

Charles S. Ellis: DOCUMENTATION FOR PAINTINGS BY FRA BARTOLOMEO IN THE SALVIATI COLLECTION AT FLORENCE

This article explores the provenances of two paintings by Fra Bartolomeo. Building on previous scholarship, we suggest that the National Gallery's *Adoration of the Child* (panel, 137.8 x 104.8 cm, c. 1510; fig. 1) was in the collection of the Florentine branch of the Salviati family from the time of its execution until the late eighteenth century. We cannot reconstruct the earliest provenance of the Getty Museum's *Holy Family with the infant St John the Baptist* (panel, 129.5 x 106.6 cm, c. 1509; fig. 2), but we show that from the late seventeenth century until the early eighteenth century the work was paired with the *Adoration* in the same collection. Finally, we discuss the passage of the pictures from the Salviati to English collectors.

In 1568, Vasari's *Vita* of Fra Bartolomeo published the first reference to a Madonna painting in the Salviati collection ("uno n'è in casa di Filippo di Averardo Salviati, bellissimo e tenuto molto in pregio e caro da lui, nel quale è una Nostra Donna"¹); scholars did not establish the Salviati provenance of either the London or the Los Angeles work until Crowe and Cavalcaselle related Vasari's passage to the picture now at the Getty.² They observed on the reverse of the panel an inscription (fig. 3) identifying the owner as "Ant^o: Saluiati". Their assertion of this provenance remained unchallenged until Borgo drew attention to Borghini's account of Fra Bartolomeo which convincingly indicates that the painting now at London was the work to which Vasari had referred:³

e in casa Antonio Salviati un quadro grande, in cui è la Vergine gloriosa, che adora il figliuolo, e mostra grandissimo affetto nel viso, e il bambino è fatto con gran diligenza, allato a cui è San Giuseppe a sedere, che tien le mani sopra un ginocchio, e scorta in fuore, figura bellissima: e di vero è quadro da farne gran conto, siccome ne fa il Salviati, conoscendo il gran valore di quello.⁴

That scholars have not unanimously followed Borgo's assertions regarding the London work may be due to disattention rather than to disagreement with his arguments⁵, but no one has explored the significance or date of the inscription on the Getty's panel.

Antonio Salviati (1554–1619) was the younger of the two sons of Filippo d'Averardo (1515–1572) whom Vasari mentioned as the owner of the Frate's picture. Filippo and Antonio were the grandson and great-grandson, respectively, of Alamanno (1459–1510) who stood at the head of the Florentine branch of the Salviati (fig. 4); their principal city residence is cited in centuries of documentation as the "Palazzo in via del Palagio" (now called "Palazzo Borghese" in via Ghibellina). Alamanno's cousin Jacopo (1461–1533) founded the Roman branch of the Salviati, whose last male descendant died in 1704; the title of duke which had distinguished the Roman branch since 1627 then passed to the Salviati of Florence.⁶

Wishing to establish the earliest provenance of the London painting, Borgo cited payments for a "quadro" which were made by Alamanno for his son Averardo (1489–1553) and which are recorded in an account book of the Frate's monastery of San Marco: Borgo reasonably hypothesized that although the documents do not specifically describe the work, it must be the London picture.⁷ Dated 8 February 1509 (Florentine style), a letter which Alamanno wrote to his son a few days before the date of the last payment records that the painting was a "Vergine Santissima" which Averardo had commissioned but which did not please Alamanno; he told his son to return the work even if it were necessary to pay something.⁸ The chronological sequence of these documents suggests that Averardo complied and paid the monastery, but no document attests that he actually returned the picture. He may not have returned it because Alamanno died on 24 March 1510⁹, not long after writing the letter. Borgo was unaware of this letter, but its confirmation of the subject of Averardo's "quadro" lends credibility to Borgo's hypothesis because Averardo Salviati was the father of Filippo and the grandfather of Antonio.

In the Salviati archive, the earliest reference to a painting by Fra Bartolomeo in the family's collection occurs in an inventory of the goods of Vincenzo Salviati (1585–1654), the second son of Antonio di Filippo. Redacted immediately after the death of Vincenzo, this inventory of the "Casa di Firenze" lists many works of art but specifically attributes only two of the pictures: "Un quadro d'una Madonna grande di mano del frate" (fig. 5) and "Un ritrattino di mano d'Alberto Duro con ornamento di noce".¹⁰ Custom, haste or lack of knowledge might account for the omission of the attributions, but the inclusion of these two surely indicates that the family esteemed the works so highly that even the anonymous compiler knew their authors. The generic description of Fra Bartolomeo's picture permits no certainty, but the painting in question may very well be the National Gallery's *Adoration* which Vincenzo's father Antonio had so admired.

