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The portraits of Sir James Gray (c1708-73)

Jason M Kelly

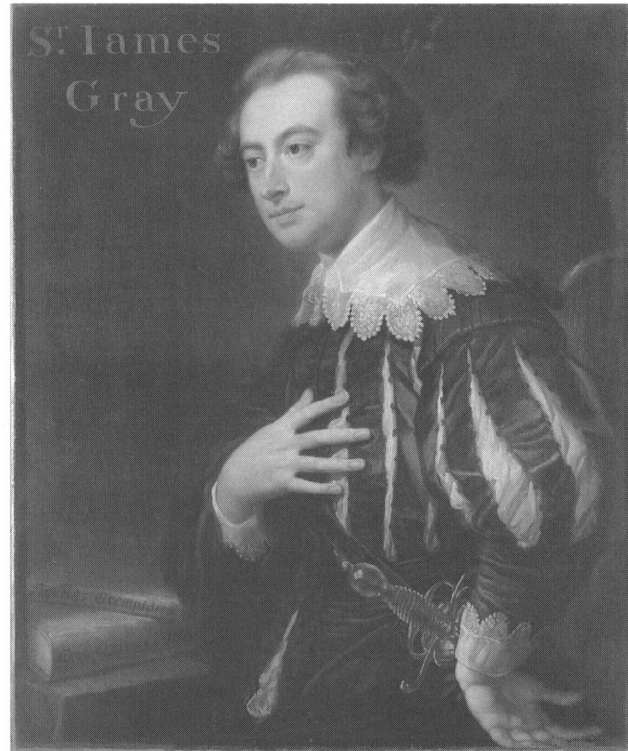
Sir James Gray, 2nd Bt (c1708-73) is an understudied, but nevertheless important, character in the history of the Grand Tour.¹ He served in several important diplomatic posts in Venice, Naples, and Madrid, where he was conveniently located to guide travellers through the maze of the Grand Tour's social, political, and cultural worlds. He was a founding member of the Society of Dilettanti and was responsible for introducing several of their most prominent members. Unlike his more popularized successor at Naples, William Hamilton, there has been very little scholarly work on Gray. Because of this, too little is known of his life and work. This short essay fills in some of the unknown details of his life with special reference to the portraits commissioned by Gray. I reveal three heretofore unknown paintings of James Gray, including a mistakenly described painting by Bartolomeo Nazzari and a 'lost' painting by Anton Raphael Mengs.

James Gray was born to a courtier of Queen Anne, James Gray (d 1722), and his wife, Hester Dodd (c1684-1781). The family were *arrivistes* – at least that is how Horace Walpole and James Boswell represented them – to the noble world of 18th-century Britain.² Upon the death of his father, Gray received the title of second baronet and entered Clare College, Cambridge, in 1722.³ After receiving the MA in 1729, Gray embarked on his Grand Tour with Joseph Alston (1706-33), arriving with him in Padua in February 1731. By March, the men had met Gustavus Hamilton, 2nd Viscount Boyne (1710-46) and travelled with him to Venice. From there, they embarked on 13 April to travel to Spain with Owen Swiney (1676-1754). According to Colonel Elizeus Burges, the British Resident at Venice

Lord Boyn, Sr James Gray, Mr Alston and Mr Swiny went on board a small Scotch-ship last night, in order to visit the isles of Malta and Minorca, Gibraltar, Cadiz, and Lisbon; from which they propose to come back by land, and see all that is worth seeing in Spain in their return to Italy again, where they are under some sort of promise to be by the end of Autumn.⁴

It is unclear whether they ever made it to Lisbon. In any case, the group did not stay long, because Gray and Alston were back in Rome on 1 May 1732, staying there until November. By February 1733, he and Alston were in Venice, deciding to return home through Munich, Augsburg, Strasbourg, and Paris.

