

**Collecting Drawings in England:
*An Anthology***

compiled by
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(The page references in brackets refer to the [exhibition handlist](#).)

Introduction {p.1}

Jonathan Richardson Senior, the English artist, theoretician, and collector, said in 1728: "*Si L'Italie est le principal Apartement de la grande Collection du Monde, l'Angleterre est le Cabinet de Dessins.*"

The collection of drawings of the Dukes of Devonshire at Chatsworth, one of the last still in private hands--in Britain or anywhere else in the world--is eminent proof that Richardson's statement is still true. All the more, since the collecting of drawings was in origin a Continental practice and was pursued on a grand scale in Florence, Vienna, and Paris, where the great public collections of the Uffizi, the Albertina, and the Louvre were formed. The Chatsworth collection is characteristically English, not only in the fact that the integrity of succession and wealth of one of the great ducal houses has enabled it to remain a private collection, but also in the character of the collection itself, which bears a unique imprint of the passionate acquisitiveness and taste of the Dukes who assembled it. Finally, England has not only Chatsworth, but also the equally important collections at Windsor, Oxford, the British Museum, and others.

This exhibition will attempt to show how and why such a collection came into being. The Dukes of Devonshire and a few other great English collectors will be presented in the social and historical context of the ideas and ambitions which prompted them to build major collections of drawings.

Drawings, of course, were not the only things these men collected. They were part of a great apparatus of public magnificence, through which the collector represented himself and his family to the world. Collections were formed simultaneously with an ambition for political advancement, a desire to educate one's compatriots--that is to give British culture a more cosmopolitan scope, and a passion for the beautiful artworks themselves. When we look at drawings in the context of the other curious interests and splendid objects which they made part of their lives, we shall understand better the unique appeal of drawings.

Background: the early collectors of drawings and Vasari {p. 2}

Before the seventeenth century, very few drawings were made with collectors in mind. Artists executed them for their own use and for that of their assistants or pupils.

Although there is evidence that drawings were collected by enthusiasts outside the workshops in fifteenth century Florence, the earliest systematic collector of drawings was Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), the architect and painter who wrote the first history of Italian Renaissance art in his *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. His collection of drawings was intended as a visual counterpart to this work, notably in its historical and theoretical structure. The drawings were bound in several large volumes. Most strikingly, they were arranged within architectural fantasies designed by Vasari, which profoundly transformed their aesthetic nature. It is thought that at least some of Vasari's volumes found their way intact into the Earl of Arundel's collection. Subsequently most of the sheets were broken up. Many of the drawings in the Chatsworth collection belonged to Vasari, as well as two intact album sheets, one of which was sold in 1984 and is now in the Ian Woodner family collection.

Roger North on Drawings

To give a short account of the nature of these curiosities, with half of which I raised so much money. They consisted of drawings and prints: the former were more esteemed, because there could be but one true: the prints might be many from the same plate. When painting was in its growth towards perfection, which was in the height of Rome's greatness and power, after the emperor and all the earthly princes were subjugated to the spiritual dominion, then the popes, cardinals, and princes of Italy fell to building of magnificent churches, chapels, and palaces, in which they spared for no cost. And this bred an emulation among painters, everyone if possible to exceed the rest, for what industry will not encouragement raise up? And the art not being elevated to a height level with the utmost reach of human capacity, they found they advanced, which makes endeavours much more ardent than when men with all their labour can scarce hope to arrive at the pitch of those who went before. Then they flag and sink. Despair is the death of industry, as hope and dawning of success is the life of it. Thus it fell out, as for instance when any altar was to be adorned, the painters were made acquainted with the desire of the padrone, and he that happened to please by a design had the employment. Thereupon many would make models, some more and some less perfect, and try their ideas upon paper with black or red chalk, the pencil and wash, or with the pen, perhaps lay it by and go another way to work and to show his eminence there would be a perfect model, heightened and shadowed in perfection: all the rest of the papers lay by, and whatever else he had scratched or done by way of essay or model, either for study or caprice, and sometimes perhaps half drunk; as also memorandum scratches or draughts by way of copy after some antique relievos of other admired paintings, all lay by in his boxes, not much esteemed by him or any else but scholars, who kept themselves in draught from them.

These drawings are observed to have more of the spirit and force of art than finished paintings, for they come from either flow of fancy or depth of study, whereas all this or great part is wiped out with the pencil [i.e. brush], and acquires somewhat more heavy, than is in the drawings.

-- Roger North, *The Autobiography*, pp. 201f.

Sir Joshua Reynolds on Drawings

It is true, sketches, or such drawings as painters generally make for their works, give this pleasure of imagination to a high degree. From a slight, undetermined drawing, where the ideas of the composition and character are, as I may say, only just touched upon, the imagination supplies more than the painter himself, probably could produce; and we accordingly often find that the finished work disappoints the expectation that was made from the sketch; and this power of the imagination is one of the causes of the great pleasure we have in viewing a collection of drawings by great masters. __Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Holland and Flanders* (1781)

cf. C. Rogers, A collection of prints in imitation of drawings

The English Collector {p. 3}

Drawings acquired a special significance for the English collector, because of a number of factors which affected British life and culture as a whole: First, the physical isolation of the British Isles. Second, the Protestant state religion and the continuing adherence for the Catholic Church in part of the population. Rome was still the greatest art center in Europe and after it the Catholic courts of the Hapsburg emperors and the kings of France. This was the milieu in which the greatest architects, painters, and sculptors worked.

