

‘LOVERS OF ART’

**EARLY ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE
CONNOISSEURSHIP OF PICTURES**

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ABSTRACT

English writers and enthusiasts on the arts that existed prior to the eighteenth-century have largely come to be identified in modern scholarship as *virtuosi*, those who had little or no separate aesthetic appreciation for works of art, but an insatiable curiosity for all manner of natural and mechanical wonders. This thesis examines English literature on painting from the period, and contests the idea that it was only in the eighteenth century that English authors began to write critically about the pictorial arts. Printed literature in fact reveals a sustained interest in the judgement and value of painting from the mid-seventeenth century onwards, authored by, and addressed to, the more specialised *lover of art*.

The chapters that make up this thesis are subsequently built around close readings of varying forms of literature through six case studies of texts published between 1658 and 1706: Chapter One examines William Sanderson's *Graphice* (1658) which combines material drawn from earlier literature with original observations and ideas. Chapter Two explores John Evelyn's translation of Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Idée de la Perfection de la Peinture* (1662) as *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting* (1668), and William Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* (1685) based on the work of French critic Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy, in relation to both authors' time spent abroad and their simultaneous celebration of the primacy of Italian painters and history painting. Chapter Three focuses on the most commercially successful literary work on the visual arts of the period, *Polygraphice*. Authored by the quack empiric William Salmon, the text went through eight editions between 1672 and 1701, each edition growing as its contents were expanded and added to with a diversity of material. Chapter Four compares Richard Graham's 'Short Account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd down to the Present Times According to the Order of their Succession' (1695) which presents an inaugural literary national art history presented within a pan-European context, and Bainbrigg Buckeridge's 'Essay Towards an English School, With the Lives and Characters of above 100 Painters' (1706) presenting an alternative account of English taste and practice in painting in the seventeenth century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	5
AUTHOR’S DECLARATIONS.....	7
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	8
INTRODUCTION.....	13
I. “To Lovers of this Art, Not Masters”: William Sanderson’s guide to painting on the eve of the Restoration.....	34
II. Ideas from Abroad: travel, translation, and transformation in the writing of John Evelyn And William Aglionby.....	89
III. The Art Lover as Cultural Entrepreneur: aspiration, self-fashioning and social mobility in William Salmon’s <i>Polygraphice</i>	153
IV. Towards an ‘English School’: contested narratives of connoisseurship and taste in the writing of Richard Graham and Bainbrigg Buckeridge.....	209
CONCLUSION.....	281
APPENDIX 1.....	194
APPENDIX 2.....	198
APPENDIX 3.....	202
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
UNPUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES.....	206
PUBLISHED PRIMARY SOURCES.....	206
SECONDARY SOURCES.....	214
ILLUSTRATIONS.....	225

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

(All measurements given in centimeters)

1. Daniel Mytens, *Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, 4th Earl of Surrey and 1st Earl of Norfolk*, c. 1618, oil on canvas, 207 x 127. National Portrait Gallery, London.
2. Daniel Mytens, *Alathea, Countess of Arundel and Surrey*, oil on canvas, c.1618, 207 x 127. National Portrait Gallery, London.
3. Antony van Dyck, *Portrait of the Artist's Wife, Mary Ruthven, Lady van Dyck*, oil on canvas, c.1640, 104 x 81. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.
4. William Faithorne (printmaker), *after* Anthony van Dyck (painter) *Lady Mary Ruthven Maria Ruten Vxor D. Antoni van Dyck Eq*, print engraving, c.1639-1658. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
5. Antony van Dyck, *Lady Katherine D'Aubigny*, oil on canvas, c.1638, 106.7 x 85.4. National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., US
6. Gerard Soest, *Double Portrait*, oil on canvas, c. 1645-8, 139.1 x 174.6. National Portrait Gallery, London.
7. Gonzales Coques, *after* Daniel Mytens, oil on oak panel, 17th century, 45.5 x 78.5. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
8. Anthony van Dyck, *Venus and Adonis*, oil on canvas, 17th century, 224 x 164. Private Collection.
9. William Faithorne (printmaker) *after* Gerard Soest (painter), *William Sanderson*, print engraving, 1658. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.
10. William Faithorne (printmaker), *Charles I*, print engraving, 1658. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
11. Robert Walker, *John Evelyn*, oil on canvas, 164.8, 87.9 x 64.1. National Portrait Gallery, London.
12. Wenceslaus Hollar *after* Anthony van Dyck, *Self-Portrait with a Sunflower*, print engraving, 1644, 14 x 11. The British Museum, London.
13. Marcantonio Raimondi *after* Raphael. *The Judgment of Paris*, engraving, c.1510-1520, 29.2 x 43.6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
14. Giorgio Ghisi, *after* Raphael, *The School of Athens*, print on paper, c. 1535-82. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
15. Ferrante Imperato, illustration in *Dell'istoria Naturale*, engraving, 1599.
16. Philip Holmes, frontispiece to William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1672.

17. Anonymous frontispiece to *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil* 1668.
18. William Sherwin, frontispiece to William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
19. William Sherwin, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1671, 14.1 x 8.9. National Portrait Gallery, London.
20. Frederick Hendrick van Hove, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1701, 15.7 x 9.7. National Portrait Gallery, London.
21. Unknown artist, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1686, 15.5 x 9.6. National Portrait Gallery, London.
22. Robert White, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1700, 14.7 x 9.3. National Portrait Gallery, London.
23. *The Flying Post*, February 18-20, 1707.
24. William Salmon, *Doctor Salmon's Pills, Drops and Balsams*, undated handbill c. 1980. British Library, London.
25. *London Gazette*, June 17, 1675.
26. *London Gazette*, December 12, 1700
27. *Tatler*, March 30, 1709.
28. Unknown artist, *A London Coffee House*, Gouache drawing, c. 1668, 14.7 x 22. British Museum, London.
29. "The Coffeehous Mob", frontispiece to Edward (Ned) Ward, *The Fourth Part of Vulgus Britannicus or the British Hudibras*, engraving, 1710. British Museum, London.
30. Anonymous "Notice to all Lovers of Art and Ingenuity", Oxford.
31. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
32. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
33. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
34. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
35. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
36. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
37. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
38. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
39. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.

40. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
41. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
42. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
43. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
44. William Vaughuan, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.
45. Odoardo Fialetti, illustration in Alexander Browne *The Whole Art of Drawing* (London, 1660).
46. Odoardo Fialetti, illustration in Alexander Browne *The Whole Art of Drawing* (London, 1660).
47. Odoardo Fialetti, illustration in Alexander Browne *The Whole Art of Drawing* (London, 1660).
48. William Vaughan, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1675.
49. Anonymous illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1675.
50. Anonymous illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1675.
51. Albrecht Dürer, illustration in his *Unterweysung der Messung mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt*, woodcut, 1525, 7.5 x 21.5.
52. Artist unknown, illustration in *An Introduction to the General Art of Drawing* (1672).
53. William Vaughan, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1675.
54. Anonymous illustration in Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, *Mikrokosmographia* (London, 1664).
55. Anonymous illustration in Thomas Bartholin's *Bartholinus anatomy* (1668).
56. Anonymous illustration in William Cowper, *The anatomy of humane bodies with figures drawn after the life by some of the best masters in Europe and curiously engraven in one hundred and fourteen copper plates* (Oxford 1698).
57. Anonymous illustration in William Cowper, *The anatomy of humane bodies with figures drawn after the life by some of the best masters in Europe and curiously engraven in one hundred and fourteen copper plates* (Oxford 1698).
58. Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1675.
59. Anonymous illustration in Richard Saunders, *Saunders physiognomie, and chiromancie, metoposcopie the symmetrical proportions and signal moles of the body, fully and accurately explained* (London, 1671).
60. Anonymous illustration in Fabian Withers, *The book of palmestry and physiognomy* (London 1676).

61. Artist unknown, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1675.
62. Frederick van Hove *after* Francis Barlow, *A Booke Containing such Beasts as are most Usefull for such as practice Drawing, Graveing, Armes Painting, Chaseing, and for severall other occasions*, print on paper, 1664, 12.8 x 9.5. British Museum, London.
63. Frederick van Hove *after* Francis Barlow, *A Booke Containing such Beasts as are most Usefull for such as practice Drawing, Graveing, Armes Painting, Chaseing, and for severall other occasions*, print on paper, 1664, 12.8 x 9.5. British Museum, London.
64. Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1685.
65. Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1685.
66. Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1685.
67. Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1685.
68. Samuel Cooper, *Oliver Cromwell*, watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book in a gilded frame, c. 1660-1661, 8 x 6.4. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
69. 'A Conversation of Virtuosis...at the Kings Arms' Gawen Hamilton, oil on canvas, 1735, 87.6 x 111.5. National Portrait Gallery, London.
70. Simon Gribelin *after* Henry Cooke Sr., frontispiece to Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy's 'De Arte Graphica. The Art of Painting', translated by John Dryden, 1695.
71. Antonio Verrio, *Minerva with Allegorical Figures of the Arts and Sciences (sketch for the ceiling of the Banqueting House, Hampton Court Palace)*, oil on paper mounted on panel, c.1700-1702, 34.3 x 49.8. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.
72. Simon Gribelin, frontispiece to Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy's 'De Arte Graphica. The Art of Painting', translated by John Dryden, 2nd edition, 1716. Print study drawing, 1661-1716, British Museum, London.
73. William Laud *after* Sir Anthony Van Dyck, oil on canvas, c.1636, 123.2 x 94. National Portrait Gallery, London
74. *Portrait of a lady in profile, said to be Mary Buckeridge*, Godfrey Kneller. Oil on canvas, 1720, Private collection.
75. *Mary Buckeridge (née Geering or Goring)* Probably by Charles Townley, probably *after* Sir Godfrey Kneller, Mezzotint, date unknown, 38.8 x 27.7. National Portrait Gallery, London.
76. Michael Dahl, *Bainbrigg Buckeridge*, oil on canvas, 1696, 71.6 x 59. National Portrait Gallery, London.
77. Circle of Michael Dahl, *Portrait of lady in brown dress*, oil on canvas, 17th century,

125.7 x 101.6. Private collection.

78. Godfrey Kneller, *John Dryden*, oil on canvas, 1693, 124.5 x 101. National Portrait Gallery, London

79. Joseph Nutting *after* Antoine Coypel, frontispiece to Roger de Piles *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters* translated by John Savage (London, 1706).

80. Antoine Coypel, frontispiece to *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (Paris, 1699).

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AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

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INTRODUCTION

Seventeenth-century English literature on the pictorial arts has often been contrasted with a putative eighteenth-century culture of aesthetic appreciation.¹ Whilst ideas around pictures began to circulate in England from the late sixteenth century onwards,² it was only the early decades of the eighteenth century that saw the emergence of the first English writers of European stature, Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671-1713) and Jonathan Richardson Senior (1665-1745), heralding the dawn of a new era in British art history. What has yet to be addressed, however, is what occurred between these moments, from the inception of art writing in England, to the publication of works of trans-continental significance. This thesis examines the critical reception of pictures during this period, and in bringing to light what occurred as a crucial and undeniable antecedent for the extraordinary events that were to follow, it reveals a far richer and diverse culture of aesthetic appreciation than has thus far been conceived of existing at this time. In exploring this earlier and yet equally seminal period, when the political, religious and bureaucratic transformations that established the modern British state were effected, the little studied literature on the pictorial arts tells a story that is as much about the context from which art writing emerged, as it is the texts themselves. For what I attempt to show is how writers responded to, and ideas evolved in tandem with, political and philosophical ideologies of the age. Challenging the idea of a decisive break between the critical attitudes of the two centuries, a close reading of this body of early aesthetic literature reveals a sustained interest in the judgement and value of pictures from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. The introduction that follows will explore the ideas that have come to define perceptions of the period in modern scholarship, and outline an alternative mode of enquiry that this thesis will take.

I. Modern Scholarship

In modern scholarship, Luigi Salerno's 'Seventeenth-Century English Literature on Painting', published in 1951, remains the only work to attempt to account in full the developments and incongruities of the period's art writing.³ Salerno's exploration is

¹ For example see Houghton, 1942; Barrell, 1986; Solkin, 1992; Klein, 1994; Pears, 1998; Brewer, 1999; Bermingham, 2000; Gibson-Wood, 2000.

² A number of of the earliest texts to address the subject in England were: Anonymous, *A very proper treatise wherein is briefly set forth the art of limning* (London, 1573); Anonymous, *A Booke of Secrets* (1596); Richard Haydocke, *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Carvinge and Buildinge* (Oxford, 1598). Nicholas Hilliard, *The arte of Limning* (c. 1600); Henry Peacham, *The Arte of Drawing with the Pen, and Limning in Watercolours etc* (London, 1606).

³ Salerno, 1951: 234-258.

systematic and thorough. Yet as a journal article, it is limited in its ability to explore these rich texts in detail, and the overview of the literature it does offer is largely divorced from the circumstances in which they were originally conceived, experienced and understood. It therefore serves as a useful introductory survey to a much larger topic, offering an intellectual history of ideas that tracks the dissemination and frequently diverging accounts of painting in England up until the emergence of Shaftesbury and Richardson.

A more detailed study came in 1981, with Mansfield Kirby Talley's *Portrait Painting in England: Studies in the Technical Literature before 1700*.⁴ Focusing solely on passages of relevance to portrait painting in works of practical instruction, Talley's book is an unrevised printed version of the author's doctoral thesis. Exploring eleven published works and ten manuscripts, Talley's project is ambitious. While it must be commended as the first attempt to offer a close reading of a number of these early English works, the magnitude of his project leaves large portions of the twenty-one texts overlooked and his arguments wielding a number of deficiencies.⁵ Talley does, however, draw attention to the extraordinary volume and popularity of these kinds of works in England during this period, crediting Charles I as collector and Anthony Van Dyck as painter with launching the country on its way to artistic sophistication in the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁶

Symptomatic of the marginalization of this body of early English aesthetic literature is that the most thorough discussions of the topic since the work of Salerno and Talley have reappeared not in a study of the writing itself, nor of the pictorial arts and their appreciation, but in volumes dedicated to amateur practice, baroque culture, religion, fashion, antiquarianism, and the activities of the Royal Society.⁷ These works offer, at times, detailed discussions of select literary passages regarded as important in understanding a particular aspect or characteristic of the period. Yet with attention focused inevitably elsewhere these works reinforce what has become the most enduring and, on its own, most distorting characterisation of this body of writing, as one that existed at the margins of, rather than being central to, the development of aesthetic appreciation, and as a 'prelude' to the eighteenth century and all that was to follow.

⁴ Talley, 1981.

⁵ Some of the sources used in part one have an extremely tenuous connection with any kind of portrait painting, least of all portrait painting in oils in which Talley is most interested. Many are in fact devoted to miniature painting. There are also works that do touch on portrait painting in oil that are conspicuous by their absence. Elsewhere, the translations provided by Talley have been proven to be incorrect or faulty.

⁶ Talley, 1981: 17.

⁷ Sloan, 2000; Hanson, 2009; Hook, 1976; Levine, 1999; McLeod and Marciari, (eds.) 2001; Haynes, 2006; Gordenker, 2001.

A more prolific body of scholarship has, however, emerged around the idea of the seventeenth century *virtuoso*. Writers and enthusiasts prior to the eighteenth century have largely come to be identified by this contemporary idiom. It refers to the attitudes and sensibilities of a ‘self-declared, cosmopolitan elite’,⁸ who were fascinated by a wide range of natural and man-made objects including pictures, and valued them for a wide variety of qualities, from antiquity to intricate workmanship, and from uniqueness to historical significance. Italian in origin, ‘virtuosi’ first found its way into English print in 1634, when Henry Peacham (1546-1634) used it in the third edition of his *The Compleat Gentleman*.⁹ In a passage on collecting antique statues, coins, and inscriptions, Peacham observes that –

...there is nothing fairely more delightfull, nothing worthier observation, than these Copies, and memorials of men and matters of elder times; whose lively presence is able to perswade a man, that he now seeth two thousand years agoe. Such as are skilled in them, are by the Italians termed Virtuosi as if others that either neglect or despise them, were idiots or rakehels.¹⁰

In adopting the word, the English writer aimed to associate collecting practices with a continental, and especially an Italianate, tradition of elite cultural interests. Yet whilst the word remained applicable in England to anyone with a strong interest in either the arts or natural sciences - in a reception history that is now well known - as the century passed on the figure of the virtuoso increasingly came to be seen as intellectually imbalanced and marginal, hopelessly lost at the edges of knowledge through obsession with the curious and the rare. By 1711, Shaftesbury derided the virtuoso fascination with hypotheses and wonders, noting how they had come to be ‘the jest of common conversations.’¹¹

Just three years later the first recorded use of the more specialist term “connoisseur” appears in England, when Bernard Mandeville (1670-1733) uses it to refer to “judges of painting” in his *Fable of the Bees* (1714).¹² Not long after, Richardson dedicated an entire treatise to the notion in the second of his *Two Discourses* (1719).¹³ Consequently, the idea of the emergence of the eighteenth-century *connoisseur* as a figure whose specialist sensibilities broke free of the undiscerning seventeenth-century *virtuoso* has flourished, and the cultural phenomenon of the English virtuoso has, in modern scholarship, come to define attitudes towards the earliest accounts of pictures. In Walter Houghton’s still influential 1942 article, he argues that even a virtuoso as learned and

⁸ Walker, 1996: 75.

⁹ Peacham, 1634.

¹⁰ Peacham, 1634:105.

¹¹ Cooper: 1999: 405-7.

¹² Mandeville, 1714.

¹³ Richardson, 1719.

distinguished as Royal Society fellow John Evelyn (1620-1706) could not offer a language of distinction which would allow a collector to separate the interest provoked by a picture, an antique coin, or even that of natural wonders or mechanical inventions.¹⁴ The virtuoso by Houghton's measure possessed no separate aesthetic appreciation for the objects of his interest. He had, instead, an "insatiable appetite for the strange and ingenious" that was incompatible with the judicious capacity to discern between the good and the bad, or an original from a copy.¹⁵

Although over seventy years have passed since its publication, Houghton's conclusions have been reinforced in the more recent work of art historians Ann Bermingham, John Brewer, Carol Gibson-Wood and Craig Ashley Hanson. For Bermingham, the seventeenth-century virtuoso did not appreciate the pictorial arts for their own sake, but rather as "signs of learning or signs of personal status."¹⁶ In a similar vein, Hanson argues that interest in the arts was developed in tandem with that of science and more specifically medicine, and was inextricably linked in the latter half of the century to the ability to provide sound advice with the post-Restoration platform of the Royal Society.¹⁷ Hence, the more aesthetically inclined connoisseur did not emerge until the eighteenth century. Brewer is also typical of modern historians in regarding the eighteenth century as an age in which "criticism replaced "wonder" and "delight"; critical evaluation according to standards laid out in manuals of connoisseurship superseded impulsive 'curiosity'".¹⁸ Gibson-Wood's dismissal of virtuoso connoisseurship is even more thorough. In her estimation English art collectors before the eighteenth century simply lacked the "level of sophistication" to be found in the French and Italian critical discourses, and "an aesthetic appreciation of art was entirely lacking amongst the virtuosi".¹⁹

The staying power of Houghton's interpretation is impressive. Brian Cowan has suggested that this is because his story of transition fits well with newer understandings of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century English cultural history, which sees the period as marked by a "rise of politeness", the invention of a distinctive "high culture", and a growing interest in "taste" as a category of understanding.²⁰ A persuasive body of scholarship, from Brewer and Bermingham, and from John Barrell, Lawrence Klein,

¹⁴ Houghton, 1942: 190-219

¹⁵ Houghton, 1942: 205.

¹⁶ Bermingham, 2000: 47.

¹⁷ Hanson, 2009: 53.

¹⁸ Brewer, 1997: 256.

¹⁹ Gibson-Wood, 1984: 38 & 56.

²⁰ Cowan, 2004: 151-183.

David Solkin and Iain Pears, has determined that it was left to the eighteenth century and to the moral philosophers of sensibility and taste to enunciate an authoritative aesthetic criticism.²¹ As Cowan rightly points out, for historians of this eighteenth-century culture of politeness and the public sphere, Houghton's old story of the replacement of the baroque virtuoso by the enlightenment man of taste fits very well into their own narrative of cultural change. Understood within this transformative history, the English virtuoso becomes a chapter in what has been considered the prequel to aesthetic appreciation in England, coming to an end in the early eighteenth century when Shaftesbury and Richardson published their criteria by which works of art should be judged.

In revisiting Houghton's essay Cowan has, however, offered an alternative argument, that English virtuoso culture *did* allow for an incipient notion of artistic connoisseurship before the eighteenth century. In 'An Open Elite: The Peculiarities of Connoisseurship in Early Modern England' (2004), Cowan argues that English connoisseurship began well before the word itself was introduced into the English language, and it emerged within the "broader portmanteau of virtuoso culture."²² For Cowan, virtuosity and connoisseurship are not mutually exclusive means of understanding and appreciating art works. Rather than conceiving connoisseurship as an alternative to, and ultimately replacement for, virtuoso culture, he argues that we should recognize that they developed together. Examining the social and institutional position of the English virtuosi, he posits that the lack of a Royal Academy of Arts in the French manner made virtuoso attitudes towards the arts unusually receptive to outside influences such as the Royal Society.²³

Harry Mount has similarly questioned the extent to which this pivotal shift from the virtuoso to the connoisseur actually took place. In 'The Monkey in the Magnifying Glass: Constructions of the Connoisseur in Eighteenth-Century Britain' (2006) he draws attention to how, in terms of nomenclature, these two words were in fact used interchangeably throughout the eighteenth century.²⁴ Mount's quandary lies with the dubious concept of the connoisseur that the culture of change instigated by Houghton supports. He demonstrates that even if we accept the artificial distinction between the virtuosi and the connoisseur as a necessary shorthand, enabling historians to differentiate between two separate concepts, the notion that there was a decisive move from one set of priorities personified by the former, to another personified by the latter, has been

²¹ Barrell, 1986; Solkin, 1992; Brewer, 1999; Klein, 1994; Bermingham, 2000; Pears, 1988.

²² Cowan, 2004: 151-183.

²³ Cowan, 2004: 151-183.

²⁴ Mount, 2006: 169.

substantially overdrawn.

Whilst in agreement with Cowan and Mount that even without the word, a concept of connoisseurship existed in England well before it entered the vernacular at the dawn of the eighteenth century, this thesis will argue that scholarship's fixation on the *virtuoso* figure - tied to the Royal Society as the standard milieu in which the development of the arts occurred - has obscured from view the identity of the earliest authors on the pictorial arts and the audience to whom their aesthetic literature was more specially directed. This alternative figure is the 'lover of art'. Found in literature from the late sixteenth century onwards, the terms 'loues', 'louers', or 'lovers of art' is used to define writers, amateurs, or those exemplary figures to whom those interested in the art should aspire. The meaning of 'lover of art' was interchangeable with that of the 'amateur' at this time, the latter referring to those who loved and understood art, the word itself taken from the French where the root was the Latin *amare*, to love.²⁵ 'Amateur' therefore held a different connotation to its modern meaning. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century amateur could be a professional artist, although the term was generally applied to those who were not of the professional classes and included those who did not practice at all but who had a special appreciation or understanding of the arts.²⁶ Charles I, for example, was considered by contemporaries to be "the greatest amateur of paintings among the princes of the world".²⁷

One of the earliest texts published in England to begin to define the qualities and characteristics of the 'lover of art' was Francis Junius' (1591-1677) *The Painting of the Ancients* (1638), a revised translation his *De Pictura Veterum* (1637) published just one year earlier and dedicated to Charles I.²⁸ The translation is implied by Junius in the preface as having been undertaken so that the art of looking at works of art might become more generally accessible in England, especially, we may presume, to artists, patrons, and enthusiasts whose Latin was not all that good.²⁹ A classical scholar and the son of an exiled French Huguenot, Junius' need to find a patron first brought him to France and then to England where in 1621 Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646) made him his librarian and, somewhat later, a tutor to his youngest son. Lodging at one of the most splendid aristocratic households in England, if not all of Europe, Junius

²⁵ Sloan: 7

²⁶ The additional pejorative definition it has since required, as someone whose approach is the opposite of professional, that is, not reaching the professional standard, is the complete antithesis of the attitudes towards professionals (often described as 'mere artificers') and non-professionals ('gentlemen' or 'ladies') during the period.

²⁷ Rubens quoted in Coward (ed), 2003: 241

²⁸ Junius, 1637; and Junius, 1638.

²⁹ Philipp P. Fehl, Keith Aldrich, & Maria Raina Fehl, 'Franciscus Junius and the Defense of Art' *Artibus et Historiae*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1981), pp. 9-55.

found himself the inhabitant and keeper of a great library whose sumptuous holdings were continuously in expansion, and formed the basis for his theoretical contributions that followed.³⁰

Junius' primary concern in his *Painting of the Ancients* was to define a particular kind of pictorial awareness, urging that art should be appreciated for its moral as well as its aesthetic qualities, as it was in antiquity. Practical competence was not considered a proper qualification for making proper judgments about artistic value. Junius was convinced that "well-willers of art...doe very often examine the works of great artificers with better successe then the artists themselves, the severitie and integritie of whose judgments is often weakened by the love of their owne and the dislike of other mens works."³¹ Junius goes on that "...the truest Lovers of art, meeting with some rare piece of workmanship, stand for a while speechlesse...yet afterwards, having now by little and little recovered their straying senses, they breake violently forth in exclaiming praises, and speake with the most abund[a]nt expressions an eye-ravished spectator can possibly devise...."³² Despite not always being used exclusively in allusion to what in modern terms we might think of as the fine arts,³³ evidently as early as 1638 the phrase 'lover of art' was being used as a specialised reference to the experiencing and understanding of the pictorial arts. This thesis will explore how as the seventeenth century went on, and the term 'virtuoso' waned in regard and meaning, in the 'lover of art' we find a sustained specialist reference to the lover of pictures. The figure that is revealed is aesthetically driven, a budding enthusiast who desires instruction in collecting, judging, displaying, and practicing the art. As will be seen, the art lover was a figure that evolved, responded, and adapted in tandem with the transforming social and cultural ideals throughout the period. It was not a static concept, but one that was continually re-imagined by the writers of the period who, in turn, reacted to the lively and contesting cultures that were at play in Restoration England.

II. Structure

The four chapters of this thesis will therefore pursue two interconnected narratives: one concerned with the identity and character of the English 'lover of art'; the other concerned with offering a critical assessment of the little studied literature published on

³⁰ Much of Junius' philological work is based on the primary study of manuscripts in Arundel's library comprising around 550 titles. See Fehl, Aldrich & Fehl p. 41 n.17.

³¹ Junius, 1638: 72-3.

³² Junius, 1638: 329.

³³ The term 'lover of art', as with 'virtuoso', was not always used exclusively in reference to what in modern terms we might think of as the fine arts. It is found applied to all manner of 'arts', from cosmetics and physics, to mathematics and gardening.

the visual arts during this period. Particular emphasis will fall on questions around authorship and identity in relation to the broader developments of the social, political, and cultural sphere. The discussion of the structure that follows will therefore be interspersed with brief introductions to certain historic moments and transformations that, I believe, are essential to gaining a greater understanding of these early attempts to define, analyse and appreciate the pictorial arts.

Through a close reading of royalist historian Sir William Sanderson's *Graphice: The use of the Pen and Pensil. Or, The Most Excellent Art Of Painting* (1658), the first chapter of this thesis will consider the emergence of the English lover of art throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. The decades prior to *Graphice's* publication had witnessed a renaissance in the arts in England evidenced by the burgeoning literary and collecting activities of the country's aristocratic elite. Signalling a new significance attached to paintings, their value, collection, and display, Italian treatises were translated into English, the first artists' handbooks were written and circulated in elite and aristocratic milieus, and those who had the good fortune of working in close proximity to magnificent and evolving collections began to attempt to define the tastes, characteristics and sensibilities of the lover of art.

Thus, by the time Sanderson published his guide in 1658, a many-sided figure emerges in his writing, one who holds multiple concerns. Containing practical instruction, connoisseurial advice, theoretical reasoning, and an incipient notion of a canon of master painters, it was an ambitious publication that combined material drawn from the literature of the past sixty years with original observations and ideas. Yet despite its impressive nature no further editions of *Graphice* were to follow. While passages from the treatise are consistently found in a variety of literature, from William Salmon's eclectic *Polygraphice* (1672), to Horace Walpole's seminal *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1762), the work itself appears to have quickly fallen out of fashion. This chapter will argue that the sustained borrowing from the text well into the eighteenth century suggests that it may not have been the subject with which its contemporary audience found fault, but that its ideological presentation and authorial association became problematic in the post-Restoration years. Presented as the work of a Royalist gentleman, its pages resound with references to experiences of a past era, when the English art lover was a figure inherently bound to the courtly milieu of Charles I. The former monarch had launched the high status of painting into a new strata in England, establishing a royal collection in league with other notable European courts of the time. Throughout his text Sanderson uses the reputation of Charles as patron and art lover to

remind his readers of the achievements of England's martyred king. Published during the Interregnum period, *Graphice* is therefore at once retrospective and looking to the future, and the possibilities that to the author were inherent in the restoration of the monarchy – the opportunity to return England's court to its former magnificence and continue with the unprecedented cultural achievements of the recent past.

The love of images and the pictorial arts was not, however, universal. Crisis had come to the newly inflated identity of pictures during the eleven-year period of Charles's personal rule when in 1633 the king had made William Laud (1573-1645) archbishop of Canterbury. Along with the king, Laud wished to use the Church to strengthen the power and authority of the Crown by directing the public away from the twin evils of Puritan Biblicism and political Parliamentarianism, and he believed the only way to do this was to return the Church to some kind of traditional order.³⁴ This meant a return to liturgy and to a mode of ecclesiastical decoration that, to all intents and purposes, appeared to be Catholic, alienating many and leading to identifications of 'popish' reforms with Charles and his government.³⁵ As a result, when Civil War broke out in 1642, the iconoclasm that accompanied it was more zealous and systematically destructive than anything previously experienced. In a pioneering work, Clare Haynes has explored this intriguing paradox; on the one hand, the English, who remained deeply hostile to Roman Catholicism, denounced this faith as "popery" and were convinced it had used numerous wiles to hide Christ's true religion for the benefit of its priests, not least by dazzling adherents out of their critical sense through the luxurious visual setting of its worship; on the other, elite English culture valued the pictorial arts and placed special emphasis on the production and educated appreciation of pictures.³⁶ The stage was subsequently set for an intricate wrestling of the conscience - how could people demonstrate their connoisseurship without simultaneously endorsing a perverted, even antichristian, creed? This moral conflict, between the love of art and the disapproval of Catholic culture, was a struggle that was to extend well into eighteenth-century England.

The 'Restoration' that occurred just two years after *Graphice's* publication is therefore a simplistic, even a deceptive, term to describe what happened in England in and after 1660. For though the monarchy, the Stuart dynasty, the Church of England and the House of Lords were all restored, the nation's clock could not simply be turned back to 1641. Nor could the ensuing events of bloody civil war, regicide, republic and

³⁴ Bermingham: 57.

³⁵ Bermingham: 57.

³⁶ Haynes: 1-13, 46-101.

Protectorate, or the social and personal upheavals of revolution, be forgotten.³⁷ The court of Charles II would never resemble that of the former monarch. The cultural heart of the pictorial arts in England would never again be tied so singularly to the patronage of its king and his immediate social milieu. The impact of these factors meant that *Graphice*, and all it had championed, was destined to fail as a voice of critical authority in the Restoration era, its ideological fabric outmoded by the transforming social climate. Yet while Sanderson's text was not to flourish in this new world, it still holds remarkable appeal. It tells us something of the 'lover of art' who had emerged in the first half of the century, defined through the activities and literature of the age. Furthermore, it tells us that the very idea of the English art lover, someone with a particular interest in the values of pictures, had survived the civil war and Interregnum, when the courtiers and the collection of the king had been dispersed across Europe for many years. Re-reading Sanderson's *Graphice* in light of the social and political context from which it emerged, as well as the body of literature that lay behind it, established the publication as a significant contribution to seventeenth-century English literature on the arts.

Chapter two moves into the Restoration years, and considers the literature on painting of John Evelyn and William Aglionby, whose work has been understood even more directly as proponents of the virtuoso aesthetic founded on the Baconian new philosophy of the Royal Society. Both Society fellows, their writing on the pictorial arts has been interpreted as part of a larger scheme to amass empirical advice in direct response to the Society's broader aims. Yet both writers spent a number of years abroad, before returning to England and publishing texts that championed a decidedly Continental model of pictorial appreciation, and for both, the principal paradigm for emulation was France with its Royal Academy that elevated history painting and Italian painters above all else.

France had been the home in exile of many Royalists during the 1650s, and Evelyn was no exception. After returning to England, Evelyn's translation of Roland Fréart de Chambray's *Idée de la Perfection de la Peinture* (1662), as *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, was published in 1668. Examining both the influence of Chambray's arguments in England, and the digression of Evelyn's translation, I will consider first the impact of the Interregnum in terms of the subsequent exile and travel that it enforced through close examination of Evelyn's extensive travel years, and secondly what this meant for the development of connoisseurship in England in the post-Restoration years through the nature and project of his translation.

³⁷ Sharpe, 2001: 10.

Whilst not presented as a translation by the author, Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues; containing some choise observations upon the art; together with the lives of the most eminent painters, from Cimabue to the time of Raphael and Michael Angelo, etc* (1685) has also been revealed as relying extensively on the writing of another French critic, Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy. Aglionby had received his degree as a 'Doctor in Physic at Bordeaux' and was regarded by his contemporaries as a fashionable physician. In the dialogue of his text Aglionby admits that before his exposure to foreign lands he had believed 'all Pictures were alike' and had mocked 'the distinction that some...did use to make of the Pieces of this and the other Master.' For Aglionby the connoisseur is therefore the experienced traveller, and his personalized interpretation of Dufresnoy as the principal source for his text will here be explored in parallel with Evelyn, through the problem of the tourist returning home with new ideas, and determining how best to put them to work in a native context.

By contrast, Chapter Three will consider the most commercially successful literary work on the visual arts in the seventeenth century. Authored by the quack empiric William Salmon, a self-styled 'professor of medicine', *Polygraphice, Or the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring and Dyeing* went through eight editions between 1672 and 1701. Salmon borrowed and compiled more than he authored, each edition growing as its contents were expanded and added to with a diversity of material. As a result the text has been understood as derivative of the wide-ranging interests of the art lover as played out in English society, and the extent to which early modern arts and sciences navigated the same market context. Tracing all eight editions, exploring the additions or changes that were made in each case, I will argue alternatively that *Polygraphice's* own range of cultural references presents a textual guide that adapted to its reader's own diverse tastes, competences, aspirations, and apprehensions. Intended to supplement or take the place of first hand instruction, Salmon's treatise demonstrates an evolution in technical and pedagogical practice that addressed an open audience potentially including women and children, artisans and amateurs, tradesmen and gentlemen.

Providing its audience with a body of instruction and advice that contributed to an ideological foundation upon which identities, both public and private, could be ascertained, as a responsive literary form *Polygraphice* can be understood as registering the central needs and demands of England's expanding literate society. Furthermore, that there was a market to participate in, and react to, is also significant – texts from earlier in the century appearing to have been conceived in relative isolation, instigated by an elite

culture that was centred around the monarch and the court, rather than as a response to a vibrant, dynamic and diverse marketplace. Salmon's milieu was the new urban spaces of London's coffeehouses and taverns, in which print culture circulated amongst merchants and traders, as well as gentlemen and artists. The disparity of the approaches of Aglionby and Evelyn to that of Salmon is also a concern of this chapter as a whole, as it can be seen to translate something of the diversity of social transformations occurring during these years. One championed the lover of art as inclusive and accessible to all. The other attempted to construct an elite authority available only to those privileged enough to have experienced broadly, travel an essential trait of that particular idea of the informed connoisseur.

The final chapter will explore the extension and dramatization of such diverging ideas at the turn of the century, when a new kind of art writing emerged in England. This was a literary construction of a native school of painters following the biographical model established by Giorgio Vasari in the sixteenth century. Richard Graham was the first, with his 'Short Account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd down to the Present Times According to the Order of their Succession' in 1695. Appended to the first official English edition of Dufresnoy's *De arte graphica*, translated by John Dryden, it included in its canon of great painters the lives of three English born artists. Founded on the ideas emulated in the writing of Evelyn and Aglionby as interpreted from French academic criticism of the seventeenth century, I will argue that Graham's 'Account' sought to shape the taste of contemporary connoisseurs and, crucially therefore, the future as well as the past identity of English visual culture. Unifying its narrative is the emergence of a consciousness that sought to somehow define 'Englishness', and with it an inaugural literary national art history within a pan-European context.

In 1706 Bainbrigg Buckeridge countered Graham's 'Account' in his alternative 'Essay Towards an English School, With the Lives and Characters of above 100 PAINTERS'. Appended to the English translation of Roger de Piles's *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters*, Buckeridge's 'Essay' is furnished with the lives of nearly a hundred artists who either were born or had worked in England since the arrival of Hans Holbein the younger in the 1520s. In de Piles's adjoining work, the French author had been dismissive of the English School. Buckeridge demonstrates great admiration for the French author's theory and methodology, yet he also openly admits that the 'Essay' was compiled as a patriotic retort, to persuade the reader that 'English Painters and Paintings, both for their Number and their Merit, have a better Claim to the Title of a School, than

those of France.’ In pursuit of this aim Buckeridge included many artists who were natives of other countries but had worked in England, and painters who dealt with a diversity of genres and patrons. This greater inclusiveness leads to the ‘Essay’ offering an alternative account of English taste and practice in painting in the seventeenth century, challenging the notion of absolute adherence to the authority of French theory and taste for history painting in contemporary English culture.

To comprehend fully the burgeoning patriotism and unprecedented desire to define English paintings’ character and nationhood found in the digressing accounts of both authors at the turn of the century, one further event that cuts through the middle of the period in question must also be taken into account. This was the Glorious Revolution of 1688 that, as these two texts show, dramatically changed the identity of England and its people forever. The revolution saw the Catholic king, James II, dethroned by a Dutch invader acting in collusion with an alliance of English noblemen, determined to preserve what they regarded as their ancient feudal prerogatives. For a generation, Britain’s ruling elite became preoccupied by the interpretation and consequences of a revolution that circumvented the hereditary passage of the monarchy and which sparked a quarter of a century of near-continuous war against France. The legitimacy, or not, of the principles that had brought William and Mary to the throne divided England’s landed magnates and the established Church, while the initial success of the coup handed the initiatives to those Whig or whiggish noblemen who had benefited most from the removal of James II (and who stood to lose the most if he were to return). The 1690s and early 1700s also witnessed the reinvigoration of the City of London as an independent political force, and a dramatic rise in the wealth and influence of a mercantile urban elite, buoyed by the political opportunities offered by the Revolution settlement and enriched by the money-making opportunities of war.³⁸

Thus, when Shaftesbury and Richardson came to publish their works in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the ‘lover of art’ they address participated in a society vastly altered from the one understood and addressed by Sanderson half a century earlier. No longer appealing to courtiers as the principal lovers of art with the monarch at their head, they address the gentry and nobility as individual members of a transformed English state. The diverging positions on painting they propose extend the contesting cultures evident in the earlier Restoration literature that this thesis will explore. In the conclusion

³⁸The historiography the Glorious Revolution and the political turbulence of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is immense. Among those works I have found useful are Pincus, 2007; Harris, 1993; Kenyon, 1977; and Rose, 1999. The long-term consequences of the Glorious Revolution in the formation of a modern national identity are discussed by Colley, 1992.

I will examine their respective positions in light of the work of these earlier English authors, as well as the transformed cultural climate in which they interjected.

In focusing on these earlier literary ‘moments’,³⁹ it has been possible to give early English literature on painting the kind of close attention and extended analysis that has been conspicuously absent from the study of the period to date, while suggesting, I hope, a new way in which critical approaches and perceptions of painting might be perceived in the future. The close readings of the works in question reveal a far richer and diverse culture of aesthetic appreciation than has often been allowed. Covering a period that spans over fifty years, the English lover of art was remoulded and redefined as the nation saw unprecedented transformation and revolution. Crucially, the art lover was a figure that remained steadfastly part of society and culture, and this thesis is an attempt to give the generous body of literature that supports such a view the close attention it clearly demands. The chapters that follow are an attempt to uncover this largely overlooked period in English literature on painting, often by indirection and via digression, but the central purpose is never far from the surface: to redirect our attention back to the artwriting, to inhabit once again the space of conception, to recapture the positive senses of connoisseurship, and to open up painterly culture by looking within the literature and language of the period itself.

³⁹ The texts chosen for close reading in the chapters that follow were selected to offer a flavour of the diversity of opinions, authors and audiences that are evidenced in the literature on the subject from the period. This is by no means intended to be an exhaustive study, and there is still a great deal of research to be done on the subject, as well as a number of works I regret not being able to discuss in greater depth here. In particular Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo’s neo-Platonic *Trattato dell’arte della pittura, scoltura, et architettura* (Milan, 1585), which had been partially translated into English by Richard Haydocke in 1598 as *A Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Carvinge and Buildinge* (Oxford, 1598) and was the one of the most frequently referenced publications up until the Restoration, has been touched upon at various moments in the thesis, yet the scope and nature of this project has meant it has not received as much attention as I would have liked. In a similar vein, Edward Norgate’s *Miniatura* manuscript, which remained the most copied and circulated document on the pictorial arts throughout the entire century (See Ogden and Ogden, 1947) is only discussed in Chapter 1.³⁹ It is also my regret that one further author, did not feature much more greatly; John Elsum, the author of *Epigrams upon the paintings of the Most Eminent Masters, Ancient and Modern* (1700) and *The Art of Painting after the Italian Manner* (1704) has received almost no attention in modern scholarship, (the only discussion of his work I have encountered is Corse, 1993) and his fascinating contributions to English literature on the pictorial arts require further research and exploration.

CHAPTER I

“To Lovers of this Art, Not Masters”: William Sanderson’s guide to painting on the eve of the Restoration

“It is an *Art* I never professed” wrote William Sanderson (c.1586 – 1676), in the preface to his *Graphice. The use of Pen and Pencil or the most excellent art of Painting* (1658); “these *Readings* are gathered at my Study, accompanied with observations which I met with beyond Seas, and other *Notions*, pickt up from excellent *Artizans* abroad, and here at home; not without some experience by my own private practise, and altogether suiting my *Genius*.”⁴⁰ Presenting himself as an enthusiast at most, Sanderson’s prefatory words are intriguing. His major literary contribution had been that of a royalist historian,⁴¹ and his turn to the art of painting at this moment deserves some consideration in asking what it was the author intended to achieve. In *Graphice*’s preface the author addresses “Lovers of this Art [painting], not Masters” as his intended audience, expressing a plaintive desire that “the excellency of Painting, were higher prized, better taught, and more workmen.”⁴² *Graphice* therefore served to “enlighten” its reader in “the mystery of this wonderous *Art*” by first proffering how it was to be “understood”, and then how it was “to be valued”.⁴³ Presented in two parts, the first intends to persuade the reader of the power of art, to guide them in the collection, judgment, and display of pictures, as well as to offer connoisseurial templates for the examination of paintings.⁴⁴ The second divulges the practicalities of painting itself through a body of material pirated from a previously unpublished manuscript by Edward Norgate. No further editions of *Graphice* were to follow,⁴⁵ and this momentary venture might be regarded as a rather odd footnote to the history of aesthetic instruction, deserving of the minimal amount of scholarly attention it

⁴⁰ Sanderson, 1658b: ‘Preface’.

⁴¹ Sanderson, 1650; Sanderson, 1656; Sanderson, 1658a.

⁴² Sanderson, 1658b: ‘Preface’.

⁴³ The term ‘graphice’ is itself Greek, and was first used by Henry Peacham in 1612 for his *Graphice or The most auncient and excellent art of drawing and limning*. Peacham’s equation of writing and drawing stems back as far as Aristotle for whom ‘graphice’, the use of the pen (a term which actually referred to a paintbrush, not a pencil) in writing, painting, and drawing, constituted one of the four parts of his curriculum: ‘...Aristotle designing foure principall exercises, wherein he would have all children in a well governed Citie or Commonwealth, brought up and taught, as namely Grammaticke or Grammer; Gymnastice, or exercising the bodie by wrestling, running, riding, &c. Graphice or use of the Pen in writing faire, drawing, painting, and the like; lastly, Musick...’ Peacham, ‘To the Reader’.

⁴⁴ What constituted a ‘picture’ or ‘painting’ was still relatively undefined for Sanderson. For the author they appear throughout the text to refer to pictorial representations that could range in form from watercolour miniatures and oil paintings, to print engravings, drawings, and even tapestries.

⁴⁵ Many published works on painting during the period went through multiple editions, sometimes with new additions and alterations with each new version. It is clear Sanderson had intended a second, writing of his intent in his “Note to the Reader” at the start. He apologizes for his lack of prints to illustrate the work, which he claims were lost at sea to pirates and “crave excuse till the next Edition, with such other, and [...] further enlarg[...].”

has received since its publication in the mid-seventeenth century.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the author's occupation and the timing of its appearance on the market - after almost a decade of Republican rule in England, and in the same year that saw the death of the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658) - suggests that this publication represented more than merely an attempt to educate its readers in the art of painting.

The son of a merchant, Sanderson is styled by his friend and contemporary James Howell (c.1594-1666) as having been "bred up at court",⁴⁷ distinguishing himself by his loyalty to Charles I in the time of the Civil War. Sanderson's major achievement lay in his historical writing, which was partial and polemical, but no more so than the works to which he responded. In 1650 there appeared, posthumously, a libellous memoir, *The Court and Character of King James*, by Anthony Weldon, a disaffected former Jacobean courtier.⁴⁸ This was one of several historical works, critical of the Stuart monarchs, inspired by the virtual elimination of censorship and the advent of civil war. Sanderson felt obliged to write a defence of James I's memory and to vindicate him from Weldon's criticism of the person, court, and conduct of the king. His defence was published as *Aulicus coquinariae* in 1650, and addressed Weldon's accusations point by point. Though the *Aulicus* appeared anonymously, and was once misattributed to Peter Heylyn, it is unquestionably by Sanderson, who in any case avowed his authorship in the preface to his *Compleat History of the Lives and Reigns of Mary Queen of Scotland, and of her Son James* (1656) — a more substantial work in which Sanderson now took aim at a more respectable, if equally damning, history of James I published by Arthur Wilson in 1653.⁴⁹ The section on James was based at least in part on his personal knowledge of court life. In the same year that *Graphice* came to print, Sanderson's final historical contribution *A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles from his Cradle to his Grave* was also published. In his ode "To the Author" Howell sums up the flavour of the work as affording the King "a Burial, a Monument, and a Resurrection,"⁵⁰ and at the close of his massive near 1,150-page history Sanderson urged that a king of such "goodness and glory" deserved "as faithful a register as earth can keep."⁵¹ Mounting rumours of Oliver Cromwell becoming king in the years approaching his death in 1658 had led to outpourings of this manner of literature on the Stuarts - treatises, sermons,

⁴⁶ Talley's *Portrait Painting in England: Studies in the Technical Literature before 1700* (1981), offers the most extensive examination of *Graphice* to date in a chapter that explores aspects of the work related to portrait painting. As a result, however, large portions of the text are not considered. Other works to have commented on particular aspects of the text are; Hard, 1939), 227-234; Salerno, 1951: 234-258; Gordenker, 'in Hearn (ed.) 2009.

⁴⁷ Howell, 'To the Author' in Sanderson, 1658a.

⁴⁸ Weldon, 1650.

⁴⁹ Woolf, 2004.

⁵⁰ Howell 'To the Author' in Sanderson, 1658a.

⁵¹ Sanderson, 1658a: 1149.

elegies and accounts of miracles performed in Charles I's name keeping his memory and character powerfully alive.⁵²

In Sanderson's *Graphice* of the same year, we find a text accumulated in much the same manner. Presented as the work of a Royalist gentleman, its pages resound with references to experiences of a past era, when the English art lover was a figure inherently bound to the courtly milieu of Charles I. This chapter will examine the contents of *Graphice* in four parts, working through the text as it is presented to the reader. The first will consider the theoretical foundations set out at its start, which are intended to persuade the reader of painting's noble and virtuous qualities. Through a detailed discussion of variety and contrast in landscape painting in line with contemporary ideas around religious contemplation, Sanderson upholds and extends the moral and civic arguments that had taken root in English culture in the pre-Civil War decades. The second part will examine Sanderson's instruction on the judgment, collection, and display of paintings, the inclusion of these passages transforming the text into a guidebook for the budding collector and art lover. Echoing the cultures of aristocratic collecting and courtly connoisseurship that Sanderson bore witness to in the early decades of the century, these passages continue earlier literary attempts to introduce ideas from Renaissance Italy, whilst also identifying and establishing a distinct English national character. Part three will consider the detailed discussion of four paintings which is included by Sanderson towards the close of the first part of the text. What emerges is a critical language that takes its lead from ideas around female beauty and dress that were prevalent at the time. The final part examines the concluding section of the text that presents a guide to practical instruction. The practical guide is plagiarized from an earlier unpublished manuscript, and in light of this the intentions of the author will be further examined, considering ideas around textual self-fashioning made possible with the dissemination of knowledge at this particular historical moment.

Through this examination of Sanderson's text I will attempt to demonstrate how, long before the eighteenth century, and several years before the Royal Society first came into being, critical approaches specific to painting were being developed away from the more virtuosic platform of scientific learning. As a result, a theoretical position and a critical

⁵² Such textual memorials were published as the several editions of Richard Baker's *Chronicles of Kings* and prophecies regarding King Charles by Arise Evans, Anna Trapnal and William Lilly, as well as published letters belonging to Charles I, accounts of his trial, and verses of praise and lamentation such as *Stipendiarum Lacrymae or a Tribute of Tears Paid upon the Sacred House of the Most Gracious and Heroic Prince, Charles I*. In 1656, for example, Peter Heylyn the former chaplain to Charles published his *Observations of the History of the Reign of King Charles*, a highly favourable portrayal of the king. The next year as well as Richard Perrinchief's portrayal of Charles as a resolute champion of the church and man of conscience, in terms and language that echo the *Eikon Basilike*, two volumes of the king's own works were published and sold, evidently without obstruction of the censor. With his speeches printed as the first text in the volume, Charles's voice from the grave now competed with Cromwell's, as the voice of authority.

language began to develop that responded to English visual culture from the present and recent past, along with guidelines for collecting and displaying pictures as well as for practicing painting itself. In doing so, the preoccupations and concerns of the mid-century art lover are revealed, and in exposing these preferences, the need for a more extended exploration of this material becomes paramount.

I. The ‘Lordship of the Eye’: Sanderson’s elevation of the art of painting

The opening chapters of *Graphice* are dedicated, through a number of means, to the elevation of the art of painting - to its status as a liberal practice in the way that poetry and music were already perceived, and as an art inherently bound to God and his earthly creation. Directed towards the budding art lover, these passages are intended to persuade the reader of painting’s moral and virtuous qualities. For although ideas around the practice of painting had been circulating in writing in England since the late sixteenth century,⁵³ as in Italy, in England writers were reacting against the lingering medieval idea of the art as trade. The ideas Sanderson presents were therefore part of the climate of opinion in England, frequently the unquestioned presuppositions of the seventeenth-century artist, patron or collector. Understanding his theoretical position and its meaning in contemporary society is therefore essential to understanding the prevalence of the ideas presented in the work, and the intentions of the author at large.

Beginning with an apology for painting, Sanderson expatiates upon the beauties which man enjoys through the sense of sight:

...in my Opinion, the whole World, and all the formes of Nature may be safely comprehended, by the royalty of externall sight, (There being a Lordship of the Eye, which as it is a rangeing, impetuous, and usurping Sense, can indure no narrow circumscription, but must be fed with extent and variety to the glory of the Creatour,)...To which possibilitie of Mis-application, not onely, those Semiliberrall Arts, but the highest perfections, and endowments of Nature, are subject; Nay Religion it selfe.⁵⁴

The language Sanderson uses serves to elevate the art - the “Lordship of the Eye” and the “Royalty” of sight articulating its noble qualities. To satisfy and please the eye, it must be entertained with “extent and variety”, which embody the glory of God’s creation. To demonstrate further, he paraphrases the entirety of an enthusiastic catalogue of the beauties of nature from Junius’s *The Painting of the Ancients*.⁵⁵ Junius, in discussing the proper method of becoming a connoisseur, tells how the lover of art studies first the human figure, and must then become intimately acquainted with the imagery of nature in all its diversity:

⁵³ Anonymous, 1573; Anonymous, 1596; Haydocke, 1598; Hilliard, c. 1600; and Peacham, 1606.

⁵⁴ Sanderson, 1658a: 2.

⁵⁵ Junius, 1638.

...the wide heaven beset with an endlesse number of bright and glorious starres; the watery clouds of severall colours, together with the miraculously painted raine-bow; how the great Lampe of light up-rearing his flaming head above the earth, causeth the dawning day to spread a faint and trembling light upon the flichering gilded waves; how the fiery glimmering of that same glorious eye of the world, being lessened about noon-tide, lesneth the shadowes of all things; how darksome night beginneth to display her coal-black curtain over the brightest skie, dimming the spacious reach of heaven with a shady dampe: they observe likewise the unaccessable height of the mountaines, with their ridge somtimes extended a good way, somtimes cut off suddenly by a craggie and steep abruptnesse; pleasant arbors and long rowes of lofty trees, clad with summers pride, and spreading their claspling armes in wanton intricate wreathings; thick woods, graced between the stumpes with a pure and grasse-greene soile, the beames of the Sunne here and there breaking thorough the thickest boughes, and diversly enlightning the shadie ground: gently swelling hillocks; plaine fields; rich meadowes; divers flowers shining as earthly starres; fountaines gushing forth out of a main rock, sweet brooks running with a soft murmuring noise, holding our eyes open with their azure streames, and yet seeking to close our eyes with the purling noise made among the pebblestones; low and smoakie villages; stately cities, taking pride in the turrets of their walls, and threatning the cloudes with the pinnacles of their spear-like steeples. They doe consider in Lions, horses, eagles, snakes, and all other creatures, wherein the absolute perfection of their shapes doth consist...⁵⁶

Junius makes clear his delight in variety, and though Sanderson loses much of the poetry of the original, he praises the same features:

The Eyes, the Looking-glasses of Nature: Consider the beauty, and excellency thereof, from severall Objects: Behold the spangled Canopie of Heaven by Night: the watry Clouds, by day, with excellent Colours, and Shadows of the Sun's reflection: The wonderfull painted Rainbow: The glorious appearing of the Morning Lamp of Light: the golden rayes, round about him, spreading a faint and trembling Light, upon the stickering and gilden waves: How, his shadows lessen at Noon-tide; and how they increase towards evening, and at the burning ruddy Sun-set.

To view, the Towing tops of Mountains, unaccessable Rocks, with ridgie extents, or suddain fractions, by some steepy abruptnesse: Here a vally, so large, that at the end of the plain, it seems to meet Heaven; there a Grove, and here a Green pleasant Arbours; rows of Trees, spreading their clasping arms, like gentle lovers imbracing each, with intricate weavings; gently swelling Hillocks; high delightfull plaines; flowry meddows, pleasant streams; naturall fountains, gushing waters down the rocks.

Stately Cities; famous Towers; large Bridges; spiring Steeples; intermixed with Orchards, Gardens, Walks; and what not of these kinds, that delights the mind of Man?

Consider the shapes of each severall Creatures; from the Elephant to the Emet: the admirable and absolute perfections of each Limb; the beautifull Colours of Birds; silver skaled-fishes; wonderfull forms of worms, and creeping things.

And all these to praise the Lord, for his mercy endures for ever.⁵⁷

Sanderson does not stop with Junius' ideas, but goes on to a lengthy passage devoted to landscape and seascape. Here, through the figure of a traveller, he highlights the relationship between their enjoyment of scenery and the art of landscape painting. "What a large scope of severall objects, are dayly offered to delight the wearied travailler, when with true judgment, he beholds the variety of Nature, and the Artifice thereof, within the Landskip of his Horizon in a well chosen Prospect?"⁵⁸ The "Artifice" of nature refers to the divine skill and beneficence apparent in the creation, a favoured and recurring concept of Sanderson's throughout *Graphice*.

⁵⁶ Junius, 1638: 67-68.

⁵⁷ Sanderson, 1658b: 5.

⁵⁸ Sanderson, 1658b: 6.

We see it continue as Sanderson next undertakes a detailed description of a superb landscape which he has had designed for illustrating his book. He has, he says, unfortunately lost the engraving, along with “so many thousands of Prints” intended to illustrate the work, so the description must suffice.⁵⁹ The scene described is Naples and its environs, with Mount Vesuvius in eruption. The description is again given through the eyes of a traveller who has just arrived at the scene. Full of people and action, the account is narrative in quality rather than merely descriptive:

He soon discovered the cause; casting his eyes up to the view, of the Towing Hill, Vesuvius, from whose Base, the fruitfull vallyes, trend down to the Strond of a River, refreshing this City.

This double topp'd Mountain, had one Speer burnt, in time of Pliny, by which meanes, (that Rocky part dissevered into fractions) there appeared, rare reflections of Lights, and shadows, occasioned from a fearfull Fire of the other Speer, now flaming up into the Clouds.

Sometimes, with blazing flash to frighten Heaven, instantly quencht by a crouding vapour, as darke as Hell: And yet each raging quality stinted by Him, that in a bounded measure, preserves all from destruction. These objects (unequally mixt) expressed such glaring variety of Colours, as two contraryes, Light, and Darke in opposition, usually doe produce.⁶⁰

Sanderson sets up a series of contrasts, beginning with Vesuvius and the fruitful valleys in the opening lines, then the “crouding vapour, as darke as Hell”, and the “blazing flash” of the fire. He seems quite conscious of such contrasts, and elsewhere in *Graphice* asserts the general principle, in words again borrowed from Junius, that beauty is enhanced when juxtaposed to wildness or “rudeness.”⁶¹

The traveller contemplates Vesuvius until his eyes grow tired. Then, following a moment of consideration on the natural causes of such eruptions, he looks to the right of the mountain and observes a further scene of contrasting beauty and dismay:

When suddainly he seemed ravished, with the most pleasing Prospect of Nature, and Art, mixt with accidents of divers manner, such as possibly might delight him;

It took its Scite, at the entrance of Naples, from the Vallyes; where the coole streams of [-] gently pass; seeming then, a preservative Element, of powerfull contrariety to quench the raging Fire with turnings and windings, on the right hand, so far as the Countries of Apulia, six Leagues off.

Over this River is raised a stone-Bridge of antiquity, more then splendor, yet fair enough, with sixe locks, or vaults, through which, the water runns, not too quick on purpose to delight you; but murmuring down on the left hand, to a single Pile of Red-marble; partly ruined, more by Warre, then time; and yet of some Antiquity, by the remnant of Pillars, Pedestalls, Cornices, and such like, of old Tuscan, and Dorique Sculpture.

Neer unto an Orchard of Palms, and Sicamours, where, under an ample Arch, the River seems

⁵⁹ Sanderson, ‘To the Reader’: With much Cost and Art, orderly to this Impression; I laboured to be furnished from beyond-seas, with *Cuts* and *Prints*, proper for severall *Sections*; But the watchful Pirate plundered the passengers, and that *Cargasoon of Papers*, which makes them failing in this Work, and crave excuse: till the next Edition, with such other, and [...] further enlarg[...]. In the mean time, the *Practitioner* may be furnished at Mr. *Fathersns*, (a Graver, without *Temple-bar*) and at other Print-sellers, with such *Cuts* and *Prints*, as may serve his own private use for this whole *Book*, which could not be gotten by me in *England*, for so many *thousands* of *Prints*, as the *Presse* of this Edition would contain; onely three or four *Plates* I have met with, which are here inserted for *Example*.

⁶⁰ Sanderson, 1658b: 6.

⁶¹ Sanderson, 1658b: 50-51.

conveyed to utter losse of all, but imagination.⁶²

The scene described is a river valley, crowded with fleeing figures. There are cattle and sheep, and men carrying their household belongings, all rushing and panicking amidst the confusion. Far up the river the traveller observes “the rising fallow-fields, here and there, mixt with trees, and hedge-rows.” Beyond, bordering the prospect, are “the proud Hills, covered with whiteness of Snow, which the Sun-beams exprest, like Silver Towrs.”⁶³

As Henry and Margaret Ogden first highlighted in 1949, these associated principles of variety and contrast were, aside from the principle of decorum, the most highly regarded aesthetic principles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, critics appealing to these two principles as aesthetic criteria, and writers and artists following them in the composition of their works.⁶⁴ Sanderson’s text is particularly significant as a clear statement of the common delight in variety, and as an even clearer statement of the delight in contrast, a special case of variety. The principle of variety was enunciated throughout the century both with respect to landscape painting and to natural scenery. As early as 1590, Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586) admired a scene in his *Arcadia* because it was “diversified betwene hills and dales, woods and playnes, one place more cleere, and the other more darksome.”⁶⁵ In this account the variety is made up of a series of corresponding paired opposites. If one of the pairs were to be selected for consideration, and the others suppressed, there would be an instance of the principle of contrast. Similarly, in *The Anatomy of Melancholy* published in 1621, the scholar Robert Burton (1577-1640) demonstrates his love of variety not only in the enthusiasm with which he lists different aspects of scenery, but also in several explicit statements.⁶⁶ He cites St. Bernard’s report of the scenery at Clairvaux and Bernadino Gomez-Miedes’s observations on the landscape about Barcelona and Athens. Both authorities deemed the variety of the scenes depicted as their particular distinctive quality.

In more direct relation to painting Sir William Davenant (1606-1668), in the preface to *Gondibert* (1650), observes that when painters create landscapes they do not regale “the

⁶² Sanderson, 1658b: 7.

⁶³ Sanderson, 1658b: 8.

⁶⁴ Despite the resulting vogue for landscape painting in England, the majority of studies of landscape painting have continued to begin with examples from the mid-eighteenth century. Beginning with John Wootton and George Lambert as forerunners, they normally proceed with Thomas Gainsborough and Richard Wilson as the first practitioners in oil, and Paul Sandby and William Pars in watercolour. If the activities of the earlier century are discussed at all it is mainly the work of topographers, sporting artists and foreign artists working in England that is highlighted and usually dispatched within the first chapter. The early history cannot be rewritten here, but an attempt can be made to build on the Ogdens’ efforts by illustrating through Sanderson’s own preoccupation with the genre, how widespread the activity of viewing, interpreting and re-creating landscape was amongst art lovers and writers before the eighteenth century. See Ogden & Ogden, 1949: 159. Sloan, 2000: 78

⁶⁵ Sydney, 1590.

⁶⁶ Burton, 1621.

Eye wholly with even Prospect and a continued Flat, but for variety terminate the sight with lofty Hills, whose obscure heads are sometimes in the clouds.”⁶⁷ Other early English writers on the arts had also asserted the principle; “This kind of all other is the most pleasing,” Henry Peacham (1546-1634) says with allusion to a variegated scene, “because it feedeth the eie with varietie”;⁶⁸ Edward Norgate’s (1581–1650) definition of landscape, like Peacham’s, makes clear variety is the essential excellence of painting and natural scenery: “No Landscape...is nothing but a picture of *Gle belle Vedute*, or beautiful prospect of Fields, Cities, Rivers, Castles, Mountaines, Trees or what soever delightfull view the Eye takes pleasure in, nothing more in Art or Nature affording soe great variety and beautie as beholding the farre distant Mountaines and strange situation of ancient Castles mounted on almost inaccessible Rocks...”⁶⁹ Many further expressions of the principles of variety and contrast are to be found in English writing of the period, but these texts give some indication of the primacy of the two ideas, and demonstrate how they were accepted as more or less “self-evident” truths.⁷⁰ The lovers of art in whom we are interested did not, presumably, read all, or perhaps even any, of the texts cited here. But the ideas were part of the climate of opinion in England, and they were the unquestioned presuppositions of English professional and gentleman artists, wherever they worked, as well as connoisseurs and picture buyers.⁷¹

In *Graphice*, one further observation in the conclusion of the dialogue around the Vesuvius scene is significant, returning to the earlier articulation of the divine skill and beneficence apparent in the creation. When the English traveller has gazed his fill on the sights of Naples, he falls into a religious mood and philosophizes on what he has seen:

And thus the Traveller, having long time looked over these objects; he turnes his back from all, with religious Contemplation: That in such varieties of Prospect; contrarieties in Nature and affection; Fire and Water; Hills and Vales, barren and fruitfull; Trees, and Medows; Heaven, and Earth; all should concur in beautifull Objects, and Ornaments of delight, to Gods glory, and content to the Creature.⁷²

This association of an atmosphere of religious reflection with the contemplation of landscape, can be understood as discerning the complex of ideas of the period that have been termed “Christian optimism”. These beliefs were common in the writings of Churchmen, Medieval Schoolmen, Reformation religious leaders, and of Anglican clergymen,⁷³ and centred around the idea that God is autonomous, flawless and faultless, but out of his “goodness” he created the world and man. And he made the world an

⁶⁷ Davenant, 1650: ‘Preface’.

⁶⁸ Peacham, 1606: 29.

⁶⁹ Norgate in Muller and Murrell (eds.):1997.

⁷⁰ The earth’s variety as evidence of God’s goodness is a common theme in scientific works, e.g. Gerard, 1633. See Ogden and Ogden, 1955: especially 54, n. 35.

⁷¹ Ogden and Ogden, 1955: 40.

⁷² Sanderson, 1658b: 8.

⁷³ Ogden and Ogden, 1955: 54, n. 24.

appropriate and beautiful home for man by composing it diversified.⁷⁴ Hence the contemplation of a variegated landscape naturally led to a reflective mood in which the beauty of the scenery was interpreted as the manifestation of God's goodness. As Henry and Margaret Ogden first highlighted, *Graphice's* treatment of landscape is therefore significant as an early assertion of this association, where landscape appreciation is connected to religious contemplation.⁷⁵ As far as is known, it was the only such explicit statement during the century in the literature dealing with the pictorial arts.⁷⁶ Sanderson's articulation is therefore intriguing, his argument for the "Lordship of the Eye" through the religious reflection of landscape in painting perhaps a direct response to the contentious cultural climate in which he wrote, where the status of painting as a liberal art was under constant threat from Puritan attack. Here he formulates an argument against the rhetorical and social norm that the art of painting was not a liberal art but merely mechanic, the work of the hand not the mind.

