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From the beginning of the nineteenth century, Early Italian pictures were hung in English private homes and, later, in public galleries and exhibitions. The birth and growth of the interest in the Italian «Primitives» in the English world are illustrated in this paper through insights into the cultural and social scenarios of the time and through a review of the approaches of salient early English collectors. Such appreciation, destined to grow into an infatuation in the early twentieth century, is here monitored also through its reflections in British fiction in the works of, among others, Thomas Hardy, George Eliot, Edward Morgan Forster, Vernon Lee, David Herbert Lawrence.

The interest for the «Primitives» stemmed from Catholic origins and from a cultural élite that cultivated it mainly in Italy during the eighteenth century. During the second half of the nineteenth century it gradually spread. The first historical collections of paintings developed in Italy and grew from the research of Italian antiquarians. Of scholarly inspiration, this rediscovery in turn triggered a fascination among foreigners for the primitives, subsequently encouraging their study outside Italy. The interaction of scholars, collectors, connoisseurs, dealers, and their sometimes overlapping roles, created the conditions for the development of interest in the Italian «Primitives»¹.

Their rediscovery was helped by a particularly favourable cultural scene. In the late eighteenth century, a historiography was developing that gradually freed itself from political accounts in order to study cultural history. History itself began to be seen as a single, constantly changing process that was especially understandable once the transitional stages from one era to another were dissected. This new historiographical approach also took into account territorial diversity, assimilating methods and models from the natural sciences². A progression of methods developed and passed from antiquarianism to art history via travel literature, local histories, collections of prints, the histories of peoples, and world history. Beginning with the history of art, the first specialized histories emerged in this context: Johann Joachim Winckelmann's work on ancient art (1764) and Luigi Lanzi's work on the art from the Renaissance to the modern era (1792)³.

In addition to the progressive refinement of critical tools, the growing interest in the «Primitives» was also facilitated by circumstances of a different nature. Firstly, as a result of ecclesiastical suppressions of the late eighteenth century⁴, there was a massive availability in the art market of paintings by artists who had worked in the centuries before Raphael, with scholars and erudite churchmen being the first to take advantage of the situation. In addition, for a relatively large if not general public, there was the novelty of being able to see works that had been previously shut away for centuries, in monasteries, seats of confraternities and convents, finally presented in princely galleries and sometimes public, ecclesiastical or antiquarian ones⁵. Secondly, there was the presence of foreign travellers on Italian soil: residents or occupiers with the means and the intellectual curiosity who later put together, with the help of intermediaries, important collections of Old Masters that sometimes followed them home when they left Italy, and would end in public museums of their respective native cities. In fact, the political upheavals caused by the Napoleonic occupation and the ensuing economic uncertainty, placed the trade of antique paintings outside the control of the authorities because they were considered second order (and therefore cheap) and were not yet critically studied.

The emergence of the «Primitives» at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century was a global phenomenon of high culture that extended far beyond Italian borders. The small circle of enlightened scholars, experts, dealers, and art lovers who were interested in them was an international community, whose members were in contact with each other through letters and sojourns or travels abroad. Initially they shared an interest in the «Primitives», which was mainly historical. As excellence in painting was judged by most as fixed in the Renaissance, anything earlier than that seemed primitive and was acquired or mentioned in early studies as representative of the dawn or the childhood of art. Such expressions imply a concept of art as a single process continually advancing towards perfection, represented by one hall-marked standard. Only later in the nineteenth century was art seen as a series of processes, each having an individual development to be judged by a standard proper to itself.

While Early paintings in Italy had remained in the possession of the institution or of the heirs of the patron who commissioned them, if a person owned a «Primitive» at this time in England, it must have been because he saw it either as a good investment or as an object of some interest, or both. I will now focus on the birth and growth of interest in the Italian «Primitives» in the British world as well as on the reflections of such infatuation, traceable in English literature.

«Primitives» in English Homes

In England an exposure if not full appreciation of the art of the Italian «Primitives» was chronicled among various eighteenth-century personalities⁶. Joshua Reynolds studied in Italy from 1750 to 1752⁷. During his sojourn, he lived mainly in Rome and did not show a particular attraction for the «Primitives», although he did visit Mantegna's frescoes in Padua and Masaccio's frescoes in Florence's church of the Carmine⁸. He was convinced that all artists needed to study and know directly the works of the Old Masters, among which he had a predilection for Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Pietro da Cortona and then for Michelangelo⁹. In Florence he met Anglo-Florentine Ignazio Enrico Hugford, an art expert, merchant, writer, professor, painter (and occasional forger), and collector of Old Masters¹⁰. In Rome, Reynolds met the painter and engraver Thomas Patch, a resident in Florence since 1755¹¹. To him, we owe the first publication of engravings that illustrate the works of the Italian «Primitives», carried out with the declared intent of providing visual evidence of the various phases of the history of painting. Published between 1770 and 1772, Patch's series of engravings were dedicated to frescoes in the Carmine church¹², which, until that time had never been disseminated in print.

One figure that opened the way to collecting Old Masters was Frederick Augustus Hervey, a long-term resident in Italy. In 1796 Hervey expressed the idea for a project, never realized, of showing in his gallery at Ickworth in Suffolk the evolution of painting in Germany and Italy, with the panels divided by schools in chronological order, from Albrecht Dürer to Angelica Kaufmann, from Cimabue to Pompeo Batoni. At this stage the Italian Gothic paintings were not appreciated as such, but collected primarily to illustrate a stage of the evolution of art¹³. It is worth noting that a similar approach was developed in some museums open to the public: a room of early pictures was open in the Uffizi in 1782¹⁴ and in the Louvre in 1814 (exhibiting the war loot)¹⁵.

During his Italian years (1791–99), William Young Ottley worked as a copyist for Séroux d'Agincourt for the *Histoire de l'Art par les Monuments*¹⁶ and was able to put together a remarkable collection of Old Masters, prints, drawings, miniatures, and Italian «Primitives»¹⁷. The following passage illustrates how they were displayed in his house in the early 1820s:

[...] another smaller gallery, also lighted from above, 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. Most of them were taken from churches during the occupation by the French soldiery, and but for

Mr Ottley's intervention might have been destroyed¹⁸.

Aside from being an amateur artist and someone who brought to England a fine selection of Early Italian pictures, Ottley was a distinguished writer on the arts and probably the first Englishman with extensive knowledge of Italian painting before 1500. In his works, *The Italian School of design* (1823) and *A Series of Plates Engraved after the Paintings and Sculptures of the Most Eminent Masters of the Early Florentine School* (published from 1826), he was the first in the United Kingdom to illustrate and describe chronologically the Italian schools of painting.

A wealthy English timber merchant, Edward Solly began buying antique paintings in 1812 while he was living in Berlin and taking business trips, thanks to an extensive network of contacts. He sold in bulk his roughly 3000 pictures to the king of Prussia in 1821. After returning to England, he showed a preference for later periods; Solly's taste evolved in a more conventional direction, and by then, paintings of the sixteenth century were available on the market. An aesthetic appreciation for the Italian «Primitives» was not a widespread phenomenon in England during the first half of the nineteenth century¹⁹. In 1836 Solly declared that the average museum public would not have been interested in works by Giotto and Cimabue²⁰. A few decades later Austen Henry Layard experienced a similar evolution in taste. The British diplomat and connoisseur started collecting in 1855; from central Italian «Primitives» after 1863, under Morelli's influence, he passed to early eighteenth-century Italian paintings²¹.

Ahead of their time, yet subsequent to Ottley, other English collectors followed his approach. William Thomas Fox-Strangways, a diplomat living in Italy from 1825 to 1832, assembled, among others, collections of «Primitives» that he then donated to Christ Church College (in 1828 and 1834) and to the Ashmolean Museum (in 1850)²². Beside Oxford, Liverpool was among the first cities in England in which Italian «Primitives» were visible in public collections, thanks to a public subscription that, in 1819, ensured for the Liverpool Royal Institution a group of 35 «Primitives» from the banker, historian, and bibliophile, William Roscoe. Roscoe did not travel and purchased, for small sums, solely in England. Between 1795 and 1815, when he was forming his collection, it was estimated that 300 «Primitives» were in private hands in the country and about 200 «Primitives» were sold in auctions in the United Kingdom, half of which were attributed to Bellini and Perugino. There was a tendency to baptise the pictures with names given by Giorgio Vasari as marking stages in the development of art, so attributions to Cimabue, Giotto and Masaccio are recurrent as well. Roscoe appears to have thought of pictures as examples of the taste of a period, and conceived his collection as an illustrated history of painting, seeing the «Primitives» as the forerunners of the

great artists of the sixteenth century²³. This vision was shared by other English collectors of his time who owned a limited number of «Primitives» as a sort of introduction to a gallery of Old Masters. Such galleries were private and sometimes transient; among them Charles Francis Greville²⁴, Samuel Rogers²⁵, Matthew Smith, and John Strange²⁶.

Less conventional was the approach of Prince Albert, who, between 1845 and 1847 purchased twenty-seven Italian pictures painted before 1500²⁷. The tempera on gold backgrounds were hung in the private rooms of Osborne House on the Isle of White, for private enjoyment (fig. 1)²⁸. Equally distributed in various rooms, to the delight of the visitors who expected important artworks to be segregated in special galleries, were the Old Masters and Italian «Primitives» in the country house in Staffordshire of Reverend Walter Davenport Bromley (fig. 2)²⁹, who left for Italy around 1822. During the 1840s and 1850s, his preference for the Old Masters led him into the almost unexplored field of Early Italian Renaissance painting. As a matter of fact, until the early 1840s Italian «Primitives» appeared rarely in British salerooms, and they continued to fetch low prices as mere curios³⁰. In the forties an Angelico mania spread from Germany under the influence of the Nazarenes, the turning point of which can be considered the auction of over 3000 pictures from Cardinal Fesch's collection in Rome³¹. An increasing number of people believed that Angelico's paintings were not only beautiful but also possessed a purity and spirituality absent from art of a later date³². In 1848 the British Institution's exhibition of «Primitives» in London was a success, and in 1851, thousands of people paid to see Lord Ward's *Last Judgement* by Angelico, shown in the Egyptian Hall gallery in London³³.

