

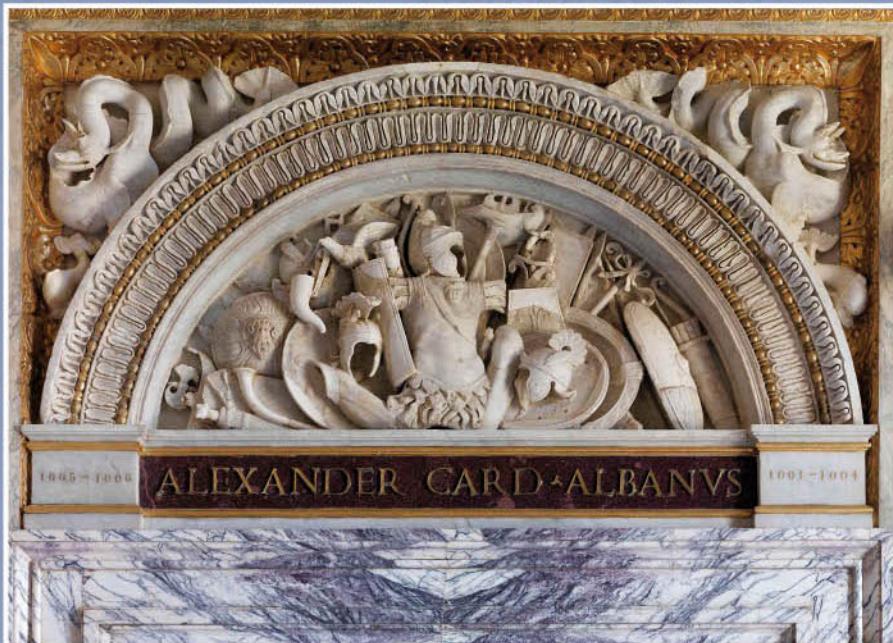
Sapienza Università di Roma

Studi sul Settecento Romano

Cardinal Alessandro Albani

Collezionismo, diplomazia e mercato nell'Europa del Grand Tour

Collecting, dealing and diplomacy in Grand Tour Europe



a cura di / editors

Clare Hornsby & Mario Bevilacqua

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Fig. 1 Ludovico MAZZANTI, *Ritratto del cardinale Alessandro Albani*, ca. 1721; olio su tela. Roma, Villa Albani Torlonia (foto © Fondazione Torlonia, 2021).

Introduzione / *Introduction**

Mario Bevilacqua & Clare Hornsby

La profonda conoscenza del tema e il generoso entusiasmo di Clare Hornsby sono alla base del successo dei tre giorni di convegno internazionale (Roma, dicembre 2019) su “Il cardinale Alessandro Albani: collezionismo, diplomazia e mercato nell’Europa del Grand Tour”, di cui questo volume raccoglie i principali interventi e ne aggiunge altri, complementari, specialmente commissionati per allargare la visione del tema.

La multiforme, eclettica, ma imprendibile e imprevedibile personalità del cardinale Alessandro Albani (Urbino 1692-Roma 1779) (*Fig. 1*) ha da sempre suscitato l’interesse degli storici dell’arte, e gli eccezionali esiti del suo mecenatismo da decenni ormai sono oggetto di indagine. Accanto alle principali ricerche del mondo anglofono, incentrate sul ruolo del cardinale nella cultura e nelle materialità del Grand Tour, qui sintetizzate da Clare Hornsby e nell’intervento di Jonny Yarker, le sistematiche ricognizioni sullo sfaccettato milievo artistico della corte Albani condotte dal gruppo di lavoro tedesco coordinato da Herbert Beck e Peter C. Bol (*Forschungen zur Villa Albani*, 1982 e 1989-98), e quelle pionieristiche coordinate da Elisa Debenedetti (*Il cardinale Albani e la sua villa*, 1980; *Comittenze della famiglia Albani; Note sulla Villa Albani Torlonia*, primo e secondo volume di questa collana di “Studi sul Settecento Romano”, 1985-1986), ci hanno consegnato un quadro ricchissimo di dettagli e correttamente inserito nei contesti tratteggiati, tra gli altri, da Francis Haskell (*Patrons and Painters*, 1963) e Joseph Rykwert (*The First Moderns*, 1980). Sicuramente molto resta ancora da approfondire.

Come noto, uno dei problemi più gravi è la mancanza di un vero e proprio archivio privato della famiglia e, più specificamente, della documentazione prodotta dall’amministrazione del cardinale, in cui ritrovare serie di registrazioni contabili, atti notarili, carteggi, attraverso cui ricostruire i suoi interessi, le sue azioni e il suo stile di vita. A differenza della sua attività in curia, politica e diplomatica, le acquisizioni di statuaria, di iscrizioni antiche, di oggetti da collezione trovano riscontri in fonti molto diverse, numerose e spesso molto eloquenti, tra cui la fitta rete di corrispondenze che attraversava l’Europa colta ed elegante del Grand Tour, ma spesso disomogenee e difficilmente comparabili. Si segnalano quindi in questo volume le nuove analisi di questa vita dedicata all’arte e all’antichità, con i contributi di Caroline Barron, Elizabeth Bartman e Eloisa Dodero (*Fig. 2*).

