



Powell, V. G. and Macartney, H. (2019) Plunder, dissolution, and dodgy dealing: the international market for Spanish art in the nineteenth century. In: Milosch, J. C. and Pearce, N. (eds.) *Collecting and Provenance: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Rowman and Littlefield: Lanham, MD, pp. 175-188. ISBN 9781538127568

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Deposited on 09 September 2021

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Plunder, Dissolution and Dodgy Dealing:

The International Market for Spanish Art in the Nineteenth Century

Véronique Gerard Powell and Hilary Macartney

Spain in the early nineteenth century provides a remarkable example of the effects of political upheaval on changing international tastes and the creation of new markets in art. Until the Peninsular War (1807–1814), known in Spain as the War of Independence, in which the British army joined with Portuguese and Spanish forces to oust Napoleon’s troops from the Iberian Peninsula, collectors in the rest of Europe were largely unaware of the richness and distinctiveness of Spanish art. The war resulted not only in the exit and dispersal of many Spanish paintings, but also prompted an unprecedented *Hispanomania*, in which many aspects of Spanish culture, including music and dance, were celebrated and romanticized throughout Europe from Britain to Russia.¹

As the century unfolded and tastes developed, Spanish Old Masters, beginning with Murillo and followed by Velázquez, then Goya and El Greco, became “must-haves” on the shopping lists of both many private collections and of new museums. By the end of the nineteenth century, the phenomenon had also spread to American collectors and museums; they took full advantage of the dispersal of a number of European collections at that date to acquire many of their Spanish treasures, which by then were increasingly difficult to source directly from Spain. In this chapter, we chart some of the key moments in this dramatic period of provenance history, focusing on several of the major French and British protagonists of the early to mid-nineteenth century and highlighting a number of significant artworks that changed hands during those years.

Prelude to War: The Export Ban and Early Plunder

Ironically, the art plunder carried out during the invasion of Spain by Napoleon's army followed a sustained campaign by Spain itself in the later eighteenth century to promote and preserve national patrimony, in line with Enlightenment principles that owed much to French thinkers. In the wake of a number of frustrated attempts to protect artworks in Madrid and Seville, an edict prohibiting the foreign export of paintings was drawn up by Bernardo de Iriarte (1734–1814), a civil servant and honorary member of the recently founded Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in Madrid. Published on October 5, 1779, the ban initially aimed specifically to counteract the removal of Murillo's works from Seville. Soon after, it was extended to cover paintings by all deceased artists, as well as rare books and archaeological material.² Its introduction was welcomed in another Enlightenment enterprise, the *Retratos de los españoles ilustres*, published in 1791, in which the author of the entry on Murillo explained: "The gross ignorance throughout the nation from the time of [Murillo's] death up to our own days robbed us of a large portion of his works, which were allowed to be taken away by foreigners. But the government opened its eyes to this evil and the doors of Spain were closed on the removal of the works of our celebrated painters."³

Napoleon (1769–1821) appointed his brother, Lucien Bonaparte (1775–1840), as French ambassador to Madrid in 1801 to break up the Spanish-Portuguese alliance. In spite of the export ban and its new zeal to recognize the artistic achievements of the Spanish Old Masters, in that same year, the Spanish government closed its eyes to Lucien's behavior because of his status and family links.⁴ Having accomplished his mission, Lucien then turned his attention to acquiring more than 100 paintings for his own collection, many of them of the Italian school, which was well represented in Madrid.⁵ Among the dozen Spanish paintings he bought with the help of the

art dealer Juan de Aguirre was Velázquez's beautiful *Lady with a Fan* (Wallace Collection, London).⁶

The Peninsular War

By the end of 1807, the situation had escalated into war: determined to break the alliance between Britain and Portugal, Napoleon took advantage of conflict within the Spanish hierarchy and sent his armies to occupy the country. King Charles IV abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand VII, who was soon overthrown, and Napoleon declared his brother Joseph (1768–1844) king of Spain in June 1808. Many Spaniards were uncertain of their allegiance; a large number of Liberals remained *afrancesados* (French supporters), but grassroots Spanish resistance prevented Napoleon from conquering the whole country, in spite of executions in Madrid, later depicted by Goya in the *Third of May, 1808* (Prado, Madrid). In December, Napoleon entered Madrid with 80,000 troops and, for the next four years, French armies occupied much of Spain, including Seville, which—along with Madrid—contained some of the finest examples of Spanish painting of the Golden Age (sixteenth–seventeenth centuries). British intervention in the Peninsula, led by the Duke of Wellington (1769–1852) and supported by the Portuguese and the Spanish resistance, eventually culminated in Wellington's victory at the Battle of Vitoria in northern Spain (June 13, 1813).⁷

