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The Inventory List, From Functional to Artistic: The Apartments of the
Marchese Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello and
Marchesa Vittoria Pitti Gaddi Bourbon di Sorbello

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Abstract

This thesis explores what motivated the Marchese Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello to write an ekphrastic inventory list of rooms in his palazzo in Perugia between 1794 and 1797. Evidence will be presented to argue for the literary value of the inventory in addition to being a document preserving the now-lost interior decoration of an eighteenth-century Italian palazzo containing both mobile and immobile objects and decorative arts. Common threads woven through the thesis are English translation excerpts positioned to offer comparisons and support the primary arguments of why the Marchese Diomede chose to write in this manner and demonstrate the inventory’s two-fold value as a literary and historical work of art. The prosopography of Diomede, including friendships with Vittorio Alfieri and François-Xavier Fabre, together with family history of collecting and the effects of the French Revolution are discussed as affecting both the manner and timing of the writing of the inventory list. A striking similarity between Diomede’s written descriptions and existence of floor plans, compared to the 1774 and 1786 editions of Mr. Horace Walpole’s description of his Villa at Strawberry-Hill are suggested as a possible model. The use of technical ekphrasis is illustrated by the use of movement and infinitive verbs to give the reader explicit instructions about how mechanical gadgets functioned and expressed opinions about how, when and where certain objects were to be used. The manner of writing descriptive sentences, creating a visual image with written words is what sets this inventory list apart from others in the family archive as well as from other published inventories at the same time in history. Translation of the twenty-three page original Italian document is included as an appendix A. Floor plans of the palazzo are present in Appendix B.
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In the Inventory, however, his possessions, packed away in chests, stacked in cupboards and
hanging on the walls of his private palace have the unique value of presenting a true picture
of the man, unadulterated by legend or contrivance. This is the private world he lived in,
constructed by himself and his family over his lifetime.


I have just completed a forty-two day voyage around my room. The fascinating observations
I made and the endless pleasures I experienced along the way made me wish to share my
travels with the public...Be so good as to accompany me on my voyage.

Xavier Maistre (1794).

Archives are like attics. We put things in them thinking we might have need of them later, and
then we forget, and the years pass, until no one remembers and they undergo a kind of sea
change. What was mundane becomes extraordinary; what was prose becomes poetry.


Introduction

This thesis will explore what motivated the Marchese Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello to write
an ekphrastic inventory list of rooms in his palazzo in Perugia between 1794-1797. Evidence
will be presented to argue for the literary value of the inventory in addition to being a document
preserving the now-lost interior decoration of an eighteenth-century Italian palazzo. This list is

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4 Appendix A: “1794 febbraio-1797 agosto 8, Inventario edei mobili, delle suppellettili e della biancheria del marchese Diomede, esistenti nella casa di Perugia.” Busta 45, 5.i., Archivio di Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello, Archivio di Stato di Perugia. All Italian-English translations are by the author.
distinctive because the author was also the owner of the palazzo and rarely did property owners write their own lists; these were created by notaries or paid compilers.\(^5\)

Chapter One will present the inventory list as a work of art with a close reading, explore where it was created, discuss other scholars’ treatment of the inventory and compare contemporary examples of other inventory lists. With the exception of three pages of painting descriptions published by Chiara Silvestrini (2005) and Claudia Pazzini (2014), the inventory describes an unpublished collection of decorative art. This consists of the now-lost décor and both mobile and immobile contents of rooms in the palazzo, worthy of careful examination to learn how noble eighteenth century Italian villas were decorated. Common threads woven through the thesis are English translation excerpts positioned to offer comparisons and support the primary arguments of why Diomede chose to write in this manner and demonstrate the inventory’s two-fold value as a literary and historical work of art.

Chapter Two turns its focus to Diomede and his prosopography; the characteristics in common with his friends, family members and assessment of social connections (figure 1). The far-reaching effects of the French Revolution on the social status of noble families in Italy directly impacted Diomede’s timing and manner of writing his inventory. Additionally, the fact that nearly a thousand years of Sorbello family documents existed in collections at the time Diomede wrote his inventory could have made him realize his words would become a part of that historical record for generations into the future. A striking similarity between Diomede’s written

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descriptions and existence of floor plans, compared to the 1774 and 1786 editions of Mr. Horace Walpole’s description of his villa at Strawberry-Hill will be discussed as a possible model.6

Chapter Three analyzes the word choices of this visual inventory written with unusually long and florid descriptions. The use of movement, the issuing of instructions, infinitive verbs and narrative style are made possible in this inventory list because Diomede, an educated nobleman, wrote it himself, of his own possessions and décor. Ekphrasis was defined in the third century C.E., as a description of visual art and the act of interpretation.7 It is precisely this act of interpretation Diomede used to guide the reader through his palazzo. The manner of writing descriptive sentences, creating a visual image with written words is what sets this inventory list apart from others in the family archive as well as from other published inventories at the same time in history. A discussion of the learned skill of ekphrasis within the context of connoisseurship will justify the proposing of this document as a work of art.

The translation of the entire document from Italian into English is included as Appendix A to share the descriptions of now-lost eighteenth-century style of interior decoration with non-Italian speaking scholars. Appendix B consists of floor plans of the four levels of Diomede’s via San Biagio palazzo. The reader is hereby invited inside the walls of Diomede’s private palace, to learn about who he was through the fascinating observations he artfully transcribed from visual images of decorative schemes, that others described as mundane but that Diomede expressed as extraordinary poetry.

Chapter One

The location of the rooms as well as a close reading of the object of study are essential to learn about the context in which it was produced. A brief paleographic discussion will introduce the reader to Diomede’s document and an error discovered in the archivist’s assignment of page numbers. A literature review and a general history of the purposes of inventory lists and who made them will assist the reader in beginning to understand why Diomede’s list is worthy of attention. Other inventory lists including those in the Bourbon di Sorbello collection and several from other archives will show by comparison that this one is unique for its precise, and at times excessive amount of detail.

Location

Diomede wrote descriptions of rooms in his palazzo at via San Biagio 8, in the Porta Eburnea area of Perugia, Italy, which he shared with his wife, the Marchesa Vittoria Pitti Gaddi Bourbon di Sorbello. The palazzo was built in 1780, the same year Diomede’s oldest brother, Uguccione, bought the current Palazzo Sorbello in Perugia. Their brother, Anton Maria, inhabited the first floor and the second floor had a separate apartment for another brother, Lodovico. Further facilitating the reader’s voyage around his rooms, the family archive contains a four-page long, undated floor plan of the four levels of Diomede’s palazzo, drawn by an unknown architect (see Appendix B). Marianna Arrigucci, the matriarch of the family, died in 1779, making 1780 a logical time to divide family assets among the brothers, thus enabling them

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10“Divisione del Palazzo,” Busta 39, d.34, ABMS, ASP. The four-page floor plan is included in the folder with this written document.
to buy and build homes of their own. Via San Biagio no longer exists and the current address of the palazzo is Via Bonazzi 9.

Diomede’s inventory is written with black ink, in elegant cursive handwriting, on now-yellowed laid paper. It is composed of five bifolia and six loose sheets (fig. 2). The first two bifolia are sewn to each other resemble a book, which was common practice at the time to casually bind a multiple-page document. The following three loose sheets have slight tears on their long edges that match the strings in the fold lines of the first two bifolia indicating they were originally sewn together. The date February 1794 written on page ten indicates the last page of the first phase of the inventory. Three more bifolia follow without string or string holes.

Two more loose sheets were erroneously inserted into the fourth bifolia since it functions as a sort of “folder” and these loose sheets were incorrectly numbered by the archivist out of proper sequence as pages twelve and thirteen. The archivist failed to read Diomede’s detailed room descriptions dutifully written at the top of each page, as a sort of ‘key word’. Page fourteen, Stanzino Sinistro dell’Anticamera Grande Rossa should follow page eleven verso with the same title, not the incorrectly inserted pages twelve and thirteen with unrelated room titles. Page

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12 The technique of hand-paper manufacturing involves a wooden frame with thin wires stretched within the frame horizontally (chain wires/lines) and vertically (laid wires/lines.) A watermark is sewn, with wire, into the matrix of the chain and laid wires. This frame is dipped and swirled in a large vat of homogenized fiber slurry. Excess water is allowed to drain out through the mesh and the matrix is dried and pressed flat for use. Watermarks, and to a lesser extent laid and chain lines appear when the paper is held up to light because the fiber matrix is slightly thinner where it is displaced by raised wires. See Peter Tschudin, “The Mould: Its Function, History and Importance in Historiography,” in The Mould: Paper and Mould-Makers in the History of Western Paper edited by Giancarlo Castagnari (Fabriano: Istitocarta, 2015), 121-124.
14 Key words were used in assembling manuscripts constructed of bifolium. During the writing process, the first few words from the top of the next page were written at the bottom of the previous page to ensure bifolium were “sandwiched” together in the proper order when writing was completed.
twelve has the date July 12th, 1797 at the top, but September 20th, 1797 at the bottom. Page twelve verso is blank, and pages thirteen and fourteen are undated but assumed to be written in 1797 based on stylistic constructions. Page fourteen verso, being the outer “cover” of the fourth bifolia has the date August 1797. The fifth and final bifolia beginning with page fifteen is dated August 8th, 1797.

When the inventory sentence ended before the right edge of the page, Diomede drew a line or series of dashes, preventing unauthorized additions to his narrative. Rarely did he forget these dashed lines, but occasionally it happened. Several times he returned to it later and added further description between the lines, squeezing in tiny sentences. He was not infallible, however, and in a dozen or so instances he left a blank space for a quantity or a forgotten name of an artist, clearly intending to return and add corrected information, but ultimately did not. Under each room title he wrote a brief overview of the scene before him as he entered the room, to give a general impression.

In this room it is all covered in canvas, painted in gouache with the ornate taste of the house found in the paintings of Ancient Herculaneum. It has the ceiling of canvas painted in oil and in the oval in the middle, a Venus, that is separate from Aeneas drawn from the Aeneid.15

Beginning with the first sentence it is clear Diomede has “an interest in possession but also an obsession with capturing these objects in time and space.”16 Diomede’s ekphrastic prose, captivating from page one, mentioned a small marble table in the introduction to the “Yellow Room with Golden Stuccos Before the Bedroom of Marchesa Vittoria”, Diomede’s wife:

This whole room is decorated with gilt stucco and marble stucco veneer. “Limon” yellow colored satin hangings cover the walls. There are eight large pieces of this

15 Appendix A, p. 6 V.
and two smaller strips next to the windows and along the sides of a small marble table. There are two other strips centered above the windows and below the two white curtains.\textsuperscript{17}

The colors of painted walls, varieties of cloth hangings, various species of wood, types of marble and fabrics comprising the furniture are not typically included details in an \textit{inventario}. Diomede listed artists, acquisition dates and frame details of paintings, plus window styles, and their coverings of cloth, wood frames and enumerated glass panes. The first object listed in the “Yellow Room of Golden Stuccos” is the aforementioned small marble table (fig. 3):

\textit{1 small table with four round feet and fluted legs. It is gilded and has white panels with gilded rosettes, with four smaller panels the color of matte-black (bucchero) with gilded beaded border. Placed between the two windows, this small table has a large white Carrara marble top.}\textsuperscript{18}

Prior to this investigation, the documented provenance of this table (fig. 3), was unknown to the current Marchese and the curator at Palazzo Sorbello.\textsuperscript{19} This table is currently in place in Sala Carlo at Palazzo Sorbello, centered between two windows, as it was in Diomede’s palazzo located a few hundred meters away on via San Biagio. This author proposes with certainty that this table is the one described as item one on the first page of the inventory list which is the subject of this paper.

This table demonstrates the wealth of future discoveries possible for future scholars based on the highly detailed inventory list of the Marchese Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello and exemplifies why the list and its author are worthy of further study. Keating and Markey (2011) confirm,

\textsuperscript{17}Appendix A, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{18}Appendix A, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{19}The current Marchese Ruggero Ranieri di Sorbello lives in Palazzo Sorbello as have the previous marchesi since 1780. It is now a house museum, non-profit foundation and repository of the family collections.
“Inventories alone cannot be interpreted in isolation: the language or construction of an inventory must be explored alongside other contemporary documents published accounts and the objects themselves.”

Diomede specifies which items are stored on individual shelves, for convenience’s-sake, having lived in these rooms and recommended their use from experience.

*I little table of black wood with four twisted legs with a drawer below and the table top above with a raised border that serves now to hold glass urinals with handles, the waste jars, and are brought every evening to the bed for use and are convenient to the Marchesa.*

He is proud of the architectural conveniences that help coordinate the functions of the palazzo. In the following description of a small door, he elaborates such a convenience:

*I little wooden door the same thickness of the steps of the step ladder above, which opens to store the dirty [feces] jars, from which the servant women climb up the stepladder; the ladder leads upstairs to empty the jars when convenient, because they must avoid passing through the big, red antechamber. It [the opening] is small where the door is leading to the secret staircase.*

At times Diomede’s descriptions are almost too detailed to comprehend. An ordinary notary or compiler would have written, “6 gilded sconces” describing the following object:

*6 cornucopias of gilded metal each with two candles held between the trumpet, that is, two per trumeau, each one with its [reflective] plate, also of gilded metal where the said cornucopias are supported by the trumpet.*

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21 Appendix A. p. 2 V.
22 Appendix A. p. 8.
23 Appendix A, p.1.
With this entry, Diomede showed determination to describe the elaborate construction of sconces that hold candles and function to illuminate the inside of his trumeau, which is a glass-fronted cabinet placed above a writing desk with drawers below.

Diomede was not content to just list “no. 3 caricola per baldacchino”; 3 pulleys with cords per baldacchino. He followed with, “per tirar fui a giu la tenda”; to pull down the curtain. Diomede described the item as well as what to do with it, when the functions of cords and pulleys are clearly obvious in the given context. More than a list of beni mobili, movable goods, he often described immovable, permanently affixed or installed appurtenances. He described a mechanism of display for example, a suspended ceiling made of a wood frame covered with canvas panels, themselves painted with scenes in gouache and oil.

The ceiling of this room is a flat canvas stretched over a criss-crossed wooden framework that are divided into thirteen paintings. There are thirteen copies of [Giambatista] Piazzetta’s prints made from the originals of Gerusalemme Liberata by [Torquato] Tasso in Venice in 1743. These paintings are painted in gouache. The center however, is painted in oil. The rest of the ceiling is ornate [groteschi] like that of Raffaello in the Loggia of the Vatican. Above and in between the three mirrors there are three black urns and three more copies of three cantos of Gerusalemme by Piazzetta. Four more above the door. In total there are twenty of the cantos.

