sale with an asking price of 20,000 crowns.³⁴² During the 1720s, the first set of Sacraments were owned by the descendants of Cassiano dal Pozzo, who were supposedly unsuccessful in their attempt to sell them to Louis XV. There exists no further correspondence from Winstanley on this subject suggesting that the Earl was unwilling to pay this price. Another individual employed by the Earl was John Green who was responsible for providing valuations, attending auctions and placing bids on the Earl's behalf. As an attendee at the sale of William Sykes (1659–1724), he reported that 'The Whole Collection was rubbish (Save one of Gaspar Poussin bo[ugh]t. by the Duke of Bridgewater for 140 Guin[ea]s)'.³⁴³ This is a reference to Scroop Egerton (1681–1744), 1st Duke of Bridgewater, whose pictures were mostly displayed at his London residence, Cleveland House.³⁴⁴ Wright and Green supplied Derby with 'marked' catalogues of buyers' names and the prices achieved for each lot at the sales of Lord Radnor, Mr Sykes, and Lord Portland.³⁴⁵ These would have been studied by Derby in an effort to stay informed on the workings of the market and the activities of his rivals: this act showing the competitive side to picture collecting. These commercial relationships took on different forms: Wright communicated directly with the Duke perhaps due to his gentry status and used his own funds, whereas Green was repaid for expenses.

I would argue that the Poussin acquisition discussed at the start of this section demonstrates the challenges associated with the formation of pictures collections, particularly when identifying

³⁴⁰ See Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, p. 136, no. 3. This led Guillaume Coustou the Elder to produce the so called marble Marly Horses between 1739 and 1745, now in the Louvre, Paris. See Souchal, *French Sculptures of the 17th and 18th Centuries*, vol. 1, pp. 149–50.

³⁴¹ Wright to Earl of Derby, 2 January 1724, cited in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 2 October 2015.

³⁴² Letter from Hamlet Winstanley to Derby, 22 January 1724, cited on 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 7 June 2016.

³⁴³ Letter from Edward Stanley to the Earl of Derby, 7 March 1724, Knowsley Hall Mss; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 6 October 2015.

³⁴⁴ See Johann Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England, with notes of private galleries and remarks on the state of art* (London, 1836), p. 134.

³⁴⁵ See Russell, 'The Derby Collection', pp. 158–59. At Knowsley Hall there is a copy of the Radnor catalogue which Green marked with prices and crosses beside nine pictures supposedly those worth bidding on although only one picture was purchased. See Catalogue of the Earl of Radnor's picture collection [London 1724], in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 30 November 2015.

genuine examples of this artist's work. The opportunity to own at least one work by Poussin was an aspiration shared by many elite collectors and some of those belonging to the professional classes. As shown in the correspondence, this taste was driven by known examples in the French royal collection and literature on the artist's life and work.

The Connoisseurial Advisor: James Waldegrave and the Walpole family

Throughout the 1730s France remained a reliable source for acquiring pictures by Poussin when good quality examples were not available in England. The current inaccessibility of the correspondence and accounts of James, 1st Earl Waldegrave, during his ambassadorial post in Paris during this period, permits only a limited insight into his picture collecting abroad. However, several letters received by Robert Walpole relate to Waldegrave's involvement in the acquisition of a Poussin.³⁴⁶ Waldegrave was educated in France and spent his early diplomatic career under the direction of Walpole who in 1723 appointed him Gentleman of the Bedchamber to George I.³⁴⁷ In 1727 Waldegrave became the secretary to Horatio Walpole (1678–1757), 1st Baron Walpole, Robert's youngest son, in Paris and the following year accepted the position of ambassador and minister-plenipotentiary in Vienna. Shortly after, he returned to Paris and was left in charge of affairs on Horatio's departure to London to assist his brother's ministry following the King's death. In August 1730 Waldegrave succeeded Horatio as ambassador to the French court which coincided with many years of political unrest between France and England. In 1740 he returned to England with war seeming imminent.³⁴⁸

Towards the end of his mission, Waldegrave acquired Poussin's *Venus and Adonis* (now Rhode Island School of Design) (fig. 58), perhaps formerly in the collection of Zacharie de Raousset (1682–1737), Comte de Boulbon, who was employed by the Parlement of Aix-en-Provence.³⁴⁹ At the 1763 picture sale of James (1715–1763), 2nd Earl Waldegrave, this picture was bought by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792), for £94.10s (lot. 25).³⁵⁰ It is likely that 1st Earl Waldegrave purchased another painting, *The Adoration of the Magi* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden) which he left in Paris on leaving his post.³⁵¹ In 1734 he commissioned Rigaud to paint his portrait which remained unfinished: 'Commencé sur toile de 4 francs, il n'y a jamais eu que la tête

³⁴⁶ I was unable to gain access to the archive of Waldegrave Papers at Chewton House, in Somerset.

³⁴⁷ *The French Correspondence of James, 1st Earl Waldegrave (1684–1741)*, compiled by Rex. A. Barrell (Lewiston, 1996), p. 3.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 5–7, 9.

³⁴⁹ See Jean Boyer, 'Les Collections de peintures à Aix-en-Provence au XVIIIe et XVIIIe siècles d'après des inventaires inédits', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (February 1965), vol. 1, p. 10; also Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 131–32, cat. 185. On Raousset see *Histoire héroïque et universelle de la noblesse de Provence*, 2 vols (Avignon, 1759), vol. 2, pp. 290–91.

³⁵⁰ *Auction catalogue of Earl Waldegrave's pictures, plate, etc.*, BL Add MS C.119.h.3.(56.), f. 56.

³⁵¹ See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 34, cat. 44. This remained in France until it was bought in 1742 for Frederick Augustus III (1696–1763) of Poland by his agent Samuel De Brais (1642–1725?), former secretary to Charles-Henry, Comte de Hoym (1694–1736), the ambassador to Poland.

d'achevée' ('started the canvas for 4 francs, only the head was completed').³⁵² In the same year he commissioned and paid the sum of 300 livres for a studio copy of Rigaud's portrait of Cardinal Fleury (1653–1743).³⁵³ It is therefore likely that his own portrait would have been copied and in turn presented as a gift to Fleury as a way of strengthening fragmented political ties between their countries. Certainly, the correspondence received by Waldegrave from Walpole during this time suggests that he acted as an intermediary negotiating directly with Fleury.³⁵⁴

In 1721 Robert Walpole was appointed the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer following the accession of George I which restored the Whigs to power.³⁵⁵ From the mid 1730s he effectively occupied the position of British Prime Minister until his resignation in 1742. His account books compiled by his secretary Robert Mann between 1714 and 1718 show his early taste for continental pictures and the formation of his collection through the assistance of John Howard.³⁵⁶ A bill for the amount of £95.6s.2d and dated January 1721 details the restoration and framing he carried out on twenty-eight continental paintings, some of which were French.³⁵⁷ Many of Walpole's major French works were acquired towards the end of the 1720s and throughout the 1730s. This coincided with his most active period of collecting and the construction of Houghton Hall in Norfolk designed by James Gibbs and Colen Campbell (1676–1729). Walpole's collection would eventually be displayed in its entirety at Houghton having been dispersed between several London residences, first in Arlington Street and then 10 Downing Street. An assessment of the French school was included in the introduction to *Aedes Walpolianae*, the work of Horace Walpole (1717–1797), the 4th Earl of Orford, first published in 1748 in dedication to Robert's connoisseurial achievements.³⁵⁸ His discussion is not restricted to Poussin and Claude but extends to the work of Le Sueur, Le Brun and Bourdon.³⁵⁹ In a letter to Richard West written in Paris during 1739, Horace describes his visit to the cloister of the Convent of Chartreux decorated with scenes of the life of St Bruno by Le Sueur: 'I don't know what Raphael in Rome, but these pictures excel all I have seen in

³⁵² See Roman, *Livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud*, p. 211.

³⁵³ Rigaud's account book records fourteen copies after the original version painted in 1728. The Waldegrave copy is most likely now in the Wallace Collection, London. See Stephen Duffy and Jo Hedley, *The Wallace Collection's Pictures: A Complete Catalogue* (London, 2004), p. 363.

³⁵⁴ See William Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole ... containing correspondence from 1730–1745*, 3 vols (London, 1798), vol. 3, pp. 408–9, 422–24, 441–43.

³⁵⁵ On Robert's political career see John Plumb, *Sir Robert Walpole. Vol. 1. The Making of a Statesman* (London, 1957); *Vol. 2. The King's Minister* (London, 1972).

³⁵⁶ 'Account book of Sir Robert', Walpole Papers, BL Add MS 74062, pp. 23, 26. Also see Andrew Moore, *A Capital Collection: Houghton Hall and the Hermitage* (New Haven and London, 2002), p. 247, cat. 146.

³⁵⁷ Cambridge University Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ch(H) MMS, Voucher 1721.

³⁵⁸ Horace went on to produce his *Anecdotes on Painting in England* between 1762 and 1780.

³⁵⁹ For example, *Daedalus and Icarus* by Le Brun (now Hermitage), see Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 269, cat. 172. By 1736 Walpole owned four paintings by or attributed to Sébastien Bourdon, with two sent to Houghton: *Jacob Burying Iaban's Images* and *The Massacre of the Innocents* (both Hermitage). See *Ibid.*, pp. 259–60, cat. 158–159; also Jacques Thuillier, *Sébastien Bourdon*, pp. 170, 283–84, cat. 25, 142.

Paris and England'.³⁶⁰ In his *Aedes*, Horace acknowledges contemporary debates on Le Sueur as the 'French Raphael'. He notes that:

had his life been longer, [this] would have raised him high above Poussin. [...] The Cloyster painted by him at the Chartreuse at Paris, is, in my Opinion, equal to any Composition extant, for the Passions [...] His fault was in his Draperies; the Folds are mean and unnatural. Sebastien Bourdon was liker Poussin, only that as Poussin's Figures are apt to be too long, his are generally too short, and consequently want the Grace which often consists in over-lengthen'd Proportions.³⁶¹

Walpole owned one work by Le Sueur, *The Exposition of Moses* (Hermitage Museum) (fig. 59), given to him by John (1690–1749), 2nd Duke of Montagu.³⁶² According to the 1736 inventory this painting hung in the hall of Robert's house in Chelsea. Shortly before this, Waldegrave had presented him with *The Entombment (Christ laid in the Sepulchre)* (Hermitage Museum), now believed to be the workshop of Jacopo Bassano, to congratulate him on his newly-acquired position in office.³⁶³

According to the *Aedes*, Horace purchased Poussin's *The Continnence of Scipio* (Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow) (fig. 60) from Charles Jean-Baptiste Fleuriau (1686–1732), Comte de Morville.³⁶⁴ Horace's arrival in Paris in 1723 as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary coincided with Morville's appointment as the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Morville's loss of position in 1727 likely contributed to his willingness to sell part of his collection.³⁶⁵ Despite the Treaty of Seville ending the Anglo-Spanish War between England, France and Spain, this was short-lived. The Treaty of Vienna of 1731 marked the end of the Anglo-French alliance and formed an Anglo-Austrian one. Remarkably, during this period of intense negotiations and unstable relations, Horace and Waldegrave secured major acquisitions from those forced to sell pictures to recuperate their finances. The *Aedes* states that Poussin's *Moses Striking the Rock* (Hermitage) 'was painted for Stella, and bought of a French Nobleman, in the beginning of the last War between France and the Emperor Charles VI who declared he sold it to pay for his Campaign

³⁶⁰ Letter from Horace to West, 15 May 1739, in *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, ed. Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, 48 vols (New Haven, 1837–83), vol. 13, pp. 168–70.

³⁶¹ Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 365.

³⁶² See Mérot, *Le Sueur*, p. 251, cat. 108; also Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 31, cat. 173.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 104, cat. 6.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 276–77, cat. 178; Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 129, cat. 181. On his collection see Zinkin, *Sheltering Art*, pp. 167–71, and appendix 5. Horace also acquired Claude's *Morning in the Harbour* (Hermitage). See Moore, *A Capital Collection*, pp. 265–66, cat. 169; also Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 102–3, no. 5.

³⁶⁵ He also acquired from Morville: *Saint Joseph Holding Christ* by Reni, whereabouts unknown. See Moore, *A Capital Collection*, pp. 165–66, cat. 71; *Female Nude* attributed to Leonardo da Vinci, now follower of (Hermitage), see *Ibid.*, pp. 132–33, cat. 39; *The Resurrection* attributed to Veronese, now Paolo Caliari workshop (1538–1598) (Pushkin Museum, Moscow), *Ibid.*, pp. 180–81, cat. 87; *Virgin and Child with John the Baptist* by Titian, location unknown, *Ibid.*, p. 182, cat. 86.

Equipage'.³⁶⁶ By 1728 these acquisitions were installed in Robert's residence in Arlington Street and in 1736 his Dressing Room at Downing Street. The Poussins were among twelve paintings newly hung in the Picture Gallery at Houghton and directly mentioned in Horace's *A Sermon on Painting* delivered to Robert in 1742.³⁶⁷ According to elevations of the Picture Gallery created in the same year, on the far end wall hung the *Moses and Contenance of Scipio* with Guido Reni's (1575–1642) *Adoration of the Shepherds* (Pushkin Museum, Moscow) in the centre.³⁶⁸ Above this was a large *The Return of Hagar* by Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669) (Pushkin Museum) and placed either side was Salvator Rosa's (1615–1673) *Democritus and Protagoras* (Hermitage) and Rembrandt's *Abraham's Sacrifice* (Hermitage).³⁶⁹ Over the entrance on the opposite wall hung the *Le Sueur, Pietà with Saints* by Agostino Carracci (Hermitage) and a studio copy of Carlo Maratta's *Adoration of the Magi* (Hermitage).³⁷⁰ The positioning of these pictures, mostly depicting religious narratives, suggests that Walpole regarded seventeenth-century French painters as being equal to their Italian and Dutch contemporaries. This judgement could perhaps be seen as a shift in taste from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in England which witnessed works by the latter being collected in greater numbers.

The extent to which Robert Walpole and his contemporaries relied on France as a place to acquire continental paintings did not go unnoticed. In 1733 he received several letters from the Parisian dealer Roussel, whose attempts to sell him works proved unsuccessful.³⁷¹ Roussel complained bitterly of his rivalry with the English dealer Samuel Paris, whose regular trips to France meant that they were often in direct competition. During 1735 Waldegrave acquired for Walpole Poussin's *The Holy Family with St John and St Elizabeth* (Hermitage) (fig. 61) from Thomas de Fraula (1646–1738), the Directeur Général des Domaines et Finances to Emperor Charles VI of Austria.³⁷² Robert wrote to Waldegrave on 21 March 1734/5: 'I will give you £400 for your Picture [which] is I believe the highest price that has ever been given for Picture of Poussin, if y[ou]r Lordship will give y[ou]rself the trouble to offer that, I cannot believe they will refuse it'.³⁷³ At the top of the letter is a memorandum perhaps written in a different hand: 'offer £500 for a picture by Poussin' despite the offer being considerably less in the main body of the letter. In the same letter Robert continues: 'I do not remember my affirming any sum for it, It was offer'd to me at the

³⁶⁶ Moore, *A Capital Collection*, pp. 273–74, cat. 176; also Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 20–21, cat. 23.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 402.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 420–21; also see Pepper, *Guido Reni*, p. 162, cat. 69.

³⁶⁹ On Cortona see Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 125, cat. 31; on Rosa see p. 168, cat. 75; on Rembrandt see pp. 252–54, cat. 153.

³⁷⁰ On Carracci see *Ibid.*, p. 114, cat. 15; on Maratta see p. 141, cat. 47.

³⁷¹ Letter from Roussel to Walpole, 15 April 1733, Cambridge University Library, Ch(H) correspondence, 1968; also 22 August 1733, 2026.

³⁷² See Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 274, cat. 177; also Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 41–42, cat. 56. On the Fraula family see Jean-Joseph Expilly, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et politique des Gaules et de France*, 2 vols (Paris, 1764), vol. 2, pp. 181–82.

³⁷³ Letter from Robert Walpole to Waldegrave, Cambridge University Library, Ch(H), Waldegrave Mss, Correspondence, 797. Only this part of the letter has been reproduced in Andrew Moore, *Houghton Hall: the Prime Minister, the Empress and the Heritage* (London, 1996).

time the Copy was sent to me, but I dare say the extravagant price that was ask'd put an end to the transaction, however Pictures are since that time so greatly fall'n in their price & there are so few buyers'. He goes on to state that pictures were now being sold for half the price that they achieved around a decade ago. It would appear, then, that a previous attempt had been made to entice Walpole by sending him a painted or engraved copy of this picture. In an unpublished letter dated 16 August Waldegrave wrote: 'I hope that before this time you have received y[ou]r Poussin, now it is gone the People that knew about it, would give more than you gave for it. I am heartily glad it is yours'.³⁷⁴ This prompted Robert's reply shortly after in which he says that: 'The Picture came yesterday to my hand in perfect good order. It is impossible not to be pleas'd with it, I thank your Lordship for persuading me to buy it'.³⁷⁵

In a further unpublished letter sent from Paris on 8 October 1735, he informed Walpole of one contemporary response to his painting once it had reached England: 'I hear that M[r]. Jervas has discovered that the Picture I sent you is not a Poussin. It gives a very good idea of his judgement and the connoisseurs here have been very merry about it'.³⁷⁶ The fact that Jervas's observation goes unchallenged suggests the high regard to which these elite individuals held his opinions on painting. He was undoubtedly well informed on this subject, having furthered his artistic training on the continent between 1698 and 1708 and worked as an established picture agent for clients such as Matthew Prior, John Ellis, and George Clarke. During the Duke of Shrewsbury's stay in Rome in 1704, he commissioned Jervas to produce a copy of Poussin's *The Death of Germanicus*, then in the Barberini collection (now Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minnesota).³⁷⁷ Walpole remained Jervas's patron throughout the early decades, commissioning family portraits and copies.³⁷⁸ Jervas's extensive picture sale included a vast number of duplicate oil paintings, many likely produced whilst studying the collections of his patrons, such as a smaller version supposedly of Walpole's *Continence of Scipio* (lot. 64).³⁷⁹ According to the 1736 inventory of Walpole's collection and the *Aedes*, the original was displayed as the chimney piece in the Embroidered Bedchamber at Houghton, the room occupied by Francis Duke of Lorraine (1708–1765), later the Duke of Tuscany and then Emperor, who visited Houghton shortly after the acquisition was made.³⁸⁰ Jervas became a close political ally to Walpole as a fellow Whig

³⁷⁴ Letter from Waldegrave to Walpole, Cambridge University Library, Ch(H), Waldegrave Mss, Correspondence, 1, 2469.

³⁷⁵ Same as above.

³⁷⁶ Letter from Waldegrave to Walpole, BL Add MS 73815, f. 105. A subsequent letter written by Walpole in May 1737 suggests that Waldegrave continued to source pictures for him despite on this occasion his efforts not coming to fruition: 'I thank you for the trouble you have given yourself about the pictures. I have no thoughts about any of them'. See Coxe, *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, vol. 3, pp. 470–71.

³⁷⁷ Mentioned in Pegum, 'The Artistic and Literary Career of Charles Jervas', p. 57.

³⁷⁸ See Moore, *A Capital Collection*, pp. 134, 313, cat. 41 and 215.

³⁷⁹ 'Mr. Jarvis's Sale of Pictures 1739/40', in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 44.

³⁸⁰ See Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 382.

supporter which ensured his professional rise and the appointment as Principal Painter to the Crown in 1723.³⁸¹

Other French acquisitions to enter Walpole's collection included three works purchased by the dealer Humphrey Edwin at the sale of the 'Marquis de Mari', an Admiral in the Spanish Navy: a pair of Dughets and *Coast Scene with Apollo and the Cumaean Sibyl* by Claude (Hermitage).³⁸² Walpole's agent John Ellis attended the sale of George Montagu (1684–1739), 1st Earl of Halifax on the 8 March 1740 and purchased *A Landscape with a Cascade and Sheep* by Dughet (Hermitage) for £115.10s (lot. 87).³⁸³ Despite not collecting contemporary French easel paintings, Robert Walpole did commission his portrait from Jean-Baptiste van Loo (Hermitage) (fig. 62) during the artist's time in England.³⁸⁴

I would suggest that the acquisitions discussed here are indicative of the importance of Paris in the disposal of Poussin's work during this period. Robert Walpole's acquisitions of work by other seventeenth-century painters (Le Sueur, Le Brun and Bourdon) could be seen as a departure from an earlier elite French taste, and instead, a broadening of English interest. However, there were no known examples of paintings by contemporary French painters in Walpole's collection. These artists were predominantly absent in the collections of his peers during this period. This preference for the work of deceased painters is also noticeable in the earlier picture collections of the French elite, such as the royal ministers Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661), Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), and Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) during the reign of Louis XIV.³⁸⁵

The mid-century market for Claude and Poussin: Sir Jacob Bouverie and Samuel Paris

During the same period, Sir Jacob Bouverie (1694–1761), first Viscount Folkestone was also making French acquisitions for his picture collection at Longford Castle in Wiltshire.³⁸⁶ Recorded in the household accounts on 27 November 1739, 'Mr Hoares bill for two landscapes of Claude Lorrain £417.0s.9d, charges in France £4.17s.9d charges at ye custom-house here £5.19.0', the total sum paid being £427.17s.6d.³⁸⁷ This is probably a reference to the portrait painter William

³⁸¹ See Edward Bottoms, 'Charles Jervas, Sir Robert Walpole and the Norfolk Whigs', *Apollo*, vol. 145, no. 420 (1997), pp. 44–48.

³⁸² Moore, *A Capital Collection*, pp. 263, 267–68, 398, cat. 164–165, and 170. Also see Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 261–62, no. 99. On Mari see *The Political State of Great Britain*, 60 vols (London, 1731), vol. 42, pp. 198–99.

³⁸³ Moore, *A Capital Collection*, p. 264, cat. 166. See 'Ld. Halifax's Sale of Pictures 1739/40'; in Houlditch 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 34. Two further works by Dughet, *Landscape with the ruins of the Baths of Caracalla* (Hermitage) and *A small town in Latium* (Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow) had entered the collection by 1736. *Ibid.*, pp. 264–65, cat. 167 and 168.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 227–78, cat. 180.

³⁸⁵ On Mazarin see Schnapper, pp. 209–211, although he broke with the trend by collecting work by contemporary Italian and northern painters, see p. 214. For Richelieu see pp. 380–383; on Colbert see pp. 365–367.

³⁸⁶ See Jacob Radnor, *A Huguenot Family: Des Bouverie, Bouverie and Pleydell-Bouverie, 1536–1889* (Winchester, 2001), pp. 39–46.

³⁸⁷ 'House Book 1723–1745', Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, 1946/3/1B/1.

Hoare (1707–1792), who had returned to England after working in Italy since 1728 in the studio of the history painter Francesco Imperiali (1679–1740).³⁸⁸ According to the second index of the *Liber*, *Pastoral Landscape with the Arch of Titus* and its pair *Seacoast with the landing of Aeneas in Latium* (Longford Castle) had been owned by Jeanne Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes (1670–1736), Countess de Verrue, mistress to the Duke of Savoy.³⁸⁹ An annotated catalogue for the Verrue sale in 1737 records that the pair were bought by the banker and jeweller Charles Godefroy (d. 1748). Shortly after, the paintings were escorted by Hoare to England.³⁹⁰ Another Claude pair to have entered the Bouverie collection towards the middle of the century was *Landscape with Moses and the burning bush* and *Coast view with Ezekiel mourning over the destruction of Tyre* (both Earl of Ellesmere), inherited from his father-in-law, Bartholomew Clark (d. 1742) of Delapré Abbey, whose name is recorded in the second index of the *Liber*.³⁹¹ It then passed to William Bouverie (1725–1776), 1st Earl of Radnor and towards the end of the eighteenth century into the Bridgewater collection.³⁹²

The furnishing and decoration of the Gallery at Longford Castle took place during the late 1730s and early 1740s, with many of the paintings intended for this room and other areas purchased during this period. On the 18 March 1740 eighty-three yards of 'green damask for the Longford Gallery' was purchased from 'Mr Desclaux' and the following month a further 200 yards of fabric, whilst another payment was made to 'Mr Kilpin the upholsterer' with the note '£125 of this spent in the gallery', the total amounting to £219.15s.³⁹³ In terms of Bouverie's French acquisitions, in 1737 he acquired from Andrew Hay, a pair by Dughet for £16.16s and £12.12s and the following year at Samuel Paris's sale two 'conversations' by Pater at £8.10s, all of which were displayed in the breakfast room at Longford.³⁹⁴ On the 20 November 1741 several large payments were made to Samuel Paris who had recently returned from France with two pictures of 'Imperiali' bought for £151.10s, a *Europa* by Guido for £152.14s.11d, and Poussin's *The Crossing of the Red Sea* (National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne) (fig. 63) and *The Adoration of the Golden Calf* (National Gallery, London) (fig. 64) for £481.5s.³⁹⁵ In 1749 a print was made of *The Crossing* perhaps as a

³⁸⁸ See Evelyn Newby, 'Hoare, William (1707/8–1792)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13388>, accessed 16 Nov 2015].

³⁸⁹ Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 232–235, 300–302, no. 82 and 122. For a biography see Cynthia Lawrence and Magdalena Kasman, 'Jeanne-Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes, Comtesse de Verrue (1670–1736): an art collector in eighteenth-century Paris' in Cynthia Lawrence, ed., *Women and Art in early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors and Connoisseurs* (Pennsylvania, 1997), pp. 207–26.

³⁹⁰ See François Marandet, 'The Banker Charles Godefroy and his Dealings in Paintings, or the Secrets of an Account Book Revealed (1738–48)', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 150, no. 1265 (August 2008), pp. 521–28.

³⁹¹ Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 381–84, 403–5, no. 161 and 171.

³⁹² See Passavant, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, pp. 133–34.

³⁹³ 'Extracts from the private account book of Jacob 1st Viscount Folkestone 1722–1761', Wiltshire and Swindon History Centre, 1946/4/2c/29, ff. 8, 11.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ff. 6, 8.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 12. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 17–18, 22, cat. 20 and 26.

way to disseminate his collecting achievements or as a gift to an acquaintance.³⁹⁶ Both Poussin paintings had been in the collection of the Bretonvilliers family in Paris.³⁹⁷ According to Brice's guide to the city, they also owned Poussin's *The Abduction of the Sabine Women* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).³⁹⁸ By 1714 this work had entered the ownership of the dealer Jacques Meijers in Rotterdam and was presumably taken to England following his 1722 sale.³⁹⁹ By the middle of the century it was at Stourhead in Wiltshire, home of the illustrious banker Henry Hoare II (1705–1785).⁴⁰⁰

A small booklet inventory of pictures at Longford produced during the mid-eighteenth century details the hang of the Gallery which displayed the French works mentioned above. Their location suggests they were held in the highest regard. On the left and right hand side of the main entrance hung the earlier pair of Claudes and next to these two imitations of the artist's work by John Wootton.⁴⁰¹ Along the left hand wall hung the pair of Poussins about which the inventory includes a lengthy transcription taken from Félibien's *Entretiens*.⁴⁰² Vertue made a record of four Poussins arriving from Paris during 1741.⁴⁰³ These were the Bouverie pair and a second pair, *Triumph of the Pan* (perhaps a copy, now National Gallery, London (fig. 65); the original Sudeley Castle) and *Triumph of Bacchus* (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City) (fig. 66), which appeared at Paris's sale in the same year.⁴⁰⁴ The *Triumph* was purchased for £230 and its companion £252 by Peter Delmé (1710–1770), whose father of the same name was the former Governor of the Bank of England and Lord Major of London.⁴⁰⁵ Paris had most likely purchased these works from

³⁹⁶ 'Extracts from the private account book of Viscount Folkestone 1722–1761', 1946/4/2c/29, f. 18.

³⁹⁷ See Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (1713), vol. 2, p. 162. On the Bretonvilliers as collectors see Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, pp. 416–18.

³⁹⁸ See Brice, *Description de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1698), vol. 1, p. 273. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, p. 128, cat. 180.

³⁹⁹ See *Description du cabinet de tableaux de Mr. Meijers à Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1714), pp. 5–6. For the contents of Meijers' sale see Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen, zedert een langen reeks van Jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere Plaatzten in het openbaar verkogt*, 2 vols (1752), vol. 1, p. 286, no. 223.

⁴⁰⁰ First recorded as being in Paget Toynbee, ed., 'Walpole's Journals of visits to country seats', July 1762, *Walpole Society Journal*, vol. 16 (1927–28), p. 41. On the Hoare family see Victoria Hutchings, *Messrs Hoare Bankers: A History of the Hoare Banking Dynasty* (London, 2005).

⁴⁰¹ On Wootton see Arline Meyer, *John Wootton: Landscape and Sporting Art in Early Georgian England*, exh. cat. (the Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood House, London, 1984).

⁴⁰² 'He made some Pictures that were carried to Naples, Fland[er]s, and divers[e] other Places of which he sent two between the years 1630 and 40 to Turin to the Marquiss [Marquis] of Voguera [Voghera] a Relative of the Chevalier del Pozzo a great Friend and Patron of Poussin, [...] both Admirable for great Composition Bea[u]ty of Design, & strength of Expression; They are now about the year 1660 in the Possession of the Chevalier de Lorraine. He had made another of the adoration which perish'd in the Revolt at Naples, where of as fragments only was afterwards brought in Rome.' 'Early catalogues of paintings at Longford 1748–1828', Wiltshire and Swindon Record Centre, 1946/3/2A/1.

⁴⁰³ Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society Journal*, vol. 24 (Vertue IV, 1936), pp. 105, 117.

⁴⁰⁴ According to Blunt, the original version of *Bacchus* is now lost and does not relate to the version in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 97–98, cat. 136–137. Also 'Paris's Sale of Pictures 1741/2', in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, p. 112.

⁴⁰⁵ Mentioned in Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, p. 89.

Armand de Vignerot du Plessis (1696–1788), the great-nephew of Cardinal Richelieu, who had inherited the château for which these pictures were originally intended.⁴⁰⁶ Paris's strategy of moving his stock through the combination of private and public sales provides an insight into the workings of this prolific dealer. On the one hand, he fulfilled requests for works by particular painters, thereby providing financial stability between sales and funds to buy further stock. Whilst, on the other, he gathered works that would appeal to the middling market and could be sold at one of his eleven auctions held between 1738 and 1745.

These two sections have considered the individuals involved in the acquisition of French pictures, with private transactions being overseen by artists, craftsmen, government officials, and grand tourists on behalf of their friends, family, and colleagues. They were often heavily involved in the selecting and buying process, and entrusted to carry out the same responsibilities as those of professional dealers and agents. I would argue that the collections discussed here, reflect a distinct preference for works by deceased French painters rather than those by living artists during the early eighteenth century. However, there were exceptions, with commissions for French portraiture being made by the English abroad and in London. The buyers of seventeenth-century pictures were socially diverse, combining the elite, the gentry, and professional classes. Furthermore, collectors can be seen differentiating between seventeenth-century French artists, with the work of Poussin and Claude generally collected in larger numbers and achieving higher prices when compared to their contemporaries. It could be suggested that in doing so, many English collectors were adopting an earlier trend established among the French elite. Yet the dispersal of French works from Italy and France that resulted in the plentiful supply in England during the period under discussion, suggests a shift and diminished taste for these artists on the continent. As shown here, English interest was formed through the study of French biographical texts and the collections of alliances and rivals, as well as interactions in the picture markets abroad and in London, the latter of which will now be considered.

PART THREE: The London art market

This final section deals with the presence of French pictures at public auctions which collectors and dealers often attended interchangeably with privately-arranged sales. This provided flexibility in terms of sourcing, selecting and exchanging paintings. It must be noted that the contents of sale catalogues offers a restricted view of the full range of French works available during this period. Furthermore, the popularity of an artist can only be loosely based on the number of works appearing at auction as this omits those whose works were obtained through other means. Despite this, annotated catalogues convey the identities of collectors contributing to an early taste for French pictures and allows the provenance of individual works to be established. However, due to the small number of these catalogues that survive and the incomplete nature of the notes made by attendees, many paintings remain untraceable. To a certain extent, the prices achieved and recorded provide a way to establish the comparative popularity of certain painters and painted

⁴⁰⁶ See Schnapper, *Curieux du Grand Siècle*, pp. 146–50.

subjects. Variations in these values were dependant on a number of factors, such as the social standing of the buyer and their level of spending, the current gaps in their collection, and the availability of works by particular artists at a given time. In preparation for the sale, buyers commonly studied the catalogue, viewed the works beforehand, and compiled a list of lots that they or their agent would bid on.⁴⁰⁷

Krzysztof Pomian points out that the quality and quantity of descriptive content in French sale catalogues during the first half the century was dependant on the competency of the dealer, and auctioneer or third party responsible for writing it.⁴⁰⁸ Improvements to English examples as a result of French influence occurred towards the middle of the century, with additional details included such as the measurements of the object, the date and place of origin. Earlier catalogues often used simple terms such as 'landscape' and 'Italian', suggesting that auctioneers were not yet capable of making informed attributions. Almost every auction was listed in the *London Gazette* and less often in the foreign press. Often advertised sales were promoted using language chosen to appeal to the virtuosi who would be drawn to 'a curious collection', 'the most famous masters', and 'rarities'. A catalogue formed part of a wider marketing strategy which undoubtedly resulted in numerous unscrupulous attributions to encourage the wealthiest buyers to attend and achieve higher prices. Attending an auction was part of elite sociability in which collecting was regarded as a 'virtuous pursuit rather than luxurious display of wealth',⁴⁰⁹ or rather that the latter was of secondary importance. However, sale catalogues provide limited insight into the social interactions among attendees: the competitive act of bidding. Perhaps most significantly, whilst the identity of the winning bidder was often recorded, there is no way of knowing who competed against them as contributors to emerging forms of French taste.

The early arrival of paintings by Claude

French painters made up a relatively small proportion of the works at the eagerly anticipated sale of Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680), former Principal Painter to Charles II, held on the 18 April 1682.⁴¹⁰ Yet it included three of the first known Claudes to appear on the London art market. These pictures appealed to the gentleman-collector who was prepared to pay considerable sums. Comparatively, elite collectors in attendance, such as Ralph Montagu, bought works by Dutch, Flemish and

⁴⁰⁷ During 1724 the Earl of Derby sent his agent Mr Green a list of eight works to purchase at the Sykes sale held that year, each lot marked with 'x' to 'xxx' to indicate the items of most interest. However, due to the popularity and competitive nature of the sale only two lots were successfully acquired. See the Fragmentary letter from the 10th Earl of Derby (perhaps to Edward Stanley), circa November 1724, Knowsley Hall Mss, in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 4 May 2017.

⁴⁰⁸ See 'Dealers, Connoisseurs and Enthusiasts in Eighteenth-Century Paris' in Krzysztof Pomian, *Collectors and Curiosities, Paris and Venice, 1500–1800*, pp. 147–52.

⁴⁰⁹ This is suggested in Brian Cowan, 'Arenas of Connoisseurship: Auctioning Art in late Stuart England' in *Art Markets in Europe*, p. 154.

⁴¹⁰ See Diana Dethloff, 'The executors' account book and the dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's collection', *Journal of the History of Collections*, vol. 8, no. 1 (1996), pp. 15–55.

Northern Italian painters.⁴¹¹ The sale catalogue was printed in English and French in an attempt to arouse the interest of foreign collectors. Unusually, *Inventaire de tres beaux & très rares tableaux à vendre... du Cabinet de Feu Monsieur P. Lely Chevalier Anglois* printed in December 1681, listed the pictures according to national school that corresponded to the order in which they would be sold. The first Claude (lot. 43) was bought for £47 by Sir William Soame (c. 1645–1686), former Sheriff of Suffolk.⁴¹² Many of those attending the sale were members of the Virtuosi of St Luke, one of whom Robert Huckle (d. 1732) purchased *Landscape with Narcissus and Echo* (lot. 42) for £49 (National Gallery, London) (fig. 67).⁴¹³ This work was paired with the third Claude, *Landscape with a Temple of Bacchus* (lot. 44) (National Gallery of Canada) (fig. 68).⁴¹⁴ Thomas Austen (d. 1703) purchased a total of fourteen pictures, this Claude being by far the most expensive at £80. It appeared next at the sale of Richard Graham on 6 March 1712 as 'evening' (lot. 45) and was purchased by the Duke of Portland for £210. On the 16 July 1713, Graham sent a letter to Portland enclosing a catalogue for his third and last known sale in an attempt to retain his support.⁴¹⁵

During the 1680s and 1690s, Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721), the Dutch-born wood carver and sculptor, and Parry Walton (d. 1702), the auctioneer and Royal Surveyor of Paintings, were granted royal permission to hold a series of sales at the Banqueting House in Whitehall.⁴¹⁶ One of the earliest auctions was held on 11 May 1686 but was suspended the same day perhaps due to the disappointing sums being reached and the shortage of suitable buyers.⁴¹⁷ A newspaper advert dated 17 May declared that the pictures would be sold a few days later 'out of hand', in other words, at a fixed price so as to avoid underselling the whole stock. *A River landscape with Jacob and Laban and his Daughters* (Petworth House) (fig. 69) was acquired by Charles Seymour (1662–1748), 6th Duke of Somerset for £200.⁴¹⁸ Seymour was not an avid collector in the same way as his predecessor, the 11th Earl of Northumberland (1644–1740) and his successors, the 2nd Earl (1710–1763) and 3rd Earl of Egremont (1751–1837). He was responsible for rebuilding Petworth House between 1688 and 1696, for which this acquisition was intended. The companion piece, *The Adoration of the Golden Calf* (Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe) (fig. 70) was purchased by 'Mr

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 18–19.

⁴¹² His estate of Little Thurlow and possessions passed to his uncle Bartholomew Soame, a woollen-draper but no record of the painting now exists. See Dethloff, 'The dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's collection', p. 37.

⁴¹³ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, p. 222, no. 77; also Dethloff, 'The dispersal of Sir Peter Lely's collection', pp. 19, 27. According to Vertue, this picture was in the Delmé family collection by 1743 see 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 22 (Vertue III, 1934), p. 117.

⁴¹⁴ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, p. 224, no. 78.

⁴¹⁵ Letter from Richard Graham to Portland, Harley Papers, Portland (Welbeck) Collection, University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Pw2 Hy 941.

⁴¹⁶ *London Gazette*, 22 May 1684. See Pears, *The Discovery of Painting*, pp. 61, 241, n. 54.

⁴¹⁷ *London Gazette*, 6 May 1686 and 17 May 1686.

⁴¹⁸ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 312–14, no. 134. A late seventeenth-century inventory (PHA 6268) of Petworth held at the West Sussex Record Office only provides the number of pictures in each room. Due to the size of this picture it was likely intended for one of the public rooms. The highest quantity of pictures was displayed in the dining room, with only a few in each of the private rooms.

Huckle' for the same amount.⁴¹⁹ In around 1720 it entered the collection of George Viscount Malpas (1703–1770), 3rd Earl of Cholmondeley, who shortly after married Robert Walpole's daughter, Lady Mary Walpole (1705–1732).