Sanderson's particular reliance on Junius for the theoretical foundation of his text is also of significance in these terms. Junius' scholarly output and position as librarian to Arundel signifies a distinct set of concerns from those addressed by earlier English artist-authors such as Nicholas Hilliard and Edward Norgate. As we have heard, Junius' primary concern in his *Painting of the Ancients* was to define a particular kind of connoisseurship, whereby art should be valued for its moral as well as its aesthetic qualities, as it had been in antiquity. To achieve such levels of appreciation Junius suggests that -

Lovers of art ought to store up in their minde the perfect Images of all manner of things; to the end that they might have them alwayes at hand, when any workes of Art are to be conferred with them...it is furthermore required, that all those who meane to enter into a judicious consideration of matters of art, must by the means of these Images accustome their mind to such a lively representation of what they see expressed in the picture, as if they saw the things themselves and not their resemblance onely.⁷⁷

The imitation of nature is not achieved by a mere act of copying but rather must be animated, and is advanced by the power of the imagination, not fancy running wild but the mind aiming high, to the very reaching for the likenesses of the gods. The same power, in a different degree, must be brought to a painting by the viewer of the work of art so that it will become vivid for him. For Junius this naturally leads to a full exposition of the visual and verbal arts - ut pictura poesis: ut poesis pictura - upon which is based the argument of Junius' entire work. Sanderson whole-heartedly adopts this position in

⁷⁴ See Coverdale, 1547, for a statement of the relevant strain of Christian optimism.

⁷⁵ Ogden and Ogden, 1955: 66.

⁷⁶ Ogden and Ogden, 1955: 66.

⁷⁷ Junius, 1638: 345.

Graphice where painting is elevated through emphasis on the power of sight on the spectator in line with that of rhetoric. Adopting the vocabulary of literary theory in a dedicated passage “Of Poetry and Painting” that directly follows his discussion of variety and contrast in landscape, Sanderson writes:

For Poesie is a speaking Picture, and Picture is a silent Poesie, the first, as if alwayes a doing; the other, as if done already. In both, an astonishment of wonder; by Painting to stare upon smitation [sic] of Nature, leading and guiding our Passions, by that beguiling power, which we see exprest; and to ravish the mind most, when they are drunke in by the eyes...Picture insinuates into our most inward affections: Things by the Eare, doe but faintly stirre the mind, but captivate the Eyes; as being the more accurate witnesses of the two: Gods may be conceived by Poesie, but are made by Painters.⁷⁸

Emphasising the power of sight on the spectator, *Graphice* aspires to do for the visual arts what had in the same century been done for rhetoric, continuing Junius’s objective to make justly looking at works of art more generally acceptable in England.

David Howarth has shrewdly suggested that Junius’s text, with its discussion of painting’s moral purposes, may have been intended as a counterbalance to Puritan attacks.⁷⁹ Connoisseurship in particular was highly contentious, for it appeared to be neither moral nor useful, partaking instead of those sensuous and irrational feelings that Puritans identified with the Catholic rite. However, the fact that Junius dedicated his English edition of his book on painting to Arundel’s wife, Alethia Howard, Countess of Arundel (1584-1654), a prominent and openly Catholic aristocrat, may well have cemented in the minds of many the inevitable and dangerous links between the ‘deceitful’ Catholics and pictorial illusion, undoing the actual message of the exhaustive work. Nevertheless, the Puritan argument was only one reaction to painting, and one that had its most profound effect upon religious imagery. *Graphice* exemplifies how the moral and civic arguments proposed by Junius that had taken root in the culture of the early seventeenth century had survived the Civil War. Furthermore, highlighting religious meaning in landscape, Sanderson’s argument for the elevation of painting through the “Lordship of the eye” that linked theology to the interpretation of landscape paintings in a manner that was an easy association for the contemporary reader to deduce.

II. An Art Lover’s Guide

Having established the theoretical foundations of the text, Sanderson turns next to the judgment, collection, and display of paintings. Explanations are given for “How to Know a Good Picture” and “Of Originall Pieces and of Copies”, as well as on the “Choyce” and “The Use and Ornament of Pictures”. Helpful passages are also presented to the reader in learning the assessment “Of Abilities in Painters”, “Particular Masterie” and how to

⁷⁸ Sanderson, 1658b: 13.

⁷⁹ Howarth, 1997: 269-81.

know what is “Well Designed” and “Well Coloured”. More practical advice is also given on “How to dispose of Pictures and Paintings” and how “To place the Pictures within Doors”, as well as “Of Grottesco” and “Of Fresco”. While the detailed treatment of practical instruction comes in the final part of the treatise, here Sanderson also includes two short chapters dedicated to “Drawing and Designing”. Their inclusion can be read as intended less for direct practical instruction, but as text that highlighted the need for the lover of art to have some knowledge of the mechanics of the art itself to be a successful judge and collector. As will be seen, these passages echo the cultures of aristocratic collecting and courtly connoisseurship that Sanderson bore witness to in the early decades of the century, continuing earlier efforts to introduce ideas from Renaissance Italy, whilst also attempting to identify and articulate the particularities of English aesthetic appreciation. Crucially, they are written not for the practitioner, nor yet for the theoretical critic, but for the ordinary art lover who desires to be taught what is good and what is bad in painting, and not only how best to collect works of art, but how properly to present and interpret them. These remarks represent a new development in English literature on painting that, in turn, signals to a new category of client for the visual arts. The overall effect is that of a guidebook for the budding art lover, who enjoys the art of painting, but knows little of the social expectations that go with it.

In providing such a guide, these passages acknowledge the growing importance of art collecting in England in the first half of the seventeenth century. This is made most evident in Sanderson’s advice to his reader on an ideal programme of pictorial decoration. His suggestions point not only to a continued interest in art but also a concern with its appropriate integration into the social life of the house. He begins with some general advice “not to Clutter the Room with too many *Pieces*, unlesse in *Galleries* and *Repositories*, as rarities of severall Artizans intermingled; otherwise it becomes only a *Painters-Shop*, for choyce of sale.”⁸⁰ He goes on “Place your best *Pieces*, to be seen with single lights: Thorough Lights on both sides, or double windows at each end, are Enemies to the view of Painting.”⁸¹ This is followed by a discussion of the particulars, whereby staircases were intended to welcome and delight the visitor, with works “to be seen and observed at a view passing up”, the ceiling over the top stair be filled with figures “looking downwards out of Clouds, with Garlands and Cornucopia’s.” Dining rooms were hung with portraits of the king and queen so that the householder could toast their health, “forbearing to put any other Pictures of the life, as not to being worthy to be their Companions unless at the lower end, two or three of the chief nobility, as attendants

⁸⁰ Sanderson, 1658b: 25.

⁸¹ Sanderson, 1658b: 25.

of their Royal persons.” Portraits of the women of the family were placed away from public view for fear they might provoke indiscretion “lest some wanton and libidinous guest should gaze too long on them, and commend the work for her sake.” Reserved for the gallery are “Histories, grave stories, and the best works...where any one may walk, and exercise their senses, in viewing, examining, delighting, judging and censuring.”⁸² History painting and works with serious, moral meaning are elevated here, and the gallery had a transformative effect on the objects placed in it, pictures becoming works of art that were expected to be judged, examined, and censured. As a discursive space, the gallery demanded that those who enter it perform as a knowledgeable connoisseur, signifying not only a love of art, but a sincerity towards its worth, signification, and function.

Sanderson’s ideal programme of display is a much more detailed and exhaustive expansion of Sir Henry Wotton’s (1568-1639) remarks on the same subject in his 1624 *The Elements of Architecture*.⁸³ Wotton writes that:

Lastly, that they (i.e. paintings) bee as properly bestowed for their quality, as fitly for their grace: that is, chearefull Paintings in Feasting and Banquesting Roomes; Graver Stories in Galleries; Land-schips, and Boscage, and such wilde-workes in open Terraces, or in Summer Houses (as we call them) and the like.⁸⁴

Among Wotton’s contemporaries architecture was not yet a profession, but it was a frequent topic of discussion among his gentry friends, wealthy enough to plan the design of a country house, or its interior. English palaces and country houses built after 1580 often contained long galleries for displaying paintings and sculptures, such as the ones depicted by Daniel Mytens in his portraits of the Earl and Countess of Arundel (Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).⁸⁵ The choice of the gallery as backdrop to this portrait pair suggests that by the second decade of the seventeenth century they had come to figure prominently as a sign of the serious collector.⁸⁶ Unlike the Italian *studioli*, the gallery was a larger, and more public space, one in which the householder’s collection was displayed for their own delight and the edification of others. Junius himself notes how the Earl “out of his noble and art-cherishing minde, doth at present expose these jewells of arte to the publicke view in the Academie at Arundell House”.⁸⁷ Collecting on a substantial scale was frequently conceived of as a social good, not as a sign of luxury, the owner seen as a custodian and the collection as a repository.⁸⁸ The fundamental idea was the ancient one that the arts were symptomatic of the health of the nation, that the greatness of a country,

⁸² Sanderson, 1658b: 26-28.

⁸³ Wotton, 1624.

⁸⁴ Wotton, 1624: 109-110.

⁸⁵ Bermingham, 2000: 54.

⁸⁶ Summerson, 1953: 92-3.

⁸⁷ Quoted in Roberts in Chaney (ed.) 2003: 257-58.

⁸⁸ See Pears, 1988.

and therefore its leaders, could be assessed and recognized by the degree to which the arts flourished. Opening his gallery to travellers, scholars, connoisseurs and artists, the Earl cultivated a public display of cultural refinement that has been understood to form the origins of the art museum in England.⁸⁹ As such, it was not only a space that signalled the owner's participation in an international aristocratic culture, but acting as an enlightened nobleman he saw the measure of his decorum enhanced in his concern for works of art, promoting collecting as "an education in taste for the nation."⁹⁰ Courtier that he was, he used his knowledge and influence to make England more receptive to the visual arts. This to him was not merely a matter of attuning English architecture and art to the fashions of the Renaissance but an earnest political concern for the well-being of the realm in which public works of a proper dignity would set the stage for the transformation of England from a feudal kingdom to a true republic.⁹¹

The display of paintings clearly held a central part in such a re-definition, and Sanderson's expansion of Wotton's early contribution is significant in continuing the standards of taste established by the earlier author. Wotton's *Elements* reflected his accumulated insights following two decades spent in Italy serving as the English Ambassador to Venice. It takes its place alongside his pedagogical treatises as a kind of quasi-educational project, the author seeking to apply his knowledge of classical and Renaissance architectural principles to the building of an English country house whilst establishing a reputation as an Italianizer of English taste alongside figures such as Arundel.⁹² Crucially Wotton indicates that the information contained in this book is not to be applied wholesale, but judiciously, with discernment, not least because there are aspects of Italian life he sees as unsuitable for translation into England. Wotton therefore seeks not only to override, but also, at times, to reinforce, national and cultural boundaries, attempting to inform English taste while also flattering the English national character.⁹³ Sanderson can be seen to continue Wotton's cautious approach, at times praising Italian connoisseurial practice, and at others warning against Italian "characteristics". Therefore what may seem contradictory at times in *Graphice's* instruction on display, praising at once "The *Italian's*" who "stand low beneath their high windows; so then, the shadows in his figures, have that respect, as a descending light, best for mens faces, and shews them lively",⁹⁴ yet warning that portraits of the women of the family were to be placed away from public view for fear "an *Italian*

⁸⁹ Hille, 2012: 24.

⁹⁰ Orgel, 2000: 251-83.

⁹¹ Smuts, 1987: 187.

⁹² Ord, 2007: 149.

⁹³ Ord, 2007: 149.

⁹⁴ Sanderson, 1658b: 26.

mindful Guest” might “gaze too long on them”,⁹⁵ can be understood as extending Wotton’s judicious propagation of Italian culture.

This national consciousness is articulated even more directly in the passages on “Particular Masterie”, in which Sanderson includes an account of “English Modern Masters”.⁹⁶ It was the first time an English writer had articulated such a group, and speaks of the author’s desire to characterise English painters as a comprehensive body, one that was measured against the dominant European schools. The account follows a discussion of the ancient and modern painters of Europe, which treats first the Italians, then the Northern schools and concludes with the French [see Appendix 1, Table 1]. Whilst demonstrating a tendency towards Italian superiority in painting, the author articulates the Northern painters (he refers to them as “Dutch” although many were German or Flemish) coming to prominence in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and of the present day painters he holds “the most excellent” French history painter Nicholas Poussin in particularly high regard. Sanderson then discusses the painters of particular note from throughout Europe by genre – “Life”, “Landskip”, “Flowers”, “dead-standing-things” [i.e. still life⁹⁷], “prospective Sea Pieces”, and “Hunting and Beasts of Prey” [see Appendix 1, Table 2].

Sanderson’s knowledge of European art may well have come from the court of Charles I, at which he was present in the earlier decades of the century. In the 1620s Charles had surrounded himself with companions who could satisfy his passion for collecting and conversing on painting. The great aristocratic collectors of the age won his favour. Among the royal privy chamber servants, Endymion Porter (1587-1649) and Sir Kenelm Digby (1603-1665) both enjoyed reputations as connoisseurs of painting, while George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (1592-1628) and of course Arundel clustered around Charles, assisting his collecting and patronage in a number of ways. Charles also liked the company of artists, befriending Daniel Mytens (1590 – 1647/48), Inigo Jones (1572-1652) and Orazio Gentileschi (1563–1639). Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) received many long audiences during his trip to London and Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641) had royal visits to his studio.⁹⁸ By conversing with members of his entourage, the king and his court could have learned about all the significant artistic traditions of the late Renaissance and early Baroque. Arundel had established friendships with several Venetian noblemen, some of whom probably remembered Tintoretto, Veronese, and

⁹⁵ Sanderson, 1658b: 27.

⁹⁶ Sanderson, 1658b: 20.

⁹⁷ Sanderson does not use the term ‘still life’ because the term did not yet exist, and the genre now known as ‘still life’ had yet to receive a recognizable English name. For more on this see Good, 2012.

⁹⁸ Smuts, 1987: 122.

Palladio. Jones met the Italian architect Scamozzi, and Gentileschi had been a close friend and artistic disciple of Carravaggio. Van Dyck grew up in Antwerp, the chief centre of Flemish art, working for a time in Rubens's studio. Endymion Porter had strong links to the Spanish courts, while Mytens knew many Dutch artists, perhaps including Rembrandt, whose work was, in any case, included in Charles's collection. In the late 1630s papal envoys kept the king abreast of developments in Rome, then a critical centre of Italian Baroque art.⁹⁹ Artistic currents from all over Europe converged at the English court, and Sanderson echoes this new and unprecedented interaction and understanding in his articulation of the foreign schools.

Following this is Sanderson's articulation of an English school. His enumeration of native "masters" includes a number of foreign painters, and a handful of gentlemen and gentlewomen amateurs [see Appendix 1, Table 3]. Around forty figures are named, although no individual biographical details or distinguishing painterly styles are included. Professional artists are grouped together by the genres or practices within which they excelled, and the non-professionals are divided into groups of gentlemen and gentlewomen. Sanderson's articulation of genres does not directly follow those laid out in his discussion of the European schools: he doesn't use the term "dead-standing-things" but groups "Flowers and Fruits" together, and "Fish and Fowl". These rather ambiguous and interchangeable terms exemplify how attempts to define the discussion of painting in England trailed behind examples already being set in Continental Europe.

The account also tells us something of the painterly milieu that existed in England at this time. Robert Streater is singled out twice by Sanderson as "a compleat Master" who excelled in history, landscape, still life and portrait painting as well as etching and engraving, architecture and works of perspective. Portrait painters dominate the professional artists, with familiar names such as Peter Lely, John Michael Wright, Anthony Van Dyck and Robert Walker presented alongside the less familiar figure of John Hayls and the now unidentifiable "de Grange" and "Shepherd". Alongside Streater, Isaac Fuller is singled out as the exemplary history painter, with Francis Barlow for "Fowl and Fish", "Stone" and Michael Cross as the leading copyists, with "Marshall" for "Flowers and Fruits", and "Flesher" for "Sea-Pieces". In the categories of limning and engraving a handful of names are given suggesting these categories, like portrait painting, were more fully established by 1658, with a longer English history. For limning the three sets of father and sons, the Coopers, Hoskins and Hilliards underscore this established painterly tradition, together with Richard Gibson the "court dwarf" and the now

⁹⁹ Smuts, 1987: 122-123.

unfamiliar “Cary”, “Reurie” and “John Baptista” suggesting the popularity of the genre. Similarly for the practice of engraving six or so names are given, with Robert Vaughan, Wencelaus Hollar, his pupil Richard Gaywood, Michael Cross identified earlier as a master copyist, and the unidentifiable “Father Lambert” and “Trevethen” pointing to a lively and multifarious print culture.

Sanderson does not conclude with his professional painters, but also includes a selection of gentleman and gentlewoman practitioners of note. Mary Beale, now recognised as a commercially important painter of the period, is not only featured here, but placed amongst a milieu of distinguished female painters. Amongst the gentlemen, Sir John Holland is indicative of a different kind of practitioner, known to be an enthusiastic art lover who practised privately and for his own amusement.¹⁰⁰ These varied and intriguing figures bring into question how we understand and define the identity of the “English artist” in the seventeenth century. While Sanderson distinguishes between professionals and the gentility, his inclusivity is of particular note, constructing an identity around English painting as a thriving practice, attracting painters from across Europe, while also nurturing and recognizing the talents of its native men and women.

The desire to accumulate a collective of notable native contemporary practitioners can be understood to be at the heart of Sanderson’s enterprise, characterizing art in national terms to sustain the glorious memory of Charles I as the great patron of the arts who had enabled, for the first time, a society of painters – professional and private – to form what could be comprehended as a coherent body or school. This early rhetorical effort by Sanderson, to instigate a defining national artistic school which he proudly described as “comparable with any now beyond Seas”,¹⁰¹ has been aligned with the political imperatives of Stuart England to carve out a “political terra firma” in conjunction with Continental political and social culture.¹⁰² *Graphice*’s inclusivity has been understood as evidence of a growing movement to define a more rigidly bound and inherent “nationalist” artistic identity, adopting foreign artists unreservedly for the English side.¹⁰³ Utilised in this manner, art history gained a new patriotic purpose, not attached to artists’ individual behaviour, but rather coupled with values of progress, where art was collectively or symbolically a sign of cultural capital and national well-being.

Elsewhere in *Graphice* Sanderson comments on the former monarch’s “Repository of Rarities”,¹⁰⁴ elaborating a page later that “Our late *King CHARLES*, had many most rare

¹⁰⁰ Murrell and Murrell, 1997: 16.

¹⁰¹ Sanderson, 1658b: 20.

¹⁰² Alexander, 2001: 69.

¹⁰³ Alexander, 2001: 69.

¹⁰⁴ Sanderson, 1658b: 14.

Originals, Collections, both of *Painting* and *Sculpture*. He being the most of fame, for his encouragement, and Patronage of Arts and Honour.”¹⁰⁵ We know from Sanderson’s historical writing that he was familiar with court life, and the little more that is known of his career suggests something of the direct courtly milieu that he may have been keen to emulate and capture amongst the pages of *Graphice*. He served as secretary to the courtier Henry Rich, Earl of Holland (1590-1649) in the late 1620s. A favourite of Queen Henrietta Maria, in 1626 Holland was sworn bedchamber servant to the King. Holland was one of the numerous art lovers Charles surrounded himself with, the painter Peter Paul Rubens singling him out along with the Earl of Carlisle in 1629 for criticism of their excessive expenditure and extravagance that left the court hopelessly in debt.¹⁰⁶ The enthusiasm of these courtiers, however, prompted frequent informal gatherings, such as that which took place in 1626 upon the arrival of some paintings sent to the King by the Vatican. The gift included works attributed to Leonardo, Andrea del Sarto, and Guilio Romano, the reception of the works recorded by Gregorio Panzani, the papal envoy:

The King came rushing to see the pictures the moment he was informed by the Queen that they had arrived and called Inigo Jones the architect, a great connoisseur of pictures, the Earl of Holland, and the Earl of Pembroke to be present. The very moment Jones saw the pictures he greatly approved of them and in order to be able to study them better he threw down his riding cloak, put on his eyeglass, took a candle and, together with the King, began to examine them very closely, admiring them very much... They let the Earl of Arundel know the paintings had arrived in court and he came immediately to see them.¹⁰⁷

Later, Charles playfully removed the labels and had Jones guess the artists’ identities to demonstrate his expert connoisseurship.¹⁰⁸ The degree of Charles’s curiosity about art and artists set him apart from his father’s generation, allying him more closely with those of his own who had experienced Continental cultures and were keen to make London a sophisticated cultural capital. Guessing the hand and style of different artists was a favoured amusement at his court,¹⁰⁹ and the King was even rumoured to have taken up the brush himself in order to “supply the defects in art” he found in the works of the artists’ studios he visited.¹¹⁰ Although the veracity of this latter claim is dubious,¹¹¹ such accounts, while playful, also suggest an emerging interest in style and attribution that is echoed in *Graphice*. With guidelines on the “Choyce of Pictures”, the merits of “Originals and Copies”, and how to know what is “Well Designed” and “Well Coloured”, Sanderson advises his readers on these novel and fashionable pastimes.

¹⁰⁵ Sanderson, 1658b: 15.

¹⁰⁶ Donovan, 2004: 65.

¹⁰⁷ Translated in Chaney (ed.), 2003: 58-59.

¹⁰⁸ Donovan, 2004: 53.

¹⁰⁹ Smuts, 1987: 122.

¹¹⁰ Smuts, 1987: 122.

¹¹¹ This anecdote appeared in a martyrological work of the Restoration era by Perrinchief, 1676: 253, quoted in Smuts, 1987:158.

While demonstrating a growing interest in attribution, Sanderson's explanations also betray the difficulty of expounding such judgements in writing, and this perhaps goes some way in explaining why so few guidelines in this manner emerged during the period. His attempts to articulate the merits of originals and copies perhaps demonstrate this problem most explicitly: original works possess "a Natural force of Grace Rising; which copies only 'seem to have'"; Copies are produced without "natural genius in the Workeman"¹¹² and for that reason they exhibit only "an imperfect and borrowed comeliness".¹¹³ Applying such an ambiguous definition in practice could have been of little help to his readers. Some aspects of judgment are however made more explicit. For Sanderson, copies always come short of the original. "An imitator, does never come near the first Author...a similitude ever more, comes short of that truth, which is in the Things themselves: the Copier being forced to accommodate himself, to another mans intent."¹¹⁴ No matter how good, a copy remains just that, an imitation of another man's idea. While the copyist can never hope to succeed in capturing the spirit of the original because it is the product of another man's genius, he is also faced with another problem as far as direct duplication is concerned. Time ages pictures and the colours are especially affected during this process. "It is the opinion of many Masters of this Art concerning Ancient *Originalls*; that the ayre, by time and age works so much upon the Colours, that the Oilynesse thereof, being vaded, the Colour becomes more fleshy, more Naturall than at the first. So they say of *Tytians*, and of *Jurgiones* being his Master."¹¹⁵ In order to reproduce faithfully the changed colouring of the original "the workeman must alter the manner of his colurs by a mixt tempering; otherwayes then the Modern Naturall way of Painting admits..."¹¹⁶

This taste for darkened pictures also naturally led to faking, and Sanderson recounts the following anecdotal advice: "It is said that *Laniere* in *Paris*, by a cunning way of tempering his Colours with Chimney Soote, the Painting becoms duskish, and seems ancient; which done, he roules up and thereby it crackls, and so mistaken for an old Principall, it being well copied from a good hand."¹¹⁷ Unfortunately, Sanderson does not clarify which Lanier he is speaking of, Nicholas or Jerome. Nicholas travelled on the continent as purchasing agent for Charles I; Jerome was a painter-restorer, who may have

¹¹² Sanderson, 1658b: 16.

¹¹³ Sanderson, 1658b: 16.

¹¹⁴ Sanderson, 1658b: 16.

¹¹⁵ Sanderson, 1658b: 16-17.

¹¹⁶ Sanderson, 1658b: 16.

¹¹⁷ Sanderson, 1658b: 16.

travelled with his brother to Europe.¹¹⁸ Either way, Sanderson's account of Lanier's methods to produce a fake appears to be the only one of its kind in seventeenth-century English literature on painting. The concept of the "Old Master" arose in seventeenth-century Italy, and Venice became the centre for dealing in these works, both genuine and faked.¹¹⁹ This preference had clearly become established in England by the mid-century also, Sanderson explicitly stating that "Garish Colours, in new Pieces, take the eye at first; but in old Pictures we are delighted with their decaying, horridnesse of the Colours...Old PICTURES, in a wonderfull simplicity of Colours, draw their chief Commendations, from a more accurate, and gracefull designe."¹²⁰ This partiality was to continue to grow into the eighteenth century, picture dealers become increasingly careful to exploit the trend.

By 1658, it would seem, Sanderson or those he emulated already held a preference for the faded and subdued colouring of antique pictures, and favoured original pieces over copies. An ideal programme for the display of pictures had been established, whilst an incipient notion of a canon of English master painters sought to direct the budding art lover not only towards which painters held particular merit, but to instil in them a particular sense of national pride and character. With the inclusion of such advice, the contents of *Graphice* mark a point of departure from earlier English treatises on painting. Up until this moment published and un-published literature had discussed only aspects of the subject, such as its history or practical instruction, or presented it as one amongst many in a range of activities deemed beneficial to the noble gentleman. This is not to say that Sanderson's treatise demonstrated a dramatic development in the understanding of the art, or presented a multitude of original ideas; but what it does demonstrate is one of the earliest attempts in English literature to articulate a guide to painting as a multi-faceted subject in its own right. Echoing the cultures of aristocratic collecting and courtly connoisseurship that Sanderson bore witness to in the earlier decades of the century, *Graphice* carves out a distinct English character of both painting and the art lover for whom is work is intended.

¹¹⁸ Talley, 1981: 233.

¹¹⁹ Talley, 1981: 233.

¹²⁰ Sanderson, 1658b: 16.

III. The Lover's Eye: a visual language of criticism

Sanderson's emulation of the court culture of the previous decades is even more profound in his detailed discussion of four paintings in the pages that follow. Returning to the theoretical framework that he set up in his early passages, as well as the more general rules for collecting, judgment, and display he has now established, these final pages of the first part of *Graphice* can be seen as a culmination of the guidebook thus far, bringing together all the reader has learnt and applying it to a number of pictorial case studies. What emerges is a critical language that takes its lead from ideas around beauty and dress that were current at the time. What Sanderson also makes explicit was the possibility of learning the connoisseurship of painting directly from text and prints. His critical analyses are given as templates "to teach the Gallant by such Artificiall Patterns, how to ascribe due praise to a deserving person."¹²¹ And although only one illustration was included in the final publication, we can assume he had intended there to be engraved copies of all four paintings to accompany his analysis. It is worth noting that other contemporary texts often simply assumed their readers would have access to the prints analysed within their pages.¹²² Sanderson's suggestion that "the *Practitioner* may be furnished at Mr. *Fatherns*, [William Faithorne] (a Graver, without *Temple-bar*) and at other Print-sellers, with such *Cuts* and *Prints*, as may serve his own private use for this whole *Book*"¹²³ underscores his explicit intention for how *Graphice* was to be approached - as an illustrated guide.

Selecting first a portrait by Peter Lely whose identity is now unknown, Sanderson's textual model he creates for a pictorial critic notes her "lively Spirit and good Grace. Well wrought; Round, and Neatly painted...A beautious blushing Browne." Particular attention is paid to her dress which Sanderson believed the sitter directed herself, "for if I mistake not, the Lady wants no will, nor judgement to set her self forward." He then works his way down the portrait itself, beginning with "Her haire proper to the complexion; neatly put into Curles and folds." He then treats the face, "made up of excellent parts", at length:

A quick Eye and full, amends the defect in the Colour; and yet the circled brows gracefully big and black. Her Nose not over-Romane, with Nostrils fair enough. A full mouth: the largenesse of the Lipps commendable, because plump and Red. I like well the deepned shadow stroak, which parts them, and almost shews her Ivory teeth, as if to appear; and altogether seems to be speaking. The very dimple by the Cheek, with a wanton touch of the Pensil, singly sets out her looks, most lovely: Somewhat long

¹²¹ Sanderson, 1658b: 39.

¹²² For example John Evelyn in his translation *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting* (1668), chose to rely on his readers' own collection rather than publish images alongside the text. This idea will be explored further in Chapter 2.

¹²³ Sanderson, 1658b, 'To the Reader'.

visage; and it may be in true measure to the Life, and sufficient Symmetry.¹²⁴

He continues on to her “her Noble Neck: roundrising full and fat”, and her “Ample Brests interlined with River’et Vaues See, see; the swelling Papps like fair Pome-waters. The Nipples too, like Rasberry fountains, in true center to their circles...Her brawny Arms of good flesh, and pure colour” and “A Hand well drawn; the fingers spread, and yet not forced.” He concludes that “Her Body well fed, not too fat” is “An Italian Don's delight.”¹²⁵ The analysis appears to address the portrait in line with certain established notions of ideal beauty, and as we see in the three further pictorial analyses found here, a particular vocabulary emerges with the reiteration of similar terms and phrases, and with similar features highlighted and analysed repeatedly. Moreover the tone that the critical analysis takes is a sensual one, that of the male admirer of a beautiful woman, the subject’s physical beauty is the viewer’s primary concern.

This is played out more directly in the second critical discussion, examining a portrait of Anthony van Dyck’s wife, Mary Ruthven (Fig. 3), the only analysis accompanied by an engraving in the text (Fig. 4).¹²⁶ Sanderson’s account, however, relates to the painted portrait, as is made clear by the discussion of the artist’s palette. He begins by noting, in a similar fashion to his analysis of the Lely, that the subject has “A goodly Plump, Fat, well Favoured, well formed Figure,” and a “firm, fair, and noble Neck; full and fat fleshed shoulders, plump breasts, well coloured skin”; Her hair “a well chosen mingled Colour, (as you may say) of all into one. Not brown, nor black, and too too gracefull she was, to produce a flaxen....a lovely pure bright Aburn; with which the darkned folds, set out each Circle, sufficient to enchant a man into those Mazes”; Her eyes “full black and rouling” which hold the viewer transfixed in rapturous wonder, “...Only, you might have leave to steal to her *Cheek* and *Lippe*, and there to dine and sup, and sip...”¹²⁷ Sanderson’s articulation of experiencing painting is here reminiscent of Junius’s definition that true lovers of art, meeting with some rare work, stand for a while transfixed; once recovered and in control of their senses they then break forth into “exclaiming praises” and “abundant expression”. He takes the idea further, however, with his connoisseur taking the role of the lover or gallant. What he makes explicit is a dialogue between the art lover and the male lover, and by using a portrait of Van

¹²⁴ Sanderson, 1658b: 35.

¹²⁵ Sanderson, 1658b: 35-36.

¹²⁶ In being illustrated with an engraving by William Faithorne (Fig. 2), the account of van Dyck’s portrait of Mary Ruthven, seemingly stands alone as a unique example of an illustrated explanation of a portrait in an English seventeenth century treatise on the arts.

¹²⁷ Sanderson, 1658b: 37.

Dyck's wife he sets up the painter's gaze as one that identifies with the gaze of the husband. This sensual voyeurism aligns the ideal beauty of a woman and ideal beauty in art. When he comes to discuss the subject's mode of dress, this connoisseurial position is further enforced:

Her Habit put into a Garment, call it a Petty-coate, and Wast-coate, or morning dresse.... But ile say so much for this Piece, not overcurious (it seems) to set out her self...the Bodies tackt together before, with four Jewells set into buttons of Diamonds; on each side thereof an Orient Pearle, and a fift Jewel more faire, the pendant to the other four, in fashion alike; only, the lowest pure Pearle, so large, (such is the Painters Art to make it) inestimable. These but untacked, (with little paines, but much passion) you come to the smock, which peeps out between them; and at the hand-wrest carelessly purfled of purest Holland.... What a stately head she has! well set on! A goodly Rope of Pearle surrounding her firm, fair, and noble Neck; full and fat fleshed shoulders, plump breasts, well coloured skin, and altogether, able to indure a mans handling.¹²⁸

Sanderson, framing the painter's depiction of his subject's bodice as artfully and enticingly 'untacked', and the string of pearls about her neck drawing the eye to her alluring neck, shoulders and breasts, uses the costume to underscore his argument to the reader for the consumption of painting as a highly sensual and evocative experience. The use of the terms "overcurious" and "carelessly" in this passage is also significant, highlighting the extent such observations around costume in painting were beginning to be informed and even theorised. Junius had offered an explanation of the term's meaning in *The Painting of the Ancients*, recommending that painters avoid overly "curious" - highly descriptive and precise - painting in favour of a degree of deliberate abandon, that a "Picture must follow a bold and carelesse way of art, or it must at least make a shew of carelesnesse in many things".¹²⁹ Junius' argument towards "carelessness" and "over-curiosity" stems from a central preoccupation of the consideration of the quality of grace as a principal part of painting, as much as invention or perspective. Junius understands the effect of grace on spectators to be amazement, carrying them "into an astonished extasie, their sense of seeing bereaving them of all other senses" and it "doth sweetly enthrall and captivate the hearts of men with the lovely chain of due admiration and amazement."¹³⁰ Junius maintains that grace, the perfection of beauty, and elevation are the products not of mere natural genius, but of nature and art. He therefore warns against excessive care and polishing, and recommends, on the authority of Plutarch and Cicero, ease and facility as making grace more graceful, suggesting the charm of unadorned feminine beauty as an example of avoiding over-curiously affectation.¹³¹ Sanderson articulates such a preference for a freedom of touch and illusionism over precise and detailed rendering in observing immediately

¹²⁸ Sanderson, 1658b: 37.

¹²⁹ Junius, 1638: 288.

¹³⁰ Junius, 1638: 329 & 332.

¹³¹ Monk, 1944: 143-146.

the informal mode of dress in the “Petty-coate, and Wast-coate, or morning dresse” and later the smock at the hand resting “carelessly”, whilst defining the overall manner in which the subject was set out as “not overcurious”.

A similar set of features are again observed in Sanderson’s final two critical readings, one a female portrait by Van Dyck, which has been suggested as that of Catherine Howard, Lady D’Aubigny (Fig. 5),¹³² the other “A Picture of the Husband and his Wife” identified as Gerard Soest’s double portrait of Lord and Lady Fairfax (Fig. 6).¹³³ Lady D’Aubigny is described as “fair and full, not fat; plump enough, and with good features to her length; Not over-tall, nor too slender”, with “light brown hair; handsomely curl’d; not too forward upon the face...A Cherry lip and full, which does invite you...the colour of her skinne, Pine Lilly w[...]ite; smooth as unspotted Marble...”¹³⁴ The final discussion, of the double portrait by Soest, is worth quoting at length, to demonstrate the critical vocabulary that emerges in its repetition of earlier phrases and similarly framed observations of the female subject, this time Lady Fairfax:

...Her beauty was of brown: Her hair of Aburn-black; and though she sits down, her dimension shew’d her Symmetry of personage tall, not thin...Her beauty, in this blush, caused her to look the more lovely. A full eye and piercing; the circled brows gracefully big and black; Her forehead high, her cheeks so well complexion’d... Her hair curled in wreaths and folds, as if she had a mind to enchant the Man into those fetters, and hold him there. Her ear came under all, round and small, such as men say belong to witty Women... Her Head was well set on (as Artists use to say) supported by a round necke, down behind to her rising shoulder, full and plump, and meeting before with a fair breast, well proportion’d, interlaced with Riveret-azur-veines. See, see, the swelling paps like ripe Pome-waters, well grown and fit for her Husband’s gathering. The ruddy nipples, two if seen, would seem Rasbery fountaines in true Center to their Globy-Orbs. Her brawny Arms of good flesh, and pure colour. A hand well drawn, holding a sprig of Gesmine, the other shadowed in his. Her body well fed not fat, fitted onely for his delight.¹³⁵

Once more the female subject is understood through the sensual masculine eye, but here we also have the male lover included in the portrait to emphasise the parallels in the two ways of looking which are seemingly presented as one. Within the portrait itself Lord Fairfax looks directly to his wife, while she looks out towards the viewer, and Sanderson goes on:

The designe sets it out, as after Mid-Noon Summer, when heat hath influence on hearty affections. A new Bed-Bridall went out a walking, led by the way into a well-grown Wood, where, under the branched boughes of an ample Oak they two sat billing; and after all, in the close of the Even, the Married Man starts up, and looketh wishly on Her... His apparell of Silke, and (like civility it self) the Colour Black. His Mantle-Cloake cast on his Arme... Her Drapery well fashioned of Aurora Silke. Her Skarfe of Azure skye, opened with the wind to let in Aire, or to uncover her beautious breasts to

¹³² Talley, 1981: 235.

¹³³ Talley, 1981: 235.

¹³⁴ Sanderson, 1658b: 39.

¹³⁵ Sanderson, 1658b: 41-42.

her Husbands beholding....The Grove was deepned dark, which set out all like a Sunsetting; so seem'd the skie, in the view of a farr fetched Horison..¹³⁶

Here Sanderson conceives the gaze of the young husband on his wife, and her casual undress, as a sensual tool that re-enforces his argument for a type of masculine voyeurism where the art lover and male lover are one and the same. This configuration of a double portrait appears elsewhere in well-known works from the period, Gonzales Coques double portrait of Charles I and Henrietta Maria after Daniel Mytens (Fig. 7), and Van Dyck's seminal depiction of Buckingham and his wife as Venus and Adonis (Fig. 8), and both depicting the same triangular gaze.

The "undressed" appeal of Lady Fairfax's attire also had its parallel in other forms of contemporary culture. Court plays and poetry patronized by the same courtiers responded to and expressed a similar range of ideas. One of the "rediscoveries" of antiquity during the Renaissance was that of the concept of Arcadia, as seen in the works of classical writers such as Virgil, who hymned the pleasures of rural life. As court and urban life became increasingly about display, expense and artifice, the attractions of the supposedly carefree and simple life of the countryside increasingly appealed. This became manifest in literature and in art, notably in the courts of Renaissance Italy, and later (by the end of the sixteenth century) in France, England and the Netherlands. In visual terms, this cultural development specifically led to a new genre of art, the pastoral portrait, and also influenced dress and appearance.¹³⁷ Inspired by art, literature, and by entertainments such as masques, elite men and women chose to be depicted in portraiture wearing pastoral dress, which artists conceived to be versions of the clothing of shepherds and shepherdesses as though designed by a theatrical costumier, a conceit that lasted well into the eighteenth century. Partly in response to this carefully cultivated pastoral simplicity, dress itself became less obviously artificial than in the years of extravagance from the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Along with greater informality in clothing, beauty also became more subtle, less indebted to striking contrasts of red and white, and with greater emphasis on a perfect complexion.¹³⁸

Some poets ventured into the sensual, sometimes even erotic realm when describing their mistress's undress. Robert Herrick (1591-1674) detailed the attraction of his mistress Julia's clothes: "Whenas in silks my Julia goes,/Then, then (methinks),

¹³⁶ Sanderson, 1658b: 41-42.

¹³⁷ Ribeiro, 2005: 129-47.

¹³⁸ Milkmaids (and others who worked farms) were thought to perhaps have been immunized by getting a small dose of the disease from their cows.

how sweetly flowes/That liquefaction of her clothes.”¹³⁹ In another poem, Herrick is more explicit about his delight in loosely flowing garments:

A sweet disorder in the dresse
Kindles in clothes a wantonnesse:
A Lawne about the shoulders thrown
Into a fine distraction:
An erring Lace,
Which here and there
Enthralls the Crimson Stomacher:
A Cuffe neglectfull, and thereby
Ribbands to flow confusedly:
A winning wave (deserving Note)
In the tempestuous petticoate:
A carelesse shooe-string, in whose tye
I see a wide civility:
Doe more bewitch me, then when Art
Is too precise in every part.¹⁴⁰

Herrick’s description of a shawl thrown about the shoulders, or an “erring lace,” evokes the sort of costume that Sanderson remarks on in his own pictorial analyses. He also offers a unique definition of this evolution in portrait dress that had unfolded in England in the previous decades, in what has now become a classic statement. Singling out Van Dyck, he describes him as “the first Painter that e’re put Ladies dresse into a careless Romance”.¹⁴¹ Sanderson therefore became the first writer to articulate this new approach to dress in portraiture with Van Dyck. How such a dramatic change of aesthetic preference could occur in less than half a century has, however, only recently begun to be addressed, studies in English art at the turn of the seventeenth century having tended to scrutinise portraits of Elizabeth I, and then directly proceed to the study of Van Dyck’s canvases for Charles I.¹⁴²

Contemporary literature, such as Louis Guyon’s *Miroir de la beauté et santé corporelle* (1643), claimed a clear complexion was the most important attribute of beauty along with brilliant sparkling eyes and a small mouth; almost as important as the face was the white and polished neck and shoulders, and the breasts which should be like two beautiful apples.¹⁴³ Sanderson also uses this analogy, with the French “pomme” both in his analysis of Lord and Lady Fairfax and in his discussion of the Lely portrait. Apples appear in the description of the “Naturall beauties” of the ideal face in John Bulwer’s *Anthropometamorphosis: Man transform’d; or, The Artificial Changeling* (1650): the cheeks should be “fleshie, rosie, and resembling the red Sun-shine Apples of Autumne”. Bulwer goes on that a

¹³⁹ Herrick in Pollard (ed.), 1891: 77.

¹⁴⁰ Herrick in Pollard (ed.), 1891: 68.

¹⁴¹ Sanderson, 1658b: 39.

¹⁴² See Hille, 2012: esp. ‘Introduction’.

¹⁴³ Quoted Ribeiro, 2011: p. 338, n. 102.

beautiful woman must have a “faire white Forehead, marked with no wrinkles or lines....and drawing a roundnesse about the Temples...a little Mouth...a nose of a meane size, strait, clean, with a certain obtusenesse acute”; other features of this “Face, round, pleasant and elegant to behold” include black eyebrows “subtile, disjoined, soft and sweetly arched”, small black eyes, “concave, rolling, laughing, pleasant and shining”, and small, delicate ears “aspersed with the dilucid colour of Roses”.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, in his autobiographical memoir-cum-romance, *Loose Fantasies* (1627), Sir Kenelm Digby who was known to be obsessed with his wife Venetia Digby’s beauty, described her symmetrical features, large forehead, soft brown hair, sparkling eyes, straight nose, small mouth with white even teeth, and skin so fine that blue veins could be seen on her temples: “in her face one might discern lilies and roses admirably mixed; but in her lips the rose alone did sit enthroned in sweet majesty...her cheek reposed upon her alabaster hand”.¹⁴⁵ John Aubrey’s *Brief Lives* also made reference to Venetia as, “A most beautifull and desiriable Creature...She had the most lovely and sweet-turn’d face, delicate darke-browne hair...Her face, a short ovall...Darke-browne eie-browe, about which much sweetness, as also the opening of her eie-lids. The colour of her cheeks was just that of a Damaske-rose, which is neither too hot, nor too pale”.¹⁴⁶

This preoccupation with defining female beauty that we find widely exemplified in these written sources from the period, as well in Sanderson’s *Graphice* itself, are founded in the Neo-Platonic ideas that had circulated widely at the court of Charles and Henrietta Maria. In a broad sense, Neo-Platonism had provided the court with a fundamental conception of the role and function of art. Images were understood to reflect a truth that lies within. Visual material could therefore take on a crucial significance, for it was assumed to carry an underlying meaning. This concept came to the fore explicitly in the court masques. Ben Jonson (1572-1637) based his masques on allegorised myths by authorities such as Cartari and Ripa, creating a complex of hidden meanings and iconologies. Similarly, Inigo Jones sought to create a visible analogy to this hidden truth through innovative lighting and stage techniques as well as through the costumes he designed.¹⁴⁷ Music and dance enhanced the spectacle and the same group of courtiers engaged in such activities

¹⁴⁴ Bulwer, 1650: 131-3.

¹⁴⁵ Digby, 1627: 85.

¹⁴⁶ Aubrey in Buchanan-Brown and Hunter (eds.): 294-95.

¹⁴⁷ This has been discussed in detail by Emilie Gordenker, Gordenker, 2001: 17 and n. 118.

witnessed and commissioned portraits from the painters Van Dyck, Soest, and Lely that Sanderson examines.

Sanderson's suggested model for pictorial engagement, therefore, was a perceptive and responsive attempt to apply a variety of ideas onto the description of four portraits in order to create a more definitive guide to pictorial engagement. Uncovering this ambitious but uncertain viewing 'model' offers a new perception of the complex practices and identities being cultivated in this example of critical art writing of the mid-seventeenth century. Sanderson's account offers a tentative introduction to the favoured components of a way of seeing that powerfully sought in its characteristics to identify both an emotional connection and a meaningful response from the portrait, one that should inspire in the viewer that passion which in turn dominates and informs the subject itself. Illuminating the existence of an established and adhered-to notion of ideal beauty in turn exposes an on-going tension between nature and art, as well as displaying how philosophical ideas were being applied to aesthetic appreciation. As quoted earlier, Junius had explicitly stated in 1638 that art lovers should store up in their minds the perfect images of all things so that they can readily draw upon them when conferring with a work of art, and judicious connoisseurs must use these images to accustom their way of seeing so that such a lifelike representation of what they see expressed in a picture, was as if they saw the things themselves and not only their resemblance.¹⁴⁸ Sanderson's connoisseurial template around a programme of ideal beauty certainly seems to continue this model. His emphasis on the sensual quality of the portrait, however, highlights the seventeenth-century Puritan problem. Coupled with the absence of any investigation of inherent didactic possibilities, the pleasurable quality overpowers any moral or instructional values a painting might have.

Nevertheless, in articulating in writing a vocabulary that responded to current developments in pictorial as well as cultural trends, the account becomes a record of contemporary artistic practice. The body of material shows, furthermore, that these are not merely indulgent anecdotes, but convey, in their diminutive state, some of the wider narratives and conflicts of English culture in the mid-seventeenth century. In more theoretical terms, the pictorial accounts are set up to act as demonstrations of the elevation of painting to a liberal art, the selection of the subjects deliberately highlighting that 'astonishment of wonder' through their mimesis of nature 'leading and guiding' the author's passions by their 'beguiling

¹⁴⁸ Junius, 1638: 345.

power’ – Sanderson’s more general argument for the elevation of painting over poetry that took its lead from Junius.

IV. Dissemination and Aspiration: *Graphice* and the art of self-fashioning in the Print Revolution

As has now been established, *Graphice* can be understood as a guidebook to the aspiring seventeenth-century art lover. The theoretical advice and connoisseurial templates discussed thus far, suggest a united aim in the instruction of its reader in all aspects of the art of painting. The rise in art collecting as a status symbol of the privileged by the mid-century had implied new attitudes to the education of gentlemen, and this final part will examine the second part of *Graphice*, dedicated to practical instruction, as well as the text as a whole, within these terms. Sanderson, who had risen himself from a merchant background, was amongst a generation of gentlemen who, by emulating the court and following its codes of conduct, had become an accepted part of this society. Well educated in the new humanist tradition at Oxford and Cambridge and the Inns of Court,¹⁴⁹ these individuals served the court as ‘civil servants’. Yet, their numbers increased more rapidly than the positions available to them, and by the time of the Civil War these “professional gentlemen”, mainly younger sons who had no hopes of inheriting property, found themselves without a royal court that could use their services. Many immured themselves to the philosophical circles around Oxford, kept quietly to their families’ estates, or travelled abroad. By the time Sanderson was writing, to men such as himself - better experienced, educated and more widely travelled than their predecessors – it seemed far more virtuous to serve the nation as a whole. As Kim Sloan observes in *A Noble Art – Amateur Artists and Drawing Masters c.1600-1800*, education had taught this new generation that the best method to achieve this status was through dissemination of knowledge through leading a moral and virtuous life.¹⁵⁰

To this end, Sanderson included a substantial second part to his manual, on the materials and techniques of miniaturists or “limners”. Limning, or painting in miniature which comes from the Latin *miniare* meaning to colour with red lead, and like the words “illumination” and “limning”, refers to the decoration of manuscript

¹⁴⁹ Though evidence seems rather inconclusive, Sanderson is believed to be a graduate of Cambridge University. He was, however certainly there in 1628 when he served as secretary to Henry Rich, earl of Holland, when the latter was appointed chancellor of Cambridge University in the same year. See *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Woolf, 2004.

¹⁵⁰ Sloan, 2000: 11.

books before the invention of printing. All three words derive from the medieval Latin word *luminare* – to give light.¹⁵¹ Norgate was the first to use the Italian word for illumination, *miniatura*, to describe the art of limning in his manuscript treatise of that title in 1627.¹ The private nature of miniature portraits, the relative simplicity of the tools used, as well as its neatness and cleanliness, made limning the perfect activity for the English “gentleman” courtier and his wife at time Sanderson was writing. The account not only corroborates the limited technical information available at the time, but elaborates to encompass the whole complex range of techniques used by prominent English artists and their pupils in the early decades of the century, notably Nicholas Hilliard. The text is retrospective, for by the late 1620s the art was in the midst of a metamorphosis in which Hilliard’s elaborate decorative techniques were giving way to simpler methods, yielding the relentless pressure to drive towards greater realism earlier presaged in the works of Isaac Oliver and later in that of his son Peter. This “realism” was reinforced by the easel painting of immigrant artists such as Daniel Mytens, and the pressure of it was to become irresistible with the impact of Van Dyck on English portraiture. By the early 1620s, John Hoskins was the only professional miniaturist still employing the full range of Hilliard’s decorative techniques, and within a few years even he had adopted the more direct methods of Peter Oliver in a style which owes much to Mytens and, later, Van Dyck. Apart from its emphasis on the manner of brushwork derived from the Olivers rather than Hilliard, the instructional passages ignore these profound changes, and in *Graphice’s* section on the subject direct reference is made to some of the technical implications of the revolution in style emerging from Oliver’s and Hoskins’s studios in the 1620s. But the fundamental value of the material Sanderson includes lies in its exposition of all the methods of portrait limning, including those which remained unaltered by the changes in style.

It was only in 1919 that Martin Hardie first highlighted that the entirety of *Graphice’s* second part, dedicated to practical instruction, was a pirated redaction of an early draft of Edward Norgate’s *Miniatura; or; The Art of Limning*.¹⁵² Written first in 1627-8 and then substantially revised in 1648, Norgate’s instructional text circulated in manuscript form from its inception. The differences between the two versions of the manuscript, and its final publication in its plagiarized form by Sanderson, establish an important measure of change over thirty years. Norgate

¹⁵¹ Sloan, 2000: 11.

¹⁵² Muller and Murrell, 1997.

clearly identified the different audiences for which he had written the first and second versions of his *Miniatura*. The first was intended to gratify the desire of his good friend, “that learned Phisitian, Sir Theodore Mayerne”, with the techniques of the art of limning.¹⁵³ Consistent with this purpose, Norgate introduced into the first version several passages addressed directly to the intended recipient, and because De Mayerne was both chemist and amateur artist, assumed that his reader already grasped the fundamentals of painting. Norgate’s introduction to the second version of his manuscript accurately states the difference, which sets it apart from the first. He wanted to accommodate the novice, who had first to learn the foundations of art, and “the Gentry of this Kingdome” who would delight in their improvement and skill, the applause of art lovers, and the innocent pastime, which shielded them from evil.¹⁵⁴ Jeffrey Muller and Jim Murrell, in their 1997 edition of the manuscript, believe there is “little doubt” that Norgate intended the second version to reach the widest possible readership by publishing the text, a project perhaps not realized because of the turbulent times and the author’s death in 1650.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, until the pirated edition was published in 1658 as part of Sanderson’s *Graphice*, both versions of Norgate’s *Miniatura* existed in manuscript only.

A miniature painter, musician, and writer on art, Norgate entered the service of both James I and Charles I, as well as becoming at one time a tutor to Arundel’s son. It is thought to have been through Norgate's royal appointment that he first travelled to the Low Countries and became acquainted with the culture of the Netherlands. His *Miniatura* therefore contains fundamental information and ideas about Netherlandish landscape, drawing in pastel, the naturalization of foreign critical terms into English, and the work of artists such as Rubens, Van Dyck, Gentileschi, Hans Holbein, Paul Bril, and Hendrik Goltzius. The earliest owners of these manuscripts formed a tight-knit group of artists and art lovers linked to the court of Charles I and to the circle of Arundel. During the Civil War and Interregnum they were retired Royalist aristocrats, for whom limning might provide a private refuge.¹⁵⁶

Sir John Holland (1603-1701) copied the manuscript around 1655, and Sanderson includes Holland in *Graphice* as an amateur gentleman painter of note.¹⁵⁷ Lord Thomas Fairfax (1612-71) is also known to have kept a copy of Norgate’s first

¹⁵³ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 12 n. 63.

¹⁵⁴ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 12 n. 66.

¹⁵⁵ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 13.

¹⁵⁶ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 13.

¹⁵⁷ Sanderson, 1658b: 20.

manuscript in his library, which had been presented to him by the engraver Daniel King (c.1616–c.1661) as his own work during the 1650s for the education of Mary Fairfax (1638-1704).¹⁵⁸ King boasted that his treatise would make her the owner of a unique collection of “Experimentall Secrets” which she could dispose of at will. What emerges is a picture of an elite and interlocked society, which kept to itself the secret of limning incorporated in Norgate’s texts. Holland inscribed his own copy as “Secreta mea mihi”,¹⁵⁹ and all other early owners of the text confirm this picture. The publication of Sanderson’s *Graphice* therefore marks a significant change in the audience, control, and use of the work and its contents. Instead of being a secret mine of knowledge for privileged artists and art lovers, *Miniatura* was made available to the more inclusive literate public.

Sanderson’s boast to present a more accessible guide to painting has been interpreted as an answer to Francis Bacon’s (1561-1626) call for a systematic history of the mechanical arts.¹⁶⁰ Several sentences in Sanderson’s preface, and a more substantial passage on perspective, repeat almost verbatim extracts from Bacon’s *Advancement of Learning* (1605), and certainly support the idea that he was at least familiar with the scholar’s proposal for educational reform.¹⁶¹ Publications that begin to emerge in the same decade as *Graphice* also suggest a growing trend. The titles of these works, *Secrets in the noble arte of Miniature or Limning* (ca. 1653-1657) and “Secrete intorno La Pittura” (ca. 1650-1652) make explicit this movement towards the sharing of formerly restricted and secretive information. Outside of the discipline of painting we see a similar surge in publications on subjects as varied as fishing, alchemy, gardening, liquor and cosmetics, all promising to expose to the reader the “rarest”, “deepest”, or “newly discovered” secrets of the subject.¹⁶² Whilst crucial in understanding the

¹⁵⁸ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 16 n 82.

¹⁵⁹ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 15, n. 80.

¹⁶⁰ Muller and Murrell, 1997: 17

¹⁶¹ Frederick Hard was first to highlight these borrowings in 1939, along with several similar divulgements from the writing of Sir Henry Wotton. Hard, 1939: 227-234.

¹⁶² Plat, *The Garden of Eden. Or, An accurate description of all flowers and fruits now growing in England with particular rules how to advance their nature and growth, as well in seeds and hearbs, as the secret ordering of trees and plants*. (London: 1659). Philalethes, *The marrow of alchemy, being an experimental treatise, discovering the secret and most hidden mystery of the philosophers elixer. The second part. Containing three books, elucidating the practise of the art; in which the art is so plainly disclosed, as never any before did, for the benefit of young practitioners, and the convincing those who are in errors labyrinth* (London: 1655); Wotton, *The state of Christendom, or, A most exact and curious discovery of many secret passages and hidden mysteries of the times written by Henry Wotten* (London, 1657); Anon. *A rich closet of physical secrets, collected by the elaborate paines of four severall students in physick, and digested together...*; viz. *The child-bearers cabinet. A preservative against the plague and small pox. Physicall experiments presented to our late Queen Elizabeths own hands. With certain approved medicines, taken out of a manuscript, found at the dissolution of one of our English abbies, and supplied with some of his own experiments* (London, 1652); Amyas, *An antidote against melancholy. Or, A treasury of 53. rare secrets & arts discovered* (London, 1659); Ruthuen, *The ladies cabinet enlarged and opened containing many rare secrets, and rich ornaments of several kindes, and different uses: comprized under three general heads, viz. of*

developments occurring in art writing of this period,¹⁶³ this ‘media revolution’ is what, I believe, has frequently obscured from view the more specialised figure of the lover of art in the seventeenth century. For while an increasing, and widespread desire for knowledge is undeniable, that distinctions could and were being made between subjects and specialisms is also irrefutable.

I would propose instead that Sanderson’s relation with print provides a striking example of the ways in which contemporaries began not merely to appropriate literature for personal ends, but also to think strategically about how to use different genres of writing in order to reach different audiences. A further significance of Sanderson’s *Graphice*, in other words, relates to the way in which, by the late 1650s, a variety of different strategies could be deployed in print simultaneously, to promote personal schemes and to serve public projects. The fact that the Renaissance saw the emergence of a sense of unique and publicly staged selfhood and rendered the long turn from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century as a significant moment of change with regard to attitudes of individuality and a new sense of self was, however, the result of a long social and political process that, in the English context, culminated in the negotiation of courtly display at the early Stuart court at which Sanderson was present, and in which the role of painting has received no separate study. Ever since Jacob Burckhardt’s seminal study of the *Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), historians have emphasised the emergence of the individual self during the Italian Quattrocento, which resulted in a claim to social recognition and agency unknown to men and women of the Middle Ages.¹⁶⁴ Just over a hundred years later, Stephen Greenblatt has shown that during the second half of the sixteenth century there evolved in England what he has termed an “increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a malleable, artful process,” and which he saw promoted through the literary, visual, and material culture of the time.¹⁶⁵

This raises an important question around the identity of the author at this time. For as we heard from Sanderson himself, his work is made up of collected “observations” and “other Notions” drawn from practitioners “at home and abroad”, and to these are added some original contributions. Sanderson is not alone in his

1. preserving, conserving, candying, &c., 2. physick and chirurgery, 3. cookery and houswifery : whereunto is added sundry experiments and choice extractions of waters, oyls, &c. (London, 1654).

¹⁶³ Raymond, 2003.

¹⁶⁴ Burckhardt, 1878.

¹⁶⁵ Greenblatt, 1980.

approach, his work existing amongst a body of literature that borrows, translates, steals and regurgitates from its literary counterparts.¹⁶⁶ In the preface Sanderson continues, that at the blessing and desire of painters he has reduced their discourse “into a *Method*, legible to all, and so to render it profitable to the Publick”. Addressing “*Lovers* of this Art, not *Masters*”, he is yet “not altogether unconcerning the ordinary *Artizan*, whose former Instructions (hitherto) not reaching unto knowledge, rather hinders his progression from ever being excellent.”¹⁶⁷ His statement of intent reveals a relatively novel, albeit highly idealistic, attitude towards educational provision, in the creation of a system of aesthetic appreciation from which “none are excluded.”

Sanderson had realized that print could be used as a device with which to demonstrate his virtuosity, serving his “publick” with the dissemination of knowledge. Nevertheless, his choice of painting as a subject to serve these ends demonstrates a distinctive attempt at self-fashioning, that, through another discipline he may well have been unable to achieve. Casting off the controversial cloak of the royalist historian, amongst these pages he could fashion himself a virtuous gentleman as well as a loyal servant to the crown. Just as Wotton’s self-conscious importation of Italian culture in *Elements* has been understood as key to his strategy of self-presentation in smoothing his return to England in 1624,¹⁶⁸ in a similar vein *Graphice* speaks of a liminal moment in Sanderson’s career, poised at the threshold of the Restoration of the monarchy and the possibilities it might bring, both personal and cultural. The death of Cromwell the same year as *Graphice*’s publication must have offered hope, yet whilst the elite circles around Charles I and Arundel never seem too far from Sanderson’s reach, he appears throughout the first half of the century to be a figure continually at the outskirts, incessantly plotting to re-confirm his courtly associations. His actions draw attention to practices of distinction as a constitutive aspect of court culture itself that worked as a continuous impulse for the re-negotiation of established values, their maintenance and demise, and the creation of new criteria of discrimination and assimilation. Strategies of distinction were inherent to the specific culture of courtiership as defined by the political ethos of early seventeenth-century England. As Frank Whigham has shown in his reading of the late renaissance and early modern

¹⁶⁶ Alexander Browne’s *Ars Pictoria* (1675), is a redaction of Sanderson’s book with other sources; the anonymous *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil* (first published 1666), is a redaction of Sanderson, Browne, and John Bate’s *The Mysteries of Nature and Art*, (1635); William Salmon’s *Polygraphice*, (first published 1672), plagiarized parts from *Graphice* and *The Excellency*.

¹⁶⁷ Sanderson, 1658b: ‘Preface’.

¹⁶⁸ Ord, 2007: 148.

English courtesy literature, the concept of courtiership evolved around a particular vocabulary of rhetorical performances of the courtier that defined his social and political status at court.¹⁶⁹ Whigham's study is based on the larger body of historical examination of the so-called "century of social mobility", which Lawrence Stone first defined with reference to the period between 1540 and 1640, in which the English social elite increased greatly in size.¹⁷⁰ Individual skill, education and rhetorical self-presentation – qualities that hitherto had merely served to enhance the clarity of a given and unchangeable identity – now became the means by which vertical social mobility could be achieved. In courtly society such upward movement resulted from the rhetorical manipulation of established patterns of courtly behaviour, which were subjected to continuous alteration in the dialectic of innovation and tradition. If we consider Sanderson's publication of *Graphice* as an impulse in the practice of distinction, we can begin to understand how his exploitation of the subject of painting, as a vehicle for the autonomous, fictitious design of the self, assigned painting itself an unprecedented significance in the social and political self-promotion of the English courtier.

Presented as the work of a Royalist gentleman, *Graphice's* pages resound with references to the author's loyalty to the Stuart dynasty. Preluding the contents of the publication are the only two other portrait engravings to be included. The engraver was William Faithorne (c.1620–1691) who, like Sanderson, had served Charles I in the Civil War. The first engraving depicts the refined elderly figure of the author (Fig. 9), shown bust length in an oval frame, with long greying hair and wearing bands and gown, the intricate detail at his collar and rich fabric of his dress indicative of a man of elevated position in his later years. The second presents the late Charles I (Fig. 10) with an epitaph to the martyred monarch on the facing page by the Church of England clergyman William Morehead (1637–1692). Morehead, along with the miniaturist Thomas Flatman (1635–1688) and physician and Royalist satirical poet Edmund Gayton (1609–1666), are three identifiable figures who contribute a number of dedicatory verses at the outset of the treatise. Morehead and Flatman are identified in the text as former Fellows of New College Oxford, and this articulation adds further weight to the royalist stance, the college having supported the exiled King during the Civil War when he resided in the town. Although not acknowledged in *Graphice* in the same manner, Gayton was also at

¹⁶⁹ See Whigham, 1984.

¹⁷⁰ See Stone, 1965; and Cressy, 1976.

Oxford during the royalist occupation where he served as a captain in the Duke of York's company.

This literary self-fashioning, coupled with Sanderson's publication of the life of Charles I in the same year, suggests a desire in the author to remind his readers of the achievements of England's martyred monarch, at once retrospective yet looking to the future and the possibility of the restoration of the monarchy, and with it an opportunity to build again upon the cultural achievements of the recent past. The former monarch had launched the high status of painting into a new strata in England, establishing a royal collection in league with other notable European courts of the time. Using the reputation of Charles as patron and art lover, Sanderson reminds his readers of the achievements of England's martyred king. As such, *Graphice* was not only a space that signalled the author's participation in an international aristocratic milieu of distinguished lovers of art, but, in turn, saw the measure of his own decorum enhanced in his concern for painting and the cultural character of the nation as whole.

Conclusion

Great Artist,

WHen I saw thy *ROYAL STORY*,
(That Theater erected for thy glory)
I stood amaz'd at each *Majestick* line,
And deem'd each syllable therein Divine,
Thinking *Thee All-Historian*: But now,
Thy Protean Pen constrains me to allow,
The Diadem of *Arts and Sciences* to *Thee*;
Their vanquish'd depths confesse *Thy Sovereignty*:
Whose absolute Dominion can dethrone
The *Rest*, and fix supremacy in *One*
(*Rare MINIATURE*) whose glitt'ring Trophies stand,
Rear'd by the learn'd endeavours of *Thine hand*.
Thy Water-Colours shall out-brave the *Fire*,
And dare courageously confront *Jove's ire*.

Your fame shall (spite of *Proverbs*) make it plain,
To write in *Water's* not to write in vain.

Anonymous dedication to William Sanderson, *Graphice* (1658)

These words of praise for Sanderson and his "protean pen" were to be the last. For the author was never to publish again on painting, history, or any subject for that matter during his remaining lifetime. With the restoration of Charles II in 1660, Sanderson was knighted, made gentleman of the privy chamber, and finally bestowed a previous grant of the Paddock Walk in Windsor Park, that had been promised by the Earl of Holland. It seems his rallying effort had paid off, and by looking back to events of the recent past he had secured his own future, gaining the

recognition he believed he deserved and so desperately wished for, and with that abruptly sat down his tireless “pen” for the last time. In the enlightened characterisation of a lover of art, Sanderson had enhanced his reputation through his concern for painting, and the return to monarchical rule now set the stage for the transformation of England, as begun by Charles I. Sanderson could not have known that the court of Charles II would never again resemble that of the former monarch or that the cultural heart of painting in England would never again be tied so singularly to the patronage of its King and his immediate social milieu. The impact of these factors meant that *Graphice*, and all it had championed, was destined to fail as a voice of critical authority in the Restoration era, its ideological fabric outmoded by the transforming social climate.

The literature of post-Restoration England echoed the ambiguities and uncertainties of a society and state poised between tradition and change, helping to construct and validate the shifts towards a politics of difference and party and a society of looser social arrangements. But the differences that needed to be accommodated were not merely those of past civil conflict. As dramatists and poets began to point up their failings, Charles’s government saw the need to recruit loyal pens to answer them in kind. Official organs like *The Current Intelligence* included loyalist and royalist verse. By the late 1660s, voices critical of the king and court were heard in the theatres, as outside them. Indeed new genres of satire emerged, excoriating the corruptions of courtiers and of a king so weakened by debauchery that he could not defend his realm against Dutch invasion. Sanderson’s connoisseurial vocabulary, rooted in ideas of sensuality, ideal beauty, and feminine “undress”, would no longer be applied and accepted unquestioningly as representation of inner virtue.

