



HISTORIES OF BRITISH ART

1660-1735 RECONSTRUCTION AND TRANSFORMATION

ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

Day 1 (Thursday)

Panel 1 Netherlandish influences on British Art

Sander Karst (University of Utrecht)

‘The participation of Dutch Migrant artists in the London art market at the end of the seventeenth century’

In this paper presentation I will focus on the many Dutch migrant artists who participated in the London art market at the end of the seventeenth century. During this period London started to take over from Amsterdam as Europe’s most important economic centre. Due to an economic depression in the Dutch Republic, the demand for paintings in the republic decreased, the Dutch art market collapsed and many artists were forced to seek their fortune abroad. Most of them migrated to London.

In London these Dutch artists found a new market for their paintings and anticipated the increasing demand for luxury products among London’s inhabitants. Whereas in the Dutch Republic pictures auctions had been organised from the early seventeenth century onwards and had enabled artists to produce their paintings on speculation, in London similar market conditions only began to emerge during the 1670s. For my masterthesis I made an analysis of a set of 132 London auction catalogues which cover the period between May 1689 and March 1692 (British Library, shelfmark 1402.g.1). This analysis demonstrates that 49% percent of all paintings which were offered at these auctions, and which were attributed to a specific artist, were produced by Dutch migrant artists.

During my paper presentation I will explain this analysis and will argue that the market for contemporary paintings was dominated by London-based Dutch artists. I will highlight some of these artists, such as Van Heemskerk, Van Roesraten and Wyck, and will show how they adapted themselves to the specific English market conditions. I will clarify my analysis by making use of the (often neglected) accounts of the Dutch authors of artists biographies Houbraken, Weyerman and Van Gool, who visited London during the early eighteenth century and who made several interesting remarks on the London art market and the many Dutch migrant artists in London.

Debra Pring (Hochschule Luzern Musik)

'Translating *vanitas*: Dutch artists and their *vanitas* paintings in Britain'

Matt Fountain (University of Cambridge)

'Pieter van Roestraeten: the market for the Dutch still life painting in late 17th century England'

This paper will seek to address a curious incident in the history of British art where the traditional genre of still life painting with its allusions to the vanity of the material world was subverted by revered portrayals of their patron's most prized possessions. Such a genre might be termed 'heirloom portraiture'. Focusing on the Anglo-Dutch artist Pieter van Roestraeten (1630-1700) who came to England in 1660 we find a transformation of the genre of still life to suit the taste of a patronage mainly concerned with dynastic portraiture, the only stable market at the time. As was the intention of 'heirloom portraits' the objects depicted allude to the identity of the collector, especially when the objects that still survive have a full provenance. This will be explored in the case study of the Whitfield Cup (see illustrations below).

Such paintings therefore are not just to be considered in traditional art historical terms because they act as an invaluable visual record of material culture in this period. The paintings reflect the aspirations, value systems and social projections of 'objects' for their owners, especially when we consider that the artist was also painting for a middling market as well as an elite patronage. In some cases it will be shown that such value was attached to these 'treasures' that those of a more modest income could purchase 'off-the-shelf' compositions because it was the closest they could get to ownership of the real objects. A closer examination of Roestraeten's oeuvre will highlight the techniques used to create the vast output, with the employment of native assistants to produce pictures of diminished quality, identifying one such assistant, Goddard Dunning, whose own work rehashes motifs taken directly from Roestraeten compositions.

The paper will draw some important conclusions of interest to scholars across the field; evidence suggesting a complex market structure was already in full flux in London; the consumption of art by the middle classes; the interaction between foreign and native artists in the period, and their relative liberty with the fading authority of the Painter-Stainers' Company.

Karen Hearn (Tate Britain)

'Constructing physical perfection? Patches, squints and spots in late 17th century British and Netherlandish portraits'

Panel 2 Aristocratic patronage

Susan E. Gordon (University of Leicester)

'The English garden, c. 1660-1735: breaking the mould at Castle Howard'

1731 marks the year Britain signed the Treaty of Vienna, Edward Cave founded the *Gentleman's Magazine* and Charles Howard, the 3rd Earl of Carlisle, purchased statues with which to adorn the landscape surrounding his English Baroque country house, Castle Howard, in North Yorkshire. This paper aims at highlighting the importance all three events had (politically, culturally, visually) on the creation of that most iconic of British art forms, the English landscape garden, spanning the divide between court, country, city, 1660-1735. In my paper, I shall address the figures chosen not as much for their artistic merit, *per se*, but for their visual sources and iconographic signification. Three years prior to their purchase, Batty Langley had laid out rules governing a decorum for such sculptures. How far was Carlisle able to keep to such rules, how far was he willing to bend them? To what extent was the form of the English garden itself broken and remade at Castle Howard? To what extent was Baroque classicism reconstructed and transformed?

Lydia Hamlett (University of York/Tate Britain)

Rupture through Realism: Louis Laguerre's murals at Marlborough House

This paper examines Louis Laguerre's murals at Marlborough House and their meaning within a wider cultural context. Commissioned by Sarah Churchill, duchess of Marlborough, circa 1712, the battle scenes represent a rupture in terms of both style and subject in the development of mural painting in Britain 1660-1735. A close examination of the paintings, and how they are experienced within the architecture which was planned with them in mind, reveals the full extent of their goriness and the stark difference in effect compared to depictions of the same subject in both moveable canvases and tapestries, including those owned by the Marlboroughs themselves. The murals, located close to the heart of royal quarters in St James's, will be considered as a counterpoint to those at the Marlboroughs' country house of Blenheim. Do the painted schemes in each residence offer two quite different, but just as effective/ affective, examples of a sublime visual rhetoric? According to documentary evidence the duchess was instrumental in developing the Marlborough House murals, and that invites us to consider how far she may have influenced their iconography and to what extent we can see them as a statement of her personal politics. Finally, in the course of assessing the impact of the murals on so-called 'decorative' history painting, the status of the genre at the time will be reevaluated.

Lauren Dudley (University of Birmingham)

'Reconstructing the fragments of the past: British identity built on ruins?'

