III

UFFIZI GALLERY, FLORENCE: THE REBIRTH OF A MUSEUM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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I am much amus'd with visiting the Gallery, which I do not doubt you remember too well to need any Description of.

—Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, letter dated September 11, 1740

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the gallery of the Medici grand dukes of Tuscany was over one hundred years old and already one of the most discussed sites on the itinerary of the Grand Tour. Housed in a long and elegant multistory building overlooking a narrow street between the Palazzo Vecchio and the Arno, the Uffizi was designed by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) in 1560 for the first Medici grand duke, Cosimo I. The building was completed in 1581 by the architect Bernardo Buontalenti (1536–1608) under Cosimo's sons Francesco I and Ferdinando I to meet the needs of the new Tuscan bureaucracy by centralizing the principal offices of the state (hence the name Uffizi) (fig. 3-1). The idea of a gallery took shape in the upper floor of this building, in two long corridors connected by a short walkway overlooking the Arno and in the adjoining rooms, most notably the famous octagonal Tribuna completed by Buontalenti in 1589 to house the Medici's most precious objects. The result was a legendary space whose possibilities would fuel the imagination of artists, poets, and travelers for many generations, reaching an apogee in the 1770s, as depicted in Johann Zoffany's painting *The Tribuna of the Uffizi* between 1772 and 1774, commissioned by Queen Charlotte of England (fig. 3-2).[1]

Under Cosimo III (r. 1670–1723) a new vision of the Uffizi began to emerge that reflected a pattern of acquisitions designed to transform a Renaissance cabinet of curiosities into a gallery of art and antiquities. In 1675 Cosimo III inherited his uncle Leopoldo's remarkable collections of artists' drawings and paintings, including the cardinal's unique collection of painters' self-portraits, which he placed on display in a special room in 1681. In the midst of creating the *sala degli autoritratti,* Cosimo III famously brought three of the most important ancient statues in the Villa Medici—the Wrestlers, the Knife Grinder, and the Venus de' Medici—from Rome to Florence in 1677.[2] They became the most celebrated sculptures in the Tribuna, quickly surpassing the Celestial Venus and the much-discussed Hermaphrodite, and well-known

FIGURE 3-1.
Nathaniel Parr (English, act. 1739–67), after Giuseppe Zocchi (Italian, 1711/17–1767), *A View of the Curia Florentina Taken from the Lodge near the Arno,* 1750. Etching with engraving, 29.7 × 45.2 cm (11⅝ × 17¾ in.). Published by John Boydell and Robert Sayer. London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, 1913,1015.97

modern statues imitating the antique, such as Michelangelo's *Bacchus,* Baccio Bandinelli's copy of the Laocoön, and the many smaller works by Giambologna.[3] The Dancing Faun would join them in 1688 as another Roman export (fig. 3-3). Cosimo III also acquired Northern European paintings and a considerable number of medals, further enhancing the gallery's reputation as a great cultural repository. The expanding museum needed more space. In 1697 Cosimo III completed Leopoldo's project to redesign the south and west corridors.[4] Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Uffizi was on the verge of becoming a different, far more extensive, and more accessible museum.

In acknowledgment of the changing status of his collection, Cosimo III created a team of advisers for the new venture of the Uffizi. He invested in the education of Sebastiano Bianchi (1662–1738)—the latest member of a family of craftsmen in *pietre dure* of Milanese origins to aspire to the position of first custodian (*primo custode*) since the late sixteenth century—to ensure that the custodian of his gallery was a bona fide antiquarian.[5] The antiquarian's job would be to act as a knowledgeable interpreter and cataloguer of the Medici antiquities, demonstrating the rivalry of this collection with its Roman equivalents. Under Bianchi's supervision the medals collection became one of the jewels of the Uffizi. Cosimo III also commissioned Filippo Baldinucci (1625–1696), the former bookkeeper turned art historian, to catalogue and expand the drawings collection, setting aside another room for it. The grand duke subsequently invited Baldinucci to assess and organize his paintings. Many artistic treasures formerly in the Medici residence in the Pitti Palace migrated to the Tribuna, further enhancing its status as the artistic nucleus of the Medici gallery.[6]

Well-informed travelers began to take note of these developments. In 1688 Maximilien Misson (ca. 1650–1722) called "the famous Venus de' Medici" a "rare Masterpiece." Joseph Addison (1672–1719)—whose account of the Uffizi was initially published in 1705 as a supplement to the 1695 English translation of Misson's popular French guidebook—especially praised the Florentine collection of modern statues and the excellence of its antiquities as reasons to compare the Medici gallery favorably to its Roman counterparts.[7] He also corrected Richard Lassels's late-seventeenth-century description of the gallery as L shaped, remarking that it was more accurately described with the Greek letter π.[8] Given the work on the gallery under way in the late seventeenth century, Lassels (1603?–1668) may not have been in error, but Addison's revised description reflected the completion of the project to open up the gallery for additional exhibitions.

More than any of his predecessors, Cosimo III envisioned the entire Uffizi gallery as a repository for the best elements of the Medici collections. His practice of reviewing objects in other palaces and villas for potential inclusion

in the main gallery anticipated later efforts to centralize the collection under the Habsburg-Lorraine dynasty. His willingness to make strategic acquisitions, requisition rooms, improve lighting, and rearrange objects paved the way for the energetic reinvention of the Uffizi throughout the eighteenth century. Around 1709, for example, he had Leopoldo's self-portraits reframed to give them a greater sense of uniformity.[9] Cosimo III also initiated the project to create a room of inscriptions, urns, and monuments, designed to cater to renewed scholarly interest in ancient writing, not only Greek and Roman but also the enigmatic language of the ancient Etruscans whom modern Tuscans proudly claimed as their forebears. Addison observed the early stages of the creation of this vestibule when he was shown "several of 'em that are not yet put up" in anticipation of the completion of this new exhibit in 1704.[10]

Despite all the changes that Cosimo III brought to the Uffizi, the gallery continued to impress early-eighteenth-century visitors as a fabulous example of a cabinet of curiosities. In its origins the Uffizi was an exhibit space emerging from a late Renaissance military-industrial manufacturing complex, housing workshops, artisans, artifacts, and bureaucrats together. Its profusion of diamonds, emeralds, rubies, amethysts, topaz, and turquoise reflected the origins of the collection in Cosimo I's *studiolo* and especially the Medici *guardaroba,* which administered the gallery until 1769. The arms and armor, natural curiosities, globes, mathematical instruments, and costly and fabled examples of artisanal handiwork—lathe-turned wood and ivory statuettes, bejeweled nautilus shells set in gold, Japanese and Chinese porcelain, numerous examples of the Tuscan crafts of making tapestries, porcelain, *pietre dure,* and elaborately ornamented ebony cabinets—still dominated many accounts of the experience of the gallery. The growing collection of paintings, for example, was not described at length until Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665–1745) published his *Account of Some of the Statues, Bas-reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy, &c. with Remarks* (1722), based on his son's travel notes. These artifacts would eventually make the Uffizi the quintessential museum of Italian Renaissance painting, but the imprint of the princely *Wunderkammer* did not vanish overnight.[11]

This version of the Uffizi, however, was on the verge of obsolescence. By the end of the eighteenth century the Uffizi would be one of the most innovative art galleries in Europe. Gallery custodians ceased to show visitors the fabled alchemical nail—"this once famous nail now lies in obscurity," remarked the German traveler Johann Georg Keyssler (1693–1743) in travel notes published in 1729 and 1730—and eventually they also retired an enormous, if yellowing, 140-carat diamond, reputed to be the largest in any European collection, which Goethe's father, Johann Caspar, sketched during a tour of the Uffizi in 1740.[12] Instead, eighteenth-century custodians, antiquarians, and ministers working on behalf of the grand duke invested heavily in acquisitions

designed to cement the Uffizi's reputation as a repository of legendary antique sculptures such as the Venus de' Medici, and of a growing body of paintings and modern sculptures, organized by school and period, with special emphasis on the emergence of the Florentine or Tuscan school of art. The Uffizi of 1800 would be virtually unrecognizable, indeed incomprehensible, to the visitors who strolled through its corridors in 1700.

Like Botticelli's *Birth of Venus,* which entered the collection in 1815, the Uffizi gallery emerged beautifully and seemingly fully formed from its environment while retaining an air of mystery about its origins. A handful of key individuals produced the new Uffizi in several stages throughout the eighteenth century. In the process they created an entirely different understanding of the organization, purpose, and custodianship of a museum. The outstanding documentary research of a number of Florentine art historians permits us to reconstruct this history in great detail in order to see exactly when and how the Uffizi became one of the great art museums of the eighteenth century.[13]

The End of the Medici and the Birth of Their Museum

On July 9, 1737, the death of the corpulent, ailing, and debauched Gian Gastone de' Medici (r. 1720–37) provided an inglorious coda to the two-hundred-year reign of the Medici grand dukes and the centrality of this family to Florentine politics since the era of Cosimo il Vecchio.[14] Absent a male heir, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany became a gift bestowed upon the young duke of Lorraine, Francis Stephen, husband of the future empress Maria Theresa. During his lengthy rule Francis Stephen spent a grand total of nine months in residence in Florence, yet he must have derived a special pleasure in seeing the twenty-foot-long horsetail displayed in the grandducal armory, a gift of his grandfather Duke Charles V to Ferdinando II, during his tour of the Uffizi in the winter of 1739.[15] This well-described artifact symbolized the right of his family to inherit the Medici's cultural patrimony.

Despite the last Medici grand duke's inattentiveness to his family patrimony, other Florentine nobles, antiquarians, and connoisseurs had continued to develop the profile of the gallery in the tradition of Cosimo III. The Florentine antiquarian and priest Anton Francesco Gori (1691–1757) commemorated the creation of a Room of Inscriptions by including them in his catalogue of Tuscan lapidary inscriptions whose first volume appeared in print in 1726.[16] Shortly after Cosimo III's death a group of Florentine patricians proposed the idea of publishing an illustrated catalogue advertising Florence's numerous private collections, and especially containing "all the beautiful things of the grand duke's gallery."[17] Under the leadership of Cardinal Neri Corsini and his brother Bartolomeo, the Society for the Work of the Florentine Museum came into being in 1728. Its members selected Gori to oversee this ambitious proj-

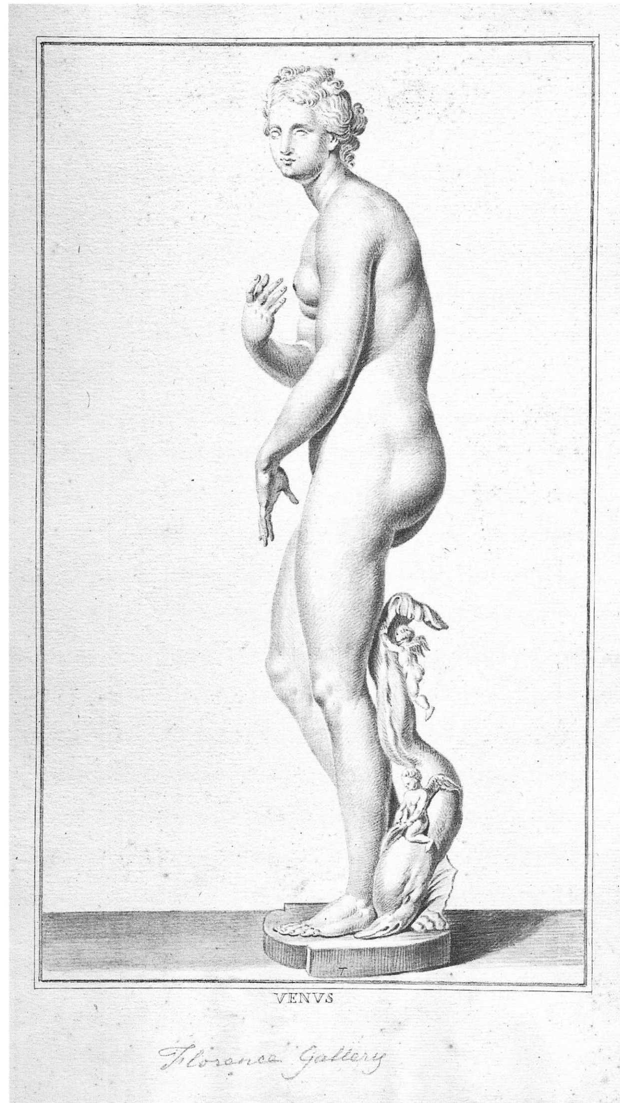

FIGURE 3-4. *The Venus de' Medici in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence,* 1768–1805. Pen and ink, with gray wash and graphite, 44.6 × 29.5 cm (17½ × 11⅝ in.). Copied from Anton Francesco Gori, *Museum Florentinum Exhibens Insigniora Vetustatis Monumenta quae Florentiniae sunt* (Florence, 1731–66), vol. 3, *Statuae Antiquae Deorum et Virorum Illustrium Centu Aeris Tabulis Incisae quae Exstant in Thesauro Mediceo cum Observationibus* (Florence, 1743), pl. 29. London, British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, 2010,5006.1757

ect, and the custodian Bianchi to supervise the drawing and engraving of the objects. The hundreds of engraved plates in the twelve volumes of the *Museum Florentinum* (1731–66) covered only a selection of objects in the Uffizi gallery that were then of special interest: ancient cameos and portrait gems, Roman busts and statues, ancient coins and medals, and an ample selection of the self-portraits (fig. 3-4).[18] It was nonetheless the most ambitious visual archive of a museum undertaken up to this time.

By the late 1720s the structure of Gori's *Museum Florentinum* was already well established. Artists were at work in the gallery, drawing the objects selected for inclusion. The German visitor Keyssler offered a complete description of this eagerly anticipated publication during his visit in 1729, adding that "the whole work... is expected out of the press within ten or twelve years."[19] In May 1730 the German mercenary and self-styled baron Karl Ludwig von Pöll-

nitz (1692–1775) also witnessed the making of the first volume of engravings during his tour of the gallery. Anticipating the end of the Medici dynasty, he observed that it was a project "worthy of the Grand Duke, and it seems to me that this Prince when he sees his Family extinct, and his Estate pass into the hands of Foreigners, ought at least to eternalize the Glory of his Ancestors by publishing an Inventory of the immense Wealth which they have acquired, and transmitted to their Posterity."[20] The first volume of the *Museum Florentinum* would be dedicated to the incompetent Gian Gastone, though he did far less to further the project than the art- and book-loving Cardinal Corsini, who was back in Rome by 1730, as the papal nephew of Clement XII.