Nuovi fondi continuano ad aggiungere materiale alle nostre conoscenze, e altri iniziano a essere indagati con sistematicità (in questo volume il rimando è ai contributi di Susanna

Pasquali, Maria Barbara Guerrieri Borsoi, Brunella Paolini). Restano ancora poco chiarite le acquisizioni di quadri, disegni, stampe, di arredi e arti preziose (con l'allestimento degli appartamenti del palazzo romano e delle ville extraurbane). Un capitolo specifico riguarda poi l'accrescimento e la gestione della straordinaria biblioteca del cardinale, di cui Winckelmann sarebbe diventato responsabile nel 1755 (si vedano gli interventi di Colin Thom, Andrea De Pasquale, Rea Alexandratos, Francesca Favaro). Il tema resta purtroppo in buona parte insondabile, anche se è perfettamente intuibile, e si viene precisando il ruolo fondamentale che giocò nella Roma di metà '700: anche grazie agli straordinari fondi speciali che conteneva (da quelli di Cassiano Dal Pozzo all'insieme dello studio di architettura di Carlo Fontana), sempre generosamente messi a disposizione di eruditi, studiosi e artisti, ma anche sbrigativamente e disinvoltamente alienati.

La corte del cardinale Albani fa rivivere, come sottolinea nel suo saggio Maria Pia Donato, lo spirito della grande stagione del nepotismo pontificio tardo-rinascimentale e barocco. Un ambiente intriso di interessi antiquari e letterari, ma anche scientifici e riformisti, da cui scaturiscono progetti e esiti molto incisivi per la cultura europea del Settecento. Progetti e esiti che trovano piena consonanza nel clima di apertura del pontificato di Benedetto XIV: le ricerche artistiche e le proposte di riforme economiche, territoriali e urbanistiche di un intellettuale come Lione Pascoli, auditore del cardinale; l'ideazione di una ambiziosa "enciclopedia" di Roma sotto il coordinamento di Antonio Baldani, suo bibliotecario, che da un lato è riflessa nel programma generale di costruzione e allestimento di villa Albani, coi suoi giardini e le sue collezioni¹, ma dall'altro trova esito concreto nel riconosciuto capolavoro cartografico della *Nuova Pianta di Roma* di Giovan Battista Nolli. Il disegno preparatorio per la grande incisione in 12 tavole, del 1736, evidenzia lo stemma del cardinale, mentre nel 1748 una delle tavole, firmata dal giovane Piranesi, sarà dedicata al cardinale.

Alessandro Albani, nipote di un pontefice straordinariamente attivo nella promozione di arte, architettura e interventi urbani², ha al suo attivo un mecenatismo che non trova paragoni nella società romana del tempo. La realizzazione di villa Albani, nella sua piena integrazione tra architettura, scultura, pittura, decorazione, allestimento museale e spazi verdi, ha da sempre catalizzato l'interesse, come in questo volume si conferma coi contributi di Elisa Debenedetti, Susanna Pasquali, Steffi Roettgen, Alessandro Spila. Una nuova tipologia di casino di delizie, nata quasi casualmente come poco più di un coffeehouse – ma agli antipodi rispetto alla coeva proposta fughiana per Benedetto XIV al Quirinale – in un giardino formale privo di particolari ambizioni, villa Albani cresce evidentemente attraverso progetti che si stratificano, modificano e precisano negli anni, seguendo fasi diverse degli interessi del cardinale e del suo entourage, riflettendo la rapida accelerazione nel momento della comparsa di Winckelmann alla metà degli anni '50, ma a cui non è estranea una forte influenza piranesiana. La piena disponibilità ora concessa agli studiosi del prezioso corpus di disegni di Carlo Marchionni conservati nella villa, di cui Gaus (1967) aveva potuto solo fornire una sintetica descrizione, consentirà un importante avanzamento degli studi, di cui Elisa Debenedetti, che ne sta curando l'edizione completa, anticipa in questo volume alcune novità.



Fig. 2. *Camino con antico bassorilievo di Antinoo*. Roma, Villa Albani Torlonia (© Fondazione Torlonia; foto Massimo Listri).

