

I

CAPITOLINE MUSEUM, ROME: CIVIC IDENTITY AND PERSONAL CULTIVATION

CAROLE PAUL

The Capitoline Museum, established on the Campidoglio (Capitoline Hill) in 1733, was an archetype of international importance for later public, civic art museums as the institutional type developed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Today's Musei Capitolini complex still contains the oldest municipal art collection of the early modern period, founded in 1471 by Pope Sixtus IV (r. 1471–84), who donated some important ancient bronzes to the *popolo Romano* (Roman people) to be placed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Conservators' Palace), the seat of the magistrates elected by the people to assist the senator, the head of the civic government. The Capitoline Museum, opened in 1734 in the Palazzo Nuovo (New Palace), was created for the exhibition of a large and outstanding collection of antiquities that Pope Clement XII (r. 1730–40) had recently purchased from Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), a well-known antiquarian and dealer (fig. 1-1). In 1748 and 1750 Pope Benedict XIV (r. 1740–58) bought two impressive collections of Renaissance and Baroque paintings and with them he founded a picture gallery (now known as the Pinacoteca Capitolina) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. As in the great semiprivate collections of eighteenth-century Rome, early modern painting and ancient sculpture were installed separately at the Capitoline Museum.¹

Because the Campidoglio was thought from the Middle Ages to have been the political center of ancient Rome, and because it had remained the seat of civic government into the early modern period, the objects displayed there were powerful signifiers of political and cultural ideas; their message was as evident to foreigners, visiting on the Grand Tour, as to local inhabitants. In its commemoration of a state heritage that reached back to the ancient past, the Capitoline Museum served as the single most important model for the nationalistic exhibition programs that have characterized public art museums ever since. The Campidoglio also became the site of two academies, the activities of which were related to the museum's collections. The award ceremonies of the Accademia di San Luca, the artists' academy of Rome, were held there as well, helping to make the hill a lively center of artistic and intellectual exchange. Operating simultaneously on these different levels, the Capitoline Museum demonstrated the complex, interrelated cultural functions that museums can

FIGURE 1-1.

View of the Campidoglio (Capitoline Hill). Engraving, 13 × 17.5 cm (5 × 7 in.). From Ridolfino Venuti, *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma moderna* (Rome, 1767), vol. 2, plate between pages 688 and 689. The Palazzo Nuovo is on the left, the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the right, and the Palazzo Senatorio in the center.

perform, and established the modern public art museum as an instrument for fostering enlightened ideals of personal cultivation and collective identity. This chapter examines the early history of the Capitoline Museum as its influential exhibition strategies and professional practices developed.

The History and Significance of Display on the Campidoglio

Since the Middle Ages the bronzes donated by Sixtus IV had been exhibited under the porticoes and in front of the Lateran Palace, the pope's official residence at the cathedral church of Rome. Associated at the site with the administration of papal justice, they may also have served to support papal claims to the inheritance of both religious and temporal jurisdiction from the pagan Roman Empire, the basis for the papacy's pretensions to authority throughout the world.² Among the works at the Lateran that could have lent support to papal ideology were the famous bronze she-wolf (*lupa*); a head and a hand carrying a globe, both now thought to be from a colossal statue of Nero; and the well-known equestrian statue of the emperor Marcus Aurelius. The *lupa*, who according to legend had suckled the twins Romulus and Remus, founders of Rome, came to represent the ancient origins of the city. The fragmentary head and hand were popularly understood to be the remains of a giant Samson, but in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (Marvels of Rome), the medieval pilgrim's guidebook, they were identified as the remnants of a colossal Phoebus, god of the sun, formerly at the Colosseum, who "held in his hand an orb that signified that Rome ruled over the whole world."³ The Marcus Aurelius statue, transferred later to the Campidoglio, was assumed to represent the emperor Constantine the Great, an identification that went unquestioned until the later Middle Ages. Displayed together, these monuments demonstrated that an exhibition site could be a powerful transformer of meaning: signifiers of pagan Roman rule, at the pope's palace, came to represent papal succession to that authority.⁴

The transfer of the Lateran collection to the Campidoglio, and its dedication to the *popolo Romano*, marked yet another transformation of meaning, for the hill was an important site of civic identity. The Palazzo Senatorio (Senator's Palace) that crowned it had been restored or newly built in the mid-thirteenth century, a symbol of communal pride. By the mid-fifteenth century the power of the medieval commune was long since past: Rome was part of the Papal States, and the popes reserved the right to appoint the city's senator. Sixtus IV's gesture, however, associated papal succession with civic pride and virtue. The *lupa* was in fact returned to her rightful home; she had originally stood on the Campidoglio and in 65 B.C. had been struck by a bolt of lightning that apparently broke her feet and destroyed the suckling twins, who were replaced only in the fifteenth century.⁵

In the sixteenth century the Capitoline collection grew through papal and other donations that attested to the greatness of ancient Rome. Pope Leo X (r. 1513–21) added three reliefs originally from a monument that honored Marcus Aurelius, and in 1564 Cardinal Rodolfo Pio da Carpi bequeathed the bronze head claimed to represent Lucius Junius Brutus, founder of the Roman Republic; both were put on display in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.⁶ In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, rooms in the palace were also frescoed with scenes representing the exploits of Roman heroes or taken from foundational myths of Rome. These include the paintings *Discovery of the She-Wolf* (1595–96), *Battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii* (1612–13), and *Rape of the Sabines* (1636–40) by the Cavaliere d'Arpino (1568–1640).

In 1538 Pope Paul III (r. 1534–49) ordered the transfer from the Lateran of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, thought by Michelangelo to be the emperor Antoninus Pius, though it had finally been correctly identified in the fifteenth century. This initiated the redecoration of the Campidoglio, according to a design by Michelangelo, in a program consonant with the significance of the site and the statuary exhibited there. The work was completed, more or less following Michelangelo's plan, over a long period after his death in 1564: the Palazzo dei Conservatori was finished in 1586, and the Palazzo Senatorio by 1605; under the guidance of Carlo Rainaldi (1611–1691), the Palazzo Nuovo was ready in 1663.⁷

In addition to the Marcus Aurelius, other sculpture decorating the piazza was correlated with the political program of the site. By 1593 a seated figure of Minerva, transformed into a personification of Rome, was in the central niche of the Palazzo Senatorio, joined soon after by statues of captive barbarians (later removed) that befit the hill as the culmination of triumphal processions in antiquity: victorious Roman warriors would climb to the summit to place their trophies in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and offer a sacrifice to the Capitoline trinity of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.⁸ The ancient trophies flanking the main staircase to the piazza were believed to represent those of the triumphant republican leader Marius. Closer to the entrance stand the statues of the Dioscuri, the horse tamers and brothers Castor and Pollux, which were found at the rear of the hill in 1560; the brothers, sons of Jupiter, were in ancient times considered to be protectors of Rome and symbols of liberty. The visitor to the eventual museum was thus well prepared upon entering the piazza to receive its potent message.

During the reign of Pope Clement XI in the early eighteenth century the Campidoglio became an important site for the activities of the Accademia di San Luca, the artists' academy of Rome, and in this educational affiliation pre-saged one of the aims of later civic museums. The Accademia, founded in 1577 and officially incorporated in 1593, was the second- or third-oldest art academy in Europe and remained one of the most influential such institutions.⁹ An

important, well-known, and public academic activity that took place on the Campidoglio was the awarding of prizes in the periodic competitions for students known as the *Concorsi Clementini*.¹⁰

The Founding of the Capitoline Museum

The idea of creating a public museum on the Campidoglio belonged to the Marchese Alessandro Gregorio Capponi (1683–1746), an enthusiastic amateur antiquarian descended from an illustrious Florentine family.¹¹ A former conservator and an intimate of Pope Clement XII, Capponi had been appointed private chamberlain to the pope and chief quartermaster of the Apostolic Palaces; the latter position required him to supervise all papal construction projects. Having persuaded the pope that the Arch of Constantine was sorely in need of restoration, he was entrusted, beginning in 1732, with overseeing the work on it, as part of a larger project ordered by Clement to restore the ancient walls and arches of Rome.¹² Eventually Capponi was also able to convince the pope to purchase Albani's collection of ancient Roman sculpture and with it establish a museum on the hill—and to appoint him, Capponi, as the first president. This was an extraordinarily innovative initiative not only because of the early founding date but also because Albani's collection was purchased expressly to create the museum; most other early art museums evolved from collections already on-site that were subsequently made public.¹³ The didactic mission of the Capitoline Museum was in the foreground from the beginning. In the purchase contract of December 9, 1733, for the Albani collection it was stated that the collection was acquired

to be publicly exhibited and arranged in the rooms of the Roman Campidoglio as a site already destined for the admiration of many ancient heroes, who over the years and in literature have made the memory of Rome eternal, [the display thus] affording open access to the curiosity of foreigners and dilettantes and greater ease to youths studying the liberal arts.¹⁴