A decade later, the Bordeaux lawyer and politician Charles de Brosses (1709–1777) would tour the Uffizi with Gori in hand, noting with pleasure the chance to see the medals illustrated in his volumes and taking the opportunity to create in his own notes a plan of the Uffizi with the exact location of each object that interested him, because, as de Brosses observed, nothing like this existed "in the *Musaeum Florentinum.*"[21] Despite its evident lacunae and criticisms of the quality of the engravings of the most celebrated objects, such as the Venus de' Medici, Gori's visual catalogue created a virtual tour of the Medici collection, even as it ceased to be theirs. In the summer of 1764 Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) examined the nearly complete efforts of the "hardworking Gori" before his first visit to the Uffizi. He offered the opinion that devoting four volumes to the self-portraits was a waste of paper in light of the significance of many other artifacts that had yet to be reproduced.

Gibbon was also critical of the quality of reproductions of the famous ancient statues and especially disappointed that the ancient portrait busts, which he considered to be one of the Uffizi's most significant holdings, were not yet engraved. Nonetheless, he conceded the catalogue's value after his initial inspection of a single volume on July 3, 1764: "I would be pleased to be able to acquire it." In the midst of his fourteen trips to view the Uffizi gallery Gibbon subsequently purchased the volume on the statues, with the promise of more to come. The following year the influential French traveler Jérôme de Lalande (1732–1807) bought the entire set (then eleven volumes), advising readers to purchase it in Florence rather than try to find a copy in Paris, where scarcity made the price rise incrementally. Like many well-informed visitors, both Gibbon and Lalande had their specific criticisms of Gori's project but acknowledged its general utility to the museum-going traveler. In May 1772 the Swedish philosopher and Orientalist Jacob Jonas Bjornstahl (1731–1779) still considered Gori's *Museum Florentinum* the best guide to the Uffizi.[22]

Yet even as the Lorrainers rushed to Florence to claim and despoil their prize, ready to strip it bare, the last surviving descendant of the Medici family, Gian Gastone's sister Anna Maria Luisa (1667–1743), the wife of the elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm, considered the fate of their collections. Understanding

the essential role that they would play in preserving her family's legacy in Florence, within a month of her brother's death she drew up an agreement known as the Family Pact (Patto di Famiglia) or the Convention (Convenzione), ratified by the new grand duke, Francis Stephen (r. 1737–65), in Vienna on October 31, 1737, which included a specific codicil (Article III) concerning Medici possessions:

> The Most Serene Electress cedes, gives, and transfers to His Royal Highness at the present moment, for him and for successive Grand Dukes, all the furniture, effects, and rarities from the succession of her brother, the Most Serene Grand Duke, such as Galleries, Paintings, Statues, Libraries, Jewels, and other precious things such as Holy Relics and Reliquaries and the Ornaments of the Chapel of the Royal Palace, so that His Royal Highness commits himself to preserve them with the express condition that nothing which is for the ornament of the State, for the use of the public, and to attract the curiosity of foreigners will be transported or taken away from the Capital and State of the Grand Duchy.[23]

In these words Anna Maria Luisa proved herself to be a capable and foresighted daughter of the art connoisseur Cosimo III. With the stroke of her pen, she defined all the rare and precious things acquired by the Medici over generations as the inalienable public patrimony of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. No longer private possessions of a ruling family, they were objects of public utility. Florence and its rulers had an obligation to maintain and display the collections intact within the city as a matter of inheritance.

Having carefully crafted this agreement, the aging electress feared that the new rulers of the Tuscan state would nonetheless find a way to circumvent the Family Pact.[24] She was not wrong to worry about the good intentions of Francis Stephen. Beset by heavy war debts occasioned by the War of Austrian Succession, he might well have been tempted to melt down all the precious metals and strip the gallery, wardrobe, and palaces of their jewels. She did not hesitate to convey these fears publicly, leading a number of her admirers to anticipate the imminent demise of the gallery as a bathetic spectacle equal to the burning of the ancient library of Alexandria. Visiting the Uffizi for the first time in the company of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762) in September 1740, Lady Henrietta Louisa Pomfret (1700?–1761) confided to another English friend at home that the seven locked rooms of the gallery were "filled with different kinds of valuable curiosities, which have been collecting for near two hundred years; and whenever the poor electress dies, will, I do not doubt, in as many days be dispersed as many several ways."

Subsequent remarks by Lady Pomfret upon completing her inspection of the Uffizi six weeks later reflected the consensus of the English community in

Florence, which gathered regularly at the English resident Horace Mann's palace on Via Santo Spirito, about Francis Stephen's intent:

> How great a pity it is that a wretch should possess it who only watches for an opportunity to destroy it!—but such are the riches and vanities of the world. What the Medici aspired to by virtue, obtained by guilt, kept by fortune, and transmitted from generation to generation till servitude became easy and usurpation glorious, is at last, with the stroke of a pen only in a treaty to one who has neither force to secure nor dignity to support himself, if the least grain of ancient Tuscan valour should revive and animate the people to regain their still wished-for liberty.[25]

During the remaining years of her existence Anna Maria Luisa did everything possible to prevent this outcome. While unsuccessful in her efforts to demand a complete inventory of the collection as part of the transfer of ownership, she nonetheless established the new status of the Uffizi as a state possession rather than a personal patrimony of the grand dukes, prevented the sale of the family jewels, influenced the appointment of the next antiquarian, Antonio Cocchi, and worked with him to create an inventory of the medals and cameos in 1738 and 1739. Her will, composed on April 5, 1739, further enjoined the new grand duke to preserve intact the jewels "together with all the statues, paintings, medals, and other singular rarities found in the inheritance of the previous ruling family of the Most Serene Testator," referring explicitly to the Family Pact of 1737.[26] The savvy electress continued to move as many precious objects as possible into the wardrobe of the Palazzo Vecchio, which made them, by virtue of location in the Medici treasury, inalienable possessions.[27]

Despite these fears, the Lorrainers never seriously endangered the collection. Even Horace Mann (1701–1786) had to begrudgingly admit that they protected it throughout the early 1740s when a Spanish invasion of Florence seemed imminent. Other aspects of the Medici patrimony were despoiled, as boatloads of valuables were shipped from Livorno to Trieste en route to Vienna for liquidation, "but nothing out of the Palazzo Pitti or Gallery is visibly touched." In September 1743 Mann confessed to Horace Walpole (1717–1797) that the real fear was no longer the Austrian sale of the collection but the possibility that the Spanish might get their hands on it. Since they were not bound by the Family Pact, they could indeed "run away with the Gallery and Palace Pitti" as war booty.[28] As hostilities subsided with the end of the War of Austrian Succession in 1748, everyone breathed a sigh of relief that the Uffizi remained intact. For the next half-century, until the Napoleonic invasion of Italy, the Uffizi would fling open its doors to growing numbers of visitors in relative political tranquility.

Custodians, Antiquarians, and Directors

Yet while larger geopolitical events transformed the Uffizi from the jewel of one of Italy's most enduring and legendary ruling families into a satellite possession of the Austrian Habsburgs, the museum found itself in a state of internal turmoil. Understanding the challenges faced by a succession of custodians, antiquarians, and directors, and the evolution of their responsibilities, provides us with an unparalleled opportunity to witness the birth pangs of an early modern museum administration (table 3-1). This community of individuals and families was charged with the task of safeguarding and preserving the collection, responding to the requests of the grand dukes and their ministers to make it accessible to visitors, and effecting changes to the contents, structure, and organization of the gallery. Observing their activities allows us to see the next stages in the Uffizi's transformation.

Grand Duke Francesco I's creation of the position of custodian (*custode*), with the appointment of the Milanese *maestro in pietre dure* Giovanni Bianchi (d. 1618) to this position in 1580, marked the inauguration of the Uffizi's admin-

Table 3-1. Principal Uffizi Gallery Staff, 1580–1800

First Custodian	Antiquarian	Director
1580 Giovanni Bianchi	1688 Sebastiano Bianchi[1]	1755 Antonio Cocchi
1616 Sebastiano Bianchi	1738 Antonio Cocchi	1769 Giuseppe Querci[2]
1646 Giovanni Bianchi	1758 Raimondo Cocchi	1773 Raimondo Cocchi
1701 Giovanni Francesco Bianchi[3]	1775 Luigi Lanzi[4]	1775 Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni
1754 Giuseppe Bianchi		1792 Tommaso Puccini
1768 Francesco del Rosso[5]		
1769 Pietro Bastianelli[6]		

Sources: Archivio della Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, Filza VI (1773), ins. 4 (Raimondo Cocchi, *Albero istorico degli impieghi soli della Galleria spettanti alla Custodia e mostra di essa);* Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, *Nuove acquisizioni* 1050, Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi,* ser. II, vol. 3, c. 456 (May 3, 1775); Anna Floridia, *Forestieri in Galleria: Visitatori, direttori e custodi agli Uffizi dal 1769 al 1785* (Florence, 2007); and *Gli Uffizi: Quattro secoli di una galleria,* edited by Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Ragionieri, 2 vols. (Florence, 1983).

NOTES

1 There is some ambiguity about the date of his official appointment, which may not have been until 1699.

2 Querci also held the title of custodian, because his job subsumed and superseded this older position, and was the first director no longer subordinate to the master of the wardrobe.

3 Bianchi claimed to have held this position since 1699, but official documents date his appointment to 1701.

4 Lanzi's position was also defined as vice director and assistant to Pelli Bencivenni.

5 Del Rosso held this appointment for a few months until the appointment of Querci as director.

6 Bastianelli occupied a unique position as first assistant or custodian and servant for medals (*primo aiuto, o custode e serve alle medaglie*) under the Cocchi antiquarians. He continued to show visitors the gallery under the directorship of Querci, the younger Cocchi, and Pelli Bencivenni. In light of the administrative changes under way, his title of *primo custode* in this later period is appropriate, since there was no longer any other kind of first custodian in charge of the entire gallery. His status was more important than that of the second custodian (*secondo custode*) and doorman (*portinaio*).

istration. Brought to Florence as part of a team of Lombard artists at work on the opulent inlaid stonework of the Capella dei Principi of the church of San Lorenzo (the burial site of the grand dukes and their family), Bianchi was chosen for his expertise in creating one of the principal objects on display in the late Renaissance gallery. He reported directly to the master of the wardrobe (*guardaroba maggiore*), who was materially and financially responsible for the gallery. Like many occupants of court positions, Bianchi was given a modest stipend, an apartment for his family in the building, keys to the rooms and cabinets, and the opportunity to supplement his income with gratuities. He and his heirs continued to create court art for several generations—as painters, engravers, and especially masters of *pietre dure.* Baldinucci reported that Bianchi's son Francesco (d. 1658) put his training as a painter to use copying the greatest works of art in the Medici collection, while his grandson Giovanni (d. 1701) probably assisted in the making of the famous floral octagonal table designed by Ligozzi and Poccetti that became a centerpiece of the Tribuna. Members of the Bianchi (subsequently Bianchi Buonavita) family occupied the position of custodian until 1768.[29]

The Uffizi staff continued to grow. By the era of Cosimo III there were also several other employees: a second custodian and assistant (transforming Bianchi's title to first custodian); a doorman and servant; and ultimately the antiquarian (a position first held by Sebastiano Bianchi after returning to Florence in May 1688 from several years of study and travel) and his servant, who eventually became known as the first assistant or custodian and servant for medals. In 1740, in acknowledgment that the collection of arms and armor was primarily of historical value, a decision was made to replace the armory gunsmith with a custodian.[30] Each staff member was in charge of a different experience of the gallery, from the learned and in-depth tours offered by the first custodian and antiquarian to the more cursory tour of the curiosities guided by the second custodian and the simple admission provided by the doorman. Each employee supplemented his modest salary with gratuities offered by visitors, who themselves began to comment on the necessity of paying each member of the staff for admission, a basic tour of the gallery, access to locked rooms and cabinets, and ultimately the history of the objects themselves. "A small gratuity to the door-keeper admits one at all times to the large gallery of statues," observed the German traveler Keyssler in 1729, "but as to the *Tribuna,* the *Intaglio*'s and *Cameo*'s, the medals and some other curiosities, a previous agreement must be made with Bianchi."[31] Of the forty paoli in total that Keyssler disbursed during his visit, fifteen paoli was the price of a single guided tour by the antiquarian. He also mentioned the requirement of paying separately for entrance to the armory.

With the exception of Sebastiano Bianchi, whose education was financed and supervised by Cosimo III, and whose knowledge of ancient languages,

antiquities, and especially numismatics was widely admired beyond Florence and essential to Gori's realization of the *Museum Florentinum,* none of the Bianchi custodians was especially known for his learning. They were a family of skilled artisans who had become court employees, keepers of the keys but not interpreters of objects. For them, the Uffizi gallery was the site of a lucrative family business, a sinecure they possessed by loyally discharging their duties as the grand duke's servants. In December 1728, Montesquieu walked through the chilly gallery corridors with Sebastiano discussing the problem of identifying the subject of ancient Roman busts; he also enjoyed a private viewing of the ancient Priapus, locked in a room to create the aura of modesty around the erotic viewing of antiquity (in 1775 the Marquis de Sade observed that it was behind the door, covered by a paper lion's head to spare innocent visitors, though he was quick to imagine the acts of devotion that women might offer this impressively large marble penis).[32] Keyssler offered a detailed description of the tour he received from the "learned Bianchi," who supervised visits to the Tribuna to see its *studiolo* and the ten drawers of medals then housed in this room:

> [A]fter obtaining a proper license or permission, he allows those from who [*sic*] he judges that there is nothing to apprehend, not only to take a particular view of every thing, but to examine them for weeks together. He likewise readily gives the best lights and information to strangers concerning the most remarkable pieces: on which occasion the drawers where the medals and intaglios lie are brought out of the *Tribuna* into one of the adjacent chambers, as much more convenient for an accurate examination.[33]

The ailing Gian Gastone's promise in July 1736 to maintain the Bianchi family's right to this position, in anticipation of Sebastiano's death, at the beginning of January 1738, was tangible proof of their centrality to Florence's ancien régime.[34]

With the change in government, however, came a new vision of the museum's administration that would erode the Bianchi monopoly on oversight of the gallery. In 1738 Sebastiano's less educated brother Giovanni Francesco occupied the position of *custode,* with the express understanding that his young nephew Giuseppe—deprived of the full education in languages and antiquities that his father, Sebastiano, had enjoyed—would eventually succeed him. Yet the salient fact was that the Bianchi family had recently occupied two positions, being both custodians and antiquarians of the gallery. The position of antiquarian was not deemed inheritable. As the gallery changed hands, many Florentines, including the electress Anna Maria Luisa, considered it critical to make a good appointment.