This paper will discuss the painting, *Allegorical Tomb of Lord Somers*, 1722, by Canaletto,

G.B. Cimaroli and G.B. Piazzetta. It will be argued that, in the eighteenth century, the ruin motif reconstructed the past to forge a British Protestant identity, as is evident in this image. The painting originally belonged to a series of twenty-four allegorical paintings entitled 'Monuments to the Remembrance of a Set of British Worthies': the imagined tombs of military, political and intellectual men of merit from around the time of the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The series was commissioned by Whig politician and member of the Kit-Kat Club, the Second Duke of Richmond, to decorate his dining room at Goodwood House. In this space of sociability his fellow Kit-Kat Club members could feel a sense of community and continuity with the so-named 'Worthies', who were celebrated as Whig heroes and represented the liberty that was secured in 1688.

This paper will propose that through the imagined commemoration of the values and achievements that Somers's tomb signified, Protestantism and the dominant political culture were celebrated and legitimised. The Protestant liberty of the present was styled in contrast to the Catholic tyranny of the past. The scene of ruination that surrounds the tomb is an allegory of the Revolution, imaged through decaying antique architecture. The fragments of the past are reconstructed to shape the liberty of the 1720s and, by extension, the projected future. Through the series, the memory of the Revolution was manipulated in order to reconstruct pre-Revolutionary history from the perspective of the then dominant Whig government. This commission is part of a wider culture of arts patronage, architectural projects and archaeological excavations which aimed to shape British identity through this constructed history, shaped by the ruin motif.

Craig Ashley Hanson (Calvin College, Michigan)

'Looking to the Lowlands: Anglo-Dutch relations and artistic continuities in the decades after 1688'

Growing out of a larger project addressing Anglo-Dutch relations in both the fine arts and natural history (particularly medicine), this paper focuses on the impact of the Dutch on British country houses with an eye toward the construction of new historical narratives from the period. The series of Dining Room pictures from Goodwood – commonly known as the 'British Worthies' or the 'Tomb Pictures' – anchors the discussion.

The brainchild of Owen McSwiney, an Irishman whose earliest career pursuits revolved around the theater, the series of Goodwood pictures seems always to have looked both to the particular context of Goodwood, or more precisely the interests of its owner Charles Lennox, the 2nd Duke of Richmond, who did end up purchasing most of the pictures, and to a larger public audience, eventually included among the pictures' viewers thanks to a volume published in 1741 as *Tombeaux des Princes* that included plates based on nine of the paintings. A pamphlet from the 1730s addressed "To the Ladies and Gentlemen of Taste" promised "a more compleat Work of the Kind, than has ever yet been published in any part of Europe," with fifty plates – twenty four depicting illustrious men from recent British history commemorated through the conceit of monumental tombs, twenty four decorative inscription plates, a frontispiece, and a title page. In the end, the actual published volume with just nine tomb pictures was rather more modest than the ambitious proposal; and yet, the print component of the project suggests the degree to which McSwiney was envisioning paintings for a specific patron while at the same time working with a national audience in mind.

While the painting themselves are the work of Venetian and Bolognese artists, Charles Lennox had important family ties to the Dutch court, in particular to Count Bentinck (the son of the first Earl of Portland, the Dutch favorite of William III) and William Keppel (2nd Earl of Albemarle, whose father Arnold Joost van Keppel had rivaled Portland as William's intimate).

The paintings have long benefitted from art historical interest, but they have rarely been used to think about the construction of historical narratives in the 1720s in relation to the events of 1688 and the place of the Dutch in British cultural and political life.

Panel 3 **Art Writing in Britain**

Caroline Good (University of York/Tate Britain)

Graham's *Short Account* (1695) and Buckeridge's *Essay Towards an English School* (1706)

The focus of my paper will be two literary works that encompass vital issues of cultural hegemony, artistic identity, and the interpellation of art and politics at the turn of the eighteenth century. The first of these is Richard Graham's *Short Account* (1695), the first attempt at writing a historical account fully aware of the existence of a native school of English painters. The author's name is associated with the earliest club of artists and connoisseurs - the Virtuosi of St Luke - and with the earliest project of the Royal Academy. Graham's example was soon to be followed by Bainbrigg Buckeridge. In 1706, Buckeridge answered Graham's *Short Account* in his *Essay Towards an English School* – the first history of painters active in England. In the *Essay* the author criticizes the views propagated by contemporary English Virtuosi such as Graham, who supported the idea of an art academy shaped along Continental lines. He insists instead that such an academy should be English in its nature, and by this that it should be fully aware of the past and present identity of the English School. Buckeridge implicitly states that to adopt the ideas of the Virtuosi would mean undervaluing English tradition and the contemporary art market.

The issues directly or indirectly raised by these two publications reveal a new and powerful consciousness that bound artistic practice with national identity. This was a time when the political, religious and bureaucratic transformations that established the modern British state were effected, and these years saw the birth of a self-styled British school of art theory and history. My paper aims to generate an interpretation of this literature and the ways in which it was shaped by the society and politics of the period.

Amy Todman (University of Glasgow)

John Dunstall and *The Art of Delineation, or Drawing*

John Dunstall's *The Art of Delineation or Drawing* now survives in a lone manuscript copy. This drawing manual, that brings together word and image, practical guidance as well as poetry and polemic, geometric exercises, and delineations of faces, houses, trees, flowers and fruits, appears to have been assembled during the course of the seventeenth century, if it is difficult to be precise as to its date. Drawings and prints, attributable to John Dunstall, datable to between the 1630s and the 1660s, treating of estates and townscapes, rural and urban scenes, most prominently around west Sussex and London, often troubled landscapes ravaged by plague and war, are also known. Dunstall's writings and images, notably as they focus on the depiction of the land, connect with a range of

intersecting communities of patronage and practice, in court, country and city, including those of aristocratic clients and the clubs, societies and print trade of the capital, in which philosophical speculation and religious belief, as well as practical and moral instruction, played central roles. Significantly, Dunstall appears to have enjoyed the patronage of Thomas Howard, the great Collector Earl of Arundel, and worked closely with his protégé Wenceslaus Hollar. Such worldly connections place this little-known drawing master within the orbit of one of the most powerful families in England over this period, as well as with a figure of considerable importance to histories of British landscape. This paper situates Dunstall's drawing manual, more especially those passages that refer to the delineation of the natural and the human world, in relation to his views of antiquities and estates in his native Sussex as well as the plague landscapes of 1660s London.

