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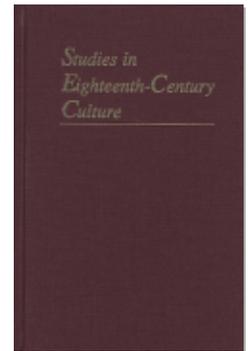
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A Celebrity Artist's Studio: Angelica Kauffman in Rome

WENDY WASSYNG ROWORTH

In June 1766, Angelica Kauffman left Italy to pursue her painting career in England, where she became a Founding Member of the Royal Academy of Arts and a popular painter of portraits and history paintings. In London, she followed the English practice of maintaining a room for the display of finished paintings that was separate from her working studio, for while the public exhibitions in London at the Society of Artists and Royal Academy attracted large crowds, members of fashionable society also enjoyed visiting individual artists to view their recent work and to engage in informal social interactions and business transactions.¹

Angelica Kauffman and her new husband, Venetian painter Antonio Zucchi, returned to Italy in 1781 and settled in Rome in November 1782. Her Italian biographer Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi noted that Kauffman established her Roman studio just a few years after the death of Anton Raphael Mengs and the publication of his art theory as a way to link her with the revered neoclassical painter and his influential ideas on painting.² In fact, Kauffman and Zucchi moved into the house Mengs formerly occupied on the via Sistina in the popular artists' quarter near the church of S. Trinità dei Monti above the Spanish Steps.³

As a well-established, successful artist by the time she returned to Italy, Kauffman's celebrity status attracted Grand Tourists from all over Europe.

The Kauffman-Zucchi home, where she held a well attended salon, attracted foreign travelers from Britain, Russia, Poland, Germany, Sweden, and elsewhere, who came to meet the celebrated artist and to commission portraits and subject pictures. She was constantly busy with multiple commissions throughout the 1780s and 1790s. Even during the French occupation of Rome in 1799 and its aftermath, when tourism was much reduced and work for artists limited, she managed to be productive.

Several travel diaries and letters describe Kauffman's well-appointed reception rooms decorated with some of her recent works, her small collection of Renaissance and seventeenth-century paintings, and replicas of antique statues and busts.⁴ Some prominent foreign visitors, as well as Kauffman's friends and fellow artists, also spent time in her studio where client sittings for portraits took place. In contrast to her earlier experience in London, where it was customary and advantageous to maintain a show room to impress potential patrons, by the 1780s, as a celebrity at the height of her career, Kauffman no longer needed to attract commissions. On the contrary, clients on the Grand Tour came to her, and she had almost more work than she could handle. She produced numerous portraits of patrons and friends, history paintings, and compositions to be reproduced as engravings, and she continued to send pictures to London for the Royal Academy's annual exhibitions until 1797.

Many high-ranking travelers, whose comings and goings in Rome were recorded in the press, made visits to artists' studios. In January, 1784, the *Diario Ordinario di Roma* reported that Emperor Joseph II of Austria visited the house of "Sig. Maria Kofeman, rinomata Pittrice" and the studios of Pompeo Batoni and Anton von Maron.⁵ It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that this notice refers to Kauffman's house (*casa*) as distinct from Batoni's and von Maron's studios (*studio*), though whether that was a deliberate distinction based on gender or the location of the artists' workspaces is not clear.

Kauffman's friend and biographer, Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, noted that Joseph II was pleased to learn she was one of his German subjects and wished especially to see her highly praised portrait of members of his own family, King Ferdinand IV of Naples and Queen Carolina, the emperor's sister, with their children (fig. 1).⁶ Kauffman described the emperor's visit in a letter to one of her cousins in Schwarzenberg, Austria, her family's native village. She expressed pride and admiration of the gracious and kind royal visitor, who spent more than an hour in her painting studio:

Ich hate die unverhoffte Gnade Ihro Keyserliche Majestet in meinem hause zu sechen Ihro Majestet hielten sich mehr als