Slightly later, notable collectors of Early Italian paintings, ahead of their time, yet no longer pioneers, were the Anglican Reverend John Fuller Russell³⁴, whose walls were so richly adorned with «Italian specimens of the fourteenth century that the spectator feels as if transported into a chapel at Siena or Florence»³⁵, Reverend Frederick Heathcote Sutton³⁶, Rector of Brant Broughton, and Alexander Lindsay, an important scholar and author of *The History of Christian Art* (1847)³⁷. Some collectors were less scholarly-minded and were attracted by works of art for their own sake, such as John Rushout second Baron of Northwick³⁸ and Robert Staynor Holford³⁹. Like Fox-Strangways and Lindsay, in the decades after the fall of Napoleon, many of those who visited Italy assembled collections of pictures that earlier generations would have despised: Charles Eastlake, painter, expert, and arbiter of the arts as President of the Royal Academy and then Director of the National Gallery, Thomas Gambier Parry⁴⁰, William Noell Hill⁴¹, Walter Savage Landor⁴², William Fuller Maitland⁴³, Reverend John Sanford⁴⁴, William Drury

Lowe⁴⁵, William Jones⁴⁶ and Alexander Barker, the self-educated son of a fashionable boot-maker. The atmosphere of the house of the latter has been described as follows:

The next floor introduced the visitor to Italian art. Here the furniture was less prominent, and the pictures assumed the most important place – pictures by the early Italians. Lorenzo di Credi, Luca Signorelli, Fra Angelico, Botticelli, and others, whose works are now rising to the highest reputation, were here represented by the choicest specimens, interspersed with rare goldsmith's work [...] and many other rare objects⁴⁷.

The taste for displaying Italian Early and Old Masters continued in England. Among the still-intact Italianate rooms made for John Alexander Thynne by John Dible Crace between 1874 and 1882 at Longleat in Wiltshire, the State Drawing Room (fig. 3) served as the showcase for the pictures purchased during the Italian travels of the fourth Marquess of Bath⁴⁸.

In 1857, *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom* opened in Manchester, as most likely the first imposing art exhibition conceived for a wide audience. Among its 16000 pieces, 1079 were paintings of which forty-seven were prior to the fifteenth century, the large majority of which came from British private collections. In the *Handbook to the Paintings by Ancient Masters in the Art Exhibition* the taste for the Early Italians was described as comparatively new⁴⁹. Among the long-term effects, the event revealed the possibilities of Early Italian and Northern masters, providing new impetus to the developing science of connoisseurship. Before 1857 there was no English translation of Vasari, while the decade following *Art Treasures* saw the first scholarly attempts at a critical-historical arrangement of all surviving examples of Italian and Flemish paintings by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle. The volumes written by this duo provided something of a “system” on which the future generations of experts could base their research⁵⁰. The Manchester exhibition served to concentrate the interest in schools and artistic personalities previously neglected, and to widen such interest by offering to some 1300000 visitors the opportunity of seeing a form of art and paintings of a period not yet represented in the National Gallery.

The appreciation for Early Italian art in England, although a recent development, was evident also in 1857, when the trustees of the National Gallery, directed by Charles Eastlake, acquired the Lombardi-Baldi Collection of Tuscan painting⁵¹. His successor, William Burton, is also remembered for acquiring numerous Early Sienese pictures, but the need to have more was still felt in a report written in 1914⁵².

On the art market side, Samuel Woodburn, the distinguished London dealer, collected a number of Early Italians; the 1860 auction after his death, fed the following generation of collectors⁵³. A similar destiny befell the collections assembled by Reverend Walter Davenport-Bromley, James Dennistoun, whose appreciation was most likely generated by his literary interests⁵⁴, William Coningham⁵⁵, and the already mentioned William Ward first Earl of Dudley and Lord Northwick. Not surprisingly, among the enthusiasts for the Italian «Primitives» of the third quarter of the century, there were Pre-Raphaelite painters like Dante Gabriele Rossetti who, on top of blue-and-white oriental porcelain and French furniture, also owned Early Italian pictures⁵⁶. Like Barker, members of the exclusive collector club originally called Fine Arts Club⁵⁷ and then Burlington Fine Arts Club⁵⁸ were Francis Cook⁵⁹, John Charles Robinson⁶⁰, Charles Butler⁶¹, Robert Benson, who owned some Italian primitives, among other paintings⁶². The genealogist Henry Wagner decorated his rooms with «Primitives», which he mainly acquired at sales and gave to the National Gallery⁶³. Henry Willet⁶⁴ was also a late nineteenth-century «Primitive» collector. Small trecento and quattrocento works, roundels or detached panels or *cassone*, pagan paintings of non-important appearance still went for trifling sums and fit a scholar's inexpensive taste.

Among the British residents abroad, more precisely living around Florence, John Temple Leader included primitive paintings and detached fourteenth-century frescoes in the neo-gothic dream Castle of Vincigliata⁶⁵, and Frederick Stibbert in his villa in Montughi also owned several «Primitives»⁶⁶. William Blundell Spence lived painting, collecting and selling, using his residences also as showrooms, first at Palazzetto Corsi, then at Palazzo Giugni, and at last at the Villa Medici⁶⁷. Other British collectors and experts who resided around Florence and were closely connected with the *fin de siècle* movement were Charles Fairfax Murray⁶⁸, Herbert Percy Horne⁶⁹, and Arthur Acton⁷⁰. All three have been in some way active as agents on the art market.

By the end of the century, although Walter Pater felt he had to apologize for writing an essay on Botticelli, a taste for the earlier Italian painters had become wide-spread⁷¹. Such appreciation was destined to become a preference and to explode at the beginning of the twentieth century into an authentic infatuation on both sides of the Atlantic⁷², when young Bernard Berenson, first among other consultants and connoisseurs, captured the confidence of the American millionaires⁷³.

«Primitives» in English Novels

As a result of this explosion of interest, Italian «Primitive» paintings (or their reproductions), as well as collectors and amateurs are mentioned in English prose between the last decades of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. More obvious, and therefore not discussed here, is their presence in Victorian Renaissance fiction⁷⁴, travel literature, articles, autobiographies, and in correspondence produced by foreign travellers and residents in Italy.

In plays, ridiculous “medieval attitudes” are sometimes mocked, as one reads in the libretto of the comic opera *Patience* by William Schwenck Gilbert, performed for the first time in 1881. Lady Saphir, a «rapturous maiden», watching a group of gentlemen whom, to impress the young ladies, were dressed as the *Æsthetics* and struggled «to look both angular and flat» like members of fraternities portrayed in old paintings, cries out: «How Botticellian! How Fra Angelican! Oh Art! I thank thee for this boon!»⁷⁵.

Familiarity and the purchase of reproductions of the Early Italian masters among a “happy few”⁷⁶ are described in *A Room with a View* by Edward Morgan Forster, published in 1908. While in Florence, the protagonist, Lucy, purchases Alinari photographs of paintings by Giotto and Angelico⁷⁷. Also in the novel, views of the Tuscan landscape are linked to the backgrounds of Alessio Baldo-
vinetti’s works⁷⁸, taking for granted that everyone knew what such backgrounds looked like⁷⁹. The author goes as far as to describe some characters making fun of those who mispronounce the names of Italian painters in the National Gallery of London, or as far as to equate a real conversation to a painted *sacra conversazione*, before admitting that the topic discussed by the characters in the story was too low to allow for the comparison⁸⁰. Lastly, Forster makes some of the ladies of the story resemble the mysterious and charming female figures of Leonardo da Vinci. He is not the only writer to describe his heroines as female figures by Leonardo. Mary Ann Evans alias George Eliot in *Middlemarch*, published initially in several instalments between 1871 and 1873, has the painter Nauman, a character inspired by the Nazarene painter Overbeck, describe the features of Dorothea as very similar to those of Mona Lisa. The frame of reference is here provided by Walter Pater’s description in his 1869 article. I am mentioning only this point from the production of George Eliot, as her preferences in the field of Italian painting focus primarily on the sixteenth century⁸¹.

Imaginary portraits of amateurs and collectors are to be found in prose. Some of these sketches were written by scholars and collectors, who knew the attitude of a collector from personal experience. Martin Conway in *The Sport of Collecting*, which came out in 1914 with a dedication to Wilhelm von Bode⁸², describes “hunting memories” of a collector, from Italian Old Masters, to Greek and Oriental sculp-

tures, and the purchase and restoration of Allington Castle in Kent. References to a fictive private collection of Early masters can be found in the story *The Marchesa Carrie* and to the theft of an early *Madonna* in *The Phantom Botticelli* by Harold Acton, who, in a collection of stories published in 1982, evokes the indulgent lifestyle of the Anglo-Florentines of his parents' generation⁸³.