With the purchase of the collection, Pope Clement ordered Capponi to arrange for the transportation of the statuary to the Campidoglio and to organize its exhibition on the hill.¹⁵ On December 27, 1733, he officially appointed Capponi *custode e presidente antiquario* (custodian and president-antiquarian) of the new museum.¹⁶

Why was Clement finally persuaded to purchase Albani's collection and found the museum? The archival documentation for Capponi's appointment as president cites the contribution of the museum to the splendor and magnificence of Rome—and thereby of the papacy—as well as its didactic purpose,

anticipating the museum-going public—dilettantes, foreigners, and youths finishing their education—who would reap its benefits. Thus the project was in part a response to Grand Tourism; in fact, it was a response to the desire of tourists not just to see the antiquities of Rome but also to buy and export them. According to his diary, Capponi met with the pope in July 1733 and told him that “not ten popes could acquire and exhibit on the Campidoglio a collection of statues and inscriptions like this, which otherwise will leave Rome.”¹⁷ Although the popes had issued multiple edicts during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries prohibiting the exportation of antiquities, statuary continued to leave the city and be sold throughout Europe; by purchasing Albani’s collection himself, Clement was preventing the loss of yet more of Rome’s patrimony.¹⁸

The story of the creation of the museum is told primarily in the official records of the conservators and the pope, and the remarkably detailed papers that Capponi carefully kept, most of which are preserved in the Capitoline Archive and the Vatican Library.¹⁹ Capponi’s papers include the marchese’s diary, letters, drawings, inventories, notes, copies of papal and municipal records, and numerous records of payment for labor; these documents reveal the extensive and systematic nature of the enterprise. Capponi was charged with the general supervision of the project, choosing the artists and artisans to work on it, determining their payment, overseeing the accounts (which would be reported to the pope), and even paying the bookkeeper. Sixty-six thousand scudi were spent to purchase the Albani collection, and almost twenty-one thousand scudi were spent on transporting and installing the statuary, adapting the space in the Palazzo Nuovo to its new role, and readying the sculpture to occupy it; more than half that sum was paid to the supervising architect, Filippo Barigioni (1690–1753).²⁰ In addition to the architect and a deputy custodian working directly under him, Capponi assembled a team of artists, artisans, and others to work on the project, including sculptors, painters, masons, gilders, stone carvers and stonecutters, brassworkers, furniture makers, silver-smiths, ironworkers, tinsmiths, woodworkers, glassmakers, and locksmiths.

According to the earliest-known inventory of the collection in the new museum, by January 1, 1734, about a hundred antiquities had been installed in the atrium and courtyard on the ground floor of the Palazzo Nuovo, along the adjoining staircase, and on the *piano nobile* (first floor) in seven rooms formerly rented by the Ministry of Agriculture, which was forced to vacate the premises.²¹ At least some of those works had already been in the palace and were not part of the Albani collection. A note preceding the inventory indicates that 408 pieces of sculpture—busts, statues, herms, urns, and reliefs—had been purchased from Albani, which were to be exhibited together with some other sculpture already on the hill.²² The note also states that Albani donated 494 ancient inscriptions from grave markers and other stones to be

displayed for the purpose of study, and a scholar, Pietro Marchesini, was hired to “copy and investigate” the inscriptions for Capponi.²³ To facilitate such study, the lettering of the inscriptions was tinted; the stones were also painted. Inscriptions on other statuary in the museum were tinted as well; in some cases inscriptions were even created to be carved on bases and pedestals. The antiquities were readied for exhibition through cleaning and restoration, the latter done by a sculptor, Carlo Antonio Napolioni, as was the common practice in the early modern period. Statuary was also measured to determine the appropriate sizes—whether small, medium, or large—for bases; many of these pedestals were recycled antiquities—altars, architectural fragments, and sarcophagi—that were of interest in themselves.²⁴

As the sculpture continued to be transported to the Palazzo Nuovo and was prepared for display, the rooms were outfitted for their new role. Bargioni supplied drawings for the decorations, and the work was carried out by Capponi’s team.²⁵ The architect’s elegant designs for the courtyard and for architectural ornamentation in the rooms—classicizing pilasters and cornices, niches for statues, marble shelving for busts, door and window frames in stone, and moldings to frame reliefs or create compartments in which to display inscriptions—were implemented, and much of the decoration, such as cornices, friezes, moldings, pedestals for busts and statues, and the backgrounds of the inscriptions’ compartments, was painted *all’antico* (in the ancient style) to resemble different variously colored marbles quarried in diverse areas of the ancient Roman Empire. The classicizing treatment of the architectural and painted ornamentation, a perfect complement to the function of the space as a museum of antiquities, continued in the decoration of the seventeenth-century coffered wood ceilings adorned with papal coats of arms, which were painted to simulate white Brescian marble.²⁶

Capponi’s desire to create a decorative but also highly functional museum space is evident in almost every detail of its outfitting: keeping comfort in mind, he had six fashionable chairs, upholstered in silk damask, made for the rooms, presumably to be used by those who wished to view and study the antiquities at length.²⁷ To provide substantial light for the task he had high-quality glass panes, joined by lead strips, inserted in the palace’s large windows.²⁸ At the same time he was keenly aware of the public nature of the institution and to that end had an ingenious and innovative security system installed: in a nearly invisible manner smaller, more portable antiquities such as busts were fixed in place with bronze wire, eyelet hooks, and clasps disguised as heraldic papal seals.²⁹

In creating the Capitoline Museum, Capponi must have felt as if he was inventing the wheel, but he clearly drew on practices already implemented in private collections, where antiquarians, connoisseurs, and scholars examined, identified, and studied the artworks, painters or sculptors restored them, and

architects designed the decoration of the interiors and advised on the installations. The practices at the Capitoline Museum, in turn, would be refined and standardized in subsequent museums. Capponi's role as *custode e presidente antiquario*—really both curator and director—had fewer precedents; in addition to the duties outlined above, he saw to the organization and growth of the collection and reserved the right to grant permission to artists and others to draw the statuary.³⁰ Some of the custodial duties were more menial, and for those Capponi was officially granted the right by the pope on November 29, 1734, to appoint a *sottocustode*, or deputy, to work directly under him.³¹ This position was given to Pietro Forier, whose duty was to maintain the keys to the Palazzo Nuovo and open the museum for the visiting public at appointed hours on designated days, care for the antiquities, and make sure that no one drew the sculpture without Capponi's permission. The roles assumed by Capponi and Forier would ultimately lead to the establishment of museum professions and their organization into a hierarchy.

The position of *sottocustode*, like that of *custode e presidente antiquario*, was essentially a lifetime appointment; Forier was assisted by his son Gasparo and lived in an apartment in the Palazzo Nuovo. The father was paid seven scudi per month, was reimbursed for cleaning expenses, and was expected to receive tips, presumably from the visitors he admitted; there seems to have been no official fee for admission.³² In addition to helping Pietro with the cleaning, Gasparo worked on painting the inscriptions.³³ The son must have had at least some antiquarian knowledge, as in the early 1740s he put together a small, portable guidebook for visitors to use in the museum.³⁴ This book would have been necessary to identify the subjects of the works, since the statuary was for the most part not labeled, and it also included other brief information on some of the antiquities, such as noteworthy characteristics, provenance, or previous scholarship. An anonymous text that seems to be a portion of a more detailed scholarly guide survives as well among Capponi's papers.³⁵

The earliest published guide seems to have been Giambattista Gaddi's "Il Campidoglio illustrato" (1736), the largest portion of a book by Gaddi discussing architectural and urban projects commissioned by Clement XII and completed during his reign.³⁶ Soon after, a large four-volume scholarly catalogue, by Giovanni Bottari (1689–1775), published between 1741 and 1782, began to appear. It became a model for subsequent museum catalogues in its erudition and organization, with a substantial entry on each work and an accompanying engraving.³⁷ However, Bottari's catalogue, a kind of virtual museum, was too cumbersome to be used by visitors at the Capitoline, and it did not follow the organization of the works there; instead, it grouped them mostly by type—busts, full-length statues, reliefs, and objects with reliefs—even if its frontispiece, which illustrated a relief from a doorway lunette of Romulus and

Remus suckled by the she-wolf, served as a figurative entrance. Conspicuously absent was any discussion of the inscriptions; they were published separately in 1775 by Francesco Eugenio Guasco (1725–1798), the fourth president of the museum.³⁸ A smaller, more portable guidebook, attributed to Giovanni Pietro Lucatelli, who succeeded Capponi as president, was published in 1750.³⁹ This and more general guidebooks of the period, such as those describing Rome or Italy, offer us tours of the museum. One important such volume was written by the highly respected antiquarian Ridolfino Venuti (1705–1763), who may have been the true author of Lucatelli's book.⁴⁰ Accounts of the museum also appear in journals kept by tourists from Britain, France, Germany, and elsewhere in Europe.