French spoliations in Spain between 1808–1813 represented one of the most **extreme** examples in European history of military behavior in an occupied country. They differed greatly from the earlier strategy of “artistic conquest,” French armies pursued in the wars in Italy, Germany, and Belgium during the Revolutionary and Directory periods. Then, under the provisions of the Treaty of Tolentino (1797), the gathering of the best Italian, German, **and** Belgian works of art to be taken to Paris was based on the idea that these would provide an

official contribution by the occupied countries to the intellectual supremacy of France, the state to which they would henceforth belong.⁸ Napoleon intended to apply the same strategy in Spain, often referred to as the “present to Napoleon,” and ordered that 50 of the best Spanish paintings be sent to the Louvre. He likewise sought to sequester the collections of prominent Spaniards who had defied his invasion of Spain—nearly 250 paintings—of prominent Spaniards.⁹

Most of the looting during the Peninsular War, however, was carried out by individuals, many of them high-ranking officers, acting on their own account. The impunity with which they behaved can be explained by the lack of discipline and leadership at every level of the French army, which had been hastily reassembled for the invasion. The suppression of male religious houses by King Joseph soon after he came to power in 1808–1809 also contributed to the easy availability of pictures. The religious orders had long been a source of controversy in Spain due to their wealth and influence, as well as their cost to the Spanish economy. Their suppression or dissolution meant that the state could now benefit from their property, and their gold- and silverware could be melted down—useful resources in time of war.

In principle, the higher quality paintings were to be sent to a new museum of paintings, created by royal decree in 1809, whilst the others were to be sold.¹⁰ In practice, the paintings were often abandoned to looters; and in some cases the deserted buildings were astutely bought by French officers, who then removed their pictures. For example, General Darmagnac acquired the Carthusian monastery at Burgos when he was governor there in 1809, and General Sebastiani purchased the monastery of San Miguel in Valencia with the Danish ambassador Edmund Bourke when he was General Lieutenant of that province.¹¹

The Case of Marshal Soult

Of all the generals who plundered Spanish art during the French occupation, Marshal Soult (1769–1851) became the most notorious, due to the number and quality of the works he removed whilst stationed in Seville. The motivation for his behavior and its context, however, deserve further examination.¹² Appointed commander of the Second Army by Napoleon in November 1809 and charged with the difficult recapture of Spain, Soult represented the last chance for both the emperor and his brother Joseph in the Peninsula.¹³

But why did such a prestigious officer behave in such a way by stealing—or acquiring by other suspect means—some 200 paintings, and how could he get away with it? The first point is that no authority had control over him: when Soult entered Seville on February 1, 1810 as Military Governor of Andalusia, he outranked all other tiers of administration inside Spain, including the king. He only had to answer nominally to Paris, which was far away, and where his behavior was never questioned. Indeed, so anxious was the new king to keep Soult and other high-ranking French officers on his side that he himself plundered the Royal Collections, offering his officers several of its masterpieces.¹⁴ Amongst the six works “awarded” to Soult were Titian’s *Tribute Money* (National Gallery, London), Sebastiano del Piombo’s *Christ Carrying the Cross* (Hermitage, St. Petersburg), and a Spanish one, *Abraham and the Three Angels* by Juan Fernández de Navarrete (National Gallery, Dublin). This last, Soult kept in the private chapel of his Parisian mansion, where it remained until his death.¹⁵

Until his arrival in Spain, Soult had shown only minimal interest in works of art, yet as soon as he arrived in Seville, he began a frenetic campaign of appropriation, starting with the paintings in the Archbishop’s Palace where he had installed himself; within a year, he had amassed an impressive haul from a wide range of sites. What drove him to want so many

paintings for himself, apparently whatever their subject, artist or size? The answer may lie in the lifestyle that Napoleon demanded of his best senior officers from 1807 onwards, when he promoted them to the highest ranks of his new nobility. Created duke of Dalmatia that year, Soult had received a *majorat* (entailment) enabling him to keep a mansion in Paris and lead the lifestyle now expected of him. Wisely, in 1803 he had purchased the former Hôtel de Talleyrand Périgord (now destroyed), in rue de l'Université. Thanks to the *majorat*, he could now afford to have it decorated by the great artists of the day.¹⁶ At that time, he possessed few paintings; however, he was expected to have a substantial collection on display. The fact that Seville offered only Spanish paintings—then virtually unknown in France—could be turned to advantage and presented as a glorification of his conquest of Andalusia. Letters to his wife from as early as March 1810 suggest that this was indeed his intention, perhaps in addition to a desire to emulate at a personal level Napoleon's art conquests in Flanders and Italy.¹⁷

Soult's collecting operation would have been difficult, if not impossible, to achieve without the help of informants—most likely Spaniards with *afrancesado* sympathies. In addition, he collaborated closely with the quartermaster Philippe-Gaëtan Mathieu-Faviers (1761–1833), who was posted in Seville at the same time. Mathieu-Faviers had already established an art collection back home, but he too began acquiring paintings through similar means to those of Soult as soon as he arrived in Spain. In Madrid in the summer of 1809, he succeeded in obtaining several Spanish and Italian masterpieces from the impoverished nuns in the convent of San Pascual Bailón.¹⁸ Once in Seville, the fact that he and Soult divided Murillo's paintings between them from the small cloister of the convent of San Francisco suggests that the quartermaster played an important role in securing these works.