Yet while Sanderson’s text was not to flourish in this new world, it is still of prodigious value. It tells us something of the ‘lover of art’ who had emerged in the first half of the century, defined through the activities and literature of the age. Furthermore, it tells us that the very idea of the English art lover, someone with a particular interest in the values of painting, had all but survived the civil war and Interregnum, when the courtiers and the collection of the king had been dispersed across Europe for many years. In pausing again at the question of why historians have consistently tended to argue that there was a great discontinuity between seventeenth and eighteenth century aesthetic appreciation – a possible response to this is that the seventeenth-century lover of art did not always think or behave in the ways one might expect from an eighteenth century connoisseur.

CHAPTER II

Ideas from Abroad: travel, translation, and transformation in the writing of John Evelyn And William Aglionby

In the post-Restoration years two texts were published, by John Evelyn (1620-1706) and William Aglionby (*ca.* 1640-1705), that were less about celebrating the renaissance of connoisseurship and collecting in England as observed in Sanderson's *Graphice*, and more concerned with its reformation in line with Continental standards of taste. These texts sought to cultivate native art lovers and painters into an aesthetically refined and educated elite, who would conform to strict standards of visual production and appreciation that had been cultivated largely in France and Italy over the recent decades. The literature on painting of the two authors has, however, largely been conceived as being founded on the Baconian new philosophy of the Royal Society.¹⁷¹ Both Society fellows, Evelyn and Aglionby's literary contribution has been interpreted as part of a larger scheme to amass empirical advice in direct response to the Society's broader aims. I am not arguing here that either gentleman was not a virtuoso - that they did not take part in the diverse practises and wide-ranging pursuits of the seventeenth-century dilettante - but this chapter will address the idea that aspects of their literary contributions concerning painting may have been overlooked as a result of the assumptions that have come to be associated with the idea that they were. Both writers spent a number of years abroad before returning to England and publishing texts on painting that promoted a decidedly Continental taste-making model. For both, the principal paradigms for emulation were Italy and France, with their academies of painting and sculpture and rich art theoretical output.

France, in particular, had been the home in exile of many Royalists during the 1650s. Evelyn was no exception, and in 1668 his translation of Roland Fréart de Chambray's (1606–1676) *Idée de la Perfection de la Peinture* (1662),¹⁷² as *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, was published.¹⁷³ Examining both the influence of Chambray's arguments in England, and the digression of Evelyn's translation, I will consider first the impact of the Interregnum in terms of the subsequent exile and travel that it inflicted through close examination of Evelyn's extensive

¹⁷¹ The most recent authors to assert this view have been Hanson, 2009, and Gibson-Wood, 1989. But the argument was first made by Houghton 1941.

¹⁷² Chambray, 1662.

¹⁷³ Evelyn, 1668.

surviving archive, and secondly what this meant for the development of connoisseurship in England in the post-Restoration years through the nature and project of his translation.

While not presented as a translation by the author, Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* (1685) has also been revealed as relying extensively on the writing of another French critic, Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy (1611-1668).¹⁷⁴ Aglionby had received his degree as a "Doctor in Physic at Bordeaux" and was regarded by his contemporaries in London as a fashionable physician. His time abroad has yet to be explored in relation to his contribution on painting, yet it is through this experience that he claims to have discovered "the extream delight" taken "in Pictures". His publication, presented in dialogue between a "Traveller" and his "Friend", explains the value and appreciation of painting through his experiences abroad. The Traveller admits that before his exposure to foreign lands he had believed "all Pictures were alike" and had mocked "the distinction that some...did use to make of the Pieces of this and the other Master."¹⁷⁵ For Aglionby the connoisseur is therefore the traveller, and his personalized interpretation of Dufresnoy as the principal source for his text will here be explored in parallel with Evelyn, through the problem of the traveller returning home with new critical concepts and terminologies, and determining how best to put them to work in a native context. Both authors included a lexicon of new terms with their publications, and we see in print the evolution of an English language of aesthetic criticism.

Out of this tempestuous period of religious and political ferment, intellectual vitality took on a new identity with the increased mobility of the upper classes through travel abroad. Establishing the European activities initiated by Arundel and his contemporaries into a tradition that was to be defined within the Restoration decades as the 'Grand Tour', travel and the infiltration of ideas in England would alter forever the intellectual make-up of the country. After the diplomatic, military, and linguistic educational priorities of sixteenth-century travel, art and architecture finally joined these justifications for travel during the seventeenth century.¹⁷⁶ Where pilgrims of all ages and both sexes had once justified travelling thousands of miles in terms of seeing, perhaps touching, and occasionally acquiring a sacred object, with the emergence of the lover of art, gentleman travellers went to view, experience, and purchase a Raphael, Carracci, or piece of antique sculpture.

¹⁷⁴ Aglionby, 1685.

¹⁷⁵ Aglionby, 1685: 1.

¹⁷⁶ Chaney, 1996: xvi.

Through Evelyn and Aglionby, therefore, we witness two distinct attempts to shape the identity of the English art lover, these texts remaining as documentary manifestations of this period's fascination with European culture, that became embedded in a lifestyle of collecting and connoisseurship in the latter years of the seventeenth century.

I. John Evelyn's *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*: A statesman in quest of a role

In this exploration of Evelyn and his contribution to English literature on painting, I wish to get behind the account of himself that Evelyn presented in his later years, not least in his well-known diary, much of it written up in its present form in the 1680s.¹⁷⁷ Instead, I want to re-examine the less familiar young man who toured the Continent in the late 1640s, as portrayed in Robert Walker's somewhat affected portrait of 1648 (Fig. 11),¹⁷⁸ who then lived in Paris for three years, between 1649 and 1652, before returning to England where he was to remain for the rest of his life. To understand Evelyn in this formative period of his life, we have to place him in the context of the civil war and its aftermath and the intellectual turmoil of the era. But it is worth doing so, because in this way we gain fresh insight into Evelyn's intellectual personality, into the genesis of his translation of Chambray's *Idée*, and into the broader milieu from which that work stemmed.

The period in question was, of course, a turbulent one, which saw the abolition of the monarchy and its replacement by a republican regime, against the backdrop of deeper political and religious turmoil. It was also a time of extraordinary intellectual vitality, among those opposed to the regime as much as those supportive of it. This is symbolized particularly by two groups that have received much attention from modern scholars: one, which was associated with the regime, was the circle surrounding Samuel Hartlib (*ca.* 1600–1662), whose profuse papers document an amazing range of projects for technological and intellectual innovation;¹⁷⁹ the other, more politically neutral, was the scientific circle that gathered at Oxford under the aegis of John Wilkins (1614–1672) and later of Robert Boyle (1627–1691). The latter constituted an intellectual powerhouse that

¹⁷⁷ On the date of its composition, see de Beer (ed.), 1955: 73.

¹⁷⁸ Evelyn was himself largely responsible for the details of this portrait. For commentary on the portrait, see Hiscock, 1955: 20-21.

¹⁷⁹ See particularly, Webster, 1975.

formed the principal basis for the post-Restoration development of science associated with the Royal Society in terms of both priorities and personnel.¹⁸⁰

Evelyn had links with both the Hartlib and the Oxford group. He appears from 1653 onward in the notebook 'Ephemerides,' which Hartlib kept, and the two men corresponded later in the decade, while a well-known passage in Evelyn's diary describing a visit to Oxford in 1654 includes an account of Wilkins and his curiosities and associates.¹⁸¹ Neither group, however, was an especially strong influence on Evelyn.¹⁸² His closest contacts seem to have been with a group of royalist gentlemen in London, including his lifelong friend Thomas Henshaw (1618-1700), whom he had met during his travels in Italy; these overlapping groups made up the capital's intellectual life at the time. But in many ways, Evelyn's most significant contacts were not English but continental, particularly French. Evelyn's travels took him to four countries: at nineteen, he had made a summer tour of the Low Countries; leaving England again in the autumn of 1643, when he was twenty-two, he had spent a year in France, about eighteen months in Italy, roughly two months in Switzerland, and another year in France. These four years, or something less, were his travel years. Between the autumn of 1647 and his farewell to France in 1652 he spent two years in England and the remaining three years in France; in these final years abroad he was an attendant at the exiled court, a married man, more resident than traveller. Thereafter he kept abreast of developments through his father-in-law, the English resident in France, Sir Richard Browne (1610-1699). The result was that Evelyn had close ties to writers on the arts such as Abraham Bosse (*ca.*1602-1676) and natural philosophers such as Niçaise le Fèvre (*ca.* 1610-1699), while intellectually he had links with men such as François La Mothe la Vayer (1588 -1672), Gabriel Naudé (1600-1663), and Pierre Gassendi (1592-1655).

Indeed, as we shall see, much of Evelyn's activity involved transposing French cultural ideas to England, and it might almost seem inevitable that he would make a career out of authoring books on courtly topics and as a cultural educational consultant to the aristocracy and (after 1660) to the court.¹⁸³ With an anti-monarchic regime established in England, Evelyn in many ways had no alternative but a career

¹⁸⁰ For the fullest accounts, see Frank, 1980: esp. chap. 3.

¹⁸¹ Hunter in O'Malley and Wolshke-Bulmahn (eds.) 1998: 81.

¹⁸² Hunter in O'Malley and Wolshke-Bulmahn (eds.) 1998: 81.

¹⁸³ Even Evelyn's diary is, however, prone to be more misleading than helpful as a guide to his development, quite apart from its singular incompleteness as a record of his intellectual activities. Fortunately, however, there is no need to rely on such retrospective accounts. They can be supplemented by an immense amount of evidence that has only recently begun to be exploited – Evelyn's correspondence, his library, and his profuse manuscripts, which reveal a much more complex, and more interesting story.

as a connoisseur, savant, and writer.¹⁸⁴ The exploration that follows will therefore first explore his time abroad in particular relation to the visual arts, moving on to examine the contents and context of Chambray's text on painting, and then finally Evelyn's own translation and introduction of the work into England. In approaching the translation in this way, I aim to expose its roots in his early experiences on the Continent, as well as aligning it with his own personal and professional ambitions and expectations.

The Art of Travel: Evelyn on the Continent 1643-1647

Evelyn's education – at the free school at Southover near Lewes in Sussex, where he lived in the godly household of his grandparents from the age of five onward, and then at Balliol College, Oxford, from 1637 to 1640 – had led him to imbibe the commonplaces of Christian humanism, cross-fertilized with Protestantism, which had been at the heart of the educational curriculum in England for more than a century.¹⁸⁵ This took it for granted that it was the duty of a well-born, well-educated man such as himself to place his services at the disposal of the state. For Evelyn, approaching his majority at a moment when every institution in the country was threatened by change, dissolution or even revolution, foreign travel offered pause, instructive distraction and, potentially, an eventual sense of purpose.¹⁸⁶ Evelyn's departure from England was therefore propelled by the 'ill & Ominous face of the Publique at home'.¹⁸⁷

Evelyn was also aware that his Surrey neighbour Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), was currently travelling in Europe, and he dreamed of joining his train. Arundel and his wife had pioneered cultural travel in Europe in the 1620s, the activity a new phenomenon in England for which they had set the precedent. In June 1641 Evelyn sat for his portrait by Hendrik van der Borch the Younger (1614-1676) in a studio at Arundel House, and it may have been then that the idea of joining the Earl overseas emerged. The young artist van der Borch was a refugee and protégé of the Earl who had been sent to Italy to learn at the knee of Arundel's

¹⁸⁴ What these sources suggest is that Evelyn's adoption of the role of full-time savant was rather at odds with his earlier expectations of his proper role in life. This has to be taken into account properly to understand his attitudes and priorities. There was a sense in which the intellectual and cultural activities to which Evelyn now turned were something of a substitute for what he saw as his proper goal in life. Although the diary makes clear Evelyn's endless curiosity about natural and artificial phenomena, he was always left with a certain ambivalence about the value of virtuoso pursuits. As Evelyn explained in his treatise on engraving, *Sculptura* (1662), 'where we have said all that we can of This, or any other particular Art, which may recommend it to the favour, and endearment of great persons; our intention is not, that it should so far engage them in its pursuit, as to take from the nobler parts of life, for which there are more sublime and worthy objects.' See Hunter in O'Malley and Wolshke-Bulmahn (eds.) 1998: 83.

¹⁸⁵ See Todd, 1987.

¹⁸⁶ Darley, 2006: 20.

¹⁸⁷ Darley, 2006: 20.

agent. Since his return to England in late 1637, he had been curator of his patron's collections but continued to carry out his own commissions and deal in works of art. Working alongside him at Arundel House was Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677), also rescued from the turbulence of central Europe by Arundel, who knew the Low Countries (where Evelyn was to travel first) equally well. A little sketchbook of Hollar's drawings, including some of Amsterdam and Leiden, contains Evelyn's inscription, dated 1641.¹⁸⁸ Between them, Van der Borcht and Hollar were capable of pointing Evelyn towards everything that might interest him there, the sittings perhaps serving as planning sessions for his prospective tour. In 1644, following Evelyn's departure on the first leg of his travels, Van der Borcht published Hollar's engraving of Sir Anthony van Dyck's self-portrait and dedicated it to Evelyn. In the lengthy dedication he praises Evelyn as a great lover and patron of the arts, but also as a friend (Fig. 12), the print testifying to the friendship between the engraver, publisher and dedicatee. It seems crucial to understanding Evelyn's later literary contribution, that at such an early stage in his life he was already being regarded in such a manner, emulating the great collector Earl even before he renewed his acquaintance in Italy.¹⁸⁹ In the portrait, Van Dyck, Charles I's court painter, is pointing to a sunflower, symbol of the king. The meaning, as a bold royalist statement, was unmistakable.

Signs of Evelyn's long-standing friendship with Van der Borcht are evidenced further during his time in Paris, when he was swept up in a round of visits to art galleries, guided by the young artist himself who was accompanying Henry Frederick Howard, Lord Mowbray, Arundel's eldest surviving son.¹⁹⁰ From Evelyn's point of view, Van der Borcht was an ideal guide, with his eye for the masterpieces of the Italian and northern European art and his advanced access through Arundel. They began with a visit to the duc de Liancourt's collection on the rue de Seine, where they enjoyed the undivided attention of their host, who even asked his wife to leave her dressing room so that they could see its contents.¹⁹¹ The state-rooms contained paintings by Raphael, Michelangelo, Leonardo, Mantegna and Dürer as well as Poussin, of whom the Duke was the Parisian patron. In the forthcoming days they visited many more collections, most notably for Evelyn Fontainebleau: the Hampton Court of France, as he termed it.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Pennington, 1982: 239.

¹⁸⁹ Pennington, 1982: 239.

¹⁹⁰ Darley, 2006: 41.

¹⁹¹ Darley, 2006: 41.

¹⁹² *Diary*, II: 112-15.

In Rome, the now peaceful papal city, but which had not long before had been a dangerous territory to Protestants, Evelyn chose to stay in a Frenchman's house reached by a steep path through long grass up to the church of Trinità dei Monti and the villa Medici. Evelyn spent some six months in the city, on his arrival hiring a 'sights-man' for a guide, and devoting in all thirty-two days to formal sightseeing. His record of his visit describes the first full English tour of the city since the Reformation, surpassing in extent the hasty surveys made by recent Protestants, and in scope the mere pious record of shrines made alike by medieval travellers and by most contemporary guide-books. Again Evelyn records his characteristic new interests: in architectural monuments ancient and modern, in collections of painting, sculpture and objects of art; in music; and in gardens. Among his destinations were Michelangelo's Farnese Palace (as he identified it), called 'a magnificent square structure,' with the frescoes of the Carracci and the ancient 'incomparable' statues of Hercules and Flora; the Capitol, 'certainly one of the most renowned places in the world, even as now built by the design of the famous M. Angelo';¹⁹³ the Palatine; the new (1630) Barberini Palace, 'as princely an object as any modern building in Europe',¹⁹⁴ with its galleries and collections; and the sophisticated and well-organised collection of the *cavaliere* Cassiano dal Pozzo on the Via dei Chiavari. Dal Pozzo, a central figure in the intellectual circles around Urban VIII and whose correspondents included the painter Rubens, employed Nicolas Poussin to copy antique sculpture and became his principal patron during the Frenchman's long stay in Rome until 1640. His "museo cartaceo" (museum on paper) consisted largely of copy drawings, ranging from fine art and antiquities to natural history.¹⁹⁵

Like many travellers who were to follow him, Evelyn found a use for his ability to draw by taking prospects that he wished to remember along the way, as well as employing his skills to aid his studies. He recognised the nascent artistic talents of others and commissioned drawings of the relief on the Arch of Titus and other classical antiquities from the young Carlo Maratti (1625-1713).¹⁹⁶ These were not only indications of the depth of his studies abroad, but evidence of the seriousness of his interest in the visual arts. Maratti was to be the first in a distinguished line of young artists whom Evelyn pioneeringly patronised early in their careers, and Evelyn had himself by now become a serious print collector and enthusiast. Around this time Evelyn also visited Padua for the first time. Van der Borcht, by now far

¹⁹³ *Diary*, I: 106.

¹⁹⁴ *Diary*, I: 107.

¹⁹⁵ Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588-1657); see *Diary* II: 277-8; Jenkins in Sloan and Barnett (eds.), 2003.

¹⁹⁶ Sloan, 2000): 13.

away in Antwerp with the countess of Arundel, imagined Evelyn hurrying out to the “island of St George” to see “the rare great picture of Veronese and the goodly Pictures of Titian at Frari and other Places”.¹⁹⁷ In Venice, the vitality of the city, a cornucopia of art and architecture with its jostling waterways and teeming streets proffering temptation, was the strongest possible contrast to Rome, a “proud and imperial City in her dust & Ruines brought down by Time and Barbaritie”.¹⁹⁸ Evelyn allowed himself to be happily seduced. In Venice it was the French ambassador who gained Evelyn access to the treasures of St. Mark, and one might add a French gentleman, perhaps from the embassy, who was his guide through the ducal palace, the courts, and the senate-hall.¹⁹⁹ Evelyn, in other words, saw Venice through Frenchmen’s eyes.

Evelyn returned again to Padua later the same year (1646) at the invitation of Arundel, who found himself confined by poor health and family tragedy. Among the hidden treasures that the Earl showed Evelyn during this memorable visit was Ammanati’s gargantuan statue of Hercules, the same height as Michelangelo’s *David*, and the miniature buildings of the Odeo and Loggia, which had been built in the 1520s by Luigi Alvise Cornaro.²⁰⁰ The Loggia was the first building on the classical antique model in northern Italy, while the tiny Odeo was an acoustically perfect music room at the heart of a series of tiny Renaissance rooms each painted and stuccoed according to different themes.²⁰¹ Here the virtuous Cornaro had famously held his enlightened *salon*, offering music, theatre and intellectual discourse to a select audience. It was during this time that Evelyn consolidated his friendship with Arundel who through a network of agents and his own discerning eye and intellect, was an unmatched collector of antiquities, books, and manuscripts, and Old Master paintings and drawings. Evelyn’s concluding encounters with the greatest English patron of his age, who was to end his life in exile, confirmed his own aspiration to become a cosmopolitan collector.²⁰² What is also particularly striking, in the surviving accounts of Evelyn’s travel, is his own particular interest in modern painters. The culture of the past does not seem to be his central concern, as it had for so long been the interest of travellers, from the twelfth-century Gregorius, to Evelyn’s mentor Arundel. The painters in whom he most delighted were recent: Michelangelo, Raphael, Romano, the Carracci, Bernini, Caravaggio,

¹⁹⁷ BL Add MS 78298, f. 38, John Evelyn to John Crafford from Venice, 2 June 1645.

¹⁹⁸ Darley, 2006: 56.

¹⁹⁹ *Diary*, I: 199.

²⁰⁰ Darley, 2006: 59.

²⁰¹ *Diary* II: 446-7.

²⁰² Chaney, 1996: 55

Guido Reni are among the number. His own patronage of new young artists at home and abroad, such as Maratti (and later Grinling Gibbons), furthermore signal his interest in present and future, rather than past, artistic activities.

Back in Paris, Evelyn found the city, more than ever, at the centre of interlocking intellectual milieus based in France and the Low Countries, eager to welcome new contributors to their projects. Since Evelyn's previous stay in Paris the expatriate English community had also greatly swelled, with the court of Henrietta Maria, which had arrived late in 1644, and the arrival of the prince of Wales, the future Charles II, in July 1646. The Resident's house was a homing point for all royalists who came to Paris, whether exiles or travellers, maintaining Anglican observance, holding services from the Book of Common Prayer and offering communion, baptisms, marriages and funerals in its chapel.²⁰³ Evelyn's immediate circle subsequently numbered diplomats, courtiers, clerics and envoys. Yet Evelyn returned to England in 1647 unoccupied and confused. He had lost his bearings, the monarchy and established church were gone, his marriage earlier in the year to Browne's under-age twelve-year-old daughter Mary was still no more than a contractual obligation, and he was neither academically nor politically engaged. Despite his impeccable contacts in mainland Europe, he knew few people in London: his mentors were either dead or overseas. His own prospects and duties, a second son with no major responsibility for the family estate, remained uncertain. The usual paths to patronage, by purchase, influence, or inheritance, were no longer open.

From 1647 to 1649, however, the dilemma was postponed, while Evelyn acted in a quasi-official capacity as an agent in England on behalf of Browne, to whom he purveyed profuse information on political and other developments as they occurred.²⁰⁴ As a well connected but obscure young man, who had taken part in no royalist engagements, Evelyn could be of use. At this seemingly terminal moment for the English monarchy, Evelyn also decided to break cover in print. His first small publication was a translation of François de la Mothe le Vayers, *Of Liberty and Servitude* (1649), which, perhaps rather poignantly, discussed the fate of courtiers.²⁰⁵ For Evelyn the art market was, however, a far safer option, and during this period he largely occupied himself by busily shipping pictures and cases of

²⁰³ Darley, 2006: 70

²⁰⁴ Hunter in O'Malley and Wolshke-Bulmahn (eds.) 1998: 82.

²⁰⁵ Darley, 2006: 90.

unidentified objects to France as security against loans or even for sale.²⁰⁶ He also etched his views of Italy and had them published for the benefit of those who had never been there, and planned another series of views along the Thames in order to celebrate London's beauty at home and abroad. The project was abandoned when Charles I was executed, and Evelyn returned to Paris, where he collected and commissioned prints rather than producing them himself.²⁰⁷

From visitor to 'resident': Evelyn in Paris 1649-1652

On returning to Paris once more, Evelyn was given a warm, even ceremonial, welcome after his almost two-year absence. As son-in-law to the Resident, Evelyn was also occasionally presented at the French court. Accompanying Browne in November, he had an audience with Louis XIV and his mother at the Palais Royal and afterwards explored Richelieu's palace, with its portrait gallery of illustrious figures, Bernini's statues and "good modern paintings".²⁰⁸ By now Evelyn had found an artistic father-figure in France, the Protestant engraver Abraham Bosse, who had just begun to teach perspective at the French Royal Academy, where he was a rare theoretician amongst the artists. The French Academy was in its first year, and aiming to end what was understood to be a result of the so-called gothic age, where painting was grouped with the mechanical arts.²⁰⁹ The wish of French artists to assure themselves and others, that they belonged not to the lowly society of artisans can be seen to explain why around 1648 they so readily adopted an "intellectual" mode of picture-making, in which the significance of mechanical execution was minimized.²¹⁰

Though most of Evelyn's time was spent at home with his wife, he enjoyed himself with the young men from the academies, and over the winter the Resident's household was caught up in a round of balls and entertainments, operas and concerts, as well as visits to private collections and gardens. Crucially, also, Evelyn remained in regular contact with the literary men at court and his own, well-read intellectual circle. The new learning and the exchange of information within interlocking circles of correspondents were thriving, energised by a free-flowing intellectual community and the continual comings-and-goings from England,

²⁰⁶ Darley, 2006: 82.

²⁰⁷ Sloan, 2000: 13.

²⁰⁸ Darley, 2006: 97.

²⁰⁹ Unlike in Italy, painting in France did not attain the dignity of a 'liberal art' through an internal process of autonomisation, but by a political act and through the claims of a group of painters to protect a freedom that the favour of their ruler had made possible. See Lichtenstein, 1993: 139.

²¹⁰ Posner, 1993: 585.

Scotland and the Low countries which made Paris the hub of Europe. Latin was the *lingua franca*, dissolving linguistic barriers and ensuring that the leading figures in an international ‘Republic of Letters’ could converse freely on the page.²¹¹ The intelligentsia in Paris, London, and The Hague were acutely interested by each other’s doings, continually fuelled and informed by visitors and correspondents, by turn covetous of one another’s secrets and admiring their achievements.

Like Browne, Evelyn would always be an outsider with the socially nuanced world of the Anglo-French nobility, but in domestic and intellectual terms his situation in Paris was ideal. He was at the centre of a loving family, in a marriage that was now growing in ease and affection. He could continue as a practising Anglican, improve his French, enjoy music and painting and extend his expertise in numerous subjects. He was becoming a bibliophile, encouraged by his father-in-law’s love of books and fine bindings.²¹² Purchasing literature at an unprecedented rate, his growing library ranged from classical authorities to modern science. He also compiled collections of sermons, commonplaces and miscellanea, gathering together material from France and further afield, the results of his efforts ‘abnormally cosmopolitan’, as Michael Hunter has written.²¹³ In addition to all this activity, Evelyn’s mentors were identifying a range of suitable topics and texts for him to translate once he returned to England – with a French-speaking wife at his side.

In December 1651 Evelyn revealed an ambivalent state of mind as he readied himself for life in republican England. He even wondered ‘if (as you tell me) there may be overtures of encouragement; not that I am so fond as to imagine there can be any solid composure of matters in England, amongst such a head-lesse people’. Characteristically swerving away from the precipice, he then continued: ‘I shall therefore bring over with me no ambitions at all to be a states-man, or meddle with the unlucky Interest of Kingdomes.’ Although ‘I might have one day hoped to have been considerable in my Country. A Friend, a Booke, a Garden shall for the future perfectly circumscribe my utmost designes.’²¹⁴ After 1652, Evelyn would never cross the Channel again. From that point on all his information about France came from others, filtered through the gauze of his own memories. Travellers set off armed with his directions, recommendations, and introductions, and in return brought him reports on French gardens, buildings, literature, scientific

²¹¹ Darley, 2006: 101

²¹² See Foot, 2003.

²¹³ For Evelyn’s intellectual programme see Hunter, 1995: 71-4.

²¹⁴ BL Add Ms 78298, f. 48, JE to WP, 2 Dec. 1651.

investigations and even the foibles of fashion, while his envoys bought him prints and books.²¹⁵

While service to the state had been his ultimate aim as traveller, we see now that his time in Europe, and France in particular, was Evelyn's university. There, more especially, he made his studies of the fine arts - architecture, painting, sculpture, formal gardens, and music - which enabled him to become not merely a connoisseur but in many of them an authority. There in sum he laid the foundation for his career as savant and for his public service as well. Returned to England, he collected and visited collections, keeping contact with the arts and with artists, his patronage of Gibbons another notably discerning selection. Evelyn's concluding encounters with Arundel and his time travelling abroad had seemingly confirmed his own aspiration to become a cosmopolitan connoisseur and lover of art, thus able to play a crucial role in preserving what was best about the reign of Charles I through the reign of his heirs.²¹⁶ Like the rest of the Arundel circle, Evelyn was ready on his return to England to turn his back on stagnating contemporary English culture, which he generally despised as "Gothic", and to do something to contribute to the "renascency" of the arts that he believed Charles II would encourage.²¹⁷

Evelyn in the Interregnum and early Restoration years

Evelyn's farewell (or rather, his request for action soon after arriving back in England) was a text entitled *The State of France* (1652).²¹⁸ During hours of conversation and reading in his adoptive home in Paris, Evelyn had formulated his ideas, and in the book expresses the opinion, with Francis Bacon, that a young man's experiences of foreign travel should be to the eventual benefit and service of his country. Defining travel and its purpose for the seventeenth-century gentleman, we find ourselves on the way to the century of the *grand tour* and of an ideal "Man of Fashion". As George B. Parks has cautioned, however, we must take note of the fervour which is a significant fact in Evelyn's writing. Parks highlights that, though in harmony with his deprecation of the political and philological aims, Evelyn is not actually proposing the mere drawing-room ideal, his ideal rises higher, to portray not merely the cultivated but also the cultured person, and not merely the individual

²¹⁵ Darley, 2006: 113.

²¹⁶ Chaney, 1996: 55.

²¹⁷ See the dedication (Aug. 20, 1664) to Charles II in Evelyn's translation of Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique avec la moderne* (Le mans, 1650).

²¹⁸ Evelyn, 1652.

but also the social being.²¹⁹ The ideal is stated in the dedication as “he that would travel rationally, like a Philosopher, must industriously apply himself to the pursuit of such things as (throughout all his peregrinations) may result most to the profit and emolument of his own country at his return.”²²⁰ Statesmanship and learning thus seemed to be for Evelyn the two apparent aims of travel, as, indeed, they had been for the Renaissance travellers.

Paris was always to be Evelyn’s benchmark against which to judge London, and *The State of France* was to be the first volume in a loose trilogy, in each of which Evelyn drew political analogies between the two countries through their capitals. Republican England was now ruled by a radical assembly, and Evelyn draws comparisons with France for his reader, “where a Sovereign Prince is able to maintain an absolute and unarbitrary jurisdiction over his subjects”. Evelyn also celebrates the physical beauty of Paris: “every Metropolitan and Royal City is likely the best Map of the Country wherein it stands.” London’s shops and taverns were more lively (“a perpetuall Wake or Wedding”), the streets cleaner (Paris was famously muddy) and the Thames less polluted, but in all other respects there was no contest between the two cities.²²¹

His *The Character of England* (1659) which followed, written as if by a dyspeptic French visitor, excoriated republican England, Presbyterian observance and the state of London with its congested streets and chaotic housing, noise and coal smoke: “Hell upon Earth” on a foggy day. In his guise as a Frenchman, Evelyn had criticised London’s lack of “publique and honourable works, such as render our Paris and other Cities of France, renowned, and visited by all the World.”²²² He declared that the only two remarkable buildings in London were Whitehall and the portico of St. Paul’s church in Covent Garden.²²³ The former was Palladian in design, and Evelyn had seen and noted in Italy the work of “the great architect”, as he called him.²²⁴ The latter had been brought to Evelyn’s attention when he saw its original, in Leghorn, on arriving in Italy. Crucially, we see evidence here that Evelyn had developed an architectural judgment of his own, we can only presume in large part as a result of his time spent on the Continent.

²¹⁹ Parks, 1947: 252.

²²⁰ Evelyn quoted in Parks, 1947: 252.

²²¹ Darley, 2006: 116

²²² Darley, 2006: 172

²²³ Parks, 1947: 252.

²²⁴ Parks, 1947: 252.

Evelyn's provocative remarks were not readily accepted by all who read them; an anonymous riposte to the *Character*, called *Gallus Castratus*, astutely redefines Evelyn's agenda as a regrettable defence of Continental-style absolutism, while maintaining the terms of the argument: that the City's physical configuration is impressed by its political and social organisation, and, in turn, shapes its inhabitant's minds.²²⁵ Here the irrational "asymmetry" portrayed in the *Character* is instead provocative of diversity, an enhanced depiction of a hardy city lovingly united, Evelyn's homogeneity becoming an obscene and monolithic "identity" that "choaks delight." In later seventeenth-century England, as will be explored further in Chapter Three, a tension was to continue to exist between attempts to unify and conform in line with Continental ideals, and the "multi-formity" or "diversity" that was characteristic of the country's present state. Evelyn, *Gallus* tells us, has forgotten that London is a:

Mercantile City, strong and beautiful, her manner of building agreeable to the jetties, bay-windows, and returns in her streets; every part so engaged one with another, that though under several modes, yet like loving Citizens they hold hand in hand faster than brick or stone can do, and by their diversity of frontings do declare a freedom of our Subjects, that what they acquire by industry, may be bestowed at pleasure; not obliged to build so for the will of Princes...²²⁶

This pamphlet war is a crucial reminder of the contesting discourses at play during the period, and as Christine Stephenson has recently highlighted, *Gallus Castratus* is not a republican tract, but "mostly likely the work of someone who, like many Londoners in the late 1650s, was committed to the maintenance of the City's ancient prerogatives in conjunction with a parliament 'free' of military and sectarian domination."²²⁷

Evelyn appears undeterred, however, casting around once more for a good subject with which to capture the king's attention. His final, third instalment, was *Fumifugium* (1661), a reforming tract suggesting ways in which London's polluted atmosphere could be blown away by the fresh breezes of a restored monarchy. Clear-headed and well informed, he positioned himself to play a part in the long-overdue improvements to London, a city that "from Wood might be rendered Brick, and (like another Rome) from Brick made Stone and Marble."²²⁸ In print he continually reminded his countrymen of the example set elsewhere. In Paris, the young king was surrounded by powerful, ambitious men, dedicated to the greater glory of their capital. In Rome, new piazzas and pilgrimage routes, palaces,

²²⁵ Anon, 1657.

²²⁶ Anon, 1657.

²²⁷ Stephenson, 2013: 60

²²⁸ Evelyn, 1661.

fountains and churches were the legacy of a succession of powerful and moneyed papal dynasties. Alternatively, the orderly merchant cities of Holland epitomised moral and economic health, the physical embodiment of a well-governed and enlightened country.²²⁹ The Restoration unleashed uplifting metaphor, pages laden with scenes of rebuilding, clearing skies and sweet-scented gardens, the end of what had been, for many around the king, a long and grim period of uncertainty. As Charles II regained his throne, Louis XIV reached his majority, and Paris and the French monarchy would prove helpful markers against which to judge the progress of London and the restored king. But currently London's parlous physical state, almost untouched for nearly twenty years, could be blamed on the upheavals of the civil wars and Interregnum, just as its crumbling churches mirrored the protracted miseries of the Church of England. Now its regeneration should be made to epitomise the restored kingdom.²³⁰

Chambray's *Idée* and the cultural politics of the French Academy

It is clear from this early set of writings that for Evelyn the principal model for emulation was France. In particular, Evelyn was impressed by the example of Louis XIII's secretary of state François Sublet de Noyers, who aimed to elevate the French nation through a cultural politics based on the example of Italy. The theoretical texts of Roland Fréart de Chambray (who like his brother Paul Fréart de Chantelou was closely associated with Sublet de Noyers, their cousin) would have been of obvious interest to the Royalist Evelyn, with their general association with cultural renewal and restoration. Having rendered himself indispensable, Sublet de Noyers was appointed Superintendent of the King's Buildings in 1638, effectively project managing all restoration and interior redecoration at the Château de Fontainebleau and the Palais du Louvre, exactly the kinds of projects Evelyn no doubt had in mind for restoration London. Yet his choice of Chambray's *Idée*, with its central argument rooted in antiquity and its almost outright dismissal of modern painting, seems rather at odds with Evelyn's own personal preferences as a patron, collector and connoisseur. At the start of *Idée* Chambray declares that the principle problem for the art of painting is that "it has now been lowered to the status of the most vulgar crafts," and he exclaims: "It is an intolerable abuse to demean [painting] by including it with the mechanical Arts, since it is founded on a

²²⁹ Darley, 2006: 175

²³⁰ Darley, 2006: 175-6

demonstrative science.”²³¹ The text that follows offers an exposition of the “scientific” basis of the art of painting and an insistently drawn distinction between the true artist and the image-making artisan. Colour was regarded by Chambray as the trait of decadence, a charge which he laid at virtually the entire modern school, from Michelangelo and Titian, to Caravaggio and Rubens. The main exceptions to his censure of the modern were Raphael and Poussin, whom he regarded as the only modern artists to be able and consistent with the classical ideal.²³²

Chambray’s *Idée* was published in 1662, over a decade after he composed his *Parallèle de l’architecture antique avec la moderne* (1650) and translated into French Leonardo Da Vinci’s *Trattato della pittura* (1651).²³³ The *Idée* was conceived at a time of rich intellectual debate around the theory of painting in France, which witnessed an unprecedented number of publications on the subject. To name just some of the authors active at the time - we have Evelyn’s friend and mentor Abraham Bosse; the painter, engraver and writer Hilaire Pader (1607-1677); the official court historian André Félibien (1619-1695); the painter and writer Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy (1611-1668); the critic, painter and diplomat Roger de Piles (1635-1709); and the author Charles Perrault (1628-1703). Even amongst this imposing body of writers, however, Chambray’s *Idée* has long been recognized as a pivotal volume for the history of art writing. Thomas Crow describes it as “arguably the first work of pictorial aesthetics published in France”, while Louis Olivier uses it to support his identification of the 1660s as the moment when one can first “truly speak of [French] works of esthetics centred on the visual arts.”²³⁴ Stressing the polemical character of the text, Donald Posner employs it as evidence for the claim that the 1660s mark a turning point for French art, when collecting and painterly knowledge increasingly became “fashionable marks of cultivated people”.²³⁵

Chambray’s *Idée* was an exposition and defence of the theoretical principles of what has come to be called the French “classical” aesthetic in the art of his time.²³⁶ The author had spent several years studying art and architecture in Rome in the 1630s, becoming deeply committed to classical principles in art, and through his writing one of the principal defenders of Antiquity in France. Chambray begins by heralding the painting of the ancient Greeks as the finest that ever existed,

²³¹ Chambray, 1662: 2-3.

²³² Harrison, Wood, and Gaiger, (eds.), 2000: p. 89.

²³³ Chambray, 1662; 1650; and 1651.

²³⁴ Crow, 1987: 19; and Olivier, 1979: 380.

²³⁵ Posner, 1993: 588.

²³⁶ Posner, 1993: 583.

undeterred by this knowledge only being identified through written descriptions.²³⁷ He enunciates the principles on which ancient art was founded by quoting categories into which it was analysed by Junius in his *De pictura veterum*, commissioned by Arundel, and of which he knew the Latin edition of 1637.²³⁸ Junius, having acted as the Earl's librarian in England where he wrote and published his treatise on the painting of the ancients, would, therefore, have been known to Evelyn at least by his work, if not personally. The debt to his work in Chambray's text would therefore perhaps have added to its appeal as an ideal translation project for the English author. In *De pictura veterum*, Junius had established the principal 'parts' of painting. Discussed in sequence, they are as follows: I. Invention, that is, the Idea or Content of the work; II. Design, or Drawing; III. Colour; IV. Expression, or in Junius' terms, the investing of the work with Action and Passion; V. Disposition, or Ordering of compositional elements; and lastly the indefinable quality which Junius calls "Grace", and which is referred to elsewhere as the *je ne sais quoi*. This scheme of the components of art was indebted to Italian Renaissance theory, and the model was to remain influential throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In his *Idée*, Chambray advocated this idealist commitment to universal aesthetic principles. He believed that the correct principles of painting – invention, proportion, colour, motion and what Evelyn translated as "collocation" (what might be termed composition) – could be demonstrated, as with architecture, by direct visual comparison, and the artist whose works served "as so many Demonstrations of the absolute necessity of exactly observing the Principles which have been established in this Treatise" was Raphael. (By contrast Michelangelo's example encouraged every licentious and capricious deviation from true principles.) In his work Chambray proceeds to apply these principles to the analysis of three engravings after Raphael, *The Judgment of Paris*, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, and *The Descent from the Cross*, the beauty of which he praises enthusiastically. He then turns to Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* and it is here that his abhorrence of what he understood to be anti-classical culminates. He defines Michelangelo as the cause of the decline in modern painting, having broken all the rules laid down by the ancients. Chambray further attacks him for indecency in displaying nudes on the wall of such a holy place as the Sistine Chapel.

²³⁷ A principal obstacle to the supporters of Antiquity in the visual arts was the lack of any surviving manual of classical art theory. Yet for Chambray, Philostratus and Pliny are enough to establish and demonstrate his rationale.

²³⁸ Aldrich, Fehl, and Fehl (eds.), 1991: 1xiv.

In order to follow the argument visually, the reader was advised to have alongside them four prints after Raphael – three by Marcantonio Raimondi and Giorgio Ghisi’s 1550 engraving after the School of Athens – and one of Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement*.²³⁹ It is worth noting that Chambray assumed his readers would have access to the prints he chose to analyse. The use of prints as integral to the process of art criticism is emphasised in Chambray’s text, and forms part of a wider attack on ‘ekphrastic’ writing about the visual arts. This argument goes back to the *Imagines* of Philostratus (early 3rd century CE), whose lack of efficient illustrations Chambray also regretted, but was particularly focused on Giorgio Vasari’s *Le Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori da Cimabue insino a’ tempi nostri* (1550).²⁴⁰ Chambray scornfully condemned the mistakes in Vasari’s account of Raphael’s frescoes in the Vatican and the interpretive manoeuvres of his “amphibological discourse”.²⁴¹ One solution therefore, which has been explored at length by Ben Thomas in *John Evelyn’s Art of Translation*,²⁴² was to employ illustration as a way to bypass the linguistic translation. As Thomas highlights, like many other authors before him Chambray bemoaned the loss of the original illustrations to Vitruvius’s treatise on architecture, which rendered the ancient text opaque to subsequent readers.²⁴³ As Chambray and his brother discovered in their efforts to publish a manuscript by Leonardo da Vinci, that text also would have been almost useless without the clarification provided by engravings based on the drawings of Nicolas Poussin.²⁴⁴ Chambray sought to replace this lack in Vitruvius through a series of ingenious engravings, where different versions of the architectural orders propagated by different treatises on architecture were distilled into diagrams that could be instantly compared.²⁴⁵ In his commitment to establishing the principles of art through a purely visual process of comparative analysis, Chambray is suggestively described by Thomas as “the Wölfflin of the seventeenth century”.²⁴⁶

²³⁹ These prints, described by Chambray in the un-paginated preface to his 1662 book, are *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Bartsch, XIV, 21, 20), *The Judgment of Paris* (Bartsch, XIV, 197, 245), and *The Descent from the Cross* (Bartsch, XIV, 37, 32) by Marcantonio Raimondi, and *The School of Athens* by Giorgio Ghisi and published by Hieronymous Cock in 1550 (Bartsch, XV, 394, 24). It is not clear which print after Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment* Chambray is referring to.

²⁴⁰ See Thomas, 2012: 28-34.

²⁴¹ Evelyn, 1668: 110. Ben Thomas has noted how ironically, Vasari’s ‘mistakes’ actually originate from his use of prints, since Marcantonio’s engravings were made after Raphael’s drawings and not after the frescoes themselves. This was something that Giovan Pietro Bellori, a defender of the ekphrastic approach to the visual arts would later point out. Bellori: 1695: 15.

²⁴² Thomas, 2012: 28-34.

²⁴³ Thomas, 2012: 29.

²⁴⁴ Chambray, 1651: iii. Dedication to Nicolas Poussin,

²⁴⁵ Thomas, 2012: 29.

²⁴⁶ Thomas, 2012: 29.

Chambray made clear the possibility of encountering art history directly with prints, through the comparison and composition of printed images. When he came to perform a pictorial exposition centred on Marcantonio's *Judgement of Paris* (Fig. 13), however, he fell into error: regarding it as explicit that Raphael used single point perspective, he detected this single point in the eye of Paris:

This Subject of this History being chiefly about Sight, and Paris the Person principally concern'd in it; the Paynter could not have plac'd the Visive point more judiciously, than in the eye of Paris, which, for this very cause, he has represented in Profile, to shew that there ought to be but One only, as Geometricians teach us in their Optics, where they represent Vision, or the function of seeing, by a radiated Pyramis with an Eye fixt upon it.²⁴⁷

This effective reading of the print is plausible, in that Raphael may have associated the subject with art theoretical claims concerning painting.²⁴⁸ But the French author is mistaken with regard to the vanishing point, as was pointed out by Bosse, who noted that there were four or five vanishing points within the composition, and that Raphael's design imitated an antique relief depicting the same subject in the Villa Medici in Rome. Evelyn, who had known Bosse in Paris, and who evidently kept up with his work, intervened as editor in his translation to account the censures that had lately been published in France:

The next usual reproach of Painting has been the want of judgement in perspective, and bringing more into History, then is justifiable upon one Aspect, without turning the Eye to each Figure in particular, and multiplying the points of Sight; which is an error into into which our very Author (for all the pains he has taken to magnifie that celebrated decision of Paris) has fail'd in: For the knowing in that Art do easily perceive that even Raphael himself has not so exactly observ'd it; since instead of One (as Monsieur de Cambray [sic] takes it to be, and as indeed it ought to have been) there are no less than four or five, as du Bosse has well consider'd in his late Treatise of the Converted Painter.²⁴⁹

As Thomas has articulated, Marcantonio's print was obliged to carry quite a critical load here: an engraving created in the early years of the sixteenth century, which in the context of Renaissance print collecting was understood to disseminate the distinctive "*disegno*" of its author, was being pressed into demonstrating persisting and universal principles of painting.²⁵⁰ Similarly, though Giorgio Ghisi's engraving after Raphael's *School of Athens* (Fig. 14) was inferior to Marcantonio's in terms of technique (and was misleadingly titled *St. Paul preaching in Athens*), Chambray nonetheless found it preferable to Vasari's written account of the frescoes for ascertaining the "idea of perfection in painting" that Raphael had come to characterise. This was due, in spite of its flaws, to the fact it communicated more precisely Raphael's magnificent arrangement of figures than any written account

²⁴⁷ Evelyn, 1668: 37.

²⁴⁸ The discriminating judgment of female beauty is linked, through the story of Zeuxis and the Maidens of Croton, to the eclectic imitation of sources. For a discussion of Marcantonio's print as referring to theories of eclectic imitation, see Thomas in Braida and Pieri (eds.) 2003: 134-50.

²⁴⁹ Bosse, 1667: 62; Evelyn, 1668: 'To the Reader'.

²⁵⁰ Thomas, 2012: 29.

could.²⁵¹ When prints were required to do such significant theoretical work, questions of technical quality and reproductive reliability became urgent. Poor handling of the burin could disfigure a masterpiece, and falling into the hands of a poor printmaker could damage the reputation of any painter.²⁵² Furthermore for Chambray, the intellectual draw of geometrically rooted principle of design entirely eclipsed the sensual component of art associated with colour.

Evelyn's Translation: Interpretation, Emulation, and Digression

In Evelyn's note 'To the Reader' at the beginning of his *Perfection*, he associates the translation with his two previous works on engraving and architecture – *Sculptura: Or the History, and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper* (1662),²⁵³ and his translation of Chambray's *Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern* (1664)²⁵⁴ – clarifying that he now has the improvement of painting as his objective. He writes "I did believe I might do some service not only to Architects and Sculptors, but to our Painters also, by presenting them with this curious treatise". According to the French author's preface, Chambray had intended the treatise for the French court, in conviction that modern painting was in an enormously decadent condition, but could possibly be revived to its magnificent antique state if the noblest principles of the art were recovered and pursued, not only by painters, but by patrons and connoisseurs whose standards affected artistic production.²⁵⁵ Evelyn echoes these sentiments in his preface, *Perfection* completing Evelyn's tripartite project of promoting the visual arts in England by making continental art theory available in English.²⁵⁶ Chambray's theoretical clarity, the conclusion of his synthesis of complex aesthetic theory and its reduction and analysis to a set of striking prints, particularly recommended him in the context of post-Restoration national renewal in England. It is also worth noting the relative speed at which such a significant text appeared in England, within just six years of its original French publication. While it would become commonplace to bemoan the state of the arts in England relative to that of France (and to some extent the anxiety already drives Evelyn's project), his translation of *Perfection* suggests that the distance between the two countries in the 1660s in terms of an art public may not have been as vast as the judgment of subsequent decades would imply.

²⁵¹ Chambray, 1996: 106-107.

²⁵² Chambray, 1996: 21.

²⁵³ Evelyn, 1662.

²⁵⁴ Evelyn, 1664.

²⁵⁵ Chambray, 1996: 7.

²⁵⁶ Evelyn, 1668: 'To the Reader'.

The translation includes Chambray's "Preface" and "Advertisement to the Reader", but omits his dedication to the Duc d'Orléans and the "Table des Articles", including instead Evelyn's own dedication to Henry Howard, Arundel's grandson, and his own "To the Reader".²⁵⁷ In his lengthy dedication to Howard he reminisces on his "Illustrious Grandfather" who "adorn'd this Nation" with his magnificent and unprecedented collection. Evelyn continues "I have great reason to Consecrate thus his Memory, of whose more particular Favours I have so frequently tasted both at Home and Abroad; especially in Italy, where I had the honor to be cherish'd by him." Under Evelyn's persuasion Howard had recently given to the Royal Society the library at Arundel House in 1666, as well as providing the Society with meeting rooms from 1667 to 1673. Evelyn acknowledges his gratitude in the dedication, as well as praising his donation of the marbles accumulated by his grandfather to Oxford University that year (1668). A very favourable notice of the book was printed that same year in *Philosophical Transactions* on September 21, a scholarly journal that was an outcome of the Royal Society, the only surviving evidence of the translation's reception in Restoration England. The review concludes:

All this is now represented in English with so much perspicuity, and rendered so weighty by every Period of the Excellent Interpreters addition, that it justly deserves high recommends, and will doubtless animate many among us to acquire perfection in Pictures, Draughts and Chalcography, equal to our growth in all sorts of Optical Aydes, and to the fullness of our modern Discoveries. Painting and Sculpture are the politest and noblest of Antient Arts, true, ingenuous, and claiming the Resemblance of Life, the Emulation of all Beauties, the fairest Records of all Appearances whether Celestial or Sublunary, whether Angelical, Divine or Humane. And what Art can be more helpful or more pleasing to a Philosophical Traveller, an Architect and every ingenious Mechanician? All which must be lame without it.²⁵⁸

While the audience to which the article is addressed is clearly diverse and more scientifically focused than the lover of art that is being considered here, the articulation of painting and sculpture as the politest and noblest of the ancient arts, and the allusion to its interest to the "Philosophical Traveller", suggest its reception was not only a welcome one, but seemingly a valued and respected subject which held multiple qualities for the disparate reader.

In Evelyn's preliminary address to the reader he remarks on Chambray's text, highlighting the importance of attention to "costume", which he translates as "decorum", as a central theme. His aim is for universal reform in painters –

...when they consider, that neither the exactness of their designe, nor skilfulness in Colouring has been able to defend their greatest Predecessors from just reproaches, who have been faulty in this particular... and there is none but takes notice what injury it has

²⁵⁷ The dedication and the preface were reprinted in *Miscellaneous Writings* (1825), pp. 553-562 but the rest of the work has not been reprinted.

²⁵⁸ *Philosophical Transactions*, 1668: 785.

done our best reputed Painters; and how indecorous it is to introduce Circumstances wholly improper to the usages and Genius of the Places, where our histories were suppos'd to have been acted....

Evelyn therefore sees the translation as a means of countering native pictorial productions that grew “daily more licentious...ridiculous, and intolerable.” Like Chambray, Evelyn also similarly chose to rely on the readers’ own print collection rather than publish alongside the text:

I had once thought to have added the Stamps and Prints themselves, which our Author does so critically discourse upon; but then considering, that as this Piece is of most use to the Virtuosi, and that such as are Curious, must needs already be furnish'd with them; and that it had been doubtless impossible to have procur'd Originals sufficient to adorn this Impression, would have immensely exalted its price (I my self having been offer'd Twenty shillings but for one of them) I soon laid those intentions aside. Besides that our Author has also publish'd his Book without them, and to have gotten them well Copied, had been equally difficult.²⁵⁹

As we saw in Sanderson’s *Graphice*, the actual rendering of prints within the written work seemed to prove too troublesome, and the seventeenth-century enthusiast was expected to gather the relevant supporting visual material where necessary. In selecting Chambray as his conduit for continental art theory, however, Evelyn also chose an author who believed translation necessarily involved a type of betrayal: writing about architecture Chambray noted, “since doubtless the further men have wander’d from their principles, transplanting them as it were into a strange soile, the more they become degenerate, and scarce cognoscible to their very authors.”²⁶⁰ The further the architectural orders travel from their source, the more licentious, monstrous and gothic they become. Language itself, and the indeterminacy of terminology played its part in this process. According to Chambray, because the visual arts are not essentially linguistic, the demonstration of their principles needed to be “sensible and ocular”. The analysis of images – or as Evelyn put it, “ocular demonstration” – could effectively substitute for translation. Chambray’s whole philosophy of art could be succinctly summarised in Evelyn’s phrase, “words are never so express as figures.”²⁶¹

Debates about translation in seventeenth-century England tended to focus on poetry: Evelyn’s friend, the poet Abraham Cowley (1618-1667), wrote of his translation of the *Odes of Pindar* that a word for word translation of the ancient Greek would seem as if “one madman had translated another”. He added that “we must consider Pindar the great Difference of Time betwixt his Age and ours which changes, as in Pictures, at least the Colours of Poetry”.²⁶² The key problem for

²⁵⁹ Evelyn, 1668: ‘To the Reader’, un-paginated.

²⁶⁰ Evelyn, 1668: 2-3.

²⁶¹ Evelyn, 1668: 7, 15.

²⁶² Thomas, 2012: 28.

technical literature of the type that occupied Evelyn, however, was not so much reconciling the sense of a text with the beauty of its language, but of finding native equivalents for technical terms. Chambray himself had found it necessary to provide a glossary of Italian art terms for which there were no equivalents in French. Evelyn's version of this glossary expanded as he struggled with the translation, or rather with paraphrase and interpretation, of continental terms into English, and the result was a prose bristling with neologisms supported by glossaries [see Appendix 2, Table 1].

Precedent comes from Evelyn's earlier translation of Chambray's treatise on architecture, where he similarly attached a glossary of architectural terms. Here he includes a similar index, doing his best "to render things as clear and intelligible to the Reader as possible", avoiding "obscure Italian terms" when he could, though in the end he felt compelled to retain those "which really are proper terms of art." The Advertisement appears at the start of the volume, Evelyn providing explanation for seven terms: *stampi*, or *prints*; *tramontano*; *elevato*; *schizzo*, *attitudo*, and *Pellegrino*. "Stampi, or prints" are defined first, and are "The most remarkable...because most of all mention'd in this Discourse, and which gives Title to many Sections of this Book".²⁶³ Here the centrality of print engravings to the functionality of the text is once again reiterated.

For all his attempts to reconcile the correct Italian terminology with English meaning, however, we find elsewhere in Evelyn's translation an ambivalent tendency that differed from that of the French writers who steadfastly supported either the ancient or modern positions. Evelyn is unwilling to accept Chambray's categorical ruling against Michelangelo, whom he believed was, on the contrary, one of the greatest masters of his time; whose sculpture rivalled anything in antiquity; and whose architecture vindicated "that Antique and Magnificent manner of Building, from the trifling Goths and Barbarians."²⁶⁴ As we have already heard, Evelyn also believed Chambray did not fully appreciate the importance of perspective to painting, as his friend Bosse had just pointed out again in his *Treatise on the Converted Painter* – a copy of which he gave to Evelyn. Evelyn seems to have sympathized with Bosse's "modernity" going as far as expressing in his own copy of *Perfection* some regret for having followed the original too literally. Evelyn did however manage to include his own deserving moderns in his preliminary note "To the Reader", not only Raphael and his pupil Giulio Romano,

²⁶³ Evelyn, 1668: unpaginated.

²⁶⁴ Chambray, 1664: 'Preface'.

Alberti and Poussin, but also Rubens, Bernini and Christopher Wren. Evelyn's inclusion of Rubens, running counter to Chambray's preferences, can be understood as attesting to the prevailing esteem with which the painter was regarded in England, as he had first been by the early Stuarts.

More generally these artists for Evelyn all exemplified the same high intellectual culture, far beyond the mechanical craftsman who only knew how to draw and colour.²⁶⁵ They therefore act as illustrations of how a painter arrives at perfection, as "almost as universal in the Orator in Cicero, and the Architect in Vitruvius" as well as "some tincture in History and Optics, and Anatomy" that "are absolutely requisite".²⁶⁶ Evelyn appeals to classical authority to anchor his claim regarding the respectability of the artist, or at least certain artists, those who "were learned men, good historians, and generally skilled in the best antiquities".²⁶⁷ He contrasted them with the narrow achievements of genre painters such as the Italian painter Jacopo Bassano (1510-1592) who was "ever bringing his wife, children and servants, his dog and his cat and very kitchen stuff" into his work.²⁶⁸ Evelyn clearly had little patience for those without intellectual ambition, no doubt a direct result of his residence in Paris and proximity to the French Academicians.

Whilst his time on the continent had educated Evelyn in the value and connoisseurship of the visual arts, it had also given him something else – an opinion of his own. At times it is fleetingly exposed to us in his translation, yet he clearly lacked the confidence and vocabulary to develop his own thoughts further into a publication of his own. Furthermore, his service to the state, which had been the intended purpose of his travel, was seemingly deemed more important to Evelyn than his own personal tastes and preferences, the "renascency" of England and the education of its painters and art lovers in line with French theoretical principles paramount to his cause.

²⁶⁵ Levine, 1999: 18.

²⁶⁶ Evelyn, 1668: unpaginated.

²⁶⁷ Evelyn, 1668: unpaginated.

²⁶⁸ Darley, 2006: 227

II. William Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated In Three Diallogues: A didactic lesson in painterly appreciation from a 'Traveller' to a 'Friend'*

The interrelated goals of writing a history of painting and fostering its improvement in England were again taken up by William Aglionby in 1685. Like Evelyn, Aglionby made several forays into the field of translation, producing texts on various topics, including papal history, theatre, chemistry, and the Venetian government.²⁶⁹ In addition he authored the first English text to propound a humanist art theory based on the primacy of Italian history painting. His *Painting illustrated in three diallogues containing some choice observations upon the art together with the lives of the most eminent painters from Cimabue to the time of Raphael and Michael Angelo: with an explanation of the difficult terms* appeared in print in December 1685.²⁷⁰ In 1921, Tancred Borenius described it as “the first systematic treatise on the history and criticism of painting in English”, while more recently Carol Gibson-Wood has drawn attention to the precedent it set for Jonathan Richardson's *Theory of Painting* (1715) and *Two Discourses* (1719).²⁷¹ Yet despite such claims Aglionby's text has largely been neglected.

The names of Evelyn and Aglionby appear together not only in the record of the Royal Society meeting of October 31, 1667; coincidentally, both are also mentioned in a diplomatic letter from February 8, 1698.²⁷² Reporting on Peter the Great's visit to England, John Ellis notes the czar's decision to sublet Evelyn's residence at Deptford, Sayes Court. In the next paragraph, Ellis writes that Aglionby had just arrived in London from Calais “without having settled the post-office”, a reference to the postal treaty Aglionby had been trying to negotiate with the French. The juxtaposition underscores the political world Evelyn and Aglionby each inhabited, and introduces Aglionby in the role by which he is known best, if at all, that is as a civil servant and minor diplomat.

Aglionby: physician, author, diplomat and collector

Little is known of Aglionby's early life, with estimates of his date of birth varying between the late 1630s to the mid-1640s.²⁷³ The dedication of *Painting Illustrated*, however, provides one crucial insight to his childhood. Addressing his contemporary William Cavendish, the fourth Earl of Devonshire (1640 - 1707),

²⁶⁹ Aglionby, 1669a; 1669b; 1671; 1673; 1689; 1693.

²⁷⁰ Aglionby, 1685.

²⁷¹ Gibson-Wood, 2000.

²⁷² 'John Ellis to Lord Ambrose Williamson', February 8, 1698, Public Records Office, State Papers, 32.9, fols. 178-9; Bateson (ed.), 1933: 78.

²⁷³ Clark, 1921: 141-43, provides a rare biographical sketch.

Aglionby articulates his appreciation to the earl's "Noble Family" for the kindness and support they bestowed upon him, "not only in my Infancy, but even some days after my Birth; and so generously contrived, that they are like to last as long as I live." The dedication reveals an intriguing association with the Cavendish family, known for their support of the renowned political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679), as well as their highly regarded estates at Hardwick Hall and Chatsworth.²⁷⁴ The family employed a "George Aglionby", who served from 1629 as tutor for the third Earl. The antiquary John Aubrey (1626-1697) would later describe George Aglionby as a "great acquaintance" of the philosopher,²⁷⁵ and a surviving letter from George to Hobbes, from the November of his first year in their employment, recounts the latest news from the Cavendish household.²⁷⁶ George had received his DD from Oxford in 1635, and that same year married Sibella Smith of London. Twelve years after his death at Oxford in 1643, the Hardwick accounts record a half-yearly payment of £10 to "Mrs Aglionby".²⁷⁷ William was ostensibly the couple's son, and the financial allowance may have been the nature of the kindness he refers to in his dedication to *Painting Illustrated*. The third Earl had died in 1684 just prior to the book's publication, and the dedication to the new earl (later first Duke of Devonshire) was perhaps meant to celebrate his ascendancy and to honour the memory of his recently deceased father.

It is presumed that Aglionby received his MD in the late 1650s or 1660s, having spent considerable time in France.²⁷⁸ In the years that followed he began authoring works, beginning with a translation of Pierre Thibaut's *Cours de Chymie* as the *Art of Chemistry: As it is Now Practiced* (1668), and a translation of Gregorio Leti's *Il Nipotismo di Roma; or, The History of the Popes' Nephews* the following year. 1669 saw also the appearance of Aglionby's study of the Netherlands, which depends heavily on Jean de Parival's *Les Délices de la Hollande* (1651). Aglionby's country of residence is unknown during this period, though he is thought perhaps to have been abroad once more.²⁷⁹ Aglionby is, however, known to have been in The Hague by the summer of 1679, serving as secretary to Sir William Temple, then Ambassador to Holland. Temple himself had written on the Netherlands, and his *Observations upon the United Provinces* (1673) largely

²⁷⁴ Martinich, 1999.

²⁷⁵ John Aubrey, as quoted in Malcolm (ed.), 1994: 778.

²⁷⁶ Malcolm (ed.), 1994: 7-10.

²⁷⁷ Chatsworth, uncatalogued Hardwick MS, Disbursements at Hardwick 1665-67, entry for Decemebr 1655, in Malcolm (ed.), 1994: 778.

²⁷⁸ "James Butler, first Duke of Ormonde to the Vice Chancellor of Oxford," 1678, Kilkenny Castle, Oxford Letters; *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Ormonde*, n.s., vol. 4, 1906: 618.

²⁷⁹ Hanson has argued that given that Aglionby was exempted from his Royal Society 'dues', it is likely that he was abroad once again. See Hanson, 2009: 95.

replaced Aglionby's book.²⁸⁰ Both texts serve as a reminder of the extent to which travel and travel writing were viewed as matters of state, as Evelyn had also demonstrated in his own earlier observations on France.

In the 1680s, Aglionby returned to London and began pursuing the path of the fashionable physician, taking up residence at Broad Street near Bishopgate. In 1682 he acquired a painting from the auction of Sir Peter Lely's collection. The work was a copy after a Lely portrait of Geoffrey Chaucer for £1 6s.²⁸¹ Incidentally, Lord Cavendish also acquired nine pictures from the sale. In 1687 Aglionby was listed as a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians, a legal qualification required of anyone practicing within the London area who had not received his degree from Oxford or Cambridge.²⁸² The year before Aglionby published *Painting Illustrated*, he also published a translation of François Hedelin's *Whole Art of the Stage* (1684). For unknown reason, however, these plans to establish himself in London were abandoned by the end of the decade, and by 1689 Aglionby was back in The Hague negotiating a postal agreement whereby the Dutch would rely on the British rather than the French for postal services to Italy and Spain. When these talks proved fruitless, he travelled to Spain in 1692 to pursue the matter at the other end.²⁸³ The next spring he was appointed envoy extraordinary to the Duke of Savoy, but the ill-fated promotion got off to a ominous beginning as Aglionby's ship wrecked off the coast of Corsica on the way to Turin; in all, he spent less than a year in the position.²⁸⁴

Still, Aglionby continued to fill various diplomatic roles, and in 1702 he was appointed envoy extraordinary to Switzerland under the newly reappointed secretary of state, Daniel Finch, second Earl of Nottingham.²⁸⁵ But success again proved fleeting, and Aglionby was recalled in the autumn of 1704, shortly after Nottingham's own resignation. In a letter to his patron, Aglionby defends his diplomatic record and asserts that he was unfairly dismissed because of the false accusations of two enemies. In the spring of 1705, the worn and aged Aglionby returned to England for the last time, dying on December 7.²⁸⁶ We should, however, be careful to avoid reading the diplomatic achievements of the last fifteen years of

²⁸⁰ Sir William Temple, *Observations upon the United Provinces* (London, 1673).

²⁸¹ Dethloff, 1996: 37.

²⁸² Munk, 1878.

²⁸³ Hanson, 2009: 96.

²⁸⁴ 'Certificate of the Return of William Aglionby', November 28, 1694, Public Records Office, State Papers Domestic, Warrant Book 40: 10.

²⁸⁵ See 'Sir William Trumball to the Earl of Portland', February 16, 1697, Public Records Office, State Papers Domestic, Entry Book 99: 350.

²⁸⁶ Boyer, 1772.

his life back into the 1680s, the most relevant decade for Aglionby's contribution to British art history. Having trained in France, served a brief stint as secretary to Sir William Temple in The Hague, Aglionby was at this point a translator, collector, writer on art, and a fashionable physician.

Aglionby's *Three Dialogues*

The intentions and format of Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated* conform very much to the precedent offered by Evelyn. In his preface, while paying due homage to the genius of Inigo Jones, Gibbons, the miniaturists Oliver and Cooper, and the portrait painters William Dobson, Robert Walker and John Riley, Aglionby notes that "But for a Painter, we never had, as yet, any of Note, that was an English Man, that pretended to History-Painting". He attributes this to "the little Incouragement it meets with in this Nation", and goes on to explain his purposes in writing: "To Remedy this therefore, I have undertaken this Work; which I have so composed, as it may be read with Delight by any who are but Conversant with Books or Pictures: The Design is, to make Painting Familiar and Easie to the Nobility and Gentry of this Nation." Aglionby includes for the non-specialist a glossary explaining some of the terminology of the art, as Evelyn had in his *Idea* [See Appendix 2, Table 2]. The first dialogue, "Explaining the Art of Painting" deals mainly with technical matters like the differences between oil, tempera painting, definitions of "design", "chiaroscuro", and so on. The second dialogue consists of "The History of the Art of Painting" from the biblical times to Van Dyck; it traces the rise of the art in antiquity, its extinction in the Middle Ages, gradual return to perfection in Italy from Cimabue's time to Michelangelo's, its subsequent decline, and final period of excellence in the school of the Carracci.