Figure 1. Angelica Kauffman, *King Ferdinand IV and Queen Carolina of Naples with their Children*, 1784, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte, Naples. (Scala/Ministero per i Beni e le Attività culturali/Art Resource, NY).

eine stunde in meinem mahlzimmer auf, selbe besachen meine arbeits auf das genaueste und bezeugten das größte vergnügen [...] sprachen mit mir von den gegenden des vatterlandes so freundschaftlich und so gütig als es immer möglich zu sprechen.⁷

Two months after the emperor's visit, the Roman art journal *Giornale delle Belle Arti* published a lengthy article in praise of Kauffman's imposing portrait of the Neapolitan royal family, the largest she had ever made at ten by fourteen feet, and firmly established her reputation in Rome as a celebrity artist.⁸

During his visit to Kauffman's studio, Joseph II commissioned two paintings and entrusted her with the choice of appropriate subjects, an unusual privilege for a woman artist.⁹ She chose complementary heroic subjects, one ancient Roman and the other Germanic: *Aeneas Mourning Pallas, son of Evander* from the *Aeneid* (Book XI) and *The Triumph of Hermann and Thusnelda* from Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock's 1769 poem

Hermanns Schlacht.¹⁰ Kauffman's letter to her cousin explained that the emperor expressed his desire to receive the paintings promptly; however, she was obliged to tell him, with regret, he would have to wait because she had to complete a large history painting for Empress Catherine of Russia before she could begin work on his pictures. Kauffman told her cousin she had many more commissions which multiplied daily and only lacked the time to complete them.¹¹

Two months after reporting the emperor's visit, the *Giornale delle belle arti* described another distinguished traveler visiting Kauffman's studio, Count Stanislaw Kostka Potocki, Marshall of Lithuania and Knight of the Order of the White Eagle and Order of St. Stanislaus of Poland. The Count wanted to see the work of the artist who had received such lavish praise, was duly impressed, and commissioned a portrait of his young daughter.¹²

As Kauffman predicted, Joseph II's paintings were not shipped to Vienna until December, 1786, three years after she received his commission.¹³ Despite the delay, the paintings were received in Vienna with great acclaim, and, in gratitude, the emperor presented her with an enameled gold snuff box and a jewel with his monogram surrounded by diamonds. The letter that accompanied these gifts reported that the two pictures were installed in the best place in the Imperial Gallery "come un monumento dell Talento di una Donna...che s'è resa celebre nell'arte della Piturra."¹⁴

De Rossi's biography included a lengthy account of an intended but cancelled visit to Kauffman's studio by another prominent patron, Pope Pius VI.¹⁵ The pope often visited artists' studios to see their work in progress on papal commissions; her biographer declared, however, that Pius VI, who conceived so many great projects to support the fine arts, sometimes visited artists who were unworthy of the honor.¹⁶ De Rossi complained that Pope Pius gave his confidence to men who were as weak in accomplishments as they were clever in deceit and who distorted the pope's ideas to promote their own interests. On this occasion in 1790, after hearing much public praise for Kauffman's work, the pope declared his intention to visit her studio to see the painting of *Saints Anne, Joachim, and the Young Virgin* that she was preparing for the pilgrimage church of Santa Casa di Loreto. This was part of a papal project to decorate the chapel altars in the shrine with mosaic reproductions of paintings by leading artists.¹⁷ As one of only five painters chosen to carry out this prestigious project, Kauffman was proud to accept the commission even though compensation for the work was less than her usual fee.¹⁸ Gaspare Landi, one of the five artists, was especially delighted to achieve the honor of a papal commission because, as the youngest of the group, he would be among the best of the older artists, including "Madama Angelica Kauffman."¹⁹ Not all painters in Rome were pleased that she was

chosen to contribute to the Loreto project, for according to De Rossi, it was the cabal of artists surrounding the Pope who dissuaded him from visiting her.²⁰ Kauffman's late nineteenth-century English biographer Frances Gerard suggested that these unworthy artists were jealous of her popularity because she was from another nation.²¹ Assuming that there is some truth to this story, it is as likely that they resented the success of a popular woman artist who could now include the Pontiff among her long list of prominent patrons and studio visitors.