The pair were not the only ones looking for paintings: Frédéric Quilliet was appointed artistic commissioner for Andalusia in January 1810. A major duty was to ensure compliance with the royal decree, issued in February that year, requiring all paintings deemed representative of the Seville school to be gathered together in the city's Alcázar (royal palace) for selection for the projected National Museum of paintings in Madrid.¹⁹ A fierce rivalry ensued between Quilliet and Soult, and one can only speculate about the tactics that might have been used to gain the upper hand. On one occasion, Quilliet had selected the four lunettes Murillo painted for the church of Santa Maria la Blanca for the new Museum, but Soult and Mathieu-Faviers succeeded in removing them from the church before they could be transported to the Alcázar.

Another remarkable instance of Soult's tactical combination of astuteness, corruption and abuse of power in his acquisition of artworks was revealed in his dealings with the Hieronymite nuns of Santa Paula. Female religious houses were exempt from the royal decree of 1810, yet in December of that year, he compelled the nuns to sell him fourteen paintings at a very low price, among them six splendid works painted by Alonso Cano (1601–1667) for their altarpiece of St. John the Evangelist, including the exquisite *St. John the Evangelist's Vision of Jerusalem* (Wallace Collection, London; Figure 1). The monastery archives that record the sale not only show that Soult had “taken a fancy to” these paintings, but also that he had claimed to be acting “by Order of Our King Joseph I, and in his name.”²⁰

Following the failure of the Peninsular campaign and the defeat of Napoleon, Soult had a checkered career as military advisor, politician, and diplomat, including four years in exile for his support of Napoleon after the latter's escape from banishment in 1815, three terms as head of government, and frequent shifts in loyalty between republicanism and monarchism. King Louis-Philippe particularly valued his support, making him Marshal-General of France in 1847. He

served as French Ambassador in London in the 1830s, where he met his old adversary the Duke of Wellington, who had likewise transitioned into politics, albeit on a rather different stage, and attended Queen Victoria's coronation in 1838.

As for his art collection, Soult never really displayed it in the impressive gallery he had dreamt of in his Parisian mansion, but instead scattered it throughout its different rooms and his rural properties. Nevertheless, a number of art lovers saw his collection over the next few decades: the artist Delacroix made a copy (ca. 1824–1827) of Murillo's *St. Catherine of Alexandria* (original: Focus Abengoa, Seville; copy: Musée des Beaux-Arts, Béziers),²¹ and a two-part article by the art critic Théophile Thoré served as a guide for scholars such as Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818–1878), who visited during preparation of his pioneering book, *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848).²²

After Soult's failed attempts to sell off all or part of his collection on several occasions, it was finally dispersed at auction in 1852, a few months after his death.²³ According to the dealer William Buchanan, Soult had offered him his whole collection as early as 1823, and later, in 1826, his eight best Murillos. From 1828–1830, he tried unsuccessfully to sell some of his large paintings to the French state.²⁴ In 1835, however, whilst ambassador in London, he did sell two large Murillos, the *Return of the Prodigal Son* (Washington, National Gallery) and *Abraham and the Three Angels* (Ottawa, National Gallery) to George Granville Sutherland, 2nd duke of Sutherland. Those pictures, originally painted for the Hospital of Charity in Seville, were admired by the many visitors to the duke's picture gallery at Stafford House during the London season; Mrs. Jameson praised the *Prodigal* in particular as “a rare example of absolute excellence” in her *Companion to the Most Celebrated Picture Galleries of London* (1844).²⁵

In spite of the controversy surrounding the provenance of the Soult works and the methods used to obtain them, the 1852 sale attracted international museums and collectors. Among those tempted by the prospect of owning some of its prizes was Stirling Maxwell, despite having referred a few years earlier to the collection as “a disgrace to Paris,” formed by the “Plunder-master-general of Napoleon” who had “bullied or swindled the poor monks of Seville out of their pictures.”²⁶ Stirling’s priority was one of the Canos for the altarpiece of St. John the Evangelist, preferably *St John the Evangelist’s Vision of Jerusalem* (Figure 1). In fact, the prices were much higher than his agent at the sale, William Barclay, had foreseen, and the figure of 3000 francs that Stirling had previously agreed upon was nowhere near enough to secure this little gem, which was sold at 12,100 francs to the 4th Marquis of Hertford, whose collecting activities for what became the Wallace Collection in London were also then in full swing.²⁷ Stirling did, however, secure the *St. Catherine* seen by Delacroix and two other works.²⁸