Peter Forsaith (Oxford Brookes University)

'Protestantism, piety and portraiture: religion and painting in times of transition'

Not only in art but in the religious life of England, 1660-1735 was a time of transition. The Restoration effectively marked the demise of Puritanism, actualised by the 'Great Ejection' of 1662, while the 1689 'Glorious Revolution' signalled increasing religious toleration. Churchmen became polarised between 'high-church' and 'latitudinarian'. By 1735 had come the first stirrings of the Methodist movement, arguably the most significant Protestant development since the Reformation.

Characterised in the song 'The Vicar of Bray', this transition might be narrated less satirically through the life of Samuel Wesley (1662-1735), the father of John and Charles. Although raised a Puritan, the son and grandson of two clergymen who lost their livings in 1662, Wesley became and remained a high churchman whose views helped to shape emergent Methodism.

This paper will use Wesley as its starting point, to map the transitional process in religion, but centrally focus on two near contemporary and influential texts near the end of the period. Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses* (1719) and William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728) will be used to explore similarities and contrasts in painterly and religious perceptions of character and identity. In particular it will consider Richardson's writing 'On Grace and Greatness' and will argue that an understanding of his theory must take full account of the belief systems and religious views which were integral to Richardson and to the society and times in which he lived. Previous commentators have tended to consider this area in terms of purely humanitarian enlightenment thought; this paper will challenge that view.

Panel 4 **British Portraiture**

Sarah Moulden (University of East Anglia)

'Turning turk: Andrea Soldi's portraits of Levant Company merchants, c.1730-36'

In 1736, the portraitist Andrea Soldi arrived in England from Aleppo as part of a retinue of several 'Turkey merchants'. Apprentice-members of the English Levant Company, these young merchants had been based in Syria's largest city for several years, where they learnt to trade English broadcloth for Levantine silk and partook of the group identity established for Company employees. Located within the large commercial souk in the centre of Aleppo,

these merchants formed a significant patronage base for Soldi during his travels in the Mediterranean.

This paper will discuss Soldi's portraits of these sitters as innovative pictorial constructions – in their compositions, poses and sartorial character – of the Levant Company merchant's ideal identity. These images will therefore be situated within the context of their sitters' lives in Aleppo and the strategies and skills these novices were expected to have acquired before returning to their mercantile families in England. As such, Soldi's images will be considered as examples of a highly purposeful cross-dressing in which the trappings of another culture were marshalled less in the interests of masquerade or generalised cultural oppression than towards the articulation of a specific professional and mercantile identity.

David A. Brewer (Ohio State University)

'Authors and objecthood'

In this talk, I would like to explore a wide range of authorial likenesses in a variety of media (traditional portraits on canvas, painted wooden shop signs, engravings and woodcuts, carved and cast busts, etc.) in order to theorize the consequences in late Stuart and early Georgian Britain and her colonies of making, owning, and viewing an object which purported to resemble or stand in for an author. These decades are notorious, of course, for the ways in which authors were routinely linked to—and often reduced to—objects: e.g., the incipient toilet paper, or “relicues of the bum,” that Thomas Shadwell is destined to become in John Dryden's *Mac Flecknoe* (written c. 1678). Such moves have been traditionally explained—and implicitly dismissed—as run-of-the-mill satiric dehumanizing, no different in principle than calling someone a “dog.” I would contend instead that there are important and seriously under-recognized ways in which the routine conception of authors as akin to objects was what enabled the Restoration and eighteenth-century literary world to function, and that the proliferation of artifacts purporting to be authorial likenesses was crucial in making such conceptions—and the practices they fostered—not only thinkable but attractive and compelling. However, different sorts of objects worked in different ways, and temporal and geographic distance introduced still further variation: what a reader in 1730s Massachusetts might do with a frontispiece of a contemporary, like Alexander Pope, is hardly interchangeable with what a 1710s collector in Covent Garden might do with a bust of Milton. Accordingly, I will be continually toggling back and forth between different scales of analysis in order to describe the complex, but ultimately coherent cluster of emotions, genres, objects, and practices that collectively comprised the socio-literary-artistic system inhabited by authorial heads.

Jacqueline Riding (University of York)

'Highmore's portrait of The Lee Family (1736)'

This paper will analyse the role of ancestry – both familial and artistic – within Highmore's *The Family of Sir Eldred Lancelot Lee* his most ambitious portrait. It will argue that the portrait is at once a physiological record of a family, a metaphor of motherhood and the fruits of marriage, and an allegory of the perpetual cycle of life and death. And even as it marks the forward movement of time and the process of change and renewal, it pays self-conscious homage to the past through the use of particular pictorial and literary models. Finally, in the context of this conference and the CCC research project, the paper

will consider whether this portrait dated 1736 challenges the idea of transition between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and further how the demarcation of art production into arbitrary timescales has distorted our understanding of the early Georgian period.

Kate Retford (Birkbeck College, University of London)

'Connoisseurial Conversations: Gawen Hamilton's *Sir James Thornhill Showing his Poussin to his Friends*'.

A key development towards the end of the period covered by the 'Court, Country, City' project was the establishment of the conversation piece. As David Solkin has shown, this new form of modestly scaled portraiture, with its emphasis on elaborated settings and narrative devices, originated in 'a stuttering sequence of false starts and dead ends' in the 1710s and 1720s, but achieved its fully fledged heyday in the 1730s.

On a number of occasions, the term 'conversation piece' has been conflated with 'family piece', but, from the outset, a good number of these 'pictures in little' featured groups of friends, often homosocial gatherings, frequently focused on some artistic and/or connoisseurial activity. Early examples led both to Grand Tour 'conversations' by Nathaniel Dance, and institutional groups in the idiom, such as Zoffany's 'Royal Academicians'. In this paper, I will focus on two works by Gawen Hamilton: the National Portrait Gallery's 'A Conversation of Virtuosity..at the King's Arms' (1735) and, more particularly, 'Sir James Thornhill showing his Poussin to his Friends' (pre 1734). This latter picture was presumably commissioned by Thornhill himself, and it shows him proudly displaying the 'Tancred and Erminia' which he had purchased in France in 1717. One of the interested parties depicted by Hamilton is probably Jonathan Richardson sr, who had commemorated and celebrated his friend's acquisition with a lengthy discussion of the Poussin, its formal qualities and its relationship to Tasso's story, in his 'Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism' (1719). Concentrating on this related painting and text, the paper will explore the role and significance of 'conversation' in the conduct of connoisseurship and, from there, the role and significance of 'conversation' in the 'conversation piece'.