This description demonstrates Diomede’s artistic taste, religiosity and preference for subject matter. Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), an Italian poet, wrote the idealized religious epic, Gerusalemme Liberata first published in 1581. This poem recounts the events of the first crusade which culminate in 1099 with the conquest of Jerusalem. The Palazzo Sorbello library

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25 Diomede possibly made an error writing 1743. This author was only able to find a 1745 edition of Gerusalemme Liberata by Torquato Tasso published in Venice.
26 Appendix A, p. 1 V.
currently holds a 1778 edition Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata* and this same book is listed in the 1802 Book Inventory of Palazzo Sorbello written by Diomede and his brother, Uguccione.\(^{29}\) The University of Naples and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City both own copies of a 1745 edition of *Gerusalemme Liberata*, written by Torquato Tasso with engraved illustrations by Giambatista Piazzetta.\(^{30}\) Diomede explicitly stated that the paintings in gouache and oil on his suspended canvas ceiling are copied from Piazzetta’s engravings, possibly from a now-lost 1745 copy of the book (fig. 4).

Further evidence of Diomede’s religious beliefs is demonstrated by the description of a small reliquary made of filigreed silver with relics inside it and the location of his holy water basin:

> 1 small reliquary of silver filigree with relics behind of: 1 ivory crucifix, very beautiful, with a cross of ebony, 1 picture with a marbled frame, and stripes of gold; representing the Madonna of the Pieta, painted by Giuseppe Mazarasi and was given by the Prior of Preggio.

> 1 engraved glass basin for holy water hanging on the wall by the head of the bed.\(^{31}\)

Fourteen paintings in this inventory are of Mary and Jesus and scenes from the bible, and thirteen depict a variety of saints. To compare other subjects of paintings in Diomede’s collection, four are mythological, nine are landscapes, thirteen are portraits, thirteen are vases of flowers/still lifes, three are of animals and two are architectural drawings. The fact that nearly three-fourths of his paintings are religious in nature speaks loudly of his religiosity.

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\(^{29}\) “1802 Catologo dei libri”, ABMS, Busta 46, f.7. ASP.

\(^{30}\) Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* (Venice: Giambatista Albrizzi), 1745.

In another example of a non-movable item, as well as one that showed Diomede’s ingenuity and pride in his home, as well as a technical ekphrasis, he described fashioning a vent pipe to keep fireplace smoke out of the room;

*I long piece of tin under the fireplace folded in a tube so the smoke does not vent into the room. This length of pipe is large at the mouth of the room and it is stuck under the middle of the highest part of the chimney to good effect.*

The following description of four doors contains an abundant level of detail above and beyond that of a mere list:

*4 doors in the four corners of the room made of white panels with mirrors the color of matte-black set into the door panels. The mirrors have gilded frames. Two doors have mirrors on both the inside and outside of the door and two doors only have mirrors on the inside. All four doors have small latches of iron above and below to close them more strongly.*

He added, in very tiny print, squeezed between two lines, “*tutta quattro con piccolo caditori di ferro sopra e sotto per fermarle piu forte*”; all four with small latches of iron above and below to close them more securely.* Diomede used this extra information to show how his doors are closed, presumably better than normal doors.

On page eight, Diomede described the exact location of a few items kept for his and Vittoria’s convenience.

*In a cabinet in the lower part of the large closet facing the real window, in the little room adjacent to the large antechamber of paintings in the corner in front of the real window.*

\[32^{\text{Appendix A. p. 1 V.}}\]
\[33^{\text{Appendix A. p. 1.}}\]
\[34^{\text{Appendix A. p. 1.}}\]
\[35^{\text{Appendix A. p. 8}}\]
In these drawers are kept small provisions of coffee, sugar, chocolate, perfume, different elixirs, triaca, syrups, wax, ointments, playing cards, boxes of games and other things like you see noted here.\textsuperscript{36}

With this entry Diomede shared his and Vittoria’s coveted items as well the presence of a deck of playing cards, indicating a pastime they shared together.

One example of humorous detail is this elaborate description of egg cups and their location:

\textit{4 Delft ceramic egg cups to hold the boiled eggs in a straight upright position, they are in the soup tureen.}\textsuperscript{37}

The fact that he told the reader where the egg cups are is a relatable note-to-self, a moment of common humanity, to make a note as a reminder of something stored in an unusual location.

Why did Diomede feel it necessary to tell the reader the eggs are held straight and upright? Perhaps he is describing a new fashion in serving eggs. Egg cups holding the eggs upright were found in excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum in the mid-eighteenth century and they became popular later in the century.\textsuperscript{38} Diomede’s thoroughness in explaining every-day concepts are a hallmark of this inventory list.

Literature Review

The 1794-1797 inventory list of the Marchese Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello has never been published in its entirety before. Presented here for the first time is a translation of the entire document into English. It had previously been cited only as a source for provenance of paintings. Silvestrini (2005) and Pazzini (2014) have written articles about the paintings in the Palazzo

\textsuperscript{36} Triaca is a medicine. See John Davenport, \textit{A New Dictionary of the Italian and English Languages: Based upon that of Baretti} (London: Whittaker and Co., 1860), 744, and Appendix A, p. 8.

\textsuperscript{37} Appendix A, p. 11 V.

Sorbello collection using several pages of this inventory. Silvestrini published the two pages of the inventory containing lists of paintings and specified which works were incorporated into the family collection from dowries of Marianna Arrigucci and Ginevra Ramirez di Montalvo.\(^{39}\)

Pazzini’s article introduced the family members and factors that lead to purchasing the Palazzo Sorbello, then narrowed to the subject to paintings and their provenance. Pazzini discussed the abundant details in Diomede’s inventory list, his passion for collecting, a member of the “Francophile illuminist culture dominating Tuscany in the early nineteenth century,” and his various friendships in courtly salons in Florence.\(^{40}\) This thesis will delve deeper into what the descriptions of the other elements of the inventory can tell us, not only his choice of paintings to display and collect.

**Inventory Lists**

Only a few inventories survive from the middle ages, but their surviving numbers increased dramatically in the early modern period, due to increases in population and paper production.\(^{41}\) With further global exploration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, changes occurred in the art market and the humanistic desire to learn about new cultures and possess examples of novel items led gradually to the development of collections, which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.\(^{42}\) The making of lists to document the collections naturally followed, and a culture of consumption was born.

The Bourbon di Sorbello family archives in the Archivio di Stato in Perugia thousands of inventory lists dating back hundreds of years. Diomede’s 1794-97 inventory is exemplary. To

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\(^{40}\) Pazzini, “La Quadreria”, 555.


understand what makes Diomede’s list unique, we need to examine the purposes of inventory lists in general and compare other concurrent examples.

An inventory list typically records movable goods, *beni mobili*. Included in this definition are art objects, books, furniture, kitchen supplies, bedding and clothes. In the eighteenth century and earlier, windows, shutters and metal attachments are also listed as *beni mobili*. Lists containing valuations are for church tithing, inheritance purposes, and in the case of the Medici in 1512, proof of former ownership. In 1512, the Medici had another copy of their 1492 inventory written “as part of the effort to support the Medici claim for reimbursement after their exile.”

Another purpose was to record collateral for a loan; formatted as spread sheets with a column for quantity, a wide space for description of the item and a column on the right for monetary value. Dora Thornton (1997) posited another reason for multiple copies of inventories: lists of goods had to be compiled first by the executor and possibly were circulated and served as auction lists encouraging buyers.

Carl Cipolla (2003) established that family budgets of noble families showed “ordinary charity” (tithing) between one and five percent of their annual income. He continued by elaborating that the motive behind a charitable gift was not always magnanimous, but often the desire to show one’s social status with a public gift, or an expectation of a favor from a person in power. Between 1845 and 1848, Diomede’s great-nephew, Tancredi VI Bourbon di Sorbello

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45 “*Stima dei mobile delle suppellettili e della biancheria del palazzo di Perugia,*” Busta 45, 5.e., ABMS, ASP.
paid for the construction of a new marble floor in the Cathedral of Perugia.\textsuperscript{48} This example of church tithing was expected of noble families.

Inventories created for inheritance purposes examined by Thomas Ertl and Barbara Karl (2017) indicate that inventories were done immediately after the death of a patriarch to set the value of an estate for heirs.\textsuperscript{49} Found in the Bourbon di Sorbello Family Archive, two identical fifteen-page long lists were made on June 19, 1811 nine days after the death of Diomede. They catalogued movable goods, each in different handwriting, one with quantity and valuation and one without valuation.\textsuperscript{50} This inventory is void of the colors and textures Diomede used to create figural imagery and focused only on the materiality of the objects; \textit{una sedia, tutta di legno, diverse statue da presepio}; a chair, all wood, different statues of the nativity.\textsuperscript{51}

Why go to the trouble of creating one list without quantity or value? A possible answer to this question is illustrated in a fresco in San Martino del Vescovo, Florence, of a post-mortem inventory scene painted by Francesco d’Antonio del Chierico. Thornton (1997) explains this fresco by describing the two assessors in a room of a newly deceased man’s home. A notary sits on a stool writing down the items and assessors call out a value. The widow of the deceased stands in the middle with her own list in hand directing the action.\textsuperscript{52} Perhaps that accounts for two lists; the widow makes her list and calls out the items in order and the notary records the items with valuations. Members of the Bourbon di Sorbello family ascribed to this same practice of multiple inventory lists as discussed by Thornton.

\textsuperscript{48} “Conti e ricevute del marchese Tancredi VI, cassiere preposto a ricevere le contribuzioni per la costruzione del nuovo pavimento in marmo della cattedrale di Perugia,” Busta 87, no.19, ABMS, ASP.
\textsuperscript{49} Ertl and Karl, “Household Goods”, 127.
\textsuperscript{50} “Inventario di tutti mobile di Marchese Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello, 19 giugno 1811”, Busta 46, l.e., ABMS, ASP.
\textsuperscript{51} “Inventario,” Busta 46, l.e.
\textsuperscript{52} Thornton, The Scholar, 15.
Some lists are written like a page in a novel - they seem like narratives, one item after another separated only by commas with no monetary amounts listed.\textsuperscript{53} Many inventories, like the subject of this paper, have one item per line with no valuation.\textsuperscript{54} Of the thousands of \textit{inventario} in the Bourbon di Sorbello family archive, about half have no value assigned to the objects. Diomede’s inventory of 1794-1797 was not made for tithing or inheritance purposes.

Jane Geddes (1986) published the entire inventory of the Prince of Wales at the Grange, Northington, England from 1795. The eighty rooms of this palace far outnumber Diomede’s comparatively humble apartment in his palazzo, but the comparison of objects is valid. The assessor for the Prince of Wales lists “iron lock and key, brass knobs, shovel and tongs, steel grate and fire irons, a brass night bolt and an iron bar to one door.”\textsuperscript{55} An inventory from the Duke of Chandos’s great country house near Edgware, England from 1725 lists similar items; “three door locks and hinges, sash windows and frames, partition bars, shelves and pins, bars in the chimney and fire furniture compleat(sic).”\textsuperscript{56} These two inventories were not written by the noblemen themselves. An example of Diomede’s description of metal objects follows:

\begin{quote}
A “\textit{paio di ferretti incastrati}”; pair of iron bands imbedded in the wall with brass knobs to hold up the tongs and the shovel. 1 pair of double fire dogs made of iron and a grill with a flat plate and brass knobs. Acquired in the division with brothers.\textsuperscript{57}

4 iron pieces stuck into the plaster on the exterior wall on the outside of the two windows. These iron pieces are shaped like a T and hold the shutters open.\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{53} “Inventario degli infissi dell’appartamento al primo piano del palazzo dei Sorbello, posto nella parrocchia di S. Biagio, 1611-1859”, \textit{Busta} 45, 5.f., ABMS, ASP. This document is undated, but obviously it was written sometime between 1780 when the palazzo was built and 1794 when Diomede’s inventory was written.

\textsuperscript{54} Appendix A.

\textsuperscript{55} Jane Geddes, “The Prince of Wales at the Grange, Northington: An Inventory of 1795” \textit{in} \textit{Furniture History}, 1986, v. 22, 179, 180, 186.


\textsuperscript{57} Appendix A, p. 4 V.

\textsuperscript{58} Appendix A, p. 1 V.
1 twisted iron curtain rod supporting the two large yellow curtains

In Perugia, Northington, and Edgware, despite differences in location, income and noble status, the inventories are similar in their items, but Diomede’s is unique in its elaborate detail and that he records how he acquired items and how they functioned.

Conclusion

If Diomede had wanted to write an inventario beni mobili similar to others in his family archive, he could have accomplished this in half the number of pages. Diomede has created something more with this document. He described elements that are not moveable, at least, not easily, in terms of picking up something and moving it to another location. The location and purpose of every piece of metal in the apartment was recorded. He explained how the doors of built-in cabinets opened and closed. The suspended ceiling with painted canvas panels is evidence of something not movable, but like the permanently embedded hooks, pieces of iron and the color of paint on the walls and shutters, it gives another purpose to the inventory. In describing non-movable items and details, he transitioned beyond a simple inventory list and illustrated a scene, bringing to life a snapshot of an elegant way of living.

59 Appendix A. p. 1 V.
Chapter Two

This chapter will focus on specific details about Diomede’s education, family history and social connections set within the context of radical social and political events brought about by the French Revolution that forever changed the way of life for noble families across Europe. The Bourbon di Sorbello family, as was typical of noble families, insisted on formal education for the men, while the women were removed to convents or married to strategic partners to enrich the family coffers and social standing. Through careful management the Marchesi di Sorbello maintained their wealth, but with considerable internal family legal squabbles. The impetus to write an inventory list was conceivably brought about by a fear of the unknown. Diomede, as a man of leisure, cared enough about his way of life to preserve every detail for the future. The family archives contain documents dating back hundreds of years, and surely Diomede knew his inventory would be added to the historical record for future generations to read.

Education and Prosopography

Diomede, like his father and brothers before and after him, attended the Royal Military Academy of Turin for four years where he became close and life-long friends with Vittorio Alfieri, who became a well-known poet and tragic playwright. The international mix of British, French, German, Russian and Italian nobility attending the academy provided, as Alfieri said in his autobiography, “an authentic breeding ground for the vital cosmopolitan aristocratic community present in Turin in the eighteenth-century.” While studying in Turin, Alfieri

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traveled to Britain four times. As a result of earning a baccalaureate degree at the academy, Diomede enjoyed a military career at the Savoy Court and spent a total of thirty years in Turin. The beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 was a pivotal moment. In that year Diomede returned to Perugia from Turin and in 1792 Vittorio Alfieri moved from Paris to Florence, where he spent the next ten years of his life.