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Joseph the Plunderer

Napoleon’s brother Joseph, as the new king of Spain, rewarded his generals from time to time with artworks taken from the Spanish royal collections. One of the most important Spanish masterpieces that left Spain in this way was the scintillating Velázquez full-length *Philip IV in Brown and Silver* (National Gallery, London; Figure 2). The painting had hung in the Library of the royal palace and monastery of the Escorial until Joseph had it removed in 1809, then gave it to General Augustin Dessoles.²⁹ After the general’s death in 1828, his daughter sold it to the London dealer Samuel Woodburn. Thereafter, *Philip IV in Brown and Silver* was owned by the Romantic writer William Beckford (1760–1844), who had recorded his admiration for works by Velázquez at the Escorial in his account of his travels (1834), before it passed to his son-in-law, the 10th duke

of Hamilton.³⁰ Its purchase by the National Gallery, London in 1882 coincided with the rise of the remarkable “cult” of Velázquez amongst artists, critics, and collectors across Europe and North America at that time.³¹

The full extent of King Joseph's plundering of the Spanish Royal collection was revealed during the battle of Vitoria (21 June 1813): one of his coaches left behind on the battlefield after Wellington's decisive victory was found to contain some 200 paintings, which were then sent to London amongst the captured booty. There, it was determined that that the works had been removed from the Royal Collections; in the case of the oil paintings on canvas, they had been cut from their frames and stretchers and rolled up. Wellington informed King Ferdinand VII (1784–1833), now the restored to the Spanish throne, of his intention to return the paintings, but the king insisted that the duke should keep “that which has come into your possession by means as just as they are honorable,” thereby transforming their status from illegal plunder to rightful trophies.³² Only nine of the paintings were Spanish, but all of these were masterpieces, among them four by Velázquez, including the famous *Waterseller of Seville*.

However, some of Joseph's baggage train had escaped to France before the battle. Inside were more pictures from the Royal Collections, including Raphaels (Prado, Madrid) that he was obliged to surrender to the Spanish ambassador in France after Napoleon's first abdication (1814).³³ Some of the Spanish pictures that entered France on the baggage train were among the first Spanish Old Masters to reach the United States when Joseph himself went into exile there in 1815. Whilst living at Point Breeze near Philadelphia, he loaned the *Quince, Cabbage, Melon and Cucumber* by Juan Sánchez Cotán (Museum of Art, San Diego) to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1818.³⁴ Joseph returned to Europe in 1832 and gradually sold off the most important of his remaining pictures.

Foreign Dealers and Collectors

International dealers were also following the drama unfolding in Spain. One of the canniest was William Buchanan (1777–1864), son of a Glasgow hat-maker, who graduated from Glasgow University and studied law at Edinburgh before moving into the art trade in London.³⁵ In fact, he did not visit Spain himself, but, from the outbreak of war in November 1807, sent artists as his agents on the ground, George Augustus Wallis in Madrid and James Campbell in Andalusia. With their status as allies of Spain, and far more knowledgeable than the French officers, Wallis and Campbell succeeded in obtaining many capital works from private collections, including Murillo's series representing the *History of Jacob* (Museum of Art, Cleveland; Meadows Museum, Dallas; Hermitage, St. Petersburg) from the heirs of the duchess of Santiago, and Velázquez's "*Rokeby*" *Venus* (National Gallery, London), acquired in dubious circumstances from the collection of the former Prime Minister Godoy.³⁶

In Madrid, Wallis met William G. Coesvelt (1767–1839), "confidential agent" for the Dutch-based bank Hope & Company, and they formed a partnership that provided Buchanan with valuable advice. At the sale of Coesvelt's collection in Amsterdam in July 1814, Czar Alexander I bought 67 Spanish paintings to be shipped to the Hermitage, which thus became the most important collection of Spanish painting outside Spain.³⁷ The collection of the Danish diplomat Edmund Bourke (1761–1821), who was posted in Madrid from 1801 to 1811, likewise became the basis for an international public collection of Spanish art. This collection was sold to Prince Pál Esterházy at sales in London in 1819 and Paris in 1821. In 1871, the Hungarian government in turn purchased the Esterházy collection, which thus provided much of the impressive holdings of Spanish art of the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest.³⁸

Dissolution of the Monasteries

Further phases of *desamortización* (disentailment or dissolution) of religious houses during the 1830s led to a new wave of paintings leaving the Peninsula, coinciding with the increasing vogue for Spanish art and culture elsewhere in Europe. Through laws introduced by the Liberal politician Juan Álvarez Mendizabal in 1835–1836, all male religious orders were suppressed, and their possessions, including lands, buildings and works of art transferred to the state.³⁹ Repositories were set up in centers throughout the country, often in former monasteries or convents, from which to select the best artworks for the new provincial museums that were also established at this period. Not surprisingly, many excellent pictures also became available to local and foreign collectors.⁴⁰