A visit to the new Capitoline Museum began—as it still does today—with an ascent of the imposing staircase to the majestic space of the piazza. En route and upon arrival, the visitor bears witness to the glorious past of ancient Rome as invoked by historical associations with the site and as represented in the statuary displayed there. The contents of the museum are first revealed as one looks through the portico of the Palazzo Nuovo's grand facade toward the imposing iron gate that leads to the courtyard (fig. 1-2). That Capponi was well aware of the impression to be made at the entrance, through the classicizing frame of Michelangelo's architecture, is indicated by the care he took to decorate the courtyard. The centerpiece is a niche with a fountain at its base; the latter supports an impressive colossal ancient statue of a river-god, known as Marforio because it was supposedly found in the Forum of Mars (Forum of Augustus), but thought in fact to represent the deity of the Rhine.⁴¹ Marforio was moved to this location in 1679, at which time only the lower portion of the niche had been completed. The elegant niche was finished by Barigioni, and the area above the reclining river-god was adorned with a centrally placed bust of Clement XII beneath an inscription, surmounted by the pontiff's coat of arms, that lauds the pope's creation of the museum for its contribution to the fine arts and its embellishment of the Campidoglio.⁴² The two ancient statues known as the Della Valle Satyrs, which originally flanked the niche, remain in the courtyard. (Prizes of the Albani collection, the Satyrs were named for the family who had previously owned them.) The earliest guides describe busts, reliefs, and herm figures in the courtyard, too, surmounting door frames or set within them.

To enter the courtyard and view its contents the visitor first passes through the atrium or internal portico that lies behind the iron gate. This space is the subject of a somewhat fanciful drawing of about 1763 by Hubert Robert (1733–1808) that shows figures copying the antiquities displayed there (fig. 1-3). (On the ground floor this could be done without Capponi's permission, probably because the entrances and courtyards of Roman palaces were traditionally unrestricted to the public.)⁴³ Flanking the entrance to the courtyard are two

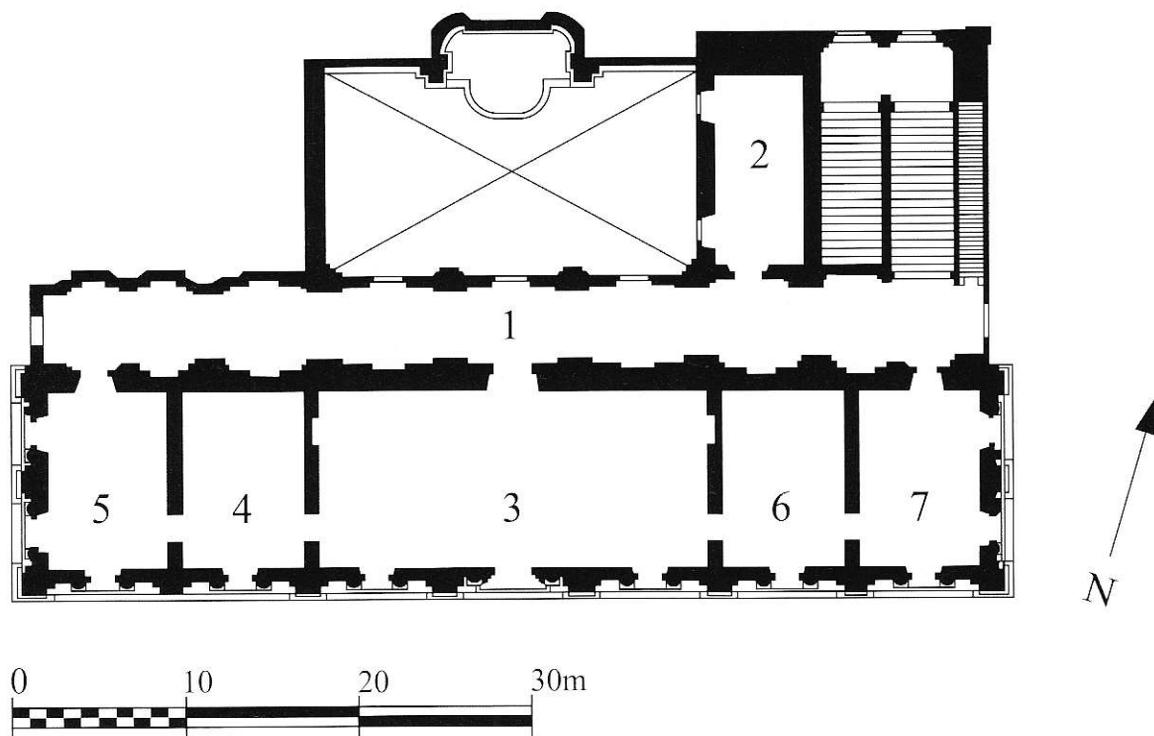


FIGURE 1-4.

Plan of the Piano Nobile, Capitoline Museum, Rome. Drawing by Yumi Kinoshita, after Kimberly G. Rapacki. Index: 1. Galleria; 2. Sala di Miscellanea; 3. Sala; 4. Stanza de' Filosofi; 5. Stanza degli Imperatori; 6. [penultimate room]; 7. Ultima Stanza

Egyptian idols that were moved from the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. The placement of these figures ahead of Greco-Roman antiquities, with all its implications of artistic and political succession, was surely deliberate (there are also sphinxes flanking the bottom of the staircase that leads to the piazza; see fig. 1-1). Lining the walls and inhabiting niches are statues of deities, personifications, and emperors—Minerva, Diana, Abundance, Immortality, Jupiter, and Hadrian—some of which appear in Robert's drawing, as does the grand marble sarcophagus at the end of the corridor. The pair reclining atop the sarcophagus were thought to have represented the emperor Alexander Severus and his mother, Julia Mamaea, and the relief on the front was presumed to depict the peace between the Sabines and the Romans, though it actually illustrates episodes from the life of Achilles.

Themes of Roman rule continued in the decoration of the staircase: on the lower landing were two reliefs with images of Marcus Aurelius, one illustrating his magnanimity in considering the people's petition, and the other his piety in attending the cremation and deification of the empress Faustina.⁴⁴ Linking such ancient leaders to their papal successors, a modern inscription under one of the reliefs, noted by Gaddi, commemorated the liberation of Vienna during the reign of Pope Innocent XI. In niches on the landing were statues of Juno and Faustina, the latter in the guise of Pudicity. Reaching the upper landing, the visitor was appropriately greeted by a marble lion serving as guardian of

the collection. The landing was also decorated with busts and reliefs. A sumptuous iron gate embellished with two precious columns of cipollino marble announced the museum proper and allowed entry to the room to which Gaddi's guidebook first directed the visitor, the long Galleria (fig. 1-4).

Gaddi began his discussion of the Galleria by praising Barigioni's design and decoration of the room with rich marble and travertine ornamentation, dividing up the walls with Ionic pilasters, broad panels, and neo-Mannerist door, niche, and window frames that are in the spirit of the building's architecture. A door on one side led to the grand Sala, and on the other to the Sala di Miscellanea. Busts, statues, reliefs, and other antiquities were displayed in the niches and fictive doorways of the room and lined its walls; as in the atrium, smaller objects sometimes served as bases for larger ones. One cinerary vase, Gaddi tells us, was placed so that it could be rotated for viewers to see the carvings and inscriptions on all sides. Busts were also installed in the pediments atop the doors and niches; still exhibited in the twelve panels distributed along the walls are 187 stones with epitaphs from the columbarium of Livia, on the Via Appia, which had been discovered in 1726. Among the more noteworthy antiquities displayed in the room, in niches flanking the door to the Sala, were rare black marble statues of Jupiter and Aesculapius, found in the ruins of ancient Anzio. Also installed in the room were statues of Apollo, Bacchus, and Minerva, two Egyptian idols, a statue of a woman stepping from her bath, done, according to Gaddi, in the "ottima maniera" (best style), and two statues of Muses with pierced ears, testifying, in Gaddi's view, to the ancient use of ear-rings, which were often found in funerary urns.⁴⁵ One of the masterpieces of the collection, a well-known statue of the seated Empress Agrippina, was given emphasis by its position in the center of the room; it is now centrally placed in the Stanza degli Imperatori (Room of the Emperors) (see fig. 1-6).