Day 2 (Friday)

Panel 5 Art & Virtuosi

Stephen Lloyd (Independent Art Historian, Edinburgh)

“...il celebre David Paton pittor di chiaroscuro...”: an Edinburgh limner at Ham House and the Medici court’

The career of the now little-known Scottish draughtsman David Paton (fl. 1667 – died in or after 1709) raises many questions about the status of an artist moving between Restoration Scotland riven by religious strife, the Lauderdales' rural powerhouse beside the Thames at Ham, and the refined patronage of Cosimo III de' Medici in Florence. The artist's self-portrait, which was drawn by the Arno in 1683, is arguably the earliest such work by a native-born Scottish or English artist to enter the renowned collection of *autoritratti* in the Galleria degli Uffizi.

Less than fifty of Paton's portrait drawings and copies after old master paintings from the Royal Collection survive (thirteen of them still at Ham House), while his career is documented episodically – but revealingly – in the Edinburgh city records, the household accounts of the Scottish nobility, and the diplomatic correspondence of the Medici. Paton can now be linked through copies and Medici patronage to the miniaturist Samuel Cooper, and can also be understood in the context of his contemporary portrait draughtsmen working in plumbago – William Faithorne, David Loggan, Robert White, John Faber, George White and Thomas Forster. This paper will begin to examine how Paton's refined achievement as a peripatetic draughtsman, can be re-assessed by establishing his oeuvre and repositioning him within the interlinked artistic communities and protective circles of aristocratic patronage in Edinburgh, London and Italy. It will reveal how he was promoted by well-connected Scots at court in London and participated in their cultural activities on the continental Grand Tour.

Helen Pierce (University of Aberdeen)

“this Ingenious young Gent and excellent artist”: William Lodge (1649-1689) and the York Virtuosi

The antiquarian George Vertue sets the scene: during the later decades of the seventeenth century ‘...there were then residing at York a set of most Ingenious Virtuosos.’ This collection of gentlemen, largely of independent financial means, included a physician, a topographer, a mathematician, several amateur artists and a glass painter, who met regularly in the city on social and intellectual terms.

The creative output of one of the group, the amateur painter, etcher and potter Francis Place, has been the subject of previous scholarly attention, most notably an exhibition of his work at York City Art Gallery and Kenwood in 1971; less interest has been directed towards his fellow ‘virtuoso’ and companion on sketching and fishing tours, William Lodge. During his relatively short lifetime Lodge was involved in a number of projects which highlight the developing role of the visual arts, in both historical and practical terms, in the polite recreations and self-improvement of the independently wealthy individual.

This paper will examine William Lodge’s complementary roles as amateur artist and printmaker, and gentleman connoisseur, paying particular attention to his activities as a member of the Earl of Fauconberg’s ambassadorial visit to Venice between 1669 and 1670, and the subsequent publication in 1679 of *The Painters Voyage of Italy*, Lodge’s English translation of Giacomo Barri’s *Viaggio pittoresco d’Italia*.

And what better location than the King’s Manor in York, once home to Lodge’s ‘sworn brother’ Francis Place, and just twenty miles from the Fauconberg seat at Newburgh

Priory, to reassess the contribution of ‘this Ingenious young Gent and excellent artist’ (in the words of Vertue) to British art of the Restoration period on a local and national scale?

Arlene Leis (University of York)

“Ladys and Virtusae” in the portrait print collection of Samuel Pepys’

Circa 1689, soon after his retirement from the Admiralty, Samuel Pepys began arranging and cataloguing his extensive paper collections into cabinets and portfolios. Pepys predominately accumulated books and manuscripts, but his collection also consists of ballads, music, maps, trade cards, frontispieces, and numerous prints and drawings, including portrait prints. Pepys was precise about the systemization of his collections. His portrait prints were carefully divided into three separate volumes, and each volume contained ‘classes’ that were labelled into subjects; altogether there were a total of 14 classes over three volumes. In volume two, Pepys follows the subject heading ‘Gentleman, Virtuosi, Men of Letters and Merchants’ with a more unusual descriptor: ‘Ladys and Virtusae’. How were virtusae defined in seventeenth-century England? Much contemporaneous literature exists about the virtuoso in this period, the figure of a well-rounded gentleman inspired by Castigione’s *Courtier* and popularized by Henry Peacham’s *The Compleat Gentleman* in 1622. Recent scholarship more specifically defines the English virtuoso as a polymath with an appreciation for the arts, solid education in the classics, and curiosity about the natural world. Often, virtuosi amassed extensive cabinets, including natural and artificialia. The word for the female virtuoso (‘virtuosa’) and its plural (‘virtusae’) are not found in English sources of this time, nor does the concept appear to have been adopted into the English context from Italian renaissance texts. Was there a female counterpart to the virtuoso in seventeenth-century England, or was this Pepys’s own term? If so, how did he define a virtuosa? This paper will consider whether Pepys defined the virtuosa according to the same attributes as her male counterpart or whether these women shared characteristics that suggest other unique criteria.

Panel 6

The Later Stuarts (I): Charles II and court culture

Erin Griffey (University of Auckland)

The art of display at the court of Charles II’

Despite the wealth of scholarly literature on art at the court of Charles I, relatively little attention has focused on the acquisition and display of artworks at the Restoration court of his son, Charles II. Surviving inventories of Whitehall and Hampton Court of c.1666-7, which have never been rigorously analysed, offer insight into his taste and the deployment of artworks at his court. An understanding of how both Charles II's taste and ideas of display were informed by Charles I--not to mention the restitution of many of his paintings--is facilitated by a comparison with inventories of pictures of 1639 and 1649-51. This paper will explore these comparative aspects of Caroline taste and display using the author's database of pictures listed in Stuart inventories, the Index of Stuart Visual Culture. Comparisons will also be made with the post-mortem inventory of his mother, Henrietta Maria (1669).