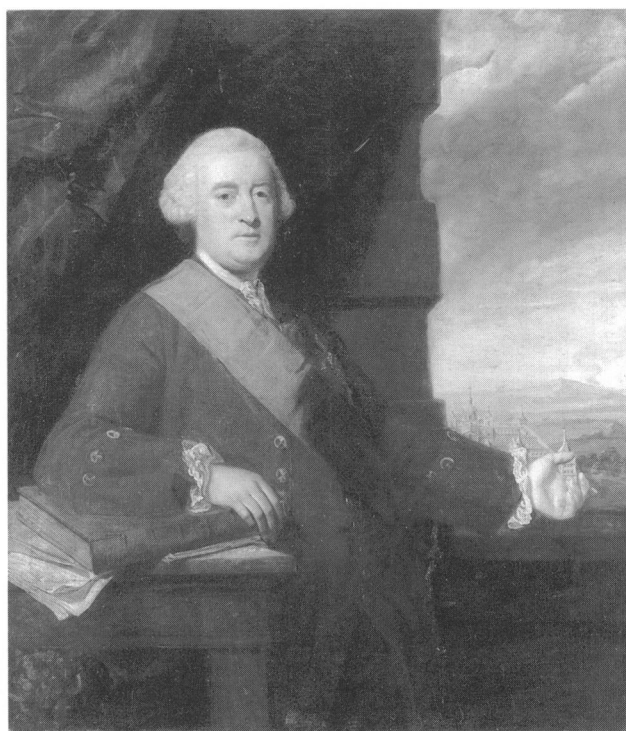
As was to be expected for any young man on the Grand Tour, Gray had made important social and political connections while abroad. And so, when he returned to Britain, he quickly settled into the clubbable world of 18th-century London. His most important connection was with the newly formed Society of Dilettanti – lovers of the arts as their name implied – a dining society which met informally in the numerous taverns around Pall Mall.⁵ Qualification for membership to the Society of Dilettanti was a Grand Tour to Italy. Evidence suggests that, among several others, the members who first formed the group in 1732 were Lord Boyne and Sewallis Shirley, whom Gray and Alston had met in Italy. Gray joined the men in the winter of 1733, and it is even possible that Joseph Alston was an early member, although he died in 1733, and no records of the Dilettanti exist until 1736. This group was soon joined by Charles



1 *Sir James Gray*, by George Knaption (1698-1778), 1741. Oil on canvas, 76.2 by 63.5 cm. Society of Dilettanti, London

Sackville, Earl of Middlesex, and his tutor Joseph Spence, who returned to Britain in July 1733. Other early members were William Strode, who returned during the summer of 1733; Simon, Viscount Harcourt, who returned on 8 July 1734; and William Denny, who returned in autumn 1734. Several of these men, including Gray, were involved in a riot that took place on 30 January 1735, indicating the ribald nature of the early Dilettanti Society. Several prints were generated by the riot, but the figures are generic, and no likenesses of Gray exist. All of these men had met each other or travelled with each other on the Grand Tour, underlining the importance of the Grand Tour in the structure of British social relations.

James Gray's years in London were politically productive, and when Robert Darcy, the 4th Earl of Holderness, began his embassy in Venice, Gray accompanied him as secretary, arriving in Venice on 1 January 1744. By 1746, the government promoted Gray to Venetian Resident, a post he held until 1759. As British resident, he came into contact with many British travellers, especially young Grand Tourists who came to him with letters of introduction as well as men who requested letters from him.⁶ From this unique position, the increasingly important institution, the Society of Dilettanti, requested him to 'procure members' – often members of high social rank such as his patron Holderness.⁷ However, when the artists James Stuart and Nicholas Revett arrived in



2 Sir James Gray, studio of Joshua Reynolds (1723-92), c1774-5. Oil on canvas, 127.64 by 109.22 cm. Minneapolis Art Institute, Minneapolis

3 Gustavus Hamilton, 1710-46, 2nd Viscount Boyne, and friends in a ship's cabin, after Bartolomeo Nazzari, c1732. Oil on canvas, 66 by 81.5 cm. National Maritime Museum, London

Venice in 1748 and began formulating a plan to study the antiquities of Athens with Gavin Hamilton, Gray nominated Stuart and Revett for membership to the elite group as well. From Rome, James Gray's brother and fellow Dilettanti member, George Gray, helped Stuart and Revett circulate manuscript versions of the proposal for their plan in 1748 and 1749, and he published a printed version in London in 1751.⁸ Due, in large part, to Gray's support, Stuart and Revett received the financial backing to complete their project and publish *The Antiquities of Athens* in 1762. Thus, James Gray was central to the social world of the Grand Tour as well as the burgeoning study of classical antiquities.