From the Galleria the visitor would proceed to the Sala di Miscellanea, the only room of the museum on the south side of the building. Its location apart from the other rooms was perhaps a signal of its different function, for it contained what might be described as the prototype of a study collection. The strategy of displaying works together on shelves, rather than separately on individual bases, which seems to have been introduced at the Capitoline, was implemented in this room. Its three tiers of white marble shelving (the floor level is not used today) were filled with eighty-seven miscellaneous heads and busts, some duplicates and some of unknown subjects that did not form series, and twelve medium-size statues. One hundred and fifty-two ancient inscriptions, framed in panels, occupy the walls.⁴⁶ In the center of the room was a celebrated sculpture, which could be rotated, of a boy putting a theatrical mask on his head.

The other door in the Galleria led to the grand Sala, the showpiece of the museum, distinguished not only by its elegant decoration but also by its size

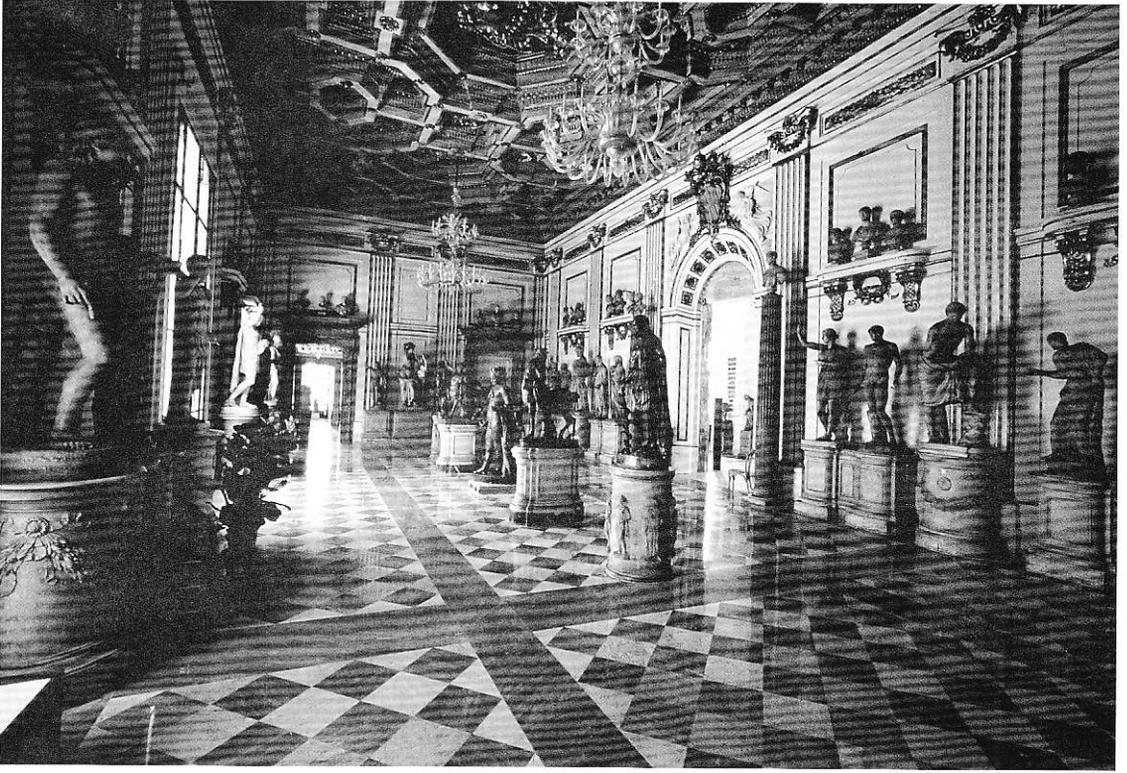


FIGURE 1-5.
View of the Sala, Palazzo
Nuovo, Musei Capitolini,
Rome

and central location (fig. 1-5). Inside the Sala, the door's lavish frame, replete with Clement's arms flanked by Winged Victories, originally contained a relief in its lunette depicting Romulus and Remus suckled by the she-wolf as the river-god Tiber looks on (this is the relief, mentioned earlier, that was illustrated in the frontispiece to Bottari's catalogue of the museum).⁴⁷ Barigioni divided the walls with inventive pilasters and framed real and fictive doors with *cottonello* marble. Busts and statues were installed almost exclusively in this room, and in a more spacious manner than in the others, which allowed viewers to appreciate what Gaddi characterized as the high quality of the works. Set atop the door frames as well as on shelves supported by brackets are thirty-six busts of unknown subjects, which, as Gaddi observed, do not form a series of any sort but, rather, embellish the space. Gaddi also noted the symmetry with which the twenty-six statues in the room were arrayed; two anonymous drawings for the installation show taller figures on single bases and shorter ones in pairs on double bases, some of the latter thematically related.⁴⁸ However, Gaddi's description indicates that some of the statues actually on display differed from those in the drawings. The group included the ancient astronomer Ptolemy, emperors and other Romans—Marcus Aurelius, Hadrian, and Antinous—as well as classical and Egyptian deities such as Apollo, Diana, Juno, Minerva, and Isis. In the middle of the Sala's short walls were bronze

statues of papal patrons: Clement XII, by Pietro Bracci (1700–1773), and Innocent X, by Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654). The center of the room was adorned with a great vase atop an altar on which images of twelve Olympian gods and goddesses appeared.

The four remaining rooms of the museum were reached via the enfilade of doors that passes through the short sides of the Sala; on each side of the Sala the two rooms were similarly decorated to form pairs. Gaddi next directed the visitor to the Stanza de' Filosofi (Room of the Philosophers), adjoining the Sala to the west, so called because it houses busts of philosophers, poets, orators, and other illustrious men and women.⁴⁹ The busts are displayed on two tiers of white Venetian marble shelves, above which various reliefs are arrayed. A statue thought to be of the Stoic philosopher Zeno, now in the center of the room, was exhibited in front of the window. The subjects included most of those that one would expect as well as some who were unknown to Gaddi, with multiple busts of the more famous figures placed together for comparison. Thus there were five busts of Plato, four of Homer, three each of Socrates and Euripides, two each of Epicurus and Sappho, but only one of Seneca and none of Aristotle.

Following the Stanza de' Filosofi is perhaps the most recognizable room in the museum, the Stanza degli Imperatori (fig. 1-6), or, as Gaddi termed it, the Stanza della Serie Imperiale, known for its series of busts of the Roman emperors and their family members arranged in chronological order on two tiers of marble shelving. Gaddi characterized the shelves in this room, with foliate decoration, as more “signorili” (aristocratic) than the simpler shelves in the

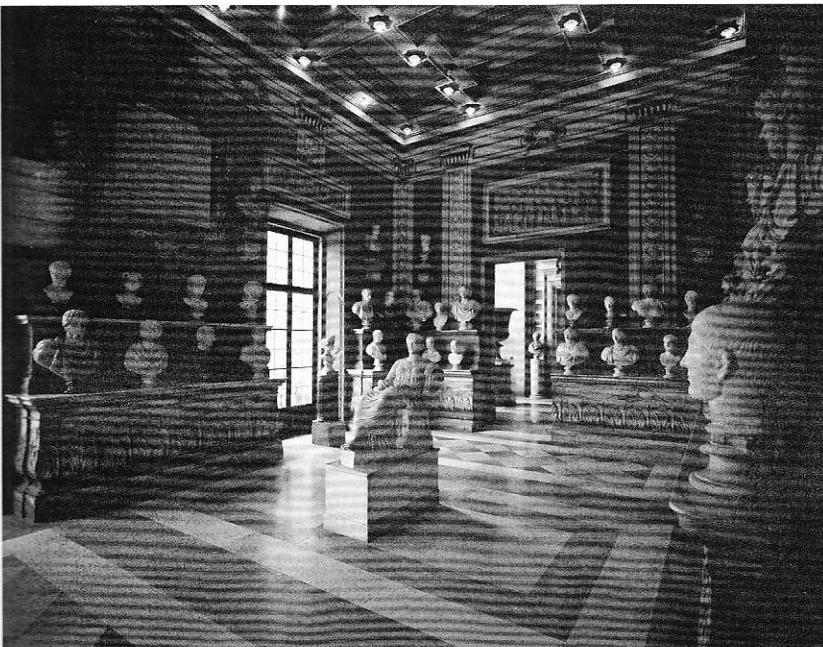


FIGURE 1-6.

