10

A Nation of Statues: Museums and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Rome

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The abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy had been in Rome for three months by 10 February 1756, when he wrote to his friend the comte de Caylus about his activities in the retinue of the French ambassador. As keeper of the royal *cabinet des médailles* Barthélemy was older and wiser than most Grand Tourists, although he was just as impressed by Rome's world-famous palaces, villas, and private galleries. But when he mounted the ramp to Michelangelo's Campidoglio and turned left into the new 'palazzo delle statue,' his reaction was of an entirely different order:

> The first time I entered I felt a jolt of electricity. I could not describe the impression made on me by seeing so many riches assembled in one place. This is no longer a cabinet; it's the dwelling of the gods of ancient Rome, it's the Lyceum of the philosophers [Fig. 10.1], it's a senate composed of the kings of the Orient. What can I tell you? A nation of statues inhabits the Capitol; it is the great book of the antiquarians.[1]

Barthélemy's rapture encapsulates the growing importance of the museum as a site of cultural, intellectual, and even political exchange in eighteenth-century Europe. Italy was its epicenter, and the experiments that took place there would help establish enduring ideas about art collecting and display. But the visceral nature of his encounter emphasizes that museums were, above all, spaces – rooms, halls, galleries, courtyards – experienced by real people in real time, often in an intended sequence and with profound psychological impacts. Eighteenth-century museums stood squarely at the intersection of architecture and identity in all the ways considered by this volume: as privileged arenas for aesthetic innovation, as pioneers of an important building type, and as theaters for cultivating taste and knowledge and thereby constituting the self.

10.1 Room of the Philosophers in the Capitoline Museum, Rome, installed 1734; author's photograph

Nowhere was this truer than in eighteenth-century Rome, an age-old entrepôt enshrined as the culmination of the Grand Tour. If the Tour offered travelers the chance to form themselves through their reactions to new sights, it offered their hosts the chance to program those sites to deliver desired messages. In a city that was itself becoming a museum, Rome's publicly accessible art collections were increasingly central to both its self-understanding and its external image. Although historians are giving more attention to early museums' economic, legal, and administrative aspects, their spatial dynamics remain to be explored. There are challenges to be sure: few eighteenth-century theorists specifically discussed museum spaces, while most scholarship on architectural interiors has focused on the domestic realm. Museum historians often emphasize contents at the expense of their physical shell, and even where historic installations have survived, subsequent alterations obscure the original experience.[2] Account books, inventories, diaries, catalogues, and guidebooks are thus essential documents, as are the plans, sketches, and souvenir prints that proliferated as signs of the museum's expanding visibility.

This chapter draws on all those resources to examine two pioneering Roman museums devoted to classical antiquities: the Museo Capitolino begun in the 1730s on the Campidoglio, and the Museo Pio-Clementino created four decades later at the Vatican. Both were papal projects undertaken in a climate of increasing hostility to the old order, and both mark the Church's engagement with Enlightenment ideals. More specifically, both initiatives reflect a nascent faith that displaying works of art in custom-designed surroundings could be a powerful tool for nation-building and public relations. Yet despite their shared strategies, essential differences remind us that 'the museum' remained a work in progress, less a fixed architectural type than a range of conceptual and spatial solutions responding to particular agendas, geographies, and publics. Viewed in tandem, the Capitoline and the Pio-Clementino suggest how eighteenth-century Roman museums were shaped not just around particular exhibits but around social, intellectual, and institutional practices: in sum, around changing notions of identity itself.

The Capitoline: Representing Rome

The museum that electrified Barthélemy was not just the richest such collection in eighteenth-century Europe. It was also its first, the ancestor of the publicly owned and administered art museums we take for granted today.[3] Enshrined at Rome's civic center, the Capitoline exemplified the city's rising public sphere. Yet it would be a mistake to overemphasize the secularity of an institution spawned, enriched, and administered for a century by the papal government. Instead, the various Capitoline 'museums' are better understood as stages in a long struggle to control Rome's historic materials and spaces for symbolic ends.

In some ways the Capitol had been a museum for millennia, both as the ancient city's spiritual heart and as the host of the reconstituted Roman Senate after an anticurial rebellion of CE 1143–44. Its antiquities carried a special charge, from the *spolia* used to guarantee weights and measures to the Egyptian obelisk re-erected sometime after 1150 'as a symbol of the *comune* and the Senate, the Roman Republic revived.'[4] Yet after the Curia's return from Avignon, an increasingly monarchic papacy shifted real power to the Vatican while harnessing the Capitol as a place of memory. Sixtus IV confirmed this role in 1471 by deeding to the Roman people a group of ancient bronzes for exhibition, including the *She-Wolf*, the *Spinario*, the *Camillus*, and the *Palla Sansonis*. In 1538 Paul III transferred the equestrian '*Constantine*' or *Marcus Aurelius* so that it became the centerpiece of Michelangelo's piazza, the endpoint of the ceremony by which popes 'took possession' of their capital. By the turn of the eighteenth century civic autonomy was itself a memory, as new legacies and donations swelled the material signs of continuity between pagan and papal Rome.[5]

Continuity was an obsession among the narrow elite that controlled Rome's municipal sphere and made ancestral service at the Capitol a condition for aristocratic rank. Closely linked to the Curia, this strategic amalgam of native dynasties and well-connected newcomers shared a stake in Rome's prestige and looked with dismay as the city's great aristocratic collections bled away to foreign courts. Few were more alive to the dangers than Marquis Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, the scion of a transplanted Florentine family who was a confessed zealot 'for such precious monuments of venerable antiquity and for the decorum of Rome and the Campidoglio.' The marquis considered the Campidoglio hallowed 'by the glorious deeds of those great Romans' whom he claimed as symbolic forebears.[6] Like many of his class, Capponi straddled municipal and papal camps. A former city conservator like his father and grandfather, he was also an intimate of the Florentine cardinal Lorenzo Corsini, elected as Clement XII in 1730. Capponi's appointment as Clement's private chamberlain, palace quartermaster-major, and archeological advisor put him in a position to seal both his own reputation and that of his city.[7]

The occasion came in 1733, in the wake of financial setbacks for Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of the recently deceased Clement XI (r. 1700–21) and an inveterate collector allied to the Houses of Hanover, Habsburg, and Savoy. Albani gave new meaning to the term 'cultural capital' in 1728, when he sold 34 of his finest statues to Augustus the Strong of Poland (sparking the 'enormous indignation of the entire city,' according to one observer) and sought to liquidate the remainder to pay off debts.[8] Capponi used all his powers to convince the pontiff that these treasures must not go abroad but instead become a permanent monument to Roman (and Corsini) magnificence: 'Your Holiness might build another family chapel plus ten even handsomer ones, another Lateran facade and a hundred more new buildings, but neither you nor ten popes will have another chance to harvest such a crop of statues and inscriptions and install it at the Capitol.'[9] Persuaded, Clement not only allocated 66,000 *scudi* from his straitened treasury, but also named Capponi the museum's life president with curatorial and creative control, assisted by a deputy who would live onsite to open the museum on a regular schedule. Most importantly, Clement granted Capponi authority to commandeer the space necessary to put the Albani collection 'on public view' for the cultivation of the liberal arts among Roman youth, 'for the curiosity of foreigners and *dilettanti*, and the convenience of scholars.' Clement's charter acknowledged his dual desire 'to confirm and illustrate the facts of sacred and profane history,' and 'to promote the Magnificence and Splendor of Rome among foreign nations.'[10]

The pope soon saw with trepidation that Capponi's blueprint was 'quite grandiose': never one to think small, he claimed the entire Palazzo Nuovo on the east side of the piazza.[11] Planned by Michelangelo but not built until the seventeenth century, this twin to the Palace of the Conservators provided the new museum with a magnificent façade and announced its centrality to

10.2 Main salon in the Capitoline Museum, Rome; author's photograph

a reconfigured Campidoglio. Some scholars have argued that the eastern structure was always intended for display, and, although an early plan to relocate dozens of statues was not realized, its rooms did receive antiquities as part of their decoration.[12] By the late seventeenth century the costs of upkeep induced the conservators to rent the building to Roman guilds as office space, and Capponi's first task was to transform the crowded 'Palazzo dell'Agricoltura' into a 'Palazzo delle Statue' worthy of receiving visitors.

After banishing the current tenants, Capponi hired the city's architect, Filippo Barigioni, to remodel the neglected complex. Broad but shallow in view of its site, the building consisted of six rectangular rooms and a linking gallery on the *piano nobile*, accessed by stairs from a lower portico and courtyard. Perhaps due to economic concerns – Capponi's entire budget was only 12,000 *scudi* – Barigioni respected the existing layout, opening or closing doorways as needed and designing vigorous new stucco ornaments that enhanced the building's Renaissance pedigree.[13] In the central *salone*, an expansive room with three windows onto the square, Barigioni installed 24 giant, fluted 'Corinthian' pilasters that echoed the colossal order of Michelangelo's façades and conferred a stately rhythm to the interior (Fig. 10.2). Yet his intervention