The choice of Antonio Cocchi (1695–1758) in January 1738 was not a foregone conclusion. His primary rival, Gori, possessed more obvious credentials

since he was fully embarked on the publication of the *Museum Florentinum*. Yet for a number of influential Florentines, Gori was unacceptable. His antiquarian qualifications were critiqued by those who considered his scholarship sloppy and superficial, among them the Veronese antiquarian Scipione Maffei (1675–1755), whose opinion held sway in the imperial court. His ethics were impugned by others, who considered Gori a shameless self-promoter and opportunist who did not simply study the past but trafficked in its artifacts for profit. Finally, for the most radically enlightened and anticlerical Tuscans, Gori's religious occupation was incompatible with the assumption of civil office. They did not want a priestly antiquarian who owed his loyalty to Rome.[35] Instead, the physician Cocchi got the job. He possessed all the virtues of the scientific antiquarian, namely the ability to understand the natural as well as ancient objects in the Uffizi gallery while potentially bringing the taxonomic skills of a practicing naturalist to bear on the organization of the antiquities.[36] He was also well traveled and fluent in many languages, including English. Some felt, quite rightfully as it turned out, that he would be an asset in making the Uffizi the culmination of the British experience of Florence.

Cocchi's lack of involvement in the prior history of the gallery may also have been to his advantage. Francis Stephen and his ministers were in search of new talent upon which to bestow their patronage. At the same time, Anna Maria Luisa's support of Cocchi made him a potentially useful figure in effecting a smooth transition of the gallery from the Medici to Lorraine rule. The electress felt assured that Cocchi would assist her in protecting the Medici patrimony from further depredation. "We are neither emperors nor kings," she imperiously proclaimed to the newly appointed antiquarian, "but nonetheless this collection is very noteworthy."[37] In some respects, Cocchi anticipated the emerging characteristics of the eighteenth-century civil servant: he was an honorable, hardworking man of science fully cognizant of the role he might play in continuing to enhance the function of the Uffizi as the glorious centerpiece of any Florentine cultural itinerary. Cocchi eagerly accepted the position, expecting to get to work immediately on the important task of cataloguing the Medals Room. He had his title, a salary, and the support of the electress. Until the day he first set foot in the gallery, it never occurred to him to consider the other museum personnel, whose goodwill was essential to doing the job.

Giovanni Francesco Bianchi deeply resented Cocchi's intrusion into the close-knit gallery family. He found a sympathetic ally in the marchese Vincenzo Riccardi (1704–1752), who, in his capacity as master of the wardrobe and with the collusion of the two senators entrusted with supervising the transition, did his best to limit the scope of the new antiquarian's activities. Bianchi and Riccardi had no desire to cede any privileges, let alone the keys, to an unwanted interloper. The inevitable result was a clash of competing visions for the Uffizi's future and a struggle, verging on internecine warfare, over

jurisdictional rights and privileges. In the early weeks after assuming his position, Cocchi was repeatedly forced to endure a series of petty humiliations. He found himself denied the keys to the Medals Room and refused access to other parts of the gallery. He did not hesitate to confront his resentful and suspicious colleagues about their lack of cooperation. Under pressure, they begrudgingly handed over Sebastiano Bianchi's 1704 inventory of the medals and his more recently completed catalogue of gems, and reluctantly unlocked the chests so that Cocchi might begin to make a new inventory.

Cocchi complained vociferously about his lack of "access to the antiquities" and inability to show "this celebrated treasury to *virtuosi dilettanti*."[38] He quickly understood the paradox of his position: he had been asked to assume half a job without any real discussion of how the division of responsibilities would occur. The custodian Bianchi and master of the wardrobe Riccardi had taken the liberty of defining Cocchi's position as subordinate to their own. They wished to retain all the keys, giving the new antiquarian limited access only to the antiquities in the Medals Room at their convenience, and they made even these materials inaccessible for several months by finding reasons to be absent whenever he was present. Cocchi predictably envisioned his job in far more expansive terms. He saw himself as the learned interpreter of all the Uffizi's antiquities, natural objects, and scientific instruments, which required unrestricted access to the gallery, his own set of keys, and the right to rearrange its books and materials to create a designated space for the study of antiquities. His job was to survey the collection broadly, improving its organization, deepening public understanding of its treasures, and visibly enhancing it by showing the antiquities to scholars and foreigners. Cocchi additionally expected to be accorded all the privileges of the prior antiquarian, Bianchi, including the assignment of an apartment that was of course occupied by surviving Bianchi family members, including the current custodian and his nephew.

A series of minor frustrations culminated in a major embarrassment. In March 1738, Count Emmanuel de Richecourt asked Cocchi to redo his initial inventory, no doubt encouraged by Riccardi and his associate Bianchi.[39] Certainly this request was a by-product of the struggle for authority among the old and new museum personnel. Yet it may also have been a genuine commentary on Cocchi's inexperience. Did he know that each medal needed to be weighed and measured, its complete description certified by a senator and an employee of the mint? However learned and urbane he was, Cocchi had never been in charge of a major gallery's antiquities. Perhaps he did have a few things to learn about how to catalogue a collection properly. While a basic inventory of the medals and gems was complete by 1739, Cocchi did not finish his grand inventory of antiquities until 1754.[40]

In 1739, encouraged by the support of the influential antiquarian Maffei, who helped pave the way for a successful visit by entertaining Francis Stephen

with tales of the marvels of the Uffizi when the grand duke and his wife, Maria Theresa, stopped in Verona before continuing to Florence, Cocchi convinced the new grand duke to see the gallery as a valuable asset to preserve. For the next twenty years Cocchi and the custodians coexisted in an uneasy truce, getting used to each other's presence. "Old Bianchi," as Horace Mann called him just a few years before his death, continued to show well-heeled visitors everything but the Medals Room.[41] Gori accepted the fact that a rival had won his friend Sebastiano's position and found ways to work with Cocchi. He continued the monumental project of creating a visual portrait of the gallery, now dedicating the final volumes to Francis Stephen, who repaid Gori, in a manner of speaking, by lavishly funding a competing project to have the Dominican Benedetto Vincenzo de Greyss (1714–ca. 1775) prepare a separate visual inventory, also intended for publication.[42] Cocchi, too, resigned himself to the limits of his authority, reminding those who asked: "Seeing the Gallery does not depend on me but only seeing medals and engraved gems."[43]

Cocchi amply fulfilled his mission of enticing growing numbers of foreigners to contemplate a lengthy stay in Florence as the best way to see the Uffizi, guided by the Uffizi antiquarian, who not only made a business of instructing them in the gallery but enjoyed a lucrative occupation as physician to the English, thanks to his friendship with his most influential patient, the English resident Horace Mann.[44] Within a decade of his appointment, visitors began to recommend a three-hour afternoon course "with Doctor Cocchi and his medals."[45] None of the other custodians were capable of playing this role, making Cocchi into Florence's unofficial cultural ambassador. The eventual assignment of a large apartment to Cocchi in 1754—carved out of the defunct foundry (*fonderia*)—and the elevation of his title to director in 1755 reflected an important concession to his vision of himself as the gallery's principal employee.[46] After losing the initial battle, he had indeed won the war.

For all his scientific learning, Cocchi was fully a man of the ancien régime, especially when it came to his son Raimondo, whom he regarded as the natural heir to his position. "His son is very well instructed," reported Mann in November 1757, upon receiving the news that Cocchi's latest illness might prove fatal, "and we hope he may succeed to his father's employments. He... exerts the employment of an antiquarian in the Gallery." At the time of his death on January 1, 1758, Cocchi had begun to prepare Raimondo to assume his responsibilities, including receiving permission to allow his son to show the gallery to distinguished visitors as he, Cocchi, lay dying.[47] Although clearly not yet ready at age twenty-two to undertake such an important job, Raimondo possessed enough of the requisite education and patronage to be offered the job of *antiquario delle medaglie*, a position that highlighted his specific supervision of the Medals Room. There was every hope that he would demonstrate some of his father's uncanny skill at bringing the world into the gallery, though

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), who arrived in Florence in 1758 to catalogue Baron von Stosch's collection, reported that the terrified young antiquarian hid from him, trembling at the prospect of revealing his ignorance to Rome's greatest antiquarian.[48]

While lacking the affability and gregarious personality of his father, Raimondo nonetheless took up his responsibilities with the zeal and devotion of someone born to his position. Around 1768, only a few years before Zoffany began to paint the gallery, the English painter and caricaturist Thomas Patch (1725–1782) captured the younger Cocchi on the fringes of an imaginary gathering of English virtuosi inspecting the Venus de' Medici with the help of Raimondo's assistant, Pietro Bastianelli, and led by Patch, who mounts the pedestal to demonstrate the geometry of her graceful curves with a compass (fig. 3-5). Cocchi stands to the side, his arm resting on the pedestal of the Wrestlers, in conversation with a visitor as he watchfully observes the scene. Patch's caricatures from 1768 and 1769 of Cocchi, Bastianelli, and a servant named Valentino, who hung around the piazza hoping to lead Grand Tourists through the gallery for a small fee, make the identification and hierarchical relationship of these three figures unmistakable. Although the version of Cocchi in Patch's painting lacks the nervous energy, sharp-eyed intelligence, and somewhat stiff and pompous demeanor of Cocchi in his sketch,[49] the painting is nonetheless a portrait of the antiquarian at work, supervising a visit that included notable English residents of Florence such as Mann and the ardent Italophile Lord Cowper. To the degree to which Patch acknowledged

FIGURE 3-5.
Thomas Patch (English, 1725–1782), *A Gathering of Dilettanti round the Medici Venus*, ca. 1769. Oil on canvas, 137.2 × 228.6 cm (54 × 90 in.). Sir Brinsley Ford Collection. London, The Courtauld Institute of Art

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Cocchi's role in the gallery at the heyday of the Grand Tour, Cocchi must have been pleased with the result.

By the time Gibbon visited the gallery in 1764, envisioning the statues lining the corridor as battalions ready for battle and finding himself spellbound before the Venus de' Medici, Raimondo Cocchi had matured into his role, though Winckelmann was not alone in expressing reservations about the son. Shortly after Gibbon's departure for Rome, the younger Cocchi began to question why his title was not *antiquario della Galleria,* which conformed more exactly to the job his father had been given, though in practice the elder Cocchi had not succeeded in asserting his authority over the antiquities beyond the Medals Room.[50] Outlining his duties, Raimondo informed his superiors that his job involved "not only guardianship of the medals and gems" but often "other commissions that do not regard medals but pertain to the rest of the Gallery as far as its antiquities and to other matters outside of this."[51] He began to hint at the possibility that, in reality, he was the acting director, a position that had been vacant since his father's death. Cocchi would not be invited to fill this position until 1773, leaving behind no heirs to continue his own family's association with the Uffizi.

The Uffizi Fire of 1762

Raimondo Cocchi inherited not only his father's love of coins, ability with languages, and strong connections to the English residential community but also the paternal mistrust of the Bianchi custodians. In 1754 Giuseppe Bianchi (d. 1779) became the last member of this family to hold the position. By the time the younger Cocchi became the antiquarian in 1758, Bianchi was on the verge of publishing the first Italian guidebook to the Uffizi, *Information on the Antiquities and Rarities Preserved in the Medicean Imperial Gallery of Florence* (1759).[52] In contrast to Gori's massive illustrated catalogues, Bianchi's *Information* was a pocket guidebook, the first of a growing number of such guides to appear in Italian and French in the second half of the eighteenth century. It responded to the kind of guidebook the French artist Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806) was in the midst of illustrating as he walked through the Uffizi in 1761, drawing the most noteworthy paintings and sculptures (see fig. 3-3).[53]

What was the prevalent opinion of Bianchi's efforts to summarize the Uffizi gallery? On October 17, 1759, the future director of the gallery and Tuscan civil servant Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni (1729–1808) recorded purchasing Bianchi's book, which he eagerly took home, hoping to read "a true and just account of the many masterpieces preserved in the said Gallery." Several days later Pelli Bencivenni reported his disappointment with the Uffizi's first published guidebook, pronouncing it "very incomplete." It primarily contained a description of the statues, busts, and ancient bronzes, and "an arid and

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confused indication of the paintings and numerous other rarities contained therein." Speculating that Bianchi had published the book to present himself as an antiquarian, he pronounced it an act of "simple plagiarism, because seeing that he never cites the *Florentine Museum* of the defunct Gori makes me believe that he may have drained it dry." One week later Pelli Bencivenni reconsidered his initial assessment. Bianchi's guidebook was not an unacknowledged summary of Gori, because it contained nothing lifted directly from the *Museum Florentinum.* Instead, he had begun to suspect that "for the most part it was not Signor Giuseppe Bianchi's work but that of his father or uncle." Years later, sifting through manuscripts to produce his own painstakingly researched history of the Uffizi, Pelli Bencivenni would affirm that the contents largely belonged to Sebastiano.[54]

While rumors circulated that Bianchi might not be the author of his guidebook, the fact remained that it was the custodian rather than the antiquarian who had created a paper tour of the gallery, dedicated to the current master of the wardrobe, Marchese Bernardino Riccardi. Bianchi's *Information* had the principal goals of celebrating the Medici's artistic and antiquarian legacy—it is worth noting the persistence of their name in the gallery's official title—and correcting errors in prior foreign descriptions of the Uffizi to the benefit of "travelers and my fellow citizens."[55] He began his tour with an account of the building itself, before taking his readers into the vestibule. The first part organized objects adorning the corridors into three categories—statues, busts, and pictures, especially the portraits of famous men that grew from early Medici efforts to duplicate Paolo Giovio's famous sixteenth-century portrait collection—and discussed the early consolidation of objects formerly in the Pitti and now in the Uffizi. Pelli Bencivenni was right to complain about the custodian's relative inattention to paintings. In the end, he was the heir to his family's personal investment in the Medici antiquities and rarities. Bianchi subsequently enumerated the contents of eleven rooms. With the Tribuna, he devoted the majority of his description to the four famous ancient statues (the *Venere Medicea*—"there being no visitor who does not ask about the Medici Venus immediately upon arriving in the Gallery"—and the Faun, Knife Grinder, and Wrestlers), followed by the Room of the Hermaphrodite, where visitors were titillated by the "idol of obscenity" before entering the Medals Room.[56]

Near the end of his tour, Bianchi described the Room of the Arsenal, which had increasingly become a dumping ground for what he called "gallery rubbish": painters' self-portraits of lesser significance and uncertain authorship, ancient and modern bronzes, "the very large teeth of an elephant, a long, intact horn of a unicorn as the rhinoceros' horn is commonly called, an entire hippopotamus, the model of the Palazzo Pitti, . . . and other similar rarities," though he added that it was nonetheless worth visiting because it contained

Leopoldo's 120 volumes of drawings and a painting by Bronzino.[57] Bianchi then invited readers to contemplate a small cabinet containing the four famous statues of the Tribuna in miniature, before walking some distance into Vasari's corridor to see the ingenious and glittering workmanship of the Ciborio of San Lorenzo and a Bernini sculpture, then returning to the four rooms of the armory to see the arms and armor. He courteously informed readers that parts of the collection—"the cabinets of the Hermaphrodite, the antiquities, Etruscan vases, and shells of the Arsenal"—were inaccessible, "not having arrived in their destination or obtained their order."[58] All in all, it was a decent summary, designed to encourage its readers to request Bianchi's tour of the gallery.

