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THE MARKET FOR COMMISSIONED DRAWINGS AFTER THE ANTIQUE

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It was an unknown Englishman who in 1727 spotted the nineteen year old Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787) as he sketched antique sculpture in the Belvedere Court of the Vatican, the best known of all the antique collections in Rome, and gave him his first private commission.¹ Such contrived meetings launched the career of many artists, including Carlo Maratti, who copied antiquities for John Evelyn.² All apprentice artists copied the great sculpture of the past in order to acquire the essential skill of draughtsmanship, whereby they would be able to depict human proportions and express human emotion appropriately. An entire career could be devoted to supplying these specialised drawings, to acting as agent and dealer, and to enlarging the body of material already published. The early eighteenth century saw foreign artists, including a number of British, break into this market. Grand Tourists concluded their education in Rome and Florence by close study of the same approved works of antiquity. Potential patrons and artists came together in front of antique sculpture. The one required, and the other supplied, a reminder of that monument and moment. Sometimes real adventure had been involved. Jonathan Richardson had been particularly ‘touch’d’ by the dying Cleopatra in the garden of Villa Medici, and ‘clamber’d up a piece of the ancient Wall of Rome to get upon this Figure to consider the Features distinctly’.³

The relative accessibility of the original sculpture played a large part in forming these collections. Some of the most famous collections were effectively closed for long periods, including the Belvedere under

Clement XI (1700–21). Entrance permits were required for artists working in public museums which were fixed at a daily rate.⁴ Well-lit statues, for example those in niches on stairwells, were popular with student artists, and the introduction of artificial illumination in the museums ensured that fixed view points for busts in particular became established.⁵ Reliefs walled into the lower part of palace exteriors were more likely to be copied than those placed high up, while funeral monuments and vases used as bases to support statues received disproportionate attention. ‘Because there was easy sitting to copy the bad one’ in Palazzo Mattei, Pietro Santi Bartoli’s print did no justice to the design of the original antiquity. Joseph Spence went to the trouble of persuading Prince Mattei to allow him to erect scaffolding so that Camillo Paderni could reach the superior example and rectify this (Fig.1).⁶ Richard Topham excluded pieces from his paper museum because they were too inaccessible or damaged to draw accurately.⁷ Here he must have taken the advice of his agent and those on the spot.

Carlo Maratti and his pupils such as Giuseppe Chiari (1654–1727) dominated the teaching studios in Rome, and taught their students to produce carefully finished drawings in red chalk. The colour of the chalk, often contrasting tones of rust and orange, had the effect of emulating real flesh, while little effort was made to record the actual surface and damage found in the originals. Tommaso Redi, another former pupil of Maratti, who was renowned for his teaching of design, dominated the Florentine scene where art was much more centralised. One of his pupils, Giovanni



Fig.1. Camillo Paderni (engraved by Boitard), *Mars and Rhea*, Palazzo Mattei
(from Joseph Spence, *Polymetis*, plate IX).

Domenico Campiglia (1692–1775), preferred to work in black chalk or pencil, which approximated far more closely to the colour of the original stone. For him too, accuracy remained less important than expression. Pen and wash were also used, a fluid medium which allows light to flutter around the images, and was especially helpful in recording antique paintings, though it was used less frequently for sculpture. In their chalk drawings, English artists like William Kent (1684–1748), who came out to study in Rome, retained a certain stiffness and even heavy-handedness in comparison with their Italian contemporaries, as the illustrations to this article will show.

Nothing quite compares with Richard Topham's (1671–1730) paper museum after antique sculpture.⁸ Although it is in every way an exception to the rule, it remains the gold standard for all other eighteenth-century collections. For quality, quantity and coherence it is unrivalled. It was compiled over approximately fifteen years, before 1730. The copies are beautifully legible, the majority being of a uniform, handsome size. They were produced to

order by Italian draughtsmen, and are drawn in red and black chalk on large strong sheets of paper, with the reliefs spreading over several sheets. It was a feat of great organisation to overcome the difficulties of distance and communication, for, although Topham had probably been on a grand tour in 1691, he never returned. The role played by his agent was therefore crucial, for it was he who compiled the lists from which Topham made his choices, and who ensured that the sequences were completed.⁹ Topham had considered the original idea for the project with John Talman in 1709 while he was still MP for Windsor.¹⁰ William Kent also seems to have contributed while he was out in Italy, but by the 1720s it was managed by the Italian painter and agent, Francesco Fernando Imperiali (1679–1740).¹¹ Topham noted down not only the location and subject of each drawing, but also, most unusually, the name of the draughtsmen Imperiali found him. The finest of these was Pompeo Batoni, who had arrived in Imperiali's studio in 1727 (Fig. 2). Batoni himself even signed his Conservatori copies with a flourish, *diseniata da me, Pompeo Girolamo Batoni*.¹² Topham's paper museum has



Fig. 2. Pompeo Batoni, *Torso of Nude Youth*,
Palazzo Farnese courtyard. Red chalk.
Eton College Library, Bm 7.31.

survived intact in the Library of Eton College since 1736, organised into topographical volumes, a monument to the single-minded drive of this exceptional classical collector. In his own day Topham was reputed to have spent a fortune on the enterprise.¹³

On his death in 1730 his will was disputed, and it was not at all clear that the collection would come to Eton. It was his executor, Dr Richard Mead, who, by energetically opposing the claims of Lord Sidney

Beauclerk (1703–44), the heir whom Topham befriended, ensured that the drawings were not dispersed.¹⁴ However it seems that Mead did allow himself a small reward. Three rather chaotically compiled volumes of preliminary rough sketches, traced outlines, and offsets, many still inscribed in Topham's hand-writing, were once in his possession.¹⁵ Originally there were five. It seems likely that these reflect Topham's original attempt to retain sole control over the preparatory material of all the drawings he commissioned in Rome. Only one of his key professional copyists did not hand over his working drawings. Though he seems never to have reused the drawings he made for Topham, Giovanni Domenico Campiglia went on to make a highly successful career out of his reproductions of antique sculpture, enabling him to support two studios, one in Rome and the other in Florence.¹⁶