Helen Wyld (National Trust)

'Charles II and tapestry'

The importance of tapestry in early seventeenth-century Britain is well known. For some twenty years the Mortlake workshop, founded in 1619, wove the finest tapestries in Europe for Charles I who secured Raphael's *Acts of the Apostles* as models for the manufactory and presented lavishly woven tapestry sets as diplomatic gifts. What is less well known is that Charles II was also an active patron and collector of tapestries. On his Restoration in 1660 a new Yeoman Arrasworker was appointed, Francis Poyntz, and the accounts of the Treasury and Lord Chamberlain record the large number of new tapestry sets made for the king, many of them following the designs of the previous reign: the Seasons, Hero and Leander, the Acts of the Apostles. Palace inventories and accounts reveal the constant movement of old and new tapestries between the various Royal residences under Charles II, with subjects carefully chosen for particular occasions and settings.

Drawing on arguments recently advanced by Anna Keay on the importance of court ceremony in stressing the sanctity of Kingship after the Restoration, and on Thomas Campbell's writing on the role of tapestry in conveying the Aristotelian concept of Magnificence, this paper will argue for the central role of tapestry in the reconstruction of monarchical authority by Charles II. More specifically, I will show that the predominance in the 1660s - 1680s of designs first woven in the 1620s - 1630s was not simply an economy but a conscious reference to the collecting and taste of the previous reign. The use of tapestry can be placed within the wider context of Charles II's re-acquisition of much of his father's art collection. Tapestry enabled the King not only to express his own cultural power but that of the Stuart dynasty, by stressing continuity across the interregnum period.

Susan Jenkins (English Heritage)

'Collecting patterns: artists from the court of Charles II in the collection at Audley End House'

The collection at Audley End House contains paintings by Charles II's court artists including Sir Peter Lely, Sir Godfrey Kneller and John Michael Wright. These works, mainly portraits, were commissioned by members of the Griffin family and were not originally hanging at Audley End, but found their way into the collection by family descent.

This series of portraits has been integrated into a larger hang of paintings from different families. An examination of a selection of these works is part of an ongoing cataloguing project, which raises questions about the collecting and politics of the Griffin family. The quality of the works themselves suggests a patron who was close to court circles with a strong taste for the best artists of the day. Lely's *Self Portrait with Sir Hugh May*; Kneller's *Portrait of Mary Davis* and his *Portrait of Sir John Griffin Griffin* a series in the Order of Little Bedlam are among the best works of art of the period. Also to be considered amongst this group are two works by John Michael Wright, *Portrait of Judge Raynsford* and *Lady with a violin*.

Panel 7 **Prospects**

Simon Turner (Independent Art Historian)

“‘Things resembling graves & solid rocks’: Wenceslaus Hollar and Tangier in 1669”

In 1669 Wenceslaus Hollar travelled to Tangier in his official capacity as “His Majesties Designer” with Lord Henry Howard, grandson of the Earl of Arundel, on an inglorious embassy to negotiate with Moulay Al Rashid, the Moroccan Sultan. Numerous large-scale prospects and views are extant, providing a comprehensive survey from virtually every direction of the compass of the landscape and military topography of the small colony. They are arguably the most impressive drawings of Hollar’s career, made for the benefit of King Charles II to see what his remote and costly outpost looked like, a wedding gift from Portugal, given as part of the dowry on his marriage to Catherine of Braganza. They fall into two groups: preliminary studies likely drawn on the spot and worked-up finished drawings populated with figures or ships (further completed with elaborate titles). Whereas the drawings were made for privileged royal viewing, they were also used towards a series of prints called *Divers Prospects in and about Tangier* published in 1673, aimed at the wider “curious” public.

Hollar’s drawings reveal the agenda to transform and tame this part of the African continent and make it “appear familiar and even domestic”. As well as the notorious harbour ‘mole’, forts given comically anglicized names, and long stretches of crenellated walls, Hollar also depicted the ‘Herb & Kitchin Gardens for the Towne’ and a perfectly square and neat bowling green. It is also revealing that the key of the print entitled *Prospect of the Country from Peterborow Tower* includes ‘Things resembling graves & solid rocks’, which in the comparable drawing are indistinct shapes, inadvertently hinting that the colony was a disaster. Indeed, the first governor, Lord Teviot, was killed by a Moorish ambush in 1664, and in 1684 the English pulled out, demolished everything and left. Hollar’s images of Tangier, despite their visual accuracy, glossed over and hid a fearful place.

Ailsa Hutton (University of Glasgow)

John Slezer’s *Theatrum Scotiae*: prospects of seventeenth-century Scotland’

John Slezer’s *Theatrum Scotiae* was first published in 1693, and consisted of a series of engraved prospects of notable Scottish scenery, of antiquities and recent improvements in town and country. Slezer moved to Scotland in 1671 from upper Germany, serving as a surveyor of fortifications for the military. It was through his military duties that he first envisioned the *Theatrum Scotiae*, a visual compendium of townscapes, castles, ruined abbeys, public buildings and country houses, of great geographical reach. Slezer’s views portray the north of Britain as both ancient and modern, and detail settlement as well as change across Scotland, but were also emblematic in alluding to the wider significance of this landscape to the nation as a whole. He enlisted a number of notable Continental engravers to translate his own drawings of these sites, and some commissioned from others, into a commercial enterprise. He also collaborated with Robert Sibbald, Charles II’s Royal Geographer in Scotland, who provided the letterpress. He had encouragement from the court, from the king and his brother the Duke of York, but also sought sponsorship and patronage from the Duke of Lauderdale and the Earl of Strathmore. Although a commercial failure, Slezer’s ambitious project had an extended afterlife, with his views being recycled in antiquarian studies and tour guides in the century to follow, and contributed significantly to the envisioning of Scotland. This paper will locate Slezer’s novel publication, its words and images, in relation to a series of inter-related practices and cultural worlds, artistic, commercial and scholarly, military and civilian, as promoted

by aristocratic and royal patronage as well as the metropolitan print trade, and the roles of collaboration and northern Continental skills and traditions in the making of a British visual culture.