At Vincenzo's death in 1654, his grandson Giovan Vincenzo (1639–1693) inherited Vincenzo's patrimony because Giovan Vincenzo's father Antonino (1617–1639) had died prematurely. Giovan Vincenzo married Laura Corsi; a fairly detailed inventory of the contents of their residence on the Via del Palagio was redacted in 1686. Only one of the numerous paintings bears an attribution (to Raphael), but a comparison of the items inventoried in 1686 with a more detailed list of 1711, which we shall discuss, allows a secure identification of several of the paintings surveyed in 1686. Thus, in Laura's "Galleria" we find "due quadri d'adornamento intagliato tutto



1 Fra Bartolomeo, *The adoration of the Child*. London, The National Gallery.

dorato alti braccia 3 in circa e larghi braccia 2 e $\frac{2}{3}$, entrovi in uno Giesù, Giuseppe e Maria in legnio, e nell'altro Giesù, Giuseppe e Maria e San Giovanni Baptista in legno" (fig. 6).¹¹

Laura Corsi died in 1711.¹² Although the text of the inventory of 1711 cites no reason for its redaction, her death and the subsequent reorganization of the mansion's furnishings — which is evident from a comparison of the lists of 1686 and 1711 — must have prompted the preparation of the new inventory.¹³ In 1704 the eldest son of Laura and Giovan Vincenzo, Antonino Salviati (1658–1723), who bore the name of his paternal grandfather, had succeeded to the title of duke which had been vacated by the extinction of the Roman branch. The inventory of 1711 refers to this Antonino.

The list describes rooms which were occupied by the "Signor Duca" — an "anticamera", his audience chamber and his study; these rooms were certainly the most prestigious in the mansion because the furnishings are carefully described, including the paintings, their supports, dimensions, authors and frames. Few of the other pictures in the house receive such detailed descriptions. Typically of the most prestigious public rooms in patrician Florentine mansions of the eighteenth century, the importance of the audience chamber was emphasized



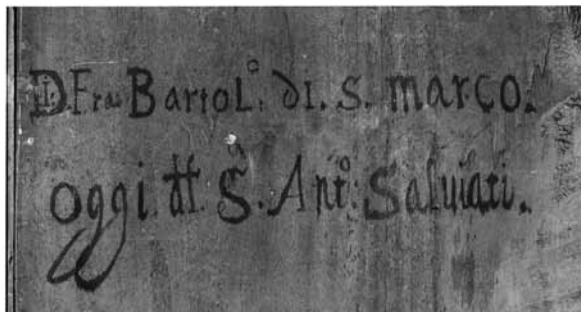
2 Fra Bartolomeo, *The Holy Family with the infant St. John the Baptist*. Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum.

by its red taffeta wall covering and its gilded ceiling cornice.¹⁴ The first two works which the inventory of 1711 describes (fig. 7) in the audience chamber were

Due quadri, entrovì in uno la natività del nostro Signore con Gesù, San Giuseppe, e la Madonna, e nel altro la Madonna con Gesù Bambino in collo, San Giuseppe, e San Giovanni Battista, pittura del frate in sul legnio alti braccia 3.– in circa, che uno con otto intagli nelle cantonate, e ne' mezzì, e l'altro fogliami nelle cantonate, e ne' mezzì tutti dorati.¹⁵

This precise description corresponds very closely to the description of the same pictures in Laura Corsi's "Galleria" in 1686. We shall see that the paintings are those now at the National Gallery and the Getty; therefore, the inventory of 1686 records the earliest recognizable reference to the Getty's painting in the Salviati collection.