Only one other substantial English collection survives to stand comparison with Topham's paper museum. Henry Hare, Lord Coleraine (1693–1749) was much more eclectic in his antiquarian tastes. An active member of the Society of Antiquaries after 1725, he toured England with George Vertue seeking rarities. He travelled to Italy on no less than four separate occasions, was drawn by Pier Paolo Ghezzi, elected a member of the Roman Arcadians, and became fascinated by Etruscan antiquities (Fig. 3). Over a period of thirty years he collected prints and drawings. His liaison with an Italian by whom he had a daughter led to a disputed will, and his collection was divided, the British material being acquired by the Society of Antiquaries (1754), and the Italian going to his old Oxford college, Corpus Christi (1755). Volumes of mixed prints and drawings, some with his own pencil inscriptions intact, others drastically trimmed, were then compiled either into the *rioni* of Rome, or topographically around Italy. Spare red chalk offsets were pasted into volumes marked 'Statue, etc.'. He owned a few duplicates of copies by two of Topham's chief copyists, Bernardino Ciferri and, most exceptionally, by Campiglia. An exact



Fig. 3. Pier Leone Ghezzi, *Caricature of Milord Colerain Inglese*. Pen. Vatican Library, Ottob. Lat. 3115, fol. 83.

duplicate of the lid for the Pallavicini vase is found in both Topham and Coleraine's collections (Fig. 4).¹⁷

Like Topham, Coleraine employed mainly Italians, with three different and anonymous artists dominating. But he did include a young English artist as well. Hamlet Winstanley (1694–1756) was out in Rome on a bursary from his English patron, the 10th Earl of Derby, which involved him in making copies of paintings and in agency work, besides studying the great art of the past. He informed Lord Derby on 22 January 1724 that 'since I've been in Rome I've drawn Several Antique figures [for] my Lord Colerain'.¹⁸ He produced some twelve copies for Coleraine from the Ludovisi and Medici collections (Fig. 5).¹⁹ Since he advised Lord Derby that 'the Coppys from ye Antique are much finer & better done. the antique things yt are to sold now

adays are very poor, and their Chief value is their antiquity',²⁰ it is not surprising to find that he chose to work with a pencil, producing incisive clean outlines, rather than with the soft red chalks, favoured by those trained in the tender tradition of Maratti, who include the group of Italian draughtsmen working for Topham.

The competence of an artist could readily be judged by his copies from antique sculpture. In February 1712 Lord Shaftesbury (1671–1713) began the search for an illustrator for his *Characteristicks*, and James Fagan recommended the 'young Artist Mr. Thrense', that is Henry Trench (1685–1726).²¹ He had won first prize at the Accademia di San Luca in 1705 in the third sculptural category, for precisely the type of drawing Shaftesbury had in mind, and was already backed by John Percival, 1st Earl of Egmont (1683–1748), in 1707.²² Shaftesbury was well aware of the advantages that the job would offer 'one of our Countrymen'.

For whilst he studys the antient Originals and sticks to Design and drawing after the noble models of Statuary and painting here in Italy, he will at the same time qualify himself by right Learning for History-Painting, and what is cheif & principal in his Art.

He therefore required him to

spend a little time in Drawing upon paper only in black & white, or any two Colours some Specimens of his own hand, taken from some or other of the remarkable fine Statues of the Antients, and particularly from some of the finer sort of antient *Basso relievo*, not only of men and Boys, but animals, such as horses, Lyons, and the poetical Forms of Fauns, Stayrs, Sphynxes and the Like, of which there are at Rome so many fine Remains in Brass and Marble. Some few of this kind if he would send me by Mr Brown's usual Conveyance, I shall immediately return my answer.²³

Trench duly complied, and, 'having seen in his hand, of his ability and improving Genius in Design I am ready to accept his Visit to me hither', Shaftesbury was ready to cover all costs while he was working for him.

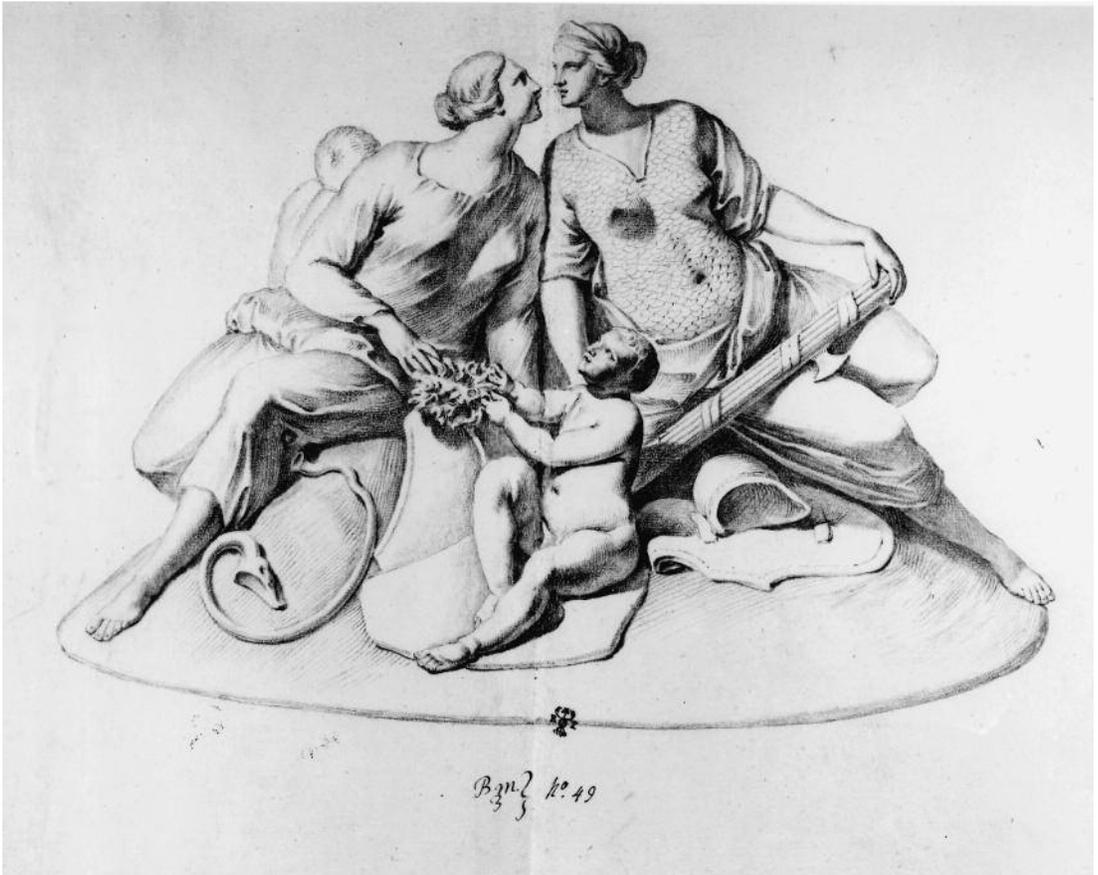


Fig. 4. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, *Pallavicini Vase*. Pencil. *Eton College Library, Bm 3.49*.