In 1793 François Xavier Fabre, the noted painter who studied under Jacques-Louis David in Paris also relocated to Florence to escape the chaos. Sometime after 1793 Diomede and Alfieri became acquainted with François-Xavier Fabre through their shared social contacts, namely the Court of Countess of Albany, Alfieri’s companion. In Florence, Fabre held a prominent position in Florentine society. His patrons included Italian aristocrats, like Diomede who appreciated his elegant, realistic style.

Fabre painted an oil portrait of Alfieri in 1796, a possible commission by Diomede or perhaps Alfieri gave it to his dear friend, Diomede. Diomede probably commissioned another Fabre painting titled *Diogenes Throws the Bowl* sometime after 1792. Both paintings are currently in the Palazzo Sorbello collection. Because of his aristocratic background Alfieri was against the principles of the Revolution, yet the basic premise of his tragedies was that of a

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63 Pazzini, “La Quaderia”, 554.
64 Betti, *Vittorio Alfieri*, v.
heroic protagonist who fought for freedom, against tyranny and oppression.

As mentioned previously, Diomede was a Francophile, and Alfieri “idealized Britain as a paradigm of the best form of society and government in Europe.”

Horace Walpole, the British aristocrat, politician and author, published in 1774 an inventory list of his Neo-Gothic house, Strawberry Hill, located near London. The popular success of this book prompted a 1786 edition illustrated with etchings and floor plans. The format of this book, with introductions to each room and the lengthy, detailed descriptions of objects are nearly identical to Diomede’s writing style in his inventory list. The floor plans Diomede had drawn of his palazzo are also remarkably similar to those in Walpole’s 1786 edition (fig. 6, Appendix B). Through Diomede’s close friendship with the Anglophile Alfieri, it is possible that Diomede was familiar with Walpole’s books.

Alfieri gave a rare complete set of his 1787-1789 Tragedie to Diomede and wrote a personal note to his friend in the flyleaf. “To you, Diomede, As a sign of the friendship that we have woven since our earliest years and that has matured over time, my tired Nelpomenic tribute, Vittorio Alfieri, take care, 4 June 1802.” Vittorio Alfieri died in 1803 and was buried in Santa Croce in Florence.

Family History of Collecting

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72 Betti, Vittorio Alfieri, 3.
73 Bianchi and Wolfe, Turin and the British, 23.
74 Walpole, Description of the Villa.
75 Walpole, Description of the Villa, 480.
76 Walpole, Description of the Villa, 512C.
77 The leather bound, three volume set of the Tragedies di Vittorio Alfieri with flyleaf open to the note from Alfieri to Diomede is on display in Sala Diomede, Palazzo Sorbello, Perugia.
78 Translation of author photo of poem taped into Vittorio Alfieri’s Tragedie in Sala Diomede, Palazzo Sorbello, Perugia. Nelpomene is the Greek muse of tragedy. Thanks for Sarah Linford for this translation.
79 Author’s observation of his tomb with sculpture by Antonio Canova in Santa Croce, Florence, November 7, 2018.
The making of lists is not a spontaneous occurrence on the part of Diomede as a member of the Bourbon di Sorbello family. His family had been keeping records of every aspect of their lives and property for over eleven-hundred years. The oldest document in the Bourbon di Sorbello family archive dates to 801 C.E., and thousands more are extant from every following century through 1951 when the Marchese Uguccione Ranieri di Sorbello (1906-1969) deposited his family documents into the Archivio di Stato di Perugia. The family history available in the archives connects some of the earliest documented collections of books and art objects to those lists of Diomede. Diomede and his brothers were raised with a rich family tradition of education and collection of books. It is this tradition that provided a solid foundation which he transcended with his own thorough and exacting method of recording possessions in his inventory list of 1794-1797.

While not the time period in question, Thornton’s book, *A Scholar in his Study*, (1997) about the advent of collections in the Renaissance, has relevance here. She writes that Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino had one of the earliest documented studies with a collection of books and art objects. The Bourbon di Sorbello archive coincidentally contains a letter from Federico da Montefeltro dated 1452 (fig. 7). This letter is strictly business, recommending that the Marquis Giovanni Matteo I Bourbon di Sorbello not offer hospitality to a man named Ludovico Montemelini. Bandits and smugglers were a persistent problem in the Renaissance since not every duchy or fiefdom would extradite thieves to a neighboring territory for

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80 “Investitura, concessa da Carlo Magno ad Arimberto, principe della baronia di Borbone, del marchesato di Toscana e di molti castelli in feudo nobile,” 801 December 20, Busta 6, f. 21, ABMS, ASP.
83 “Lettera di Federico da Montefeltro al Marchese Giovanni Matteo I Bourbon di Sorbello con la quale lo prega di non offrire ospitalita a Ludovico Montemelini,” Busta 102, 1, ABMS, ASP.
punishment. Letters were exchanged between the nobility of adjoining territories asking for cooperation to not create a safe haven for bandits.\(^{84}\)

Between 1504 and 1709 ninety-seven letters were exchanged between the Medici Dukes of Tuscany and the Marchesi Bourbon di Sorbello.\(^ {85}\) The Medici were also among the earliest participants in this new phenomenon of the cabinet of curiosities; collections of objects. These letters are mostly about management of people in their territories plus an invitation to Francesco I de’ Medici’s funeral in November 1587. While these letters are not about the collections and lists of objects, the fact that these letters were collected and preserved for hundreds of years suggest an awareness on the part of the Bourbon di Sorbello family members of the lifestyle of noble families and the necessity of record-keeping and documentation for future generations. This strong family tradition of collecting likely instilled in Diomede the knowledge that his documents would be preserved alongside those of the illustrious Medici Dukes.

**Historical and Political Circumstances**

Diomede’s return to Perugia from Turin in 1789 was probably linked to the significant social and political upheaval that affected all of Europe beginning with the French Revolution in 1789, when the French commoners, fueled by resentment, overthrew the monarchy and took control of the government, a mere five years before Diomede began writing his inventory.\(^ {86}\) The abolition of feudalism in France in August 1789 most likely gave the Marchesi di Sorbello pause for concern since it was through land ownership and rental income that their noble lifestyle had

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\(^{84}\) “November 6, 1584, Lettera di Ferdinando di’Medici al Marchese Tancredi II, Bourbon di Sorbello di banditi”, Busta 102, 9. ABMS. ASP.

\(^{85}\) “Lettere autografe di illustri personaggi indirizzate ai marchesi di Sorbello,” Busta 102, f.6 1-97, ABMS. ASP.

endured since its humble beginnings in the eleventh century.\textsuperscript{87} This revolution continued as a movement for over a decade, with Napoleon and the French Revolutionary forces’ subsequent attack and annexation of Savoy to France in 1792 as just one example threatening the lifestyle and social standing of the nobility, including Diomede and his brothers. Diomede’s father, Giuseppe I, had been a page in the Savoy court and his brother, Uguccione, inherited titles from his father given by Carlo Emanuele III, King of Savoy in 1740.\textsuperscript{88}

Diomede, together with his brothers did what they could to maintain their noble social status and land holdings as witnessed by the many copies of investitures in the archives. April 26th, 1792 is the date of one such document, whereby the Marchesi di Sorbello petitioned the Emperors Leopoldo II and Francesco II to obtain confirmation of the investiture of the Fiefdom of Sorbello.\textsuperscript{89} On January 21\textsuperscript{st}, 1793 Louis XVI was executed, possibly adding further concern to noble marchesi such as Diomede and his brothers.\textsuperscript{90}

The French Revolutionary Army’s incursions continued into central Italy beginning in 1796 through 1797, when on February 16\textsuperscript{th}, troops of dragoons and soldiers entered Perugia, after peace talks with the Pope came to an impasse.\textsuperscript{91} This time-frame of French Revolutionary forces moving towards Perugia, the Sorbello territory, and land holdings in the area coincided exactly with the writing of Diomede’s inventory, providing a compelling argument for the timing of his inventory. By 1798 French Revolutionary forces began occupying Perugia for a period of

\textsuperscript{88} Ranieri, “The History and Legacy”, 27.
\textsuperscript{89} An investiture is the formal conferring of a title or degree. See “1792 April 26, Richieste dei Marchesi di Sorbello agli imperatori Leopoldo II e Francesco II per ottenere la conferma dell’investitura del feudo di Sorbello,” ABMS, Busta 6, f. 42, ASP.
\textsuperscript{90} A. Goodwin, 1965. 709.
\textsuperscript{91} Ranieri, “The History and Legacy”, 30.
eighteen months.\textsuperscript{92} During this period, the French Republic forbade by decree, aristocratic emblems and invalidated noble titles and their fishing and hunting rights.\textsuperscript{93}

The Marchesi di Sorbello withstood the effects of the French Revolution and subsequent political upheavals with enough land holdings intact to financially support the family members and their palazzi into the next century and beyond. A document written by Diomede’s brother, Uguccione dated the 7th of July 1798 listed all the palazzi, houses, farms and land owned by himself and his brothers with a total value of 61,654 scudi.\textsuperscript{94} For comparison, a document in the family archive from 1806 records the purchase of a house in the Parish of San Savino in Perugia by Diomede’s brother, Ugolino III, for 100 scudi.\textsuperscript{95}

In the early eighteen-hundreds Diomede and his wife, Vittoria had the means to live in at least four different palazzi simultaneously, based on concurrent inventory lists. Three belonged to the Bourbon di Sorbello Family and one was the Pitti Gaddi Palace in Florence belonging to Vittoria’s family. Between March 8, 1802 and January 9, 1805, the compilation of an inventory of a palazzo at Fratta (today’s Umbertide) was requested by Diomede.\textsuperscript{96} This eighteen-page long inventory, despite being requested by him, was not written by him and does not contain any of his meticulous adjectives and narration. The palazzo at Fratta consisted of three floors, the top floor being living quarters for servants, two lower floors for family members, two kitchens, formal gardens as well as a chapel and sacristy. Similar to the via San Biagio palazzo it contained secret staircases for the removal of wastes as well. Diomede also had an apartment at

\textsuperscript{92} Ranieri, “The History and Legacy”, 31.
\textsuperscript{93} Ranieri, “The History and Legacy”, 31.
\textsuperscript{94}“1778 July 7-1798 August 25 Entrate, cambi, censi, fabbricati e terreni assegnati al Marchese Uguccione III”. ABMS, Busta 46, f. 15, ASP.
\textsuperscript{95} “1806 January 12th, Andrea del fu Girolamo Mazzarioli e sua moglie Geltrude, di Perugia vendono al M. Ugolino III di Sorbello una casa in Porta Eburnea, parrocchia di San Savino, per 100 scudi”, ABMS, Busta 32, f. 34 ASP.
\textsuperscript{96} “1802 Marzo 8-1805 January 9, Inventario dei mobili del palazzo di Fratta”, ABMS, Busta 46, f. 3, c. ASP.
the Castello Sorbello with his print collection. The lavish lifestyle with numerous palazzi had its share of problems, however.

In 1780, Uguccione III, the oldest brother, labored over several months of negotiations purchasing the Palazzo Sorbello, (formerly known as Palazzo Eugeni) from the Count Antonio Eugeni, the first husband of Vittoria Pitti Gaddi. This was not without considerable legal quarrels. Uguccione had a cease and desist order issued to Vittoria on December 28th, 1779. She harassed him and tried to interrupt the sale of the Palazzo Eugeni to Uguccione, even after her husband, Count Antonio Eugeni had agreed to the terms of sale. Her concern is understandable since her home was being sold and her noble lifestyle was possibly changing. These are just some of the inheritance and legal difficulties of Vittoria documented in a systematically organized “Summario” by Diomede, written between 1789 and 1794 detailing discussions with lawyers and monetary transactions (fig. 7).

Vittoria’s first husband, Count Antonio Eugeni, died in 1786 with debt, and the process to extract a living for herself and her two daughters occupies a four-inch thick busta of documents in the Bourbon di Sorbello family archives. Vittoria and Diomede were married after Diomede returned to Perugia in 1789 from Turin. Perhaps it was witnessing and documenting his wife’s lengthy efforts at extracting and maintaining wealth and a position in society that gave Diomede

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98 “1786 December 9 - 1796 January 27, Causa tra la Marchesa Vittoria Pitti Gaddi di Sorbello, amministratrici e del patrimonio Eugeni e la propria figlia, Contessa Caterina Eugeni, per la gestione del medesimo patrimonio.” ABMS, Busta 53, f. 14, 210, ASP.
99 “1780 gennaio 8 La Contessa Vittoria Pitti Gaddi Eugeni rinunzia alla lite con il Marchese Uguccione III, sorta per l’acquisto del Palazzo Eugeni”. ABMS, Busta 43, 20. ASP.
100 “Summario 1789-1794 Marquesa Vittoria Pitti Gaddi Bourbon di Sorbello” ABMS, Busta. 53. F.14.2. ASP.
101 “Elenco delle giustificazioni de pagamenti”, ABMS, Busta 53. F. 14.1. ASP.
one more reason to create a thorough list of his own assets. Witnessing first-hand her tenacity, his list could be a document preserving his inheritance for his blood heirs and not solely his wife’s daughters.

Hundreds of documents in the archive demonstrate financial and property disputes within the family, providing a valid reason for Diomede to have wanted a thorough list to explicitly claim which items were his. Diomede and his brother Uguccione argued, in writing, with the assistance of lawyers and notaries for many years about such things as cattle, grain, land rents, palazzi maintenance costs, payments between brothers, the division of household goods in 1780 and tithing to churches. A thirty-one page document written by Uguccione dated December 18th, 1797 summarized a series of questions Uguccione asked Diomede regarding these issues. Uguccione recorded Diomede’s responses to these issues that obviously had bothered Uguccione since the division of movable goods and properties in 1780. A simple solution was not evident by reading the document, but rather a continuation of disputes.

Despite Diomede and Uguccione’s documented legal squabbles, by 1802, they shared a book collection of three-thousand volumes in their library at the Palazzo Sorbello in Perugia (fig. 8). These books were inventoried in a separate list of one hundred and fifteen pages, handwritten in pen and ink, mostly by Diomede, a few pages by Uguccione, in alphabetical order by author’s last name. This 1802 list is also cross-referenced alphabetically within the author’s last names with occasional subject headings such as letteres, istoria, opera, origine and oeuvres. Diomede, in 1802 obviously had all three thousand family books organized on

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103 “1780 May 26- 1806 October 18 Controversie tra I Marchesi Uguccione III, Lodovico VI, Antonio Maria, Diomede e Ugolino di Sorbello, per la divisione dei beni dell’eredita maternai successiva transazione.” ABMS, Busta 53. F. 13, 56-71. ASP.
104 “1802 Catologo dei libri”” ABMS, Busta 46, f.7. ASP.
105 “1802 Catalogo dei libri,” Busta 46, f.7, 86.
shelves in alphabetical order by author because that is the catalog system of his 1802 book list. The collection of books indicates a man of leisure who had the luxury of an education and time to read. The time and effort needed to write this comprehensive list demonstrates that books were among his most prized possessions. Diomede invests the same care and diligence in assembling the 1794-1797 inventory of his palazzo.