Ma Alessandro Albani ha promosso un mecenatismo tanto esteso e ambizioso da diventare proverbiale: quasi una eccezione ormai percepita come impropria nella realtà della società romana del tempo. In una identificazione piena, e davvero quasi anacronistica, col ruolo di cardinal nipote, Alessandro Albani può essere indicato come un nuovo “gran cardinale”, per usare il termine coniato duecento anni prima per un altro cardinale Alessandro, il Farnese nipote di Paolo III. Accanto alla villa extraurbana, Alessandro Albani promuove la costruzione e allestimento della villa marina di Anzio e della villa di Castelgandolfo – il fratello Annibale predilige invece il palazzo nel feudo principesco di Soriano al Cimino – mentre a Roma ristruttura e amplia il palazzo alle Quattro Fontane, acquisito dalla famiglia solo nel 1719 (su cui interviene Lisa Beaven). Un intero tratto della via Sistina si viene a caratterizzare in modo chiaro: una “strada Albana”, a prosecuzione dell’asse barberiniano tra piazza Barberini e le Quattro Fontane (quasi a evocare il legame barberiniano a cui gli Albani dovevano la propria ascesa nel ’600), su cui si affacciano palazzi, palazzetti e case dei fratelli Albani, i due cardinali Alessandro e Annibale, e il principe Carlo. Ultimo segno urbanistico di un fenomeno nepotistico ormai in fase di definitivo tramonto.

* * *

The motivation for organising the conference on which this volume is based was a clear one: to find out more about the contexts which surrounded Cardinal Alessandro Albani's tireless passion for antiquities, collecting and the arts—the pan-European politics, diplomacy and sociability which made up the more public side of his life and career. Much of what is available to scholars so far is thanks to the archival researches in Vienna and London that are the basis of the invaluable book *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in 18th century Rome*, by the English writer Lesley Lewis (1909-2010).³ Our contributor Steffi Roettgen, with her essential biography *Alessandro Albani* written in the context of the scientific examination of the antiquities collections at Villa Albani⁴, brought together much detail from archival sources and references in letters and studies of Winckelmann and, very recently, one of the contributors to our conference Matteo Borchia published an important book based on the Vienna archive of correspondence of the Cardinal.⁵

Conversations that took place in London were crucial in the earliest stages of planning the conference. The most important of these took place in the café at the British Museum in June 2018 with two curators from the Greek and Roman department: the Roman art historian Thorsten Opper, the creator of the Hadrian exhibition of 2008⁶ and expert on excavations at Hadrian's Villa (the site of paramount importance, examined in this volume by our contributor Cristina Ruggero) and the late Ian Jenkins, writer and scholar of Greek antiquities. Ian's breadth of understanding about ancient sculpture and the reception of antiquity was an inspiration to many. His enthusiastic encouragement and support during the planning process as a member of our Scientific Committee during what was to be the end of his career and, tragically, of his life, were typical of his generosity. I would like to dedicate my part in this book with gratitude and in memory of Ian.

After establishing a collaboration between the British School at Rome and the Centro di Studi sulla Cultura e l'Immagine di Roma, in the person of its Director, Mario Bevilacqua, further discussions helped to form our ideas for the conference. These enabled us to focus on the most significant questions that needed to be addressed, many of which feature as themes of the essays here. In this introductory essay, two examples of Albani's connections with the British, one barely known, one more familiar to scholars of collecting, will be briefly discussed; hoping with the first to shed light on the origins of his preferential treatment of both artists and collectors from Britain and with the second to indicate paths for future research.

The early years of the papacy of Clement XI (1700-1721) was the period when Alessandro Albani's passion for antiquity was formed, once he was established in Rome along with the rest of his family as a result of the election of his uncle to the Holy See. Roettgen has detailed the origins of the future cardinal's fascination with antiquities and collecting; these included his tutor Marcantonio Sabatini, the renowned scientist and papal antiquarian Francesco Bianchini but perhaps most importantly, the Pope: “*Many of the decisive traits in Alessandro Albani's cultural career were shaped by his uncle's example, especially the idea of symbiosis between the old and the new, and the concept of a combination of museum with collecting and restoration practices deriving from this symbiosis.*”⁷

The name that most intimately connected Alessandro with the British and the art market, both in these early years and later, when he was based in Florence, is of course that of Baron Philipp von Stosch, the Prussian antiquarian, gem collector and dealer and eventually Hanoverian spy.⁸ His arrival in Rome in 1715 from Holland, an established gem and intaglio antiquarian and scholar, having already been employed as a semi-official diplomatic messenger and with an introduction from Abbé Bernard de Montfaucon the celebrated scholar and antiquary, would have been a catalyst for Alessandro's connoisseurial formation. That they were friends cannot be denied, despite the gulf between them in social hierarchy; Stosch's credentials as scholar and antiquarian, a passport into elite society across Europe, were excellent in his early years in Rome and after his enforced removal to Florence in 1731 they continued to correspond. Stosch was only one year older than Alessandro; they probably visited fresh discoveries together such as the Columbarium of the Freedmen of Livia, first excavated in 1725-6 and published by Bianchini the following year, the inscriptions of which Cardinal Alessandro added to his collection, as detailed by our contributor Caroline Barron.⁹ Roettgen notes: "*it is unlikely that there was any significant find that was not made accessible to him.*"¹⁰ From this fertile background his collections grew.