The challenge for collectors and their agents in overcoming the shortage of available stock of Claude's work continued into the following century. As discussed earlier in this chapter, the 10th Earl of Derby had successfully acquired a Poussin at the beginning of 1724 and shortly after turned his attention to another French painter. According to a letter from his faithful agent, Wright, he had struggled to acquire a painting by Claude which was 'very scarce to be had'.⁴²⁰ However, on attending Mr Sykes's sale, described in the catalogue introduction as 'the best collection of any that has been sold, since that of Peter Lely', he purchased a seascape which it transpired had originally been paired with a painting recently brought from France by an acquaintance. It is plausible that these pendant works had at some point been in the same collection, although alternatively, this could have been a dealer's fabricated story to increase their saleability. The authenticity of these works went unquestioned in this letter but must have been shortly after entering the Earl's collection. In the 1729 inventory of around 100 original pictures at Knowsley, both works were excluded and demoted to 'manner of' in a subsequent catalogue.⁴²¹ This most probably reignited the Earl's search for a genuine example of Claude's work. This resulted in *Landscape with a sacrifice at the Temple Delphi* (location unknown) being purchased by the dealer Edwin for £315 and another for £50 displayed in Lord Derby's Dressing Room.⁴²² Winstanley purchased or produced a large copy of Seymour's Claude for the Derby collection, through which comparisons could be made with the Earl's existing works. Whilst it is unlikely to have been Winstanley who painted this work as he was predominantly a portraitist, on several occasions he was reimbursed by Derby for painting materials.⁴²³ In 1724 the Earl commissioned a large landscape from Wootton, whose style was heavily influenced by Claude, for the sum of £40.⁴²⁴

In his letter to Derby mentioned above, Wright refers to a pair of Claudes purchased by Lord James Cavendish for £168. In the *Liber* second edition created in around 1720, the Devonshire family had ownership of Claude's *Landscape with Mercury and Bacchus* – noted as 'mine'

⁴¹⁹ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 311–14, no. 129.

⁴²⁰ Wright to the Earl of Derby, 19 March 1724, Knowsley Hall Mss; reproduced in Russell, 'The Derby Collection', p. 158.

⁴²¹ Both were sold at a London sale during the early twentieth century, present locations unknown. Subsequently attributed to Adrien Manglard (1695–1760) in George Scharf, *A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Knowsley Hall* (London, 1875), pp. 47–48, 50, no. 90 and 94.

⁴²² See Russell, 'The Derby Collection', pp. 168, 170. Also John Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné of the most eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters: Nicolas Poussin, Claude Lorrain and Jean-Baptiste Greuze*, 9 vols (London, 1842), vol. 8, p. 381, cat. 416.

⁴²³ 'Six pounds for a Sett of Dorigny Cartoons and half an Oz. of Ultra Marine'. See 'Receipt of Hamlet Winstanley', 1 December 1726; 'Bill and Receipt of Hamlet Winstanley', 25 February to 22 May 1727, Knowsley Hall Mss; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735', accessed 30 November 2015. See Russell, 'The Derby Collection', p. 180.

⁴²⁴ See Russell, 'The Derby Collection', pp. 159–60; also Scharf, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures at Knowsley Hall*, pp. 186–87, no. 360.

supposedly by the book's then current owner, the 2nd Duke.⁴²⁵ The volume and painting remain in the family's collection. Its pendant *Landscape with Apollo guarding the herds of Admetus and Mercury stealing them* (Chatsworth House) is probably a copy of a version in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Rome (fig. 71).⁴²⁶ Little is known about the paintings purchased for Devonshire House during this period as the family's papers were destroyed by the fire in 1733. According to Pond's accounts, in 1738 Cavendish had sent him two Claudes for cleaning and restoration work for which he charged £3.3s.⁴²⁷ The works are recorded in 1761 as hanging in the Great Withdrawing Room at the new Devonshire House.⁴²⁸ Wright mentioned in this letter that he had attended the Sykes sale with Sir Thomas Lowther (1699–1745). Lowther would inevitably have been familiar with the Devonshire collection through his recent marriage to Lady Elizabeth Cavendish (1700–1747), the daughter of the 2nd Duke of Devonshire. During the 1720s, Lowther owned a second version of the pendants in the Devonshire collection purchased by his father, Sir William Lowther (1663–1729), 1st Baronet, for Holker Hall in Lancashire.⁴²⁹

I would suggest that these individuals represent those responsible for an early taste of Claude's work during the formative years of the London art market. Throughout this period and the later decades, as discussed here, a shortage in supply meant that to own one or several examples was regarded as an achievement. For collectors and their agents, picture sales increasingly served as platforms through which knowledge was circulated on current collecting trends, the ownership of recent purchases and their market value.

The Duke of Portland sale

The formation and dispersal of French pictures belonging to Henry Bentinck (1682–1726), 2nd Earl and 1st Duke of Portland are significant in that they were among the most celebrated examples in England during the early eighteenth century.⁴³⁰ The high regard to which this collection was held among the Duke's contemporaries is reflected by those in attendance at his sale. Many of whom would make French additions to their own collections for the first time as a result of this auction. The 1722 sale took place at Portland House, although it was advertised anonymously as 'in St.

⁴²⁵ Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 377–79, cat. 159.

⁴²⁶ For the version in Rome see *Ibid.*, pp. 249–52, cat. 92. The original pendant to the first Devonshire picture painted for Claude's Antwerp patron, Henri van Halmale (1624–1676), is now in the Wallace Collection, London, see *Ibid.*, p. 377, cat. 152.

⁴²⁷ See Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London*, p. 117.

⁴²⁸ Robert and James Dodsley, *London and its Environs Described*, 6 vols (London, 1761), vol. 1, p. 225. Several Poussins had entered the collection by the early 1760s, including *Holy Family with Six Putti*, sold by the trustees in 1981 and now jointly owned by the Getty Museum and Norton Simon Museum; *The Shepherds of Arcadia* remains at Chatsworth. See Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin*, pp. 43, 80, cat. 58, 119.

⁴²⁹ *Bacchus and Mercury* remained in the family until the early twentieth century and its pendant was destroyed by fire in 1870. See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, p. 310, no. 126, 128. On later Claude acquisitions within the family see Francis Russell, 'Thomas Patch, Sir William Lowther and the Holker Claude', *Apollo*, vol. 102 (August 1975), pp. 115–19.

⁴³⁰ For information the life and career of Henry Bentinck see Turberville, *A History of Welbeck Abbey and its Owners*, vol. 2, pp. 1–17.

James Square, being the first House turning out of Pall-Mall, on the Right Hand Side of the Way'. In 1710 the Earl had purchased No. 31 St Alban's House (later the site of Norfolk House) carrying out 'extensive improvements utilising the courtyard or garden for the erection of new reception rooms...'.⁴³¹ The Earl was forced to sell the house and much of its contents due to financial losses.⁴³² Lord Berkeley of Stratton (d. 1741) wrote to Thomas Wentworth (1672–1739), 1st Earl of Stafford in 1713, describing Portland's 'great room' built in his garden.⁴³³ This first floor room included a coved painted ceiling attributed by Vertue to the Venetian Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini (1675–1741).⁴³⁴ It is more likely to have been created by Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) who had recently worked at the Earl's estate at Bulstrode in Buckinghamshire. Although Portland House was demolished in 1748, during the ownership of the 8th Duke of Norfolk, this garden room remained intact until 1938. It is probable that the room or the one adjacent was intended to house the Earl's art collection.⁴³⁵

In letters written to his father whilst travelling abroad during 1701–2, Henry, then Viscount Woodstock, showed less interest in sightseeing and acquiring commodities and more concern with political events occurring in Europe at that time. Accompanied by the French historian Throyas Rapin (1661–1725), he visited the collection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany who gave him a carriage to use in Rome and 'many presents', with other gifts presented to him whilst in Florence, Bologna and Venice.⁴³⁶ He certainly did not possess an allowance that enabled him to buy pictures. In a letter to Hans Willem Bentinck (1649–1709), 1st Earl of Portland, Rapin asks whether Henry could spend some money on engravings and antiques in Rome which he insists would be twice as expensive in Holland and England.⁴³⁷ In 1698 Henry had accompanied his father, the French ambassador to William III, to Paris.⁴³⁸ During this time, Louis XIV gave the Earl and Matthew Prior a tour of the gardens at Versailles.⁴³⁹ The Earl's outward passport from Paris mainly recorded luxury household objects that were transported back to England.⁴⁴⁰ An inventory of

⁴³¹ See Arthur Irwin Dasent, *The History of St. James's Square and the Foundation of the West End of London* (London, 1895), p. 72.

⁴³² The extensive nature of Henry Bentinck's transactions are recorded in several account books see Bentinck Papers, Portland (Welbeck) Collection, University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, B 164–165.

⁴³³ James Cartwright, ed., *The Wentworth Papers 1705–39* (London, 1883), pp. 349–57; also John Macky, *A Journey through England*, 3 vols (London, 1714), vol. 1, p. 119.

⁴³⁴ See Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 18 (Vertue I, 1930), p. 38.

⁴³⁵ Similarly, at the back of No. 4 St James's Square stood a building which housed the Duke of Kent's picture gallery. See Macky, *A Journey through England*, vol. 1, p. 119.

⁴³⁶ Letter from Henry to William Bentinck, Bentinck Papers, Portland (Welbeck Collection), University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, 1 July 1702, Pw A 90/1–2.

⁴³⁷ Letter from Rapin to William Bentinck, Bentinck Papers, 20 May 1702, Pw A 1060/1–2.

⁴³⁸ On the Earl's career see David Onnekink, *The Anglo-Dutch Favourite: The Career of Hans Willem Bentinck, 1st Earl of Portland (1649–1709)* (London, 2007).

⁴³⁹ Prior's account can be found in a letter to the Earl of Albemarle, *Manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath Preserved at Longleat, Wiltshire*, 5 vols (London, 1908), vol. 3, p. 212. Also see Robert Berger and Thomas F. Hedin, *Diplomatic Tours in the Gardens of Versailles by Louis XIV* (Pennsylvania, 2008), p. 144.

⁴⁴⁰ See Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 105–6.

Sorghvliet Manor in The Hague at the time of the Earl's death reveals luxuriously decorated interiors but only a few paintings of note, three of which were landscapes.⁴⁴¹ The estate was referred to by one visitor as 'a House where, if the Production of Art had been but half so plentiful as those of Nature, it would be one of the most charming Seats of the Universe'.⁴⁴² According to the diary of Constantine Huygens, the Earl held responsibilities for sourcing furniture and tapestries, and hanging pictures in the royal palaces.⁴⁴³ There were also his own apartments to furnish at Windsor Castle, Kensington Palace, Hampton Court and Whitehall. In 1702 the Earl moved to Bagshot in Surrey and four years later acquired Bulstrode.

It is probable, then, that the Portland collection had been formed in London by father and son, and brought together at the St James Square residence between 1710 and 1722. Of the 141 lots at the Portland sale, eleven were attributed to either Dughet or Nicolas Poussin and Claude, with no examples by contemporary French painters. The attendees at the sale were diverse in terms of their status and spending power. A few came from the peerage and others from the ranks of the gentry. The prices achieved for Poussin's work varied considerably from £5 to £40, paid by Edward Harley, Thomas Sadler (d. 1753) the Clerk of the Pells in the Exchequer, and Charles Chamberlain (fl. 1692–1722) the alderman. Tradesmen were among those spending higher sums at the sale, including the eminent glass-maker John Gumley (1672–1729) who purchased two of the seventeen lots that exceeded £100.⁴⁴⁴ In 1703 Gumley had been commissioned by the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth and during the reigns of Queen Anne and George I to furnish the royal palaces.⁴⁴⁵ At the sale, the Duke of Bridgewater purchased a Claude landscape for £210 (lot. 137). The Duke had recently acquired *Landscape with the Metamorphoses of the Apulian Shepherd* (The Earl of Ellesmere) supposedly through Sir Paul Methuen (c. 1672–1757), former Ambassador to Madrid and Comptroller of the royal household, in Italy.⁴⁴⁶ The companion piece to the Bridgewater painting (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) (lot. 138) was bought by Richard Lumley (1686–1740), 2nd Earl of Scarborough for £294.⁴⁴⁷ As was the case here, it was common for pairs of works to sell to different buyers at auction; their decision often dependent on the picture's size and the available space within their residence. Methuen made eleven purchases at the sale, the most

⁴⁴¹ Papers relating chiefly to the disposal of the property of William Bentinck, BL Egerton MS 1708: 1691–1773, ff. 172–75. Also see Goulding, *Catalogue of the pictures belonging to his grace the Duke of Portland*, p. x.

⁴⁴² See Anon, *Letters to a Nobleman from a Gentleman Travelling thro' Holland, Flanders and France etc.* (London, 1709), p. 24.

⁴⁴³ *Diaries of Constantijn Huygens*, 16 June 1694, vol. 2, p. 367.

⁴⁴⁴ A Claude landscape (lot. 102) for £101 and Luca Jordans, *Judgement of Paris* (lot. 141) for £236.5s. These figures have been taken from the catalogue in the Frick Art Library however there are numerous discrepancies with another version in the Houlditch collection.

⁴⁴⁵ See Ralph Edwards and Margaret Jourdain, *Georgian Cabinet-Makers* (London, 1946), pp. 40–41.

⁴⁴⁶ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, pp. 338–40, no. 142; also Lionel Cust, *The Bridgewater Gallery: one hundred and twenty of the most noted paintings at Bridgewater House* (London, 1903), no. 37.

⁴⁴⁷ See Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, p. 206, no. 64. Scarborough purchased five further works, including *A landscape with a robbery* (lot. 133) attributed to Poussin and Miel for £76.13s. Also lots. 28, 36, 124, 127.

expensive being the fourth Claude (lot. 118) at £151 which Portland had acquired ten years earlier at Graham's sale.⁴⁴⁸ In 1728 Methuen acquired No. 34 Grosvenor Square in which to display his collection, the quality of which meant that in 1735 Queen Caroline and Lord Hervey were given a tour.⁴⁴⁹ The four Claude paintings at the Portland sale sold for a total of £761. Comparatively, Rubens's *Bacchanal* and *Roman Charity* (lots. 139 and 140) were bought by the Duchess of Marlborough for a total of £741.6s. Three works by Veronese, including *A Venus Dressing* (lot. 55) were bought by Methuen for £106, and *The Adoration* (lot. 75) by John Howard for £367 – which came to a total of £646.5s.

I would argue that these large sums are indicative of a rivalry in popularity between seventeenth-century French pictures and the more established taste for Venetian and Flemish examples during the early eighteenth century. These collecting practices could perhaps be seen as imitating those of the French elite present during the previous century. This sale provides an insight into the various buyers of French paintings, from those who could afford expensive genuine examples often with a celebrated or known provenance to others acquiring less ambitious works, perhaps due to their physical size and subject matter, often as copies.

The picture sales of Andrew Hay

According to Vertue, Andrew Hay had visited Italy six times and France on fourteen occasions.⁴⁵⁰ In addition to arranging private sales with individuals such as Harley and Coke, he held eight public pictures sales and two containing prints and drawings between 1725 and 1744. The vast majority of the French pictures were aimed at the middling market with prices reaching between £10 and £30, although on occasion his sales were attended by major collectors willing to pay over £40. His sales generally included around 100 pictures, of which only a small number were by seventeenth-century and contemporary French artists, as shown here:

1725 - 85 paintings - 11 French
 1726 - 73 paintings - 16 French
 1738 - 169 paintings - 32 French
 1739 - 98 paintings - 10 French
 1739 - 101 paintings - 6 French
 1741 - 97 paintings - 17 French
 1742 - 98 paintings - 7 French
 1744 - 52 paintings - 6 French

⁴⁴⁸ He also purchased *Ruins, with our savour casting out devils* by Nicolas Poussin and Viviano, for £44, and lots. 31, 34, 37, 54, 76, 93, 103, 113, 118, 125, and 136.

⁴⁴⁹ See Thomas Martyn, *The English Connoisseur* (London, 1766), pp. 17–37.

⁴⁵⁰ Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 22 (Vertue III, 1934), p. 125.

During the 1730s and 1740s his stock increasingly included works by contemporary French painters, some of whom were rarely seen on the London market. These paintings were more affordable for his middle-class audience, thereby in keeping with the collecting practice of their French counterparts. Hay's catalogue frontispiece produced for his 1739 sale shows an engraving after a painted *fête galante* scene by Watteau. It is likely that Hay was attempting to draw parallels between his artistic interests and commercial successes, and those of the significantly more eminent Parisian dealer Edme-François Gersaint (1694–1750) who was renowned for his patronage of Watteau's work.⁴⁵¹ Tactically, Hay retained the interest of his clients by diversifying his stock in a market that was becoming increasingly saturated with certain French painters. In a letter to Sir John Clerk (1676–1755) in 1738 Hay wrote: 'As to the virtu, the profits are far short of what they used to be, and I am not yet determined whether to log another journey. I see several pictures sold here att sales cheaper than I would pay for them abroad...'⁴⁵²

Hay continued to sell seventeenth-century French pictures at generally higher prices. For instance, at his 1726 sale, George Cholmondeley bought a Dughet for £80 (lot. 67), Sir Robert Furnese (1687–1733) paid £63 for a Poussin (lot. 57), and Henry Herbert (1689–1750), 9th Earl of Pembroke acquired a Bourdon for £37.16s (lot. 49).⁴⁵³ At his 1738 sale, Hay sold a 'Holy family' by Poussin to Lord James Cavendish for £37.5s.6d (lot. 74) and a Dughet to Arthur Pond for £40.19s (lot. 166). Comparatively, a conversation scene by Pater sold for £5.15s, 'a girl with cherries' by Jean-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779) for £2.13s, and a 'Madonna and angels' by Charles-Joseph Natoire (1700–1777) for around £6.⁴⁵⁴ Likewise, the sales held during the early 1740s included 'landscape with the story of Orion and Diana' by Poussin sold to John Manners (1696–1779), 3rd Duke of Rutland for £31.10s (lot. 46) which sold alongside 'The Adoration' by Le Moyne for £32.10s (lot. 48), 'a large picture of Susanna and the Elders' by La Fosse for £15.15s, and works by Pierre Mignard (1612–1695) and Laurant de La Hyre (1606–1656).⁴⁵⁵ François Boucher's (1703–1770) 'a young man and his mistress oval' (fig. 72) sold to Henry Home (1696–1782), Lord Kames for £16.5s.6d.⁴⁵⁶ Due to the incomplete nature of the annotated catalogues for these sales, it is difficult to determine the social groups responsible for buying each work. This is not helped by the fact that the individuals making the annotations would have only named those familiar to them, typically the more established and wealthy collectors. However, the prices achieved at these

⁴⁵¹ See Guillaume Glorieux, *À l'enseigne de Gersaint. Edme-François Gersaint, Marchand d'art sur le pont Notre Dame* (Seysssel, 2002).

⁴⁵² Letter from Hay to John Clerk, Scottish Record Office, Clerk of Penicuik Mss, GD18/4665/1–2.

⁴⁵³ 'Mr. And: Hays sale of Pictures 1725/6', in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, pp. 19–20.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 272–75.

⁴⁵⁵ 'And. Hay's Sale of Pictures 1741' and 'And. Hay's Sale of Pictures 1744/5', in Houlditch, 'Sale catalogues', vol. 1, pp. 231–34, 416–19. Le Moyne painted a composition of *The Adoration of the Magi* in 1716 which is now lost. See Jean-Luc Bordeaux, *François Le Moyne and his generation 1688–1737* (Neuilly-sur-Seine, 1985), p. 71, cat. 5. There is another painting of this subject in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. The painting by la Fosse could be a copy of the composition in the Pushkin Museum of Art, Moscow. See Gustin-Gomez, *Charles de la Fosse*, vol. 2, p. 124, cat. 187.

⁴⁵⁶ Now *De trois choses en ferez-vous une?* (Institut de France, Musée Ephrussi de Rothschild). See *François Boucher, 1703–1770*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1986), pp. 139–41.

auctions are indicative of the affordability of contemporary paintings, supposedly purchased by a middle-class audience and impecunious aristocrats.

I would argue that the case studies in all three sections point to an imbalance between the English taste for old and new French paintings, with similar patterns of consumption occurring prior to this among French elite collectors as suggested by Schnapper and Jacobsen at the start of this chapter. The examples included here are suggestive of the steady increase in the quantity of French paintings appearing in England during the first half of the eighteenth century. It could be suggested that a comparative lack of interest for these works in France, and also Italy, pushed them to the English market. Whilst there is evidence of widespread interest among elite collectors, the impact of the wealthy professional and gentleman collector is particularly significant, whose aspirations to own seventeenth-century French paintings developed alongside the taste of their social superiors. A far less buoyant market existed for contemporary French easel paintings during this period, and yet, examples could be found at auction at comparatively lower prices and in fewer numbers. Despite this relative disinterest for contemporary easel painting among the English elite, many became patrons of French mural painters, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

The place of French mural paintings in Britain: the case of Louis Laguerre

Introduction

The reappraisal of Laguerre's career aims to bring to the fore the significance of mural painting in Britain as a developing artistic discipline during the early eighteenth century. In doing so, this study builds upon the growing scholarly interest in relation to his work and that of his contemporaries, as noted in the Introduction. This forms part of a wider consideration of the sequence of foreign artists' arrival in Britain and their impact on native artists and architects between the late 1690s and 1710s. Central to this study is the need to revisit the visual character of the mural programme in order to determine how Laguerre reinterpreted and reimagined existing visual and literary sources to project the ideas of British patrons. It deals with the production of preliminary drawings as a way in which designs were communicated and developed between the artist and his patron. The presence of the patron's portrait and dynastic and topical themes in Laguerre's schemes requires further exploration in terms of the differing approaches of French and British patronage.

In establishing the chronology of Laguerre's patronage, the following examples consider how and when elite patrons employed him. Attention will be given to whether networks of kinship, friendship, and political alliance contributed to his patronage. For instance, during the 1690s the 6th Duke of Somerset inherited, among other properties, Petworth House through his marriage to Lady Elizabeth Percy. In 1705 the 2nd Duke of Montagu of Boughton House married Lady Mary Churchill, daughter to the 1st Duke and Duchess of Marlborough who would build Marlborough House and Blenheim Palace. In 1713, Lady Cassandra Willoughby, whose family owned Wollaton Hall, married the future Duke of Chandos, who subsequently extended and redecorated his estate at Cannons. During the period under discussion, these families commissioned French decorative painters, predominantly Chéron and Laguerre but also their English and Italian contemporaries to work on their existing or newly-built country houses. Whilst Laguerre's early career in England was established through collaborations with Antonio Verrio (Chatsworth, Burghley) and the support of royal patronage (Hampton Court), several of the case studies included here reveal that the final years of the seventeenth century witnessed a transition from elitist commissions to also those at comparatively modest properties and in some cases for patrons of slightly less exalted status (Castle Bromwich, Wollaton, Sudbury). During the 1710s Laguerre returned to working on major commissions, many of which formed part of vast expansions in ducal country houses (Petworth, Cannons and Blenheim). Some thought will be given to whether these grander painted schemes, often with politically charged imagery, reappeared as smaller replicas in these modest properties but without the direct symbolism.

Several commissions mentioned here show that Laguerre and Thornhill were responsible for making alterations to, and governing the invention of, the same murals, although at different

times. Laguerre's role as director of Godfrey Kneller's Academy of Painting, a position he shared with his younger rival, placed him at the forefront of developments in the training of the English school and growing numbers of foreign artists. Thornhill, in particular, benefitted greatly from his influence, as shown through their stylistic and thematic affinities. Indeed, Thornhill's sketchbook and the sale catalogue of his prints and drawings include numerous examples of Laguerre's preliminary designs. As will be shown here, due to the comparatively more extensive collection of Thornhill's studies that have survived or are known, this allows for new insight into the ways in which these artists were professionally interconnected. For instance, both artists participated in the competition to decorate the dome of St Paul's Cathedral in London. In 1715 this politically-motivated programme was awarded to Thornhill and was instigated by the Whigs' rise to power, thereby discontinuing Laguerre's Tory-commissioned scheme.⁴⁵⁷

It is necessary to consider how Le Brun's work was understood in Britain, in particular in relation to Italian sources, and whether viewers recognised 'Frenchness' in ceiling painting. In terms of the mediation of Italian illusionistic painting, in particular work by Carracci (at Galleria Farnese) and Pietro da Cortona (at Palazzo Barberini), through French practitioners, it is necessary to clarify whether any decorative painters active in Britain had been to Rome or whether artists such as Laguerre, Chéron and Verrio relied instead on Le Brun's work inspired by Italian sources seen first hand. The British in Rome relied on guidebooks, such as Roger L'Estrange's translation of Giacomo Barri's *The Painters Voyage of Italy* published in 1679, which placed an emphasis on the work of Cortona. Similarly, the guides to Paris as mentioned in chapter one of this study detailed many of Le Brun's painted murals. Several schemes mentioned below consider the influence of engravings after Le Brun work engaging with French courtly visual culture and how far they provided models for Laguerre's choice of subject matter as much as design. In particular, it would be useful to consider how far there may have been an early eighteenth-century fashion for Apollonian imagery, in the French manner, as seen, for example, at Blenheim and Cannons.

Studying and interpreting mural paintings

Despite no mural paintings being commissioned for his country seat at Knowsley Hall, the Earl of Derby owned a number of drawings and oil sketches relating to existing murals and engravings after the work of the recently deceased artist Louis Chéron.⁴⁵⁸ In an unpublished letter to the engraver and dealer, Elisha Kirkall (c. 1682–1742) dated 23 November 1725, it appears that they were intended as a study tool, supposedly for a family member: 'I have a great dele of satisfaction every time I look on them and I think I shall be able to show y[o]u we have made very good use of them and yt ye lad is much improved by them'.⁴⁵⁹ This is probably in reference to an engraved

⁴⁵⁷ See Carol Gibson-Wood, 'The Political Background to Thornhill's Paintings in St Paul's Cathedral', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 56 (1993), pp. 229–37.

⁴⁵⁸ It was during this period that the Earl made several acquisitions by Claude and Poussin, as discussed in Chapter Two.

⁴⁵⁹ Letter from the 10th Earl of Derby to Elisha Kirkall, 23 November 1725, Knowsley Hall Mss; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 6 June 2017.

series made by Kirkall after Chéron's drawings, an example being the images of Hercules now in the British Museum (fig. 73).⁴⁶⁰ Earlier that year, Green attended Chéron's posthumous sale with instructions to bid on numerous lots for the Earl. He was successful in acquiring several studies of academic nudes and oil sketches for Chéron's schemes at the Duke of Montagu's Boughton House and another for the Duke of Wharton's staircase at Ditton.⁴⁶¹ A preliminary study by Chéron for the Fourth State Room ceiling at Boughton (fig. 74), also owned by the Earl of Derby, now in the British Museum, shows an episode taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with Jupiter restraining Areas from shooting his mother Callisto who had been turned into a bear by the jealous Juno.⁴⁶² The finished painting shows the next episode of the narrative where Jupiter turns Callisto into a star to protect her from Juno, framed at each corner with the four elements. Chéron had arrived in England by 1695 and painted the staircases and state rooms at Ditton shortly before arriving at Boughton around 1706–7.⁴⁶³ The rivalry between Derby's two agents, Winstanley and Green, both of whom attended Chéron's sale on his behalf, can be seen through their attempt to bid on the final lot 'a book containing 74 Drawings from Ovid' (British Museum) which reached 265 guineas.⁴⁶⁴

Visual representations of these narratives appeared in prints and easel paintings, aiding viewers in their understanding these numerous and complex mythological subjects. Operas and plays revived these literary themes in addition to English translations, such as John Dryden's edition of Plutarch's *Lives* published between 1683 and 1686, and *Virgil's Aeneid* of 1696. In addition, there existed numerous versions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, such as those by George Sandys throughout the seventeenth century and Dryden's translation in 1717.⁴⁶⁵ John James's translation of Andrea Pozzo's *Rules and examples of proper perspective for architects and painters*, taken from the Italian 1693 edition and appearing in English in 1707, offered advice to professionals on the theory and practice of interior architectural design, including instructions on perspectival painting and stage design. Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus, or The British Architect*, published between 1715 and 1725, provided those that subscribed with an insight into the latest private and public architectural styles, and educating his readers on continental architectural models. Mural painting formed part of wider theoretical debates on painting,

⁴⁶⁰ Shortly before Chéron's death, the Earl acquired a large number of studies by Chéron after Raphael created whilst in Italy, see Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 22 (Vertue III, 1934), p. 28.

⁴⁶¹ The annotations and notes made by Winstanley on the Earl of Derby's copy of the sale catalogue have been published in Francis Russell, 'Louis Chéron: A Sale Catalogue', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. 130 (June 1988), pp. 464–67. An album of life studies probably made by Chéron's during his time at the St Martin's Street Academy, was formerly in the Derby collection and is now in the British Museum. See Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 22 (Vertue III, 1934), p. 22.

⁴⁶² See book 2, lines 618–629, in *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, ed. Arthur Golding (Manchester, 2005), pp. 79.

⁴⁶³ See 'The Decorative Painting of Louis Chéron' in Tessa Murdoch, *Boughton House: The English Versailles* (London, 1992).

⁴⁶⁴ Letter from Hamlet Winstanley to the 10th Earl of Derby, 3 March 1726, Knowsley Hall Mss, cited in Russell, 'The Derby Collection', p. 154.

⁴⁶⁵ See Chapter Four 'From Sandys's *Ghost* to Samuel Garth: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Early Eighteenth-Century England' in Liz Oakley-Brown, *Ovid and the Cultural Politics of Translation in Early Modern England* (Aldershot, 2006).

particularly the historical genre. John Elsum's *The Art of Painting after the Italian manner, With practical observations on the principal colours, And directions how to know a good picture* of 1704 promoted that interiors should be painted with scenes that reflected the status and prosperity of the owner and according to the function of the space.

In 1711 the third Earl of Shaftesbury wrote *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgement of Hercules* which had originally appeared in French. This treatise argued that the intellectual conception of the subject was the decisive element of pictorial creation, thereby placing the painter's interpretation as of secondary importance. Shaftesbury defined history painting (or 'tablature') in relation to easel paintings.⁴⁶⁶ In doing so, he highlighted the limitations of mural painting in terms of the ways that historical subjects were presented to the spectator.⁴⁶⁷ Ideally, this was to be achieved by depicting one moment on a single surface in which the narrative and composition could be clearly conveyed. In contrast, painted interiors often used multiple planes to tell the narrative which could be viewed from a variety of viewpoints. The *Choice of Hercules* in which he rejects Pleasure and chooses Virtue was illustrated by the Neapolitan painter, Paolo de' Matteis (1662–1728) (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (fig. 75), and engraved by Simon Gribelin for later editions of Shaftesbury's work. The subject appeared frequently during the seventeenth century, in the work of Annibale Carracci commissioned by Odoardo Farnese for the ceiling of his family palazzo in Rome (Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples) and in the easel painting of Nicolas Poussin (Stourhead, Wiltshire).

To enable a comprehensive understanding of the types of visual and literary sources available to English patrons during this period, it is crucial to consider the schemes that existed abroad and the nature of their accessibility.

Continental prototypes and the English royal image

The extent to which Laguerre and his patrons were familiar with the schemes of Le Brun and his contemporaries, through the circulation of prints, is a key consideration. As the principal painter to Louis XIV, Le Brun was employed for much of the 1670s and 1680s to decorate the interior spaces of royal palaces namely the Louvre and at Versailles.⁴⁶⁸ A variety of pictorial strategies were employed to glorify the King, through representations of his heroism and virtuous conduct. In doing so, Le Brun was drawing upon earlier Italian prototypes of papal iconography, such as Pietro da Cortona's centrepiece for the salon ceiling *The Allegory of Divine Providence and Barberini Power*

⁴⁶⁶ Anthony Ashley Cooper, *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgement of Hercules* (London, 1713), pp. 3–4.

⁴⁶⁷ This topic was discussed in Richard Johns, 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England', pp. 21–23.

⁴⁶⁸ For an introduction to Le Brun's royal patronage see Wolf Burchard, *The Sovereign Artist: Charles Le Brun and the Image of Louis XIV* (London, 2016); also see 'Le role de Charles Le Brun' in Nicolas Milovanovic, *Les Grands Appartements de Versailles sous Louis XIV. Catalogue des Decors Peints* (Paris, 2005), pp. 26–33.

(fig. 76), dedicated to Pope Urban VIII for the Palazzo Barberini in Rome during the 1630s.⁴⁶⁹ In around the same period, Cortona was commissioned to decorate the planetary rooms – Apollo being the theme of one ceiling – in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (fig. 77).⁴⁷⁰ The multiplicity of the artistic production and imagery associated with Louis XIV's reign was shaped and controlled, in part, by Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) who oversaw France's finances and cultural affairs. Determining which themes should be painted was the responsibility of several governing groups, one of these was led by Le Brun, painter to the King from 1664.⁴⁷¹ Louis XIV's diplomatic successes prompted him to commission the *Battles of Alexander* (Louvre, Paris), a series of works by Le Brun and his assistants, which during the 1670s and 1680s were made into tapestries and engravings that would become renowned throughout Europe.⁴⁷²

Louis XIV's association with Sun symbolism and Apollo can be shown through several unexecuted designs by Le Brun, such as the scene on the central panel of the Galerie d'Apollon ceiling in the Louvre. In 1681 in dedication to the King, the painter commissioned the engraver Giraud Audran to reproduce *The Palace of the Sun (Assembly of the Gods)* in which the King appears as Apollo. The subject was originally intended for the Grand Salon at Vaux-le-Vicomte, belonging to the finance minister, Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680), although never executed.⁴⁷³ In addition, Charles de la Fosse's ceiling in the King's bedchamber at Versailles completed during the early 1670s, presented *Apollo on his Chariot* (fig. 78).⁴⁷⁴ Le Brun's rival and successor Pierre Mignard painted in 1685 the ceiling of the Petite Galerie at Versailles, with *Apollo distributing awards to the sciences and arts, with Minerva crowning the genius of France*, the latter represented as the King's infant grandson, the Duke of Burgundy. Yet the royal image was subject to change, as shown by the designs for the Galerie des Glaces (Hall of mirrors) ceiling at Versailles, with the King rejecting plans for his personification as Apollo and then Hercules.⁴⁷⁵ The treatment of the Herculean theme can be previously shown in Le Brun's *Apotheosis of Hercules* painted during the 1650s at Fouquet's Hôtel Lambert in Paris. The final decision on the Versailles schemes, reached in collaboration with the Conseil d'en haut, a council of Royal advisors, was to depict Louis XIV as himself and in the context of his recent military battles (fig. 79).

Some of Le Brun's grandest schemes formed part of an ambitious publishing project, the *Cabinet du Roi*, commencing in 1670 under royal patronage and encompassing twenty-three volumes and around 950 prints relating to the royal collections.⁴⁷⁶ The *Cabinet* was intended to be

⁴⁶⁹ See 'The Iconographic Tradition of Papal Nepotism: Mirror of Popes and Quest for Mortality' in John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: the Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton, 1991), pp. 160–79.

⁴⁷⁰ On this commission see Malcolm Campbell, *Pietro Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 108–21.

⁴⁷¹ For an introduction see Peter Fuhring et al., *A Kingdom of Images: French Prints in the age of Louis XIV, 1660–1715* (Los Angeles, 2015), pp. 1–2.

⁴⁷² See Marchesano and Michel, *Printing in the Grand Manner*, p. 3.

⁴⁷³ Fuhring, *Kingdom of Images*, pp. 72–73.

⁴⁷⁴ See Milovanovic, *Les Grands Appartements de Versailles*, pp. 134–36.

⁴⁷⁵ On this commission see Marchesano and Michel, *Printing in the Grand Manner*, p. 28.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

circulated among royal and political circles and as gifts to visiting dignitaries and ambassadors rather for the consumption of the general public. Although some of the newer decorative paintings were included in this project, many were not. In addition, large numbers of engravings after Le Brun's work were published as single sheets and series to establish his own reputation through more accessible and illegible means. Those commissioned by the Crown held a wider significance by establishing Louis XIV as the exemplary artistic patron. During the 1670s and 1680s, many of Le Brun's most celebrated works were engraved for the *Mercure galant* in order to appeal to the general public and advertise them for sale. Copies of this gazette would have been accessible to English audiences, thereby providing a source through which to be updated on recent artistic projects.

It is likely that Laguerre was well versed in developments in French mural painting, through the employment of his father as Keeper of the royal menagerie at Versailles. Laguerre's time at Académie likely coincided with Le Brun, yet as to whether he trained under Le Brun's direction is less clear. Laguerre arrived in England in 1684 although his reason for doing so and remaining there for the rest of his life are unknown. One of his earliest commissions was to work under royal patronage for William III. Between 1691 and 1694 he worked with Verrio on decorating the state apartments and private rooms at Hampton Court. Laguerre's grisailles circular panels of the *Labours of Hercules* adorned the outside of the first floor overlooking the Fountain Court.⁴⁷⁷ *Hercules triumphing over Envy* (fig. 80) is depicted in relief on the east front pediment and further references the wars of religion, particularly the recent defeat of Catholic France. The Herculean motif extended to other areas of the palace, such as his involvement in Verrio's mural on the east elevation of the grand staircase leading to the King's Apartments which illustrates scenes from the *Satire of the Caesars* written by Emperor Julian the Apostate (fig. 81).⁴⁷⁸ Alexander the Great's victory over the Caesars is paralleled with that of Protestant William's over the Roman Catholic James II. The royal image was further established through the combination of contemporary portraiture and mythological allegory, as shown by the depictions of William and Mary with the figure of Hercules positioned beneath them on Thornhill's ceiling for the lower hall at the Old Royal Navy College, painted between 1707 and 1714 (fig. 82).⁴⁷⁹

Between 1689 and 1697 Laguerre received his first independent project under William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth where he painted the hall, chapel and state rooms. Recent scholarship has argued that the episodes chosen for the Hall ceiling presents Caesar as the Duke's ancient counterpart, thereby creating parallels through Devonshire's involvement in recent political events, namely the 1688 glorious revolution.⁴⁸⁰ During the 1690s, Verrio had been commissioned by the Earl of Exeter to paint the state rooms and other formal

⁴⁷⁷ See Brett Dolman, 'Antonio Verrio (c. 1636–1707) and the Royal Image at Hampton Court', *British Art Journal*, vol. 10, no. 3 (December 2009), p. 25.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 22–24.