True to his love of all things French, Diomede owned the entire thirty-two volumes of the 1770 edition of the *Encyclopédie Française* by Diderot and D’Alambert, which today, along with his other books, by French authors such as Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, Molière and Crébillon are in the Fondazione Ranieri collection at Palazzo Sorbello in Perugia.\(^{106}\) Books in the collection, while housed at Palazzo Sorbello in a shared library, were claimed as individual property by each of the brothers. This is demonstrated by the first name of the brother who owned the book written in ink on the first page of numerous books as seen in the display case in the Sala Diomede at Palazzo Sorbello.\(^{107}\)

The titles of French authors in Diomede’s collection indicate a wide range of interests, including literature, tragedies, and political thought. The library contained five titles by Montesquieu.\(^{108}\) Montesquieu is known for his writings on the separation of powers. His book, *The Spirit of the Law* (1748) was drawn upon heavily by the framers of the U.S. Constitution.\(^{109}\) The French Revolutionary, Maximilien Robespierre, also drew inspiration from Montesquieu’s writings and as leader of the Committee of Public Safety advocated for the execution of over seventeen-thousand anti-revolutionary nobles during the Reign of Terror in France between

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\(^{106}\) “1802 Catalogo dei libri,” Busta 46, f.7.
\(^{107}\) Direct observation of the author in Sala Diomede, Palazzo Sorbello, Perugia, October 17, 2018.
\(^{108}\) “1802 Catalogo dei libri,” Busta 46, f.7.
October 1793 and July 1794. Robespierre also believed in the writings of enlightenment philosopher, Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Diomede’s library included nine titles by Rousseau in the 1802 book list. Rousseau was a close friend of Denis Diderot, author of the *Encyclopédie Française*, mentioned earlier.

By the mid-eighteenth century, Voltaire’s writings took a decidedly anti-monarchial turn. He disliked the feudal regime and wrote liberal propaganda encouraging a distrust in the King of France. Ten books by Voltaire were included in the 1802 book inventory. The presence of numerous “pro-revolutionary” titles in Diomede’s library neither proves nor disproves his political leanings. It does strongly suggest his desire to possess a comprehensive knowledge of a wide variety of political thought. The evidence of inventory lists filled with sumptuous furnishings and décor in three separate palazzi speak loudly as proof of his personal preferences and his interest in French Enlightenment ideas.

**Conclusion**

The discussed examples of Diomede’s education, prosopography, family history and inherited collections of art and literature could have collectively or singularly influenced his writing style. The French Revolution, the dissolution of the French monarchy and the subsequent invasions of Italy contributed to an understandable opposition by noble families. This uncertain future for Italian Aristocrats quite possibly sparked Diomede’s concern with documenting his possessions. In the same way that in 1512 the Medici re-wrote their 1492 inventory in an attempt to reclaim their property after a forced exile, Diomede’s inventory could certainly have been used for a

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similar purpose. The Marquesi di Sorbello stood together as a noble family against political upheaval, while at the same time a large portion of their inventory held documents witnessing internal squabbles, brother against brother.
Chapter 3

A careful analysis of Diomede’s inventory list will ask questions about why he took a simple task of writing a list of his possessions and turned it into a how-to-manual of living in an eighteenth-century palazzo. Diomede’s use of first and third-person narration and infinitive verbs gives instructions that can be interpreted as a series of stage directions in a play recording his lifestyle, that as far as he knew, in 1794, could be coming to an end. Examples of movement will be presented which constitute technical ekphrasis; describing an object with its materials of composition, invention, use, and mechanical function.\(^{113}\) Diomede’s inventory list is an excellent example of this learned skill of rhetorical writing with its conscious decisions of word choice to include material compositions, use and functions of objects.

Perhaps taking a cue from his playwright friend, Vittorio Alfieri, or Horace Walpole’s Strawberry-Hill, the introductions to each room in the inventory read like a setting of a scene:

Room to the left of the yellow bedroom. This room is longer than it is wide, and it is all painted with a light shade of pale red, with the painted canvas ceiling, and with the frieze above and the base below, indeed, painted in gouache. In the long wall there is a window.

Peter Burke (2012), writing about performativity in seventeenth-century Italy argued that palazzi such as the Palazzo Barberini in Rome functioned as stages, with grand staircases and series of antechambers creating a sense of drama for receiving visitors.\(^{114}\) In his 1794 inventory, Diomede created a setting for each room as the guest entered, crafting a visual picture of lighting via


\(^{114}\) Peter Burke, “Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome”, in *Varieties of Performance in Seventeenth Century Italy* (Farnham Surrey: Ashgate, 2012) 18.
windows, colors, compositions and textures of the walls and ceiling before listing the props, furniture and decorative arts, found in each room.

The silk or satin cloth wall hangings mentioned often in Diomede’s inventory are absent in palazzi today because the cloth decayed over time. Modern scholars know of their existence from paintings, and now this inventory provides further evidence.115

*The walls are completely covered with antique red damask in good shape, under all the described paintings, composed and sewn together in four large pieces and four smaller pieces and with four striped pieces in the corners of this antechamber.*116

The walls were covered as Diomede described above and paintings were hung on top of the cloth. He described such a cornice:

*52 strips of framing of different lengths together with white panels in the middle that have gilded circles with dark striped trim. This frame serves to re-frame the hangings of the whole room and to cover up the tacks/hobnails with which it is attached to the wall.*117

Diomede counted fifty-two separate pieces of trim running around the edge of the large yellow room with gilded stucco. Then he explained the overall effect, a re-framing of the cloth, a truly aesthetic detail. With the word choice “*coprire*”; to cover up, Diomede stressed again, how important small details and the overall effect were to him. The hangings were suspended without visible “*bullette*”; tacks, or hobnails, hidden from view with the painted wood cornice.

116 Appendix A, p. 4 V.
117 Appendix A, p. 1 V.
When describing a cabinet, Diomede specified which shelves held the candles, and which shelves held jars for feces (vasi sporchi) for the servant women to carry off discretely to the upper floors via the secret staircase, similar to stage-directions in a script. Diomede’s servants can be imagined as stage hands, arranging props hidden from view by curtains. He mentioned the secret staircases twice, once described in the “Bedroom with the Turquoise Bed” and again in the “Little Room Adjacent to the Big Antechamber of Paintings in the Corner in Front of the Real Window.” Stefanie Walker and Frederick Hammond (1999) described similar circumstances in Baroque palaces in Rome, with compact spiral staircases accessed by hidden doors running from top to bottom in palazzi for servants to discretely bring clothing, water and remove wastes.

Diomede incorporated a fondness or a need of movement, both mapping a path around each described space as well as instructions about how to open and close doors, raise and lower curtains and which silk cords when pulled would summon servants from distant locations, such as the following example;

2 door latches with handles of iron that act like a fixed key, in which at the right there is also a small latch of iron to close it if you don’t want people to enter the room from the secret staircase, and 2 cords of yellow silk at the sides of the fireplace with yellow tassels below that ring two bells, one in the living room, and the other in the servant women’s room.

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118 Appendix A. p. 13.
119 Appendix A. p. 7.
120 Appendix A. p. 8.
122 Appendix A. p. 7.
Diomede took obvious delight in guiding the visitor around his palazzo. He used infinitive forms of verbs to tell the reader how to do things or how items functioned, for example; to hold up, to pull down, to hide, to cover, to form, to open, to close, to place, etc. He gave instructions with his prose. A common list has no need to tell the purpose of an item; an item’s description is self-evident. This is an instruction manual on how he lived his palazzo. Diomede even recommended what to do with a pitcher; “1 smooth white majolica pitcher for water.” Why does the reader need to be told that specific pitcher is for water? A person can choose what they want to put in a particular pitcher, but Diomede wanted the reader to know that he used it for water. Another example in a similar vein:

*I round majolica plate to hold the oil lamp at night, 1 small glass lamp for the oil lamp for night time.*

Diomede felt the reader needed to be told that a specific plate only held the oil lamp and the next line told the reader to only use the lamp at night time.

In this next example, Diomede told the reader which cover belonged on a certain bed:

*I cover of used, red damask with red silk fringes intended for the bed in the upstairs quarters*

Perhaps the room had matching red damask wall coverings and Diomede offered decorating advice? Or the cover was custom-made to fit the bed? Some questions cannot be answered, but the fact remains that Diomede often issued instructions.

The following description of two small doors turns into a spontaneous multi-level tour of his palazzo ending with the recurring theme of waste removal.
2 little framed doors next to the bed- The one door at the head of the bed with iron latches to open it, hides a very comfortable, private shitter that is emptied in a box near the adjacent secret staircase that precedes the downstairs room in a corridor that connects the room with a sort of mezzanine that is the apartment of the Marquese Lodovico, designated A, B and C. This so-called corridor also goes to another secret staircase that leads to the front door of the house. Going down further still brings you to the cellars, to the stables and the cave for food storage. The other little door then leads to a small room created in the framing of the alcove in the middle where there is iron armor hanging on the wall and at the bottom the box of urine.

2 other little secret doors in the wall of the previous room in the two facing sides of the arch of the bedroom= which to the left leads to the little closet that is above the room with the box of urine and the other at the right takes you to find immediately the secret stairs that go up to the so-called mezzanine.

This author disagrees with Thornton (1991) when he affirms, “Chamber pots were rare in Italy, judging by the few references to be found in the inventories.”123 In this exceptional inventory, Diomede not only told the reader about the six different kinds of vessels for human waste, but he led a tour around the palazzo and told how, when and where it was collected and deposited. This inventory suggests that chamber pots were not rare in Italy, but perhaps not included in standard inventory lists because of their indelicate nature. The fact that this inventory mentioned six urinals, one bidet, three jars for feces and two commodes is another unique feature of a list written by a palazzo owner. A table to hold urinals and waste jars and one box of urine (primitive septic tank) were each mentioned twice. These descriptions of eighteenth-century waste management could provide material for a separate course of study.

As mentioned earlier, unique to this list is the fact that Diomede wrote it himself. He was the only one with the above-described intimate knowledge of the purposes of his objects and he was compelled to relay this to the reader. Jessica Keating and Lia Markey (2011) insist that

inventories were rarely compiled by the owner of objects. They were usually written by an educated compiler. Their task was to simply write a list, assign valuations and collect payment for the job. The problem with this is that compilers generally lacked sufficient motivation and sense of ownership to create a detailed assessment, and therefore, most extant inventories in archives are lacking details and are prone to errors and inaccuracies. This insistence by Keating and Markey implies the converse is true because Diomede was the author documenting his own possessions in his palazzo, and it is natural that he wrote a detailed, accurate assessment. The objects were either inherited from previous generations of family members, traded with his brothers or purchased specifically for his own collection. He chose the specific paintings and books which directly reflected his interests. The emotional and sentimental attachment to the items Diomede described could be a primary justification for the detail with which they are recorded.

While Diomede did not sign his inventory, he left obvious clues to his identity. He mentioned the address of his palazzo, the names of his wife and brothers and even himself in the first person, *Il canape ‘lo compro’ il M: Diomede*; The couch, I bought it, the M: Diomede. Numerous signed and dated letters written by Diomede in his distinctive penmanship are extant in the archive as further evidence that he was the author of this document. When notaries or compilers were employed to write inventory lists, they were signed by a collection of relatives. The lack of signatures on the last page of Diomede’s inventory indicates that his was not a legal document nor witnessed by anyone other than himself.

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125 “Divisione del Palazzo in Porto Eburnea, parrocchia di S. Biagio, tra i marchesi Antonio Maria, Ugolino e Diomede di Sorbello, 1802 marzo 3.” Busta 39, d.34, ABMS, ASP, and Appendix A, p.3V. Translation by Maura Angradi, Rome.
A question to further consider the purpose of Diomede’s inventory list is to ask for whom he was writing the list. He used both first and third-person narration. On page five he described a painting in first-person that is “comprato da me in settembre 5, 1793,”126 bought by me on September 5, 1793. Throughout the inventory he makes dozens of references to items acquired “nella divisione coi miei Fratelli”; in a division with my brothers. In the descriptions of each room, for example, he uses third person. He described a large cupboard built into the wall, “dentro del quale si entra per mezzo di una porta in mezzo...”127; inside of which one enters through a door in the middle. He is telling someone how to access a cabinet, which usually does not need instructions. Is that someone a future occupant of his house? One of his family members? Every drawer, door and cabinet have a lock and key. There are sixteen separate locks and keys mentioned. In this example five locked drawers are opened by one key.

I bureau (buro) with five drawers that lock with a single key. In five gilt frame and painted marble stucco panels are five small metal plates with the five openings for the keys. It was this antique walnut bureau received by Marquese Diomede in the division of furniture with his brothers and he then had it painted and gilded.128

Ekphrasis

As attested in Chapter One, Diomede’s inventory list is an exemplary piece of ekphrasis. Ruth Webb (2009) defines ekphrasis as “the poetic description of a pictorial or sculptural work of art or the verbal representation of a visual representation.”129 The introductions to each room of Diomede’s inventory are presented as an image, a quick glance around the room with a brief description before listing every object. Webb elaborates on the ancient Greek learning of

126 Appendix A, p. 5.
127 Appendix A, p. 17.
128 Appendix A, p. 2.
ekphrasis in their “progymnasmata.”’’ the transition between reading and speaking included in basic exercises in rhetorical theory. Students practiced by looking at a picture, then covering it and writing as much detail as possible from memory.\textsuperscript{130} Webb further argues that contrary to the modern definition of ekphrasis, it was not always a verbal representation of visual art (painting, sculpture, etc.) but the use of language and vivid evocation to try to make an audience imagine a scene.\textsuperscript{131} Heffernan’s proposed definition of ekphrasis is “the verbal representation of visual representation.” This latter definition precisely describes Diomede’s efforts.