Other effects of the vivacity of the commerce of Old Masters enter literature, such as their study by amateurs and the exodus, on the other side of the Atlantic, of paintings considered masterpieces. *The Helping Hand*, a posthumous short story by Forster, finished in 1904⁸⁴, is about a case of literary plagiarism between two amateurs. Lady Anstey publishes a monograph in a pocket-size series (resembling slightly Maud Cruttwell's) on an imaginary Tuscan painter of the early Quattrocento, using unpublished material found by an acquaintance, Mister Henderson. The latter finds out about the plagiarism and is able to respond with detachment. The story recalls how the writer Julia Cartright Ady published, without authorization, the contents of a course held by Roger Fry and his reaction to the accident. The authoritative opinion of a famous Italian art historian, Professor Rinaldi, eventually resolves the issue. Consulted during one of his sojourns in London, Rinaldi invalidates the theory of the year of birth of the painter on which the monograph was based, thereby discrediting the entire book⁸⁵. For the second effect mentioned, the story of the forced sale of the most valuable and important pictures belonging to a poverty-stricken noble Florentine family is narrated in *The Unnamed* by William Le Queux in 1902⁸⁶.

Imaginary or proper paintings are also mentioned in short stories or novels. The 1904 historical-fantasy novella *The Wedding Chest* by Vernon Lee opens with the technical entry of an imaginary fifteenth-century Umbrian wedding chest, around which develops a morbid story of love, kidnapping, violence, assassination, and bloody revenge. The macabre action takes place in painters' workshops, olive groves, and Umbrian castles. Here is the (fictional but believable) note that opens the story:

No. 428. A panel (five feet by two feet three inches) formerly the front of a cassone or coffer, intended to contain the garments and jewels of a bride. *Subject*. 'The Triumph of Love.' 'Umbrian School of the Fifteenth Century.' In the right-hand corner is a half-effaced inscription: *Desider...de Civitate Lac...me...ecit*. This valuable painting is unfortunately much damaged by damp and mineral corrosives, owing probably to its having contained at one time buried treasure. Bequeathed in 1878 by the widow of the Rev. Lawson Stone, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge⁸⁷.

In the works of Thomas Hardy, more than thirty references to painters can be found, but only a few among them are «Primitives»⁸⁸. In the 1871 novel *Desperate remedies*, an interesting comparison is provided to describe the hand of a female character called Mrs. Leat: «a narrow bony hand that would have an unparalleled delight to the pencil of Carlo Crivelli»⁸⁹. Crivelli appears again in Hardy's 1891 novel *Tess of the d'Urbervilles: A Pure Woman Faithfully Presented*, where the thinness of Angel Claire, husband of the main character, is compared to a figure of Christ by Crivelli: «You could see the skeleton behind the man, and almost the ghost behind the skeleton; he was Crivelli's dead Christus»; in all probability Hardy is referencing the *Dead Christ supported by two Angels* (fig. 4), a panel that since 1859 has been part of the National Gallery of London⁹⁰. Later, Angel Claire and Lisa-Lu walking in silence after having assisted in the execution of Tess from a distance, are compared to two Apostles with reclining heads by Giotto: «They moved on hand in hand and never spoke a word, the drooping of their heads that of Giotto's two apostles»⁹¹. Hardy was probably thinking of the *Two Haloed Mourners*, a fragment of fresco that since 1856 has been in the National Gallery and was later ascribed to Spinello Aretino (fig. 5)⁹².

The *Last Judgement* by Fra Angelico (fig. 6)⁹³ is mentioned in the novel *The Rainbow* by David Herbert Lawrence, part of the saga of the Brangwen family, originally published in 1915. Will Brangwen has an almost puerile fascination for the Italian «Primitives» that makes him run home to open books with illustrations of panels by Giotto, Angelico, and Filippo Lippi. His daughter, Ursula, who also remembered well those illustrations, found that the figure of God the Father – or, more accurately, Christ Judging – was not of the same fantastic level as the rendering of other elements. According to her impression: «the angels were so lovely, and the light so beautiful. And only for this, to surround such a banality for God!»⁹⁴.

Conclusion

The growing appreciation for the «Primitives» beside making gold backgrounds one of the must-have pieces of early twentieth-century art collections and the object mentioned, described and searched for in fiction, also set the ground for remarkable temporary exhibitions organized all over Europe. «Primitive» paintings were celebrated and displayed in prestigious public buildings for both their aesthetic and cultural value, attracting thousands of visitors. In Italy for instance, between 1904 and 1907, grand exhibitions held in Siena, Chieti, Macerata, and Perugia, celebrated the Early masters of respective local schools of painting. Brit-

ish collections were rich in the Early masters of all these schools, yet it was only in 1923, that the Royal Academy held the first exhibition on British «Primitives». The catalogue of the 1923 exhibition presents a highly informative introduction and scholarly entries of the almost one hundred paintings exhibited⁹⁵. It can be surmised that the study of the British Early school of painting was in part a result of the appreciation of the early masters of more “famous and established” schools and that, according to the different perceptions of history - national, regional or municipal - «Primitives» were considered the pride of a nation, a region, or of a town.

- 1 For a survey on the Italian cultural scenario in these decades, see P. BAROCCHI, *Storia moderna dell'arte in Italia. Manifesti polemiche documenti. Volume primo. Dai neoclassici ai puristi 1780-1861*, Turin 1998, pp. 5-9. For the art historiography of the previous period and the resurgence of interest for the «Primitives» in the second half of the eighteenth century, see M. CAPUCCI, *La storiografia artistica e la cultura del Settecento*, in *Studi in onore di Alberto Chiari*, Brescia 1973, pp. 269-290: 270-288. For their appreciation from art historians and critics during the second half of the nineteenth century, with references to the cult of Angelico in the Victorian Age, see E.H. GOMBRICH, *The Preference for the Primitive. Episodes in the History of Western Taste and Art*, London 2002, pp. 152-176: 155-159. A first formulation of part of what is presented in this paper can be found in E. CAMPOREALE, *Primitivi italiani al muro: riflessi di gusto e collezionismo in letteratura*, «Symbolae antiquariae», II, 2009, pp. 119-161; EAD., *Sugli esordi del collezionismo di Primitivi italiani/On the Early Collections of Italian Primitives*, in *Le stanze dei tesori. Collezionisti e antiquari a Firenze tra Ottocento e Novecento* (with English version), exhibition catalogue (Florence 2011-12), ed. L. Mannini, Florence 2011, pp. 28-43.
- 2 Mixed exposures in secondary university courses are registered in the eighteenth century, a circumstance which provided interesting cultural exposures to students. Johann Heinrich

- Schulze, who was professor of Winckelmann in 1738 at Halle, taught both numismatics and pharmacy. On this and on the interests in natural history of Winckelmann, see E. DÉCULTOT, *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Enquête sur la genèse de l'histoire de l'art*, Paris 2000, pp. 193-215: 197. A century later, at Erlangen, the young Giovanni Morelli dedicated the whole year 1837-38 to the study of natural sciences, see C. GIBSON-WOOD, *Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli*, New York and London 1988, p. 170.
- 3 In 1792 a version of the *Storia pittorica* came out limited to the Schools of Florence, Siena, Rome and Naples. The first complete edition, without images, of the *Storia pittorica dell'Italia* was published in Bassano in three volumes in 1795-96. Besides Lanzi other early contributions were written by Zanetti, Affò and della Valle; see G. PREVITALI, *Collezionisti di primitivi nel Settecento*, «Paragone», CXIII, 1959, pp. 3-32; ID., *La fortuna dei Primitivi. Dal Vasari ai Neoclassici*, Turin 1989, pp. 130-144, especially 133-137. On Lanzi's criteria in the context of eighteenth century studies, see CAPUCCI, *La storiografia*, pp. 288-290; P. BAROCCHI, *Storiografia e collezionismo dal Vasari al Lanzi*, in *Storia dell'arte italiana. Parte prima. Materiali e problemi. Volume secondo. L'artista e il suo pubblico*, ed. G. Previtali, 12 vols, Turin 1979, pp. 7-81: 80-81; F. BOLOGNA, *La coscienza storica dell'arte in Italia*, Turin 1982, pp. 152-157.
 - 4 To give an idea of the sequence of suppressions which took place in Tuscany only, the first wave of closures occurred in the 1770s, another took place in the 1790s and under the French between 1808 and 1815. Only the latter took place in the nineteenth century, the object of this study but all created the premises for the already mentioned exhibition of «Primitives» in the Louvre of 1814. On the last suppression, see F. LAPUCCI, *Fonti d'archivio per la storia delle arti durante la soppressione napoleonica a Firenze*, «Rivista d'arte», XXXIX, s. 4, 1987, pp. 475-493.
 - 5 For updated biographies of the first collectors of primitives and on pioneer collections and galleries formed and opened in Italy, see *La Fortuna dei Primitivi. Tesori d'arte dalle collezioni italiane fra Sette e Ottocento*, exhibition catalogue (Florence 2014), eds A. Tartuferi and G. Tormen, Florence 2014.
 - 6 On the growing appreciation of Italian painting in England in the eighteenth century, from John Breval, through Patch, Ottley, Lindsay, Eastlake to Ruskin, see C. VON KLENZE, *The Growth of Interest in the Early Italian Masters*, «Modern Philology», IV/2, 1906, pp. 207-274: 267-274; T. BORENIUS, *The Rediscovery of the Primitives*, «The Quarterly Review», CCXXXIX, 1923, pp. 258-270; J.R. HALE, *England and the Italian Renaissance*, London 1954, pp. 74-83, 108-117, 149-168; S. WILDMAN, *Ruskin e i grandi maestri italiani*, in *Dante Gabriele Rossetti, Edward Burne-Jones e il mito dell'Italia nell'Inghilterra vittoriana*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2011), eds M.T. Benedetti et al., Milan 2011, pp. 38-51; S. AVERY-QUASH, *Collector Connoisseurs or Spiritual Aesthetes? The Role of Anglican Clergy in the Growth of Interest in Collecting and Displaying Early Italian Art (1830s – 1880s)*, in *Sacred Text – Sacred Space. Architectural, Spiritual and Literary Convergences in England and Wales*, eds J. Sterret and P. Thomas, Leiden 2011, pp. 269-295: 274-279; P. COEN, *Collezionare pittura italiana nella Britannia del Settecento*, in *Hogarth Reynolds Turner. Pittura inglese verso la modernità*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2014), eds C. Brook and V. Curzi, Milan 2014, pp. 124-133: 128.
 - 7 On the sojourn in Italy of Reynolds, on his activity as copyist and possibly caricaturist (inspired by Patch) and on his purchases of prints, plasters, drawings and old pictures as well as on his artistic predilections while in Italy, see J. INGAMELLS, *Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800 compiled from the Brinsley Ford Archive*, New Haven and London 1997, pp. 808-810; G. PERINI FOLESANI, *Sir Joshua Reynolds in Italia (1750-1752). Passaggio in Toscana. Il taccuino 201 a 10 del British Museum*, Florence 2012, pp. 13, 111-118, 123, 140,