⁴⁷⁹ On this commission see Chapter Four in Johns, 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England after 1688'.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

areas at Burghley but was recalled to royal service leaving the work incomplete.⁴⁸¹ As a result, Laguerre was tasked with painting the Ballroom, now known as the Bow Room. The inclusion of contemporary portraits and some unusual iconographic details make the meaning of these large scenes problematic.⁴⁸² Similar issues concerning the balance between role of artist and patron in devising these schemes are evident in Verrio's five State Rooms, known as the George Rooms (1686–97). Laguerre's schemes for the Ballroom were inspired by episodes in Plutarch's *Life of Antony*. The first of three wall murals depicts a battle scene representing the leader's defeat to Octavian forces in an attempt to defend Alexandria, with the central group of figures entwined with horses in foreshortened poses which shows an affinity with those in Le Brun's *Passage du Granique* (Louvre, Paris) (fig. 83). The opposite wall shows Antony's death before Cleopatra, the Queen of Egypt, following his attempted suicide on believing that she had abandoned him. Plutarch describes that Antony was placed beneath Cleopatra's monument and from the window she suspended a rope to lift him into her bedchamber (fig. 84).⁴⁸³ The narrative's didactic lessons on moral behaviour are further played out in Laguerre's final scene representing the *Continence of Scipio*, in which the Roman leader returns his female prisoner to Allucius to be married.⁴⁸⁴ This scheme marked the celebration in 1697 of the marriage of John Cecil (1674–1721), 6th Earl of Exeter to Annabella Grey (d. 1698), daughter of Lord Foley (1655–1701), 1st Earl of Tankerville, whose likeness is reflected in the female figure. This narrative commonly appeared in seventeenth-century painted representations with parallels formed between the leader's military clemency and the virtues of a good husband. For instance, the theme was incorporated in Cortona's murals in the Palazzo Pitti to celebrate the Grand Duke of Tuscany's nuptials in 1637.⁴⁸⁵ The same is the case for Van Dyck's painting of 1621 depicting George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham and his future wife (Christ Church Picture Gallery, Oxford) (fig. 85). In addition to this, Boccabadati's performance *Scipione* during 1693 was performed to celebrate the union of the Duke of Modona and Margherita Maria Farnese.

I would suggest that Laguerre's English commissions discussed below should be seen as a translation of late seventeenth-century French schemes by Le Brun and his contemporaries which embodied the tropes of earlier Italian mural paintings. Certainly, Laguerre's engagement with the figures of Apollo and Hercules took inspiration from artistic representations of the French royal image to fulfil the virtuous and heroic personas of the English elite. In doing so, several strategies were often employed in Laguerre's projects, through the depiction of a patron in an allegorical guise, as a direct representation, or in combination. It could be argued that the latter was a distinctive trait of English mural painting during this period. Further examples in relation to this topic

⁴⁸¹ See Cécile Brett, 'Antonio Verrio (c. 1636–1707): his career and surviving work', *British Art Journal*, vol. 10, no. 3 (Winter/Spring 2009–10), pp. 10–11.

⁴⁸² The subjects of the grisaille over-door decoration and circular plaques are relatively straightforward: *Pluto and Persephone*; *Aeneas, Ascanius and Anchises*; *Sophonisba*; *Cleopatra*.

⁴⁸³ See *Plutarch's Lives: Translated by the Greek by Several hands*, 5 vols (London, 1686), vol. 5, pp. 247–49.

⁴⁸⁴ See Tim Duff, *Plutarch's Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice* (Oxford and New York, 1999), p. 69

⁴⁸⁵ On the commission see Campbell, *Pietro Cortona at the Pitti Palace*, p. 15.

are discussed below. However, there were wider repercussions in relation to the appreciation of schemes by other members of the household, whereby women emerged as engaging patrons. This enables comments to be made on how Laguerre approached such commissions through the chosen narratives and compositions, and models.

Female patronage and portraiture in Laguerre's murals

This section proposes the possibility of greater female agency and patronage through the Castle Bromwich and Petworth murals. Shortly after finishing at Burghley, Laguerre accepted a comparatively modest commission known through a series of letters sent to Lady Mary Bridgeman (d.1713) by her cousin and architect William Winde as part of the re-decoration of Castle Bromwich near Birmingham, the seat of Sir John Bridgeman (1631–1719). These sources are useful in what they can tell us about the relationship between painter and patroness, with her architect acting as the intermediary. The first letter (30 July 1688) shows the practical rather than decorative reasons for commissioning painted interiors in which Winde suggests, 'as for Yo[u]r Closett it is so very low that I cannot approve of any frettworke in it, but if yo[u]r Lady[shi]p doth resolve to make it something handsomer I rather advise you to some pretty cheap painted piece'.⁴⁸⁶ Further correspondence (10 May 1698) provides an insight into the growing popularity of Laguerre's work and the order in which he carried out several of his earliest commissions. Lady Bridgeman's involvement in choosing the design of the ceiling painting, which is now lost, is shown by her dismissal of Laguerre's initial sketch (2 July 1698). In devising the composition, Laguerre requested details as to the positions of the windows which would affect the fall of light and shade on the painted scheme (27 September 1698). Several letters are concerned with Winde's changes to the composition in relation to various classical narratives (16 January 1699). A group of cupids were formerly intended as the central motif but this was changed to Mercury taking Psyche up to heaven surrounded by cupids, for which Laguerre asked seven guineas per yard. During the painting process, further alterations were requested by Winde on Bridgeman's behalf, by providing Laguerre with a page reference in George Sandys's Ovidian translation, first published in 1632 and reprinted in seven further editions.⁴⁸⁷ This new design positioned Cephalus and Aurora in a chariot surrounded by four cupids and pegasus in the clouds, 'w[hi]ch is really as much work againe' (19 February 1699). Aurora, the goddess of Dawn, rises from the sea and attempts to seduce the mortal Cephalic who rejects her on thinking of his wife, Procris. This scene bears a close affinity to the fresco of the same subject attributed to Agostino Carracci in the Farnese Gallery (fig. 86). In Poussin's painting (National Gallery, London) of about 1630 (fig. 87), Cephalus rejects Aurora's advances and glances at a portrait of his wife held by a putto, this being a detail of the artist's own invention.

⁴⁸⁶ Some of the letters have been transcribed in Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, vol. 1, pp. 62–63; and Dianne Barre and R. A. Chaplin eds., *William Winde: Advice on Fashionable Interior Decoration* (Birmingham, 1983).

⁴⁸⁷ See George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphoses English'd, Mythologiz'd, and Represented in Figures* (Oxford, 1632), p. 263.

Laguerre was further employed to paint the over-door panel of the closet. Following discussions between Winde and Bridgeman it was decided that his expertise were 'more proper for ye place' than those of the landscape painter, Jan Siberechts (1627–1703) (3 October 1699).⁴⁸⁸ So as to complement the existing scheme, Laguerre depicted a subsequent episode in which Procis presents Cephalic with an enchanted javelin.⁴⁸⁹ It is unsurprising that this moment was chosen rather than the subsequent ill-fated scene hunting in a forest which he throws the weapon accidentally killing his wife.⁴⁹⁰ Once again, Winde requested the addition of three river nymphs and two river gods to the scene, perhaps intended to symbolise Aurora's earlier presence. Such representations, focusing on the subject of love rather than tragedy, are none the less, embedded with lessons on the vices and virtues of married life. According to John Elsum's treatise, these kinds of subjects were most appropriate for a closet, a small private space entered from the bedchamber and used for a variety of functions, such as a study, dressing room or repository for valuables and curiosities.⁴⁹¹ Laguerre was also commissioned to paint the staircase ceiling with similar female-dominated imagery representing the Four Seasons, now at Weston Park. An unpublished list of expenses dated 15 January 1700, details Lady Bridgeman's frequent visits to Laguerre's house 'near Hyde Park' with the intention 'to see the picture finish'.⁴⁹² To which work this refer to remains unknown, although this was mostly likely a mural painting on canvas, or perhaps a portrait or easel painting. This commission is significant given what it can tell us about the role of the gentry as imitating artistic patronage usually reserved for the elite. In partnership, painter and patron (although rather indirectly at times) worked through the process of transforming mythical narratives into painted form, by selecting the most emotive moments for the purpose of personal enjoyment.

In relation to Laguerre's murals at Petworth House, I propose that we should recognise the presence of greater female agency and patronage as being manifest through the abundance of imagery combining mythological narrative with contemporary portraiture.⁴⁹³ Furthermore, this shifts the focus to a consideration of visual and literary sources which, I would argue, were predominantly French in influence. It was towards the end of his career that Laguerre secured the patronage of Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, who had inherited Petworth through his marriage in 1682 to Lady Elizabeth Thynne (1667–1722), the great heiress and daughter of Josceline Percy (1644–1670), Earl of Northumberland. Seymour was responsible for rebuilding the house, although a fire in 1714 meant that the staircase was constructed once again and this time encased in vast murals completely covering the ceiling and walls. A letter dated 24 September 1720 discusses the dimensions of the staircase recorded by Laguerre's assistant the year

⁴⁸⁸ On Siberechts see Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, vol. 1, p. 225.

⁴⁸⁹ Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1632), p. 263.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁴⁹¹ Elsum, *The Art of Painting* (London, 1703), p. 83; also Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, p. 123.

⁴⁹² The Lady Bridgemans Accounts London ye 15 January 1699/1700, Staffordshire Record Office, Castle Bromwich Hall archive, D1287/18/4 (F/F13).

⁴⁹³ This has been introduced in Lydia Hamlett, 'Pandora at Petworth House', pp. 950–55.

before.⁴⁹⁴ Accompanying the letter is a sheet of notes which records the total surface area to be painted as being 646 yards and 8 feet. The letter was intended to invite the Duke to compare these calculations to his own, thereby indicating his active role in overseeing the practical arrangements by working out the painter's wage. A previously undiscovered payment of £40 dated 19 November 1719 was made when the dimensions were taken.⁴⁹⁵

The Duke's contribution to the staircase commission was likely to have been largely monetary. Pictorially, he neither appears in the form of a portrait or through an allegorical character. The possibility that the murals were fashioned through the fundamental role of the Duchess, as a way in which to project her personal and political endeavours, needs to be further acknowledged. Petworth had, after all, been the place of her birth and where she remained for much of her childhood and early adult life, even upon the marriage of her mother in 1673 to her second husband, Ralph Montagu, later 1st Duke of Montagu. On the south wall, Elizabeth is shown as life size, sitting in a chariot decorated with bas reliefs and an inscription that translates as 'virtue conquers all' (fig. 88). Her three daughters follow the procession, depicted as Prudence with a looking-glass and serpent, Temperance with a bridle and Justice with a pair of scales. The wall beneath the staircase shows an oval portrait of the Duchess with characteristically auburn hair (fig. 89), as shown in the portrait by John Closterman (1660–1711) (fig. 90). The absence of the Duke could perhaps be read as being a reaction to the Seymours' unhappy marriage, due, at least in part, to his notoriously unpleasant manner.⁴⁹⁶ It seems unlikely that such a man would have advocated the multitude of depictions involving female protagonists in a positive light. In her own right, Elizabeth possessed considerable wealth and occupied positions of great influence at the royal court under Queen Anne. In 1702 she had been named lady of the bedchamber and in 1711 as the Duchess of Marlborough's replacement as the Groomess of the Stole.⁴⁹⁷ Likewise, Somerset was made master of the horse and a member of the cabinet, and despite being dismissed in 1712, he was persuaded to allow the Duchess to remain in office to maintain a Whig presence around the Queen.

In the mural, the Duchess is shown as self-assured and authoritative, in an attempt to convey her public persona. Yet she makes no attempt to control of the horse-pulled chariot as was traditionally the case for imagery of her male contemporaries. This task is the responsibility of an adolescent boy representing her son, Algernon Seymour (1684–1749), styled the Earl of Hereford and later 7th Duke of Somerset, who was in fact in adulthood at this time. He holds a goblet of fire as a symbol of truth. The Seymours played a comparatively less active role in public affairs under George I, during the period in which the murals were painted. Yet the rivalry between Elizabeth and Sarah Churchill could provide a possible motive for Laguerre's employment at Petworth. After all,

⁴⁹⁴ 'Calculation of the dimensions of the Laguerre painting on the great staircase at Petworth, with covering letter', West Sussex Records Office, Petworth House Archive, PHA 6292.

⁴⁹⁵ 'Memoranda books of out-payments made by Thomas Elder on behalf of the Duke of Somerset', Petworth House Archive, PHA 2798.

⁴⁹⁶ See Christopher Rowell, *Petworth: The People and the Place* (Swindon, 2012), pp. 34–49.

⁴⁹⁷ Robert Bucholz, 'Seymour, Elizabeth, duchess of Elizabeth (1667–1722)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2015 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21925>, accessed 20 Sept 2016].

the Duchess of Marlborough's patronage of the painter was firmly established at Marlborough House and Blenheim Palace, both of which representing her achievements as patroness of the arts, whilst more directly acknowledging her husband's military accomplishments. Importantly, however, a notable feature of the Petworth murals was that Elizabeth possessed the artistic license to go one step further than Sarah Churchill, through her fulfilment of a dual role: as patron *and* sitter.

Themes that serve as a celebration of female powers of persuasion and virtuous conduct are further alluded to through the actions of Pandora. Her creation and banishment to live as a mortal was orchestrated by Zeus to punish the Titan, Prometheus, for his deceitful acts which Laguerre depicts on the walls and panels beneath. Hesiod's *Works and Days* is regarded as the earliest rendition of the story of Pandora, with the text reappearing in Latin and French translations from the late fifteenth century onwards.⁴⁹⁸ On the staircase ceiling she is surrounded by an assembly of gods, clothed in a white gown by Minerva and crowned with flowers by Flora (fig. 91) which bears a close resemblance to Hesiod's description.⁴⁹⁹ She reaches out for the golden vessel offered to her by Zeus. However, Laguerre's preparatory oil sketch for the ceiling (Victoria and Albert Museum) (fig. 92) shows a remarkably different treatment of the main protagonist. Here, she is shown as nude, alluding to her subsequent role as a temptress, and has accepted the gift offered to her. This representation was more in keeping with existing visual sources, so as to emphasise the negative connotations associated with her behaviour and described in Hesiod's text as, 'contrived within her lies and craft words and a deceitful nature'.⁵⁰⁰ Pandora was omitted from the Latin classics, including Horace and Virgil, and some editions of Ovid, and continued to be an unfamiliar character during much of the Renaissance.

Given the relative unimportance of this figure in European literary traditions, what kind of sources served as inspiration for the Petworth murals? I suggest that there was the revival of interest during the seventeenth century, particularly during the latter decades, through the publication of mythological manuals, often illustrated, which revived Hesiod's narrative. It is important to consider the research of Dora and Erwin Panofsky in a discussion of the literary and visual material on Pandora in order to better understand the Petworth commission.⁵⁰¹ Jacques Callot's etching of around 1625 (Metropolitan Museum) combines two scenes, the first of which places Pandora in the clouds as a celestial figure raising the vessel triumphantly, and in the other standing in a landscape gazing indecisively at the casket as if contemplating whether it should be opened (fig. 93).⁵⁰² The second engraving by Bloemaert after a drawing by Abraham van Diepenbeeck was included as the frontispiece of a section dedicated to this character in Michel de

⁴⁹⁸ See lines, 60–105, taken from *Works and Days* in Hugh. G. Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homeric* (London, 1967), pp. 7, 9.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, lines 72–76, p. 7.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, lines 77–78, p. 7.

⁵⁰¹ See Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box: the changing aspects of a mythical symbol* (Princeton, 1956).

⁵⁰² For further discussion see *Ibid.*, pp. 71–78.

Marolles's *Tableaux du Temple des Muses*, first published in Paris in 1655 (fig. 94).⁵⁰³ She is shown again in an unclothed state and encircled by various gods, offering gifts in the form of their attributes. Laguerre adopted this arrangement for his ceiling at Petworth, placing on Pandora's left, Juno and her peacock, Vulcan holding fire and Diana with her bow. Below this is Hercules with a club and Pan with pipes, Bacchus holding a goblet of wine, and Ceres an ear of corn. Above her, Venus on a blue mantle offers a cestus and is attended by the Graces, with Mercury hovering above them who is responsible for escorting Pandora to earth.

On the north side of the Petworth staircase, the casket has been opened by Epimetheus, the brother of Prometheus, releasing a billowing cloud of smoke to symbolise the evils of humanity (fig. 95). His imprudent behaviour is placed in contrast with the virtue of the female characters and spectators, including Elizabeth and her daughters on the opposite wall. Pandora reclines under a canopy as a passive spectator of this act. Similar pictorial elements had been incorporated in Sébastien Le Clerc's illustration for Isaac de Benserade's *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux*, published in 1676 (fig. 96). In this example, Pandora is shown sitting beside Epimetheus in an interior setting with her powers of persuasion more actively conveyed. Significantly, this engraving and Laguerre's mural digress from Hesiod's narrative which describes Pandora removing the lid.⁵⁰⁴ Laguerre's design for this wall holds affinity with the mid sixteenth-century engraving by Giulio Bonasone (1498–1574), whereby the Virtues rather than Vices, embodied in the forms of female goddesses, escape the colossal jar labelled in Latin for 'Hope' (fig. 97). Each figure is accompanied by a caption that translates as peace, salvation, justice, and happiness, among others. Laguerre recreates a similar motif through the upward motion of the smoke on which the figures are supported (fig. 98). Fortune is placed at the top and beneath is the three *parcae* or Fates, descriptions of which were included in Ovid.⁵⁰⁵

The unusual nature of the Petworth murals is due to the fact that they engage with the narratives relating to Prometheus and Pandora. On the ground floor walls are earlier episodes that lead to Pandora's creation as depicted on the ceiling. One of which shows Prometheus's creation of the first man out of clay, assisted by Minerva who breathes life into him (fig. 99). However, Laguerre does not depict Prometheus's equally deviant act whereby he steals fire from Mount Olympus to give to the mortals.⁵⁰⁶ This was chosen as the subject for an engraving *Prometheus creating man*, designed by Hendrik Goltzius (1558–1607) in around 1589 (fig. 100). This image was originally intended to accompany an edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* although the project was abandoned after the first three volumes. A pen and wash design (Louvre) for a unknown ceiling was created by Toussaint Dubreuil (1588–1602) in 1594 (fig. 101), the year of the accession

⁵⁰³ For the narrative on Pandora see Michel de Marolles's *Tableaux du Temple des Muses* (Paris, 1655), pp. 35–42.

⁵⁰⁴ As described in *Works and Days* in Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, p. 9.

⁵⁰⁵ Mentioned in Hamlett, 'Pandora at Petworth House: New Light on the Work and Patronage of Louis Laguerre', p. 950.

⁵⁰⁶ See *Works and Days* in Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homerica*, p. 7.

of Henry IV whose initials are integrated within the picture and the artist's death in 1602.⁵⁰⁷ Prometheus is shown lighting his torch at the wheels of the Sun as the chariot carrying Apollo passes overhead. An earlier visual rendering of Prometheus's triumph and punishment appeared in panels painted by Piero di Cosimo (1642–1522) (Alte Pinakothek, Munich and Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg) in around 1515 (figs. 102 and 103).⁵⁰⁸ Each panel includes interlinking theatrical episodes of the narrative. This would likely have taken as its source, Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia or On the Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, first published during the 1470s and translated into Italian and French during the following century.⁵⁰⁹ On the underside of the Petworth staircase, Prometheus has been reprimanded for his actions, bound to a rock by Mercury for eternity with an eagle daily devouring his liver, as described by Hesiod.⁵¹⁰

There are several earlier instances where the Pandora-Prometheus narrative had been adopted for murals. The theme and the design of the ceiling of the Hall of Mirrors in Alcázar Palace in Madrid was chosen by Velázquez, the Groom of the King's Bedchamber by Felipe IV, who supervised the work of a group of Spanish and Bolognese painters.⁵¹¹ The ceiling was divided into five panels, the first depicting Vulcan showing Pandora to Zeus. In the second and principal panel, Pandora is surrounded by the gods which is reminiscent of the engraved imagery of Callot and Bloemaert. In the third, Zeus gives the vase to Pandora, and in the fourth, Prometheus rejects Pandora advances whilst Hymen the god of marriage leaves the scene. In the fifth, Pandora marries Epimetheus, thereby omitting the final scene so as to portray Pandora in a more positive light. The redecoration coincided with visits of French dignitaries in 1659 to settle the Treaty of the Pyrenees and preparations for the accompanying royal marriage.⁵¹² It is likely that this imagery was intended to embody the virtues and betrothal of the King's daughter Maria Teresa who in 1660 married Louis XIV.⁵¹³ The central panel was, therefore, intended to symbolise the marriage ceremony and the gifts of beauty and refinement being bestowed upon a recognisable royal figure, and perhaps more widely, the positive connotations associated with the Habsburg rule. The ceiling was destroyed by fire in 1734 although a description of the schemes had been documented in Antonio Palomino's biography of Velázquez published in 1724.

There are several French visual sources that are of interest to this study. The subject of Pandora was commissioned for the Paris residence of the French royal treasurer, Bertrand de La Bazinière. Between 1653 and 1658, the interiors were modified and during which time Charles Le Brun painted the ceiling of the cabinet des sciences which no longer survives and now forms part of the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts. This can be suggested with some certainty, due to the

⁵⁰⁷ Included in Gady, *Peupler les cieux*, pp. 132–33.

⁵⁰⁸ See Dennis Geronimus, *Piero di Cosimo: Visions Beautiful and Strange* (New Haven and London, 2006), pp. 116–19.

⁵⁰⁹ *Giovanni Boccaccio. Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, ed. Jon Solomon (Cambridge MA and London, 2011), pp. 529–45.

⁵¹⁰ *Theogony* in Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homeric*, p. 117.

⁵¹¹ See Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 68–69.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–06.

similarity this composition has to a description of the Bazinière commission in *Vie de Charles Le Brun et Description Détaillée de ses Ouvrages*, written by his former assistant, Claude Nivelon, in around 1698 although never published.⁵¹⁴ It was not until 1660 that Le Brun secured the patronage of Louis XIV, becoming his chief painter in 1664. An oil sketch sold at Christies in 1989 (present location unknown) shows Pandora suspended helplessly in the arms of her creator Vulcan and glancing towards the vessel raised above her (fig. 104). The composition differs significantly from those mentioned previously, most noticeably due to the omission of the surrounding gods. Naturally, there would have existed examples of Le Brun's work and other French sources through which Laguerre took inspiration as part of his education in Paris during the 1670s and early 1680s, as well as engraved reproductions after such schemes. A second example is Charles de la Fosse's *The Triumph of Pandora* (fig. 105), commissioned for the ceiling in the chateau Meudon by the Marquis de Louvois (1641–1691), the French secretary of State to Louis XIV, in around 1680–85.⁵¹⁵ Despite this French context, I would argue that in the case of Petworth, Laguerre was influenced by an existing mural programme in England, as further explained below.

It is difficult to establish whether Laguerre and his patrons studied these illustrated books and other forms of imagery as part of their visual education. By looking at the book collections of several English collectors, comments can be made about the commonality and rarity of these literary sources. According to the library inventory of Matthew Prior, recorded at his London residence in 1721, he owned a copy of Marolles's *Tableaux du Temple des Muses*.⁵¹⁶ Likewise, the John Somers (1660–1716) also owned a version of this text in addition to the 1589 edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Boccaccio's publication in Latin and Italian.⁵¹⁷ Whilst it cannot be suggested for certain that these books were read, the fact that they existed in these libraries shows they contributed to a renewed interest in classical narratives and the revival of this female figure. Of course, this may not have been representative of the libraries of their peers, but it is likely that elite readers were familiar with the majority of these sources or those covering similar topics.

In similar ways to their male counterparts, the role of women as patrons sought to promote and establish their own learning, patronage and status. Yet these commissions reflect the contrasting aims of the gentry and elite, in relation to the functionality of mural paintings. Whilst the first scheme was intended as purely decorative and occupied a space of privacy that was distinctly feminine, the latter was politically motivated and located in an area of the house which led to the formal state rooms and frequented by an intimate group of visitors. Both patrons chose mythological narratives with an emphasis on the female protagonist, which were likely familiar to them through seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century literary translations and visual representations. Engaging with these characters sought to convey lessons on the vices and virtues of interactions between the sexes, in particular, warnings concerning temptation. Whilst the murals at Bromwich and Petworth acknowledge the seductive and persuasive nature of women,

⁵¹⁴ Mentioned in *Vie de Charles Le Brun et Description Détaillée de ses Ouvrages*, ed. Lorenzo Pericolo (Geneva, 2004), pp. 75–76.

⁵¹⁵ See Gustin-Gomez, *Charles de la Fosse*, vol. 2, pp. 58–59, cat. 85.

⁵¹⁶ See 'Catalogue of Mr Prior's Books', 1721, Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70362, f. 32v.

⁵¹⁷ 'Catalogue of the library of Lord Somers', 1716, BL Add MS 40752, ff. 68f, 69f, 166v, 178f.

unsurprisingly, the patrons themselves or the gendered spaces in which these schemes occupied were to be associated with the female protagonist's positive and virtuous attributes. In doing so, these thematic choices enabled connections to be formed with the patron's own moral standing within established social norms.

Laguerre and Thornhill

Laguerre would undoubtedly have been aware of Thornhill's earlier experimentation with the Prometheus-Pandora theme at Wollaton Hall in Nottinghamshire. The murals on the north and south staircases, positioned either side of the entrance hall (fig. 106), provide the earliest example whereby both Laguerre and Thornhill contributed to the same scheme, yet commissioned at different times. Little is known about the circumstances of Laguerre's work on the south staircase, painted in around 1698–99, during or shortly after his time at Bromwich.⁵¹⁸ The house was damaged by fire in 1642 and abandoned until inherited in 1688 by Sir Thomas Willoughby (1672–1729), 2nd Baron Middleton and later Lord Middleton, through his brother Francis and settlement with his stepfather, Sir Josiah Child (1630–1699). During the 1690s, with the assistance of his sister Cassandra (1670–1735), he made significant interior improvements to the Elizabethan structure.⁵¹⁹ Her interest in painting extended to her skills as an artist, which evolved from copying portraits and landscapes to creating her own work.⁵²⁰ She is believed to have remained at the house until she married in 1713, becoming the Countess and later the Duchess of Chandos.⁵²¹ Jan Siberechts's topographical view of the house and formal gardens painted in 1697 (fig. 107) represents the period of revival which saw the return of the family's fortunes. An engraving of 1707 shows the progressive grandeur of the grounds which by this time would have mirrored the adornment of the interiors. A conceivable motive for Thomas's employment of both artists, as part of the ongoing restoration of the interiors, was in response to his elevated position as member of Parliament for Nottinghamshire between 1698–1702 and again in 1705–1710.

Thornhill did not become an independent artist until 1703–4, having completed his apprenticeship in 1696 under Thomas Highmore, the official painter to William III.⁵²² I would suggest that the Wollaton murals were among his first commissions. The circumstances that led to the final appearance of the principal north staircase, for which Laguerre provided the first mural, a ceiling of *The Assembly of the Gods*, with Apollo in the centre, are rather unusual. Two oil sketches attributed to Thornhill showing Apollo granting Phaeton permission to drive his chariot (locations

⁵¹⁸ The family papers held at the University of Nottingham provide no references to either commission.

⁵¹⁹ See Alice T. Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England. Wollaton Hall and the Willoughby Family* (Chicago and London, 1989), pp. 159–66.

⁵²⁰ Rosemary O'Day, *Cassandra Brydges, Duchess of Chandos 1670–1735: Life and Letters* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 38–44.

⁵²¹ See Joan Johnson, *Excellent Cassandra. The Life and Times of the Duchess of Chandos* (Gloucester, 1981), pp. 38–46.

⁵²² On Thornhill's involvement in the Painter-Stainers' Company see Johns, 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England', pp. 39, 52.

unknown) (figs. 108 and 109), could have been attempts at reworking Laguerre's ceiling that were never executed.⁵²³ Whilst Thornhill is not known to have painted this subject elsewhere, Laguerre chose a similar design for the Music Room ceiling at the Devonshire family's seat at Chatsworth in around 1689–94.⁵²⁴ In Thornhill's sketchbook (British Museum), a watercolour study provides an insight into his intended modifications to Laguerre's ceiling (fig. 110). Thornhill was perhaps responsible for adding the male figure on the right departing swiftly from the scene holding a flaming torch, alluding to the story of Prometheus.

Therefore, I would suggest that the expansion of the schemes at Wollaton were achieved through the integration of a new mythological narrative, further conveyed through the addition of episodes on the walls beneath Laguerre's ceiling – this appearing in England almost fifteen years prior to Laguerre's paintings at Petworth. In comparison to Petworth, the smaller proportions of the staircase meant that two walls scenes dealt with the story of Prometheus: as the creator of man and as a prisoner as a result of his actions. Due to the deterioration of the painted surface it is no longer possible to appreciate the scheme's original appearance. The final scene on the first floor landing wall (fig. 111) is not readily identifiable with those on other areas of the staircase. A procession of earthly women and children walk towards a white bull intended for slaughter, held by a bearded aged man, whilst another holds as a gold plate beneath its neck. This sacrificial ceremony in dedication to the gods for the salvation of mankind is indicated by the bronze god-like statue on a plinth in the background, although it also has the appearance of a clay figure relating back to earlier scenes. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Prometheus was tasked with determining how sacrifices would be carried out among humans.⁵²⁵ In doing so, he tricked Zeus into choosing the bull's bones over its meat which he gave to the mortals. Subsidiary over-door panels incorporate similar themes of the sacrifice of Mercury and Argus.

On the south staircase ceiling, Thornhill introduces the figure of Pandora (fig. 112), whose nudity conforms to existing French engraved reproductions, particularly the more animated stance of Callot's depiction, thereby, unashamedly conveying her unpredictable and untrustworthy nature. However, unlike Petworth, there are no further scenes relating to Pandora's actions, leaving the viewer to decide the outcome. There were several ways in which Thornhill formed continuities between the subjects on both ceiling murals. Firstly, this was achieved through the repetition of the figure of Venus with her arm arched over her head, in both cases positioned on the left hand side of the compositions, a study of which can be found in his sketchbook (fig. 113). Secondly, on the same page of the sketchbook are included a list of pigment that relate to the hues of the drapery worn by various gods that occupy both ceilings. The staircases led to two state bedchambers in the north and south wings, which during the visit in 1603 of Queen Anne of Denmark, wife of James I

⁵²³ Both sold through Christie's, London, on 15 June 2001 (lot. 12, 76.2 x 68.6 cm) and on 12 July 1990 (lot. 76, 75 x 64 cm). Eastnor Castle in Herefordshire has a less finished variant.

⁵²⁴ See book II, lines 60–70, taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, trans. Arthur Golding (Manchester, 2005), pp. 62–63; on Laguerre's commission see Francis Thompson, *A History of Chatsworth* (London, 1949), p. 156.

⁵²⁵ See lines 535–557, taken from *Theogony* in Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns, and Homeric*, p. 119.

and her son, Prince Henry, became known as the Queen's Chamber and the Prince's Chamber.⁵²⁶ This could explain the dominance of feminine and masculine imagery respectively on each staircase, as an attempt to reinstate the original layout and function of the first floor wings.

To understand why Pandora was popular in England during the early eighteenth century, I would suggest that this imagery sits within a broader continental context that conveyed the contrasting behaviour of gods and mortals. Therefore, the earthly Pandora was not necessarily meant to be viewed by English audiences in the same negative light as suggested in earlier visual and literary renditions. Whilst there existed an earlier Italian interest in the narrative, the second half of the seventeenth century witnessed a Franco-Spanish engagement with the theme. For Laguerre at Petworth, portraying Pandora as an empowered figure enabled personal and political messages associated with the patron to be conveyed through clever adaptations to the existing sources and the inclusion of family portraiture. This commission enabled him to remodel the narrative on a broader scale from his earlier attempt at Wollaton in terms of the number episodes and complexity of the design. It is plausible that Thornhill chose this little-known subject as one of his earliest commissions in an attempt to promote his new status as an independent artist.

The circumstances through which the Saloon murals at Blenheim Palace came to fruition provides another example of the interconnected careers of Laguerre and Thornhill. On this occasion, Laguerre was chosen to complete the work, thereby replacing Thornhill as the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough's painter of choice. On completing the Hall ceiling in 1716 Thornhill was dismissed by the Duchess of Marlborough for being too expensive.⁵²⁷ His scheme glorified the Duke of Marlborough as a military hero kneeling before Queen Anne as Britannia, with the bearded man of Constancy standing between them and surrounded by the four cardinal virtues.⁵²⁸ Marlborough points towards a plan for the battle of Blenheim representing his recent victory against the French. In recognition of his military triumph, in 1705 the Duke was granted assistance from the Crown to build a country residence. However, this project was short lived as a Tory victory in 1711 caused construction to stop and Marlborough to be discharged from parliament and forced into exile between 1712 and 1714.⁵²⁹ The project resumed in 1716 amid disagreements between the Duchess and her architects, Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor, both of whom shortly after abandoned the project.⁵³⁰ In around 1718, Laguerre was tasked with painting the Saloon, later becoming the state dining room. The lack of archival sources on Laguerre's time at Blenheim requires an

⁵²⁶ See Friedman, *House and Household in Elizabethan England*, pp. 139–43.

⁵²⁷ In 1714, Hawksmoor had estimated that to guild and paint the ceilings of the Hall, Saloon and Gallery would cost as estimated £1800. See Blenheim Papers, BL Add MS 61354, ff. 28–29. In 1716, a bill for the sum of £978 was authorised by Tilleman Bobart, Comptroller. Letters between Vanbrugh and him discussed the agreed price for Thornhill's work. Taken from BL Add MS 61354, ff. 40–43; also 61353, ff. 221–23.

⁵²⁸ Thornhill's written description of the subject for this scheme was sent to the Duchess. See Blenheim Papers, BL Add MS 61354, ff. 38–39. A preliminary drawing is held in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

⁵²⁹ See Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh* (London, 1977), pp. 59, 70. Also James Legard, 'Queen Anne, Court Culture and the building of Blenheim Palace', *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 37, no. 2 (June 2014), p. 187.

⁵³⁰ Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pp. 137–43.

approach that looks at the symbolic elements of his schemes in order to ascertain the political and artistic aims of the Marlboroughs, Thornhill and Laguerre.

Several designs by Thornhill intended for submission to the Marlboroughs in preparation for the ceiling in the Hall or Saloon enable the processes through which the patron and painter reached decisions on the final scheme to be considered. These sketches incorporated Apollonian or Herculean imagery as the central theme. An oil sketch of the *Apotheosis of Apollo* (Government Art Collection, London) (fig. 114) placed in an octagonal painted frame is the largest of the projected designs (measuring 108.5 x 73.5 cm) suggesting that this concept was well developed. A second design, *Apotheosis of Hercules* (location unknown) (fig. 115) contained in an oval border and drawn in pen and wash, resonates with the composition of the completed hall ceiling, in which the main protagonist kneels before Jupiter on becoming one of the twelve gods of Olympus.⁵³¹ Another variation on this composition is less finished and detailed (British Museum) (fig. 116). It would seem likely that these sketches were intended for the Hall ceiling, due to the majority of them being an oval portrait format rather than the horizontal format of Laguerre's design. Nevertheless, it is still worth making the point that Laguerre's scheme for the Saloon ceiling incorporated elements taken from these preliminary sketches.

The imagery suggests that it was debated as to whether the Duke would be portrayed as himself or through an allegorical guise. However, it is difficult to establish at what point Laguerre became involved in the project and the extent to which he was responsible for the final design of the Saloon ceiling as no sketches relating to this commission are known. The Duke, dressed in roman military garb, stands in an Apollonian-inspired chariot driven by Aurora (fig. 117). In one hand he holds a sword in the shape of a sun beam and in his other hand a shield adorned with Medusa's head, which according to the myth of Persus empowered Minerva's weaponry with apotropaic qualities. She is shown holding a spear alongside Mars, the god of war. Marlborough faces towards Prudence and her looking-glass alluding to his wisdom. He is surrounded by the figures of Mercury holding the scroll of History, Time with a hour-glass, and Plenty. A black eagle hovers above him holding a laurel branch to represent victory. The main protagonist moves toward the figure of Hercules stood on the edge of the trompe l'oil frame.⁵³² His club is raised in an effort to slay Ladon, the dragon guarding the Hesperides' garden of apples, representing the Eleventh Labour.⁵³³ The mass of trampled figures perhaps relate to the acts of Hercules through references to his interactions with the nymphs and the Old Man of the Sea, who can be seen under one wheel. But, perhaps this imagery also alludes to the Duke's allies and victims in military combat. On the opposite side, Britannia holds a shield decorated with the nation's colours. On a political level, the glorification of Marlborough's victory in battle was achieved through the metaphor of his ascent to heaven. Both painters engaged with the figure of Hercules whose attributes could be

⁵³¹ Christie's sale, British art on paper, lot. 5, 9 June 2005, 45 x 28.5cm.

⁵³² The placement of Hercules beside the depiction of the patron is reminiscent of French examples, such as Le Brun's *The Second conquest of Franche-Comté*, on the ceiling of the Galerie des Glaces at Versailles.

⁵³³ Mentioned in *Giovanni Boccaccio. Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*, ed. and trans. Jon Solomon, pp. 505–06; also in Homer's *Illiad* see *Homerides; or a letter to Mr Pope, occasioned by his intended translation of Homer*, trans. Alexander Pope (London, 1715).

paralleled with those of their patron. Further insight into the rivalry between these artists is perhaps indicated by Laguerre's chosen orientation for the ceiling mural, which was intended to be viewed on entering through the north entrance as opposed to the south, thereby preventing Thornhill's ceiling being seen first.

Between 1707 and 1709, Hawkesmoor and Vanbrugh contributed various initial plans on the interior treatment of the Saloon walls.⁵³⁴ Like the Hall, this room was originally intended to only have a painted ceiling. An illustration attributed to Hawksmoor (fig. 118) shows the walls decorated with giant marble pilasters with fluted detail and corinthian style tops, and framing two rows of niches positioned one above the other containing Grinling Gibbon's full-sized statuary.⁵³⁵ It is believed that the niches were cut into the walls and still survive behind Laguerre's painting. A different approach was employed for the layout of the Hall which was dominated with simplistic architectural elements, such as the unadorned round-headed arches flanking each wall that remain intact today.⁵³⁶ Thornhill's involvement in developing the Hawkesmoor-Vanbrugh scheme for the Saloon during the 1710s can be understood through several sectional drawings.⁵³⁷ The first proposal (fig. 119) focused on five heavily-framed empty niches adorned with garlands, which spanned the entire length of the wall, suggesting that this ornamental detail was still being reconsidered. Such decorative features were surely intended to be cut into the wall rather than as painted representations. An alternative proposal (fig. 120) introduced the combination the architectural detail of the single-storey niches each containing a stone vase and plinth, and the painted motif of an Italianate balcony, positioned above, with a vast domed room beyond. A third sketch (fig. 121) has expanded and lowered the balcony, drawing the eye from the shallow loggia supported by corinthian columns to the courtyard and country park beyond, all of which was to be executed in trompe l'oeil paintings. In order to assess the impact of Thornhill's proposals on Laguerre's scheme, it is necessary to look at the imagery that was rejected, incorporated and adapted. For example, the classical bust placed within the marble door cases, visible in all three studies, has been replaced with the crest of a double headed eagle alluding to Marlborough's title of prince of Middelheim bestowed on him in 1705 by Emperor Leopold of Austria. Another aspect is the circular cartouche of Hercules, visible in the second sketch, which remained above the door cases as grisaille scenes involving Mercury.