In October 1753, Gray left Venice for Naples, where the government had appointed him Envoy-Extraordinary, a position later held by another great antiquarian-diplomat, William Hamilton. He immediately began to report to his friends the discoveries at Herculaneum, becoming an increasingly important individual in the world of British antiquarianism.⁹ He also took an interest in Paestum and commissioned two views, later engraved for Thomas Major's *Paestum*. In 1759, Gray was promoted to Minister Plenipotentiary of Naples. On 11 April 1761, King George III bestowed the honor of Order of the Bath upon Gray, with the King of Naples, Ferdinand IV performing the knighting ceremony.¹⁰ During his years in Naples, Gray fathered two children, Giacomo (b 23 July 1759) and Caterina Carlotta Anna Maria Theresa (b 14 October 1761), with Caterina Rosiglio (later Bezzi, or Bessi), and he recognized them as his own in a notarial document on 9 April 1763.¹¹ While this relationship was apparently sustained, it seems that his admission may have been accompanied by a scandal, because Gray left immediately for Marseilles, leaving the Marchese Teofilo Mauri, Magistrate for the King of the Two Sicilies, as the children's guardian.¹²

Between 26 May 1763 and 31 August 1764, when the government officially recalled Gray from his position in Naples, he resided on Jermyn Street in St James's, London.¹³ On 1 May 1763, the Dilettanti appointed Gray to sit on a committee – for which he was required to be present in England – to draw up instructions for an archaeological expedition to Ionia. The Dilettanti's committee meeting

records show that Gray was regularly present. And the final committee meeting of 1764, on 1 May, shows that Gray was in attendance. He must, however, have left London before the end of summer 1764, for he did not return to the city until January 1765.¹⁴

James Gray's final diplomatic role was as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Court of Spain, an honour for a commoner but involving an unpopular destination for British diplomats in general. He was appointed ambassador in 25 October 1766, but he did not leave for Madrid until 11 July 1767.¹⁵ His stay was short, and he left Madrid on 2 August 1769, taking a place in the king's privy council upon his return. Again in London, he became active in the Society of Dilettanti, promoting *Ionian Antiquities* and using his diplomatic connections to present the Spanish king with a complementary copy, courtesy of the Dilettanti.¹⁶ Gray died on 9 January 1773, and his brother George died on 14 February 1773.¹⁷ James and George's mother, Hester, lived until 24 October 1781, and since James remained unmarried, she handled matters of their estates with George's wife, Charlotte.

The art-historical record, like the biographical research on James Gray, is incomplete. Scholars have heretofore recognized only two images of Gray, a portrait by George Knapton (Pl 1, 1741) and a portrait by or after Joshua Reynolds (Pl 2, c1774-5) (although, since this article was prepared, a couple more likenesses have been identified, one within Hogarth's *Charity in the Cellar* (private collection), a picture involving fellow-members of the Dilettanti and initially in the collection of Lord Boyne, who probably commissioned it, see Robin Simon, *Hogarth, France and British Art*, 2007, pp213-6; the other within a landscape by Anonio Joli of Paestum, which Gray visited in 1755, a painting from Gray's collection, sold at Sotheby's, a subject to which I hope to return). Knapton completed his portrait in the short period between Gray's return from the Grand Tour and the start of his professional career as an ambassador. Reynolds's portrait is an unfinished posthumous commission, probably requested by Gray's mother.



4 *Sir James Gray*, by an unknown artist, c.1730-2.
Enamel on metal. Private collection

5 *Sir James Gray*, by Anton Raphael Mengs (1728-79),
1761. Oil on canvas. Private collection



Knapton's portrait is one of a series that the *Dilettanti* required its members to present to the society. Sitters were to commission their portraits from Knapton, made 'Limner' to the *Dilettanti* in 1741. Those who did not present a portrait were fined one guinea per year, 'face money' as the *Dilettanti* called it.¹⁸ As a result, Knapton painted 23 half-length oils, which referred both to Godfrey Kneller's Kit-Cat 'ensemble portraits' – as Peter Clark and Bruce Redford have called them – and to the men's Grand Tour activities.¹⁹ Redford has usefully categorized Knapton's *Dilettanti* paintings into four groups: a 'Graeco-Roman' group, a 'Libertine' group, a 'Van Dyck' group, and a 'Turkish' group. Knapton's portraits represent the *Dilettanti*'s fondness for the activities of libertinism, antiquarianism, connoisseurship, and travel, with amusing costumes and attributes for the men to enjoy. While, the portraits may have been hung for their private amusement – and 'homosocial convivium' as Shearer West has termed it – the paintings were not altogether isolated from public view. This is because the *Dilettanti* hung Knapton's paintings at their rented tavern meeting room.²⁰ In the 18th-century, these rented rooms were not entirely private, and tavern-goers often had access. In effect, the *Dilettanti*'s meeting room was an informal art gallery. John Wilkes noted the public nature of the *Dilettanti*'s portraits in 1763.