Third, the relation of the noble families to the Crown and the political upheavals of the seventeenth century that it caused. Art patronage and collecting were never isolated from politics.

An interest in collecting drawings did not come to England as an isolated phenomenon, but as part of a broad influx of continental culture that occurred during the reign of James I. Above all, his eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales, who would have succeeded to the throne if he had not died in 1612 at the age of nineteen, developed a brilliant court on an Italian Renaissance model. Henry strove to emulate the grandeur of continental potentates like the Medici and the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf of Prague in all the arts: architecture, gardening, theater and pageants, music, painting and sculpture. His ambition to become a universal patron of European stature was cut short by his early death, but it was passed on to others who had been close to him, above all his younger brother, Charles and Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Sussex.

English art patrons were never able fully to surmount the limitations imposed by their physical and religious isolation. Charles I amassed a great collection of paintings, largely through the purchase en bloc of the collection of the Gonzaga, the Dukes of Mantua, but the Civil Wars led to his execution and the dispersal of the collection. The Earl of Arundel was limited by his means (which were nonetheless considerable) and the factors mentioned above.

It is thought that Prince Henry commissioned finished drawings for display in frames on the walls of his palace, as if they were paintings. The primary initiatives in the collecting of drawings in the manner of the great Italian collectors like Vasari, Niccolò Gaddi, who acquired his collection, and Francesco Angeloni, were taken by Charles, and above all, the Earl of Arundel, who,

more than any other, became the educator of England, not only in the visual arts, but in scholarship and historical studies as well.

Only as builders did English patrons fully realize their ambitions. Their limitations in painting and sculpture were to some degree compensated by their vigor as collectors. The Earl of Arundel became famous for his library and his collection of antique sculpture, but he achieved his greatest success in his collection of drawings, which has been called the finest that has ever existed. Arundel may be taken as the model of those who followed him (and acquired parts of his collection), not only as a collector of drawings, but in the role drawings played among his interests and purposes as a whole. It is significant that the Dukes of Devonshire were also great builders as well as collectors.

Collections as History: John Evelyn {p. 3}

On the pages shown here John Evelyn discusses coins struck by Charles I, the first royal collector of drawings, during the troubled years of his reign and points out how they make statements about the political circumstances at hand. In this work Evelyn treats the methods of interpreting ancient coins and medals and then uses these methods to construct a history of his times through recent coinage.

Coins and medals were valued by collectors not only for their beauty but for their value as historical documents. The major figures presented in this exhibition all collected coins and medals with as much commitment as they pursued drawings. The collection of the second Duke of Devonshire was especially renowned.

In his introduction Evelyn explains the purpose of his work in the following manner:

Every one who is a lover of Antiquities, especially of Marbles and Inscriptions, may yet neither have the faculty to be at so vast a Charge, or opportunity of Collecting them at so easy and tolerable an Expence, as he may of Medals, which well and judicially chose, have always been esteemed (and that worthily) not only an Ornament but an useful and necessary Appendage to a Library. And verily, if we consider Medals in respect of the Matter; they are, for ought appears, the most lasting and (give me leave to call them) Vocal Monuments of Antiquity.

The Ægyptian Pyramids are indeed vast and enormous heaps of Stones, burthening the ground on which they stand; but they are mute and dead, without any Soul, or so much as Character on them, to tell us by whom, or to what end they were erected. Wherefore among all the various ways that men have sought Immortality and Freedom from Oblivion by Marbles, Statues, Trophies, &c. Nay even by Books (Holy Scriptures, dictated and preserved by their Divine Author, only excepted) there is nothing at all this tract of Time that has proved more lasting than these Nummi Memoriales, which we call Medals: Witness those inscrib'd ÆTERNITATI &PERPETUITATI AUGUSTI, ROMÆ ÆTERNÆ, ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ, and the like. Nay even the very Names as well as Actions of many famous Persons, had been long since as unknown as if they had never been at all, but for these small pieces of Metal, which seem to have broken and worn out the very Teeth of Time, that devours and tears in pieces all things else.

--*Numismata, A Discourse of Medals, Ancient and Modern*, London, 1697

The Experience of Italy {p. 4}

Siamo qui in un paese vago e piacevole ed abbondante de tutte sorte di rarità, delle quelle abbiamo già viduto gran parte, e però cercando

dove cresca la vera nobilita insieme con tanto gentilissima virtù, se non sia nell'anima di V.S. Illustrissimo non sappiamo dove abbiano trovare.