Of most significance is Laguerre's treatment of the balcony motif, positioned half way up the wall and occupied by groups of figures (fig. 122). It is necessary, then, to consider how far the scheme adopted in the Saloon should be seen as emulating Le Brun's *Escalier des Ambassadeurs*

⁵³⁴ As discussed in James Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2013), pp. 176–77.

⁵³⁵ Included in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, p. 76, pl. 30.

⁵³⁶ See Legard, 'Vanbrugh, Blenheim Palace, and the Meanings of Baroque Architecture', pp. 177–81.

⁵³⁷ Mentioned in Lawrence Whistler, *The Imagination of Vanbrugh and his Fellow Artists* (London, 1954), p. 105; images reproduced in Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pl. 58–60.

or *Grand Escalier* at Versailles, constructed between 1672 and 1679 and demolished in 1752.⁵³⁸ This staircase held a dual function: as a principal staircase leading to the state rooms on the second floor, but also a ceremonial space for the reception of visiting dignitaries and ambassadors. Positioned in bays divided by marble pilasters on the second storey level were allegorical groups of foreign emissaries personifying the four continents (Africa, Asia, America, Europe).⁵³⁹ Many of these spectators are in conversation or have turned away from the room in an attempt to imitate the behaviour of those in waiting at the royal court. Le Brun's treatment of the group of European figures placed an emphasis on their weaponry, presumably alluding to recent intercontinental military conflicts. After all, the commission coincided with Louis XIV's combat in the Dutch Wars (1672–78), in which England fought in alliance with France. Whilst it is likely that Laguerre witnessed this scheme first hand during his formative years, this was not the case for Thornhill. In 1705 Thornhill had incorporated a similar motif on the east hall wall at Stoke Edith in Herefordshire, now destroyed (fig. 123). However, this was most likely intended to be interpreted as a traditional Italianate portico rather than an imitation of the Versailles murals. Engraved reproductions of Le Brun's scheme at Versailles were produced in two stages, yet, the timing of their production and circulation would not have aided either artist or patron at Blenheim. Between 1679 and 1683, seven engravings of just the ceiling decoration were produced by Étienne Baudet (1636–1711). A volume of twenty-four plates reproducing the wall paintings and general layout of the room, accompanied by an explanatory text, was overseen by the engravers Louis Surugue (1686–1762) and Charles-Louis Simonneau (1645–1728) between 1721 and 1725 (figs. 124 and 125).⁵⁴⁰ However, it is likely that Laguerre was familiar with modellos and large cartoons relating to this scheme that had been created by Le Brun's studio. English audiences may have become familiar with the subject of these murals through written descriptions, such as Claude Nivelon's article in the *Mercure galante* in around 1680 and Jean François Felibién's *Description de l'escalier des Ambassadeurs* of around the same time, published in *Description sommaire de Versailles ancienne et moderne* in 1703. Le Brun's work was further accessible through guides to Versailles published during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁸ This comparison had been made in Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, vol. 1, p. 64. For an introduction to Le Brun's commission see Chapter Six in Burchard, *The Sovereign Artist: Charles Le Brun and the Image of Louis XIV*, pp. 197–231; also Lydia Beauvais et al., *Charles Le Brun 1619–1690. Le décor de l'escalier des Ambassadeurs à Versailles*, exh. cat., Musée National du Château, Versailles, 1990–1 (Paris, 1990).

⁵³⁹ The popularity of the four continents of the world theme is reflected in the commonality of literary and visual references during the Renaissance. One example would be the series of engravings by Julius Goltzius (d. 1595), after Maerten de Vos (1532–1603), copies of which are in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

⁵⁴⁰ Mentioned in Fuhring, *A Kingdom of Images*, p. 101. Engravings after Le Brun's work entitled 'Le grand escalier de Versailles' were included in an inventory of Prior's library, compiled shortly before his death in 1721. See Portland Papers, 'Catalogue of Mr Prior's books', BL Add MS 70362, f. 34v. This would suggest that there were earlier visual sources for this scheme than those stated above.

⁵⁴¹ Examples include Pierre Rainssant, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles, et de ses deux salons* (Paris, 1687); François Charpentier, *Explication des tableaux de la galerie de Versailles* (Paris, 1684, 1691).

Some thought is required, therefore, as to whether Laguerre was responsible for introducing and repackaging this theme for an English audience. It is probable that he viewed this commission as an opportunity to pay tribute to Le Brun's artistic genius. From 1716 onwards, the Duchess was largely responsible for completing the build and interior decoration, which perhaps allowed for more artistic license on the part of Laguerre.⁵⁴² For the Marlboroughs, the subject of the mural was reminiscent of the courtly rituals they had become accustomed to under Queen Anne.⁵⁴³ By the time the murals were completed the Marlboroughs had returned to favour under George I. Therefore, the subject related to the room's intended function, to host formal gatherings for government officials, employees of the crown and foreign embassies – the scheme incorporating the inhabitants as an interactive element. In combination, Laguerre's pictorial strategies, which included a painted upper gallery adorned with martial trophies and armour relating to war and peace, served as a reminder of the Marlborough's contribution to the preservation of the English monarchy and the Duke's role of arbiter of Europe. According to Elsum's guide to painting, these were the kind of thematic choices that best suited a palace interior, among which the 'Labours of Hercules' and 'Portraits of Ambassadors and Ministers of State' were cited.⁵⁴⁴

This triumphant decor is, none the less, at odds with the multitude of anti-French imagery. A case in point is the colossal bust of Louis XIV placed on the north front (fig. 126), which was removed from Tournai following its capture by Marlborough in 1709.⁵⁴⁵ This is accompanied by the inscription, BUROPJBE HJEC VINDE X GENIO DECORA ALTA, which translates as 'The liberator of Europe dedicates these lofty honours to the Genius of Britain'. Imagery of British victory over the French can be observed elsewhere on the building's exterior, in particular, the lions dismembering cocks on the east clock tower (fig. 127), the inverted fleurs-de-lys on the cannon balls of each tower (fig. 128), both by Grinling Gibbons, and the sculpted Britannia standing with two chained supposedly French captives above the pediment on the south front. With this in mind, it is important to consider how Laguerre, a Frenchman, may have felt working for Marlborough in this anti-French context. This should be further considered in relation to Laguerre's earlier schemes at Marlborough House, commissioned by the Duchess in around 1712. In contrast to the military allegories at Blenheim, the large-scale topographical representations of French defeat against Marlborough's armies during the War of Spanish Succession embodied the true depictions of war.⁵⁴⁶ Laguerre undoubtedly took Louis XIV's battle scenes as his model, particularly inspired by a set of tapestries known as *Histoire du Roi* after designs by Le Brun and Adam Frans van der Meulen (Louvre, Paris) (fig. 129).⁵⁴⁷ Even so, the form in which Marlborough is represented is very different. At Marlborough House, in scenes that document the battles at Blenheim, Malplaquet and

⁵⁴² See Green, *Blenheim Palace*, pp. 144–49.

⁵⁴³ On the Duchess's political career see Field, *The Favourite: Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, pp. 98–99.

⁵⁴⁴ Elsum, *The Art of Painting*, p. 84.

⁵⁴⁵ Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh*, p. 66.

⁵⁴⁶ This point is raised by Lydia Hamlett in 'Rupture through Realism' in *Court, Country and City*, pp. 200–201.

⁵⁴⁷ On Le Brun's commission see Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, pp. 72–78.

Ramillies (fig. 130), Marlborough is placed among his soldiers, often in the midst of battle in acknowledgment of the suffering and hardship of military combat, including those of his enemies, Laguerre's countrymen.⁵⁴⁸ In contrast, images that glorified the French king traditionally positioned him in the foreground or elevated and detached from the action unfolding on the battlefield. Laguerre's tendency to borrow and transform compositional elements from French sources could be regarded as disloyal towards those responsible for his artistic training. Yet this could be reckoned given the considerable influence the French school had on his developing style and chosen subject matter, during a period characterised by increasing intercontinental artistic exchanges.

The Wollaton and Blenheim murals provide an insight into the contributions and alterations made by Laguerre and Thornhill for the same interior spaces, of which there are few known instances in England during this period. The circumstance in which both commissions were sought differed significantly. For instance, the Marlboroughs projected their social position and political endeavours through a visual interplay of symbolism and realism. In doing so, imagery with existing royal affiliations was adopted and remastered as an emblematic message of diplomatic superiority. In contrast, the Willoughby family, of comparatively less exalted status, conveyed their knowledge of mythological narratives and emerging taste for the mural genre, albeit without the direct symbolism. I would suggest that both schemes at Blenheim exemplify the tendency to combine portraiture with allegory in English commissions, thereby strengthening these inherent messages.

Reimagining the schemes at Cannons

The high demand for which Laguerre's expertise were sought during his latter years is indicated by a letter dated 20 July 1716 from James Brydges, Earl of Carnarvon and later 1st Duke of Chandos, to the former Lord Chancellor Sir William Cowper (1665–1723), who currently employed the artist.⁵⁴⁹ Laguerre's time spent at Cowper's seat of Cole Green Park, demolished in around 1801, is known only through several pieces of archival material. An unpublished contractual agreement written on 19 May 1716 outlines the terms of Laguerre's employment to paint 'the Great Room' ceiling and to be completed within four months for the sum of £130.⁵⁵⁰ A sketch of the agreed design had been left with his patron although the subject remains unknown.⁵⁵¹ Laguerre's relationship with this family was well established as indicated by a receipt, dated 19 April 1712 for

⁵⁴⁸ Also mentioned in Hamlett, 'Rupture through Realism', pp. 201–3.

⁵⁴⁹ Letter from James Brydges to William Cowper, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, D/EP/F53, cited in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 26 July 2016.

⁵⁵⁰ Contract for work carried out by Louis Laguerre, 1716, Cowper Papers, Hertfordshire Archives, DE/P/E1. The Earl's diary records 'Charges on building & furnishing' for 1715–16 in which payments were also made for bricklaying, fabrics, guided frames and portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller and Laguerre's work totalling £329.11s.4d. Laguerre's painting cost almost half of the entire yearly expenditure. See DE/P/F76.

⁵⁵¹ There is no mention of the painting in inventories made between 1723 and 1726 after Cowper's death as part of his brother Spencer Cowper's claim on the estate.

twenty-one guineas “for painting the three childrens pictures”.⁵⁵² A comparatively more detailed contract drawn up in 1702 for Thomas Osbourne (1632–1712), 1st Duke of Leeds at Kiveton Hall, now destroyed, reveals the patron’s strict instructions on the appearance of the paintings and ornamental features on the staircase and in the great hall.⁵⁵³

Despite Chandos's claim in the correspondence mentioned here that he did not require Laguerre’s services, the artist was subsequently employed at great length at his residence of Cannons. It is the aim of this section to consider Laguerre's contribution towards this extensive artistic programme which probably spanned between 1717 and his death in 1721.⁵⁵⁴ The Duke acquired much of his wealth through his position as Paymaster to the Forces between 1704 and 1714, and his marriage to Cassandra Willoughby in 1713.⁵⁵⁵ Kneller's portrait of the pair was painted in the same year (National Gallery of Canada) (fig. 131). It is difficult to establish the extent of her influence on the Duke’s patronage, yet her familiarity with the work Laguerre and Thornhill had been established at Wollaton.⁵⁵⁶ An inventory of the contents at Cannons compiled in 1725 when the house was almost complete by John Gilbert, the Duke’s Groom of the Chamber, provides an insightful picture of which rooms had painted ceilings, which rather unusually, almost all did.⁵⁵⁷ The subjects depicted and the artist’s fee or the current valuation was also recorded. However, whilst Gilbert would have been well informed of the cost of employing craftsmen and artists due to his presence at the house, care must be taken as to the accuracy of the details, in particular the visual iconography and attributions. In addition to this, several floor plans offer further guidance as to the layout of the rooms and dispersal of painters throughout the interiors. The fact that this account was made shortly after completion of the build, is unusual. It is likely that due to overspending and the financial crisis of 1720, the Duke wished to know the extent of his expenditure and assets.⁵⁵⁸

Following the Duke's death, a series of demolition sales of the building materials and contents of the house took place during 1747. The catalogue of household furniture provides a few vague references to painted murals when compared with more detailed descriptions of the easel paintings.⁵⁵⁹ The unreliable nature of the entries supposedly provided by the auctioneer is reflected

⁵⁵² Receipt for work by Louis Laguerre, 1712, Hertfordshire Archives, D/EP/A5, cited in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' accessed 26 July 2016.

⁵⁵³ See Norbert Lynton, 'Laguerre at Kiveton', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 96, no. 639 (June 1956), pp. 204–7.

⁵⁵⁴ During my period of doctoral study, I was unable to gain access to the partially uncatalogued Chandos family papers held in the Huntington Library, in California.

⁵⁵⁵ On his life and career see 'Curriculum Vitae: Ambitions, Achievements, Politics' in Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, pp. 8–27.

⁵⁵⁶ See Johnson, *Excellent Cassandra*, pp. 82–94; also O'Day, *Cassandra Brydges*, pp. 57–62.

⁵⁵⁷ See Susan Jenkins, 'An inventory of his grace the Duke of Chandos's seat at Cannons taken June the 19th 1725' by John Gilbert, *The Volume of the Walpole Society*, vol. 67 (2005), pp. 93–192.

⁵⁵⁸ See Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, p. 46–51.

⁵⁵⁹ The original catalogue is held in the Bodleian Library. A note on the back page states that 'a ceiling piece from her grace's drawing room' had been omitted, which is believed to have been painted by Laguerre.

in the inaccurate attribution to Sebastiano Ricci in relation to many of the ceilings. This painter was never employed by the Duke having left England by the end of 1716. A condition of the sale was that buyers were responsible for dismantling the purchased items. Many of the schemes listed were painted on canvas enabling them to be removed from the walls. Of course, it is likely that some were destroyed or sold privately, although the identity of their purchasers largely remains unknown. It is possible that these kinds of objects were unpopular with buyers due to the fact that they would inevitably require cutting down to size for another house. Yet Thomas Foley (1716–1777), 1st Baron is believed to have purchased several paintings by Antonio Bellucci (1654–1726), originally installed in James Gibbs's chapel which formed part of the house and then installed in Great Witley church in Worcestershire (fig. 132).⁵⁶⁰

For the first or principal floor divided into several private apartments (fig. 133), the Duke chose a multinational group of painters, including Laguerre, Thornhill and the Venetians, Bellucci and Francesco Sleter (1685–1775). While the less formal ground floor rooms were given to the more obscure English painters, Henry Trench (fl. 1700–1726), who had accompanied Anthony Cooper in Naples, and Charles Simon, a former apprentice to John Devoto (fl. 1708–1752).⁵⁶¹ These state apartments formed a sequence of reception rooms as was the traditional setting for ceremonial life: the staircase leading to the state drawing and dressing room, an antechamber, with the most distinguished accessing the state bedchamber and the most private room, the closet.⁵⁶² By studying the floor plan and inventory, it is possible to ascertain how the upstairs rooms were divided between each artist. The main marble staircase positioned on the south front was decorated with *Triumph of Victory* attributed to Sketer and Closterman's portrait of his great political ally, the Duke of Marlborough (Royal Hospital, Chelsea).⁵⁶³ This led to one of the grandest rooms on the upper floor, the Salon, adorned with a ceiling panel of *Apollo and the Muses*, surrounded by seven circular scenes representing the liberal arts and 'Six Shields' of *Peace, Plenty, Temperance, Fortitude, Justice* and *Prudence*, for which Thornhill was paid £500.⁵⁶⁴ As mentioned in chapter one, Thornhill's attempts to acquire Le Brun's designs for the Galerie d'Apollon whilst in Paris is indicative of his ardent interest in this subject. Positioned on the opposite side of the house, the Library ceiling was painted by Bellucci with *Apollo facing the Temple of Honour*, surrounded by the arts and sciences providing instruction to the personification of Youth, for the sum of £350.⁵⁶⁵ Charles Gildon, in his poem *Cannons: or, the Vision. A poem address'd to the right honourable Earl of Carnarvon*, published in 1717, declared that, 'Apollo was the Bridges then of Greece/ England's Apollo, Bridges now shall rise', acknowledging the association to be made with Chandos.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁰ Mentioned in Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, pp. 41, 69.

⁵⁶¹ On Devoto see Edward Croft-Murray, *John Devoto: a Baroque scene painter* (London, 1953).

⁵⁶² See Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, pp. 126–30.

⁵⁶³ Mentioned in Jenkins, *Portrait of a Patron*, pp. 62–64, n. 24.

⁵⁶⁴ See *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 125–27.

⁵⁶⁶ Charles Gildon, *Cannons: or, the Vision. A poem address'd to the right honourable Earl of Carnarvon*, p. 18.

These rooms divided the east front which was occupied by the Duke's private apartment, and the west side, which had suites of rooms belonging to Lady Cassandra and her son in law, John Brydges (1703–1727), Marquess of Carnarvon. The former was decorated exclusively by Sleter and Bellucci, the dressing room and bedchamber ceilings relating to themes of marriage and romance.⁵⁶⁷ Laguerre was responsible for the other apartments. In the north east wing, Cassandra's dressing room was decorated with the scene of Juno borrowing Venus's girdle to deceive Jupiter, taken from the fourteenth book of Homer's *Illiad*, for the modest sum of £40.⁵⁶⁸ The slightly increased fee of £70 was received for her bedchamber mural depicting Endymion and Diana accompanied by Morpheus the god of sleep. In contrast, Laguerre's treatment of Lord Carnarvon's bedchamber included allegories of the four elements (fire, earth, air and water). Fire was conveyed through the actions of Vulcan, who was seduced by Venus and persuaded to forge weapons for her son, Aeneid, the founder of Rome, found in the eighth book of Virgil's *Aeneid*.⁵⁶⁹ Accompanying panels represented Earth through the depiction of Bacchus with Ceres and Cybele. Air was shown through Iris with her rainbow attribute and Hemera as the personification of day and the Four Winds. Water was represented through Thaumias and Iris, the god and goddess of the sea. The famous sets of tapestries depicting these themes after designs by Le Brun were intended as a visual expression of Louis XIV's virtues and character. This was likely known to English audiences through engravings by Sébastien Le Clerc (fig. 134), which were published alongside André Félibien's description of the allegories.⁵⁷⁰

Both west facing apartments at Cannons were accessible from the ground floor by way of a secondary staircase, which Laguerre decorated for £364.⁵⁷¹ At first glance, the subjects on the walls and ceiling are seemingly unintelligible due to the lack of a coherent narrative, although the majority of the themes were based on pairs of lovers taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Some of the subjects of this scheme resemble scenes in the Farnese Gallery, which Laguerre may have known from studies by Le Brun made during his visit to Italy or through an engraved series produced by Claude Lefèbvre (1632–1675) and dedicated to Le Brun.⁵⁷² According to the household inventory at Cannons, the ceiling was adorned with the figures of Boreas and Orithea.⁵⁷³ On the north wall, Ulysses and Circe was placed above Mercury and Aglauras. The landing wall looking out towards the central courtyard depicted 'Judgement of Hercules between Virtue and Vice' placed above the 'History of Thomiris Queen of Scythia'. The south wall landing

⁵⁶⁷ Jenkins, 'An inventory of his grace the Duke of Chandos's seat att Cannons', pp. 120–24.

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128. See Alexander Pope, *The Illiad of Homer*, in Maynard Mack, ed., *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope* (London and New Haven, 1967), pp. 156, 172–73.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117. See *Virgil. Aeneid*, trans. John Dryden (London, 1993), pp. 238–41.

⁵⁷⁰ André Félibien, *Devises pour les tapisseries du roy, ou sont représentés les quatre éléments et le quatre saisons de l'année* (Paris, 1668). See Marchesano and Michel, *Printing in the Grand Manner*, p. 32.

⁵⁷¹ See Jenkins, 'An inventory of his grace the Duke of Chandos's seat att Cannons', p. 131.

⁵⁷² Lefèbvre's engravings of this gallery are the focus of *God & Goddesses: Annibale Carracci & the Renaissance Reborn*, exh. cat. (Indiana University Art Museum, Indiana, 2015).

⁵⁷³ Laguerre had painted this subject earlier on the staircase ceiling at Sudbury Hall during the late 1690s for George Vernon (1636–1702). See Cherry Anne Knott, *George Vernon 1636–1702 'Who built this house' Sudbury Hall, Derbyshire* (Stroud, 2010), pp. 609–16.

depicted Piramus and Thisbe and the opposite wall above the door leading to Cassandra's apartment was decorated with Achilles dressed in maiden's habit. Apollo and Callisto were placed above a third landing door and 'fronting the stairs' was Apollo and Diana. Two statues of Bacchus and Ceres, and the figure of Minerva were painted in grisaille. Whilst the current location of these schemes remain unknown, Laguerre's altar painting in St Lawrence Church, on the outskirts of Canons Park, along with Bellucci's *Nativity* and *Pieta* on the east wall (fig. 135) and *Transfiguration* in the gallery, remain in situ.⁵⁷⁴

I would suggest that these numerous and varied schemes embody a hybrid of French and Italian influence, both in terms of the sources and themes employed, and the contemporary artistic presence at Cannons. In terms of commissioning artists, there was a division between the Italian painters employed for the Duke's private apartment and the French workmanship in the Duchess's rooms. Again, the main formal spaces on the upper floor were dominated by Italian painters, apart from several areas by Thornhill. It is likely that this was dependent on the artists' availability and the areas of the house ready for decoration.⁵⁷⁵ Yet this painting formation seems to point quite clearly to a perceived difference in continental taste and the formation of an established artistic hierarchy. By comparison to other forms of elite patronage discussed here, these schemes appear rather impersonal, with no references to family portraiture being incorporated. Instead, the scale of artistic workmanship and mastery of the mythological narratives and allegorical themes suggests an intention to surpass, or at least equal, the kind of monarchical patronage undertaken on the continent during the seventeenth century.

These case studies have considered the contribution of Laguerre and his contemporaries to Baroque murals painting in England during its most popular and expansive phase. In considering the ways in which patrons interpreted the visual language, I have suggested that there are commissions through which either French or Italian sources can be identified, and others that combine both. Yet it is easy to overgeneralise this point, as the patron's ability to decipher these murals would have varied greatly, as was the extent of their involvement in the design process. I would argue that Laguerre was relying upon Le Brun's studies of Italian murals, often reworked in the artistic programmes of Louis XIV and heroic imagery, such as depictions of Apollo and Hercules. In establishing what was distinctive about English murals, the combination of portraiture and allegory was an effective strategy to convey political messages, social elevation or affirmation. The final chapter further considers the ways in which collectors and patrons became educated on paintings through the reception of art literature in England and the adaptation of seventeenth-century continental models.

⁵⁷⁴ This commission is comparable to Laguerre's work on the chapel at Chatsworth built in 1688–93 for William Cavendish, 1st Duke of Devonshire, as well as Thornhill's painted chapel at Wimpole, and his work for All Souls College, Oxford.

⁵⁷⁵ For instance, an unpublished letter sent to Thornhill by an unknown recipient, perhaps on behalf of the Duke, on 19 August 1724 in regards to payment, testifies to the fact that he was working at Cannons long after Laguerre's death. Held in the Huntington Library, Stowe Papers, ST 57 Out-letter copybooks, vol. 24, p. 203.

CHAPTER FOUR

The reception of French art literature in Britain

Introduction

The dissemination of French art literature in Britain during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, requires further scholarly attention.⁵⁷⁶ Establishing the impact on English readership requires an approach grounded on the chronology of the publications, particularly successive editions and translations of successful texts, as well as the interpretation of evolving discourses and ideas. The key issue being the connection between the reading of books and the buying of pictures, and in particular, the relationship between the readership for small, cheap, ideas-based books and large, expensively illustrated ones, that had a practical use. The contents of private libraries documented in inventories and sale catalogues will bring to light the publications that were of interest to different groups of people. In doing so, it establishes whether some were responsible for widening social circles participating in literary learning, and also, how much, or little, overlap there was between these readerships. Revisiting some of the picture collectors discussed earlier, whose libraries can be reconstructed during their formation or disposal, will enable comments to be made in terms of how their engagement with French criticism dictated their picture acquisitions, navigation of the art market at home and abroad, interests in Italy and France, and professional networks. Yet there are limitations to relying on this material to convey an individual's access to, and knowledge of, ideas on painting. For example, book sale catalogues would have omitted items inherited by family members and friends. It is also impossible to establish the books that were read or borrowed on a temporary basis from the libraries of contemporaries. Following on from this, several key examples will determine the responses of English writers and artists in the formation of their own literary contributions and observations. Taken together, these perspectives establish the impact of French writing on art in Britain and the motives or development of a quasi-nationalistic or patriotic sensibility, in particular the sense of a national school.

The enthusiasm and ambivalence towards all things French among the English is a dimension that is applicable to attitudes towards French art and theory. In terms of the latter, this requires a consideration of how widely French was read in elite and educated circles, and whether this extended to the artistic community. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, an understanding of foreign languages formed part of wider notions of politeness for English

⁵⁷⁶ As one of the comprehensive surveys of art literature in Britain see Johannes Dobai, *Die Kunstliteratur des Klassizismus und der Romantik in England*, 3 vols (Bern, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 599–726. On seventeenth-century literature see Henry and Margaret Ogden, 'A Bibliography of Seventeenth-Century Writings on the Pictorial Arts in English', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 29, no. 3 (September 1947), pp. 196–201; and Luigi Salerno, 'Seventeenth-Century English Literature on Painting', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 14 (1951), pp. 234–258. Studies on individual French texts include Christopher Allen, Yasmin Haskell, Frances Muecke eds., *De Arte Graphica* (Geneva, 2005), pp. 128–40; Lawrence Lipking, *The Ordering of the Arts in Eighteenth-Century England* (Princeton, 2015), pp. 38–65.

gentlemen.⁵⁷⁷ This became an established part of elite education at private institutions and whilst touring the continent, as the dominant form of communication at the European courts that had been formalised by the Académie Française.⁵⁷⁸ By comparison, artists received little formal tutoring. English engagement with foreign languages coincided with developments and ideas about masculinity, social elevation and the self-fashioning of the gentry, merchants, artists and professionals. For these individuals, foreign languages could largely be self-taught through guides on grammar as well as dictionaries, thereby enabling this readership to engage with French literature on art as well as other literary genres.⁵⁷⁹

Hogarth's antagonism towards French art and theory, as well as the inconsistencies in his responses to, and borrowings from, these sources for his own artistic output, has been the subject of extensive research.⁵⁸⁰ Yet the limited scope of this study means that whilst the role of Hogarth in the formation of English attitudes towards French artistic culture must be acknowledged, it adopts an approach that asks how far there was continuity with what had gone before. In terms of the literacy of artists, a satirical image on the Richardsons dated 1724, 'The complicated R——n', inscribed: 'My son is my Telescope. Tis by his help I read the learned Languages', plays on notions of connoisseurship in relation to Richardson senior's inability to understand the Latin classics, as indicated by a copy of Virgil's *Aeneid* (fig. 136). This sentiment was perhaps meant to be applied to other literary forms, such as French and Italian art treatises which had greatly impacted Richardson's own writing on the subject. This is further conveyed by several paintings that are positioned above him in the image. Hogarth may also have been referring to the fact that, unlike Richardson junior a few years earlier, his father had not ventured abroad, thereby unable to improve on his language skills and indeed his knowledge of foreign artistic culture.

Another example, *Enthusiasm Delineated* (fig. 137) designed in 1761, embodies Hogarth's criticism of French academic practice through references to Roger de Piles's *Balance des peintres*, which formed part of *Cours de peinture par principes*, the original edition published in 1708.⁵⁸¹ The image portrays an art auctioneer disguised as a Methodist preacher, who suspends two puppets both representing high art: one relating to Raphael's *God* from the ceiling of the vatican Stanza d' Eliodoro (fig. 138), and the other is probably a reference to Ruben's *Devil* taken from the

⁵⁷⁷ This is discussed in Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), pp. 42–43.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 54–56.

⁵⁷⁹ Examples include François Colsoni, *The English Ladies New French Grammar* (London, 1699); Abel Boyer, *The Royal Dictionary Abridged. In two Parts. I. French and English, II. English and French* (1699, 1708, 1715, 1720); and *The Complete French Master for Ladies and Gentlemen* (1694, 1706, 1710, 1717, 1721, 1725).

⁵⁸⁰ Most notably Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art: The Rise of the Arts in 18th-century Britain*. Also see Peter Wagner, 'The artistic framing of English nationalism in Hogarth's The Gate of Calais, or, The roast beef of old England' in Ogée, *"Better in France?": The Circulation of Ideas Across the Channel in the Eighteenth Century* On Hogarth's work more generally see Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (New Haven and London, 2009); Elizabeth Einberg, *Manner and Morals: Hogarth and British Painting 1700–1760* (London, 1987); Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: his Life, Art and Times* (London, 1971).

⁵⁸¹ A reworking of this design appeared a year later as *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism*, that placed more of an emphasis on matters of faith, specifically Catholics and Methodists.

commissioned ceiling in the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (destroyed in 1718 and therefore probably known through a copy).⁵⁸² The position of the preacher's arms form a balance beam that imitate scales, suggesting the two works are being judged or 'weighed' against each other. Other distorted biblical figures relating to works by Dürer, Michelangelo and Rembrandt hang below the pulpit (fig. 139). Hogarth's mockery of de Piles's judgement of painters based on their mastery of the various principles of painting is played out here in front of a disengaged audience. In Hogarth's treatise *Analysis of Beauty* published in 1753, Chapter XIV 'Of Colouring' acknowledged earlier French academic debates discussed by de Piles, which Hogarth scathingly remarked, 'Poussin scarce ever obtained a glimpse of it, as is manifest in his many attempts: indeed France has not produced one remarkably good colourist'.⁵⁸³ Yet modern scholarship has acknowledged that many examples of Hogarth's paintings and engravings was founded upon a knowledge of French art and interactions with artists who he had met in Paris in 1743 and 1748.⁵⁸⁴ One example being Hogarth's *Moses brought before Pharaoh's Daughter* (The Foundling Museum, London) (fig. 140), painted in 1746, for which there existed several precedents, including Poussin's *The Infant Moses trampling Pharaoh's Crown* of 1646–8 (Private collection) (fig. 141) and *The Exposition of Moses* of 1654 (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).⁵⁸⁵ On one hand, this work conveyed Hogarth's competency in painting historical subjects, whilst on the other, it represented a reaction against this established genre, through an approach based on the subject's moral message that held a resonance with his patrons and wider audience.⁵⁸⁶

Spanning a period between the late 1680s to 1710s, this study looks at whether the work of French theorists, in particular de Piles and several of his contemporaries, acted as important conduits through which English audiences learnt about continental, particularly French pictures, formed individual tastes, and constructed their own literary forms on art.

Chronology of key French texts

In establishing the sequence of literature on the visual arts circulating in England, several distinctions need to be made, for instance, between texts that drew on earlier published sources, whether free or exact translations and re-editions, and those that presented debates for the first time. An emphasis will be placed on French texts on painting, as opposed to those on architecture, of which numerous examples were printed during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century in France and Italy. I would suggest that, when looking at the published material

⁵⁸² Discussed in Bernd Krysmanski, 'We see a Ghost: Hogarth's Satire on Methodists and Connoisseurs', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 80, no. 2 (June 1998), pp. 292–310.

⁵⁸³ William Hogarth, *Analysis of Beauty*, ed. Joseph Burke (Oxford, 1955), p. 132.

⁵⁸⁴ Chapter Three 'Hogarth's French connections' and Chapter Eight 'Art, Theatre and Old Masters in Britain and France' in Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*.

⁵⁸⁵ See Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth*, 2 vols (New Brunswick, 1991), vol 2: *High art and low, 1732–1750*, pp. 334–38.

⁵⁸⁶ Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, pp. 136–39; also Chapter Fourteen 'Comic and Sublime History Painting' in Paulson, *Hogarth: his life, Art and Times*.

on art during this period, there were a variety of topics on which the English reader could be educated. There were texts that provided a framework for ranking artists and incorporated sections on their life and work, whilst others included instructions on the judgments of paintings and the various painting processes. These works offered guidance that was theoretical, practical, historical, and biographical. However, the challenge is understanding the impact of these literary forms, and how and when these French ideas entered English readership.

An early contribution to English art literature was *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* by William Aglionby (1642–1705), published in 1685, with subsequent editions in 1688 and 1717. In aiming to improve English engagement with the arts, this text can be seen as a progression from John Evelyn's (1620–1706) *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, a 1668 translation of Roland Fréart's treatise written in 1662, which encompassed the theoretical debates and educational practices associated with the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture.⁵⁸⁷ Whilst Aglionby's work does not translate an existing text, his reliance on Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy's (1611–1668) *De Arte Graphica*, published in 1667, in terms of the thematic and theoretical approach, is unquestionable. However, Aglionby's objective and intended audience differed from those of Dufresnoy: whilst the former strove to introduce the nobility and gentry to the tradition of history painting, the latter intended his work to be read by learned connoisseurs and aspiring artists.⁵⁸⁸ Aglionby's encouragement of the nobility is further conveyed by his dedication to William Cavendish (1640–1707), recently becoming 4th Earl of Devonshire and known to the author through his father who had tutored William's own father. Aglionby most likely relied on the French translation of Dufresnoy's text carried out by fellow academician, Roger de Piles (1635–1709), as *L'Art de la peinture*, published the year after the original. Further insight into French academic teaching on art was conveyed by the 1688 translation of Henri Testelin's (1616–1695) *Sentiments of the most excellent painters, concerning the practice of painting, collected and composed in tables of precepts*, originally published in 1680. He approached seven parts of painting by identifying the key aspects of each one and the varying ways in which these precepts could be considered. Adopting a simplified format and method meant that he disregarded the essay style adopted by Dufresnoy, de Piles and Félibien. In combination, these treatises were indicative of a turning point in English taste in French painting and art literature.

In his Preface, Aglionby pointed to the lack of a notable history painter in England: 'To Remedy this therefore, I have undertaken this Work; which I have so composed, as it may be read with Delight by any who are of Conversant with Books or Pictures: the Design is, to make Painting Familiar and Easie to the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation'.⁵⁸⁹ In the first dialogue, an emphasis is placed on the traveller educating his friend (the reader) on the technical descriptions of painterly terms.⁵⁹⁰ Here, the reader is encouraged to visit the continent in order to become educated on picture collecting. Aglionby was responding to his own experiences abroad as a result of various

⁵⁸⁷ See Caroline Anne Good, 'Lovers of art': early English literature on the connoisseurship of pictures' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2013), pp. 80–84.

⁵⁸⁸ This comparison is made in *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97.

⁵⁸⁹ Aglionby, *Painting Illustrated* (1685), unpaginated.

⁵⁹⁰ For a detailed introduction to this text see Good, 'Lovers of Art', pp. 88–89.

diplomatic positions. The second dialogue recounts the history of painting in Greece and Rome through to a survey of Italian art as well as modern northern artists. The third dialogue, 'Teaching How to Know Good Pictures', provides his classification of the various parts of painting that ought to be studied. The text ends with a partial translation of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives* through the inclusion of eleven painters. Caroline Anne Good argues that the combination of these thematic sections as a historical, theoretical and biographical guide to the appreciation of paintings should be regarded as distinctly English.⁵⁹¹ Aglionby responded to the elevated position granted to Poussin in the work of Dufresnoy and de Piles, by restricting the passage devoted to the artist in his text, thereby preventing the French school from being considered as exemplar in the advancement of painting.⁵⁹² Consequently, this allowed for a more balanced consideration of other continental painters, and crucially the eventual inclusion of the English school.

The period spanning between the 1690s and 1700s witnessed the publication and translation of several key French manuals providing guidelines on the evaluation of painters, which remained authoritative over subsequent decades. The first English translation of Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* entitled *The Art of Painting* was published in 1695. Led by the author John Dryden (1631–1700), the translator of a celebrated edition of Homer's *Iliad*, the project came to fruition through the combined efforts of Richard Graham and the painters Godfrey Kneller, John Closterman and Henry Cooke (1642–1700).⁵⁹³ Dryden added to the Preface his lengthy introduction which formed a comparison between painting and poetry, a topic that would remain at the forefront of discussions on the visual arts throughout the following decades.⁵⁹⁴ As a new venture for Dryden, he confesses:

I freely own, that I thought myself incapable of performing it, or my own Credit. Not but that I understood the *Original Latine*, and the *French Author* perhaps as well as most *Englishmen*; But I was not sufficiently vers'd in the *Terms of Art*: And therefore thought that many of those persons who put this honourable task on me, were more able to perform to themselves, as undoubtedly they were. But they assuring me of their assistance, in correcting my faults when I spoke improperly, I was encourag'd to attempt it ⁵⁹⁵

Many of the artists and connoisseurs who played a substantial role in the commission of the publication, including Closterman, Cooke and Graham, were members of the virtuosi of St Luke.⁵⁹⁶ This is indicated further by the decision initially to publish the 1716 edition in thirty copies.⁵⁹⁷ As the last surviving member of the group, the 1716 edition was largely overseen by Graham. His

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵⁹² This point is suggested in *Ibid.*, pp. 99–101.

⁵⁹³ Allen, *De Arte Graphica*, p. 129.

⁵⁹⁴ Discussed in Lipking, *Ordering of the Arts*, pp. 45–47.

⁵⁹⁵ Dryden, *The Art of Painting* (1695), pp. ii–iii.

⁵⁹⁶ Bignamini, 'George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions in London', *Walpole Society*, pp. 24–25.

⁵⁹⁷ See Good, 'Lovers of art', pp. 161–62.

dedication to Richard Boyle (1695–1753), 3rd Earl of Burlington, acknowledges his position as an aspiring connoisseur of the arts, having recently returned from his tour of Italy in the company of Charles Jervas and William Kent.⁵⁹⁸ In a rather ambitious statement, Graham declares that the young Earl, ‘to whom the *Noble Arts* have the same Acknowledgements to pay in *these Kingdoms*, as they had to that great *Minister in France*’, this being Monsieur Colbert, Marquis de Seignelay, to whom Dufresnoy’s original edition was dedicated.⁵⁹⁹ He continues, ‘I congratulate my *Country-men*, upon the happy prospect they have, of saving them-selves the Trouble and Expense of a Journey to *Rome*, or *Paris*, for the Study of the *Arts*, which they may find in their utmost Perfection at BURLINGTON HOUSE.’ Graham added to both editions *A Short Account of the most Eminent Painters both modern and ancient....* which intended to overcome Dufresnoy’s devotion to the lives of Italian artists. The opening of the St Martin’s Academy in 1720 coincided with the publication of two further translations: Thomas Page’s *The Art of Painting in its Rudiment, Progress and Perfection* and D. F. Gent’s *The Compleat Art of Painting; A poem translated from the French of M. du Fresnoy*, both of which varied considerably from earlier editions in terms of omissions and additions to the content, and the quality of the translation.⁶⁰⁰ The timing of the earliest edition during the 1690s and these subsequent versions must not be underestimated, being representative of the impact that French intellectual appreciation of painting had on attempts to create an English school, as well as coinciding with the formative years of the London art market for French and other continental pictures, as explored in previous chapters.