We know nothing about the provenance of the Getty's work before 1686, nor is the ambiguous inscription on the reverse of the panel (fig. 3) helpful in dating the family's acquisition of the picture.¹⁶ The inscription could refer to three members of the family: Antonio di Filippo, Antonino who had died prematurely or his grandson



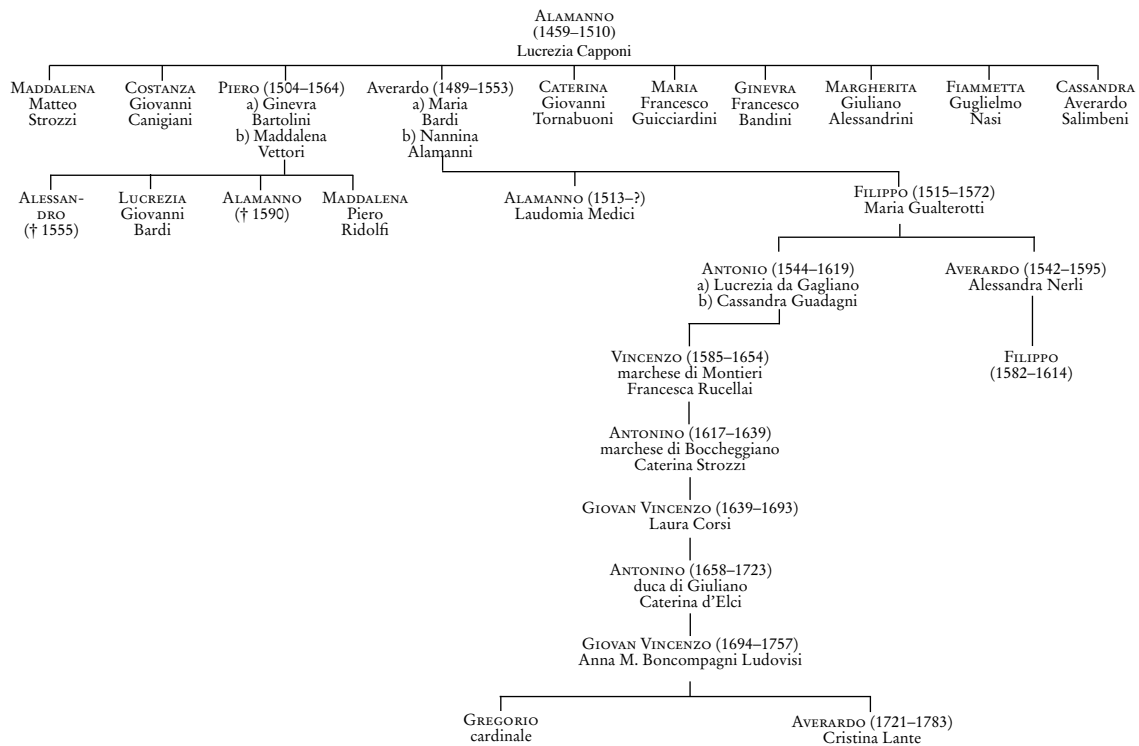
3 Inscription on the reverse of the panel of fig. 2.

Antonino who became duke in 1704 (the son of Giovan Vincenzo and Laura Corsi). Although the calligraphic peculiarities of the inscription are present in documents of the late sixteenth century, the inscription almost certainly does not refer to Antonio di Filippo because the literary and documentary references up to 1685 cite only one painting by the Frate belonging to the Salviati, which is identifiable with the picture at London. The painting now at the Getty could have entered the Salviati collection sometime during the seventeenth century because the inscription's calligraphy is typical of that period, but we can be certain only that the work was acquired before 1686. The inscription probably does not refer to the first Antonino because of his early death; rather, it might refer to Duke Antonino because the picture was first inventoried in his mother's rooms. From 1662 until 1686 Giovan Vincenzo enriched the collection by acquiring unidentified paintings at Florence and Rome, by purchasing works from Gabbiani, Scacciati, Suttermans and others and by furnishing the paintings with gilded frames¹⁷; he may have acquired the picture now at Los Angeles during this period even if the purchase is not documented. The emphatic use of the word "oggi" in the inscription might refer to the passage of the painting from Laura's apartment to that of her son Antonino, a passage which could have happened at any time between 1686 and 1711.