Visits to artists' studios by royal, aristocratic, and papal patrons reflect the tradition of the mutually beneficial artist-patron relationship recounted by Pliny the Elder in *Natural History* regarding Alexander the Great's visits to the studio of the renowned painter Apelles.²² Pliny noted that the artist was honored by the presence of the great man in his studio, but Apelles remarked that even his young apprentices were laughing at Alexander's ignorant comments on painting. Thus, the artist demonstrated his superior understanding of art and the inability of even the mightiest ruler to match it. The flattery worked both ways to highlight virtues of both painter and patron: the artist's skill and knowledge as well as the patron's magnanimity and humility. De Rossi's biographical accounts of visits to Kauffman's studio by eminent patrons, including the pope's aborted visit, served to highlight the esteem in which she was held and her celebrity.

Even during her last years Kauffman continued to take on commissions and receive important visitors in her studio. In 1802, the King of Sardinia, Carlo Emmanuel IV, and his French wife, Clotilde, were informed of Angelica's rare talent and personal merit and visited her studio. Three years later, Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria commissioned his life-size full-length portrait, which Kauffman completed just one month before she died in 1807.²³

Kauffman's Studio

De Rossi described Kauffman's usual working practice, which started in the early morning when she would draw or paint. After a mid-day rest, she again took up the pencil or brush for long hours, and in winter, she worked almost until sunset. After dining, the artist spent evenings in the company of learned men, particularly those who were most knowledgeable in the arts.²⁴

Several manuscript sources provide information about Kauffman's studio, other workspaces, furnishings, and painting materials. The account of expenses kept by Zucchi from the time they returned to Italy in 1781 recorded purchases and payments for services connected to the painting studio. The record of her commissions, *Memoria delle pitture* [sic], also kept by Zucchi, listed the paintings Kauffman produced in Italy, with names of her clients,

descriptions of the pictures, dates of completion, and details of shipment and payments received.²⁵ Her 1803 will identified items, including painting equipment and artworks, bequeathed to her cousin Johann Kauffman, who had moved to Rome in 1792 to assist the artist during her husband's final illness and stayed on after Zucchi's death in 1795 to manage the household and art business.²⁶ Finally, the inventory of Kauffman's house carried out in January, 1808, a few months after she died, appraised furniture and other property, including contents of her studio.²⁷ Considered together, these documents reveal much about where and how Kauffman worked and received visitors during her years in Rome.

By the mid-1780s, Kauffman was busy filling the orders for Emperor Joseph II and Catherine of Russia in addition to painting for Prince Poniatowski and King Stanislaus Augustus of Poland, Russian Count Yusopov, Queen Carolina of Naples, clients in England and elsewhere. Her numerous commissions and increasing income provided the means, as well as necessity, of expanding her painting studio. In November, 1787, she and Zucchi spent substantial sums to employ a carpenter, mason, and ironworker to build a new painting studio in the courtyard of the house: "per una stanza ad uso di studio di pintore fabricato di novo nell' cortille della casa."²⁸ The total cost for this work, 243 Roman *scudi*, included payments to laborers for installation of window frames and glass, gutters, and painting walls, ceiling, and beams.