Further contributions by de Piles to continental academic learning that were made accessible for an English readership included *Abrégé de la vie des peintres, avec des reflexions sur leurs ouvrages*, published in 1699, following his appointment as honorary advisor (*conseilleur honoraire*) to artists at the Académie. Beginning with an essay on *The Idea of a Perfect Painter*, the principal goal of this text was to provide short accounts on selected painters and judge them according to their mastering of the technical components of painting. Each section grouped the artists according to their nationality, with vastly more Italian painters considered. In 1706 John Savage translated de Piles’s text under the title *The Art of Painting and the Lives of the Painters*. The publication was dedicated to the banker Sir Robert Child (1674–1721), a member of St. Luke during the 1700s and 1710s.⁶⁰¹ As in Dryden’s editions, a more comprehensive biography of the painters was inserted at the end of this edition through Buckeridge Bainbrigg’s (1668–1733) *An Essay towards an English School of Painters*. In acknowledging Dryden’s competence as the translator of de Piles’s *L’art de peinture*, Bainbrigg admitted that he ‘had his work before me in the

⁵⁹⁸ See Pamela Denman King, ‘Boyle, Richard, third earl of Burlington and fourth earl of Cork (1694–1753)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3136>, accessed 19 Feb 2017]; also John Harris, *The Palladian Revival: Lord Burlington, his Villa and Garden at Chiswick* (London and New Haven, 1994).

⁵⁹⁹ Dryden, *The Art of Painting* (1716), unpaginated.

⁶⁰⁰ See Allen, *De Arte Graphica*, pp. 137–38. On St Martin’s Academy see Bignamini, ‘George Vertue, Art Historian, and Art Institutions in London’, *Walpole Society*, pp. 83–89.

⁶⁰¹ Little is known about Robert although information on a family member can be found in Philip Winterbottom, ‘Child, Sir Francis, the elder (1641/2–1713)’, *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn. Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5286>, accessed 19 Feb 2017].

execution of my own, and endeavoured to imitate him in the account of those English Painters'.⁶⁰² A comparison between the approaches of Graham and Bainbrigg is discussed below.

Following on from this treatise, de Piles's *Cours de peinture par principes* published in 1708, included an appendix which provided a ranking system between artists of different schools according to four academic principles (composition, design, colour and expression), with a score out of twenty points awarded for each.⁶⁰³ His preference for Rubens is indicated by the high scores given for each criteria, his mastery of colour awarded seventeen points, with a total of sixty-five points. Raphael was given an equally high total score of sixty-five. By comparison, Le Brun was scored eight points for his use of the same principle and placed third overall with a score of fifty-six points. Poussin was rated as deserving six points and shared fifth place with Correggio with a total of fifty-three. Indeed, de Piles pointed firmly to the lack of understanding of colouring among the French school, particularly followers of Poussin, such as Le Sueur who was scored four points. However, this national school excelled in their skill of drawing and design, with Poussin's seventeen points surpassing Rubens's score of thirteen. Using this system, the author was attempting to dictate the appreciation for certain painters and influence public collecting during this period. Furthermore, this formed part of wider academic debates surrounding the importance of colour and drawing, with de Piles promoting the former principle.⁶⁰⁴ Despite the text not being translated into English in 1743, the original French version remained popular among aristocratic audiences during the early eighteenth century.

In contrast to the literature of Dufresnoy and de Piles, whose efforts were largely directed towards defining art theoretical frameworks, André Félibien's *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages de plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes*, published between 1666 and 1688, adopted a biographical approach that identified notable artists and their work from antiquity to the seventeenth century. As a devoted friend of Poussin, the final volume focused entirely on the artist's life and work.⁶⁰⁵ These texts enabled English collectors and travellers to become familiar with celebrated paintings abroad, many of which were available to see first hand in Italy and France. In terms of the latter, these were predominantly works that had been commissioned or purchased by Louis XIV or his advisors, which often included descriptions of their locations within royal palaces and private hôtels. Around the time that Félibien started work on his *Entretiens* he was appointed official historian to Louis XIV and in 1671 named secretary to the Académie royale d'architecture. In 1668, his *Conférences de l'Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture pendant l'année 1667*, documented the subjects discussed in seven conférences held during one year. Each one took as their subject a painting in the royal collection, thereby promoting the French king's artistic patronage. The final and most extensive lecture was presented by Le Brun on

⁶⁰² Dryden, *The Art of Painting* (1706), unpaginated.

⁶⁰³ See Michael Davenport, 'The Balance of Roger de Piles: A Statistical Analysis', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol. 32, no. 4 (1974), pp. 493–502; also John Steegman, 'The Balance des Peintres of Roger de Piles', *The Art Quarterly*, vol. 17 (1954), pp. 255–61.

⁶⁰⁴ For an in-depth study on the subject see Bernard Teyssède, *Roger de Piles et les débats sur le coloris au siècle de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1957).

⁶⁰⁵ For a detailed study see Claire Pace, *Félibien's Life of Poussin*.

Poussin's *The Israelites Gathering the Manna in the Desert* (Louvre, Paris) (fig. 142), in which he outlined his complete theory of expression or 'theory of the modes'.⁶⁰⁶ In 1705, the *Conférences* and *Entretiens* were reprinted in French by David Mortier (1673–1728), an Amsterdam-born bookseller whose shop was located at Erasmus's Head in the Strand. The frontispieces for both texts bear the rather misleading imprint 'Londres', which suggests that this was perhaps a collaborative venture with his brother's printing house in Amsterdam.⁶⁰⁷ Whilst the *Entretiens* were not translated into English during the first half of the eighteenth century, an English edition entitled *Seven conferences held in the King of France's Cabinet of Pictures* appeared in 1740, printed for the prominent bookseller Thomas Cooper (fl. 1738–1742).⁶⁰⁸

The approaches adopted by French artistic theory during the late seventeenth century shifted from the reception of Félibien on Poussin to the study of Le Brun's lecture on expression. In 1698, Le Brun's *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* made available his lesson on physiognomy and the effect of various emotions or passions on human expression, which he intended as a model for students.⁶⁰⁹ This publication replaced the essay form adopted by his contemporaries with an illustrated drawing manual. In 1661 Le Brun had become the Rector at the Académie and then the Chancellor in 1668, followed by Director in 1683. The reception of his manual in England can be established through a translation printed for the engraver John Smith (1652–1743) and the bookseller Edward Cooper (d. 1725) in 1701, which included illustrations after Le Brun (figs. 143 and 144).⁶¹⁰ Smith's decision to dedicate the edition to Kneller, Le Brun's modern day equivalent through his position as court painter and director of an early academy, further indicates the collective role of English artists in engaging with French art literature. In 1696 Kneller had painted Smith's portrait (Tate, London) as a gift to him. *A method to learn to design the passions*, translated by John Williams in 1734 (based on Testelin's 1696 edition), included the original title-page Bernard Picart showing an artist's studio with a student studying Le Brun's faces (fig. 145). In his dedication to Sir Hans Sloane (1668–1753), the president of the College of Physicians and the Royal Society, Williams declared that his reason for publishing this text was that, 'all my country-men, who are lovers of painting, and who do not understand the *French* tongue, might reap the benefit of it: But, on closer perusal, I met with great difficulty than I first expected; the language and expression being extremely incorrect, and, in some places, scarcely

⁶⁰⁶ See Jennifer Montagu, *The Expression of the Passions: the Origins and Influence of Charles Le Brun's Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 9–12. Also Pace, *Life of Poussin*, pp. 49–50.

⁶⁰⁷ On Mortier see Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers who were at work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1668 to 1725*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1922), vol. 3, p. 211.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 61.

⁶⁰⁹ Three versions of the lecture that varied in terms of length and the quantity of the illustrations were published by Henry Testelin (Paris, 1696), Bernard Picart (Paris, 1698), and Jean Audran (Paris, 1727). On the reception of Le Brun's lecture and publication see 'The legacy of Le Brun' in Melissa Percival, *The Appearance of Character: Physiognomy and Facial Expression in eighteenth-century France* (Leeds, 1999).

⁶¹⁰ See Antony Griffiths, 'Smith, John (1652–1743)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25846>, accessed 26 Feb 2017]. Also Timothy Clayton, 'Cooper, Edward (d. 1725)', *ODNB*; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6215>, accessed 26 Feb 2017].

intelligible'.⁶¹¹ He continues that, 'I have endeavoured to rectify, and hope the amendments, I have taken liberty to make, have effectively explained his sense, as well as refined his phrase'.

I would argue that the English artistic community led by Smith, adopted Le Brun's guide as a universal tool and an academic form of French thinking. His manual paved the way for later examples that further imitated the state of learning at the French Académie, such as Benjamin Ralph's *The School of Raphael, or the Student's Guide to Expression in Historical Painting*, the first edition printed for the leading publisher of engravings, John Boydell (1720–1804) in 1759 (fig. 146).⁶¹² This edition reproduced forty-five engravings after drawings by Nicolas Dorigny, originally published in 1722 as *Recueil de quatre-vingt-dix têtes tirées des sept cartons des actes des apôtres peints par Raphl*. In the accounts of English travellers to Paris, observations made during visits to the Académie were generally of a positive nature, often showing admiration towards the teaching practices, the access students had to the King's collection, and the financial support granted to them.⁶¹³

Having identified the key French authors and thematic approaches being employed in their work, as well as when original and subsequent editions and translations appeared, it would be useful to consider who was responsible for the initial conception and distribution of these publications. The names of the publishers and booksellers, and sometimes a description of their location were included on the title-pages. One example of this is Dryden's 1695 edition which stated that it was 'Printed for W. Rogers by J. Heptinstall, at the Sun against St Duncan's Church in Fleetstreet'. Woodes Rogers (c. 1679–1732), a renowned British sailor and later governor of Bahamas, was depicted with his family in Hogarth's conversation piece, painted in 1729 (National Maritime Museum, London) (fig. 147). Unlike the other individuals mentioned here, he had no prior background in publishing or bookselling. Dryden's 1716 edition was printed for Bernard Lintott (1675–1736), who was responsible for printing Pope's translation of *The Iliad of Homer*, in 1715.⁶¹⁴ De Piles's *Art of Painting* was overseen by John Nutt (d. 1716) the printer and seller, who a few years earlier had been responsible for the famous publication of Swift's *A Tale of a Tub* of 1704.⁶¹⁵ In addition, Aglionby's 1685 edition was 'Printed by John Gain for the Author, And are to be sold by Walter Kettilby, at the Bishop's Head, in St Paul's Church-Yard'. In relation to these texts, the publishers, translators and booksellers were involved in single, as opposed to multiple, editions. Overall, subsequent translations of the same text did not come to fruition as a result of the same collaborations, but were often an attempt to adapt and improve an existing edition. This was the case for Dryden's two editions, although this is hardly surprising considering that there was sixteen years between each one. Another example is de Piles's *Art of Painting*, with the second English edition appearing thirty-eight years after the first version.

⁶¹¹ *A method to learn to design the passions* (London, 1734), p. iv.

⁶¹² Bernd Krysmanski, 'Benjamin Ralph's School of Raphael (1759)', *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, vol. 24 (Spring 2001), pp. 15–32.

⁶¹³ See Woodhouse, 'English travellers to Paris', pp. 150–52.

⁶¹⁴ See Plomer, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers*, vol. 2, pp. 189–90.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

The commercial transformation of the London book trade during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century was defined by the introduction of new literary genres and structured market of professionals, centred on a small group of leading booksellers, some of whom were responsible for the publication of texts described above.⁶¹⁶ The overlapping roles undertaken by the bookseller usually indicated some sort of financial backing, as the publisher or simply as manufacturer of the book.⁶¹⁷ The use of the imprint 'printed for the author', such as in the case of Aglionby's treatise, often indicated a financial contribution to overcome the publisher's lack of support, which perhaps here was due to the fact that art literature was an emerging genre during the 1680s and 1690s. By the end of seventeenth century, an increasing number of booksellers were dealing with used books and the dispersal of libraries by holding auctions.⁶¹⁸ The names of taverns and coffee shops were used to indicate the sites of book trades and auction sales, many positioned in the main thoroughfares and commercial centres of the Strand, Fleet Street and St Paul's Churchyard.⁶¹⁹ These were spaces that provided other forms of consumption, exchange and sociability, and among which artistic discourses and debates were cultivated and circulated.⁶²⁰

The process of buying books was similar to acquiring paintings in which new and second hand versions could be found through the study of auction catalogues or by visiting a dealer's shop. Establishing the value of individual titles or genres is difficult due to variations in the book's physical size, condition and age, in addition to its popularity and the number of copies in circulation. During the early eighteenth century, an octavo book commonly achieved between 5s. and 6s., with a folio or quarto costing around 10s. to 12s.⁶²¹ However, greater fluctuations in value would have occurred as part of the bidding process at auction sales.⁶²² Purchasing foreign imports, particularly those in short supply, commanded higher sums. At the start of the Nine Years' War in 1688, trade with France was forbidden by the government with the importation of goods continuing due to Dutch intervention.⁶²³ The early eighteenth century witnessed changes in the function of books, caused by an increase in the formation of private libraries and the construction of new rooms within the home used as interactive spaces. Hogarth's *Cholmondeley Family* (Private Collection) (fig. 148) painted in 1732, shows various members sat within a domestic library with a picture gallery beyond. In between these two rooms, a young boy climbs onto a pile of books,

⁶¹⁶ James Raven, *The Business of Books: Booksellers and the English Book Trade, 1450–1850* (London and New Haven, 2007), p. 123.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 126–27.

⁶¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 106–10.

⁶¹⁹ Chapter Six 'High and low: locating the trades' in Raven, *The Business of Books*.

⁶²⁰ See Brian Cowan, *The Social Life of Coffee: the emergence of the British Coffeehouse* (New Haven and London, 2005), pp. 99–100.

⁶²¹ See Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: an Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (London, 1974), p. 245. See also Robin Myers and Michael Harris, ed., *Sale and Distribution of Books from 1700* (Oxford, 1982).

⁶²² For example Boyer's *French Dictionary* achieved vastly different sums at the auction of 'Mr A. Churchill' in 1721 and the sale of 'Mr Richard Sare' in 1726, both of which were held at the 'Queen's Head Tavern'. These were among 167 trade sales of books annotated by Thomas Longman and his son between 1718 and 1769. BL Add MS C.170.aa.1.

⁶²³ Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 108.

perhaps to signify the literary education required to become an art connoisseur. The next section of this study naturally leads to a consideration of how far French publications on art were known in Britain, who read this literature and the extent to which it contributed to their knowledge of paintings.

Readers and Libraries

The presence of French texts in library inventories and sale catalogues gives us some indication as to the different sorts of people who made use of them.⁶²⁴ This section considers how far English audience's reading on, and engagement with, French art, can be understood in terms of their social status. Due to the absence of sources, the book collections of key English artists discussed throughout this study are unidentifiable. For instance, apart from the auction of Thornhill's pictures, the means by which his household objects were dispersed is unknown. Another example is Jonathan Richardson senior, whose prints and drawings sale was held in 1747, and the auction of his son's belongings occurred in 1772, which included part of his father's collection. Nevertheless, I would suggest that they belonged to an increasing group of artists who travelled abroad, mastered languages, and were able to read and translate from the French. In a few cases, notably the Richardsons, they articulated ideas that competed with French authorities, in particular, de Piles. To overcome the lack of sources requires a consideration of documented libraries belonging to painters who underwent similar professional experiences. An example of this would be the book collection of the painter Cooke, as mentioned above. Little is known about his early training and career, probably having spent time in Italy, followed by a period working as a decorative painter in England.⁶²⁵ He is believed to have completed the murals in Chelsea Hospital, begun by Verrio in 1687, for which he was paid £295 in 1690.⁶²⁶ In around 1697 Cooke assembled and repaired the Raphael Cartoons under the supervision of Parry Walton, the surveyor of paintings to the royal collection.⁶²⁷ The auction catalogue of Cooke's library in 1700 included copies of Félibien's *Entretiens*, the French translation of Dufresnoy and de Piles's original edition of *Abrégé*.⁶²⁸ He also owned the 1695 edition of Dryden's *Art of Painting*, a project to which he had contributed.

Despite there being no known documentation on the library of the artist, Jervas, the scale of his art collection and variety of prints and drawings, sold at auction in 1740, suggests with some certainty that his literary education and artistic knowledge was equally as substantial. His sale catalogue included around a dozen texts, mostly Italian and Latin manuals on architecture and perspective, by authors such as Andrea Pozzo and Bartoli, listed among bound volumes of

⁶²⁴ For a general survey of book sales see Alan Noel Latimer and Lenore Coral, *British Book Sale Catalogues 1676–1800: a union list* (London, 1977); also Mundy, ed., *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, 2 vols (London, 1971–5). In addition, Seymour de Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts 1530–1930* (New York, 1969).

⁶²⁵ Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England 1537–1837*, vol. 1, p. 66, pl. 114.

⁶²⁶ See Brett, 'Antonio Verrio: his career and surviving work', pp. 9–10, n. 71.

⁶²⁷ Pegum, 'The Artistic and Literary Career of Charles Jervas', pp. 88, n. 7.

⁶²⁸ See A catalogue of the library of Mr Henry Cook, painter, deceased [London 1700]; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 5 July 2017.

engravings specialising in architectural design and ornament. Between 1703 and 1709, Jervas worked as a dealer in Italy and spent time with Dryden as the companion to George Talbot (1660–1718), Duke of Shrewsbury.⁶²⁹ He worked as an agent for Englishmen who owned vast collections of art and literature, such as George Clarke, Lord Halifax, and Lord Burlington.⁶³⁰ In 1726 Jervas married Penelope Hume (d. 1746), which vertue noted had granted him a comfortable living, this perhaps going some way to explaining how he acquired his art collection.⁶³¹ His knowledge of art literature is conveyed by his contribution to the 1716 translation of the French version of Dufresnoy's treatise. In the Preface, Graham wrote that: 'Mr. Jervas (a very good Critick in the *Language* as well as in the *Subject* of the *Poem*) has been prevail'd upon to correct what was found amiss'.⁶³² This comment is indicative of the high esteem to which Jervas was held among his peers in relation to his artistic education and understanding of the French language. In Alexander Pope's 'Epistle to Mr Jervas', added to the second edition of Dryden's *Art of Painting*, his achievements as an exemplary painter and connoisseur are acknowledged in the following lines: 'Whether thy hand strike out some free design,/ Where life awakes, and dawns at every line,/ Or blend in beauteous tints the colour'd mass,/ And from the canvas call the mimic face:/ Read these instructive leaves, in which conspire/ Fresnoy's close Art and Dryden's native Fire'.⁶³³

The remaining libraries, belonging to members of the gentry and aristocracy, enable several observations to be made in relation to their engagement with French art criticism: firstly, some of the art books outlined in the first section of this study were chosen by readers of varying social classes as a way in which to learn about continental, particularly French pictures. Secondly, was the tendency for some editions and translations relating to a particular text to be more widely owned than others, and thirdly, that these art-related manuals were studied alongside published inventories relating to French royal and private collections of paintings, and bound volumes of engravings after celebrated works. In combination, these varying patterns of book consumption enabled a wider exposure of, and accessibility to, French art. As will be shown below, these books were frequently accompanied by publications written by English authors, namely Richardson senior and John Elsum.

The library of Matthew Prior compiled in 1721 attests to his general interest in French literature, due in part to repeated periods spent in Paris in various diplomatic roles.⁶³⁴ His interactions with French officials on behalf of the Tory government during the 1710s would have required a comprehensive understanding of the spoken and written language.⁶³⁵ As shown in chapter two, Prior led the way in acquiring continental pictures, including those of the French school, and bringing them to England. On his death, Prior's books, like his paintings, were

⁶²⁹ Pegum, 'The Artistic and Literary Career of Charles Jervas', pp. 58–59.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 61–63.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.* pp. 9–10.

⁶³² Dryden, *The Art of Painting* (1716), unpaginated.

⁶³³ *Ibid.*, unpaginated.

⁶³⁴ 'Catalogue of Mr Prior's Books', 1721, Portland Papers, BL Add MS 70362.

⁶³⁵ In 1681 he had been awarded the position of a King's Scholar at Westminster for his command of languages. See Rippy, *Matthew Prior*, pp. 3, 14, 27–31.

catalogued and in some cases valued by Harley and Drift. He owned several French texts that were commonly found in the libraries of his peers of superior social standing, such as the 1696 edition of Félibien's *Entretiens* and the original version of de Piles's *Abrégé*.⁶³⁶ It was more common for those of Prior's class to own either Dufresnoy's original text or a translated edition, in this case, Dryden's 1716 translation. Whilst the books were not given estimated values, these details were noted for folios of engravings and bound illustrated volumes. Examples of the latter, many of which were possibly acquired in Paris, included *La Galerie du Palais du Luxembourg par Rubens, long folio, bound in gilt on the back*, both valued at £6.10s., *The Battles of Alexander by Le Brun* at £15, and *Le Grand Escalier de versailles par ditto* at £14, as well as *Description du Cabinet du Roy* at £30.⁶³⁷ Around 200 of his books were given to St John's College in Cambridge and the same number was chosen by Harley for his own collection.⁶³⁸ Within these lists no French art books are mentioned, yet several French prints passed into Harley's collection, for example 'parchment portefeuille with a collection of valuable French heads &c.' valued at £15.10s.⁶³⁹ In the case of Harley, he may have already owned copies of these art books and was more interested in acquiring titles relating to other literary genres, as shown through the abundance of fiction. Prior promoted the importance of a literary education in his draft *An Essay upon Learning*, in which he wrote: 'This you will find convenient it will take idle Hours from your hand when alone, and have a proper use in Company', and continues, 'for it will hinder the Curious pressing upon you as to more solemn matter, and enable You without appearing Ignorant or ill bred to turn the Discourse to what may once [...] entertain your Company'.⁶⁴⁰

The book collection of John Somers, one of the leading Whig politicians of the period, was probably housed at his principal residence, Brooksmans Manor in Hertfordshire.⁶⁴¹ An inventory compiled in around 1716, included a section entitled 'De Pictura et Pictoribus' under which around seventy art historical texts were listed that spanned a substantial body of work by Italian authors during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and later French additions.⁶⁴² He owned copies of nearly all the major publications by de Piles, Dufresnoy and Félibien, in many instances opting for the French editions as well as the translation. Many of these texts were less commonly found in libraries of his contemporaries, such as de Piles's *Dialogue sur le Coloris* (an English version had appeared in 1711) and *Cours de Peinture par Principes*, as well as Félibien's *Conférences de l'Académie Royale*. In addition to this, he owned a number of expensive plates, including *Le cabinet*

⁶³⁶ 'Mr Prior's Books', BL Add MS 70362, ff. 27v–28v, 30v.

⁶³⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 34v.

⁶³⁸ Edward Harley's collection of 50,000 printed books was sold to bookseller and publisher Thomas Osborne in 1743 for £13,000. Harley's literary secretary, William Oldys and Samuel Johnson compiled the Harleian Library catalogue, also known as *Bibliotheca Harleiana* (1743–45), as a five-volume sale catalogue. See Ricci, *English Collectors of Books*, pp. 35–37.

⁶³⁹ 'Mr Prior's Books', BL Add MS 70362, f. 71a.

⁶⁴⁰ See Alfred Waller, ed., *Matthew Prior. Dialogues of the dead and other works in prose and verse* (London, 1907), p. 187; discussed in Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 206–07.

⁶⁴¹ For a biography see William Lewis Sachse, *Lord Somers: a Political Portrait* (Manchester, 1975).

⁶⁴² 'Catalogue of the library of Lord Somers', 1716, BL Add MS 40752, ff. 65–69.

des beaux-arts, ou Recueil d'estampes gravées d'après les tableaux d'un plafond où les beaux-arts sont représentés (1693), and engravings after paintings by Michelangelo and Maratta. Somers's auction catalogue dated 6 May 1717 reveals he owned around 4000 drawings and an even higher number of prints, the vast majority by the Italian schools. However, he never ventured abroad, relying instead on individuals such as Talman in Italy between 1709 and 1711 to secure Resta's volumes of drawings.⁶⁴³ The engraver Simon Dubois left his collection of prints to Somers in 1708, which according to virtue was 'considerable for a man of his station'.⁶⁴⁴ Somer's drawings were catalogued chronologically by the artist's name rather than by school, almost certainly by Richardson senior who had styled his own collection in this way, to serve a didactic purpose, like his writings.

As mentioned in chapter two, another Italophile, Sir Thomas Coke, spent a number of years abroad, mainly in Italy, undertaking his artistic education. Under the guidance of Dr Thomas Hobart (d. 1726), himself a bibliophile, he collected 600 manuscripts and thousands of books.⁶⁴⁵ On returning to England, his librarian and tutor, Domenico Ferrari (d. 1744) made further additions to the collection and is believed to have left his own library to Coke.⁶⁴⁶ An inventory entitled 'A Continuation of the foul Draught of the Catalogue of Books in the Library of London', dated July 13 1727, probably the work of Ferrari, is the earliest record of the collection kept at Thanet House in Great Russell Street, in London.⁶⁴⁷ In 1718 and 1719, alterations to the interiors were carried out under the architect John Talman, with further building work resulting in a library in around 1730.⁶⁴⁸ Coke's purchases from abroad and at home would have remained in their entirety at his London residence until the 'long library' at Holkham Hall was constructed during the late 1730s. Despite this catalogue being incomplete (the entries starting on shelf number sixty-one), it is plausible that all the books on art were included in this section, due to the texts having been loosely arranged thematically. The section on art was placed after one dealing with descriptive guides to French royal collections and institutions. Among the vast number of Italian examples were several English translations of French texts, such as de Piles's *Art of Painting* (1706) and Le Brun's *Conference upon Expression* (1701). However, these titles were omitted from a three-volume inventory of the book collection at Holkham, compiled in 1772 by Coke's wife, Lady Margaret (1700–1775).⁶⁴⁹ Instead, the first volume on the contents of the 'Long library' recorded French editions such as de

⁶⁴³ See Carol Gibson-Wood, 'Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somers's Collection of Drawings, and Early Art-Historical Writing in England', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 52 (1989), pp. 169–74.

⁶⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

⁶⁴⁵ Suzanne Reynolds, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library at Holkham Hall. volume 1, from Italy to 1500* (Turnout, 2015), pp. 2–8.

⁶⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 13–16, n. 103. See D. P. Mortlock, *Holkham Library: a History and Description* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 66.

⁶⁴⁷ Holkham Hall archive, F/TC 3. Mentioned in Reynolds, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the library at Holkham Hall*, pp. 13–14. This collection contained books which had belonged to Sir Edward Coke and Thomas Coke's parents as well as gifts from Hobart.

⁶⁴⁸ See *Ibid.*, p. 14, n. 111; on the contents of the house see Murdoch, *Noble Households: Eighteenth-Century Inventories of Great English Houses*, pp. 231–36.

⁶⁴⁹ Mortlock, *Holkham Library*, p. 91.

Piles's *Abrégé* and *Cours*, as well as the most recent edition of Félibien's *Entretiens* published in 1725. Other areas of the house, such as 'South tower and passage' were entirely dedicated to Italian books on painting and architecture, and accompanied by folios of prints. Coke's overarching interest in these art-related subjects originated during his time in Rome in 1714 where he took instruction on draughtsmanship from the architect Giacomo Matari, and at the same time employed William Kent to procure many of his pictures, including various works by Claude and most probably works on paper and books.

The library of the 10th Earl of Derby at Knowsley Hall is known through several manuscript documents.⁶⁵⁰ After a lengthy military career, in 1705 the Earl married Mary, the daughter of Sir John Morley of Halnaker in Sussex, whose fortune enabled him to renovate his family seat at Knowsley Hall and purchase pictures extensively throughout the 1720s.⁶⁵¹ The formation of his library was achieved through existing relationships with agents he had employed to acquire paintings and sculpture, as already discussed in chapter two. In a letter to the Earl in November 1723, Thomas Wright referred to the popularity Poussin among 'all of the virtuosi', which he stated had been caused by an expanding English readership for Félibien's biography of Poussin.⁶⁵² Shortly after, Edward Stanley wrote the Earl to say that, 'I could only procure a Second hand of Felibiens Treatise & and that by accident for this is the Scarcest book to be goot'.⁶⁵³ This comment raises the question as to whether demand had outgrown the supply of this publication and perhaps other similar titles, thereby identifying a crucial point in time when French tastes among English collectors, particularly those for Poussin, began to flourish. Certainly, most of the individuals mentioned so far owned a copy of Félibien's original French edition. In terms of what this can tell us about elite views of new and second-hand copies, it would appear that collector and agent shared a preference for the former, due perhaps to the object's physical condition and the exclusivity this would add to the collection, when compared to worn and less desirable used copies.

Observations can be made in relation to the display and usage of the Earl's books. Out of a total of 800 texts, ninety-one were positioned 'on the shelf by the south window where your lordship writes'. Included on these shelves were a number of his art books, such as the English translation of de Piles's *The Art of Painting* and his French translation of Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*, as well as Dryden's 1716 edition. Therefore, it is plausible that these books were studied more often than those situated in other areas of the library, such as when the Earl was writing to his agents and fellow collectors. The extent to which the Earl valued his art books and picture collection is indicated by a loose sheet of paper entitled 'An Account of Painting Books your Lordships Books of Drawing & prints' inserted at the front of the library catalogue, listing fifty-nine

⁶⁵⁰ Knowsley Hall archive, Derby mss, 'A Catalogue of all your Lordships Books in the Study at Knowsley was taken July 25 1727' and 'The Library of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Derby in the Eastern Study & Closet adjoining at Knowsley, 20 May 1737'.

⁶⁵¹ See Richard Stephens, ed., *Art, Animals and Politics: Knowsley and the Earls of Derby* (London, 2016), pp. 125–127, 129.

⁶⁵² Letter from Wright to the Earl of Derby, 26 November 1723, in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735', at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 8 January 2017.

⁶⁵³ Mentioned in Stephens, *Earls of Derby*, p. 99, n. 55.

books. In addition to this, an 1729 inventory of the Earl's collection of prints indexed each object according to the artist's name and also according to subject matter, which suggests that he intended to eventually publish his collection.⁶⁵⁴ In comparison, the library inventory of Sir Edward Stanley (1689–1776), the 11th Earl, compiled in 1737, included very few art-related additions, these including the work of English authors, such as Richardson's *Paintings, Statues & Italy*.⁶⁵⁵ He appears to have showed little interest in the existing picture collection, to which no acquisitions were made.

I would suggest that these case studies have identified widespread ownership of key French literature on art among the aristocracy and gentry. Yet these book collections can be distinguished by the owners's preference for particular French authors and texts, as well as the extent to which there existed an interest in Italian publications on art and architecture. The importance of owning copies of the French editions, sometimes in addition to the English translation, served to demonstrate a broadened understanding of complex art-historical and theoretical subjects through a foreign language, as well as signifying distinction and superiority in the formation of the private library, in a similar way to owning a rare Poussin or Claude. As shown, the ownership of these texts was not restricted to those travelling abroad, as like the picture trade, literature could be sought at home by attending an auction or bookseller's shop. However, as we have seen, during certain periods there existed a taste for publications that were in short supply, which in the case discussed here, may have been due to the lack of alternative or newer editions. Following on from this, it is necessary to access the changing environment in which people read French books on art, in particular, whether the flurry of activity in the 1680s stimulated by Félibien, de Piles and Le Brun, meant that their work was still being read during the 1730s and 1740s. In libraries belonging to professionals, as shown in 'A catalogue of books, being the libraries of Reverend Thomas Wickham, M. D. and J. Shaw, Attorney' (1735), and 'A Catalogue of of the libraries of the ingenious Mr, Herbert, an Eminent Engineer; and the Rev. Mr. Parkins' (1737), there was the tendency to collect solely English publications on art, in particular Dryden's translations after Dufresnoy and the writings of Richardson senior. This readership may have been without the means to participate in the same arenas of picture collecting, however this material does indicate an emerging art appreciation among the middle classes. Furthermore, the ideas in Richardson's treatise could be more easily mastered for those that had perhaps a poorer aptitude for understanding the French language.

An interest for French art criticism remained the case among the artistic community. This is reflected in Vertue's auction catalogue compiled in 1757, in which leading French authors remained as authoritative voices through which to become better informed on works found in his copies of Gambarini's *Description of the Earl of Pembroke's Pictures* (1731), Gersaint's *Catalogue raisonné d'une collection considérable de diverses curiosités* (1745) and Horace Walpole's *Aedes*

⁶⁵⁴ 'Original paintings & prints collected by James Earl of Derby at Knowsley. Digested into Alphabetical tables', 1729, Knowsley Hall archive, C5.3, KH.

⁶⁵⁵ 'The Library of the Right Honourable Edward Earl of Derby in the Eastern Study & Closet adjoining at Knowsley, 20 may 1737', Knowsley Hall archive.

Walpolianae (1747).⁶⁵⁶ In combination, these forms of literature enabled increased accessibility to private collections for those unable to visit and study them first-hand. On the other hand, sale catalogues belonging to several notable English architects offer little insight on their engagement with art literature. One such example being Hawksmoor, whose belongings were sold along with those of Colonel John Mercer, formerly of the royal regiment of horse guards, over a five day period in 1740.⁶⁵⁷ The fourth day was devoted to books although these were mostly French and Italian treatises and manuals that related to his profession, specialising in architectural theory written by authors such as Blondel (1683), Pozzo (1693), and Perrault (1708). However, it is unlikely that this represented a complete record of the library's contents.⁶⁵⁸ Likewise, Wren's sale catalogue compiled in 1748 offers no insight into his interest in art literature apart from his copy of George Turnbull's *A treatise on ancient painting*, published in 1740.⁶⁵⁹ Hawksmoor and Wren were at the forefront of emerging British architectural practice, which is further indicated by their copies of expensive treatises produced by contemporaries, for example Gibbs's *A Book of Architecture* (1728) and Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1717). These were sold along with Wren's collection of twenty-nine folios of prints, including those after Coypel and Le Brun, as well as Dorigny's Raphael Cartoons and the work of Rubens in the Luxembourg Gallery.⁶⁶⁰ Therefore, it is surely plausible that these architects were reading similar art-related material as the artists they worked alongside and as their patrons.

English responses to French literature on painting

This final section identifies the ways in which this varied readership used, studied and responded to French art literature. Further consideration will be given up the roles played by English authors in the formation of English translations and independent examples of art literature. Richard Graham's *Short account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd down to the Present Times According to the Order of their Succession* was appended to both English translations of Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*. This was one of the first English responses to the biographical model introduced by Vasari's *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori* (1550) and Bellori's *Vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (1672). Yet Graham's work was attached to a text that was distinctly French, embodying the superiority of academic achievements and the progression of art theory in the age of Louis XIV. This is further indicated by the number of seventeenth-century French painters that were included when compared to the lives of only three British painters. Whereas Graham listed artists chronologically under the headings 'ancient' and 'modern', de Piles in his *Abrégé* had separated them according to national school. Similarly to Graham, Richardson senior's 'Historical and Chronological List' incorporated at the end of *Theory*

⁶⁵⁶ See Mundy, *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol. 10 Antiquaries, pp. 413–15.

⁶⁵⁷ See *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 99–105.

⁶⁵⁸ See Kerry Downes, *Hawksmoor* (London, 1959), pp. 17–18.

⁶⁵⁹ Mundy, *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol. 4, p. 28.

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

on *Painting*, first published in 1715, listed artists in one continuous table with simplified biographical details on painters ranging from the early fifteenth century to the present day.⁶⁶¹

English literary responses encouraged developments that would contribute to the perceived rise and improvement of English school of art, that were in parallel with the standards of teaching in the academies in Rome and Paris.⁶⁶² In terms of the earliest English editions of Dufresnoy's treatise, the contributors formed connections within the French and Italian artistic community, who were familiar with this French publication as part of their academic learning. For instance, Cooke is thought to have studied for a time with Salvator Rosa, and Closterman spent two years in Paris in 1679 and then entered Carlo Maratti's studio in 1699.⁶⁶³ The collective efforts of this group in attempting to improve English artistic appreciation is evident in Cooke's frontispiece, engraved by Simon Gribelin, which shows Minerva, the patroness of the arts, glancing towards Dufresnoy's treatise, surrounded by putti that symbolise educated artists, with one holding a trumpet and laurel leaf as attributes of Fame (fig. 149). As mentioned in chapter two, Graham's picture sales held in 1711 and 1712 included some of the first examples of seventeenth-century French pictures to appear on the London art market. Therefore, his influence combined the shaping of English taste for French art writing and picture consumption. Beginning in the late 1690s, efforts were made to obtain royal patronage for an official academy through the collaboration of Closterman and the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury, who attempted to gain the support of John Somers, the newly appointed chancellor.⁶⁶⁴ This would prove unsuccessful with progress halted by the death of Closterman in 1711 and Shaftesbury two years later. *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgement of Hercules*, written by Shaftesbury, published anonymously in French in 1712 and in English the following year, took the form of a set of instructions on the principles of history painting in relation to a work he had recently commissioned.⁶⁶⁵

Bainbrigg Buckeridge's *Essay Towards an English School* was added to the 1706 translation of de Piles's *Art of Painting*, which aimed to incorporate native painters that could surpass those belonging to the French school, as provided by de Piles.⁶⁶⁶ This *Essay* ultimately intended to challenge notions of English taste for French academic history painting and the dominance of Italian painting. Of the ninety-nine painters included by Buckeridge, no fewer than fifty-four were foreigners with forty-three of them active in England during the second half of the seventeenth century. The main premise of the material was to highlight the artists who had worked or been born

⁶⁶¹ Gibson-Wood has suggested that cataloguing or listing artists and their works in this way was a British tendency in relation to Somers's collection of drawings, which was likely to have been catalogued by Richardson, in the same way as his own collection. See 'Jonathan Richardson, Lord Somers's collection of drawings, and early art-historical writing in England', pp. 180, 183–185.

⁶⁶² See Good, 'Lovers of art', pp. 156–57.

⁶⁶³ See Malcolm Rogers, *John Closterman: Master of the English Baroque 1660–1711* (London, 1981), pp. 2–3.

⁶⁶⁴ Good, 'Lovers of art', pp. 158–61; Bignamini, 'The Academy of Art in Britain before the Foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768' in Anton Boschloo, ed., *Academies of Art between the Renaissance and Romanticism* (The Hague, 1989), p. 441.

⁶⁶⁵ Discussed in Johns, 'James Thornhill and Decorative History Painting in England', pp. 101–103.