The next reference to Fra Bartolomeo in the Salviati archive occurs in a selection of the collection's "best paintings" which meticulously records the subjects, authors, dimensions and supports of 240 pictures with brief descriptions of their frames.¹⁸ Prepared by the Florentine painter Vincenzo Meucci (died 1766), this inventory has no internal evidence of its date, but it was dated 1755 by the nineteenth-century hand which inscribed the archival folder containing it and wrote the repertory entry describing it.¹⁹ Meucci was uncertain about the author of the picture in question: "1 quadro grande alto braccia 2 $\frac{1}{3}$, e largo braccia 1 $\frac{5}{6}$, con cornice dorata, e qual che intaglio, che rappresenta la Santa Famiglia dipinto in tavola di Pietro Perugino, o del Frate scudi 200".²⁰ It is impossible to know if Meucci's entry refers to either of the two works under consideration, but we shall see that the *Adoration* now in the National Gallery remained in the Salviati collection until 1779. Since Meucci listed the paintings judged to be the best, it is conceivable that the entry regards the picture by Fra Bartolomeo which is now at London but which had hung in the mansion's most prestigious room in 1711. We know nothing of the whereabouts of the *Holy Family* at the time of Meucci's redaction.

There is a similar entry in an inventory of the entire collection of paintings of Duke Averardo (1721–1783), the grandson of Duke Antonino; this inventory was redacted in 1775 by Vincenzo Gotti, whose point of departure was Meucci's inventory.²¹ Gotti simplified Meucci's entry, but doubts about the attribution remained: "1 quadro alto braccia 2 $\frac{2}{3}$, largo 1 $\frac{3}{6}$ entrovi la Madonna, Gesù Bambino di mano del Perugino, o del Frate scudi 200".²²

Meucci and Gotti made no other reference to Fra Bartolomeo; we believe that they described the *Adoration* now in the National Gallery for the reasons stated above. However, we must explain how Meucci came to doubt the family's oral tradition of ascribing the *Adoration* to the Frate. The inscription on the Getty's panel emphatically identifies the image's creator, but there is no inscription on the National Gallery's panel. Perhaps the proximity of the two paintings in the collection gave rise to doubts after the preparation of the inventory of 1711. Even if the *Holy Family* no longer belonged to the Salviati at the time of Meucci's inventory, the memory of its inscription could have persisted and thus stimulated Meucci's doubts about the attribution of the London work. Curiously, Borgo was uncertain about the autography of this picture, for he cited an early sixteenth-century inventory of all the Frate's works after 1501, including those executed jointly with Albertinelli; among those said to be a joint production was the "quadro di Averardo Salviati".²³ Observing that "the ruined architecture in the background [of the *Adoration*] is so much more prominent than the same motifs found in other paintings by the Frate, such as the contemporary *Holy Family*" now at the Getty, the scholar, who was unaware of Meucci's doubts, hesitatingly asserted Albertinelli's intervention in the passages of landscape and architecture of the *Adoration*.²⁴ Borgo's uncertainty has not been shared by subsequent scholars.



4 Family tree of the Florentine branch of the Salviati family (from *Pinchera* [n. 6]).

Such doubts did not seem to concern John Udney, the English consul at Livorno and picture dealer, who purchased the *Adoration* from the Salviati in 1779 and sold it nine years later to the English collector Sir Richard Colt Hoare. Udney's invoice (fig. 8) confirms the Salviati provenance of the painting, which was incontestably one of the two works mentioned in the inventories of 1686 and 1711:

Florence 20th December 1788

Sir Richard Hoare Bar.t

Be pleased to pay to Mess^{rs} Donato Orsi & Son three hundred sequins in gold, being the value of a picture sold you representing a Holy Family on board by Fra' Bortholomeo de San Marco, bought by me from the late Duke Salviati [i]n the year 1779. And particularly [descri]bed as belonging to that Family

John Udney²⁵

Clearly having no doubts about the attribution of his picture, Sir Richard emphatically stated in a later publication that it was "by Fra' Bartolomeo di San Marco".²⁶ However, perhaps some echo of these doubts is audible in a letter sent to the director of the Royal Gallery at Florence, Giuseppe Bencivenni Pelli, which requests permission to ship outside of the city a painting which we believe was the *Adoration*:

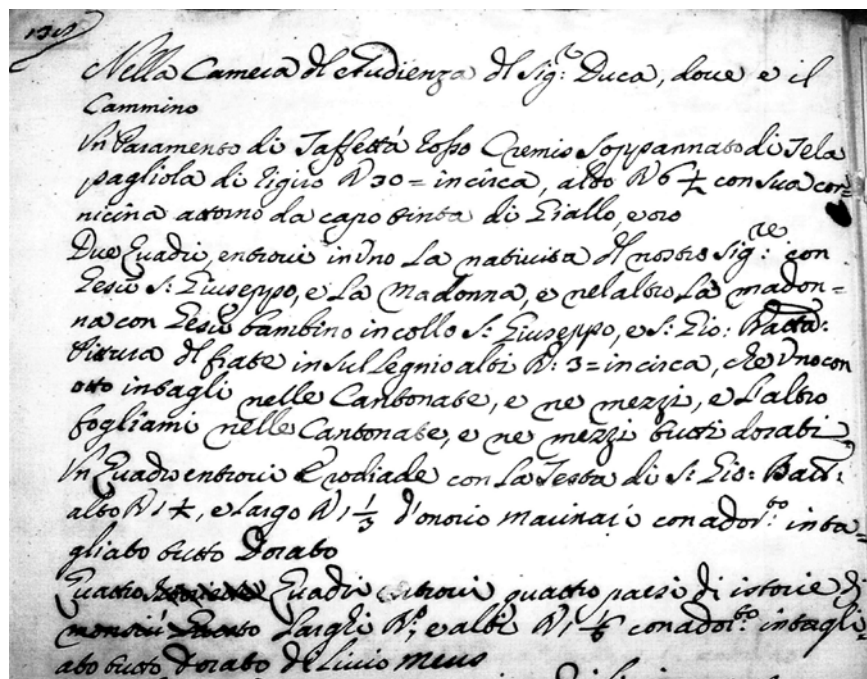
Illustrissimo Signore Direttore

Supplico Vostra Illustrissima a concedere la permissione di lasciare sortire da questo Stato per la via di Livorno, un quadro in tavola rapresentante una Santa Famiglia di maniera di Fra Bartolomeo e in tale occasione mi do l'onore di essere pieno di ossequio.

Il 2 giugno 1789

Vincenzio Giannini²⁷

Significantly, Giannini does not say the painting is by Fra Bartolomeo but says, rather, it is in his "maniera". Gould gives an account of the provenance of the *Adoration* after it left Italy.²⁸



7 Inventory of the Florentine mansion of Duke Antonino Salviati, 1711. Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Archivio Salviati, ser. I, XXXXVII, 1, fasc. 46, fol. 138.

The year in which John Udny acquired the *Adoration* from the Salviati was the same year in which the third Earl Cowper made the final payment for the *Holy Family* which he acquired at Florence from Vincenzo Gotti (fig. 9):

Adi 2 Xbre 1779

Io Vincenzo Gotti Pittore ò riceuto da Sua Altezza Lord Principe Chuper ruspi cento per resto e saldo degli ruspi seicento del quadro vendutogli, di Fra Bartolomeo, entrovi la Madonna, San Giuseppe, Gesù Bambino, e San Giovanni dipinto in tavola, consegnatogli per detto prezzo da cordo a me detto contanti mano propria dico..... ruspi 100.—²⁹

A Florentine painter, picture restorer, picture dealer and shipping agent, Gotti prepared the inventory of Duke Averardo's "quadreria" in 1775, and he also cleaned paintings in the Salviati chapel at San Marco on commission from the Duke in 1771.³⁰ We are tempted to believe that Gotti acquired the *Holy Family* from the Salviati, but because its location from 1712 until Cowper's last payment in 1779 is undocumented, Gotti could have acquired the picture from a third party and then sold it to the Earl.

Pelli's description of the Frate's work now at the Getty confirms its provenance from the Salviati collection: "Ancora di fresco [Lord Cowper] ha avuto un Riposo di Egitto di Fra Bartolomeo [gloss: Era in casa il duca Salviati] nel quale il San Giuseppe è bellissimo, e verissimo. Chi ha ripulito questo quadro lo ha troppo raffazzonato."³¹ The context of Pelli's remarks about the Frate's picture is his account of the Earl's most important old masters in his rented residence on the via Ghibellina; the semi-public rooms where this selection was displayed were the most prestigious in the entire mansion.³² Similarly to Duke Antonino Salviati's audience chamber, two of Cowper's drawing rooms where these pictures hung were distinguished by red taffeta wall coverings and gilded ceiling cornices.³³ The appearance of the *Holy Family* and its companion pictures was enhanced in this setting by the gilded frames which Lord Cowper commissioned, purchased, had repaired or regilded in the 1770s and 1780s. An invoice which a Florentine gilder submitted to the Earl excellently exemplifies Cowper's taste, for the craftsman scrupulously declares that, by agreement, he gilded the frame on both sides: "18: 9bre [1779] Per aver dorato un'adornamento con quattro ordini d'intaglio dorato da per tutto tanto di dietro, che d'avanti a oro di Zecchino così d'accordo [lire] 182".³⁴ The collector acquired the *Holy Family* at almost the same moment that he