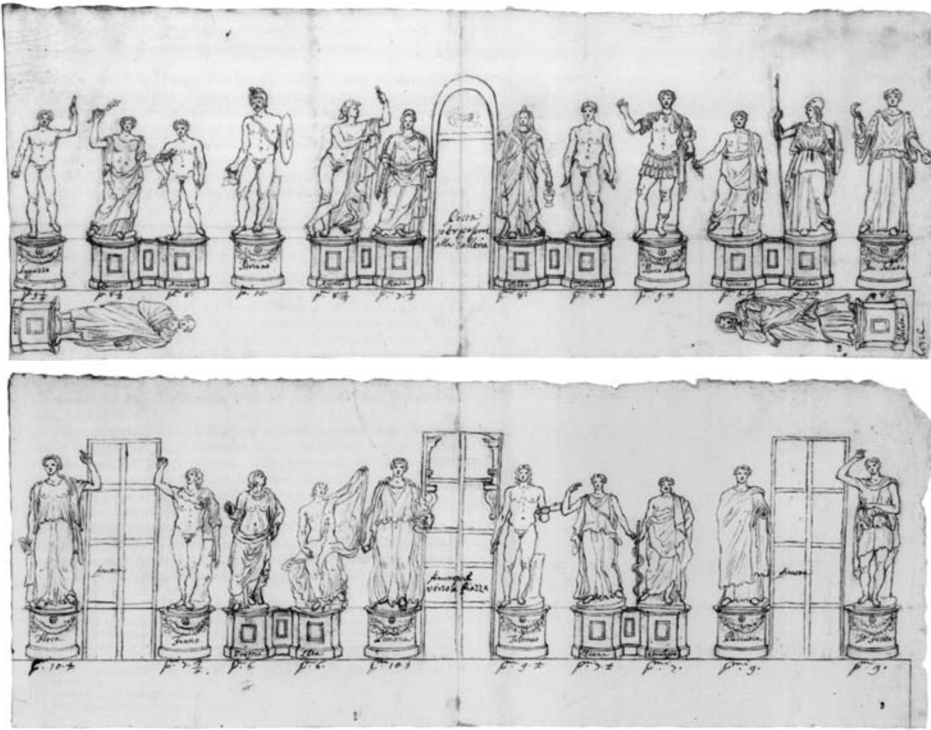
was no mere pastiche, and to create the desired mood Barigioni replaced the capitals' volutes with rams' heads and added a rich frieze of oak and laurel garlands. Eight new shelves supported by fish-scale brackets and wreaths displayed anonymous busts, while the addition of cornices to the four pink Cottanello doorframes provided further exhibition space.[14] The main portal received special attention. Here Barigioni used false perspective to evoke a deep gateway complete with a faux-marble transom of Romulus and Remus beside the Tiber (since removed), two antique heads atop Numidian marble columns found near the Tomb of Cecilia Metella, and a pair of marble Victories supposedly salvaged from an Arch of Marcus Aurelius to support the Corsini coat of arms.[15] The design clearly suggested a triumphal arch that Capponi initially intended to fill with a statue of his patron ('donated' by the Roman people), as if entering the room at the culmination of his *Possesso*. On further reflection the marquis decided to keep the doorway clear and to situate Clement's effigy on the north wall opposite Algardi's colossal *Innocent X*, thereby flanking the ancient statues with portraits of their benefactors. Capponi was intent to maximize the papal presence at the Campidoglio: to make room for Pietro Bracci's bronze, delivered in 1740 and melted by the French in 1798, he moved an existing statue of Paul IV to today's Sala del Fauno, only reluctantly ceding it to the palace of the Inquisition in 1738 at Cardinal Corsini's request.[16]

Barigioni modulated his rhythm in different sections of the palace, echoing inherited motifs like shells or garlands and sectioning the walls with crisp plaster moldings to organize the abundant inscriptions and reliefs. In an important move, Capponi preserved Carlo Rainaldi's high-baroque ceilings filled with papal and civic emblems, although he spent 300 *scudi* to paint their dark wooden coffers in imitation of veined white marble on a sky-blue background.[17] A similarly luminous play of travertine and *celestino* graced the long gallery and stair hall, while variegated faux-marbling in the principal rooms imitated the exotic stones once gathered from every corner of the empire – Egyptian granites, African *giallo antico*, Phrygian *pavonazzetto*, Anatolian breccias – and later quarried to revet modern palaces and chapels. Collectively, Barigioni's interventions produced a distinctly Roman grandeur that intensified the *genius loci*. In the courtyard (see Fig. 10.4 later in this chapter), he adorned the colossal river god *Marforio* (one of Rome's famous 'talking statues' transported from the Forum a century before) with a concave aedicule that combined existing columns with a neo-Mannerist *stemma* and inscription.[18] In a similar spirit, Capponi specified to Cardinal Corsini in 1737 that he wanted the pedestal for the new *Dying Gladiator* copied from Michelangelo's *Marcus Aurelius*.[19]

To his credit, Capponi yoked this historicist bent to a rigorous attention to the practicalities of a modern museum. Light was a key concern, and the marquis convinced the pope's nephew that he would need to install new

metal casements with expensive, high-quality glass in all of the palace's 11 large windows, as well as opening new ones in the long gallery and staircase. Security was a second factor, and Capponi dwelt proudly on the innovative but nearly invisible system of bronze wire, eyelet hooks, and patinated heraldic seals he developed to fix precious heads and busts in place.[20] But it was Capponi's careful arrangement of the artifacts that carried the most meaning. Inventories of Albani's palace at Quattro Fontane suggest that the cardinal used antiquities traditionally, selecting the best to ornament his apartment and consigning some 300 further pieces to ground-floor rooms.[21] In shifting these objects to the 'Palazzo delle Statue,' Capponi systematized the collection according to evolving scientific norms. From the beginning his approach was to group his material by type and theme, so as to render the organization both logical and transparent. Sarcophagi and *cippi* (tombstones) filled the 'Stanza Prima' or 'del Vaso' at the top of the stairs (today's Sala del Galata), together with inscriptions documenting the chronology of Roman consuls and emperors, clustered by class under area labels and reinforced with ink for legibility.[22] Priestly, ministerial, and military inscriptions encrusted the second 'Stanza del Costantino,' or 'dell'Ercole,' together with a remarkable series of brick stamps, perhaps the first time such humble yet historically important documents were accorded a prominent visual role.[23] Together, these rooms offered a historical preface for the museum's celebration of Roman culture.

Capponi reserved the salon for 24 of the finest statues, arranged to create a syncopated rhythm around the edges of the room. Its evolution underscores the extent to which aesthetic criteria undergirded the marquis's vision. Early sketches document his plan to pair shorter figures on double bases, magnifying their impact and legibility (Jove with Pallas, or Apollo with a Muse), while setting taller ones on cylindrical plinths draped with garlands like ancient altars (Fig. 10.3).[24] Balance was reinforced by the papal bronzes anchoring the side walls, while a magnificent marble vase dominated the center of the room. Capponi enhanced this symmetry as the collection expanded, acquiring both the Ludovisi 'Gladiator' (the *Dying Gaul*) and a companion statue of a wounded soldier or gladiator from the collection of the late Pietro Stefano Monnot, 'so that the hall will not remain imbalanced.'[25] While admitting that the piece was '*molto ristaurata*,' Capponi pursued it like a man obsessed, and after years of increasing 'impertinence' he wore down the pope's resistance. Capponi boasted to his diary, 'I leave it to the visitor to judge how perfectly it ornaments the room by answering and echoing the Ludovisi gladiator, harmonizing and completing the salon instead of leaving it unfinished and bereft.'[26] New acquisitions required rearrangements, and in December 1744 Capponi reordered the salon by substituting the colossal *Hercules Battling the Hydra* then at its center with the even more majestic 'Egyptian Idol' in



10.3 Sketches from the papers of Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, showing his proposed installation of ancient statues in the Capitoline's main salon, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Capponiani 306, fos 2r, 3r; author's photograph

white marble (a statue of Antinous now at the Vatican), flanked by the new Michilli *Flora* and the famous Albani *Antinous* relocated from the Room of the Emperors. Symmetry prevailed as the collection expanded: in 1741 Benedict XIV enriched the salon with a pair of sumptuous bronze tables supporting mosaics discovered at Hadrian's villa, while Clement XIII followed suit in 1765 by finally acquiring the two Furietti centaurs in dark-grey *bigio morato*, long coveted by Capponi.[27] The salon, then, was an eclectic and flexible hall of masterpieces, focused on pagan divinities but admissive of distinguished mortals.

Continuing north, the visitor encountered a room devoted to busts of philosophers, an impressive chorus crowded with understudies and not a few unidentified extras (see Fig. 10.1). The double podium that ringed the walls indeed put viewers in a 'Lyceum' among a hundred interlocutors, although the effect drew as much on aristocratic displays of ceremonial plate on tiered credenzas as on a concrete vision of an ancient academy or *bouleuterion*.[28] The

adjoining corner room was devoted to the Caesars in strict chronological order, an umbrella that included imperial wives and children and even Antinous, famous 'for having been unchastely loved by Hadrian' (*per essere stato poco onestamente amato da Adriano*), according to the 1750 catalogue. Here too the decoration was calibrated to the contents, and Giambattista Gaddi noted in 1736 that its richly foliate shelves were more '*signorili*' than those of the philosophers, with their occasional lion's head.[29] Both rooms contained statues – not the seated figures currently displayed, but a standing *Zeno* and two *Niobids* in the Room of the Philosophers and, at different stages in the Room of the Caesars, the Albani *Antinous*, the *Infant Hercules* in green basalt, and, from mid-century, the famous Capitoline *Flora* and *Venus*. The reliefs set into the walls were less tightly correlated: those in the Stanza de' Filosofi clustered around funerary or sacrificial themes, with references to Apollo and Diana, while those in the Stanza degli Imperatori evoked the circus and amphitheater as well as mythological subjects. All were at least partly decorative, carefully tinted and framed with plaster moldings and sometimes skied over windows and doorways as backdrops for the sculptural displays.[30] One intact child's sarcophagus was sawed into three parts; the short sides were assigned to the Stanza de' Filosofi and the front, which was joined to an unrelated fragment, was placed in the Stanza degli Imperatori.[31]

The Capitoline's rooms of philosophers and emperors exemplified the museum's transitional nature. From one perspective, their thematic sorting echoed the congregations of sages in palace libraries or *studioli*, or the sets of 12 Caesars adorning reception halls of the Farnese, Borghese, or Giustiniani. Celebrating great men was standard practice at the Capitol, where inventories document the nucleus of a similar series of busts in these very rooms, on giltwood stands, before the marquis set to work.[32] Capponi, however, introduced a taxonomic rigor and completeness to the concept. He vividly described the afternoon in November 1734 when he assembled Cardinal Albani and three further antiquarians, in order 'to proceed with the advice of experts.' Having begun on the left with Pompey, the panel collectively decided to remove him as neither a Caesar nor an Augustus.[33] Both rooms were works in progress, constituted from the Albani holdings but improved as opportunity permitted. Capponi returned in 1740, alone with Benedict XIV, to replace a bust of Titus's daughter Julia with a finer one donated after years of appeals by Bishop José Maria da Fonseca. Three years later he acquired a rare double herm of Epicurus and Metrodorus, which he restored 'according to my method, without removing a speck of the ancient marble,' and installed on a pivot for easy inspection.[34] To the traditional emphases on good government and wise council, Capponi added a connoisseur's concern for quality and a historian's mania for precision.