View of the Stanza degli Imperatori, Palazzo Nuovo, Musei Capitolini, Rome

preceding room, befitting the station of their occupants; the ornate pilasters and stuccos and door frames of yellow Brescian marble also contributed to the stately effect.⁵⁰ On the wall above the busts are reliefs of various subjects—boar hunts and scenes of battles between animals—and mythological themes, such as the sleeping Endymion and Perseus liberating Andromeda. Two statues were displayed on the east and west sides of the room: one, in black basalt, of the young Hercules, and the other of Hadrian's beloved, Antinous, probably the most admired work in the collection. A celebrated bust known as the Della Valle Jupiter occupied a niche on the south wall. On the upper tier of shelves the imperial series began with Julius Caesar, soon followed by the first Roman emperor, Augustus. Many of the busts were of the emperors' wives and sons (Gaddi considered some identifications to be questionable), and a good number were duplicates, such as the four of Marcus Aurelius that concluded the first row. The series ended on the lower tier with two busts of Gallienus and one each of his wife and son.

The last two rooms that Gaddi visited were on the other side of the Sala; they contained some statues but mostly ancient objects decorated with reliefs—altars, gravestones, and urns—and their walls were filled with the remainder of the inscriptions donated by Albani. In both these rooms, Gaddi tells us, the inscriptions were framed and arranged in chronological order; in the first (fig. 1-7), they were also arranged by subject matter, as indicated by captions or titles on the walls: priests, urban and military prefects, the people and the city, scholarship and art, and public and private office and ministry. There is also a series of brick stamps, perhaps the first example of the display of humble objects in a collection of this order; their historical importance was acknowledged by their placement next to the most prestigious inscription in the room: a famous ancient bronze tablet, inscribed with the *Lex Regia* of the emperor Vespasian, framed in rich pavonazetto marble.⁵¹ A few reliefs were installed on the walls of this room as well, and among the antiquities exhibited were statues of Pope Paul IV and Constantine the Great; these, however, had been removed by 1738.⁵²

Guiding the viewer to the last room, or *Ultima Stanza*, Gaddi explained that he might have described it first, as it is closest to the staircase and could be entered before the Galleria. Because of its large series of rare inscriptions, however, he saved it for last, thinking that the *eruditi* (learned) would enjoy pondering them at the end of their visit.⁵³ In contrast to the inscriptions in the preceding room, these inscriptions, now gone, concerned the ancient consuls, caesars, and other illustrious people. In addition to the ancient inscriptions there was a modern one in marble, erected in gratitude to the memory of Pope Alexander VII (r. 1655–67), during whose reign the Palazzo Nuovo was completed. The room now displays, most famously, the *Dying Gaul*, which Capponi had originally acquired for the Sala, where it was paired with a statue restored to represent a wounded soldier or gladiator.⁵⁴

FIGURE 1-7.

View of the Penultimate Room (now the Sala del Fauno), Palazzo Nuovo, Musei Capitolini, Rome

Antiquarianism, Scholarship, and Display

Gaddi's tour of the Capitoline Museum proposes an ideal sequential experience of its spaces, emphasizing their deliberately distinctive characters, created through close attention to the complementary roles of display and decoration. As in most museums, of course, the installation of the collection was never completely fixed. We have seen that some changes were implemented, even in the museum's earliest days; eventually the names of the rooms and the route that visitors took through them—which could not be fully controlled—were altered, too.⁵⁵ But as the display evolved in the mid-eighteenth century, Capponi's exhibition strategies remained the vehicle for the Capitoline Museum's mission to represent Rome to itself and the world and to promote learning, which it did in various innovative ways.

To appreciate the novelty of Capponi's practices, we must first understand their relationship to traditional standards for the display of antiquities in more private Roman collections, such as those of cardinals and princes (see introduction, fig. 5).⁵⁶ As in those installations, the works at the Capitoline were grouped by conventional types and themes, with consideration given to subject, and also to size, in creating visually satisfying arrangements. These principles were best exemplified in the elegant Sala, though we also see them in the museum's other rooms, where more crowded exhibitions, with antiquities set atop each other, created the customary effect of abundance. However, the Capitoline's rooms tended to be less richly ornamented than those of private galleries, and the museum's identity as a collection of antiquities more strictly maintained. No paintings were installed with the statuary (whereas pictures and sculptures were sometimes exhibited together in private collections), and the very little early modern sculpture on display consisted mostly of images of papal patrons.

These rigorous standards, creating a scholarly atmosphere, reinforced the didactic aims of the museum, as did its more novel installations, such as the arrangements of the busts. Sets of emperor busts were commonplace in private collections, where they were exhibited not necessarily in any particular order but to decorative effect in niches or on pedestals. At the Capitoline they were not only placed in historical order by subject; they were also displayed together on simple shelves, inviting visitors to reflect on the sitters and compare the quality of their likenesses—as Gaddi did—especially when multiple images of the same subjects were placed side by side. Similarly, the inscriptions were arranged by content and date and their lettering was tinted to facilitate study; they were also grouped, painted, and framed in a way that clarified and enhanced their systematic organization and at the same time gave them an aesthetic interest that was appropriate to their prominent exhibition in the museum. This was in contrast to the usual random placement of unframed fragmented inscriptions, generally in much smaller numbers, found in Roman collections of antiquities.

The innovative installation practices at the Capitoline Museum reflected the didactic nature of the museum as a new kind of public cultural space: at once systematic and contextual, the museum's thematic exhibitions sought to educate by addressing an international audience, schooled in the classics, for whom Roman history represented a common cultural heritage. The Capitoline's exhibitions offered viewers opportunities to rehearse their classical learning and apply it. However, the intent was also that the museum's collection would teach by informing and correcting the prevailing understanding of that history. In the course of the early modern period antiquarians had come to rely increasingly on their observations of ancient statuary and the evidence of inscriptions to gather historical information, combining such knowledge with more traditional literary sources.⁵⁷ This approach to the museum's collection was modeled in its early catalogues and guidebooks, which offered rich historical contextualization of the works and attempted to distinguish good likenesses from bad; it is evidenced, for example, in Gaddi's comments about the statues of the Muses with pierced ears.

Although historical questions were of great importance, aesthetics and connoisseurship were not overlooked. (We have seen that Gaddi praised the quality or style of some works, often those singled out by placement in the center of rooms.) The museum's displays helped to advance understanding of artistic and art-historical issues, for as more and more antiquities could be systematically viewed and compared in installations like those at the Capitoline, a better sense of the chronological, geographical, and stylistic evolution of ancient sculpture began to emerge. For those who were given permission to do so, drawing the antiquities was another way to learn from them and effectively promoted a critical approach to the appreciation of ancient art, including a sensitivity to aesthetics as well as to concerns of authenticity and condition. This is documented, for instance, in the Dutch artist Jean Grandjean's 1780 drawing *Monsieur Hviid Pointing to the Restoration of the Albani Antinous in the Museo Capitolino* (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum).⁵⁸ Indeed, such issues also informed restoration practices at the museum; though he was far from adhering to modern standards of transparency, Capponi instructed restorers to preserve as much of the antiquities as possible in conserving them.⁵⁹

Although antiquities and inscriptions in the Capitoline collection were studied individually, the innovative displays in their totality created an impression that was as much a stimulus to imagination as to scholarship. The French abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–1795), for instance, in his correspondence with the antiquarian the comte de Caylus (1692–1765), later published as the *Voyage en Italie...* (1801), spoke rapturously of his visit to the Campidoglio in 1756:

The first time that I entered [the museum] I felt a charge of electricity. I could not describe to you the impression made on me by the assemblage

of so many riches [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; 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 antiquarians.⁶⁰

The excitement of encountering antiquity was offset, however, by Barthélemy's despair in other letters at being overwhelmed by the volume of works in the museum, and by his sense of the insurmountable inadequacy of collections of ancient art in his homeland.⁶¹ If the Capitoline Museum sought to impress visitors—especially foreigners—and promote civic pride through the contents, magnitude, and quality of its collection, it also expanded the triumphant narrative of Roman history created on the Campidoglio, which ultimately served the papal patrons who viewed themselves as the successors to Roman glory and guardians of the city's artistic patrimony. Although they appreciated the art, some tourists, motivated by political or religious reasons, resisted the narrative, and even turned the message against their hosts. The British physician and writer John Moore (1729–1802), for example, wrote of his visit to the Campidoglio in his 1787 *View of Society and Manners in Italy*. He admired the statue of Marcus Aurelius, “which naturally brings to your memory that happy period, when the Roman empire was governed by a Prince, who, during a long reign, made the good of his subjects the chief object of his government.” The figure of Rome at the Palazzo Senatorio, he was told, was a Roma Triumphans. But then “you recollect that she is no longer Triumphans; you cast an indignant eye on St. Peter's church, to which she also seems to look with indignation. Is there such another instance of the vicissitude of human things; the proud Mistress of the World under the dominion of a priest?”⁶²