Meanwhile, the years 1700 to 1721 were years of political realignment in Europe. The end of the war of Spanish Succession involving all the major European powers in 1713 brought into Rome an influx of former soldiers: mercenaries, many Catholic Scots, Jacobites supporters who had been fighting in the Netherlands with the armies of Louis XIV, the host of the Stuart James III at the time. The acceptance of the Hanoverian succession by the French, the resulting removal of the Stuart court from France and the ascendancy of Britain as maritime power necessarily altered the political balance that existed between Great Britain and the Papal States as a result of the Stuarts' arrival in papal territory.¹¹ Alessandro was often employed by his uncle as envoy to King James III, thus was carrying out delicate diplomatic tasks alongside his private connoisseurial activities, and importantly, the areas commonly overlapped.

In order to track down early involvement of Albani with the British in Rome in the sphere of the arts, it is necessary to investigate the presence in Rome not only of British patrons but also other, less prestigious participants in the market during the years of the Albani papacy. A significant Grand Tour that was taking place at this time was that of the vastly wealthy teenager Thomas Coke of Holkham, later Earl of Leicester, who was in Italy for several years—in Rome and Florence from 1714-17—accompanied by the tutor Thomas Hobart, an "old hand" at guiding young English aristocrats, who turned to established contacts of his once the entourage had arrived in Rome. These included the antiquarian Francesco Ficoroni, the Catholic collector of drawings John Talman and his young protégé, the trainee artist and later architect William Kent.¹² Kent's activities on behalf of his new patron included the very delicate negotiation in early 1717 resulting from an attempt by Coke to evade the export ban in place for antiquities, so he could take home a marble statue of *Diana* via the free port of Livorno. The awkwardness, risking a rupture between Rome and Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany, was satisfactorily resolved; Coke wrote a letter of profuse apology to Alessandro and the statue eventually came to England.¹³ Kent, who had arranged the acquisition of the statue, also communicated with Albani and was praised by him for his adroitness in managing the affair:

Confesso però in verità ch'il buon esito del negozio e dovuto alla somma diligenza di V S I'll.ma che ha saputo obbligarmi co' tanta bontà ed attenzione e l'assicuro che m.r Guglielmo il quale s'è adoprato in questo, l'ha veramente servita come doveva e da galant'uomo...¹⁴

Here we see the young Alessandro—keen to keep the statue in Rome in order to satisfy the obligation to follow the rules established by his uncle and no doubt coveting it for his own burgeoning collection—engaging in sophisticated cultural diplomacy with the British, both the wealthy collector and the emerging artist. His far-sighted astuteness in “playing both sides”, Rome and Britain, was to pay dividends twenty years later when he was much involved with providing art and antiquities for the then Earl, dealing with his agent in Rome, Matthew Brettingham.¹⁵

A lesser-known connection between William Kent and the Albani family at the same time was established via one of the so-called Scots Brigade soldiers arriving in Rome post 1713, who were looking for the protection of the Pope, several of whom wrote letters asking for financial support. Thanks to the resources of the Albani archive online,¹⁶ directed by our contributor Brunella Paolini, some of these names have been revealed, providing further background to the artistic patronage of Albani in the early years.¹⁷ Asking the question why Kent, an English Protestant student artist was given the prestigious commission in 1717 for a ceiling fresco at the national Flemish church in Rome, S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi—albeit one of the smaller national churches—was the start of a fascinating archival search. Evidence which emerged revealed the support of the Albani family for a Scottish Jacobite exile, the jeweller William Dugood, who had acted as a book, drawing and print dealer to Thomas Coke from 1714, one of a group of Jacobite artists and dealers known to Talman who was servicing Coke’s artistic and collecting requirements. Dugood’s name appears alongside Kent’s in the account books detailing payments for errands and purchases for Coke.¹⁸ Dugood’s residence in an apartment adjacent to S. Giuliano that involved complicated matters of tenancy leases and monies owed to the church foundation led to him being required to provide an artist to paint the church ceiling fresco and he gave the task to his contemporary and colleague in the Coke entourage, William Kent, thus confirming the tight network of collaborations and dealing that underlies the operation of what for convenience we can call the Grand Tour art market in Rome.¹⁹ A later document in the archive of S. Giuliano relating to Dugood’s career in Lisbon, whence he had gone into exile from Rome under British protection, states that Alessandro’s elder brother Don Carlo Albani, the secular head of the Albani family as Principe di Soriano, had given a cavalry position in Rome to Dugood,²⁰ similar to the positions requested by other ex-soldiers which appear in the Albani archive; this means he was already established in Rome thanks to Albani protection, prior to his first work for Coke in 1714.