It was this innovative blend of history and aesthetics that oriented Capponi's museum and justified Barthélemy's description of it as an antiquarian's

bible.[35] The abbé's metaphor may have been suggested by the suite of 187 funerary tablets found in the columbarium of Livia in 1726, numbered and immured in the long gallery in frames as crisp and regular as the pages of an encyclopedia. It was enhanced in the 'Sala delle Miscellanee' by the rare alabaster 'triclinium' or table leg sent by Benedict XIV, and by the massive bronze krater of Mithridates, installed on a rotating base that reproduced its rare (though dimly visible) Greek inscription.[36] But it was literalized in the stair hall in 1742, when Capponi set about installing the hundreds of fragments of the Severan Marble Plan, the so-called *Forma Urbis Romae* discovered in the 'Temple of Peace.' After crumbling for a century in a storeroom at Palazzo Farnese, where they had been published by Bellori, the pieces arrived at the Capitol at the behest of Benedict XIV, who wanted them on view. Even Capponi complained that 'it will take considerable effort to make the thing presentable,' and deputed the task to aspiring topographers Diego de Revillas and Gianbattista Nolli, whose own large map would crystallize the image of modern Rome.[37] After meticulous research, the pair brought Bellori's treatise to life by lining the staircase walls with 20 wooden panels that assembled the salvageable pieces and recreated fragments documented but since lost, each carved in matching marble and identified with an asterisk as reproductions. Six more frames contained newly discovered shards (including some of the 'lost' fragments), while an inlaid bronze scale supplied the essential tool Bellori had neglected. Two Latin plaques explained the display: a standard laudatory dedication, and a detailed '*spiegazione*' complete with legend and bibliography.[38]

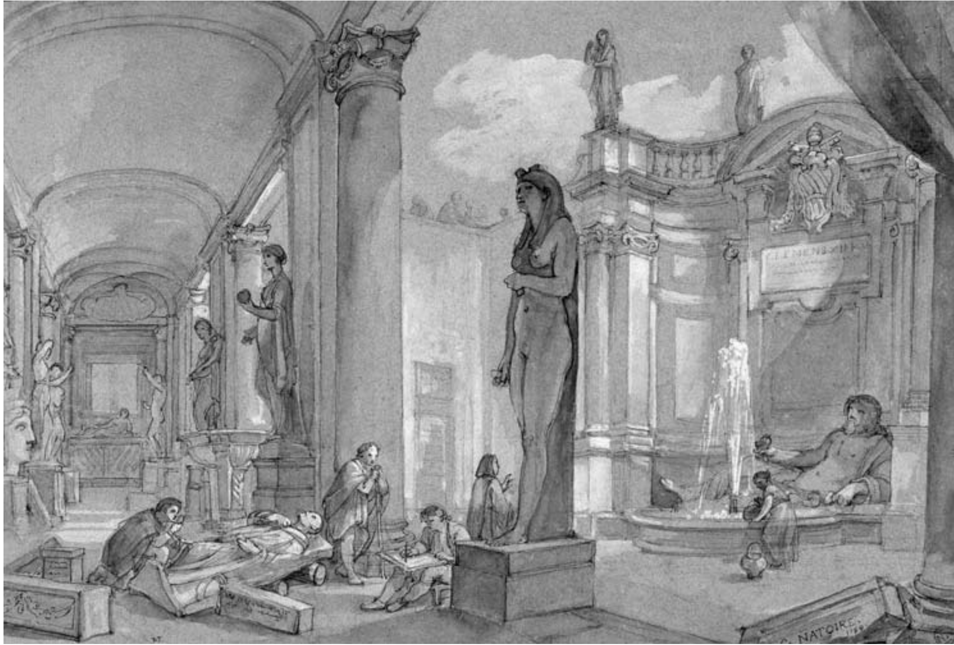
By Capponi's death in 1746 the redecorated stair hall encapsulated the multiple registers through which the Capitoline museum conveyed its patriotic message of continuity and progress. At the lower landing a colossal statue identified as the Greek king Pyrrhus reminded visitors of the battles that had clinched Rome's domination of Italy in the third century BCE and launched its global empire.[39] Nearby, an extraordinary quartet of *cippi* (including one from Capponi's collection) documented the length of the ancient Roman foot, a scholarly debate that bore on the Severan plan and that the pope himself wanted put before museumgoers.[40] Looking up to the landing, visitors saw two monumental panels illustrating the magnanimity and piety of the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius, with an inscription recording their donation by his successor Alexander VII, who demolished the Arco di Portogallo in the interests of traffic circulation and civic beautification.[41] And finally, as they mounted the stairs, the enormous marble plan surrounded arriving viewers with firsthand proof of the city's ancient grandeur and, perhaps, its future potential. As Chateaubriand recorded in 1803: 'Ancient plan of Rome carved in marble; perpetuity of the Eternal city.'[42]

For all its civic boosterism, the Palazzo Nuovo had been transformed from a municipal annex to a place of scholarship. Capponi anticipated the conflict

between study and splendor, as he put it in 1738, and despite his ties across the square he made sure it was he who regulated the museum's use. Although Clement's charter stipulated that the conservators were to have a key to the entire building – a delivery Capponi delayed for five years, citing fear of theft – the pope upheld his request that no parties, '*conversazioni*,' or receptions be held there, and above all that no food or drink be served within its walls. The city fathers were naturally reluctant to lose a prime entertainment venue, and during one official function when Capponi was absent, his deputy keeper Pietro Forier was forced to turn away drink-bearing waiters at the door.[43] Prohibition was soon reinforced, enhancing the Capitol's effective bifurcation into municipal and museum spaces with different codes of conduct. There were exceptions, of course – ceremonies like the *Possesso* of 1741 when the Old Pretender, James III of England, insisted on watching the festivities from the southwest corner room as on previous occasions. Even then Capponi insisted on naming the team that would set up the window canopies and, wary of damage, restricted the *rinfresco* to the rearmost room containing 'the duplicate and anonymous heads.'[44] But after a few false starts the two camps agreed to work in tandem, the conservators consulting Capponi about ceremonial uses and Capponi guarding his papal prerogatives but happy to assist the city's cause. The bargain went off like clockwork during the 1738 visit of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian of Saxony. The prince, lodging at Palazzo Albani, went first to the Conservators' palace for music and refreshment and then crossed the piazza, where Capponi met him precisely halfway, at the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Once in his jurisdiction, Capponi escorted the prince and his retinue around the museum for hours, gratified by their stamina and admiration for marbles 'not so common outside of Rome.' The day was a personal triumph as well, since Capponi had hosted the prince's prime minister privately seven years earlier and must have relished his expanded hospitality.[45]

Capponi's control extended to scholarly pursuits, and visitors' need for express permission to draw or transcribe the collection's contents may account for the paucity of interior views despite its popularity. Even after Capponi's death, most images showed only the public zone below the new iron gate atop the stair. Both Hubert Robert and Charles Natoire added theatrical notes – a parted curtain or togate monk – to their views of artists sketching the antiques in the portico while dogs sniffed and women drew water at the fountain (Fig. 10.4). As late as 1780 Jean Grandjean narrowed his focus to the Albani *Antinous*, barely sketching the masterpieces in the background.[46] Perhaps these artists were as overwhelmed as Barthélemy, who despaired of ever plumbing such a treasure trove, lamenting to Caylus:

> I passed two hours at the Capitol and have seen nothing. The enormous hoard of statues, busts, inscriptions and bas-reliefs amassed in this palace



10.4 Charles Natoire, *Artists Drawing in the Inner Courtyard of the Capitoline Museum in Rome*, 1759, pen and brown ink, brown and grey wash, white highlights over black chalk lines on tinted grey-blue paper; Musée du Louvre, Prints and Drawings, INV3138, RMN173096/Art Resource

through the efforts of the recent popes exhausts admiration. Let us no longer hope to form collections like this; we live in a desert for antiquarians … I blush a thousand times a day at those infinitely little relics preserved in our infinitely little cabinet of antiques, and am ashamed at having shown them to strangers … Why did no one tell me about all of this?[47]

If Barthélemy is any guide, the Capitoline had done its job. On the one hand it welcomed him into an elite club of connoisseurs; on the other, it confirmed his identity as an outsider and a Frenchman whose proudest efforts would come to naught before the grandeur of the Eternal City. Above all, the museum's crowded galleries became a microcosm of Rome itself:

Seriously, these things make my head spin; I have no idea how long it would take to see this whole Capitol, then this whole Coliseum, then all these arches, and all these aqueducts, and then St. Peter's, and all the private cabinets … Once more it must be confessed that it is only in Rome that inexhaustible mines of antiquities are to be found; and as for foreigners, they should carve that fine inscription of Dante on the porta del Popolo:

ABANDON HOPE, ALL YE WHO ENTER HERE.[48]

The Pio-Clementino: Redefining the Sacred

If a desperate Barthélemy cast the Capitoline as an antiquarian's hell, the Anglo-Irish priest John Eustace, who took his own 'Classical Tour of Italy' in 1802, saw its offspring at the Vatican as a kind of heaven:

> The Museum Pio-Clementinum … consists of several apartments, galleries, halls, and temples, some lined with marble, others paved with ancient mosaics, and all filled with statues, vases, candelabra, tombs, and altars. The size and proportion of these apartments, their rich materials and furniture, the well managed light poured in upon them, and the multiplicity of admirable articles collected in them and disposed in the most judicious and striking arrangement, fill the mind of the spectator with astonishment and delight, and form the most magnificent and grand combination that perhaps has been ever beheld or can almost be imagined. Never were the divinities of Greece and Rome honored with nobler temples; never did they stand on richer pedestals; never were more glorious domes spread over their heads; or brighter pavements extended at their feet. Seated each in a shrine of bronze or marble, they seemed to look down on a crowd of votaries and once more to challenge the homage of mankind; while kings and emperors, heroes and philosophers, drawn up in ranks before or around them, increased their state and formed a majestic and becoming retinue.[49]

Reverend Eustace, in sum, had found a new church in which to worship.