There was for many years in the great room, at the *king's arms tavern*, in *Old Palaceyard*, an original picture of *Sir Francis Dashwood*, presented by himself to the *Dilettanti* club. He is in the habit of a *Franciscan*, kneeling before the *Venus of Medicis*, his gloating eyes fix'd, as in a trance, on what the modesty of nature seems most desirous to conceal, and a bumper in his hand, with the words *MATRI SANCTORUM* in capitals. The *glory* too, which till then had only encircled the sacred heads of our Saviour and the Apostles, is made to beam on that favourite spot, and seems to pierce the hallow'd gloom of *maidenhead thicket*. The public saw, and were for many years offended with so infamous a picture, yet it remain'd there, till that club left the house.²¹

Bruce Redford's analysis of Knapton's *James Gray* portrait is quite compelling, and does an excellent job at contextualizing the portrait. Redford places it in the context of Van Dyck's *Iconography*, and argues that the Gray portrait is a composite of Van Dyck's *Adam de Coster* and *Sir Kenelm Digby*. Gray's pose, his costume of satin and lace, and his props of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* and *Novelas Ejemplares* reveal 'an aristocrat of sensibility' – and certainly differed from several of the more ribald portrait jests in the Knapton group.²²

About Joshua Reynolds's portrait of *Sir James Gray*, much

less is known. Ellis Waterhouse argued that the portrait came from Reynolds's studio but that only the head is attributable to Reynolds.²³ The portrait shows Gray casually leaning against a ledge, pointing to the Escorial in the background, a reference to his years as ambassador to Spain. As to the painting's being a posthumous commission, Gray did not return to England until late summer 1769. Reynolds's sitter books make no mention of Gray between 1769 and his death, but since the sitter books are missing from 1774-5, it is possible that the portrait dates from these years. Waterhouse deduced that Hester, Gray's mother, commissioned the portrait, but, since she died in 1781, he argued that this may explain why the painting was never completed and remained in Reynolds's studio until his death. While Waterhouse suggested that the portrait may have been painted from a miniature – not an unreasonable suggestion during an age in which this was common practice – the evidence is indeterminate. In any case, the painting never left Reynolds's studio and, instead of passing into the hands of Gray's descendants, it was sold in the Greenwood auction of Reynolds's estate on 15 April 1796.

In addition to the two 'known' portraits of James Gray, a third likeness of James Gray has been misunderstood by art historians for some time. James Gray commissioned the original painting, a conversation piece by Bartolomeo Nazzari, who was a Venetian painter popular with British Grand Tourists.²⁴ After the original was completed in 1732, it became quite fashionable, and, according to James Gray, over thirty copies were made for British collectors.²⁵ Its popularity no doubt inspired William Hogarth's *Captain Lord George Grabam in his Cabin*, c1745.²⁶ In addition to the original and largest of the four versions, which is still in the Boyne collection, at least three copies still exist in British collections – one at the National Maritime Museum (Pl 3), a second at the West Wycombe estate, and a third at Castle Howard.

The reputed subject of the painting is the short-lived voyage of April 1731 referred to above, a traditional identification first made by Nazzari's friend and biographer, Francesco Maria Tassi.²⁷ Tassi claimed that the subject was the men's voyage to Lisbon, but it is unclear whether they travelled beyond Gibraltar together. After all, they left 13 April, and Gray and Alston were already in Rome on 1 May. It is possible that Boyne travelled through Lisbon on his return to Britain in late summer or autumn 1731. Swiney may have stayed with Boyne longer than Gray and Alston, eventually returning to Venice in late 1731. The painting provides only one clue – the map held by the figure in the center – and the area to which he is pointing is not Iberia, but the centre of the Mediterranean.