Bianchi presented his guidebook as a distillation of his family's lengthy association with the gallery. He openly acknowledged the benefit of learning from his uncle Giovanni Francesco and his ability to draw upon his father's papers, not to mention the collective family memory of the Uffizi. He infused his description of the gallery, especially of the Tribuna and Medals Room, with personal recollections. According to family lore, the octagonal floral table of *pietre dure* in the center of the Tribuna had been completed shortly after his grandfather Giovanni inherited the job of custodian from his great-grandfather Sebastiano. His ancestors' involvement in the making and placement of this signal object became a critical part of the family's relationship to the gallery. "My grandfather... many times over confirmed it to his son, my respective parent," Bianchi assured his readers.[59] Entering the Medals Room gave Bianchi an opportunity to talk about his father's contributions to the history and contents of the gallery. "The distribution and selection of the medals as well as the gems was the task of my father," he reported, proudly citing Sebastiano's lengthy service to the Medici grand dukes. Bianchi proclaimed that his father had so perfected the collection and its organization "that for that person who were to succeed him, it would be easy to safeguard it and show it to *dilettanti.*" Having summarily dismissed the unnamed Antonio Cocchi's two decades of efforts to catalogue and reorganize the collection, Bianchi boldly suggested that having in hand his catalogue, which was based on his father's manuscript inventory of the Medals Room, even the most ignorant visitor could take a virtually self-guided tour, easily identifying each piece "without the help of anyone."[60] Implicitly he suggested that the appointment of Cocchi, both father and son, to the post of antiquarian was superfluous. Pelli Bencivenni was quite correct to intuit that Bianchi wished to present himself as the virtual director of the gallery.

The tensions between Raimondo Cocchi and Giuseppe Bianchi reached the boiling point during the 1760s. Fundamentally, Cocchi neither trusted nor respected "that thief Bianchi." In addition to casting aspersions on Bianchi's lack of learning, he was appalled by the way in which Bianchi and his staff treated the Uffizi as a private treasury from which they might profit, earning

a considerable income from the gratuities they extorted from visitors. In June 1762, Cocchi also complained to his superiors that Bianchi, with the collusion of the master of the wardrobe Riccardi, was manipulating the antiquities market in order to divert precious artifacts to clients willing to pay for the opportunity to snap up choice antiquities that might otherwise go to the Uffizi.[61] In the younger Cocchi's opinion, there was something unseemly about Bianchi's proprietary attitude toward the collection, his casual familiarity with its prize objects, and his willingness to disperse Tuscany's valuable cultural patrimony to the highest bidder. Within the next few years events proved his intuition to be quite correct, making the honor of the custodian a central issue in future appointments.

On the afternoon of August 12, 1762, a chimney fire broke out in a stove installed in the balcony above the Loggia dei Lanzi. The fire raged out of control for four hours, destroying the end of the western corridor of the Uffizi gallery and spreading rapidly throughout the roof. "As most people are inclined to exaggerate misfortunes," Mann wrote to Walpole, "it is very probable that you may be told that the Gallery has been burned. It was indeed in great danger, and had the fire that broke out yesterday at two in the afternoon happened towards the evening, the whole would have been infallibly destroyed." The fire blackened the ceiling and walls, damaging frescoes celebrating the Tuscan revival of the arts since the Renaissance, and endangering six statues (including a widely admired ancient marble boar, Baccio Bandinelli's celebrated copy of the Laocoön, Jacopo Sansovino's *Bacchus,* and an unfinished nude attributed to Michelangelo), twelve ancient busts, and nine portraits that hung above them. Once Bianchi alerted the guards, the entire city mobilized to save Florence's great cultural patrimony. "All the members of the Regency and great folks assisted," reported Mann of the water lines that formed to prevent the entire building from being engulfed in flames.[62] Soldiers went throughout the town in search of additional hands to convey buckets of water to the upper floors of the building, especially when fire broke out again in the evening. The quick work of many people saved the vast majority of the Uffizi's precious treasures, including the wood model of the Pitti Palace, many paintings and natural curiosities, and, most important, the contents of the Drawings Room, which caught on fire, leading to the evacuation of its 120 volumes.[63] It would be more than a decade, however, before the damaged areas were fully renovated, including repainting the frescoes based on earlier engravings of the gallery.

As the smoke cleared, an investigation began to determine the fire's origins. Walpole's response to Mann on how the fire could have happened in the first place—"But how came the Florentines to see their gallery burn with so much indifference? It was collected by the Medici. If formed by the Lorrainers I should not wonder"[64]—was indeed the question of the moment. While Bianchi, Cocchi, and their staff worked together to inventory the damage, others searched for the

fire's cause. Always well informed, Mann readily supplied his correspondents with the emerging details. It had been Bianchi who had installed the faulty stove in his apartment. That winter all the chimneys in the Uffizi apartments were stopped up, making this season of tourism even more chilling than usual, since visitors routinely complained how cold the galleries were.[65] Many of the offices below, now deemed uninhabitable, were moved elsewhere. It was rumored that Bianchi had been suspended "with a diminution of half his salary."[66] For a member of a family that prided itself on safeguarding the gallery for almost two hundred years—indeed had argued for the necessity of their living in the Uffizi to prevent fire and thieves from despoiling its treasures[67]—it had been a costly error.

Cocchi could have seized this moment to eliminate his rival. He was already outraged at how much Bianchi, his assistants, and the doorman made in tips.[68] Moreover, Bianchi was not only culpable but dishonorably so: he had tried to cover up the fire, delaying informing the guards until it was virtually out of control. Cocchi said nothing officially on this matter. Instead, he bided his time to build a more comprehensive and compelling case of custodial malfeasance; his 1764 request to expand the scope of his position suggests a growing confidence in his authority within the gallery. The ruined portion of the western corridor became part of the experience of the Uffizi for the next decade, and the story of the great fire of 1762 entered the gallery lore; it would be repeated in virtually every museum catalogue of the late eighteenth century. Surveying the damage in November 1763, the abbé Coyer was relieved to discover that the effect of the previous year's fire was relatively insignificant: "The richest monarch in Europe does not have enough to buy this gallery. What a pity if a fire would consume it all!" Gibbon similarly contemplated the fire's aftermath in June 1764, though he had more to say about the damages incurred. "We saw the shapeless pieces of the famous Wild Boar of the Gallery," he reported. "This statue perished in a fire which consumed it along with two other pieces, modern but of great value. There is talk of restoring it but the work seems to me quite difficult even though the pieces were not burned to a crisp but only broken by a falling iron shutter."

If crisis is a measure of character, there is no question that the last descendant of a glorious lineage of Uffizi custodians failed the test. Gibbon confirmed that Bianchi's negligence had caused the fire in a badly placed chimney. He especially condemned the custodian's dishonorable behavior during the investigation. "Although he had the cowardice to accuse many innocent people in order to exonerate himself, it cost him dearly; but his wife's charms and the Emperor's kindness saved his life and restored him to his position." Florentines put it far more bluntly, considering Bianchi to be the worst sort of "ass" who had been fortunate to endure only a few months' suspension for his misdeeds.[69] Hints of far more serious accusations than a chimney fire

began to surface in the next few years. Tobias Smollett (1721–1771), perhaps the only Englishman to warmly acknowledge that he had profited from reading Bianchi's 1759 guidebook, toured the Uffizi in February 1765, noting Bianchi's critique of Addison's "several gross blunders in his account of this gallery." Smollett was so enthralled by the Uffizi that he fantasized about the possibility of living in Florence so that he might walk daily through the gallery. In all likelihood he was given a tour by Bianchi, since he initially praised him as "a learned and judicious antiquarian."[70] If so, he would be among the last visitors to be guided by the disreputable custodian. Smollett's account of his encounter with Bianchi was immortalized in posthumous editions of his popular *Travels* in 1772 and 1778, neither of which benefited from the revisions he penned in the margins of his own book during a return trip, written just before he died in Livorno in September 1771. Citing the opinion of "*Bianchi,* who shows the gallery" about the difficulties of identifying the subject of ancient sculpture, Smollett inked out his description of the custodian as "learned and judicious," writing instead: "This antiquarian is now imprisoned for life, having robbed the Gallery and then set it on fire."[71]

The more closely people began to inspect Giuseppe Bianchi's behavior after the 1762 fire, the less honorable it seemed. By the spring of 1768 he was no longer in possession of the keys to the gallery. Instead, he was on trial with three Jewish pawnbrokers and another colleague, Giuseppe Ruggeri. Bianchi was accused of stealing multiple objects from the gallery over two decades, beginning with the theft of a 22-carat golden staff from the Tribuna cabinet dating all the way back to 1748 when his uncle Giovanni Francesco was still the custodian. Silver pieces from the Room of the Hermaphrodite, diamond-and-ruby-encrusted clocks, and other precious treasures were missing. Walking from room to room with the 1704 and 1753 inventories in hand, a commission of three men appointed by the grand duke's ministers found numerous instances of missing and damaged objects. Vases, idols, and other smaller items in the Tribuna and other rooms had been systematically stripped of their jewels and semiprecious stones, and clipped of precious metals. When weighed, too many of the gold treasures of the gallery came up short.[72] The valuable contents of the Uffizi cabinets and niches had been despoiled by the very person entrusted with safeguarding them.

When confronted with the commission's findings, Bianchi said nothing to alleviate concerns. He claimed that he had been poorly advised by his friend in the wardrobe and then tricked by the Jewish pawnbrokers. He felt that the inventory of 1704 to 1714 inaccurately reflected the state of the collection when he had assumed the job, and argued that the 1753 inventory was equally problematic; he characterized it as nothing more than a copy of the earlier inventory, now a half-century old. Why should he be responsible for objects transferred to the wardrobe, broken, lost, or stolen in the decades before he

possessed the keys? From his prison cell in April 1768, Bianchi attempted to create his own catalogue of the gallery, claiming that members of the commission personally wished to see to his downfall. When caught with his hand in the cupboard, Bianchi was a man with a thousand excuses. Yet he found himself unable to make the accusations disappear, pathetically arguing that he had removed things "only with his hands and sometimes with a pair of scissors" but never with "hammer blows and pincers." To the bitter end of this sorry affair, he insisted that his thefts were not "serious, large, and sizeable," requiring the "help of such tools," but "very subtle and almost invisible to the eyes."[73] This was hardly the defense of an innocent man.

The near incineration of the Uffizi had become a prelude to its shocking and systematic depredation by a trusted employee. As evidence of the growing scandal was made public, Bianchi's criminal behavior became the stuff of news and rumor. Pelli Bencivenni, who would become director in 1775, recorded the following information in his diary in February 1769:

> Months ago it was discovered that Giuseppe Bianchi, Custodian of the Royal Gallery, had unfaithfully removed various rare things from it, and had broken others of various kinds, save for the medals and gems held in consignment by others. As a result, he was imprisoned and tried, and having confessed, he was made aware by His Royal Highness of the penalty that he would have merited by law. Using his sovereign clemency, he was content to exile him from his states. Yesterday he left prison and went to his fate. His position with the title of Superintendent has been conferred upon cavalier Giuseppe Querci, brother of the auditor with this surname, who was in Rome as the librarian of the Corsini household.[74]

Pelli Bencivenni made a note to himself to remember the fact that the Uffizi on paper was not necessarily the gallery in reality, just as Mann encouraged his friend Walpole in London to examine the drawings he had commissioned of the Uffizi in the 1740s to see exactly what the fire had consumed. Recalling Sebastiano Bianchi's stellar reputation, Pelli Bencivenni marveled at just how far the family had fallen in a generation. "This man—the son of Sebastiano Bianchi who was sent to Bologna to study medals by Grand Duke Cosimo III and was remembered with honor for this by our antiquarians of this century—fell into this wickedness to support his wife's gambling as well as his own, making deals beyond what he should and could do." He confirmed what Gibbon had heard, namely, that Bianchi had previously denied his culpability in the fire, temporarily lost his position, and regained it in order to support his family. "Here, then, is how it ended," concluded the future Uffizi director.[75]

The last anyone heard of Bianchi, he was reputed to be a soldier in the army of the king of Naples. The master of the wardrobe Bernardino Riccardi,

patron of Bianchi's catalogue, also lost his position.[76] Years later, Pelli Bencivenni would find Bianchi's 1768 catalogue and marvel again that someone with his talent who evidently knew the museum so well that he could conjure up its contents from memory would squander such a golden opportunity. Nonetheless, Pelli Bencivenni continued to find evidence of Bianchi's thefts from the museum as he systematically surveyed and reorganized its contents. He recorded news of Bianchi's death in Naples in September 1779, noting that the "former custodian of this Gallery" had lived miserably after his exile from Tuscany.[77] The history of the fire would live on in subsequent museum catalogues, but Bianchi's disgrace would quickly exit from the official accounts of the Uffizi.[78] Some of the artifacts he had devalued by shaving off semiprecious stones and gold were eventually put up for auction, since in June 1780 Mann described his pleasure at purchasing for his friend Walpole "a bit of rock crystal, which was sold publicly among many other such pieces of *rubbish* in the *scaffali* of the *Tribuna* after Bianchi, who set fire to the Gallery, had stripped it of a gold foot."[79] Walpole added it to his collection of artists' drawings of the Uffizi that he had commissioned after seeing the gallery decades earlier. Everyone wished to recall how the Uffizi had been saved from incineration, but no one wanted to remember that a far greater danger was an untrustworthy custodian.