⁶⁶⁶ Good, 'Lovers of art', pp. 165–66.

in England and their impact on patronage and the art market. Buckeridge's *Essay* attempted to achieve a balance by being placed after de Piles's discussion of French painters, and by ordering the artists alphabetically rather than by chronology or school. In 1719, Drift outlined his own plan to overcome the lack of recognition given to native painters. In a letter to Edward Harley, he writes:

On reading Monsieur du Fresnoy's Celebrated Poem on the art of Painting, with his Judgement on the Works of the Principal and best painters of the Two last ages, I thought that I could form an Historical and Chronological Table of the most Eminent Modern Painters, So as they might appear at One view in their Order of Succession Shewing wherein they principally Excelled, and likewise the Times of their Births, Deaths and ages, the same would be displeasing to your Lordship, who does so highly Esteem and adore the Works, which those Great Masters have left behind them.⁶⁶⁷

In an attempt to ensure Harley's support for his piece of writing he made sure to include 'an Historical Table' with a few authors 'who have given the World an Account of those Excellent Men'. This text was likely to have been a joint venture between Drift and Prior, both of whom had close ties with Harley. In another letter to Harley that same year, Prior offered guidance on how to distinguish between different artistic 'hands' in relation to several pictures the Earl had observed at a dealer's shop.⁶⁶⁸

John Elsum's *A Description of the Celebrated Pieces of Paintings, of the most eminent masters ancient and modern*, first published in 1700, includes 'Epigrams' most probably based on works he owned, had studied as originals or reproductions, and those located in English and foreign collections. He acknowledges that some entries were taken from Michael Silos's *Pinacotheca sive romana pictura et sculptura* (1673). Despite the title of the publication suggesting that the chosen works were 'celebrated', thereby being familiar to the reader, there are instances where no attribution or title is given. For instance, works representative of the French school include 'The Israelites worshipping the Golden Calf, by Nic. Poussin, LXXXVIII', 'A Battel, supposed by Le Brun, CI', 'The Picture of Anger, by Nic. Poussin, CXXII', 'The Assumption of St. Paul, by Nic. Poussin, CXXVII', 'Moses trampling under foot Pharaoh' Crown, by Nic. Poussin, CXLVI' and 'Faith by Mignard, CLI'. In doing so, this approach sets the publication apart from those that came before it, in terms of French biographical texts which focused on artists rather than their work, as well as the later writings of Richardson which promoted familiar works. Elsum's text acknowledges his personal taste for continental pictures and introduces more recent representatives of the English school through references to the work of Closterman, Godfrey, Cooke and Fuller. In the section 'Reflections on several Schools of Painting', he says French art has 'no establish'd Fashion', and 'in ev'ry Piece, Briskness and Gaiety. In Vander Mulen, Nic. Poussin, Le Brun, Mignard and Cousin, this is clearly shewn', with the final sentence saying 'Join

⁶⁶⁷ Letter from Adrian Drift to Lord Harley, 3 September 1719, Longleat Archives, Prior Papers, 1715–1721, vol. 1, f. 49; included in Jacobsen, *Luxury and Power*, pp. 206–07.

⁶⁶⁸ Letter from Prior to Edward Harley, Prior Papers, 1719, vol. 3, f. 476. Mentioned in Bunker Wright and Montgomery, 'The Art Collection of a Virtuoso', p. 196.

them, and you compleat the Shadowing Art.⁶⁶⁹ Elsum's comments here are intriguing, particularly his use of vocabulary that was often adopted by the English in relation to the manners and character of the French. His scathing remark that the French school did not possess an individual or national style, can be placed in stark contrast to those made on the Flemish, German and Italian schools, on the latter commenting that: 'the Venetian School Good Judges see, Colouring in its perfect Purity'.⁶⁷⁰

His second publication, *The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner, with practical observations on the principals of colour and directions how to know a good picture*, appeared in 1703. In the Preface, he declares that learning about art 'is hid from us in a foreign language, I mean the Italian: I have therefore searched into the best Italian Authors now extant as Vasari, Da Vinci, Arminius, Mazzo, Dolce, Bisagno, from whose Writings I have collected great part of this Treatise, and the rest I have added from my own observation.'⁶⁷¹ However, I would argue that this text adopted some of the themes already in circulation as introduced by French authors. Sections on 'How to know a Good Picture' and 'Terms of Art Alphabetically digested' are reminiscent of de Piles's edition of Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* and Aglionby's publication. As a practical guide for aspiring connoisseurs, Elsum advised on the kinds of subjects that artist and patron should choose to adorn certain rooms within the home. For instance, chapter twenty-two provides 'Advice about the *Agreement and Disagreement of Pictures*, in respect of of the Place and Quality of the Person' and chapter twenty-six 'What pieces are fittest for Royal-Palaces, Town-Houses, &c.'

Richardson senior's *Theory of Painting*, and second publication, *Two Discourses* of 1719, aimed to further expand and adapt, as opposed to replicate, French theoretical models. Firstly, to overcome problems associated with the production and education of the English school by promoting the dignity of the artist's profession, through his own stance as a portrait painter.⁶⁷² This sentiment had been reiterated earlier by Bainbrigg in the dedication to *Art of Painting*, which states that, 'if they have had their Poussins, and Le Bruns, we have had our Fullers, our Dobsons, and our Coopers; and have not only infinitely out-done them in Portraits, but have produced more masters in that kind than all the rest of Europe.'⁶⁷³ The author further encourages the reader to become familiar with native portraitists through the inclusion of a list of Kneller's 'pictures in public places'.⁶⁷⁴ By comparison, Piles's *Abrégé* pointed to the decline of portraiture since the Restoration as being a limitation to the progression of English painters.⁶⁷⁵ Richardson's involvement in the Queen Street Academy further promoted the need for an academy equivalent to institutions on the continent to benefit native painters, although a large proportion of its members were foreign artists.

⁶⁶⁹ Elsum, *A Description of the Celebrated Pieces of painting* (1704), p. 133.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁶⁷¹ Elsum, *The Art of Painting* (1703), unpaginated.

⁶⁷² Richardson, *Theory of Painting* (1715), pp. 13–15. Discussed in Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 148–49.

⁶⁷³ *The Art of Painting* (1706), unpaginated.

⁶⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 397–98.

⁶⁷⁵ See Isabelle Baudino, 'From Continental Influence to British Independence: Jonathan Richardson's Art Theories' in "Better in France?": *The Circulation of ideas across the channel in the eighteenth century*, pp. 64–66.

Secondly, he sought to engage a new audience and improve the connoisseurship of the gentry and professional classes rather than aristocracy and academicians, as intended by de Piles, but he also wrote for a general audience, as in the *Cours*. In a section 'On the science of being a connoisseur' in his *Two Discourses*, Richardson promoted the benefits of collecting and studying continental history paintings to increase public taste and improve the quality of works on the London market, with additional benefits for the national economy.⁶⁷⁶ And thirdly, and rather uniquely, to encourage a greater appreciation of French and Italian paintings and drawings in English collections, made possible through the study of examples seen first hand, or alternately, as copies. In his *Theory on Painting*, Richardson repeatedly makes references to the Raphael Cartoons to exemplify particular principles of painting. Similarly, in the second treatise, Richardson provides a critical commentary on the Poussin and Carracci recently purchased by Thornhill during his stay in Paris, as discussed in chapter one of this thesis.⁶⁷⁷

Whilst Richardson adopted some of the subjects introduced by de Piles, their viewpoints were often significantly different. For instance, in *Theory of Painting*, Richardson expanded de Piles three parts of painting (composition, design and colouring) to encompass seven categories: invention, expression, drawing, composition, colouring, handling, and 'Grace and Greatness'.⁶⁷⁸ Unlike de Piles, Richardson considered invention to be one of the most important parts of painting.⁶⁷⁹ Richardson advised artists that an extensive understanding of the textual narrative was essential in order to correctly interpret it in painted form, as opposed to relying on the learned patron to instruct them. Among French theorists this debate had been introduced by Félibien in the introduction to his *Conférences*, in which he stressed the importance of an artist's intellectual understanding of the subject matter. For Richardson, the painter's invention of the painted subject was equal to their practical skill. In the section 'On the Goodness of a Picture' in *Two Discourses*, he promoted the judgement of individual paintings rather than each artist, which had been outlined in de Piles's *Balance des peintres*. Richardson adjusted this criteria to involve his seven principles.⁶⁸⁰ He chose as his principal example Poussin's *Tancred and Erminia*, which he had discussed at great length with Thornhill in relation to the artist's mastery of expression: 'One of them, and that the farthest from the Eye has Sorrow and Fear, the other Joy, and Hope evidently in his Face; and this to express this yet more perfectly, (and this is *Mr Thornhill's* observation) the former has two arrows in his hand to denote those two Passions'.⁶⁸¹ Furthermore, the passions or 'Airs' of the protagonists and their attributes alluded to events prior and subsequent to the moment depicted. Therefore, both Richardson and Thornhill regarded the success of this scene as being due to Poussin's ability to transform Tasso's complicated narrative into a single moment, in which

⁶⁷⁶ Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 200–02.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 150–52.

⁶⁷⁸ De Piles, *L'Art de Peinture* (Paris, 1667), p. 126; Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, p. 149.

⁶⁷⁹ See De Piles, *L'art de peinture* (1667), p. 73; Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 153–54, 157–59.

⁶⁸⁰ Richardson, *Two Discourses* (1719), pp. 47–48, 55. See Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 187–88.

⁶⁸¹ Richardson, *Two Discourses* (1719), pp. 85–87. Discussed in Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, p. 191.

the wounded Tancred is brought back to life by Erminia who bound his wounds with her hair after his battle with the giant, Argante. In turn, these topics of discussion became of interest to French audiences through the translation and revision of Richardson's three texts under the title *Traité de la peinture, et de la sculpture*, published in Amsterdam in 1728.⁶⁸² A further example of the cross-channel transfer of ideas can be seen in the response of Nicolas Vleughels (1668–1737), the director of the French Académie in Rome, whose Preface to Lodovico Dolce's *Dialogo della Pittura*, published in 1735, was largely intended as an attack on Richardson's work.⁶⁸³

To understand further the ways in which Thornhill absorbed the ideas associated with French art criticism in order to better understand Poussin's work, requires another look at his time in Paris, as introduced in chapter one. His notes took the form of observations whilst conversing with Van Clève on the principles of painting in relation to Poussin's second set of *Seven Sacraments*. Therefore, his taste for the artist's work as shown by his Paris itinerary, served as a prelude to later discussions with Richardson in preparation for his *Theory of Painting*. Thornhill's critical observations on the colouring and form of the apostles' draperies shows a familiarity with the work of the French theorists discussed above. After all, academic debates in relation to the *Sacraments* already existed in the form of a lengthy commentary on costume included in Roland Fréart's *Idée de la perfection de la peinture*. This became further accessible to English audiences through John Evelyn's 1668 translation. In addition to this, Félibien's *Entretiens* included the following remarks in relation to Poussin's *Sacrament of Extreme Unction* (fig. 150): 'Je ne sai [sic] pas comment ceux qui disent que le Poussin n'a pas bien fait les draperies, ont regardé ses Tableaux: car dans celui dont je parle, de même que dans les autres, on ne peut pas souhaiter des vétemens mieux mis, des plis mieux formez & mieux étendus.' ('I do not know how those who say that Poussin has not done the draperies well, have looked at his pictures: for in the one of which I speak, as in the others, one can not wish for better clothing').⁶⁸⁴ In his *Conférences*, Le Brun's lecture on Poussin's *The Israelites Gathering the Manna in the Desert* provided an account in which the colouring techniques and choice of costume was discussed at length.⁶⁸⁵ He praised Poussin for the antique prototypes on which he had modelled various types of figures, and yet, argued that attempts had been made to model the garments by studying the human form.⁶⁸⁶ He defended Poussin's use of strong light on the robes of certain figures as a way in which to indicate their importance within the narrative and distance from the foreground.⁶⁸⁷

In comparison, de Piles's 'Réflexions sur les Ouvrages du Poussin' in his *Abrégé*, declared that the artist, 'always valu'd the Imitation of the Ancients more than the Life... the Naked of his

⁶⁸² This included the translation of Richardson's *Theory of Painting* (1725), *Two Discourses* (1725), and *An Account of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy* (1722). For the most recent translation see Isabelle Baudino and Frédéric Ogée eds., *Traité de la Peinture, et de la Sculpture* (Paris, 2008).

⁶⁸³ For a biography on Vleughels see Bernard Hercenberg, *Nicolas Vleughels. Peintre et Directeur de l'Académie de France à Rome 1668–1737* (Paris, 1975).

⁶⁸⁴ See Félibien, *Entretiens* (1685), vol. 8, pp. 116–18.

⁶⁸⁵ Félibien, *Conférences* (1668), p. ixv.

⁶⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 98–102, 111–13.

⁶⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 114–116.

Figures in most part of his Pictures, has something in it, resembling Painted Stone', and continues that, 'He neglected colouring. We may perceive by his Works in general, that he knew nothing of *Local Colours*, or the *Claro Oscuro*.'⁶⁸⁸ His overarching criticism of Poussin was that he generally neglected nature and thereby colour due to his preference for studying antique sculpture. De Piles's *Dialogue sur le Coloris* elaborated on these topics, through his distinction between natural and artificial colouring.⁶⁸⁹ His *Cours de Peinture* promoted the equal importance of drawing and colour, through which the study of nature could achieve the best results.⁶⁹⁰ In a section 'of draperies', De Piles outlined the contrasting approaches adopted by sculptors and painters in the formation of their draperies, with neither able to achieve the desired result by adopting the approach of the other.⁶⁹¹ I would suggest that Thornhill's critical viewpoint represented an awareness of established discourses introduced by de Piles and Félibien, with copies of their texts made available to him through the English editions and translations discussed here. Thornhill played a crucial role in the spread of French ideas on art, in that he bridged the gap between the community of Englishmen aspiring to establish an English school through the publication of translations and editions, and the French academicians whom he met in Paris so as to experience first-hand the teaching of the Académie and paintings representing the French school. Ultimately, it was this varied art education that informed his Paris and London-based painting acquisitions.

The literature on art identified here is indicative of a rise in art historical and theoretical consciousness among Thornhill's contemporaries spanning the 1690s and 1720s, that can largely be defined as French in influence. I would argue that although earlier Italian art books continued to engage English audiences during this period, late seventeenth-century French examples underwent significantly more translations, alterations and additions, this leaving room for French influx during the early eighteenth century.⁶⁹² Yet making conclusive remarks as to whether this art literature coincided with, and influenced tastes for French pictures, remains difficult. It can be suggested with some certainty that these French texts and translated editions had a far-reaching English readership. This ranged from collectors with extensive picture collections and clearly defined tastes for French paintings and engravings, to members of the middling classes and gentry, who perhaps owned several art books and a similarly modest number of pictures. Furthermore, the case studies have identified the range of ways in which English audiences engaged with French academic learning—in one instance, the connection between reading Félibien's text and purchasing a painting by Poussin can be made. This can be applied more widely in terms of the ways academic genres, hierarchies and principles were promoted and explained. Further to this, the presence of collection catalogues and engraved volumes relating to

⁶⁸⁸ De Piles, *The Art of Painting* (1715), pp. 349–50.

⁶⁸⁹ De Piles, *Dialogue sur le Coloris* (1711), pp. 50–51.

⁶⁹⁰ Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, pp. 166–67. For Félibien's ideas on this topic in relation to Poussin's work see Pace, *Life of Poussin*, pp. 70, 83.

⁶⁹¹ De Piles, *The Principles of Painting* (1743), pp. 111–12, 117–18

⁶⁹² Paolo Lomazzo's *Treatise on Painting* was first published in 1590 and translated into English in 1598. Leonardo da Vinci's *A Treatise on Painting* originally appeared in 1651 with an English edition published in 1721. Bellori's original text was not translated during the eighteenth century.

French royal collections in the libraries discussed here, indicates a wider appreciation of picture collecting and the image of the King, as well as the related development of an academic canon of artists.

I would suggest that at times collectors recognised French and Italian paintings and literature as distinct. Yet in other ways, Poussin was regarded as Italian (through his education in Rome but at the French-owned Académie) or perhaps as representing a hybrid of the two. Further consideration could be given to whether French art was exclusively seen through French or also through Italian art literature. The question is whether the early grand tourists who were also collectors, viewed Poussin and Claude through their travel in, and reading about, Italy. For instance, in the 1772 library inventory at Holkham, Bellori's *Life of Poussin* in the *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti*, and other Italian examples, discussed French painting. Yet Coke did not own any work by Nicolas Poussin although Dughet was represented in the collection, suggesting perhaps that the former was not seen as Italian, and therefore, was omitted from the collector's focus on Rome.⁶⁹³ Of course Coke is not necessarily representative of wider patterns of picture collecting and English readership.

The English responses to French art writing has been considered in relation to the community of artists involved in the formation of artistic discourses and publications, and their attempts to promote the English school. In doing so, these projects widened the readership for this genre of writing, aided by developments in the book trade and an increased participation in the London picture market.

⁶⁹³ It remains unknown as to when many of the following paintings entered the collection although it was probably around the middle of the eighteenth century. See Boisclair, *Gaspar Dughet*, pp. 221, cat. 157; 225, cat. 169–70; 228, cat. 183; 247, cat. 244; 252, cat. 261; 255–57, cat. 274–75; 259, cat. 283.

CONCLUSION

The principal aim of this thesis has been to investigate British interest in French artists, pictures and art literature between the final decade of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. To this end, the preceding four chapters have examined this engagement with French artistic culture in four different contexts.

The first chapter has considered English travellers, particularly artists, to Paris. By transcribing James Thornhill's notebook, this study has outlined his personal and professional intentions for visiting the city. It has provided an insight into his existing and newly-formed network of contacts, which enabled him to access private collections and institutions, and participate in the art market for his own consumption and for others. The significance of this figure in understanding the emergence of French artistic influences in England during this period must not be underplayed. This study has throughout shown Thornhill to be a conduit through which English taste developed for foreign travel, French easel paintings, interior murals and academic learning during this period.

The second context situated key collectors, agents and dealers within the London art market for French easel paintings. To add further depth to the study, selected cases involving members of the elite and gentry compared their acquisition of work by deceased artists in relation to contemporary paintings - the former of which appeared to be more prominent. This study has shown that there was an increase in the numbers and variety of these French pictures appearing in England during the period under discussion. The outcome of this research has established that patterns of consumption were similar to those of earlier French collectors of similar social standing.

The third area of focus covered the English patronage of French mural painters, predominantly Laguerre, and his English and Italian contemporaries. It has provided examples of the literary and visual sources through which artist and patron understood often complex mythological, allegorical and contemporary subject matter and symbolism. As shown by the examples discussed here, the designs and themes adopted for English murals were extremely varied, often taken directly from Le Brun's commissions under royal patronage, representing remastered Italian schemes, or showing originality.

The last aspect of this study considered the readership for French art literature, as well as English translations and treatises, and how these academic ideas impacted the tastes of collectors. By revisiting some of the collectors and collections discussed in a previous chapter, the challenge still remains as to whether a connection can be made between reading French books on painting and collecting art objects. Yet I believe this study has gone some way to establishing the texts and authors responsible for promoting and adapting French academic principles, as well as the numerous literary channels through which the English became familiar with foreign collections, painters and their work.

The question still stands as to how English collectors and patrons defined French paintings and painters, particularly Poussin and Claude, and art literature, as being either distinctly French, as Italian or as a hybrid. This study has attempted to overcome this challenge by providing case studies through which various ways of understanding forms of reception in relation to continental

artistic influences appearing in Britain, could be explored. I have argued throughout that the integration of these continental styles, fashions and tastes was indicative of a shift that occurred during the early eighteenth century, and that these styles were more distinctive during the previous century.

This study attempted to overcome the challenges associated with focusing on broad inter-linking themes by adopting an approach on the history of reception. However, this is only one way to go about this study. I chose to move away from chapters that focused on the artists themselves and on specific genres of painting. I recognise the advantages and disadvantages of having chosen to focus on elite consumption and patronage. In the context of reception, this study places limitations on an understanding of material consumption during this period, due the omission of collecting practices among the middling classes. However, there exists comparatively more sources through which to explore the topic of elite picture consumption. Furthermore, the prominence of Poussin and Claude in this study means that this approach on elite collecting is essential.

My findings have some relevance to broader areas of academic research that include material culture in eighteenth-century Britain, the English on the Grand Tour, and picture collecting, display and mural painting in the country house interior of the period. I would suggest that further research could be carried out on English patronage of French portraitists working in Britain and the works commissioned by the English abroad. In addition to this, the presence and ownership of contemporary French paintings in Britain during the eighteenth century requires further scholarly attention. By moving away from an emphasis on paintings, a reception study could consider elite luxury consumption of French decorative objects through further study of sources such as auction sale catalogues and collection inventories.

Nevertheless, this study has provided an introduction to the ways in which French collectors, painters and writers, and their work played a decisive role in shaping English artistic culture during the period under discussion. By identifying the inter-connected channels through which French academic thinking, artistic taste and consumption was emulated and adapted by English audiences, this thesis has gone some way to understanding the formation of, and exchanges within, the emerging art markets, academies and private collections and libraries of the period.

APPENDIX A

TRANSCRIPTION OF JAMES THORNHILL'S PARIS NOTEBOOK, 1717

by TAMSIN LEE-WOOLFE

The following transcript and an accompanying introduction will be included in a forthcoming publication in the *Walpole Society Journal*.

Please note: a different referencing style has been used for the endnotes as this relates to the Walpole's chosen style.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The notebook is bound in vellum and measures 15.3 x 10.2 cm overall. It was acquired for the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1961, along with the 1711 sketchbook. The notebook bears the accession number 86.EE.87/MSL 1455. It covers ninety-two pages, which were numbered by a later hand, three of which are blank. Page number 61 occurs twice. The content is largely made up of hastily written notes in pencil with more legible and complete sentences in pen occurring more frequently towards the end of the notebook. Where the pencil has been partially overwritten in pen, attempts have been made to transcribe both layers of text.

The structure of the notebook from front to back, probably loosely conveys the order in which he visited places i.e. first spending time in Paris, before heading to Fontainebleau, then Marly, followed by Versailles, and then returning to Paris where he visited the Palais Royal. However, some sketches and text that relate to activities carried out prior to and possibly following the trip to Paris (Canterbury, Bodiam, Dover, Calais) have been placed somewhat at random throughout the notebook.

Sketches occur on thirty-six pages, many of which are placed beside the passages to which they relate although a number remain unidentifiable (pages 34, 36–37, 43, 46, 71–72, 77, 84–85). Attempts have been made to note the subject of each drawing or provide descriptive captions. Several sketches record paintings and pieces of sculptures in simple outlines (pages 44–45, 56, 67), but the majority are architectural studies. The relationship between the text and image is sometimes clear due to both being included on the same page, although there are instances where they are a few pages apart or no explanation is given as to the subject of the image. Lines drawn across the page to divide sections of text on different subjects have been followed.

Some abbreviated words have been expanded using brackets to indicate missing letters or to correct mis-spelt words. This is often the case for names and places and certain other words i.e. 'pict' for picture and 'figr' for figure. Some common abbreviations have not been expanded, e.g. 'Monsr' for 'Monsieur' and 'Sr' for 'Sir'. Thornhill uses very similar symbols for the English £ sterling and the French Livre. Where he follows a sum with the word 'sterling', it is evident that he means the English £ and accordingly this symbol is adopted in these circumstances. The word 'shilling' is referred to as 'sh' throughout.

Letter written above the line and now considered archaic forms, i.e. y^e (the), w^{ch} (which), y^t (that), p^r (per), fig^r (figure), wth (with), y^r (your) are followed. Punctuation and upper and lower case have been adhered to. Unusual foreign words are translated in the endnotes.

The tight binding of the notebook makes photography difficult. It should be noted that some of the pencil sketches are quite faint.

The following conventions for the transcriptions have been adopted:

/ line break in the manuscript.

[] square brackets indicate an intervention by the transcriber or editor including spelling corrections in the case of significant mis-spellings, and punctuation.

<...> angled brackets with three points indicate an uncertain or illegible reading or where the manuscript is damaged.

word underlining is used when found in the original manuscript.

~~word~~ striking through is used when found in the original manuscript.

raised type raised type is used to indicate insertions above the line in the original manuscript.

THE NOTEBOOK

Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library, MS, 86.EE.87/MSL 1455

[For the conventions adopted in the transcription, see the Editorial Note on p. 00]

[**cover**, in pen]

1716/7

[**inside front cover**, in pen. Pre-departure notes]

Memdums^s 1716/7 Feb[ruary]:

The Dover Coach goes from ye/ Cross Keys in Gracious street/ full fare is 16^{sh[illings]}, give 8^{s[hillings]} earnest/ they go Mond[ay]. Wed[nesday]. & Frydays.

The French post goes from London on/ Mondays & Thursdays

A Monsieur

Monsieur Boit¹

Paintre en En Email² de sa

Majesté Britanique a L'Hotel

Bournonville rüe au Fourbourg

St Germain a Paris³

Mr Bonhom[m]es direction to Boit.⁴

Mr Coopers respects to Mr Butterfield.⁵

8 Livres p^r diem Mr Tindal⁶ kept a/ good Chariot & Coachman at Paris/ w^{ch} was about 12^{sh} sterling
1716

[**page 1**, in pen. Pre-departure notes]

Letter^s from. G[eorge]. Clark to Mr Green at Mons^r:/ Cantillons⁷

from Cap^t[ain]: Mandel to Mons^r Létange de/ Chatteauneuf. Co[m]missaire/ ordon[n]ateur A
Calais.⁸

ditto to Mons^r: Monsieur de Bossernd/ Baron de Schivern, Chev[alie]^r: des ordres de/ St Louis & de
St Lazare, Lieut^d Coll:^s [Lieutenant Colonel] d'/ Infanterie. chez Mons^r de Benoise/ Conseilleur du
Parlement de Paris, Vielle/ rüe du Temple Paris⁹

ditto A Monsieur Monsieur L'abbé Nadal/ à L'hotel D'Aumont Paris.¹⁰

2 Snuff Boxes for ye Duchess of Marlborough/ at 3 guin[eas]: each.¹¹

Brass Medalls since this Fren[ch]: King buy for/ G[eorge]. Clark[e].¹²

Beaver Skin Gloves for Mr Bateman¹³/ 6 pair

A Landsk[ape]: of N[icolas]. Poussin & a St Catherine
engr: of Boit for Mr Walker.¹⁴

Engr for a painted stuff like Tapestry at/ Paris, & any statues, & write to ye Duke/ of Newcastle from Paris.¹⁵

[page 2. Various notes. Gallery of Apollo, Louvre]

[in pen:]

The 2 Great Globes in ye Louvre were/ made at Venice,¹⁶ ye Signs are painted by/ ye best Masters,
& are 12 ftt diameter/ supported on Brazen pillars/
The peer [pier] of 4ftt by 6ftt was cut/ away for their reception & built up/ again.

The Grand Gallery of Apollo is/ 36 toises¹⁷ long/ 35 foot wide & about 36 high.

A toise is 6ftt English.

There are ye 4 great Guidos of w^{ch} are/ excell[ent]: prints.¹⁸
4 large Albanos,¹⁹ fine Valentines,²⁰ Guercinos²¹/ Guidos,²² Savators,²³ Vandykes,²⁴ Poussins,²⁵/
Titians,²⁶ P[aul]. Veronese,²⁷ Jul[jio]: Romane²⁸/ Tintoret[tos],²⁹ Caraaches,³⁰ Le Bruns,³¹
Bassan[o]s,³²/ Vander meulens.³³ Dominicans,³⁴

Mr Constantine in King Street Westminster,³⁵ ye/ best for repetition clocks – cost about 15 pound.
Tijou.³⁶ [based on pencil notes on page 3]

[in pencil, partially legible, under text in pen:]

See : at/ Chantillon[?] next/ of ye pictures of Court.... Coysevox,

collection of ye Director of ye Monnaye/ de medailles und ye Gallery of ye Louvre/ & ye Fortifications,
Regents Collection/ of Pictures, D. Antins[?]/ ... de Versail[ies] where/ are many of ye
Fren[ch]: K best pict.^{rs}

Kept closset at Versail[ies] ye// a/ Christ[?] in a gallery in ye/ Closset.

[page 3, in pencil. Various notes]

To see

D[uc]. de Antins house &c in Paris³⁷

St Lawrence by Le S[u]eur³⁸

Monsr Ant[oine]: Stella. Finding of Moses Poussin³⁹

Monsr Le Notre. Bapt[ism] of St John Poussin⁴⁰

Pyrrhus, Æacides &c. by Poussin⁴¹

Æde chili – Vo[u]jet⁴²

Great Altar of St Eustace by Vo[u]jet⁴³

Monsr de Chantillon, Poussin⁴⁴

Academys of all sorts Models, Sculptors

See all ye best Painters there,⁴⁵

See Mr Tijou, on 2 Avis de la

Croisants[?]
Huberts drawings⁴⁶

[notes used in text on page 2:]

Constantine y^e best for repeti/ tion Clocks for about 15 pounds
Tijou – a case for about/ 20 crowns at Paris.
Constantine in King Street/ Westminster

[page 4. Paris]

[in pen:]

March 7th went to see y^e Opera Dominique
admirable good Humours of Scaramouch,/ his Listing for a Soldier, his Picking Pockets,/ his
several ways of escape, his several/ ways to deliver a letter to a Lady, unperceived,/ hiding his
money in his Bosom, under his hat &/ his humour in y^e windmill &c.

A Vast fig[u]r[e] that melted down in a/ moment, a fat woman that grew 15 ftt high/ in y^e same time.

The Fair of St Germain⁴⁷ near rue/ Tournon is a wonderfull fine sight/ is chiefly at night after y^e
play is done./ begin[n]ing of March.

[based on notes on page 22, made as a result of the Duke of Newcastle's request to Thornhill:]

	livr[e] sou
On canvass like Tapisry pr ell ⁴⁸ — 11 — 0	
Landskip only, & moderately done — 8 — 0	
On Ticking y ^e same work ————— 12 — 0	

You must give earnest & then you may/ have to any siz[e]d roome,
Rue St Antoin[e] almost fronting/ y^e Grand Jesuits Church.⁴⁹

[in pencil under text in pen, partially legible, in part a draft for text in pen on this page:]

Mr Gireal[?] chaile[?]/ Green, Boit/ after dark went to y^e Opera/ D very good of/ he,
his lifting, his picking/ his by delivering/ a letter to a lady hiding his money/ under
&c./ A vast fig^r ... old, yt melted down/ in a moment a fat woman yt/ grows tall as a of/ y^e/
...Fr: at there/ first month Gentry very/ & no hat/ gloves, no bringing of
.....

after to y^e fair of St Germain

[page 5, in pen, in dark ink, except were indicated, over illegible pencil notes. Paris etc]

[three lines in paler ink in another hand, struck through:]

A Small pair of Silvered Candle sticks/ and Snuffers without a pan for me
J Huggins⁵⁰

Mr Hubert sends Mr Hays⁵¹ 2 small Bourgog=/ nones, 2 Filip[p]o Lauro's a fig[u]r[e] of Poussin
&c.⁵² He sold Sr Andr[ew]: Fountain[e] his Raph[ael]s: vase.⁵³

[this line in paler ink, except 'thus':]

Small pen knives thus — [Fig. 9, sketch of pen knife, annotated at bottom:] de Fer

[remaining text on this page based on notes in pencil on pages 7 and 8:]

March 9th bought of M^r Butterfeild

2 p[ai]^r small Compasses at 2 livres/ each, & a Silver Port. crayon/ for 7 livres. he is very old but in/ an admirable state of health &/ Vigor.

A Monsieur

Monsieur Hubert Marchand

Jouailler sur la quay des/ Morfondus
a Paris,⁵⁴

On y^e same quay bought a map of

L[ivre]

of Paris — 1 — 5 sous
of France — 0 — 10 sous

[page 6, in pen. Paris]

M^{rs} Whitnal⁵⁵ an English Lady in the/ Nunnery of y^e Blew [Blue] Order of St Francis⁵⁶/ near Port St Antoine a fine Ingenious/ woman, & M^{rs} Bidolph,⁵⁷ that is there on/ Probation, or a Novice y^e finest woman/ I ever saw.

Deli:^r a Letter from Mrs Burcher.⁵⁸

M^r De Laun[a]ys many fine Curiositys⁵⁹

Copys of Raphaels works in Rome in small⁶⁰

Some good pictures, fine silver works of all/ Kinds, medals —

A Lustre w^{ch} cost 30–000 livres/ y^e Globe at bottom cost 3000 livres only/ all rock Chrystals,

[in pencil, partially legible, under text in pen, in part notes for text in pen on this page and page 6:]

....more was there/ y^e St/ Mrs Burchers/
March 8th at y^e Fair of St Germ[ai]^{ns}/ ... 3 high Boit, .../.....

30 000 Livres y^e Lustre/ ... Launays/ a Turkish ornament[?]/ y^e ball cost 3000 livres/ all one at bottom

[page 7, in pencil. Paris etc]

[notes, perhaps made before leaving for Paris, apparently recording information provided by Nicholas Hawksmoor and John Warner, used in text in pen on pages 5 and 6:]

M^{rs} Whitnal in y^e/ Nunnery of St Francis

M^{rs} Burchers acquaintance

finest Lady there

Hawksmore⁶¹

Mr J[oh]n Warner 5^s to drink/ wth Mr Hubert⁶²

[remaining notes on this page and next used in text on page 5:]

A Monsieur
Monsieur Hubert
Marchand Jouailler
sur le Quay des
Morfondus a
Warner Paris.

[page 8, in pencil. Paris]

March 9th bought of Butterfield 2 small/ p[ai]r compasses at 2 livres each/ a Silver port Compass at 7 livres

a map of France 10 sous/ a map of Paris — 25 sous near/ Mr Huberts.

[page 9, in pen over pencil. Canterbury]

Feb[ruary]: 26/ 1716/7
St Georges Gate at/ Canterbury.⁶³

[Fig. 10, sketch of St George's Gate, Canterbury⁶⁴]

[page 10, blank]

[page 11, in pencil. Canterbury]

The Ruins of Canterbury Castle⁶⁵

[Fig. 11, sketch of Canterbury Castle⁶⁶]

[page 12, in pencil. Canterbury]

In y^e Cathed[ral]. at Cantab. [Canterbury]
The Tomb of Dean Wooton first Prot/ estant Dean. an Excellent fig[u]r[e] of/ white marble⁶⁷

Ar. Bpp [Archbishop] Chichleys fig[u]r[e] like that/ at All Souls.⁶⁸ well adorn[ed] wth 12 Apostles[?]/ in white marble about 18 in[ches]: high

Lt Coll: Prude <...> a Taylor boy,⁶⁹ Kill[e]d at y^e siege of Maestricht [Maastricht]
42 steps in all rising to y^e/ further end of y^e quire [choir]
D[uke]. Clarence & E[arl] of Dorset &/ y^e Lady⁷⁰ y^t was to y^m both lying/ between them, in y^e choir

French Chapple under y^e quire/ given them by Q[ueen] Eliz[abeth]⁷¹

[page 13, in pencil. Dartford to Dover]

at Dartford – bill only a line of pork

0 – 13 – 0
 at Rochester 2 fowle 7 fancies
 bad sauce ill dress[?] 0 – 17 – 0
 at Sittingborn, bac[on], & egg & chops
 2 pints wine all bad 0 – 7 – 0
 at y^e Rose in Cantrs: line & scrag of
 mutton. &c. excell:[?] broth, fine butt[on]: turnops
 a delicate fowle & egg sauce
 coffee & bread & buttr lodging, mull[e]d
 wine 0 – 14 – 0
 Gold Lyon at Dover 1 – 14 – 0
 very good & cheap

[page 14, in pencil. Calais and Dunkirk]

Mr Segart in Calais,⁷² Craigs[?], advice chaise[?]
 The People of y^e Silver Lyon y^e post
 house Enqr Lovell most likely to find a
 Chaise⁷³

In y^e Great Church of Calais⁷⁴ is a noble/ Marble Altar
 In y^e capuchins a good Altar of/ wood, & 2 large figrs standing/ in niechs [niches] y^t look thro into a/
 back chappell of the capuch[in]:/ Order exceeding well cut.

In ye Great Church at Dunkur[k]/ is on y^r right hand a very good Pict[u]r[e]/ in black & white, 2 or 3
 statues/ mostly well cut.⁷⁵
 in 2 or 3 places you open into 2/ streets like Porta del Popola⁷⁶
 y^e streets are straight, wide long/ tall, generally Pillasters of brick

[page 15, in pencil. Dunkirk?]

[Fig. 12, sketches of building façade, perhaps at Dunkirk, annotated:]

yell[ow] brick like stone
 some are built wth y^e coins [quoins], doorcases/ wood frame yell[ow] brick y^e rest red.

[page 16, in pencil. Calais]

Each Passenger from Calais to/ Paris 30 french livres & 3 sous/ p^r pound y^r Baggages/ goes in 7
 days

1 sh[illing]: english is 15 sous
 20 sh[illing] sterling is more generally/ about 15 livres in Paris

32 Post twixt Paris &/ Calais, generally 6 [amended from '8'] miles/ a post.

french livre p^r post/ each horse & to y^e/ Postilion each post/ 5 sous

100 £ Sterling is 1500 Livres

50 sous is 3^{sh} 4^d english money

[page 17, in pencil. Calais]

Horses — 96 livres — sous
 Postilions fees 0 — 160
 Double chaise — 10
 to Paris — 32 Posts

The Post house asks 2 guineas/ for a double Post Chaise from/ Calais to Dunkirk, Mardyke/ &c. 2 days, out & in

At Calais I chang[e]d 10 guineas/ for 16 livres each

The Fr[ench]: Crown is 5 livres

[Fig. 13, detail, sketch of coin, annotated:]

this is 25 sous
 [the coin inscribed:] BENEDICT 1716 SIT II REX

carrying over a horse is 20 shill[ings]/ in y^e Boat or Packet/ at Calais

[page 18, in pencil. Calais, Gravelines]

[notes used in text on page 92:]

Duplein Engl[ish]: Coffee house/ in Calais
 Brandy, y^e best for 36 sous p^r Gall[o]:^{n/} w^{ch} is 2^s 6^d Engl[ish] <...>

An: Engl.[ish] guinea is 16 livres/ & ~~18~~ Sous at Calais

[Fig. 14, detail, sketch apparently relating to a window fastening, and others of a decanter and glassannotated:]

fas[te]ning of windows at/ Gravelines where we/ din[e]d Aux bons Enfants'

[page 19, in pencil. Paris. Perhaps a note made for the Duke of Newcastle's request]

Leather cin[n]amon ground <...> foliage, fig[u]r[e]s &c.
 3 ft 8 high — 22 inches wide | from 5 livres
 that is 2 skins make a french Ell | to 100 livres
 | p^r ell
 at La Ville d'Anvers rüe St Antoin[e] prez le/ Bastil[l]e, M^r La De la Flosse

[page 20. Dover]

[in pen:]

In Dover Castle is a well 100 fathom/ deep w^{ch} is 200 yards.⁷⁷

29 Acres within y^e Castle walls w^{ch}/ a Man rents for 30 £ p^r Ann[um]: has/ Sheep, horses &c. to graze it out.

On y^e Rock facing Calais is a very fine/ Gun 24 ftt long of brass given Q. Eliz:[abeth]/ by y^e Dutch.

2 ^s – 3 ^d p^r head you pay when you leave/ Dover.
Half a guinea general[ly] y^r Passage tho' strictly it is but 5 ^{sh}:
5 or 6 ^{sh}: you commonly give y^e Boats crew.

2 ^s – 6 ^d to y^e Searchers at Dover when/ you are outward bound, 5 ^{sh} inward.