--Thomas Coke to the Countess of Kent, Siena 1613

The Italian collector: Angeloni {p. 4}

Englishmen first became exposed to drawings collections in their travels on the Continent, above all in Italy. Drawings were not collected in isolation, but within a rich ensemble of divers objects, which reflected the full range of the collector's interests. These formed the contents of the *studiolo*, a sort of private museum or study. Francesco Angeloni possessed one of the finest collections of drawings in Italy, including a very important group by the Carracci. Evelyn here does not mention the drawings, but gives a lively account of the other object that populated Angeloni's *studiolo*, described by another British traveller as: "deserves seeing, if not for the Antiquity, yet for the good Wine; one of the best sorts in Italy." (Raymond, p. 267)

"The 13th we were again invited to Signor Angelonis study, where with greater leasure we survey'd the rarities, as his cabinet of Medaills especially, esteem'd one of the best collections of them in Europe: He also shew'd us two antique lamps, one of them dedicated to Palas, the other Laribus Sacrum, as appear'd by their Inscriptions: Some old Roman Rings, Keyes; the Ægyptian Isis cast in Yron, sundry rare Bass-relievos: good pieces of Paynting, principally the Christ of Corregio, with this Painters own face admirably done by himself, divers Things of both the Bassanos, a very greate number of Pieces by Titian; particularly the triumphs; an infinity of naturall rarities, dryd animals, Indian habits & Weapons, Shells &c.; amongst other a Sea-mans Skin, as he affirm'd; divers statues of brasse very Antique; some lamps of so fine an Earth as they resembld cornelian for transparency &

colour: Hinges of Corinthian brasse, and one huge nayle of the same mettall found in the ruines of Neros golden house."

-- John Evelyn, *Kalendarium (Diary)* 13 February 1645:

The Civil War

I remember he (Wenceslas Hollar) told me that when he first came into England (which was a serene time of Peace) that the people, both poore and rich, did looke cheerfully, but at his returne [1652], he found the Countenances of the people all changed, melancholy, spightfull, as if bewitched.

--John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick, London, 1949; Ann Arbor 1962, p. 163

The beginnings of collecting in England: Charles I, Nicholas Lanier, and Arundel {pp. 3-10}

These were not much esteemed in England until Nicholas Lanier was employed by Charles I. to go abroad and buy pictures, which he loved. He used to contract for a piece, and at the same time agree to have a good parcel of waste paper drawings, that had been collected, but not much esteemed, for himself. This and the Arundel collection were the first in England, and of them Lely had a good share.

--Roger North, *The Autobiography*, p. 202

Nicholas Lanier

On his portrait engraved by Lucas Vostermans after a painting by Jan Lievens:

Nicolas Lanier, In aula serenissimi Caroli, Magnae Britanniae regis musicae artis directori, admodum insigni pictori, caeterarumque

artium liberalium, maxime anitquitatum Italiae, admiratori summo, Maecenati suo vivice colendo.

A letter of Nicolas Lanier to the dealer François Langlois:

*Caro mio padrone amantissimo. S'io fossi stato sano questi giorni passati, sarei andato a Londra a trovarla a posta, con speranza di veder i bei disegni: ma dubbio que già il sig. Conte ne abbia portato via ogni cosa, se no avertisca V.S. che il signor Porter desidera comprarne quantita, anch'io trovero qualche oro a spendere, ma, ma, ma che i disegni siano buoni, buoni, buonissimi. Che V.S. mi mandi dove sia alloggiata, et il primò che posse la troverò; nel resto, resto di V.S. molto Illa. servitore affetmo, Nicolo Lanier.--Chiswike, 8b 9 1637. A monsieur, monsieur Chartres à Londres. [Mariette, *Abecedario*, VI, 328ff.]*

Thomas Howard, the Earl of Arundel {p.6}

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Sussex, was one of the earliest English collectors of drawings and probably the most successful of all. His collection included several thousand sheets and was the source of many of the finest drawings now scattered among the great public and private collections of the world. Nonetheless, he has always been better known as a collector of antique sculpture. The Arundel Marbles, which he gave to the University of Oxford and can be seen there today at the Ashmolean Museum are a monument to his name.

He was in fact a universal collector and patron of the arts and, as such, made himself the model for later British collectors. His holdings included not only sculpture, but medals, ancient inscriptions, engraved gems, paintings, and the finest library in Britain. His patronage of architecture was also of the highest importance. Although he built modestly himself, he encouraged and advised others to build the most distinguished edifices of the time. Of his own projects, the most admired was an addition to

Arundel House in London, most likely designed by his longtime friend, "the great and good Genius of Architecture, Mr Inigo Jones", to house his collection of drawings, which by the time of its opening in 1637, filled over two hundred volumes. This underscores the intimate affinity between the talents of the British as patrons of architecture and collectors of drawings.

Arundel's devotion to the arts was not the *divertissement* of a comfortable aristocrat, but rather the marrow of his life. His father had been a prominent Catholic and was imprisoned in the Tower of London and executed when he was yet a small child. Family estates had been diverted to other branches of the family. Arundel's purpose was to restore the prominence of his family and ensure his own fame through his patronage of art. In this way he advised King Charles I and won a confidence reluctantly given. Beyond this he became the educator of his peers and of England. His view of art was thoroughly serious. It was for him the profoundest moulder of men's morals, their instructor in the antique qualities of *cortesia* (courtesy) and *virtù* (roughly translated as "manly virtue").

