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The Fate of the Manetti Chapel and the Reception of Trecento Art in Britain, 1770s to 1890s

Following the fire in Florence's church of Santa Maria del Carmine (28 January 1771), the English painter Thomas Patch saved from the ruins of the Manetti chapel some fragments of a fresco which he attributed to Giotto (now ascribed to Spinello Aretino). A dozen fragments of the fresco are still extant. Four of them were bought by Charles Townley from Patch in 1772 and they form the subject of this paper. As well as passing through the hands of some of the most important connoisseurs in England, all four of these fragments were exhibited in various circumstances between 1801 and 1881 as works by Giotto. In tracking their reception history, a case study is provided of changing attitudes to the Trecento, as a taste for the primitives began to be established in England.

In the final pages of Thomas Hardy's *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, Tess's husband Angel Clare and her sister 'Liza-Lu prepare for Tess's execution. To express the solemnity of the moment, Hardy invokes a picture that would have been familiar to any of his readers who had recently visited the National Gallery:

Though they were young they walked with bowed heads, which gait of grief the sun's rays smiled on pitilessly...They moved on hand in hand, and never spoke a word, the drooping of their heads being that of Giotto's 'Two Apostles'¹.

The picture Hardy refers to had been acquired for the nation in 1856 (fig. 1). It was a fragment of a fourteenth-century fresco cycle on the theme of the life of John the Baptist, which had once adorned the walls of the Manetti Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence. Vasari had ascribed the work to Giotto and this identification remained unchallenged until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, although it is now accepted that it was almost certainly painted by Spinello Aretino². This paper examines English reactions to the National Gallery's picture and three related fragments from the same fresco scheme that were all considered to be authentic works by Giotto. Their removal from Italy in the early 1770s and the reception they were afforded in England can be shown in some detail. It is possible to track their passage through the English art world and their subjec-

tion to different modes of appreciation as they passed first into private hands, and were shown to select company, before entering public collections and being included in popular exhibitions.

Perhaps fearful of the Black Death, Vanni Manetti drew up his first will in 1348 and in it he left instructions for the family chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine to be decorated³. Manetti's date of death is uncertain: he was still alive in 1357, but the fresco cycle is presumed to have been painted on the chapel walls at some point between 1387 and 1390⁴. Some four centuries later, on the night of 28 January 1771, a destructive fire broke out in the church and the resulting damage required extensive rebuilding, including the complete demolition of the Manetti Chapel. The English painter Thomas Patch took the decision to preserve some of the fresco for posterity by removing it from the walls of the chapel before it was destroyed. As the *Gazzetta Toscana* reported:

Some paintings have been detached from the walls of the burnt church of the Carmine, and reduced to the form of pictures: those of the Manetti chapel by the hand of Giotto looked after diligently by Mr. Patch, a talented English painter living in this city for a long time [...] and no small praise is deserved because of the difficulty of cleanly detaching such works from a very thin plaster which cracked as it suffered from the violence of the fire⁵.

A dozen fragments are still extant: six of them were acquired from Patch by Carlo Lasinio and these are now in the Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, Pisa; one is in Pavia (Pinacoteca Civica) and one is in a private collection⁶. The remaining four were originally sold to the English collector Charles Townley and it is these four fragments this paper will consider. As noted by the *Gazzetta Toscana*, Patch had selected fragments that worked as independent and self-sufficient compositions, reducing them «to the form of pictures». The four fragments that Townley acquired can be identified as *Two Haloed Mourners* (National Gallery, London), *Salome* and *The infant St John presented to Zacharias* (both in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool) (figs 2-3) and *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth* (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam) (fig. 4). They vary in size from 39.5 x 31 cm to 64.5 x 49 cm⁷.

Before turning to Townley's purchase, Patch's response to the fresco should be considered. He published engravings of the paintings in 1772, proudly declaring his volume to be «the first that has ever given any Prints to the publick after this

Author». This publication formed part of a much bigger project to illustrate the works of all those artists who had made decisive contributions to the renaissance of painting in Italy. Had it been carried out, it would have provided scholars with a resource of visual data that would encourage a more comprehensive understanding of that history⁸. However, Patch stopped work on the series in 1774 with only four volumes completed, devoted to Masaccio, Giotto, Fra Bartolommeo and Ghiberti.