In key respects, the museum Eustace eulogized descended directly from Capponi's model and responded to similar challenges.[50] The Capitoline had slowed but not stopped the hemorrhaging of Roman patrimony, and by 1770 it was essentially full – 'jam-packed' according to Barthélemy – and unable to expand. The new pope, Clement XIV (Lorenzo Ganganelli, r. 1769–74), advised by connoisseurs and scholars including the aging Cardinal Albani, nonetheless kept purchasing important antiquities from the Mattei and other families to keep them in Rome and accessible to artists and connoisseurs. The decision to found a new museum within the papal palace was both a move of necessity and a sign of official reinvestment in the Church's symbolic seat. The foundation medal of 1771 features Papal Liberality showering coins on statues, busts, and candelabra and pointing to their adoptive home: 'a new ornament for the Vatican, thanks to her [or Clement's] generosity.' Just two years later Clement issued a second medal depicting Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting gathered in Raphael's Logge, with the motto '*Artibus restituit*' – 'he restored it [the Logge, and by extension the palace] to the Arts.'[51] Both medals announced a reconception of the Vatican from private palace to public good. As at the Capitoline, acquistions were funded by the lottery and provisions made for regular access. Credentialed visitors were welcome throughout the year, while the general public was admitted free during Holy Week, an annual onslaught documented in the museum's accounts.[52] By 1780 no serious traveler missed a pilgrimage to the Vatican museum, which offered Rome

a second venue for coming face to face with internationally acknowledged masterpieces of antique civilization.

Despite these similarities, the two Clements' divergent museums reflected their differing circumstances. Whereas the Capitoline was essentially born fully fledged, at least in spatial terms, the Pio-Clementino grew incrementally but dramatically over nearly two decades. Its dual name reflected the contribution of Clement's successor Pius VI (Giovanni Angelo Braschi, r. 1775–99), a worldly and ambitious aristocrat who claimed to have spearheaded the project as Clement's general treasurer and who redoubled his efforts upon his own accession. Pius was devoted to reviving the Church's role as an international arbiter of taste, and he embraced the museum project as a way to restore lost prestige not just to the Vatican but also to the entire papal system at a moment of increasing scrutiny and skepticism. His predecessor's dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 under pressure from foreign courts was widely taken as a sign of weakness against which the new museum offered a less politicized form of modernization. The scholarly stakes had expanded, too. Whereas Clement XII, blind for much of his pontificate, had entrusted his project to an old friend, compatriot, and noble amateur, Clement and Pius relied on the professional expertise of Giambattista Visconti, Johann Joachim Winckelmann's hand-picked successor as official Commissioner of Antiquities. A classical scholar from Liguria, Visconti brought a new precision to the museum enterprise and assembled an efficient team of scouts, excavators, restorers, architects, painters, and designers to carry out his integrated vision. Visconti was also the father of two extraordinary sons: Filippo Aurelio, who assumed his father's post in 1784, and Ennio Quirino, who both published the collection and accompanied it in exile to Paris.[53]

Perhaps more than any other factor, it was the change of venue from the Capitol to the Vatican that distinguished the two museums and accounted for visitors' differing reactions. While the Capitoline had been an inspired retrofitting with no room to expand, the Pio-Clementino mixed redecoration and new construction to transform the palace's entire northern wing and create a secular counterbalance to the basilica and chapels to the south. As Clement's medal suggested, the project started out small, inside Innocent VIII's neglected Villa Belvedere at the top of the Vatican Hill. Beginning in 1771, papal architect Alessandro Dori remodeled its fifteenth-century rooms to receive the new sculptures, bricking up windows and introducing serlianas to create a unified gallery (Fig. 10.5).[54] Visconti's installation was directly inspired by the Capitoline: in the three farthest rooms, busts and fragments were ranged on ornamental shelves as in the Rooms of the Caesars and the Philosophers, while new decorative plasterwork depicting drapery, eagles, and grinning masks recalled the ideal galleries of painter Gianpaolo Panini. Renaissance ceilings were preserved and restored, their papal emblems joined with devices from Treasurer Braschi's coat of arms.[55] The colorful ensemble

10.5 Giovanni Volpato and Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros, *View of the Rooms of the Busts in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome*, looking towards the Verospi Jupiter, 1786–92, hand-colored line etching, 60.3 × 82.5 cm; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res. 2. Arch. 170 M, #11

competed both with the Campidoglio and with the great aristocratic galleries in which Rome's antiquities had long found a home.

At the same time, the Museum Clementinum betrayed a nascent shift in the conception of the museum interior from a lordly retreat or a site of civic instruction to an otherworldly space for communion with the divine. Although Barthélemy had imagined gods and kings repopulating old haunts, his stress lay on abundance and diversity, and his 'nation' remained one of statues in a storehouse or magazine.[56] Eustace gave the metaphor life by highlighting the rooms themselves, celebrating their varied size, shape, proportion, lighting, materials and decorative furnishings, and above all their evocative arrangement. His gods stood on rich pedestals under glorious domes, in 'temples' and 'shrines' where a mixed flock of attendants seemed to reenact ancient rituals. His analogy targets a crucial difference between the two collections and signals the Pio-Clementino's decisive turn toward the integration of structure and content that characterizes the modern museum. It also suggests the ways that the Vatican's novel exhibition spaces fostered the 'fantasies of access to the place of creative origin,' and the 'promise of the

10.6 Vincenzo Feoli after Francesco Miccinelli, *View of the Southern Wall of the Cortile delle Statue at the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome*, showing the portico added in 1773–74, etching and engraving, c. 1795; author's photograph

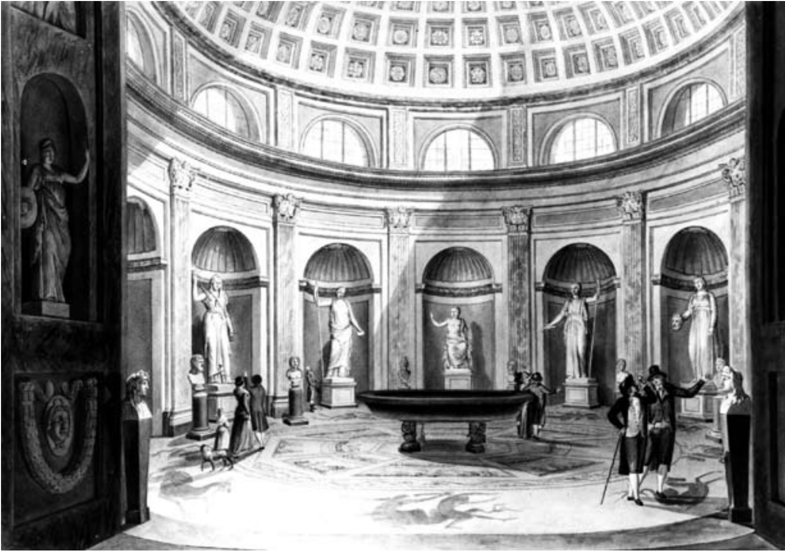
experience of unmediated reality,' that Jonah Siegel identifies as the heart of the nineteenth-century 'art romance.'[57]

Dori had anticipated the new paradigm by enthroning the Verospi *Jupiter* behind drawn curtains, lit from a hidden window, and facing the retinue of worshipers who came to render him 'homage.' Dori's successor as papal architect, Michelangelo Simonetti, made this concept overt in the museum's next phase by girdling the adjoining octagonal sculpture courtyard, home since the sixteenth century to masterpieces like the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Laocoön*, the *Venus Felix*, and the *Antinous*, with a new columnar portico (Fig. 10.6). Simonetti again turned to a Capitoline model, adapting Alessandro Specchi's 1715 portico for the courtyard of the Palace of the Conservators. But whereas Specchi's loggia had focused axially on a triumphant *Roma*, Simonetti's decentralized octagon created eight top-lit domes or *gabinetti* designed to isolate the Vatican's existing *chefs d'oeuvre* within evocative micro-environments partially screened from the court as a whole. These '*tempietti*,' as some documents call them, performed two functions: on the one hand they evoked the statues' presumed antique settings and lighting conditions, and on the other they promoted the kind of quiet, but intense, metaphysical responses to ancient statues that Winckelmann had popularized in his published raptures on the *Apollo* or the *Laocoön*. These were, of course, the very 'miracles of art' enshrined by the new portico, which helped transport viewers back to antiquity on Winckelmannian wings.[58]

This new spirit of associationism informed Pius's ambitious extension of Clement's galleries. Within months of his election, the pope asked Simonetti to project two new axes conjoined by a monumental rotunda (Fig. 10.7), creating a linear sequence of rooms of varying shape, height, and character inspired by the same ancient structures in which their contents were being rediscovered. These were no longer modern rooms stocked with antique fragments, but full-size evocations of baths, temples, palaces, and *nymphaea* stitched into an architectural itinerary.[59] Variety was the goal: while the Sala Rotunda suggested the Pantheon or the Temple of Minerva Medica, the Atrio della Croce Greca borrowed its cavernous groin vaults from the Mausoleum of Hadrian or the Baths of Caracalla. Other spaces were *all'antica* novelties, like the royal or 'Simonetti' staircase studded with precious antique columns, or the three-part Hall of the Muses (Fig. 10.8) that conjoined a lofty octagon with colonnaded vestibules. Viewers praised the subtlety with which these diverse settings created a compelling sequence. Hester Lynch Piozzi, visiting from Wales in 1789, anticipated Reverend Eustace:

> Never were place and decorations so adapted … the statues are disposed with a propriety that charms one; the situation of the pillars is so contrived, the colours of them chosen to carry the eye forward – not fatigue it; the rooms so illuminated … Those would be worse than Goths, who could think of moving even an old torso from the place where Pius Sextus has commanded it to remain.[60]

Piozzi's emphasis on color, light, and motion highlights the museum's central innovation: unlike the Capitoline, the Pio-Clementino had no façade and relied entirely on interior space to create its identity. The Capitoline, as we saw, invoked Michelangelo to anchor the new installation to its site. Capponi's clear glass windows not only lit the collection but situated it: museum visitors had only to look out at the surrounding civic buildings, studded with further statues, to see the destiny of the civilization it documented. On special days, they could even follow the extraction of the lottery in the piazza to witness its funding source in action.[61] The Vatican galleries, by contrast, isolated the viewer from the outside world in halls lit primarily from above, much like the *gabinetti* in the remodeled courtyard. The resulting spaces, unfamiliar, evocative, and self-contained, encouraged the suspension of quotidian values exemplified by Piozzi and Eustace, while setting the stage for more subjective responses. In some sense, they anticipated the oneiric interiority Walter Benjamin would isolate in Parisian arcades: 'houses or passages having no outside – like the dream.'[62] Linked into a directed itinerary, the Pio-Clementino propelled visitors from room to room by offering a series of striking and historically suggestive tableaux. This helps explain the proliferation of interior views, in sharp contrast to the Capitoline. In an important innovation, the Pio-Clementino's official



10.7 Giovanni Volpato and Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros, *View of the Sala Rotonda in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome*, c. 1792, hand-colored line etching, 60.5 × 82.5 cm; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res. 2. Arch. 170 M, #4

10.8 Giovanni Volpato and Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros, *View of the Sala delle Muse in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome*, looking towards the sculpture court, 1786–92, hand-colored line etching, 60 × 82.9 cm; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Res. 2. Arch. 170 M, #9

catalogue included both a groundplan and selected perspectives, allowing readers to experience its spaces vicariously or recollect past visits. Two extensive and competing suites of installation views published in the late 1780s and 1790s (see Figs 10.5–10.8) attest to the new paradigm's success. Both were large enough for framing, both included vignettes of museum visitors, and one, a collaboration of engraver Giovanni Volpato and Swiss painter Adolphe-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros (Figs 10.5, 10.7 and 10.8), was hand-colored to increase its realism.[63]

One might go farther and propose that the Pio-Clementino's innovative galleries constituted some of Europe's first period rooms, if we define these as museum installations aiming to replicate the past with at least some authentic elements and to provide a virtual visit to a distant age or culture.[64] To return to Benjamin, the Pio-Clementino seems to anticipate the 'masquerade of styles' that marked the nineteenth-century interior, in which each space 'disguises itself – puts on, like an alluring creature, the costume of moods.'[65] At the Vatican, the strategy depended less on segregating artifacts by size or type as at the Capitoline than on combining statues, busts, altars, reliefs, and even architectural elements around an orienting theme linked to their original context and purpose. The treatment of mosaics is instructive: whereas the Capitoline framed and hung these rare treasures like pictures or mounted them as table tops, the Pio-Clementino – at enormous expense – maintained their use as pavements on which visitors tread during their voyage of discovery.[66] Both collections included specimen-marble columns (compare Fig. 10.2), but the Pio-Clementino's were built into the architectural fabric, as were the 16 Corinthian capitals from Hadrian's villa restored and reused in the Hall of the Muses. Statues and figural reliefs remained the museum's conceptual core, although it has been noted that the Pio-Clementino did not so much canonize new masterpieces as enhance the prestige of existing ones through strategic installation.[67] Aesthetic concerns were by no means banished – Visconti, too, liked to collect things in pairs to create symmetrical arrangements – but on the whole the Vatican acknowledged a rising climate of sensibility in which provoking desired moods and emotions rated as highly as didactic clarity.[68] Among the signs were the newly popular torchlight visits that both isolated and animated the statues, a practice that soon embraced the Capitoline itself.[69] Indeed, the Pio-Clementino's achievement was to answer the yearning for direct, affective connection with the antique exemplified by Barthélemy by creating museum spaces that engaged the imagination as a tool for instruction.

As Eustace observed, the Pio-Clementino's diverse 'apartments' matched the diversity of its contents, as the Vatican museum became a central repository for rarities culled from the papal states. Within its walls visitors encountered a spectrum of museological types: traditional long galleries lined with statues

or inscriptions; cabinets devoted to papyri, coins, cameos, or paleochristian artifacts; specialized installations like the Gallery of Candelabra or the Hall of the Animals, a marble menagerie only the pope could command; a domed room of fragments; and, of course, cutting-edge neoclassical statue halls. To stock them Visconti supplemented private purchases with papally sponsored digs at Otricoli, Porcareccia, and Castronovo. He skimmed the cream from excavations undertaken by private citizens, who were obliged to obtain official permits and cede a third of their finds to the Apostolic Chamber; and he appropriated treasures from ecclesiastical properties, like the two porphyry '*Cioci*' or Egyptian telamons removed from the bishop's palace at Tivoli, to ornament the museum's new doorway and resume (according to Visconti) their ancient function.[70] This expanded reach suggested that the Pio-Clementino was not just a defense of patrimony like the Capitoline but a coordinated revalorization of ancient art, even at the expense of a Christian context. Capponi had already removed material from churches, such as a rare Homeric relief from the lectern at S. Maria in Aracoeli, but these were thought to be pagan *spolia*.[71] Under Pius VI, Visconti went further by transferring the massive porphyry sarcophagi of Constantine's mother and daughter from the Lateran and Santa Costanza to the museum's western atrium, privileging their status as antiquities above their sacred origin.[72] In the case of the famous *biga* or triumphal car, centerpiece of an eponymous gallery, the Pio-Clementino's curators dismounted an episcopal throne from S. Marco to retrieve its ancient core and hitch it to a team of horses carved almost entirely from scratch.

Horst Bredekamp has argued that Rome's eighteenth-century museums marked a decisive step in segregating antique sculpture from the ruins of the *Wunderkammer*, according it the prestige once given to the whole.[73] Barthélemy, too, noted the Capitoline's evolution from the collector's 'cabinet' towards something grander and more inclusive, where objects could be appreciated in all their physicality. But it was the Pio-Clementino, as Eustace reminds us, that proposed antiquities not just as witnesses of a great civilization but as privileged points of access to transcendent, universal truths. More and more, those truths were linked to Art with a capital A, of which museums became the temple. Art became a secular religion by the late eighteenth century, as Krzysztof Pomian has observed; and if churches could be treated like museums, it only followed that museums came to resemble churches, and nonsectarian ones at that.[74]

The changing identities that fueled this process are especially visible in one of the Pio-Clementino's core galleries, the Hall of the Muses (see Fig. 10.8). Pioneering in multiple respects, this temple-like hall was not just one of the first museum rooms purpose-built around a coherent ancient nucleus – a spectacular group of Apollo and his nine attendants discovered in an ancient villa at Tivoli in 1775, together with labeled herms of Greek philosophers and

statesmen – but perhaps the first such space devoted specifically to ancient Greece. That itself was a sign of the times, as the Church sought to broaden its frame of reference in a climate of mounting Hellenism. Whereas Capponi and Clement XII had used the Capitoline to stress continuity between ancient and modern Rome, Visconti and his patrons sheltered a spectrum of ancient cultures under the papal aegis: Egypt in the atrium, Rome in the rotunda, and Greece in the Hall of the Muses.[75] This universality helped the Pio-Clementino sidestep the Greco-Roman debate by invoking both Winckelmann and Piranesi, from whom it made substantial purchases.[76] The synthesis was so complete in the Hall of the Muses that most scholars have missed the concertedly Hellenic tone of its columnar architecture set against frescos suggesting Mount Parnassus; its theater-themed mosaic pavement; and its symposium of Greeks from Alcibiades to Zeno, brought to life in the frescoed vault. As the museum's most elaborate installation, the Hall of the Muses announced that Greek civilization, banished from its motherland, had been transplanted to the Vatican with only minimal Christianization. Pagan antiquity was not so much eclipsed by papal Rome as absorbed by it, transmuted by its sacred revelations to a higher ethical sphere. This was the message of the reconstituted Tivoli group and of the poetic 'Prosopopea' spoken by and hung behind Europe's first known bust of Pericles like a wall label. It was the message, too, of the hall's painted keystone in which Apollo's assertion of moral and creative authority over Marsyas, celebrated by the Muses, inspired a lineage of poets from Homer to Torquato Tasso.[77] The room's ambitious mixture of Hellenism and universalism proposed the Vatican as a temple-cum-treasury that would spawn future geniuses if they obeyed the pope in St. Peter's and followed his aesthetic lead in the Pio-Clementino.

The Hall of the Muses was naturally the favored venue for depicting the pope *in situ*, exemplified by Bénigne Gagneraux's imaginative view of the pontiff's 'chance' meeting with the Protestant King Gustav III of Sweden on New Year's Day, 1784 (Fig. 10.9). As carefully planned as the museum itself, the event seized the need to find neutral ground for an ecumenical summit between enlightened sovereigns during delicate negotiations over religious tolerance.[78] Gagneraux's painted record blends actual and imagined details to celebrate the room as a shrine to humanity's collective wisdom: light floods onto the two protagonists as they stroll in choreographed ease among the Muses and the Sages, each adopting symbolic poses from the divinities behind them. This show of moral continuity between the ancient and modern worlds expressed the actors' progressive nature and confirmed that Rome's museums had officially joined its palaces and churches as loci of identity formation.