Emily Mann (Courtauld Institute)

'Making plans, improving prospects: a printed view of Britain's Atlantic empire'

In 1733 Henry Popple published his *Map of the British Empire in America with the French and Spanish Settlements adjacent thereto*, an immensely ambitious engraving which offered, on twenty sheets, close study as a bound atlas or conspicuous display as a vast wall chart. Produced with the encouragement of the Board of Trade and Plantations and endorsed for its 'great accuracy' by the celebrated astronomer Edmund Halley, the image aimed 'to correct the many errors committed in former maps, charts and observations', in particular the 'records and actual surveys' sent by colonial governors to the authorities in London over preceding decades. Including a detailed map of the North American mainland and inset plans of cities and islands, Popple attempted to give a 'total view' of Britain's possessions in the Atlantic world after a century of colonisation, competition and conflict over both territory and trade. The inclusion of French and Spanish settlements on the map was intended to solidify contested boundaries between the European powers, but also signalled future designs.

This paper will analyse Popple's image of empire and the technical and territorial claims it makes not only in the context of the fractious decade in which it was produced, but also in relation to the growing production of maps and other printed images of Britain's colonies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, which responded to interest in 'the present state' of those territories and demand for the 'most accurate description'.

Panel 8 **Print, copies and communication**

Martin Myrone (Tate Britain)

'Engraving's third dimension'

Anne Puetz (Courtauld Institute)

'Useful, profitable and curious: the emergence of the design print in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Britain'

The print trade is widely acknowledged to have been a major contributing factor to the international recognition of British artists and designers by the end of the eighteenth century. I propose to investigate how, between the 1660s and 1730s, a viable market came into being for a particular, newly emerging British print genre: the 'design print'.

This type of printed image, which offered a repository of ornamental motifs and representations of designed objects, served as a source of inspiration to craftsmen and decorative artists and more rarely, as a model in the workshop. It had a long tradition on the European mainland, going back to the fifteenth century, but was only very rarely produced in Britain before the 1730s. British craftsmen and artists instead relied on imports of printed material from the Netherlands, France and Italy and on occasional

publications by visiting or immigrant foreign designers.

In Britain, the design print is marginalised in conventional histories of British art and, to an extent, of print-making but was, I argue, of considerable economic and cultural significance. My talk outlines a story of beginning import substitution: of the evolution of a British production of, and trade in, design prints in connection to wider contexts of immigration, infrastructural improvements, changing patterns of, and attitudes to, consumption, and an evolving sense of the value of 'design'.

Peter Moore (University of York/Tate Britain)

'Prostituted at so cheap a rate': The mezzotint as mediator in circum-Atlantic visual exchange

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the graphic art of mezzotint – a process that was enigmatically introduced to the British public by John Evelyn in 1662 – had become a ubiquitous part of the nation's visual culture. Favoured as a means of replicating painted portraits, the medium not only excelled at emulating the tonal effects of oil on canvas, but also facilitated the dissemination of polite modes of bodily display to a broad spectatorship.

As the population of Britain's burgeoning American colonies increasingly sought cultural refinement through artistic production, the mezzotint came to play a determining role in the kinds of images produced in these regions. Identifying the mezzotint's role as an imported commodity, this paper shall offer a new geographical context for understanding a medium that came to be known to Europeans during the eighteenth century as the *manière anglaise*.

Day 3: (Saturday)

Panel 9 Rebuilding projects

Anya Matthews (Courtauld Institute)

“With honour yet frugality”: the rebuilding of the Livery Company Halls after the Great Fire of London’

More than 40 City of London Livery Company Halls were destroyed in and rebuilt following the 'dismal fire' of 1666. Unlike the post-Fire City Churches, however, this important group of Restoration buildings has never been the subject of a dedicated typological study.

The pre-Fire Livery Company Halls were rarely purpose-built, tending to occupy medieval town houses or the ranges of monastic complexes dissolved at the Reformation. This paper explores what happened when the City Companies confronted the idea of the Livery Hall as a building type for the first time. Although on one level a straightforwardly architectural exercise precipitated by *Force Majeure*, the paper suggests the design and construction of the new Halls was also a politically-loaded activity at a pivotal moment in the City Companies' history.

The historiography of the Livery Companies in the seventeenth century has hitherto been very much one of difficulties compounded. First the Companies' grip on their respective

trades was challenged and weakened, and then a series of enforced loans to the earlier Stuart monarchs and Parliament devastated their finances. The Great Fire delivered what might well have been the *coup de grâce*; the loss of their Halls and much of their estates.

That few Companies were prepared to countenance delaying or abandoning the construction of new Halls in such straitened and unpropitious circumstances is highly suggestive. I will argue that Hall-building became central to the Companies' fight for political survival and economic pre-eminence. Through an analysis of Brewers' and Tallow Chandlers' Halls I will consider how the architecture of the post-Fire Halls reinforced the Livery Companies' physical presence in the City and served a distinct civic identity which was under serious threat.

Eleonora Pistis (University of Oxford)

'Oxford 1708-1714: Nicholas Hawksmoor and the *renovatio urbis*'

This conference paper concerns the *renovatio urbis* of Oxford planned in the last years of Queen Anne's reign. Promoted by the amateur architect George Clarke (1661-1736) together with eminent members of the University of Oxford, this was a programme of architectural and urban transformation that changed the face of the city forever. In addition to local craftsmen, it involved some of the most eminent architects and artists of the period.

The aim is to see the various architectural activities, so far studied mainly through drawings, within the historical, political and cultural context of Oxford, maintaining at the same time a constant reference to the broader debates under way in Europe at the time.

The paper mainly focuses on the contribution of Nicholas Hawksmoor, who was architect of, or sometimes advisor on, the majority of the new buildings planned. It links Hawksmoor's projects to a world made by people, with their alliances and enmities, their ambition and their political plots, and also by the books, prints and drawings that they collected. With this approach, every individual project not only belongs to a huge *corpus* of drawings, but also achieves a new, and particular, significance within this period of Oxford's and the nation's history.