It is important to remember that while he acknowledged Giotto's historical significance, Patch was no advocate of trecento painting. In the first volume of his project, published in 1770 and devoted to Masaccio and the Brancacci chapel, Patch had talked of the «disagreeable stiffness in the horrid spectres of the School of Giotto and of the modern grecian Mosaicks»⁹. His purpose in his next volume, the frescoes in the Carmine, was primarily a matter of historical record and to help settle the dispute, originating with Baldinucci and Malvasia, over the relative importance of Florence or Bologna for the history of art. To resolve it Patch proposes: «that perhaps might be done by examing [sic], *how far this cryed up school of Florence was different from the infinite number of Painters not Florentines at the same time*»¹⁰. Irrespective of Patch's motives, his prints are of great importance, the only ones to record the scheme, or most of it, and noting both the presence of the sinopie visible in damaged sections and the modern painting introduced in the restoration of 1763-4. In addition he included five detailed prints of individual heads, whose accuracy can be assessed by comparison with the extant fragments of the fresco. Although Patch was mistaken about the work's attribution, his publication is nevertheless a landmark: the first devoted to Giotto (albeit a misidentified Giotto) and the first to include reasonably accurate visual images of trecento art.

In his Notebook for 7 February 1772, Townley records the payment of 48 *scudi* to: «Mr Patch for four fragments of the fresco painted by Giotto in the church of the Carmini lately burnt». Townley's purchase was not typical of him. Although he was to become a discerning collector of medieval artefacts in the 1780s and 90s, his Italian diaries show no interest in the Italian «Primitives». Indeed, four years before acquiring the fragments, in 1768, when he visited the art collection in Padua of Jacopo Facciolati, the lexicographer and philologist, Townley described it as «all trash»¹¹. In contrast, a more sympathetic visitor, Pierre-Jean Grosley, whose remarks on the collection were published in 1769, spoke very highly of Facciolati's cabinet which included work by Byzantine painters, as well as items attributed to Giotto, Mantegna, Bellini and others¹². If Townley had no interest in the Trecento per se, we must assume that his deal with Patch was motivated at best by histori-

cal curiosity or even by a sort of connoisseurial trophy hunting, taking advantage of this fortuitous opportunity to acquire genuine examples of Giotto's handiwork while he was in Florence. Unfortunately, the accounts of his London home, 7 Park Street, Westminster, all concentrate on the display of Townley's classical antiquities. No evidence seems to have survived that gives information about how or indeed whether he displayed his «Giotto's» there as well.

Something of Townley's attitude to the fragments is caught in a letter he sent to the Society of Antiquaries on 28 January 1801, when he offered to exhibit one of them to the Fellows. The preamble reads as follows:

I should not have proposed to you to offer this trifling Fragment to the view of the Society had not several of its respectable members assured me, that the comparison betwixt this and the pictures lately removed from St Stephen's Chapel and exhibited before the Society would be interesting to it, because this fragment is a part of the pictures in fresco, painted by Giotto about the year 1310 in the Church of the Carmelites in Florence, which was destroyed by fire in 1771¹³.

As well as relying on Patch's scholarship, and going on to quote from his published account, Townley provided the Fellows with Patch's engraving of the scene from which the fragment had been removed.

The figure, to which this fragment belonged, is the last on the Right hand in the second plate of Mr Patch's publication, and as its action will be better understood, when seen united with the Composition, of which it formed a part, I transmit to you that print for the inspection of the society¹⁴.

This allows us to identify the fragment as *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth*. But beyond supplying these details, Townley's attention to the fresco was minimal. His justification of the fragment's interest is primarily local, using Patch's account to show that this work was painted only fifty years before the painting of St Stephen's Chapel. (In actual fact, of course, Spinello's work was produced some thirty years or so after the work at Westminster.)