For contemporaries, the orchestrated interiors of the Capitoline and the Pio-Clementino concretized changing ideas about ancient art, signaled

10.9 Bénigne Gagneraux, *Pius VI Accompanying Gustav III of Sweden on a Visit to the Museo Pio-Clementino on January 1, 1784*, 1786, oil on canvas; Prague, National Gallery

shifting sites and balances of power, and engaged the expanding expectations of tourists seeking the true Rome. As Benjamin put it in the wake of these innovations, 'Museums unquestionably belong to the dream houses of the collective.'[79] But the specific forms they took also encoded their creators' evolving ambitions and identities. At the Capitoline, faced with foreign poaching on papal patrimony, Clement XII and Alessandro Gregorio Capponi created an innovative celebration of antiquity that privileged the artifacts' didactic value as witnesses to Roman history, and their propaganda value as links between an imperial past and a papal present. At the Vatican, in a world less and less persuaded that popes were anything like Caesars, Clement XIV, Pius VI, and Giambattista Visconti advanced the broader claim that it was the Church, not the State, that preserved Europe's essential heritage and values as embodied by Greco-Roman art. That contention would be tested by Napoleon, who appropriated masterpieces from both collections for the Louvre. Twenty years later they were back on their pedestals, although the larger debate is anything but settled.

Today's historians will find these issues familiar: clashes over patrimony, conflicts over museums' dual missions of teaching and entertainment, disagreements about how to bring art alive for each new generation. This is

partly because the eighteenth century so successfully established museum procedures and paradigms we continue to employ. But it is also because visionaries like Capponi and Visconti created powerful and alluring spaces in which identity is still being negotiated. In today's critical climate, not only scholars but also artists like Thomas Struth and Andrea Fraser are interrogating historic sites like the Vatican.[80] Why do we build museums, and who goes there? What are we supposed to see and feel? Can the museum's conflicting imperatives ever be resolved? Museums will always imbricate space and identity, and to reconstruct the one we must sometimes deconstruct the other.

Notes

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1. Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, *Voyage in Italie*, 2nd edn (Paris: F. Buisson, 1802), 96 (letter XV; this and subsequent translations are my own).

2. For spatial aspects of Roman private collections, see *Forschungen zur Villa Albani*, eds Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol (Berlin: Mann, 1982); and Carole Paul, *Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late Eighteenth-Century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese* (Los Angeles CA: Getty Research Institute, 2000) and *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). For the Capitoline, see Simona Benedetti, *Il Palazzo Nuovo nella piazza del Campidoglio dalla sua edificazione alla trasformazione in museo* (Rome: Quasar, 2001); Heather Hyde Minor, 'Reforming Rome: Architecture and Culture 1730–1758' (PhD thesis, Princeton University, 2002), 157–94, and the author's book forthcoming from Penn State University Press; Orietta Rossi Pinelli, 'Per una "storia dell'arte parlante": dal Museo Capitolino (1734) al Pio-Clementino (1771–91) e alcune mutazioni nella storiografia artistica,' *Ricerche di Storia dell'arte* 84 (2005), 5–23; and Christopher Johns, 'Politics and Patrimony: The Capitoline Museums as Spaces of Catholic Enlightenment,' in *The Visual Culture of the Catholic Enlightenment*, forthcoming. For space at the Pio-Clementino see, besides Rossi Pinelli, Gian Paolo Consoli, *Il Museo Pio-Clementino: la scena dell'antico in Vaticano* (Rome: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996); Jeffrey Collins, 'The Gods' Abode: Pius VI and the Invention of the Vatican Museum,' in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby (London: The British School at Rome, 2000), 173–94; idem, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), Ch. 4; idem, 'Marshaling the Muses: the Vatican's Museo Pio-Clementino and the Greek Ideal,' *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 16, no. 1 (Fall–Winter 2008–09), 35–63.

3. Compare the British Museum's foundation in 1753 or the Uffizi's constitution as an arm of the state in 1769, pursuant to Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici's 1737 *Patto di Famiglia*.

4. Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 198; see also 286, 354–5. Other scholars have connected the obelisk with the reforms of Brancaleone degli Andalò (c. 1250) or Cola di Rienzo (c. 1350).

5. On the Capitol's political resonances see Laurie Nussdorfer, *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); *Il Palazzo dei Conservatori e il Palazzo Nuovo in Campidoglio: Momenti di storia urbana di Roma*, ed. Maria Elisa Tittoni (Ospedaletto: Pacini, 1996), esp. 13–17 (Tittoni) and 41–9 (Sergio Guarino); Jill E. Blondin, 'Power Made Visible: Pope Sixtus IV as *Urbis Restaurator* in Quattrocento Rome,' *The Catholic Historical Review* 91, no. 1 (January 2005), 1–25; Carole Paul, 'The Capitoline Hill and the Birth of the Modern Museum,' in *Museen und fürstliche Sammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, eds Jochen Luckhardt and Michael Wiemers (Brunswickg: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, 2007), 66–72.

6. Michele Franceschini and Valerio Vernesi, eds, *Statue di Campidoglio: Diario di Alessandro Gregorio Capponi* (1733–46) (Rome: Edimond, 2005), 30 (fo. 3) and 41 (fo. 10). Capponi's manuscript diary of the museum project (henceforth Capponi, *Statue*, with folio references) offers a rare firsthand

record of his work; for an overview see Franceschini, 'La nascita del Museo Capitolino nel Diario di Alessandro Gregorio Capponi,' *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 1, no. 3 (1993), 73–80; and Vernesi, 'Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, 'Statue di Campidoglio': Idea e forma del Museo Capitolino,' *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* (henceforth *BMCR*) n.s. 15 (2001), 73–88.

7. On Capponi and civic government see Michele Franceschini, 'I Conservatori della Camera Urbis: storia di un'istituzione,' in Tittoni, 19–27; and Capponi, *Statue*, 8–14 (editors' introduction); on his intellectual circle see Maria Pia Donato, 'Un collezionista nella Roma del primo Settecento: Alessandro Gregorio Capponi,' *Eutopia* 1 (1993), 91–102; Minor, 157ff.; and the full bibliography in Capponi, *Statue*. On the threat to Rome's patrimony and the papacy's response see Francesco Paolo Arata, 'La nascita del Museo Capitolino,' in Tittoni, 75–81.

8. On Albani see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500–1900* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 63–8; Seymour Howard, 'Some Eighteenth-Century Restored Boxers,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993), 238–55, esp. 239; and Arata, 'La nascita,' 78, citing Francesco Valesio's diary for 20 October 1728.

9. Capponi, *Statue*, 28 (fo. 1)

10. Capponi's victory culminated months of persuasion; see *Statue*, 28 (fo. 1). For the acquisition and establishment of the museum see the papal chirographs of 5 December 1733, 27 December 1733, and 29 November 1734, summarized in Valesio, 'Capponi' and the preface to Capponi, *Statue*, 14–15, and partially transcribed in Benedetti, docs. 6c–d.

11. Capponi, *Statue*, 38 (fo. 8).

12. The future museum housed 49 ancient sculptures by 1689 (most removed after 1733), but lacked a museological apparatus; see inventories in Benedetti, including (doc. 2) a list from the Chigi archives of statues to be moved across the square. In 1692 there were ten statues in the *salone*, with several 'Filosofi' (a generic term for ancient portrait busts) on stands in the adjoining northern rooms; see H. Stuart Jones, ed., *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures Preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome: The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), appendix V. For the view that the Palazzo Nuovo was intended as a museum see Marina Mattei, 'Il recupero dell'antico nel Campidoglio e la nascita delle raccolte di statuaria,' in Tittoni, 63–73; cf. Arata, 'La nascita.'

13. Capponi showed the pope Barigioni's 'disegno dell'ornato di stucchi che pensavo di fare nel camerone del palazzo' on 27 January 1734 (*Statue*, 38, fo. 8); it was completed by 23 August (*Statue*, 47–8, fo. 15). On Barigioni see Benedetti, Ch. 4.

14. The ornaments are detailed in the *muratore*'s bill of March 1736 (Benedetti, doc. 37), following *preventivi* of 15 March 1734 from the *stuccatore* and *scalpellino* that included 'cimase e zoccoli delli piedistalli dove posano le Erme,' and 'due porte nuove di Cottonello dietro le due porte del salone.' The projecting cornices, of slightly darker stone, must have been conceived for display. Giovanni Battista Gaddi admits in *Roma nobilitata nelle sue fabriche* (Rome: Antonio de' Rossi, 1736), 181, that the room's 36 busts 'più tosto servono di abbellimento, che di serie.'

15. The Victories' date and provenance are uncertain; Jones (Salone #49–50) calls them modern or 'entirely worked over' and doubts the provenance from Arco di Portogallo given by Giovanni Bottari in the frontispiece to his catalogue, *Del Museo Capitolino*, vol. 1 (Rome: Calcografia Camerale, 1741), which features the portal and a detailed legend, and echoed by Venuti in 1750 (*Museo Capitolino*, 32; see full details in note 23).

16. On the papal statues see Capponi, *Statue*, 45–7 (fos 13–14, June–July 1734) and 87–8 (fo. 54, April 1738). Capponi first hoped to feature all three in the *salone*, but after 'varii riflessi e scandagli' he moved the *Paul IV* to the adjoining room in place of the *Constantine*, sent to Clement's Lateran narthex (80–81, fos 47–48, February–March 1737).

17. For the ceilings (now partially gilded) see Benedetti, 87, 132–3, 143, 295. The painter's initial estimate in January 1734 specified 'color di marmo bianco' in the principal rooms; 'fondi celestini' were added in March, and the final treatment was 'ad uso di marmo bianco brecciato.' Capponi noted that the effect was so successful the conservators wished to do the same in their palace.