This study is based on 4 years' worth of research on architectural activities in Oxford and their patronage at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Combining fresh analysis of the drawings and new archival investigations, it brings to light an extraordinary and complex chapter of the history of British Architecture, still today mostly unknown.

Peter N. Lindfield-Ott (University of St. Andrews)

'Early Gothic-Revivalism: the reconstruction and transformation of Medieval architecture, and the formation of Gothic-Revival furniture'

Art and architectural historians tend to place the 'birth' of the Gothic Revival in the 1740s, with the publication of Batty Langley's *Ancient Architecture Restored and Improved* (1741-42), and the Gothicisation of Horace Walpole's famous villa in Twickenham, Strawberry Hill (from 1750). My paper looks at, and places new emphasis on, the importance of exponents who predate this Gothic Revival: Wren, Hawksmoor, Vanbrugh and Kent. What links these architects, and makes them so influential in the development of the Gothic Revival in eighteenth-century Britain, is the way they increasingly revived medieval architecture in pieces, or as a vocabulary of ornament. This extraction and divorcing of Gothic ornament from Gothic architecture is profound under

Vanbrugh and Kent. I argue that the preoccupations of Wren at Christ Church College, Oxford (1681–82), Vanbrugh at Vanbrugh Castle (1717–20), and William Kent at Esher Place (c. 1733) and in his illustrations for Edmund Spencer's *The Faerie Queene* (1730s), reveal that Gothic architecture's handling fundamentally shifted. At Oxford Wren demonstrates a strong understanding of the style. Under Hawksmoor Gothic and classical styles are blended, especially for the towers at Westminster Abbey. In the early-nineteenth century Vanbrugh created 'the caste air' — a style reminiscent of medieval architecture, but this could be applied to non-Gothic buildings, such as Seaton Delaval (1718), as well as those reminiscent of medieval architecture (Vanbrugh Castle). Finally, Kent extracted a vocabulary of Gothic ornament from medieval buildings and reconstituted it with the language of classical architecture, especially giant orders and friezes. Kent's style is not restricted to architecture, but also crosses over to furniture, which will also be considered. The reconstruction and transformation of 'modern' Gothic architecture before 1740 established a lasting pathway for Gothic Revival architecture and furniture in mid- to late-eighteenth-century Britain.

Panel 10 **The Later Stuarts (II): Image and Reception**

Claudine van Hensbergen (University of Northumbria)

'Queen Anne by the seaside: Sir Jacob Bancks, Francis Bird and the Minehead commission (1715)'

Tabitha Barber (Tate Britain)

'Queen Anne and her state image'

Sebastian Edwards (Historic Royal Palaces)

'The empty bed: the reception of the monarch at the country house between the Restoration and the Hanoverian succession'

As part of HRP's preparation for its ground-breaking exhibition in 2013 at Hampton Court on the appearance and function of the palace bedchamber, *Secrets of the royal bedchamber*, research is also taking place into the reciprocating arrangements of the nobility and political squirearchy for the reception of the monarch in their country homes.

By the middle of the 18th century the phenomenon of the king's, or queen's bedchamber, as a part of many new or rebuilt great houses had reached its zenith, in terms of stupendous expenditure on royal beds and sometimes entire royal apartments, with associated works of art. Yet rulers from the time of Charles II onwards spent an ever decreasing amount of time on the move and often had little direct contact with their country. They were far more likely to travel abroad for domestic, diplomatic or military purposes than visit their ministers' country power bases.

Yet for political and social motives, aristocrats continued to prepare for this increasingly-rare event, as an important part of the apparatus of power and influence at court. Using select case studies, this paper explores when and how these satellite royal seats were actually used, and how they helped to shape our modern perception of the country house and in turn, their influence on the development of the royal palace. It will look at why these bedchambers survived to become early tourist attractions – sometimes even semi-

religious relics and attempt to identify and differentiate between the royal bed as a highly-valued perquisite (or gift), and the royal bed as a signifier of hospitality or deferential loyalty to the monarch. In conclusion, I will explore the way in which the royal bed affected, even distorted, the appearance and working of the great house during perhaps its greatest period of influence and change.

Panel 11 **Other painting histories**

Nathan Flis (University of Oxford)

‘Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704): a painter between city and country’

Hogarth wrote, ‘I have endeavoured to treat my subjects as a dramatic writer; my picture is my stage, and men and women are my players’. The conceit equally applies to Francis Barlow (c.1626-1704), if birds and beasts are substituted for ‘men and women’. Almost forgotten as a painter, Barlow is usually remembered for his illustrated *Aesop’s Fables* (1666). Based in the heart of London for over fifty years, and eventually patronized by the emergent Country Party (Whigs), Barlow fashioned himself as a painter of country life. Installed in prominent places in country houses, pictures such as *The Decoy* (Clandon Park) functioned as allegories, conversation pieces that were at once playful and charged with tension, speaking to the insecurities and divisions of a society that had recently experienced civil war.

By the end of Barlow’s life, a transformation was underway. His precarious social place – far from that realized by Richardson the Elder, Thornhill, or Hogarth—is evident from his concern over the critical reception of the fables: ‘I am no professed Graver or Eacher[sic], but a Well-wisher to the Art of Painting; and therefore Designe is all we aim at, and cannot perform Curious Neatness without losing the Spirit, which is the main... I hope in general I may in some measure answer your Expectation, which will be the Crown of my so great pains, and the happy Accomplishment of [my] desires....’ The humility, self-scrutiny (and by the same token, ambition) expressed here is discernible in Barlow’s late paintings. *A Roller, Two Peregrine Falcons and a Long-Eared Owl with her Young* (Tate Britain) alludes to the Renaissance *paragone*, comparing the abilities of painting and poetry to imitate nature. The *Portrait of Montague Drake with Pony and Groom* (Tyrwhitt-Drake collection) is as much a display of Barlow’s talents as it is an assertion of Drake’s mastery over the landscape. In reconstructing Barlow’s reputation as a painter, I hope to address the forgotten experience of the Restoration picture-maker in general.