- 145-147; EAD., *Reynolds a Roma*, in *Hogarth Reynolds Turner. Pittura inglese verso la modernità*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2014), eds C. Brook and V. Curzi, Milan 2014, pp. 108-115.
- 8 For a commentary on a drawing of a male figure by Reynolds taken from a chapel in the Carmine church of which the original was lost in the fire of 1771 and on the probable opening towards the «Primitives» inspired by Hughford to Patch, see G. PERINI FOLESANI, *Sir Joshua*, pp. 333-335. On Reynolds and the Italian «Primitives», several drawings of which he had in his collection, see *ibid.*, pp. 121, 154, 195, 220-221, 232-233.
 - 9 Beginning in 1768, Reynolds was the first president of the Royal Academy of Arts. From 1769 to 1790 he gave the official speeches, where his theories and experiences were summarized; for references to the genius of Michelangelo in his official (fifteen) speeches, see R.R. WARK, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: Discourses on Art*, ed. New Haven and London 1997, pp. 81, 82-84, 272-273. On his early “private” predilection for Giambologna as it emerges from his Italian journals, see PERINI FOLESANI, *Sir Joshua*, pp. 131-133.
 - 10 On Reynolds visiting the Hugford collection, see PERINI FOLESANI, *Sir Joshua*, pp. 121, 196, 238-239. Hugford was a pioneer in collecting Early Masters, among them Botticelli. On him and for a survey on other great English collectors of «Primitives» of the eighteenth century, see for example G. PREVITALI, *La fortuna dei Primitivi. Dal Vasari ai Neoclassici*, Turin 1964, pp. 222-224; ID., *Les Primitifs et les collectionneurs au 18e siècle*, «L'Oeil», CXXI, 1965, pp. 2-15; 7; J. FLEMING, *The Hugfords from Florence (Part I)*, «Connoisseur», CXXXVI/548, 1955, pp. 106-110; ID., *The Hugfords from Florence (Part II) With a provisional catalogue of the collection of Ignazio Enrico Hugford*, «Connoisseur», CXXXVI/549, 1955, pp. 197-206; F. BORRONI SALVADORI, *Ignazio Enrico Hugford, collezionista con la vocazione del mercante*, «Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa», XIII, s. 3, 1983, pp. 1025-1056.
 - 11 Patch, pupil of Vernet in Rome, was exiled in 1755, and then settled in Florence, where he started working as a caricaturist and painter of Florence landscapes made for English travellers; see F.J.B. WATSON, *Thomas Patch (1725-1782): Notes on his Life, together with a Catalogue on his known Works*, «Walpole Society», XVIII, 1939-40, pp. 15-50; B. FORD, *The Grand Tour*, «Apollo», CXIV/238, 1981, pp. 390-400: 396-397. Useful also for a survey on the itineraries in Italy of English travellers of the eighteenth century are M. CHIARINI, *Thomas Patch (Exeter 1725 – Firenze 1782)*, in *Firenze e la sua immagine cinque secoli di vedutismo*, exhibition catalogue (Florence 1994), eds M. Chiarini and A. Marabottini, Venice 1994, pp. 292, 160-170; F. NAVARRO, *Un inglese in Oltrarno. Omaggio a Thomas Patch (1725-1782)*, exhibition catalogue (Florence 2007), Livorno 2007. On the exposure towards the «Primitives» probably provided by Hugford to Patch, see PERINI FOLESANI, *Sir Joshua*, p. 121.
 - 12 The 1770 engravings were based on the frescoes of the Brancacci Chapel, and those of 1772 on the frescoes of the Manetti Chapel, given to Giotto by Vasari and later attributed to Spinello Aretino. Most of the latter frescoes were destroyed in the 1771 fire; see L. MOROZZI, *Da Lasinio a Sterbini. 'Primitivi' in una raccolta romana di secondo Ottocento*, in *Aei mnes-tos. Miscellanea di Studi per Mauro Cristofani*, II, Florence 2006, pp. 908-916: 910; E.A. MASER, *Giotto, Masaccio, Ghiberti and Thomas Patch*, in *Festschrift Klaus Lankheit zum 20 Mai 1973*, ed. W. Hartmann, Cologne 1973, pp. 192-199; P. CASSINELLI LAZZERI, *La fortuna grafica della Cappella Brancacci tra Settecento e Ottocento*, in O. CASAZZA and P. CASSINELLI LAZZERI, *La Cappella Brancacci. Conservazione e restauro nei documenti della grafica antica*, Modena 1989, pp. 35-108: 35-65. In the short introduction to the 1772 series of thirteen engravings, Patch declared to have been able to detach from the wall a few fragments of the Manetti Chapel which survived the fire; see T. PATCH, [*Pitture di Giotto nella Chiesa del Carmine, disegnat e incise da T. Patch*], Florence 1772, s.n.p. One is today at the National Gallery of

London (fig. 4); see M. DAVIES and D. GORDON, *The Early Italian Schools before 1400*, London 1988, pp. 95-96, pl. 65; for other fragments MASER, *Giotto*, p. 199 note 21. See also Sam SMILES' essay in this volume.

- 13 Hervey lived long in Rome and for short periods sojourned in Florence and Siena. He collected pictures and among them were «Primitives». His rich collection was temporarily confiscated by the French in 1798 and then dispersed by the heirs; see B. FOTHERGILL, *The Mitred Earl. An Eighteenth-Century Eccentric*, London 1974, pp. 51, 131, 222-224, 234, 236. Concerning the plan announced in letters in 1796 of showing in his gallery the progress of painting with the Italian paintings divided in Venetian, Bolognese, Florentine, Roman and Neapolitan schools; see *ibid.* pp. 43, 177-179. See also PREVITALI, *La fortuna*, p. 226; F. HASKELL, *Rediscoveries in Art. Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France*, London 1976, pp. 58-59; INGAMILLS, *Dictionary*, pp. 126-130.
- 14 In 1782 Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni dedicated a room to Early pictures in the Uffizi, a previous, similar proposal was formulated by the former Director Raimondo Cocchi in 1772; see P. FINDLEN, *The 2012 Josephine Waters Bennett Lecture. The Eighteenth-Century Invention of the Renaissance: Lessons from the Uffizi*, «Renaissance Quarterly», LXVI, 2013, pp. 1-34: 19-24; M. FILETI MAZZA, «*Ho vedute delle pitture di Giotto e Taddeo Gaddi che non avevo mai studiate o avvertite: il cammino della galleria verso i Primitivi*», in *La Fortuna*, pp. 39-53: 48-49; C. DE BENEDICTIS, «*Etruria pittrice: all'origine del collezionismo di Primitivi in Toscana*», in *La Fortuna*, pp. 67-77: 69-71.
- 15 For Denon's requisitions of primitive paintings carried out in Tuscany in 1812, see C. PASQUINELLI, *I furti d'arte in Toscana durante gli anni del dominio francese*, Livorno 2005, pp. 71-72, 77-80. On the 1814 show, the «Primitives» left in France by the Tuscan commissioners at the end of the Napoleonic era in order to obtain more important pieces and the exhibition organized in Florence of the art recovered, see M. PRETI HAMARD, *L'exposition des «écoles primitives» au Louvre. «La partie historique qui manquait au Musée»*, in *Dominique-Vivant Denon. L'œil de Napoléon*, exhibition catalogue (Paris 1999-2000), ed. M.A. Dupuy, Paris 1999, pp. 226-243; I. SGARBOZZA, *Louvre 1793-1814: la pittura dei primitivi italiani*, in *La scoperta dei primitivi fra Sette e Ottocento*, «Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte», LXXVII, 2002, pp. 24-40; G. PAOLINI, «*Simulacri spiranti, imagin vive*». *Il recupero delle opere d'arte toscane nel 1815*, Florence 2006, pp. 25, 48, 52.
- 16 For Séroux and his long, monumental work, and on the different approaches of his numerous illustrators and of Ottley in particular, see H. LOYRETTE, *Séroux d'Agincourt et les origines de l'art médiéval*, «*Révue de l'Art ancien et moderne*», XLVIII, 1980, pp. 40-56: 47-49.
- 17 For Ottley's various collections and activity as a dealer, see J.A. GERE, *William Young Ottley as a Collector of Drawings*, «*British Museum Quarterly*», XVIII, 1953, pp. 44-53: 50-51; A.N.L. MUNBY, *Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850*, Oxford 1972, pp. 62-68; INGAMILLS, *Dictionary*, pp. 728-729. For a list of the eighty-one Early Italian pictures, see E.K. WATERHOUSE, *Some notes on William Young Ottley's Collection of Italian Primitives*, in *Italian Studies presented to E.R. Vincent on his retirement from the Chair of Italian at Cambridge*, Cambridge 1962, pp. 272-280.
- 18 Between 1823 and 1825 John Sartain was employed to engrave the plates for the series of the *Early Florentine School* and his engraving table stood in one of the rooms of Ottley's picture gallery. For the citation and for a description of the rooms and of the friends and connoisseurs visiting in those twenty months of work, see J. SARTAIN, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man 1808-1897*, New York 1899, pp. 93-107: 98.