According to the Romagnoli inventory, Kauffman's large painting studio, *studio grande*, was located on the second storey of the house, the same floor as the living quarters; this must have been the studio built in 1787.²⁹ Additional payments in 1792, 1793, and 1794 were expended for work on the new studio, which included an exit to the garden from the upper level where the house backed onto the slope of the Pincian Hill.³⁰ This large work space was equipped with two easels, stepladders for reaching larger canvases, and a reflective light to illuminate them. Six cane chairs, a circular mirror, bookcases, framed pictures on the walls, and portfolios of prints and drawings made this a pleasant place to work and receive guests. A large antique veneered table with three drawers served as a writing desk.³¹ One drawer contained letters and cards, another had twenty small sketches by the artist, and the top drawer held a variety of objects, including a round box with a porcelain bas-relief cover, two fake pearl necklaces, two fake hair pins, three paste rings, a softstone relief of a Medusa head, and other items of cheap jewelry.³² Some of these items served as props for portraits and subject pictures, such as Kauffman's 1795 life-size portrait of "Mrs. Smith, Wife of Mr. Ceas" who is described in her *Memoria delle piture* as posed before a richly adorned dressing table which held various "ornamenti

feminili.”³³ Other items used as models for paintings were a pair of pistols, three swords, and a baton, which the artist would employ for male portraits and historical subjects.³⁴ For instance, a sword and staff, as well as a jewel casket, are featured in her painting *Ulysses Discovering Achilles Among the Maidens of Deidamia*, completed in 1789 for the Empress of Russia.³⁵

In addition to the large studio, there was a small studio, *piccolo studio*, on the mezzanine furnished with a large table, four chairs, a bookcase, fireplace, and ceramic stove topped by a figure of Victory. This small studio held an easel, a terra-cotta anatomical figure, and plaster copies of well known antique statues, including Laocoön, Medici Venus, Crouching Venus, Apollo, two *putti*, a male torso, and a bust of Brutus, in addition to numerous fragments of heads, arms, legs, hands, and feet. A larger than life-size cast of the head of Juno from the Villa Ludovisi, a gift from Goethe before he left Rome in 1788, stood in the corner.³⁶ The furniture, decoration, and equipment in this comfortable, heated room suggest that Kauffman used the *piccolo studio* to formulate ideas, draft compositions, make sketches, and meet informally with friends and clients.

Kauffman’s *piccolo studio* was followed by a series of four small rooms on the mezzanine for storing equipment and other odds and ends: more fragments and portrait busts, nine plaster bas-reliefs of the Ghiberti panels of the Florence Baptistery doors, several easels, and several old chairs in poor condition.

Painting Equipment and Materials

The inventory of the large studio provides details of materials and tools Kauffman employed to produce her paintings: stones for grinding pigments, flasks of oil, a container for mixing pigments, paint brushes, and palettes. Other items include tins of pens and black lead pencils, pastel sticks, a brass measure, mannequins, picture frames, and tubes for transporting rolled canvases. Among the first things that she acquired when she set up her studio in Rome was an academy model with a stand, bought for 4 Roman *scudi*, and two medium-size easels, costing just 1.70 *scudi*. Other purchases that year were antique figures, busts, and plaster casts of body parts, such as the eight casts of women’s hands taken from life, and a plaster statue of Adonis bought from the sculptor Carlo Albacini.³⁷

The most expensive supplies Kauffman bought during their first year in Rome were primed canvas and pigments from Sig. Pelucchi “*coloraro*”—a provider of pigments, varnish, and other painting supplies—for the large sum of 97 *scudi*.³⁸ Additional purchases of paint and canvas from Pelucchi and “Sig. Gross in Piazza Colonna” appear in the Kauffman account of

expenses through the 1790s for similarly high prices. On December 16, 1794, “Mr Gross” was paid 54 *scudi* owed on account in addition to 40 paid in advance for pigments that had come from London, and a week later Pelucchi received 26 *scudi* for pigments.³⁹ Appraisals in the 1808 inventory confirm the high cost of paints: several small containers of pigments were valued at 60 *scudi*, while a tin of pastel sticks was only 4 *scudi* and several paintbrushes just 3 *scudi*.⁴⁰