In the first dialogue Aglionby articulates the "extream delight" taken "in Pictures", the origins of this pleasure ascribed to the character's experience abroad. Sharing his "Knowledge of the first Principles of the Art" of painting with a "Friend" the instructor-figure in the dialogues is cast as the "Traveller". He admits that before his exposure to foreign lands, he, too, had believed "all pictures were alike" and had laughed "at the distinction that some...did use to make of the Pieces of this and the other Master." Now, however, the Traveller assures his Friend (and the reader) that "if he undertake[s] this Task with Order and Method, it will prove extream[ly] easie."²⁸⁷

²⁸⁷ Aglionby, 1685: 1-5.

Fifteen years earlier, and just two years after Evelyn's publication of *Idea*, Richard Lassels's *Voyage of Italy* (1670) had come to print.²⁸⁸ It fast became the most influential English travel guidebook of the period, providing the basis for subsequent guidebooks as well as manuscript accounts such as the Italian sections of Evelyn's own diary. In the book, Lassels asserts that any truly serious student of architecture, antiquity, and the arts must travel through France and Italy, and suggested that all "young lords" make what he referred to as the "Grand Tour" (a phrase he coined) in order to understand the political, social, and economic realities of the world. The unprecedented attention it paid to art and architecture encouraged the phenomenon of cultural travel that continued throughout the eighteenth century, according to which art prevailed over all other subjects, religious or secular. Lassels's guide was translated and published in French and German and was still being reprinted in the early eighteenth century (three more editions were published in English in 1686, 1698, and 1705; two in French 1671, 1682; and two in German 1673, 1696) and could thus be described as the leading European guide-book to Italy for nearly a quarter of a century, during which it helped form the taste of a generation of travellers. This was an exhilarating time for travel and discovery, aesthetic appreciation and connoisseurship being redefined in England through the literature of the age, and Aglionby's decision to present his three dialogues on painting as a set of conversations between the enlightened traveller and his ignorant friend at home must be understood within this shifting cultural context.

Echoing Aglionby's complaint that England lacked a native history painter, twentieth-century writers have, however, in a historiographical reversal, faulted *Painting Illustrated* on similar grounds. Stressing its dependence on Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy's *De arte graphica* and Roger de Piles's commentary on the poem, Luigi Salerno denounced it as "a complete plagiarism", asserting it "does not really reflect English taste, but...foreign influence."²⁸⁹ Lawrence Lipking likewise sees Aglionby as "a snob...[who] directs his snobbery against English painting and English ideas about art." Disgruntled by the casting of the Traveller as the connoisseur, Lipking retorts that "Aglionby travels too," having taken "his ideas from Dufresnoy and eleven lives from Vasari."²⁹⁰ As Craig Ashley Hanson has asserted, however, these criticisms fail to explain what is unique about *Painting*

²⁸⁸ Lassels, 1670.

²⁸⁹ Salerno, 1951: 250-51. For Dufresnoy's *De arte graphica* with commentary see Allen, Haskell, and Muecke (eds.), 2005.

²⁹⁰ Lipking, 1970: 112. In the preface, Aglionby acknowledges the 'Lives are taken out of Vasari'.

Illustrated. That *De arte graphica* serves as the principal source for the dialogues should be a starting point into the material, not grounds to ignore it. For all of the debts Aglionby owes Dufresnoy and De Piles, he supplies no straightforward translation of the poem, or of the commentary that accompanies it. His formal and structural revisions, and his recasting of the text from one genre to another, instead facilitate innovations of meaning and purpose.²⁹¹ Connecting Aglionby's text with his own didactic intentions and Continental travel allows us, moreover, to reconsider the national dynamic at play in the text, and as the title of the volume conveys, comprehend how the subject of painting was intended to be "illustrated" to the English reader.

Following the dedication to Lord Cavendish, a "Preface" begins by exalting sculpture and painting for "perpetuating our Memorys to posterity." The oft-debated question as to whether greater dignity attaches to sculpture or to painting is touched upon, and the author leaves the question un-decided. "But this I may say in favour of the Art of Painting whose praises I am now to Celebrate, that it certainly is of a greater Extent than Sculpture, and has an Infiniter Latitude to delight us withal." Instances are quoted of the regard paid by princes to painters ever since the days of Apelles and Alexander, and the author concludes with a recent example: "Rubens, in our days, after having been in Favour with most of the Great Princes in Christendom, was at last chosen by the Infant Albert, and the Infanta Isabella to be their Ambassador at London; where his Talent for the Great Affairs of State was no less admired than his Pencil, which has so richly adorned the Ceiling of one of the best Rooms in Europe, I mean the Banqueting-House." This leads the author on to a declaration which is worth quoting at length:

And indeed, he could never have fallen into a Court that was more disposed to acknowledge his Skill, than Ours was at that Time : King Charles the First, of Sacred Memory, was not only the greatest Favourer but the Truest Knower of all those Arts, and by his Countenance the whole Court gave themselves to those Refined Pleasures; there being hardly a Man of Great Quality that had not a Collection of Pictures or Antiques: Artists flowed in upon us from all parts. And had not the Bloody-Principled Zealots, who are Enemies to all the Innocent Pleasures of Life, under the pretext of a Reformed Sanctity destroyed both the Best of Kings and the Noblest of Courts, we might to this day have seen these Arts flourish amongst us; and particularly this of Painting which was the Darling of that Venturous Monarch. He had once enrich'd our Island with the noblest Collection that any Prince out of Italy could boast of: but those Barbarous Rebels, whose Quarrel was as much the Politeness and the Liberal Arts as to Monarchy and Prelacy dissipated and destroyed the best part of it.

However, the accession of Charles II. brought about a change for the better, and reference is made to the statue of him "made by the best of Modern Sculptors now living...Mr. Grinlin Gibbons." Aglionby then comments upon the fact, that whereas

²⁹¹ Hanson, 2009: 99.

England has produced an architect like Inigo Jones and a sculptor like Grinling Gibbons, never yet has there been an “Historical Painter of distinction.” The favour extended by the English to “Face-Painting” is noted “and in that part we have had some who have proved most Excellent Artists; as, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Cooper, the most Correct in Miniature; and in Oyl, Dobson and Walker: And even at this time, Mr. Riley, who undoubtedly deserves his character of the first and best Painter for Portraits in our Age.” To remedy this condition of things, and foster judges of art in England, the author has undertaken his work -

After [reading] this [*Painting Illustrated*], I hope our People of *Quality* will be sufficiently inflamed with the *Love* of an *Art* which Rewards its *Admirers* with the greatest Pleasures imaginable, Pleasures so Innocent and Irreproachable, that the severest *Morals* cannot forbid the *Enjoyment* of them; Pleasures so Solid and Abounding, that they are new every time they are repeated; and in a word, Pleasures that may be made *Useful* even to the *Covetous*; for *Pictures* well bought, are *Money* put out to *Use*. . . . I cannot forbear adding to this little *Reproof*, an *Observation* that I have made abroad; which is, That of all the *Civilized Nations* in *Europe*, we are the only that want *Curiosity* for *Artists*; the *Dutch* in the midst of their *Boggs* and ill *Air*, have their *Houses* full of *Pictures*, from the *Highest* to the *Lowest*; the *Germans* are also *Curious* in their *Collections*; the *French* have as good as can be had for *Money*; and that *Art* seems now to take *Sanctuary* there; and shall we, while we have a *Prince* who has declared himself an *Enemy* to all our *Excesses*, and a *Patron* of all *Vertuous Undertakings*, be the only People that shall follow *Gross Delights*! I hope better of us; and that the *Charm* of these *Arts* once well *Comprehended*, will, like *Moses's Rod*, eat up all the other, though never so well *Counter fited* to be like *Pleasures*; while they are, indeed, but so many *Pains* and *Plagues*.

Aglionby also promises a second part, which “besides some more refined Observations upon the Art itself, will contain the Lives of all the Modern Painters of any Note from the Time of the Caraches to our Days, and an Account of its present state all Europe over.” Unfortunately this scheme was never carried into effect.

The body of the volume opens then with an “An Explanation of Some Terms of the Art of Painting” defining twenty-seven key words, starting with *air* and concluding with *tinto*. Many are terms still familiar to connoisseurs and art historians today: *chiaroscuro*, *contour*, *design*, *fresco*, *print*, *relieve*, and [*fore*]shortening; while others such as *aptitude*, *gruppo*, and *schizzo* are less recognisable. *Festoon* and *grotesk* point to the ornamental arts, but the focus rests squarely on narrative painting, with *antique*, *cartoon*, *drapery*, *figure*, *history*, *manner*, *model* and *nudity* receiving the most attention. A number of the definitions are particularly interesting. “Gruppo” is “a Knot of Figures together, either in the middle or sides of a piece of Painting. So Carache would not allow above three Gruppос nor above twelve Figures for any Piece.” “Nudity”, in reference to painting, “Signifies properly any Naked Figure of Man or Woman; but most commonly of Woman; as when we say, 'Tis a Nudity, we mean the Figure of a Naked Woman.” While “Shortning” is

“when a Figure seems of greater quantity than really it is; as, if it seems to be three foot long, when it is but one: Some call it Fore-Shortning.” Precedent for the “Explanation” comes from Evelyn, with three of the six words included by Evelyn reappear in Aglionby’s enlarged list, though *attitudo* is rendered *aptitude*. Hence Evelyn in the 1660s, and Aglionby in the 1680s, struggled with the same dilemma of how to adapt the language of art, which had developed in Italy, for English readers. Henry Wotton, in the preface of *Elements of Architecture*, had similarly complained earlier in the century about the “poverty” of language for conveying “terms of Art and Erudition”.²⁹² For both Evelyn and Aglionby, the answer was education. Since precise words already existed to convey specific artistic ideas, these words must be made familiar to English readers.

With this lexicon of terms established, Aglionby’s first dialogue provides an explanation of “the Art of Painting” between the Traveller and his friend. Asked for a definition of the Art of Painting, through the conversational arrangement of the text the Traveller states:

The Art of Painting is the Art of Representing any Object by Lines drawn upon a flat Superficies, which Lines are afterwards covered with Colours, and those Colours applied with a certain just distribution of Lights and Shades, with a regard to the Rules of Symmetry and Perspective; the whole producing a Likeness, or true Idea of the Subject intended.²⁹³

The rest of the dialogue then consists of the Traveller expanding on this initial, vigorously derivative explanation.

Design, in the sense of drawing, is treated as the basis of painting, discussing the necessity for painters of studying both the Antique and Nature. The Italian Renaissance painter Pietro Perugino (1446-1523) is faulted for adhering too closely to the former, and Caravaggio for erring on the side of the latter - merely replicating “Nature as he found her, without any correction of Forms”.²⁹⁴ The Traveller expends the enduring tale of Zeuxis’s multifarious Venus to illustrate how it can be “possible to erre in imitating Nature” and why one should study ancient sculpture, which provides the proper rules of proportion. The art of foreshortening is treated, presented as the ultimate achievement in design, requiring “a great Knowledge of the Muscles and Bones,” and Michelangelo is accredited with being “the greatest Master in that kind” among the modern painters.²⁹⁵ The question of colouring is then explored at some length, the “Life and Soul” of the painter’s art that enables

²⁹² Wotton, 1624: unpaginated preface.

²⁹³ Aglionby, 1685: 5-6.

²⁹⁴ Aglionby, 1685: 10.

²⁹⁵ Aglionby, 1685: 15-16

pictures to “deceive the eye”.²⁹⁶ Using furthermore frequently recounted anecdotes, Zeuxis is credited with fooling birds with his printed grapes, Apelles with causing actual horses to neigh at pictures of horses, and Jacopo Bassano with leading Annibale Carracci to mistake a painted bookshelf for a real one. Responding to his Friend’s questions, the Traveller discourses on the mixing of colours, depictions of flesh and drapery, and different kinds of pigments including tempera and oil, and chiaroscuro.²⁹⁷ In a discussion of whether there can be excessive finish, the Traveller refers to the manner which “the Italians call, ‘Working A la pittoresk’, that is Boldly, and according to the first Incitation of a Painter’s Genius. But this requires a strong Judgment, or else it will appear to the Judicious, meer Dawbing.”²⁹⁸ Concluding the first dialogue, the Friend compliments the Traveller on his aptitude in illustrating the art of painting with clarity and simplicity and, in what is structured as a natural progression from the introduction to design and colour, asks to hear more regarding “the History of Painting, that is of its Rise, Progress, Perfection, and Decay” among the Ancients and the Moderns.²⁹⁹

The second dialogue recounts the history of painting in Greece and Rome, and then goes on to trace the history of Italian painting, concluding with painters of note from the rest of Europe. A notable passage, given by the Traveller to the question of whether painting since the Cinquecento has decayed or improved, attempts, with little clarity, to articulate the evolution of painting: “I cannot say, it has Decayed, but it has rather Improved, till within these few years, that it seems to be at a stand; and I fear, must Decay, both for want of Encouragement and because all things that have attained their utmost Period, do generally decline, after they have been at a stand for some time.” The Traveller’s survey of the Ancients centers on “the four Famous Painters of Graece”: Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Apelles and Protogenes, though he goes on to mention another twelve painters.³⁰⁰ He uses the example of Polygnotus, who “Painted the Temple at Delphos, and the great Portico at Athens”, to propose that the painter fulfils a public, noble function – a point reinforced several paragraphs later when the Traveller states that the practice of art was for only “Ingenious Minds and free Spirits” and that “Slaves of Inferiour Persons were forbid by the Laws to apply themselves to it.”³⁰¹ The Traveller devotes less time to

²⁹⁶ Aglionby, 1685: 16-17. Dufresnoy, 1667: 95, describes colouring as ‘the Soul of Painting...a deceiving Beauty.’

²⁹⁷ Aglionby, 1685: 24, 30-31.

²⁹⁸ Aglionby, 1685: 10-13.

²⁹⁹ Aglionby, 1685: 31-32.

³⁰⁰ Aglionby, 1685: 35-36, 56.

³⁰¹ Aglionby, 1685: 38, 44.

the Roman painters, but notes there were numerous “very famous Ones.”³⁰² Largely, he praises “all the Great Men” of Rome who “purchased the Works of the Greek Painters and Statuaries at any Rate; insomuch that Graecia and Asia were almost deprived of all the best Originals.” – in doing so he relates the Romans with his English readers by way of desirability, the point having already been articulated that England lacks the examples that exist in Italy. The implication being made is that the English nobility and gentry should not only work to foster a native school of history painting, but also devote themselves to the collecting of older masterpieces that would not only benefit the health of the nation, but could also serve as examples to contemporary artists.

While the “Barbarous” Middle Ages take up only two pages of the text, the end of this period “of Oblivion” results in the renaissance of painting, a recovery of the “perfection in the art, which perhaps would astonish those Antient Artists themselves.”³⁰³ Following the model given by Vasari, the Traveller proceeds to sketch the familiar tale of the Renaissance from Cimabue, Giotto, and Masaccio; through Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Donatello; and up to the Florentines of mid-century, including Castagno, Piero della Francesca, Ghirlandaio, and Botticelli. After remarking on the Bellini brothers, Francesco del Cossa, and Ercole de Roberti, attention is given to the High Renaissance, which is styled the “Third Age...the Virility or Manhood of Painting.”³⁰⁴ Leonardo is depicted as the father of this new age that yielded such “rare Painters” as Giorgione, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, Correggio, Parmigianino, Polidoro, Romano, and Michelangelo. For more detailed accounts, the Traveller refers his Friend to Vasari (excerpted at the end of the volume), but goes on to provide sketches of these “famous Names”. Raphael is singled out as “the greatest Painter that ever was” and Michelangelo “the greatest designer.”³⁰⁵ The latter is again honoured for his expertise in “the Contorsions of Members, the Convulsions of Muscles, Contractions of the Nerves, &c.”, though his painting is largely viewed as “less agreeable.” Cavaliere d’Arpino and Caravaggio are used to typify the subsequent period that promised certain decay, until Agostino and Annibale Carracci triumphed in reviving “Raphael’s manner”.³⁰⁶ The Traveller includes Guido Reni, Domenichino, Lanfranco, and Cortona in this trajectory. A brief discussion of Titian, Tintoretto, Veronese, and Bassano follows,

³⁰² Aglionby, 1685: 61-62.

³⁰³ Aglionby, 1685: 13, 62-63.

³⁰⁴ Aglionby, 1685: 71.

³⁰⁵ Aglionby, 1685: 74-82; quotations are from pages 74, 76, and 81.

³⁰⁶ Aglionby, 1685: 81, 85.

along with a handful of distinguished German and Flemish painters, notably Dürer, Holbein, Rubens and Van Dyck.³⁰⁷

The third and final dialogue is concerned with “How to know Good Pictures”, a crucial element of Aglionby’s aim to encourage patronage and connoisseurship of the arts among the English nobility and gentry. Leading on from the discussion of design and colour in the first dialogue, the Traveller concentrates on invention.³⁰⁸ Under invention is placed disposition, defined as “the order in which all the parts of the story are disposed so as to produce one effect according to the Design of the Painter.” For Aglionby, appropriate invention originates from harmonious form, tone, and narration, and the mimetic qualities of colour and design can only be maintained through meticulous attentiveness to consistency of invention. “The Expression of the Passions” is understood as the “the most difficult part” of invention, the greatest test of an artist’s abilities as well as the foundation for their particular style.³⁰⁹ Extensive comments are also given on the depiction of draperies in painting. The Traveller concludes by suggesting a selection of painters “fittest to be Studied”, with the genealogical line of descent from Raphael to the Carracci once more the most celebrated. Reservations are, however, expressed over three surprising painters; Leonardo, applauded earlier as the father of the High Renaissance, is omitted from this list of “Patterns” on the grounds that too few of his works survive; Michelangelo is faulted for failing to produce paintings worthy of his own designs;³¹⁰ and the most significant criticism is directed toward Poussin, whose exclusion destabilizes France as the heir to the classical tradition. This pronouncement closes the third of the dialogues, and the rest of the book is taken up by translations of eleven of Vasari’s Lives, viz., Cimabue, Giotto, Leonardo, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, Giorgione, Michel Angelo, Giulio Romano, Perino del Vaga, Titian and Donatello. Reconciling these complaints forces a consideration not only the parallels but also the crucial variations between *De arte graphica*, and *Painting Illustrated*, as well of course, as Evelyn’s text.

Aglionby’s *Painting Illustrated* and Dufrenoy’s *De arte graphica*

Dufresnoy’s didactic poem on the art of painting had first been published in France in 1667, some months after the death of its author.³¹¹ It was intended to be a

³⁰⁷ Aglionby, 1685: 90-95.

³⁰⁸ Aglionby, 1685: 101.

³⁰⁹ Aglionby, 1685: 121-22.

³¹⁰ Aglionby, 1685: 125.

³¹¹ Dufresnoy, 1667.

distillation, in 549 Latin hexameters, of the essence of the classicist doctrine evolved over slightly more than two centuries, from Leon Battista Alberti's *De Pictura* in 1435 to the artistic debates in Rome in the 1630s and 40s. Translated into French just one year after its initial Latin publication, by the close friend and editor of Dufresnoy, Roger de Piles, the poem became a fundamental reference for the academies of Europe from the seventeenth century onwards.³¹² The work presented knowledge of Italian art as interpreted by French criticism, and established the pattern of influence from painting to poetry that was going to prevail during the entire subsequent century.³¹³ The five parts of painting defined first by Junius, that Chambray then adopted in his *Idée* and had been reintroduced to English readers through Evelyn's translation of the work, are challenged by De Piles. He admits that "Many Authors who have written of Painting, multiply the parts according to their pleasure", but he defends Dufresnoy's classification of just three parts on the grounds "that all the parts of Painting which others have named, are reducible into these three."³¹⁴ The simplification of prior schemes into a more manageable trio may well have appealed to Aglionby with his edifying intentions, though crucially the English writer also altered the order in which these three parts were presented. For Dufresnoy, invention comes first: "a kind of Muse, which being possess'd of the other advantages common to her Sisters, and being Warm'd by the fire of Apollo, is rais'd higher than the rest, and shines with a more glorious, and brighter flame."³¹⁵ While equally central for Aglionby, invention is described as the third part of painting, and is discussed only in his final dialogue.

However minor the change, it points to a greater disparity between the two writers' objectives and intended audiences. Dufresnoy's *De arte graphica* was conceived as an ambitious contemporary aesthetic counterpart to Horace's *De arte poetica*.³¹⁶ Dufresnoy, the painter, was endeavouring to deliver an authoritative text that would

³¹² Dufresnoy was a French painter and poet who had been a contemporary of Nicholas Poussin in Rome for more than twenty years, and the lifelong companion of one of the most famous French painters of his own generation, Pierre Mignard. The work was controversial only in France, and more by association than for its intrinsic content. Mignard was the bitter rival of the head of the new *Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture*, Charles Le Brun, and Roger de Piles, Dufresnoy's young editor and translator, was already known as a critic of academic teaching. De Piles' translation and commentary, his encouragement of the *coloriste* party within the Academy itself and his subsequent writings, all helped associate Dufresnoy with theoretical anti-academicism; while Mignard's continued rivalry and resentment of Le Brun kept alive the personal animosity. Christopher Allen has, however, argued convincingly, that none of these factors had any effect on the reception of Dufresnoy's work outside France, and even there they faded gradually from the late seventeenth century onwards, and were formally dismissed in the mid-eighteenth. Dufresnoy did not set out to expound a doctrine that was in any way idiosyncratic or even unusual, much less controversial. His personal relations with the French Academy, and Roger de Piles' French translation of the poem (1668), surrounded the work with polemical associations that were very far from either its intrinsic content or the authors intentions. See Allen, in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.) 2005: particularly 13 and 36.

³¹³ Hagstrum, 1958: 174.

³¹⁴ Dufresnoy, 1667: 126.

³¹⁵ Dufresnoy, 1667: 87.

³¹⁶ Lipking, 1970: 38-65, is useful for *De arte graphica* and its English reception.

preside over painting, a work for both connoisseurs and learned painters. Aglionby, in comparison, was aiming to introduce members of the English elite to the classical tradition of history painting as it developed in Italy, and to the more rudimentary principles of aesthetic appreciation and value. He reiterates the point that an understanding of painting can be learned, even that it is simple and straightforward. Beginning with elementary ideas, and paying particular care to meanings and critical terminology, Aglionby assumes minimal knowledge from his imagined reader and incorporates a history of painting that concentrates on the subject's genesis and exemplary relationships between masters and their students – a significant deviation from Dufresnoy.³¹⁷ From a practical perspective, the conversational composition of *Painting Illustrated's* dialogue enabled Aglionby to garner thematically from *De arte graphica* with lesser of the difficulties implicated in a direct translation of this complex and demanding text (the difficulty of which is evinced by the multiple versions that appeared over the course of the eighteenth century).³¹⁸ Furthermore, Aglionby's approach to the more substantive issue of invention is done within the explicitly pragmatic context of educating the budding art lover "How to Know Good Pictures".³¹⁹ Therefore, while Aglionby advances no theoretical innovations, as has been noted by twentieth-century scholars, this fixation on the new has failed to observe what Aglionby does achieve, that is the representation of an influential didactic poem on painting into an art historical guidebook for the seventeenth-century lover of art, and in doing so advancing the critical language of painting in England.

As Hanson has shown, however, Aglionby's recasting of Dufresnoy's subject into a new form with a new objective, occasions several peculiar shifts in meaning.³²⁰ Dufresnoy, for example, dedicates a brief passage to portraiture within his more substantial advice on colour and tonal qualities, while de Piles's annotation underscores the problem of authenticity and the significance of conveying the sitter's "true temper."³²¹ Synthesising both texts, Hanson has highlighted how Aglionby situates his discussion of portraiture in the third dialogue as a final note on colour before he moves on to invention. The disjunction comes in that Aglionby is not addressing the universal subject of painting, but explicitly history painting. He has already faulted England in the preface for producing too many portraitists,

³¹⁷ Dufresnoy, 1667: 198-206.

³¹⁸ Revised or new translations appear in English in 1695, 1716, 1620, 1754, 1783, and 1789.

³¹⁹ Aglionby, 1685: 100.

³²⁰ Hanson, 2009: 99-101

³²¹ Dufresnoy, 1667:101, 178.

and subsequently in order to fit these comments into the context he had constructed, he sets up a juxtaposition between portraiture and other more noble genres.³²²

Other, more considerable variations result from this revisionist method of adaptation. Nearing the close of the poem, Dufresnoy claims that “Wine and good Cheer are no great Friends to painting”, and De Piles supports the maxim with three anecdotes on the subject of abstinence and restraint involving Protogenes, Michelangelo, and Vasari.³²³ Since *Painting Illustrated* was not aimed at artists, it might be expected this caution might be excluded. In fact, Aglionby reformulates it for his aristocratic audience:

..under the specious names of Society and Hospitality, we Countenance the most Profuse Gluttony and Exorbitant Drunkenness that the Sun sees: I might tell Gentlemen, That the Loss of Time, the Ruine of their Fortunes, the Destruction of their Health, the Various Tragical Accidents that attend Men who once a day lose their Reason are all things worthy their serious Reflection; and from which the Love of the Politer Arts would reclaim them.³²⁴

The sentiment is also echoed again by the Friend in the second dialogue. Lovers of the “Politer Arts”, which here includes painting, become exemplary, the art an antidote for “Gluttony” and “Drunkenesse”. Painting, sculpture, architecture, music, gardening, and polite conversation are all described as “ravishing Entertainments, and infinitely to be preferr’d before our other sensual Delights, which destroy our Health, and dull our Minds.”³²⁵

Aglionby’s modification of *De arte graphica* does, however, lead him to re-imagine the poem’s characterisation of the ideal artist. Found within a larger discussion aimed at establishing a strict work ethic for painters, is a passage on temperance, where diligent practice is praised. “Silence and Solitude” are advocated as favourable to “a greater Application to work and study.”³²⁶ Neither art nor the tablet should ever be far from the painter’s mind, and pleasure is seen as an unsavoury diversion. This does not feature in *Painting Illustrated*, Aglionby instead extolling the artist’s aptitude for beauty, his eminence as an esteemed servant of kings and emperors, and his sexual prowess among women over a hard working ethic. Dufresnoy is keen to elevate the status of the artist, his strategy according with the regimented system of the French academy - not only is this not an option for Aglionby, given that there was no academy in England to speak of at the time,

³²² Hanson, 2009: 105.

³²³ Dufresnoy, 1667: 105, 108.

³²⁴ Aglionby, 1685: ‘Preface’.

³²⁵ Aglionby, 1685: 35.

³²⁶ Dufresnoy, 1667: 105.

rhetorically it also obscures the case being made.³²⁷ While writing about the history of great artists Aglionby is, in fact, trying to persuade his readers to become lovers of art, who collect and patronise painters. The inference of his portrayal of the painter is that artistic production itself reifies these principles. To be a lover of art is to claim these characteristics of social accomplishment and virility.

The particular English context of Aglionby's text is one further affecting component in the manner that the aims of *De arte graphica* are revised in *Painting Illustrated*. Dufresnoy's poetic encapsulation of academic theory implied a historical trajectory positing France as the heir to the classical tradition. Additional commentary was supplied by De Piles, himself an influential theoretician at the French Royal Academy, who reinforced the same view. Within this model, Poussin emerges as the hero of modern painting. Aglionby takes an alternative view, his dismissal of the French painter bringing his dialogues to an abrupt conclusion:

As for Poussin, the so much Admired Frenchman; his way was in Little for the most part; and some are of opinion that he could not do in Great; or at least he did not delight in it, having done but two Pieces in all his Life time that were as big as the Natural; his Figures were generally of two or three Foot long; his Composition Orderly, his Invention Florid; but particularly, he had a Talent for Expressing the PASSIONS which was most Admirable: His Colouring inclines more to the Antique than to Nature. And he has left many Pieces unfinished. But take him altogether in his Way, he is a Great MAN, but not of that first rank of PAINTERS whom all ARTISTS must look upon as the Great Originals that Heaven hath given to Mankind to Imitate; and whose WORKS will not only be the SCHOOL, but the DELIGHT and ADMIRATION Of all After Ages, as long as Painting shall retain any Esteem amongst Mankind.³²⁸

This further deviation from Aglionby follows comments on Michelangelo and Leonardo, but these are derived directly from Dufresnoy.³²⁹ Both Italian painters, however, fare much better in other parts of *Painting Illustrated*. This is the only reference to Poussin, and nowhere in the text are other French artists alluded to in the account of painting's advancement. In the few passages that discuss artists from outside Italy, Aglionby focuses instead on painters from the northern schools.

Through these northern European artists, Aglionby opens the door to the possibility that the English might produce a serious school of painting that would build on the groundwork laid by the Italians. As has been recounted, the question of whether the arts were in decline goes unresolved in *Painting Illustrated*. Whereas De Piles asserts that art is on the upswing – “thanks to the zeal of our Great Monarch, and the care of his first Minister, Monsieur Colbert, we may shortly behold it more flourishing than ever” – Aglionby describes a scenario of improvement that has

³²⁷ Bignamini, 1988: esp. 22, 61.

³²⁸ Aglionby, 1685: 125-26.

³²⁹ Dufresnoy, 1667: 198, 203-4.

begun to come to “a stand” and appears likely to “Decay...for want of Encouragement.”³³⁰ Thus, even in forecasting an unhealthy future, Aglionby interjects the significance of patronage and connoisseurship, implying that it may not yet be too late to provide the investment required. He may also have in mind the iconoclasm of the interregnum, which he had denounced in the preface as “Bloody-Principled Zealots” who are the “Enemies to all the Innocent Pleasures of Life.” In the historical survey sketched in the second dialogue, Aglionby expands this line of attack, analogically tying the Puritans with late antique iconoclasts; what begins as a discussion of the medieval period quickly becomes a rant against the “Blind Zeal”³³¹ of rabid, misguided Christians – a reference that in the 1680s could not help but call to mind the immoderations of the Civil War. The end of the decline in the arts in Aglionby’s period is accordingly linked to the Restoration of the monarchy. For Aglionby the progression of one still depended on that of the other, and the aristocracy’s support is understood as fundamental for both.

By recasting Dufresnoy’s ideas in the form of three dialogues between a knowledgeable Traveller and his Friend who is eager to learn, Aglionby, far from committing an act of snobbery against his own country, employs a series of conventions consistent with a culture that privileged travel, the sharing of information across the Republic of Letters, and the authority of civility.³³² While loyalist ambitions are central to the text, to take offense at Aglionby’s criticisms of English artists is to misunderstand his intention. When Aglionby expresses his hopes for a native school of history painting, he is burdened by none of the concerns that would surface in the eighteenth century of what a distinctively English mode of painting might look like. Instead, he simply assumes it will in some way be an extension of Italian classicism.³³³ In his preface, Aglionby notes that he planned to publish “a Second Part; which, besides some more refined Observations upon the Art itself, will contain the Lives of all the Modern Painters of any Note.” This second volume never appeared, but a manuscript in Aglionby’s hand clarifies his intentions. The text is a translation of the dozen lives of Giovanni Pietro Bellori’s (1619-1696) *Le vite de’ pittori, scultori et architetti moderni* (1672), along with an English version of the text’s preface, “L’Idea del pittore, dello

³³⁰ Dufresnoy, 1667: 135. Aglionby, 1685: 83.

³³¹ Aglionby, 1685: unpaginated preface.

³³² Hanson, 2009: 108, n. 84.

³³³ Defoe, 1728): 300.

scultore e dell'architetto.”³³⁴ Bellori's assortment of lives closes with an account of Poussin, complicating Aglionby's assessment of the French painter.³³⁵ Yet the case put forward here is not dramatically altered. In *Painting Illustrated* Aglionby attempts not to provide a critical evaluation of Poussin, but to place him within – or more precisely, to displace him from – a larger trajectory of European painting. In order to reserve a spot for an emergent English school of painting, Aglionby makes a revisionist adaptation of Dufresnoy, disallowing Poussin's role as the exemplary painter. Ultimately, this has little to do with what the author thinks of the French painter, and much more to do with his effort to assemble a history that might still climax with an English artist.

Aglionby's *Painting Illustrated* combines a connoisseurial guidebook and a universal history of painting, supplemented by biographies of artists, with a call for a more intellectual appreciation of painting that will hopefully lead to its improvement. I would argue that the occurrence and recurrence of these themes together is a distinctively English phenomenon, and that it grew out of the introduction of new ideas from Continental writers as a result of increased mobility abroad amongst English gentlemen. The same combination of purposes appears in the Dryden edition of Dufresnoy in 1695, and (in much fuller form) in the treatises of Jonathan Richardson. With respect to its account of Greek and Roman painting, Aglionby's history is actually more in depth than Richardson's, but the latter has a wider view of the achievements of modern art outside Florence, Rome and Bologna. Had Aglionby written his proposed second edition, however, with 'Lives of all the Modern Painters of any Note, from the Time of the Caraches to our Days, and an Account of its present State all Europe over', the two works would have held even stronger similarities. That Aglionby was even thinking and proposing such ideas, thirty-five years before Richardson, re-enforces the progressive work English writers were producing in the seventeenth century, educating their readers and advancing aesthetic appreciation and critical terminology in England.

Conclusion

What is striking about examining the two works of Evelyn and Aglionby side by side is that neither author is yet confident enough to produce their own original

³³⁴ 'Brief Biographies of Italian Artists compiled by William Aglionby', Staffordshire Record Office, MS D661/18/4.

³³⁵ For Poussin as the culmination of Bellori's text, see Pace and Bell, in Bell and Willette (eds.) 1999: 191-223.

contribution to literature on painting. It seemed that before these writers became preoccupied with articulating a definitive English art theory, it was the artistic excellence and ideas manifested in celebrated works of continental painters and the benefits that might flow from introducing them to English art lovers that first concentrated the attention of certain Englishmen aiming to enhance the status of painting and its appreciation in Restoration England. As Evelyn put forward himself at the outset of his preface to *Perfection*:

I did once think, and absolutely resolve, that I had for ever done with the drudgery of Translating of Books, (though I am still of the opinion, that it were a far better, and more profitable Work to be still digging in that Mine, than to multiply the number of ill Ones, by productions of my Own)

These texts promoted the superiority of history painting that had become de rigueur in France, and sought to encourage an appreciation of art as a pursuit worthy and indicative of gentlemanly status by exposing its foundations in classical antiquity and in theory. Yet similarly neither Evelyn nor Aglionby were, in varying degrees, able to remain entirely faithful to the original foreign works. A truly original English contribution was clearly still some way off, yet the critical language of painting was evolving as new ideas flooded in from the Continent and were adopted and adapted into English culture. Such publications betray a growing desire in England to re-align the visual arts, or painting at least, with the theoretical position of the French Royal Academy, and raise its cultural status to a liberal art.

Through Evelyn and Aglionby, therefore, we witness two distinct attempts to shape the identity of the English art lover, these texts remaining as discerning examples of this period's fascination with European culture and associated discourses, that became rooted in a lifestyle of collecting and connoisseurship as the seventeenth century went on. In comparison with Sanderson's imagined 'lover of art', the figure conceived by these two later writers is vastly more controlled. While Sanderson was happy to celebrate all evidence of artistic success and production in England, Evelyn and Aglionby sought distinctly to shape the particular modes of connoisseurship their English readers should take, articulating an art lover that reflected their own particular tastes born out of their experiences of travel and culture. Crucially, however, both writers still, like Sanderson, understood the platform for the improvement of painting to be the English court and the collecting practices of the aristocratic nobility

CHAPTER III

The Art Lover as Cultural Entrepreneur: aspiration, self-fashioning and social mobility in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*

While Evelyn and Aglionby attempted to elevate painting and its appreciation in line with Continental standards, another publication was circulating at an extraordinary pace in England that was not only authored by an art lover with an entirely different social identity, but whose text also constructed a very different lover of art as its imagined audience. *Polygraphice, Or the Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring and Dyeing* was first published in 1672.³³⁶ On the title page of the first edition the author's identity is offered simply as "W. S. A Lover of Art". "W. S." was in fact William Salmon (1644-1713), a notorious quack physician and prolific author on a wide-ranging number of topics, from cookery to surgery. *Polygraphice* itself passed through eight editions over the twenty-nine years that followed. These editions encompassed five different versions of the text, the range of subjects included widening with each new edition of the work. The title of the treatise, "that Greek Compound POLYGRAPHICE", is offered as an alternative to 'painting' which is "not only too singular; but also too short and narrow."³³⁷ The term 'polygraphice' is suggested as inclusive of all the arts represented within the treatise. Books were added on topics as varied as alchemy, cosmetics, and chiromancy throughout *Polygraphice's* publishing history. These additions make *Polygraphice* not a single discrete work, but a text that evolved profoundly over its lengthy publishing history; by the final edition of 1701, it consisted of 939 pages, over three times the size of the first edition, with the three books of the first edition swelling to eleven books by the last. In the preface to the final edition Salmon boasted that fifteen thousand copies of the book had already been sold.³³⁸ While that is likely to be somewhat exaggerated, it has been suggested that in a period when the Stationer's Company limited print runs to two thousand copies, a sale of fifteen thousand may not be grossly exaggerated, making *Polygraphice* one of most widely available books on art in England in the closing years of the seventeenth century.³³⁹

³³⁶ Salmon, 1672.

³³⁷ Salmon, 1672: 'The Preface to the Reader'.

³³⁸ Salmon, 1701: 'The Preface to the Reader'.

³³⁹ Talley, 1981: 189.

Much of the content of *Polygraphice* is however unoriginal, and due to this the text has been marginalized in relation to its influence on contemporary art theory.³⁴⁰ Salmon himself, rather than repressing or apologising for his borrowing, boasts within the preface of having “made use of the best Authors” he “could possibly procure,” and stresses that the novelty of the work lies in its distinctive “method”:

The method of this work is wholly new, wherein we have united and made one, such various Subjects as have been the uncertain, obscure and tedious Discourse of a great number of various and large volumes. *What shall we say?* Things far asunder, *we have laid together*: things uncertain, *are here limited and reduced*: things obscure, *we have made plain*: things tedious, *we have made short*: things erroneous, *we have rectified and corrected*: things hard, *we have made facil and easy*. Things various, *we have collected*: things (in appearance) heterogene, *we have made homogene*. And in a word, the whole Art *we have reduced to certain Heads*: brought under *a certain method*, limited to *practical Rules*, and made it *perspicuous*, even to a very mean understanding.³⁴¹

Simplicity and practicality are set out as *Polygraphice*'s central aims. Through Salmon's methodology, the appeal of the treatise to the aspiring or novice art lover becomes apparent. Rather than having to purchase what Salmon describes as numerous “large”, “tedious” and “obscure” texts, *Polygraphice* presented readers with a compilation of exhaustive information on the visual arts, condensed and simplified into a comprehensible compendium.

The extraordinary commercial success enjoyed by *Polygraphice* renders Salmon's text a significant contribution to the discourses on the visual arts in this period. As much a direct response to contemporary English culture as the work of Evelyn, Aglionby and Sanderson, Salmon's contribution marks an important shift in its imagined audience. Away from the courtly circles and predominantly masculine aristocratic art lovers addressed by the three earlier authors, *Polygraphice* speaks to men and women, and merchants and traders from the middling classes.

Dramatic economic development in England in the closing decades of the century witnessed an unprecedented number of people with the means and desire to acquire images. This rapidly expanding market meant the need for relevant and comprehensive literature was greater than ever before, and it was within this sphere of rapid expansion that Salmon's text had particularly noteworthy success. Salmon's contribution to English literature on the visual arts therefore crucially evidences a diverse culture of aesthetic appreciation that was not confined to an elite or exclusive minority. As a repository of instructional and theoretical information, this chapter intends to trace the additions or changes that were made to

³⁴⁰ Talley, 1981: 189.

³⁴¹ Salmon, 1672: 'The Preface to the Reader'.

Polygraphice and attempt to unveil the seventeenth-century lover of art that it represents.

William Salmon – ‘Lover of Art’ and ‘King of the Quacks’

What is known of Salmon’s life reveals him as someone who was not only a notoriously controversial quack practitioner, but also a learned and conscientious collector with a love of literature and the visual arts. Indeed, Salmon reveals himself to be an ambitious, self-declared ‘lover of art’ whose personal and professional preoccupations break away from the kind of connoisseurship we have encountered thus far.

In 1700 a satirical attack on Salmon by the now unidentifiable Sebastian Smith was published in a broadside entitled *The Religious Imposter or the Life of Alexander – A sham prophet, doctor, and fortune teller*. It purports to give an account of Salmon’s early life and career, writing that:

...when a boy he was apprenticed to a mountebank whom he served as a Whachum or Zany, and used to inveigle and direct the amazed silly Rout, with tumbling through a hoop and vaulting and amusing ’em with tricks of legerdemain and sleight of hand. He served him also as a Jugler, Sub-conjuror, astrologer, ganymede and orator; made speeches and wrote Panegyrics in praise of his master’s Panaceas. He wrote Almanacks to direct the taking of his medicines and made the stars vouch for their virtue. He calculated Nativities, told fortunes, had admirable Secrets to Sodder crack’d maidenheads, and Incomparable Philtres for the consolation of Despairing Damsels.... The Churchyards and Burying places are everywhere ample witnesses to your travels. You teach when to cut corns and let blood. By you, old Nurses are instructed to make Carduus-Possets and Chalybeate Pancakes, bawds to cause abortions and strumpets to counterfeit maidenheads. In a word, Pious Sir, may you never cease to hold the suckling-bottle of the gospel to the babes of grace, and the crutches of faith to the crippled Saint.³⁴²

Characterizing Salmon as a performing trickster and a murderous quack, this satirical précis of his career offers an intriguing introduction to *Polygraphice*’s author. What is known of Salmon’s life goes some way to support Smith’s parody. As a young man, he accompanied a mountebank on his travels, visiting the West Indies as well as living for some time in New England, before returning to London where he is believed to have established himself in Smithfield near the gates of St Bartholomew’s Hospital. There, as was common among irregular types of practitioners, he offered his services to people denied admission to hospital.³⁴³ His quack remedies, which soon had a considerable sale, included an “Elixir Vitae” or “Elixir of Life”, and “Family Pills.” These nostrums are understood to have

³⁴² Smith, 1700.

³⁴³ Thompson, 1928: 126.

acquired a great reputation and featured a range of bizarre and exotic ingredients that included a medicinal usage of “Cranium Humanum”, the human skull. It therefore comes as no surprise that several years after his death, the surgeon Daniel Turner (1667–1741) wrote in *The Modern Quack; or, The Physical Imposter Detected* that Salmon was the “Ring Leader; or King of the Quacks.”³⁴⁴

Turner’s description and Smith’s sardonic assault are indicative of a culture that sought to expose irregular practitioners such as Salmon. The quack was a “turdy-facy, nasty-paty, lousy fartical rogue”, according to the poet and playwright Ben Jonson (1572–1637).³⁴⁵ According to contemporary accounts, quacks swarmed throughout the country.³⁴⁶ Among the several expressions used to describe such men in the period, ‘quack’, ‘quacksalver’, ‘charlatan’, ‘mountebank’ or ‘empirick’ were the most common. ‘Quack’ could also refer to someone pretending to possess great knowledge of any subject, and in the eighteenth century the term was also applied more widely with reference to politics and religion.³⁴⁷ Ultimately, these were pejorative terms for an unlicensed healer, often considered ignorant, unlearned and unscrupulous, and thus carried a strong implication of fraud. *The Character of the Quack-Astrologer* (1673) illustrates that supernatural power, science and criminal activities were intermingled in the perception of the quack. In one passage the quack-astrologer is likened to a gypsy, wizard, conjurer, cheat or “three-penny prophet”, to “Doctor Faustus in swadling Clouts”, and later, to the thief.³⁴⁸

Scholarship on the subject has, however, highlighted how problematic the definition of such a practitioner can be, often assumed to apply singularly to those who had mastered none of those approved continents of learning from Greek and Latin to botany and anatomy, which every erudite practitioner required.³⁴⁹ A number of cases of so-called quacks possessing some authentic, formal, medical or academic qualification, or an official diploma that licensed practice, have come to light.³⁵⁰ Since the majority of healers in seventeenth-century England practised without authorisation, those taken to court were sometimes unlicensed healers with good medical knowledge. It is difficult to distinguish here between sincere healers

³⁴⁴ Turner, 1718: 79.

³⁴⁵ Jonson, 1606: 50.

³⁴⁶ Hug, 2010: 48.

³⁴⁷ Hug, 2010: 48.

³⁴⁸ Hug, 2010: 48.

³⁴⁹ See Porter, 2000: 17-18; and Hug, 2010: 48-63.

³⁵⁰ In post-Restoration London for example, John Pechy was widely accused of quackish practices. He advertised his cures by handbills, through which he offered his services cut-price. Yet he was a graduate of Oxford University, who, after receiving a medical apprenticeship from his father, became a licentiate of the College of Physicians. He dismissed accusations of quackery levelled against him as nothing but bitterness, contending how “Many Men make it their business to ridicule the Public Way of Practice, because it thwarts their Private Interest.” See Porter, 2000: 18-19.

and outright ‘imposters’. Forged documents and pretended skills seem to have been the most contentious issues, and self-fashioning proved of great importance for those trying to establish dignified identities. Practitioners often Latinised (or in the case of foreigners, Anglicised) their names, so as to make their identity appear more sophisticated and learned.³⁵¹ In terms of the consumer, this was a context in which only a small number of licensed physicians were available, and only for a tiny minority. Therefore, for most people, the primary means of healing would involve self-medication or the employment of unlicensed physicians. As collections of advertisements and handbills from the Restoration to the early decades of the eighteenth century evidence, demand for medical cures as well as the offer of various medical practices were extensive, the market in which Salmon operated a competitive and lucrative profession.³⁵²

For Salmon, the substantial sale of his nostrums, as well as his books, made him a considerable fortune. This allowed him to build up an alternative identity as a man of taste and a ‘lover of art’. At the time of his death he owned seventy-six paintings, forty-six “books of cuts in folio”, two microscopes, loose prints, and many mathematical and natural philosophical instruments.³⁵³ These objects were assembled in a cabinet of curiosities that also included items he brought back from his travels to the West Indies and America. Salmon had also formed an extensive library that held over three thousand volumes, including most of the works on physic and surgery printed in the seventeenth century, rare copies of the classics, many bibles, a very complete library of contemporary medicine, and a good proportion of works on mathematics, theology, botany, and alchemy printed in the sixteenth century. From this it becomes clear that Salmon was educated, being familiar with French, Greek, Latin and Hebrew. The wide-ranging topics Salmon himself published on include pharmacology, anatomy, cookery, surgery, botany, and astrology, many of the texts passing through multiple editions. In 1671, for example, Salmon published *Synopsis Medicinae, or a Compendium of Astrological, Galenical and Chymical Physick* in three books. This was a popular treatise embodying the names of the drugs and chemical substances employed in the medical treatment of his time mixed up with astrology and other fantastic theories. In *Quacks of Old London* C. J. S. Thompson observes that books of this kind written in English, at a time when orthodox works on medicine were always printed

³⁵¹ Hug, 2010: 51.

³⁵² Hug: 2010: 53.

³⁵³ Philip K. Wilson, ‘Salmon, William (1644–1713)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/24559>, accessed 20 Sept 2012].

in Latin, had an attraction for the public, and so *Synopsis Medicinae* met with success and passed through four editions.³⁵⁴ In 1689 Salmon ventured into anatomy, and with Edward Bewster published a translation of the “Anatomy” of Diemerbroeck, a famous surgeon of Utrecht. This was followed by two more popular works on medicine - *Sepladium, the complete English Physician or the Druggists Shop opened* in 1693, and *The Family Dictionary or Household Companion* in 1696. His two last works, which confirm his versatility, were the *English Herbal or the History of Plants*, in 1710, and *Ars Anatomica or the Anatomy of the Humane Bodie*, published posthumously in 1714. These however, do not by any means exhaust the list of his publications. After Salmon’s death part of his library was sold at auction and a catalogue of its books, *Bibliotheca Salmoneca*, published by Thomas Ballard in 1713. In the preface Ballard comments on Salmon’s extraordinary love of books and his singular judgement in the choice of them.³⁵⁵

Defining the seventeenth-century quack on the basis of their motives, their education, their nostrums, or even the efficacy of their treatments proves impossible. Yet what is known of Salmon in terms of his early apprenticeship and his later career as a quack, together with his education, his literary output, and his collecting practices, suggests an ‘art lover’ whose tastes and preferences were always likely to mirror, or be shaped by, the highly eclectic, character of the English marketplace for medical goods and writings in which he operated, which was itself evolving at a substantial pace during the years of *Polygraphice*’s publication.

Textual Proliferation: *Polygraphice*’s Multiple Editions

Polygraphice takes the form of a manual, the first edition of which, published in 1672, offered instructional information on the arts of drawing, engraving, etching, limning, painting, washing, varnishing, colouring and dyeing. These subjects are divided into three books. The first addresses drawing and its instruments, with instructions on a range of topics including different sorts of media, figure drawing, shading, proportion, landscape, perspective, copying, and a variety of iconographic

³⁵⁴ Thompson, 1928: 126.

³⁵⁵ *Bibliotheca Salmoaeana, Pars Prima. Or, a Catalogue of Part of the Library of the Learned William Salmon, M.D. Deceas'd. Consisting of many very Valuable and Uncommon Books, in several Faculties and Languages. Chiefly, in Physitck. Chyrmistry, Divinity, Philology, History, and other polite parts of Learning, most of the Classicks, Notis variorum, and other choice editions, well Bound and very Fair, several being of the large Paper. Which will begin to be Sold by Auction at St. Paul's Coffee-House, next Door to Dean's Court the West End of St. Pauls, on Monday the Sixteenth Day of November, 1713: beginning every Evening at Five of the clock till the Sale is finished. By Thomas Ballard, Bookseller, at the Rising Sun in Little-Britain. Where Catalogues may be had; as also of Mr. King In Westminster-Hall..., Price One Shilling, 8°, pp. [6] 119 [1 blank].*

conventions including virtues and vices, the muses, and the four winds. An appendix entitled “A Rational Demonstration of Chiromantical Signatures” is included for its relevance in relation to the teaching and interpretation of the drawing of hands. Mercury, the Sun, Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus are all assigned a finger. Through the application of this code, the hand becomes a physiognomic puzzle holding the secrets of a person’s life, as attested and affirmed by the workings of the cosmos at large. It is likely that Salmon took his lead on including the subject of chiromancy from the sixteenth-century physician, alchemist and astrologer Paracelsus, who he was to publish on in a later treatise.³⁵⁶

The second book deals with engraving, etching and limning. It gives advice on such skills as how to hold the graver, handle aqua fortis, and imitate copies and prints. The chapters on limning include instructions for landscapes, and also information on colours including the preparation of pigments, and colours for the face and for drapery.³⁵⁷ The third book, following much the same pattern, covers painting, watercolour washes, dyeing and varnishing.³⁵⁸ The chapters on oil painting also include information for the collector on how to clean old paintings, as well as outlining the appropriate colours for landscapes, for faces, and to paint velvet, satin, taffeta, cloth, leather, metals, and precious stones. In addition it also offers instructions “exemplified in the painting of the Antients”. These include examples of how to paint ancient gods and goddesses, emperors, philosophers, the arts, virtues, and passions. This body of material, whilst instructional, can also be understood as having advisory qualities, directing potential picture buyers on appropriate guidelines for colouring and pictorial content. Following this are chapters on painting glass and the practice of washing; the varnishing of different materials – cloth, silks, bones, wood; and instructions for casting metal. Advice on how to make glass and precious stones is also included, as well as methods of gilding books, stoneware, and wood. The manual concludes with directions for making paper parchment and leather, and the dying of yarn, linen, cloths and silks. This diversity of instruction suggests that Salmon felt no particular pressure to conform to a set of standardised ‘art’ topics. Including what he felt his reader would find useful, he imagined a consumer with wide ranging interests, desires, and needs.

³⁵⁶ Salmon’s *Medicina Practica, or The Practical Physick* (London, 1692) discusses methods of “curing the more eminent and usual diseases happening to humane bodies”, unto which is appended “The preparation of the praecipiolium of Paracelsus”.

³⁵⁷ Salmon, 1672: 127-159

³⁵⁸ Salmon: 1672: 163

This miscellaneous approach continues in his second edition. Published in 1673, just a year after the first, thirteen illustrative prints are now included and a fourth book is added. Within it, instruction is now included for the collector or picture restorer “Of the cleansing of any old Painting”. This advises the reader to “Take good Wood ashes, and searce them; or else some Smalt or powder blew, and with a Sponge and fair water gently wash the picture you would cleanse (taking great care of the shadows) which done, dry it very well with a clean cloth”. Next they are to “then varnish it over again...but such as may be washed off again with water if need be.” For the varnish, either a “common glaze” is recommended, “made with Gumsandrack dissolved in Linseed oyl by boiling”, or the “Glair of Eggs”! Then with “your pencil [paintbrush] go over the picture once, twice, or more therewith as need requires.”³⁵⁹

A lengthy instructional passage is also pirated and included here from Sanderson’s *Graphice*, presented under the slightly altered title “Of the Disposing of Pictures and Paintings.” Salmon presents the instruction on pictorial display in thirteen succinct statements, to simplify further the direction it gives to novice collectors and picture buyers:

I. ANtique works, or Grotesco, may become a wall, the borders and freezes of other works; but if there be any draughts in figures of men and women to the life upon the wall, they will be best of black and white; or of one colour heightned: if they be naked, let them be as large as the place will afford; if of Marbles, Columns, Aqueducts, Arches, Ruines, Cataracts, let them be bold, high, and of large proportion.

II. Let the best pieces be placed to be seen with single lights, for so the shadows fall natural, being always fitted to answer one light; and the more under or below the light the better, especially in mens faces and large pieces.

III. Let the Porch or entrance into the house, be set out with *Rustick* figures, and things rural.

IV. Let the Hall be adorned with Shepherds, Peasants, Milk-maids, Neat-herds, Flocks of Sheep and the like, in their respective places and proper attendants; as also Fouls, Fish, and the like.

V. Let the Stair-case be set off with some admirable monument or building, either new or ruinous, to be seen and observed at a view passing up: and let the Ceiling over the top-stair be put with figures fore-shortened looking downwards out of Clouds, with Garlands and Cornucopia’s.

VI. Let Landskips, Hunting, Fishing, Fouling, Histories and Antiquities be put in the Great Chamber.

VII. In the Dining-room let be placed the pictures of the King and Queen; or their Coat of Arms; forbearing to put any other Pictures of the life, as not being worthy to be their Companions; unless at the lower end, two or three of the chief nobility, as attendants of their Royal persons: for want hereof you may put in place, some few of the nearest blood.

³⁵⁹ Salmon, 1673: 136.

VIII. In the inward or with-drawing chambers, put other draughts of the life, of persons of Honour, intimate or special friends, and acquaintance, or of Artists only.

IX. In Banqueting-rooms, put cheerful and merry Paintings, as of Bacchus, Centaures, Satyrs, Syrens, and the like, but forbearing all obscene Pictures.

X. Histories, grave stories, and the best works become Galleries; where any one may walk, and exercise their senses, in viewing, examining, delighting, judging and censuring.

XI. In Summer-houses and Stone-walks, put Castles, Churches, or some fair building: In Terraces, put Boscage, and wild works: Upon Chimney-pieces, put only Landskips, for they chiefly adorn.

XII. And in the Bed-chamber, put your own, your wives and childrens pictures; as only becoming the most private Room, and your Modesty: lest (if your wife be a beauty) some wanton and libidinous guest should gaze too long on them, and commend the work for her sake.

XIII. In hanging of your Pictures; if they hang high above reach, let them bend somewhat forward at the top; because otherwise it is observed that the visual beams of the Eye, extending to the top of the Picture, appear further off, than those at the foot.³⁶⁰

Elucidating Sanderson's ideal programme of pictorial decoration for his readers into these succinct digests, Salmon not only acknowledges a continuing trend for art collecting in England as the century went on, but his re-presentation of the material is suggestive of a concern for the appropriate integration of pictures into the social life of the house that may have been a particular concern to *Polygraphice's* intended reader.

Further chapters on the arts of "Beautifying" and "Perfuming" are also included in the second edition that are entirely new to the manual. In the preface to this new edition, Salmon highlights their inclusion, describing the value of "Painting, Beautifying, and Adorning the Face and Skin" in ways that are "so artificial as [they] shall be imperceptible to the scrutiny of the most curious and piercing eye."³⁶¹ Cosmetics, in particular the painting of the face, were a controversial topic in seventeenth-century England.³⁶² In the same year that Salmon issued his second edition of *Polygraphice's*, the Church of England clergyman Richard Allestree (1621/2–1681) wrote a tract condemning the use of such accoutrements, pleading -

....that our nicer Dames who study only Cosmetics for themselves, would change the

³⁶⁰ Salmon, 1673: 223-224.

³⁶¹ Salmon, 1673.

³⁶² As early as 1598 an English publication reacted to cosmetics. Richard Haydocke's translation of Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo's *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scultura et architettura* (1584), contains an address on "The Painting of Women" by the English translator. Haydocke admits the utility of "fomentations, waters, ointments, [and] plaster" that help minimize natural imperfections, but distinguishes these preparations from the "laying on of colours" meant to hide ones "un-pleasing defects."³⁶² Similarly in the mid-seventeenth century, John Gauden's *A discourse of artificial beauty, in point of conscience between two ladies with some Satirical censures on the vulgar errors of these times* (1656), presented many arguments against cosmetics but with some allowances for it, the text going through five editions suggestive of the topicality of the subject.

Scene, & instead of repairing or disguising their own complexions, study the restauration of their decrepit patients limbs. And sure tho it be a less fashionable, 'tis a much better sight, to see a Lady binding up a sore, then painting her face; and she will cast a much sweeter savor in Gods nostrils....we cannot think he will better like of those, which have no higher aim than delicacy and sensuality...³⁶³

Linking colour and beauty with gender – “nice dames” - and passion – “sensuality” - Allestree displays the sexual politics that had come to surround the subject in the Restoration era. The long history of attacks on the immorality of cosmetics was fuelled in part by the association of makeup with feminine duplicity.³⁶⁴ Yet whilst Allestree writes in opposition to cosmetics, he also testifies to the widespread preoccupation with beauty and the desire for physical perfection that had made cosmetics fashionable. Alongside *Polygraphice*, texts such as Hannah Woolley’s 1677 publication *The accomplish'd lady's delight in preserving, physick, beautifying, and cookery*, which included information on “rare beautifying waters, to adorn and add loveliness to the face and body” proved highly marketable, going through five editions between 1677 and 1696.³⁶⁵

Salmon was certainly not ignorant of such debates around cosmetics, and wrote at length in *Polygraphice* in defence of their use:

But it may chance that some saint or another, may condemn your hearts for evil, because you strive to make your faces good, and may like your in-side the worse because your out-side may look so well Avoid not company for want of beauty, when art afford an innocent supply, but with confidence crucify that evil conscience which forbids the use of a little oyl to make a cheerful countenance, and the drinking of a little wine to a merry heart. Borrow your Artificial beautifiers, and become splendid....³⁶⁶

Presenting the artificial as a remedy for nature’s defects, Salmon goes against the principal distinction of Neoplatonic theory that Sanderson had advocated just over a decade earlier; that outward appearances provided a reliable guide to inward states of being. According to this logic, cosmetics were an anathema precisely because of

³⁶³ Allestree, 1673: 56-57.

³⁶⁴ It has been suggested that a climate of burgeoning scepticism during the Restoration meant that contemporaries such as Salmon could not wholeheartedly accept the tenets of Neoplatonism as they had been previously applied to art – and particularly women’s portraits. The underlying principles of Neoplatonism had permeated English culture in the court of Charles I, where it had strongly affected Caroline literature and drama and influenced the way women were treated and perceived. There it had been the Queen, Henrietta Maria, who set the standard. In its atmosphere of cynicism, scepticism and sexual freedom, the court of Charles II was very different. Here the role models were the King’s mistresses, whose outward beauty was unlikely to have suggested a corresponding inner virtue. Visual representations of Restoration women offer the very best testimony to the new social, political and sexual power of women in late seventeenth century England. Such images arose from, and contributed to, an era when the discourses of gender and sex, religion and dynasty, politics and power, were being renegotiated and rewritten, along with the script of monarchy itself. Defining this further as a new politics of pleasure Charles’s less-sacralised monarchy was founded not on the old assumptions of patriarchy and love, but on calculation, interest, and desire. Within the portraiture of the period, in particular the women of the court who set the standard for beauty, a fashion for a smooth pale painterly complexion on both the face and body and rose tinted cheeks is immediately apparent. Such portraits came to evoke not a sitter’s ‘inner beauty’ but instead her ‘lovely flesh’. See Dethloff, Alexander and Sharpe in C. McLeod and J. M. Alexander (eds) *Painted Ladies: Women at the Courts of Charles II* (London, 2001), esp. 18, 22, 34 and 63.

³⁶⁵ Woolley, 1677; 1683; 1684; 1685; 1696.

³⁶⁶ Salmon, 1673: 288-290.

the threat they posed to the visible world's otherwise 'natural' legibility. If appearances could be altered they could no longer serve as indices of truth.

The continued dissemination of recipes and instruction for cosmetics, in spite of the strident critique and professed mistrust that surrounded the subject, is indicative of an emphasis on personal appearance during the period. Restoration culture was famous for publicising, and in some cases celebrating, female sexuality, and for regarding women as sexual and social agents, in command of their bodies and their social milieu.³⁶⁷ Salmon, feeding into this new culture, goes as far as to highlight how cosmetics and face painting could be used as tools for social advancement:

Deformity is a disease esteemed the most pernicious, and its issue is a matter of dangerous consequence, chiefly *obstructions to Ladies Preferment*. Now to prevent this danger, to take away these obstructions, and to deliver you from the embraces of so hideous a monster (which some esteem as the *Furie of Hell*) these *Cosmeticks* we have offered upon the Altar of your defects; protesting that the use of these beautifiers, will make you as fit for the entertainment of Courtiers, as ever you were before for the courtship of *Grooms* or *Hustlers*, and make your *rusty skins* and *ill-look'd faces*, to out-shine with a radiant lustre, the most splendid of all the *Nymphs of Diana*. Though you may look so much like the Image of death, as that your skins might be taken for your winding sheets, yet by our directions you may attain such a rosid colour, and such a lovely cheerfulness, as shall not only make you look like natures workmanship, but also put admiration into the beholders, and fix them in a belief, that you are the first-fruits of the resurrection.³⁶⁸

Addressing women directly as part of his intended audience for the manual, Salmon reveals his entrepreneurial spirit and cultural intuition, and dramatically expands the remit accorded to the 'lover of art'.

Included in the chapters that follow are various instructions on how to mix white and red paints for the face, along with other "useful" concoctions such as "forehead oyls" and "Spanish wools" with which women were intended to paint their faces. A section is also included "Of Cosmeticks which beautifie without anything of paint." This includes potent potions to cleanse and beautify the skin with ingredients such ingredients as mercury, raw eggs, turpentine, salt of tartar, and white wine. Next are remedies for "the various vices of the skin." These include methods to take away freckles, warts, and wrinkles. Of beautifying the hair" includes instructions on how to dye hair and remedies for baldness, and scent is also addressed, with "of making a sweet Breath" and a "whole doctrine of Perfumes, never written on (to our knowledge) in this order before."³⁶⁹ Chapters follow on treating oils, essences, unguents, powders, balsams, pomanders, wash-balls, and soaps. The final chapters set out methods of burning perfumes, adulterating musk, animal and mineral

³⁶⁷ Sharpe, 2001: 19.

³⁶⁸ Salmon, *Polygraphice*, 2nd Ed. (London, 1673) pp. 288-289.

³⁶⁹ Salmon, 1673: 'Preface to the Reader'.

perfumes, and the way of perfuming cloth, skins, and gloves. There follows three further chapters that are not mentioned on the title page, and that discuss making various sorts of ink, sealing wax, and artificial pearls.

These inclusions are indicative of how Salmon associated self-presentation in the urban arena as a means of maintaining or attaining access to culture, and of establishing social distinctions within the metropolis. For the author, culture was evidently manifest through a framework of social display that made cultural sites places of self-presentation, and in which audiences made publicly visible their wealth, status, social and sexual charms. The ostensible reason for an individual's presence at a cultural site – seeing a play, attending an auction, visiting an artist's studio, listening to a concert – was therefore subordinate to a more powerful set of social imperatives. An audience did not passively attend a performance separate from the social world. It incorporated culture as part of its social recital. The consumer Salmon is addressing is therefore the aspirant woman and ambitious middling man, who wished not only to conform to social standards, but also take part in English cultural practices.

Third (1675), fourth (1678), fifth (1680), and sixth (1681) editions of *Polygraphice* were published in quick succession in the decade that followed, testifying to its appeal and marketability. These four editions retain the same basic format as the second edition, which suggests that copies were selling out at a fast pace, and that the work was being reprinted regularly to meet high demand. The majority of the changes and additions introduced in this period are made in the first book of drawing, and the number of illustrations increases to eighteen. A chapter is added on how to “extend or contract a picture, keeping the proportion.” The new chapters on perspective offer information on what are termed “the active part of perspective”, “the subject to be seen”, and “the general practice of perspective.” Significantly, manuals that specialised in perspective were being circulated in print in England from the early 1670s onwards. These included such works as Robert Pricke's *Perspective practical, or, A plain and easie method of true and lively representing all things to the eye at a distance by the exact rules of art...* (1672), and Joseph Moxon's *Practical perspective, or, Perspective made easie teaching [brace] by the opticks, how to delineate all bodies, buildings, or landskips ...* (1670).³⁷⁰ It must have seemed logical to Salmon to include such a newly fashionable subject within his manual. Meanwhile, in his instructions on drawing human muscles Salmon

³⁷⁰ Pricke, 1672; Moxon, 1670.

makes a new reference to Jacob van der Gracht's *Anatomie der wterlicke deelen van het Menschelick Lichaem . . . Bequaem voor Schilderns, Beelt-houwers, Plaetsnyders, als oock Chirurgiens* ('The anatomy of the external parts of the human body ... useful for painters, sculptors, etchers, as well as surgeons').³⁷¹ First published in 1634 and then again in 1660, the book was, as its title suggests, written expressly as an example for artists. Within the text Van der Gracht praises the knowledge of anatomy in artists, in particular the working of the muscles ("the motility of the body"). He claims his work responds to the "various opinions and maxims of many modern painters" whom he has considered in this respect.³⁷² He distinguishes between those who think it necessary to study only antique statues, because they teach "the harmonious proportions and beauty of life", and those who think it sufficient to paint "only from life as it appears to them", concentrating merely on the convincing suggestion of space so that what is in front comes to the fore and what is behind recedes towards the back.³⁷³ When such painters portray a nude, they focus completely "on the garment of the human body, which is the skin." According to Van der Gracht neither approach is correct, for without some knowledge of anatomy and the way muscles work – what goes on under the skin – one can neither portray a nude convincingly nor render motion correctly.³⁷⁴ Such inclusions reveal perhaps some partiality on the part of our author, the irregular practitioner who held an extensive knowledge of, and active interest in, anatomy and science more generally. Salmon would have seen such parallels as complementing his own abilities as an art lover, with the capacity to confidently analyse and judge the depiction of muscles and the human form in works of art.