Margaret Dalivalle (University of Oxford)

‘“Surrogates, stand-ins and charming imposters”: the status of copies in seventeenth-century England’

It’s indisputable that the practice of copying from pictures was endemic in seventeenth-century England, the surviving quantity of copies by all ranks of artist attest to this fact. The persistent modern view that a copy is an inferior class of object, not worthy of critical attention, has led to the marginalisation of this period as derivative and inconsequential in art-historical terms. We assume the seventeenth-century reception of copies coincided with the modern attitude, but can we take this for granted? What was the status of copies – and originals – in seventeenth-century England? Why were they made and for whom?

From evidence in seventeenth-century inventories, letters, testimonials and sales catalogues, I will demonstrate the surprising range of types pictures copied, the diverse functions these objects were designed to perform, the status of the artists who made them, and the value – artistic and economic – accorded to them. I will also discuss the evolution of the ‘original’ as a class of object over the course of the seventeenth century, linking it to the emergence of a secondary market for art. This evidence points to both a careful ‘taxonomy of authenticity’, but conversely a greater pragmatism towards the acceptability of a copy, factors that chime with current revisions of our understanding of Renaissance workshop practice. The prolific reproduction of paintings by super-artists, in particular Titian, signals a rising awareness of authorship, but contemporary values accorded a sliding scale of copies present a complex calculus.

This is a topic riven with ambiguities and contradictions, but I propose we can no longer ‘retro-fit’ modern preoccupations and presumptions on the artistic production of this period, it’s time for a clearer view.

Darragh O'Donoghue (Trinity College, Dublin)
'Irish naïve painting in the first half of the 18th century'

In the period covered by this conference, when academies and the Grand Tour were shaping assumptions about art-making and education, some of the most striking examples of Irish ‘naïve’ art were actively patronised or acquired by the very Anglo-Irish landowners who, with their classical education, might be expected to reject works deficient in mathematical perspective, anatomy, modelling etc.

Most of these paintings were in those genres – portraiture, landscape and animal painting – generally favoured by aristocratic patrons, much to the chagrin of proselytisers of academic art. So what is the difference between a ‘naïve’ painting and a ‘professional’ one? Why would educated patrons hang ‘naïve’ paintings on their walls? What is conventional and what original about these works : for instance the anonymous *Kilruddery Hunt* affixes cut-out figures to its painted surface? What was the reception of these works? Do we know anything about their painters (most of these works are currently unattributed)? How do they fit in with the theoretical models of ‘naïve’ art proposed by modernist critic Wilhelm Uhde in the 1910s-1940s, or ‘outsider art’ formulated by Roger Cardinal in 1969? What is its relationship to folk art, and contemporary ‘naïve’ paintings from the rest of Britain and Europe?

Using English antiquary and diplomat Thomas Dineley’s *Observations on a voyage through the kingdom of Ireland* (1681) as a starting point, this talk will explore the paradoxical status of the ‘primitive’ artwork by looking at key works of Irish naïveté from the first half of the 18th century, which are contemporaneous with the first, halting attempts to develop artistic training and patronage in Ireland. This survey will discuss their shared characteristics, different contexts of production and reception, and relation to ‘Gaelic’ producers of ‘naïve’ imagery such as Sean Macataor and Diarmuid Ua Cartha.

Panel 12 **Artists and collecting**

Richard Stephens (University of York/Tate Britain)
'The Palace of Westminster as a centre of the art trade'

Rudolf Dekker (Huizinga Institute, Amsterdam)
'Constantijn Huygens Jr.: Art advisor to King William III'

The diary of Constantijn Huygens Jr is an important source for the cultural history of the last quarter of the 17th century in the Netherlands and England. Huygens was secretary of William III, stadholder of Orange from 1672 and King of England from 1688. Huygens was a connoisseur and made many notes in his diary about judgements of paintings, art discussions with the king, meetings with painters and art dealers, and his involvement with the decoration of palaces in England and the Netherlands. Huygens's diary, which is not unlike that of his contemporary Samuel Pepys, gives an unusual insight into the art world at this time. This paper will focus on two aspects, the role of Huygens as an advisor to the king and other collectors, and his own role as a collector. After the Glorious Revolution, Huygens had frequent talks with King William and Queen Mary about their collections of paintings and drawings, and was involved in the selection and arranging of hanging paintings in various palaces. He also gave judgements about newly bought or confiscated paintings and often conferred with the official king's restorer and joiner. His role was the same as that of his father, who was the main art advisor to Prince Frederik Hendrik of Orange, and who befriended Rembrandt and other painters of the period. It turns out that, like his father, Huygens role was mainly confirming the judgements and tastes of the king and high courtiers than that of a guide in art matters. His role as collector brought Huygens in contact with many art dealers, painters and auctioneers, professions often combined. A high point in his career was to be invited by King William while he was sitting for his portrait by Godfrey Kneller.

Richard Johns (National Maritime Museum)
'Death of the artist: the sale of James Thornhill's collection'

The sale and dispersal of James Thornhill's collection in 1735, following the painter's death the previous year, was one of the last significant artistic events of the period encompassed by the *Court, Country, City* project. Over five days in February, the material results of more than thirty years of making and collecting art were assembled and laid out to view at Christopher Cock's place in Covent Garden before being submitted to the vagaries of the auction room.

Even a cursory analysis of the two catalogues printed to accompany the sale reveals much about the aspirations, achievements and tastes of Thornhill's England; and of an artist defined by his relationship to the court, the country and the city. Almost half of the sale comprised preparatory sketches and finished paintings by Thornhill himself, the remaining lots were works by contemporaries and old masters. The inclusion of important works by Rubens and Poussin, for example, and the overarching presence of Raphael (although represented only by copies of one sort or another) underscores Thornhill's complex engagement with the previous three centuries of Continental art and theory, and the many religious subjects (one in five of all the painting lots) and landscapes raise questions about the relative status of these genres during the early eighteenth century. Meanwhile, the presence of more than a hundred casts of hands, arms and legs points to the scale of Thornhill's enterprise and the seriousness of his efforts to establish a British academy of art.

As well as providing a vantage point from which to survey the art world of the early eighteenth century, those five days in February can also be understood as a summation of an individual artist's career: a final reckoning of a creative life, uncoupled from the chronological and biographical conventions that have shaped our understanding of the art of the period. Embracing the death of the artist in this way offers an opportunity to reflect upon some of the methodological challenges raised by the study of British art of the period.