Townley also offered to show the Society «an undoubted picture by Cimabue», then in his friend Charles Greville's collection, noting Giotto's instruction by Cimabue and summarising them both as «the Founders of the School of Painting, which afterwards produced the Artists, who were brought from Italy to decorate

the Chapel of St Stephen in Westminster»¹⁵. The Cimabue is probably the painting described as *A Holy Family with Saints*, which was listed in the Greville posthumous sale of 1810 and was resold to Samuel Rogers for 10 guineas in 1812. Although neither Townley's Giotto nor Greville's Cimabue were engraved in the Society of Antiquaries' *Archaeologia* or *Vetusta Monumenta*, it is clear from the Society's Minutes that both were indeed shown on 5 February 1801. If one excludes trecento works on view at auctioneers, this is very probably the first occasion in England when paintings by the Italian «Primitives» were taken from private collections to be presented as exhibits.

Townley's assertion of the significance of his Giotto fragment lay in its potential for comparison with St Stephen's Chapel, rather than as a work of art with high aesthetic merit. This limited appreciation makes sense when one considers the Society of Antiquaries' general approach to the history of art. In the 1710s John Talman, the first Director of the Society, had executed and also commissioned drawings of Roman mosaics, thirteenth-century Pisan sculpture and the supposed Giotto fragments in the Campo Santo. The first volume of *Archaeologia*, published in 1770, included George Vertue's 1736 *Dissertation on the monument of Edward the Confessor*, which among other things disputes Vasari's account of the relationship between Cavallini and Giotto. These instances apart, however, the Society had demonstrated very little interest in the Trecento or, indeed, the Italian Renaissance in general. Nevertheless, if these works were to receive any exposure outside a private collection, Townley and Greville were probably correct in believing that the Society of Antiquaries, of which they were both members, would be the body most receptive to their offer.

Greville was a noted collector and is also credited with introducing aquatint to England, an art he practised himself¹⁶. The supposed Cimabue he exhibited to the Society was one item in a small collection of «*Primitives*» that rivalled those owned by another of his collector-friends, John Campbell, 1st Baron Cawdor – who purchased works in the 1780s and 90s, largely on the advice of Henry Tresham, and who seems to have displayed them in his Museum in Oxford Street on art historical rather than decorative lines¹⁷. Like Lord Cawdor, Greville, too, displayed his paintings using a historicist approach. Greville and Townley regularly exchanged items, and in a letter to Townley of 2 November 1804, concerning the re-hanging of his pictures to incorporate items inherited from his uncle Sir William Hamilton, Greville speaks of «the arrangement of my specimens of the Art & of its progress»¹⁸. In such an array, organised to show the historical development of painting, fragments by Giotto would find a very appropriate home.

Townley retained only one of the four fragments he had bought from Patch, *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth*, and this remained with his descendants throughout the nineteenth century. It was shown to the public on one occasion, in the British Institution's 1848 exhibition of old master paintings (see below), and then dropped out of sight for the rest of the century¹⁹. Of the other three, as subsequent auction records and other evidence show, at an unknown date William Young Ottley was given the *Infant St John Presented to Zacharias*, and Charles Greville acquired *Two Haloed Mourners* and probably *Salome* as well²⁰. After Greville's death in 1809, Samuel Rogers bought *Two Haloed Mourners* in the posthumous sale of 1810. *Salome* had joined *The Infant St John Presented to Zacharias* in William Roscoe's collection by 1816, the latter from Ottley's sale, but the *Salome* fragment's provenance is less certain, although it does appear to have passed through Greville's hands²¹. Of all these collectors, Ottley's interest in Italian «*Primitives*» was arguably the deepest. John Sartain, looking back on the time he spent as a teenager in the early 1820s, working for Ottley to make engravings for the *Early Florentine School* publication (1826), speaks of a top-lit gallery in Ottley's London home «the walls of which were covered from floor to ceiling with pictures by the old pre-Raphaelite artists, which Mr. Ottley had collected in Italy during the latter part of the last century»²². It is very likely that this gallery was the location of the fragment Townley had given him.