The case of the *Virgin and Child with Infant St. John*, or *La Serrana*, a fine early Murillo (Glasgow Museums; Figure 3) again highlights the particular vulnerability of female religious orders to exploitation by dealers and collectors. Exempt from suppression, many were, nevertheless, anxious about possible extension of the laws. *La Serrana* was obtained by the artist-dealer José María Escacena (1800–1858) from the Dominican convent of Madre de Dios in Seville. Escacena later told William Stirling, who purchased the work in 1848, that he had acquired it “about the year 1838 from the nuns [...], who sold it to me because they were affraid [*sic*] that their property was to be taken possession of, by Government, & they wanted before this could take place to avail themselves of what they could sell privately, rather than loss every thing altogether, as was the case with friars & monks.” He also admitted that when he bought the painting, “purposely, I avoid asking any cuestion [*sic*] about its origin, or else I might have made them found out that it was what I did not want them to know.”⁴¹

Paris Galleries

Paris during the 1830s and 1840s became the center of unprecedented collections of Spanish art. Alexander Aguado (1785–1842), marquis of las Marismas and banker to the Spanish court, was resident in Paris from 1824. His impressive Spanish collection was displayed in the gallery of his Parisian mansion, the Hôtel d'Augny. He was able to benefit from collections of Spanish art formed during the Peninsular War period and subsequently, including from the post-mortem sales of General Léry (1754-1824), one of the generals who commanded the engineering corps during the Spanish campaign, and of Mathieu-Faviers, in 1825 and 1837 respectively. Aguado's collection was, in turn, sold at auction in 1843, following his sudden death. His sale facilitated the wider dispersal of many Spanish works to collections elsewhere in Europe.⁴² Amongst the buyers at his sale were, for example, Richard Seymour-Conway (1800–1870), future 4th Marquis of Hertford, whose purchases included Murillo's *Annunciation* (Wallace, London), formerly in the collection of Rayneval, French ambassador to Spain 1830-1836.

By far the largest collection of Spanish paintings (more than 400) outside Spain was the Galerie Espagnole, formed by King Louis-Philippe and displayed at the Louvre. As the first exhibit of Spanish painting outside Spain, it had a significant impact on writers and critics, and on the younger generation of artists in France in particular during the ten years it was open to the public (1838–1848).⁴³ Partly in reaction to complaints about the lack of Spanish paintings in the national collections at the Louvre, the king had commissioned Baron Taylor (1789–1879) to source works in Spain for his new gallery.⁴⁴ With the help of the artist-academician José de Madrazo, Taylor bought a number of works, among them some by Goya, directly from private collectors and through dealers in Madrid. The bulk of the collection, however, gathered mainly in 1836, came from religious houses all over Spain.⁴⁵ In Toledo, the Hieronymite nuns agreed to

sell Taylor their impressive *Crucifixion with Two Donors* (Louvre, Paris) by El Greco, an artist largely unknown outside Spain at the time, whose representation by a number of works in the new Galerie helped to promote growing interest in his art.⁴⁶ Another artist well represented in the collection was Francisco de Zurbarán, whose paintings for the main altarpiece of the Carthusian monastery of Jerez de la Frontera had been removed to the Academy of Fine Arts in Cadiz where Taylor and his assistant Adrien Dauzats saw them.⁴⁷ Their substantial offer convinced the president of the commission in charge of the Academy, the local painter José Antonio de Mesas, that money would be more useful for the building than pictures by an artist he considered second rank. The case was referred directly to Queen Isabella II, and permissions for the painting's sale and export were quickly obtained.⁴⁸

After the fall of the French monarchy in 1848, the Spanish collection, which Louis-Philippe had purchased with his private purse, followed him into exile in England, and after his death, was sold at auction in May 1853.⁴⁹ The sale attracted substantial interest: Richard Ford, author of the well-known *Hand-book for Travellers to Spain* (1845), reported that a “*matinée artistique*” was held each day of the sale, at which “this strange and hitherto little understood school was studied.”⁵⁰ Appropriately, Louis-Philippe's son, the duke of Montpensier, bought a significant number of the paintings and took them back to Spain, but British dealers and collectors were the main purchasers. This was one of several indicators that the centre of interest in Spanish art outside Spain had definitively, if briefly, shifted from France to Britain. The growth in British collecting of the Spanish school was also reflected in the *Art Treasures* exhibition held in Manchester in 1857, when fine examples of Spanish art from British private collections formed a significant section of the displays. Before the end of the century, however, many of these

exhibits had crossed the Atlantic to America in response to shifts in collecting and the art market.⁵¹

In his *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), Stirling looked back at the changes in reception and access to Spanish art in recent decades. Of course, he condemned its plunder but he also took a long view of events, offering an alternative, positive interpretation of the unexpected benefits of bringing Spanish art to a wider international public:

By the well-directed efforts of steel and gold, Murillo and his brethren have now found their way, with infinite advantage to their reputation, to the banks of the Seine and the Iser, the Thames and the Neva. French violence and rapine, inexcusable in themselves, have had some redeeming consequences. The avarice of Joseph and his robber-marshals, by circulating the works of the great Spanish masters, has conferred a boon on the artists of Europe. Nor is the loss to Spain so serious as it may at first appear. Great as was their booty, the plunderers left behind, sorely against their will, treasures more precious than those they carried away; and the rich remainder is now more highly valued than the whole ever was, and more carefully preserved. A review of the various collections of Spanish paintings now existing in the royal and public galleries of Europe, will show that the painters of Spain can still be studied nowhere so effectually as on their native soil.⁵²

War, political instability, poverty and the dissolution of monasteries, combined with ambition, enterprise, greed and opportunism all played a role in the rapid upscaling of the international market for Spanish art in the nineteenth century. Within a few decades, large numbers of paintings in Spain were removed from the environments for which they were created, or in which they had hung for centuries. In the process, important series of works were broken up and dispersed through different collections and countries, and meaning and function lost or

transformed, particularly in the case of works created for religious devotion or instruction. But a new fascination for a school of art not previously well known outside its own borders also took root. Never quite mainstream, unlike say, Italian or French art, and with a tendency to be characterized by waves of cults for particular artists, the taste for Spanish art has also inspired a deep and genuine appreciation amongst collectors and scholars, which continues to build and bear fruit today.

¹ For key surveys, see Ilse Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Paintings and the French Romantics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Allan Braham, *El Greco to Goya: The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland* (London: National Gallery, 1981); *Manet/Velázquez The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, eds. Gary Tinterow and Geneviève Lacambre (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003); *The Discovery of Spain: British Artists and Collectors, Goya to Picasso*, eds. Christopher Baker, David Howarth and Paul Stirton (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2009); *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland 1750-1920*, eds. Nigel Glendinning and Hilary Macartney (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010).

² For an original copy, see Iriarte's papers in British Library, London, MS Egerton 586, fol. 30-31. The decrees were reprinted in Antonio Ponz, *Viage a España*, vol. 9 (Madrid: Ibarra, 1780), carta 9, 289-92. See also Lipschutz, *Spanish Paintings*, 7, 266; Nigel Glendinning, "Sellers and Dealers," in *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland*, 70; José Fernando Gabardón de la Banda, "La Tutela del patrimonio monumental en la España de Carlos III," *Anuario Jurídico y Económico Escorialense* 50 (2017): 575.

³ *Retratos de los españoles ilustres con un epítome de sus vidas* (Madrid: Imprenta Real, 1791), 193. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are our own.

⁴ British Library, London, MS Egerton 586, fol. 28vo.

⁵ On Lucien's acquisitions in Spain, see Francis Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976), 58-60.

⁶ P88:

<https://wallacelive.wallacecollection.org/eMP/eMuseumPlus?service=RedirectService&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=0&sp=2&sp=SdetailList&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F>
(accessed 29 December 2018).

⁷ For historical survey, see Charles Esdaile, *The Peninsular War: A New History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁸ See Édouard Pommier, *L'Art de la liberté: doctrines et débats de la Révolution française*, Collection Bibliothèque des Histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 1991); Gilberte Émile-Mâle, *Inventaires et restauration au Louvre de tableaux conquis en Belgique, septembre 1794-février 1795* (Bruxelles: Académie Royale de Belgique), 1994; Bénédicte Savoy, *Patrimoine annexé: les biens culturels saisis par la France en Allemagne autour de 1800*, 2 vols (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2003).

⁹ For the "Present to Napoleon," see María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo-Olivares, *El patrimonio artístico de Madrid durante el Gobierno intruso (1808-1813)* (Madrid: UNED, 1999), 191-207. For the confiscation of aristocratic collections, see Véronique Gerard Powell and Claudie Ressorit, *Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures. Catalogue raisonné: Écoles espagnole et portugaise* (Paris: RMN, 2002), 13.

¹⁰ On the "Museo josefino," see Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *Origen y formación del Museo del Prado* (Madrid: Instituto de España, 1980); Antigüedad del Castillo-Olivares, *El patrimonio artístico*, 157-90.

¹¹ For Darmagnac, see Véronique Gerard Powell, “Les collections des officiers de l’armée impériale pendant la Campagne d’Espagne: un butin très varié,” in *Collections et marché de l’art en France, 1789-1848*, eds. Philippe Sénéchal, Philippe and Monica Preti-Hamard (Rennes: Pur, 2005), 309-319; for Sebastiani, see *Gazette des tribunaux*, édition de Paris, June 24, 1841, no. 4929, 855.

¹² For Soult collections, see Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Paintings*, 31-40; Jean-Pierre Willesme, “Hôtel de Talleyrand-Périgord puis Soult,” in *Le Faubourg Saint-Germain, Rue de l’Université*, ed. Françoise Magny (Paris: Institut Néerlandais, 1987), 106-122; Ignacio Cano Rivero, “Seville’s Artistic Heritage during the French Occupation,” in *Manet/Velázquez*, 93-114; Ignacio Cano Rivero, *La pintura sevillana y la invasión francesa: la colección del mariscal Soult* (PhD diss., University of Seville, 2015).