Yet another thread connects the mysterious Dugood with Alessandro Albani and his circle. Dugood was appointed gold and silversmith and official jeweller to the Stuart court²¹; this would have made him an obvious contact for those who wished to gather information on the movements and meetings at the Palazzo Muti. As is well known, Albani’s friend Philipp von Stosch had been recruited by the British government in 1721 to spy on the Stuarts.²² He in turn recruited William Dugood to provide him with items of news to pass up to the gov-

ernment in London. The Jacobites in Rome had spies of their own, and on 11 November 1722 Dugood was arrested and thrown into the prison of the Inquisition for “heresy”, in reality because the Jacobite court suspected him.²³ (Working as he had done for British nobility and now spying for London, it was more helpful for Dugood that his original Catholic faith should conveniently be forgotten.) His “handler” Stosch needed assistance to resolve this matter and naturally turned to the now Cardinal Alessandro—in 1721 he had been raised to the purple by his uncle’s successor Innocent XIII after a diplomatic mission to Vienna—who stepped in and secured Dugood’s release. So we see that Albani’s connections as a young man ranged widely: from princes and cardinals to scholars and antiquarians, down to the more marginal figures in the thriving tourist-driven area of the art market, such as Dugood.

Albani’s consistently anti-French position and his use of art and antiquities as diplomacy, as we saw in the Holkham *Diana* affair, was to be crucial in shifting the balance of favour in papal policy towards the legitimate Hanoverian kings of Great Britain. As Lesley Lewis revealed and as Matteo Borchia has recently analysed further, Alessandro continued with his policy of managing rival interests throughout this period: not offending the Jacobites while his uncle was Pope, and afterwards playing them off against the Hanoverians. The support of the papacy for the Stuarts was not so much support as tolerance, certainly on the part of Clement XI, but after his death the attitude of Cardinal Alessandro regarding the Stuarts became the most significant motive for change in Roman diplomatic circles, particularly after he had been appointed as Legate to Austria in 1743 and then to the Empire in 1745. Lewis sums this up:²⁴ “[Albani] conservò sempre nella sua attività diplomatica come tra i partiti di curia una notevole libertà di movimento: ambizioso e senza scrupoli, persegui per lo più una politica personale, non di rado ispirata da preoccupazioni economiche.” What emerges from reading Lewis’s account of the constant development and changes in the cardinal’s political and diplomatic patronages, is a sense of his will to eventually align the papacy with the Hanoverians; he was a consummate politician, noting the implications of the fading star of the Jacobites, as one military defeat followed another in their attempt to retake the crown of Great Britain by force.

Moving from the early years to the 1740s and 1750s—a period examined more fully by Jonny Yarker in his essay in this volume—when the Grand Tour and the market for antiquities in Britain was heating up and when Albani’s own collecting was at its height as he restocked after the sale of his two first collections²⁵, one example of his dealing activities with England will serve to indicate an area which future research could illuminate more fully—the complete trajectory of the antiquities which the cardinal possessed and then passed on to other collectors.

The set of marbles that he gathered and sold to the English parliamentarian and wealthy parvenu George “Bubb” Dodington has been examined in part²⁶; but thus far the origins of the pieces have never been traced and neither do we know their subsequent whereabouts.²⁷ Thanks to an engraving of the sculpture gallery of his riverside villa in the architectural manual *Vitruvius Britannicus* we are able to see what three of the five sculptures looked like (*Fig. 3*),²⁸ yet where they came from in Rome or its environs, from which collections they were purchased or from which excavations they emerged—these still remain open questions.

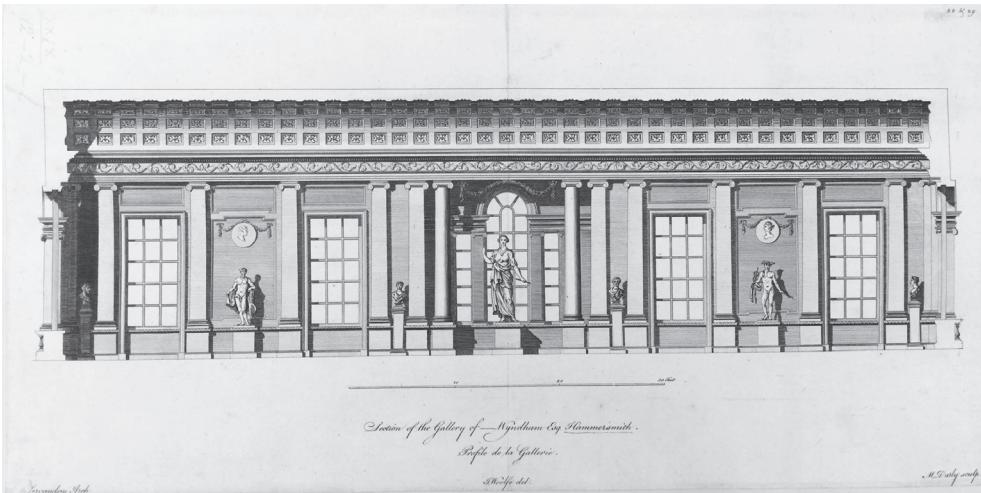


Fig. 3. Giovanni Niccolò SERVANDONI, *Section of the Gallery of [Thomas] Wyndham Esq., Hammersmith*, engraving after an original drawing, in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. IV (1767), plates 28 and 29 (Public domain).