Kauffman owned several mannequins or lay-figures of varying sizes and materials for studying poses and positioning figures in groups. These included a life-size figure, a male mannequin approximately three feet high from France, worth 20 *scudi*, and five small wooden lay-figures used to work out multi-figure compositions.⁴¹ Her most valuable mannequins, which were the most expensive items in Kauffman’s studio, were a pair of life-size French mannequins, a man and a woman, described by Romagnoli in 1808 as having “suffered a little,” though still highly valued at 80 *scudi*. In comparison, a portfolio of seventy engravings and mezzotints after Kauffman’s paintings of various sizes and quality was valued at 70 *scudi*, and two gold watches in the studio at 20 and 25 *scudi*.⁴²

The account book confirms the purchase of the French mannequins in January, 1791, for the exceptionally high price of 241 *scudi*, which included crating, shipping, and tariffs, and was virtually the same total as for constructing the new studio just a few years earlier (243 *scudi*). In comparison with other expenses, 241 *scudi* was a significant sum. For example, in 1785 Kauffman acquired a “*bellissima*” Canaletto painting of Venice in a new, carved, and gilded frame for only 143.50 Roman *scudi*.⁴³

The amount spent on the two French mannequins can be compared with Kauffman’s income when she bought them in 1791. Her advertised prices for portraits in 1788 were based on the size of the canvas and figure (life-size, full-length, or head only); fees for history paintings were similarly determined by size, number, and placement of figures.⁴⁴ For example, in December 1791, William Hamilton paid 257 Roman *scudi* for a portrait of his wife, Emma Hamilton, another female celebrity, and in April 1790, Kauffman received 214 *scudi* (100 *zecchini*) from Count Yusupov for a painting of *Venus Persuading Helen to Love Paris* (Hermitage, St. Petersburg).⁴⁵ Kauffman’s prices for large history paintings with life-size figures were considerably more, calculated at 240 *scudi* for each principal figure; two figures in the middle distance or background counted as one. For example, the pair of history paintings for Emperor Joseph II cost 1,926 Roman *scudi*.⁴⁶ Thus, the amount Kauffman spent for the two French mannequins was equivalent to many hours of the artist’s professional labor.

Kauffman must have considered the French mannequins well worth their high cost, and her account of expenses included more details than usual regarding this purchase. According to the record, “M. Barbieri, pitore [*sic*] Francese” received payment for two life-size mannequins, a man and a woman, ordered from “M. Goud” in Paris for “Madama Angelica Kauffman.”⁴⁷ The French painter Barbieri may have been the Parisian history painter and illustrator, Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier, although, as a supporter and portrayer of the French Revolution, his role in the sale of mannequins to Kauffman in 1791 appears unusual.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, Paris was the leading center of mannequin production, and Kauffman would have needed help to facilitate the sale and transfer of the mannequins to Rome.

One of the best mannequin makers in Paris was the much lauded Paul Huot, who flourished from the 1790s to the 1820s. Huot created a type known as the “mannequin perfectionée” or “perfected mannequin;” it was made of wood with articulated metal joints, horsehair stuffing, wax, silk, cotton, and painted features. Such life-like, flexible mannequins were very expensive and could take up to a year to make, but they were extremely desirable and sold to artists as far away as St. Petersburg and Berlin.⁴⁹ Whether “M. Goud,” identified as the maker in the Kauffman account book, was Zucchi’s Italian rendering of the name “Huot,” is speculation; however, the high cost of the mannequins, their Parisian origin, named creator, and sale mediated by a French artist, suggest that Kauffman, who was earning large sums at the height of her career, could well afford to acquire the best.

Jointed mannequins could be manipulated into various poses to substitute for living models, though they were especially useful for dressing in clothes so an artist could study the drape of garments on a life-like figure. Ladies’ dresses and shawls as well as gentlemen’s cloaks and banyans could be adjusted on a mannequin with the tip of a wooden baton to create a natural effect of loose folds and fixed in place with pins or glue.⁵⁰ One of Kauffman’s first purchases in Rome was four bolts of white fabric “per fea un vestito ad un manichino per uso di pitura,”⁵¹ and the later Romagnoli inventory included silk, canvas, and other fabrics that the artist used to dress mannequins for studies of folds and clothing to paint her pictures. These textiles were carefully stored in an antique bureau in the dining room and appraised for the comparatively large sum of 50 *scudi*.⁵²