The Greek, \textit{ek} means out and \textit{phræzein} means tell, declare or pronounce. In the third and fourth centuries C.E., the Greek word ekphrasis was defined as a description of visual art or “a speech that brings the subject matter vividly before the eyes.”\textsuperscript{133} Further, the process of describing art is an act of interpretation. One ekphrastic element Diomede used throughout his inventory list was that of measurement, or size of objects, particularly with regard to textiles. The units of measure he used were \textit{telo/i} and \textit{braccio/chi}.

\begin{quote}
2 bundles of couch cloth woven with eyes of peacocks, measuring bracci 18 ½ per bundle, bracci 37.\textsuperscript{134}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
3 bundles of fine, smooth, linen cloth, 2 of Perugian bracci 22 ½, each one, and an old one that was from Sardinia, of bracci […] In total […]\textsuperscript{135}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
3 linen sheets, 4 teli high x 2 teli across, per sheet\textsuperscript{136}.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{130} Webb, \textit{Ekphrasis, Imagination}, 17.
\textsuperscript{131} Webb, \textit{Ekphrasis, Imagination}, 3, 53.
\textsuperscript{133} Cheeke, Writing for Art, 1.
\textsuperscript{134} Appendix A. 9.
\textsuperscript{135} A \textit{braccio} is a unit of length, based on an arm, equal to three spans, varying between 46 and 71 cm, which would make this piece of cloth between 33 and 51 feet. This is obviously too long to be useful in a household, so a Perugian Braccio is probably shorter. See Robert Melzi, \textit{The Bantam New College Dictionary} (New York: Bantam, 1976), 81, and Davenport, \textit{A New Dictionary}, 82, and Appendix A. 9.
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Teli} is a unit of measurement defined as a breadth of cloth. See Davenport, \textit{A New Dictionary}, 716, and Appendix A. 8 V.
3 fine sheets for the couch, [...] teli high and [...] teli across.\textsuperscript{137}

Courtney Roby (2016) defines technical ekphrasis as the weaving together of objects with stories of acquisition, use and function, dating to ancient Greek and Roman rhetorical manuals.\textsuperscript{138} Diomede and Uguccione’s Book Inventory of 1802 lists numerous volumes by ancient Greek and Roman authors including books on rhetoric, specifically \textit{Rhetoricum ad Herennium} by Cicero.\textsuperscript{139}

\textit{Enargeia} is a rhetorical term and a defining characteristic of ekphrasis whereby a visually powerful description vividly recreates something in words.\textsuperscript{140} Roby quotes Cicero as “defining \textit{illustris oratorio} as the type of oratory that simulates having the subject of discussion before one’s own eyes. For this sense is touched most of all—but the others as well, and the mind itself can most of all be moved.”\textsuperscript{141}” Roby interprets this Cicero quote as implying that other senses besides sight can be part of an ekphrastic description. For example, let us consider the tactile sense. In Diomede’s inventory he invited tactile sensations with the following examples:

- 2 new wool pillows with knotted needlework on a white sheath.
- 1 smooth white majolica pitcher for water
- 1 white majolica basin with grooves inside
- 2 large paintings with beautiful, smooth gilded frames, representing different animals painted by Monsieur Rosa
- 1 painting, not large, with a partially smooth, partially carved frame

\textsuperscript{137} Appendix A, 9.
\textsuperscript{138} Roby, \textit{Technical Ekphrasis}, 2
\textsuperscript{139} “1802 Catalogo dei libri,” Busta 46, f.7.
\textsuperscript{141} Roby, \textit{Technical Ekphrasis}, 115.
Textures of the knotted needlework, smooth majolica, grooved majolica and smooth gilded frames are felt beneath the fingers, adding another sensory element to the imagination of luxuries found in Diomede’s private world. Roby (2016) says,

Verbs of motion like push, knock and drag, and textural descriptors like smooth, give a strong tactile impression of the work being undertaken, of handling components that slide easily against one another, and components that stick in place. A description of an object’s tactile attributes is especially effective when directed at a reader who can imagine himself touching the object and so those actions are often as here, delivered through direct imperatives and other personal verbs.\(^{142}\)

In addition to the visual and tactile descriptions, Diomede also offered the reader his opinions;

2 paintings with gilded frames, two beautiful parrots

*Head of an old man, very beautiful*

*it was from the House of Arrigucci, and had an ugly frame*

*it was from the House of Arrigucci with a black frame, very ugly*

*with two vases of original flowers, not ugly=

*Madonna and child and various saints painted very badly on wood by Pietro Perugino*

*Jesus being taken down from the Cross with many figures, painted very well*

1 small fireplace made of Bardiglio marble from Florence, very beautiful, very clean\(^{143}\)

These examples of Diomede’s opinions open a small window into his tastes. He found beauty in parrots, portraits and Bardiglio marble, yet was able to admit a Madonna and Child by Perugino was painted badly. He showed no sentimentality towards the frames from his mother’s dowry, calling them ugly.

\(^{142}\) Roby, *Technical Ekphrasis*, 118.

\(^{143}\) Appendix A, p. 3, 3 V, 4.
Diomede demonstrated movement and technical ekphrasis with instruction for opening doors to rooms, cupboards, cabinets and window shutters with complex iron closures. He created a narration with momentum, a detail not necessary or seen in a typical eighteenth century inventari. Description of the materials used to make the object and its invention and mechanical function “conveys the subjective experience of people who come in contact with the artifact as spectators or users.”\(^\text{144}\) Diomede used technical ekphrasis in describing the metal tube he created to draw fireplace smoke out of a room cited in Chapter Two and again in descriptions of door locks, storm windows and window shutters;

4 locks of iron for each of the four doors, imbedded into the wood of the door.\(^\text{145}\)

2 storm windows of small glass panes to put in place of the two shutters in winter and each of these with iron latches to close them and two iron handles for each one.\(^\text{146}\)

4 iron pieces stuck into the plaster on the exterior wall on the outside of the two windows. These iron pieces are shaped like a T and hold the shutters open.\(^\text{147}\)

In the following description of a curtain, it hangs and sweeps back, much in the same way a theater curtain would pull back to reveal the actors on stage. These curtains hung in the doorway of a bedroom, as if it were a performance space, which, in a way, it was.

2 curtains of amoetre color dark turquoise with gold silk fringes all around. These curtains are united together in the upper, center part, and then going down they open up moving away from each other, each folds away from its side in the guise of buona grazie, held back by two tiebacks made of gold silk fringe. And in the middle of the upper part there is also a tassel made of gold and turquoise silk fringes.\(^\text{148}\)

\(^{144}\) Roby, *Technical Ekphrasis*, 104.

\(^{145}\) Appendix A, p. 1.

\(^{146}\) Appendix A, p. 1.

\(^{147}\) Appendix A, p. 1 V.

\(^{148}\) Appendix A, p. 7.
The quote above, is also an example of technical ekphrasis as defined by Roby (2016), “Some authors have a designer’s eye for the mechanical or structural features of a device and will describe it in terms of its construction process, the physical properties of its materials, or the mechanics of its operation.” The physical properties of how the curtains hang and move apart are astutely conveyed by Diomede in this example.

Diomede owned a copy of Johann Winckelmann’s 1783 German to Italian translation of *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi; History of the Art of Antiquity*. Winckelmann (1717-1768) is considered a forerunner to the discipline of art history and well-known for his ekphrastic descriptions of ancient Greek and Roman statuary. Cheeke (2008) explains, “Winckelmann’s observations and speculations intoxicated a generation of European art lovers and made them look at Roman copies of Greek statues under his influence. His lengthy descriptions of particular pieces of antique sculpture evoked the objects as meaningful presences, the pain or suffering of which touches our souls.” We have no way of knowing which of the three-thousand books in his collection Diomede read, but the fact he owned Winckelmann’s *History of the Art of Antiquity* and other titles by ancient Greek and Roman authors and rhetoricians offers an assumption.

**Conclusion**

Diomede’s theatrical writing style follows examples of the ancient skill of ekphrasis first taught in the third century A.D. Diomede and Uguccione’s book collection of three-thousand volumes contained many ancient classic texts as well as ekphrastic texts contemporary to Diomede’s time. It is impossible to know if this was a conscious decision on Diomede’s part, in

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150 Cheeke, *Writing for Art*, 167.
order to follow the example of ancient rhetoricians, but it is evident that he used verbs to give the reader explicit instructions about how mechanical gadgets functioned, expressed strong opinions about how, when and where certain objects were to be used, and even gave us opinions about some of his paintings. Through multi-level tours of the palazzo, Diomede familiarized his readers with his household-scatological details included. This inventory list meets and exceeds the criteria set by centuries of scholars to consider it a work of ekphrasis, a valued piece of literature and perhaps the first-ever palazzo owner’s manual, enabling, at the same time, the preservation of a now-lost decorative scheme.
Conclusion

The historical context of this remarkable document preserves not only the decorative arts of a noble eighteenth-century palazzo, but how the aesthetic, economic, political and social situations leading up to 1794 contributed to the document’s creation. Evidence presented supports several theories about why Diomede wrote the inventory between 1794 and 1797. The French Revolution, beginning in 1789, and subsequent political actions against the nobility are the most probable stimuli, followed by the litigious nature of the family’s legal issues regarding inheritance and income. Identifying ownership was a very important distinction within the Bourbon di Sorbello family, maintained with thousands of documents and actions by notaries and lawyers.

The 1792 invasion of Italy by French Revolutionary forces confronted the Marchesi di Sorbello with exile, destitution or death. Diomede and Vittoria owned several apartments in several family palazzi, but this inventory of the via San Biagio palazzo is the only one written by Diomede in this ekphrastic style. The vast number of personal possessions, including dozens of paintings, linens, kitchen and dining supplies indicate this residence was one of four he and his wife occupied on a sporadic basis. Diomede cared about his possessions and his palazzo’s decorative scheme- as demonstrated by the detailed discussion of excerpts from the inventory. The evidence of eleven-hundred years of written family history in the archives demonstrate that Diomede knew there would be a place in the family archives for his writings within the rich chronology of his Bourbon di Sorbello family documents.

Diomede’s life-long friendship with Anglophile Vittorio Alfieri and the time spent in Florence alongside artistic intellectuals demonstrate his preference for continuous life-long learning and enlightenment ideas. We have no way of knowing if Horace Walpole’s celebrated
inventory of Strawberry-Hill, inspired Diomede’s list, but this new genre of literature and art historical writing seem a plausible interest. Books in his family library and the art he purchased, commissioned and traded with his brothers provide evidence of subjects that interested him. The wide variety of authors in his library, from classical Greek and Roman philosophers, to tragic plays, and even pro- and anti-revolutionary authors demonstrate that he valued all opinions. Diomede’s friends and family were anti-revolutionary, however, as demonstrated by his friends’ taking refuge in Florence and his brothers’ attempts to keep their noble titles and inherited lands upon which their incomes depended.

Diomede presented a large amount of information with skillful word choice to encompass not only the physical description of two and three-dimensional objects (walls, chairs, plates, tables, etc.) but artfully layered color, dimension, texture, movement, function, recommended use, aesthetic opinion and provenance into the inventory. In addition to object description, he placed objects within a three-dimensional space and led the reader around in this space demonstrating how the objects interacted with the people in the palazzo. The inventory list of 1794-1797 written by Diomede Bourbon di Sorbello deserves to be acknowledged as a work of art for its skillful prose describing the paintings, furnishings and décor of his palazzo in Perugia. In 1794 this inventory probably would not have been considered a work of art, but with the development of the discipline of art history in the centuries since, this document as a literary work of art and its value as a recording of eighteenth-century decorative material culture cannot be ignored.
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Figures

Figure 1

Figure 2
1794-97 Inventory List

“1794 febbraio-1797 agosto 8. Inventario dei mobili, delle supplalmarti e della biancheria del marchese Diomede, esistenti nella casa di Perugia”. Busta 45, f.5,1,1. Archivio di Stato di Perugia
Archivio Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello
Author photo
Figure 3
Small marble topped table, Sala Carlo, Palazzo Sorbello, Perugia
Author photo

Figure 4
Illustration from *Gerusalemme Liberata* by Torquato Tasso. Illustration by Giambattista Piazzetta, 1745, photo WikiCommons.
Figure 5
Ground Plan of Horace Walpole’s Strawberry-Hill 1781

Figure 6
Letter from Federigo da Montefeltro to Marchese Lodovico III Bourbon di Sorbello 1452

Figure 7 *Summario* written by Diomede 1789, Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio di Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello, Author photo, Busta 53, f. 14.
Figure 8 1802 Book Inventory written by Marchesi Diomede and Uguccione Bourbon di Sorbello, Archivio di Stato di Perugia, Archivio di Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello, Author photo 1802 Catologo dei libri, Busta 46, f.7.
Appendix A

Translation from Italian to English by the author. “1794 febbraio-1797 agosto 8, Inventario dei mobili, delle suppelleltili e della biancheria del marchese Diomede, esistenti nella casa di Perugia,” Busta 45, 5.i., Archivio di Bourbon del Monte di Sorbello, Archivio di Stato di Perugia.

Yellow Suite of Gilded Stucco Before the Bedroom of Marquesa Vittoria

Page 1

This whole room is decorated with gilded stucco and marble stucco veneer. “Limona” colored yellow satin hangings cover the walls. There are eight large pieces of this and two smaller strips next to the windows and along the sides of a small marble table. There are two other strips centered above the windows and below the two white curtains. 151

1. small table with four fluted round feet. It is gilded and has white panels with gilded rosettes, with four smaller panels the color of matte-black (buchero) with gilded beads border. Placed between the two windows, this small table has a large white Carrara marble top.

2. small canopies above the windows with carved, gilded white frames with three cords and pulleys per canopy, to pull down the curtains

2. white cloth curtains with cords and four white tassels per curtain

4. doors in the four corners of the room made of white panels with mirrors the color of matte-black set into the door panels. The mirrors have gilded frames. Two doors have mirrors on both the inside and outside of the door and two doors only have mirrors on the inside. All four doors have small latches of iron above and below to close them more securely.

4. paintings above each door painted in oil on canvas are full figural representations of four cantos of Gerusalemme Liberata copied from the prints by Giovanni Piazzetta.

8. metal handles of forged and gilded metal, that is two per door (possible duplicate entry follows)

4. gilded metal plates for the key, that is, one per door

2. silver keys with eyes to open the four doors, that each open in two panels

4. locks of iron for each of the four doors, imbedded into the wood of the door

2. small couches made with gilded frames and white panels. The seat and back cushions are covered with “Limona” colored satin.

151 All translations from Italian to English in this appendix are the author’s. Page numbers to the left indicate original inventory page numbers written in pencil by the archivist.
10 chairs made with gilded frames and white panels. The seat and back cushions are covered with “Limona” colored satin.