Virtù and virtuosi {pp. 8ff.}

Arundel regarded the purpose of art to be above all ethical. According to his view, noble images inspired noble conduct in men. In the treatise *De pictura veterum*, which he commissioned from his librarian, the Netherlandish humanist Francis Junius, the author made this the foundation stone of his aesthetic. The public statues erected by the ancients were a perfect example. As Junius explained: "Yet was this always the chiefest motive [i. e., of art]. That generous spirits seeing Vertue so much honoured, should likewise be provoked into vertuous actions."

Arundel's Publicist, Wenceslas Hollar {pp. 9ff.}

"...then he came into England, wher he was very kindly entertained by that great Patron of Painters and draughts-men, Thomas Howard Lord High Marshall, Earl of Arundell and Surrey, where he spent his time in draweing and copying rarities, which he did etch (i.e. eate with *aquae fortis* in copper plates). When the Lord Marshall went Ambassador to the Emperor of Germany to Vienna, he travelld with much grandeur; and among others, Mr. Hollar went with him (very well clad) to take viewes, landskapes, buildings, etc. remarqueable in their Journey, which wee see now at the Print-Shoppes."

--John Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick, London, 1949; Ann Arbor 1962, p. 162

The Dispersal of Arundel's Collection

Din'd at Sir Gab: Sylvius, & thence to visite the Duke of Norfolck, & to know whither he would part with any of his Cartoones & other Drawings of Raphael & the greate masters: He answered me, he would part with & sell any thing for mony, but his Wife (the Duchesse &c) who stood neere him; & I thought with my selfe, That if I were in his condition, it should be the first thing I would be glad to part with: In conclusion he told me, if he might sell them altogether, he would; but that the late Sir Peter Lely (our famous painter) had gotten some of his best: The person who desir'd me to treat with the Duke for them was Van der Douse[1] (Grand-son to that greate Scholar, Contemporarie, & friend of Jos: Scaliger,) a very ingenious Virtuoso: &c.

--John Evelyn, *Kalendarium (Diary)*, 9 May 1683:

1. Johan van der Does, 1621-1704, politician, grandson of Johan van der Does, known as Janus Dousa, 1545-1609, the great classical scholar and politician, first curator of the University of Leiden.

The Artist-Collector: Sir Peter Lely {p. 11}

Sir Peter Lely (1618-1680) was the first of the great artist-collectors in England. A Netherlander, he came to England in 1641 and became one of the most sought-after portraitists in the reign of Charles II. He acquired most of his drawings in the massive dispersal of collections after the Civil Wars. Roger North, whose brother was a close friend of Lely's, became trustee and executor of the artist's estate. North's famous account of the sale of Lely's drawings in 1694 provides a vivid picture of the world of drawings at the time as well as of first Duke of Devonshire's (who was then still the fourth Earl) early activity as a collector.

"This solitude also enabled me to proceed in the execution of another part of Sir Peter Lely's trust, the selling of his collection of prints and drawings, and in order to it, I got a stamp, P.L., and with a little printing ink, I satemped every individual paper, and not only that, but having digested them into books and parcels, such as are called portfolios, and marked the portfolios alphabetically AA., AB., &c., then Aa., Ab., Cc., then Ca., Cb., &c., so consuming four alphabets, I marked on every cartoon and drawing the letter of the book, and the number of the paper in that book, so that if they had all been shuffled together, I could have separated them again into perfect order as at first; and then I made lists of each book, and described every print and drawing, with its mark and number, the particulars of all which were near ten thousand. And this I could never have done if I had not condemned myself to this solitude, in which it was so far from being a pain or labour, that it was a very great pleasure to me.

And having completed this work I instituted another public auction, and dispatched it in the house, when I also caused the drawings to be exposed for a fortnight. And at this sale in eight days I raised above £2400. But then the buyer began to be clogged with the quantity, and could not well digest any more, so I interrupted the sale, intending to continue it next year for the rest, which were half, thought not the better, but his wonderful Revolution came and hindered me.

It was wonderfull to see with what earnestness people attended this sale. One would have thought bread was exposed in a famine. Those that bought laid down their guineas, which a receiver immediately fingered, ten, twenty, thirty, &c., and gat their papers up, well covered with a sort of soft paper we had in plenty for them, and put them either in their bosoms or very close and near them. I remember an Italian, with whom *sangue* and *dinari* are equally sacred, seeing this, burst forth, "*Par Dio, io non so che fanno.*"