De Rossi singled out Kauffman’s depiction of drapery for particular praise (fig. 2). In her history paintings, he declared, she tended to imitate antique and Poussinesque drapery; however, she did not imitate it exactly. Her drapery was uncomplicated and loose, and she avoided shrouding many figures within the clothing. He noted that one of her friends remarked that Angelica’s figures could walk without fear of disturbing the folds, and her



Figure 2. Angelica Kauffman, *Standing Woman*, c. 1796, black chalk, heightened with white chalk on paper, 38.9 x 24.7 cm, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY, Purchase, Brooke Russell Astor Bequest, 2013 (www.metmuseum.org).

manner of arranging drapery was so natural that it did not reveal the pinning of the mannequin.⁵³ Kauffman's life-size French mannequins would have been especially useful for rendering the graceful drapery of the pseudo-antique clothing so characteristic of her later Neoclassical style.

A Celebrity Artist

In spite of her heavy workload, Kauffman did not regularly employ studio assistants or train students. Her husband Antonio Zucchi, who suffered from a palsy, would have assisted as much as he was able, although his major responsibilities were keeping records of her commissions, income, and expenditures; and her cousin Johann Kauffmann, who learned to paint under Angelica's guidance, would also have helped in her later years. There is only one entry in the account book of a payment to another artist, "Giovanni Ridder Tedesco, Pitore," who received 17.50 *scudi* in 1783 for making a copy of Kauffman's painting *Telemachus on the Isle of Calypso* to be finished by Angelica.⁵⁴ Another exception was the young Lombard painter Giovanni Battista dell'Era, who arrived in Rome in 1785. Kauffman befriended him, introduced him into her circle, and helped advance his career. He copied several of her works and made his own paintings with her guidance.⁵⁵

Kauffman's celebrity status in Rome ensured a steady income which allowed her to maintain well-equipped studios suitable for painting and entertaining eminent clients. She had a reputation for hard work, even when it affected her health, and some of her artist and writer friends, including Goethe and Johann Gottfried Herder, complained she worked too much and blamed Zucchi's greed for keeping her constantly at her easel.⁵⁶ Kauffman, however, was proud of her achievements in a male-dominated profession, and she pursued her career for personal satisfaction as well as profit. She fashioned her well-deserved celebrity by producing an astonishing number of paintings by her own hand and on her own terms, so that even an emperor had to wait for his pictures.

NOTES

1. For visits to artist studios in England, see Jean-André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (1755; London: Cornmarket, 1970): "Every portrait painter in England has a room to shew his pictures, separate from that in which he works. People who have nothing to do, make it one of their morning amusements,

to go and see these collections,” 42; and Hugh Belsey, “A visit to the studios of Gainsborough and Hoare,” *Burlington Magazine*, 129 (Feb. 1987):107–109.

2. Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, *Vita di Angelica Kauffmann pittrice* (Florence: Molini, 1810), 65. Mengs died in June, 1779.

3. Wendy Wassying Roworth, “‘The Residence of the Arts’: Angelica Kauffman’s Place in Rome,” in *Italy’s Eighteenth Century: Gender and Culture in the Age of the Grand Tour*, Paul Findlen, Wendy Wassying Roworth, Catherine Sama, eds., (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2009), 157–160.

4. August von Kotzebue, *Erinnerungen von einer Reise aus Liefland nach Rom und Neapel*, 2 vols., (Berlin: Heinrich Frolich, 1805); trans., *Travels through Italy in the Years 1804 and 1805*, 4 vols. (London: Richard Phillips, 1806), 3.110; Jacob Isaac von Gerning, *Reise durch Österreich und Italien*, Frankfurt, 1802, 3.141.

5. *Diario Ordinario di Roma*, III, 946, 24/1/1784, 15. The journal was also known as *Chracas*, which was the family name of the publishers.