There have been numerous identifications of the men represented in this image. According to one tradition, from left to right the men are Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle (1668-1738), the shipmaster, Francis Dashwood (1708-81), Charles Sackville, Earl of Middlesex (1711-69), and Boyne. While the figure on the left may be an Earl of Carlisle, it would more likely have been Henry Howard, the 4th Earl of Carlisle (1694-1758), who went on two Grand Tours, between 1714-15 and 1738-9.²⁸ However, since he was not in Italy during April 1731, the visage could not be his. Middlesex was with Joseph Spence in Dijon in late April and early May and must, therefore, be ruled out.²⁹ While Dashwood was in Padua in March 1731, there is no proof that he travelled to Venice, where he embarked for Lisbon. The only evidence for the identification here of Dashwood is the fact that a copy of Nazzari's painting exists at West Wycombe.

It is Elizeus Burges's letter of 13 April 1731, quoted above, that provides a definitive list of names for the conversation piece: 'Lord Boyn, Sr James Gray, Mr Alston and Mr Swiny.' The men from left to right are Owen Swiney (1676-1754), certainly the oldest of the group, which accounts for the grey hair; the

ship's captain, pointing to the compass; James Gray (c1708-73), pointing to the map; Joseph Alston (1706-33); and Lord Boyne, shown in profile. Swiney acted as an agent and promoter of Italian artists including Carriera, Canaletto, and Ricci for British visitors, and so, upon his return to Venice in 1731, was probably responsible for acting as Boyne's agent in commissioning Nazzari for this painting.³⁰

The above discussion has centred thus far upon three portraits or portrait groups in which James Gray can be identified with certainty. The likenesses provided by these paintings provide useful comparisons with two 'rediscovered' portraits of James Gray in his descendants' private collections in Australia, which family tradition has suggested are images of Gray. The provenance of the paintings can be traced to James Gray through his illegitimate daughter, Catherine. Gray never married, but he stayed close to his children. While Gray was in Spain, the children came to London, where they were raised by a Mrs Sarah Porter of Cavendish Street.³¹ On the death of their father in 1773, the children each received a trust of £2000, which Gray's mother, Hester, distributed to Catherine at age 21 and to James at age 25.³² As a young lad, James entered the British Navy, while his sister Catherine attended school in Hammersmith.³³ Upon receiving her inheritance, Catherine married the Revd Digby Smith (1752-1833) on 26 August 1783 in Belbroughton, Worcestershire. She brought with her some of James Gray's 'Efforts at Madrid,' which had been bequeathed to her and included several portraits. Catherine and Digby had three children, Charlotte Jane Smith (b 1784), John Davison Smith (b 1787), and James Smith (b 1788). Being well-to-do, the Smith family owned a 'Freehold estate called Crow Hall situate at Harley in the parish of Kingsbury in the County of Warwick'.³⁴ When Digby prepared his will, he included the following proviso:

I also give and bequeath unto my said son John Davison his executors administrators and assigns the portrait of Sir James Gray Baronet Knight of the Bath An enamel miniature of the same portrait... all of which are now in my possession.³⁵

Since then, both portraits have remained in the Smith family, which eventually emigrated to Australia.

It was a not uncommon 18th-century practice for a young man on the Grand Tour to have a portrait finished to celebrate his visit, and many of Gray's travelling companions and friends had them completed by popular Italian artists. With a contact like Swiney, who was a well-known promoter of Italian painters popular with Britons, Gray was conveniently situated to employ the likes of Rosalba Carriera or Pompeo Batoni. And it is from context, rather than style, that the enamel miniature (Pl 4) may best be dated and attributed.

The miniature of Gray shows him as a young man, with the same recognizable features of the Knapton painting – a prominent nose and a wide bridge between the eyes that makes them appear slightly further apart than is the case with many individuals. The man in the miniature is noticeable younger than the Knapton portrait, which was completed in 1741. The style of dress and wig suggest the late 1720s or early 1730s. If the miniature of James Gray was indeed painted shortly before or during his Grand Tour, any one of a number of artists could be responsible for it. But if one keeps in mind the difficult technique of painting in enamel, Gray's close contact with Swiney, and British tastes of the 1730s, only a couple of names suggest themselves – Christian Friedrich Zincke or Jean André Roquet.³⁶

On the other hand, the larger oil portrait given by Digby to his son (Pl 5) is easier to attribute and date. As in the other portraits, Gray retains his signature visage, although he is

certainly older in this portrait than in the Knapton painting. Furthermore, the half-length image represents Gray invested with the Order of the Bath, making the completion date of this painting after 11 April 1761. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Gray commissioned this painting to celebrate this honour.