I made the same profession here as at the former sale, that it should be perfectly candid, without addition, subtraction, or false bidding. I remember a lord, now a duke, said, "Damn me, what care I whether the owner bids or not as long as I can tell whether I will buy, and for what." But I answered that since we had made that declaration I thought myself bound to hold to it. Another lord, finding one of our managers, Mr. Sonnius, old and touchy, took a fancy to fret him, which I did not like, because he had foreign commissions, and much depended on him. This made me stand up and beg his Lordship to reprehend me if anything was amiss; for it was my doing, and not his, that was but an agent, and followed orders. I thought our heat would have gone on, but some more prudent interposed and turned the matter into jest. I shall give one onely instance to shew the prodigious value set upon some of those papers. There was half a sheet that Raphael had drawn upon with umber and white, that we call washed and

heightened, a tumult of a Roman soldiery, and Cæsar upon a *suggestum* with officers appeasing them. This was rallied at first, and some said 6d., knowing what it would come to; but then £10, £30, £50, and my quarrelsome lord bid £70, and Sonnius £100 for it, and had it. The lord held up his eyes and hands to heaven and prayed to God he might never eat bread cheaper. There is no play, spectacle, shew, or entertainment that ever I saw where people's souls were so engaged in expectation and surprise as at the sale of that drawing. Some painters said they would go a hundred miles to see such another.

--Sir Roger North, *The Autobiography*, pp. 199f.

Connoisseurs and agents

There is a mystery attends all sorts of picture trade, whereby the ignorant are often surprised, and that is copying. The masters will guess it very perfectly, but it is extreme difficult for vertuosos at large to find it out. In paintings it is more discoverable, because a noble design ill performed, as when the painting and colouring is [sic] not adequate to the mastery of the draught, it is a copy.[...] And the scratches and drawings shall be copied so wonderful exactly, that even masters shall be deceived. And this is so frequently done, that one runs a risk that buys a drawing, if he be not very careful. This aptness to be copied deprecates drawings much; but the masters will seem to be very much assured of copies and originals, and will turn up the nose at some, and say others as originals stare you in the face. It is certain they know much in their own trade. The variety of masters, to whom drawings are ascribed, is much greater than those of pictures, as the number of drawings passing about is infinitely greater than of pictures. And considering the multitude of painters and really great masters that have been in Italy, whose names are scarce known, but probably were the authors of very many of these drawings, it is pleasant to see the confidence of the masters in christening drawings. They have a list, as Giulio, Paulo, Raphael,

Titian, &c., and because the drawings of these men have been seen, all that have any resemblance with them are fathered accordingly, and a value set, as their work.

--Roger North, *The Autobiography*, pp. 203f.

"...I am quite wild about the Rafael; I know the Duke of B*** will buy it. Who would not give all he has sold for fourscore thousand pound for such a heavenly picture? If I was married to a dozen Duchesses, I would permit the whole Conclave, nay the whole universal Church, linkboys and all, to taste their sweet bodies for it. Do but think--but there's no describing it: in the first place, the most glorious scene of Attic, or Roman, or, what perhaps is more, Rafael architecture; the the middle of the picture, standing before a single pillar like those of the beautiful gate in the cartoon, such a Christ, as beautiful, as graceful, and we may suppose, if his petticoats were off, as well made as his elder brother of the Belvidere [i.e. the Apollo Belvedere], with groups disposed on the sides in all the grand goût and ineffable contrast of chosen attitudes that one sees in the cartoon of St. Paul preaching. Those who write of it from Rome compare it to the 'School of Athens' which you know I have not yet seen. I only know I felt the same sort of feel at this drawing which I remember to have felt at the first good print I saw of the above-named cartoon, and shall it never hang in the gallery at Houghton? If I was rich enough to dare at such an acquisition, I would not pay a farthing to a tradesman this seven year, and I would buy it myself.

If I mistake not there are other things in the list you will receive in this packet that would suit you vastly. I am sure they are tempting names, and I know you are no saint; you may pretend to withstand a Guerchin Seneca, but if you do, Satan shall buffet you with a Guido Madonna.[...] Oh! but once more, my Lord's gallery, and the Raphael--there's temptation sufficient to give a vandal an erection of vertu. I will not believe the taste that could

build Houghton, and, what is more, can make additions to its beauties, is capable of resisting.

--John Chute to Horace Walpole, 4 June 1743 (New Style)

The Dukes of Devonshire

William Cavendish, the first Duke of Devonshire, had been rewarded with a dukedom because of his political adherences. A staunch member of the Protestant aristocracy, and a strong-willed, even violent, man, he was outraged at a fine imposed by James II, as well as by the king's extreme "Romish" policies, and joined a group of other nobles in inviting the Protestant William of Orange to invade England (1689). Both as a builder and as a collector, Cavendish followed the example of Arundel and Charles I. He began the remodelling of his hereditary country seat, Chatsworth, in Derbyshire, with the assistance of the architect William Talman--himself a collector of antiquities, architectural fragments, and drawings. As Inigo Jones had contributed to Arundel's taste, so did Talman contribute to that of Cavendish.

Joseph Goupy, a Successor to Hollar

Some eighteenth-century collectors followed the example of Arundel in publishing their collections in prints. Others, like the Dukes of Devonshire, allowed printmakers to reproduce individual works from their collections--like this painting by the immensely popular Salvator Rosa. The printmaker first made a careful copy of the picture in gouache as a model for an etching. He made his profit not only from the prints but also from the sale of additional copies in gouache.