Copies of two of the fragments were shown in an exhibition of 1812, mounted by Ottley and Tresham at 54 New Bond Street to publicise their new publication *The British Gallery of Pictures*²³. Watercolours by W.M. Craig and Robert Satchwell were exhibited of the works being engraved, including *Salome* and *Two Haloed Mourners*. In the editions of *The British Gallery of Pictures* I have consulted, only Satchwell's copy of *Two Haloed Mourners* actually appears as an engraving, published in 1819.²⁴ Since 1810 this picture had been in Samuel Rogers' collection and detailed descriptions of his home in St James' Place include it with the pictures in his dining room, where his most important works were displayed²⁵. For that reason, unlike Zoffany's idealised and theatrical presentation of Townley's sculpture collection at Park Street (*Charles Townley in his Sculpture Gallery*, 1782, Burnley Art Gallery and Museum), Charles Mottram's print of Rogers in company at breakfast very probably documents how *Two Haloed Mourners* was experienced by his guests²⁶. The fragment is shown hanging above a mirror, in a prominent position but removed from any possibility of close inspection. Rogers' extensive network of creative talents is acknowledged in Mottram's engraving, which depicts a veritable who's who of British nineteenth-century literary and artistic culture, including Flaxman, Lawrence, Stothard and Turner, all of whom had an interest in early

Italian painting.

One artist not represented in this group, but who was later part of Rogers' circle is Benjamin Robert Haydon. His diary records his reactions to one of the fragments, which he saw in June 1810. As this was three months after the Greville sale, Haydon must almost certainly be referring to Rogers' newly-acquired *Two Haloed Mourners*. His reactions were coloured by what the Parthenon marbles had revealed to him:

I could not help observing the other day on looking at a head of Giotto, saved from the Carmelites' Church at Florence, the exact resemblance it bore to the heads of the Panathenaic processions, as if (and it is certainly evident from this) that he had been instructed by the poor Grecian Artists who fled to Italy during the invasion of their country and carried with them what they had seen at Athens. The head has the character – dividing the head by the hair, &c. – as the heads of the Youths on horseback at the Elgin Musaeum – brought from Athens. How little Raphael assists you in the complicated varieties of form – To Nature and to Greece if you want assistance, can you only recur to with any prospect of information²⁷.

Ottley's *The Infant St John presented to Zacharias* and also *Salome* passed into William Roscoe's possession by about 1812 and were taken to Liverpool²⁸. At Roscoe's sale in 1816 they went for very low prices and Roscoe's catalogue for them was hesitant about their appeal as works of art:

the following works have been collected [...] chiefly for the purpose of illustrating, by a reference to original and authentic sources, the rise and progress of the arts in modern times [...] They are therefore not wholly to be judged of by their positive merits, but by a reference to the age in which they were produced²⁹.

Although his collection was largely reassembled and then deposited in the Liverpool Institution, Roscoe's two fragments lacked the celebrity of Rogers' *Two Haloed Mourners*, which was endorsed by the mere fact of its being owned by one of the most celebrated connoisseurs in Britain. It was prominently displayed to those visiting Rogers' home and was also circulating in engraved form. It was thus able to achieve an almost talismanic importance in England as an instantly recognisable Giotto.

With respect to art criticism, the verdict was more measured, indeed somewhat closer to Roscoe's contextual position. Johann David Passavant called on Rogers in London and also inspected Roscoe's collection in the Liverpool Institution in 1831 but did not single out any of the Manetti fragments as especially worth remarking³⁰. Gustav Waagen visited Rogers in 1833 and examined *Two Haloed Mourners*, declaring:

Mr. Rogers' taste and knowledge of the art are too general for him not to feel the profound intellectual value of works of art in which the management of the materials was in some degree restricted. He has, therefore, not disdained to place in his collection [...] fragments of a fresco painting from the Carmelite Church at Florence, by Giotto³¹.

These comments indicate at once that the possession of works by Giotto was still regarded primarily as a contribution to historical knowledge and did not necessarily elicit extensive or appreciative comment.