¹³ Nicole Gotteri, *Soult, Maréchal d’Empire et homme d’État* (Paris: Éditions de la Manufacture, 1991), 284.

¹⁴ Hempel Lipschutz, *Spanish Paintings*, 320-21; Antigüedad del Castillo-Olivares, *El patrimonio artístico*, 207-11.

¹⁵ Titian (NGL 224): <https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/titian-the-tribute-money>; Sebastiano del Piombo (ΓΘ-77): <http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/01.+Paintings/32168/?lng.fr>; Navarrete (NGI 1721): <http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/people/858/juan-fernandez-de-navarrete;jsessionid=5AEC02ABC5B56080DBE3DF265B0286C7/objects> (all accessed 29 December 2018).

¹⁶ Willesme, “Hôtel de Talleyrand-Périgord,” 107-108.

¹⁷ Gotteri, *Soult*, 286.

¹⁸ Nicole Gotteri, “Un collectionneur alsacien, le baron Mathieu de Faviers (1761-1833),” *Revue d’Alsace* 121 (1995): 111-46; Véronique Gerard Powell, “Les prises d’œuvres d’art en Espagne pendant l’occupation napoléonienne: diversité des responsables, diversité des choix. Le cas de l’ambassadeur La Forest,” in *Napoléon, Bayonne et l’Espagne*, ed. Josette Ponté (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2011), 394-96.

¹⁹ See Manuel Gómez Imaz, *Inventario de los cuadros sustraídos por el gobierno intruso en Sevilla, año 1810*, Seville: Renacimiento, 2009 [1896].

²⁰ Soult valued the paintings at 80 pesos and removed them the same day, December 31, 1810. See Seville, Archivo del Monasterio de Santa Paula, Libro de Actas Capitulares, fol. 96, quoted by Jeannine Baticle, “Deux tableaux d’Alonso Cano: essai de reconstitution d’un retable,” *La Revue du Louvre et des musées de France* 2 (1979): 127.

²¹ For the copy, see Odile Delenda, “Las santas en la colección Soult,” *Goya: Revista de Arte* 286 (2002): 6.

²² For the article, see Théophile Thoré, “Études sur la peinture espagnole: Galerie du Maréchal Soult,” *Revue de Paris*, vol. 21 (1835): 201-20; and vol. 22 (1835): 44-65; and for Stirling’s visit, Hilary Macartney, “La colección de arte español formada por Sir William Stirling Maxwell,” in *Colecciones, expolio, museos y mercado artístico en España en los siglos XVIII y XIX*, eds. María Dolores Antigüedad del Castillo-Olivares and Amaya Alzaga Ruiz (Madrid: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2011), 252, 259-61.

²³ *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux de la Galerie de feu M. le Maréchal-général Soult, duc de Dalmatie*, 19-22 mai 1852, Paris, 1852.

²⁴ Cano Rivero, “Seville’s Artistic Heritage,” 113. Mathieu-Favier had tried to do likewise.

²⁵ Anna Jameson, *Companion to the Most Celebrated Galleries of Art in London* (London: Saunders & Ottley, 1844), no. 49.

²⁶ William Stirling, *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, 3 vols. (London: John Ollivier, 1848), vol. 2, 869.

²⁷ See Peter Hughes, *The Founders of the Wallace Collection*, 3rd ed. (London: Wallace Collection, 2006).

²⁸ Macartney, “La colección de arte español,” 252-53.

²⁹ NG1129. See Neil MacLaren, rev. Allan Braham, *The Spanish School*, National Gallery catalogues (London: National Gallery, 1994 [1970]), 116-117; and

<https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/diego-velazquez-philip-iv-of-spain-in-brown-and-silver>.

³⁰ William Beckford, *Italy, with Sketches of Spain and Portugal* (London: Richard Bentley, 1834).

³¹ For provenance, see Braham, *El Greco to Goya*, 66-67. For the “cult”, see *Manet/Velázquez*, esp. 269.

³² Letter from Count Fernán Núñez, quoted in Victor Percival and C.H. Gibbs-Smith, *A Guide to the Wellington Museum, Apsley House* (London: Victoria & Albert Museum, 1977), 26. See also Susan Jenkins, “‘The Spanish Gift’ at Apsley House,” *English Heritage Historical Review* 2 (2007): 116-131; for the 83 paintings, now at Apsley House, see C.M. Kauffmann, rev. Susan Jenkins, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Wellington Museum, Apsley House* (London: National Heritage/ Paul Holberton, 2009).

³³ See Nicholas Powell, *Les aventures extraordinaires des oeuvres d’art* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1999), 55-74.

³⁴ On Joseph's stay in the U.S., see George Bertin, *Joseph Bonaparte en Amérique* (Paris: Librairie de la Nouvelle Revue, 1893); on the Sánchez Cotán in Philadelphia, William B. Jordan, *Spanish Still Life in the Golden Age, 1600-1650* (Fort Worth: Kimbell, 1985), 58-60.