One possible source for these sculptures could be amongst the works owned by Albani, acquired from the vast Giustiniani collection. For example, there are several statues recorded in that collection—now “whereabouts unknown”—that appear to be similar to the colossal Flora or Bacchante, an antique statue with restored arms, for which Albani charged Dodington 500 scudi; for example, *Una statua di Musa con una carta in mano* or *Statua di femina... col braccio alzato*.²⁹ Given the lack of an Albani accounts archive and unless other supporting evidence emerges, a Giustiniani provenance, however alluring, remains conjecture. In a letter to his English friend, Albani described how the pope was on the point of purchasing the Flora for the Capitoline Museums. Such a collecting rivalry, whether true or not, was an excellent dealing tactic and would have justified its high price to the prospective purchaser. He says he was able to prevail against the competition “*parceque je prends les autres aussi*”, indicating an *en bloc* purchase of the five by Albani.³⁰ The cardinal had also written to Dodington regarding the additional possible commission to buy statues for Frederick, Prince of Wales, Dodington’s royal patron and neighbour at his Thames-side residence, saying that he would have “*une difficulté extreme*” in procuring and expediting items of sufficient worth for the Prince³¹, given the restrictions enforced by the administration of Benedict XIV Lambertini. The assiduousness of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga as Camerlengo and the recent promulgation of the edict against exports³² significantly affected the international movement of the market. This would further indicate that the statues destined for Dodington were already Albani’s own property when he offered them for sale, since, if they were his own rather than extracted from other collections, it would have been easier for him to arrange their passage out of the Papal States.³³ Two of them, the Mercury and the “*altra figura imperiale*” were described in the bill of sale as being the Cardinal’s.³⁴ His sales to Brettingham for the Earl of Leicester, also dating from c. 1749–50, included pieces from his own stock, confirming that this was part of the Cardinal’s current dealing practice.³⁵

Regarding the ultimate destiny of the statues, a recently discovered annotated catalogue at the Christie's auction house archive in London³⁶ covers the dispersal of the collection after the death of Dodington's heir, Thomas Wyndham, in 1777. It gives us the surnames of the buyers, but much remains a mystery. Colonel Wyndham, a cousin of Thomas, bought two of the Albani pieces: "lot 17 A fine whole length figure of a Bacchus" (possibly the *Tolomeo* of the original list, commonly a young male nude) and lot 18, the statue of Mercury which went for £52/10s, also other objects and furnishings. He had been resident at the villa before the sale and presumably had come to appreciate the pieces and wanted them with him when he left. Two other Albani statues, here described as "lot 20 A whole length of a young Hercules/ lot 21 A ditto of Paris" went to a buyer named Lane; the first of these was probably the *Altra figura imperiale* of the original list. The star piece, so highly praised by Albani in his correspondence with Dodington before the sale, the colossal *Flora* or *Bacchante* (according to Eloisa Doderer, based on her reading of the image in *Vitruvius Britannicus*, the figure was most likely a *Bacchante* with fruits of *edera* over her ears and a *thyrsus*) achieved the highest price of any lot in the entire sale, £267/15s. Unfortunately the buyer is again enigmatically listed only as "Barret".³⁷ Thus described, he cannot have been a titled gentleman, therefore it is safe to assume that, whoever he was, he acted as a dealer on behalf of a wealthy client. It would seem that this large and valuable piece, along with its companions from the Albani collection, has completely disappeared from the record.

With these two examples of the multiplicity of encounters and networks in which Albani was involved—even only those connecting him with the British are vastly numerous—we are able to add a few elements to the record of what is known of Albani. Yet the subject is still so rich; despite the broad range of our contributions, covering architecture, archives and artists as well as antiquities collecting, the conclusion must be that there is much concerning Alessandro Albani, his life and his career, which still remains to be discovered. We hope our volume will act as a catalyst for scholars—in Italy, Great Britain and beyond—to continue the search.