As is well known, from the middle decades of the century the «Primitives» received wider public attention, as indicated famously by the National Gallery's purchase of Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Marriage* in 1842. Writing in the *Athenaeum* in March 1845, George Darley recommended that early pictures be lent to the British Institution's old master exhibitions, including art «even of the Byzantine school, or the earliest Italian or German (v. g. *trecentisti* or *alt-cölnische*) specimens» and pointed to Samuel Rogers' collection as a resource: «let us recommend an admirable fragment by *Giotto* for this season's exhibition. Mr. Rogers is the possessor... »³². In June 1848 the British Institution did just that and added a room of «Primitives» to a show of old master paintings. Two of the works ascribed to Giotto that were included in this display were from the Manetti Chapel: Rogers' *Two Haloed Mourners* and Townley's *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth*³³. The *Observer's* critic summed up the exhibition as something of a novelty:

The curiosity of the exhibition, however, is the collection of ancient works of art in the middle room, beginning with some missal illuminations, and carrying the history of painting through Van Eyck, Ghirlandaccio [sic], Giotto, Giovanni da Fresola [sic], Hembuck of Bruges [sc. Memling?], &c., &c. This is the most interesting, though mayhap not the most valuable portion of the collection³⁴.

Reaction to the Manetti fragments was mixed. The *Athenaeum's* critic drew attention to their discoloured and damaged state and was not persuaded by the attribution, suggesting that *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth* was more like the work of Taddeo Gaddi and warning readers that these frescoes were not reliable indicators of Giotto's achievement: «As remains of the Art of the end of the 13th or beginning of the 14th century, they will be regarded with interest; but they must not be considered as offering specimens of Giotto's powers»³⁵. The *Art Union* was more positive. The Manetti fragments were described as the most interesting of the early Italian exhibits for «the early dawn of religious feeling imparted to the heads despite the rude execution». Its readers were encouraged to agree that

The attentive study of the works in this room will raise into greater esteem the performance of painters that have, until lately, been almost entirely neglected. That they possess most of the higher qualities of Art is evident, the more they are investigated; there is form, knowledge of the human figure, and expression. In execution a delicacy of touch and firm impasto of colour; nor are the qualifications wanting of perspective knowledge or chiaroscuro. In their works the progression of Art may be studied up to its fullest development; they amply prove that it was truly progressive, and did not at once burst into the utmost perfection it has ever achieved³⁶.

Frederic Capes, the critic of the Catholic-sympathising *The Rambler* was the most enthusiastic, claiming that Giotto should be ranked with Raphael and Michelangelo. Warning his readers that these examples, «dirty-looking, faded pieces of fresco», should not be taken as truly representative of Giotto's achievement, Capes nevertheless concluded: «it is impossible, even in these mutilated fragments, not to recognise the unrivalled genius and skill of their wonderful author»³⁷.

In 1850 Eastlake, Passavant, Waagen, Cavalcaselle and George Scharf helped catalogue the Liverpool Royal Institution collection. It was probably this detailed scrutiny that underlined the significance of the two Manetti chapel fragments that had once belonged to Roscoe. Both of them were included in the Manchester Art Treasures exhibition of 1857 and ascribed to Giotto, although Scharf's diagram of the hanging arrangements shows that they were not exhibited next to one another³⁸. The year before, Rogers' *Two Haloed Mourners* had been added by Eastlake to the National Gallery collection as a work by Giotto. The uncertainties remained, however. In the early 1860s Cavalcaselle demoted *Two Haloed Mourn-*

ers to the hand of a Giottesque painter, similar in style to Taddeo or Agnolo Gaddi, working in the second half of the fourteenth century³⁹. The Taddeo Gaddi possibility was voiced again by Padre Santi Mattei in 1869⁴⁰. The decisive blow to the Giotto ascription came from the publication of Milanesi's edition of Vasari's works in the 1870s, which noted a document proving that the fresco cycle had been commissioned after Giotto's death⁴¹.