We went in Capt[ain]: Greens ship belong:⁷⁸ / to M^r Minnet at Dover,⁷⁹ were just/ 3 hours & 1/2 to Calais, against the/ wind directly but a strong tide.

[in pencil under text in pen, notes relating to above text:]

In Dover Castle is a well 100 fathom/ w^{ch} is 200 yards deep.

29 Acres within y^e Castle walls/ a Man rents it at 30 £ p^r Annum/ Sheep, Horses &c. to graze is a fine

Gun 24 ftt long given to Q Eli[zabeth] by/ y^e Green is a very fine fine ride

2 ^s 3 ^d p^r head ^{as} you leave Dover/ y^r luggage & cabin .../Dover in 3 hours & 1/2/10 ^s 6 ^d to Cap^t: Green gratis[?]/ 5 or 6 ^{sh} y^e crew.

to y^e searchers 2 ^s 6 ^d at/ Dover

[page 21, in pen over pencil. Dover]

S[outh]. Side of Dover Castle built by J[ulius]: C[a]esar⁸⁰

[Fig. 15, sketch of Dover Castle]

[page 22, in pencil, notes used in text on page 4. Paris. Perhaps a note made for the Duke of Newcastle's request]

On Canvass like tapestry 11 livres p^r Ell

On Ticking p^r ell 12 livres.

you may have of any size giving earnest
rue St Antoine

Landskip on canvass – 8 livres p^r ell

[page 23, in pencil. Paris]

1674[?] Champagne y^e diarist[?]⁸¹

Crucifix in Chapter room
 Piere Navar & Cath Alenson his Lady/ in marble⁸²

[pages 24 and 25, in pencil; text on page 24 runs over onto page 25. Travel arrangements etc]

The Abbey of St Germaine⁸³
 Small beer

From Paris to Fontainbleaux a coach & a good p[ai]r Horses 14 Livres, they find all. ⁸⁴	[page 25:] 42 livres for 4 person – 3 days
to go in a day.	[page 25:] Ozar boat.

The Boat goes from Paris/ every thursd[ay] morn[ing], before 7/ at – 8 next day at Valvoir⁸⁵/ 3 miles
 thence to Fontain[e]bleau
 at 2 livres each person [page 25:] 16 livres 4 person for 3 days
 ye boats return sat[urday].1 aclock, Sund[ay]/ 1 aclock & mond[ay].1 aclock noon

[page 26, in pencil. Paris etc]

Wax work rüe Columbi/er
 vis a vis L'Abbey St/ Germain
 50 sous

a Coach for 5 we took for 12 livres/ from Paris to Versailles...

St Etienne du Mont⁸⁶ a delicate winding/ Gallery & round ye Pillars [illegible diagram] ye/ pulpit[?]
 incomp[arable]: ye Bass relief <...> little/ fig[u]r[e]s &c in hard wood.⁸⁷

Genevieve⁸⁸ ye eagle delicate, ye 2 pict[u]r[e]s/ good of Troy & Largelliere,⁸⁹ ye 7 Cartoons[?]/ in
 Tapestry moderate,⁹⁰ on ye right hand/ of ye choir is 2 delicate brass[?] sculpt[u]r[e]s/ wth several
 fig[u]r[e]s of Christ Asention [Ascension]/ & burial[?] near together.⁹¹

The ruins of Julians temple⁹²

[page 27, in pencil. Paris etc]

incomp[arable]. great rooms, a vault/ und[er], now for wine, a Garden/ above.

Bull baiting first small dogs 2/ then from ye other doors 2 large/ for many couple – then a Bull/ then
 a Wolf – a Bull – a Bear/ a Bull, another Bear then a/ Bull to death, then 4 a day &/ fireworks –
 surprising – 30 sous/ each – 100 sous for ye English
 Great order – guards &c.
 Sund[ay] 3 aclock

Coll[ege] Royal of ye Jesuits⁹³ Mr/ Farley an Irishman accepted/ as & tutor to ye D[uke] of Berwicks/
 son⁹⁴

[page 28, in pencil. Probably Versailles]

29 Antique Vases on each side of/ y^e great Gallery⁹⁵
 capitals & bases[?] wth brass gilt Pillasters fine
 red[d]ish marble battens white marble
 8 antique heads, 8 marble antiques
 78 y[ar]^{ds} long, 30 ftt wide 36 high

[page 29, in pencil. Marly]

[Fig. 16, sketch of a lead vase made by Jean Hardy (1653–1737) in 1706 and placed at the *Cascade Champêtre* at Marly, now destroyed.⁹⁶]

[page 30, in pen over illegible notes in pencil. Paris to Fontainebleau]

March y^e 29th O. St. [Old Style]. at 7 ^{cl[ock]}: morn.[ing] went for Fontain[e]/ bleau. many Stone
 Quarrys, on y^e roads near/ Paris, w^{ch} are drawn up wth Great wheels
 on y^r left a fine seat of Mr Bromcards[?] leaning/ to y^e Sein[e], then you come to Jouisse⁹⁷ where/
 y^e Fr[ench]: King us[e]d to bait, & a woman presented/ him wth a Bisket.
 in 3 hours & 1/2 we came to Esson[n]e,⁹⁸ din[e]d at/ y^e Grand Monarche. on y^r left hand you/ see
 D[uc]. Antines House Duchess of Portsmouths⁹⁹/ where are fine Avenues to y^e River Sein[e]
 Mon^{sr} Cowdreys a pleasant seat.¹⁰⁰ then/ Maison rouge, belonging to Mon^{sr} Leger,¹⁰¹/ Gov[erno]:
 of Air in Flanders. a very fine situation
 in less than 4 hours from Esson[n]e we arrived/ at Fontain[e]bleau,
 Lay at y^e Image de St Cloud where we/ had a fine trout drest [dressed] for 4 livres w^{ch} we/
 measur[e]d 21 inches long.¹⁰²

We p[ai]d for a handsom[e] Berline & 4 good/ horses 20 livres p^r diem clear of all/ charges of Hay,
 oats &c.

The Aven[ue]: from Shilly thro[ugh] y^e forest is wond: [wonderfully]/ pleasant,¹⁰³ & on y^e great
 stones, & most of y^e Beech/ Trees are senten^{ces} painted in large black letters, done/ by a Pious
 gentleman a Hungarian. by name/ Bonameshi,¹⁰⁴ who was many years on this work &/ dyd [died] 5
 days after y^e Late Fr[ench]: King.

[page 31, in pen, over a few illegible pencil notes. Fontainebleau]

The Gallery of Primaticcio is 160 y[ar]^{ds} long/ & but 21 ftt wide, & about 25 ftt high, is all/ in fresco
 down to y^e floor. plaister[e]d on brick
 no salt appears any where, but y^e Plaister./ is dropt off[f] in some places. thro[ugh] neglect above
 The Plafond is by Primaticcio, gentilely [genteelly]/ design[e]d, but very pale & weak, good Airs
 The Ornaments in all y^e Gallerys are gentile by/ John de Udine.¹⁰⁵ The Sides of this Gallery are
 painted by Van Thulden,¹⁰⁶ & is y^e Hist[ory]: of Ulysses,/ underneath are Gothick ornaments to y^e
 bottom
 Franc[cesco]. Bolognese several pan[els]: in y^e Ciel [Ceiling]:¹⁰⁷
 The little fig[u]r[e]s are y^e best in black & white

The Plafonds thro[ughout] are ador[ne]d wth great/ suffites [soffits] & gilding, & stucco work.
 many Ceilings &c. by messor Nicolo, y^e Chapel/ is all enrich[e]d with fig[u]r[e]s, ornaments &
 gothick &/ in y^e stile of Sprangher, by Mon^{sr} Martin¹⁰⁸/ a Parisian long ago.

The Grand Canal is long[e]r & wider than/ that in St James's Park wth a stone Parapet¹⁰⁹/ all round it. abond[ance]: of Grand Avenues y^r/ environ y^e whole, large, wet Holles instead/ of walls w^{ch} we call a Hah, Hah, by reason/ of y^e surprize because till you come near/ you think y^e Garden quite open to y^e Country/ & looks very noble next y^e rocks here.

[page 32. Trianon at Versailles; Fontainebleau]

[in pen:]

The same Surprize at Trianon in 8 several/ views from a Center. & some Chaleans[?].¹¹⁰

[in pencil, partly under text in pen:]

The Cascade is grand & y^e rock in y^t/ grand ... is handsom, y^e most/ surprising is y^e Bizar[r]e mountains/ rocks y^t terminate[?] y^e view facing/ y^e building. &c y^e fall of water that/ forms y^e environ has an adm.^{le} [admirable]/ effect at Trianon it is so[?] ... / likewise[?] & seems to lay y^e Country/ to y^e Garden.

[notes used in text on page 30:]

The aven[ue]: in y^e forest w^{ch} is/ from Shilly is 3 leagues to F[ontaine]. bleau
beeches wth inscrip[tion] a Cross erected on/ a pillar of marble in y^e <...> of y^e/ way.

The Painting of y^e Chap[el]. has y^e/ Goût of Spranger & Goltzius,¹¹¹
chairs at our Lodging a Stuff Call[e]d/ Moequet [Moquette]¹¹² 7 livres each on <...>

[note used in text on page 30:]

Bonameshi[?] a Hungarian died/ days after y^e Fr[ench] King <...>

[page 33, in pencil. Fontainebleau, St Denis?]

[notes, struck through, in part used in text on page 30:]

Find in y^e forest a Gentleman
For sup[pe]r trout 21 inch long din[e]d/ 4 livres

[Fig. 17, sketch, perhaps of the Valois chapel added to the basilica of St Denis and designed by Primaticcio. The tomb of Henri IV was displayed as the centrepiece. Annotated:]

Hen[ry] 4th

25 ftt [set between two arrow signs, < >]

[page 34, in pencil. Fontainebleau?]

[Fig. 18, sketch of architectural details, perhaps relating to the château at Fontainebleau, annotated:]

Pill[a]rs 4ft – 6 diam[eter]

Up[pe]r Cornis [Cornices]

25 ftt opening
next y^e Pill[ar]:

Cap[ital]

[page 35, in pencil. Fontainebleau; remedy provided by Boit]

come tomorrow 3 livres
Boit

Church of Font[aine]bleau
Crucifix.
that is a ha ha ditch

H[enry] 4th hunting his dog call[e]d/ bleau found a fountain/ under[?] fair bleau

Rey Alga marine or sea Mosse
out of y^e Colchester Castle¹¹³ wth y^e oyles [oils]
wash clean, till y^e water comes off[f]/ clean, dry it in an open shade,/ put into a new glaz[e]d pot,
bake/ in an oven well stopt or cover[e]d/ then powder[e]d it, R a drachm/ morn[ing] & night in a
glass of/ Rhen wine 3 or 4 nights for/ y^e Gravel. Boit cur[e]d, old Legs[?] / old Mrs Bomar.¹¹⁴

[page 36, in pencil. Fontainebleau or Marly?]

[Fig. 19, sketch of right half of facade of unknown building, one window in facade annotated:]

blank

[page 37, in pencil. Fontainebleau or Marly?]

[Fig. 20, sketch of relief over a doorway, probably the doorway at left on facing page 36, perhaps at
château at Fontainebleau or Marly, annotated:]

Basso relievo

[page 38, pencil. Two remedies provided by Boit]

a bit of – Ash virgin Ash never/ transplanted cut in April when y^e/ sun enters into taurus[?] y^t
moment/ as near as you can, scrape a/ little of y^e powder snuff up y^e nose[?]/ then hold y^e wood to
y^r nose till/ a drop of y^e blood drys on y^e wood/ when y^t drys y^e blood stops
Boit.

for fits[?] in children
3 drops of Rüe, 3 drops of Cats blood/ 3 drops of white wine vinegar given/ to a new[?] born[?]
child it will/ never have fits[?] Boit

[page 39, in red chalk. Marly]

2 fine Groupes of Bach [Bacchus] Ar[iadne]. & Diana & Endym[ion]
400 L[ivres] 7 ft high brass & marble made for/ y^e late Dauphin.¹¹⁵

Van Cleve 6 ft high 500 L^[ivres] a fig^r y^e K[ing] furnishes y^e marble
 Coustou ——— y^e same in Brass
 Coysevox ———

Stucco white river sand & lime y^e cover/ then white marble dust & lime agr [aggregates?] inch thick

[page 40, in pencil. Marly]

[Fig. 21, sketch plan of chateau at Marly]

[outside the plan, indicating the wider setting, at top, left, right and bottom:]

Cascade
 Machine
 Berry
 Jarden

[within or close to the plan, indicating details, partly legible:]

orleane
 dogs[?]
 main lawn[?]
 52 ftt sq [width of Salon at Marly]

[page 41, in pencil. Marly]

bed & furniture[?] Brocarde panel/ wth florerd [flowered?] crim[son] damaske

[page 42, in pencil. Marly]

Oudenard Tournay		Cambray & Ma[a]stric[h]t ^{uncos}
2 views of Luxembourg		Valencien[n]es Dovay ¹¹⁶
y ^e best		y ^e 8 l

4 Seasons in y^e Sall [Salon] Spring by Coypel¹¹⁷
 Summer Bologne¹¹⁸
 Autumn La Fosse¹¹⁹
 Winter Jouvenet¹²⁰

[page 43, in pencil. Marly]

2 fine groups n[ea]r y^e top[?] of y^e water[?]/ in y^e Garden. y^e left by Van cleve y^e/ right by Coustou
 Lugd: 1712¹²¹/ as you look toward St Germain

next y[e] house 2 Vast rivers after y^e/ Antique Nylus [Nile] & Tiber¹²²

[Fig. 22, detail, sketch, annotated:]

round y^e house

[page 44, in pencil. Marly]

Cascade 51 of 17 ftt/ each & one 20 ft/ by 40 ftt wide
2 fine Groupes by Coysevox/ at y^e head¹²³

[Fig. 23, detail, sketches of Coysevox's two figures of *La Seine* and *La Marne*, referred to on this page]

[page 45, in pencil. Marly]

a vast fig[u]r[e] wth a boar another wth a stag/ by Coustou/ 1706 ¹²⁴/ by y^e Grand Cascade
a fine Parterre/ plain grass

[Fig. 24, detail, sketch of sculpture on pedestal, possibly showing two figures, identity unknown]

[page 46, in pencil. Marly, etc]

50–000 livres p^r month[?]
all settled pensions for a mistress[?]

[Fig. 25, sketch of chateau facade at Marly]

[page 47, in pencil. Marly?]

[*placed vertically:*]

6 fine Parterre and fine garden
a fine Antique Lion[?] under a Green
umbrella a fine melange <...> &c
Horse pond
True restoring of Antique lions[?]
extraordinary

2 boys wth a Goat on a Table grapes all about
extremely[?] 2 fine terms[?]

[page 48, in pencil. Marly]

ruin of y^e water work at marle [Marly]¹²⁵

[Fig. 26, sketch of Marly 'machine' or water works, annotated with measurements, generally with arrows of form, < >, indicating extent of measurement:]

about 50 ftt [*height*]
15 [*distance between top of arch and top of construction*]
15–6 thiche [*depth of pier*]
26 ftt [*width of pier*]
36 Arches
27 ftt [*width of opening*]

[page 49, in pencil. Marly, etc]

[Fig. 27, detail, sketch of aqueduct, annotated:]

Aqueduct from

[placed vertically:]

K[ing] gave to 10–000 livres p^r An[num]
y^e under taker[?] 4 <...>

[placed horizontally:]

old Castle of S[ain]t G. Fr[ench] S[ain]t y^e new by
Hen[ry] 4th – now Ab[bot] Goutiers,¹²⁶ K[ing]. Fr[ance] 14th
born there n~~o~~-rents free from taxes
Colbert stuck on y^e scotch bagpipe
refus[e]d a Coat of Arms Tijou

[page 50, in pencil. Marly?]

[Fig. 28, sketch of a clipped potted tree]

[page 51, in pencil. Marly etc]

1800–000 livres
y^e Kings bed

In y^e stables 80 fine horses
now each hold about 800 horses

[placed vertically:]

at Marly 2 vast fig^{rs} of Pegasuss/ by Coysevox¹²⁷
a fine Groupes 2 women &c by/ by S: Hurtrel de Bertenne¹²⁸/ incomparable 1707
another by Anselin Flamen¹²⁹/ de St Omers 1705

[page 52, in pencil. Location unknown]

[placed vertically so that it follows the text on page 53:]

2 Antique vases & 2 Agate tables & 4 lustres

[...]d to Dauphines apartment white sattin,/ embroidered wth gold & colour very fine

14 Pictures of Wase[?] in y^e Billiard room

[page 53, in pencil. Location unknown]

[placed vertically:]

3 pretty pictures of La Ffosse
A Table of France in marble inlay[e]d gold &c.

[Fig. 29, detail, sketch of a wheelchair]

In y^e Gallery is 24 views of y^e water vases vases[?]

4 fine Antiques on 4 Agate tables ^{4 vases under} 12 noble/ stands 5 ftt high on each a Lustre for 5 Candles/ & on each table 2 lustres

room at y^e end room a table call[e]d to

[page 54, in pencil. Trianon at Versailles]

On y^r right as you enter
y^e round sallon is a Pict[ure]
of Zeph[yr]s & Flora by¹³⁰ |
Juno & Thetis[?] by¹³¹ | Le Brun

then y^e sall[on] de comedie
an Agate table 8 ft 1/2 by 4/ but broken
crimson damask & Gold Chairs/ & Couches

then y^e Kings room y^e 5 Pict[ure]s/ by Fontane [Fontenay], furniture as above
3 vast glasses, 6–9 by 5 ¹³²

in y^e next room 8 by fountain [Fontenay]

The Council room 6 more

[page 55, in pencil. Versailles]

[placed vertically:]

a Porphy¹³³ 7 ft by 3 ft 3 10–000 L
a Kind of Serpentine Porphy^e 9 ftt by 6 ft
4 Claude Lorraine y^e Bedchamber,¹³⁴
St John by Le Brun¹³⁵
St Mark by La fosse & St Luke Math[ew] by Mignard¹³⁶
fine glass room next y^e canal
3 fine Porcelain given by y^e K[ing] of France[?]
in Mr La Dauphins Apartment

[page 56, in pencil. Paris]

Frere Andre Parisien/ Religeux Dominicain pinx/ 1715 a Resur[r]ection in y^e/ left hand in y^e
Chap[el] Saltpetri/ ere¹³⁷

[Fig. 30, sketch of painting mentioned above]

[page 57, blank]

[page 58, in pencil. Versailles?]

[Fig. 31, detail, sketch of stone fountain or ornament, perhaps that shown in the Colonnade at Versailles on facing page 59]

[page 59, in pencil. Versailles]

[Fig. 32, sketch of outer walls of the Colonnade at Versailles, annotated:]

white marb[le]
 Pillars near 6 ft cir/ cumf[erence]. Ionick
 white m[arble]./ red marb[le]/ dove col[ou]r marble

[page 60, in pencil]

[Fig. 33, sketch of a stage plan, probably relating to the Italian Comedy, annotated:]

24 yard [*upside down*]
 24 yds [*placed vertically*]
 near 40 ft

[page 61, in pencil]

[full page sketch of an interior wall of a building, probably the theatre]

[page 61*, in pencil. Paris]

[Fig. 34, sketch of a stage plan, annotated:]

Italian Comed[y].
 12 Lustres over ye stage. thus

prompter [*marking a prompt box at front of stage*]

2 seats
 musick

Pitt [*pit of theatre*]

[page 62, in pencil. Paris]

[Fig. 35, sketch plan and elevation of theatre, probably the Italian Comedy, of which a stage plan is given on facing page 61*]

[*the elevation annotated:*]

each holds 4 & 4 behind[?]
 8 divisions
 divided wth gilt bars

[*the plan annotated, from left to right:*]

Stage
 Pitt all standing
 6 seats

[page 63, in pencil. Bodiam?]

[Fig. 36, sketch of Bodiam Castle[?]¹³⁸, annotated:]

Battle

[page 64, in pencil. Paris, relating to the Italian Comedy?]

The front cloth well/ painted wth gold foliage

Flat scene of a Pavil[lion]/ drops down easy

[Fig. 37, detail, sketch of a female figure]

[page 65, in pen. Currency conversion rates]

French money

	£	s	d
15 sous is Engl[ish]: money sterling	0	1	0
75 sous is _____	0	5	0
1 livre is _____	1	1	40
3 livres is _____	0	4	0
3 livres 15 sous is _____	0	5	0
7 livres 10 sous is _____	1	10	0
15 livres is _____	1	0	0
30 livres is _____	2	0	0
60 livres is _____	4	0	0
120 livres is _____	8	0	0
150 livres is _____	10	0	0
300 livres is _____	20	0	0
75 livres is _____	5	0	0
10 livres is _____	0	13	4
12 livres is _____	0	16	0
20 livres is _____	1	6	8
a Lewis d'or ¹³⁹ is — 30 livres or _____	2	0	0
50 Lewis dor is — 1500 livres or _____	100	0	0
25 lewis dor — is 750 livres or _____	50	0	0
50 livres is _____	3	6	8
100 livres is _____	6	13	4
5 livres is _____	0	6	8
200 livres is _____	13	6	8
400 livres is _____	26	13	4
500 livres is _____	33	6	8
1000 livres is _____	66	13	4

[page 66. Works of art for possible purchase]

[in pen:]

2 Marble heads cost in Paris 20 £/ Sterling each.

N[icolas]. Poussin 1200 livres, but cost in Paris/ 2500 livre & is ye most Capital/ Picture of him¹⁴⁰

Lud[ovico]: Carrache — 200 Livr[e]: — 10 sous cost L[ivres] 800
 De nef¹⁴¹ — 106 — 0 — 0

	Livres	
2 marb[le]: heads –	120	
Berchem ¹⁴² ———	140	} 500
2 Le Bruns —	240	

Mon^{sr} Bouchier a receiver/ of Provence, tax[e]d &c.¹⁴³

Bamboccio. bought of Baptista y^e Painter/ for 200 livres.¹⁴⁴
He has 2 great Albanos & asks for each/ 100 £ Sterling.

St Bruno of M^r Ronde — 600 livres¹⁴⁵

[in red crayon, placed vertically under text in pen, 'Tancred' in pencil:]

Tancred[?]	Livr[e]	Sous	
Poussin —	1200 —	0 —	20 earnest I have p[ai]d
Bam[b]occio —	200 —	10 —	M ^r Boit earnest
De Nef —	106 —	10 —	M ^r Hubert has p[ai]d it.

[in pencil, placed horizontally, notes for text in pen on this page:]

2 heads costs 20 L[ivre]
costs in Paris

500 all together
a Le earnest
2 heads — 120
Berchem — 140
2 Le Bruns — 240
400 livres is <...>
P <...>
a <...>
a D ... <...>

[page 67, in pencil. Trianon at Versailles]

[Fig. 38, sketch of figure of Mercury, originally positioned at entrance to the Grand Trianon, annotated:]

Mercury Trianon^{146/} facing y^e 2 Antique vases

[page 68, in pencil. Trianon at Versailles]

[Fig. 39, sketch of vase located at entrance to Trianon building, annotated:]

Trianon
reddish antique marble

[page 69, in pencil. Trianon at Versailles?]

[Fig. 40, sketch, perhaps the facade of the Grand Trianon, annotated:]

2 vases
1 vase

[page 70, in pencil. Trianon at Versailles]

Triannon 7 ftt circum[ference] Ionick

A Pallas of Porphyre [Porphyre] head Arms[?] & feet[?]
Brass on Antique

[page 71, in pencil. Versailles]

Versailles garden
Stag & dog founded by/ Les Kellers 1687 ¹⁴⁷

[Fig. 41, detail, illegible sketch]

Plut[o] & Proserp[ine] by Girardon/ 1699 ¹⁴⁸

[page 72, in pencil. Location unknown]

[Fig. 42, sketches of interior architectural column and supports and decorative metalwork, location unknown, annotated:]

brass ballust[rade]

[page 73, blank]

[page 74, in pencil. Travel costs?]

6 places	—	12 livres
		2 — 10
		1
		—————
		15 — 10

[page 75, in pen. Printsellers in Paris, etc]

[address in another hand except for the word, 'Tijou', perhaps added by Thornhill to indicate his source:]

Monsieur Tijou
Mr Regnier¹⁴⁹ rue du
coq vis a vis La barriere
des Surg[e]ons rue St honoré
a Paris

Langlois¹⁵⁰ proche le Petit Chatelay/ rue St Jaque, has abundance of old/ Prints to sell always.
Bruisden[?].¹⁵¹

Widd: [Widow] of Mons^r St Andre has y^e plate/ & consequently y^e Stamps or Prints of/ y^e Gallery of
Apollon at y^e Louvre.¹⁵²

Antoin[e] Aubry y^e Smith that/ silvers brass or Copper. recom[mended]:/ by Tijou to England.¹⁵³

[page 76, blank]

[page 77, in pencil. Pictures belonging to Lord Carlson]

L[or]d Carlson about 35 Pictures¹⁵⁴
 Pope C[arlo]. Marrat¹⁵⁵
 Sckalken [Schalcken] ruin[?] fritters[?]¹⁵⁶
 Head of Rembrandt woman¹⁵⁷
 Round call[e]d Poussin n[icolas].
 2 good Bols¹⁵⁸
 Half L[ength] V[an] Dyck wth a Dog¹⁵⁹

[Fig. 43, detail, sketch, perhaps relating to the circular painting by Poussin mentioned above, although the painting is unknown.]

[page 78, in pencil. St-Germain-en-Laye]

[Fig. 44, sketch of château at St-Germain-en-Laye¹⁶⁰ with annotations referring to the number of arches at each level of the terrace:]

St G
 7
 3
 7
 13

Vin de Aude[...] or Vin Gré[?]/ by St Germain is/ 7 sous a quart

[page 79, in pencil. Pictures by Sebastiano Ricci]

[Fig. 45, four sketches relating to pictures by Sebastiano Ricci.¹⁶¹ Top left: *The Judgement of Midas*. Top centre: *Diana and Endymion*. Top right: *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Bottom: *Susanna and the Elders*.]

[page 80, in pencil. Paris, collection of Pierre Gruyn]

[notes, repeated in pen in a different order on page 86 omitting work by Andrea del Sarto:]

Mons^r: Groin rüe¹⁶²

a Good Samariton by A[nnibale]. Carrach[e]¹⁶³
 a large Charity by Andr[ea del] Sarto good¹⁶⁴
 a venus & nymphs & cupids Titian¹⁶⁵
 a Prosep La Fosse, Rape of Proserpine¹⁶⁶
 a fine Magdalen by Guido¹⁶⁷
 a Sacrifice Deluge y^e Deity appears Castiglione¹⁶⁸
 Jacob Rebecca Laban by Bourdon¹⁶⁹
 Discovery of Archilles [Achilles] by Poussin¹⁷⁰
 An admirable large Bassan[o]¹⁷¹

y^e best Porcelain bleu & white

y^e finest Bureaux, clock cases &c./ by Boul[[]]e y^t ever were seen¹⁷²

[illegible text in pencil under text in pencil]

[page 81. Recipes and anecdotes]

[in pen:]

An Olio, R[oast]. Mutton, Beef, Partridge &c/ Garlick & a little Bacon, then bake all together/ in an Earthen Pot, skim off[f] y^e fat, & bake it/ again for use.

R[oast] a Line of Pork, put it for 4 days into a/ quart of white wine & a pint of Vinegar/ wth Nutmegs, cloves, Cinnamon, Pepper &c/ then stew gently all together, an admirable/ dish.

R[oast] Beef cut cross y^e Grain, Sorrel, Endive/ & Garlick strew[e]d between y^e slices, bake/ all in a crust, makes an admirable Pye.

[in pencil partly under text in pen, partially legible notes relating to the above text:]

Olio, mutton, Beef, a partridge &/ garlick &/ in earth a little, skim y^e fat/ bake again & eat

.....pint/// then sieved all together

Beef cut across y^e grain Sorrel/ Endive garlick slices & bake/ a crust a god pye

[in pencil, partially legible anecdotes relating to John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury; William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Manningham, Bishop of Chichester; Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester; and Benjamin Hoadly, then Bishop of Bangor]

Abp Tillotson & ... rough[?] .../ a he did y^e same

AB. Wake invited y^e Bps to dine/ in Deans yd Bp Chich[ester] Dr Manning[ha]m/ barnickd his nose what are we all Bps/ &c after din[ner], ye Abp askt if he wishes/ you like in to be nom. I think my/ Ld would be better if 2 bott[les]. wine were[?]/ put & Francis Atterb[ury] drank ... B Hoadly health. I am glad yt writing ... can
6 drinking should it me

[page 82. Anecdotes, etc]

[in pen:]

Coll: Shorter. Rose y^e Sword cutler, got his Kinsman to/ certainly 15^d p^r diem, but Sr Chr[istopher]: Wren¹⁷³ coming, there was/ a cry, & y^e Pars[o]n: was forc'd to run up y^e Ladder wth a hod/ of mortar at his back, he afterw[ards]: came to have a good/ living, & also preach[e]d at St Pauls several times.¹⁷⁴

Verily it was good Punch says Luke y^e Quaker at/ Dover. when he was ask[e]d how he likt it. he took y^e/ boul & drank all up.

[in pencil partly under text in pen, largely illegible notes:]

...../

...../ we fear/ in y^e day/ what y^e better for/ pray for ... half y^e clergy

y^e work for first/ before ...

if ... want point out/ bad ... and even

secure .../ a & Coll Shorter

If I had ... as much money most/ ... / to do no shall yourself

[page 83, in pen. Paris, sculpture, etc]

Mon^{sr} Le Moine¹⁷⁵

A Block of Statue Marble in Paris costs £100 Sterling [the word 'Sterling' runs on to page 84]

A Fig: 6 ftt, white marble only workmanship/ 400 £ Sterling

A fig^r: of 6 ftt in Stucco – ornamentes is generally/ 3 or 400 livres

He requires a Pension of 1000 livres/ & Lodging

Each Basso relievo consisting of 2 Angels/ in lead 1800 livres only workmanship/ at Notredam[e]
 ——/ a little bigg[e]^r y life.¹⁷⁶

The Fig[u]^r[e]^s on y^e top of y^e Chap[e]l. at Versail[ies]

7 ftt 1/2 high in soft but firm workman/ ships only — it is call[e]d Pierre de Tonniere¹⁷⁷/ 900 livres
 each fig[u]^r[e]: Van Cleve y^e same¹⁷⁸

Memdú Louvais & D[uc] Antine tryd [tried] to employ/ y^e cheapest Artists so y^e Arts declin[e]d, at
 last/ it was establisht as at first they that did/ best had most .. as in Colberts time.¹⁷⁹

[page 84, in pencil. Location unknown]

[placed vertically:]

D[uc]. Harcourt¹⁸⁰

33 ft <...>/ peer & peer/ each peer is/ 5ftt

about 20 Arches/ besides little ones.

Birds

[Fig. 46, sketch of an archway, annotated:]

12 ft [and vertically:] 6ft high

[page 85. Sketch; financial notes]

[in pencil:]

Spring head at Range[?]

[Fig. 47, detail, sketch, presumably representing the spring head, annotated with dimensions:]

4 ft [width]

5 [height]

[Fig. 48, sketch of rectangle, annotated:]

may[?]

[in red chalk, partially obscured by sketches in pencil, part of a note continued on facing page 86:]

March ye 22 ¹⁶¹⁷ [1716] – recd 1500 livres –
new stile

March April ye 2nd – recd 1500 –
of Mrs B..... widdow

..... recd 1500 livres of/ Def

[page 86, in pen. Paris, works of art, some for possible purchase; financial notes]

Mon^{sr} St Germain near Pont neuf.

has ye Salutation on Copper by Albano¹⁸¹ very/ correct & well preserv[e]d

The St: Veronica^s head holding our Saviours head/ on a napkin by Guido Reni.¹⁸²
he will not abate of 500 guineas for both
He has a vast quantity of ill Pictures.

[based on notes on page 80:]

Mons^r Grouin ye Treasurer has many excellent/ Pictures, partic[ularly]:

The Good Samaritan by A[nnibale]: Carrac[ci]: incomp[ara]:^{ble}

A Venus Cupids & Nymphs by Titian,

A little Magdalen by Guido Reni.

A Sacrifice by Castiglione

Jacob & Rebecca by Bourdon

Discov[ery]: of Achil[les]: by Poussin.

An adm[irable]: large Bassan[o].

ye Rape of Proserp[ine]: by La Ffosse.

The best Porcelain, Bureaux,/ Clock cases by Boul[le] that were ever/ made

[in red chalk, part of a note continued from facing page 85:]

To Tho[?] Highmore[?] Esqr¹⁸³ lent
1500 livres[?]

To John Huggins[?] ...
300 livres

[page 87, in pen, over illegible pencil notes. Paris, works of art for possible purchase, etc]

At ye Ironmongers, corner of Pont neuf/ next ye Louvre, buy a Couteau de Chatil=/ =lereau¹⁸⁴
recommended by Mr Tijou 25 sous

Mons^r Poussiniere – demands for a large/ Poussin of the finding of Moses 4000 livres.¹⁸⁵

A Pict[ure]: of St Jerome on Marble w^{ch} has been/ broke & well mended. 3500 L[ivre] by A[nnibale].
Carrache¹⁸⁶

A Pict[ure]: of Hor[atius]: Cocles &c. by Le Brun in ye/ manner of N[icolas]. Poussin 3000 livres & is
a/ very fine Picture.¹⁸⁷

he has 2 very fine small Landskips by/ ye velvet Brughel.¹⁸⁸ a fine Landsk: of Foucquier & a very/
fine Rembrandt. & many of Santerre.¹⁸⁹

Mons ^r Ronde ye Surgeon. ¹⁹⁰ has to sell	L[ivre]
Virgin, w th Angels & Cherub: by Car[r]ach[e] —	3000
Rubens little fig[u]r[e] ^s w th fruit by Brughel ¹⁹¹ —	3000
Albano, Bacch[us]. Ven[us]: & ceres ¹⁹² —	3000
Large dark Lands[cape]: Albano, St John &c ¹⁹³ —	} 2000
Albano, our Saviour & ye poor wom[an] &c ¹⁹⁴ —	
a study of Raphael —	

I offer[e]d him 600 £ Sterling for/ ye 6 above nam[e]d/ w^{ch} is 9000 livres
[continues to right:] he demands 11000 livres

[page 88, in pen, over illegible pencil notes. Paris, pictures at Palais Royal, etc]

Mon^{sr} Desgautz, Gardner at the/ Tuilleries made a Model for ye/ staircase at Windsor in King
Williams/ time, thought to be ye same by Mr/ Tijou, w^{ch} Mr Archer shows for his.¹⁹⁵

The 7 Sacraments of Poussin were/ once to be sold for 70–000 livres, but/ since cost 7000 £
Sterling, Van Cleve.¹⁹⁶

The Mas[s]acre of ye Innocents by Le Brun¹⁹⁷/ is one of ye best Pictures of him & w^{ch} he retoucht
just before his death, & hangs in/ ye Pall: [Palais] Royal in ye same room wth ye 7 sacra:^{ts}
[sacraments]

Over it is ye celebrated Poussin of K[ing]. Ahasuerus¹⁹⁸/ in a red mantle &c. noble expressions but/
ye flesh blackish.

Over y^e Chimney in y^e same little Antiroom/ is a round Picture of Le Sueur y^e finest/ I ever saw, Alexander giving y^e letter to/ his Physician &c. cost 2000 livres, he/ bought it from Mr [blank] who has several/ good Pictures & will sell. but very dear.¹⁹⁹

Moses Striking y^e rock is in y^e same room/ in Poussins best man[n]er & is y^e same Gout/ as my Tancrede &c.²⁰⁰

enquire for y^e Prints of either or both

[page 89, in pen, over illegible pencil notes. Paris, pictures at Palais Royal]

In y^e same room is y^e Finding of moses/ in his black man[n]er.²⁰¹
Over it is y^e Baptism in Jordan very black/ manner.²⁰²

y^e Extreme Unction & our L[or]d giving y^e keys to/ Peter are y^e best, but y^e Draperies in all/ are to bright red, & yellow & white & y^e/ flesh always black. too much/ Aparell [Apparel] on all y^e Apostles, nor y^e folds/ large enough.

In y^e little Gallery of y^e Regent are wonderf[ul]
Pictures, St^t John in y^e Desert by Raphael²⁰³
y^e 3 Godd:ss [Goddesses] & Paris by Rubens²⁰⁴
St Francis by A[nnibale] Carrache y^t was De Laun[a]ys²⁰⁵
A little Raphael, where God y^e Father rides/ on y^e winds, Angels about him.²⁰⁶
The woman of Samaria by Carrache²⁰⁷
2 large Hist[ory]: by Carrache Diana, Calisto &c²⁰⁸
The famous dead Christ by Car[r]ache.²⁰⁹
a fine Dan[iel]: de Voll[t]erra.²¹⁰
fine Parmegiano holy family,²¹¹
a delicate little Albano, Samar[itan]: wom[an]: cost 3000 livres²¹²
Europa by Titian,²¹³
Descent of y^e holy Ghost on our lord. by Carrache²¹⁴
a vast Quantity of fine Albanos, Guidos,/ Titian, Paulos, &c.²¹⁵

[page 90. Paris, Palais Royal, etc]

[in pen:]

Window wth/ oyld [oiled or old] glass/ all round.

A

[Fig. 49, sketch section of Gallery, framing the following text:]

Profile of the/ Regents little new/ Gallery, by Oppenard Arch[tec]:²¹⁶

... gilt iron rod on w^{ch} are hooks & crimson/ lines to every Picture. [*the dotted line links the text to the rod shown in the section*]

crimson damask y^e sides
wainscot carv[e]d & gilt.

[Fig. 50, sketch plan, presumably of ceiling, enclosing the following text:]

Plan of y^e Ceiling.

A [*refers to letter, 'A', marked at top of sketch profile*]

[at right angles:]

1. 1
 5. [scribble]
 5. [scribble]
 1
 1: 9[?]