"Precipices, mountains, torrents, wolves, rumblings, Salvator Rosa--the pomp of our park and the meekness of our palace! Here we are, the

lonely lords of glorious desolate prospect...." Horace Walpole in Savoy, 28 September 1739

Sir William Mann here describes to his friend Horace Walpole a technique very similar to that employed by Joseph Goupy in his copy of Salvator Rosa's *Dream of Jacob* in the Collection of the Dukes of Devonshire:

"Mr. Strange, whom you formerly recommended to me, is returned hither from Rome and Naples with a numerous and well-chosen treasure of his own drawings from the most capital pictures there, as will in time abundantly repay him for the time he will have spent abroad. He has been very much distinguished wherever he has been, and particularly admired for a new method that he has invented of drawing in colours ["upon prepared skin, called in Italy pelle di capone"], which by great application he has reduced to certain and fixed principles; so that at the same time that this elegant invention will, as he says, be of great use to him in engraving those drawings, it has a more extraordinary and beautiful effect in them than can be either described or conceived without seeing them. They give the clearest idea of the originals and of their colourings, and by that means they themselves have the merit of becoming picture[s] of a much more delicate nature than miniatures. Mr Strange is impatient that you should see them, and begs his very respectful compliments to you. Many people I know will vie with each other for the purchase of those drawings. Though it will be very high, but nothing will tempt him to part with them till he has engraved them, and by one or two at a time, the whole will employ ten years to engrave."

--Sir William Mann to Horace Walpole, 4 December 1762

George II: a Royal Collector

Sir William Mann to Horace Walpole, 22 January 1763:

"...It is absolutely impossible to make any merit here by cultivating the King's love for virtu. There is nothing of any kind to be got worthy his notice after the vast collections that have been purchased for him. All Cardinale Albani's prints and drawings were bought not long ago for him for fourteen thousand crowns. Many other lesser purchases have been made at Rome, and Mr. Dalton is now at Venice packing up the greatest part of Mr Smith's collection, which they say was recommended to him by Mr Mackensie. I assure you that neither in medals, pictures, or drawings anything is to be got here. I had, purely in compliance with your opinion, given commission to Mr Strange to look out both at Rome and Naples for anything capital and worth presenting there, but all in vain.

Horace Walpole: a Literary Collector {pp. 15ff.}

Like earlier collectors Horace Walpole pursued drawings among a variety of other objects. To those of his predecessors he added a romantic taste for the Gothic style of the Middle Ages. He shared with the Earl of Arundel a consciousness of the public. He in fact charged admission to his eccentric Gothic library at Strawberry Hill, where his collection of drawings and prints was housed. His letters provide a vivid picture of the activities of the Georgian collector.

In many of these letters, Walpole's correspondant was Sir Horace Mann, who was for many years the English consul in Florence. Like many diplomats he also filled the role of agent for collectors in England who sought contact with Italian sources. Walpole had met him in Florence during his Grand Tour of 1739, and they remained lifelong friends.

Walpole and the Gaburri Collection

Horace Walpole to Mann, Sunday, 31 July 1743 (Old Style): "...After this, I still know not how to give you a commission, for you over-execute (it.). But upon conditions unfringeable, I will give you one. I have begun to collect drawings: now, if you will at any time buy me any that you meet with at reasonable rates, for I will not give great prices, I shall be much obliged to you. I would not have above one to be sure of any of the Florentine school, nor above one of any master after the immediate scholars of Carlo Maratti [see Cat. nos. 46, 47 in the Chatsworth Exhibition]. For the Bolognese school, I care not how many, though I fear they will be too dear.--But Mr. Chute understands them. One condition is, that if he collects drawings as well as prints, there is an end of the commission, for you shall not buy me any, when he perhaps would like to purchase them. The other condition, is, that you regularly set down the prices you pay--otherwise, if you send me any, without the price, I instantly return them unopened to your brother: this upon my honour I will most strictly perform."

From Mann to Horace Walpole, 3 September 1743 (New Style):

"...I must defer answering to the particulars of your letter of July 31 till next post, any more than to tell you here that I will do my utmost to get you some drawings. Gaburri is dead, but I am afraid his collection is dispersed. I have at last received an answer from Rome about the Lanfranc. I told you before that by some mistake no such picture was in the list I kept by me, which I thought was an exact copy of that I sent you. I got a person to write to Parker, not choosing to appear myself, as I knew his prices were excessive. Then I could say nothing as to the originality of his pictures. One who is thought to be a judge writes by this post, *Viddi il quadro di Lanfranco grande 3 palmi 1/2 ed è mezza figura di Sant'Antonio del Fuoco, si vede un poco di*

mano che tiene la fiamma, ed è originale toccato di spirito e mi pare che ne domandi venti doppie. This differs from the price you mention of £25, but really my dear, I have not courage to think of purchasing an half figure of a very ugly saint. I do not think of Lanfranc that it is considerable enough. Then so small, it's certainly dear of 20 pistoles [about £150]. I don't believe there is any danger of its being sold, therefore have resolved to wait your answer, after you have seen this description of it.