Not all of this developing literature seems to have registered immediately in England. The two Liverpool fragments from Roscoe's collection were again exhibited under Giotto's name at the Royal Academy's Winter Exhibition of 1881⁴². Similarly, when Harry Quilter published his book on Giotto in 1889 he cited Patch's engravings of the fresco cycle and drew on Waagen's account for information on where the Manetti Chapel fragments could now be found. Noting there had been some debate about the date of the work, Quilter's opinion, presumably unaware of Milanesi's discovery, was that the weight of evidence supported its having been painted at a time corresponding to Giotto's era⁴³. Its authorship, however, was another matter; Quilter's verdict on *Two Haloed Mourners* was essentially negative:

Whether these two heads are by Giotto's own hand is almost impossible to say, but they are in any case works of his school, and of an early period. Judging by the type of face, I should think it less probable of the two uncertainties that they were executed by Giotto; but the matter is of little importance, as the qualities they possess chiefly are not those we find in Giotto's work⁴⁴.

Scholarly hesitations notwithstanding, *Two Haloed Mourners* remained on view as a Giotto and this ascription was widely accepted, as seen in Hardy's reliance on it in the image of the grieving Angel Clare and 'Liza-Lu from *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, published in 1891. It was not until 1906 that Count Vitzthum suggested that Spinello Aretino should be regarded as the painter responsible for the Manetti Chapel frescoes, an identification that is now universally agreed⁴⁵.

Thomas Patch's decision to preserve the Manetti Chapel fresco from obliteration was highly precocious, both in the visual record he made of it and in his salvaging of twelve examples of trecento painting that otherwise would have been lost forever. The reception in England of the four fragments acquired by Townley provides us with a case study illuminating changes of taste over the next century. This paper makes no claim for the importance of the fragments when assessing the oeuvre of Spinello Aretino; instead, it has narrated how the varied circum-

stances of acquisition, sale, collection and display for each of the four items crystallises with some historical specificity some of the more general approaches to the Trecento associated with the nineteenth century.

- 1 T. HARDY, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, London 1891, chapter LIX.
- 2 D. GORDON, *The Italian Paintings before 1400*, London, 2011, pp. 418-424.
- 3 Vanni Manetti drew up three wills: the first was dated 29 September 1348, the second 31 October 1350, and the third 29 August 1357. See U. PROCACCI, *L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del 1771*, «Rivista d'Arte», XIV, 1932, pp. 141-232: 212.
- 4 S. WEPPELMANN, *Spinello Aretino und die Toskanische Malerei des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Florence 2003, pp. 207-215.
- 5 «Sono state staccate dalle pareti della incendiata Chiesa del Carmine alcune pitture, e ridotte in forma di quadri: a quelle della Cappella Manetti di mano di Giotto assistè diligentemente il sig. Pace [sic] Valente Pittore Inglese abitante in questa Città da molto tempo [...] e non scarsa lode si è meritato per la difficoltà di staccarle pulitamente da un intonaco molto sottile e screpolato dalla violenza del fuoco sofferto». «Gazzetta Toscana», 49, 7 December 1771, p. 193.
- 6 See S.G. CASU, *The Pittas Collection: Early Italian Paintings (1200-1530)*, trans. C. Bolton, Florence 2011, cat. 43, pp. 192-195.
- 7 *Two Haloed Mourners*: 51.3 x 51.3cm; *Salome*: 39.5 x 31 cm; *The Infant St John Presented to Zacharias*: 51.5 x 54 cm; *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth*: 64.5 x 49 cm.
- 8 See S. SMILES, *Thomas Patch and early Italian art*, «British Art Journal», XIV, 1, Spring-Summer 2013, pp. 50-58.
- 9 T. PATCH, *The Life of Masaccio*, Florence 1770, pp. 1-2.
- 10 T. PATCH, [*Giotto*], Florence 1772, s.n.p. Italics in the original.
- 11 G. VAUGHAN, *The Collecting of Classical Antiquities in England in the 18th Century: a Study of Charles Townley (1737-1805) and his Circle*, unpublished DPhil thesis, Oxford 1988, p. 196. For Townley's interest in medieval art and architecture, see G. VAUGHAN, *An Eighteenth-Century Classicist's Medievalism: The Case of Charles Townley*, in *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage in Honour of Margaret M. Manion*, ed. B.J. Muir, Exeter 2002, pp. 297-314.