But whatever time he has to spare (tho' it be but a few Days) he is desir'd to work as assiduously as possible in the same way, after the antient Statues, and in taking what he possibly can from the antient *Bassi Relievi*, both for the sake of the Figures as well as the Draperys, Dresses, Arms, Instruments, and Ornaments civil, military, and religious, which accompany the antient historical pieces.²⁴

Duly a 'small square box with draughts of Statues & a Pot of Butter' were sent on 6 March 1713, and a room was prepared for Trench in Naples.²⁵ He stayed for six months.

Little love was lost between Trench and William

Kent, who arrived in Rome with John Talman, and quickly set about augmenting his income by working as guide, agent and copyist for the English tourists in the city.²⁶ Humphrey Chetham (1680–1749) was briefly in Rome between March and April 1712, and visited the main collections of sculpture, first with the antiquary Francesco de' Ficoroni, and later with Trench, Kent, and Burrell Massingberd.²⁷ On 5 November 1712 Kent informed his new sponsor, Burrell Massingberd (1684–1744), that 'I have drawn you some statues who I shall send by my Ld. Herbert for I am to send him some things'.²⁸ None of Kent's drawings for Lord Herbert (c1689–1750),

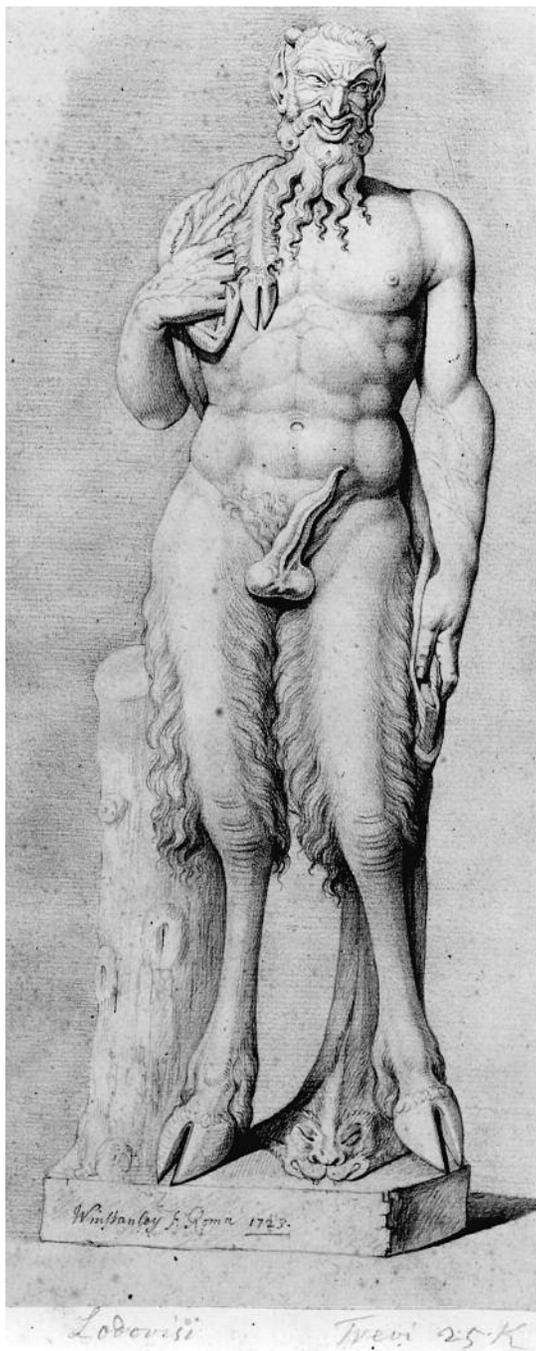


Fig. 5. Hamlet Winstanley, *Pan*, Villa Ludovisi Garden. Pencil. Oxford, *Corpus Christi College, Coleraine vol., Trevi XIII, fol.4.*



Fig. 6. William Kent, *Aesculapius*, Villa Farnese. Red chalk. Eton College Library, Bm 14.48.

son of the major collector of antique sculpture in England, the 8th Earl of Pembroke, appear to have survived.²⁹ Burrell Massingberd was particularly concerned about transport. 'I reckon ye greatest difficulty will be getting ye pictures & drawing to me when you send small parcells prhaps you may gett some English Gentlemen to bring them on their trunks'.³⁰ A few of Kent's copies of statues have survived in the collection of Thomas Coke (1697–1759), whose arrival in Rome in 1714 marks a turning point to Kent's career.³¹ In 1716 and 1717 payments were made to him for copies of statues, and duplicates of these are found in Topham's collection. Those attributed to 'Mr Kent' are executed with a very heavy hand in strong red chalk,³² quite unlike the humanising copies produced by his fellow artists in Chiari's workshop, and in others run by followers of Maratti (Fig. 6). They are also very different from a unique, and more typical, pen and wash drawing inscribed 'Kent' in Topham's collection (Fig. 7).³³ It is likely that he also introduced Coke to the Italian artists who copied antique statues and reliefs for him, many of whom also worked for Topham.

Gaetano Piccini (1681–1736), is best known in England for the volume of watercolour copies after antique wall painting which was acquired by Lord Burlington and another for Topham.³⁴ Random examples of his coloured work are found in Coleraine's collection.³⁵ But he also copied antique sculpture, and became a source of great irritation when he failed to complete a commission of imperial portraits for Lord Hope (1704–81) in 1726, which the Marquess of Annandale chased up on his final visit in 1729.³⁶ Lord Hope's list, including the Borghese Gladiator by the Scottish artist Henry Erskine, mentions his set of pen copies after the reliefs in Palazzo Spada.³⁷ While Lord Hope's set is lost, the likely duplicates can be seen in Topham's collection (Fig. 8).³⁸

The difference in style between Italian and foreigner artists working in Rome is marked. Yet another tradition was established in Florence by the pupils of Tommaso Redi. Outstanding among these



Fig. 7. William Kent, *Cuirassed Torso*, Villa Medici. Pen and wash. *Eton College Library*, Bm 9.67.

was Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692–1772), whose black and white drawings effectively replicate the stony surface of a statue. Campiglia even earned an entry in Pilkington's dictionary of art.³⁹ While he was working for Topham he was still experimenting with a wide range of styles, from surprisingly coarse chalk work, to elaborate and strongly lit copies in finely rubbed pencil (Fig. 9), and he even included some stippled watercolour copies of antique wall painting.⁴⁰ During the 1730's Campiglia's reputation was secured by his illustrations of the published contents of the Capitoline and Uffizi Museums. He continued to produce work to order, for example for Sir Charles Frederick (1709–85) in 1737.⁴¹

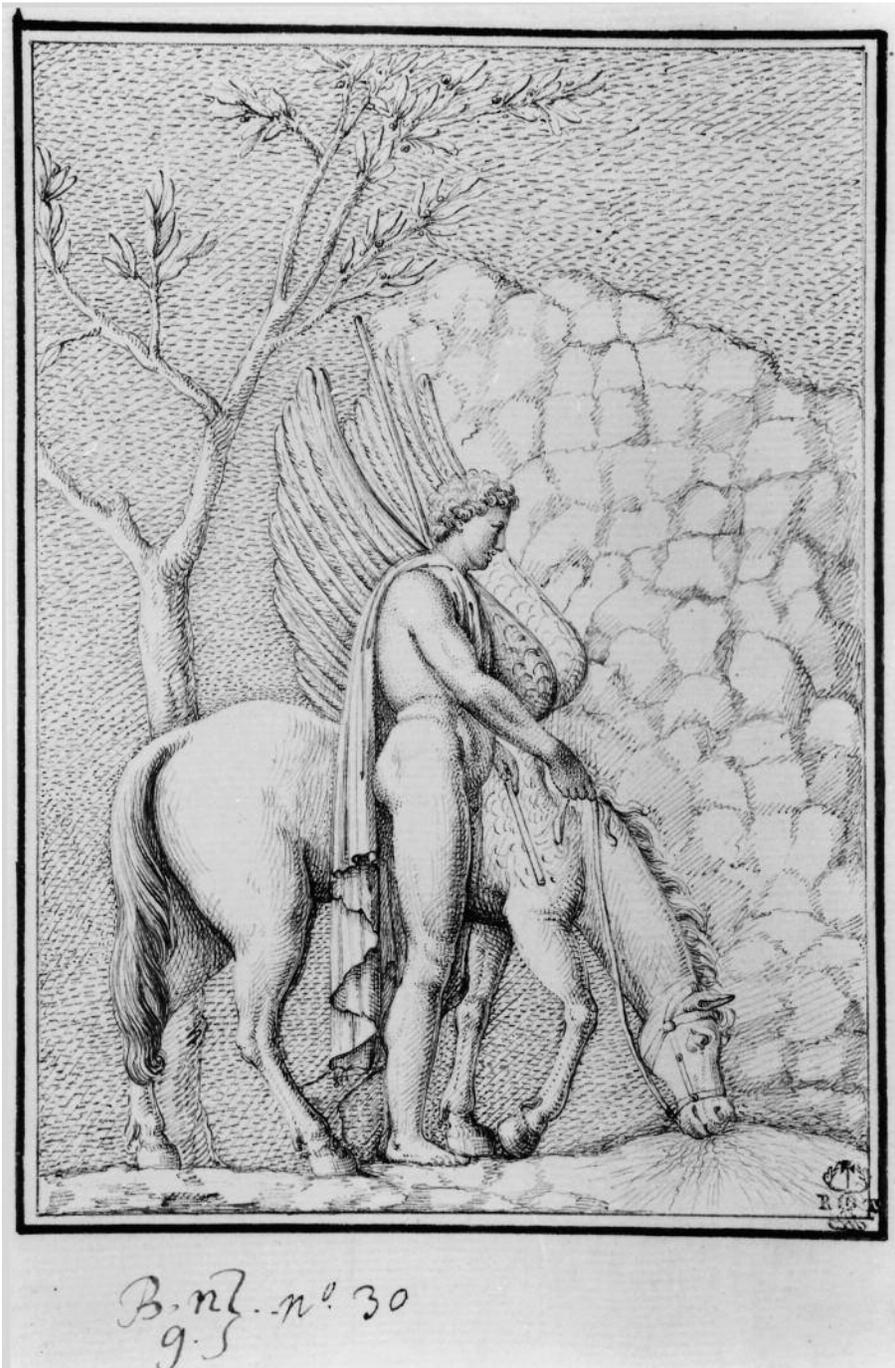


Fig. 8. Attributed to Gaetano Piccini, *Bellerophon and Pegasus*, relief, Palazzo Spada.
Pen. Eton College Library, Bn 9.30.