- 19 Only very late fifteenth-century works with a strong sixteenth-century flavour, such as Mantegna, Perugino and Giovanni Bellini, were capable of real appreciation in England until the early 1840s; see G. REITLINGER, *The Economics of Taste. The Rise and Fall of Picture Prices, 1760-1960*, London 1961, pp. 122-125. For the history of taste in this period, with references to the positions for Quattrocento artists and against the "Orcagnic horrors" held by the «Art Journal», see HASKELL, *Rediscoveries*, pp. 52-56.
- 20 For Solly and his appreciation of primitives, see F. HERMANN, *Who was Solly? Part 2. The Collector and his Collection*, «The Connoisseur», CLXV/663, 1967, pp. 13-18: 14. On Solly's Early Italian pictures, see ID., *Who was Solly? Part 3: the Italian pictures*, «The Connoisseur», CLXV/665, 1967, pp. 153-161; M. DIETL, *The picture gallery of Berlin. The formation of the Solly Collection*, in *Giovanni Morelli e la cultura dei conoscitori*, conference proceedings (Bergamo 1987), eds G. Agosti et al., 3 vols, Bergamo 1993, 1, pp. 49-59; R.F. LACHER, *Solly, Hirt und die frühe italienische Malerei. Ein Kapitel aus der Gründungsgeschichte der Berliner Gemäldegalerie*, in *Geschichten auf Gold. Bilderzählungen in der frühen italienische Malerei*, exhibition catalogue (Berlin 2005-2006), ed. S. Weppelmann, Berlin and Cologne 2005, pp. 18-25; R. SKWIRBLIES, "Ein Nationalgut, auf das jeder Einwhoner stolz sein dürfte" *Die Sammlung Solly als Grundlage der Berliner Gemäldegalerie*, «Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen», LI, 2009, pp. 69-99.
- 21 See S. AVERY-QUASH, *The Growth of Interest in Early Italian Painting in Britain with particular reference to pictures in the National Gallery*, in D. GORDON, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Fifteenth Century Italian Paintings*, 1, London 2003, pp. XXV-XLIV, XXXIV-XXXVI: XXXV. Most of Layard's pictures since 1916 are in the National Gallery, London; on the collection's display in Ca' Cappello, Venice, see C. RIVA, *La collezione Layard nel catalogo dattiloscritto 1896*, «Predella», XXXV, 2014, pp. 53-78.
- 22 In a letter dated 5 February 1827, Fox-Strangways states that he is making a collection of «Giottos etc [...] One can not buy many of these as there are but few. When well known & of famous pictures they are tolerably dear, but others equally good are sometimes found in a corner for nothing». As a matter of fact his collection amounted to 100 paintings in total; «Primitives» were a good half and Tuscan's predominant. In the same letter and again on 25 March 1828 he wished he could sell, once made, a historical collection with one specimen of each school from Cimabue to Giovanni Bellini to the National Gallery. His other published letters provide information about copyists, Italian art dealers and the taste for Italian High Renaissance pictures; see C. LLOYD, *Picture Hunting in Italy. Some unpublished Letters (1824-1829)*, «Italian Studies», XXX, 1975, pp. 42-68. See also J. BYAM SHAW, *Paintings by Old Masters at Christ Church Oxford*, London 1967, pp. 9-10; C. LLOYD, *A Catalogue of the Earlier Italian Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum*, Oxford 1977, pp. XV-XXV; ID., *Fox-Strangways and Fortnum: two collectors of Italian Art*, «Apollo», CXVII, 1983, pp. 280-287.
- 23 Roscoe formed his collection in the first decade of the nineteenth century envisioning public fruition and with a didactic purpose: to illustrate the rise and progress of the arts in Germany, Flanders and Italy. He owned an important library and is the author of an unpublished essay in which he sketches the history of medieval book illumination in Italy; see MUNBY, *Connoisseurs*, pp. 68-71. By 1813 he had written a manuscript catalogue of it. In 1816 he was compelled to sell it for financial difficulties, in the sale catalogue written by the owner himself, thirty-two lots appear to be Italian «Primitives». Roscoe bought them through local dealers and offered thirty-five paintings to the Royal Institution, which he co-founded and who purchased them. The bulk of the collections of the Liverpool Royal Institution was deposited at the Walker Art Gallery in 1893 and formally given in 1948. For this

- data and for a wider picture on the reception, knowledge and the trade, with references to their presence, even if limited, in other coeval collections in England, see M. COMPTON, *William Roscoe and Early Collectors of Italian Primitives*, «The Liverpool Libraries, Museums & Arts Committee Bulletin», IX, 1960-1961, pp. 26-51 and REITLINGER, *The Economics*, pp. 119-129.
- 24 The posthumous sale of Greville's collection took place at Christie's on 31 March 1810; see F. RUSSELL, *Greville*, in *Dictionary of Art*, ed. J. Turner, 26 vols, London 1996, 13, p. 644; INGAMELLS, *Dictionary*, pp. 429-430.
 - 25 Roger, the first untitled Trustee of the National Gallery of London was, as Anna Jameson wrote, among those who collected pictures «for love, for companionship, for communion»; his collection was sold in 1856 and his handful of primitives were «selected for their beauty and sentiment, and not as mere curiosities»; see A. JAMESON, *A Companion to the most celebrated Private Galleries of Art in London*, London 1844, pp. 381-413: 383, 390. See also AVERY-QUASH *The Growth*, p. XXVI.
 - 26 John Strange served as British consul in Venice from 1773 to 1788; he died in England in 1799. His collection, which included fifteenth-century Venetian pictures, was dispersed in London in three sales after his death; see A. DORIGATO, *Storie di collezionisti a Venezia. Il residente inglese John Strange*, in *Per Giuseppe Mazzariol*, eds M. Brusatin et al., Rome 1992, pp. 126-130; INGAMELLS, *Dictionary*, pp. 903-904.
 - 27 Prince Albert was the only royal collector to have travelled in Italy as a young man. His visit in 1838-39 awakened his love for Early Florentine painting; in Rome he met Ludwig Grüner, his future artistic adviser. In 1863, after Prince Albert's death, Queen Victoria decided to present the collection to the National Gallery, for which the cream of the Early Italian pictures was selected; see J. SHEARMAN, *The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, Cambridge 1983, pp. XIV-XV; AVERY-QUASH *The Growth*, p. XXXI; L. WHITAKER, M. CLAYTON, *The Art of Italy in the Royal Collection. Renaissance & Baroque*, London 2007, p. 39; *Victoria & Albert. Art & Love*, London 2010, ed. J. Marsden, pp. 12-53: 31-33; and *ibid.* pp. 166-175 for entries on a selection of Prince Albert's Italian primitives.
 - 28 For an entry on this watercolor, including identifications of the Early Italian paintings, all acquired between 1845 and 1848, see K. HEARD, *James Roberts (c. 1800-1867) Osborne: the Prince's Dressing and Writing Room 1851 in Victoria & Albert. Art & Love*, p. 196.
 - 29 The bulk of the Davenport Bromley collection was sold by his son at auction in 1863: of 174 lots only nine pictures were bought in. One, the *Dormition* by Giotto now in Berlin, served as a source of inspiration for the mosaic reredos of the family chapel in Capeshorne, designed by Alan Booker and executed in 1889 by the Venetian firm Salviati; see L. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT, *The History of Capeshorne Cheshire*, privately printed, 1974, pp. 8-9, 15. For references to Davenport Bromley and other clergymen-connoisseurs who were ardent supporters of High Church Anglicanism, such as the Reverends Fuller Russell and Sutton, see F. RUSSELL, *A Means of Devotion: Italian art and the Clerical Connoisseur*, «Country Life», CLXXVIII, 1985, pp. 1748-1751; AVERY-QUASH *The Growth*, p. XXVI; EAD., *Collector Connoisseurs*, pp. 284-286. See also F. HASKELL, *The British as Collectors*, in *The Treasure Houses of Britain. Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, exhibition catalogue (Washington 1985), ed. G. Jackson-Stops, Washington, New Haven and London 1985, pp. 50-59: 54, fig. 9, p. 59.
 - 30 On the market of Tuscan «Primitives» in London in the decades prior to Queen Victoria's accession, see F. RUSSELL and D. LYGON, *Tuscan Primitives in London Sales 1801-1837*, «The