- 12 P-J. GROSLEY, *New Observations on Italy and Its Inhabitants*, trans. T. Nugent, 2 vols, London 1769, I, pp. 325-326.
- 13 The letter is recorded in the Secretary's minutes of the meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, 5 February, 1801, pp. 314-316. My grateful thanks to Adrian James at the Society of Antiquaries for his assistance.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 315.
- 15 *Ibid.*, pp. 315-316.
- 16 Examples of aquatints by Greville can be found in the collection of the British Museum.
- 17 F. RUSSELL, *A Distinguished Generation: the Cawdor Collection*, «Country Life», 14 June 1984, pp. 1746-1748.
- 18 VAUGHAN, *Collecting of Classical Antiquities*, p. 199.
- 19 For its provenance before entering the collection of the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen in Rotterdam see R. LONGHI, *Il piu bel frammento degli affreschi del Carmine di Spinello Aretino*, «Paragone», 131, 1960, pp. 33-35.
- 20 In the sale catalogue of Samuel Rogers' collection, Christie & Manson, 28 April 1856 et seq., *Two Haloed Mourners* is described as: «[...] brought to England by Mr. Townley; it was afterwards in the Collection of the Right Hon. C. Greville [...]» In Greville's posthumous sale, 31 March 1810 (Christie's) *Two Haloed Mourners* was sold to Rogers (lot. 76; described as *Heads of St. Peter and St. Paul* by Masaccio). With respect to Ottley's *The Infant St John Presented to Zacharias*, in Christie's catalogue of the Ottley sale, 25 May 1811, no. 28 is described as: «A Fragment of his Fresco painting, from the Chapel in the Carmelites Church at Florence. Sawed from the wall by Mr. Patch, before the rebuilding of the Church, after the fire of 1770 [sic], and presented to its present owner by the late Charles Townley, Esq. by whom it was brought to England». This fragment was bought by Charles Lambert FSA at the Ottley sale, for £9. It does not appear to have been included in the posthumous Lambert sale, 7 March 1812 (Christie's). It is next recorded in the Roscoe sale, 27 September 1816.
- 21 In William Young Ottley and Henry Tresham's catalogue for the 1812 *British Gallery of Pictures* exhibition of watercolour copies by W.M. Craig and Robert Satchwell (see note 23), *Salome* and *Two Haloed Mourners* are both described as «Late in the Collection of the Hon. C.F. Greville». However, the *Salome* fragment was not included as a lot in the Greville sale of 1810. It is next recorded in the Roscoe sale, 27 September 1816.
- 22 J. SARTAIN, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, 1808-1897*, New York 1899, p. 98.
- 23 *Catalogue of an Exhibition Containing an Extensive Selection of the Finest Specimens of the Old Masters...Painted in Water Colours for...The British Gallery of Pictures*, London 1812, pp. 22 («194: Giotto.- A Female Head») and 23 («198: Giotto.- Heads of Apostles»). Both watercolours were by Satchwell.
- 24 H.TRESHAM and W. Y. OTTLEY *The British Gallery of Pictures, selected from the most admired productions of the old masters, in Great Britain; accompanied with descriptions, historical and critical*, London, 1818 [i.e. 1820], pp. 16-19. Although the title page is dated 1818, the engraving of *Two Haloed Mourners* is dated 1 March, 1819, and others are dated 1820.
- 25 See for example, «Athenaeum», 29 December 1855, pp. 1533-1534, reprinted in W. ROBERTS, *Memorials of Christie's; a record of art sales from 1766 to 1896*, 2 vols, London 1897, I, pp. 180-87; and *The Poetical Works of Samuel Rogers. With a memoir by E. Bell.*, London 1875, pp. 46-55.