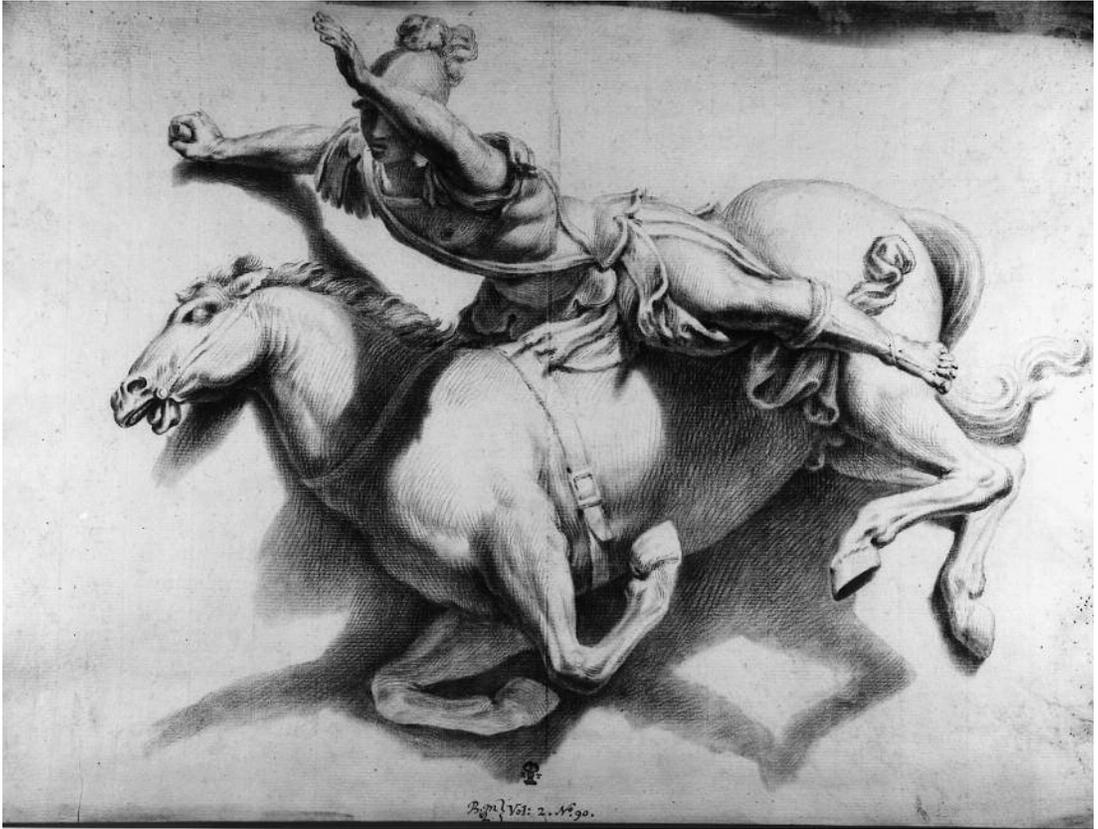


Fig. 9. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, *The Fall of Curtius*, relief, Palazzo Borghese.
Pencil. Eton College Library, Bm 2.90.

Once established, Campiglia occasionally accepted pupils, among whom was Sir Roger Newdigate (1719–1806).⁴² A bill for the copies of the seventeen statues he supplied Newdigate dated 28 April 1742 survives, to compare exactly with the prices he charged Topham, ranging from the three figures of *Laocoon*, through statues of paired figures such as the Uffizi *Amor and Psyche* down to single figures such as the Farnese *Flora*.⁴³ Newdigate was fascinated by the settings in which the statues were placed, and took great care to make sketches himself showing the exact location of each original.⁴⁴ Practically all of the

numerous statues he chose to have copied were beginning to enter the canon of British good taste.⁴⁵

When the river Arno flooded Campiglia's studio in 1740 it was another professional copyist who had spent some years in England, Giuseppe Grisoni (1699–1769), who wrote to Newdigate, accounting for the delay and enclosing a drawing for George Henry Lee, Viscount Quarendon (1718–72). Flood affected the studio once again the following winter.⁴⁶ In 1717 Grisoni had been paid by Thomas Coke for a costly and substantial volume of drawings copying the antiquities in the Uffizi, of which there is sadly no

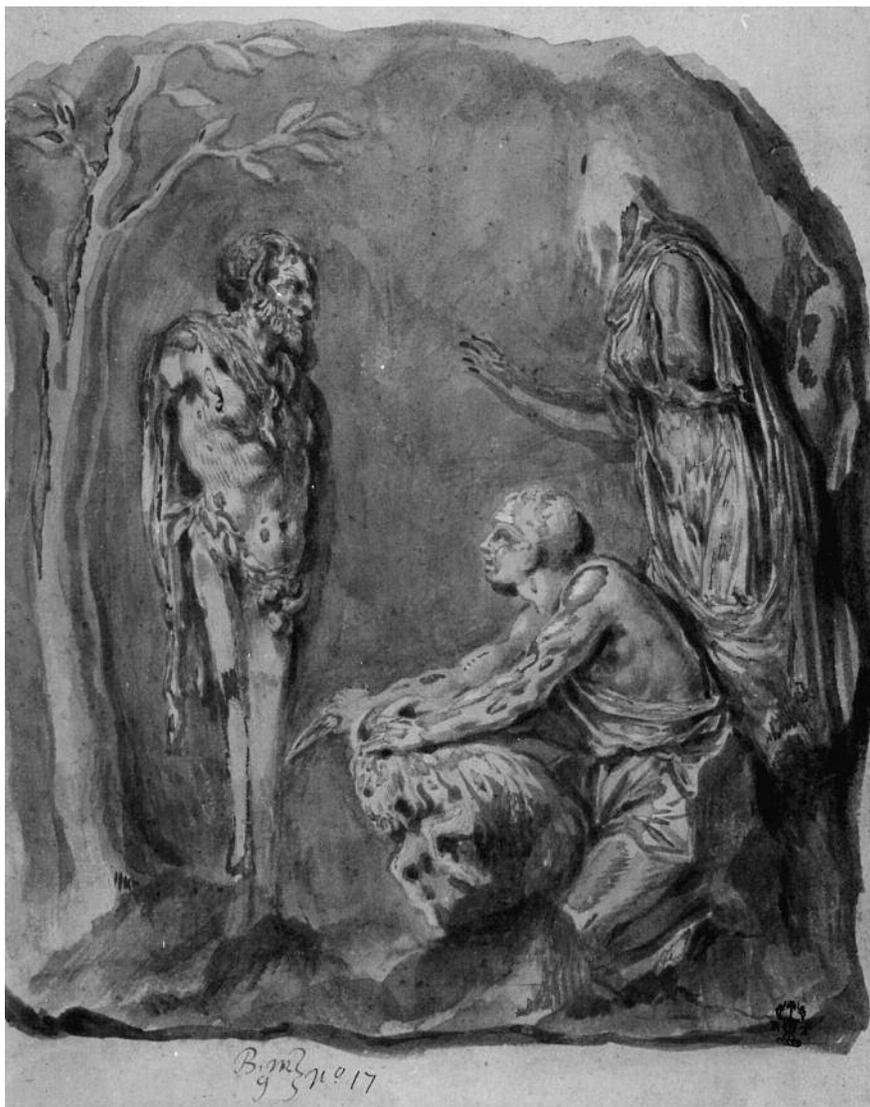


Fig. 10. Giuseppe Grisoni, *Rustic Sacrifice*, relief, Ravenna.
Pen and wash. *Eton College Library*, Bm 9.17.

trace, though a few of his copies of sculpture do survive in Topham's collection, which he made when he was travelling in the north of Italy with John Talman (Fig. 10).⁴⁷

By the middle of the century the British colony of artists in Rome was becoming well organised.