Expansion during the Reign of Pope Benedict XIV

Setting aside such criticisms, the popes persisted in their novel enterprise on the Campidoglio. Benedict XIV (r. 1740–58), most notably, expanded the collection of antiquities by more than sixty works, added a picture gallery, and founded two academies, thus forming a cohesive educational program at the Campidoglio.⁶³ Putting the statuary and inscriptions to scholarly use, in 1740 he established an academy dedicated to Roman history and antiquities.⁶⁴ To accommodate his acquisitions some of the antiquities were moved around, and a new room, the Canopo, was added adjacent to the atrium to house recently purchased works, including five statues—thought to be Egyptian—uncovered in the ruins of the Canopus at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. Among other important acquisitions continuing the theme of *Romanitas* were the four marbles installed in the atrium that document the length of the ancient Roman foot, and twenty-six fragments of the Severan marble plan of Rome, known as the

Forma Urbis Romae, displayed in the stairwell.⁶⁵ To the Sala he added two magnificent bronze tables supporting mosaics found at Hadrian's Villa; one of the mosaics represented the famous motif of doves drinking from a fountain described by the ancient Roman writer Pliny. From the same site came the coveted Furietti Centaurs that Pope Clement XIII (r. 1758–69) acquired in 1765 and displayed in the room, reaffirming its status as the museum's showpiece.⁶⁶

Even more impressively, Benedict founded the Gallerie de' Quadri (Picture Gallery), in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, a collection of early modern paintings that complemented the antiquities in the Capitoline Museum; together they formed a "complete" collection of the sort amassed by Rome's noble families.⁶⁷ In fact, the pictures were purchased in 1748 and 1750 from two such families, the Sachetti and the Pio, for a total of forty thousand scudi. The resulting collection of 303 paintings was dominated, according to the taste of the period, by Italian pictures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially of religious subjects, which in part reflected the interests of the patron.⁶⁸ However, a few Roman themes were also depicted in works such as the *Rape of the Sabines* (ca. 1630–31) by Pietro da Cortona and *Romulus and Remus* (ca. 1612–14) by Peter Paul Rubens and his workshop. To house the paintings, two large rooms were constructed on the piano nobile of the palace, one decorated simply, with a bust of Benedict and an inscription honoring his contribution.

Eighteenth-century guidebooks list the works on each wall of the rooms, but do not indicate their specific arrangement.⁶⁹ Typical of the display of pictures in Roman collections of the period, the paintings do not seem to have been grouped in any thematically systematic way, but with over 150 pictures in each room, the walls must have been filled from floor to ceiling, offering visitors abundant opportunity for comparing a rich variety of personal, regional, and historical styles in accordance with the viewing habits of the period. Even if dizzying, the organization was most likely visually harmonious, as suggested in paintings of galleries such as Giovanni Paolo Panini's 1749 image of the gallery of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga (see introduction, fig. 1).⁷⁰ In fact, Gonzaga (1690–1756), a noted collector and Benedict's secretary of state, was instrumental in the formation of the Capitoline picture gallery.

Benedict's purpose in founding the gallery was avowedly educational; he appointed times for young artists to draw and copy the paintings. In conjunction with this initiative, in 1753 he established a studio for life drawing in a large circular room beneath the gallery, where students could observe the model from all sides.⁷¹ Known as the Accademia del Nudo, the studio was sponsored by the Accademia di San Luca, whose members supervised the model and students. This academy, visited by artists from all over Europe, served to reinforce the time-honored notion of Rome as an international artistic capital, the source of sound and universal academic practice based on *disegno* (drawing and design). Foreign artists came to Rome especially to receive

this sort of training; the German painter and theorist Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751–1829; also known as “Goethe Tischbein”) remarked, in fact, that “Rome is the place where one learns to draw.”⁷²

By the mid-eighteenth century, then, young artists had access on the Campidoglio to the ideal models for an academic education: nature, in the form of the nude; ancient sculpture; and some of the greatest examples of Renaissance and later history painting. This conjunction of museum and academy was an educational opportunity envied by European artists later in the eighteenth century: one of the chief arguments for the creation of a national museum in France in the early 1790s was to give artists access to a wide variety of models from which to develop their talents in the best academic tradition.⁷³

The Napoleonic Period and Later

In 1798 the French proclaimed the short-lived Roman Republic at the politically charged site atop the Campidoglio. Napoléon’s troops seized eighty-three antiquities from the Capitoline Museum; they also seem to have appropriated the museum’s message.⁷⁴ Back in Paris, the theme of the state triumphant had been adopted for the new public museum at the Palais du Louvre. This flexible ideology, in fact, may have been the greatest legacy of the Capitoline Museum, for whereas earlier, more private collections blatantly honored individual patrons or their families, the glory of the Campidoglio redounded—at least in theory—to the state. At the Musée Napoléon (as the Musée du Louvre was called between 1803 and 1815), for example, the walls of the Salle des empereurs romains (Room of the Roman Emperors; see chap. 8, fig. 8-4) were lined with ancient statues of Roman emperors and the ceiling was decorated with Charles Meynier’s painting of Earth receiving the code of Roman law, as dictated by Nature, Wisdom, and Justice, from the emperors Hadrian and Justinian. Bas-reliefs of river-gods—the Po, Tiber, Nile, and Rhine—in the corners of the vault symbolize the territories conquered by the French Republic.⁷⁵ The political implications of this decoration are an obvious complement to the pretensions of Paris under Napoléon to be the new Rome.

Napoléon’s tenure in Italy was of course short-lived. The popes returned and the Capitoline Museum regained its collection and its message, but the institution continued to undergo jurisdictional changes. From the founding of the museum the conservators and the popes had come into conflict over its control. The president was nominated for a lifetime appointment by the conservators and confirmed by the pope, but when Capponi died in 1746 the conservators nominated Nicolò Soderini, and Benedict XIV overruled them, appointing Giovanni Pietro Lucatelli, his private secretary (the same Lucatelli to whom a guidebook to the museum was attributed).⁷⁶ In 1833 the administration of all pontifical galleries, including the Capitoline Museum, was systematized, but

by 1838 the museum was back in the hands of the conservators, where it stayed until the city government was radically restructured in 1869 with the unification of Italy.⁷⁷

Documentation from 1833 to midcentury reveals the day-to-day running of the Capitoline; the practices there were no doubt similar to those being worked out in other public museums across Europe.⁷⁸ There had always been instances of theft and problems in controlling visitors; tables were drawn up assigning various employees to guard different areas, and rules were established for employees as well.⁷⁹ Crowding in galleries where famous works, such as the Dying Gaul, were displayed had increased, so the number of visitors who could be there at any given time was limited. Public visiting hours were regularized, too, usually lasting three hours on Monday and Thursday afternoons or evenings. The exterior porticoes proved more difficult to control: people slept there and prostitutes solicited clients, as this space was used by a broader cross section of society. The Campidoglio and its museum would, of course, survive further transformations of power, continuing to reinvent themselves, even in our own time, as key public monuments of civic heritage and identity in Rome.