- Burlington Magazine», CXXII, 1980, pp. 112-117.
- 31 Among the 16000 paintings of Joseph Fesch (1763-1839), uncle of Napoleon, several hundreds were «Primitives». The collection was partially sold through a series of sales that took place between 1816 and 1845 and partially donated to the city of Ajaccio, upon the Cardinal's death. The inventory written in that occasion lists approximately 250 Italian «Primitives», forty-two of which are today part of the Musée Fesch at Ajaccio; see D. THIEBAUT, *Ajaccio, Musée Fesch. Les Primitifs italiens*, Paris 1987, pp. 22-31, 158-189; P. COSTAMAGNA, *Données historiques de la collection Fesch*, in *Le goût de la peinture italienne autour de 1800. Prédecesseurs, modèles et concurrents du Cardinal Fesch*, proceedings of the symposium (Ajaccio 2005), ed. O. Bonfait et al., Ajaccio 2006, pp. 21-32. For the French collectors of Italian «Primitives», see N. VOLLE and C. DURY, *Pour une histoire des collections publiques françaises de Primitifs italiens: apports du Répertoire des tableaux italiens en France (XIIIe-XIXe siècles) à l'histoire du goût*, in *Primitifs italiens: le vrai, le faux, la fortune critique*, exhibition catalogue (Ajaccio 2012), ed. E. Moench, Cinisello Balsamo 2012, pp. 25-43.
 - 32 For the perception of Angelico in this period among painters and critics, see C. BON VAL-VASSINA, *Il purismo religioso e Beato Angelico*, in *Beato Angelico e Benozzo Gozzoli. Artisti del Rinascimento a Perugia*, exhibition catalogue (Perugia 1998-1999), ed. V. Garibaldi, Cinisello Balsamo 1998, pp. 92-101; G.C. SCIOLLA, *„...Giovanni Angelico pittore, di fama non inferiore a Giotto né a Cimabue“. Protagonisti, interpreti e problemi della fortuna critica, in Beato Angelico. L'alba del Rinascimento*, exhibition catalogue (Rome 2009), eds A. Zuccari et al., Milan 2009, pp. 71-88: 75-77.
 - 33 For these two events, see HASKELL, *Rediscoveries*, p. 97; ID., *Old Master Exhibitions and the second "Rediscovery of the Primitives"*, in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte. Etudes sur la peinture du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance*, Milan and Paris 1994, pp. 552-564: 557-558. The painting was sold to the Royal Museums of Berlin in 1884; for an entry see P. PALLADINO, *Fra Angelico. 32. The Last Judgement, in Fra Angelico*, exhibition catalogue (New York and New Haven 2005-2006), eds L. Kanter and P. Palladino, New York 2005, pp. 165-171.
 - 34 Fuller Russell was curator at Enfield and from 1856 rector at Greenhithe, Kent. He was described as an enthusiastic admirer of ecclesiastical art from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, and his collection was auctioned in 1885; see HASKELL, *Rediscoveries*, p. 68; RUSSELL, *A Means*; AVERY-QUASH *The Growth*, p. XXVI; EAD., *Collector connoisseurs*, pp. 286-288.
 - 35 For the citation, see G. WAAGEN, *Treasures of Art of Great Britain*, 4 vols, London 1854, 2, p. 461. Waagen made a similar remark on the home of Alexander Beresford Hope, devout Anglican with a passion for Gothic art, whose house was filled with medieval furniture, fixtures and a modest collection for early paintings; see AVERY-QUASH, *Collector connoisseurs*, p. 291.
 - 36 For Sutton, vicar at Brant Boughton and then appointed Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral, whose pictures were dispersed at auction between 1924 and 1926, see AVERY-QUASH, *Collector connoisseurs*, pp. 288-290.
 - 37 See H. BRIGSTOCKE, *Lord Lindsay: Travel in Italy and Northern Europe, 1841-42, for Sketches of the History of Christian Art*, «The Walpole Society», LXV, 2003, pp. 161-258 and H. BRIGSTOCKE, *Lord Lindsay as a collector of Paintings*, in *'A poet in Paradise'. Lord Lindsay and Christian Art*, exhibition catalogue (Edinburgh 2000), ed. A. Weston Lewis, Edinburgh 2000, pp. 25-33. For a brief overview of the writings on Early Italian art published in England in this period, see D. SUTTON, XIV. *From Ottley to Eastlake*, «Apollo», CXXIII, 1985, pp. 84-95: 89-90.
 - 38 For the formation, consistency and dispersion of the Northwick Collection, which took

- place in 1859, see O. BRADBURY and N. PENNY, *The picture collecting of Lord Northwick: Part II*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXLIV, 2002, pp. 606-617.
- 39 Robert Holford was a great builder and a great collector, and his love for architecture is exemplified in the building of Dorchester House in London, decorated mainly with paintings chosen as examples of the maturity of each style, while in a countryhouse at Westonbirt he displayed several «Primitives»; see R. BENSON, *The Holford Collection Dorchester House with 200 illustrations from the twelfth to the end of the nineteenth century*, 2 vols, Oxford 1927; R. BENSON, *Catalogue of pictures and other objects of art selected from the collections of Mr. Robert Holford [1808-1892] mainly from Westonbirt in Gloucestershire*, London, privately printed for the Burlington Fine Arts Club Winter Exhibition 1921-1922, pp. 10-12.
 - 40 Gambier Parry's interest in fourteenth-century paintings began to develop in the 1850s and the most intense period of acquisition in this field was the early 1860s; in 1966 the collection of this painter was bequeathed to the Courtauld Institute of London; see *A Great Victorian*, «The Burlington Magazine», CIX, 1967, pp. 111-112; A. BLUNT, *The History of the Thomas Gambier Parry's Collection*, *ibid.*, pp. 112-116; E. FAHY, *Some Early Italian Pictures in the Gambier Parry Collection*, *ibid.*, pp. 128-139; D. FARR, *Thomas Gambier Parry as a Collector*, in *Thomas Gambier Parry 1816-1888 as Artist and Collector*, exhibition catalogue (London 1993), ed. D. Farr, London 1993, pp. 30-45: 36-39; AVERY-QUASH, *Collector connoisseurs*, pp. 290-291.
 - 41 William Noell Hill, second lord of Berwick, formed a picture gallery at Attingham Park, and by the end of his life he was forced to hold sales in 1827 and 1829; see J. STOURTON, C. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, *The British as Collectors. From the Tudors to the Present*, London 2012, pp. 159-161.
 - 42 Part of his collection is now in Oxford, donated by a great-niece; see BYAM SHAW, *Paintings*, pp. 10-11. On Sir Walter Savage Landor, see J.J. JARVES, *Art - Hints Architecture, Sculpture and Painting*, London 1855, pp. VII-XI; J. FORSTER, *Walter Savage Landor. A biography*, 2 vols, London 1869, 2, pp. 253-272, 465-477. For his life-style, acquaintances and love for Florence, see G. ARTOM TREVES, *Anglo-Fiorentinini di cento anni fa*, Florence 1953, pp. 53-76 and G. GALIGANI, *W.S. Landor: un'immagine di Fiesole*, in *Inghilterra e Toscana nell'Ottocento. Atti del Congresso di Bagni di Lucca per il Cinquantenario del British Institute of Florence*, Florence 1968, pp. 181-196.
 - 43 This stately Old Master collection, visited by Waagen, counted several Italian «primitives»; see *Catalogue of pictures at Stansted Hall*, s.e. 1872, pp. 5-9.
 - 44 Assembled between 1830 and 1837 in Florence, this collection counted approximately 200 paintings, mainly Italian including a few gothic pictures. The account book of his purchases is in the Barber Institute, Birmingham. After the first sale of 1839, Sanford retained only about sixty pictures. After-death sales of 1899 and 1920 depleted the collection further; see B. NICOLSON, *The Sandford Collection*, «The Burlington Magazine», XCVII, 1955, pp. 207-214;
 - 45 William Drury Lowe was in Italy in 1842 with his family and throughout the following twenty-five years paid several further visits. It appears that most of the Italian «Primitives» were purchased in Italy between 1862 and 1864. On his collection, catalogued by Jean Paul Richter in 1901, see *Pictures from Locko Park Derbyshire*, exhibition catalogue (Nottingham 1968), ed. A. Smart, Nottingham 1968; A. SMART, *The Locko Park Collection*, «Apollo», LXXXVII, 1968, pp. 204-207; R. CALVOCORESSI, *Locko Park: An important Family Collection*, «Connoisseur», CXCLII/772, 1976, pp. 141-145.
 - 46 William Jones is less known among these collectors; from the sale catalogue of 1852