NOTE

* Desideriamo ringraziare tutti gli Enti, gli studiosi e gli amici che ci hanno permesso la realizzazione di questo volume: la British School at Rome; la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, col suo direttore Andrea De Pasquale; il Centro di Studi sulla Cultura e l'Immagine di Roma, col suo presidente Marcello Fagiolo; la Fondazione Torlonia, col suo presidente Alessandro Poma Muriel, con Carlotta Loverini Botta Chigi e Bianca Malitesta. Salvatore Settimi e Carlo Gasparri, curatori della mostra "I marmi Torlonia: collezionare capolavori" (Roma, Musei Capitolini, 2020-2022) hanno generosamente contribuito introducendo i lavori del convegno e questo volume di saggi. Infine Elisa Debenedetti, che ci ha generosamente accolto nella sua rivista, "Studi sul Settecento Romano". In questa introduzione il testo italiano è di Mario BEVILACQUA, quello inglese di Clare HORNSBY.

¹ Elisabeth SCHROETER, *Die Villa Albani als Imago Mundi*, in Herbert BECK and Peter C. BOL, eds., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (Berlin, 1982), 185–299.

² Christopher JONES, *Papal art and cultural politics: Rome in the age of Clement XI* (Cambridge, 1993).

³ London, 1961. She also wrote the entry on Albani in the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1960) see [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alejandro-albani_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alejandro-albani_(Dizionario-Biografico)/)

⁴ Steffi ROETTGEN, "Alessandro Albani", in BECK and BOL, *Forschungen*, 123–152.

⁵ *Le reti della diplomazia: arte, antiquaria e politica nella corrispondenza di Alessandro Albani* (Trento: Provincia Autonoma di Trento, 2019). The publication of this book renders superfluous an essay on the subject by Matteo Borchia for this volume.

⁶ *Hadrian: Empire and Conflict*, British Museum, London.

⁷ ROETTGEN, "Alessandro Albani," 127. Translation by author.

⁸ See Ulf HANSSON, "Ma passion... ma folie dominante": Stosch, Winckelmann, and the Allure of the Engraved Gems of the Ancients," *MDCCC* 1800, 3 (2014): 13–31.

⁹ Now in the Capitoline Museums; see Francesco BIANCHINI, *Camere ed inscrizioni sepulcrali de' liberti, servi, ed ufficiali...* (Rome, 1727) and Helke KAMMERER GROTHAUS, "Camere sepolcrali de' liberti e liberti di Livia Augusta ed altri Caesari," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Antiquité*, 91.1 (1979): 315–342.

¹⁰ ROETTGEN, "Alessandro Albani," 130.

¹¹ See LEWIS, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents*, 21–38 for the political background.

¹² In general see Carol BLACKETT-ORD, "Letters From William Kent to Burrell Massingberd from the Continent, 1712-1719," *The Walpole Society* 63 (2001): 75–109, Cinzia Maria SICCA, "The Making and Unraveling of John Talman's Collection of Drawings," in Cinzia Maria SICCA, ed., *John Talman, An Early Eighteenth-Century Connoisseur* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 2009), 1–77, and Steven BRINDLE, "Kent and Italy" and "Kent the Painter" in *William Kent: Designing Georgian Britain*, Susan WEBER ed. (New Haven: Yale U.P. for Bard Graduate Center, 2013), 89–109 and 111–150, with bibliography.

¹³ See Elizabeth ANGELICOUSSIS, *The Holkham Collection of Classical Sculptures*, "Monumenta Artis Romane," XXX (Mainz am Rhein, 2001), 84, no. 4.

¹⁴ Letter from Albani to Antonio Maria Fede (representing the interests of Grand Duke Cosimo in Rome), 30 March 1727, ASF Mediceo del Principato, 3685, unnumbered ff. For a full account of the affair as revealed in these archival documents in Florence see Bruno GALLUCCA in *Seduzioni Etrusche, Dai segreti di Holkham Hall alle meraviglie del British Museum*, exhib. cat. Cortona 2014 (Milan: Skira, 2014), 138–139. The first half of this catalogue focusses on Thomas Coke and his Grand Tour.

¹⁵ See John KENWORTHY-BROWNE, "Matthew Brettingham's Rome Account Book, 1747–1754," *Walpole Society* 49 (1983).

¹⁶ www.archivioalbani.it

¹⁷ archividigitali.provincia.pi.it: Archivio Albani, "Memoriali lettere e suppliche...", 1-14-059 *Supplica di Thomas Hyde a Clemente XI* and 2-51-256 *Letttere di Guglielmo Mildmay gentiluomo inglese a Papa Clemente XI*.

¹⁸ Coke's travel accounts, see *Seduzioni Etrusche*, 112–121.

¹⁹ See Fabio BARRY, "L'insediamento dei Fiamminghi a Roma: le trasformazioni dell'isolato di San Giuliano tra XVII e XVIII secolo," in Elisa DEBENEDETTI, ed., *Roma, le case, la città, "Studi sul Settecento Romano,"* 14 (Rome, 1998), 127–163 esp. 138–140.