In 1685 Salmon published his penultimate edition of *Polygraphice*. Its four books are increased to seven, and the illustrative plates grow in number from eighteen to twenty-four. The first book continues to deal with drawing, and the second with engraving, etching, and limning. Book three returns to the original format of the first edition, treating painting, washing, colouring, dying, varnishing and gilding. Book four, however, now concerns the "Original, Advancement and Perfection of the Art of PAINTING: Particularly exemplified in the various Paintings of the Antients", a section that had previously formed part of the book on painting, washing and so on. Book five now presents the arts of beautifying, perfuming, chiromancy, and alchemy – alchemy being an entirely new addition to the text. The

³⁷¹ Van der Gracht, 1634.

³⁷² Quoted in Sluijter, 2006: 211.

³⁷³ Sluijter, 2006: 211.

³⁷⁴ Sluijter, 2006: 211.

sixth and seventh books are also new additions. The sixth contains ‘one hundred and twelve chymical arcana of Peter John Faber, a most eminent and learned Physician,’; the seventh is entitled “the cabinet of Physick; or a collection of choice medicines fitted for vulgar use.” An explanation for the insertion of the alchemical and chemical material in is found in the dedication, where their inclusion is justified in relation to the profitability of alchemical practices. Salmon puts forward the idea that, by becoming rich via the methods enclosed within the treatise, the reader would be placed in a position to invest his or her profits in endowing the arts. One more plausible motivation for the inclusion of such material might have been the fact that alchemy was a controversial topic; its submersion within the larger compendium meant that a reader could purchase information on alchemical practices without explicitly associating themselves with the subject. The seventh and last book comes with no such argument to link it to artistic practice or patronage. Offering “remedies” for a range of ailments, from bloodshot eyes to gonorrhoea, it appears to be an extension of the passages on cosmetics and beautification, included perhaps to encourage sales of the new edition.

In the eighth and final edition of *Polygraphice*, published sixteen years later in 1701, and twenty-nine years after the first edition of 1672, very little of the original material is omitted. Rather, it is, in parts, extended, re-ordered, and re-classified. In a postscript that adjoins the text Salmon explains the extensive and continuous changes and additions made over the many years of *Polygraphice*’s publication:

...the Copy was formerly in the hands of such Men, who thought much at every Penny they laid out, and provided it would but answer their ends and bring them Money, they cared not how meanly the Publick was served by it. But now it has fallen into the hands of more Generous Spirited Men, who were desirous of having a good Work, and a Compleat Thing, and stuck at no Money to the same Perfection...³⁷⁵

Salmon’s words suggested that this edition should be understood as the complete and perfected version of the treatise. Within the text the seven books swell to eleven, and are now presented in two volumes. The title page is also made more legible, and includes chapter headings that order the previously chaotic list of contents. The work was now a vast encyclopaedic compendium [See Appendix 3], and the fact that such a diversity of instruction could be drawn from its pages meant that its appeal was widespread.

These eight editions, and with them the expanding contents of Salmon’s *Polygraphice*, raise a number of questions and considerations. Firstly, how did the collected nature of the text fit in with, if at all, more widespread literary

³⁷⁵ Salmon, 1701: ‘Postscript’.

conventions and authorial practices of the period? It is a highly resourceful work, which drew from all manner of sources, old and new, and continually updated its contents to expand and redefine the remit of its inclusive topic – “polygraphice”. This particular authorial approach, alluded to explicitly by Salmon in his opening address to the reader, demands further attention as a means to advance our comprehension of the work as conceived in early modern England.

Polygraphice's encyclopaedic character meant that it was also a highly economical investment, saving its owner the trouble and expense of purchasing a multitude of texts on a variety of topics. Mixing basic art instruction, explanation of techniques and media, hermetic wisdom, and connoisseurial, social, and medical advice, *Polygraphice*'s textual proliferation over three decades suggests a mix of commerce and hedonism promoted by a cultural middleman who understood his market. This entrepreneurial temperament is worth further attention also, particularly in conjunction with Salmon's personal ambition to refinement that we already know something of from his biographical details.

Finally, *Polygraphice*, with its profusion of material and apparent absence of discrimination between cultural forms considered to be illiberal or mechanical, and those that would have been viewed as edifying or polite, highlights a mix of consumerism and culture that appears particular to this moment in English social history. Reflecting on it as a text that emerged out of, and belonged to, the modern literary and visual cultures of the author's day, the varied trajectory of *Polygraphice* will be explored as an attempt negotiate the market by whatever means available, in response to, and navigation through, the diverse, cosmopolitan, and transitional environment of late seventeenth-century England.

***Polygraphice* as a literary cabinet of curiosities**

Partly as a response to Salmon's profession in medicine, and to the array of material included within his work, scholars have tended to place *Polygraphice* in the context of the Royal Society. Carol Gibson-Wood defines *Polygraphice* as an ‘opportunistic manifestation of Bacon's History of Trades programme’, which the Royal Society embraced so enthusiastically.³⁷⁶ In the 1620s Bacon published a series of works setting out to provide a full-scale and systematic methodology for the reform of knowledge. From its inception the Royal Society facilitated the collective implementation of Bacon's empirical program, and it was thanks largely

³⁷⁶ Gibson-Wood, 2000: 12-13.

to this, that in the 1660s the Society's philosophical agenda gave unprecedented attention to the production of natural histories, including arts and trades.³⁷⁷ Gibson-Wood argues that, as the author of 'this compendium of information,' Salmon remains oblivious to Continental notions 'about the humanistic aims of painting...[aims which] would have prohibited his egalitarian depiction of both vegetables and Roman virtues.'³⁷⁸ Craig Ashley Hanson likewise suggests that the reallocation of the dedication in the second edition to Henry Howard calls to mind the Royal Society, and the polymathic character of the treatise can be seen as echoing the institution's own eclectic range of interests. For Hanson, *Polygraphice* serves as a 'pendent' to the art texts that received the Society's recognition and support.³⁷⁹

However, having seen that Salmon's professional position placed him outside the realm of virtuosity represented by the Society, and having considered in detail the proliferating contents of *Polygraphice's* multiple editions, such a categorisation does not seem to correlate with the intellectual and social milieus out of which the work actually emerged. Rather the conceptual make-up of *Polygraphice* can more suggestively and persuasively be seen to have had its roots in certain humanist literary traditions, which were closely aligned with particular kinds of collecting practices, and which were established prior to the formation of the Royal Society.

In seventeenth-century England the composition and circulation of texts were commonly conceptualized and practiced as a process of collecting. This conceptualisation originated from what has been termed the humanist 'notebook method' of reading and writing.³⁸⁰ Humanist educators suggested that texts should be viewed as fields of sayings – exempla, analogies, aphorisms, proverbs, adages – which needed to be "harvested" as they were being read.³⁸¹ A commonplace book would be kept that was organised under a series of headings; as the student read they would record memorable sayings under the appropriate headings. This practice created a "personal, subject-organized dictionary of quotations" to which the reader could refer when writing their own compositions.³⁸² For a humanist reader, the point of reading a book was not to provide an 'anatomy' or an understanding of its argument or structure; rather, the end was a harvesting or mining of the book for its

³⁷⁷ Hanson, 2009: 91.

³⁷⁸ Gibson-Wood, 2000: 12-13.

³⁷⁹ Hanson, 2009: 119.

³⁸⁰ Swann, 2001: 149.

³⁸¹ Swann, 2001: 153.

³⁸² Mack, 1996: 90.

functional parts that were useful to borrow for the readers' own writing, or to serve as practical conduct guidelines or stylistic models.³⁸³ The educational programme promoted by humanists such as Agricola and Erasmus thus entailed the "rhetorical disintegration of texts" and the simultaneous development of the reader's own collection of textual fragments.³⁸⁴ The influence of this fragmentary mode of reading on the literary culture of early modern England was profound, and during the Tudor period, printed commonplace books proliferated, forming both "the staple of the ordinary man's reading" and the "building blocks" of the imaginative literature of the period.³⁸⁵

In the preface to the first edition of *Polygraphice* Salmon himself states that:

In the Composure of this Work (besides our own observations) we have made use of the best Authors now extant, that we could possibly procure, or get into our hands; wherein our labour was not small; what in Reading, Comprising, Transcribing, Choosing, Correcting, Disposing and Revising every thing, in respect of Matter, Form and Order.³⁸⁶

Outlining the composition of the treatise as one centred on collecting, selecting, and borrowing from other sources, the statement suggests that Salmon conceived the work as a compendium of artistic and technical knowledge, rather than as a singular theoretical text. What mattered to Salmon was evidently not the expression of his individual ideas or the pursuit of a consistent, linear argument, but the acquisition and disclosure of all available information.

The humanist notebook method fostered new concepts of the relationship between textuality, collecting, and identity. Modern use of the terms 'collection' and 'collector' are in fact specific products of late Elizabethan and Stuart England. From the mid-fifteenth century the term 'collection' referred to gathered historical or literary materials, and it was only from 1651 onwards that the term also came to designate an assemblage of physical things - scientific specimens, objects of interest, works of art.³⁸⁷ Similarly the term 'collector', first used in 1582 to refer to a literary compiler, came to refer to an individual "who collects works of art, curiosities, etc."³⁸⁸ The characteristics of the collector and the author in seventeenth century England did not enjoy separate identities. This duality of meaning, of an accumulation of ideas and an accumulation of objects, offers an alternative conceptual framework with which to engage with the construction of *Polygraphice*.

³⁸³ Bushnall, 1996: 129.

³⁸⁴ Swann, 2001: 153.

³⁸⁵ Ong, 1971: 48-49, 80.

³⁸⁶ Salmon, 1672: 'Preface to the Reader'.

³⁸⁷ Swann, 2001: 1.

³⁸⁸ Swann, 2001: 1.

Salmon belonged to a culture, we can now suggest, in which only a rudimentary concept of proprietary authorship had been established, and he fulfilled an author-function that was conceived within the same boundaries as the practices of collecting and cataloguing.

To collectors of the period diversity was not chaos but the embodiment of *copia*.³⁸⁹ In rhetoric, *copia* or copiousness was associated with the style of Cicero; it meant having an extensive vocabulary with which to argue and praise. It also meant being full of information, signalling a plenitude of knowledge and a means of expressing it that was equally and appropriately full. The copiousness of early modern cabinet of curiosity collections similarly expressed the plenitude and diversity of both the natural and man-made world. In this context it is suggestive to turn to the example of the Museo Cospiano in Bologna, a collection assembled by the Medici courtier Ferdinando Cospi. This demonstrates *copia* in its exhibition of ceramic and metal work alongside natural objects such as coral, shells, and sea animals, and alongside artifacts such as ancient Egyptian statues and marble bas-reliefs (Fig. 15). As miniaturized microcosms, collections positioned their owners allegorically as possessors of the world. The more copious and diverse the collection, the more extensive the collector's influence, and the more exalted the object, the more transcendent its possessor.³⁹⁰

This may remind us of Salmon's own collecting practices, of both objects and texts, which were no doubt encouraged by the developments in transport that led to the European exploration of 'new' worlds and his own travel to the West Indies and New England.³⁹¹ Cabinets such as Salmon's were collections of rare or peculiar objects representing the three elements of *naturalia*: the animal world, the vegetable world, and the mineral world, and *artificialia*: human achievements. Amassing the most 'curious' artefacts, collectors sought to illuminate the secrets of nature by reproducing its spectacle and fantasy in microcosm. These cabinets formed synopses of the world, allowing the produce of the earth, sea, and air to be compared with the produce of mankind. The cabinets were non-scientific in that they primarily encapsulated the sense of wonderment that lay at the heart of Christian creationist doctrine as celebrated by Sanderson in his discussion of the landscape genre and its embodiment of diversity and contrast. As such, the

³⁸⁹ Tribby, 1992: 43-67.

³⁹⁰ Bermingham, 2000: 53.

³⁹¹ Impey and Macgregor, 1985.

objective of the early modern cabinets was not to produce a logical, encyclopaedic map of everyday *naturalia* and *artificialia*, but to serve spiritual and ritualistic purposes and to support and promote religious knowledge.³⁹² The kind of knowledge these collections created conformed to a contemporary epistemology of resemblance. Instead of being analytic, it was analogic and mimetic.³⁹³ It was representational in the truest sense for it was literally understood to be a representation of the world.

With the ever-increasing interest in collecting, texts also became adjuncts of collections of curiosities. Collectors of antiquities and specimens of natural history purchased literature related to their obsessions. Such books were tools of an owner's trade, purchased and admired for their use-value. Scholars, doctors, lawyers and clergymen assembled libraries of books relating to their work throughout sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Clearly Salmon's library, whilst extensive, was not unusual. The sixteenth-century mathematician and alchemist John Dee (1527–1609), for example, assembled a library in conjunction with his studies in science and the occult.³⁹⁴ The library of Robert Cotton (1571–1631) offers a further example, containing coins, sculptures, medals, precious stones, and a fossilized fish.³⁹⁵ This connection between texts and objects saw them being housed together in the same collective and ideological space.

In relation to *Polygraphice* itself, the notion of material abundance associated with *copia* is evident in the text's growing editions. Contextualised within the culture of the seventeenth-century cabinet of curiosity - one that incorporated texts and objects, art and nature - *Polygraphice's* eclectic contents and growing editions respond to a literary tradition that valued the continual accumulation of material. The mass of information contained within its pages, set against the lack of original material found within it, binds Salmon to the seventeenth-century notion of author/collector, or what might today be better conceived as an editor, whilst the text itself is usefully characterised as a literary cabinet of curiosity. Here, it declared was a 'lover of art' who collected exhaustively, continuously and, crucially, without prejudice. Curiosity regarding the visual arts, and an apparent value or interest in every variant form of the arts, such as that demonstrated by Salmon, collided with the efforts of academicians such as Evelyn and Aglionby

³⁹² Mulholland, 2005: 21-22.

³⁹³ Foucault, 1970: 30-31.

³⁹⁴ Swann, 2001: 4.

³⁹⁵ Swann, 2001: 3.

who were attempting to establish specific principles for aesthetic judgment. Defining ‘polygraphice’ as a liberal art, but foregrounding the mechanical and the material as well as the aesthetic and the intellectual, Salmon’s treatise opened up a new realm for art and for the art-lover within late-seventeenth-century culture.

Identities Re-Imagined: aspiration and ambition in *Polygraphice*

Yet even as *Polygraphice*’s methodological make-up aligned itself with older humanistic codes of authorship and collecting, its creator was continually attempting to re-fashion his personal image and his book’s appeal in terms of newer ideals of refinement circulating in contemporary English culture. Throughout the three decades of its publication, the character of the text and its author were continually being reformulated. The first edition, for example, was dedicated to Sir Peter Stanley, the second Baronet of Alderley. In the dedication Salmon writes ‘Your name, Sir, is enough to make this work go Currant, and to pass unquestionable under the piercing censure of this critical age.’³⁹⁶ No surviving evidence remains of Stanley’s particular association with the visual arts. Yet Salmon clearly hoped his dedicatee might in some way help to raise the book’s status, and protect the work from censure as the product of a mere quack empiric. In the second edition, less than a year later, Salmon’s dedication is directed instead to Henry Howard, the grandson of the great aristocratic collector Lord Arundel. Echoing Evelyn’s dedication to Howard five years previously in his *Perfection*, the epistle highlights Howard’s distinguished lineage, as well as celebrating his own personal support of the arts. The Howard association, likely to be more imagined than real, conveys how, with the second edition of *Polygraphice*, Salmon was intent on refashioning the text, no doubt hoping to catch the attention of a more refined stratum of society. The third, fourth, fifth, and sixth editions of *Polygraphice* all retain the same dedication to Howard. In 1684, however, Howard died, and the following year Salmon wasted no time finding a new, living “advocate” for his latest edition of the work. The dedication now read “To his much Honoured and Respected Friend Captain Wortley Whorwood”³⁹⁷. Whorwood was the owner of Stourton Castle, and was known to be a great supporter of the arts, frequently entertaining Zachary Kneller (the brother of Sir Godfrey Kneller), whose work was recorded in the early nineteenth century as appearing in many parts of the Castle.³⁹⁸ In the eighth and final edition of 1701 we find the dedication changed once more.

³⁹⁶ Salmon, 1672: ‘Epistle Dedicatory’.

³⁹⁷ Salmon, 1685: ‘The Epistle Dedicatory’.

³⁹⁸ *The Gentleman’s magazine*, Volume 90, December 1801: 1107.

And while the book's past dedications had honoured celebrated supporters of the arts, the approbation now passed to Sir Godfrey Kneller, whose position as the nation's leading painter would have been instantly grasped by all those segments of English society who had any interests in the visual arts. The dedication reads:

As Universal Fame acknowledges you the Chief of your Profession, and has made you a great judge of things of this Nature; so I could not have chosen a more Fit or Exquisite Patron, a Man as excellently Accomplished to Determine, as you are admirably Skilful to Perform. The Work is itself a Dead Body, but as a Body without a Soul; it is your Character and Name must give it Life and Spirit...³⁹⁹

Salmon was never one to miss a marketing opportunity; yet his dedication also marks an important transformation in English culture. Emphasis had shifted in the time since *Polygraphice's* inception from the patron to the artist; no longer was it the great collector or supporter of the arts with whom Salmon wished to be affiliated; rather it was an artist who was now the focus of his attention.

The frontispieces decorating the various editions of *Polygraphice* were no less subject to revision. The first was illustrated with an engraving by Philip Holmes, depicting some of the practices included in the text (Fig. 16). The engraving shows four different scenes of a gentleman, or at least a member of the middling ranks, engaged in various artistic activities: etching, engraving, varnishing or colouring two spheres of a globe, and painting at an easel. An earlier publication contains a remarkably similar design (Fig. 17) from which the engraving for *Polygraphice* was in all probability adapted. The earlier text, entitled *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil, Exemplifying the Uses of Them in the Most Exquisite and Mysterious Arts of Drawing, Etching, Engraving, Limning. Painting in Oyl, Washing of Maps & Pictures...* was printed anonymously for the same publisher, Richard Jones, just four years earlier in 1668.⁴⁰⁰ The frontispiece similarly portrays four different scenes of a figure engaged in various artistic activities. The significance of the borrowed frontispiece design is its indication that this initial illustration was an adapted, second-hand model, paired with *Polygraphice* perhaps for more economic than aesthetic reasons. The relatively short length of *Polygraphice's* first edition, the lack of contents page, and absence of any illustrative plates all further support this view, and this would certainly go further in explaining why the author was styled so inconspicuously "W. S." on the title page. This was only Salmon's second publication of any sort. Bearing in mind the very early stage in his publishing

³⁹⁹ Salmon, 1701: 2-3.

⁴⁰⁰ *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil, Exemplifying the Uses of Them in the Most Exquisite and Mysterious Arts of Drawing, Etching, Engraving, Limning. Painting in Oyl, Washing of Maps & Pictures ...* (London, 1668). A second edition was published in 1688 with the significant edition of a section on the mezzotint, a process that came into use just after the first edition had been released. The anonymous text is based in part on the writings of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein, and although it handles many of the same topics as *Polygraphice*, Salmon does not appear to have borrowed directly from the earlier text.

career at which *Polygraphice* was produced, funds would not have been in great supply – especially for the commissioning of what might have been considered by many to be a relatively minor pictorial adornment in the context of the publication’s primary purpose as an instructional manual. In this context the visual transformation found in the second edition, published only one year later, is of some significance.

The second edition was adorned with a decorative title page that was emblematic of the ancient, classical traditions of the visual arts (Fig 18). The engraving, by William Sherwin, depicts the figures of the ancient Greek painters Apelles and Zeuxis, holding in their hands the tools of the painter - a brush and palette. Both figures stand on a plinth that breaks forward at either side; between the figures an angel announces the publication with a trumpet. The title is engraved on a central oval scrollwork cartouche that is opened at the top and bottom to accommodate the faces of two putti, who look towards the inscription as if to draw the eye to the title. The figures of Apelles and Zeuxis rest on either side of the cartouche, with Apelles’ index finger pointing to the inscription “Polygraphice”. Their stance and Apelles’ gesture acknowledges their approval or adherence to the work. While this title page is meant to be evocative of the classical tradition, the engraving is itself a rather awkward piece of craftsmanship, and by no means as intricate or as sophisticated as many of the decorative title pages published during the period. Yet, given the publication’s primary purpose as a manual dedicated to the arts, this new attention to the book’s visual presentation was clearly meant to be appreciated as a development of some consequence.

A further change is found on the facing page, where a half-portrait of a young Salmon (Fig. 19), also by Sherwin, is newly inserted. Framed by a Restoration banner that further distinguishes Salmon’s intellectual profile, the print is complete with his full name and medical credentials. Underneath the portrait is engraved “You see his form and years, but if you would view his just Soule, (which envy can’t behold) In to his work ye following tractate looke the lively picture of his minde ye booke.” On the written title page Salmon implements his self-styled signature “Professor of Physick”, further aggrandizing his academic profile. In striking contrast to the earlier semi-anonymity of Salmon’s authorial presence – he was referred to, we will remember, simply as “W. S. A Lover of Art” - the text is now transformed to present the work as a product of the author’s intellectual activity.

Both of Sherwin's engravings were retained up until the final edition of *Polygraphice* in 1701, and the substantial sale of the manual suggests this shrewd pictorial refashioning made some contribution towards its success. In the final, eighth edition of 1701, the decorative title page by Sherwin is still retained, but the earlier frontispiece portrait is now replaced by an updated engraving by the fashionable artist Robert White (Fig. 20). The latest portrait substitutes the older Restoration collar with an elegant scarf, and in place of the now tired epitaph, an architectural base anchors the oval frame, while ornamental ribbons cap the image, echoing the curls of Salmon's wig. The dramatic visual alteration of our author here is particularly intriguing; he has moved from being depicted as a young physician, to being defined as a refined and elegant gentleman.

A survey of other portraits of Salmon produced in the period, employed as accompaniments to his numerous publications, reveals the extent to which he also managed his personal social transformation during the years of *Polygraphice's* publication. As we have seen, Sherwin's 1672 depiction shows Salmon in simple plain clothes, and with his own thinning hair somewhat crudely cut into waves. By 1686, an anonymous portrait portrays the now slightly more mature Salmon with the look of a fashionable gentleman, his thick flowing wig and fashionable intricate dress indicative of a substantial social transition (Fig. 21). A year later, Robert White's portrait, which adorns *Polygraphice's* eighth and final edition fourteen years after the engraving was dated, is produced in a similar manner. Although just one year on, Salmon appears here more mature, and certainly at ease with his role in London's fashionable urban sphere. One further final portrait of Salmon is now known. Again it is by White, produced in 1700 – though inexplicably not utilised for *Polygraphice's* final edition the following year (Fig. 22). The ornately detailed collar frames Salmon, who looks out to greet the viewer as a distinguished elderly man. Still wearing his long and full luxurious wig, his now plump face suggests he has lived plentifully from his commercial success, commissioning this updated portrait as a re-affirmation of his elevated position. The aspiring cultural entrepreneur, Salmon had played the market to his own advantage, and simultaneously managed to refashion his own identity and image through the very visual culture he promoted in *Polygraphice*. As well as borrowing from the older idea of the literary cabinet of curiosities, Salmon was therefore also fashioning himself and his text in relation to newer ideas of politeness and gentility. In doing so he was no doubt attempting to escape his characterisation as a quack practitioner, utilising the literary and visual cultures of his day to his own advantage. For the

aspiring lover of art whom Salmon addresses, his own example of personal refashioning within the text offered an explicit illustration to his reader of the possibilities that an association with art and culture might bring.

Salmon the Cultural Entrepreneur: marketing and print publicity in the Restoration metropolis

That Salmon was able to exert such a transformation, of both *Polygraphice* and his constructed image as author is of note, made possible, it can be assumed, by the new social and commercial spaces and events that proliferated in the capital in the years Salmon was publishing there. Salmon's 'shop window' would have been the multitude of ale and coffeehouses, as well as the market squares. Tavern walls were plastered with bills, and people poured over advertisements and notices in coffee houses. Operating in such an arena hinged on self-promotion, marketing, and visual appeal. Salmon was no exception, his use of newspaper advertisements (Fig. 23) and handbills (Fig. 24) indicative that he was a prescient and effective advertiser. Gaining trade largely through self-orchestrated publicity, Salmon sought custom from the anonymous consumer – the faceless crowd, the nameless reader – through marketing, print publicity, and the sale of standardized commodities. Operating as an individual entrepreneur, he was able to transgress professional codes of conduct at the time.

As has been suggested, Salmon's extensive compendium can be seen to invite and appeal to an open audience regardless of gender or social rank. Like his later publication, *Family Dictionary or Household Companion*, that was "fitted for a Family use", *Polygraphice* can be understood as addressing an open spectrum that could have included women and children, artisans and amateurs, as well as connoisseurs and gentlemen. Salmon's advertisements therefore not only help situate *Polygraphice* alongside other seventeenth-century goods that were on offer, and chronicle the evolution in print marketing and promotion, but furthermore construct who the imagined reader or consumer of the treatise might have been.

As with the first edition of *Polygraphice*, an early-dated announcement from Salmon (Fig. 25) does not bear the author's name. A later notice, however, now self-proclaims him as "William Salmon M. D" (Fig. 26). Here, in the *English Post* of 6 December 1700, the author is found in the right hand column of the "Advertisements" page announcing the forthcoming publication of the eighth edition

of *Polygraphice*.⁴⁰¹ The notice takes its place on the page beside a variety of advertisements for other literary publications, ranging from a surgical treatise with a “Discourse on Discovered Bones”, to an illustrated parody of “The Unfortunate Court Favourites of *England*”, a grammatical treatise, and a newly translated Jewish history, demonstrating a distinctly eclectic and varied marketplace. Salmon’s own notice highlights “above 500 Additions, and 5 whole books not in any former Impression, with 25 new Copper Sculptures”, the text now available for purchase at two London booksellers.

A later notice, this time for Salmon’s *The English Herbal; Or, History of Plants* is found in the right hand column of the *Tatler* of 30 March 1709 (Fig. 27). Throughout the rest of the page advertisements are crammed together for gowns to “satisfy Gentlemen and Ladies”, a collection of moral and political remarks, an auction of the most “celebrated masters” to “acquaint the Lovers of Art”, and a treatise for the “Further Improvement of Dancin”. Also announced are a cluster of newspapers and periodicals including “The Love-Post, Or News for the Ladies” and “The Coffee-house-Post, or the Fable of the Trumpeter”. The plethora of advertisements highlight fashionable clothing, auctions, dancing and politics. Salmon now also advertises his texts as available in “most Booksellers in the City and Country; where subscriptions are taken in,” highlighting the increasing availability of his published literature. Drawn against the earlier advertisement page from 1675, the emergence of an increasingly visual and public form of cultural entertainment can here be suggested, one that arguably appeared to leave behind the more singular private masculine emphasis of pre-Restoration literature such as Sanderson’s *Graphice*.

The advertisements speak not only to apprentices, connoisseurs and amateurs, but also to merchants, tradesmen and all manner of professionals interested in a diversity of cultural amusements. The eclecticism found on the advertisement page can furthermore be understood to reflect the audience’s own diverse and wide-ranging tastes, whilst reminding us how emergent ideas were around the formation of taste and identity at this time. Furthermore, Salmon’s advertisements not only help us understand how the seventeenth-century newspaper reader would have found out what was on offer, but also allow us imagine why such a reader might have decided to purchase *Polygraphice*. Who was such a reader likely to be? While

⁴⁰¹ *English Post Giving an Authentick Account of the Transactions of the World Foreign and Domestick*, 6 December 1700.

the evidence for, and scholarship on, *Polygraphice's* audience remains too thin for any detailed or steadfast answers to this question, I would suggest that Salmon's advertisements help us make some initial suggestions on the issue. For such pages both respond to and construct a specific audience, one that in this case is defined as resolutely metropolitan, relatively literate, moderately affluent, and eclectic in its tastes. It is interested in a wide range of urban pleasures, seeks instruction in a variety of disciplines, is willing to subscribe to books and prints, and can afford the price being asked to do all these things. Recovering this imagined audience allows us to suggest that *Polygraphice*, which in its own nature duplicated and exaggerated the eclecticism found on the advertisement page, appealed to what we can loosely call a 'middling' sector of society, whose social core was neither aristocratic nor plebeian, but which comfortably absorbed individuals from both communities into its ambits.⁴⁰²

The space created by the Restoration coffeehouse, in particular, alludes to the exhilaration of a new kind of freedom distinguished by a potentially unlimited dissolving of social boundaries particularly relevant to *Polygraphice*. In a contemporary image of a Restoration London coffeehouse (Fig. 28) the space is represented as a locale of speech, print and connoisseurship. To the left, a boy collects pipes from a chest, and the female proprietor of the establishment pours dishes of coffee. Most of the image is taken up by clusters of men gathered at long communal tables to smoke tobacco, drink coffee, and, most notably, encounter the events of an ever-expanding world through a variety of printed forms. Some individuals read alone in the midst of a crowd, others aloud to those who may be illiterate. Through exchange of speech and exchange of print, the space is charged with the possibility of unconstrained communication and broad access to

⁴⁰² By the closing decades of the seventeenth century attention to England's growing economic strength was focused upon the world of commerce and manufactures, and upon the activities of those members of trading, manufacturing, and professional classes whose efforts were most visibly increasing the wealth of the country. The swelling, prosperous middle ranks were people as various as merchants, lawyers, medical practitioners, clothiers, ironmongers, mining engineers, and shipmasters who excelled in turning a penny for themselves. In terms of social status, some – notably great merchants and leading professionals – enjoyed effective gentility. Others were recognized as the "principal inhabitants" or "better sort" of their provincial communities. Still others were simply termed "householders": a usage implying a degree of economic and social soundness, which distinguished them from the poor. Heterogeneous as its membership might be, the notion of a "middle sort of people" placed between the landed gentry and the labouring classes has a general validity – as contemporaries recognised by their frequent employment of the term. And if it was a distinctly elastic category, those encompassed by it had certain broad characteristics in common. Of these, the two most frequently singled out by historians are their independence and their prospects. Unlike the gentry, they had to work for a living, but unlike labouring people they did so independently. They frequently employed others, but were rarely themselves employees. In addition, most of them were able to generate a significant income by the standards of the day. See Wrightson: 2000, 289-290.

knowledge. This is a “liminal” site, a threshold between high and low, public and private, between print and oral culture.⁴⁰³

The coffeehouse is rightly associated primarily with print and scribal publications, because it was an increasingly important venue for reading and distribution of such materials. Yet as this illustration demonstrates, such sites were also significant for the display of visual images as well, one figure even raising a candle to provide better illumination to his viewing of the picture. Many early images of coffeehouses represent the establishment with at least one, and often several, pictures, hanging on the walls (For a further example see Fig. 29). As Brian Cowan has observed, “these artworks were not likely to be the imported grand masters such as Rembrandt, Titian, or Poussin, but they may well have been more representative of a native English taste for portraits and landscapes.” Along with painted pictures, the walls of coffeehouses were often also filled with cheaper prints such as broadsides and woodcuts. In this, both high-brow connoisseurship and low-brow popular print culture flourished in the same urban context in the early coffeehouse milieu.

This meeting of high and low culture, and unfamiliar fusion of social classes, was not, however, readily accepted into contemporary English culture, with greatly contrasting views of the coffeehouse emerging in the early decades of the Restoration. The most troubling commodities stored and vended were the diverse forms of print. It is where “you shall here as much Confusion of Languages over Coffee and Tea, as ever there could be imagined at Babel; Discontents, Murmurings, Disgusts, Scannings, Comments, Sentences, Condemnations, Arguments Pro, Arguments Con, whole Lies, half Lies, quarter Lies.” This range of falsehoods is given a material form through printed objects that enter into the space of the coffeehouse “Daily, and Hourly, and Minutely and Half Minutely.”⁴⁰⁴ As a result, *The Women’s Petition against Coffee* maintained, “at these Houses (as at the Springs in Afric) meet all sorts of Animals, whence follows the production of a thousand Monster Opinions and Absurdities.”⁴⁰⁵ The likeness of the coffeehouse to the mysteries of wild Africa helps account for why these sites provoked, with equal force, simultaneous fascination and repulsion from Restoration commentators.

The first English coffeehouse had opened in London, close to the Royal Exchange in 1652, and numerous establishments were subsequently founded in the city, many in close proximity to the centres of literate culture that was made up of lawyers at

⁴⁰³ Montayne, 2007: 36.

⁴⁰⁴ Quoted in Montayne, 2007: 36, and *n.17*.

⁴⁰⁵ Quoted in Montayne, 2007: 36, and *n.18*.

the Temple, and printers and booksellers in Fleet Street.⁴⁰⁶ On the title-pages of *Polygraphice's* many editions, we find the text advertised as being sold at normally at least two sites at any one time - St Paul's Churchyard, Little Britain, and London Bridge – all recurring locations over the thirty year publication period, and sites that also had close proximity to the new coffeehouse culture. From these locations, a picture begins to form of sellers of books, pamphlets and prints sometimes sharing the same physical space. These sellers were not all from the highest ranks of the trade, but included specialists in ephemeral print, forging a link between marketplace, coffeehouse, and forms of print distanced from sanctioned and institutional discourses.

In the decades of *Polygraphice's* publication, the coffeehouse also became one of the premier sites for the emergence of the English auction. A sales medium that had originated as a convenience for mercantile wholesaling was enthusiastically embraced by lovers of paintings, prints, drawings, and sculptures, as well as books and other “curiosities” in the Post-Restoration era. As one “Notice to all Lovers of Art and Ingenuity” from Oxford depicts, a diversity of artists, practitioners and auctioneers now had an open platform on which to promote their wares (Fig. 30).

The first public art auction recorded in England was held in 1674, and by 1690 had become a weekly occurrence in London, taking place at coffeehouses and taverns.⁴⁰⁷ While from time to time these featured collections that had belonged to eminent individuals, like the painters Sir Peter Lely and John Riley, or foreign collectors, such as Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the great majority consisted of miscellaneous pictures from unspecified sources. Picture auctions of this type attracted mixed audiences of middle- and upper-class women and men, who attended not simply or even necessarily to buy, but also to be entertained. Edward Millington, perhaps the most enterprising of the early auctioneers, noted in the catalogue of a sale to begin on August 13, 1689, that his London sales had been well received “by the great Number of People that were present of all Qualities.”⁴⁰⁸ Aside from the distinctions of class or status, gender had also become a concern for auction organizers. Millington provided separate accommodations for prospective female purchasers when he conducted his sale at the Barbados Coffeehouse in Cornhill: “Conveniency of galleries” at the coffeehouse, he noted, “is set apart for

⁴⁰⁶ Montayne, 2007: 36.

⁴⁰⁷ Gibson-Wood, 2002: 493.

⁴⁰⁸ Gibson-Wood, 2002: n. 45

ladies and gentlewomen,” while adding that “attendance is given for viewing.”⁴⁰⁹ The auction thus provided a convenient and public entrée for many people into the previously circumscribed culture of elite connoisseurship, extending well beyond the restricted circles of gentlemanly collectors. Just as the coffeehouse opened up elite social conventions and cultural preferences to a much wider audience, so too did the auction allow culture to be bought up by anyone willing and wealthy enough to outbid his rivals.⁴¹⁰

Access to this culture was comparatively easy; coffee-house newspapers could be read for the price of a beverage; printsellers’ shops and auction houses were entered gratis by those able to muster the appearance of respectability. As a result, auction sales were frequented by a new emerging class of tradesmen and merchants. For an exceptionally large stratum, culture was available as never before, the cultural audience no longer confined to the aristocracy and the leisured classes, or aimed predominantly towards a masculine market. *Polygraphice’s* explicit address to women as well as men engages and responds to this changing market. Furthermore, its attention to personal appearance and presentation in the lengthy instruction on cosmetics, perfumes, hairstyles and even recipes on various was to fashion “artificial pearls” and make “sealing wax”, here take on a new meaning. His readers could not only prepare themselves with knowledge of the subject of art, but also present themselves respectably in order to access this culture under *Polygraphice’s* instruction. Therefore, not only was this multifarious and accessible milieu the context in which *Polygraphice* was sold and circulated, but also the environment to which the text alluded – a new kind of sociability that was sweeping the nation that was, in theory, available to any who wished to purchase Salmon’s guide.

In associating *Polygraphice* with the contentious and diverse coffee- and auction-house culture, it can therefore be understood not only as a perpetuation of an older humanistic literary tradition of a culture of collecting, and of a will to refinement that aligned Salmon and his text with aristocratic collectors and famous artists, but also as a text that emerged out of, and belonged to, the modern literary and visual cultures of his day. This was a polemical, diverse, cosmopolitan, continually shifting, heterogeneous, and contradictory environment, and the diverse trajectory of *Polygraphice* attempted to respond and navigate this market by whatever means available. It was at the auction, alehouse, market-square or coffeshop, with their

⁴⁰⁹ Cowan, 2005: 138

⁴¹⁰ Cowan, 2005: 138.

shifting identities, and associated print culture, that the faceless and placeless art lover that Salmon addressed, could be accessed most effectively.

A Proliferation of Print: *Polygraphice's* escalating and indiscriminate illustrations

The concluding part of this study of *Polygraphice* will examine how the character of the printed imagery found within the text expresses some of the broader points made earlier in this chapter. Firstly, that their escalating diversity relates to the notion of contemporary literary practices where the work performs as a textual cabinets of curiosities; Secondly, that its incorporation of an increasingly sophisticated imagery speaks of the will to refinement explored in the section on the dedications and frontispieces; and finally that its cheerful willingness to move between the high and the low, to engage with a wide range of non-polite subject matter, and – most importantly of all – to recycle a mass of already existent graphic materials, situates it right at the heart of that free-flowing, continually recycled literary and graphic production that proliferated in the coffee-houses and modern urban culture of the period more generally.

In Salmon's illustrations for *Polygraphice*, from the first un-illustrated edition, to the eighth, which contained twenty-four print engravings, Salmon collects, recycles and expands with each edition, while simultaneously drawing from contemporary English print culture in a bid to continuously update and enhance his encyclopaedic compendium. The resulting eclectic collection of illustrations is particularly noteworthy, as popular prints that survive are chiefly those that were purchased by wealthy collector figures such as Samuel Pepys, whose collection he bequeathed to Magdalene College, Cambridge; Peter Lely, who formed the first great collection of old master prints in England; Ralph Thoresby who specialised in portrait prints; and of course Evelyn, who compiled a detailed inventory of his print collection.⁴¹¹ In the seventeenth century, however, they were exceptions to the rule. While gentlemen collectors were the primary market for fine engravings, they were certainly not the buyers targeted by publishers of cheap prints. The vast majority of such prints were bought casually and treated carelessly, and subsequently very few survive.⁴¹² *Polygraphice* showcases a characteristically eclectic mix, with cheap coarse depictions, pilfered copies from Italian manuals, and popular generic

⁴¹¹ Griffiths, 1998: 27-28

⁴¹² O'Connell, 1999: 167

productions presented side by side. In turn, Salmon's accumulation and circulation of these printed images, evidence most explicitly the culmination of the intellectual and social milieus through which the text was shaped.

It is in the second edition that Salmon first makes use of additional graphic imagery. Thirteen instructional plates by Sherwin are inserted throughout the first book of drawing (Fig. 31- 44), as well as a single plate by the Dutch artist William Vaughan. (Fig. 45). The plates run sequentially alongside the text, in a sequence first displaying the dimensions of the head, then a plate demonstrating how to draw eyes, in profile first, then facing front, with eyebrows, and so on. The mouth, ears and nose are treated similarly on the same plate. Then several different types of heads from varying angles are depicted, and examples of arms, hands, feet, knees, and legs. The final plates provide examples of full figures, first infants, followed by men, and then women, and a figure to demonstrate 'human proportion'. Also included are two figures demonstrating drapery on men and women, as well as a landscape scene and double portrait of Charles II and Catherine of Braganza.

Salmon's use of illustration differs entirely to that of Sanderson and Evelyn in their respective texts. The former two authors utilised printed images as a means to illustrate a particular mode of connoisseurship, concerned with the analysis of works of carefully selected painters as demonstrations of specific theoretical concepts. Salmon, however, transforms his work, in part, into what is reminiscent of the Italian drawing manuals printed earlier in the century. These drawing books were notable for the methodical way they demonstrated the types and order of strokes a student must make in order to build up a particular form.⁴¹³ Premised on the concept of imitation, the Italian publications combined text with illustrations or models for students to copy, conforming with the academic idea that only by copying the best examples found in nature and in art could students learn *disegno*.⁴¹⁴ They were heavily illustrated, containing diagrams of proportion as well as pictures of parts of the body and whole figures, and even occasionally landscapes.⁴¹⁵ The ordering of the Italian drawing book's illustrations was used as a template for other artist's manuals and their illustrations were copied and reproduced again and again. Many English manuals of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were pirated from Italian drawing books or from seventeenth-

⁴¹³ Bermingham, 2000: 42.

⁴¹⁴ Bermingham, 2000: 41.

⁴¹⁵ Bermingham, 2000: 41.

century Netherlandish books that were often, in turn, pirated from the Italian.⁴¹⁶ In 1660 Alexander Browne republished Odoardo Fialetti's (1573-1638) *Il vero modo* (1608) as *The Whole Art of Drawing*, and many of the facial representations found in *Polygraphice's* plates (see Fig 45, 46 & 47) are clearly taken either from Browne's book or directly from Fialetti's earlier text.

Browne's manual, like Salmon's, is a mixture of art theory, practical instruction and recipes, with engraved exemplars by Arnold de Jode (1638-1667) for drawing the human figure copied from Abraham Bloemaert (1564-1651), Fialetti, and others. There are sections on symmetry and proportion; on painting, including the depiction of passions and motion; on miniature painting and on the preparation of colours. The final section instructs how to produce an etching and the manual concludes with a brief and relatively informative paragraph on mezzotint. Browne's publication was the rule rather than the exception. Many English manuals of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries borrowed from Italian drawing books or from seventeenth-century Netherlandish books that frequently, in turn, pirated from the Italian.⁴¹⁷ As we have started to see with *Polygraphice*, a similar borrowing of texts went on where arguments, explanations, and technical instructions from one book were excerpted, plagiarized, and republished under a new title.

Such borrowing of plates and texts, along with eclectic mixing of theoretical systems and techniques that resulted, demonstrates how Salmon saw *Polygraphice* as a compendium of artistic and technical knowledge and not as a coherent theoretical text. What mattered to Salmon was not the expression of his individual ideas and a consistent approach, but the amassing of all available information into an instructional cabinet of curiosities of the visual arts. In direct comparison, the Italian drawing book was based on the style of a particular artist, and therefore reveals an interest in the manner of the individual whose work it represents. Yet the plagiarized plates in *Polygraphice* use the artist's style as a mere vehicle through which the basic information about how to draw is transmitted. Commenting on this conflict Ann Bermingham observes that the first "opens a door onto modern authorship and connoisseurship", and the second "onto the invention of printing and other forms of mechanical reproduction."⁴¹⁸ This is an important distinction when considering Salmon's intended consumer. This is an art lover who wishes to know

⁴¹⁶ Bermingham, 2000: 47.

⁴¹⁷ Bermingham, 2000: 47.

⁴¹⁸ Bermingham, 2000: 47.

the basics of visual reproduction, rather than honing their appreciation of different artistic characters and styles.

In the third edition, six new illustrations are added, two replacing original illustrations that are now removed, taking the total illustrations to eighteen. Removed are two plates of male and female nudes by Sherwin (Fig. 38 & Fig. 39), which are replaced by two new illustrations. The first (Fig. 48) is by Vaughan, while the second is unsigned (Fig. 49). While there is no explanation for this exchange within the text, the two sets of figures by Sherwin offer particularly poor representations of the human figure, especially in terms of their depictions of proportion. Considering the purpose of these prints as an aid to drawing, such poorly realised figures would have no doubt been problematic for any student of the book, and therefore unappealing for prospective customers. Furthermore, this inclusion of increasingly refined imagery within the text reflects Salmon's continual desire to improve and refashion the text's identity, as demonstrated in *Polygraphice's* evolving dedications and decorative frontispieces.

Further eclectic anonymous illustrations are also added, such as an image to accompany the chapter on how to 'extend or contract a picture, keeping the proportion' (Fig. 50). This takes its lead from the imaginary forms of perspective drawing established by fifteenth-century artists wanting to find a way of being able to record the natural world more accurately. Although Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1436) is credited with the first experiments in central perspective, it is Leon Battista Alberti's (1404-1472) text of 1435, *De Pictura*, which is attributed with the popularisation and dissemination of this new idiom of depiction, formalising a number of contextual understandings that were actively under investigation by numerous artisans up and down the length of Italy and across into Sicily. They invented a number of different machines to help them draw what was in front of them. "Alberti's Frame" is believed to have been one of the most successful of the drawing devices invented, the machine made up of a square wooden structure, across which horizontal and vertical threads are stretched at regular intervals to form a grid. A foot or so in front of this gridded frame is a rod, the same height as the distance from the bottom of the frame to the middle of the grid (Fig. 51). Other English texts circulating at the same time as *Polygraphice*, such as *An Introduction to the General Art of Drawing* (1672), included similar illustrative demonstrations (Fig.52).

Further pictorial additions to the third edition appear to have been sourced from the wider visual print culture of the day. Added to the book of drawing is an illustration of a further figure (Fig. 53) that complements the new additional reference to Jacob van der Gracht's *Anatomie*. Its detailed depiction of the muscles of the human body is reminiscent of the kind of illustration found in scientific manuals and anatomical drawings of the period. *Mikrokosmographia, or, A description of the body of man being a practical anatomy, shevving the manner of anatomizing from part to part* (1664), for example, was 'adorned with many demonstrative figures' (Fig. 54), as was Thomas Bartholin's *Bartholinus anatomy* of 1668 (Fig. 55) and William Cowper's *The anatomy of humane bodies with figures drawn after the life by some of the best masters in Europe and curiously engraven in one hundred and fourteen copper plates: illustrated with large explications containing many new anatomical discoveries and chirurgical observations* of 1700 (Fig. 56 & Fig. 57). The mounting diversity of such illustrative inclusions relates to humanistic literary practices where the work operates as a textual cabinet of curiosities, while also evidencing the proliferation of prints circulating on the market. Anthony Griffiths has indeed remarked that the expansion of the print trade during this period was so great, that the total output of prints of all types between 1675 and 1695 must considerably exceed the total production of all the years between 1603 and 1675 in Britain.⁴¹⁹

Further illustrations make up these eclectic additions, with an illustration that acts as an accompaniment to the appendix on chiromantical signatures (Fig. 58) by Dutch engraver Frederick Henrick Van Hove. The print illustrates the astrological signatures of the hand, relating to the new chapter on chiromancy found at the end of the treatise. In numerous contemporary publications specific to the subject, similar diagrams are used to illustrate the art (See, for example, Fig. 59 and Fig. 60). One further anonymous print is added to *Polygraphice*, that hastily summarises the drawing of animals (Fig. 61). While different birds are treated with relative detail, with six different varieties included, the remaining animal kingdom is given as a horse, lion, elephant, bear, tiger, and a dog. Vaughan had produced intricate detailed copies after Francis Barlow for the 1664 publication *A Booke Containing such Beasts as are most Usefull for such as practice Drawing, Graveing, Armes Painting, Chaseing, and for severall other occasions* (Fig. 62 & Fig. 63). Salmon therefore, perhaps for economical reasons, or for what he felt to be the needs of his imagined reader, chose to go cheap, crowding twelve animals on one page, and

⁴¹⁹ Griffiths, 1998: 244.

largely obscuring any real pragmatic qualities such an illustration could have held. This concludes the highly eclectic collection of illustrative additions that supplemented *Polygraphice's* third edition. Seemingly pulled in from whatever sources were easily available to Salmon in 1675, with a jumbled mix of work from Sherwin, Vaughan and Van Hove, as well as various anonymous additions, no regard is given for a single cohesive narrative of one artist to illustrate the manual, and the result is a cornucopia of mingling of sources, visual and literary. In their inclusion we witness the readiness to move between and engage with a multitude of subject matter, and reuse a body of already existent graphic materials that were situated right at the heart of the free-flowing literary production that proliferated in late seventeenth-century urban culture.

Polygraphice maintained the same form until the seventh edition of 1685, when a more coherent collection of illustrative prints is added. These four landscape scenes by Van Hove (Fig. 64-67) update the manual, and reflect a sustained interest in the genre in England during the course of *Polygraphice's* publication, extending the particular interest first articulated by Sanderson in his *Graphice*. Moreover their inclusion as part of the book of drawing would indicate more particularly that the practice of amateur landscape drawing was becoming an increasingly popular pastime, no doubt encouraged by the increasing desire to tour and travel, both at home and abroad.

As the specialist scholars of this genre and period, Henry and Margaret Ogden have determined that the landscape illustrations found in *Polygraphice* resemble 'poor imitations' by Van Hove of now unknown designs of the contemporary English artist Francis Place (1647-1728), whose scenes of the Italian seacoast include towers, forts, bridges, ruins, and trees, of the same sort as *Polygraphice's* illustrations.⁴²⁰ Place was the younger son of landed gentry, and did not depend entirely on his income as an engraver for his living, making frequent lengthy sketching trips from at least 1677.⁴²¹ Within Place's drawings he can be seen to play with pictorial conventions, not taking himself as an artist too seriously, but as an amateur allowing himself to challenge or at least toy with the boundaries of

⁴²⁰ Ogden and Ogden have found that in the collection of Sir Robert Witt there is a print that is the reverse of one of the Salmon illustrations. It bears the inscription 'F. Place inu et fec.' and 'Ex Formiss N. Visscher cum Privil.' Ogden and Ogden, 1951: 79; 83 n.14.

⁴²¹ This seems to be confirmed by George Vertue, who, when the two had met in 1727, commented that Place 'had means enough to live on' and 'passed his time at ease, being a sociable & pleasant Companion much beloved'. Vertue, II: 54.

established continental taste.⁴²² Kim Sloan has argued that the movement away from the ‘realism’ or *drolleries* of Dutch ‘landskip’ towards the ‘artificial’ or imaginary *landscape* was an indication of the beginnings of the desire to identify a British school in art, amateurs as well as connoisseurs and professional artists all contributing to this transition.

The full extent of the vogue for landscape in England in the seventeenth century was established by Ogden and Ogden in their *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*, and a more recent study by Kim Sloan has built upon their efforts by illustrating how widespread the activity of viewing, sketching, interpreting and recreating landscape was amongst both amateurs and professionals before the middle of the eighteenth century, when studies of landscape painting in Britain traditionally had begun.⁴²³ Notably, *Polygraphice* was the only seventeenth-century treatise to include illustrations of its instruction for landscape drawing, despite the genre’s apparent popularity, demonstrating a departure from established conventions found in contemporaneous English manuals which tended to focus on the human form.

Salmon’s inclusivity here is once again indicative of a direct response to contemporary pictorial preferences and amateur practices. This was an information ready market, excited about art and its consumption on a large scale for the first time. Salmon, the cultural entrepreneur, seized the moment and ran with it, responding to his audiences varied needs rather than attempting to shape their character and tastes.

Conclusion

More than simply a collection of disparate material, understood in these terms, *Polygraphice* represents a sustained reflection and reaction to transforming contemporary culture, as well as the author’s personal advancement throughout the years of publication. The success of *Polygraphice*, paired with the rapidly expanding commercial art market, demonstrates how the information that the treatise offered was clearly in considerable demand. Whilst authors such as Evelyn and Aglionby initiated the development of an aesthetic doctrine on visual practice more directly aimed at a sphere of learned, ‘polite’ minded gentlemen associated with the court, and often with no existing economic ties, *Polygraphice* fulfilled a

⁴²² In the case of the plates by Van Hove, what we see is a Dutch artist copying the work of an English amateur. Griffiths has observed this not uncommon later seventeenth century.

⁴²³ See Sloan, 2000: esp. 78-146.

want for basic instructional literature written for the un-skilled artisan, the eager amateur, and the inexperienced consumer, the diversity of demands from Salmon's burgeoning audience reflected in the expanding treatise. As an eclectic encyclopaedic mix it demonstrates how lively and encompassing aesthetic practices in the late seventeenth century could be, infiltrating culture at numerous levels of the social stratum.

Polygraphice's own range of cultural references therefore present a kind of textual guide that adapted to its reader's own diverse tastes, competences, aspirations, and apprehensions. Positioning itself alongside the other kinds of cultural and intellectual experiences available, it provided its audience with an idiom of instruction and advice that contributed to an ideological foundation upon which identities, both public and private, could be ascertained. Redefining *Polygraphice* as a highly responsive literary form, it can be understood as one that registers the central needs and demands of literate society, and that simultaneously intimated that same society's innate fissures and inconsistencies. Furthermore, that there was a market to compete in and respond too is also significant – texts from earlier in the century appearing to have been conceived in relative isolation, instigated by an elite culture clustered around the court and aristocracy, rather than a vibrant dynamic marketplace that was independent from the associated forms of patronage and collecting.

The 'lover of art' imagined and exemplified by Salmon is a figure whose identity is only just in the course of being established, and arguably it was for this reason that the astute author's vernacular form of instructional manual advanced and prospered throughout these decades. *Polygraphice* came to be successful at this moment because it offered tools that helped people negotiate their subjectivity, both individually and socially. Addressing an open spectrum that could have included women and children, artisans and apprentices, merchants and tradesmen, Salmon reveals his entrepreneurial intuition by identifying a mass market interested in engaging with a diversity of cultural amusements. The kind of connoisseurship this articulated was dramatically different from that suggested by Evelyn, Aglionby and even Sanderson, engaging with heterogeneous forms of print culture – high and low, and a fusion of theoretical and instructional advice from multifarious literary sources. In doing so, Salmon dramatically expanded and extended the characterisation accorded to the seventeenth-century 'lover of art'.

CHAPTER IV

Towards an ‘English School’: contested narratives of connoisseurship and taste in the writing of Richard Graham and Bainbrigg Buckeridge

At the turn of the eighteenth century, a new kind of art writing appeared in England that addressed what it meant to define the art of the period as ‘English’. This was a literary construction of a native school of painters following the biographical model established by Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) in the sixteenth century. Since Sanderson’s articulation of a list of “English Modern Masters” in 1658, no author had attempted to compile or extend such a collection of painters, and Sanderson himself had offered no biographical details. Richard Graham (*fl.* 1695–1727) was therefore the first, with his ‘Short Account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern, Continu’d down to the Present Times According to the Order of their Succession’ in 1695. Appended to the first official English edition of Dufresnoy’s *De arte graphica*, translated by John Dryden, it included in its canon of great painters the lives of three English born artists. Continuing the arguments found in the writing of Evelyn and Aglionby as interpreted from French academic criticism of the seventeenth century, Graham’s ‘Account’ sought to shape the taste of contemporary art lovers and, crucially therefore, the future as well as the past identity of English visual culture. Unifying its narrative is the emergence of a consciousness that sought to somehow define “Englishness”, and with it an inaugural national art history within a pan-European context.

In 1706 Bainbrigg Buckeridge (1667/8–1733) published an alternative ‘Essay Towards an English School, With the Lives and Characters of above 100 PAINTERS’. Appended to the English translation of Roger de Piles’s *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters*, Buckeridge’s ‘Essay’ is furnished with the lives of nearly a hundred artists who either were born or had worked in England since the arrival of Hans Holbein the younger in the 1520s. This greater inclusiveness leads to the ‘Essay’ offering an alternative account of English taste and practice in painting in the seventeenth-century, challenging the notion of absolute adherence to the authority of French theory and taste for history painting in contemporary English culture, as Salmon’s eclectic *Polygraphice* had also demonstrated.

To comprehend fully the burgeoning patriotism and unprecedented desire to define English paintings' character and nationhood found in the digressing accounts of both authors at the turn of the century, an event that precedes their publication must also be taken into account. This was the Glorious Revolution of 1688 that, as these two texts show, dramatically changed the identity of England and its people forever. For a generation, Britain's ruling elite became preoccupied by the interpretation and consequences of a revolution that circumvented the hereditary passage of the monarchy and which sparked a quarter of a century of near-continuous war against France. The repositioning of England's political elite after 1688 prompted an equally significant cultural realignment that sought to reconcile the established apparatus of power with the extraordinary political upheavals of the Revolution – to accommodate unprecedented change while maintaining the illusion of continuity. The cultural consequences of the Revolution were felt in all areas of production, but were perhaps most visible in the fields of painting and architecture: in the spaces of worship, of civic government and of military and feudal display that had previously lent their institutional authority to the monarchical ambitions of the Restoration court. The ideological and often physical reconstruction of such spaces after 1688 – from cathedral to parish church, and from country palace to town house, as well as the emergence of a plethora of clubs, societies and academies – provided the context from which this new kind of aesthetic literature emerged. Concerned with painting as a reflection of nation rather than monarchy, it helped to construct and validate the identity of the art lover in line with the shift towards a politics of difference and party and a society of looser social arrangements.

I. The rise of the art historical consciousness in England: Richard Graham and London's Cosmopolitan Elite

Nothing is known of the beginning or end of Richard Graham's life.⁴²⁴ Yet for almost three decades between 1689 and 1716 he was held in high esteem in England as a distinguished collector, writer and connoisseur of the arts. In 1695 his 'Short Account of the most Eminent Painters both Ancient and Modern, Continu'd down to the Present Times According to the Order of their Succession' was

⁴²⁴ He may be identical with the R. Graham, esquire, who published *Poems upon the Death of the most Honourable the Marchioness of Winchester* in 1680, and with the Richard Graham who matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner in 1680, and was perhaps admitted to the Middle Temple in 1682 and the Inner Temple in 1684, and who had a son, Richard, born in March 1693. Graham may also be identical with the Richard Graham who died in London in September 1727, but as the Virtuosi's annual feast that year (at which Graham was present) was possibly held between October and December, this cannot be proved. See Nicholas Grindle, 'Graham, Richard (fl. 1695–1727)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/11217>, accessed 27 September 2011].

published anonymously as a supplement to Dryden's translation of Dufresnoy's *De Arte Graphica*.⁴²⁵ The translation also included an important prefatory essay by Dryden, entitled *A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry*, whilst *De arte graphica* was itself a poetic exposition of academic art theory which remained a standard reference work for many decades to come. The author was recommended to Dryden (and so to the English reader) 'as one who perfectly understood the rules of painting; who gave the best and most concise instructions for performance, and the surest to inform the judgment of all who loved this noble art'.⁴²⁶ This appeal to artists and art lovers was to become an obligatory topos in many of the later editions.

Graham's appended 'Account' offered the earliest collection of lives of English artists within a critical discussion of the progression of painting from ancient times to the modern period. Vasari's *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architetti* (1550) had initiated this tradition of published histories of art that took the form of a series of artists' biographies.⁴²⁷ His model was instrumental in the critical biographical histories that followed, individual artists only coming to be included in so far as their oeuvres were perceived to contribute to the progress of art towards ever greater heights of achievement. It was not until the seventeenth century, however, that Vasari's example was followed outside of Italy. The Netherlands were first with Karel Van Mander's (1548-1606) *Schilderboek* (1603-4),⁴²⁸ but in Germany Joachim von Sandrart's (1606-1688) *Academia nobilissima artis pictorial* did not appear until 1683,⁴²⁹ and the French had to wait until the publication of André Félibien's (1619-1695) *Entretiens* (1666-88).⁴³⁰ All these texts treated the Italian masters before proceeding to their own national artists. So, the first set of English artists' lives were the three included in Graham's 'Account'.⁴³¹ The minute number of English artists is explained in the preface, where the author laments the lack of value and attention devoted to his native painters and the subsequent absence of adequate biographical records:

⁴²⁵ Graham : 1695), pp. 227–355.

⁴²⁶ Dryden, 1695: i-ii.

⁴²⁷ Vasari, 1550.

⁴²⁸ Van Mander, 1603-4.

⁴²⁹ Sandrart, 1683.

⁴³⁰ Félibien, 1666-1668.

⁴³¹ The first account of the lives of ancient and modern artists to appear in English was included in 1591 by Sir John Harrington in the *Annotation* to his translation of Canto XXXIII of *Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso*. His modern artists were all Italian, with the exception of Nicholas Hilliard, panegyricized as the nonpareil of the art of limning. Henry Peacham gives only lives of Italian artists in his *The Compleat Gentlemans Exercise*. (London, 1612). Harrington and Peacham both conclude with the High Renaissance, when painting was thought to have come to its maturity. Even Aglionby ends the selection of the lives he took from Giorgio Vasari for his *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* with Titian, though promising a second edition 'which, besides some more refined Observations upon the Art it self, will contain the *Lives* of all the *Modern Painters* of any Note, from the time of the *Caraches* to our Days, and an Account of its present State all *Europe* over'.

For those of our own Country, I am asham'd to acknowledge how difficult a matter I found it, to get but the least Information touching some of those Ingenious Men, whose Works have been a Credit and Reputation to it. That all our Neighbours have a greater value for the Professors of this noble Art, is sufficiently evident, in that there has hardly been any one Master of tolerable Parts amongst them, but a Crowd of Writers, nay some Pens of Quality too, have been imply'd in adorning their Lives, and in transmitting their Names honourably to Posterity.⁴³²

Drawing attention to the numerous literary records that were already in circulation on other European schools, Graham highlights the absence of distinct absence of documented lives of English painters in contemporary literature. However, betraying a patriotic⁴³³ sentiment, he cannot resist an opportunity to attempt to undermine his foreign counterparts, declaring defensively “hardly any one Master of tolerable Parts amongst them”, instead resting their established reputations on the “Crowds of Writers” that had been employed to immortalize their artists into history.

Classical antiquity, history painting, and Italian masters: Richard Graham's art history up to 1600

As its title dictates, Graham's 'Short Account' only presents a “small Compass”⁴³⁴ of artist's lives from antiquity to modern times. Arranged chronologically, the lives begin with those of the “Ancient Masters”. Highlighting the first advancers of painting, Graham begins with Ardicēs and Telephanes, reaching a high point with rich presentations of Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Timanthes, Apelles and Protogenes, and concluding with Cornelius Plinius and Actus Pirscus.⁴³⁵ Anecdotal in their manner, these biographical accounts endorse an art history founded on a knowledge and appreciation of classical antiquity. In the preface Graham references his sources for these lives, following the authority of Pliny the Elder (AD 23 – AD 79), whose *Natural History* (c. AD 77-79) was universally recognized as the earliest surviving literature on the development of Greek painting and sculpture,⁴³⁶ his anecdotes published repeatedly in artwriting in seventeenth-century England. Less predictably Graham also draws on two further literary resources, Junius's *Catalogus* (1694),⁴³⁷ and Carlo Dati's (1619-76) *Le vite de pittori antichi* (1667) [The lives of ancient painters].⁴³⁸ Junius' *Catalogus*, a lexicon of ancient artists and their works, was not published until long after the author's death. The book was, however, at the very heart of his enterprise and it is known from his letters that he was working on it as

⁴³² Graham, 1695: 280.

⁴³³ I use this term with caution, but understood in terms of Elisha Coles's definition of 'Patriōta' in *A dictionary, English-Latin and Latin-English* (1692), as 'Ones Country-Man or Woman'.

⁴³⁴ Graham, 1695: 229.

⁴³⁵ Graham, 1695: 250-51.

⁴³⁶ Sager, 1991.

⁴³⁷ Junius, 1694.

⁴³⁸ Dati 1667.

early as 1628.⁴³⁹ As the librarian to Arundel, the manuscript, in various stages of perfection, must very soon have become a treasured work of reference. Similarly Dati's *Lives*, written in the 'best Italian',⁴⁴⁰ was directed at a traditional audience for artwriting – the learned Italian art lover. First published in 1667 Dati extends Vasari's biographies to the ancient world. It included nothing new, but dedicated to Louis XIV of France, it nevertheless marks a significant shift in the centre of cultural power of the contemporary art world. Earlier in the year the young King had provided Dati with a pension to thank him for his efforts as an indispensable intermediary and guide for foreign scholars requiring access to the libraries of Florence.⁴⁴¹

Graham's "Masters of greatest Note amongst the Moderns," follows accepted practice in this genre of artwriting, whereby all the artists' lives included are posthumous. The 'Account' begins with the revival of painting in Italy by the Florentine Giovanni Cimabue. Born in 1240, he is defined grandly as the "Father of the First Age, or Infancy, of the Modern Painting."⁴⁴² Apart from Albrecht Dürer (1471 – 1528) and Jan van Eyck (*ca.* 1380/90 – 1441) (the latter included primarily for his invention of the "art of painting in oyl"), all the artists included in the 'Account' are Italian-born throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, reaching their peak with the perfection of Raphael. It is only in the early sixteenth century, that we find two non-Italian artists entered consecutively, "Lucas van Leyden" and his contemporary "Quintin Matsys" of Antwerp. Following their lives is an interjection from Graham in which he observes:

Beside the two Masters last mention'd, there were several other History-painters, who flourish'd in Germany, Flanders, and Holland about this time. But their manner being generally Gothique, Hard, and Dry; more like the Style of Cimabue, in the Dawning of the Art of Painting, than the Gusto of Raphael, in its Meridian Lustre; we shall onely give you the names of some of the most noted; and such were Mabuse, Aldegraef, Schoorel, Frans Floris, Martin Hemskerck, Chris. Schwarts, &c.⁴⁴³

Even later, in his life of Dutch painter Gerard Dou (1613-1675), whose colour and finish he admired, Graham writes that "we must not expect to find in his *Works* that *Elevation of Thought*, that *Correctness of Design*, or that *noble Spirit*, and *grand Gusto*, in which the *Italians* have distinguish'd themselves from the rest of *Mankind*."⁴⁴⁴ Graham's view of Dutch, German and Flemish painters within the 'Account' therefore seemingly follows the preferential parameters set out by

⁴³⁹ That the *Catalogus* was published only a year prior to the 'Account' indicates that Graham may have been privileged enough to gain access to the manuscript copies.