London 20 December 1788
 Sir Richard Hoare Bart.
 It is pleas'd to pay to Mess^{rs} Donat & Co^{rs} 300
 Three Hundred sequins in Gold, being the value
 of a Picture sold you representing a Holy
 Family, on Wood by Fra Bartolomeo de
 S. Marco, bought by me from the late Duke
 Salviati in the year 1779 And particularly
 to be as belonging to that Family
 John Udny

8 Letter from John Udny to Sir Richard Colt Hoare, 1788. Trowbridge, Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, WSA 383-4-1-202.

C. 2 - Dicembre 1779
 Io Vincenzo Gotti Pittore o licente da S. C. Lord Principe
 Chaperi Tuffi Cento sc. Doffo e Letto degli Tuffi Scicento
 del quadro Vendutogli di Fra Bartolomeo, autografo
 la Madonna S. Giuseppe Gesù bambino, e S. Jo: diffi-
 nito in tavola, consegnatogli di detto prezzo da Crudo e
 meo detto Contanti Mano propria dico L. 100 =

9 Receipt signed by Vincenzo Gotti for George Nassau Clavering, third Earl Cowper, 1779. Hertford, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, D/EP AF226, 2 December 1779.

employed the gilder. Even if we do not know for which painting this prestigiously treated frame was destined, it would have been appropriate for the Frate's work.

Cowper died in 1789. The following year, the executors of his will submitted to Pelli a request to export the picture collection to England. The inventory of the collection which accompanied the request lists the *Holy Family* but does not refer to the frames.³⁵ Nevertheless, the frames were sufficiently important to be taken to England along with the paintings, for the bill of lading issued at Livorno refers to an unspecified number of them.³⁶ The collection arrived at the seat of the Earls Cowper, Cole Green House, in 1790; from this point forward the provenance of the Getty's *Holy Family* is known.³⁷

NOTES

Elisa Acanfora drew my attention to several of the Salviati inventories here examined which she believed might be useful to me; Philippe Costamagna had drawn her attention to the documents. Stefano Pieroni, formerly of the Centro Archivistico, Pisa, Milletta Sbrilli, now of the Archivio di Stato, Pisa, and Marinella Miglietta of the Archivio di Stato, Florence, graciously responded to my requests. Yvonne Szafran of the Getty Museum and the staff of the Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies have been most helpful for the present and past research. I am very grateful to all those mentioned. This study is for Claudio Cavazza.

Abbreviations

ASP Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, Centro Archivistico, Archivio Salviati
 ASGF Florence, Archivio Storico delle Gallerie Fiorentine
 HALS Hertford, Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies

- ¹ *Vasari-Barocchi*, Testo, IV, 1976, p. 89.
- ² *Joseph Archer Crowe/Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle*, *A new history of painting in Italy from the second to the sixteenth century*, London 1864–1866, III, pp. 449–451.
- ³ *Lodovico Borgo*, *The works of Mariotto Albertinelli*, New York/London 1976, pp. 390–391.
- ⁴ *Raffaello Borghini*, *Il Riposo*, ed. *Antommaria Biscioni*, Florence 1730 (1st ed. 1584), p. 311.
- ⁵ *Piero Scapecchi*, *Bartolomeo frate e pittore nella congregazione di San Marco*, in: *L'età di Savonarola. Fra' Bartolomeo e la scuola di San Marco*, exhibition Florence, cat. ed. by *Serena Padovani*, Venice 1996, p. 24.
- ⁶ *Valeria Pinchera*, *Lusso e decoro. Vita quotidiana e spese dei Salviati di Firenze nel Sei e Settecento*, Pisa 1999, pp. 1–23; and *Pierre Hurtubise*, *Une famille-témoin: les Salviati*, Vatican City 1985.
- ⁷ *Borgo* (n. 3), pp. 528–529.
- ⁸ As quoted by *Scapecchi* (n. 5).
- ⁹ ASP, ser. I, CCXIII, fasc. 20, fol. 129.
- ¹⁰ ASP, ser. II, *Libri di commercio*, 268 (1): *Libro di inventari della Casa di Firenze delle Ville, e di Pisa della eredità del Illustrissimo Signore Marchese Vincenzio Salviati*: fol. 1, “Inventario delle masseritie utensili, et altro che vi sono trovate nella casa di Firenze alla morte del signore Marchese Vincenzio Salviati seguita questo dì 18 9bre 1654 a hore 19”; the cited entries are on fol. 2v (Fra Bartolomeo) and 10 (Dürer) respectively.
- ¹¹ ASP, ser. I, XXXIX, fasc. 24: “Inventario del Palazzo di Via del Palagio fatto l'anno 1686”. Beginning at fol. 85, the contents of Laura's rooms are inventoried. Fol. 88: “In Galleria appartamento della Signora Marchesa Laura”. $3 \times 2 \frac{2}{3}$ braccia = ca. 165 x 147 cm.
- ¹² ASP, ser. I, XXXXVII, 1, fasc. 23.
- ¹³ ASP, ser. I, XXXXVII, 1, fasc. 46: “Inventario del Palazzo di via del Palagio fatto l'anno 1711”.
- ¹⁴ “Inventario del Palazzo” (n. 13), fol. 136: “Nel anticamera del Signor Duca dove è il cammino”. Fol. 138: “Nella camera del audienza del Signor Duca, dove è il cammino. Un paramento di taffetà rosso cremis soppannato di tela pagliola di rigiro braccia 30.– in circa, alto braccia $6 \frac{1}{2}$ con sua cornicina attorno da capo tinta di giallo, e oro”. Fol. 141: “Camera, accanto al cammino dove scrive il Signore Duca”. For the treatment of rooms in eighteenth-century Florentine mansions where the public were received, see *Charles S. Ellis*, *An eighteenth-century Florentine provenance for some pictures in the Gerini and Cowper collections*, in: *Paragone*, LX, 2009, 707, p. 76.
- ¹⁵ “Inventario del Palazzo” (n. 13), fol. 138.
- ¹⁶ “Di: Fra Bartol:º di. s. marco. oggi del S. Ant:º Saluiati.”
- ¹⁷ ASP, ser. II, *Libri di commercio*: purchases in Florence: 289, fol. 198 right, 290, fols. 109 right, 115 left, 365, fol. 45r; purchases in Rome: 365, fol. 118r, 369, fol. 63 right; payments to Gabbiani: 353, fols. 22v, 89r, 359, fol. 14r, 365, fols. 30v, 161r bis, 368, fol. 36r; payments to Scacciati: 321, fols. 139 left, 139 right, 155 left, 165 left, 165 right, 365, fol. 151r; payment to Suttermans: 289, fol. 256 right.
- ¹⁸ ASP, ser. I, CXX, fasc. 2, ins. A1: “Inventario dei migliori quadri dell'Eccellentissima Casa Salviati giudicatone gl'autori, dal Sig. Vincenzio Meucci”.
- ¹⁹ “Inventario dei migliori quadri” (n. 18), inscription on the folder containing fascicle 2: “Inventari fatti nel 1755 con la corrispondente stima dei quadri, e statue della Eccellentissima Casa Salviati, nel Palazzo di Firenze, e nelle Ville del Ponte alla Badia, Val di Marina, Selve, e di San Cerbone”. Fascicle 2 is described with the same words in ASP, *Repertorio del tomo I, parte 2*, p. 75.
- ²⁰ “Inventario dei migliori quadri” (n. 18), fol. 4. $2 \frac{1}{3} \times 1 \frac{5}{6}$ braccia = 128.6 x 101 cm. See n. 22.
- ²¹ ASP, ser. I, CXX, fasc. 2, ins. B: “Inventario della quadreria di Sua Eccellenza il Signore Duca Don Averardo Salviati in Firenze fatto da Vincenzo Gotti pittore l'anno 1775 [...]”.
- ²² “Inventario della quadreria” (n. 21), fol. 3r. $2 \frac{2}{3} \times 1 \frac{1}{2}$ braccia = 146.9 x 82.6 cm. In 1732 Duke Averardo

inherited Fra Bartolomeo's *Madonna with Child in her arms* from the last descendant of the Roman branch of the family, but that picture's dimensions ($2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{12}$ palmi = 61.4 x 46.5 cm) do not correspond to the measurements of the painting recorded by Meucci and Gotti; see *Philippe Costamagna*, *La collection de peintures d'une famille florentine établie à Rome: l'inventaire après décès du duc Anton Maria Salviati dressé en 1704*, in: *Nuovi studi*, V, 2000, p. 195, no. 165.