The Emergence of Vasari's Museum

It might have been a fitting conclusion to say that the prickly but largely honorable Raimondo Cocchi immediately got the job. But this is not what happened, or at least not initially. As Pelli Bencivenni recorded in his diary, the next director was the Roman antiquarian and Corsini librarian Giuseppe Querci (d. 1773), who arrived in Florence in 1765, the year in which Peter Leopold (r. 1765–90) became grand duke. Unlike his father, Francis Stephen, Peter Leopold took up residence in Florence. A sophisticated connoisseur even at the tender age of nineteen, Peter Leopold had his own ideas about how to ensure that the Uffizi would continue to be one of the most outstanding galleries in late-eighteenth-century Europe. Within the first year he composed guidelines for the conservation and restoration of objects that would signal the beginnings of an ambitious campaign to modernize the Uffizi and generally to reorganize all the grand-ducal collections. He also encouraged an aggressive program of new acquisitions, beginning with 106 artists' self-portraits from the Pazzi family. This was one of a number of important Florentine collections of paintings and Etruscan antiquities to make the transition from private patrimony to public treasury during his reign.[80] The fact that this occurred in May 1768, when Bianchi's trial was under way, was a sign that the grand duke had seized the opportunity to make a few changes to suit his taste.

Peter Leopold arrived in the midst of a series of unfinished projects, including De Greyss's costly and interminable depiction of the gallery and the unfinished restoration of the ruined western corridor. Observing the chaos, he saw this as a chance to bring in an outsider who would work closely with him to make significant changes. The appointment of Querci as director in January 1769 marked the beginning of the gallery's bureaucratic autonomy from the ancient wardrobe. From this point on, the director of the gallery had more authority, since he no longer answered to the master of the wardrobe. He now received his stipend and all other financial contributions to the cost of running the gallery directly from the Council of Finance. Yet as Querci discovered in December 1770, when he boldly suggested that the grand duke create a permanent endowment for the gallery, this did not imply that the director controlled the budget. Peter Leopold reminded him that a museum was not like a library in constantly needing new acquisitions; instead, he envisioned the gallery as having a more historical function.[81] He considered Querci's task one of consolidation, preservation, and reorganization of Florence's artistic monuments, whose value increased with time.

The administrative reorganization of 1769 marked the full-fledged emergence of the Uffizi as a public art museum that was no longer in competition with earlier Medici collections but clearly defined as the premier Florentine gallery of paintings and antiquities. With the grand duke's support, Querci had the right to requisition any artifact from other grand-ducal collections to improve the quality of the Uffizi's contents, much to the displeasure of the master of the wardrobe, among others, who found his more valuable possessions diminished and replaced by gallery rubbish that Querci consigned to the wardrobe, which became a warehouse of defunct objects rather than a vital tourist site, as it had been since the era of Cosimo I.[82] In short order, the Pitti lost 1,305 items to the embellishment of the Uffizi, significantly increasing the latter's stature as a paintings gallery.[83] For the first time the armory was also under the director's control, a decision that effectively put an end to this collection by 1775, as first Querci and then Cocchi and Bencivenni Pelli requisitioned the space and ultimately sold or melted down most of the arms and armor. Those items judged to be of noteworthy historical value ended up in the Fortezza da Basso, and a few extraneous small objects unrelated to the art of war joined the gallery rubbish in the wardrobe.

Querci exerted his authority over the custodians, assistants, and doorman by modifying Bernardino Riccardi's 1763 agreement with them about tipping practices, in part to ensure that his share of the take would be proportionately generous. He also began to regulate visitors. He defined the criteria for admission, reduced the number of permissions to copy paintings and sculptures, and established regular visiting hours.[84] For these reasons, historians have often considered Querci the first real director of the Uffizi. The scope of his

responsibilities encompassed many of the functions previously performed by the master of the wardrobe, custodian, and antiquarian. Stuck in the Medals Room, Raimondo Cocchi must have fumed at his misfortune to have Querci arrive on the scene just as all of his plans were about to come to fruition.

Querci was no Winckelmann. He nonetheless had concrete ideas about how a gallery should be run, based on his observation of great Roman collections, including the Capitoline Museum, formally inaugurated as a public museum in 1734. He encouraged Peter Leopold to abandon his father's project of illustrating the Uffizi, arguing that "the new state [of the gallery] no longer corresponds to the ancient, and a work representing the old will no longer be valuable and such a longstanding and costly work will be almost lost."[85] A top priority was the restoration of the damaged rooms, which would also provide additional space for a new articulation of the divisions of the collection. This classificatory impulse became the modus operandi for the 1770s.[86] In addition to supplementing the collection with strategic acquisitions of paintings and antiquities in private collections—especially Etruscan antiquities, which would further distinguish the Uffizi from its new Roman competitor, the Museo Pio-Clementino, founded in 1771—Querci systematically worked his way through every nook and cranny of Florence's palaces, villas, and public buildings, cataloguing their contents as a prelude to requisitioning them for Peter Leopold's grandiose plan to transform the city of Florence into a state-of-the-art museum complex.

Assisted by Cocchi, who figured that his best move was to ride the coattails of the grand duke's favored antiquarian while subtly competing with him, Querci collaborated with Peter Leopold's scientific advisers Felice Fontana and Giovanni Fabbroni to consolidate all of the natural objects and scientific instruments in a new gallery outside the Uffizi. The Imperial and Royal Museum of Physics and Natural History opened in 1775.[87] It absorbed many scientific instruments from the Mathematics Room, natural objects from the arsenal and foundry, and myriad smaller curiosities from the Tribuna and other well-known gallery spaces that Bianchi enumerated as an integral part of the Uffizi in 1759. Cocchi even donated his father's natural-history collection and herbarium. Observing Fontana's enthusiastic purging of the gallery, beginning in 1771, Querci worried that he was taking too many artistic treasures simply because their ingredients were natural. He wryly observed that perhaps he should "give them the famous Medici Venus because it's made of marble, and marble is a natural thing."[88] The musician Charles Burney, who visited during Querci's directorship, was pleased that a statue "so clean and fair, that I supposed it a copy" remained in the Tribuna to delight his eyes.[89]

Querci's directorship was important but short-lived, since he died in February 1773. He never saw the new science museum, nor did he live to see the inauguration of Peter Leopold's most celebrated addition to the Uffizi, the Room of the Niobe. Begun in 1771 and completed in 1781 to house the Niobe

Group, which had been removed the previous year from the Villa Medici in Rome, this space became the epicenter of Peter Leopold's Neoclassical makeover of the Uffizi. Subsequent visitors, encouraged by the effusive descriptions of this new room in contemporary guidebooks, proclaimed this grand duke to be the true author of the modern Uffizi.[90] Cocchi, too, did not see it to completion since he joined the Olympian roster of defunct custodians and directors with his own untimely death in February 1775. The year in which the Room of the Niobe was completed saw Pelli Bencivenni in charge. It is little wonder that the German painter Zoffany omitted Cocchi from his depiction of the conversation in the Tribuna, giving Bastianelli the important task of holding Titian's *Venus of Urbino* with Patch, who stands to the side discussing its merits with a group of Englishmen clustered around Sir Horace Mann (see fig. 3-2). Zoffany began his painting in 1772 and completed it in 1774, the year before Pelli Bencivenni became director. He was preoccupied with the challenge of fitting as many Englishmen as he could into the room in order to profit from their desire to be part of the most famous portrait of the Uffizi. The energetic Querci, who first admitted Zoffany to the Tribuna, where he had been given the increasingly rare privilege of copying Titian's *Venus of Urbino,* and the ambitious Cocchi, so aptly caricatured by Patch, who witnessed Zoffany's efforts to move the most discussed objects of the gallery into his imaginary Tribuna, were consigned to oblivion.[91] In Zoffany's understanding of the meaning of the Uffizi, there were other, far more important figures to commemorate in his painting than the first two directors.

The younger Cocchi's influence on the gallery is far more manifest in its institutional history. Even before Querci's death, he prepared himself to assume the directorship by reviewing the history of the museum, offering pointed criticisms of its practices and personnel. Cocchi increasingly had reservations about the idea of allowing visitors to handle materials—even the disgraced Bianchi lamented how often celebrated objects such as Titian's *Venus of Urbino* were placed in the hands of tourists.[92] Cocchi suggested that touching objects become a privilege reserved to a few scholars and encouraged the grand duke to enclose the most precious objects in locked cases. The physician Lucas Pepys's confession to his brother William of the delight in anatomizing the Venus de' Medici and generally experiencing the celebrated statues of the Tribuna—"I assure you I have had as much pleasure in passing my hand over the above four statues, and feeling them, as I had in seeing them," he wrote in December 1767—was precisely the kind of intimate relationship with the objects of the Uffizi that Cocchi and his successors began to restrict. In 1780 William Beckford described how he tried his "guide's patience" by overstaying his visit "and rummaging the drawers of the cabinets."[93] One suspects that for the right fee some custodians simply ignored the new rules in order to allow visitors the pleasurable sensation of possessing the gallery through touch.

How each of the gallery personnel made a living was increasingly a question, as traditional practices were subjected to careful inspection. Cocchi openly lamented the marginal status of the antiquarian within the administration of the gallery while suggesting that the only disinterested custodian of the collection was the person who occupied this office, since even Querci accepted his share of gratuities. Cocchi instituted better accounting practices by having his former assistant Bastianelli, as first custodian, record the daily intake until the practice was abolished under Pelli Bencivenni in 1784—at least in theory, since one tourist reported in 1798 that despite the grand duke's interdict on "receiving gratuities," visitors were well advised to offer something to the Uffizi custodians, "especially from Travellers who visit it frequently."[94] Finally, he presented his own vision of a new pocket guide to the Uffizi that would supplant Gori's massive tomes and Bianchi's hasty account and provide an important corrective to foreign travelers' published descriptions. Cocchi had a clear vision of what such a publication should accomplish. A good guidebook needed to tell the history of each artifact, referring readers to prior descriptions and connecting updated descriptions to exact locations, making the guidebook a true map of the museum.[95]

In such statements we see the emergence of Cocchi's museological ambitions. Having begun his career as an antiquarian in the traditional sense, since 1769 he had expanded the scope of his interests by participating actively in strategic acquisitions of paintings and other changes to the gallery. He also profited from decades of conversations with learned connoisseurs who began to give shape to the idea of the Uffizi as a Renaissance museum. One would like to think that Cocchi stood by Gibbon's side as he considered the state of the paintings collection on July 5, 1764, stopping especially to admire the contrast between the style of Fra Angelico and Raphael and declaring his pleasure at seeing the "renaissance of painting" (*la renaissance de la peinture*) in this progression, even though its chronology was not yet clearly articulated in the organization of things.[96] Michelet could not have put it better himself.

The Cabinet of Ancient Paintings was officially inaugurated in 1780 under the directorship of Pelli Bencivenni, working with the art historian Luigi Lanzi (1732–1810), who was appointed vice director of the Uffizi in 1775. But its origins lie in the approval in March 1773 of Cocchi's request to group paintings from the "Tuscan school" into a new exhibit that would have its own room.[97] Until the era of Peter Leopold, rarities and antiquities were the focal point of the Uffizi collection; their acquisition and preservation occupied the museum staff and earned the admiration of numerous visitors. In the final decades of the eighteenth century, however, paintings became the preferred object and the centerpiece of the ambitious program of reorganization that reached its peak around 1780, when the grand duke created a commission to rethink wholesale the purpose and nature of the gallery. Pelli Bencivenni spent most of his

lengthy and influential term as director, from 1775 until 1792, acquiring and cataloguing paintings for the Uffizi. He improved upon Cocchi's suggestion of numbering the artifacts by insisting on the utility of "small elegant signs" to inform visitors of the names and dates of the principal artists—an idea realized in 1795 by his successor, Tommaso Puccini, who incorporated into his identifications Lanzi's understanding of style as an important means of identifying and grouping paintings of uncertain origin.[98] A dutiful and enlightened functionary, Pelli Bencivenni was firmly committed to a historical understanding of the gallery as a demonstration of Tuscany's role in the development of the arts. He belonged to a generation that began to appreciate more fully the value of early Renaissance art, especially as it exited the monasteries and convents of suppressed religious orders and entered the gallery.[99]

More than Pelli Bencivenni, his vice director and assistant, Lanzi, rightfully enjoyed a posthumous reputation as the first art historian to play a role in the development of the Uffizi. As he was the author of the *Pictorial History of Italy,* originally published in full in 1795 and 1796 and revised until 1809, it could not have been otherwise. Peter Leopold expressed his confidence in Lanzi's creative rethinking of the gallery by placing him in charge of the 1780 commission, one of many episodes that produced considerable tension between the director, Pelli Bencivenni, and his so-called assistant.[100] Nonetheless, Pelli Bencivenni deserves credit for beginning the transformation of the Uffizi into an art gallery. With Lanzi's advice and Peter Leopold's approval, he supervised a complete reorganization of the paintings collection with the explicit goal of having the Uffizi articulate a historical development of works of art, room by room.