⁴⁴⁰ Marvin, 2008: 35.

⁴⁴¹ Marvin, 2008: 34-35

⁴⁴² Graham, 1695: 253.

⁴⁴³ Graham, 1695: 279.

⁴⁴⁴ Graham, 1695: 279.

Dufresnoy, the author admitting “but very few into this Collection”.⁴⁴⁵ Graham does, however, reference “The Academia nobilissimæ Artis Pictoriæ, of Sandrart”, and the “Schilder-Boeck of Carel van Mander” in his preface as the sources for his Dutch, Flemish and German artists.⁴⁴⁶ The latter, published in 1604, included the first history of Dutch and Flemish painters from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as well as the first fully argued theory of Dutch painting, drawing, and printmaking.⁴⁴⁷ Joachim von Sandrart’s *The German Academy* was published somewhat later in 1683. Prefixed to it was a prologue by the author expressing that he set out to search for the “individuality of our German nation”.⁴⁴⁸ Within the text he celebrates Dürer as “Germany’s glory” who redeemed his country from abjection and spiritual darkness and created a line of succession of worthy followers; “When Italy had achieved such consummate glory through the excellence of various perfect painters”, Sandrart writes, “Germany also began to divest herself of darkness.”⁴⁴⁹ While Sandrart’s statement is flawed being that there were in actuality no Italian or German nations at this time,⁴⁵⁰ a powerful narrative inherent in these early art historical accounts is acknowledged here, one that tied a nation’s strength and power in terms of its international identity to its demonstration of artistic activity and cultural achievement. Therefore even though Graham held in low esteem the Dutch, German and Flemish schools, in terms of history painting at least, encountering the approach of such writers, who were at the forefront of establishing their own native canon, the author would have seen how the art history of his own country could so formulaically and selectively be constructed. The appeal of the opportunity of writing the ‘Account’ was therefore as much to do with composing a history, as recording one.

How Graham chose to construct his art-historical narrative is therefore crucial in comprehending his hypothesis. An important reference for this comes in his preface, when, with an unusual flourish, he celebrates one of his sources, “that excellent treatise of Gio: Pietro Bellori”.⁴⁵¹ The seventeenth-century Italian theoretician Giovanni Pietro Bellori’s (1613-1696) *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti moderni* (1672) had a highly selective approach. He followed the model established by Vasari, presenting biographical information about each artist, with descriptions of their finest works and comments on style and influence. Yet whilst Vasari included

⁴⁴⁵ Graham, 1695: 279.

⁴⁴⁶ Graham, 1695: Preface.

⁴⁴⁷ Melion, 1991: xvii.

⁴⁴⁸ Sandrart, 1683.

⁴⁴⁹ Sandrart, 1683: ‘Preface’.

⁴⁵⁰ See Scott, 2012: espec. 193-234.

⁴⁵¹ Graham, 1695: 230.

a wide range of artists whose work exhibited varying degrees of quality, Bellori employed a highly exclusive approach, carefully selecting each painter, sculptor and architect based on the quality of artworks that they produced. His *Vite* was not limited to the artists of Rome, but selectively presented just twelve exemplary figures from all over Europe.⁴⁵² The author embraced neither drawing nor colour as the basis of art's excellence, but rather offered the *idea* as its most important aspect, returning to the classical concept of choosing the best in nature and combining the most beautiful parts in order to create an idealized beauty.⁴⁵³ His focus fell on the classical concept that art must teach as well as entertain, "reading" paintings as moral, literary, and philosophical texts. This argument was to be of lasting importance in England, where the advancement of the visual arts had been hindered by Protestant iconophobia. The argument for moral teaching, particularly of history painting, offered a means with which to challenge traditional views of the danger of art and define the subject in a new way.

Graham's "small compass" of the most eminent painters can be seen to align its methodology with that of Bellori, favouring history painting as the most accomplished genre and supporting the classical tradition through the chronology of only the most distinguished artists he selected and valued most highly. Dryden, in the introductory essay for *De arte graphica*, had also referenced Bellori, quoting a long extract from his lecture, *L'Idea del pittore, dello scultore e dell'architetto*.⁴⁵⁴ Not only did this directly introduce Bellori's ideas to England,⁴⁵⁵ but it provided a clear indication of the intellectual context of Dufresnoy's text that followed. Bellori's philosophical theory, with Dryden's extended treatment of the analogy between painting and poetry and Graham's adoption of his methodology, filling out for the English reader the academic ideas about the arts distilled in Dufresnoy's theoretical prologue. The attention to Bellori by both Graham and Dryden in their appendages to *De arte graphica* aligns their contributions, the translation presented, in simplified terms, as a cohesive inter-substantiating whole with a single message that was primarily a decisive statement in favour of the superiority of history painting, classical antiquity, and Italian artists.

⁴⁵² Panofsky, 1968: 104-6.

⁴⁵³ Panofsky, 1968: 104-6. Bellori's theory was to be very important for the development of English artwriting continued by Shaftesbury. From an Aristotelian standpoint of dramatic criticism, however, Dryden was led to criticize Bellori's passages on ideal beauty. If it is true, he writes, that one must correct nature by representing it not as it is but as it ought to be. Nevertheless this idea of perfection is only to a certain extent relevant in so far as portraits, comedy and tragedy are concerned: in these instances individual characteristics have to be portrayed although they often consist of defects. See Salerno, 1951: 251.

⁴⁵⁴ Dryden, 1695: xiii-xiv

⁴⁵⁵ Mahon, 1947: 152-53.

The post-1600 ‘Account’: the influence of Louis XIV and his French Academy

The first French and English painters deemed eminent enough for inclusion by Graham into the ‘Account’ are found active in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The primacy of both nations’ art-historical identities offers another important narrative. France had, by the close of the century, been led by Louis XIV to a previously un-imagined position of dominance in both politics and culture. The French School, nurtured by its Royal Academy, exemplified what could be achieved in a relatively short period with the support, vision and enthusiasm of the monarchy – Graham’s ‘Account’ recording twice the number of eminent French painters in the seventeenth century as there had been English. The range of Louis’s patronage, and with it the gradual displacement of the centre of art theory from Italy to France, is one of the seismic international transformations of the era, and how this shift was acknowledged in England, and in English artwriting, is important in characterising Graham’s ‘Account’.

Up until the Restoration, Richard Haydocke’s (1569/70–c.1642) translation of the Italian *Tracte Containing the Artes of curious Paintinge Carvinge and Buildinge* (1598) by Giovano Paulo Lomazzo, was the most frequently consulted source for literature on the arts.⁴⁵⁶ In the 1660s’ however, as discussed in Chapter Two, Evelyn’s translation of Chambray was indicative of a new direction in English taste for artwriting,⁴⁵⁷ and Aglionby’s *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues* in 1685 had also regurgitated portions of the French translation of *De arte graphica*, this ‘academic’ method continuing to be expounded in the 1688 translation of Henri Testelin’s *The Sentiments of the most excellent painters*.⁴⁵⁸ These treatises promoted the superiority of history painting that had become de rigueur in France, and sought to encourage an appreciation of art as a pursuit worthy and indicative of gentlemanly status by exposing its foundations in classical antiquity and in theory. Such publications betray a growing desire in England to re-align the visual arts, or painting at least, with the theoretical position of the French Royal Academy, and raise its cultural status to a liberal art as the French had already accomplished since the foundation of its Academy.

As we have seen, the contents of Graham’s own account reveal similar concerns. Furthermore, in identifying the sources for his lives, Graham aligns his text further

⁴⁵⁶ Haydocke, 1598. [The original Italian edition appeared in 1584].

⁴⁵⁷ Evelyn, 1668; 1664.

⁴⁵⁸ Testelin, 1688.

with contemporary supporters of the supremacy of the Academy. Observing how ‘Felibien’ in particular has taxed Vasari ‘with some mistakes, and particularly with flattering the Masters then alive, and with partiality to those of his own Country.’⁴⁵⁹ André Félibien’s *Entretiens* is cited by Graham as the source for his “French Masters” in the ‘Account’.⁴⁶⁰ Recognising the authority of the French chronicler of the arts and court historian to Louis XIV, the displacement of art theory from Italy to France is furthermore recognised here. The reference to Bellori is also significant in these terms, his *Vite* bearing a dedication to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the founder of French Royal Academy.⁴⁶¹ The dedication aligned Bellori’s position in Italy with the mastermind behind Louis’s promotion of the arts, including the establishment in his native Rome of the branch of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1666. As with Dati, Bellori’s dedication recognized France’s evolving position as the dominant cultural power in Europe.

‘For the Honour of our Nation’: defining an English artistic identity

Confined to seventeenth-century material, and overshadowed by the cultural activity of France and Italy, the passages presenting English born artists take up just a few pages of the ‘Account’. In the three biographies that he includes, Graham’s writing is anecdotal, highlighting particular moments of exceptional achievement or notable patronage. The earliest entry is Samuel Cooper (1607/8–1672), whose “Talent” according to Graham -

...was so extraordinary, that for the Honour of our Nation, it may without Vanity be affirm’d, he was (at least) equal to the most famous Italians; and that hardly any of his Predecessors has ever been able to shew so much Perfection in so narrow a Compass.... He spent several years of his Life abroad, was personally acquainted with the greatest Men of France, Holland, and his own Country, and by his Works more universally known in all the parts of Christendom.⁴⁶²

The nature of Graham’s art historical project is here further revealed. Establishing Cooper as *at least* equal to the Italian masters, his achievements are set against those of the deluge of foreign artists that saturated the ‘Account’. Emphasis on the artist’s time abroad and connections with some of Europe’s “greatest Men” furthermore gives weight to fashionable aristocratic associations, in-particular the socially prestigious pursuit of leisurely foreign travel as examined in Chapter Two.

Attention to such distinguishing attributes dominate all three English entries. The opening line of the court painter William Dobson’s (*bap.* 1611, *d.* 1646) life

⁴⁵⁹ Graham, 1695: 298-95.

⁴⁶⁰ Félibien, 1666-1668.

⁴⁶¹ Bellori, 1672).

⁴⁶² Graham, 1695: 338-39.

introduces him first as “a Gentleman descended of a *Family* very eminent”.⁴⁶³

Having claimed Dobson’s genteel heritage, details of his artistic ability then follow:

...Nature, his best Mistress, inclin’d him so powerfully to the practice of Painting after the Life that had his Education been but answerable to his Genius, England might justly have been as proud of her Dobson, as Venice of her Titian, or Flanders of her Van Dyck...⁴⁶⁴

Again, patriotic sentiment appears at the heart of Graham’s writing. Here, however, it is turned into a call for systematic improvement in the arts in England. Implicit in this is a plea for a native academy to answer and perfect England’s artistic “Genius”. Elsewhere in the ‘Account’ entries on Europe’s most celebrated painters are packed with references to the schools and academies that had shaped their achievements. Poussin is described as “...season’d in *Literature* at home, instructed in the *Rudiments of Design at Paris*, learnt the *Principles of Geometry, Perspective* and *Anatomy at Rome*, practiced after the *Life* in the *Academy of Domenchino*...”⁴⁶⁵ Rubens’ character, as well as his education, is similarly highlighted, being described as “a *Person* posses’d of all the *Ornaments and Advantages* that can render a man *valuable*:...universally *Learned*, spoke seven *Languages* very perfectly, ...well read in *History*, and withal so excellent a *Statesman*, that he was employ’d in several public *Negotiations* of great Importance; which he manag’d with the most refin’d *Prudence*, and *Conduct*.”⁴⁶⁶ Drawing attention to England’s failing, Graham’s observations furthermore establish a framework of desirable attributes that define his hypothesis for the perfected painter. Central to this is the artist’s classical education, confirming the ‘Account’s’ alignment with the views propagated by the French Royal Academy.

This framework is further refined in Graham’s continuous affirmation of the characters, as well as the vocational triumphs, of his English artists. At the close of his life of Dobson, consideration is given not only to the artist’s courtly connections, but to his character of “*ready Wit*, and *pleasing Conversation*”.⁴⁶⁷ Similarly in the life of court painter John Riley (1646–1691), which concludes the ‘Account’ as a whole, he is described as -

...a Gentleman extremely courteous in his Behaviour, obliging in his Conversation, and prudent in all his Actions.... He was never guilty of a piece of Vanity (too common among Artists)... but contented himself with letting his Works speak for him; which being plentifully dispers’d over other Nations as well as our own, were indeed everywhere very Eloquent in his Commendation...⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶³ Graham, 1695: 339-240

⁴⁶⁴ Graham, 1695: 339-240.

⁴⁶⁵ Graham, 1695: 328

⁴⁶⁶ Graham, 1695: 318.

⁴⁶⁷ Graham, 1695: 339-240.

⁴⁶⁸ Graham, 1695: 347-49.

Graham's emphasis on virtuous characteristics follows a Renaissance tradition expounded by Baldassare Castiglione's hugely influential *Il Cortegiano* from the fifteenth century.⁴⁶⁹ Castiglione proposed the notion of virtue as the content of the character of an ideal aristocrat - bred and self fashioned for service and success at court, politically effective, eloquent, commendable, and cultivated in terms of literature and the visual arts. Admonitions of virtuosity resounded in books and manuscripts on courtesy throughout Europe in the centuries that followed, continuing Castiglione's belief that virtue flourished through education and cultivation, and not as a result of purely innate characteristics.

The results of Graham's emphasis on virtuosic sensibilities in the 'Account' is subsequently twofold. Firstly, Graham's history of art in England was to include, where possible, only the most sophisticated, educated and courteous characters, the selection of English artists shaped by their fulfillment of his framework of desirable attributes, (That all three painters are closely associated with the English Court throughout the seventeenth century further supports this observation). Secondly, the call for a native academy is put forward, the emphasis on virtue indicative of the kind of education and cultivation that Graham believed England was currently unable to provide for its painters. To expand the isolated trio of "eminent" artists who realized his framework of painterly excellence, an English academy was required to perfect native artists and offer them the same educational advantages as those enjoyed by their colleagues in Europe. For Graham it was, therefore, the construction as well as the recognition of an English school and with it the English artistic identity, of a certain *type* of artist; classically educated, virtuosic of nature, and a gentleman with the ability to integrate with ease amongst Europe's most distinguished circles.

The 'Account' as a connoisseurial guide

The 'Account' is thus loaded with the storylines of artistic identity, theoretical persuasion, and nationalist sentiment, narratives in which Graham, as author, aimed to be a definitive voice. I would like now to suggest another significant role for the 'Account', that of a connoisseurial guidebook for the contemporary collector. This alternative, or subsidiary reading of Graham's 'Account', begins with an intriguing anecdote about our present author found in Bainbrigg Buckeridge's literary contribution, published just over a decade later. In Buckeridge's life of Cooper

⁴⁶⁹ Sloan, 2000: 11.

(which embellishes upon Graham's), the author remarks:

...the two Pieces of his [Cooper's] which were most esteem'd were those of Oliver Cromwell, and one of Swingfield. The former is now in the Hands of Richard Graham, Esq; and by him highly valu'd. The French King once offer'd 150 l. for it, yet could not have it. The other is in the Collection of Colonel Robert Childe, who sets a great Value upon it. This last Picture of Mr. Cooper having carried to France, it introduc'd him into the favour of that Court.⁴⁷⁰

The high esteem for Louis and the French Court is again reiterated here. In direct regard to the 'Account', moreover, a dialogue is established between one of its artist's lives and a work known to be in its author's personal collection. The limning by Cooper of Cromwell (Fig. 68) is recorded in a sale of Graham's "Pictures and Limnings" that took place on 6th March 1712, in Covent Garden.⁴⁷¹ A note on the auction catalogue boasted that "The COLLECTION above-mention'd is so very well known to all the LOVERS of PAINTING, that there is no Need of any thing to be said in its Commendation."⁴⁷² Annotations to the catalogue disclose the Earl of Burlington (1694–1753), Sir Robert Child (*bap.* 1674 - 1721), the Duke of Rutland (1676 - 1721), Jonathan Richardson (1667 - 1745), and the Earl of Leicester (1680 -1737) as just some of the distinguished figures who were not only present but who also purchased items at the sale, verifying the auctioneer's testimony to the prestige of Graham's collection. These collective names, furthermore, suggest a distinguished milieu, in which some of England's most notable patrons and collectors mingled with the art writers of the day. These men - connoisseurs, theorists, and enthusiasts - were brought together by their united love of art.

Of the 30 or so artists represented in the sale, a third are also immortalised in the 'Account'.⁴⁷³ Considering both the timing of the sale, occurring 17 years after the publication, and the fact that the 'Account' featured only artists who had died prior to its publication in 1695, this number is substantial, and is indicative of a significant dialogue between his text and his collection. The types of paintings represented – history paintings, portraits, classical busts, land-, sea- and battle-scapes - are also aligned with the message of the 'Account'. Within this context the purpose of Graham's lives takes on an additional identity. We can now imagine a novice contemporary collector purchasing the 'Account' as a guide to the most eminent painters, hoping to achieve under its supervision a collection of similar

⁴⁷⁰ Buckeridge, 1706: 410.

⁴⁷¹ A catalogue of extraordinary original pictures and limnings, by several excellent masters [London 1711]; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 2 January 2012.

⁴⁷² A catalogue of extraordinary original pictures and limnings, by several excellent masters [London 1711]; in 'The art world in Britain 1660 to 1735,' at <http://artworld.york.ac.uk>; accessed 2 January 2012.

⁴⁷³ Artists that appear in both are Filippo Lauro, Borgognone, Salvator Rosa, Gaspar Poussin, Paul Bril, Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony Van Dyck, William Dobson, Peter Lely, and Samuel Cooper.

fame to that of its esteemed author, Graham. This narrative redefines the premise of the 'Account' as not only intended to formulate a history of art for the English audience, but to also influence the taste of contemporary collectors and budding connoisseurs. Writing on the early eighteenth century, Chia-Chuan Hsieh has argued persuasively that before writers and painters became preoccupied with defining the "Englishness" of English painting, it was the artistic excellence and ideas manifested in celebrated works of continental painters and the benefits that might flow from introducing them into an English context that first concentrated the attention of certain Englishmen aiming to enhance the status of painting in England.⁴⁷⁴ This view is certainly supported by Graham, the 'Account' evidencing the formation of an art-historical consciousness in England that was still primarily stimulated and shaped by engagement not with English art, but with Continental paintings and associated discourses.

Three dominant narratives have therefore come out of this analysis of the contents of the 'Account'. The first aligns the text with the classical tradition as interpreted by the French academic criticism of the seventeenth century, one that favoured history painting and Italian artists. The second attempts to align an English artistic identity with that of the classically educated courtier and implicitly calls for the introduction of a native academy to cultivate such ideals. Finally, the text evidences a dialogue between art writing and collecting practices, the 'Account' seeking to shape the taste of contemporary connoisseurs and, crucially therefore, the future as well as the past identity of English artistic culture. Unifying this tripartite narrative is the emergence of a consciousness betrayed repeatedly by Graham, that sought to somehow define "Englishness" and with it an inaugural national art history within a pan-European context. The 'Account' can now be understood as offering a multifaceted depiction of an emerging consciousness that worked to assert painting's position at the height of English culture. I would now like to propose how the publication came into being, as a timely interjection in a transforming nation, being shaped and supported in its role by its author's social milieu.

England's Cosmopolitan Elite: Richard Graham and the Virtuosi of St Luke

In the 1690s, London, unlike Paris, Antwerp, Rome or Brussels, had no official academy of art, few drawing classes, and no public displays to inform the eye. Graham, however, was a prominent member of the earliest English art club, where

⁴⁷⁴ Hsieh, 2009: 900-901.

he was regarded as the ‘art expert *par excellence*’.⁴⁷⁵ The club had been revived from Anthony van Dyck’s tradition of inviting to his house the principal artists and art lovers of the time once a week during the winter, and from his habit of entertaining them in a splendid manner once a year, on St Luke’s Day. Van Dyck’s death in 1641, followed by the civil wars, meant that this sociable tradition was “interrupted many years”. The society was then revived once more by Peter Lely, who started up similar gatherings at his own house, “in imitation of Vandyke” until his own death in 1680.⁴⁷⁶ The “factious times following made another chasme” until in 1689 “Several of the most considerable Virtuosi met at a public Tavern” under the active encouragement of the then principal painter to the King, John Riley.⁴⁷⁷ The Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke (*act. c.1689–1743*), also known as St Luke’s Club or Vandyke’s Club, was a small and exclusive social gathering of artists and gentlemen who met to discuss matters of taste and judgment, and who congregated annually on 18 October to celebrate the festival of St Luke, the patron saint of painters. The society has good claim to be the first organised arts society in Britain, its leisurely rhythm of weekly gatherings during the winter, and monthly meetings during the summer, becoming established to match the social cycle of the London ‘season’. A steward was chosen each year from among the members to plan and partly pay for the annual feast,⁴⁷⁸ and Graham is recorded as being honoured with the role in 1697. Just two years after the publication of his ‘Account’, the privilege suggests that his literary contribution had bought him particular favour amongst the group.

A note in the society’s records indicates that the ten or twelve foundation members were Graham; Riley; the prominent painters John Closterman (1660–1711), Henry Cooke (1642?–1700) and Michael Dahl (1659–1743); the master sculptor and carver in wood, Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721); a collector and alderman, Charles Chamberlain (fl. 1692–1704); the miniature painter Wolfgang William Clarett (d. 1706); the connoisseurs Robert Huckle (d. 1732) and Robert Bruce; one Michael Rosse, possibly the jeweller of that name; and Giles Green, whose identity remains

⁴⁷⁵ Bignamini, 1988a: 42, n. 25.

⁴⁷⁶ The society’s documentary record begins only at this point, which means that the institutional genealogy incorporating Van Dyck and Lely should be considered as at least speculative, and quite possibly wholly fabricated in order to suit the tory and Roman Catholic bias of George Vertue and a number of his fellow Virtuosi.

⁴⁷⁷ George Vertue, quoted in Myrone, ‘Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke (*act. c.1689–1743*)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/theme/96316>, accessed 10 December 2011].

⁴⁷⁸ Myrone, ‘Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke (*act. c.1689–1743*)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/theme/96316>, accessed 10 December 2011].

unknown;⁴⁷⁹ Potential newcomers were proposed by a member who had served as steward, with candidates subjected to a vote by the existing Society members. Membership costs were expensive, including five guineas for the annual subscription, with an extra charge of a crown for the annual feast, and a voluntary additional subscription of four or five guineas for the raffle of works of art.⁴⁸⁰ The art raffle tells us something more of the purpose of the Society's gatherings, conviviality evidently not their only concern. Those present viewed and sometimes purchased paintings, which were raffled among members who had deposited their additional guineas into the club's "Bank, or Fund ready for the Purchase of such Picture or Pictures".⁴⁸¹

Although Gawen Hamilton's 1735 portrait *A Conversation of Virtuosi* (Fig. 69) cannot be identified precisely with the Society, despite the fact that the majority of the sitters present were members,⁴⁸² Martin Myrone suggests that it manifests the ethos of the group and the ideals of connoisseurship expounded by the Society.⁴⁸³ It is not clear how regularly these raffles took place, yet what emerges from Hamilton's portrait and the existing minutes of the meetings is that works of art, usually paintings, were bought or simply viewed, and that one of the principal purposes of the Society was to meet and discuss the quality of these works, to encourage art collecting and connoisseurship, and to advise collectors who were members of the group.⁴⁸⁴ The taste of the Society in selecting works of art is revealed by a few passages in the minutes of 1698, where the following works are mentioned: "a large Picture of a Triumphant Arch painted by Viviano [Viviano Codazzi]. & figures by Michael Angelo delle Battaglie [Michelangelo Cerquozzi]";⁴⁸⁵ A "Seaport" and a "Landscape in the uprights" by Salvator Rosa;⁴⁸⁶ and "some pieces of *Vandycks*".⁴⁸⁷ These descriptions are insufficient to identify

⁴⁷⁹ The membership appears to have remained small, with no more than twenty active members at one time. New members in the first decade of the society included the architects William Talman and Christopher Wren the younger, the surgeon and anatomist William Cowper, the painter Hugh Howard and the wealthy banker Robert Child of Osterley. The full rota of stewards had, however, been exhausted by 1707, with Closterman and Gibbons having to serve for a second time in 1708 and 1709 respectively. The portrait painter John Linton and the civil servant Thomas Walker joined in the meantime, followed by James Graham, the antiquary John Chicheley, and the print seller Edward Cooper. See Myrone.

⁴⁸⁰ REF?

⁴⁸¹ Vertue, *Notebooks V*: 13.

⁴⁸² Bignamini, 1988a: 29–30.

⁴⁸³ Myrone, 'Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke (*act. c.1689–1743*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/theme/96316>, accessed 10 December 2011].

⁴⁸⁴ For example - Charles Seymour, sixth duke of Somerset, says Vertue, "took Closterman with him [to auctions] to have his judgment on the pictures" On Closterman's advice the duke bought a Guercino for 200 guineas "when Guineas was raising [from 20] to 26 shillings a piece" (Vertue, *Note books*, 4.21).

⁴⁸⁵ Minutes of '5 March 1697/8' in Vertue (BL, Add. MS 39167, fols. 73–86).

⁴⁸⁶ Minutes of 'Friday March 7 [?] 1698' in Vertue (BL, Add. MS 39167, fols. 73–86).

⁴⁸⁷ 'Mr Gibson [William Gibson] having acquainted the Gentlemen of this Society that he had some pieces of Vandycks which he believes may be for their taste and which he desires they will view before they proceed any

specific pieces. However Codazzi's "Triumphant Arch" gives a sense of the Society's taste for architectural arrangements, and the painter's "excellent manner of painting Buildings, Ruins, & c" was praised by Graham in the 'Account'.⁴⁸⁸ The work of Cerquozzi shows a special consideration to landscape and nature, and in Graham's opinion he was "incomparably beyond any Master in Europe" as a painter of "all sorts of Figures, and painted Fruit".⁴⁸⁹ The Society's taste for landscape is corroborated by the description of a "Seaport" and "Landscape in the uprights" by Salvator Rosa, who according to Graham was "one of the most excellent Masters that Italy has produced in this Century".⁴⁹⁰ In the 1712 sale of Graham's collection two works by Rosa are recorded, one entitled "A Lanskip, with a single Figure", as well as numerous land- and sea-scapes by Gaspar Poussin, William van de Velde, Pieter Van Laer, Nicholas Berchem, Filippo Lauro, and Claude Lorrain. Similarly with Van Dyck, a self-portrait by the artist is also recorded in the sale of Graham's collection. Such connections corroborate the role of the 'Account' as a connoisseurial guidebook, the taste of the Society falling in line with Graham's "Most Eminent" painters as it did with his personal collection.

Graham's significance as an influential figure in the early London art world is underscored further by the intimate connections between the Society and the Stuart and Hanoverian monarchy, as well as with some of the most important collectors and taste-formers of the day including Anthony Ashley Cooper, third earl of Shaftesbury. According to George Vertue (1684-1746), the Society's unofficial archivist, the Virtuosi of St Luke was one of "the Tip top Clubbs of all, for men of the highest Character in Arts & Gentlemen Lovers of Art".⁴⁹¹ Membership to the Society can therefore be considered as the exemplary cultural association of the era, and Graham and his 'Account' were at the heart of its enterprise. These English artists and "Gentleman Lovers of Art", sought association with an international world of élite masculine cultural interests rooted in the knowledge of classical antiquity and Italianate Renaissance learning. They shared a distinct sensibility, a set of elite habits, attitudes, and intellectual preferences that owed much to the cosmopolitan ideals and rigid codes of civility and politeness that, as we have heard,

further', the Society resolved to meet at Gibson's house to view the paintings. (Minutes of 'Friday 7 [?] 1698' in Vertue.

⁴⁸⁸ Graham, 1695: 333.

⁴⁸⁹ Graham, 1695: 334.

⁴⁹⁰ Graham, 1695: 341.

⁴⁹¹ The primary source of information on the society is a set of papers compiled and partly copied out by Vertue (BL, Add. MS 39167, fols. 73–86). These papers cover the years from 1689 to 1743 and were based on materials kept by the banker, collector, and early member of the society James Seymour (1658–1739), the father of the sporting artist James Seymour. The papers remain unpublished in their original form, although Vertue's material on the society's membership is now in print with a full commentary: see Bignamini, *George Vertue*, pp. 21–44.

were characteristic of the Renaissance courts and the doctrine of Castiglione against which Graham defined an ideal artistic identity. Symbolically, therefore, the Society served an important role in raising artistic status in the period—defining the terms on which gentlemen and practising artists could meet socially as ostensible equals, and serving arguments about “the civilizing power of the fine arts”.⁴⁹²

‘A little French Booke of Painting’ – Englishing *De arte graphica*

More palpably, the Society made a significant contribution to the history of taste through their direct involvement with the publication of Dufresnoy’s *De arte graphica* in England. In a contract Dryden held for the translation of the works of Virgil (15 June 1694), he stipulated his freedom to translate “a little French Booke of Painting which he hath engaged to perform for Some Gentlemen Virtuoso’s and Painters”.⁴⁹³ Dryden nowhere names the “Painters” and “Virtuoso’s” but these are thought to be the prominent club members Closterman, Graham and Cook,⁴⁹⁴ suggesting the translation was an active commission from the Society. As sponsors of the publication, if they can be termed as such, the three men advised Dryden on the appropriate use of technical terminology, and there is evidence of minor editing of *De arte graphica* to present it as a collection of rules or precepts.⁴⁹⁵ Furthermore as we already know, club member Graham was the author of the anonymous ‘Account’ that was appended to the text, his history of modern painters concluding, perhaps pointedly, with the Society’s late reviver John Riley who had died four years earlier in 1691. The translation’s frontispiece (Fig. 70) was also designed by the history painter Cooke. Significantly for this project, Cooke is also believed to have studied in Rome with one of the Society’s most favoured artists, Salvator Rosa,⁴⁹⁶ this connection no doubt bringing him into great esteem amongst the group.

Cooke’s association with Rosa is one of numerous close connections between the English Virtuoso group with the French and Italian milieus also directly associated with the publication and dissemination of *De arte graphica*. This, in turn, is telling of what the Society understood *De arte graphica* to personify and what they hoped, under their commission, it would come to represent in English culture. Before the publication in 1713 of the first Italian translation, the treatise had only been available in Italy in its French form.⁴⁹⁷ How widely it circulated it is not possible to

⁴⁹² Solkin, 1992: 98–99.

⁴⁹³ Dryden, 1987: 1179.

⁴⁹⁴ Muecke, in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.), 2005: 128

⁴⁹⁵ Muecke, in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.), 2005: 130.

⁴⁹⁶ Muecke, in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.), 2005: 129.

⁴⁹⁷ Muecke, in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.), 2005: 119.

say, but crucially it can be connected with the two most influential artistic figures in late seventeenth-century Rome. The first, Bellori, we have already encountered as a dominant stimulus in both Graham's 'Account' and Dryden's prefatory essay. In his youth Bellori had discussed the poem regularly with Dufresnoy during its composition, and during his lifetime recommended *De arte graphica* to artistic circles in Rome.⁴⁹⁸ It is believed that he discussed it with Carlo Maratti,⁴⁹⁹ the only living painter whose life Bellori wrote, and in which the Italian painter was presented as a perfect exponent of the classicist theory of art. Closterman, who had also studied for two years in Paris from 1679, was to be in Maratti's studio in 1699.⁵⁰⁰ Horace Walpole (1717-1797), from the notes of Vertue, recalls Closterman going twice to Italy, and how in another instance the artist wrote letters to Graham from Spain "on the pictures of that country".⁵⁰¹ In the auction of Graham's collection "Carlo Maratt's Picture, painted by the Life, in an Oval" by Closterman is listed, as well as a painting executed by Maratti himself. Whilst rather disjointed, these surviving fragmented correlations testify to an active community of artists and writers whose artistic and theoretical exchange can be seen to have resulted in the English *De arte graphica* publication. The central factors that appear to have influenced the Society's choice of Dufresnoy's text were therefore likely to be that it was perceived as "French",⁵⁰² in an era when French artistic influence was dominant, that it was a celebrated art treatise, and that it was recognized as such in Maratti's studio.

As we know from Chapter 2, this 1695 edition was in fact not the first reaction to *De arte graphica* and its doctrine known in England, Aglionby having incorporated large portions of the text in *Painting Illustrated* in 1685. In his treatise Aglionby also included "the Lives of the most Eminent Painters, from Cimabue, to the time of Raphael and Michel Angelo".⁵⁰³ The amalgamation of purposes in Aglionby's work - an instructional text with a universal history of painting, and a call for a more intellectual appreciation of painting intending to lead to its improvement - has been understood as "distinctly English" in its combination of a didactic text with a

⁴⁹⁸ This he later claimed in a letter to Abbé Nicaise, written in 1670 in Rome: 'Alphonse de Fresnoy began his poem *De arte graphica*, following the model of Horace's *Poetice*, at Rome, while he was spending time here being instructed in art. Since he was very closely attached to me, he would bring to me the verses he daily composed. He completed the poem at Paris, and in the same poem I have read much that is expressed with charm, and of great profit for the rules of art.' Letter quoted in Mahon: 153 n. 150.

⁴⁹⁹ Muecke, in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.), 2005): 120.

⁵⁰⁰ Bignamini, 1988b: 92; Wind, 1938: 185-188; Rogers, 1981: 1-3; Closterman painted Dryden's portrait in the mid-1690s. The change towards a new classicism in Closterman's style after his Roman visit has been noted, see Rogers, 1981: 3.

⁵⁰¹ Walpole, 1762: Vol. 3, 231.

⁵⁰² See Dryden's description of it quoted above; the 1720 edition by D. F. Gent advertises itself as 'Translated from the *French* of M. du Fresnoy'.

⁵⁰³ Aglionby, 1685.

history of art.⁵⁰⁴ This “English” arrangement can be seen to be taken up again by the editors of *De arte graphica* ten years later, with the addition of Graham’s art historical narrative. Apart from the subsequent English editions, this combination is to be found nowhere else in the history of the editions of Dufresnoy’s work, as it was widely and repeatedly translated and distributed throughout Europe.

The didactic message of the work can perhaps, be understood most succinctly in the frontispiece by Cooke. In the design, Minerva, patroness of the arts, is introducing Dufresnoy’s treatise to Painting, the latter being in the person of the inexperienced English school who timidly steps on the scene from the left. The four putti are symbolic representations of young English artists who need to be better educated in the visual arts (theoretical and practical education are represented respectively by the putto on the left and by the putto on the right) in order to attain fame. A third putto on the right is trying to playfully take the attributes of Fame (the trumpet and the laurel wreath) from a fourth standing putto.⁵⁰⁵ The first English edition of *De arte graphica* can therefore be conceived as the result of a concerted effort by a select group of practitioners and connoisseurs, who saw it as a valid statement of their principles, and Graham’s ‘Account’ in the context of a celebrated academic treatise must be understood together with Dryden’s translation and Cooke’s frontispiece design, as a collaborative and like-minded project to offer English artists the same educational advantages as those enjoyed by their colleagues in France and Italy.

The call for an English Academy: the rise of a national consciousness in England’s post-revolution years

The revival of the Virtuosi of St Luke in 1689, and the collaborative production of *De arte graphica* six years later, occur in the years immediately following the ‘Glorious Revolution’ that had seen widespread political turmoil in England. The post-revolution years saw a newly empowered aristocracy embark upon a dramatic programme of artistic and architectural patronage. These different kinds of cultural investment and energy were directed in particular to large-scale painted and sculpted state portraits, extensive schemes of civic ornament, decorative history paintings that covered the walls and ceilings of palaces, theatres and hospitals, and works of graphic art designed to disseminate across the nation and its growing empire symbolic messages of patriotic pride and national achievement. Imagery of

⁵⁰⁴ Gibson-Wood, 1989: 185.

⁵⁰⁵ For further discussion of the frontispiece see Bignamini, 1988a.

battle scenes and heroic figures is frequent, presented as a reassuring celebration of supposedly native values and virtues following a time of national crisis. The impact of these years following William's coronation is corroborated in the much later activities of a group of artists associated with the Foundling Hospital, who dined annually on 5 November from 1747. The artists' dinners, emulating earlier governors' entertainments, were held in the Hospital's lavishly decorated General Court Room on the anniversary of William's landing at Torbay in 1688, a symbolic allusion to the classical and eighteenth-century topos of the joint rise of liberty and the arts.⁵⁰⁶

Despite remaining unfinished at William's death, Hampton Court Palace was the summit of his and his wife Mary's Court style, and, as John Harris demonstrates in 'The Architecture of the Williamite Court,' it became the "English Versailles".⁵⁰⁷ Following the French style, all the artistic elements were coordinated to form a coherent whole. Architecture, sculpture, painting, applied art and garden design were combined to mirror the power and status of the Stadholder King. In a preparatory work by Antonio Verrio (c.1639-1707) for a larger picture that was to form part of the decoration of the Banqueting House at the Palace (Fig. 71), the theme of William's enlightened patronage of the Arts shows the goddess of Wisdom, Minerva, amidst clouds, surrounded by allegorical figures representing Astronomy, Music, Poetry, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting. The asymmetrical composition with its lively gesturing figures and overlapping edges was commissioned by William himself, and in the final version Sculpture is holding a bust of the King crowned with laurel. The extent to which Minerva and the new King of England were continually being linked not only in the grand manner of Verrio, but also in the wider visual and literary culture of the day, are suggestive of a more widely comprehended, emblematic meaning.⁵⁰⁸ Minerva, the Roman goddess of military prowess, just warfare and intellectual and academic activity, can be seen to symbolize affectingly the bygone turmoil of the 'Glorious Revolution' and the resurgence in England's artistic and architectural patronage that occurred as a result of William's leadership in the closing decade of the century. This identifiable allegory offers a further reading of Cooke's frontispiece design for *De arte graphica*, the collaborative project not only associating itself with the classicist doctrine, but in these terms aligning itself with the project of the new

⁵⁰⁶ Hoock, 2003: 33-34.

⁵⁰⁷ Harris in Maccubin and Hamilton-Phillips (eds). 1989: 225-33.

⁵⁰⁸ Mijers and Onnekink, 2007.

King.

Supporting the idea that this was their intention are the events that occurred just three years after the date of publication. In 1698 the Society agitated for a formal art academy that led to practical plans that were considered by the King himself. Closterman's connection with Shaftesbury, and through him the newly elected Lord Chancellor, John Somers, would have made this a propitious moment for such an endeavor.⁵⁰⁹ Closterman, who had served as the first Steward to the Society's annual feast in 1689 (after John Riley was taken ill) and signed the minutes of the meeting held on 5th March 1697/8, was being patronised by Shaftesbury and the latter was on very good terms with Somers.⁵¹⁰ It is not known if an actual project was produced, but on the 12 February 1697/8 Narcissus Luttrell recorded in his diary that "His majestie [William III] is resolved to settle an academy to encourage the art of painting, where are to be 12 masters, and all persons that please may come and practice gratis."⁵¹¹ Certainly no official academy was established under William III, nor any private art school founded by the Society. From a political standpoint, William could well have disapproved of the Society's close association and emulation with Louis XIV's France, or his Academy at least, while Graham's less than graceful discussion of the 'gothic' art of William's native Holland could not have encouraged the King either. Furthermore some members of the group are believed to have been rivals, professionally at least, with the principal court painter Sir Godfrey Kneller, who the King had knighted in 1693. The prospect of heightening a simmering inter-nation conflict may well have deferred any further hope of Royal patronage completely.

The year following the proposal, a translation of Pierre Monier's (1641-1703) *History of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Graving* appeared on the English book market, reminding the nations' lovers of art that "great Princes" of other lands had established academies in Florence, Rome Bologna, Antwerp and Paris, that the teaching of drawing was an essential part of the education to be offered both artists and designers, and that lectures on "the History of Art" were no less important.⁵¹² Writing from Italy in 1712, Shaftesbury bemoans the unfruitful proposal, agitated

⁵⁰⁹ From the very start of William's reign Somers was a prominent supporter of the King. When the Commons considered the fate of James II in the committee of the whole house on 28 January 1689 Somers was clearly on the side of those wishing to see William III declared king.

⁵¹⁰ Bignamini, 1989: 441.

⁵¹¹ Narcissus Luttrell, 1857: IV, 343-44.

⁵¹² Monier, 1699.

by the illustrious Louis XIV and his Academy that seemingly went from strength to strength:

As for other Academys, such as those for Painting, Sculpture, or Architecture, we have not so much heard of the Proposal; whilst the Prince of our rival Nation, raises Academys, breeds Youth, and sends Rewards and pensions into foreign Countrys, to advantage the interest and credit of his own.⁵¹³

The departure to Italy by Shaftesbury following the death of Closterman in May 1711, and his own death whilst still abroad in 1713, significantly diminished the Society's efforts to influence the wider cultural sphere. In fact, by 1713 all the original contributors to the 1695 publication bar Graham were no longer living. From this date the Society settled down to become an exclusive social club primarily for artists. What is significant in this context, however, is that in England at this time the Society felt a critical urgency to expound their beliefs and attempt to shape the taste of the nation's painters and art lovers with a set of values that they believed were not only worthy of Royal patronage, but that could be confidently set out to shape the future identity of the arts in England.

A New Generation: the second edition of 1716 and the upholders of the classicist doctrine

The defence and furtherance of the message of the 1695 publication project was not, however, diminished, an advertisement in the *Post Man* of 8 March 1716 announcing the arrival of a second edition:

There will speedily be published, Fresnoy's Art of Painting, a Poem, with Remarks, translated by Mr Dryden; and an Original Preface, containing a Parallel betwixt Poetry and Painting, by Mr Dryden: As also an Account of the most eminent Painters Ancient and Modern, much enlarg'd by R.Graham, Esq; The 2d Edit. To which are prefix'd, Verses from Mr Pope to Mr Servas, occasion'd by this Edition. Printed for Bernard Lintott between the Temple Gates. N.B. Thirty only are printed on fine Paper.⁵¹⁴

The revised edition testifies to a renewed conviction in the value and authority of the project and a desire to make it more readily accessible, through a more accurate and up to date publication.⁵¹⁵ A new monarch now ruled in England, and on the title page of the new edition the original Latin heading of *De arte graphica*, which had been retained along with the English sub-heading in 1695, was now removed, the more accessible *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters* presented in its place. The limited print run on "fine paper" of thirty copies, however, re-enforces the idea of its audience as a restricted cosmopolitan elite, particularly if we compare

⁵¹³ Shaftesbury, *Letter Concerning the Art, or Science of Design*, 1737: III, 405.

⁵¹⁴ *Post Man*, 8th March 1716.

⁵¹⁵ See *The works of John Dryden*, XX, 342. The publisher, Bernard Lintot, brought the rights from Hammond Banks on 16 December 1714, John Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*: 204.

it to the highly marketable art publication of its day, Salmon's *Polygraphice*, which had already sold 15,000 copies by the turn of the century.

If Graham had been an important instigator of the 1695 edition, it appears that this time he also played an editorial role. He included a corrected and enlarged version of the 'Account', with its own title page, giving his full name, and he wrote and signed the dedication to Lord Burlington, with whom he had a personal connection, his "Lordship" being described as "now in the Fourth Generation of our [the Graham family's] Patrons and Benefactors."⁵¹⁶ The young Burlington had returned in late April 1715 from his first Italian journey, on which he may have accompanied Charles Jervas (1675–1739), the portrait painter.⁵¹⁷ Burlington, "an aspiring Maecenas in need of tutoring",⁵¹⁸ is addressed in his role of rising politician as well as prospective patron of the arts: "It is not for common purposes that Heaven has entrusted these rich Talents in your hands. You stand accountable for them to Your Prince, Your Country, and Your Noble Relations."⁵¹⁹ 1716 was early days in Burlington's career as the "Apollo of the Arts".⁵²⁰ But in 1715 he had turned twenty-one, the Whigs had come into power, and King George had conferred on him several minor ministerial posts.⁵²¹ With his great wealth, he was therefore ideally placed to exercise patronage. The dedication of this new edition of *De arte graphica* to Burlington acknowledges this, and associates its classical doctrines with his ambitions to renew the arts in England. Included in the agenda was the aim of encouraging the grand manner of history painting in England, something Burlington attempted several years later through his patronage of the classicizing artist and architect, William Kent (*bap.* 1686 -1748).⁵²²

Another of Burlington's new artistic friends with similar interests, if fewer resources, was the poet Alexander Pope (1688-1744),⁵²³ who himself studied

⁵¹⁶ Graham, 1716.

⁵¹⁷ Suggested by James Lees-Milne, *Earls of Creation, Five Great Patrons of Eighteenth Century Art*: 107 (a Mr. Gervais is named as one of the party in a record of the tour's expenses). But DNB, X, 791-92 knows nothing of this and Jervas's correspondence with Pope shows him in England after 27 May 1714 (George Sherburn (ed.), *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, I, 226).

⁵¹⁸ Paulson, 1973: I, 101. Vertue called him "the noble Maecenas of Arts" (quoted by Lees-Milne, p. 106).

⁵¹⁹ See Barrell, 1986, on the "discourse of civic humanism".

⁵²⁰ See Muecke in Haskell, Allen, and Muecke (eds.), 2005): 133 n.107. In Rome Burlington had bought paintings by Maratti, Domenichino and Pietro da Cortona, among others (Lees-Milne, p. 110). Patronage centred on his house (Lees-Milne, pp. 117-20; Haskell *Patrons and Painters*, p. 280). See in Graham's preface: 'And I congratulate my *County-men*, upon the happy/Prospect they have, of saving themselves the Trouble and Expence of a Journey to Rome, or Paris, for the Study of those Arts, which they may find in their utmost Perfection at BURLINGTON-House'.

⁵²¹ Lees-Milne, 2001: 104-5, 113.

⁵²² See Salerno, 1951: 258: 'a visual, though theoretical, classicism arose which was fostered by literary classicism and rationalism, culminating in the circle of Lord Burlington and Pope...'; Brownell, 1978: 290-93.

⁵²³ Brownwell, 1978: 15.

painting with Jervas for a period from April 1713.⁵²⁴ Pope wrote to Jervas on 9 July 1716:

My Lord Burlington desires you may be put in mind of him. His gardens flourish, his structures rise, his pictures arrive, and (what is far nobler and more valuable than all) his own good qualities daily extend themselves to all about him: whereof, I the meanest (next to some Italian chemists, fiddlers, bricklayers and opera-makers) am a living Instance.⁵²⁵

Since in this edition, the “Epistle Dedicatory” is followed by Pope’s poem, first published therein, “To Mr. Jervas, with Fresnoy’s Art of Painting, Translated by Mr. Dryden”, and since the book was printed for Pope’s publisher, Bernard Lintot, the question of the extent of Pope’s involvement arises. Graham tells us that “Mr. Jervas (a very good Critick in the Language, as well as in the Subject of the Poem) has been prevail’d upon to correct what was found amiss”.⁵²⁶ The most convincing hypothesis has been that Jervas did his corrections of the translations “under the wing of Pope”.⁵²⁷

Graham’s “much enlarg’d” lives saw only one addition to its English artists. This was the painter and poet John Greenhill, whose entry describes him as the “most Excellent” disciple of Lely, “a Gentleman well descended.... He was finely qualify’d by Nature, for both the Sister-Arts of Painting and Poetry.” An early death left “...just enough of his Hand, to make us wish, he had been more careful of a Life, so likely to do great Honour to his Country.”⁵²⁸ The themes of Graham’s earlier English entries are here continued, the artist’s place in the history seemingly won by his conformity to the author’s framework of classical learning and elite social affiliations. Graham’s steadfast approach twenty years on marks his continued desire to shape the foundations of England’s art historical identity, and direct its future in a controlled and precise manner. Returning here to the contents of the ‘Account’, we can now argue that the group of lives found here promoted a distinct model of social idealization, in which masculine virtuosic sensibility were part of a literary construction of the English art historical identity. Presented as a blueprint to be extended by the establishment of an academy, it casts the subjects of each individual biography into mutually supporting roles.

The new generation of supporters surrounding this second edition is further exemplified in the inclusion of a specially commissioned frontispiece designed and

⁵²⁴ Ault, 1949: 68; Sherburn, *Correspondence*, I, 174, 198.

⁵²⁵ Sherburn, *Correspondence*, I, 347.

⁵²⁶ Some of these corrections were signaled in the text by being enclosed in inverted commas.

⁵²⁷ The phrase is from Lipking, 1970: 47. Mason, 1783: xiv, says Pope was helped by Jervas (“as it is said”). See Malone (ed.), 1800: III, 294. Pope reviewed Graham’s dedication just before the volume’s publication (letter to Graham 29 February 1715, Sherburn, I, 333-34).

⁵²⁸ Graham, 1716: 386.

engraved by Simon Gribelin (1662–1733) (Fig. 72).⁵²⁹ In addition to this work, Gribelin had engraved illustrations after his own or others' designs for Shaftesbury's *Characteristicks*, and Pope's *Works*, seemingly continuing the ethos of the earlier community, working together in collaboration to enforce and continue a second generation of "classical" art lovers, intent on expounding its doctrine into contemporary culture.⁵³⁰ Gribelin's frontispiece subject, the "invention of painting" by the Corinthian maid, has been succinctly described as "Western art's genesis myth".⁵³¹ The lovers are shown within the oval frame, which rests on a plinth on which is described *De arte graphica liber*. On either side are the emblems of painting and sculpture, a combination which points towards an interpretation of the scene as relating to the visual arts as a whole. The image seems chosen to reinforce, by a universalizing reference to the classical origins of art, *De arte graphica's* status as a classic statement of artistic theory. While reliance on continental models was undoubtedly still strong, how these became increasingly anglicized in the interpretation, additions, presentation and contestation shows the beginnings of an independent consciousness. The translation of Dufresnoy, combined as it was with the implicit 'academic' message of first Cooke's and later Gribelin's frontispieces and Graham's vindication of English art, played a role in stimulating discussion of the need for a national academy, with the principal aim of laying foundations for a new classical style in the arts.⁵³² The two editions of *De arte graphica* are therefore not straightforward re-presentations of foreign literature, but the product of Dryden, Graham, Cooke, Closterman, Pope, and Gribelin - the cosmopolitan ateliers of Restoration England, its contributors helping to consolidate a new sense of artistic identity closely connected to the rise of metropolitan polite society.

⁵²⁹ He had also engraved the frontispiece of the first edition designed by Cooke.

⁵³⁰ In the same year as the publication of the second edition, the *Virtusi of St Luke* records a new group of members, including the leading architect James Gibbs, the painters James Thornhill and John Wootton and the mathematician John Rowley.

⁵³¹ See Craske, 1997: 246; and Muecke, 1999, who demonstrates the influence of this version on English paintings of the legend in the 1770s.

⁵³² Bignamini, 1989: 440; Bignamini, 1988a: 26.

II. 'Were her wings as well Imp'd': the politics of difference in Bainbrigg Buckeridge's 'English School'

If Richard Graham's English artist was defined by a framework of classical associations and courtly ideals, Bainbrigg Buckeridge's position could not have been any more different. In 1706, Buckeridge answered Graham's 'Account' in the 'ESSAY towards an English School, With the Lives and Characters of above 100 PAINTERS'.⁵³³ Appended anonymously to the English translation of Roger de Piles's *The Art of Painting, and the Lives of the Painters*, Buckeridge's 'Essay' is furnished with the lives of nearly a hundred artists who either were born or had worked in England since the arrival of Hans Holbein the younger in the 1520s. On 2 January 1708, a writer for the *Journal des Sçavans*, reviewing the publication, commented on Buckeridge's motivation for writing the 'Essay', and the wide-ranging form it took:

...He [Buckeridge] finds it adverse that Mr de Piles apparently neglects the English painters, because, according to him, many among them had many credits in many genres. This is what brought him to make an extensive report here of the life of almost 100 painters of his country, many of which are considered English Painters just for having worked in England and having spent some time there. That is the totality of those painters that he calls the English School. The process of assigning to a country the painters whom worked there, is not unusual for those authors who wrote about the life of painters. Nonetheless, the greatest part of those painters who are praised by the Author were mostly masters in portraits, still lifes, landscapes, and not in historical paintings.⁵³⁴

The weekly *Journal des Sçavans* [sçavans being an early form of the French savants, meaning scholars] aimed to provide a catalogue and brief description of the principal books printed in Europe on a diversity of topics, as well as new and curious discoveries in the arts and sciences.⁵³⁵ In 1665 the *Journal* had acquired an English translator, and all future editions were enriched with news of the "finest things done in England".⁵³⁶ Here, the writer notes a feeling of animosity from the English author towards the French publication to which it is appended. In his "lives of painters" de Piles had been dismissive of the English School and Buckeridge freely acknowledges that the 'Essay' was compiled as a patriotic riposte, to convince the reader that "English Painters and Paintings, both for their Number and their Merit, have a better Claim to the Title of a School, than those of France."⁵³⁷ In pursuit of this aim, Buckeridge, as observed in the *Journal*, included many artists

⁵³³ De Piles 1706. [The original French edition *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* was published in Paris in 1699].

⁵³⁴ *Journal des Sçavans*, 2 January 1708.

⁵³⁵ Its first issue had ten articles on such diverse topics as an account of a monstrous birth near Oxford, a note on Giuseppe Campani's new telescopes and lenses, comments on a new edition of René Descartes's *De l'homme*, and a review of recent editions on the history of the African church. The first thirteen issues contained over eighty reviews of books including a few which are recognized as classics in their field.

⁵³⁶ Turner, 2008: 342.

⁵³⁷ A number of portraits by Hysing and other Rose and Crown painters were pictures of members of the Academy of 1711. See in particular Vertue III, pp. 11-13.

who were natives of other countries but had worked in England, and others who, it could be argued, would have difficulty exhibiting a contribution to a canon of art in terms of their stylistic or technical progress, as demonstrated by Graham. Yet this greater inclusiveness leads to the ‘Essay’ offering an alternative account of English taste and practice in painting in seventeenth-century England, and challenges the notion of an absolute adherence to the authority of French theory and taste for history painting in contemporary English culture.

The review’s brief synopsis of the ‘Essay’ reveals that the contents address the same triptych narrative found in Graham’s ‘Account’; the question of English artistic identity; English attitudes towards France and French academicians; and a reflection of English taste for paintings. Yet as we have briefly heard, on each of these central counts, Buckeridge’s stance is entirely different. What then, we are led to ask, caused Buckeridge to attempt a radical transformation of England’s national art history, one that fundamentally differed from Graham’s ‘Account’? The author’s challenge, as we have heard, was to set out a School of English painters that surpassed the French, suggesting an element of international competition which was less prominent in Graham’s writing. Exploring the differences between the ‘Account’ and the ‘Essay’, as measures of alternate attitudes toward nationhood, patronage, and artistic identity in England, I will ask how far the ‘Essay’ was an imaginary entity – a textual invention – shaped and driven by the author’s patriotic desire. The following pages will address the question of the conditioning of personal experience, and what this means for the nature of Buckeridge’s historical project and his approach to writing the first substantial history of English painting.

Bainbrigg Buckeridge: Artist, poet, and patriot

Before turning attention to the contents of the text itself, it is useful to set the ‘Essay’ within a number of key contexts. First, the visual arts were for Buckeridge a lifelong passion. Graduating from St John’s College, Oxford, he “was designed for the study of physic”.⁵³⁸ Matriculating in March 1695, he presented the college with a portrait of the former archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud (1573-1645), based on Van Dyck’s earlier representation (Fig. 73). This gesture appears to symbolize a new direction in Buckeridge’s life, “his Genius” leading him to take up “Drawing and Painting”, travelling in “Holland, and some other foreign Parts”.⁵³⁹

⁵³⁸ Jacobs, 1719: 21-22.

⁵³⁹ Jacobs, 1719: 21-22.

As a result, he “made some Progress in that curious Art”, and in his early withdrawal from London life, it became “his chief Amusement in a Country Retirement.”⁵⁴⁰ Dying on 11 January 1733, Buckeridge’s will leaves further evidence of his artistic practice, as well as a vivid record of his taste in pictures:

...The pictures of Sir Edward and Sir Robert Atkyns of her dear Mother her own of Lady Mary Chambers and of Mr Manbert drawn by Dahl with a Coppy to be done from one of my Pictures at about Two Guineas Expense Two fflower pott pictures by Montingo a picture drawn of me of Eaton and part of Windsor Castle a pair of Pictures with fflowers and Grapes drawn on Looking Glass with a Ladys head drawn on a Three Quarter Cloath by Sir Godfrey Kneller... I give unto my youngest son Nicholas...his dear Mothers Picture drawn by Moreland and his owne and one of my pictures with Two Landskips drawn by me as he shall choose his Godfathers with his wifes picture... To my Eldest son I give my wifes Picture by Sir Godfrey Kneller my own by Dahl his own and Six of my drawings with the rest of my books and papers....⁵⁴¹

It is suggested by the works described by his own hand that Buckeridge was himself a landscape and topographical artist, but none of his paintings or drawings are now known. Several of the other works described here can, however, be tentatively identified. A portrait of a lady in profile exists that is believed to be his second wife, Mary Buckeridge (Fig. 74). Bust-length, in crimson robes, within a painted oval, the painting is signed and dated “G Kneller/1720”. A mezzotint copy of the portrait also survives, which clearly bears her title “Mrs Buckeridge” supporting the attribution of the painted work (Fig. 75). Portraits by Dahl of Buckeridge, dated 1696 (Fig. 76), and a lady believed to be Mary Chambers (Fig. 77) are also known. These works offer us a glimpse of Buckeridge’s greater collection, a final note in the will requesting that following the marriage of his eldest son Nicholas, he was also to receive “halfe my other pictures”. What is revealed is his particular taste for portraiture, favouring the leading portrait painters Kneller and Dahl, as well as an enthusiasm for landscapes and still life pieces. From the third edition of the ‘Essay’, published posthumously in 1754, it seems clear that Buckeridge had known Kneller in some capacity; writing a long biography of the painter, a preliminary note stipulates that he had “...at different times collected from Sir Godfrey Kneller’s own mouth the following account of himself...”⁵⁴² Clearly, Buckeridge’s life in England and travel on the Continent had helped construct his taste in painting.

Another significant context lies with the author’s familial and professional associations, which tell us something of his personal and public character. The Buckeridges were a family of Berkshire yeomen who had entered trade and climbed

⁵⁴⁰ Jacobs, 1719: 21-22.

⁵⁴¹ The majority of his possessions he left to his daughter by his first marriage to Rebecca Atkyns and her children - almost certainly the daughter of Robert Atkyns (1647-1711) the topographer and historian of Gloucestershire.

⁵⁴² Buckeridge, 1754: 393.

into gentility during the seventeenth century. Nicholas Buckeridge, Bainbrigg's father, was an East India Company merchant, and Bainbrigg himself was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, to which he was admitted on 11 March 1678. By the time Bainbrigg was registered at school, his father was recorded as a gentleman rather than a merchant, but, according to the notice of his death in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Bainbrigg was also at one time "in the East-India Company's service at Fort St George".⁵⁴³ By marriage the family were kin of Sir Thomas White (1495–1567), Lord Mayor of London, who founded St John's College, Oxford, in 1555. The most distinguished of them all, the High Church divine John Buckeridge (*d.* 1631) had been president of St John's before becoming Bishop of Rochester (1611) and later Ely (1628). The Bishop was tutor to young William Laud, wielding great influence and remaining closely associated until the former's death in 1631. It has been suggested that the Bishop was the source of many of Laud's early "high-church" views,⁵⁴⁴ and the close familial connection certainly gives a heightened significance to Buckeridge's presentation of the portrait of the archbishop at his graduation, as perhaps a renewed reminder of his family's values and influence.⁵⁴⁵

Another prominent associate of Buckeridge himself was John Sheffield, first duke of Buckingham, and later Normanby (1647-1721). Buckeridge was employed by Sheffield in some capacity during the reigns of William, Mary and Anne, and at his death left him £100 in his will, of which Buckeridge was witness in 1716. Privy Councillor and Lord Chamberlain under James II, Sheffield submitted to William, but soon joined the Tory opposition and was dismissed from office. Under Anne he was Lord Privy Seal from 1702-5 and after a second period out of office became Lord President of the Council from 1710-14. As a prominent figure in the Tory party, the connection of employment suggests that Buckeridge, as might also be expected with his High Church background, had Tory sympathies also. This would certainly explain his country retirement by at least 1719, the arrival of George I having sent the Duke out of all hope of office.

⁵⁴³ *Gentlemans Magazine*, 3 (1733): 45.

⁵⁴⁴ Milton, 1995.

⁵⁴⁵ In the 'Essay' itself something more of Bainbrigg's religious proclivity is suggested in his reference to 'My Lord Castlemain' (p. 479). Here he refers to Roger Palmer, the earl of Castlemaine and a prominent Roman Catholic apologist and author. The persuasive force of his *Catholique Apology*, an eloquent vindication of Catholic loyalty to the Stuarts, was such that it involved him in recurrent bouts of controversy with protestant writers, including William Lloyd and Edward Stillingfleet, who laboured to fix the threadbare charge of treachery on all papists. The nature of the connection between Buckeridge and Palmer is unclear, but the earl was throughout his life a highly controversial figure, committed twice to the tower though evading execution on both occasions, and passing many years abroad by choice or exile. Buckeridge's allegiance too him could not have been made lightly.

Aside from his politics, Buckingham was also a wit and poet, and the friend, patron and collaborator of Tory Dryden. It is perhaps no coincidence then, that it was in the years working for Buckingham that Buckeridge wrote and published a number of poems, as well as the ‘Essay’. Contemporary admiration for Buckeridge’s poetry was such that his poems were listed together in Giles Jacob’s *The Poetical Register, or, The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets* in 1719,⁵⁴⁶ and later were published together in Nichols’s *Select Collection of Poems*.⁵⁴⁷ The first, published in 1700, suggests he too was close to Dryden, for he laments his death as a friend as well as an admirer in a poem addressed to Kneller printed in *Luctus Britannici*.⁵⁴⁸ His poem’s theme was Kneller’s portrait of Dryden holding the poet’s bays, (Fig. 78), and was entitled “To Sir Godfrey Kneller upon the Death of Mr. Dryden”. In 1704 Buckeridge also celebrated in verse his employer’s newly built Buckingham House and its collection of pictures at St James’s Park, writing admiringly in the poem that:

Under this Roof *Parnassus*’ Sons shall meet,
And ev’ry Science all her Sisters greet.⁵⁴⁹

Likening his patron’s home to Parnassus, the sacred home of the muses, St James’s Park is distinguished as a centre of poetry, literature, and learning. In the same year Buckeridge also addressed a poem along similar lines to Verrio, this time anticipating the artistic decoration of the future Blenheim. Designed by Sir John Vanbrugh (1664-1726), and built at public expense early in the eighteenth century, the Palace had been granted to the 1st Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722) in 1704 following his famous victory over the French at the Battle of Blenheim in the same year. In the poem Buckeridge urges Verrio to capture the heroic Duke, and in his triumph the English nation’s pride:

...Gild his Victorious Carr, bold Artist, draw
Albion Rejoycing and the World in Awe;
Paint in full Splendor, all his Acts that claim
Triumphant Laurels and Immortal Fame
Make him Gaul’s glitt ring Flowers in Homage yield.
To Fix ’em faster in Britannica’s Shield....
Let your Great Genius on the Canvas show
How the Swift Rhine, and how the Danube flow...⁵⁵⁰

While Verrio did not live to make the work, if he had ever intended, Blenheim’s interior as well as exterior decoration did come to be distinguished by the heroic iconography associated with Marlborough, its mass and grandeur recalling “ideas

⁵⁴⁶ Jacobs, 1719: 21-22

⁵⁴⁷ Buckeridge also translated a novel by Miguel de Cervantes.

⁵⁴⁸ Buckeridge, 1700.

⁵⁴⁹ Buckeridge quoted in Jacobs, 1719: 22.

⁵⁵⁰ Buckeridge, 1704.

of defence and security” naturally associated with “the hero for whom it was erected”.⁵⁵¹ Buckeridge’s poem therefore captures a more widely felt sense of nationhood - painting, poetry and patriotism synthesized into a powerful symbol of the evolving relationship between the artistic professions and the cultural state.

From this brief account we can begin to discern the contextual pattern which underlies Buckeridge’s work as a historian of the English school. His family background – recently risen from trade and involved in mercantile practice – meant he was perhaps seeking a certain amount of aristocratic approval; yet he was clearly well connected, with the leisure and time of a gentleman to travel, paint, and write, and through such activities he had established a taste and admiration for the painting of Northern Europe and the ‘minor’ genres; associated with High Church Tory principles, he may also have been bound to certain ideological principles; finally, in his poetry as well as the ‘Essay’ he is a patriotic enthusiast whose foremost concern is England’s cause, highlighting and celebrating the achievements of her great figures, collections, houses and victories with equal ardor. His response to the enthusiasts of the rival French and Italian schools, such as Graham and de Piles, was therefore likely to be defensive.

England’s history ‘sunk’: Roger de Piles’s *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* and its English translation

De Piles’s treatise, to which the ‘Essay’ is adjoined, is made up of two parts. The first theorizes “the art of painting”, while the second records the lives of painters. Published in 1699 following his appointment as “Conseiller Honoraire” to the Royal Academy, the theoretical position of his text marks a move away from the earlier authority of history painting. De Piles’s theory of art is concerned neither with ideal beauty nor with naturalism, but with the specific visual nature of pictorial imitation. It is his belief that painting does not derive its importance from its subject matter: for any visible subject – a bowl of flowers or a battle – can be the subject of a painting. He does not, therefore, try to define rules according to a hierarchy of genres, but rather according to the nature of visual perception, the faculty of sight.⁵⁵² De Piles’s position had already been somewhat revealed in his annotated translation of Dufresnoy’s *De Arte Graphica*, published in 1668, and the re-edited version of 1673 was also followed by the author’s seminal *Dialogue sur le*

⁵⁵¹ Mavor, quoted in Hallett, 2008.