6. De Rossi, *Vita*, 67.

7. Waltraud Maierhofer, ed. *Angelika Kauffmann. “Mir träumte vor ein paar Nächten, ich hätte Briefe von Ihnen empfangen” Gesammelte Briefe in den Originalsprachen* (Lengwil am Bodensee: Libelle Verlag, 2001), 74–75: Angelica Kauffman, Rome, to Joseph Anton Metzler in Schwarzenberg (Austria), 14 February 1784. “I had the unexpected honor of His Imperial Majesty in my home. His Majesty conversed more than an hour in my painting room, declared my work most truthful and affirmed the greatest pleasure [...] He spoke to me of the fatherland in as friendly and kind manner as is possible to speak.” (author’s translation).

8. *Giornale delle Belle Arti*, 12, 20 March 1784, 89–90; De Rossi, *Vita*, 66–67.

9. Maierhofer, *Angelica Kaufmann*, 74.

10. Both paintings were destroyed in Berlin during the Second World War. Kauffman’s oil sketches for the compositions are in the Tiroler Landesmuseum, Innsbruck.

11. Maierhofer, *Angelica Kaufmann*, 75.

12. *Giornale delle Belle Arti*, 18, 1/5/1784, 138; The *Portrait of Krystyna Potocka* is in the Palace Museum at Wilanow, Warsaw.

13. *Memoria delle piture[sic] fatte d’Angelica Kauffman dopo suo ritorno d’Inghilterra che fù nel mese d’otobre 1781, che si trovò a Venezia* (London, Royal Academy of Arts), Roma, Settembre 1786; Carlo Knight, ed. *La “Memoria delle piture” di Angelica Kauffman* (Rome and London: Edizioni De Luca/Royal Academy of Arts, 1998), 37–38.

14. Knight, *La “Memoria delle piture,”* 38–39: “as a tribute to the talent of a woman... who achieved celebrity in the art of painting” (author’s trans.); De Rossi, *Vita*, 71.

15. De Rossi, *Vita*, 73–74.

16. On Pope Pius VI’s studio visits see *Diario Ordinario di Roma*, 690, 11/8/1781, 7, and 710, 20/10/1781, 6–9. On Pius VI’s art patronage see Jeffrey Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2004).

17. De Rossi, *Vita*, 73.
18. De Rossi, *Vita*, 74.
19. Gaspare Landi to Abate Giampaolo Maggi in Piacenza, 4 June 1788, Getty Research Library, Special Collections 86–A235. The other artists were Anton von Maron, Cristoforo Unterberger, and Antonio Cavallucci.
20. De Rossi, 73.
21. Frances A. Gerard, *Angelica Kauffmann, a biography*, new edition (New York: MacMillan, 1893), 204.
22. Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXVI, 48–50.
23. De Rossi, *Vita*, 97–98. On the portrait of Prince Ludwig see *Retrospektive Angelika Kauffmann*, Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., exh. cat., Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, (Ostfildern-Ruit: Gerd Hatje Verlag, 1998), 317–19.
24. De Rossi, *Vita*, 74–75.
25. *Account of expenses of Angelica Kauffmann*, British Library, Egerton MS 2169; *Memoria delle piture, Roma*, Settembre 1786.
26. Kauffman's 1803 will with 1807 codicil is in the Vorarlberger Landesarchiv, Bregenz (Oberamt, Bregenz, 394). See Wendy Wassying Roworth, "Die römischen Jahre: Angelika Kauffmann und ihr Vetter Johann Kauffmann," *Angelika Kauffmann: Residenz Rom*, exh. cat., Angelika Kauffmann Museum, Schwarzenberg (Hohenems: Bucher Verlag, 2015), 12–31.
27. Filippo Romagnoli, *Descrizione di tutto ciò, che vi è rinvenuto nell'Abitazione ritenuta dalla defonta Angelica Koffman* [sic], 25 January 1808. Papers relating to the estates of Johann Kauffmann and Angelica Kauffmann, 1808–1829, Getty Research Institute (890237); see Wendy Wassying Roworth, "The Angelica Kauffman Inventories: An Artist's Property and Legacy in Early Nineteenth-Century Rome," *Getty Research Journal*, 7 (2015), 157–68.
28. Account of expenses, f.14v, 10 November 1787: "for a room to be used as a painting studio, newly built in the courtyard of the house" (author's trans.)
29. Romagnoli inventory, f.33.
30. Account of expenses, f.21 June 1792; f.22, 18 May 1793; f.22v–23, April–May, 1794.
31. Romagnoli inventory, ff.34–35.
32. Romagnoli inventory, f.35.
33. *Portrait of a Woman at her Toilet (Mrs. Smith)*, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, inv. no. 444; *Memoria delle piture, Roma maggio 1795*; Knight, *La "Memoria delle piture,"* 71.
34. Romagnoli Inventory, f.42: "la defonta si serviva per modelli per li Quadri."
35. *Memoria delle piture, Roma*, December 1789; Knight, *La "Memoria delle piture,"* 50
36. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italienische Reise* (Leipzig, 1816–17); *Italian Journey*, Robert R. Heitner, trans. and ed., (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1989), 441: April, 1788, "Juno Ludovisi was designated for the noble Angelica."
37. Account of expenses, f.1v, 11 January 1783; f.3v 22 August, 1783.
38. Account of expenses, f.3, 21 May 1783.
39. Account of expenses, f.23, 16 December 1794; 23 December 1794.