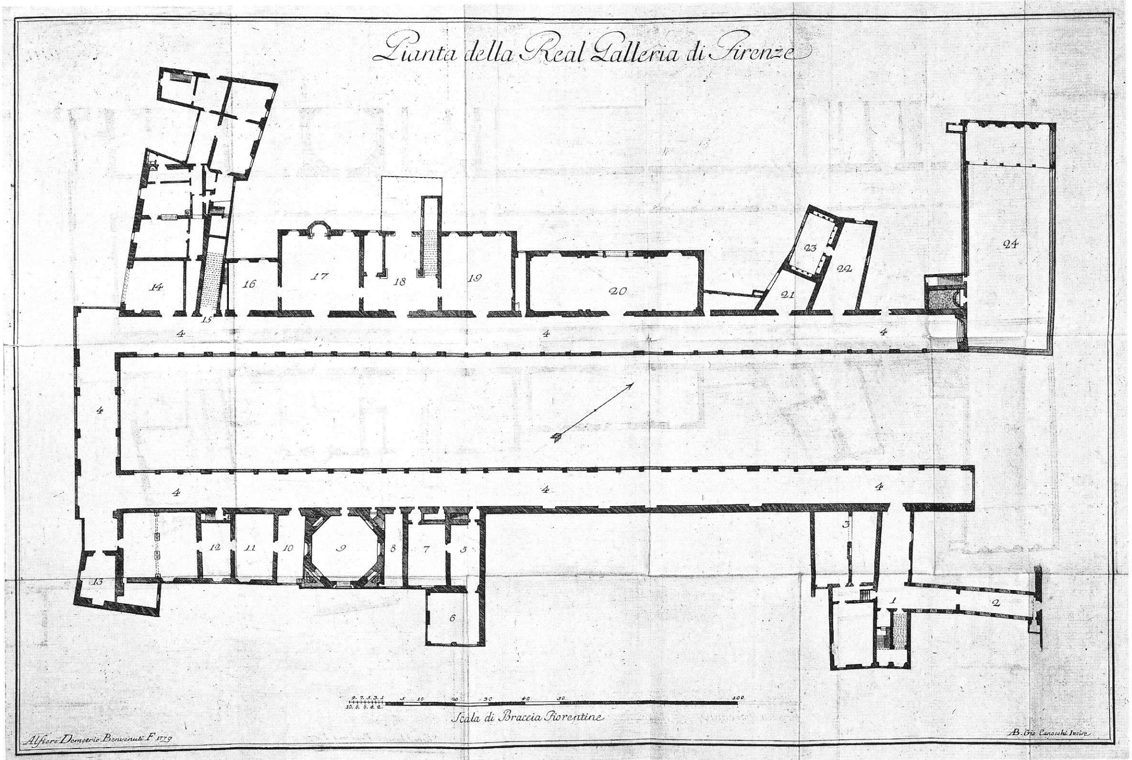
In search of inspiration for his project to create a *Catalogue of Paintings of the Royal Gallery*—a project realized between 1775 and 1782, though never published—Pelli Bencivenni became enough of an art historian to envision the new order of the Uffizi emerging from the pages of the most important books that defined this subject. "I read that which Vasari and Baldinucci, a simple copyist of the former, wrote," he recorded in a diary entry of August 5, 1775.[101] Perfecting his account of the Cabinet of Ancient Paintings in his *Catalogue of Paintings,* Pelli Bencivenni defined his criteria of organization in a way that Gibbon would have applauded, since he disdainfully observed that the Uffizi of 1764 was badly organized and somewhat dated because it did not separate the ancient from the modern. Instead, Pelli Bencivenni considered the Cabinet of Ancient Paintings, appropriately juxtaposed to the Cabinet of Modern Sculptures, which displayed the choicest artifacts of the Florence of Donatello, Michelangelo, Cellini, and Giambologna, to be a demonstration of the new museology of the late eighteenth century. "The paintings assembled in this collection are only by ancient masters of our school. If Rome, Bologna, or Venice ever copies this idea, then we will see a complete visual history of

the renaissance of painting in Italy arise."[102] In the meantime, he invited visitors to contemplate Vasari's idea of Tuscan *rinascita* in the Uffizi.

While distinguishing his own contributions to the Uffizi as an act of art historical interpretation rather than historical reconstruction, Lanzi nonetheless marveled at the effect produced by the Cabinet of Ancient Paintings, filled with paintings that spanned the period from Cimabue and Giotto to Masaccio and Uccello. He sought to convey the experience of this room to visitors in his guidebook, *The Royal Gallery of Florence, Enlarged and Reorganized by Command of His Most Serene Highness the Archduke, Grand Duke of Tuscany* (1782): "How much more will lovers of the fine arts enjoy seeing these advances within a single cabinet, degree by degree, not just on paper but in fact, not only described but depicted and colored; and not weighed down by someone else's judgment but recognizable with their own?"[103] Lanzi, too, read Vasari's *Lives of the Most Excellent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550) with great care. He interpreted Pelli Bencivenni's creation of a room devoted to the Tuscan school as a kind of Vasarian ekphrasis.

It had not occurred to Pelli Bencivenni to present his own guidebook as an interpretive journey through the gallery, though he would later fantasize about the possibility of writing an account of the subjective experience of the gallery inspired by his reading of Laurence Sterne's *Sentimental Journey* (1768) that would incorporate his observations of the behavior of visitors. His compendious *Historical Essay on the Royal Gallery of Florence* (1779), the third serious effort to create a guide to the gallery and the first to proclaim the tangible results of the new regime's dismantling of the formerly encyclopedic collection, was the product of sustained historical research of the kind that enlightened Tuscans found so compelling. It was Pelli Bencivenni who created the Uffizi archive, proudly advertising the existence of this new "Archive of the Royal Gallery," which assembled in a single space the papers of the Bianchi custodians and Cocchi antiquarians, and many other documents essential to understanding the genesis of the museum. If Lanzi was the Uffizi's first interpreter, Pelli Bencivenni was its first historian. Painfully conscious of his deficiencies as a scholar, he nonetheless was a tireless advocate of the public importance of "the most splendid collection of rare things all assembled in a single space that one sees in Italy."[104] Pelli Bencivenni's 1779 guidebook finally included a printed map of the Uffizi, of the kind de Brosses had missed in perusing Gori's volumes (fig. 3-6).

Contemplating these changes in July 1781, the ailing English resident Mann, who had observed the evolution of the gallery for over forty years, was not entirely pleased with the effect. "You would not know the Gallery in the present transformation of it," he reported to Walpole. He observed the eight new rooms of the eastern corridor (numbered 5 through 12 on Pelli Bencivenni's map) and their contents with indifference. The changes to the



Tribuna filled him with horror. Two of the walls of this sacred temple of the arts had been opened to create new access points, "the octagonal table is removed (and not yet replaced), and only a few principal statues and pictures remain in it. All the hidden *scaffali* are taken away." The openness and emptiness of the Tribuna filled him with nostalgia for the gallery's ancien régime. Crossing to the eastern corridor, Mann expressed disappointment in the conversion of the armory into unattractive rooms filled with "middling pictures." He lamented the absence of porcelain to make space for "modern painters' heads" and found the walls of the corridor "covered with bad pictures," having the appearance more of a shop filled with gaudy wares than his conception of a royal gallery. Finally, Mann summed up the Room of the Niobe as a "tawdry room" that violated the principles of good conservatorship by presenting each statue separately rather than maintaining their integrity as a group.[105] Yes, there was no question that Peter Leopold and his advisers had destroyed the gallery in which Mann spent many pleasurable hours. As servants carried him back down the stairs, since he was no longer able to make the trip on his own, Mann realized that only the presence of the medals, Bandinelli's restored *Laocoön*, and a few other familiar objects reassured him that he was nonetheless in the Uffizi. Thank goodness he had purchased a piece of the Tribuna for his friend in London. No one in Florence seemed to care much for these Medici baubles anymore.

Pelli Bencivenni completed the reorganization of all the rooms in 1782. In his guidebook published that same year, *The Royal Gallery of Florence Enlarged*

FIGURE 3-6.
Plan of the Reorganized Uffizi Gallery, 1779. From Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Saggio istorico della Real Galleria di Firenze*, 2 vols. (Florence, 1779). Stanford University, Art and Architecture Library

and Reorganized, Lanzi described the doubling of the gallery from ten to twenty rooms and did his best to downplay his superior's role in the outcome, attributing it largely to his patron, the grand duke, and dismissing the value of a historical approach as too pedantic for a typical visitor. There is no doubt that Lanzi was better equipped to create the most exciting and readable description of the Uffizi. Yet it was Pelli Bencivenni who insisted on a well-lit and magnificent entrance to the gallery to create the sort of effect that he judged proper to a visit to one of Europe's most celebrated museums, and the posting of a guard at the entrance to increase security. "The Gallery has been newly arranged; has received considerable improvements; and the entrance to it has been entirely altered very lately, according to the original design of Giorgio Vasari," Thomas Martyn advised readers in 1787, pointing them to Pelli Bencivenni's *Historical Essay* if they wished to know more of its history.[106] He did not cite Lanzi because he possessed a copy of the first French guidebook to the modern Uffizi. Pelli Bencivenni took partial revenge on Lanzi's act of effrontery by supervising the publication of Francesco Zacchiroli's *Description of the Royal Gallery of Florence* (1783), written in French to reach a broader range of tourists than any Italian guidebook and complementing his own historical essay, advertised in this book, with a virtual tour of the newly reorganized gallery.[107] Martyn was among the early visitors to have a full range of portable guidebooks in modern languages to purchase from the Florentine booksellers. Had the Swedish traveler Bjornstahl been in the Uffizi in the 1780s, he would no longer have recommended the ponderous, lengthy, and large Latin tomes of Gori's *Museum Florentinum,* now relics of an earlier era whose descriptions bore only a marginal resemblance to the current museum.

By the late 1780s visitors noticed numerous differences not only in the museum's contents and organization but also in conditions of access. After convincing the grand duke to abolish the old system of gratuities, in 1784 Pelli Bencivenni began to experiment with "the method of tickets" for admitting restricted groups at fixed times to the rooms.[108] Under his directorship, the Uffizi ceased to be a product of the Medici and became one of the glories of the Habsburg-Lorraine rule of Tuscany, allowing Lanzi to describe Peter Leopold as the "new founder" rather than "restorer or enlarger" of the Uffizi.[109] As if to punctuate these changes, Pelli Bencivenni removed the octagonal table and the surrounding shelf accommodating smaller pieces from the Tribuna, declaring them an aesthetic embarrassment detracting from the pure and unvarnished experience of seeing the gallery's most celebrated statues and paintings. Ferdinando I's ebony cabinet was already in the wardrobe gathering dust, awaiting its ultimate consignment to the physics cabinet in 1780.[110] Zoffany's famous portrait of the Tribuna memorialized a defunct vision of a crowded and multifarious room that had become a far more open and dramatic space designed to maximize the effect of seeing a handful of celebrated paintings and sculptures

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When Arthur Young (1741–1820) saw the Uffizi in that Revolutionary year of 1789, he summarized its contents as follows: "But the paintings and statues in this gallery are in such profusion that, to view them with an attention adequate to their merit, one ought to walk here two hours a day for six months." This was just the result that the grand duke and his team of advisers hoped to achieve, responding to the kind of critique well-traveled visitors such as Lady Mary Coke (1727–1811) offered of the Uffizi in 1773, when she proclaimed that she had seen better galleries of paintings and found the "very fine collection of Agates, Crystals, etc." displayed along the cornice and in the cabinets of the Tribuna "ill placed and too much crowded."[111] The Uffizi gallery had indeed become "a place of delights for an artist," as one of the most important French artists of this period, Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842), described it after regular morning walks through its rooms and corridors in November 1789. One wonders if it was Pelli Bencivenni who invited her to add her self-portrait to those of Zoffany, Anton Raphael Mengs, Rosalba Carriera, Angelica Kauffmann, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and many other painters who increased the value of the self-portraits collection by painting themselves into the gallery, even if the by-now-deceased Mann roundly disapproved of this solipsistic practice.[112]

As tensions between Pelli Bencivenni and Lanzi reached a crescendo in 1791 and 1792 over that perennial problem of all scholarly administrators—adequate office space and access to the library—the current director came to the realization that he would probably not die in the museum. Peter Leopoldo's son, Grand Duke Ferdinando III (r. 1790–1801, 1814–24), forced his resignation because of these irreconcilable differences. On January 1, 1793, he chose to appoint Lanzi's friend the Pistoiese Tommaso Puccini (1749–1811).[113] To this last director of the eighteenth century belonged the glory of bringing Leonardo da Vinci's *Adoration of the Magi* into the gallery and the pain of defending the collection against Napoléon's efforts to disassemble it as part of his triumphal conquest of Italian culture in 1796. Puccini was such an avid reader of Vasari that he considered the sixteenth-century artist and historian his muse and alter ego. He further articulated the new vision of the Uffizi as a building created by Vasari when realizing his artistic program in the organization of its contents two and a half centuries later.[114] There was no escaping history in this museum.

Yet Puccini was also capable of thinking about the Uffizi in the terms in which Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici had first conceived of a public gallery. The reason why Napoléon's advisers found it difficult to remove anything from the Uffizi, save for an agreement to loan the Venus de' Medici to the Musée Napoléon, where it resided from 1803 until 1815, lay in the Family Pact of 1737. In 1769 Lalande reported that Count de Richecourt allegedly told a visitor that the grand duke did not remove these objects to Vienna because the gallery was an invaluable "resource for attracting and keeping foreigners in Florence," especially wealthy English, for whom they had invented

and Reorganized, Lanzi described the doubling of the gallery from ten to twenty rooms and did his best to downplay his superior's role in the outcome, attributing it largely to his patron, the grand duke, and dismissing the value of a historical approach as too pedantic for a typical visitor. There is no doubt that Lanzi was better equipped to create the most exciting and readable description of the Uffizi. Yet it was Pelli Bencivenni who insisted on a well-lit and magnificent entrance to the gallery to create the sort of effect that he judged proper to a visit to one of Europe's most celebrated museums, and the posting of a guard at the entrance to increase security. "The Gallery has been newly arranged; has received considerable improvements; and the entrance to it has been entirely altered very lately, according to the original design of Giorgio Vasari," Thomas Martyn advised readers in 1787, pointing them to Pelli Bencivenni's *Historical Essay* if they wished to know more of its history.[106] He did not cite Lanzi because he possessed a copy of the first French guidebook to the modern Uffizi. Pelli Bencivenni took partial revenge on Lanzi's act of effrontery by supervising the publication of Francesco Zacchiroli's *Description of the Royal Gallery of Florence* (1783), written in French to reach a broader range of tourists than any Italian guidebook and complementing his own historical essay, advertised in this book, with a virtual tour of the newly reorganized gallery.[107] Martyn was among the early visitors to have a full range of portable guidebooks in modern languages to purchase from the Florentine booksellers. Had the Swedish traveler Bjornstahl been in the Uffizi in the 1780s, he would no longer have recommended the ponderous, lengthy, and large Latin tomes of Gori's *Museum Florentinum,* now relics of an earlier era whose descriptions bore only a marginal resemblance to the current museum.