18. For the circulation areas see Giuseppe Zannini's invoice of August 1735 (Benedetti, doc. 41), and Maria Laura Cafiero and Daniela Velestino, 'Le coloriture settecentesche del Museo Capitolino: atrio e scalone,' *BMCR* 6 (1992), 55–62; for the varied tints in the main rooms, and for the redecorated fountain, see Benedetti.

19. Capponi, *Statue*, 81 (fo. 48, 18 March 1737). I have found no evidence that the *Gaul*'s base was made in this form (see Benedetti, doc. 52), although Michelangelo's model was used three decades later for the smaller Furietti Centaurs (see below).

20. Capponi, *Statue*, 46–7 (fo. 14, 31 July 1734, stipulating the replacement of bulky wooden mullions with iron). On the security system, manufactured by Francesco Giardoni, see *Statue*, 57 (fos 25–26, 18 May 1735); seals with Benedict XIV's coat of arms are still preserved on the bronze Krater of Mithridates (see below), now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

21. The Albani inventory taken in December 1733 (Jones, appendix VI) lists 17 busts in the first antechamber, 18 in the Stanza della Cappelletta, 7 in the Stanza dell'Udienza, and 5 busts, 1 statues, 1 statuette, and a column in the cardinal's bedroom. A 'camerone' off the courtyard contained some 210 busts of philosophers and imperial personages, plus 25 reliefs, herms, statues, and bases; a second room contained 60 busts, statues, reliefs, and sarcophagi, with the remainder (including most of the best statues) in the studio of restorer Carlo Antonio Napolioni.

22. Francesco Puliziani and Gaspero Forier billed the museum in 1735 for 72 days' work tinting 619 inscriptions with a mixture of China and regular ink, employing cinnibar for 'alcune lapidi … come anche li bolli delle figuline' (Benedetti, doc. 46). This room already contained the bronze *Lex Vespasiani*; see Benedetti, docs 1 and 29.

23. Room names changed frequently in the museum's early years, as did the sculptural installations; early arrangements are documented in Capponi's diary, guidebooks, and an inventory of c. 1740 in the hand of *sottocustode* Pietro Forier's son, analyzed by Arata in 'L'allestimento espositivo del Museo Capitolino al termine del pontificato di Clemente XII (1740),' *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, n.s., 8 (1994), 45–94. See also Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata*, 129–209 ('Il Campidoglio illustrato'); an anonymous guide previously attributed to Capponi's successor Marchese Giampiero Lucatelli but recently assigned by F. Prizzi to Ridolfino Venuti (according to Arata, 'L'allestimento,' 47, n. 6), *Museo Capitolino o sia descrizione delle Statue, Busti, Bassirilievi, Urne Sepolcrali, iscrizioni, ed altri ammirabili, ed eruditi Antichità* (Rome: Stamperia del Bernabò, e Lazzarini, 1750); Ridolfino Venuti, *Accurata e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma moderna* (Rome: Carlo Barbiellini, 1766), vol. 2, 295–329. Among later discussions see Arata, 'Il secolo d'oro del Museo Capitolino: Breve storia delle collezioni archeologiche dal pontificato di Clemente XII a quello di Gregorio XVI,' in Tittoni, 85–95; and Minor, 171–7, although I differ with several of her identifications and reconstructions.

24. Capponi's papers in the Capitoline Archives include a set of rather clumsy drawings showing 25 individual statues with measurements, while two larger sheets in the Vatican (fig. 3) dispose a subset around the room's four sides. Not all his pairings were adopted, especially on the window wall; see Gaddi, 175–81; Arata, 'L'allestimento,' 48; Benedetti, 138–42; cf. Minor, 174–5.

25. Capponi, *Statue*, 43 (fo. 12, a first attempt to interest the pope on 13 April 1734).

26. Capponi, *Statue*, 84–5 (fos 50–52, conclusion of purchase and installation). Monnot's 'gladiator' is now recognized as a creatively adapted torso of Myron's *Discobolus*.

27. Capponi, *Statue*, 124 (fos 81–82, the 1744 rearrangement), 109 (tables); Carlo Pietrangeli, 'Munificentia Benedicti XIV,' *BMCR* 11 (1964), 49–54.

28. Inventories of 1740 and 1750 both list 102 busts, including numerous duplicates, significantly more than are displayed today. 'Filosofi' was interpreted broadly, embracing busts of Bacchus, Ptolomey, Cleopatra, Cicero, Virgil, and Marcus Aurelius. See Arata, 'L'allestimento,' and [attr. Venuti.], *Museo Capitolino*, 35–45.

29. Gaddi, 192; [attr. Venuti], *Museo Capitolino*, 45, confirmed that the shelves are 'più nobilmente adorne' than in the preceding room.

30. Domenico Zannaca, *Indoratore*, billed the museum in 1734 'per aver dato tre mani di mezza tinta fatta con biacca di Venezia alli bassirilievi … e fatti con diverse tinte per accompagnare l'antico, e datogli il suo lustro, et appannato, fatto ad uso di pastelli, con suoi sfumini sopra allo stucco di molta fattura …' The inscriptions received similar treatment, with 'ogni lapida di differente tinte sopra allo stucco sino all'estremità dell'antico'; see Benedetti, doc. 39.

31. Jones, Stanza dei Filosofi #106 and 108, and Stanza degli Imperatori #85A (Albani C38). Albani C35 met the same fate, becoming Filosofi #101, 103.

32. On aristocratic precedents see Arata, 'Secolo d'oro,' 85–86; Minor, 178–9; and Paul, *Making*, 9–10. Inventories of 1671, 1680, 1697, and 1 January 1734 (Benedetti) show that the corner room was already known as the 'Stanza de' Cesari, o siano Busti Imperiali' before Capponi's interventions; see also Jones, appendix V. Capponi (*Statue*, 44, fo. 12, June 1734) returned eight busts on green-and-gilt stands to the tribunale dell'Agricoltura, including Alcibiades, Diogenes, three Platos, Emperor Saloninus, and one thought to be Julia Maesa. The room's current door from the galleria is a later insertion that cuts through the ledges and would not have aligned with the former niche housing the della Valle *Jupiter*; Gaddi (157, 192) notes that the gallery's doorframe

was blind, while the 1740 inventory (Arata, 'L'allestimento,' 91) confirms the room was a dead end.

33. Capponi, *Statue*, 50 (fos 17–18, 22 November 1734; installation lasted through December). Time has tested Capponi's faith in Albani's identifications: of the last 12 Caesars in the 1750 catalogue, only Gallienus and Decius are accepted by Jones.

34. Capponi, *Statue*, 106 (fo. 70, 7 October 1740), 114–115 (fo. 75, 2 January 1743); Jones, Stanza dei Filosofi #63. Capponi used this bust to test Clemente Bianchi and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who would assume Napolioni's mantle at the museum and with Cardinal Albani.

35. Cf. Haskell and Penny (64), who read Barthélemy as evidence for the Capitoline's primarily historical interest

36. Capponi, *Statue*, 120 (fo. 79, October 1743, the table leg); 109–110 (fo. 72, the pope's inspection of the vase on 8 May 1742); see also Maria Giulia Barberini, 'Il cratere di Mitridate: un restauro di Francesco Giardoni,' *Antologia di Belle Arti*, n.s., 52–5 (1996), 132–4. Gaddi (155) notes that each *lapide* carried a Roman or 'imperial' numeral indicating its sequence in the columbarium and an arabic number ('mercantile, o sia italiano') correlated to Bianchini's published description.

37. Capponi, *Statue*, 110–113 (fos 72–74), cited at 110; A.M. Colini, 'Scoperta e vicende dei frammenti,' in *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica: Forma Urbis Romae*, eds G. Carettoni et al. (Rome: Comune di Roma, 1960), 25–31.

38. The fragments were removed in the late nineteenth century; for their later exhibition history see Colini.

39. Jones, Atrio, #40, a reduction of the *Mars Ultor* from Augustus's Forum. The traditional identification was presumably based on the pachyderms ornamenting the lappets of the cuirass (copied in the new sandals) evoking the war elephants Pyrrhus used against the Roman troops. Restoration was underway when Clement XII fell gravely ill in January 1740; fearing his patron's death, Capponi had the unfinished statue hastily delivered, completing its drapery at the museum (*Statue*, 103–4, fos 67–68).

40. On the foot measures, installed in 1743 (Jones, Stanze Terrene a Dritta, Stanza Seconda #3, 4, 6, 8), see *Statue*, 118, 120–121, and Barthélemy, *Voyage*, 384–9.

41. [Attr. Venuti], *Museo Capitolino*, 17–18, interpreted the panels as Marcus Aurelius considering the people's petitions and attending Faustina's cremation and apotheosis; Gaddi (153) noted an inscription under one relief commemorating the liberation of Vienna under Innocent XI. Now identified as scenes of Hadrian, the panels were moved in 1815 to the Palazzo dei Conservatori. On the arch see Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655–1667* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 24–5; like the Capitoline staircase, Chigi's inscriptions linked ancient and modern Rome by terming the via del Corso a 'hippodrome' or a 'stadium.'

42. *Voyage en Italie [par] Châteaubriand*, ed. J.-M. Gautier (Paris: Minard, 1969), 95: 'Plan antique de Rome sur un marbre; perpétuité de la Ville Éternelle.'

43. *Statue*, 91–2; Capponi obtained an official apology for the servants' rude behavior.

44. These issues recur throughout Capponi's diary; see *Statue*, 52–3 (fo. 20, keys) and 95–96 (fo. 61, 23 June 1738, the belated consignment); 91–2 (fo. 57, 29 April 1738) and 95–6 (prohibitions against food and parties); 107 (fo. 71, 20 March 1741, the *Possesso*).