NOTES

- Research for this essay was made possible by grants from the University of California at Santa Barbara and the Getty Research Institute, for which I am very grateful. I must also thank Alberta Campitelli, who made important contacts for me in Rome, and the staff of the Archivio Storico Capitolino in Rome, all of whom, especially Elisabetta Mori, provided excellent guidance and service. At the Capitoline Museum, my work was aided by the director, Claudio Parisi Presicce, and Angela Carbonaro, who oversees the photographic archive.
- 1 See the introduction to this volume.
 - 2 Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 21–24, 114–17, 192–97. For an excellent account of the Lateran bronzes and their transfer to the Capitoline, see Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527* (New Haven, 2010), pp. 103–19.
 - 3 Translated in *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, edited by Francis Morgan Nichols (New York, 1986), pp. 28–29.
 - 4 See Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London, 1995), for the notion of the museum as “a powerful transformer” of meaning.
 - 5 See Krautheimer, *Rome* (note 2), pp. 183, 206–7, for the Palazzo Senatorio.
 - 6 See Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), p. 15; see also Adolf Michaelis, “Storia della Collezione Capitolina di Antichità fino all’inaugurazione del museo nel 1734,” *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 6 (1891), pp. 3–66.
 - 7 See James S. Ackerman, “The Capitoline Hill,” in Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 385–416; for the construction of the Palazzo Nuovo, see Simona Benedetti, *Il Palazzo Nuovo nella Piazza del Campidoglio dalla sua edificazione alla trasformazione in museo* (Rome, 2001).
 - 8 See Roger Cushing Aikin, “‘Romae de Dacia Triumphantis’: Roma and Captives at the Capitoline Hill,” *Art Bulletin* 62 (1980), pp. 583–97.
 - 9 See Melchior Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della Romana Accademia di S. Luca...* (Rome, 1823); *L’Accademia Nazionale di San Luca* (Rome, 1974); Christopher M. S. Johns, “Papal Patronage and Cultural Bureaucracy in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Clement XI and the Accademia di San Luca,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22 (1988), pp. 1–23; and Angela Cipriani, “L’Accademia di San Luca dai Concorsi dei Giovani ai Concorsi Clementini,” in *Academies of Art between Renaissance and Romanticism*, edited by Anton Boschloo (8-Gravenhage, 1989), pp. 61–76.
 - 10 See *I premiati dell’Accademia, 1682–1754*, edited by Angela Cipriani (Rome, 1989).
 - 11 For earlier accounts of the establishment of the museum, see *Il Palazzo dei Conservatori e il Palazzo Nuovo in Campidoglio: Momenti di storia urbana di Roma*, edited by Maria Elisa Tittoni (Pisa, 1996); Benedetti, *Palazzo Nuovo* (note 7); Carole Paul, “The Capitoline Hill and the Birth of the Modern Museum,” in *Museen und fürstliche Sammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert / Museums and Princely Collections in the 18th Century*, edited by Jochen Luckhardt and Michael Wiemers (Braunschweig, 2007), pp. 66–72; Michele Franceschini and Valerio Vernesi, *Statue di Campidoglio: Diario di Alessandro Gregorio Capponi (1733–1746)* (Città di Castello, 2005); Heather Hyde Minor, *The Culture of Architecture in Enlightenment Rome* (University Park, Pa., 2010), pp. 187–215; and Jeffrey Collins, “A Nation of Statues: Museums and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Rome,” in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, edited by Denise Baxter and Meredith Martin (Aldershot, 2010), pp. 187–98. See also Christopher M. S. Johns, *The Visual Culture of Catholic Enlightenment* (forthcoming), chaps. 4 and 5. For bibliography on Capponi, see Franceschini and Vernesi, *Statue di Campidoglio*, pp. 20–23, 25; Minor, *Culture of Architecture*, pp. 265–66, nn. 1–3.
 - 12 Clement XII issued an order for the larger restoration project in 1731; for documentation on Capponi’s restoration of the Arch of Constantine, which began in 1732, see Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome (hereafter ASC), Archivio Cardelli (hereafter AC), misc. II ser., t. 79.
 - 13 Although sculpture decorated some of the palace’s rooms from the late seventeenth century—in the same way that antiquities were displayed in the Palazzo dei Conservatori—it was the purchase of the Albani collection that gave the impetus to Capponi’s project. Some scholars have suggested that the Palazzo Nuovo may have been intended from its construction to be a museum; see Marina Mattei, “Il recupero dell’antico nel Campidoglio e la nascita delle raccolte di statuaria,” in Tittoni, *Palazzo dei Conservatori* (note 11), pp. 63–73, and Francesco Paolo Arata, “La nascita del Museo Capitolino,” in Tittoni, *Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 75–81.
 - 14 ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, p. 342v; p. 342r indicates the sale price of sixty-six thousand scudi; pp. 341–63 appear to be a copy of the purchase contract for the collection along with an inventory. For another inventory of the collection, see Archivio di Stato di Roma, Archivio Notarile, uff. 60 R.C.A., vol. 918, pp. 880–910, which also includes the papal chirograph approving the purchase on December 5, 1733.
 - 15 For a copy of the order of December 9, 1733, informing the conservators, see ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 59A.
 - 16 For the *motu proprio* of Clement XII, see ASC, Archivio della Camera Capitolina (hereafter ACC), cred. 6, t. 74, pp. 462–63; for copies see ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 59A, and ASC, AC, misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 211–12. This document is transcribed in Benedetti, *Palazzo Nuovo* (note 7), pp. 236, 241–42, doc. 6c, from a version in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. On the same day the

- conservators declared Capponi president of the museum; see ASC, ACC, cred. 6, t. 99, pp. 185–89.
- 17 Franceschini and Vernesi, *Stature di Campidoglio* (note 11), p. 28; the diary is catalogued as ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 77. Capponi goes on to cite to the pope other important collections that had been exported.
- 18 Minor, *Culture of Architecture* (note 11), pp. 191–92.
- 19 The conservators' records are in the ASC, ACC (note 16); Capponi's papers passed into the ASC, AC (note 12).
- 20 The total expenditure, apart from the price of Albani's collection, was 20,972 scudi 78 baiocchi, paid from an account in the Monte di Pietà, as indicated in an account book for 1733–36; see ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 79. The architect received 12,300 scudi 09 baiocchi, as corresponds with information in ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 221r–v. Clement XII approved Capponi's expenses in a chirograph dated October 13, 1736; see ASC, AC, div. I, t. 67, fasc. 80. ASC, AC, div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, contains almost ninety records of individual accounts of artists and artisans, detailing their labor on the project; nos. 69 and 74 are for the transportation of ancient sculpture to the Campidoglio. Fascicolo 60, dated January 4, 1734, is a payment order for the transportation and installation of the Albani collection.
- 21 See ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 62, dated July 20, 1734, which states that Capponi has given the conservators a key to the new office in the Palazzo Nuovo for the Tribunale dell'Agricoltura, as mandated by the pope on February 27, 1734, and transported there eight antiquities—busts and herm figures—that adorned their former premises. This is confirmed in the inventory from the archive, ASC, AC, misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 248–52.
- 22 This number accords with the inventories of the Albani collection that accompanied the purchase contract; see note 14.
- 23 See ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, no. 64, payment record to Pietro Marchesini dated December 23, 1735.
- 24 For the design and tinting of inscriptions, see ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, nos. 48 and 49, the accounts dated March 8 to July 23, 1735, of Pietro Blasi, a stonecutter, Francesco Puliziani, and Gasparo Forier, son of the deputy custodian. For Napolioni's accounts of 1734 and 1735, see ASC, AC, div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, no. 51; ASC, AC, misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 146–48, 259–61, and 401, for the measuring of statues for bases.
- 25 See ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 198–200, dated March 15, 1734, for the accounts of various artisans for work done in conformity with Barigioni's drawings.
- 26 See ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, no. 52, for the account of Domenico Zannacca, the *indoratore* (gilder) who painted the rooms, dated May 10, 1734, to January 22, 1735; transcribed in Benedetti, *Palazzo Nuovo* (note 7), pp. 295–97, doc. 39. The carved shields and coffering were also restored; see ASC, AC, div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, no. 67.
- 27 See ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, nos. 53 and 54, for payment orders dated August 22, 1735, for the chair maker and fabric.
- 28 See ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 81, no. 13, a payment record for the lead, dated July 12, 1734, and no. 37, a payment order for seventeen hundred “vetri Romaneschi grandi” (large Roman-style panes), dated April 4, 1735.
- 29 Franceschini and Vernesi, *Stature di Campidoglio* (note 11), p. 57; Capponi asked Francesco Giardoni, a Roman silversmith, to begin manufacturing the devices on May 18, 1735.
- 30 When in 1740 the conservators granted one Riccardo Doblén, “Virtuoso Dilettante,” permission to draw the statues without first consulting Capponi, the marchese protested vigorously; see ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 70.
- 31 For the *motu proprio* of Clement XII, see ASC, ACC (note 16), cred. 6, t. 74, pp. 472–73. This document is transcribed in Benedetti, *Palazzo Nuovo* (note 7), pp. 236, 242–44, doc. 6d, from a version in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. For another copy, see ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 209–10. The position of *sottocustode* evolved from that of the *guardarobba* assigned under Clement XI to care for the statuary in the Palazzo Nuovo; see ASC, AC, misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 204–5.
- 32 For the accounts of Forier and his son, see ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, p. 80; ASC, AC, div. I, t. 67, fasc. 64; fasc. 81, nos. 4, 23, 28, 65, 66. Pietro Forier was paid for cleaning expenses in the Palazzo Nuovo beginning in 1732 and began to receive his salary as *sottocustode* on March 15, 1734. The salary designated by the pope was actually five scudi per month; the rest may have been for cleaning expenses.
- 33 See note 24.
- 34 Two versions of Gasparo's guidebook survive in the Vatican Library: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (hereafter BAV), Cod. Capponiani (hereafter CC), vols. 91 and 300, pp. 62r–71r; see Paolo Arata, “L'allestimento espositivo del Museo Capitolino al termine del pontificato di Clemente XII (1740),” *Bollettino dei Musei comunali di Roma* 8 (1994), pp. 45–94. Minor, *Culture of Architecture* (note 11), p. 208, states that Pietro Forier also kept a guide to the inscriptions based on the work of Pietro Marchesini, but the archival reference she cites to support this does not seem to be accurate.
- 35 See ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 327–39.
- 36 Giambattista Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata nelle sue fabbriche* (Rome, 1736), pp. 129–210. Gaddi provides a detailed account of the contents, decoration, and installation in the museum, prefaced by a discussion of the Campidoglio's sites and history.
- 37 [Giovanni Gaetano Bottari], *Del Museo Capitolino*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1741–82).
- 38 Francesco Eugenio Guasco, *Musei Capitolini antiquae inscriptiones*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1775). Guasco catalogues 1,391 inscriptions, including modern ones on walls and those