- 26 Charles Mottram after John Doyle, *Samuel Rogers at his Breakfast Table*, ca 1823, engraving and mezzotint.
- 27 Entry for 21 June 1810, in *The Diary of Benjamin Robert Haydon*, ed W.B. Pope, 5 vols, Cambridge 1960, I, p. 166.
- 28 William Roscoe's papers include an account for pictures bought from Thomas Winstanley, datable after June 1811, which includes the sum of £10 10s 0d «Paid for fresco - Giotto» (Liverpool Record Office, 920 ROS/5315). This may refer to *The Infant St John Presented to Zacharias*.
- 29 Cit. M. COMPTON *William Roscoe and the Early Collections of Italian Primitives*, «The Liverpool Bulletin», IX, 1960-61, p. 29. See also *Catalogue of a Series of Pictures, illustrating the Rise and Early Progress of the Art of Painting in Italy, Germany &c.*, Liverpool 1819.
- 30 J.D. PASSAVANT, *Tour of a German Artist in England*, trans. E. Rigby, 2 vols, London 1836 (ed. or. 1833), I, pp. 190-195 (Rogers); II, pp. 12-16 (Roscoe).
- 31 G.F. WAAGEN, *Works of Art and Artists in England*, 2 vols, London 1838 (ed. or. 1836), II, p. 136.
- 32 «Athenaeum», 29 March, 1845, p. 314.
- 33 No. 87: 'Peter and John approaching the body of Jesus, a fresco from a chapel in the Church of the Carmelites at Florence' Samuel Rogers, Esq.; No. 95 'A female, a fresco from a chapel in the Church of the Carmelites at Florence' Charles Towneley, Esq.
- 34 «The Observer», 12 June, 1848, p. 6.
- 35 «Athenaeum», 17 June 1848, p. 608.
- 36 «Art Union», July 1848, p. 225.
- 37 «The Rambler», 1 July 1848, p.206. *The Rambler* was founded in January 1848, with John Moores Capes (Frederic's brother) as its editor.
- 38 Scharf's numbers 24 and 32 in his diagram of the West Wall of Saloon A are identified in the catalogue as Giotto's *Three Women and a Child* and *Part of the Figure of the Daughter of Herodias*. They flanked paintings attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, Ugolino da Siena and Giotto. For Scharf's diagram see E.A. PERGAM, *The Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857: Entrepreneurs, Connoisseurs and the Public*, Farnham 2011, pp. 140-141.
- 39 J.A. CROWE and G.B. CAVALCASELLE, *New History of Painting in Italy*, 3 vols, London 1864-6, I, pp. 311-312.
- 40 PADRE SANTI MATTEI, *Ragionamento intorno all'antica chiesa del Carmine di Firenze, con una succinta notizia dello stato suo presente*, Florence 1869, p. 12.
- 41 G. VASARI, *Le opere*, ed. Gaetano Milanese, 9 vols, Florence 1878-85, I, p. 376, n. 1.
- 42 *The Presentation of St. John the Baptist to Zacharias* (223); *The Daughter of Herodias Receiving the Head of St. John the Baptist* (226), in *Exhibition of Works by the Old Masters, Deceased Masters of the British School & Drawings by John Flaxman RA*, London 1881, p. 48.
- 43 H.QUILTER, *Giotto*, London 1889, note on p. 41.
- 44 *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- 45 G. VITZTHUM, *Un ciclo di affreschi di Spinello Aretino, perduto*, «L'Arte», IX, 1906, pp. 199-203.



Fig. 1: SPINELLO ARETINO, *Two Haloed Mourners* : Fragment from the 'Burial of Saint John the Baptist', ca 1387-91, fresco, 51.3 x 51.3 cm, (Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine), © The National Gallery, London. National Gallery Picture Library.



Fig. 2: SPINELLO ARETINO, *Salome*, ca 1387-91, fresco, 39.5 x 31 cm, (Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine), Courtesy National Museums Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.



Fig. 3: SPINELLO ARETINO, *The Infant St John Presented to Zacharias*, ca 1387-91, fresco, 51.5 x 54 cm (Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine), Courtesy National Museums Liverpool, Walker Art Gallery.



Fig. 4: SPINELLO ARETINO, *A Maid from the Retinue of Elizabeth*, ca 1387-91, fresco, 64.5 x 49 cm (Florence, Santa Maria del Carmine), Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Photograph: Studio Tromp, Rotterdam.