[in pencil under text in pen, largely illegible, faint sketch of fire dogs and note for text on page 92:]

..... Dogs... for wood[?]/ Mr D.... at Calais

8 livres.....//

[page 91, in pen. Financial records in £ sterling and shillings, etc. Exch: = Exchange]

Feb[ruary]. 20th 1716/7

		£	s	
Bank note	No 45	— 100	— 0	In Jeherces ²¹⁷
	No 38	— 500	— 0	hands
	No 42	— 100	— 0	— J[oh]n Warners ha[nds?]
in Scrutore	— No 43	— 100	— 0	
	No 44	— 100	— 0	— In J[oh]n Warners/ hands
	No 87	— 25	— 0	
to Mr Rombour } on Account ²¹⁸ }	No 88	— 25	— 0	

feb[ruary].
 [from 'No 87' above to 'feb.' looped off from the rest of text]

[all the following financial details bracketed off at right and marked vertically along right side of page:] In Scrutore [probably referring to Thornhill's writing desk]

Exch: note N^o 81787 — 100 — 0

South Sea tran[s]fer[re]d to me
 19th may 1716 ————— 1018 —15

Bank annuity bearing in^{est}: [interest]
 from. 19th July 1716, transf[e]r[re]d:
 to me by Tho: Green — 500 — 0

Exch. Note N^o 69728 — 100 — 0
 Exch. Note N^o 69213 — 100 — 0

[in another ink:]

Memdu Send Mr Van Cleve y^e little set/ of y^e Cartoons of Raphael by Griblin, in lieu/ of y^e
 Gall[ery]: of Apoll[o]: w^{ch} he gave me at Paris²¹⁹

[in pencil, almost illegible but perhaps ending with the word 'Blenheim']

[page 92, in pen, over illegible pencil traces. Calais; costume notes]

Mr James Thornhills book/ in y^e Great Piazza Covent garden

Mr Janse at Calais, give Sr J[oh]n Vanbrugh²²⁰/ humble service, Sr J[oh]nⁿ was 3 years prisoner there/ in y^e ruins of y^e Cittadel].²²¹

When I went to Mr Janse he had 2 young/ Priest confessing him, but dismiss [dismissed] them/ & kindly remember[e]d to Sr John.

8 livres for 3 doz[en] of Gold wire buttons/ for my Brocard[e] wastecote — I n[ee]d at Paris

6 livres for y^r best Glands y^t I bought/ 2 livres y^e hard ones.²²²

12 livres y^e lace neckcloth — y^e first

11 livres y^e 2nd Glands & all.

[based on notes on page 90:]

[Fig. 51, sketch of fire dogs, annotated:]

Mr Duplein y^e English Coffee house in/ Calais. in his chimneys are Iron Dogs/ for wood. very convenient in this manner/ for long or/ short.

[based on notes on page 18:]

Best Brandy he/ sells for 36 sous/ p^r Gallon. w^{ch}/ is 2 s 6 d Engl[ish]:

¹ See Chapter One, p. 37.

² 'In Enamel'.

³ Probably a reference to the residence of Miguel José de Bournonville (1672–1752), who became the Ambassador of Spain at Versailles in 1722 and was granted the title of 1st Duke of Bournonville by King Philip of Spain in 1738. See *Table générale, alphabétique et raisonné du journal historique de Verdun, sur les matieres du temps*, 2 vols (Paris, 1759), vol. 2, pp. 197–98.

⁴ See John Bonhomme (fl. c. 1710–1734), in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735', at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 11 May 2015. On the relationship between Bonhomme and Boit, see George Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 20 (Vertue II, 1932), p. 78.

⁵ Probably the printseller and publisher Edward Cooper (fl. 1682, d. 1725), see British artists' suppliers, 1650–1950, <http://www.npg.org.uk/research/programmes/directory-of-suppliers/c/>; accessed 28 June 2017. For Butterfield see Chapter One, p. 32.

⁶ Perhaps William Tyndall (fl. 1720–22), a member of the Virtuosi of St Luke. See Bignamini 1988, p. 37.

⁷ See Chapter One, p. 39.

⁸ Perhaps N. L. Mandel, also associated with the Virtuosi of St Luke. See Bignamini 1988, p. 36.

⁹ See Chapter One, p. 39.

¹⁰ See Chapter One, p. 39.

¹¹ See Chapter One, p. 31.

¹² See Chapter One, p. 30.

¹³ See Chapter One, p. 30.

¹⁴ See Chapter One, p. 30.

¹⁵ See Chapter One, p. 31.

¹⁶ These globes were made by Vincenzo Maria Coronelli (1650–1718) who came to Paris at the request of Louis XIV; they were installed at the palace at Marly in 1704, now Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See La Hire 1704.

¹⁷ 'Toises' translates as 'yards'. As Thornhill himself says here a toise was 6 french pieds. So about two English yards.

¹⁸ This refers to the *Labours of Hercules* by Guido Reni, Louvre, Paris. See Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 101–4, cat. 18–21. For engravings after the paintings, see Pepper 1984, pp. 239–40, cat. 68–71. Gilles Rousselet (1610–86) produced a complete set of engravings in around 1669, see Meyer 2004, pp. 170–71, cat. 134–37.

¹⁹ On works by Francesco Albani in the French royal collection during this period, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 130–35; Puglisi 1999, pp. 100, 103–4, 106, 134, 142–43, 156–60, 163, 164–66, 168, 187–88, 202, 210.

²⁰ On works by Valentin de Boulogne (1591–1632), see St Gelais 1727, pp. 480–82.

²¹ On works by Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, called Guercino, St Gelais 1727, pp. 224–27. Mentioned in Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 295, cat. 257–58; 366, cat. 363; 394 cat. 399; 438 cat. 458; 374–75 cat. 374.

²² On works by Guido Reni, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 187–97; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 98, cat. 14; 147, cat. 75; 241–42, cat. 192; 341–42, cat. 327; 343–44, cat. 329; 344, cat. 330; 355, cat. 348; 375–78, cat. 375; 395, cat. 400; 400, cat. 406; 410–11, cat. 426; 431–32, cat. 450; 432–33, cat. 451; 458–59, cat. 481.

²³ On works by Salvator Rosa, see Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 209 cat. 154; 368, cat. 367.

²⁴ An *Annunciation* by Anthony Van Dyck, after the original by Titian for the church of San Salvatore, Venice, was on display in the Apollo Gallery in 1717. See Brice 1717, vol. 1, p. 64; in addition St Gelais 1727, pp. 64–74; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 147–48, cat. 76; 170, cat. 112; 184–86, cat. 126; 250–51, cat. 200–1; 272–73, cat. 229; 297–99, cat. 262–64; 314, cat. 288; 337–38, cat. 320; 358–59, cat. 353; 365, cat. 362; 367–68, cat. 365; 459–60, cat. 482.

²⁵ On works by Nicolas Poussin, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 325–53; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 162, cat. 98; 220–21, cat. 164–76; 321–23, cat. 298–99; 363–65, cat. 360–61; 396–97, cat. 401–2; 420–26, cat. 437–44; 442, cat. 462; 453–54, cat. 475–76.

²⁶ On works by Titian, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 459–78; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 93, cat. 9; 112–13, cat. 31; 119, cat. 40; 123–25, cat. 45–46; 127–28, cat. 50; 131–32, cat. 54; 159–60, cat. 94; 176–79, cat. 119–20; 188–89, cat. 130; 208, cat. 153; 211–12, cat. 157; 239, cat. 188; 249, cat. 199; 254–55, cat. 205; 286–87, cat. 248; 289–90, cat. 251; 293–94, cat. 255; 328, cat. 307; 379–80, cat. 381.

²⁷ Brice refers to 'les nœces de Cana de *Paul Veronese*' as being in the Apollo Gallery. See Brice 1717, vol. 1, p. 64. On Veronese's work in the royal collection, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 366–86. Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 96–97, cat. 12; 105–8, cat. 23–26; 117–18, cat. 36; 233–35, cat. 182–83; 243–48, cat. 194–98; 247–48, cat. 197; 288–89, cat. 249; 307–8, cat. 277; 319, cat. 294; 333, cat. 314; 348–39, cat. 338; 360–61, cat. 356; 417–19, cat. 434–35; 430–31, cat. 449.

²⁸ On works by Giulio Romano, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 273–85; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 85–86, cat. 2; 110–11, cat. 29; 113–14, cat. 32; 114–15, cat. 33; 174–76, cat. 18; 275–76, cat. 233; 276–77, cat. 234; 281–82, cat. 241; 416–17, cat. 433.

²⁹ On works by Jacopo Tintoretto, see Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 126–27, cat. 49; 138, cat. 60; 143–44, cat. 68; 144, cat. 69; 165, cat. 103; 299–300, cat. 265; 419–20, cat. 436.

³⁰ On works by Agostino Carracci, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 78–79; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 413–14, cat. 430. On Annibale Carracci, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 30–49; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 216–18, cat. 161; 218–19, cat. 162; 240–41, cat. 90; 241, cat. 191; 262–63, cat. 214; 335, cat. 317; 361–62, cat. 357; 377, cat. 376; 414–15, cat. 431; 214–15, cat. 160; 327, cat. 306; 441, cat. 461; 427, cat. 445. On Ludovico Carracci, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 296–99; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 265, cat. 217; 433–34, cat. 452.

- ³¹ Brice refers to the following works by Charles Le Brun as being in this gallery: *Alexander crossing the Granicus* (1665), *The Battle of Arbela* (1669), *Entry of Alexander into Babylon* (about 1665), *Alexander and Porus* (1672), all Louvre, Paris. See Brice 1717, vol. 1, p. 64. Also see St Gelais 1727, pp. 96–100; Schotter 2008.
- ³² On works of Francesco Bassano the Younger, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 287–91; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 118–19, cat. 39; 301–2, cat. 267. For Leandro Bassano, see St Gelais 1727, pp. 287–90; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, p. 122, cat. 44. For Jacopo Bassano, see Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 146, cat. 74; 214–15, cat. 150; 315–16, cat. 290. For Gerolamo Bassano, see Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 323–26, cat. 300–303; 434–35, cat. 453; 348, cat. 337.
- ³³ For royal commissions received by Adam Frans van der Meulen, see Richefort 2004.
- ³⁴ On works by Domenichino, see Spear 1982, vol. 1, pp. 141, 144, 147–49, 151, 172, 184, 194, 218, 220–21, 235–39, 266, 302.
- ³⁵ Perhaps John Girardel de Constantine (d. 1733) at St Margaret's, Westminster, see Loomes 2006, p. 170.
- ³⁶ On Tijou see Chapter One, p. 37.
- ³⁷ See Chapter One, p. 39.
- ³⁸ *Martyrdom of St Lawrence* by Eustache Le Sueur was intended for the church of St Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris, now Boughton House, Northamptonshire. See Mérot 1987, p. 292, cat. 158.
- ³⁹ This is a reference to Antoine Stella (1634–1682), apparently as the owner of a picture by Poussin. This could be the *Finding of Moses* mentioned on page 89 of the notebook. Blunt refers to a copy of this painting made by Antoine, see Blunt 1966, p. 12. See note 40.
- ⁴⁰ See Chapter One, p. 46. Mentioned again on page 89 of the notebook.
- ⁴¹ *The Saving of the Infant Pyrrhus*, now Louvre, Paris. See Blunt 1966, p. 127, cat. 178; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, p. 223, cat. 168.
- ⁴² This painting by Simon Vouet (1590–1649) has not been identified.
- ⁴³ *Martyrdom of St Eustace* by Simon Vouet remains in St Eustache, Paris. See Crelly 1962, pp. 191–92.
- ⁴⁴ See Chapter One, p. 39.
- ⁴⁵ See Chapter One, p. 50.
- ⁴⁶ Probably Guillaume Hubert, see Chapter One, p. 38.
- ⁴⁷ See Chapter One, p. 33.
- ⁴⁸ 'ell' is a unit of measurement for fabric.
- ⁴⁹ See Brice 1717, vol. 3, pp. 112–20.
- ⁵⁰ See Chapter One, p. 30.
- ⁵¹ See Chapter One, p. 63.
- ⁵² Some were perhaps sold by Andrew Hay to Edward Harley, 2nd Earl of Oxford. On 2 February 1715, a *Battlepiece* on copper bought for £7 and a *Man on Horseback* at £7.10s by Jacques Courtois, called Bourgoignone (1621–76), were sent from London to Wimpole by the architect James Gibbs (1682–1754). In 1716, Harley bought a landscape of Gaspar Poussin (1615–75) at £20 and a painting on copper by Filippo Lauri (1623–94) at £15. See Goulding 1936, p. xxx. For Bourgoignone, see Lallemand-Buysens 2010. On Filippo Lauri, see Pascoli 1730, vol. 2, p. 75.
- ⁵³ See Chapter One, p. 64.
- ⁵⁴ See Chapter One, p. 38.
- ⁵⁵ For Mrs Whitnall, see Gillow and Trappes-Lomax 1910, pp. 60–61.
- ⁵⁶ On the nunnery of the third Order of St Francis, see *The Harleian Miscellany* 1744, vol. 1, p. 426.
- ⁵⁷ For Mary Biddulph (d. 1720), see *The Harleian Miscellany* 1744, vol. 1, p. 325.
- ⁵⁸ Identity of 'Mrs Burcher' unknown.
- ⁵⁹ See Brice 1717, vol. 1, p. 143; on Nicolas de Launay's collecting practices, see Schnapper 2005, pp. 404–06.

- ⁶⁰ For small copies of Raphael in French collections during the early eighteenth century, see *Raphael dans les collections françaises* 1983, pp. 121–28.
- ⁶¹ Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661–1736) is not known to have visited France. On his achievements as an architect in England, see Colvin 2008, pp. 496–502; also Hart 2002; Downes 1959.
- ⁶² For Warner see Chapter One, p. 38.
- ⁶³ See Newman 2013, p. 161.
- ⁶⁴ A drawing of the same subject in the British Museum, 1881,0611.195, is based on this sketch.
- ⁶⁵ Newman 2013, pp. 245–46.
- ⁶⁶ A drawing of the same subject in the British Museum, 1881,0611.193, is based on this sketch.
- ⁶⁷ On the tomb of Dean Nicholas Wooton (d. 1567) at Canterbury Cathedral, see Newman 2013, pp. 187, 191; for general information on the cathedral, see Newman 2013, pp. 162–225.
- ⁶⁸ Canterbury Cathedral houses the cadaver monument to Henry Chichele (1364–1443), Archbishop of Canterbury and founder of All Souls College, Oxford. See Newman 2013, p. 197; for a summary biography, see Jeremy Catto, ‘Chichele, Henry (1414–1443), administrator and archbishop of Canterbury’, *ODNB*, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5271>, accessed 30 April 2015.
- ⁶⁹ This is a reference to a monument in St Michael’s Chapel in Canterbury Cathedral dedicated to Lt Col. William Prude who was killed at the battle of Maastricht in 1632. See Hackett 1757, vol. 2, p. 83.
- ⁷⁰ On the group of three effigies dedicated to Lady Margaret Holland (d. 1439) and her two husbands, see Newman 2013, pp. 201–2. For biographical references, see G. L. Harriss, ‘Beaufort, John marquess of Dorset and marquess of Somerset (c.1371–1420)’, *ODNB*, online edn., May 2011, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1861>, accessed 30 April 2015; G. L. Harriss, ‘Thomas, duke of Clarence (1387–1421)’, *ODNB*, online edn, Sept 2010, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27198>, accessed 30 April 2015.
- ⁷¹ This is a reference to Queen Elizabeth I.
- ⁷² Identity of ‘Mr Segart’ unknown.
- ⁷³ ‘Chaise’, short for ‘post-chaise’, a type of carriage.
- ⁷⁴ On the church of Notre-Dame in Calais, see Barbot and Churchill 1732, vol. 6, pp. 361–62.
- ⁷⁵ Perhaps a painting of the *Resurrection* at the west end of the Great Church at Dunkirk, although it would seem more likely to have been painted in colour rather than in grisaille. Numerous paintings depicted the lives of saints, such as *St Sebastian* and *St Agatha*. There were also statues of *St Lawrence* and *St Giles*. See *Description of the Famous Town and Cittadel of Dunkirk* 1712, pp. 14–15; Barbot and Churchill 1732, pp. 363–64.
- ⁷⁶ The Porta del Popolo is an architectural gateway to Rome positioned next to the basilica of Santa Maria del Popolo. See Wittkower 1937, pp. 242–313.
- ⁷⁷ See Brindle 2012; in addition, Newman 2013, pp. 308–21.
- ⁷⁸ Identity of ‘Captain Green’ unknown.
- ⁷⁹ Identity of ‘Mr Minnet’ unknown.
- ⁸⁰ During his expedition in 54 and 55 BC Julius Caesar is believed to have fortified buildings on the hills overlooking Dover Bay, near to the site where Dover Castle was later built. See Newman 2013, pp. 17–18.
- ⁸¹ Identity unknown.
- ⁸² The marble tombs of Pierre de Navarre (1366–1412) and Catherine d’Alencon (1380–1462) were created in 1412 for the Chapel of John the Baptist of the Charterhouse of Paris, now Louvre, Paris.
- ⁸³ For a contemporary account of the Abbey of St Germain, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, pp. 464–74.
- ⁸⁴ On the royal château at Fontainebleau, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, pp. 641–47.
- ⁸⁵ This is a reference to the region of Valvin near Paris.
- ⁸⁶ On the interior of the St Etienne church, see Antonini 1734, pp. 49–51.

- ⁸⁷ Perhaps a reference to the carved pulpit in the church installed in 1651, created by Claude Lestocard from drawings by Laurent de la Hyre (1606–56). Holding the pulpit is Samson with a donkey's jawbone and a slain lion at his feet, and around the outside sit small figures representing Prudence, Temperance, Strength and Charity. For a contemporary account, see Antonini 1734, pp. 51–52; in addition, Brunel et al. 1995, pp. 224–28.
- ⁸⁸ This is a reference to the church of St Geneviève situated near to the church of St Etienne which houses the shrine to this saint. See Antonini 1734, pp. 49–51.
- ⁸⁹ See Rosenfeld et al. 1981, pp. 140–71.
- ⁹⁰ Fragments belonging to several variant sets are in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; and the Burrell Collection, Glasgow. See Cavallo 1993, p. 67; Wells 1959, pp. 97–105.
- ⁹¹ This scene was probably the work of the French sculptor, Jean Goujon (1510–68). See Antonini 1734, p. 52.
- ⁹² Perhaps the ruins of the Palace of Thermae in Paris built by Emperor Julian, see Salmon 1787, vol. 2, p. 137.
- ⁹³ On the College of the Jesuits, see Brice 1717, vol. 2, pp. 376–77.
- ⁹⁴ James FitzJames, 1st Duke of Berwick (1670–1734), illegitimate son of King James II and Arabella Churchill, attended the Royal College of the Jesuits at La Flèche established under Henry IV. On him and his son, James FitzJames Stuart, 2nd Duke of Berwick (1696–1738), see Stuart Handley, 'Fitzjames, James, duke of Berwick upon Tweed (1670–1734)', *ODNB*, online edn., May 2011, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9610>, accessed 30 April 2015.
- ⁹⁵ The measurements for this gallery given by Thornhill would suggest that he entered the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, during this period known as the 'Grande Galerie'.
- ⁹⁶ Zega and Dams 2002, illus. p. 177.
- ⁹⁷ This is perhaps a reference to Juvisy-sur-Orge.
- ⁹⁸ The area of Essonne on the southern outskirts of Paris.
- ⁹⁹ For the Duc d'Antin see note 32 above. Probably a reference to the château of Petit-Bourg in Evry-sur-Seine (Essonne) inherited by the Duc in 1707. See Pons 1989, pp. 55–90. For Louise de Kérouaille (1649–1734), see Huertas 1988; Bevan 1972.
- ¹⁰⁰ Identity of 'Monsieur Cowdrey' unknown.
- ¹⁰¹ Identity of 'Monsieur Leger' unknown.
- ¹⁰² An inn near to the royal château at St Cloud, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, pp. 613–32.
- ¹⁰³ Probably the area of 'Chailly' located on the outskirts of the forest at Fontainebleau.
- ¹⁰⁴ Identity unknown.
- ¹⁰⁵ For the works of Giovanni da Udine (1487–1564), see Dacos 1987.
- ¹⁰⁶ Thornhill must have meant printed rather than 'painted' as Theodore Van Thulden produced an etched series of reproductions of the murals in this gallery.
- ¹⁰⁷ For the contribution of Nicolò dell'Abate (1512–71) to the Fontainebleau School, see Béguin 2005.
- ¹⁰⁸ The reference may relate to Martin Fréminet (1567–1619), who is known to have worked in the chapel de la Trinité at Fontainebleau. The vault is divided into six large scenes representing the doctrine of Redemption: *God showing Noah the First Sign of his Mercy, a Rainbow; The Fall of the Angels; Christ Triumphant on the Day of Judgement; The Holy Fathers assembled in Limbo; The Angel Gabriel; Annunciation to the Virgin*. See Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, p. 645; Lévêque 1984, p. 279.
- ¹⁰⁹ Probably a reference to the canals at Fontainebleau, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, p. 646. For St James's Park in Westminster, London, see Colsoni 1693, p. 9; Hatton 1708, vol. 2, p. 625.
- ¹¹⁰ For a contemporary account of the Grand Trianon at Versailles, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, pp. 565–69.
- ¹¹¹ This is a reference to Bartholomew Spranger (1546–1611) and Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617). For the most recent catalogue of paintings by Goltzius, see Nichols 2013. On Spranger, see Metzler 2014.

- ¹¹² This refers to a thick fabric used for carpets or upholstery.
- ¹¹³ See Bettley 2000, pp. 272–76.
- ¹¹⁴ Identity of ‘Mrs Bomar’ unknown.
- ¹¹⁵ *Bacchus and Ariadne* and *Diana and Endymion* by Van Clève were commissioned in 1702 for Marly, now probably Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco. See Bresc-Bautier and Scherf 2009, pp. 408–11, cat. 111–12. A second pair are in the Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Grünes Gewölbe, Dresden and in a private collection, New York.
- ¹¹⁶ The following works by Adam Frans van der Meulen are recorded as having been at Marly: *The Siege of Tournay*, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium; *The Siege of Audenard*, Louvre, Paris; *The Siege of Cambray*, Municipal Museum of Cambray; *The Arrival of Louis XIV at the Camp in front of Maastricht*, Louvre, Paris; *Valenciennes before the Assault*, Museum of Fine Arts, Valenciennes; *The Arrival of Louis in front of Douai*, Palace of Versailles; *The Taking of Luxembourg by Marshal Créqui*, Palace of Versailles; *View of the Town of Luxembourg*, Louvre, Paris. See Richefort 2004, pp. 236–38, 240, 241–42; cat. 101, 102, 104, 107, 113–14, 119–20.
- ¹¹⁷ *Zephyr and Flora, or Spring* by Antoine Coypel, 1699, now Louvre, Paris. See Garnier 1989, p. 101. For further information on the series, see Kayser and Chopin 2012.
- ¹¹⁸ *Ceres, or Summer* by Louis de Boulogne, 1699, now Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen.
- ¹¹⁹ *Bacchus and Adriane, or Autumn* by Charles de la Fosse, 1699, now Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon. See Gustin-Gomez 2006, vol. 2, p. 85, cat. 121.
- ¹²⁰ *Winter* by Jean-Baptiste Jouvenet, 1699, now Louvre, Paris. See Schnapper 1974, pp. 201–02.
- ¹²¹ See Chapter One, p. 57.
- ¹²² Copies after antique representations of the gods of the Nile and Tiber were created especially for Louis XIV by Lorenzo Ottoni (1658–1736) and arrived at Marly in 1715, now Tuileries Gardens, Paris. See Rosasco 1989, pp. 473–74, cat. 19–20.
- ¹²³ See Chapter One, p. 57.
- ¹²⁴ See Chapter One, p. 57.
- ¹²⁵ For a contemporary account of the château and waterworks at Marly, see Piganiol de la Force 1717, vol. 2, pp. 114–19.
- ¹²⁶ Perhaps Abbot François Gaultier, an agent and emissary under Louis XIV, see Roosen 1976, p. 96.
- ¹²⁷ See Chapter One, p. 57.
- ¹²⁸ On the work of Simon Hurtrelle (1648–1724), see Souchal 1981, pp. 150–61.
- ¹²⁹ *Nymphs and Children* by Anselme Flamen (1647–1717) and Simon Hurtrelle was created in 1703–7, present location unknown. See Rosasco 1989, pp. 371–74, cat. 5.
- ¹³⁰ *Zephyrs and Flora* by Jouvenet, 1688, now Palace of Versailles. See Schnapper 1967, p. 79, cat. 14.
- ¹³¹ Perhaps alternatively, *Juno and Flora* by Bon Boulogne (1649–1717); *Juno and Jupiter* by François Verdier (1651–1730); or *Hercules and Juno*, by Noël Coypel (1628–1707). See Schnapper 1967, pp. 94, cat. 65; 86, cat. 33; 92, cat. 56.
- ¹³² For the works of Jean-Baptiste Belin de Fontenay (1653–1715) displayed in the Grand Trianon, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, pp. 566–67.
- ¹³³ Porphyry is a type of marble often used for interior architectural decoration.
- ¹³⁴ See Saugrain 1723, p. 568. For the works of Claude Gellée, known as Lorrain, in the French royal collection, see Röthlisberger 1961, pp. 110–11, cat. 9; 115–16, cat. 10; 124–26, cat. 14; 172–73, cat. 41; 204–5, cat. 63; 211–12, cat. 69; 227–30, cat. 80; 291–92, cat. 117; 356–58, cat. 96; 489–90, cat. 223; 492–93, cat. 224; 493–94, cat. 225; 494–95, cat. 226; 527–28, cat. 265.
- ¹³⁵ *St John at Patmos* by Charles Le Brun, now Palace of Versailles. See Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, p. 173, cat. 117.
- ¹³⁶ *St Mark* and *St Luke* by Charles de la Fosse, now Palace of Versailles. See Gustin-Gomez 2006, vol. 2, p. 86, cat. 122–23. Perhaps instead *St Matthew* by Pierre Mignard, 1695, Palace of Versailles. See Constans and Babelon 1995, vol. 2, p. 650.

- ¹³⁷ *Resurrection* by Frère André (1662–1753) was painted in 1715 for the chapel of the Hospital of Salpêtrière. See Marionneau 1878, p. 54.
- ¹³⁸ See Nairn 1965, pp. 52–53.
- ¹³⁹ A Louis d'or was a gold coin introduced by Louis XIII in 1640.
- ¹⁴⁰ See Chapter One, p. 36.
- ¹⁴¹ See Chapter One, p. 38.
- ¹⁴² On the works of Nicolaes Pietersz Berchem (1620–83), see Biesboer 2006.
- ¹⁴³ Perhaps Charles Bouchier (b. 1658), appointed as Secretary and Clerk of Council of Jamaica as part of the Board of Trade for the British government from the 1690s onwards; alternatively, Jean Bouhier (1673–1746), a magistrate and councillor of the parliament in Dijon. See Hurt 2002, p. 116.
- ¹⁴⁴ See Chapter One, p. 38.
- ¹⁴⁵ This probably relates to engravings or painted copies after Le Sueur's life of St Bruno; the original series was commissioned for the Paris Carthusians, now Louvre, Paris. See Mérot 1987, pp. 185–216, cat. 35–36.
- ¹⁴⁶ Souchal, vol. 3, p. 132, cat. 4.
- ¹⁴⁷ See Chapter One, p. 57.
- ¹⁴⁸ See Chapter One, p. 58.
- ¹⁴⁹ Identity of 'Mr Regnier' unknown.
- ¹⁵⁰ Probably a reference to a family member of Nicolas Langlois (1640–1703) or his son Nicolas Langlois II (c. 1670–1707), both of whom were printsellers on the rue St Jacques. Mentioned in Fuhring et al. 2015, pp. 12, 91.
- ¹⁵¹ Identity of 'Bruisden' unknown.
- ¹⁵² For a discussion see Chapter One, p. 54.
- ¹⁵³ Identity of 'Antoine Aubry' unknown.
- ¹⁵⁴ Perhaps a reference to Henry Boyle (1669–1725), Lord Carlton, whose collection Thornhill may have visited at Carlton House in London built in 1714. For a biography see A. A. Hanham, 'Boyle, Henry, Baron Carleton (1669–1725)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3126>, accessed 3 July 2017].
- ¹⁵⁵ Carlo Maratta (1625–1713) was active in Rome where he painted portraits of popes Alexander VII, Clement IX and Clement X.
- ¹⁵⁶ This painting by Godfried Schalcken (1643–1706) is unknown. For a catalogue of his works, see Beherman 1988.
- ¹⁵⁷ For portraits of female sitters painted by Rembrandt, see Brown 1980.
- ¹⁵⁸ For the paintings of Ferdinand Bol, see Blankert 1982.
- ¹⁵⁹ On the portraits of Anthony van Dyck, see Barnes et al. 2004.
- ¹⁶⁰ See Saugrain 1723, pp. 633–35.
- ¹⁶¹ On the four paintings, see Daniels 1976b, pp. 57–58, cat. 174; p. 57, cat. 170; p. 2, cat. 7. On another group of paintings by Ricci added to the staircase walls and ceiling at Burlington House, see George Vertue, 'Notebooks', *Walpole Society*, vol. 22 (Vertue III, 1934), p. 73; vol. 26 (Vertue V, 1938), p. 74. For accounts of the relationship between Burlington and Ricci, see Nicolson 1963 and Knox 1985.
- ¹⁶² See Chapter One, p. 41 for Pierre Gruyn.
- ¹⁶³ Perhaps a copy of *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* by Annibale Carracci, documented as being in the royal collections during the late seventeenth and much of the eighteenth century, now Budapest Museum of Fine Arts. See Posner 1971, vol. 2, pp. 42–43, cat. 98.
- ¹⁶⁴ Perhaps a copy of *Charity* by Andrea del Sarto of 1518, now Louvre, Paris; alternatively a version created before 1530 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress collection). See Freedberg 1963, vol. 2, pp. 85–86, cat. 42; 165–67, cat. 73.
- ¹⁶⁵ Painting and location unknown.

- ¹⁶⁶ *Rape of Proserpine* by Charles de la Fosse, 1673, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris. See Gustin-Gomez 2006, vol. 2, pp. 19–20, cat. 23.
- ¹⁶⁷ For Reni's paintings on this subject, see Pepper 1984, pp. 322–23.
- ¹⁶⁸ Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione painted several works of this subject: *The Sacrifice of Noah*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes; *The Animals leaving the Ark*, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco, Genoa; and *Noah's Sacrifice after the Deluge*, Los Angeles County Museum of Art. See Conisbee et al. 1991, pp. 128–31.
- ¹⁶⁹ Probably a copy of *The Meeting of Jacob and Rachel at the Well* by Sébastien Bourdon, either the version in a private collection, Paris (Thuillier 2000, p. 166, cat. 19); or that in the Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois (Thuillier 2000, p. 330, cat. 195).
- ¹⁷⁰ *Discovery of Achilles on Skyros* by Nicolas Poussin, c. 1649–50, now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See Blunt 1966, p. 88, cat. 126.
- ¹⁷¹ Perhaps *Christ in the House of Mary, Martha and Lazarus* by Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, 1576–77, now Museum of Fine Arts, Houston. See Ballarin 1995, p. 464.
- ¹⁷² See Nérée Ronfort 2003; Nérée Ronfort 2009.
- ¹⁷³ Christopher Wren visited Paris in 1665–66. On his life and work, see Colvin 2008, pp. 1151–65; Kerry Downes, 'Wren, Sir Christopher (1632–1723)', *ODNB*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2012, at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30019>, accessed 7 March 2017.
- ¹⁷⁴ On Wren and St Paul's Cathedral in London, see Downes 1988.
- ¹⁷⁵ See Chapter One, p. 55.
- ¹⁷⁶ See Antonini 1734, p. 7. Also Gomez-Moreno 1979.
- ¹⁷⁷ Pierre de Tonnerre is a type of stone.
- ¹⁷⁸ For a contemporary account of the chapel at Versailles completed in 1710, see Saugrain 1723, vol. 2, pp. 522–26; in addition, Stumberg Edmunds 2000. On Van Clève's statues of *St Luke* and *St Matthew* created for the chapel in 1707, see Maral 2011, pp. 97–98, 100–01.
- ¹⁷⁹ On François-Michel Le Tellier (1641–91), Marquis de Louvois, the Secretary of State and one of Louis XIV's influential ministers between 1677 and 1691, see Michaud 1843, vol. 25, pp. 357–62. For Jean-Baptiste Colbert, see Michaud 1843, vol. 8, pp. 551–60. For the Duc d'Antin see Chapter One, p. 39.
- ¹⁸⁰ On Henri (1654–1718), 1st Duc d'Harcourt, French ambassador to Madrid in 1697–99 and 1700–01, see Michaud 1843, vol. 18, p. 438.
- ¹⁸¹ Perhaps relates to a rejected work and replica of a small *Resurrection* on copper altarpiece by Annibale Carracci, which was in the Louvre, now Musée Fabre, Montpellier. See Puglisi 1999, p. 226.
- ¹⁸² According to Pepper, Reni did paint *St Veronica* on copper, now lost. See Pepper 1984, p. 305, A23. He does not mention another panel attributed to Reni of the same subject, now in the Pushkin Museum.
- ¹⁸³ Probably Thomas Highmore (d. 1720), Sergeant painter to William III, Queen Anne and George I. Mentioned in Jacqueline Riding, 'Highmore, Joseph (1692–1780)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13249>, accessed 2 July 2017].
- ¹⁸⁴ A 'couteau de châtelierault' is a type of silver knife.
- ¹⁸⁵ See Chapter One, p. 34.
- ¹⁸⁶ There are several paintings of this subject attributed to Carracci but none are on marble, see Posner 1971, pp. 72, cat. 170; 77, cat. 180; 84, cat. 206. On engravings of this subject, see pp. 12, cat. 22; 28, cat. 64.
- ¹⁸⁷ See Chapter One, p. 34.
- ¹⁸⁸ On his landscape paintings, see Sellink 2007; Prosperetti 2009.
- ¹⁸⁹ On the works of Jacques Fouquier (c. 1580–1659), see Michaud 1843, vol. 14, p. 519; for Jean-Baptiste Santerre, see Michaud 1843, vol. 37, p. 682. On paintings by Rembrandt, see Brown 1980.
- ¹⁹⁰ See Chapter One, pp. 35–36.

- ¹⁹¹ See Chapter One, p. 36.
- ¹⁹² Perhaps one of several lost versions with the title *Bacchus, Ceres, and Venus*, see Puglisi 1999, p. 223, cat. L102–104.
- ¹⁹³ Perhaps *Baptism of Christ* by Francesco Albano, now Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon, or one of several lost versions of this subject. See Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, p. 413, cat. 429; in addition, Puglisi 1999, pp. 187–88, 222, cat. 105, L78–84.
- ¹⁹⁴ Perhaps relates to a version of *Landscape with Christ and the Samaritan Woman* by Francesco Albano, last recorded at Piero Corsini, Inc., New York. See Puglisi 1999, pp. 161–62, cat. 74.
- ¹⁹⁵ Identity of ‘Monsieur Desgautz’ unknown. On the royal gardeners, see Garrigues 2001. For an introduction to Thomas Archer (1668–1743), see Colvin 2008, pp. 71–73.
- ¹⁹⁶ See Chapter One, p. 47.
- ¹⁹⁷ See Chapter One, p. 45.
- ¹⁹⁸ See Chapter One, p. 45.
- ¹⁹⁹ See Chapter One, p. 45. This perhaps refers to the descendant of Jérôme de Nouveau (1613–1664), Seigneur de Fromont, Surintendant des Postes, who commissioned the painting for his hôtel in the place Royale, Paris. It was purchased by 1711 by the Regent through the renowned art collector, Pierre Crozat (1665–1740).
- ²⁰⁰ See Chapter One, p. 45.
- ²⁰¹ See Chapter One, p. 45. Mentioned on page 3 of the notebook.
- ²⁰² See Chapter One, p. 45.
- ²⁰³ *St John in the Desert* by Raphael, now Louvre, Paris. See Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, p. 369, cat. 368.
- ²⁰⁴ *The Judgement of Paris* by Peter Paul Rubens, 1632–35, now National Gallery, London. See St Gelais 1727, pp. 415–17; Jaffé 1989, pp. 332–33. Also Healy 1997, pp. 109–19.
- ²⁰⁵ *The Vision of St Francis* by Annibale Carracci, c. 1597–98, now National Gallery of Canada. See St Gelais 1727, p. 39; Posner 1971, vol. 2, p. 43, cat. 99. For Nicolas de Launay see Chapter One, pp. 39–40.
- ²⁰⁶ Most likely *The Vision of Ezechiel* by Raphael, now Louvre, Paris. See *Raphael dans les collections françaises* 1983, pp. 118–19.
- ²⁰⁷ *Christ and the Samaritan Woman at the Well* by Annibale Carracci, c. 1597, now Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest. See St Gelais 1727, p. 36; Posner 1971, vol. 2, pp. 42–43, cat. 98.
- ²⁰⁸ *Landscape with Diana and Callisto*, c. 1598–99, now Duke of Sutherland; and *Landscape with the Toilet of Venus*, c. 1605, now Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. See St Gelais 1727, pp. 37–38; in addition, Posner 1971, vol. 2, pp. 50, 68, cat. 112, 152.
- ²⁰⁹ *The Dead Christ Mourned*, c. 1606, National Gallery, London. See St Gelais 1727, pp. 35–36; Posner 1971, vol. 2, p. 73, cat. 177.
- ²¹⁰ Probably a copy of *The Decent from the Cross* by Daniele Ricciarelli, known as Volterra (c. 1509–1566), now Sta Trinità dei Monti, Rome. See St Gelais 1727, pp. 109–10.
- ²¹¹ Perhaps *Holy Family with St Marguerite* by Parmigianino (1503–40), now Louvre, Paris. See St Gelais 1727, pp. 146–48; Brejon de Lavergnée 1987, pp. 277–78, cat. 235.
- ²¹² *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* by Francesco Albano, now Dr L. A. Cauchi Collection, Sliema. See St Gelais 1727, p. 134; Puglisi 1999, pp. 130–31, cat. 40.
- ²¹³ *The Rape of Europa*, 1560–62, now Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. See Humfrey 2007, p. 300; Fitzroy 2015.
- ²¹⁴ Painting and location unknown.
- ²¹⁵ On work by these artists in the French royal collection during this period, see notes 115, 118, 122, 123 above.
- ²¹⁶ See Chapter One, p. 45.
- ²¹⁷ Identity of ‘Jeherces’ unknown.
- ²¹⁸ Identity of ‘Mr Rombour’ unknown.
- ²¹⁹ For a discussion see Chapter One, pp. 52–54.

²²⁰ In 1690 Sir John Vanbrugh was in France having joined the regiment of foot soldiers when he was arrested as a suspected English agent. See Downes 1987, pp. 63–77; on his architectural achievements, see Musson 2008; also Ridgway and Williams 2000. Identity of 'Mr Janse' unknown.

²²¹ Vanbrugh was imprisoned in the Bastille until 1692. For an historical account of the Bastille, see Quézel 1989.

²²² A 'gland' is a type of tassel often used as coat fastenings to decorate both formal and everyday dress.

APPENDIX B

NOTES ON CURRENCY

The basic unit of money in France during the seventeenth and the majority of the eighteenth century (until 1794) was the *livre*, for which English travellers sometimes used the symbol '£' despite the *livre* being worth less than the pound sterling. The *livre* was divided into *sous* and *deniers*. One *livre* was twenty *sous*. One *sous* was twelve *deniers*.

The value of various coins often changed, for example three *livres* equalled 1 *écu* or *crown*.

Livre sterling is the same as *pound sterling* (as referred to by Thornhill in his Paris notebook).

The English *pound sterling* contained twenty *shillings*. One *shilling* was equivalent to twelve *pence*. A *crown* was used as English currency and was equivalent to five *shillings*. A guinea was equivalent to twenty-one *shillings*.

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