⁵⁵² See Puttfarcken, 2000.

coloris.⁵⁵³ Yet according to the lengthy dedication to the English translation, addressed to the wealthy financier Sir Robert Child of Osterley, de Piles “...not thinking them sufficient to explain it as clearly as he would have it, he publish’d this Book Twenty Years afterwards.”⁵⁵⁴

The second part of De Piles’s treatise, ‘An Abridgement to the Lives of Painters’, begins with the origin of painting. Presenting the lives of “the Six Principal Painters of Greece”, he begins with Zeuxis, going on to Parrhasius, Pamphilus, Timanthes, Apelles and concluding with Protogenes. He continues on to address the lives of the Roman, Florentine, Venetian, Lombard, German and Flemish painters, and concludes with the French School. Salient biographical facts for each painter, the genres in which they worked, their principal pictures, their manner, its sources, characteristics, faults and merits were alone of real concern for de Piles. It was the French author’s intention, as Buckeridge himself observes, to “contain only such of their Actions Serv’d to give the World the best *Idea* of them as *Painters*.”⁵⁵⁵

In the dedication to the English translation, which appears to have been co-authored by Buckeridge and John Savage (1673-1747) the translator,⁵⁵⁶ the two writers claim to have called upon the Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke for expert counsel, as Dryden had a decade earlier. Throughout the paragraphs of the dedication, the use of the pronoun *we* abruptly changes to *I*, and back again, yet in most instances the voice of either writer can be identified, each addressing their respective parts of the publication, whilst at other times they seem to speak in union, confirming a semi-collaborative effort on the part of the two men. It is together that they seem to have desired the “Advice of those Gentlemen whom Mr. Dryden consulted in his Translation of *Fresnoy*”.⁵⁵⁷ This aspiration shows a respect for the Society and the high esteem with which the English *De arte graphica* project was held a decade on. Whether they received this advice is, however, unclear. In the dedication the authors fret “that our Translation of him [de Piles], as to the Stile, falls short of Mr. Dryden’s Version of *Fresnoy*’s Poem...”⁵⁵⁸ suggests that they did not. Buckeridge

⁵⁵³ Rubin, 1975: 157.

⁵⁵⁴ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated ‘Dedicatory Epistle’.

⁵⁵⁵ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated ‘Dedicatory Epistle’.

⁵⁵⁶ The lengthy dedication found at the start is clearly the work of an enthusiast familiar with the theory and history of art, yet it bears no signature at its end. Throughout its paragraphs, however, the use of the pronoun *we* abruptly changes to *I*, and back again. Its authorship, therefore, seems to be in the hands of both Buckeridge and John Savage who had translated the French text. In most instances, the voice of either writer can be identified, each addressing their respective parts of the treatise, whilst at other times they seem to speak in union, confirming a semi-collaborative effort on the part of the two authors.

⁵⁵⁷ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated ‘Dedicatory Epistle’.

⁵⁵⁸ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated ‘Dedicatory Epistle’.

also addresses Graham's 'Account' himself, explicitly owning his borrowings from the earlier author's lives. Having borrowed from Graham in his lives of Gentileschi, Van Dyck, Cooper, Dobson, Lely and Riley, Buckeridge clearly scrupled to claim the entire 'Essay' as his own.⁵⁵⁹ He also articulates a regret that Graham had wanted the time and inclination to write a more expansive history of the English School, suggesting that while he admired Graham's literary contribution, he found it to be incomplete articulation of the history of English painting:

... it had been happy for our Author [de Piles], and the whole Art of Painting, if the Gentleman [Graham], who added the Lives of the Painters to Mr. Dryden's Translation, had had Leisure or Inclination to have done for us, what he was kind enough as to do for him, and have set out the English-School with the Ornaments, that his Judgment and Elegance could have given it. I had his Work before me in the Execution of my own, and endeavour'd to imitate him in the Account of those English Painters, whom he thought worthy to his Pen.

Buckeridge seems to suggest that *had* Graham, known for his "Judgment" and "Elegance", applied himself more extensively to the "English School" in his earlier 'Account', de Piles might have been encouraged to acknowledge and include more English painters in his treatise.

As it was, the only English artist included by de Piles is "Oliver". Described as "Of London", he is appended to the German and Flemish school.⁵⁶⁰ From the description given of his practice this is Isaac Oliver (c.1565–1617), (ironically, or intentionally) the *French-born* English portrait miniaturist. The brief lines dedicated to him are followed by several more, which abruptly conclude de Piles's discussion of English painting. Dismissed derisively as a branch of the Northern schools, and as entirely limited to portrait painting, the English school is tarnished as having been in decline since the Reformation. He references only two other English figures, the first Oliver's "disciple, whose name was [Samuel] Cooper". Then, bizarrely, "Lely, an English Man" who "drew very good *Portraits* after *Vandyck's Manner*..."⁵⁶¹ In the English translation we now find an incensed interjection from Buckeridge, printed in italics to distinguish his voice from de Piles's:

*This is all the French Historian thinks fit to say of the English School; tho' we shall prove, that it has been much more Fruitful in Masters than the French, whose Genius in Painting like that in Musick, is Vain and Trivial. The Eternal Red and Yellow, that make the principal Part of their Colouring, is an Instance, how natural 'tis for them to love a glaring and false Lustre, even in the Arts, as well as in their Government. In this short account of the English Painters, he cannot help Erring, for tho' Sir Peter Lely was an English Painter, he was not an English Man.*⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁹ Lightbrown, 1969: 'Introduction'.

⁵⁶⁰ Buckeridge, 1706: 315.

⁵⁶¹ Buckeridge, 1706: 315.

⁵⁶² Buckeridge, 1706: 315.

Elsewhere, he intercepts with similar force,

...but there scarce ever was a French Historian, who out of the inveterate hatred the French naturally bear our Nation, has not every where when he speaks of the Affairs of England, done it with all the disadvantages that malice and falsehood cou'd suggest. Even this Writer, otherwise fair and equal in his report of things, cannot forbear reflecting the Honour of our Country, and to do it is guilty of the greatest absurdity in the World.... such is the veracity of the French Writers, when they have any thing to say of England, they will not name those of our Nation, whom they cannot, without more than common assurance, mention but with Honour, and for that reason the whole English School was sunk by this Historian.⁵⁶³

Thus, the 'Essay towards an English School' is inserted after de Piles's concluding discussion of the French painters, as if it were a portion of art history that the French author had chosen to erase and was now being rightfully restored to view. Therefore, while Buckeridge's appended lives mirror, in structural terms, the collaboration of Graham's 'Account' with *De arte graphica*, the impetus for this later publication is founded along very different lines. While Dryden and Graham re-interpreted and re-represented Dufresnoy's text for the English audience, with all its English additions complementing and adhering to a united message of the treatise, here we have two distinct voices in the English and the French authors. For the translation of de Piles's, it is simply Savage's desire to have formed a most close and correct translation, having applied to "Several Masters", and "even French Painters" for "Interpretations of some Terms" hoping to "have no where mistaken him".⁵⁶⁴ Yet in the "Essay" we find a retort to both de Piles's 'Lives of Painters' and Graham's 'Account', Buckeridge aiming to re-address the art-historical in-balance that he finds in both their commentaries.

The retained frontispiece from the French edition can be seen to go some way in epitomising this segregated set of values (Fig. 79). Engraved by Joseph Nutting (1660–1722), who had served as an apprentice to Savage before setting up as a printmaker and printseller in Fleet Street,⁵⁶⁵ it is copied directly from Antoine Coypel's (1661-1722) design for the French edition of 1699 (Fig. 80). The only change is to the inscription found on the central column,⁵⁶⁶ where "Réflexions sur des Ouvrages principaux Peintres" (Reflections on the Works of the Principal Painters) is changed to "The Art of Painting". This seems to realign the decorative title-page solely with the first part of the French translation, rather than with de Piles's lives of the principal painters as the French original set out. Buckeridge was

⁵⁶³ Buckeridge, 1706: 289-290.

⁵⁶⁴ John Savage, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁵⁶⁵ Sharp, 2004.

⁵⁶⁶ At the bottom of the page below the engraving the lines from Horace, 'I see not what good can come from study without a rich vein of genius untrained by art' are removed, and are found instead on the printed title page opposite.

therefore clear in his demands, wanting in no way to draw attention, let alone celebrate, de Piles's history of painters, which he found so wholly offensive to his native school.

Towards an English Art History: bringing the 'English School' into view

As with Graham's 'Account', all the lives included by Buckeridge in the 'Essay' are presented as posthumous, the author "not wishing to meddle with those masters that are living".⁵⁶⁷ Several were, however, still living, the author either mistaken or, as seems more likely, simply keen to make up numbers. A further contradiction is found in Buckeridge's claim that it was his intent to follow de Piles's strict methodology for the 'Essay', writing of the "...*English Masters*, more as they were *Painters* than as they were *Men*".⁵⁶⁸ He fails in almost every biography, unable to resist relaying numerous doubtful and dubious anecdotes which would most certainly have been deemed irrelevant by the French author. Horace Walpole certainly disapproved, criticizing Buckeridge decades later for publishing mere superficial gossip.⁵⁶⁹ It does seem fairly certain, though, that Buckeridge was responsible for authoring the majority of the lives himself. Certainly his biographies taken from Graham are made critically much richer, doubtless his personal practice and Continental travels having helped to construct the view of art history which is reflected in the 'Essay'. Rather than intended to shape the mind of connoisseurs as Graham's had been, Buckeridge's intent seems more to record what he had himself experienced as an English gentleman, artist, and lover of painting. We find, therefore, the imposition of personal taste and experience transferred from his life to his writing, the 'Essay' stimulating a sense of growing pride in the traditions of painting that he had seen evolve in England throughout the previous century.

Arranged alphabetically, the contents of the 'Essay' show little concern for chronology, or for the typological niceties of genre or style. The handing down of stylistic and other traditions implied in the very name 'school' evidently meant little or nothing to Buckeridge, at least when patriotism spoke. Of the ninety-nine painters he included in 1706, no fewer than fifty-four were foreigners. Five of the artists included were also women, four of whom were English-born. Justification for the inclusion of this diversity of figures comes in the comments from Buckeridge that are littered throughout de Piles 'Abridgement', urging the reader to question the authority of the French author and refer to his own 'Essay' for a more

⁵⁶⁷ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁵⁶⁸ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁵⁶⁹ Walpole, 1763: I, vii.

complete view of the lives of the artists he believed belonged to the English School.

Following de Piles's life of Holbein, for example, he adds:

*We shall say more of Hans Holbein, whom we come to Treat of the English School, in which Class he ought to be plac'd, having perform'd most of his best Pieces in England; and to the Encouragement he met with the Court of Henry the Eighth, the World owes all that this Painter did in History, which acquir'd him the Reputation, not only of a Fine, but of a Sublime Genius.*⁵⁷⁰

Elsewhere he lays claim to Rubens, branding de Piles's biography of the artist "as false as ridiculous", for "... 'twas the Protection and Friendship of the Duke of Buckingham, that procur'd him the Opportunities he had of distinguishing himself above others of his Contemporaries and Country-Men of the same Profession... 'Twas here that he perform'd some of his best Pieces, and here that he acquir'd the Character of a States-Man, which, no doubt, was a considerable Advantage to his Reputation as a Painter."⁵⁷¹ What counted as Englishness to Buckeridge was therefore the place of employment and the effect of the market, support, and the patronage found in England. Buckeridge's "English School" is consequently dotted with Dutch, Flemish, German, French, Irish and Scottish names, beginning (in chronological terms) with the Augsburg-born Holbein, and concluding with the curiously still living Irish Bishop, Simon Digby (c.1645-1720).⁵⁷² Defending his decision to include these artists he rationalizes further that "we may as reasonably do it, as Monsieur de Piles, has put Robera, a Spaniard, in that of Lombardy, and crouded Ferdinand Ellis, Philip de Champaign, and his Nephew, all Flamands, in that of France."⁵⁷³ For Buckeridge, Holbein and Van-Dyck "are as much Ours", as "Sebastian of Venice belongs to the Roman-School, [and] Spagnoletto to the Lombard..."⁵⁷⁴ On this basis, the author cheerfully concluded, the English school might be ranked alongside any in Europe, and, perhaps more importantly for Buckeridge "'tis more than a Match for the French."⁵⁷⁵

While the English author may have intended to transcend national difference in his alphabetical compendium, in acknowledging the increasingly visible presence of overseas artists he documents what is now understood as an important strand within the broader narrative of early modern English art practice – one that reaches beyond the elite few favoured by royal and aristocratic patrons.⁵⁷⁶ Of the fifty-four foreign

⁵⁷⁰ Buckeridge, 1706: 268.

⁵⁷¹ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁵⁷² For more on the fascinating inclusion of the Bishop Digby, see Pegum, 2012: 34-59.

⁵⁷³ Buckeridge, 1706: 268.

⁵⁷⁴ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁵⁷⁵ Buckeridge, 1706: 268.

⁵⁷⁶ See Roding and Sluijter 2003; and Jardine, 2008.

artists included in the 'Essay', forty-three were active in England during the second half of the seventeenth century – the majority (around thirty-five, or one-third, of the entire "English school") having travelled from the Low Countries or northern Germany. Only several of these overseas artists had enjoyed the lucrative patronage of the Restoration court. Many others established themselves with varying success within London's ever-expanding portrait industry, or by producing landscape over-mantels, flower pieces and the occasional history piece for the capital's fashionable interiors. To these are added those recent English-born painters, whose work was judged by the author as capable of competing with that of the incomers. Never before were so many Dutch painters of reasonable to good quality working in England as in the 1680s.⁵⁷⁷ Notably, in contrast to the first half of the century, many of them stayed and made (with varying success) their careers, or the last part of their careers in England.⁵⁷⁸

Within the 'Essay' Buckeridge does acknowledge "Italian gusto" as highly valued, acknowledging a continuing residual assumption of Italian superiority in the visual arts in England at this time, but his passion for the Northern flower-paintings, landscapes and portraits that Graham with his classical taste had dismissed, subsequently admits numerous painters whom the earlier author had disregarded. As a result the painters represented in the 'Essay' are associated with a wide variety of genres, as observed in the 1708 Journal review. Portraiture, in particular, is fastidiously championed. Buckeridge claims that England could be seen to have "infinitely outdone" France "in Portraits", and to "have produc'd more Masters in that kind, than all the rest of Europe."⁵⁷⁹ While earlier writers such as Aglionby had despaired over England's lack of native history painters, Buckeridge saw seventeenth-century English culture in a different light. Portraiture for him defined England's particular market, gave it a specifically English identity, and distinguished it from the French School that had been founded so fixedly on the superiority of history painting. The appeal and importance of de Piles's theory of painting now also comes fully into view, with his overruling of the hierarchy of genres which had dominated critical thought for the second half of the seventeenth century, now playing into the hands of the inclusive English author.

Like Graham, Buckeridge also makes it clear that an academy of art ought to be founded in England: "Had we an Academy...we might see how the English Genius

⁵⁷⁷ Sluijter, 2003: 21.

⁵⁷⁸ Sluijter, 2003: 22.

⁵⁷⁹ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

would soar and as it excels all other Nations in Poetry, so, no doubt, it would equal, if not excel, the greatest of them all in Painting, were her Wings as well imp'd as those of Italy, Flanders, and France."⁵⁸⁰ Crucially though, he also criticizes the view propagated by French authors such as Pierre Monier and by art lovers like Graham who supported the idea of an academy in England that followed the trends of the already established French and Italian institutions. He insisted that such an academy should be English, that it should be fully aware of the past and present identity of the English School. Buckeridge implicitly stated that to adopt the ideas of Graham meant to undervalue the English tradition, the new manner brought to England by foreign artists from Northern Europe, and to deny the very character of English patronage and the art market of the time which had a particular taste for portraiture and the so-called 'minor genres':

The French indeed are a forward People, who Pretend to Rival all Nations of the World in their several Excellencies; yet considering they value themselves so much on their own Academy, it is a matter of wonder to see so little Improvement in them by it: And if we are equal only to them now, how much should we outshine them, had the English Disciplines in this Art as many Helps and Encouragements as theirs.⁵⁸¹

This complaint is turned here into a call for systematic improvement through the education of native connoisseurs, aristocratic and royal patronage, and ultimately the foundation of a royal academy in England.

A further narrative to emerge from the inclusivity of the contents of the 'Essay' is the relationship of its 'English School' with seventeenth-century taste and patronage. As we have heard, Buckeridge saw England's patrons as playing a critical and influential role in encouraging and even enabling the practice of many of the foreign painters included in the School. His "lives" relay how the most eminent painters were brought to England, housed, protected, and introduced into elite aristocratic and courtly circles where they could find work amongst the rich nobility and gentry. As well as the more distinguished patrons, the 'Essay' also documents a diversity of collectors and lovers of art, who supported and encouraged the painters included in 'School' in a number of ways. Prior to the Restoration, almost all of the artists included are associated with royal or aristocratic milieus. After 1660, and particularly from the 1670s onwards, we begin to hear of "the lower ranks of the Virtuosi", country gentry, clergymen, merchant traders and the less refined, or to whom Buckeridge refers of as the "more waggish collectors", amongst the variety of enthusiasts that testify to a lively and multifarious culture of buying, selling, and commissioning paintings. Within the

⁵⁸⁰ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁵⁸¹ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

general framework outlined there is therefore a wide range of variation in the possible relationship between an artist and the client. At one end of the scale the painter was lodged in his patron's palace or stately home and worked exclusively for him and his friends; at the other, we find a situation which appears, at first sight, to be strikingly similar to that of today: the artist painting a picture with no particular destination in mind in the hope of finding a casual purchaser. In between these two extremes there were a number of gradations involving middle-men, dealers and dilettantes as well as the activities of foreign travellers and their agents.⁵⁸² We find amongst the narratives of the painters' lives, therefore, the early formation of the modern London art world.

Englishness understood – A new artistic identity in England

As discussed in Chapter 1, the 'Essay' was not the first instance of such inclusivity in English art writing. Sanderson's enumeration of "English Modern Masters" in 1658 includes a number of foreign painters and similarly a handful of female artists. Sanderson names around forty practitioners and the genres within which they excelled, but includes no individual biographical details. As with Buckeridge, it was the residence in England of those foreign-born and their "affection for our Nation" that held cause for their inclusion.⁵⁸³ This early rhetorical effort by Sanderson, to instigate a defining national artistic school which he proudly described as 'comparable with any now beyond Seas',⁵⁸⁴ has been understood as evidence of a growing movement to define a more rigidly bound and inherent 'nationalist' artistic identity, adopting foreign artists unreservedly for the English side in the burgeoning artistic competition among the European states.⁵⁸⁵ That almost fifty years had passed before Buckeridge's more substantial attempt was published, speaks something of the reception, or lack of, that Sanderson's earlier effort had encountered. The increasingly visible presence of overseas artists in England, and the articulation of a national as well as individual artistic identity as the century went on, I will now argue, made Buckeridge's 'English School' a more viable and widely comprehensible entity by the turn of the century.

Following the Restoration, English culture for painting was radically transformed

⁵⁸² These ideas were first defined in Francis Haskell's seminal study of seventeenth-century Italy. See Haskell, 1980: esp. 3-23.

⁵⁸³ Sanderson, 1658b: 20.

⁵⁸⁴ Sanderson, 1658b: 20.

⁵⁸⁵ Alexander, in MacLeod and Alexander (eds.) 2001: 69.

by an abundance of foreign painters, largely from Holland, who followed in the wake of many royalist exiles who had resided in the Netherlands and had become acquainted with the art market there. It is remarkable in some ways that the Dutch community in England did increase so rapidly during these decades, and that vigorous artistic and intellectual links were flourishing so fruitfully, at a time when the two countries were at war; but many Dutch citizens would have been anxious to seek refuge at the time of the savage onslaught on their homelands particularly by the armies of Louis XIV in 1672.⁵⁸⁶ At the end of the following decade, despite the confidence of the English national imagining after the Glorious Revolution, the English found themselves contending with another serious problem of national identity. England had gained a unique political character as a limited monarchy, but also found itself saddled with a ruler who was undeniably un-English – indeed, who could not speak the mother tongue.⁵⁸⁷ In Lisa Jardine’s reassessment of seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch relations, she argues that long-established cultural exchanges between the countries had in fact paved the way for William and Mary’s rise to the throne.⁵⁸⁸ In the realms of politics, gardening and science, as well as art, Jardine demonstrates how Dutch tolerance, resourcefulness, and commercial acumen had effectively already conquered Britain.

Buckeridge’s ‘Essay’ certainly seems to support this idea of cultural exchange, documenting numerous Dutch painters who applied and adapted themselves to the English market, whilst also introducing new genres that rapidly gained in popularity with different strata of society. “Adrian Hondius”, for example, had already made a career in history painting in Rotterdam. In London, where Buckeridge relates that there was little appetite for the genre, he had success instead with paintings of hunters, dogs, and game in landscape. Similarly father and son “Van Wyck”, who had arrived in 1672, found success representing a diversity of subjects. Buckeridge records “Van Wyck the Elder” as accomplished in landscapes, especially “Havens and Sea-Forts, Shipping and small Figures”, but with a “particular Excellency...in representing Chymists in their *Laboratories* and Things of like Nature.”⁵⁸⁹ His son, more familiar today as Jan Wyck – and whose art would have a lasting influence on English painting⁵⁹⁰ – painted scenes of cavalry battles, and collaborated towards the end of the century with fashionable portrait painters

⁵⁸⁶ Millar, 2003: 154.

⁵⁸⁷ Davis 1998: 6.

⁵⁸⁸ Jardine, 2008.

⁵⁸⁹ Buckeridge, 1706: 479.

⁵⁹⁰ Millar, 2003: 153-175.

such as Kneller. His sporting paintings, that sprang from the battle scenes, stand at the beginning of a long and specifically English tradition, Buckeridge noting at the time of the 'Essay' their "great Esteem among our Country-Gentry".⁵⁹¹ Another prominent father and son duo represented in the "English School" had also arrived in 1672, the much celebrated Van de Veldes similarly having realized their prospects in England were much superior to the Netherlands.

The 'Essay' further documents how in the seventies and eighties a new taste for still lifes, flowers and fruits (arguably also a result of the Dutch-Anglo exchange) was answered by the Dutchmen Pieter van Roostraten (1630-1700), Simon Verelst (1644-1710), Gaspar Smitz (c.1635–c.1707), and Jan Frans Van Son (1658-1704). In genre paintings with peasants and other droll figures Buckeridge also notes how Egbert van Heemskerck (1634-1704) was "in vogue", his "Drunken Drolls, his Wakes, his Quaker Meetings, and some lewd pieces" finding an audience amongst the less sophisticated "waggish" English collector.⁵⁹² Landscapes and ruins were similarly dominated by Gerard Edema (c.1652–c.1700), "John Sybbrecht", "Henry Vergazoon" and Adriaen van Diest (1655-1704). The latter, according to Buckeridge, "often own'd" that he had arrived at this eminence from "drawing after those noble Views of England in the Western Parts, and along our Coasts."⁵⁹³

Writing in 1724 Daniel Defoe comments that during the reign of William and Mary "the love of fine paintings so universally spread itself amongst the nobility and persons of figure all over the kingdom, that it is incredible what collections have been made by English gentlemen since that time."⁵⁹⁴ Modern studies of auction catalogues and of probate inventories from the second half of the seventeenth century have revealed both a substantial appetite for pictures among London's middling sort and the extent to which a burgeoning art market was supplied with new works by foreign painters resident in the capital. While more traditional forms of patronage were highly desirable in a stable society, the conditions of seventeenth-century Europe with its frequent, and sometimes drastic shifts of power were by no means ideal for its furtherance. Too close an association with a disgraced patron could prove a serious bar to advancement when conditions changed. As we have heard, the need therefore grew on the part of artists of the "English School" to gain independence of the kind of traditional patronage

⁵⁹¹ Buckeridge, 1706: 479-80.

⁵⁹² Buckeridge, 1706: 430.

⁵⁹³ Buckeridge, 1706: 479.

⁵⁹⁴ Sluitjer, 2003: 22.

clustered around the court, and to address themselves to the market.

The English evolution in artistic exchange and independence during this period is illuminated in the activities of the Rose and Crown Club (c.1704-45), made up almost exclusively of professional artists active in London.⁵⁹⁵ The Rose and Crown was the earliest “conversations Clubb” (as Vertue described it)⁵⁹⁶ providing the artistic community active in London the opportunity to discuss issues relevant for the development of the market for contemporary art. Vertue, a member of the club, referred to its members as the “Eminent Artificers in this Nation”.⁵⁹⁷ This opportunity proved invaluable to the capital’s ambitious younger painters, the meetings playing a crucial role in the transformation of practitioners of the fine and applied arts into a modern profession.⁵⁹⁸ Originating in or around 1704 its meetings took place on Saturday nights at public taverns,⁵⁹⁹ the members also celebrating “Kalendae [sic]. or Monthly Computations” that were general meetings or feasts held on the first Saturday of each month.⁶⁰⁰ Vertue describes the tavern room in which they met in c. 1724 as adorned “with proper ornaments about...as the Prints the Pinecothoca [sic]”.⁶⁰¹ This passage and Vertue’s sketch of the *Rose and Crown Club in session*, believed to be from the same year, are valuable for helping to form an idea of what the club was like, the works of art displayed on the walls implying the “conversational” nature of the meeting.⁶⁰² Both also suggest a marked convivial character similar in many respects to that of the Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke. Yet unlike the Society, the ‘Rosa Coronians’ discussed contemporary English art exclusively. The verses that James Hill (1697-1627) dedicated to the Rose and Crown not only convey a strong sense of conviviality, but also demonstrating how the Club was formed with the aim of assisting artists, especially “those who deal with Paint/ To help a brother in his just complaint”, and of liberating the creative potentialities of the English School. “Tell”, Hill wrote, “why should animals go free”, from “the vain presumptuous institutional portraits”⁶⁰³ of the artistic

⁵⁹⁵ It was the convivial meeting place of those who subscribed to Kneller’s Academy in Great Queen Street (a.1711-c.20) and, to a lesser extent, the first St Martin’s Lane Academy (a.1720-24).

⁵⁹⁶ The expression ‘conversations Clubbs’ was used by Vertue in 1724 to describe both the Rose and Crown Club and the Virtuosi of St Luke. See Vertue, Notebooks, III, p. 120.

⁵⁹⁷ See Bignamini, 1988a: 44.

⁵⁹⁸ The club stimulated the rise and development of the conversation piece in England. The phrase ‘conversation piece’ itself first circulated among the members of the club, and it was George Vertue, the club’s secretary, who formulated the earliest definition of this new and popular genre.

⁵⁹⁹ A note by Vertue reads: ‘Piazza, Covent Garden, A Tavern. The Rose and Crown met there on Saturday nights’ (Vertue VI, p. 35). The Principal sources of information on the Rose and Crown are Vertue’s description of a meeting of the club dedicated to the 2nd Earl of Oxford (c. 1724), and his list of occasional members compiled in 1742/3. See Vertue VI, pp. 31-35.

⁶⁰⁰ According to the Roman calendar, the calend was the first day of each month.

⁶⁰¹ Vertue quoted in Bignamini, 1988a: 47. (Vertue VI, p. 34).

⁶⁰² For this sketch and its *verso* (a rough portrait of Laroon and a maid) see Vertue VI, p. 31.

⁶⁰³ James Hill quoted in Bignamini, 1988a: 47.

profession. Ilaria Bignamini, a historian of London's earliest art clubs and academies, has understood Hill's message as exemplary of the founding message of the society, a group "fighting for freedom in the name of British art".⁶⁰⁴ Nothing similar is known for the Virtuosi of St Luke or the later academies in Great Queen Street and St Martin's Lane.⁶⁰⁵

Furthermore, as the Club became more established those who attended the meetings had a remarkable number of self-portraits painted by colleagues. To find individual portraits also constituting "institutional portraits" at this time, Bignamini observes that we have to turn to guilds, colleges, schools, political clubs and learned societies.⁶⁰⁶ These portraits therefore indicate that members of the Club had begun to feel as proud of themselves, as did the antiquaries and physicians. They were proud of being members of a modern profession organizing outside the Court and the guild, their self-confidence and sense of artistic identity having grown rapidly since the inauguration of the Club. So much so that by 1719 the theorist and portrait painter Jonathan Richardson observes how "painters...are upon the level with writers as being poets, historians, philosophers and divines, they entertain and instruct equally with them."⁶⁰⁷

The publication of Buckeridge's 'Essay', which was similarly inclusive in its approach, can be seen to articulate that same sense of evolving personal, professional, and national identity. This highlights the 'Essay's' importance not only as a cultural record, but as a place in which reputations could be made and where, for the first time, the prospect of an "English School of painters" could be comprehensively entertained. Having come a long way since Sanderson's pre-Restoration attempt, the 'Essay' is therefore of importance in reflecting, and no doubt stimulating, a sense of growing consciousness and indeed pride in the painting profession in England—a hitherto relatively little regarded aspect of English cultural production. That the 'Essay's' narrative devolved upon the emerging concept of professionalism indexes new social, national, and economic roles for artists. Consequently the collective biography can be seen as a site of national and professional self-fashioning in Buckeridge's hands. Appearing in its narrative as the professional plenitude and diversity of artists, this identity was separate from individual social and moral behaviours, which had so concerned

⁶⁰⁴ Bignamini, 1988a: 47.

⁶⁰⁵ Bignamini, 1988a: 47.

⁶⁰⁶ Bignamini, 1988a: 47.

⁶⁰⁷ Richardson, 1719.

Graham, Buckeridge's own position as an artist perhaps going some way to explain his sympathetic attention to the wide-ranging practitioners of Restoration culture.

A "GENIUS" for collecting: Robert Child the merchant collector and patron for the nation

Away from the specifically artist-led circles, the radical shift in national consciousness England experienced, articulated so explicitly by Buckeridge in his competition with the French, was conditioned by the historical rupture of the Restoration period. This was a time of fundamental change in English society, politics, the economy and culture. In May 1689 the English Crown had declared war on an aggressive France, thus commencing an exhaustive and, at times, desperate conflict that was to last for over two decades. The Nine Years War (1689-97) and the War of Spanish Succession (1702-13) were only the most violent expressions of a much larger and many-layered rivalry between the two nations, the impact of which was enormous.⁶⁰⁸ England's army grew to an unprecedented size. At the start of James II's reign in 1685, it had consisted of 8,865 men; by the War of the Spanish Succession it had risen to an estimated average annual strength of 92,708.⁶⁰⁹ The conflict dramatically augmented the fiscal scope of the English state, which struggled to meet the costs of warfare and war-related debt; it led directly to state involvement in the provision of speculative capital through the creation of the Bank of England (1694), the creation of the City and the reshaping of the realm by means of an Act of Union of Scotland with Britain (1707).⁶¹⁰

Against the backdrop of continuous warfare and revolutionary change, comparisons between the military and cultural might of England and that of France increasingly helped justify demands for sponsorship of English art.⁶¹¹ The fact that England's habitual enemy was generally recognized as being superior in the arts was ruthlessly exploited as a means of increasing interest in the arts and in the patronage of art. As we have seen, nascent in the 'Essay' is the belief in English distinctness, Buckeridge deploying the 'Essay' at the height of the wars against Louis XIV, drawing constant parallels between English and French attitudes to the arts. Indeed,

⁶⁰⁸ Colley, 1992: 13.

⁶⁰⁹ Hoock, 2010: 566-591; Childs, 1980: 1-2; Brewer, 1989: 29-31. For the financial costs of warfare, see Brewer, 1989: 30, 38-41. More recently, the role played by the Painter-Stainers' Company within the cultural economy of early modern London has also been brought to light, and the extent to which foreign artists, following their arrival in England, chose to identify with the social and professional milieu of the City's native painters. Some form of association with London's Painter-Stainers proved to be an attractive proposition for many incoming painters, their presence fostering a mutually beneficial relationship that, within a generation, enabled Buckeridge and his readers to envisage an 'English school' of painters.

⁶¹⁰ Smith, 2011: 48-75.

⁶¹¹ Hoock, 2010: 566-591.

the 'Essay' articulates a rhetoric of striving against the Royal Academy and French achievement generally that is found persistently throughout the eighteenth century and Mark Cheetham's recent study has observed how this narrative discourse was found in subsequent and more elaborate artwriting in Britain in the centuries that followed.⁶¹²

The role of the collector or patron was therefore a significant one, not only in terms of support but as a representation of the nation. As in Arundel's day, at the time Buckeridge was writing, collecting on a substantial scale was still predominantly conceived of as a social good, not as a sign of luxury; the owner was seen as a custodian and the collection as a repository.⁶¹³ The fundamental idea was the ancient one that the arts were symptomatic of the health of the nation, that the greatness of a country, and therefore its leaders, could be assessed and recognized by a degree to which the arts flourished.⁶¹⁴ Buckeridge, in the dedication, praises in extravagant terms, both the taste and virtue of Robert Child:

In speaking of painting to you, sir, I speak to one of the best Judges of that noble Art, which is not to be understood without Penetration, Delicacy, good Sense, a refin'd Taste, and a Portion of that GENIUS which inspir'd the Painter in his Performance... 'Tis the Happiness, Sir, of Men of your Fortune, that they can Read and See what they think fit for their Pleasure or Instruction; but this Benefit rather exposes than improves Many, who have not a true Relish of the Things about which they are curious... [the World is] surpriz'd to see so many rare Things together in a Country where Painting, and the Politer Arts, are not so much encouraged as in those Places, where, perhaps, the Nobility and Gentry are not so well qualify'd to judge of Merit, nor so well able to reward it as in England. Yet, there are even here, some few Illustrious Persons, and Men of Worth and Honour, who are sollicitous for the Prosperity of the Arts, and contribute, by their Studies and Bounty, towards making them flourish and prevail among us.

Buckeridge's view elevated the status of the collector as the guardian of the nation's health, someone who did no harm by spending money and demonstrating his wealth and personal attainments, but in fact had a beneficial effect on all around him. Child is promoted here as a "public" man, asserting his place at the top of the social hierarchy, affirming the right to those with land and wealth to claim authority, a claim that was made through such symbols as high art.⁶¹⁵ The virtue of collecting was that it not only prevented the rich from sinking into depravity by giving them examples of nobility to emulate and by using up their money harmlessly, but it also saw the proliferation of a national stock of works of art and hence bought about an absolute positive good as well.

⁶¹² Cheetham, 2012: 17.

⁶¹³ See Pears, 1988: 172-175.

⁶¹⁴ It is held in the concept of a civil, or in more modern terms, a civilized society. See Barrell, 1995: 7-8. Haynes, 2006: 80-81.

⁶¹⁵ See Barrell 1995: 1-68; and Solkin, 1992: esp. 1-105.

Buckeridge's selection of Child, however, undermines the message of the 'Essay'. In the dedicatory epistle Buckeridge celebrates his Italianate taste for collecting, highlighting the names of prominent history painters as amongst the most celebrated of his works:

...There's no Gentleman in *England* who has any thing of this in greater Perfection than your self, who possess something of several of the best Masters that are spoken of in the following Treatise, and every Day in your own House (the Ornament of the finest Square in Europe) you behold some of the Wonders that the Hands of *Paulo Veronese, Guido, Nicholas Poussin, Carlo Maratt*, and other excellent Artists have produc'd. By the Nicety of your Choice the World admires that of your *Goût*...⁶¹⁶

As heir to his father's great banking house, Child was destined to play a prominent role in the City, and by 1702 he was sufficiently independent to purchase a house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Buckeridge's praise of the square on which he lives and Child's collection is echoed by John Macky (*d.* 1726) in his *A Journey through England* of 1722, who believed Lincoln's Inn to be the largest of its kind in Europe, dwarfing the Piazza de Spagna at Rome.⁶¹⁷ In his appraisal of the area Macky urges that "a stranger ought to see Sir Richard Child's fine collection of paintings in this square, being all Italian of the best masters, and not one oval picture amongst them."⁶¹⁸ This reference to the absence of any oval portrait paintings jars against Buckeridge's argument for the genre as the essence of English painting, Macky and Buckeridge's descriptions of Child's collection immediately recalling instead the taste for painting expounded by Graham and Society of the Virtuosi of St Luke. It therefore comes as no surprise to learn that Child was himself also a member of the distinguished society.

Child seemingly comes to represent for Buckeridge another element of patronage, as a figurehead of moral collecting. With no academy to speak of the great collections of England's most esteemed connoisseurs were not only symbols of the nation's taste and wealth, but also essential places of learning. "'Tis true", Buckeridge writes, "we have several admirable *Collections*, and your own in Particular, whose Pieces are enough to inform the most industrious *Disciple*, and inspire his *Genius* to arrive at a Mastery in the Art..."⁶¹⁹ The question of visibility is however a complex one. Even in their simplest manifestation as demonstrations of wealth, they could function only if their existence was known and frequently proven.⁶²⁰ In general, however, gaining access to collections of works of art, or

⁶¹⁶ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁶¹⁷ Macky, 1722: 187

⁶¹⁸ Macky, 1722: 188.

⁶¹⁹ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁶²⁰ Pears, 1988: 173.

even knowing where precisely they were, was highly complex. Buckeridge gives testimony to this problem, and in the course of his fulsome praise for Child he states:

I have heard a famous *Painter* assert, *That our English Nobility and Gentry may boast of as many good Pictures of the best Italian Masters, as Rome itself, Churches only excepted*, and yet 'tis so difficult to have access to any of these *Collections*, unless it be yours Sir, who seem to have made your excellent *Collection*, as much for the publick instruction, as for your own private Satisfaction, that they are, in a great Measure, rended'd useless, like Gold in Misers' Coffers.⁶²¹

Buckeridge, by drawing his parallel with a miser's hoard, implies a distinction between correct and incorrect possession. The glory of the collector for Buckeridge, lay not simply in the display of taste, which contributed to the inception of the collection, it was also in the public service contained in making it visible. Such an opinion coincided closely with the idea that there was also a right and wrong way of patronage.⁶²² If collections were to have the desired multi-faceted effect of not only maintaining the morality of the individual owner, but also improving trade, stimulating painters and reforming the lower orders, then they had to be seen. The difficulties of gaining access to collections once they had been formed led to a concerted campaign throughout the first half of the eighteenth century to persuade owners to make their possessions more public and hence more useful.⁶²³ In this observation we find a different kind of consciousness in Buckeridge's writing. Away from the malevolent derision of his 'war' with France, articulated here is a more genuine concern for the moral character of the visual arts in England.

Buckeridge's serialization of art history and biography structures a collective and institutional history that superseded individual genius in favour of a persistent, gradual, and increasingly complex cultural production unfolding in an expanding time to produce national artistic wealth. This art history thereby gained a new moral purpose not tied to artists' individual behaviour but rather coupled with Restoration values of progress, where art was collectively or symbolically a sign of cultural capital and national well-being. Such a development was not, however, confined to painting alone but was part of a more widespread development of national self-consciousness in everything from the arts to a vision of English character and government. The same strategy was used, for example, by Colen Campbell (1676-

⁶²¹ Buckeridge, 1706: un-paginated 'Dedicatory Epistle'.

⁶²² Pears, 1988: 173-175.

⁶²³ Pears, 1988: 176.

1729), when attempting to popularize Palladianism through his emphasis on Inigo Jones and his “British Pencil” in *Vitruvius Britannicus*.⁶²⁴

The ‘Englishness’ we find in Buckeridge’s artwriting is therefore a statement against absolute compliance with established Continental art histories that he saw as an obstacle to a national art history and a national artistic identity. Though, like Graham, he subjoins his ‘Essay’ to a dominant Continental text, Buckeridge competes with Europe from an assertively English position by adding commentary on those English artists neglected by de Piles and by countering the famous French academician’s criticisms of English art as being largely foreign made and limited to portraiture.

Conclusion

Both Graham and Buckeridge’s literary contributions testify to what may now seem familiar observations of English culture at this time - the growing appetite for pictures in the closing decades of the seventeenth century among the ‘middle sort’, the formation of a public sphere in the early years of the eighteenth century, and the relationship between patronage and national identity that ensued - these major themes having been well documented and rehearsed in the research of recent decades. Yet considered side by side, I believe they tell us something more. The later second edition of Graham’s ‘Account’, in which his position is, if anything more rigidly enforced, suggests that each author’s commentary reflects two distinct cultures of conceiving and appreciating painting that co-existed in England during the period. What is demonstrated with the continued publication of Buckeridge’s ‘Essay’ throughout the eighteenth century, as with Graham’s ‘Short Account’ also, is that these two examples of early art-historical writing represent not an evolution between them, but evidence of a lively and contested intellectual arena in which positions were being fought out and adherence to one dominant cultural authority of taste and connoisseurship was continually being disputed and realigned.

⁶²⁴ Campbell, 1715, is full of patriotic remarks about English architecture and architects.

CONCLUSION

The principal aim of this thesis has been to pursue two interconnected narratives in seventeenth-century English culture: one concerned with the identity and character of the English ‘lover of art’; the other with offering a critical assessment of the little studied literature published on the pictorial arts during this period. To this end, the four proceeding chapters have examined a series of literary works that illuminate how the English ‘lover of art’ was remoulded and redefined as the nation saw unprecedented transformation and revolution, adapting conventions to accommodate new audiences, sites, and aspirations. In Sanderson’s *Graphice*, a ‘lover of art’ emerged that was defined through the courtly activities and literature of the early Stuart monarchy. This was a multifaceted figure, interested in the cultures of aristocratic collecting and courtly connoisseurship that the author bore witness to in the early decades of the century, articulating a masculine vocabulary of aesthetic appreciation that was rooted in prevailing notions of sensuality and beauty. In the publications of Evelyn and Aglionby, it was the artistic excellence and ideas manifested in celebrated works of continental painters, and the benefits that might flow from introducing them and their own experiences from the Continent to native art lovers, that concentrated the attention of these two Englishmen in their aim to enhance the status of painting and its appreciation in Restoration England. Promoting the superiority of history painting that had become *de rigueur* in France, they sought to encourage an appreciation of art as an elite pursuit worthy and indicative of gentlemanly status by exposing its foundations in classical antiquity. The ‘art lover’ both exemplified and imagined by Salmon in his *Polygraphice* offered a dramatic alternative reading of the period’s connoisseurial and amateur activities. Addressing an open spectrum that could have included women and children, artisans and apprentices, merchants and tradesmen, Salmon reveals his entrepreneurial spirit and cultural intuition by identifying a mass market who were interested in a diversity of cultural amusements, in doing so dramatically expanding the remit accorded to the ‘lover of art’. Finally, at the turn of the century Graham and Buckeridge evidence the continuing divergence of a lively and contested intellectual arena in which the identity of painting in England was being fought out, and adherence to one dominant cultural authority was continually disputed and realigned. In Buckeridge we find a tendency - not dissimilar to Salmon - that looks to the contemporary English market, and its partiality for portrait painting and Northern painters. Graham, on the other hand, continues the

precedent set by Evelyn and Aglionby, adhering to strict rules established by theoreticians associated with the French Royal Academy, seeking to consolidate a sense of connoisseurship closely connected with the rise of cosmopolitan polite society.

Thus, as articulated at the introduction, when Shaftesbury and Richardson came to write and publish their works in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the art lovers they addressed existed in a society vastly altered from the one understood and addressed by Sanderson sixty years previously. No longer appealing to courtiers as the principal ‘lovers of art’ with the monarch at their head, they address the gentry and nobility as individual members of a transformed English state. As I will now briefly explore, the diverging positions on painting they propose have their roots in the contesting cultures at play in the earlier Restoration literature that has been the focus of this thesis, and the resulting conceptions of eighteenth-century connoisseurship can be understood as direct proponents of this early body of literature.

As Salerno put forward in 1951, Shaftesbury’s aesthetic criticism, like “many other of his leading theoretical ideas go back to the seventeenth century.”⁶²⁵ Shaftesbury continues the decisive statement in favour of history painting, deriving his visual theory from Dryden’s version of Dufresnoy, and from the general system of the French Academy first expounded by Evelyn, and later Aglionby and Graham, in their respective publications. Dryden’s *De arte graphica*, as well as Evelyn’s translation of Chambray’s architectural discourse – *A Parallel of the ancient architecture with the modern* - are both known to have been in Shaftesbury’s personal library.

In his writing Shaftesbury develops both the concept of painting as a sister of dramatic art, and the conception of art as invention and thought-content, restricting the execution to the technical side, as is manifest from his own claim to create pictures by availing himself of artists as manual executants of his ideas. For Shaftesbury, the portrait painter hardly justifies the rank of artist at all. So long as he can make a reasonable effort at painting the face, the most ignorant dauber may set himself up in business with a good chance of success. If he is unsure how to dispose the draperies he can hire an assistant to do that “as is usual”. He should not attempt anything more ambitious, such as history, or even a family group. Even

⁶²⁵ Salerno, 1951: 252.

Van Dyck was, in Shaftesbury's opinion, "out of his depth" when he attempted more than a single figure or straightforward head-and-shoulders: "fantastic, apish, antic in his action, and wretched and false in his composition". For portraiture is "not so much a liberal art nor to be so esteemed, as requiring no liberal knowledge, genius, education, converse, manners, moral-science, mathematics, optics, but merely practical and vulgar."⁶²⁶

The question still prevails as to why Shaftesbury's systematization of these already relatively well known ideas came to hold a newly accentuated worth in eighteenth-century England, and have been understood as contributing to Shaftesbury's position as the first English writer on the arts who held European rank. Revealing a little more of what the third Earl exemplified to the eighteenth-century reader tells us something more of how he came to hold such particular significance.

Shaftesbury was not simply the grandson of the great 1st Earl of Shaftesbury, who founded the Whig party, upset the state and very nearly outmanoeuvred Charles II; he was the presumptive heir to Oliver Cromwell and the Commonwealth, groomed by his grandfather to succeed him in the Whigs' historic campaign to reduce the monarchy to a manageable cipher, controlled by parliament, a parliament controlled in its turn by the dissident Whig lords. In 1688, the Whigs had achieved what Cromwell had failed: a stable yet restricted monarchy, but then Queen Anne, an indecisive Tory, had come to the throne. Even so, the Whigs, as the war party, had made England a power to be reckoned with on the Continent for the first time since the early fifteenth century. Everything was in the balance. Then, in 1711, two things happened: Shaftesbury published the first edition of his wildly seductive philosophical best seller, *Characteristicks*;⁶²⁷ then the Earl left England forever, ostensibly to seek a cure for his asthma in Naples, but in reality to die, just when, in 1714, the Hanoverian Succession was about to put the Whigs in power for the next half century. So Shaftesbury became the Whigs' lost hero, the patriot authority who should have triumphed.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁶ Shaftesbury in ed B. Rand, 1914.

⁶²⁷ His other published philosophical works include *A Notion of the Historical Draught or Tablature of the Judgment Hercules* and *A Letter Concerning Design*, originally a set of instructions for a painting Shaftesbury had commissioned and a letter commenting on those instructions, both written in 1712. Shaftesbury planned to include these works in a projected sequel to the *Characteristicks* called *Second Characters*, but he died before the project could be completed. The *Notion* was subsequently included in the posthumous 1714 edition of the *Characteristicks*, while the *Letter Concerning Design* was also added in the 1732 edition.

⁶²⁸ Manning, 1985: 319-328,

Characteristicks became one of the most frequently published English texts of the entire eighteenth century, second only to John Locke.⁶²⁹ The thirteen English editions and reissues of *Characteristicks* were complemented by numerous translations into French and German, Shaftesbury's thought thus becoming widely known across Europe. In England, perhaps more than the eight London editions printed between 1711 and 1758, it was the Dublin and Glasgow editions (1743; 1758), the Baskerville text with its splendid typography (Birmingham, 1773) and the Tourneisen edition (Basel, 1790), which helped establish Shaftesbury's name in the eighteenth century. Yet his debt to the seventeenth-century, and the early English champions of Continental theory and history painting, is much greater than has previously been recognised, and deserves a much more extensive exploration than can be offered here.

Richardson's debts to seventeenth-century English writers on painting should likewise be no less underplayed. These are especially notable in his 1715 *Theory of Painting*. Its attack on the lack of decorum in Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* - a work which Richardson had not seen, but whose vilification on similar grounds he would have read in Chambray, or Evelyn's translation of 1668, and in its subdivision into the categories of Invention, Expression, Composition, Drawing, Colouring, and Handling, owed much to its English and French forbears. Indeed, *Theory* was such an influential book in part because it was so derivative, furnishing as it did an accessible digest of the key ideas advanced by earlier theorists, not all of whose works were available at the time. This kind of accessible interpretation also had its foundations in the literature of the Restoration period, when authors such as Aglionby and Evelyn, in particular, sought to introduce continental theory into English culture in a comprehensible manner.

Even in his *Theory*, however, Richardson was beginning to make modest but significant departures from tradition. His most marked deviation from his continental precursors, and indeed Shaftesbury, lay in his attempts to adapt their ideas to English circumstances, and most specifically to the challenges facing middle-class painters and purchasers of art. This alternative intended art lover is one we have already encountered in the Restoration decades, Salmon most explicitly shifting the intended audience from specifically courtly, aristocratic individuals, to the middle-class citizen. Richardson explicitly uses examples and a vocabulary that were accessible to middle-class Englishmen like himself, seeking to

⁶²⁹ *Essays on the Nature and Principles of Taste*, 2nd ed., Edinburgh 1811, II, 375. First edition 1790.

convince consumers that pictures were more than attractive ornaments, and good painters more than decorators; that history painting was not the only noble branch of the art, and foreign artists not the only competent ones; that investing in English art would be good for the country; and that, as judges and buyers of pictures, middling-class readers need not comply with the taste and authority of their social superiors, but needed only to exercise reason.

This tendency is most notably evident in Richardson's remarks on portraiture, which, he claimed, was worthy of the same esteem as history painting, and in which he demanded something of the idealization hitherto expected only from history painters.⁶³⁰ These are arguments made explicitly by Buckeridge in 1706, but also alluded to as early as 1658 when Sanderson formulated his commentary on the culture of English painting. Undoubtedly Richardson extends, clarifies and theorises on the subject, but crucially seventeenth-century writers and art lovers were not only not ignorant of such debates, but actively partook in their conception and circulation.

Richardson sought to transform the indiscriminate buying of luxury goods by this new breed of consumer into a more discerning form of connoisseurship, one that would confirm the gentility of its practitioners, benefit the economy by attracting foreign tourists, and improve the moral health of society by the collector's time and channelling money away from more vicious diversions. These attempts at re-fashioning and re-directing connoisseurship again echo the earlier literature of Buckeridge, Graham, Aglionby and Evelyn, Salmon and Sanderson, who all sought to introduce a love of painting to a wider audience – of one kind or another.

Broadly speaking, out of the Restoration literature on the pictorial arts, two alternative constructions of connoisseurship emerged in Britain during the first half of the eighteenth century. One derived from the continental art-theoretical tradition, a tradition which made a bid for hegemony over English attitudes to the visual arts through a continuing rash of translations and adaptations of French and Italian works, pioneered by Evelyn and Aglionby in the Restoration decades. Those responsible for these translations and adaptations often expressed the hope that English gentlemen would become educated in the principles of continental art theory, above all that which held that painting's claim to be an intellectual art was best upheld by works featuring elevated subject-matter and idealised modes of representation, as opposed to qualities like patient finishing, high detail or the

⁶³⁰ Gibson-Wood, pp.148, 170-1.

accurate copying of particular nature, which were seen as the product of mere mechanical skill.

A very different and more pessimistic construction of the connoisseur was, however, advanced by a number of other eighteenth-century British writers, most notably Bernard Mandeville, William Hogarth and Allan Ramsay. Rather than advising connoisseurs to obey the principles of theory, these writers suggested that those principles had become corrupted into a fashionable corpus of dogma, which distracted the connoisseurs from the guidance of their own natural instincts. The connoisseurs thus tended to favour the idealised Italian pictures that were regarded as supreme by the followers of theory, or at least the second-rate or faked versions of them that were actually available in Britain, rather than paintings that were true to particular nature that they would naturally prefer if left to their own instincts.

While attempts to define the behaviour of the newly coined ‘connoisseur’ had failed by the mid-century, just as those to define the ‘virtuosi’ had done previously, the ‘lover of art’ as a more broadly inclusive characterisation of painterly appreciation seemingly remained unscathed. As a particular characterisation in English history that spanned over half a century, the English ‘lover of art’ was reimagined and redefined as the nation saw unprecedented transformation and revolution. Crucially, the art lover was a figure that remained persistently part of society and culture, and it has been the intention of this thesis to recapture the positive senses of connoisseurship that uncovering this contemporary definition has allowed, by looking within the literature and language of the period itself.

Appendix 1

Table 1: The ‘European Ancient Masters and their successors’ given by William Sanderson in *Graphice*, 1658, pp. 17-19.

	1250-1450	1450-1550	1550-1650	Still Active in 1658
Italian School	Cimabue (1240-1302); Giotto (1267-1337);	‘Bona R[...]tto’; Donato Bromante (1444-1514); Pietro Perugino (1446-1523); Michelangelo (1475-1564); Giorgione del Castelfranco (1477-1510); Raphael Urbino (1483-1520); Andrea del Sarto (1486-1530); Titian (1485-1576); Antonio da Correggio (1489-1534); Giulio Romano (c.1499-1546);	‘Lu[...]hetta’; ‘Anniball and Lodowick Carosier’; Jacopo Tintoretto (1518-1594); Paolo Veronese (1528-1588); Jacobus Palma (1544-1628); Carravaggio (1571-1610); ‘Joseph d' Arpi[...]as’; ‘Guido[...] Paleneza ‘	‘Peter de Cordova’
Northern Schools		Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528); Hans Holbein (c.1497-1543); Martin van Heemskirk (1498-1574); Anthony More (c.1520-c.1576/7); ‘So[...]oclere’	Abraham Bloemaert (1566 - 1651); Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640); Hercules Segers (c. 1589–c. 1638); Anthony van Dyck (1599-1641)	
French School		‘Le petit Barnard’, ‘Voget’, ‘Lehere’, ‘Blancher’		Nicholas Poussin (1594-1665)

Table 2: Artists noted for their ‘Particular Masterie’ by William Sanderson in *Graphice*, 1658, p. 19.

	Italian	Dutch & German Schools	French	English
History	Raphael; Michelangelo; Paolo Veronese; Tintoretto			Robert Streater
Life	Titian	Anthony More; Hans Holbein; Anthony Van Dyck		Robert Streater
Landskip		Albrecht Dürer, Paul Brill, ‘Vangore’	‘Claude de Lanier’; ‘Troquere’	Robert Streater
Flowers		Jan Brueghel the Elder; Jan Brueghel the Younger; ‘Dehem’; ‘Paulus Seagers’; ‘Van Thewlin’		
Still Life		Simon Luttichuys		
Perspective		Albrecht Dürer; ‘Stenwick’		Streater
Sea Pieces		‘Porsellus’		
Hunting, Beasts, Cattle and Neat-herds	Raphael; Titian	‘Snider’; ‘Ellsamere’; ‘Rohen’; ‘Hames’; ‘Tambots’; ‘Woverman’;		
Architecture	Bramon[?]; Raphael			Streater
Sculpture	Raphael			
Etching and Engraving	Raphael; Shadan; Vvierin; Spranga; Michael-Jans <i>of</i> Delph; John Sadler	Albrecht Dürer; ‘Coltius’		Streater

Table 3: William Sanderson’s ‘English Modern Masters’ taken from *Graphice*, 1658, p. 20.

	Professional Artists	Gentlemen Artists	Gentlewomen Artists
Life	Robert Walker (<i>d.</i> 1658); Gilbert Soest [Zoust], (<i>c.</i> 1605–1681); John Michael Wright, (1617 - 1694) ; Sir Peter Lely, (1618-1680); John Hayls, (<i>d.</i> 1679); ‘Shepherd’; ‘de Grange’; Robert Streater, (1621–1679)		Joan Carlile, (<i>c.</i> 1606-1679); Mary Beale, (1633-1699)
History	Isaac Fuller, (1606/1620?–1672); Robert Streater		
Copyists	‘Stone’; Michael Cross [Crosse, Crass], [Miguel de la Cruz, Michael de la Croy, Michael La Croix] (<i>fl.</i> 1633–1660); Robert Streater		
Fowl and Fish	Francis Barlow (<i>d.</i> 1704); Robert Streater		
Flowers and Fruits	‘Marshall’; Robert Streater		
Sea-Pieces	‘Flesher’; Robert Streater		
Tapestry		Sir Francis Crane (<i>c.</i> 1579–1636)	
Limning in Water Colours	‘John Hoskins (<i>c.</i> 1590-1665); Nicholas Hilliard, (1547-1619); Samuel Cooper (1609-1672) Richard Gibson (1615-1690); Reurie’; ‘Cary’; ‘John Baptista’; Robert Streater		‘Madame Caris’;
Engraving	Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677); Robert Vaughan (<i>c.</i> 1600 - <i>c.</i> 1660/67); Richard Gaywood (<i>fl.</i> 1650–1680); ‘Father Lambert’; ‘Trevethen’; Michael Cross; Robert Streater ¹		

<p>Not distinguished by the author</p>		<p>Sir John Holland (1603-1701); 'Mr Guies'; 'Mr Parker'; 'Mr Sprignall'; 'Quaere'; 'Haines'; 'Thorne'</p>	<p>'Mrs Brooman'; 'Mrs Wiemes'</p>
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APPENDIX 2

Table 1: ‘An Advertisement to the Reader’, taken from John Evelyn’s translation of Roland Fréart de Chambray’s *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, 1668.

STAMPI, OR PRINTS	The most remarkable in my Opinion, because most of all mention'd in this Discourse, and which gives Title to many Sections of this Book, is that of Stampo or Print: There is not one Designer or Curious man in this Art but knows that it signifies an Engraven or Printed designe, which the Vulgar and such as Vend them commonly call by the names of Taille-Douces, Cutts and Pictures: There is yet this difference between them, that Stampi, Prints, consist of more considerable things, and Designes of more reputation: And of these there are great variety; for some are graven on Copper with the Burine, some with Aqua fortis, and others are cutt in Wood. Albert Durer, a German Paintler, and a most incomparable Workman, has publish'd some things in all these kinds. The Original of the word is in Italian, Stampare, and signifies in our Language, to Print or make Impression.
TRAMONTANO	I Make use of this Tearn, when ever I mention Albert Durer, whom I maintain to have been the greatest Master of the Tramontani: For so do the Italians call almost all Painters that are Strangers to them; especially, the Germans, and those of Flanders, who inhabit the Northern parts; because that Quarter, and the Wind which spires from thence, is nam'd in the Italian tongue La Tramontana.
ELEVATO	This Tearn is particularly attributed to the Learners and Disciples of the most renowned Painters. Thus Raphael had for his Scholar or Elevato IVLIO ROMANO: HANNIIBAL CARACIO was GUIDO and DOMINIQVINO'S Master, and so of others. The Italians call them Allievi, and in France they familiarly say, such a young man has been bien essleve, that is, well Instructed.
SCHIZZO	THis Tearn is intirely Italian, though it be now universally understood: 'Tis as it were, the first draught, or light touch, and attempt of a Work yet under meditation. The Italian calls it Schizzo.
ATTITUDO	I Have made use of this Tearn in several places of my discourse, though we retain the Words, Action and Posture, which are in a manner the same thing; however, methinks, upon some encounters, the tearn Aptitude is more expressive; for besides, that 'tis more general, 'tis also more significative on many occasions, than either that of Posture or Action: For Instance, the Word Action is not applicable to a dead person who is depriv'd of Action; and it were

	<p>better to say the Disposition of a Dead Corps, than the Posture of it, which seems a Term too gross, nor were it too speak like a Painter, to say, this Figure is in an handsome Posture, but in a graceful Disposition and Aptitude. The Italians says Attudine.</p>
<p>PELLEGRINO</p>	<p>This Term the Italians familiarly use when they would express some Rare thing, excellent and singular in its kind; but they more particularly apply it to Witt, and say Ingegno Pellerino. I conceive, there is nothing more which needs any great Explication, and it would be but a kind of Pedantry to make any farther Glosses. I shall therefore conclude this with a Remark, which is, in my opinion, a great deal more important; and that is, an Objection which several Persons have made to me concerning the Reputation of Michael Angelo, whom they conceive I ought not to have attac'd so boldly: But upon my Request, that for their own satisfaction, they would themselves take the pains to examine not only That Work of his which I produce in this Dissertation, but likewise several other Pieces of the same hand, which I have adres'd them to; they in fine assented, that I had reason for what I said; and are now as much astonish'd as my self, that the World has been so long abused, and his Reputation so extravagantly asserted; which could certainly proceed from no other cause, but that pitiful Juncto, the Witts of Michaelo's standard, who are ever in greater Numbers than the others: But 'tis as the Proverb has it, Afinus Afino Pulcher, Every one loves his Like.</p>

Table 2: ‘An Explanation of Some Terms of the Art of Painting’ taken from William Aglionby’s *Painting Illustrated in Three Dialogues*, 1685.

Air	IS properly taken for the Look of a Figure, and is used in this Manner, The Air of the Heads of Young Women, or Grave Men,&c.
Antique	This word Comprehends all the Works of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture that have been made in the Time of the Antient Greeks and Romans, from Alexander the Great, to the Emperour Phocas; under whom the Goths Ravaged Italy.
Aptitude	It comes from the Italian word Attitudine, and means the posture and action that any Figure is represented in.
Cartoon	It is taken for a Design made of many Sheets of Paper pasted together; in which the whole Story to be painted in Fresco, is all drawn exactly, as it must be upon the Wall in Colours: Great Painters never painting in Fresco, but they make Cartoons first.
Colouring	'Tis one of the parts of Painting, by which the Objects to be painted receive their Complexion, together with their True Lights and Shadows.
Chiaro-Scuro	It is taken in two Senses: first, Painting in Chiaro-Scuro, is meant, when there are only two Colours employed. Secondly, It is taken for the disposing of the Lights and Shadows Skilfully; as when we say, A Painter understands well the Chiaro-Scuro.
Contour	The Contours of a Body, are the Lines that environ it, and make the Superficies of it.
Design	Has two Significations: First, As a part of Painting, it signifies the just Measures, Proportions, and Outward Forms that a Body, imitated from Nature, ought to havt. Secondly, It signifies the whole Composition of a piece of Painting; as when we say, There is great Design in such a Piece.
Distemper	A sort of Painting that implys the Colours mingled with Gumm. And the difference between that and Miniature, is, that the one only uses the Point of the Pencil, the other gives the Pencil its whole Liberty.
Drapery	Is a General Word for all sorts of Cloathing, with which Figures are Adorned: So we say, Such a Painter disposes well the Foldings of his Drapery.
Figure	Though this word be very General, and may be taken for any painted Object; yet it is in Painting, generally taken for Humane Figures.
Fresco	A sort of Painting, where the Colours are applyed upon fresh Mortar, that they may Incorporate with the Lime and Sand.
Festoon	Is an Ornament of Flowers, employed in Borders and Decorations.
Grotesk	Is properly the Painting that is found under Ground in the Ruines of Rome; but it signifies more commonly a sort of Painting that expresses odd Figures of Animals, Birds,

	Flowers, Leaves, or such like, mingled together in one Ornament or Border.
Gruppo	Is a Knot of Figures together, either in the middle or sides of a piece of Painting. So Carache would not allow above three Gruppis, nor above twelve Figures for any Piece.
History	History-Painting is an Assembling of many Figures in one Piece, to Represent any Action of Life, whether True or Fabulous, accompanied with all its Ornaments of Landskip and Perspective.
Manner	We call Manner the Habit of a Painter, not only of his Hand, but of his Mind; that is, his way of expressing himself in the three principal Parts of Painting, Design, Colouring, and Invention; it answers to Stile in Authors; for a Painter is known by his Manner, as an Author by his Stile, or a Man's Hand by his Writing.
Model	Is any Object that a Painter works by, either after Nature, or otherwise; but most commonly it signifies that which Sculptors, Painters, and Architects make to Govern themselves by in their Design.
Nudity	Signifies properly any Naked Figure of Man or Woman; but most commonly of Woman; as when we say, 'Tis a Nudity, we mean the Figure of a Naked Woman.
Print	Is the Impression of a Graven or Wooden Plate upon Paper or Silk, Representing some Piece that it has been Graved after.
Relievo	Is properly any Embossed Sculpture that rises from a flat Superficies. It is said likewise of Painting, that it has a great Relievo, when it is strong, and that the Figures appear round, and as it were, out of the Piece.
Mezzo-Relievo	Is where the Figures rise, but not above half of them is seen, the rest being supposed in the Marble or Wood.
Basso-Relievo	Is, when the Figures are little more than Designed, and do rise but very little above the Plain: Such are the Figures of the Antients about their Cups and other Vessels.
Shortning	Is, when a Figure seems of greater quantity than really it is; as, if it seems to be three foot long, when it is but one: Some call it Fore-Shortning.
Stucco-Work	Is Figures of all sorts, made in a kind of Plaister, and employed to Adorn a Room, either under the Cornishes, or round the Ceiling, or in Compartments, or Divisions.
Schizzo	Is the first Design or Attempt of a Painter to Express his Thoughts upon any Subject. The Schizzos are ordinarily reduced into Cartoons in Fresco Painting, or Copyed and Enlarged in Oyl-Painting.
Tinto	Is, when a thing is done only with one Colour, and that generally Black.

APPENDIX 3

Summary of the changes to the eight editions of William Salmon’s *Polygraphice*, published between 1672 and 1701.

Table 1: The contents of William Salmon’s *Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring and Dying*, 1672.

Year	1672 (the frontispiece and title page state 1672 but the imprimatur mark is dated September 11, 1671)
Title	<i>Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Colouring and Dying</i>
Edition/Version	1 st Edition
Pages	293
Author Portrait and signature	No portrait. Authored “W. S. A Lover of Art”
Frontispiece/Title Page	Frontispiece by Philip Holmes
Dedication	Peter Stanley
Contents	In Three Books: I. Drawing of men, animals, landscapes, countries and figures of various forms. II. The way of engraving, etching and limning. III. The way of painting, washing, varnishing colouring and dying. Exemplified in the painting of the ancients, washing of maps, globes, or pictures, dying of cloth, silks, bones, wood, glass, stones and metals: together with their way of varnishing thereof according to any purpose or intent.
Plates	No plates

Table 2: The contents of William Salmon’s *Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Dying, Beautifying and Perfuming*, 1673. New additions are shown in bold.