³⁵ See William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting, with a Chronological History of the Importation of Pictures by the Great Masters into England since the French Revolution* (London: Ackerman, 1824); and Hugh Brigstocke, *William Buchanan and the 19th Century Art Trade: 100 Letters to his Agents in London and Italy* (Guildford: Paul Mellon Centre, 1982).

³⁶ For the Murillos, see Ludmila Kagané, *La pintura española del museo del Ermitage* (St Petersburg: Hermitage/Seville: Fundación el Monte, 2005), 83; and for the Velázquez, see MacLaren, *The Spanish School*, NG2057, 127.

³⁷ See F. Labensky, *Livret de la Galerie Impériale de l'Ermitage de Saint-Pétersbourg* (Saint Petersburg, 1838); Ludmila Kagané, *La pintura española del museo del Ermitage* (Sevilla: Fundación el Monte, 2005), 89-203.

³⁸ For a preliminary study of this collection, see Patricia A. Teter, "'English Gold, Corsican Brass and French Iron: Opportunities for Collecting Art in Spain during the Napoleonic Wars,'" in *La circulation des œuvres d'art 1819-1848*, eds. Roberta Panzanelli and Monica Preti-Hamard (Rennes: PUR, 2007), 313-16.

³⁹ See José Ramón López Rodríguez, "Museos y desamortización en la España del siglo XIX", in *El patrimonio arqueológico en España en el siglo XIX: el impacto de las desamortizaciones* (Madrid: Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte, 2010), 163-179.

⁴⁰ On the shortcomings of documentation of this process, see Hilary Macartney, "Writing the History of Spanish Art in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland," in *Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland*, 87.

⁴¹ Glasgow Archives, Stirling of Keir Papers, T-SK 31/33, 2/2/1848(?), quoted in Hugh Brigstocke, "Letters from José María Escazema to William Stirling, c. 1848," *British Travellers in Spain, 1766-1849*, vol. 77 (Huddersfield: Walpole Society, 2015), Part 4G, 171.

⁴² In the vignette of the auction room (Figure 4), we can recognize two paintings mentioned in the article "La vente de la collection Aguado", *L'Illustration*, I (1843), 67-68: Murillo's *Death of St Clare* (on the right; Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden), painted for the small cloister of the convent of San Francisco, Seville); and being sold in the middle at the back is Ribera's *St Francis and the Angel* (Musei di Strada Nuova, Palazzo Bianco, Genoa), bought as a Murillo by Aguado at the Léry sale. The large canvas on the end wall is based on Zurbarán's *St Hugh in the Refectory*. The original was painted for the Carthusian Monastery, Seville (Museo de Bellas Artes, Seville). This pastiche now hangs in the parish church of Sancoins (Cher), near Grossouvre, the former estate of the Aguado family.

⁴³ Stéphane Guégand, "From Ziegler to Courbet: Painting, Art Criticism and the Spanish Trope under Louis Philippe", in *Manet /Velázquez*, 191-200.

⁴⁴ On this collection, see Jeannine Baticle and Cristina Marinas, *La Galerie espagnole du roi Louis-Philippe, 1838-1848* (Paris: RMN, 1981); Jeannine Baticle, "The Galerie Espagnole of Louis-Philippe," in *Manet/Velázquez*, 175-90; Alisa Luxenberg, *The Galerie Espagnole and the Museo Nacional, 1835-1853: Saving Spanish Art, or The Politics of Patrimony* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008).

⁴⁵ The extent to which the decision to form the collection was in response to the dissolution of the monasteries in Spain or merely a coincidence in timing is not yet established.

⁴⁶ Gerard Powell and Resson, *Musée du Louvre*, 123-27.

⁴⁷ Gerard Powell, *Autour de Zurbarán: Catalogue raisonné des peintures espagnoles du musée de Grenoble* (Paris, RMN, 2000), 30. Two of the series were taken by the dealer Aniceto Bravo.

⁴⁸ Gerard Powell, 40-45.

⁴⁹ Christie & Manson, *Catalogue of the Pictures Forming the Celebrated Spanish Gallery of ... King Louis Philippe*, London, May 6-7, 13-14 & 20-21, 1853. The sale was followed by that of the smaller collection bequeathed to the king by the Englishman Frank Hall Standish: see Christie & Manson, *Catalogue of the Pictures Forming the Celebrated Standish Collection ...*, London, May 27-28, 1853.

⁵⁰ Richard Ford [unsigned], "Reports on the Sales of the Louis Philippe and Standish Collections," *The Atheneum*, June 11, 1853.

⁵¹ See Elizabeth Pergam, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2011); and for the broader narrative, Cynthia Saltzman, *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures* (New York: Viking, 2008).

⁵² Stirling, *Annals*, 50-51.