The number of possible artists available to the British ambassador to Naples in the 1760s was endless, but the two most prominent portraitists were the rivals Pompeo Batoni and Anton Raphael Mengs. While the painting includes no signature, the back of the canvas is revealing. Written on the canvas is the following.

S^t. James Gray Baronet, K^{nt} of the Bath
 Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
 Plenipotentiary to the King of Naples.
 Painted in Italy by Minx
 Anno 1761.

It is unlikely that this text was written in 1761. Rather, the inscription is probably posthumous – an addition made, perhaps, as Gray's mother sorted through his estate. As to an artist named 'Minx,' no such painter lived in 1760s Naples. Since the text is a later addition, the name 'Minx' was probably a corruption of Mengs, and, in fact, Mengs lived in Naples in for part of 1760 and 1761. Contemporary evidence suggests that the corruption of Mengs's name was widespread in England. In the late 1766 and 1770, he displayed two works at the Free Society of Artists. Two versions of his *Penitent Magdalen* were displayed as paintings by 'Chevalier Mencks' in 1766 and by 'Mr. Minx' in 1770.³⁷ Joshua Reynolds made a similar mistake in a letter to Thomas Robinson, 2nd Baron Grantham (1738-1786), in 1777, referring to Mengs as 'Mr. Minx'.³⁸ While in Naples in early 1761, Mengs was painting for at least one English client, and, upon returning to Rome in the spring, he was at work on 'three half-length figures for an unknown English client'.³⁹ Two of these paintings were the aforementioned *Magdeleens*, but

the third painting remains unknown.⁴⁰ It is impossible to know whether James Gray's portrait was the third painting, but art historians must recognize the possibility.

The style of Gray's portrait fits well with the style of a number of other Mengs portraits. The half-length figure emerges from a neutral, dark background like several of his other British commissions. Mengs uses soft light to highlight the contours of Gray's garb and facial features, which are emotionless. Like the earlier Knapton portrait, Mengs chooses a pose from Van Dyck's *Iconography*, in this case that of Daniel Mytens.⁴¹ While, however, the lace and fur of Gray's clothing suggest opulence, they are not the rich, billowing features of Van Dyck costume. Gray's clothing, like his expression, reflects dignity, reserve, and taste, much like the earlier Knapton portrait.

James Gray's portraits reveal several facts. His tastes in foreign artists are generally representative of British grand tourists of the period. The single portrait here by a British artist, Joshua Reynolds, is reminiscent in manner of Pompeo Batoni, suggesting the influence of Italian artists on the development of British art. Even the Nazzari group reveals that that most 'English' of artists, William Hogarth, was also indebted to Italian innovations. While these conclusions are by no means surprising, what is surprising is how little scholars know about such an important British figure as Sir James Gray. Studies of William Hamilton have shown what the detailed study of an 18th-century British diplomat can reveal to historians of art, archaeology, and society. Yet, to name a few important diplomats, comparable studies are lacking for James Gray; Richard Worsley; Robert Darcy, 6th Earl of Holderness; or Thomas Robinson, 2nd Lord Grantham. As this essay suggests, even a cursory study of a British diplomat can uncover a wealth of new information about British Grand Tour artistic patronage.