- emerges that approximately one-fifth of the 125 paintings of the Jones collection were «Primitives» ; see F. RUSSELL, *Early Italian pictures and some English collectors*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXXXVI, 1994, pp. 85-90: 89-90.
- 47 See F.M. REDGRAVE, *Richard Redgrave C.B., R.A. A Memoir*, London 1891, pp. 188-189 and D. SUTTON, XV. *The Age of Robert Browning*, «Apollo», CXXII, 1985, pp. 96-110: 104. On the nine Italian pictures acquired (for rather low prices) by the National Gallery at the Barker's sale of 1874, see REITLINGER, *The Economics*, pp. 127-128.
 - 48 The Drawing Room was the most expensive of all the State Rooms at Longleat; in 1877 its decoration was paid to Crave £ 1,132. The ceiling includes both copies of paintings of the ceiling of the Library of San Marco by Antonio Caldara than original panels, the frieze for instance is by Pietro Liberi. The Marquess went to Venice, Florence and Rome on a Grand Tour in 1854 and sojourned in Venice again in 1867 and 1875; see M. ALDRICH, *The Marquess and the decorator*, «Country Life», CLXXXIII/49, 1989, pp. 162-167: 166; STOURTON, SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, *The British*, p. 219 and fig. 253, p. 219.
 - 49 See *Catalogue of Art Treasures*, exhibition catalogue (Manchester 1857), London 1857. On this exhibition, see J. STEEGMAN, *Consort of Taste 1830-1870*, London 1950, pp. 66, 236-247; *Art Treasures Centenary. European Old Masters*, exhibition catalogue (Manchester 1957), Manchester 1957; F. HASKELL, *Old Master Exhibitions and the second "Rediscovery of the Primitives"*, in *Hommage à Michel Laclotte*, pp. 553-554; ID., *The Ephemeral Museum. Old Master Paintings and the Rise of the Art Exhibition*, New Haven and London 2000, pp. 82-89, 97, 149-150.
 - 50 See D. SUTTON, XVI. *Crowe and Cavalcaselle*, «Apollo», CXXII, 1985, pp. 111-117; D. LEVI, *Cavalcaselle. Il pioniere della conservazione dell'arte italiana*, Turin 1988.
 - 51 The National Gallery never equalled the range of the acquisitions made in the late 1850s. For Eastlake's purchases and the low prices paid, and for his contribution to the collection and its study, see REITLINGER, *The Economics*, pp. 125-127; D. ROBERTSON, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World*, Princeton 1978, pp. 274-323; AVERY-QUASH, *The Growth*, pp. XXIX-XXXII; C. SAUMAREZ SMITH, *The National Gallery. A Short History*, London 2009, pp. 67-80.
 - 52 The report was written by the Trustee Robert Benson. As a matter of fact the last British public body acquiring Early Italian paintings between the end of nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century was the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, and often for irrelevant sums. See AVERY-QUASH, *The Growth*, pp. XXXII-XXXIII, XXXVI.
 - 53 Woodburn's eighty-three Italian paintings were probably purchased in Italy with the intent of selling them en block to the National Gallery; ten years before Fox-Strangways had envisioned a similar move. For details see AVERY-QUASH, *The Growth*, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.
 - 54 On Dennistoun as an antiquarian, historian, traveller and collector, see H. BRIGSTOCKE, *James Dennistoun as a Collector and Traveller*, «Connoisseur», CLXXXIV/740, 1973, pp. 90-97; ID., *James Dennistoun's Second European Tour 1836-1839*, «Connoisseur», CLXXXIV/742, 1973, pp. 240-249; ID., *Memoirs of The Dukes of Urbino, James Dennistoun: Collection and Traveller*, «Connoisseur», CXCVIII/798, 1978, pp. 316-322; P. KIDD, *La storia del ms. Yates Thompson 29*, in *Il libro d'Ore di Bonaparte Ghislieri*, ed. M. Medica, Modena 2008, pp. 209-234: 213-216.
 - 55 This collection was sold in 1849, see F. HASKELL, *William Coningham and his collection of Old Masters*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXXXIII, 1991, pp. 676-681.

- 56 See G.S. WEINBERG, "Looking backward". Opportunities for the Pre-Raphaelites to see "pre-Raphaelite art", in *Collecting the Pre-Raphaelites. The Anglo-American Enchantment*, ed. M. Frederick Watson, London 1997, pp. 51-62, G.S. WEINBERG, *D.G. Rossetti's ownership of Botticelli's 'Smeralda Brandini'*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXLVI, 2004, pp. 20-26, C. HARRISON, *The Pre-Raphaelites and Italian Art before and after Raphael*, in *The Pre-Raphaelites and Italy*, exhibition catalogue (Oxford 2010), eds C. Harrison and C. Newall, Oxford 2010, pp. 10-21: 16-20.
- 57 On the founder and first President of the Club, see C. MARITANO, *Emanuele d'Azeglio, collezionista a Londra*, in *Diplomazia Musei Collezionismo tra il Piemonte e l'Europa negli anni del Risorgimento*, ed. G. Romano, Turin 2011, pp. 37-117: 44-48, EAD., *Emanuele d'Azeglio e le sue collezioni, da Londra a Torino*, in *Emanuele d'Azeglio. Il collezionismo come passione*, exhibition catalogue (Turin 2016-2017), ed. EAD., Cinisello Balsamo 2016, pp. 9-23. For a list of the ninety-seven original members of 1857, see BENSON, Catalogue, pp. 6-8.
- 58 For a brief history and pictures of the Burlington Club, see E. CAMPOREALE, *L'esposizione di arte senese del 1904 al Burlington Fine Arts Club di Londra*, in *Il segreto della civiltà. La mostra dell'antica arte senese del 1904 cento anni dopo*, exhibition catalogue (Siena 2005-2006), eds G. Cantelli et al., Siena 2005, pp. 484-517: 485-489.
- 59 See E. DANZINGER, *The Cook Collection its founder and its inheritors*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXLVI, 2004, pp. 444-458. The volume dedicated to the Italian pictures in the Cook Collection came out in 1913, written by Tancred Borenius was considered a model of its kind.
- 60 See A. SUMNER, *Sir John Charles Robinson, Victorian collector and connoisseur*, «Apollo», CXXX, 1989, pp. 226-230.
- 61 On Butler, see AVERY-QUASH, *The Growth*, pp. XXXV-XXXVI.
- 62 Benson's Sieneese Early pictures were exhibited at the Burlington Club in 1904; see E. CAMPOREALE, *Exhibition of Pictures of the School of Siena and Examples of the Minor Arts of that City*, in *Il segreto della civiltà*, pp. 224-237. The banker (and connoisseur) shared his interest in Italian painting with his wife Evelyn and was partially inspired by Fairfax Murray. The Benson collection of 120 Italian Old Masters was sold in 1927, two years after his death; see R.L. DOUGLAS, *I dipinti senesi passati dalla Collezione Benson in America*, «Rassegna d'arte senese», XX, 1927, pp. 99-106; C. SEBAG MONTEFIORE, *R.H. Benson as a Collector*, in J. WAKE, *Kleinwort, Benson: The History of Two Families in Banking*, Oxford 1997, pp. 481-487; and J. WAKE, *Kleinwort, Benson*, pp. 180, 181, 202-203, 282.
- 63 Henry Wagner was also a mountaineer and a collector of drawings and of objects of applied art. Among the eighteen paintings offered to the National Gallery, thirteen were early Italians, four Early Flemish and one German, and more Early paintings were sold in 1925; see A. WAGNER, A. DALE, *The Wagners of Brighton*, London 1983, pp. 143-144 and AVERY-QUASH *The Growth*, p. XXXVIII.
- 64 The most important Early Flemish and Italian paintings were sold by Willett in 1896, and 60 others along with numerous porcelain and pottery pieces were donated to the Brighton Museum; see J. RUTHERFORD, *Henry Willett as a Collector*, «Apollo», CXV, 1982, pp. 176-181.
- 65 For the interiors of Vincigliata, see F. BALDRY, *John Temple Leader e il Castello di Vincigliata. Un episodio di restauro e di collezionismo nella Firenze dell'Ottocento*, Florence 1997, pp. 159-164.
- 66 Stibbert amassed approximately 30000 pieces in his life; costumes and applied art ob-

- jects were predominating. See S. DE MARCO, *Frederick Stibbert. Vita di un collezionista*, Turin 2009, pp. 105-124. See also Martina Beccatini's essay in this volume.
- 67 For Spence as writer and dealer, see J. FLEMING, *Art dealing in the Risorgimento II*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXXI, 1979, pp. 492-508; ID., *Art dealing in the Risorgimento III*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXXI, 1979, pp. 568-580; D. LEVI, *William Blundell Spence e Firenze*, in *Studi e ricerche di collezionismo e museografia Firenze 1820-1920*, Pisa 1985, pp. 85-149.
- 68 See P. TUCKER, *Charles Fairfax Murray e Firenze*, in *I giardini delle regine il mito di Firenze nell'ambiente preraffaelita e nella cultura americana fra Ottocento e Novecento*, exhibition catalogue (Florence 2004), eds M. Ciacci and G. Gobbi Sica, Livorno 2004, pp. 102-111.
- 69 For Horne, his relationships and his museum, see D. SUTTON, *Herbert Horne, a Pioneer Historian of Early Italian Art*, «Apollo», CXIII, 1985, pp. 130-159; L. MOROZZI, *Appunti su Herbert Horne, collezionista e studioso inglese a Firenze tra la fine dell'Ottocento e gli inizi del Novecento*, in *L'idea di Firenze. Temi e interpretazioni nell'arte straniera dell'Ottocento*, conference proceedings (Florence 1986), eds M. Bossi and L. Tonini, Florence 1989, pp. 211-222; *Herbert Percy Horne e Firenze. Atti della giornata di studi* (Florence 2001), ed. E. Nardinocchi, Florence 2005; C. ELAM, "Herbert Horne. A Kind of Posteritorious Distinction", in *Sandro Botticelli and Herbert Horne: New Research*, ed. R. Hatfield, Florence 2009, pp. 169-225.
- 70 See F. BALDRY, *Collecting in the Acton Home and the Revival of Interest in Tapestries/Collezione e ornamento nella dimora degli Acton e la riscoperta dell'arazzo tra Otto e Novecento*, in *Tapestries in the Acton Collection at Villa La Pietra. Gli arazzi della collezione Acton a Villa La Pietra*, eds F. Baldry and H. Spande, Florence 2010, pp. 15-40.
- 71 For surveys on collectors of ancient Italian art in England between the end of the eighteenth and the end of the nineteenth centuries, see D. SUTTON, *The English and Early Italian Art*, «Apollo», LXXXI, 1965, pp. 254-256; ID., XIV. *From Ottley*; ID., XV. *The Age*; ID., XVII. *Discoveries*, «Apollo», CXXIII, 1985, pp. 118-129; P.G. PETRIOLI, *L'antica arte senese nel collezionismo anglosassone*, «Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia», XVII, 1996, pp. 379-395: 380-388; HINDMAN and M. CAMILLE, *Specimens*, in *Manuscript Illumination in the Modern Age. Recovery and reconstruction*, exhibition catalogue (Evanston 2001), eds S. Hindman and N. Rowe, Evanston 2001, pp. 47-101: 59-62. An exhibition conceived by Ellis Waterhouse celebrated the taste of British Collectors of Italian art; see *Italian Art and Britain*, exhibition catalogue (London 1960), London 1960. For some photographs of the 600 works displayed, see *A Souvenir of the Exhibition Italian Art and Britain*, London 1960. See also RUSSELL, *Early Italian*; P. CANNON-BROOKES, *The London Art Market 1882-1931*, in *Art Commerce Scholarship. A Window onto the Art World – Colnaghi 1760 to 1984*, exhibition catalogue (London 1984), London 1984, pp. 39-41; STOURTON, SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, *The British*, pp. 206-219, 248-254.
- 72 On the emerging American art market, the provenance of a famous British collection represented an added value for a painting. For the most famous Old Masters once part of British collections and bought by powerful American collectors between the end of nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries, see P. CONISBEE, *The ones that got away*, in *Saved! 100 Years of the National Art Collections Fund*, exhibition catalogue (London 2003-2004), ed. R. Verdi, London 2003, pp. 26-33; D. SUTTON, *Collecting Old Masters in the Twentieth Century*, in *Art Commerce Scholarship*, pp. 42-44; F. GENNARI SANTORI, *The Melancholy of Masterpieces. Old Master Paintings in America 1900-1914*, Milan 2003, pp. 28-30, 71-72.
- 73 For Berenson's role in disseminating the taste for the Early Renaissance in America and the consequent rise of prices paid for Italian paintings, see REITLINGER, *The Economics*, pp. 200-202; E. CAMPOREALE, *Il mito di Firenze tra Otto e Novecento: echi ed arredi fiorentini in Ameri-*