40. Romagnoli inventory, ff.34–35.
41. Romagnoli inventory, ff.41–42.
42. Romagnoli inventory, f.36, f.41, f.43.
43. Account of expenses, f.9, Naples, May 1785.
44. *Prix pour les tableaux peints par Angelica Kauffman Selon le reglement fixé l'année 1788*, Vorarlberg Museum, Bregenz, Austria, inv. no. AG5.
45. *Memoria delle piture*, Roma, December 1791; Roma, April 1790. Payments were recorded in various currencies depending on the nationality of the client: Roman *scudi* and *zecchini*, Venetian *zecchini*, Neapolitan *zecchini* and *ducats*, English guineas and pounds. A Roman *zecchino* was equivalent to approximately 2.14 Roman *scudi*.
46. *Memoria delle piture*, Roma, Settembre 1786.
47. *Account of expenses*, f.20, 3 January 1791.
48. See Michel Jacq-Hergoualc'h, "Jean-Jacques François Le Barbier l'ainé," *Revue de l'Art* 176 (2012): 51–62; Edith A. Standen, "Jean-Jacques-François Le Barbier and Two Revolutions," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 24 (1989): 255–74.
49. Jane Munro, *Silent Partners, Artist and Mannequin from Function to Fetish* (Cambridge and New Haven: Fitzwilliam Museum/Yale Univ. Press, 2014), 39–52.
50. Munro, *Silent Partners*, 28.
51. *Account of expenses*, f.2v, 3 April 1783: "to make a dress for a mannequin for use in painting."
52. Romagnoli inventory, f.16: "diverse drapparie di Seta, parte di Tela, altre di Panno le quali servivano all Defonta per vestire li Monichini per li studi di pieghe ed abiti per dipingere li suoi quadri."
53. De Rossi, *Vita*, 110.
54. Account of expenses, f.3v, 29 September 1783.
55. See Emilia Calbi, *Giovan Battista Dell'Era (1765–1799): un artista lombardo nella Roma neoclassica*, Museo civico di Treviglio (Milan: Mazzotta, 2000).
56. Goethe, *Italian Journey* (Heitner trans.), 307; Herder letter to Caroline Herder, Rome, 22 April 1789, in Eugen Thurnher, ed., *Angelika Kauffmann and die deutsche Dichtung* (Bregenz: E. Russ, 1966), 146.