Richard Dalton (1713?–91), 'who studies drawing here,' was recommended to Lady Pomfret in May 1741, 'should you wish to have anything drawn after statues or other antiquities.... This morning Mr Dalton came, as he had promised, and bought some statues drawn in red chalk, that he said were for Lord

Brooke', along with copies of the Raphael frescoes in the Farnesina. 'There is very visible improvement from the first of his drawings to those last finished, which are indeed as good as I have seen of the modern artists'. She was so pleased with his progress that 'I am endeavouring to get him leave to copy some things out of the Capitol, an access to which is at present somewhat difficult'.⁴⁸ Dalton's large copies in black and white chalk on blue paper, a medium he claimed to have invented, are good examples of the heavy British style.⁴⁹

On his arrival in Rome in 1740, James Russel (1720?–63) was alert to the opportunities of such work, and his schoolmaster father was soon acting as his London agent and adviser. Often dilatory, he explained that he could only work for Rowland Holt (c1723–86) who 'left me a commission to do some statues for him', on 'Holy Days'.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, armed with classical texts and good guides, he went round the Capitoline Museum making a careful selection for Richard Phelps (c1720–71), which he sent to his father in England. His father reported on 12 February 1748

I shewed the Drawings which you sent for Mr Phelps to Mr Skeemakers, who commended them much, and say'd, that he believed a Collection of that kind would sell very well.⁵¹ I wish you had sent a description with them, giving a particular account what they are; but perhaps Mr Phelps has one.⁵²

In July 1749 Russel was continuing to work on drawings begun a long time ago 'in the manner of that of Mr Phelps' for William Drake (1723–96), which proved not to be 'to his taste'.⁵³ He was still producing copies of statues in 1753, for Dr John Monro (1715–91), the father of Turner's patron, and five more for a Mr Marsh, namely the *Villa Ludovisi Pactus and Arria*, *Villa Farnese Agrippina*, *Villa Borghese Centaur and Cupid*.⁵⁴ He was about to post a parcel of fourteen statues for Rowland Holt, who had paid in advance,⁵⁵ and he was still promising to send a list of what he had posted, just as his father desired.⁵⁶

Inspired by his collection for Phelps, Russel informed his father that

I propos'd to myself to make a collection of drawings of the best basso relievos, busts, and statues; and of those in particular which have been lately found, and of consequence more valuable for not being in stamp, and of those likewise which have been engrav'd &c. but not done with that exactness and attention, which such rarities require.

This was by no means the first such idea, and it was 'much approved by several gentlemen that have travell'd here'.⁵⁷ Such schemes tended to languish, impossibly grandiose for any but the best financed and organised to hope to accomplish. Camillo Paderni, for example, with whom Russel first considered studying art in 1740, told the writer Joseph Spence in 1750 that he had 'long ago dropped his design of publishing a collection of basso relievos' after he settled in Portici.⁵⁸ He was almost certainly referring to a more complete set of illustrations to Spence's *Polymetis* (1740), to which he had supplied just two illustrations (Fig. 1). The comprehensive and lavish eighteenth-century volumes of engravings after public and princely collections of sculpture are just the tip of what contemporaries dreamt of publishing. As for the remainder, personalised collections of drawings after favoured originals were the solution.

Such was the opportunity of lucrative contacts with future patrons that by 1752 the English artists had briefly formed their own Academy in Rome; but in 1755 this did not prevent them from ganging up against their founding president, John Parker (*fl.* 1740–65), who acted as agent for James, 1st Earl of Charlemont.⁵⁹ He complained furiously to his patron on 4 October 1758 that

Piranesi, Russel, Jenkins and their Crew, ruined me last winter, so that, although I was recommended to several gentlemen they all shunned me, as an ill man . . . They had so prepossessed my Lord Brud[e]nell that I could never get admittance. . . joined to this mortification all the English painters were employed to paint and draw, except me only.⁶⁰

While the artists battled over ‘admittance’ or access to patronage, the contents of studios and collections already formed by dealers and artists were being sold and dispersed in London. One such sale lasting many days was the enormous collection of Charles Jervas (c1675–1739), who had helped introduce the 1st Duke of Shrewsbury (1660–1718) to the collections of Rome during the first decade of the eighteenth century.⁶¹ The 1740 sale included

all his own drawings or studies, which were very numerous. . . . and many after antient Statues drawn with red chalk on paper – most neatly hatch – and laborious but not so grand in Tast or Judgment.⁶²

Even before his arrival in Italy, he was already excitedly drawing from casts and originals in the Louvre in May 1698,⁶³ and, after Addison met the twenty-six year old artist in Rome in 1701, he commented that

he is so well vers’d among the ancient statues that he talks as familiarly of Phidias’s and Praxiteles’s Manner as he wd. do in England of Knellers & Cloistermans.⁶⁴

Jervas was in close contact with the pupils of Maratti, especially Chiari and Pietro de’ Pietri, whose techniques determined the style of Topham’s collection. However, as the century progressed, the harder and more sculptural method of copying, developed by Campiglia, became more popular. Good taste required a sharper response to the different styles to be found in the original sculpture. Classical scholarship increasingly dictated the way antique art was portrayed, and this affected the copies of antiquities quite as much as the paintings of the second half of the eighteenth century.

A passion for antique sculpture is one of the most distinctive characteristics of English visitors to Italy in this period. Whatever their reaction to paintings might be, they responded without fail to the statues of heroes and gods, to the reliefs showing scenes of battle and sacrifice, and to the portraits, with which their classical education made them familiar. Many of

them carried copies of Addison’s *Remarks* which recorded his visit in the opening years of the century.

No part of the antiquities of Rome pleased me so much as the antient statues, of which there is still an incredible variety.⁶⁵ . . . I question not but many passages in the old poets hint at several parts of sculpture, that were in vogue in the author’s time, though they are now never thought of.⁶⁶

Addison also taught the visitors to expect ‘greater treasures of this nature underground, than what are yet brought to light’.⁶⁷ Forty years later Joseph Spence developed Addison’s approach more imaginatively, and with immense success, in his *Polymetis*, an extraordinary compilation of, and meditation on, classical sculpture.