²³ *Borgo* (n. 3), p. 558, no. 7.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 142–143; pp. 391–392, no. II, 5.

²⁵ Trowbridge, Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, WSA 383-4-1-202. For Udny, see: *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy*, compiled from the Brinsley Ford archive by *John Ingamells*, New Haven/London 1997, *sub vocem*, pp. 961–963.

²⁶ *Richard Colt Hoare et al.*, *The history of modern Wiltshire. Hundred of mere, I*, London 1822, p. 77.

²⁷ ASGF, XXII, ins. 39, no. 14. This document does not mention Hoare, but Vincenzo Giannini, a Florentine painter and shipping agent, requested permission in 1791 (ASGF, XXIV, ins. 42, no. 11) to remove from Florence six paintings and twelve drawings which are identifiable with works listed by *Hoare et al.* (n. 26), I, pp. 72 (Veronese), 73 (Mola after Titian), 79 (Cigoli, Lovino), 80 (Guercino), 81 (Leandro Bassano), 85 (drawing after Andrea del Sarto).

²⁸ *Cecil Gould*, *The sixteenth-century Italian schools* (National Gallery catalogues), London 1987, pp. 13–14.

²⁹ HALS, D/EP AF226.

³⁰ *Gazzetta Toscana*, VI, 10 August 1771, p. 126. For Gotti, see *Fabia Borroni Salvadori*, *Giovanni Gaspero Menabuoni: da marchand-amateur ad agrario illuminato*, in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, ser. III, XV, 1985, pp. 960–961, with bibliography. For the Salviati chapel, see *Francesca de Luca*, *La Cappella Salviati e gli altari laterali nella chiesa di San Marco a Firenze*, in: *Altari e committenza: episodi a Firenze nell'età della Controriforma*, ed. *Cristina De Benedictis*, Florence 1996, pp. 115–135.

³¹ *Giuseppe Bencivenni Pelli*, *Efemeridi*, BNCF, N.A. 1050, ser. II, VII, fol. 1313r, 12 December 1779. *Andrea Rothe*, unpublished treatment report, 30 November 1997, observed that “the painting had been cleaned previously, presumably with a water based caustic soda solution”; he characterized this treatment as “a somewhat drastic cleaning”.

³² *Charles S. Ellis*, *Documents for the third Earl Cowper's collection of paintings and drawings*, in: *Paragone*, LVI, 2005, 661, p. 41.

³³ HALS, D/EP AF230, invoice from an upholsterer, Giovanni Grisostomo Bianchi, who fitted the wall coverings and gilded the cornices, 1 August 1772:

19 Per fattura di aver parato di taffetà nuovo rosso cermisi la prima stanza sulla sala.....lire 42
 39 Per fattura di avere parato l'altra stanza allato alla suddetta del suddetto taffetà chermisi.....lire 48
 45 Pertanti spesi per la doratura a mordente della cornice di stucchi e cantonate della suddetta stanza da capo al parato.....lire 112

³⁴ HALS, D/EP AF192, no. 80, invoice from “Pietro Giusti, doratore”. Account opened on 9 June 1779. The date of the gilding in question was 18 November 1779. There were other instances of this lavish treatment: HALS, D/EP AF190, invoice from Pietro Giusti. Account opened on 11 May 1778; the date of gilding was 30 December. HALS, D/EP AF192, no. 230, invoice from Pietro Giusti, 21 January 1780.

³⁵ *Ellis* (n. 32), p. 70, no. 35.

³⁶ HALS, D/EP F375/7, bill of lading dated 23 August 1790 which mentions “pictures, frames, etc.”.

³⁷ The provenance stated in the Getty Provenance Index should be revised (see http://www.getty.edu/research/conducting_research/provenance_index/, provenance of paintings record 9035). The picture was at Cole Green House from late 1790 until the house was demolished in 1801; the picture was later at the Earls' new seat, Panshanger (constructed from 1807–1811). From 1789 until 1799 the painting belonged to George Augustus Clavering-Cowper, fourth Earl Cowper.

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