By the late 1780s visitors noticed numerous differences not only in the museum's contents and organization but also in conditions of access. After convincing the grand duke to abolish the old system of gratuities, in 1784 Pelli Bencivenni began to experiment with "the method of tickets" for admitting restricted groups at fixed times to the rooms.[108] Under his directorship, the Uffizi ceased to be a product of the Medici and became one of the glories of the Habsburg-Lorraine rule of Tuscany, allowing Lanzi to describe Peter Leopold as the "new founder" rather than "restorer or enlarger" of the Uffizi.[109] As if to punctuate these changes, Pelli Bencivenni removed the octagonal table and the surrounding shelf accommodating smaller pieces from the Tribuna, declaring them an aesthetic embarrassment detracting from the pure and unvarnished experience of seeing the gallery's most celebrated statues and paintings. Ferdinando I's ebony cabinet was already in the wardrobe gathering dust, awaiting its ultimate consignment to the physics cabinet in 1780.[110] Zoffany's famous portrait of the Tribuna memorialized a defunct vision of a crowded and multifarious room that had become a far more open and dramatic space designed to maximize the effect of seeing a handful of celebrated paintings and sculptures.

a lengthy course in medals.[115] While the Habsburg-Lorraine grand dukes may indeed have come to realize that the economic value of the gallery as the epicenter of Florentine tourism far outweighed any one-time payment they might receive by putting objects up for sale, the primary reason the gallery initially remained in Florence was the power of the Family Pact. Peter Leopold's personal investment in the re-creation of the gallery reinforced its Florentine identity, but never entirely succeeded in transforming the Medici gallery into a Habsburg monument.

Puccini knew the terms of the Family Pact well, but was also quite astute in interpreting its cultural meaning as he emptied the rooms and corridors, packing up the most precious objects to ensure that they would not fall into the hands of French troops. He reminded Napoléon's representatives that the gallery did not belong to the grand dukes but was held by them in trust for the Florentine nation, indeed for the entire world.[116] Revolutions might come and go, and regimes might succeed or fail, but as the eighteenth century wound to a close, visitors could rest assured that they would still be rewarded with the sight of the Uffizi gallery during a trip to Florence, though as Mariana Starke observed in March 1798, "the mode of arranging its contents is so frequently changed, that it is impossible to point out the spot where any one particular thing may be found."[117]

NOTES

Many thanks to Carole Paul (and Patricia Rubin some time ago) for encouraging me to pursue the history of the Uffizi, to Zachary Warma for research assistance, and especially to Randy Starn for our conversations over the years about Renaissance Florence and the history of museums. I also thank Brian Brege and Corey Tazzara for sharing their insights into the political culture of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany from their dissertation research, and Humanities West for the opportunity to present some of this material as part of its 2010 program on the Medici and Florence.

Epigraph: *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu,* edited by Robert Halsband (Oxford, 1966), vol. 2, p. 203.

1 Oliver Millar, *Zoffany and His Tribuna* (London, 1966); and Penelope Treadwell, *Johan Zoffany: Artist and Adventurer* (London, 2009), pp. 213–14, 223–300 passim. There is some disagreement about the dating of this painting, which may have not been finished until 1777 or 1778, but I have agreed with the most recent estimate of 1774, for reasons indicated toward the end of this essay.

2 The most comprehensive account of Cosimo III as a collector can be found in Marco Chierini, "Il Granduca Cosimo III dei Medici e il suo contributo alle collezioni fiorentini," in *Gli Uffizi: Quattro secoli di una galleria,* edited by Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Ragionieri (Florence, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 319–29. On Cosimo III and the Uffizi, see Edward L. Goldberg, *Patterns in Late Medici Art Patronage* (Princeton, 1983), esp. pp. 13–14, 17–18, 203, 209–10. On the role of antiquities in the development of the Uffizi, see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), pp. 53–61.

3 Goldberg, *Patterns* (note 2), p. 233.

4 Luciano Berti, *The Uffizi and the Vasari Corridor* (Florence, 1971), p. 12.

5 Miriam Fileti Mazza, "Il viaggio d'istruzione antiquaria di Sebastiano Bianchi nelle lettere ad Apollonio Bassetti," *Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa: Quaderni* 1–2 (1996), pp. 361–73.

6 On Baldinucci, see Edward L. Goldberg, *After Vasari: History, Art, and Patronage in Late Medici Florence* (Princeton, 1988).

7 Joseph Addison, *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy, &c. in the Years 1701, 1702, 1703* (London, 1705), p. 426. See Jane Whitehead, "'The Noblest Collection of Curiositys': British Visitors to the Uffizi, 1650–1789," in Barocchi and Ragionieri, *Gli Uffizi* (note 2), vol. 1, pp. 287–317.

8 Addison, *Remarks* (note 7), p. 410.

9 Detlef Heikamp, "Le Musée des offices au XVIIIe siècle: Un inventaire dessiné," *L'œil* 169 (1969), pp. 2–11, 74–80, esp. p. 6.

10 Addison, *Remarks* (note 7), p. 422; Berti, *Uffizi* (note 4), p. 12.

11 On this later role for the Uffizi, see Paula Findlen, "The Renaissance in the Museum," in *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century,* edited by Allen J. Grieco, Michael Rocke, and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi (Florence, 2002), pp. 93–116.

12 Johann Georg Keyssler, *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorraine...* (London, 1756–57), vol. 1, p. 437; and Johann Caspar Goethe, *Viaggio in Italia (1740),* edited by Arturo Farinelli (Rome, 1932), vol. 1, p. 318.

13 In addition to drawing on the foundational work of Luciano Berti, Detlef Heikamp, Paola Barocchi, Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, and Fabia Borroni Salvadori, this essay is a direct result of the more recent archival research and analysis of the eighteenth-century Uffizi by Miriam Fileti Mazza, Bruna Tomasello, and Anna Floridia, whose works are cited throughout. A good starting point for any history of the Uffizi remains Aurelio Gotti, *Le Gallerie di Firenze* (Florence, 1872). The best overview of this subject remains Paola Barocchi's seminal essay, "La storia della Galleria e la storiografia artistica," in Barocchi and Ragionieri, *Gli Uffizi* (note 2), vol. 1, pp. 49–150; see also *Treasures of Florence: The Medici Collection, 1400–1700,* edited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat (Munich and New York, 1997).

14 For the transformations in Florentine politics and culture in this period, good starting points are Eric W. Cochrane, *Florence in the Forgotten Centuries, 1527–1800* (Chicago, 1973); Furio Diaz, *Il Grand Ducato di Toscana* (Turin, 1976); *Il Granducato di Toscana e i Lorena nel secolo XVIII,* edited by Alessandra Contini and Maria Grazia Parri (Florence, 1999); and *La corte di Toscana dai Medici ai Lorena,* edited byAnna Bellinazzi and Alessandra Contini (Rome, 2002).

15 Philip Skippon, *An Account of a Journey Made thro' Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France,* in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels,* 2nd ed. (London, 1746), vol. 6, p. 651; Maximilien Misson, *New Voyage* (London, 1695), vol. 2, p. 175.

16 Anton Francesco Gori, *Inscriptiones Antiquae in Etruriae Urbibus Extantes,* 3 vols. (Florence, 1726–47).

17 John Molesworth, Letter to Francesco Maria Gabburri, dated June 20, 1724, in Giovanni Gaetano Bottari and Stefano Ticozzi, *Raccolta di lettere sulla pittura, scultura ed architettura,* vol. 2, p. 156, as quoted in Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), p. 80, n. 144.

18 Anton Francesco Gori, *Museum Florentinum Exhibens Insigniora Vetustatis Monumenta quae Florentiniae sunt,* 12 vols. (Florence, 1731–66). The *Museum Florentinum* prominently featured artifacts from the Uffizi but also illustrated the most important private collections and other Medici treasures. Gori began with two volumes of cameos and ancient portraits (1731–32), one volume of ancient statues (1734), and three volumes of ancient gold and silver medals (1740–42). He finished his study with six volumes of self-portraits and portraits of artists, architects, sculptors, and engravers (1752–66). The final volumes were posthumous, since Gori died in 1757. See the discussion in Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria"

(note 13), pp. 80–81; Marcello Verga, "La cultura del Settecento: Dai Medici ai Lorena," in *Storia della civiltà Toscana,* vol. 4, *I lumi del Settecento,* ed. Furio Diaz (Florence, 1999), pp. 133–46; and Miriam Fileti Mazza, "Riletture e fortuna del *Museo fiorentino* nelle carte della gestione della Galleria Mediceo-Lorenese," *Symbolae antiquariae* 1 (2008), pp. 183–202.

19 Keyssler, *Travels* (note 12), vol. 1, p. 439.

20 *The Memoirs of Charles-Louis, Baron de Pollnitz* (London, 1739–40), vol. 1, p. 427.

21 Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières sur l'Italie publiées d'après les manuscrits,* with an introduction and notes by Yvonne Bezard (Paris, 1931), vol. 1, pp. 338, 345 (October 4 and October 8, 1739). On the artistic dimensions of this project, see Fabia Borroni Salvadori, "Artisti e viaggiatori agli Uffizi nel Settecento—I," *Labyrinthos* 7–8 (1985), pp. 9–10.

22 Edward Gibbon, *Gibbon's Journey from Geneva to Rome,* edited by Georges A. Bonnard (London, 1961), p. 130 (July 3, 1764); Jérôme de Lalande, *Voyage d'un françois en Italie, fait dans les années 1765 & 1766* (Venice, 1769), vol. 2, p. 209; and Jacob Jonas Bjornstahl, *Lettere ne' suoi viaggi stranieri* (Poschiavo, 1782–87), vol. 3, p. 97.

23 As quoted in *Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici, Elettrice Palatina,* edited by Anita Valentini (Florence, 2005), pp. 11–12. See also Elena Ciletti, "The Extinction and Survival of the Medici," in *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs,* edited by Cynthia Miller Lawrence (University Park, Pa., 1997), pp. 227–37.

24 On the problems of inheriting a museum, see Paula Findlen, "Ereditare un museo: Collezionismo, strategie familiari e pratiche culturali nel Cinquecento," *Quaderni storici* 115 (2004), pp. 45–81.

25 *Correspondence between Frances, Countess of Hartford,... and Henrietta Louisa, Countess of Pomfret, between the Years 1738 and 1741* (London, 1805), vol. 2, p. 97 (Palazzo Ridolfi, September 11, 1740); pp. 143–44 (Palazzo Ridolfi, October 23, 1740).

26 *Il testamento di Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici,* transcribed by Anita Valentini and Veronica Vestri (Florence, 2006), p. 98.

27 Valentini, *Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici* (note 23), pp. 21–23.

28 *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence,* edited by W. S. Lewis, vol. 17, *Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Sir Horace Mann,* edited by W. S. Lewis, Warren Hunting Smith, and George L. Lam (New Haven, 1954), p. 381 (Florence, April 8, 1742); vol. 18, p. 295 (Florence, September 3, 1743). See also vol. 17, p. 193.

29 Filippo Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori di disegno* (Florence, 1728), vol. 4, pp. 74–77; and *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (Rome, 1960–), vol. 10, pp. 53–54, s.v. "Bianchi—Famiglia di artisti di origine lombarda"; and p. 178, s.v. "Francesco Bianchi Buonavita." See also Fileti Mazza, "Il viaggio d'istruzione" (note 5), and Miriam Fileti Mazza and Bruna Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi primo antiquario della Galleria Fiorentina, 1738–1758* (Modena, 1996), pp. vii–xiii, especially Giovanni Francesco Bianchi's July 22, 1736, summary of the family service (p. xiii).

30 Raimondo Cocchi's 1773 reconstruction of the history of the gallery employees is reproduced in Anna Floridia, *Forestieri in galleria: Visitatori, direttori e custodi agli Uffizi dal 1769 al 1785* (Florence, 2007), pp. 22–23.

31 Keyssler, *Travels* (note 12), vol. 1, p. 442. On the different kinds of tours, see Miriam Fileti Mazza and Bruna Tomasello, "Da Antonio Cocchi a Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni," in Miriam Fileti Mazza, Ettore Spalletti, and Bruna M. Tomasello, *La Galleria "rinnovata" e "accresciuta": Gli Uffizi nella prima epoca lorenese* (Florence, 2008), p. 17.

32 Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, *Voyages de Montesquieu* (Paris, 1943), pp. 471–473, 500; and Marquis de Sade, *Voyage d'Italie,* edited by Maurice Lever (Paris, 1995), p. 66.

33 Keyssler, *Travels* (note 12), vol. 1, p. 439.

34 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), p. xiii.

35 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), pp. xxxiv–xxxvi; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (note 29), vol. 58, pp. 25–28, s.v. "Anton Francesco Gori."

36 This argument anticipates the point about the role of scientific taxonomy in the organization of eighteenth-century galleries made eloquently in Debora J. Meijers, *Kunst als Natur: Die Habsburger Gemäldegalerie in Wien um 1780* (Vienna, 1995).

37 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), p. 8.

38 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), p. 21.

39 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), pp. xli–xliv, 24.

40 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, "Da Antonio Cocchi a Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni" (note 31), pp. 16–17.

41 Mann, Letter to Walpole, dated December 3, 1751, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 20, p. 290.

42 Heikamp, "Le Musée des offices" (note 9); and Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), vol. 1, pp. 81–82. De Greyss's project remained incomplete and unpublished, though it provides invaluable documentation of the state of the Uffizi in the mid-eighteenth century.

43 Cocchi, Letter to Gregorio Salviati, dated Florence, January 4, 1744, in Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), p. 63.

44 On Sir Horace Mann, see Brian Moloney, *Florence and England: Essays on Cultural Relations in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Florence, 1969), esp. pp. 12, 36–37. The best resource remains *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vols. 17–26. For an early reference to Cocchi's guidance of visitors, see Sacheverell Stevens, *Miscellaneous Remarks Made on the Spot, in a Late Seven Years' Tour through France, Italy, Germany, and Holland* (London, 1756), pp. 107–8, which describes a visit probably in 1739.

45 Mann, Letter to Walpole, dated December 13, 1754, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 20, p. 457. See also Marie-Anne Du Boccage, *Letters concerning England, Holland, and Italy* (London, 1770), vol. 1, p. 170.

46 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), pp. xxxviii–xxxix, xlix.

47 Mann, Letter to Walpole, dated November 19, 1757, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 21, p. 152; and Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), pp. 147–48.

48 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Briefe* (Berlin, 1952), vol. 1, pp. 414, 420–21, 429; Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), pp. 152, 155; and Miriam Fileti Mazza and Bruna Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775: La politica museale di Raimondo Cocchi* (Modena, 1999), pp. 16, 22, 26.