- ca, in *Vespucci, Firenze e le Americhe*, conference proceedings (Florence 2012), eds G. Pinto et al., Florence 2014, pp. 365-403: 372-375; C.B. STREHLKE, *Bernard and Mary Collect: Pictures Come to I Tatti*, in C.B. STREHLKE and M.B. ISRAËLS, *The Bernard and Mary Berenson Collection of European Paintings at I Tatti*, Milan 2015, pp. 19-40.
- 74 For a survey on *Renaissance Fiction* in the Victorian Age, see H. FRASER, *The Victorians and Renaissance Italy*, Oxford and Cambridge 1992, pp. 179-211.
- 75 See W.S. GILBERT, *Patience or Bunthorne's Bride*, in ID., *The Savoy Operas*, London 1926, pp. 149-200: 190.
- 76 Already in the early eighteenth century the amateur architect and collector Richard Boyle and, independently, the painter Jonathan Richardson elaborated a sort of model, where being a connoisseur of Italian art and possessing some pieces if not an entire collection became a sign of culture, of civilization and a status symbol; see COEN, *Collezionare*, pp. 125-126.
- 77 For the appreciation of the works of Giotto and on a visit to Santa Croce, see J. MEYERS, *Painting and the Novel*, Manchester 1975, pp. 38-42. For the habit of purchasing Alinari's photographs, see *ibid.*, p. 42; G. SMITH, *Florence, Photography and the Victorians*, in *Victorian and Edwardian Responses to the Italian Renaissance*, ed. J.E. Law and L. Østermark-Johansen, London 2005, pp. 7-32: 7-8.
- 78 For the choice of the painter Baldovinetti, the influence of Roger Fry's theories in the novel, and the presence of Ruskin and Fry in a first version of the novel called *Old Lucy*, see J. BUZARD, *The Beaten Track. European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1880-1918*, Oxford 1993, pp. 288-292; and mainly C. ELAM, *Baldovinetti's view without a room: E.M. Forster and Roger Fry*, «The Burlington Magazine», CXLIX, 2007, pp. 23-26, 28-30. The comparison between Tuscan (real) landscape and the background of «Primitive» paintings is probably taken from conversations among Anglo-Florentines; we find it also in the diaries of the American intellectual Mabel Dodge who lived in Florence between 1905 and 1912. Here is the passage: «the glimpses of the Italian hills one caught from outside the loggia [at Villa Curonia], framed between the pale stone columns [...] like the backgrounds in Early Florentine paintings [...]». *Intimate memoirs. The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan*, ed. L.P. Rudnick, Albuquerque 1999, p. 75.
- 79 For the British travellers' impressions of Italy and of Florence in particular, see *The Fatal Gift of Beauty: The Italies of British Travellers, an Annotated Anthology*, ed. M. Pfister, Amsterdam 1996, pp. 356-363. For the impressions made on grand tourists by the Tuscan landscape, see A. BRILLI, *Le mutazioni del paesaggio nelle testimonianze dei viaggiatori stranieri*, in *Il paesaggio toscano: storia e rappresentazione*, eds L. Bonelli Conenna et al., Cinisello Balsamo 2004, pp. 461-551.
- 80 For references to the episodes mentioned, see E.M. FORSTER, *A Room with a View*, London 1908, pp. 62, 76, 98-99, 135, 152, 197, 229, 255, 291. For a commentary on the visit to the National Gallery described in the novel, see MEYERS, *Painting*, pp. 42-45.
- 81 For the art education of George Eliot, her tastes and for what is said on *Middlemarch*, see H. WITEMEYER, *George Eliot and the Visual Arts*, New Haven and London 1979, pp. 9-19, 23, 79-87, 209-210.
- 82 See M. CONWAY, *The Sport of Collecting*, London 1914. For part of the text of the story, see F. HERMANN, *The English as Collectors: A Documentary Sourcebook*, New Castle and Nottingham 2002, pp. 365-373. The collection of photographs of this Victorian country gentleman, author of some thirty books, who characteristically combined an interest in art and litera-

- ture with an active outdoor life was donated to the Courtauld Institute; see SUTTON, *XVII. Discoveries*, p. 122; T. FAWCETT, *Graphic versus Photographic in the nineteenth-century Reproduction*, «Art History», IX, 2, 1986, pp. 185-212: 212 note 95; L. GRANT, *Time and the Conways: The Beginnings of Art History and the Collecting of Photographs in Britain*, «Visual Resources», XIII, 1998, pp. 299-307: 301, 303; P.H. HANSEN, *Conway, William Martin, Baron Conway of Allington*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 13, Oxford 2004, pp. 58-59.
- 83 See H. ACTON, *The Soul's Gymnasium And Other Stories*, London 1982, pp. 14, 139. For Villa La Pietra and the world of the Actons, see BALDRY, *Collecting*.
- 84 See E.M. FORSTER, *The Life to Come and other stories*, London 1972, pp. 55-60.
- 85 In the story the painter is called Giovanni da Empoli, in whom there are probably elements of Piero della Francesca, Pesellino and Baldovinetti. For these possible references and for the influence of Fry on the story's content, see the introductory essay written by Oliver Stallybrass in FORSTER, *The Life to Come*, pp. VII, VIII, X-XI, and ELAM, *Baldovinetti's view without a room*: 29-30.
- 86 See W. LE QUEUX, *The Unnamed. A Romance of Modern Italy*, London 1902, pp. 144-145, 339.
- 87 See V. LEE, *The Wedding Chest*, in EAD., *Pope Jacynth and Other Fantastic Tales*, London 1904, pp. 113-137: 115.
- 88 See C.J. WEBER, *Hardy of Wessex. His Life and Literary Career*, New York 1940, pp. 27, 236-237.
- 89 See T. HARDY, *Desperate Remedies. A novel*, New York 1874, p. 151 (ed. or. 1871).
- 90 For an entry see M. DAVIES, No. 602, in ID., *National Gallery Catalogues. The Earlier Italian Schools*, London 1961, pp. 153-156.
- 91 See T. HARDY, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles. A pure woman*, London 1892, pp. 478, 518.
- 92 See note 12 on this fresco.
- 93 For Angelico's *Last Judgement* of the Museum of San Marco at Florence, see M. SCUDIERI, *Beato Angelico. Giudizio Finale 1426-1427 circa*, in *Fra Giovanni Angelico pittore miniatore o miniatore pittore?*, exhibition catalogue (Florence 2007-2008), eds M. Scudieri and S. Giacomelli, Florence 2007, pp. 127-130.
- 94 The first edition was banned in England for obscenity, as apparently there were descriptions of sexual desire. I was able to consult only the following edition. For the passage concerning the *Final Judgement* by Angelico and for the quotation, see D.H. LAWRENCE, *The Rainbow*, New York 1924, pp. 261-262, 262. For more episodes linked to the arts in the novel, see MEYERS, *Painting*, pp. 53-64.
- 95 See W.G. CONSTABLE, *Introduction*, in *Exhibition of British Primitive Paintings from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century with some related Illuminated Manuscripts, Figure Embroidery, and Alabaster Carvings*, exhibition catalogue (London 1923), Oxford 1924, pp. XI-XXVII.



Fig. 1: JAMES ROBERTS, *Prince Albert's Writing and Dressing Rooms, Osborne House, Isle of White, 1851*, watercolour, 24.3 x 36.8 cm, (signed and dated), Windsor, Royal Library.



Fig. 2: JAMES JOHNSON, *Davenport Bromley's Library at Wootton Hall, Derby, after 1825 and before 1834*, watercolour, private collection (Country Life Picture Library).



Fig. 3: JOHN DIBLEE CRACE, *The State Drawing Room at Longleat, Wiltshire, 1875-1877*, private collection (Country Life Picture Library).



Fig. 4: CARLO CRIVELLI, *The Dead Christ Supported by Two Angels*, ca 1475, tempera, 72.5 x 55.5 cm, London, National Gallery.



Fig. 5: SPINELLO ARETINO, *Two Haloed Mourners*, ca 1390, fresco, 50 x 50 cm, London, National Gallery.



Fig. 6: GIOVANNI ANGELICO, *The Last Judgement*, ca 1427, tempera, 109.5 x 213 cm, Florence, Museum of San Marco.