From Mann to Walpole, Tuesday 1 October 1743 (New Style):

We have been to see Gaburri's collection of drawings, the most numerous one now in Italy. There is everything that can be wished for, of all the best hands, of all the great schools. It consist[s] of above 20,000 drawing[s]. His heirs are in treaty with the King of Poland, but nonetheless would privately sell a part of it, which really will not prejudice the collection. Dr Cocchi and Mr Chute think the best way would be to make a bargain with the people to choose out of the whole any fixed number, as one or two hundred, at such a price, one with the other. This the people have agreed to, but no price has yet been named. Let me know your opinion of this method, and what you should care to spend, I will endeavour to make the choice good by getting the best advice this place affords. I believe the people will not be very unreasonable in their demands, as all they sell in this manner will not diminish the price for his Majesty of Poland. Ciccio Porci [a dealer] you know has a fine collection, but he is dear. Stosch is of the opinion, however, that he would be satisfied with a moderate price for the whole, but that one should begin by sealing them up, and then bargain for the price. If you choose to apply for any number of Gaburri's, you may be sure of having some of the best of every master. This is what we all advise, but I cannot proceed without more particular directions, as those you gave me first are too vague. I am sorry I can't give you any hint of their demand. I have desired Mr. Chute to write to you about them, as he understands them and I do not."

Walpole to Mann, 12 October 1743 (Old Style):

"...For Gaburri's drawings, I am extremely pleased with what you propose to me. I should be well content with two of each master. I can't well fix on any price, but would not the rate of a sequin [about 10s] apiece be sufficient? To be sure he never gave anything like that: when one buys the quantity you mention to me, I can't but think that full enough for one with another. At least if I bought so many as two hundred, I would not venture to go beyond that."

Mann to Walpole, 27 October 1743 (New Style):

"I am expecting some answer from you about Gaburri's drawings. They don't totally give in to the proposal of fixing a price and then let us choose. They wish us to make choice of any number, and then they would set the price, but this we do not approve of."

Mann to Walpole, 19 November 1743 (New Style):

"I have been thinking that now if ever one ought to make a push to get the Coreggio. I have spoke of it to General Braitwitz, who has promised to assist towards it as much [as] he can. He has an intimate friend who commands the hussars at Parma, to whom he writes by the first post. I have drawn up instructions for him, and have engaged, besides giving them a reasonable price for their picture, to get them a good copy for the use of their convent and old women to pray to, which he is to say will answer their end as well. General Braitwitz does not know how many kings of France have offered to cover it with gold, therefore seems to think the commission easy. I can't guess at what they may ask. Tell me immediately what you think I may give. *Poffar Iddio* if it could be got. What an addition it would make to the gallery! One loses nothing by trying, and who can one employ better than

hussars, though if they succeed it will be the first time they did people good against their own inclinations.[...]

We must go softly to work about the drawings. The heirs of Gaburri have vast notions of them, and it is well known that he paid vast prices for some. Your idea of the matter agrees exactly with what we had all said of it. Doctor Cocchi said precisely a zecchin apiece to choose any fixed number. I did not intend to tie you down to any number, and only mentioned one or two hundred not to leave a blank. I understand you, and hope the Gaburri will come to a bargain, but nothing has been done yet."

Mann to Walpole 14 January 1744 (New Style):

"We have never been able to get any answer from the Gaburri about the designs. A zecchin was what we always thought would be reasonable for the choice of one or two of each master; more of the best they would not give for that price.

Walpole and Stosch: Drawings, Medals, and Gems

"Cyclops the antiquarian"--Mann to Walpole, 14 January 1744 (NS)

Mann to Walpole, 25 March 1758:

"...neither was any mention made...of what you wished to have out of Stosch's collection. His nephew wishes to sell as soon as possible, but does not see inclined to part with the intaglii in detail till he loses all hopes of selling them together as a suite. Old Stosch was the first that has the idea of making a suite of them as of medals. The number of intaglii set in gold as rings is upwards of eight hundred, and near fifteen hundred unset. His method was to set two in gold and four in silver every week. The latter was purely such as served for history. The cammei are not very numerous and have no suite. These he will sell separate. He

has been treating with the Pope for his collection of maps which is prodigious...Stosch's library too is very considerable, of which he intends to print a catalogue."

Walpole to Mann, 14 April 1758:

"..but with regard to my commissions in Stosch's collection, it did not signify, since they propose to sell it in such great morsels. If they had been forced to relent, and separate it, what I wish to have and had mentioned to you, were, "His sculptured gews that have vases on them, of which eh had a large ring box'; the following modern medals; '*Anglia resurge*, I think, of Julius III the capitol; the *Hugonotorum Strages*; the *Ganymede*, a reverse of a Pope's medal by Michael Angelo; the first medal of Julius III; all these were in silver and very fine; then the little Florentine coin in silver, with *Jesus Rex noster* on the reverse: he had besides a fine collection of drawings after nudities and prints in the same style, but you may believe I am not old enough to give much for these. I am not very anxious about any; consequently am not tempted to purchase wholesale."