I have often thought when in Italy, and at Rome in particular, that they enjoy there the convenience of a sort of contemporary comment on Virgil and Horace, in the nobler remains of the antient statuaries and painters. When you look on the old pictures or sculptures, you look on the works of men who thought much in the same train with the old poets.⁶⁸ . . . the chief use I have found in this sort of study, or amusement, call it which you please, has not been so much in discovering what was wholly unknown; as in strengthening and beautifying what was known before.⁶⁹

For Jonathan Richardson aesthetic considerations were equally important, and he advised the use of good drawings and figures in Academies not only for the benefit of artists, but ‘for the better education of a gentleman, and to complete the civilising and polishing of our people’.⁷⁰ Throughout England and Scotland small collections of prints and drawings of antiquities in the libraries of the gentry once proved these points, a relatively cheap source of both learned debate and aesthetic inspiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Figures 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 are reproduced by kind permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College. Figure 5 is reproduced by kind permission of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

NOTES

- 1 Francesco Benaglio, 'Abbozzo della vita di Pompeo Batoni pittore' in Angelo Marchesan (ed.), *Vita e prose scelte di Francesco Benaglio*, Treviso, 1894, 41–2.
- 2 Esmond Samuel de Beer (ed.), *The Diary of John Evelyn (1620–49)*, II, Oxford, 1955, 223 (7 November 1644, The Triumph of Marcus Aurelius relief 'wonderfully eaten and obliterated... which I caused my painter Carlo Neapolitano to copy out'). One of Maratti's original drawings is now in the British Museum Print Room [Nicholas Turner, *Roman Baroque Drawings c.1620–1700*, London, 1999, 121, n.168].
- 3 Jonathan Richardson the Younger, *An Account of some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy*, London, 1722, 126.
- 4 There are numerous references to the fee required from artists working on the Capitol Collections, e.g., the anonymous artist who drew Thomas Coke's copy of Gaius Marius for 5 *scudi*, also paid 4 for the 'loan to draw' [Holkham, Leicester MSS., Thomas Coke Grand Tour Accounts 733, 158, 17 August 1716].
- 5 This is evident from the preliminary drawings by Campiglia for all his sets of antiquities, starting with the busts in the Capitoline Museum [Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, 158 H.4]. Much of such work was done by artificial light.
- 6 Joseph Spence, *Polymetis or, an enquiry concerning the agreement between the works of the Roman Poets, and the remains of the antient Artists*, London, 1747, 80, Dialogue 7th, Mars and Rhea Silvia. The two originals are illustrated side by side in L. Guerrini, *Palazzo Mattei di Giove Le Antichita*, Rome, 1982, pl. LXIII.
- 7 Eton, Eton College Library (hereafter ECL), Topham MS. Finding Aid 2, Villa Pamphilj, 105.
- 8 Topham, bachelor, MP for Windsor, and amateur Greek scholar, built up a great classical library, which included 3,000 drawings and watercolours after antiquities, which he bequeathed to Eton College Library [Louisa M. Connor, 'The Topham Collection of drawings in Eton College Library', *Eutopia* II/1, 1993, 25–39; Louisa Connor, 'Richard Topham et les artistes du cercle d'Imperiali' in *La Fascination de l'Antique 1700–70*, Lyons (Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, 20 December 1998–14 March 1999), 52–64.
- 9 ECL, Topham MSS. Finding Aid 2. The drawings are numbered Bm or Bn, according to the original shelving.
- 10 Graham Parry and Hugh Macandrew, 'The John Talman Letter-Book', *Walpole Society*, LIX, 1997, 82, Letter 44.
- 11 The future architect and landscape designer William Kent came out to Italy to study art in 1709, enrolling in the studio of Giuseppe Chiari, and stayed on until his return with Lord Burlington in 1719. He quickly made himself known to expatriate grand tourists, and augmented his income by producing copies and dealing in art. Francesco Fernando, a Milanese artist, took his name from Cardinal Imperiali, in whose Roman household he lived, until he set up as a painter dealer on his own around 1719. His studio was just off the Corso, and attracted gentry pupils from England, one of the last being James Russel [Cincia M. Sicca, 'On William Kent's Roman Sources', *Architectural History*, XXIX, 1986, 140].
- 12 Hugh Macandrew, 'A group of Batoni Drawings at Eton College, and some Eighteenth-Century Italian Copyists of Classical Sculpture', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 2, 1978, 131–150.
- 13 Thomas Hearne, an enemy, believed Topham's library was worth £7000 [H.E. Salter (ed.), *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, X, Oxford, 1915, 338].
- 14 Dr Richard Mead, a member of the London Scottish community, built a gallery to house his growing collection of contemporary paintings by artists such as Watteau, Imperiali and Pannini during the 1730s. He bought Cardinal Camillo Massimi's famous collection of antique wall paintings, a precocious taste he shared with Topham. He also bought antique sculpture, including the Arundel *Head of Homer*, and built up a large, important library. He kept open house for artists and antiquarians, and provided letters of introduction to influential friends abroad. Practically everything was sold on his death