2 slatted shutters at the two windows with grey paint and with iron latches on each shutter and two iron handles to close each one

2 storm windows of small glass panes to put in place of the two shutters in winter and each of these with iron latches to close them and two iron handles for each one

8 gilded, engraved metal handles set into the four doors, that is two per door

4 gilded, engraved metal plates for the key hole, that is two per door

3 large clear Venetian glass mirrors inserted inside the three white and gilded stucco trumeaux that are in this room

6 cornucopias of gilded metal each with two candles held between the trumpet, that is, two per trumeau, each one with its [reflective] plate, also of gilded metal where the said cornucopias are supported by the trumpet

2 cords of yellow silk at the sides of the fireplace with yellow tassels below that ring two bells, one in the sala, and the other in the servant women’s room

1 pair of capifuochi; firedogs, with a pair of iron rods with a grate consisting of 4 knobs and plates of brass

1 pair of tongs, and a round iron shovel with brass handles

2 wire hangers with brass knobs to hold up the tongs and scoop

1 fireplace screen made of painted canvas with a white frame with gold stripes

7 small, white porcelain cups with gold stripes on the outside a turquoise border inside with gold stripes. These cups are without handles, and one with a small plate underneath that serves as a sugar bowl

1 bellow under the fireplace, painted, with a brass mouth piece

**Page 1 Verso continuing the Yellow Stucco Suite**

1 long piece of tin under the fireplace folded in a tube so the smoke does not vent into the room. This length of pipe is large at the mouth of the room and it is stuck under the middle of the highest part of the chimney to good effect.

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152 A trumeau is a tall piece of furniture with a china cabinet above and a desk surface with drawers below.

153 A capifuochi consists of two iron tripods with two legs in front and a bar reaching back on either side to support logs; across the front, a pillar on each tripod to keep logs from rolling out of the fireplace onto the floor. See Peter Thornton, *The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600*, London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1991. 26.
52 strips of framing of different lengths together with white panels in the middle that have gilded circles with dark striped trim. This frame serves to re-frame the hangings of the whole room and to cover up the tacks with which it is attached to the wall.

2 southern windows are vaulted, painted grey and each one is divided into four frames, with two smaller windows above with one pane of glass each, and two below with 2 panes of glass each, all equally large. Thus, having each 3 windows, 6 large glass panes in every window, there are also 3 latches to close them, that is, one above, one below and one in the middle that closes the 2 parts above and below together.

4 iron pieces stuck into the plaster on the exterior wall on the outside of the two windows. These iron pieces are shaped like a T and hold the shutters open.

4 big cupboard doors with white and gilded frame, and with these panels varnished the color grey, vulgarly called “darkness of the windows.”

The ceiling of this room is a flat canvas stretched over criss-crossed wooden framework that are divided into thirteen paintings. There are thirteen copies of [Giambatista] Piazzetta’s prints made from the originals of Gerusalemme Liberata by [Torquato] Tasso in Venice in 1743. These paintings are painted in gouache. The center however, is painted in oil. The rest of the ceiling is ornate [groteschi] like that of Raffaello in the Loggia of the Vatican. Above and in between the three mirrors there are three black urns and three more copies of three cantos of Gersulamme by Piazzetta. Four more above the door. In total there are twenty of the cantos.

**Yellow Bedroom**

This room is all covered with yellow satin hangings the color “Canarino or Limona” like the room in the beginning. There are three large pieces of wall hangings that cover all three of the internal wall facades.

1 A grand bed of new soft, white wood, constructed of two sawhorses and five Asian planks and long boards six Perugian feet in length

1 A bag of heavy canvas full of fresh corn husks

2 A new mattress of fine wool padding enclosed in a linen sheath with white and turquoise stripes and a matching bolster pillow

2 new wool pillows with knotted needlework on a white sheath

1 large cover of yellow satin, like the wall hangings, split in the corners and trimmed with an edging of white silk, and a lining of yellow linen

2 large curtains of yellow satin in the archway to the of the bedroom, opening and closing in the middle with yellow cords. These curtains are not lined and are trimmed inside with an edging of white silk.
2 pieces of turquoise taffeta trimmed with an edging of white silk that forms the decoration of the arch. In the bedroom behind the large room, these pieces [of taffeta] are held up with yellow cords of silk and five tassels of yellow silk

1 twisted iron curtain rod supporting the two large yellow curtains

2 internal doors in the bedroom, one of which leads to a bathroom (gabinetto) and the other of which lead to a dressing room (spogliatori). Regarding the doors, the lower part of the door is the color of matte-black with white panels and gilded frames facing the bedroom.

2 paintings above the middle of each door painted on canvas with gouache are representations of two vases of flowers

15 pieces of white trim/framework with white panels and dark lines that form frames of the three pieces of yellow wall hangings that are attached to the three walls of the bedroom

**Page 2 Continuing the Yellow Bedroom.**

1 engraved glass basin for holy water hanging on the wall by the head of the bed

1 small reliquary of silver filigree with relics behind of: 1 ivory crucifix, very beautiful, with a cross of ebony, 1 picture with a marbled frame, and stripes of gold; representing the Madonna of the Pieta, painted by Giuseppe Mazarasi and was given by the Prior of Preggio

1 piece of old flowered carpet on the floor around the bed

**Room to the left of the Yellow Bedroom**

This room is longer than it is wide, and it is all painted with a light shade of pale red, with the painted canvas ceiling, and with the frieze above and the base below, indeed, painted in gouache. In the long wall there is a window.

1 a window divided in two pieces that open in the middle with four glass panes, not large, it has a view towards Ponente, and it has two iron latches above and below to close them. All the frames are of chestnut wood and painted grey. The two cupboard doors have dark Asian paintings in gouache with yellow frames

1 little canopy above the window of soft wood and yellow cornice with three cords attached to pulleys (caruccolate) to draw up [or lower] the curtains

1 slatted shutter outside the window made of chestnut wood with its latches above to close it and below is seen a hook of iron

1 bureau with five drawers that lock with a single key. In five gilt frame and painted marble stucco panels are five small metal plates with the five openings for the keys. It was this antique walnut bureau received by Marchese Diomede in the division of furniture with his brothers and he then had it painted and gilded.

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2 low Roman chairs painted very light with old yellow damask cushions with fringes around

1 round wooden clothes dryer with its lid. Inside, a round canvas frame holds the clothes to be warmed above, and below are the coals [in a container]

1 open sideboard, hanging on the wall above the bureau, composed of four boards going across and two on the sides going up with two iron loops above for hanging it

**Page 2 Verso**

**Bathroom of the Yellow Bedroom straight ahead**

This room is similar to the preceding one for the length, especially the painting of the ceiling decoration and for the tint of the walls and the only difference is the placement of the window that is placed lower, exposed to the north. The room has two small doors on the sides. The one to the right leads into the large rose antechamber already described and the other door gives rise to a small, dark, dressing room. In the back of the room, near the floor there are more flat boards to hide the things that you don’t want to leave in view, in fact, the dirty clothes can be put there.

1 window of chestnut wood divided in two parts with four small glass squares with two latches, one above and the other below to close them all and painted grey and with its dark soft wood

1 canopy of soft wood. The window curtain has a yellow frame and three pulleys to pull the curtain mentioned above

1 old tripod of black wood that holds a basin of water

1 white majolica basin with grooves inside

1 smooth white majolica pitcher for water

1 square commode with its basin of white majolica with its cloth, a split cover with corners, of white *dobletto* (sturdy cotton/lined fabric)

1 bidet of coutoured white majolica with a turquoise strip embedded in the wooden framework(*fusto*)[^155] and legs of walnut wood with a small cover made of white cloth and a pleated border(*falbala*)[^156] of muslin

1 little table of black wood with four twisted legs with a drawer below and the table top above with a raised border that serves now to hold glass urinals with handles, the waste jars, and are brought every evening to the bed for use, and convenient to the Marchesa

2 low chairs of painted soft wood and with old yellow damask pillows

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[^156]: Davenport, *Dictionary*, 229.
1 sideboard, open hanging on the wall above the table, made of four shelves across and two straight sides with two iron rings above for hanging it on the wall

1 door lock with a painted key to the little door of the dark dressing room behind the bedroom. Inside this dressing room there are the following things:

No.[…] glass urinal with a handle made of absorbent cotton

No.1 big majolica urinal that I use at night for a jar of stink

No.[…] round majolica plate to hold the oil lamp at night

No. […] small glass lamp for the oil lamp for night time

Page 3

**In the Green Room of Paintings**

2 curtains of white linen at the two windows with white cords and four tassels

2 canopies at the windows with green gilded frames and 6 pulleys with cords to draw up the curtains

12 walnut wood chairs painted the color green and yellow with chair coverings of *ferradina* green

1 walnut wood couch similar with the chairs and the back painted *ferradina* green.

1 small table between the two windows, painted green with yellow stripes, and the tabletop is painted to resemble yellow striped marble

1 large dining table divided into three pieces with upright supports underneath, and with four square legs that you hook/clasp together, all made of soft wood

1 carpet on top of the large dining table in the color *ferradina* green: edged with yellow lace and a lining of green linen

1 large painting with a gilded frame representing Lot with his two sons, on canvas. This was acquired by me in a division with the brothers.

1 large painting with a gilded frame representing The Family that is Bathing, on canvas, and bought by me on 5 September 1793. full figures

1 large painting with a gilded frame, a crucifixion of Jesus, beautiful paper, bought by me in 1787, the painting was painted by Rubens and engraved by […] a French artist

1 large painting with a carved, gilded frame, a kitchen with all of the copper utensils, bought by me in 1786, on canvas, original
2 pretty big\textsuperscript{157} \textit{(grandicelli)} paintings with gilt frames, an Oriental landscape with figures, on canvas, bought by me in 1787, two Tales of Mercury

6 paintings in oil with gilded frames, from the studio of Alessio de Marchis, bought by me with care in 1786. Of different sizes on canvas

3 paintings on canvas, in gilded frames, two in oil and one in gouache by Alessio di Marchis, bought by me at different times in 1788. One with many very beautiful figures

1 picture with a small gilded frame with a head of a Putto on canvas, with a broken glass. Bought by me from the Prior Grizi in 1790. Original

1 picture on a wood panel with a gilded frame, where a donkey is painted with a pack, bought by me in 1788

2 pictures with gilded frames painted on paper, one figure, a prisoner and the other a tomb in the ground, with glass in front, won by me in a raffle in 1790. They were made by the Architect Mazoneschi.\textsuperscript{158}

2 paintings, on canvas, with gilded frames with two vases of flowers by the Abbot Scipione Angelini, given to me in the division with my brothers

1 painting on canvas with a gilded frame, Andromeda Freed by Perseus, bought from the Carpenter Becci on May 6, 1793

1 painting on canvas in a gilded frame, a half figure of a villain who has a hand on his face. Bought by me in 1788

1 picture with a black frame originally, now gilded. A drawing of one fact of sacred scripture given to me in the division with my brothers. On paper covered with glass

1 painting with a gilded frame, a battle scene, bought by me in 1791

2 paintings with gilded frames, two beautiful parrots, bought by me in 1792

2 paintings on canvas with gilded frames, two portraits, one of a woman, the other of a doctor. I bought the portrait of the doctor in 1789, the other one of the woman was a gift

2 pictures with small gilded frames, two drawings, one of the Annunciation, the other of Saint Elena who finds the True Cross of our Lord. Acquired by me in 1787

\textbf{Page 3 Verso Continuing in the Green Room of Paintings}

1 picture on wood panel with gilded frame. A head of an ancient warrior attributed to Pietro Perugino. Bought by me from the Carpenter Becci in September 1793

\textsuperscript{157} Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, 1826, 226.

\textsuperscript{158} Silvestrini spelled this name incorrectly in her translation. Maroneschi, is, in fact, the architect and painter Vincenzo Mazoneschi. See Chiara Silvestrini, “Collezioni d’arte a Perugia tra il XVII e il XIX secolo. La quadrieria dei Marchesi Bourbon di Sorbello”. \textit{Bollettino della Deputazione di Storia Paatria Per l’Umbria}, CII, Perugia, (2005),219.
1 picture on canvas with a gilded frame. A half-figure of an Angel holding his hands together. Given to me in the division with my brothers. Original

1 picture on wood panel with a gilded frame. A Madonna and Child attributed to Carracci. Bought by me from Caforri in a house near the barefooted monks (scalzi)\textsuperscript{159} 1788

1 picture with a gilded frame, a head of an old man, shiny, on canvas given to me by the painter Giuseppe Pranzi in 1787, original

2 pictures with gilded frames, two drawings on paper, one by Guercino, St. John Preaching, and the other attributed to Guido (Reni?), Head of an old man, very beautiful, bought by me in 1786, drawn by hand by Giuseppe Pranzi

Page 6 (new title half way down the page)

**Antechamber Covered with Red Damask in the Apartment of the Marchesa**

1 curtain of white canvas at the window with white cords and four tassels

1 canopy at the window with a gilded frame and painted sky blue (\textit{Celeste}) with three pulleys with cords to draw up the curtains

2 little tables of chestnut wood with a drawer with brass ball handles. One of the tables has an embossed leather cover

[… ] tall chairs with armrests covered with red damask and leather covered seats

Red damask walls that are trimmed all around this antechamber, encircled by a cornice trim the color of sky blue and gilded in every direction

3 swinging doors with painted canvas panels above and brass handles and locks with their keys

1 small bell that you ring from the second door inside of the house

**Large Antechamber Covered in Red Damask in the Apartment of the Marchesa Vittoria**

2 white linen curtains, one at the real window and the other at the fake one with white cords and four white tassels for every window

2 canopies for two windows with frames the color \textit{Celeste}, sky blue, and gilded and three cords attached to pulleys to draw up the curtains

2 tables with carved frames, painted the color sky blue, and gilded, and the table top is stucco marble veneer, given to me in the division of movable objects with my brothers

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\textsuperscript{159} Davenport, \textit{Dictionary}, 591.
12 chairs with seat cushions of red damask with yellow stripes, the seat backs are of Indian cane with frames painted the color Celeste, sky blue, and gilded, given to me with the division of movable objects with my brothers, they were, therefore, new.