- 1 See the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and B Ford and J Ingamells's *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* [hereafter *DBIT*], New Haven and London, 1997.
- 2 Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the reign of King George III*, ed D Jarrett, New Haven, 2000, p106; J Boswell, *The life of Samuel Johnson*, London, 1791, I, pp370-1.
- 3 J Venn and JA Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Cambridge, 1922-54.
- 4 SP 99/63, fol 159 (Burgess, April, 1731) quoted in *DBIT*, pp115-6.
- 5 On the history of the Society of Dilettanti, see L Cust and S Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti*, 2nd edn, London, 1914; JM Kelly, 'Polite sociability and levantine archaeology in the British Enlightenment: the Society of Dilettanti, 1732-1786', PhD diss, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2004; B Redford, "'Seria ludo": George Knapton's portraits of the Society of Dilettanti', *The British Art Journal*, III, 1 (Autumn 2001), pp56-68 (=Redford, 2001); CH Smith and G Macmillan, *The Society of Dilettanti: its regalia and pictures*, London, 1932.
- 6 For example, see Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, *Letters written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his son, Philip Stanhope*, Dublin, 1774, I, p372
- 7 London, Society of Antiquaries, Minute Books of the Society of Dilettanti [hereafter *SDSM*], 4 May 1744.
- 8 J Stuart and N Revett, *Antiquities of Athens*, London, 1762, I, pp v-vi and London, British Library [hereafter *BL*], Add. 22152, fol 6. Two proposals were circulated in Venice after Gray ended his residency. See *BL*, Lansdowne MS 1056, fol 7 and Add. 6210, fol 96. See also Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture*, Pennsylvania, 1969).
- 9 For example, see J Gray to Thomas Robinson, 29 October 1754, in *Philosophical Transactions*, London 1755, 49, pp825-6 and PC Webb, *An account of a copper table: containing two inscriptions, in the Greek and Latin tongues*, London, 1760, p10.
- 10 Benjamin Martin, *The General Magazine of Arts and Sciences*, London, 1764, 12, pp654, 710.
- 11 *BL* Add. 50143, fol 5.
- 12 *BL* Add. 50143, fol 5.
- 13 *Public Advertiser*, no. 8910 (26 May 1763), p2v.
- 14 *DBIT*, p424.
- 15 London, National Archives, State Papers 78/271, fol 93; *SDSM*, 7 December 1766; *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1767*, London, 1768, p107.
- 16 *SDSM*, 14 January 1770.
- 17 *The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1773*, London, 1774, pp166-7.
- 18 *SDSM*, 4 January 1741 and 3 February 1745.
- 19 Peter Clark, *British clubs and societies 1580-1800: the origins of an associational world*, Oxford, 2000; and Redford, 2001, p56.
- 20 For a list of meeting places, see B. Ford and C Sebag-Montefiore, *The Society of Dilettanti*, 2nd edn, London, 2005.
- 21 *A select collection of the most interesting letters on the government, liberty, and constitution of England*, London, 1763, II p37.
- 22 Redford, 2001, p65, n20.
- 23 EK Waterhouse, 'Pompeo Batoni's portrait of John Woodyear', *The Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin*, 64 (1978-80), pp54-61.
- 24 FJB Watson, 'The Nazari, a forgotten family of Venetian portrait painters', *The Burlington Magazine*, 91 (March 1949), pp75-9.
- 25 *Ibid*, p76, n25.
- 26 London, National Maritime Museum, BHC2720.
- 27 Francesco Maria Tassi, *Vite dei pittori, scultorie e architetti Bergamaschi*, Bergamo, 1793, II, pp82-93.
- 28 *DBIT*, p181.
- 29 Joseph Spence, *Letters from the grand tour*, ed Slava Klima, Montreal, 1975, pp42-6.
- 30 He may also have commissioned Rosalba Carriera's 1731-2 pastel of Boyne now housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The drawing may never have gone to Boyne, because Swiney sold it when he liquidated his collections in February 1755. Langford Auction, London, 28 February 1755.
- 31 London, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/985.
- 32 London, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/985, PROB 11/1083.
- 33 London, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1083.
- 34 London, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1814.
- 35 London, National Archives, PCC PROB 11/1814.
- 36 See, for example, S Coffin and B Hofstetter, *The Gilbert collection: portrait miniatures in enamel*, London, 2000; and Marcia Pointon, "'Surrounded with Brilliants": miniature portraits in eighteenth-century England', *Art Bulletin*, 8 (2001), pp48-71.
- 37 EK Waterhouse, 'The British contribution to neo-classical style', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954), pp57-74, p62.
- 38 Reynolds to Grantham, 1 October 1777, Bedfordshire and Luton Archives, L/30/14/326/4.
- 39 E Peters Bowron and J Rishel, ed, *Art in Rome in the eighteenth century*, Philadelphia, 2000, pp409-10.
- 40 S Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs, 1728-1779, and his British patrons*, London, 1993, pp28, 90-4.
- 41 M Maoquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck: catalogue raisonné*, Brussels, 1956, pp218-9.