- found on antiquities, and discusses the historical context of each.
- 39 [Giovanni Pietro Lucatelli], *Museo Capitolino; o sia, Descrizione delle statue, busti, bassirilievi, urne sepolcrali, iscrizioni, ed altre ammirabili, ed erudite antichità, che si custodiscono nel Palazzo alla destra del Senatorio vicino alla Chiesa d'Araceli in Campidoglio* (Rome, 1750). Franco Prinzi cites documentary evidence that this volume was actually written by the antiquarian Ridolfino Venuti and published by Lucatelli; see Prinzi, "Ridolfino Venuti tra antiquaria e archeologia," introduction to Ridolfino Venuti, *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma* (1763; repr., Rome, 1977), p. 10.
- 40 See Ridolfino Venuti, *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica e istorica di Roma moderna* (Rome, 1767), vol. 2, pp. 688–809, for the Campidoglio and museum. See note 39 for the disputed authorship of Lucatelli's guidebook.
- 41 This statue adorned a niche on the site of the Palazzo Nuovo from the late sixteenth century; for a complete history of the work and its display in the courtyard, see Benedetti, *Palazzo Nuovo* (note 7), pp. 95–116.
- 42 Capponi must have given a good deal of thought to the inscription, for various versions survive in ASC, AC (note 12), misc. II ser., t. 79, pp. 164–92.
- 43 Charles Natoire also drew *Courtyard of the Capitoline Museum* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) in 1759.
- 44 Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), p. 153, and others note that the reliefs came from the Arco di Portogallo in Rome, demolished during the reign of Pope Alexander VII; they do not seem to have been taken from the so-called Marcus Aurelius reliefs in the Palazzo dei Conservatori.
- 45 Inscriptions on the bases of the black marble statues and that of the woman leaving her bath indicated that they were given by Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740), an important collector of the period; see Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 158, 161.
- 46 See Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 166–75, for the description of the room.
- 47 See Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 175–81, for the Sala; for Bottari's catalogue, see note 37.
- 48 For the drawings, see Minor, *Culture of Architecture* (note 11), p. 200, figs. 125, 126; BAV (note 34), CC, vol. 306, fols. 2r and 3r.
- 49 See Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 181–92.
- 50 See Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 192–96.
- 51 See Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 196–201, for the first room, which he calls the "room (to the left of the Sala)." He counted ninety-eight inscriptions on the walls; the *Lex Regia* of Vespasian documented the Roman senate's concession of wide powers to the emperor. Collins, "Nation of Statues" (note 11), p. 193, notes the unusual inclusion of the brick stamps in the display.
- 52 Franceschini and Vernesi, *Statue di Campidoglio* (note 11), pp. 80–81, 87–88; ASC, AC (note 12), div. I, t. 67, fasc. 67, for the statue of Paul IV.
- 53 See Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), pp. 202–9, for the Ultima Stanza.
- 54 The latter was acquired in 1737, after the Dying Gaul, from the widow of the sculptor Pierre-Étienne Monnot; see Franceschini and Vernesi, *Statue di Campidoglio* (note 11), pp. 43, 84–85.
- 55 Compare, for example, Gaddi, *Roma nobilitata* (note 36), Gasparo Forier's guidebook (note 34), and [Lucatelli], *Museo Capitolino* (note 39).
- 56 For the history of the display of antiquities in Rome, see Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 19–42, and cited bibliography.
- 57 See the classic article by Arnaldo Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13 (1950), pp. 285–315; Momigliano describes a process that had its beginnings in the Renaissance.
- 58 See Minor, *Culture of Architecture* (note 11), p. 207, fig. 132, for the drawing.
- 59 Franceschini and Vernesi, *Statue di Campidoglio* (note 11), pp. 106, 114–15. Restorations cited in one sculptor's accounts include sculpting missing fingers and reattaching a finger that broke off a figure of a woman; see note 24.
- 60 Jean-Jacques Barthélemy, *Voyage en Italie... imprimé sur ses lettres originales écrites au comte de Caylus* (Paris, 1801), p. 95 (February 10, 1756).
- 61 See Collins, "Nation of Statues" (note 11), pp. 197–98.
- 62 John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy* (London, 1787), vol. 1, pp. 437–38.
- 63 See [Lucatelli], *Museo Capitolino* (note 39), for changes and additions under Benedict, esp. pp. 69–71 for the latter.
- 64 See Maria Pia Donato, *Accademie romane: Una storia sociale, 1671–1824* (Naples, 2000), pp. 101–6.
- 65 See Franceschini and Vernesi, *Statue di Campidoglio* (note 11), pp. 110–13.
- 66 This information is written by hand in a copy of [Lucatelli], *Museo Capitolino* (note 39), p. 71, in the collection of the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (83-B1016).
- 67 For the history of the Pinacoteca and a catalogue of the paintings, see *Pinacoteca Capitolina: Catalogo generale*, edited by Sergio Guarino and Patrizia Masini (Milan, 2006).
- 68 Well-known examples of religious paintings are Caravaggio's *Saint John the Baptist* (ca. 1602) and Guercino's *Burial of Saint Petronilla* (1621–23), the latter added to the collection in 1818.
- 69 Venuti, *Accurata, e succinta descrizione* (note 40), vol. 2, pp. 784–809, is the first to list the paintings.
- 70 See the introduction to this volume for Panini's painting and for display and viewing practices in eighteenth-century picture galleries.
- 71 Edgar Peters Bowron, "Academic Life Drawing in Rome, 1750–1790," in *Visions of Antiquity: Neoclassical*

- Figure Drawings*, edited by Richard J. Campbell and Victor Carlson, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, 1993), pp. 75–85; Liliana Barroero, “I primi anni della scuola del Nudo in Campidoglio,” in *Benedetto XIV e le arti del disegno: Convegno internazionale di studi di storia dell’arte, Bologna 28–30 novembre 1994*, edited by Donatella Biagi Maino (Bologna, 1994), pp. 367–84; and Silvia Bordini, “Studiare in un istesso luogo la Natura e ciò che ha saputo far l’Arte: Il museo e l’educazione degli artisti nella politica culturale di Benedetto XIV,” in Biagi Maino, *Benedetto XIV*, pp. 385–94. The Accademia del Nudo was moved to the suppressed convent of the Convertite, on the Corso, in 1804.
- 72 Marsha Morton, “Imitating the Ancients¹: The Revival of Art in Northern Europe,” in Campbell and Carlson, *Visions of Antiquity* (note 71), p. 48.
- 73 Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris*, (Cambridge, 1994), esp. pp. 99–103.
- 74 See the manuscript “List of Works Seized from Roman Collections, ca. 1798, by Order of Napoleon I,” Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (850751).
- 75 See Paul, *Borghese Collections* (note 56), pp. 239–47, for the programs of this and related rooms at the Louvre.
- 76 See ASC, ACC (note 16), cred. 6, t. 99, pp. 394–96 (October 26, 1746).
- 77 The *motu proprio* of Gregory XVI (September 18, 1838) returned the jurisdiction of the museum to the Magistratura Capitolina, with the exception of the Pinacoteca, which passed to the city in the *motu proprio* of Pius IX (October 1, 1847); see Guarino and Masini, *Pinacoteca Capitolina* (note 67), p. 10.
- 78 See Carlo Pietrangeli, “I presidenti del Museo Capitolino,” *Capitolium* 38 (1963), pp. 604–9; and Michele Franceschini, “Presidenza dei Musei Capitolini (1733–1869),” *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali*, n.s., no. 1 (1987), pp. 63–72.
- 79 See ASC, ACC (note 16), Presidenza del Museo Capitolino, b. 21, fasc. 1: Regolamenti e normative 1838–54.