1 couch of walnut wood with gilded armrests with long red damask cushions covered with swans and the other two cushions, made after, lean against the wall, as well, of red damask. The couch, I bought it, M. Diomede, from the inheritance of Marquesa:Vese: Amidei

Page 4

Continuing the Antechamber to the Grand Apartment of Red Damask

1 mirror above the fireplace composed of three separate mirrors with frames the color of medium blue and gilded, and other carved and gilded frames above. Acquired in the division of movable goods with his brothers. The frame was first completely painted Canarina; yellow

6 paintings above the door, on canvas by the Abbot Scipione Angelini representing large vases of wild flowers. Acquired already in the division of movable goods with his brothers

4 plaques each with two candles; a small mirror in the middle with carved and gilded frames, acquired in the division with his brothers=they were first without mirrors and with frames painted Canarina; yellow

4 plaques with more ordinary frames: gilded with mirrors in the middle and two candles, acquired as a gift from Marquese Antonio, his brother

2 large paintings with beautiful, smooth gilded frames, representing different animals painted by Monsieur Rosa= acquired with the division of movable goods with brothers, they were already broken

1 large painting with a new, smooth, gilded frame, made later, representing Susannah and the Elders in the bath, painted in the style of Carracci: acquired in the division of mobile goods with brothers= it was from the House of Arrigucci, and had an ugly frame

1 large painting with a new, smooth, gilded frame, unknown artist, representing a seated woman with bound arms and various cupids, one of which is in the act of shooting an arrow; it was from the Casa Arrigucci with a black frame, very ugly, acquired in the division with brothers\(^{160}\)

4 original paintings, not large, with four heads of old men with carved, gilded frames. They were in Sorbello= acquired in the division with brothers, as they are presently

6 oblong paintings with gilded frames by the Abbot Scipione Angelini with vases of wild flowers, acquired in the division with brothers= they were as they are [---presently]

\(^{160}\) In original document, Diomede made up his own abbreviations for often used phrases. One example of this are the letters, “diviscoif” which this author deciphered to mean “divisione coi i Fratelli”; division with the brothers.
4 pictures with carved and gilded frames, with four drawings copied from the House of Raffaello d’Urbino Roma= they were bought in 1789

**Page 4, continued.**

2 pretty big paintings with frames of characteristic/peculiar gilding, with two vases of original flowers, not ugly= bought in 1787: and I made him gild the frame [at the time of purchase]

1 painting with a new, characteristic/peculiar gilded frame, = representing a beautiful Nativity scene, painted by Ventura Salimbeni= it was from the House of Arrigucci, acquired in the division of mobile goods with brothers

1 painting with a similar new, characteristic/peculiar frame= representing the kiss of Judas, painted by […] = it was from the House of Arrigucci, acquired in the division of mobile goods with brothers

1 painting with a frame carved inside, all gilded, representing a beautiful landscape scene with the Holy Family resting on the flight to Egypt= I bought it in 1786. The original attributed to Montanini. (probably Pietro Montanini, 1619-1689, b. Perugia, also known as Petruccio Perugino)

1 painting with a completely gilded frame and partially carved, representing the Samaritan with the Lord at the Well, painted by Pietro da Cortona: bought in 1787. It was pawned for others from a pawnbroker

7 pictures with gilded frames with carved beads, with glass, and under [the glass], two prints of architectural paintings by Vincenzo Mazoneschi= I bought them in 1791

3 pictures, not large, with smooth, gilded frames, originals, representing three heads or busts of Saints, one of which is Moses= painted by a good hand, I bought them in 1788

1 painting, not large, with a partially smooth and partially carved frame, all gilded, original, representing a beautiful landscape scene with the sea and many figures= bought in 1787

1 painting, not large with a gilded frame, partially carved, painted by [Giovanni] Piazzetta: A full-length figure of Saint Girolamo seated= bought in 1788

1 painting, not large, with a partially smooth, partially carved frame, all gilded, painted by Francesco Solimena [also known as Abbot Ciccio(1657-1747)] , representing the Holy Trinity= bought in 1788

4 round pictures with gilded frames representing various martyred saints painted on copper by Cavalier [Sebastiano] Conca. Bought in 1788

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161 See note 7 regarding correct spelling of Mazoneschi.
Continuing paintings in the Antechamber to the Grand Apartment of Red Damask

1 small painting with a smooth gilded frame, partially carved, representing a Madonna and child and various saints painted very badly on wood by Pietro Perugino- bought in 1787.

1 small painting with a frame like above representing Jesus being taken down from the Cross with many figures, painted very well, on paper, with glass in front. Bought in 1787.

1 small painting with a completely carved and gilded frame painted on copper by Francesco Albani representing Diana who recognizes the pregnant nymph Calisto- bought in 1787, with glass.

2 small paintings with round carved and gilded frames with similar stripes, containing two landscapes painted in tempera, acquired as a gift from Abbot Bassi in 1788.

2 small oval pictures with carved and gilded frames, with inside two antique portraits of women in miniature, on sheep velum above the mirror, above the fireplace. Acquired as a gift from Marquese Lodovico his brother in 1785.

2 small square paintings with poor quality gilding= with two landscapes painted on wood bought in 1788.

1 fireplace screen that pulls up and turns with handles of red damask with red tassels and a framework the color of sky blue and gilded- acquired in the division of mobile goods with brothers.

1 pair of double firedogs made of iron and a grill with a flat plate and brass knobs. Acquired in the division with brothers.

A pair of tongs and a shovel of iron and a fork with brass knobs, acquired in the division of mobile goods with other brothers.

A pair of iron bands imbedded in the wall with brass knobs to hold up the tongs and the shovel.

2 identical red silk cords with tassels to ring two bells next to the fireplace.

1 new bellow with a small brass mouthpiece to blow air on the fire.

18 pieces of fine, white majolica with turquoise flowers of various sizes of which 6 pieces are Japanese porcelain, part of them are distributed on the fireplace, and part of them are decorations above the mirror. 2 pieces of this porcelain are fairly large and round with lids.

3 Etruscan vases made of plaster on one of two large marble stucco veneer shelves.

1 little writing table in front of the fireplace made of walnut wood with 5 little drawers with gilded brass knobs= bought in 1793 from Marquese Lodovico, his brother.

6 swinging doors made of new soft wood, painted the color sky blue and with gilded framework.
The walls are completely covered with antique red damask in good shape, under all the described paintings, composed and sewn together in four large pieces and four smaller pieces and with four striped pieces in the corners of this antechamber.

2 black glass carafes to hold flowers= given by Giulio Cesarei

1 marble stucco veneer fireplace in many colors with a yellow shelf above and a gilt frame

1 fireplace cover made of a soft wood frame and painted with a scene of a long vista to an antique tripod, on canvas stretched over the wood frame.

In this antechamber, other than the things described, there are different adjacent rooms with shelves/cupboards built into the walls, 3 of these rooms and cupboards are connected with the antechamber accessed through the 6 swinging doors mentioned above. That is, the one in front of the real window, that is hidden by a little credenza. On a small wooden shelf is kept some coffee, sugar, chocolate, wax and also there are 2 more swinging doors in front of the small fireplace. The one to the right leads to the dark room where the bed linens, table cloths, kitchen linens and bed covers are stored. The other to the left whose door goes to the other dark room is where the wardrobe is kept. Finally, in the corner, in front of the real window, there exists under the wall hangings, a little secret door that leads to a room under the secret staircase. All of these doors have their own locks and painted keys.

Page 5

Gabinetto della Toletta; bathroom
Annexed to the Yellow Room of Stuccoes

This room is all painted on the walls with garlands of flowers in gouache- it has on the ceiling a suspended canvas false ceiling that is painted in gouache.

1 small window made of chestnut wood divided in 2 parts with small glass panes with 2 hooks of iron to close it. One above and the other below. All painted in grey oil paint with two pieces of dark soft wood inlaid into the frame of the window.

1 small canopy of sweet wood with a yellow frame to hold the curtain in front of the window.

1 slatted shutter of chestnut wood painted with grey oil paint, large like the 2 that are at the windows of the adjacent yellow room with [....]

4 wooden footstools covered with coverings of flowered cloth from Calarca (a region in Switzerland) in the four corners of the room.

2 curtains at the window that hang over the small canopy but they are different like that of buona grazie and they are of the flowered cloth from Calarca with a trim of turquoise ribbon.
2 large curtains, one at the door of the internal room and the other in a niche in front of the door where now there is a plank of wood that must serve as a sort of couch. Said curtains are of flowered cloth from Calarca as above
2 thin iron rods attached to the wall to hold up the curtains
1 table of soft wood in the center for the dressing room

**Page 6**

**Big Antechamber to the left of the Green Room of Paintings**

In this big antechamber, that is before that of the bedroom of the Marquese Lodovico, assuming there are still furnishings; for now it has the following movable goods.

2 big windows of chestnut wood with 2 trimmed panels of 4 glass panes per panel so that within the two windows there are glass panes in all of them
2 little canopies with gilded wood frames at each window for the curtains, and with 3 cords with pulleys per canopy to pull down the curtains
2 Roman shades made of white linen with cords and 3 tassels per curtain, being that the other two serve as counterweights inside a cupboard in an adjacent little closet
2 large slatted shutters made of chestnut wood with grey oil paint outside of the 2 windows
2 long iron bars at the two windows with knobs of brass to open them and close them when leaving
2 short pieces of brass, hooks to close the lower parts of the windows
4 panels, so-called dark, 2 per window painted green and red, two per window
4 iron hooks hanging from the interior of the walls that serve to close them [the panels] to darken [the room].
1 fireplace mantle of veined marble from Foligno with pieces of yellow marble
1 trumeau with two large candles in front of mirrors joined together, surrounded with gilded stucco
2 iron bands with brass knobs to hold up the tongs and shovel under the fireplace
1 big table of soft wood centered inside the dressing room with two drawers underneath
1 old jewelry box of walnut wood with various drawers and a carved framework
4 antique chairs with twisted black wood backrests trimmed with red damask with also red silk fringes and seats covered with embossed leather. Acquired in the division with brothers
 [...] antique carved soft wood chairs also with backrests covered in red damask and seats covered with embossed leather = bought from the inheritance of Monsieur Amadei

1 fireplace screen constructed of a wooden frame with canvas painted in gouache

1 frame of soft wood above the door painted green and red with painted canvas

1 swinging door of soft wood painted green and red

1 lock of brass for said swinging door with its key

Page 6 Verso

Room of painted Canvas before the Bedroom

In this room it is all covered in canvas, painted in gouache with the ornate taste of the house found in the paintings of Ancient Herculaneum. It has the ceiling of canvas painted in oil and in the oval in the middle, a Venus, that is separate from Aeneas drawn from the Aeneid.

1 window of chestnut wood with [...] panes of glass = the wood is painted grey with oil paint with two wood panels that close with a long iron bar with brass knobs on the upper part and a latch for the lower part

1 slatted shutter of chestnut wood with grey oil paint outside of the window with a handle of iron to close it

2 iron pieces outside of the window making a T shape to hold open the panels of the shutters

1 small canopy of gilded wood with 3 mechanisms with pulleys to pull down the curtains over the windows

1 curtain of white linen with cords and 3 white satin tassels and these serve as counterweights inside a cupboard in an adjacent little closet

1 internal swinging door with a gilded frame of soft wood, painted green and red, and clear varnish

1 brass lock for the swinging door with handles inside and outside of engraved brass

1 small fireplace made of Bardiglio marble from Florence, very beautiful, very clean

1 fireplace cover/screen made of soft wood with canvas painted in gouache

2 iron bands with hooks and brass knobs under the fireplace mantle to hold up the tongs and shovel

1 large trumeau and a candle in front of a mirror surrounded with gilded stucco
2 bureaus made of walnut wood with other inlaid strips of olive wood and 2 drawers per bureau. Each bureau had 2 drawers with respective locks and one key per bureau. Every drawer has 2 handles of gilded metal and a flat gilded plate over the keyhole. In total, 4 plates and 8 handles.

1 small, new table made of walnut wood with its drawers with 2 small nails of gilded metal and a plate in the middle with knobs and all of it is of gilded metal. On the table surface is a covering of leather with green striped trim.

6 chairs with gilded frames and cushions covered with turquoise damask with swans on it.

2 similar chairs with gilded frames with swans without cushions and missing the turquoise damask.

**Page 7**

**Bedroom with the Turquoise Bed**

In this bedroom is seen the ceiling of stretched canvas with painting in gouache of 2 cupids in the air in the act of joking with a banner. The wall coverings of this bedroom are plaster with the color yellow mixed into the plaster.

1 bed composed of 3 planks of clean soft wood, very large and square.

1 new, clean mattress full of corn husks.

2 good durable wool mattresses, one cover of turquoise linen and the other of fine white striped linen.

1 bolster pillow of wool and 2 pillows likewise of wool. The pillows are covered with turquoise linen and the bolster is covered with white linen with red stripes like the other mattress.

2 covers of dark turquoise damask with gold silk fringes all around to cover the aforementioned bed.

1 long iron rod inside the bedroom next to the arch that holds up the two curtains inside the arch doorway. The metal is bent in the middle and supported by 2 iron eye hooks jammed into the wall.

2 curtains of amethyst color dark turquoise with gold silk fringes all around. These curtains are in the upper part united together in the middle and then going down they open up moving away from each other, each folds away from its side in the guise of buona grazie, held back by two tiebacks made of gold silk fringe. And in the middle of the upper part there is also a tassel made of gold and turquoise silk fringes.

2 chairs with gilded frames made with swans, without cushions, similar to those of the preceding room.
2 little framed doors next to the bed. The one door at the head of the bed with iron latches to open it, hides a very comfortable, private shitter that is emptied in a box near the adjacent secret staircase that precedes the downstairs room in a corridor that connects the room with a sort of mezzanine that is the apartment of the Marquese Lodovico, designated A, B and C. This so-called corridor also goes to another secret staircase that leads to the front door of the house. Going down further still brings you to the cellars, to the stables and the cave for food storage. The other little door then leads to a small room created in the framing of the alcove in the middle where there is iron armor hanging on the wall and at the bottom the box of urine.

2 other little secret doors in the wall of the previous room in the two facing sides of the arch of the bedroom which to the left leads to the little closet that is above the room with the box of urine and the other at the right takes you to find immediately the secret stairs that go up to the so-called mezzanine.

2 door latches with handles of iron that act like a fixed key, in which at the right there is also a small latch of iron to close it if you don’t want people to enter the room from the secret staircase.

1 secret door under the painted wall hangings on canvas in the back of the large room of the bedroom and is situated in front of the same bedroom.

**Page 8**

**Little Room Adjacent to the Large Antechamber of Paintings in the Corner in Front of the Real Window.**

In this little room there is situated under the secret staircase there are the following things:

1 square commode made of lathed black wood with a cover of used red damask

1 small long table of soft wood on which to place the urinals

1 white majolica water basin for the above-mentioned commode

2 little corner cupboards of soft wood in the corner of the rooms to put the candles on

1 little wooden door the same thickness of the steps of the step ladder above, which opens to store the dirty jars, from which the servant women climb up the stepladder; the ladder leads upstairs to empty the jars when convenient, because they must avoid passing through the big, red antechamber. It [the opening] is small where the door is leading to the secret staircase.