49 Brinsley Ford, "Thomas Patch: A Newly Discovered Painting," *Apollo,* n.s., 77 (March 1963), pp. 172–76; and Floridia, *Forestieri in galleria* (note 30), pp. 62–70. On Patch, see F. J. B. Watson, "The Life of Thomas Patch, 1725–1782," *Walpole Society* 27 (1940), pp. 16–50; F. J. B. Watson, "Thomas Patch: Some New Light on His Work," *Apollo,* May 1967, pp. 348–53; and Francis Russell, "Thomas Patch, Sir Willliam Lowther and the Holker Claude," *Apollo* 102, no. 162 (1975), pp. 115–19.

50 *Gibbon's Journey* (note 22), p. 122; Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), pp. 152, 155.

51 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 16, 22.

52 Giuseppe Bianchi, *Ragguaglio delle antichità e rarità che si conservano nella Galleria Mediceo-Imperiale di Firenze* (Florence, 1759).

53 This image is one of a series of drawings of paintings and sculptures in the Uffizi gallery that are today in the British Museum. They were created by Fragonard in 1761, probably for the abbé Jean Claude Richard de Saint Non's *Fragments choisis dans les peintures et les tableaux les plus intéressans des palais et des églises d'Italie* (Paris, 1771–74). See Elizabeth Senior, "Drawings Made in Italy by Fragonard," *British Museum Quarterly* 11 (1936–37), pp. 5–9.

54 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, N.A. 1050, Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (hereafter Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi*), ser. I, vol. 1, cc. 149, 153, 156 (October 17, 21, and 27, 1759). All citations of these manuscripts come from the outstanding online edition of Pelli Bencivenni's diary edited by Renato Pasta: http://www.bncf.firenze.sbn.it/pelli/it/progetto.html. See also Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Saggio istorico della Real Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1779), vol. 1, p. 403.

55 Bianchi, *Ragguaglio* (note 52), p. xii.

56 Bianchi, *Ragguaglio* (note 52), pp. 196, 226.

57 Bianchi, *Ragguaglio* (note 52), p. 230.

58 Bianchi, *Ragguaglio* (note 52), p. 234.

59 Bianchi, *Ragguaglio* (note 52), pp. 221–22.

60 Bianchi, *Ragguaglio* (note 52), p. 229.

61 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 19–20. Quote is on p. 20, n. 37.

62 Gotti, *Le Gallerie di Firenze* (note 13), pp. 153–54; Heikamp, "Le Musée des offices" (note 9); Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, "Danni e furti di Giuseppe Bianchi in Galleria," *Labyrinthos* 13–16 (1988–89), p. 321; and Mann, Letter to Walpole, dated August 14, 1762, in *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 22, pp. 67–68. See also Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. I, vol. 8, c. 5 (August 12, 1762).

63 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 20–21.

64 Walpole, Letter to Mann, dated August 29, 1762, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 22, p. 71.

65 In January 1766, Laurence Sterne's traveling companion James Macdonald told William Weller Pepys: "The Venus de Medici herself did not prevent my teeth from chattering when I was looking at her, you may judge from thence of the rest." *A Later Pepys: The Correspondence of William Weller Pepys,* edited by Alice C. C. Gaussen (London, 1904), vol. 1, p. 279.

66 Mann, Letters to Egremont, dated August 21 and December 18, 1762, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 22, p. 67, n. 1. Quote is from the December 18 letter.

67 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Antonio Cocchi* (note 29), p. xxxviii. The discussion of the custodian's quarters in 1738 and 1739 makes it clear that there were two recent fires as well as instances of thieves' trying to force the doors at night.

68 Floridia, *Forestieri in galleria* (note 30), p. 27. In compensation, salaries were quite low, but the competition between servants would lead the master of the wardrobe Riccardi to create a Formula Riccardiana on November 15, 1763, specifying each person's portion, save for Cocchi, who took no part.

69 Abbé Gabriel-François Coyer, *Voyage d'Italie et de Hollande* (Paris, 1771), vol. 1, p. 112; *Gibbon's Journey* (note 22), pp. 123, 177–78; and Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. I, vol. 10, cc. 90–91 (July 21, 1763).

70 Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy* (London, 1766), vol. 2, pp. 63, 66. See also Whitehead, "'The Noblest Collection of Curiositys'" (note 7), p. 298, who hypothesizes that both Gibbon and Smollett listened to Bianchi's critique of Addison during their visits to the Uffizi.

71 Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy,* edited by Thomas Seccumbe (Oxford, 1907), p. 237. Smollett's revised copy of his own book remained unknown until the nineteenth century and is now in the British Library.

72 See the excellent account of this episode in Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, "Danni e furti" (note 62), on which this section of the essay is based.

73 Barocchi and Gaeta Bertelà, "Danni e furti" (note 62), p. 324. For a discussion of Bianchi's *Catalogo dimostrativo della Reale Galleria Austromedicea di Firenze,* see Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), p. 82. Bianchi underscored the fact that he had written it

"without anyone's help," creating an accurate description of "everything noted in its proper places and cabinets."

74 Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. I, vol. 23, c. 64 (February 1769).

75 Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. I, vol. 23, c. 65.

76 Floridia, *Forestieri in galleria* (note 30), p. 25. See also Lady Anne Miller's account from her visit in December 1770; [Anne Miller], *Letters from Italy* (Dublin, 1776), vol. 2, pp. 110–11.

77 Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. II, vol. 3, c. 499 (August 5, 1775); vol. 4, cc. 574, 695v (January 28 and November 16, 1776); vol. 7, c. 1228v (October 7, 1779). Quote is from the final entry.

78 Pelli Bencivenni, *Saggio* (note 54), vol. 1, pp. 404–5; Luigi Lanzi, *La Real Galleria di Firenze accresciuta e riordinata per commando di S.A.R l'Arciduca Granduca di Toscana* (Pisa, 1782), p. 19; Francesco Zacchiroli, *Description de la Galerie royale de Florence* (Florence, 1783), pp. 20–22; and Gaetano Cambiagi, *Descrizione della Reale Galleria di Firenze secondo lo stato attuale* (Florence, 1792), pp. 22–23.

79 Mann, Letter to Walpole, dated June 30, 1780, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 25, p. 65. See also p. 169.

80 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 27–28, 34. An equally noteworthy acquisition was the Museo Galluzzi of Volterra in 1771, which significantly increased the Uffizi's Etruscan antiquities.

81 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 134–37. Pelli Bencivenni would later lament the irony of feeling more financially constrained in his decisions under this new arrangement than earlier directors, who answered to the master of the wardrobe; Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. II, vol. 6, c. 1036v (October 16, 1778).

82 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 35, 37, 50–52; and Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), p. 90. See Burney's comments on the disappointment of seeing the wardrobe, in Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in France and Italy*, edited by Percy A. Scholes (Oxford, 1959), p. 177.

83 Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), pp. 90–91.

84 Floridia, *Forestieri in galleria* (note 30), pp. 14, 21, 29–30; Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, "Da Antonio Cocchi a Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni" (note 31), pp. 23–26; and Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 79, 132.

85 As quoted in Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), p. 82.

86 Meijers, *Kunst als Natur* (note 36). This study of the Viennese imperial gallery in 1780 is an excellent reminder of the interconnections between museological developments in Florence and Vienna and the keen attentiveness in Vienna to Roman innovations. It has been observed that Querci brought a librarian's perspective to the reorganization of the Uffizi—a reminder that natural history was not the only taxonomic science of the eighteenth century to affect the idea of the museum; Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, "Da Antonio Cocchi a Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni" (note 31), p. 24.

87 Simone Contardi, *La Casa di Salomone a Firenze: L'Imperiale e Reale Museo di Fisica e Storia Naturale (1775–1801)* (Florence, 2002).

88 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 23–26. Quote is from p. 25.

89 Burney, *Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour* (note 82), p. 179. Lady Anne Miller enjoyed a tour of the Tribuna by Querci; see her *Letters* (note 76), vol. 2, pp. 83–84.

90 Maria Maugeri, "L'allestamento della Sella della Niobe agli Uffizi e un ritrovato ritratto dello Zoffany," *Studi di storia dell'arte* 9 (1998), pp. 277–97. See especially Lanzi, *La Real Galleria di Firenze* (note 78), and Zacchiroli's *Description* (note 78), written, respectively, in 1782 and 1783, shortly after the room's inauguration, as well as Hester Lynch Piozzi's response to the room in June 1785, in her *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany*, edited by Herbert Barrows (Ann Arbor, 1967), pp. 154–155 (originally published in 1789), which finds its literary echo in Germaine de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, edited and translated by Sylvia Raphael (Oxford, 1998), p. 355: "The Florentine art gallery had an enormous collection. You could spend days there without managing to know it. Corinne looked at all the exhibits and felt sadly that she was distracted and indifferent. The statue of Niobe aroused her interest."

91 Millar, *Zoffany and His Tribuna* (note 1), esp. pp. 41–43; and Treadwell, *Johan Zoffany* (note 1).

92 Borroni Salvadori, "Artisti e viaggiatori—I" (note 21), p. 34.

93 Gaussen, *Later Pepys* (note 65), p. 316; and William Beckford, *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents* (London, 1783), p. 152.

94 The *Ristrettro delle mance* (1783), recording a decade of gratuities (1772–82), is skillfully analyzed and transformed into a database of visitor information in Floridia, *Forestieri in galleria* (note 30). On the illegal continuation of these practices, see Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy* (London, 1800), vol. 1, p. 258.

95 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 69–70, 152–56. The manuscript summarized here is Raimondo Cocchi's *Riflessioni sullo stato presente degl'impieghi di Galleria che servono alla mostra e custodia di essa comandatemi da S.A.R.* (January 15, 1773), an invaluable source on the history of the gallery and its changing practices.

96 *Gibbon's Journey* (note 22), p. 137.

97 Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1758–1775* (note 48), pp. 76, 158.

98 Miriam Fileti Mazza and Bruna Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1775–1792: Un laboratorio cultural per Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni* (Modena, 2003), pp. 84–85, n. 284. Pelli Bencivenni recorded this suggestion on August 18, 1775, just a few months into his tenure as director. On

Puccini's innovation, see Gotti, *Le Gallerie di Firenze* (note 13), p. 175.

99 Antonio Natale, "Il secolo dei 'primitivi,'" in *Il fasto e la ragione: Arte del Settecento a Firenze* (Florence, 2009), pp. 13–21; and Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), p. 109.

100 See especially Paola Barocchi and Giovanna Gaeta Bertelà, "Lanzi, Pelli e la Galleria fiorentina (1778–1797)," *Prospettiva* 62 (1991), pp. 29–53; Mauro Cristofani, "Luigi Lanzi antiquario," in Barocchi and Ragionieri, *Gli Uffizi* (note 2), vol. 2, pp. 355–93; and Martino Capucci, "Il carteggio del Lanzi," in Barocchi and Ragionieri, *Gli Uffizi*, vol. 2, pp. 395–420.

101 Pelli Bencivenni, *Efemeridi* (note 54), ser. II, vol. 3, c. 499 (August 5, 1775).

102 *Gibbon's Journey* (note 22), p. 147; and Pelli Bencivenni, *Catalogo delle pitture della Regia Galleria*, edited by Miriam Fileti Mazza and Bruna Tomasello (Florence, 2004), p. 297. Pelli Bencivenni's key phrase, "un'intiera storia parlante del rinascimento della pittura in Italia," is rendered somewhat difficult to translate because the idea of "talking history" has a precise meaning regarding the demonstration of history through images. See Frances Haskell, *History and Its Images* (New Haven, 1993); and Findlen, "Renaissance in the Museum" (note 11).

103 Lanzi, *La Real Galleria di Firenze* (note 78), p. 68.

104 Pelli Bencivenni, *Saggio* (note 54), vol. 1, p. ix. References to the new archive appear frequently in his history. For more on Pelli Bencivenni's outlook, see Silvia Capecchi, *Scrittura e coscienza autobiografica nel Diario di Giuseppe Pelli* (Rome, 2006); and Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1775–1792* (note 98), passim.

105 Mann, Letter to Walpole, dated July 24, 1781, *Walpole's Correspondence* (note 28), vol. 25, pp. 169–71.

106 Thomas Martyn, *The Gentleman's Guide in His Tour through Italy* (London, 1781), p. 333.

107 Zacchiroli, *Description* (note 78). Republished, updated, and translated into Italian, Zacchiroli's guidebook competed with a growing number of Uffizi guides to appear in the 1780s and 1790s, including those of the grandducal printer Gaetano Cambiagi, who also published Pelli Bencivenni's *Saggio istorico*. See his *Descrizione della Reale Galleria di Firenze* (Florence, 1792); and his popular *Guida al forestiere per osservare con metodo le rarità e bellezze della città di Firenze* (Florence, 1790), which included a fifteen-page condensed guide to the twenty rooms, noting the presence of Pelli Bencivenni's *cartelli*.

108 For a summary of Pelli Bencivenni's principal changes, see Fileti Mazza and Tomasello, *Galleria degli Uffizi, 1775–1792* (note 98), pp. 14, 20, 45, 87–90, 94–95.

109 Lanzi, *La Real Galleria di Firenze* (note 78), p. 4.

110 Barocchi, "La storia della Galleria" (note 13), pp. 91, 101–2.

111 Arthur Young, *Travels in France and Italy* (London, 1915), p. 276; and Mary Coke, *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke* (Bath, 1970), vol. 4, p. 278.

112 Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs, 1755–1842*, edited by Geneviève Haroche-Bouzinac (Paris, 2008), p. 355. On the request for her own self-portrait, and her particular admiration of Angelica Kauffmann's, see p. 358.

113 Ettore Spalletti, "Tommaso Puccini e il 'nuovo ordine, e risalto maggiore' dato alla Galleria," in Fileti Mazza, Spalletti, and Tomasello, *La Galleria "rinnovata" e "accresciuta"* (note 31), pp. 73–120.

114 Paul Barolsky, *Why Mona Lisa Smiled and Other Tales Told by Vasari* (University Park, Pa., 1991), p. 3. While Barolsky observes that the gallery realized Vasari's history of art in the nineteenth century, I hope that this essay suggests the importance of the eighteenth century to the full-scale realization that occurred in the next century.

115 Lalande, *Voyage* (note 22), vol. 2, p. 256.

116 Gotti, *Le gallerie di Firenze* (note 13), pp. 192–93, 365.

117 Starke, *Letters* (note 94), vol. 1, p. 252.