- [Mary Webster, 'A taste of an Augustan collector: the collection of Dr. Richard Mead,' *Country Life*, CXLVII, January 29, 1970, 249–51; *ibid.*, CXLVIII, September 24, 1970, 765–67].
- 15 Ian Jenkins first made the connection between drawings in the volumes in the Department of Roman Antiquities, British Museum, and Topham's drawings in Eton College Library.
- 16 Pierpaolo Quieto, 'Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, Mons. Bottari e la rappresentazione dell'Antico', *Labyrinthos*, 5/6, 1984, 3–36; *ibid.*, 162–88.
- 17 ECL, Topham Bm 3.49; Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Coleraine Vol., 'Statue', fol. 84.
- 18 Francis Russell, 'The Derby Collection (1721–1735)', *Walpole Society*, LIII, 1987, 152.
- 19 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Coleraine Vols., 'Ripa VI', fols. 58, 61a and b, 62a and b, 63a and b, 67b, 69, 70; 'Trevi XIII', fols. 3, 4, 5.
- 20 Russell, *op. cit.*, 151.
- 21 John Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800*, London, 1997, 950–52 (entry written by Nicola Figgis).
- 22 Historical Manuscripts Commission (hereafter HMC), *Egmont*, II, 217, 17 October 1707; *ibid.*, 219, 3 December 1707. All Egmont's purchases were lost at sea, including 'drafts and music he had made abroad, that he took much delight in and enter'd into the study of in Italy, whereby the Accademy of young Painters & Sculptors erected by Sir Geoffrey Kneller, Queen's Painter, was frustrated of many good patterns for improving the Schollars, it being Sir John's design to make a present of them' [London, British Library, Add. MS. 7,072, fol. 23]. This throws fascinating insight into the link between enlightened private patronage and artistic training projects at the start of the eighteenth century.
- 23 Sheila O'Connell, 'Lord Shaftesbury in Naples: 1711–1713,' *Walpole Society*, LIV, 1988, 162.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 164.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 182.
- 26 Graham Parry, after Hugh Macandrew, 'The John Talman Letter-Book', *Walpole Society*, LIX, 1997, esp. 101–02, letter 78, 9 May 1710.
- 27 Manchester, Chetham Library, MS. 8, The Journal of Humphrey Chetham, 1702–12.
- 28 Carol Blackett-Ord, 'Letters from William Kent to Burrell Massingberd from the Continent, 1712–1719', *Walpole Society*, LXIII, 2001, 83, Letter 3.
- 29 The 8th Earl, noted by Pope for his 'dirty gods', was the most avid collector of his generation, searching out and, if necessary, renaming, a continuous sequence of imperial portraits. The collection substantially survives in Wilton House.
- 30 Blackett-Ord, *op. cit.*, 104, Appendix II, 14 May 1713.
- 31 Sicca, *op. cit.*, 140.
- 32 ECL, Topham, Bm 14.47, and 48 in particular. The group is Bm 14.44, 47–9, 51–2. The paper used is not Italian.
- 33 *Ibid.*, Bm 9.67.
- 34 Chatsworth, Devonshire Collection, MS. Vol. 44, 61 drawings; ECL, Topham Bn 4.
- 35 Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Coleraine Vol. VIII, Monti, fols. 61 and 62.
- 36 Hopetoun House, Linlithgow MSS., bundles 579, and 615.
- 37 *Ibid.*, vol. 1657, Inventory of Purchases in Italy, 1726.
- 38 Louisa M. Connor Bulman, 'Gaetano Piccini: the neatest handed, idlest fellow I ever met with', *Xenia Antiqua*, X, 2001, forthcoming.
- 39 Matthew Pilkington, *A General Dictionary of Painters*, I, London, 1824, 149–50.
- 40 ECL, Topham Bn 9.
- 41 London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1865-1-14-821, 822. Campiglia's self portrait, inscribed 'Portrait of Campiglia drawn by himself and given to me by him/ C.F. 1738', is in the same collection [*ibid.*, 1865-1-14-820].
- 42 Michael J. McCarthy, 'The Drawings of Sir Roger Newdigate', *Apollo*, CXXXIV, 1991, 159–68.
- 43 Warwick, Warwickshire Record Office, CR 136/B.1534; ECL, Topham Bm 9.83.
- 44 For example, *ibid.*, CR 136/A. 574, details the arrangement of the Belvedere, Campidoglio, and Farnese collections.
- 45 *Ibid.*, CR 136/B. Two sales at Christie's have depleted the pencil copies of antiquities by Campiglia in Arbury Hall [Christie's, 6/7 July 1987, lots 206–13; Christie's, 10 December 1991, lots 29–31].
- 46 *Ibid.*, CR 136/1698B, 29 January 1740; *ibid.*, CR 136/131698 A, 13 Jan 1741.
- 47 Talman discovered Grisoni in 1715, took him as companion draughtsman when he toured North Italy, and brought him to England. Grisoni returned to Florence with an English wife, and gentleman pupil, William Hoare, in 1728, having sold the contents of his studio [Parry, *op. cit.*, 30–1]. Grisoni's volume of the antiquities in the Medici Collections,

- Florence, for Coke, is mentioned in the Holkham Accounts, *loc. cit.*, 733, 199, 13 April 1717.
- 48 W. Bingley (ed.), *The Correspondence between Frances Seymour, Countess of Hertford and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret*, 1738–41, II, 1806, 13, 22.
- 49 A. P. Oppé, *English Drawing in the Stuart and Georgian Periods in the collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1950, 38, n.190. John Boydell published *A Collection of Twenty Original Statues Drawn after the Originals in Italy by Richard Dalton Esq.*, 1770, with punning dedications. The Belvedere Apollo, god of medicine, was, for example, dedicated to Dr Mead, who died in 1755. Italian examples of Dalton's technique of black chalk on blue paper include Pietro Paolo Vasta's copy of the Farnese Hercules in ECL, Bm 7.08.
- 50 London, British Library, Add. MS. 41,169 (Copies of the Correspondence of James Russel), fol. 8v., 9 December 1747. Holt's drawings arrived on 24 October 1751 [*ibid.*, fol. 53v].
- 51 *Ibid.*, fol. 49, 13 October 1750, refers to this commission, 'I have drawn from time to time'. Vertue comments on the sculptor Peter Scheemaker's assiduous 'studies in Rome &c. after the best antique Statues. making of most exact & correct. models in Clay' ['The Notebooks of George Vertue III', *Walpole Society*, XXII, 1933–4, 44].
- 52 London, British Library, Add. MS. 41,169, fol.5v.
- 53 *Ibid.*, fol. 32v.
- 54 *Ibid.*, fols. 69 and 69v, 31 July 1753.
- 55 *Ibid.*, fol. 66, 2 November 1752. He explained this delay by asserting that 'Holt gave me my own time' [*ibid.*, fol. 69, 31 July 1753].
- 56 *Ibid.*, fol. 69v, 3 July 1753.
- 57 *Ibid.*, fol. 49, 13 October 1750.
- 58 Slava Klima (ed.), *Joseph Spence, Letters from the Grand Tour*, Montreal, 1975, Appendix 14, March 1750, Robert Lowth to Spence.
- 59 *The London Daily Advertiser* reported on Parker's directorship, 9 July 1752 [London, British Library, Add. MS. 41,169, fol. 60v].
- 60 HMC, *Charlemont*, I, 1891, 251, Letter 54.
- 61 *Ibid.*, *Bucleuch*, 2, II, 1903, 746–99. Shrewsbury witnessed Jervas's will.
- 62 'The Notebooks of George Vertue, *cit.*, III, 103, 'Catalogue of the Pictures, Prints and Drawings of the late Charles Jarvis, 1740'.
- 63 London, British Library, Add. MS. 28,882, letter to John Ellis.
- 64 W. Graham (ed.), *The Letters of Joseph Addison*, 1941, 29, letter 23, 2 July 1701.
- 65 Joseph Addison, 'Remarks on Several Parts of Italy', in Richard Hurd (ed.), *Works*, London, 1909, 459.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 460.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 569.
- 68 Spence, *op. cit.*, 3, Dialogue 1st.
- 69 Spence, *op. cit.*, 45, Dialogue 6th.
- 70 Jonathan Richardson, 'Discourse on the Science of a Connoisseur', *Works*, London, 1773, 278.