1 lock and key specific to the door of this little room that opens into the antechamber

**Cabinet in the lower part of the large closet facing the real window**

In these drawers are kept small provisions of coffee, sugar, chocolate, perfume, different elixirs, triaca, syrups, wax, ointments, playing cards, boxes of games and other things like you see noted here.\(^{162}\)

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\(^{162}\) Triaca is a medicine. See John Davenportport, *A New Dictionary of the Italian and English Languages: Based upon that of Baretti* (London: Whittaker and Co.), 744.
Small Room Facing the Fireplace Straight Behind the Swinging Door

In this small room called the *Guardarobba*; Wardrobe Closet of the table and bed linens, there are found the following things:

1 large credenza built into the wall, divided into multiple shelves all in soft wood with 2 big panel doors which lock with a key where the bed linens are placed

1 smaller credenza built into the wall, facing the other one described, divided internally by several shelves of soft wood, with 2 wooden doors that lock with a key. Inside this credenza are bundles of cloth, linen, couch covers, and linen of all sorts, and other things that are mentioned below

1 closet facing the door of the little room, without doors and built into the thickness of the wall, divided into different shelves of soft wood boards

2 latches of iron with 2 metal plates that close one part of the inside the large credenza

2 locks with one key that lock the large credenza and the other one facing the closet that is built into the thickness of the wall

**Linens in the large credenza belonging to the owner of the house**

3 linen sheets, 4 teli high x 2 teli across, per sheet\textsuperscript{163}

3 fine sheets for the couch, […] teli high and […] teli across

2 fine little sheaths of linen with large pleated trim of muslin

2 little sheaths of linen without large pleated trim

2 little sheaths of old linen less big; *meno grandi*

26 towels of the owner of the house of diverse quality

2 tablecloths of fine damask with 12 napkins

3 new tablecloths with the monogram V:G with 21 napkins

1 fine, old tablecloth with M D B with 12 napkins

[…] rather ordinary tablecloth with M:D:B with […] napkins

1 large, fine, antique tablecloth, stamped in one piece

6 small table cloths for the credenza, 2 of which are fine [quality]

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\textsuperscript{163} Teli is a unit of measurement defined as a breadth of cloth. Davenport, *A New Dictionary*, 716.
1 bundle, containing inside various striped pillows and other things for the baptism ceremony, such as a silver tripod

1 bundle which contains a wool dress for the chamber maid

2 white covers made of a linen/cotton blend\textsuperscript{164}

2 new, cotton blankets, lined with white cloth

1 old blanket, very light

2 red wool covers with yellow fringes, there are 2: door curtains/covering of good, white wool and 2 slightly used

1 cover of used, red damask with red silk fringes intended for the bed in the upstairs quarters

**Linens in the large credenza belonging to the family**

[... ] sheets for the couch, 3 teli high

[... ] sheets for drafts 3 teli high

[... ] linen sheets 2 teli high, ½ [...]

[... ] very large linen sheath for the couch

[... ] very small sheath for the women

[... ] towels for the couch with loops [to hold them in place]

[... ] tablecloth with knotted embroidery with napkins

**Kitchen linens**

4 linen kitchen aprons

18 linen hand towels for the cooks

18 striped aprons for the cook

8 large custom-made sacks, for measuring, 2 of which are new

2 smaller sacks, one is new, and the other is used

1 small sack for traveling

1 bag of horse hair, for covering the couch

1 bag of silk scraps, not tied together

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\textsuperscript{164}\textit{Dobletto/dobretto} is a cotton/linen blend cloth, see Peter Thornton, \textit{The Italian Renaissance Interior 1400-1600}: (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1991), 73
Small Credenza, Locked with a Key,
Built into the Thickness of the Wall
in the Small Room

3 bundles of fine, smooth, linen cloth, 2 of Perugian bracci 22 ½\textsuperscript{165}, each one, and an old one that was from Sardinia, of bracci […] In total […]

1 bundle of couch cloth that was woven with bumps and depressions, like a towel, approximately bracci […]

2 bundles of couch cloth woven with eyes of peacocks, measuring bracci 18 ½ per bundle, bracci 37

2 bundles of couch cloth not measured but the thickness of the Sicilian cloth, in total, approximately bracci […]

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Inventory of furnishings and linens left in the house in Perugia in February 1794.

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In the Little Room Behind the Large Red Antechamber

A large credenza built into the wall, the inside of which one enters by means of a door in the middle which is locked with a key with its latches of iron above and below. Inside this credenza is found different areas inside depending on the kind of linens and now is left inside the following items.

2 covers of soft Indian cloth, one new and the other used

6 covers of white wool of varying quality

10 bed pillows of varying quality

1 bag of horse hair

1 basket of ladies’ blankets of lustrous green cloth with silver stripes, (brought from Sorbello the 9\textsuperscript{th} of August 1797 with the following pieces of green taffeta)\textsuperscript{166}

\textsuperscript{165} A braccio is a unit of length, equal to three spans, varying between 46 and 71 cm, which would make this piece of fine, smooth linen cloth between 33 and 51 feet. This is obviously too long to be useful in a household, so a Perugian Braccio is probably shorter. See Robert Melzi, The Bantam New College Dictionary: (New York: Bantam, 1976), 81. And Davenport, A New Dictionary, 82.

\textsuperscript{166} This sentence in parentheses was obviously inserted into the document after 1794. It is evident that Diomede squeezed this sentence of small writing in between two previously written lines. He keeps and updates this document over the course of three years.
1 piece of green taffeta with silver braids, to cover a basket
1 clothes brush inside the basket
1 piece of red damask cloth made of two pieces with the short ends sewn together
2 bundles of old, red, silk hangings, cut in the middle
1 used white man’s dressing gown
1 iron hearth/heater for the servant’s room
Various bunches of new iron, larger and more substantial
2 mattresses and one new bolster pillow for the yellow bed of the Signora [Vittoria]
1 cardboard box with various cardboard boxes inside
1 copper bedwarmer with polished handles
Various pieces of used red cloth made into a bundle
Various mats, for use on the floor in winter, on the top shelf of the credenza
2 white leather bags to hold powdered wigs
2 big sponges, one rough and one portable dressing table
7 rods of iron of varying quality: half of a canna Romana long, 1 single piece of wood that is one Florentine braccetto long

In the Little Credenza Facing the Large Credenza

4 jugs of majolica from Deruta
4 basins of majolica from Deruta, one of which is curved
3 urinals of new glass covered with scarlet covers
2 large heaters of painted red clay
1 small heater of painted red clay
1 wooden model of a English outhouse/privy
2 small, round cannisters and one small cannister with a handle
1 long box with various ordinary paper prints
1 small box with various things

167 A canna Romana is a unit of measure, see Baretti, Dizionario, p. 95.
168 A cacatore di inglese is an outhouse of the English style. See Baretti, Dizionario, p. 88.
In the Room to the Left of the Large Red Antechamber

1 new large credenza of white wood with its locks, keys and latches of iron above and below. This credenza is made of different kinds of wood with a few shelves and there is found inside the following things:

2 soup tureens similar to the Delft pottery, with a long plate underneath
8 Flemish pottery tiles, 2 per door
5 soup bowls
19 ceramic *tondini*; coasters/small plates
5 coasters, smaller than the ceramic ones
2 ordinary majolica coasters from Deruta
4 Delft ceramic egg cups to hold the boiled eggs in a straight upright position, they are in the soup tureen
7 small coffee cups and little plates of Delft ceramic and a sugar bowl
1 sauce jar with its spoon
5 hot chocolate cups and 4 little plates of Delft ceramic
4 flowered plates to hold the bottles on the table
1 small flowered plate with two metal handles
3 used plates one is very big and 2 are very small
2 new Turkish boxes, one bigger, the other smaller
6 glass balls, 3 bigger, 3 smaller
1 clear glass olive oil bottle with 2 spouts, one for oil and one for vinegar, with corks
6 drinking vessels of reddish glass without handles
4 drinking vessels of smooth, clear glass with handles
2 drinking vessels of smooth glass without handles
4 smooth glass urinals with handles made in Conca
2 clear glass carafes with a long neck to hold flowers
2 jars with hinged lids and brass locks to hold tobacco
4 clear glass trays with flower-shaped holes
4 large footed, antique drinking vessels
4 ordinary glass balls full of sage water
1 ebony box with 3 vases inside for the host, sand, and pens, missing the inkwell
1 old Roman balance with its weights
6 empty French bottles
1 bronze pestle with 2 mortars, one of iron and the other one, a little bronze one
1 wide round cannister with its lid
1 square, wide box full of Spanish tobacco
2 juicers in a box to make lemonade

Page 12 (pencil 14 incorrect on original document)

Following the Built-in Credenza in the Small Room Left of the Large, Red Antechamber

1 bed with X [configuration of supporting boards underneath] with its supports, a mattress without a bolster pillow
1 long basket, 1 other smaller long one and 3 round baskets, 2 large and one smaller without handles
1 basket with handle made in the shape of an oval
9 various tins and boxes
1 tablet of 4 or 5 pounds of white Foligno soap
2 oblong boxes full of various old iron pieces

In the Little cupboard Facing the Window in the Large, Red Antechamber

6 large cut crystal glasses with flowers and gold trim
7 small cut crystal glasses with feet
7 small diverse smooth glasses
2 cut crystal salt cellars
1 antique crystal vase with flowers with a lid and handles
1 bottle almost full of rum
1 empty glass bottle with a big neck to hold tobacco
9 small bottles of French Syrup, 3 of which are perfume from Florence
1 pair of candle snuffers of steel\textsuperscript{170}, 1 small brass shovel for the hand warmer
1 tin vase full of \textit{China di legno}
1 hammer, an inkstand and pulverized majolica\textsuperscript{171}
Various little bottles with water of Melissa and other balms and medicines

\textbf{Page 12 Verso}

1797 Diverse inventories of some furniture and other things left in Perugia in different rooms and cupboards in the month of August 1797.

\textbf{Page 13}

\textbf{Items of copper and other kitchen utensils existing in my house in Perugia this 8\textsuperscript{th} of August 1797}

1 large caldron of copper
1 caldron of copper with its lid
2 copper pitchers to carry water
7 large and diverse copper baking dishes
6 lids of copper for the baking dishes
1 copper pot\textsuperscript{172}
1 copper boiler/kettle to boil water\textsuperscript{173}
1 copper dripping pan\textsuperscript{174}
1 copper stew pan with its lid\textsuperscript{175}
1 copper baking pan\textsuperscript{176}
3 iron cooking pans
2 iron grills

\textsuperscript{170} \textit{S'moccolatore d'acciaio}, see Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, p. 411.
\textsuperscript{171} Pulverized majolica was a dust used to blot ink to avoid having to wait for ink to dry
\textsuperscript{172} \textit{Pentola}, pot, see Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, p. 466.
\textsuperscript{173} \textit{Coccomo}, boiler/kettle, see Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, p. 126.
\textsuperscript{174} \textit{Leccarda}, dripping pan, see Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, p. 361.
\textsuperscript{175} \textit{Bastardella}, stew pan, see Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, p. 69.
\textsuperscript{176} \textit{Tegghia}, baking pan, see Baretti, \textit{Dizionario}, p. 716.
2 iron tripods
3 chocolate pots\textsuperscript{177} and chest of drawers
2 ladles\textsuperscript{178}
1 large kitchen ladle\textsuperscript{179}
2 iron firedogs
1 spit
1 iron rotisserie in a box, carried to Cortona in Sept. 1798\textsuperscript{180}
1 iron tripod for roasting
1 bronze mortar pestle
7 kitchen knives
1 pair of iron tongs, an iron shovel for the fire
5 tin plates and tin sorbet container\textsuperscript{181}

\textbf{Page 13 Verso}

1 olive oil bottle for the kitchen with 2 little carafes
1 tin cup for the oil
1 large pitcher next to the window
3 small pitchers in the \textit{salvacucina}
1 wooden washtub
26 flasks
2 earthenware cooking pots\textsuperscript{182}

\textbf{Page 14}

\textbf{August 8, 1797}

\textsuperscript{177} \textit{Cioccolattiera}, chocolate pot, see Barretti, \textit{Dizionario}. p. 121.
\textsuperscript{178} \textit{Mestole}, ladles, see Barretti, \textit{Dizionario}. p. 403.
\textsuperscript{179} \textit{Ramaiolo}, large kitchen ladle, see Barretti, \textit{Dizionario}. p. 522.
\textsuperscript{180} Diomede obviously added to this list after 1797.
\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Sorbittiera}, “a vessel in which the sherbet is frozen”, see Barretti, \textit{Dizionario}. p. 655.
\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Pignatte di terra}, earthenware cooking pots, see Barretti, \textit{Dizionario}. p. 430.
Inventory of copper of all quality and other utensils of the kitchen in the house in Perugia.

Page 15

Notes of diverse linens that Marquese Diomede di Sorbello has left to be delivered to Signore Giovanni Rinaldi in his house in Perugia this 12 July 1797

Of the Master of the house

4 sheets of linen of 3 teli
8 sheets to cover the couch of 3 teli
4 sheaths of canvas with pleated borders
12 fine sheaths of canvas
4 sheaths of fine linen
28 diverse towels
5 tablecloths, ordinary
1 large, fine tablecloth
13 fine napkins
36 ordinary napkins
[… ] tablecloth for the credenza

Of the Family

16 large sheets for the couch
[… ] new sheath
9 smooth towels
4 napkins with holes; a belice, 3 new, one used
30 napkins with holes, new and belica
2 used, ironed tablecloths

In the Toilette

2 tablecloths with pleated borders
2 bathrobes of the Signora Vittoria

In the Kitchen

24 aprons of linen/flaxen
24 plate bags/nets of linen/flaxen
26 linen towels
4 linen table cloths for the kitchen

Covers
1 cover of yellow satin
1 cover of red damask
1 cover of dark blue cloth
1 small flowered carpet made of silk
1 large Indian carpet made of silk

Other Things
2 upholstery brushes for the couches, one large, one small
Bunches of wire of iron of different sizes to be sold based on weight
1 salta lione cover to be sold by weight
Cover of white linen/cotton blend sent to him from Sorbello
3 small cover of linen/cotton blend marked for embroidery for 3 chairs [upholstery] sent by Sorbello for Angelina

Everything was sent the 20th of September 1797 from Sorbello

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In Small Room C
A bed composed of 3 boards, a pile of straw, a mattress and a bolster pillow
A strong box with lock and key
Walnut chest made with a lock and key
4 ordinary low-grade chairs

In Small Room B
[....]
Bibliography for Appendix A


Appendix B

Ground floor, via 8 San Biagio, Perugia.
First floor, via 8 San Biagio, Perugia.
Second floor, via 8 San Biagio, Perugia.
Third floor, via 8 San Biagio, Perugia, author photo.