45. Capponi, *Statue*, 99–101 (fos 64–65).

46. Permission to draw or take molds of the collection was another point of contention between Capponi and the conservators; *Statue*, 102–3 and 105–6, records a dispute Benedict decided in Capponi's favor. For interior views see *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, eds Ilaria Bignamini and Andrew Wilton (London: Tate Gallery, 1996), cat. 208, 209; Minor, 183–5; *Ricordi dell'antico: Sculture, porcellane e arredi all'epoca del Grand Tour* (Rome: Silvana, 2008), cat. 12.

47. Barthélemy, 29–30 (letter V, 5 November 1755).

48. Barthélemy, 31–2 (letter V, 5 November 1755).

49. John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy, an. MDCCCII*, 6th edn, 4 vols (London: J. Mawman, 1821), 2: 57–8.

50. Among the expanding literature on the Pio-Clementino see (with further bibliography) Carlo Pietrangeli, *I Musei Vaticani: Cinque Secoli di Storia* (Rome: Quasar, 1985); my own studies cited in n. 2, above; and ongoing work by Daniela Gallo and Orietta Rossi.

51. The 1771 legend (*Liberalitate sua / novum Vaticani decus*) elides the source of the generosity, just as '*artibus*' in 1773 could be rendered as ablative ('through or by means of the arts'); my dative reading reflects the Vatican's transformation into a palace of the arts.

52. Besides a flurry of last-minute restorations and installations, Visconti's Holy Week expenses included refreshments for the College of Cardinals and gratuities to the workers drafted as guards. As at the Capitoline, the lottery paid for acquisitions and restorations, while most construction and decoration was administered by the Apostolic Palaces.

53. On Pius's image and activity as an arts patron see Collins, *Papacy*, 65–86, and Ch. 4; for the political context see Ch. 1. For Visconti and his sons see Daniela Gallo, 'Originali greci e copie romane secondo Giovanni Battista ed Ennio Quirino Visconti,' *Labyrinthos* 21/24 (1992–93), 215–251; 'I Visconti: una famiglia romana al servizio dei papi, della Repubblica e di Napoleone,' *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 2, no. 1 (1994), 77–90; 'Quale storia dell'arte antica nel Museo Pio Clementino (1770–1796)?' in *Sammeln als Institution*, eds Barbara Marx et al. (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006), 153–62.

54. The fullest picture of these transformations is provided by the extensive bill from master masons Francesco Antonio and Domenico Lovatti for work in 1771 and 1772, preserved in the Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Fondo Camerale II, Antichità e Belle Arti, busta 16, codex titled 'Conti di scavi d'antichità per Musei Vaticani, e di lavori murarii nel palazzo Vaticano per la sede di essi Musei / 1771, 72, 73.' See also Consoli, 40–42; Collins, 'Gods' Abode,' 179–180; Collins, *Papacy*, 139–42.

55. The stucco work is documented with drawings in the bill from Giacinto Ferrari; see ASR, Antichità e Belle Arti, busta 16, unbound bundle entitled 'Giustificaz[io]ni Diverse d'ordini spediti al Sagro Monte di Pietà p[er] acquisti di Statue, Monumenti antichi, ed'altro p[er] il nuovo Museo Clementino formato al Vaticano dal p[ri]mo Genro 1770, a tt.o li 18. Maggio 1773,' internal item 111 ('Misura e stima de lavori fatti ad uso di stuccatore di soli ornati intagli, ed altro nel nuovo Moseo Clementino pesso [sic] a Tro [sic] de Venti …') For the decorative painting, much of which has been obscured, see item 138, 'Conto, e Misura delli Lavori di Pittura a Fresco … di Giovanni Angeloni, e Giovanni Mezzetti, Pittori' from October 1771 to October 1772; and item 115, Cristoforo and Ignazio Unterberger's bill for repair of the fifteenth-century vaults.

56. Barthélemy, 96: 'I plan to devote fifteen days to a detailed scrutiny of all the monuments preserved in this great storehouse … a nation of statues inhabits the Capitol.' ('Je compte consacrer quinze jours à un examen détaillé de tous les monuments qui sont dans ce magasin … un peuple de statues habite le Capitole.')

57. Jonah Siegel, *Haunted Museum: Longing, Travel, and the Art-Romance Tradition* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), xiv, tracing the psychically charged southern voyage to the font of creativity in Goethe, Hawthorne, James, Freud, and others.

58. Collins, 'Gods' Abode,' 181–6; idem, *Papacy*, 142–8. On the portico's construction see Consoli, 42–6; for Specchi see Wolfgang Liebenwein, 'Der Portikus Clemens XI. und sein Statuenschmuck. Antikenrezeption und Kapitolsidee im frühen 18. Jahrhundert,' in Wolfgang Prinz, ed., *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1980), 73–118. Winckelmann's ecstatic descriptions antedated his arrival in Rome in 1755 and found full expression in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden 1764), translated as *History of the Art of Antiquity* by Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles CA: Getty Research Institute, 2006).

59. Consoli (Chs 2 and 3) notes that these models were filtered through a modern lens; Collins, *Papacy*, 151–65.

60. Hester Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, 2 vols (London, 1789), 1: 429–30.

61. See, for instance, Piranesi's 1761 *Veduta del Campidoglio di fianco*, where a figure leans out the open casement of the Stanza degli Imperatori to witness the actions below.

62. Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 406 (Convolute L1a,1). Benjamin elsewhere likens arcades to temples, citing their aura of sacrality and enclosure.

63. The two sets record slightly different moments in the museum's development, and some of Volpato's 14 plates were used as models for Feoli's 24 views; see, most recently, *Ricordi dell'antico*. The Volpato/Ducros views at Berlin's Schloss Pfaueninsel, an early edition acquired in Rome, appear to retain period frames.

64. See Bruno Pons, *French Period Rooms 1650–1800* (Dijon: Faton, 1995), 12–13; and *The Modern Period Room: The Construction of the Exhibited Interior, 1970–1950*, eds Penny Sparke, Brenda Martin, and Trevor Keeble (London: Routledge, 2006).

65. Benjamin, 218 (convolute I3,4) and 216 (I2,6), which continues: 'The self-satisfied burgher should know something of the feeling that the next room might have witnessed the coronation of Charlemagne as well as the assassination of Henry IV, the signing of the Treaty of Verdun as well as the wedding of Otto and Theophano.'

66. Museum accounts attest to the huge sums spent on these finds; repairing the octagonal mosaic from Otricoli for the Sala Rotonda involved over two dozen specialists under the supervision of architect Giuseppe Panini; see, for instance, ASR, Antichità e Belle Art, b. 21, 'Giustificazioni Del Museo Clementino Pjano … 1781,' internal items 28, 33.

67. Haskell and Penny, 73.

68. Visconti's taste for symmetry is evidenced by pairs like the atrium's '*Cioci*' (see below), porphyry sarcophagi, and granite sphinxes, the gallery's seated 'consuls,' the portico's two Molossian hounds, the arrangement of the Muses, or even the matching green crab (restored) and lobster (new) in the Hall of the Animals.

69. Collins, *Papacy*, 176–7. Goethe's companion Johann Heinrich Meyer recommended torchlight (*Wachsfackeln*) as a way to appreciate the generally less important or poorly situated marbles of the Capitoline; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey*, trans. Robert R. Heitner (New York: Suhrkamp, 1989), 352–3 [November 1787].

70. E.Q. Visconti, *Il Museo Pio Clementino*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1784), 41–2; a note in his hand (ASR, Antichità e Belle Arti, b. 19, item 80, dated 13 December 1779) documents that the pope sent 1000 *scudi* 'Alla Communità di Tivoli … a condizione che la suddetta somma debba impiegarsi nella rinnovazione degli Acquedotti di d[ett]a Città.' On the museum's contents see Pietrangeli; Collins, *Papacy*, 165–7; and Gallo, 'Quale storia,' an insightful analysis of how the galleries and catalogue reflected evolving scholarly views. For papal excavations see Carlo Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperte di antichità sotto il Pontificato di Pio VI*, 2nd edn (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani, 1958).

71. Capponi, *Statue*, 116–118 (fos 76–77, March–July 1743); Jones, Stanze Terrene a Sinistra, Stanza Prima, #1, lists it as an early medieval wellhead.

72. Paolo Liverani highlights this re-secularization in 'The Museo Pio-Clementino at the Time of the Grand Tour,' *Journal of the History of Collections* 12 (2000), 151–9. Unlike other visitors, Eustace (62) approved the transfer of Costanza's sarcophagus as a 'useless ornament' whose contents had long been dispersed.

73. Bredekamp's essay, first published in Beck and Bol, eds, *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (see n. 2 above) was translated separately as *The Lure of Antiquity and the Cult of the Machine* (Princeton NJ: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 1995); see esp. 86ff.

74. Krzysztof Pomian, 'De la collection particulière au musée d'art,' in *The Genesis of the Art Museum in the 18th Century*, ed. Per Bjurström (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1993), 9–27, esp. 14–16.

75. Gallo ('Quale Storia,' 156–8) notes that the segregation was even stronger at Villa Borghese's slightly earlier Sala Egizia, and that Etruria was barely represented at the Vatican. The Capitoline's Egyptian sculptures were largely housed on the ground floor.

76. Most were made from Francesco after Giambattista's death and included animal and decorative sculptures; see ASR, Antichità e Belle Arti, b. 19, 'Giustificazioni … 17[79],' items 9 (15 pieces), 68 (16 pieces).

77. For a fuller analysis of this room's Hellenic ambitions see Collins, 'Marshaling the Muses.

78. On Gagneraux's picture and its relation to the museum's message, see Collins, 'Gods' Abode,' *passim*, and Collins, *Papacy*, 52–4, 190–191, with further bibliography.

79. Benjamin, 406 (convolute L1a,2)

80. See, for instance, Fraser's 2005 video, 'A Visit to the Sistine Chapel,' or Struth's 'museum' photographs of visitors to the Louvre, the Hermitage, the Alte Pinakothek, the Accademia, and the Prado, some recently exhibited *in situ*.

Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Constructing Identities and Interiors

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