Mann to Walpole 13 May 1758:

"As to the medals which you mention, I have them now in my possession, viz: Paul III with the Ganymede on the reverse [...]; Julius the III with the reverse *Anglia resurges*; Innocent X with the reverse the Capitol; Gregory XIII with the reverse *Hugonotorum strages*-this medal becomes very rare from the pains that the Court of Rome takes to buy them and destroy them; the *mezzo piaastro fiorentino* with the reverse *Jesus rex noster et Deus noster*, which was struck in Savannerola's [sic] time when by his advice this state was put under the protection of Jesus--this is very rare. These I will send to you by the first safe conveyance and will add two or three which I have long had by me of no great value indeed, but well struck: a large medallion [...] and a most ridiculous vulgar brass medal struck by some Irish priest at

Rome. On one side is a figure with a halter by which the Devil is leading it to hell with the words, 'Make room for Sir Robert,' and at the bottom, 'No excise.' On the other side is a figure in robes and in armour with 'The Generouse Duke of Argyle,' and at bottom, 'No pentioners.' You friend Mr. Deimur, whose title I have forgot wanted to have it as a monument to the vulgar animosity of the times. I had almost forgot an insolent medal of the Pretender.

Stosch holds his obscene drawings and prints, both Chinese and others, at a vast price, and views of being able, sometime or other, to dispose of them to the King of Prussia."

The Mariette Sale

Horace Walpole to Lady Ossory, from Paris, 3 October 1775:

You may be cutting down palm branches, Madam, to strew the way, for I am coming. The tempter took me up into a mountain, and showed me all Mariette's collection of prints and drawings, which are to be sold in November, and offered me my choice of them, if I would stay. I resisted; and prefer myself infinitely to Scipio*: he might have had fifty other women; but where is there another room full of Raphaels, Correggios, Parmegianos, and Michael Angelos? Besides virtue was the bon ton in all the ruelles in Rome, and it was not savoir vivre to feel like a man: my continence is unique; who else curbs any passion, or withstands any temptation? Did not three monarchs jump at Poland the moment the devil gave them a glimpse of it? Did I learn self-denial *chez nous?*--but I will be just, and own that perhaps I have been infected here. *C'est le règne de la vertu;* and I am flying, lest I should be thought Frenchified, if I return with any principles.

*cf. *Aedes Walpolianae*. w. quote of Livy, xxvi. 1.

Walpole to Lady Ossory, 20 December 1775:

"...Then I am mighty busy about Mariette's sale, where I have been so lucky as to ruin myself. I have got Madame d'Olonne*; Madame du Deffand says I have paid dearer for her than any of her lovers did in her lifetime. Item, a little bust of Nic. Poussin's wife by him in terra-cotta, and a book of Portraits in the reign of Francis I and Henry II that belonged to Brantôme who has written the names; and among them is Diane de Valentinois (better known today as Diane de Poitiers, mistress of Henri II). It is droll that even Madame d'Olonne is en Diane [--a character very different from that given her in Bussy's *Histoire amoureuse des Gaules*]. A few days before the sale the King of France offer 3000,000 *livres* for the whole collectio; it was refused, and has not produced so much, though my correspondent the auctioneer says everything sold for three times what it was worth. You imagine, Madame that I shall be in a fine taking till my old concubines arrive."

*"Glorious enamel by Petitot of Mme d'Olonne in enamelled frame of flowers in relief, for which he refused 50 louis from M[me?] de Pompadour"--Walpole, Paris Journals, 2 November 1765

Walpole to Lord Hamilton, 18 February 1776:

"I hear of little brought over from Mariette's glorious sale of drawings and prints, which sold enormously, though not for near what the King of France offered for the whole four days before the sale. I have got a few trifles that I wished for.

A Moral Epilogue

Whereby one may perceive how much opinion is predominant in the estimate of things. If all the good and evil in the world that depend on mere fancy and opinion were retrenched little business would be left for mankind to be diverted with; but Providence hath ordered it that as children they shall not want baubles to pass their time innocently with. And really the comparison is too egregious to be passed by here; I must add that in nature there is no difference between the baubles of children, such as babies' carts, &c., and the furniture, coaches, and habits of men and women, only the latter is tied to usefulness. As a coach is a good thing, but whether lined with velvet or cloth, or so or so fashioned or carved; and the like of china, pictures, and a world of other gaieties the mode authenticates to be played with, are all mere human bauble and playthings. I do not either blame or despise them, but addict myself as much to them as anyone living, but not in the common way. For I heed not my dress, but love dearly a picture: I care not for a feast or for a ball, but a music meeting is a sure trap to me. I would go five hundred miles for a new discovery of nature such as the Torricellian, but I would not give sixpence to see an entry of an ambassador. And if I have any happiness I think it is that I can play and trifle away my time by self. And so for the rest of mankind, if they can be pleased with reputable baubles, and not hurt themselves, it is well; but they mostly affect knives and scissors, that will wound and make bleed their estates and families, and by so playing with edge vanities bring the harmless innocent toys of the world into discredit.

--Sir Roger North, *The Autobiography*, pp. 200ff.