²⁰ "... che ebbe una piazza di Cavalleggero da D. Carlo Albani". Archive of the church of S. Giuliano dei Fiamminghi, ASGF IV Giustificazioni e pagamenti 25 1763-73, c. 191.

²¹ On Dugood in general see David CONNELL, "Recently identified at Burton Constable Hall: The collection of William Dugood FRS – jeweller, scientist, freemason and spy," *Journal of the History of Collections* (2009): 33–47 and "William Dugood and the Farnese Numismatic and Glyptic Collections," *Annali* (Istituto Italiano di Numismatica), no. 55 (2009): 231–255.

²² Stosch had visited London and Cambridge in 1712 meeting scholars and collectors, perhaps connecting with Carteret, his future employer as British Secretary of State, whose father was a coin and medal connoisseur. See LEWIS, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents*, 53.

²³ State Papers at the National Archives, London, TNA/SP /85/14 fol 162, in CONNELL, “Recently identified,” 45 n. 12

²⁴ LEWIS, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* (1960).

²⁵ See the contribution of Eloisa DODERO in this volume.

²⁶ Clare HORNSBY, “Antiquarian extravagance in Hammersmith: the sculpture gallery of George ‘Bubb’ Dodington,” *Apollo* vol. 133 no. 358 (December 1988): 410–414 and “Neo-classical display in the suburbs: investigating George ‘Bubb’ Dodington’s patronage and taste,” *Georgian Group Journal* XXVI (2018): 69–86. BORCHIA, *Le reti della diplomazia*, summarises and reproduces most of the correspondence, 248–255.

²⁷ They were, as quoted in a copy of the bill of sale. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Gesandtschaftsarchiv Rom/Vatikan I, Korrispondenz Albani, Fasz 145 (unnumbered), Dodington to Albani 11 October 1750: *Una figura rappresentante una Baccante s. 500 / Altra figura rappresentante un Paride s. 250 / Altra figura rappresentante Tolomeo s. 250 / Altra figura dell’Em.za V.ra rappresentante Mercurio s. 250 / Altra figura imperiale di V. E. s. 250.*

²⁸ See *Section of the Gallery of --- Wyndham Esq., Hammersmith*, in John WOOLFE and James GANDON, *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. IV (1767), pls 28 and 29, engraving after a drawing by the Franco-Florentine architect Giovanni Niccolò Servandoni, which shows some of the sculpture: the colossal Flora or Bacchante, the Ptolemy and the Mercury and a few busts, not sold by Albani. With thanks to our contributor Eloisa Doderer for discussing the sculptures shown in the print with me.

²⁹ *Galleria Giustiniana del Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani* [Rome, 1631], vol. I, plates 125 and 128; see in general, Giulia FUSCONI, ed., *I Giustiniani e l’Antico* (Rome, 2001). Useful is the Genoa university library project site: http://www.bibliotecauniversitaria.ge.it/it/news/Galleria_Giustiniana/Homepage.html

³⁰ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Gesandtschaftsarchiv Rom/Vatikan I, Korrispondenz Albani, Fasz 145 (unnumbered), Albani to Dodington, 21 November 1750.

³¹ Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Gesandtschaftsarchiv Rom/Vatikan I, Korrispondenz Albani, Fasz 145 (unnumbered), Albani to Dodington, 14 November 1750.

³² *Proibizione della estrazione delle statue di marmo, o metallo, pitture, antichità e simili*, 5 January 1750.

³³ “*Je surmonterai les obstacles à l’égard de l’extraction...*”, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Gesandtschaftsarchiv Rom/Vatikan I, Korrispondenz Albani, Fasz 144 (unnumbered), Albani to Dodington, 5 September 1750.

³⁴ Although the words “*dell’Em.za V.ra*” were at some point crossed out in the list, see n. 27 above.

³⁵ ANGELICOUSSIS lists five sculptures at Holkham with an Albani provenance, some of which came directly to Coke, others via the restorer Cavaceppi or the dealer Bellisario Amadei. They are cat. no. 6 “Ceres”, either no. 7 Satyr with flute or no. 8 Satyr in pigskin, no. 10 Juno, no. 11 Faunus and no. 14 Minerva; the letters regarding the 1749 exports are in KENWORTHY-BROWNE, “Matthew Brettingham’s Rome Account Book,” 55 and 111 and BORCHIA, *Le reti della diplomazia*, 298–301.

³⁶ Christie’s archive London, *A catalogue of the superb and elegant household furniture, truly novel and valuable collection of Marble statues ... of Thomas Wyndham Esq. ... Tuesday December 9 1777* (Lugt 2750).

³⁷ Wyndham sale 1777, lot 19, “*A Colossian [sic] statue of a Bacchanti [sic]—this truly elegant figure has ever been esteemed one of the most perfect performances of the antique sculpture*”.