Year	1673 (there is a frontispiece for <i>Polygraphice</i> by William Sherwin dated 1672 but no further evidence of a second edition having been printed in this year)
Title	<i>Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Dying, Beautifying and Perfuming</i>
Edition/Version	Second Edition
Pages	352+
Author Portrait and signature	Portrait Engraving by William Sherwin. Authored “ William Salmon ”
Frontispiece/Title Page	Decorative title-page by William Sherwin
Dedication	Henry Howard
Contents	In Four Books: Exemplifying in the drawing of men, women animals, landscapes, countries and figures of various forms; the way of engraving, etching and limning. The depicting of the

	most eminent pieces of antiquities; the painting of the ancients; washing of maps, globes, or pictures, dying of cloth, silks, bones, wood, glass, stones and metals: the varnishing, colouring, and gilding thereof according to any purpose or intent; the painting, colouring, and beautifying of the face, skin, and hair; the whole doctrine of perfumes (never published til now) together with the original, advancement, and perfection of the art of painting.
Plates	13 plates added by William Sherwin. 1 Plate added by Guil Vaughan.

Table 3: The contents of William Salmon’s *Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Dying, Beautifying and Perfuming*, published in 1675, 1678, 1680, and 1681. New additions are shown in bold.

Year	1675, 1678, 1680, 1681
Title	<i>Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Dying, Beautifying and Perfuming</i>
Edition/Version	Third Version. Third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Editions.
Pages	407+
Author Portrait and signature	Portrait engraving by William Sherwin. Authored “William Salmon Professor of Physick ”
Frontispiece/Title Page	Decorative title-page by William Sherwin
Dedication	Henry Howard
Contents	In Four Books: Exemplifying in the drawing of men, women animals, landscapes, countries and figures of various forms; the way of engraving, etching and limning. The depicting of the most eminent pieces of antiquities; the painting of the ancients; washing of maps, globes, or pictures, dying of cloth, silks, bones, wood, glass, stones and metals: the varnishing, colouring, and gilding thereof according to any purpose or intent; the painting, colouring, and beautifying of the face, skin, and hair; the whole doctrine of perfumes (never published til now) together with the original, advancement, and perfection of the art of painting. To which is added a discourse of perspective and chiromancy
Plates	18 plates. 6 new plates added, 4 unsigned, one by Guil Vaughan, one by F. H. Van Hove. 12 Sherwins plates retained. 2 plates of male and female nudes replaced.

Table 4: The contents of William Salmon’s *Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Dying, Beautifying and Perfuming*, 1685. New additions are shown in bold.

Year	1685
Title	<i>Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Dying, Beautifying and Perfuming</i>
Edition/Version	Fourth Version. Seventh Edition (Although the title page states it is the fifth).
Pages	509+
Author Portrait and signature	Portrait engraving by William Sherwin. Authored “William Salmon Professor of Physick, living at the Blew Balcony after Holborn Bridge, London ”
Frontispiece/Title Page	Decorative title-page by William Sherwin
Dedication	Wortley Whorwood
Contents	In Seven Books: Exemplifying in the drawing of men, women animals, landscapes, countries and figures of various forms; the way of engraving, etching and limning. The depicting of the most eminent pieces of antiquities; the painting of the ancients; washing of maps, globes, or pictures, dying of cloth, silks, bones, wood, glass, stones and metals: the varnishing, colouring, and gilding thereof according to any purpose or intent; the painting, colouring, and beautifying of the face, skin, and hair; the whole doctrine of perfumes (never published til now) together with the original, advancement, and perfection of the art of painting. A discourse of perspective, chiromancy and alchemy . To which also is added I. The one hundred and twelve chymical arcana of Petrus Johanes Faber, a most learned and eminent Physician, translated out of Latin into English. II. An abstract of choice chymical preparations, fitted for vulgar use, for curing most diseases, incident to human bodies.
Plates	24 Plates. 4 additional plates by F. H. Van Hove. 1 plate by Tho. Cross Junior, 1 plate unsigned.

Table 5: The contents of William Salmon’s *Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Japaning, Gilding &c.*, 1701. New additions are shown in bold.

Year	1701
Title	<i>Polygraphice; or The Art of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Japaning, Gilding &c.</i>
Edition/Version	Fifth version. Eighth Edition.
Pages	939+
Author Portrait and signature	Portrait by Robert White . Authored “William Salmon M. D. ”
Frontispiece/Title Page	Decorative title-page by William Sherwin
Dedication	Godfrey Kneller
Contents	<p>In Two Volumes:</p> <p>I. The arts of drawing men, women, landscapes etc.</p> <p>II. Of engraving, etching, and limning.</p> <p>III. Of painting, washing, colouring, gilding.</p> <p>IV. Of the original, advancement, and perfection of painting, with various paintings of the ancients.</p> <p>V. Of the arts of beautifying and perfuming.</p> <p>VI. Of the arts of dying and staining.</p> <p>VII. Of alchemy and the grand elixir of philosophers.</p> <p>VIII. Of the 112 chymical arcana of Peter Faber.</p> <p>IX. Of chiromatical signatures.</p> <p>X. Of staining and painting glass, enamel, and gems.</p> <p>XI. Of varnishing, japaning, and gilding.</p>
Plates	24 plates.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1
Daniel Mytens
*Thomas Howard, 14th Earl of Arundel, 4th Earl of
Surrey and 1st Earl of Norfolk*
Oil on canvas, c.1618, 207 x 127
National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 2
Daniel Mytens
Alatheia, Countess of Arundel and Surrey
Oil on canvas, c. 1618, 207 xx 127
National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 3
Anthony van Dyck
*Portrait of the Artist's Wife, Mary Ruthven,
Lady van Dyck* c.1640
Oil on canvas, 104 x 81
Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.



Fig. 4
William Faithorne (printmaker), *after* Anthony van Dyck (painter)
Lady Mary Ruthven Maria Ruten Vxor D. Antoni van Dyck Eq
Print
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, UK.



Fig. 5
Antony van Dyck
Lady Katherine D'Aubigny
Oil on canvas, c.1638, 106.7 x 85.4
National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., US



Fig. 6
Gerard Soest
Double Portrait
Oil on canvas, c. 1645-8, 139.1 x 174.6
National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 7
Gonzales Coques, *after* Daniel Mytens
Oil on oak panel, 17th century, 45.5 x
78.5
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 8
Anthony van Dyck
Venus and Adonis
Oil on canvas 17th century, 224 x 164
Private Collection.



Fig. 9
 William Faithorne (printmaker)
 After Gerard Soest (painter)
 After Gerard Soest (paint)
 Print engraving, 1658
 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Fig. 10
 William Faithorne (printmaker)
 Charles I
 Print engraving, 1658
 Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge



Fig. 11 Robert Walker, *John Evelyn*, oil on canvas, 1648, 164.8 x 64.1. National Portrait Gallery, London



Fig. 12 Wenceslaus Hollar after Anthony van Dyck, *Self-Portrait with a Sunflower*, engraving, 1644, 14 x 11. The British Museum, London.



Fig. 13. Marcantonio Raimondi *after* Raphael. *The Judgment of Paris*, engraving, c. 1510-1520, 29.2 x 43.6. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Fig. 14 Giorgio Ghisi, *after Raphael, The School of Athens*, print on paper, c. 1535-82. The Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 15 Ferrante Imperato, illustration in *Dell'istoria Naturale*, engraving, 1599.



Fig 16. Philip Holmes, frontispiece to William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1672).



Fig 17 Anonymous frontispiece to *The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil* (London, 1668).

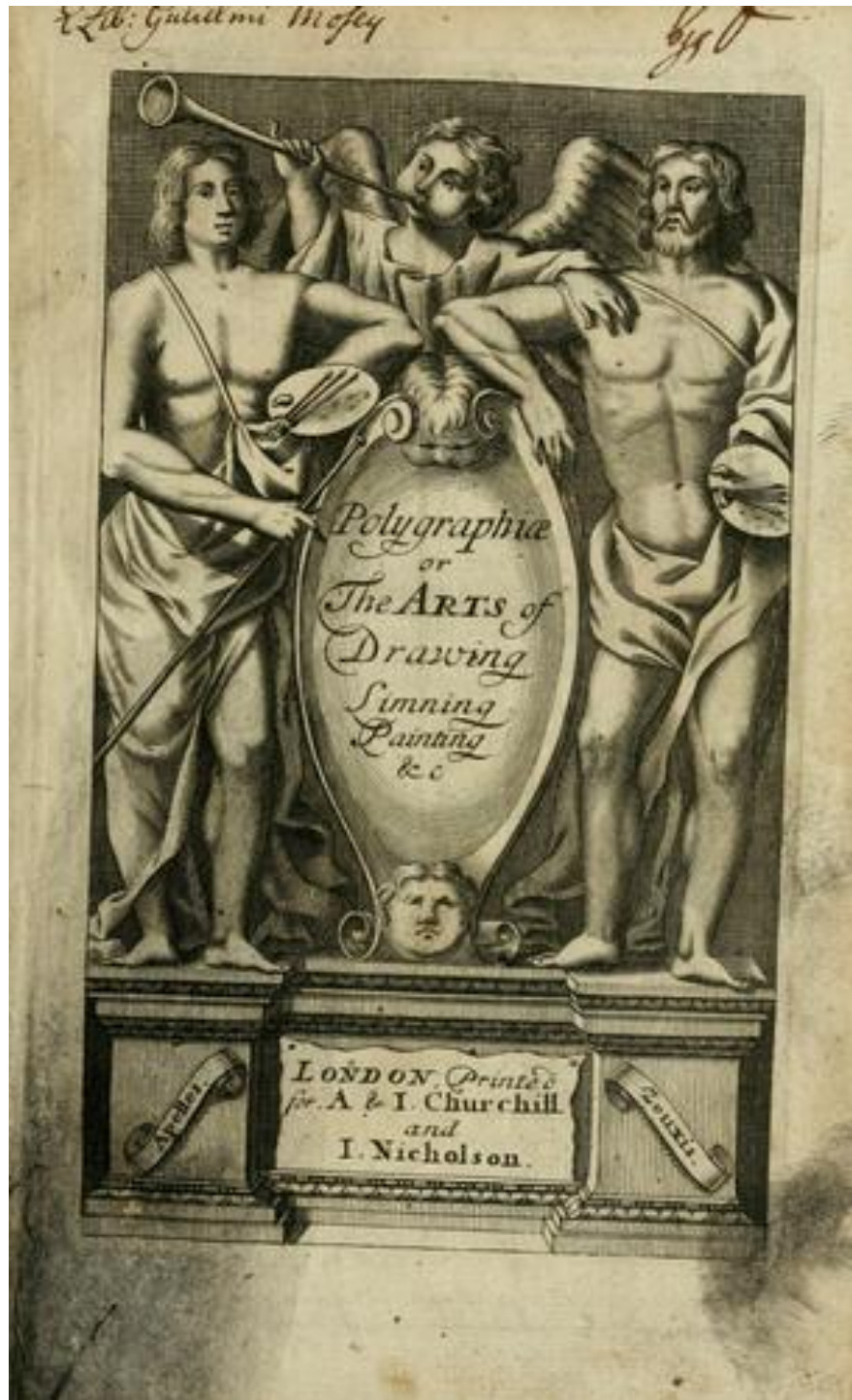


Fig. 18 William Sherwin, frontispiece to William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).



Fig. 19 William Sherwin, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1671, 14.1 x 8.9. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 20 Frederick Hendrick van Hove, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1701, 15.7 x 9.7. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 21 Unknown artist, *William Salmon*, line engraving, 1686, 15.5 x 9.6. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 22 William Salmon by Robert White, line engraving, 1700, 14.7 x 9.3. National Portrait Gallery, London.

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Fig. 23 *The Flying Post*, February 18-20, 1707.

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1. FAMILY PILLS, which cure the Headach, Megrin, giddines, or swimming, Apoplexy, Lethargy, Melancholy, Ernsy, Madnes, Dimness of sight, thuckness of hearing, pain and noise in the Ears, Distillation sore Throats, shortness of Breath, Sinking-Breath, Green-sickness, want of Appetite, Vomiting, Pains and stoppages of the Head Stmach, Liver, or Spleen, pains in the sides, Plurisie, Wind Gravel, Stone, Worms in Children, Pain, Stoppag: and heat of Urine, pissing Blood, Croup, stones, Falling-sickness, Palsie, Lameness, Numbness, SCURVY, DROPSY, GOUT, Sciatica, Jaundice, Kings-evil, Rickets, running of the Reins, Barrenness in Women (though of twenty years continuance) Stoppages of their courses, and other Disease belonging to the Sex. They purifie, cleanse and sweeten the Blood, rectifie all Distempers of the Head, quicken the senses, clear the sight, add a good colour to the face, and make the Body able to withstand Diseases.

2. CORDIAL DROPS, which comfort the Heart, revive the Spirits, strengthen the Body, and after a strange and wonderfull manner cure Consumptions in old or young, and give present ease in the GOUT, or any other Pains, though never so great, and in short time after perfectly cure them. They cure Feavers, and Agues of all sorts, the Cholick, are eminently good against griping of the Guts, strengthen a weak Back, take away fits of the Mother, prevent Miscarriage, and help the Tooth ach in a moment. They are good against coughs, colds, Distempers of the Reins, Vomiting, pains of the Stmach, Liver and Spleen. They stop any Looseness, Lask, Flux, or Bloody-flux, in a day or two at most; they suddenly and strangely ease pains proceeding of Wind, Cold, Surfets, or any other cause; they are also very excellent against Melancholy, and pains of the Spleen.

3. A BALSAM, which cures Pains, sprains, swellings, Bruises, Burns, scalds, scabs, Wounds, Sores, old Ulcers, Fistula's, and the like: It is very good against Tetter, Ringworms, Morpew, Scurffs, Biting of Mad-Dogs, redness of the Face, Freckles, sunburning, seabs, Itch, pimples, or any other deformity or breaking out whatsoever. It strengthens weak Limbs, helps shrinking of the sinews, and cures any wound in the Head, or other parts. It is very good to anoint with in Palsies, Gouts, Sciatica, and Numbness: it is very good against the Cramps, or any external pain. It ripens swelling, cleanses Wounds, Ulcers and Apostumes, breeds Flesh, and skins any sore; not suffering Corruption, putrifaction or dead flesh.

Fig. 24. William Salmon, *Doctor Salmon's Pills, Drops and Balsams*, undated handbill c. 1980. British Library, London.

Strasbourg, June 20. The Imperial and French Armies continue almost within sight of each other, and it is the wonder of all people no Action passes between them. The French lie not at present so wide aunder as at first, but have contracted their Camp into a narrow space, and have removed their Bridge over the Rhine, about two Leagues nearer to Strasbourg, that so they may the better secure it, and least otherwise the Imperialists might have cut it off. The Magistrates of this City seem resolved to observe an exact Neutrality between both parties.

Brussels, June 21. Yesterday the Prince of Orange, and the Duke of Villa Hermosa our Governor, were still at Ruremond, and the Army lay encamped in the Neighborhood; it is reported, that 10000 Men had passed the Meuse, with orders to go and join the Lorrain and Lunenburg Troops, and then to endeavor the relief of Limburgh. On Tuesday last, the Most Christian King, upon the advice he received of the Prince of Orange, intention to pass the Meuse at Ruremond, decamped from his quarters near Fises, passed the Meuse and went and encamped at Tremblou near Daicm; the Prince of Conde lying at the same time with a part of the Army at Herue, between Liege and Limburgh, to assist the Besiegers in case of need. In the mean time our Letters from Namur give us an account, That the Besieged defend themselves very well; That the French had on the 18, taken the Half-moon, but with a great loss of Men; and that, among other Persons of Quality, the Son of the Marechal de Crequi had been killed in that action; That the Besieged being in expectation of a sudden Relief, would, in all probability, hold out three or four days longer, though the Enemy was now advanced to the walls of the Town; That it was reported, that yesterday the French would make a general Storm upon the place, and Passengers arrived here this Evening from the Frontiers of Liege, assure us, that all day yesterday, and this morning, they heard very violent shooting, so that we suppose the place holds out still. On Wednesday night arrived our Spanish Letters and brought an account of the raising the Siege of Girona in Catalonia, by a vigorous Sally of the Spaniards, who fell so furiously upon the French, that it is said, 1000 were killed upon the place, besides many taken Prisoners and that thereupon the French were forced to quit the siege. The Duke d'Anschot, has received his Commission from Spain, to be Governor of the Province of Haynaut.

Vento, June 22. The 20 instant early in the morning the Dutch Troops began to pass the Meuse at Ruremond, and yesterday about noon were all on the other side. The last night his Highness was lodged at Monsford, and will be this night near Susteren.

Hague, June 25. On Sunday last was read in all Churches here a Letter from his Highness of the 19, to the States of Holland; in which he informs them of his being about passing the Meuse at Ruremond, in order to his conjunction with the Lorrain and Lunenburg Forces, and desires, that seeing the Armies were now so near, that in all probability some Action would pass between them, publick Prayers may be made for the good success of his undertakings. We know not what to conclude with certainty concerning Limburgh, the Letters from the Army of the 21, said it held out, and that the besieged made a brave defence; others report, that the Town was taken by Storm, and that the Garrison was retired into the Castle; but the Letters come this day from Brabant say, that the place was surrendered the 22, the Garrison obtaining conditions to march out with Arms and Baggage and two pieces of Cannon, and that the Most Christian King had repassed the Meuse.

Paris, June 26 Our last Letters from the Kings Camp give us an account, That the besieged in Limburg, after a brisk defence on their part, and that the Trenches had been opened seven days, found themselves obliged to come to a Parley the 21st inst, and the capitulations for the Surrender of the place having been agreed on, the next morning the Garrison accordingly marched out with Arms, Bag and Baggage, and two pieces of Cannon, towards Ruremond, to join the Prince of Orange. That the King had passed the Meuse with his Army, but that it was not known what his Majesties farther design was. Our Letters from Monsieur de Turenne's Camp are dated the 23 instant, and say That the Imperial Army, under the Command of General Advocaat, was Posted at a place called Sclatou, and our Army at Attenbergh, the two Camps being so near, as to hear each others Drums and Trumpets; That Monsieur de Turenne had drawn his Forces nearer together, that so, they might have the less ground to defend; that on one side of his Camp was the Rhine, and on the other the River Kinsee, which runs into the Rhine, by which means 12 Boats were already arrived with Provisions for his Army from Brisac; That the Germans were advantageously encamped in Meadows, where their Horses may subsist for some time covered with a Wood; That they drew their Provisions from Salsie, but that they were somewhat incommoded for want of a great quantity of Bread, which had been provided for them at Strasbourg, with which place they cannot at present have any Communication. We may expect that the Armies will not long continue in this posture but that they will suddenly come to some Action; which however neither can oblige the other, without great disadvantage to themselves. From Naples we have advice of the 31st past, which tells us, That the French Fleet was arrived at Messina; That 3000 Foot Soldiers, and 300 Horses, had been put ashore, with a great quantity of Arms, Ammunition, and all sorts of Provisions; That the Gallies were not yet arrived, but hourly expected, not having been able to keep company with the Men of War, by reason of some bad weather they met with.

Advertisements.

☞ **The Christians defence against the Fears of Death.** With seasonable Directions how to prepare our selves to dye well. Written Originally in French, by *Cher. De Lagouet*. And Translated into English, by *M. A. Affrey B. D.* Sold by *Roh. Boldwin* at the Turkish-head in *Ordnal*, over against the *Royal Exchange*.

☞ **Polygraphice: Or, the Arts of Drawing.** Engraving, Etching, Limning, Painting, Washing, Varnishing, Gilding, Colouring, Beautifying and Perfuming. In four Books. To which is added, *A discourse of Perspective and Chiaroscuro.* The third Edition, Adorned with Sculptures, Sold by *John Crompton*, at the three Bibles, in *St. Pauls Church-yard*.

☞ **There is Extant a Map of the City and Port of TRIPOLI in Barbary,** shewing the Rocks and Sands that lie off the Harbor, with the Marks for going in. By *John Saller* the Kings Hydrographer; and are sold at his shops in *Exchange Alley*, and at the *Hermage* in *Wapping*.

W Hereas a report has been spread abroad, That the sickness of the Plague is within the City of *Barb.* These are to give notice, that it hath been certified under the hands of several Persons of Quality now residing there, that the said City and Country adjacent is wholly free of the said sickness, or any other contagious Distempers whatsoever.

W Hereas several Vagrant Persons do wander about the City of *London*, and Countries, pretending themselves to be Lunaticks, under Cure in the Hospital of *Belghem*, commonly called *Bedlam*, with Brass Plates about their Arms, and Inscriptions thereon. These are to give Notice, That there is no such Liberty given to any Patients kept in the said Hospital for their Cure, neither is any such Plate as a distinction or mark put upon any Lunatick during their being there, or when discharged thereat. And that the same is a false pretence, to colour their wandering and Begging, and to deceive the People, to the dishonour of the Government of that Hospital.

W Hereas a Female Child about three years old, having six Toes upon the Right Foot, was left in the West-porch of *St. Mary Church*, in *Old-street* last; If any can give notice of the Owners of the said Child, to *Mr. William Lee* in *Spittle-fields*, or *Mr. Thomas Tine* at the *Gun on Mile-end-green*, shall have 10s. Reward.

Printed by *The. Newcomb* in the *Savoy*, 1675.

Fig. 25 London Gazette, June 17, 1675.

Express arrived here the 27th of the News of Cardinal *Albani's* being of the ancient Family of *Albani*,

from *Albano* into *Italy*, and being two Branches, one settled at *Urbino* Pope was born the 22d of *July*, at *Bergamo*. He declared upon his he would willingly have taken the in Memory of Pope *Alexander* the ed him to the Dignity of a Cardinal y 1690. But the 23d of *November*, as chosen Pope, being the Anniver- In that consideration, he took the eleventh. The Senate here have liers *Giovanni Lanko*, *Sebastiano Esj*, and *Francisco Cornaro*, all Procura- be their Ambassadors of Obedience, Pope upon his Election; but 'tis be- e it, to avoid putting the Republick great an Embassy. Signior *Duado*, ambassador to the Court of *Spain*, is e Employment. The 27th past a id swelled the Sea very high, and the rains melting at the same time, and neighbouring Rivers, caused them to hot most of the Streets and the lower f this City were several hours under ery considerable Damage.

A Detachment of the King of es, and of the *Cossacks*, who had ie Dutchy of *Courland*, are ordered a, where they will remain in *Win- eur Printz* arrived here some days *ago*, and continued his Journey to p in *Livonia*, being sent by the rgh with the Character of his En- o the Czar of *Moskovy*, to endea- o the Differences between him *videm*. We have no fresh Advices

Letters have been sent according e Senators that are out of Town, to the King's Resolution, of holding a ay next; And in few days the *Uni-* Letters will be dispatched to the sever- cleir choosing of Deputies to be sent to the Foreign Ministers here continue accommodate Matters with the King n they are Seconded by some of the f this Crown; and in all likelihood : in *Lithuania* will very much con- thereunto. Our last Advices from lemen of *Oginsky's* Party do commit Estates of Prince *Sapieha*, and those and had endeavoured to persuade the s to enter into their Party, but had that *Oginsky* had appointed a General ollowers at *Grodna* to consider what r, as well as to reconcile some of the who are already entred into Quarrels

In the mean time the King's Forces h towards *Lithuania*, in order to dis- in Arms. The *Sieur Domski*, Bishop e days ago, and the King has given e *Sieur Denhoff*, his Chancellor. The Council of War continues to meet d, 6 Regiments of Horse, 4 of Dra- foot, are ordered to march in the : Frontiers of *Italy* under the Com- me of *Savoy*, and that another Body aw together on the *Rhine* to be com- Lewis of *Baden*. The Count *de Kra-* ordinary from the Emperor to His Ma- in, began his Journey to *England* two

7. The French Ambassadors Entry is ap- instant. The States of *Holland* and *West-* ssembled, but will separate in few days. burgh has notified to the Ministers here, Master is declared King of *Prussia*, and : 18th Instant from *Berlin*, in order to be

8. N. S. The Duke d'Osborne is arrived being sent by the Regency of *Spain*, to o the Most Christian King for accepting the

Advertisements.

Several Discourses of Death and Judgement, and a Future State, by Dr. J. Tillotson, late Lord A. Bp. of *Canterbury*: Being the 5th Volume published from the Originals, by Dr. Barker. Printed for R. Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

Polygraphice; Or, The Arts of Drawing, Engraving, Etching, Lunning, Painting, Varnishing, Japanning, Gilding, &c. in XI. Books: Containing, 1. Drawing Men, Landscips, &c. 2. Engraving, Lunning, &c. 3. Painting, Washing, Gilding; 4. Painting the Ancients; 5. Beautifying, and Perfuming; 6. Dying, and Staining; 7, 8, 9. Alchimy, the Secrets of Peter Faber, and of Chir. Signatures; 10. Painting Glass, &c. 11. Varnishing, &c. The 8th Edition, with above 500 Additions, and 5 whole Books not in former Impressions, with 25 new Cuts. By Wm. Salmon, M. D. Printed for A. and J. Churchill at the Black-Swan in *Pater-Noster-Row*, and J. Nicholson in *Little-Britain*.

A Sermon Preached at the Triennial Visitation of the Rt. Rev. Father in God, James, Lord Bishop of *Lincoln*, held at *Hertford*, June 12. 1700. By Philip Falk, Rector of *Shenly* in the County of *Hertford*, Prebendary of *Durham*, and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty. Published by his Lordship's Command. Printed for John Newton at the 3 Pigeons over-against the Inner-Temple Gate in *Fleet-street*.

The Artificial Clock and Watch-maker, viz. The Art of calculating Numbers for most Movements, &c. The 2d Edition, enlarg'd, With, 1. Anatomy of Watch and Clock; 2. Monsieur *Romer's* Satellite-Instrument, with Observations concerning the calculating the Eclipses of *Jupiter's* Satellites, &c. 3. A nice way to correct Pendulum-Watches; 4. Mr. *Elmstead's* Equation-Tables; 5. To find a Meridian-Line for the Governing of Watches, and other Uses; 6. To make a Telescope to keep a Watch by the Fixed Starr. By W. D. M. A. Printed for Ja. Knapton at the Crown in *St. Paul's Church-yard*.

A Second Part of Cases Argued and Decreed in the High Court of Chancery, continued from the 10th Year of King *Charles II.* to the 4th Year of King *James II.* Folio. Price 10s. Printed for J. Walthoe in the Temple Cloysters, where may be had the First Part, and the Orders in Chancery.

Nath. Cooper, and Neville Leman, Mercers, who lived at the Three Nuns in *Pater-Noster-Row*, are now removed to the Three Nuns near *Water-Lane* in *Fleet-Street*.

Commission of Bankrupt being awarded against David Elers, and John-Philip Elers, late of *Foxhall* in *Surrey*. Poemakers; All Persons that are indebted to the said Bankrupts, or that have any of their Goods or Effects in their hands, are forthwith to pay and deliver the same to Mr. Ja. Brinley, Glass-feller, at the corner of *Fetter-lane* in *Fleet-Street*, *London*, Assignee, or they'll be sued.

Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt hath been awarded against *Thomas Theed*, late of *London*, Mercer; All Persons that owe him any Moneys, or that have any Goods or other Effects of his in their hands, are not to pay or deliver the same to any Person, but to such only whom the Commissioners shall appoint.

Whereas a Commission of Bankrupt hath been awarded against *John Johnson*, late of the City of *London*, Cooper; All Persons that owe him any Moneys, or that have any Goods or other Effects of his in their hands, are not to pay or deliver the same to any Person, but to such only as shall be appointed by the Commissioners.

Commission of Bankrupt being awarded against *Francis Harvey*, late of *Fowey* in the County of *Cornwall*, Shopkeeper; All Persons that owe him any Moneys, or that have any Goods or other Effects of his in their hands, are forthwith to pay and deliver the same to Mr. James Gould, or Mr. John Rowe, of *Exon*, Assignees, or they'll be sued.

Notice is given, That two Closes lying in *Long-Lawford* in the County of *Warwick*, will be sold on Friday the 27th Instant, and a Dividend is to be then made of the Estate of *Thomas Onley*, and not on the 14th Instant, as was formerly mentioned.

Several new-built Houses well Tenanted, lying in *St. Paul's Covent-Garden*, in *St. Martin* in the *Fields* Parish in *Middlesex*, late the Estate of *Thorpe Groom* deceased, are to be sold by a Decree of the H. Court of Chancery before *Sir Richard Holford*, Kt. one of the Masters of the said Court, from whom Particulars may be had.

All Persons that have any Goods in the hands of *John Astman*, Pawn-broker, at the *Golden-Ball* in *Brownlow-Street* in *Drury-lane*, are desired to fetch them away by the 16th of February next, or they'll be disposed of, he intending then to leave off his Trade, and move to some other Part.

Printed by *Edw. Jones*, in the *Savoy*. 1700.

Kind of Musick which every one knows is a Confort by it self.

As for your Passing-Bells, who look upon Mirth as Criminal, and talk of nothing but what is melancholy in it self, and mortifying to Human Nature, I shall not mention them.

I shall likewise pass over in Silence all the Rabble of Mankind that crowd our Streets, Coffee-houses, Feasts, and publick Tables. I cannot call their Discourse Conversation, but rather something that is practis'd in Imitation of it: For which Reason, if I would describe them by any Musical Instrument, it should be by those modern Inventions of the Bladder and String, Tongue and Key, Marrow-bone and Clever.

My Reader will doubtless observe, that I have only touch'd here upon Male Instruments, having reserv'd my Female Consort to another Occasion. If he has a Mind to know where these several Characters are to be met with, I could direct him to a whole Club of Drums, not to mention another of Bagpipes, which I have before given some Account of, in my Description of our Nightly Meetings in *Sheer-Lane*. The Lutes may often be met with in Couples upon the Banks of a Chrystal Stream, or in the Retreats of shady Woods and flowry Meadows, which, for different Reasons, are likewise the great Resort of your Hunting-Horns. Bass-Viols are frequently to be found over a Glass of Stale-Beer and a Pipe of Tobacco; whereas those who set up for Viols, seldom fail to make their Appearance at *Will's* once every Evening. You may meet with a Trumpet any where on the other Side of *Charing-Cross*.

That we may draw something for our Advantage in Life out of the foregoing Discourse, I must intreat my Reader to make a narrow Search into his Life and Conversation; and upon his leaving any Company, to examine himself seriously, whether he has behav'd himself in it like a Drum or a Trumpet, a Violin or a Bass-Viol, and accordingly endeavour to mend his Musick for the future. For my own Part, I must confess, I was a Drum for many Years; nay, and a very noisy one, till having polish'd my self a little in good Company, I threw as much of the Trumpet into my Conversation as was possible for a Man of an impetuous Temper; by which Mixture of different Musicks, I look upon my self during the Course of many Years to have resembled a Tabor and Pipe. I have since very much endeavour'd at the Sweetness of the Lute; but in spite of all my Resolutions, I must confess with great Confusion, that I find my self daily degenerating into a Bagpipe. Whether it be the Effect of my old Age, or of the Company I keep, I know not. All that I can do is, to keep a Watch over my Conversation, and to silence the Drone as soon as I find it begin to hum in my Discourse, being determin'd rather to hear the Notes of others, than to play out of Time, and inroach upon their Parts in the Confort by the Noise of so tiresome an Instrument.

I shall conclude this Paper with a Letter which I received last Night from a Friend of mine, who knows very well my Notions upon this Subject, and invites me to pass the Evening at his House, with a select Company of Friends, in the following Words.

Dear Isaac,

I Intend to have a Confort at my House this Evening, having by great Chance got a Harpsicord, which I am sure will entertain you very agreeably. There will be likewise Two Lutes and a Trumpet. Let me beg you to put your self in Tune, and believe me

Your very faithful Servant,
Nicholas Humdrum.

Errata in our last: Col. 1. Line 54. for begs that, read, begs Ulysses that. Col. 2. L. 52. for Ulysses the Shades, read, Ulysses to have been the Shades.

Advertisements.

* * * **PROPOSALS for Printing the LUCUBRATIONS of Isaac Bickerstaff Esq;** by Subscriptions, in Two Volumes in Octavo, on a Large Character, and Fine Royal Paper, are to be seen, and Subscriptions taken, at Charles Lillie's, a Perfumer, at the Corner of Beauford-Buildings in the Strand, and John Morphew's near Stationers-Hall. All Persons that design to subscribe to this Work, are desired to send their Subscriptions with all Expedition, the Book being put to Press, in order to have it publish'd before Easter.

To satisfy Gentlemen and Ladies who it is that would impute, in Relation to the Men and Women's Gowns to be sold at the Olive-Tree and Still at Charing-Cross, Advertis'd against in the Post-Man, with Invitation to Ludgate-Hill; if they please to enquire at any Shop on the said Hill, they may be satisfy'd that there is not a Quarter of the Choice, as there is in the Room at Charing-Cross; nor can they afford to good Remedy, because upon Examination, "eye will be true," found to be the Goods of Persons that fail'd.

These are to acquaint the Lovers of Art, That the Hon. Baron Schütz, late Envoy of Hanover, his Collection of Pictures, being of the most celebrated Masters, will be sold by Auction on Thursday the 6th of this Instant April, at Ten in the Forenoon, at his late Dwelling-House on the East Side of St. James's Square, (an Hatchment being over the Door) where the Pictures may be seen from Monday the 3d Instant to the Time of Sale, and Catalogues 7c. by Post gratis.

* * * **Just publish'd, Proposals for Botanologia.** The English, Herbal; or, History of Plants: Containing, 1. Their Names, Greek, Latine, and English. 2. Their Species, or various Kinds. 3. Their Descriptions. 4. Their Places of Growth. 5. Their Times of Flowering and Seeding. 6. Their Qualities or Properties. 7. Their Specifications. 8. Their Preparations, Galenick and Chymick. 9. Their Virtues and Uses. 10. A complete Florilegium, of all the choice Flowers cultivated by our Florists, interspers'd through the whole Work in their proper Places; where you have their Culture, Choice, Increase, and Way of Management, as well for Profit as Delicetation. Adorn'd with exquisite Icons or Figures of the most considerable Species, representing to the Life the true Forms of those several Plants. The whole in an Alphabetical Order. By **William Salmon, M. D.** Which Proposals are to be had at large, with a Specimen annex'd, of the Undertakers, H. Rhodes at the Star the Corner of Bridelane in Fleet-street, and J. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row, and of most Book-sellers in the City and Country; where Subscriptions are taken in.

* * * **Le Parterre de Fleurs: Essays, Observations, Reflections, Moral and Political, upon several Subjects; partly respecting the Affairs of the present Times.** Printed for J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall, and J. Woodward in St. Christopher's Church-yard, Threadneedle-street. Price 4 s.

* * * **For the further Improvement of Dancing; A Treatise of Choregraphy, or the Art of dancing Country-Dances after a new Character.** In which the Figures, Steps, and Manner of Performing, are describ'd; and the Rules demonstrat'd in an easy Method, adapted to the meanest Capacity. Translated from the French of Monsieur Reville; and improv'd with many Additions; all fairly engrav'd on Copper Plates: And a new Collection of Country-Dances describ'd in the same Character, by John Essex, Dancing-Master. Sold by J. Wallis, and P. Randall, Musical Instrument-Makers in Ordinary to Her Majesty, at the Harp and Hautboy in Catherine-street near Somerset House in the Strand, and J. Hare, at the Viol and Flute in Cornhill; J. Cullen at the Roebuck without Temple-Bar; and by the Author at his House in Rood-Lane, Fenchurch-street. Price 5 s.

* * * **This Day, in Dunton's Oracle, is publish'd, The Coffee-house-Post, or the Fable of the Trumpeter.** This Weekly Paper will be continu'd to 3000 distinct Posts, of which Eight are already publish'd. The *Love-Post, or News for the Ladies*, will be publish'd next Tuesday: And next Saturday will be publish'd, *The Sybil-Post, or Ideal Kingdom*; being a new and mysterious Discov'ry made for the Use of the Ladies. Sold by J. Morphew near Stationers-Hall.

* * * **Just published, The Second Edition, with Additions, of a Persuasive to Moderation, and Forbearance in Love, amongst the divided Forms of Christians.** By the late Mr. White, Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge. To which is added, His Particulars for our Converse with Men, &c. A Work very proper to be read in these Times, and to promote Peace both in Church and State. Sold by N. Cliffe at the Golden Candlestick in the Poultry, A. Collins at the Black-Boy in Fleet-street, and B. Bragge at the Raven in Pater-noster-Row. Price 2 s.

Several Houses, well tenanted, and in good Repair in Whitechapel Parish, being a very long Lease, and a small Ground-Rent, to be fold a Pennyworth. Enquire of Mr. Stevens at the Bell in Pettycoar-Lane, or Mr. Hussy, Scrivener, in St. Martin's Church-yard by Charing-Cross.

At Parsons-Green near Fulham, are to be lett, Two new Houses, the one has Four, the other Three Rooms on a Floor, neatly fitted up, with Court-Yards, Gardens, and Kitchen-Gardens, very well planted, and with or without a Coach-House and Stable. Enquire at the next Door.

There is a large House to be lett by Lease, over-against the Crown in King-street, Bloomsbury, turnish'd or unturnish'd, with Coach-house and Stable, or without.

Sold by **John Morphew** near *Stationers-Hall*; where Advertisements are taken in.



Fig. 28
Artist Unknown
A London Coffee House,
Gouache drawing, c. 1668, 14.7 x 22
British Museum



Fig. 29 "The Coffeehouse Mob", frontispiece to Edward (Ned) Ward, *The Fourth Part of Vulgus Britannicus or the British Hudibras*, engraving, 1710. British Museum, London.



This is to give Notice to all Lovers of Art and Ingenuity, that there is come to this place, and is now to be seen over-against the Red Lyon in OXFORD.

THat curious Artist, who in the presence of all Spectators blows several Curiosities in Glafs, As Swans, Ducks, Birds, Knives, Forks, Swords, and Scabbards, Decanters, Cruets, Bottles and Ladies, with Pipes to smoke Tobacco, and Grenadoes to Stick by the Snuff of a Candle that gives a Report like a Gun; blows Tea-pots, and other Fancies imitating China. He also shows a Glafs wherein are 2 small Figures, which performs to admiration. He spins Glafs finer than the Hair of the Head, of several Colours, with a Wheel that's turn'd by humane Power, which spins ten thousand Yards of Glafs in less than half an hour.

And for the Diversion of the Company, he shows the Italian Water-works, with Fountains playing & Swans swimming all in Glafs; and several other surprizing Arts, never performed by any Person but himself. To be seen at any time of the Day, to a set Company, if desir'd; and every Night at 7 a-Clock. Note, Gentlemen may be furnished with Glafs Tubes, and other Curiosities in Glafs, &c.

Fig. 30 Anonymous "Notice to all Lovers of Art and Ingenuity", Oxford.



Fig. 31. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.

Fig. 32. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, 1673.



Fig. 33 William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).

Fig. 34 William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).

Fig. 35. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).



Fig. 36 William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).

Fig. 37 William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).

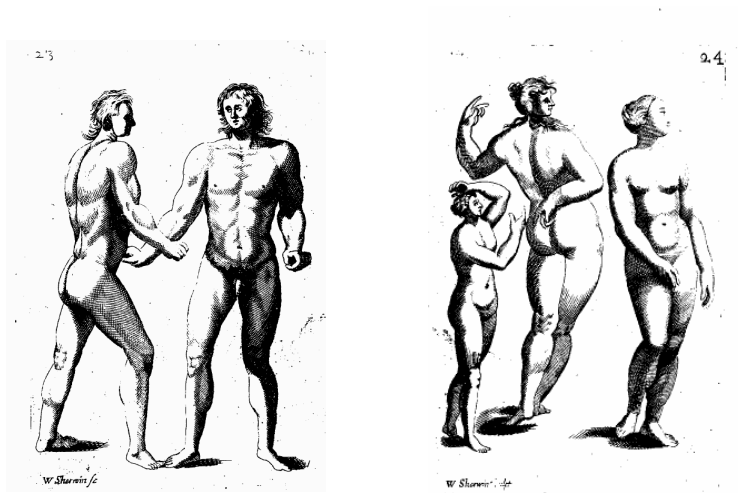


Fig. 38 William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).
 Fig. 39. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).



Fig. 40. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).
 Fig. 41. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).



Fig. 42. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).

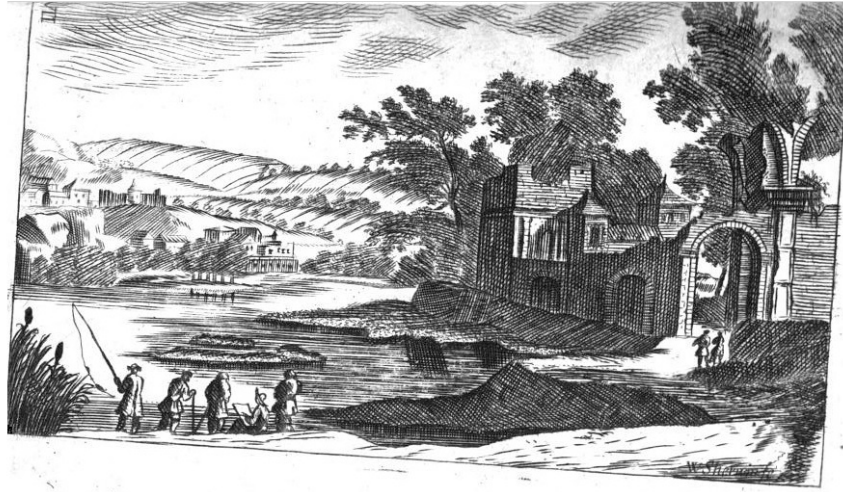


Fig. 43. William Sherwin, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, (London, 1673).



Fig. 44. William Vaughuan, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1673).

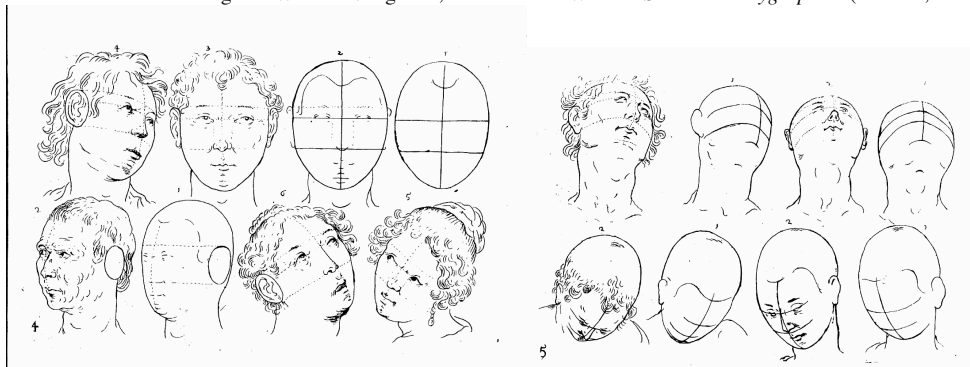


Fig. 45. Odoardo Fialetti, illustration in Alexander Browne *The Whole Art of Drawing* (London, 1660).
 Fig. 46. Odoardo Fialetti, illustration in Alexander Browne *The Whole Art of Drawing* (London, 1660).



Fig. 47. Odoardo Fialetti, illustration in Alexander Browne *The Whole Art of Drawing* (London, 1660).

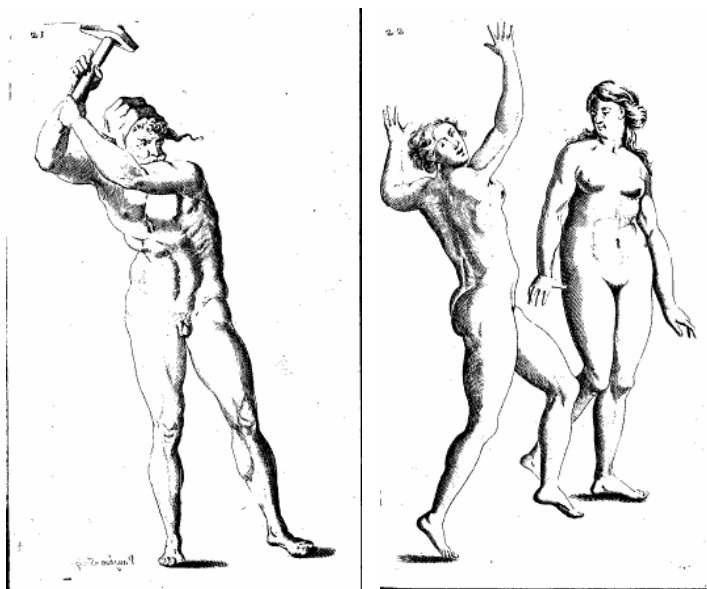


Fig. 48. William Vaughan, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1675).
 Fig. 49 Artist unknown, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1675).

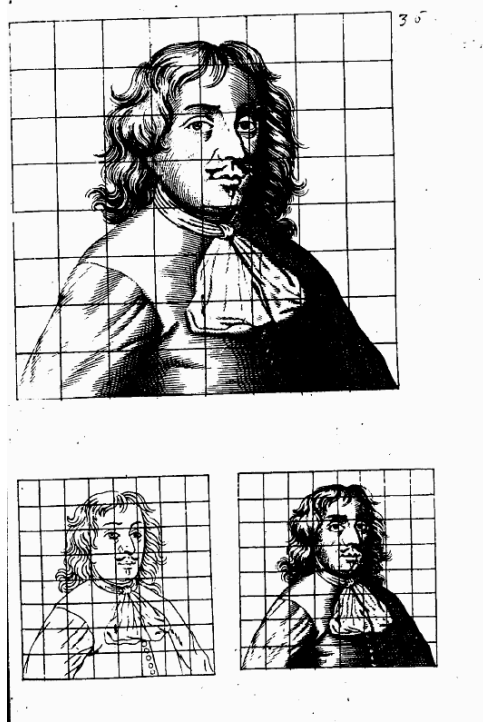


Fig. 50. Artist unknown, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice*, (London, 1675).



Fig. 51 Albrecht Dürer, illustration in his *Unterweysung der Messung mit dem Zirckel und Richtscheyt*, woodcut, 1525, 7.5 x 21.5

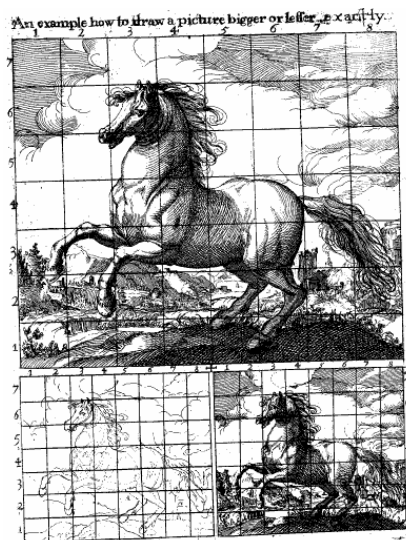


Fig. 52 Artist unknown, illustration in *An Introduction to the General Art of Drawing* (London, 1672).



Fig. 53 William Vaughan, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1675).

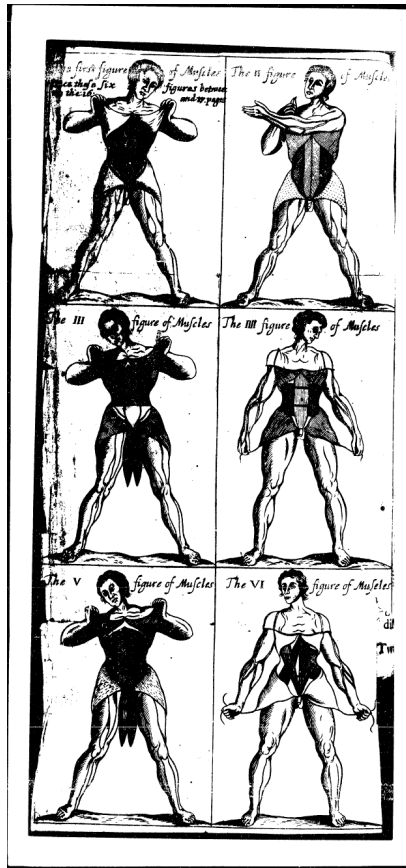


Fig. 54 Anonymous illustration in Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, *Mikrokosmographia*, (London, 1664).

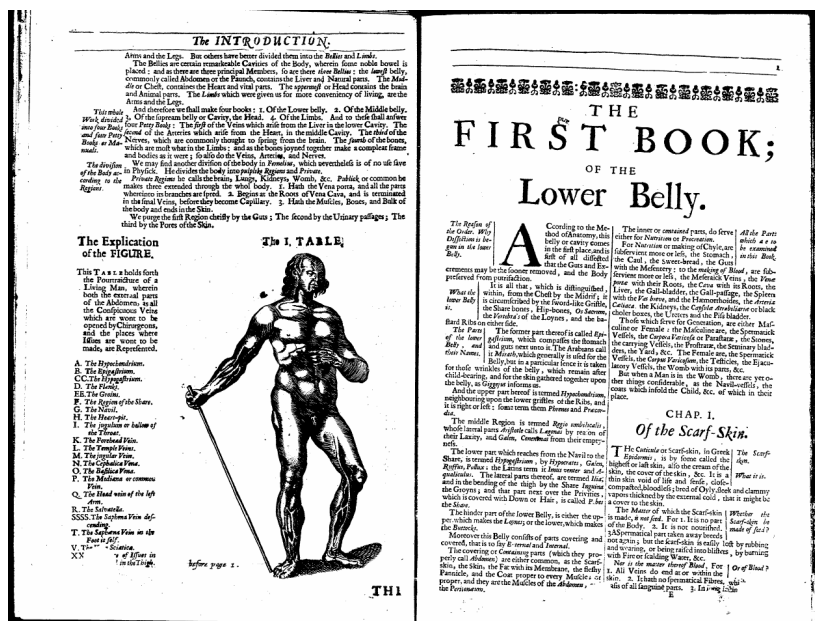


Fig. 55 Anonymous illustration Thomas Bartholin's *Bartholinus anatomy* (1668).

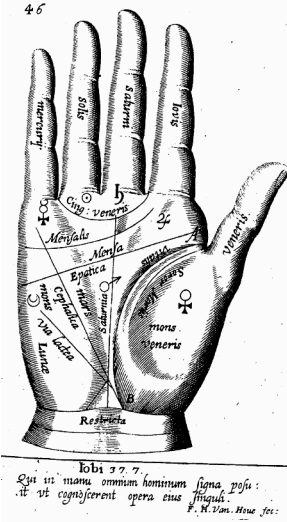


Fig. 58. Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1675).

2 CHIROMANCY.

Southern parts, which if it were not, there would be no vicissitude, change, or continuation of things; Summer and Winter, but from such conversion and changes of times and seasons, caused by the Zodiac, proceeds the generation and corruption of all things, fertile and infertile, which are under the concavity of the Moon. We also divide the Zodiac into four principal parts. The first from the head of Aries, to the latter part of Gemini, which the *Ancients* call *Autumn*. The second from the head of Cancer, to the latter part of Virgo, called *Winter*. The third from the head of Libra, to the latter part of Sagittary, called *Spring*. The fourth from the head of Capricorn, called *Summer*, to the latter part of Pisces, called by the *Ancients* *Summer*. Take the position of these Signs according to *Saraptes*, in the *Veris*.

Signa, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricornus, Aquarius, Pisces.

Let us also place them according to their Seasons, with their Characters, as we will make use of them in this benefit of *Chiromancy*.

Spring.	Summer.
Aries Taurus Gemini	Cancer Leo Virgo
Autumn.	Winter.
Libra Scorpio Sagittarius	Capricornus Aquarius Pisces

It is not necessary to represent here their qualities and influences on bodies; but as for what hath concern the hand their significations sheweth relating you shall have in the first, second, and third Figures following. The names of the seven Lines or parts of the hand, which is the principal part, as to *Chiromancy*, are

1. The *Table-Line*, or *Line of Fortune*.
2. The *middle Natural Line*.
3. The *Line of Life*, or *of the Heart*.
4. The *Line of the Liver*, or *Stomach*.
5. The *Sifter-Line*, or *Line of Life*.
6. The *Vein of the Hand*.
7. The *Wrist*, of which Lines, four only are principal.

In *Chiromancy* all these Lines ought to be known and distinguished each from other; and to facilitate this knowledge, I give you several distinct Figures. The first for the *Planes* and *Lines*; the other Figures you shall find in their due places, shewing the proportion and measurement of the hand as most necessary there to be observed and he that give you the other Figures, you have a *Table*, which will let you see the correspondence between the *Planes* and *Lines* and parts of the *Hand*. And in another, the *Signs of the Zodiac*; And in the others, the *Time Signs* pointed in other places, with the *Signs* relating to the *Lines*. For further instruction, you have the *De-monstrative Figures* here inserted.

CHIROMANCY.

The Explanation of the fore-going Figure.

Here will be observed (in the foregoing Figure) the general division of the Hand, according to the Lines, and the division of the parts thereof, from the base of the fingers, to the Line A, which is the *Wrist*, and the *Arm*; the *Table* is a term appropriated to the *Mount*, which is the *base of the fingers*, and the *Vein* is the *line* which is the *Wrist*. Some men it is found towards the *finger*, sometimes towards the *finger*, and sometimes in the middle of the *Mount*. The *Line of the Hand* is the *line* which is the *Wrist*. The *Table*, and the *Line* between the *Mount* and *Wrist*, is divided into *two*, and all these divisions before you in the *Figure*, and shall be observed.

The *Confusion* of the *Planes* and *Lines* in the *Hand*, are distinguished in the and the following *Schemes*, as also the *Significations* of these parts; as in the *Mount* of *Mercury* are found *Mercury*, *Aries*, and all *Significations* proper to *Mercury*. In the *Mount* of the *Thumb*, belonging to *Venus* are found *Venus*, *Libra*, and *Mercury*. In the *Mount* belonging to *Mars*, are found *Mars*, *Leo*, *Venus*, and all things concerning *Strength* and *Fortitude*, and so of all others, in manner fully manifested in the ensuing *Table*.

Fig. 59 Saunders physiognomie, and chiromancie, metoposcopiae the symmetrical proportions and signal moles of the body, fully and accurately explained by Richard Saunders (London, 1671).

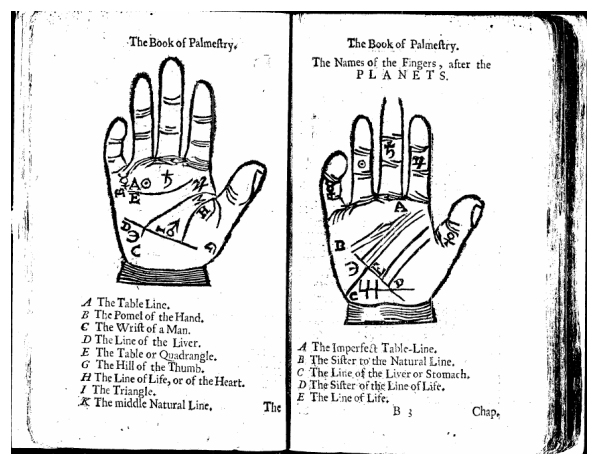


Fig. 60 *The book of palmistry and physiognomy* Written in Latine by John Indagine Priest, and translated into English by Fabian Withers. (London, 1676)

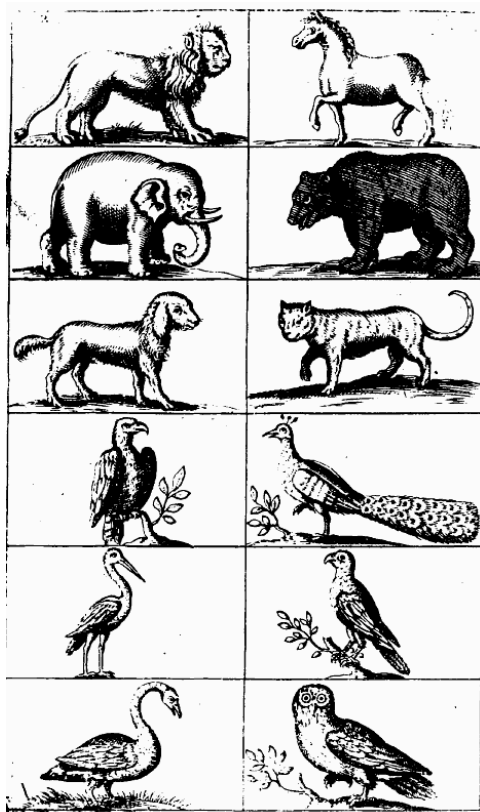


Fig. 61. Artist unknown, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice Polygraphice* (London, 1675).



Fig. 62 Frederick van Hove after Francis Barlow, *A Booke Containing such Beasts as are most Usefull for such as practice Drawing, Graveing, Armes Painting, Chaseing, and for severall other occasions*, print on paper, 1664, 12.8 x 9.5. British Museum, London.

Fig. 63 Frederick van Hove after Francis Barlow, *A Booke Containing such Beasts as are most Usefull for such as practice Drawing, Graveing, Armes Painting, Chaseing, and for severall other occasions*, print on paper, 1664, 12.8 x 9.5. British Museum, London.

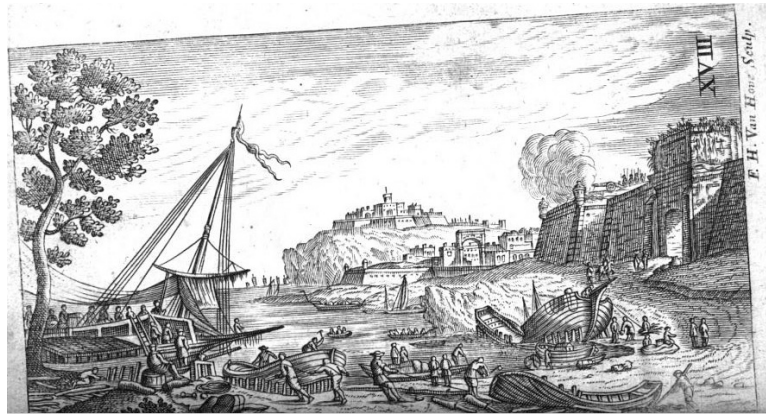


Fig. 64 Frederick Van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1685).



Fig. 65 Frederick van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1685).

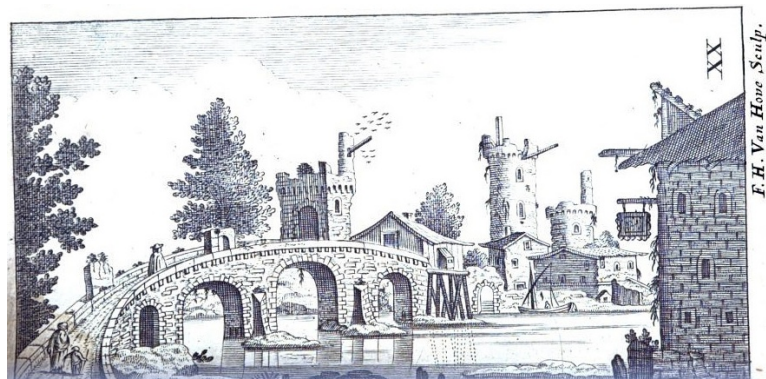


Fig. 66. Frederick van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1685).

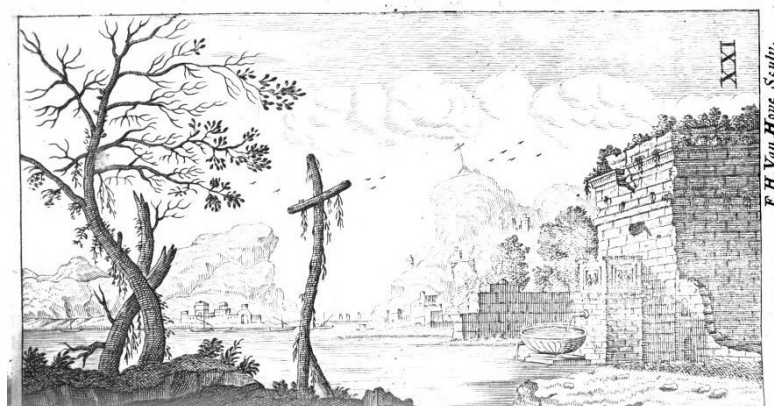


Fig. 67. Frederick van Hove, illustration in William Salmon's *Polygraphice* (London, 1685).



Fig. 68
Samuel Cooper
Oliver Cromwell
Watercolour on vellum put down on a leaf from a table-book in a gilded frame, c.1660-1661, 8 x 6.4
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 69
'A Conversation of Virtuosis...at the Kings Arms'
Gawen Hamilton
Oil on canvas, 1735, 87.6 x 111.5
National Portrait Gallery



Fig. 70
Simon Gribelin after Henry Cooke Sr.,
Frontispiece to the first English edition of Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy's *De Arte Graphica* (London, 1695).

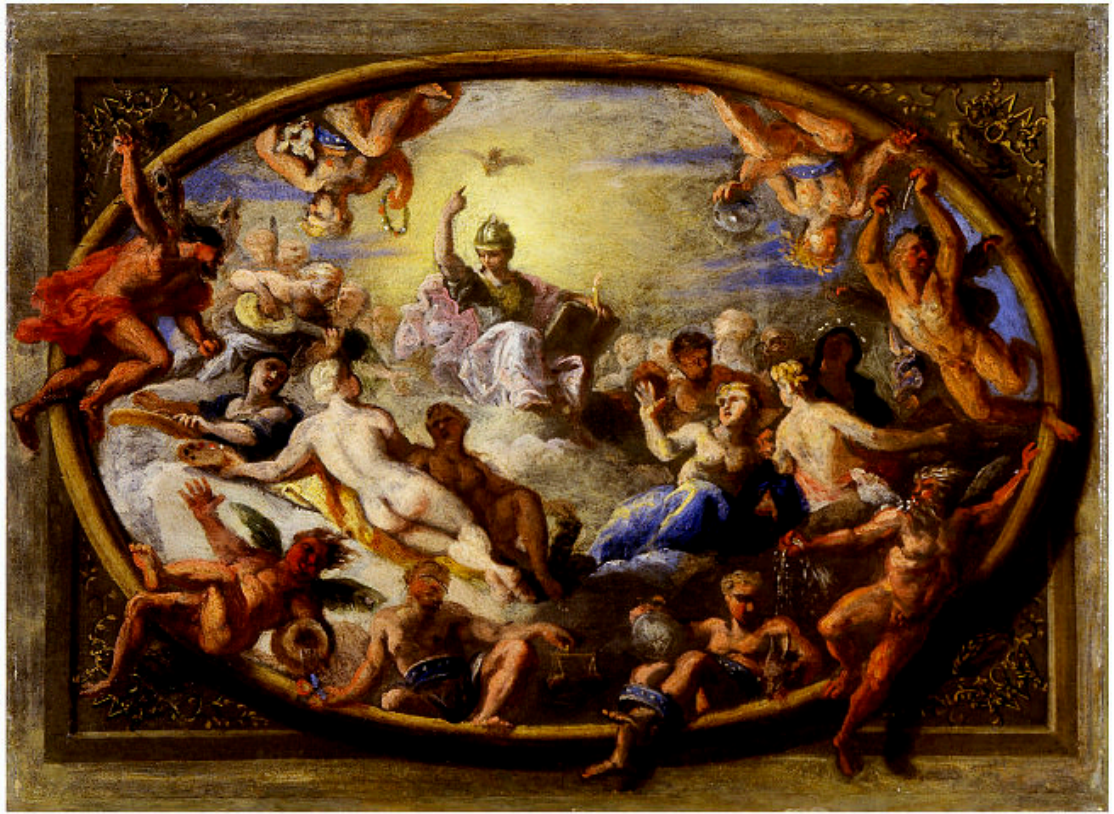


Fig. 71
Antonio Verrio
Minerva with Allegorical Figures of the Arts and Sciences (sketch for the ceiling of the Banqueting House, Hampton Court Palace)
Oil on paper mounted on panel, c.1700-1702, 34.3 x 49.8
Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



Fig. 72
Simon Gribelin
Frontispiece to Charles Alphonse Dufresnoy's 'De Arte Graphica. The Art of Painting', translated by John Dryden,
2nd edition, 1716
Print study drawing, 1661-1716.
British Museum, London.



Fig. 73
William Laud
after Sir Anthony Van Dyck
Oil on canvas, c.1636, 123.2 x 94
National Portrait Gallery, London



Fig. 74
Godfrey Kneller
Portrait of a lady in profile, said to be Mary Buckeridge
Oil on canvas, 1720
Private collection.



Fig. 75
Probably by Charles Townley, probably after Sir
Godfrey Kneller,
Mary Buckeridge (née Geering or Goring)
Mezzotint, date unknown, 38.8 x 27.7
National Portrait Gallery



Fig. 76
Michael Dahl
Bainbrigg Buckeridge
Oil on canvas, 1696, 71.6 x 59
National Portrait Gallery, London.



Fig. 77
Portrait of lady said to be Mary Chambers. *Portrait of lady in brown dress*
Circle of Michael Dahl, oil on canvas, 17th century, 125.7 x 101.6
Private collection.



Fig. 78
Godfrey Kneller
John Dryden
Oil on canvas, 1693, 124.5 x 101
National Portrait Gallery, London



Fig. 79
Joseph Nutting after Antoine Coypel
Frontispiece for Roger de Piles *The art of painting, and the lives of the painters* trans. John Savage (London, 1706).

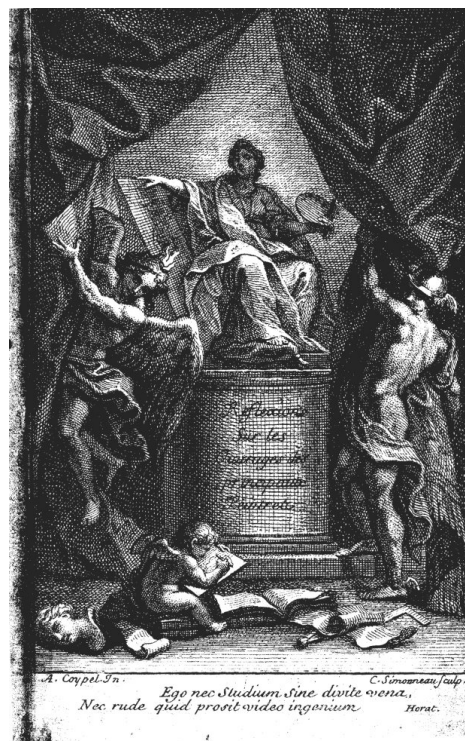


Fig. 80
Antoine Coypel
Frontispiece for *Abrégé de la vie des peintres* (Paris, 1699).