IV

MUSEO PIO-CLEMENTINO, VATICAN CITY: IDEOLOGY AND AESTHETICS IN THE AGE OF THE GRAND TOUR

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Morning at the Museum

On January 1, 1784, King Gustav III of Sweden (r. 1771–92) inaugurated the new year by attending papal mass in the Sistine Chapel. It was the Lutheran monarch's sixth visit to the Vatican since arriving in Rome on Christmas Eve as the "Count of Haga," just one day after Emperor Joseph II (r. 1765–90), too, had appeared incognito, as the "Count of Falkenstein." After the liturgy Gustav and his retinue turned north to the new Museo Pio-Clementino, a project dear to his host, Pius VI; apprised of Gustav's whereabouts, the pontiff arranged to surprise the king in the galleries, where His Holiness and His Majesty inspected the museum's "superb and rare collection of ancient monuments and statues." The event was recorded not just in the Roman press but in a dramatic canvas by Bénigne Gagneraux (1756–1795) that captures the two sovereigns advancing in tandem through luminous Neoclassical halls (fig. 4-1). While Pius gestures toward his treasures with arm raised like the Apollo Belvedere behind him, Gustav, with hand on hip like the Antinous, observes with rapt attention. The image's power derives from its fragile harmony between secular and sacred on the museum's seemingly neutral ground, as the pope (to quote Gagneraux) "plays antiquarian" to the king.[1]

Yet the museum was not neutral, nor the encounter incidental for any of its participants. For Gustav, who returned four times to the Pio-Clementino, received its catalogue as a parting gift, and hung Gagneraux's *ricordo* outside his council chamber in Stockholm, this public tête-à-tête culminated his elevating Grand Tour and spurred him to found a similar museum in a new palace at Haga. For Pius, who staked his reputation on cultural patronage and ordered his own replica of the canvas, this ecumenical statue summit helped justify investment in the arts and advertise his progress in securing religious freedom for Swedish Catholics. And for the two Visconti brothers, Ennio Quirino and Filippo Aurelio, whom Gagneraux depicts clad in black cassocks at the party's left edge, the impromptu tour—whether or not they in truth participated—marked the triumph of their curatorial efforts to bring modern antiquarian science to the bosom of the Vatican. Above all, this fateful morn-

FIGURE 4-1. Bénigne Gagneraux (French, 1756–1795), *Gustav III Visiting the Hall of the Muses in the Company of Pope Pius VI,* 1785. Oil on canvas, 164 × 262 cm (64½ × 103⅛ in.). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, NM 829

ing encapsulates the museum's emergence as a tool of Enlightenment statecraft. If it seems odd that a Protestant monarch would spend so much time at mass, it is just as remarkable that the head of the Roman Catholic Church would move seamlessly from celebrating the Eucharist to showcasing his collection of seminaked pagan gods.

From today's vantage point, popes may seem unlikely pioneers of modern museology, a role generally associated with Napoléon and his director of museums, Dominique-Vivant Denon (1747–1825), in early-nineteenth-century Paris. Yet it is worth underscoring that the sculpture section of the Musée Napoléon (as the Musée du Louvre was called between 1803 and 1815) relied extensively on objects, strategies, and even a curator appropriated from the Vatican. Rome's importance in the birth of the modern museum is being recognized in new research by Carole Paul, Christopher Johns, Daniela Gallo, Heather Hyde Minor, and others, who have shown that the eighteenth-century curia was not an exhausted anachronism but an active agent in a cosmopolitan artistic and intellectual culture. The two visionary patrons who created the Pio-Clementino on the eve of Europe's Revolutionary era gave the museum-going public what it most valued: tangible links to ancient civilizations lauded as cultural, political, and aesthetic models, displayed in stylish new galleries supported by the latest scholarship. The Vatican Museum of 1784 caught Gustav's imagination not just because it sheltered some of the world's best-known art but because it pioneered museological paradigms that would inspire much of Europe.

Long underestimated by historians, the Pio-Clementino embodies the transition from private, princely collections to state-owned or state-sponsored cultural and scientific institutions. As Carole Paul shows (see chap. 1), Rome's Capitoline Museum took a critical first step in the 1730s under Alessandro Gregorio Capponi (1683–1746), an aristocratic amateur who helped systematize museum practice while transforming seventeenth-century palace rooms for the purpose of scholarly display to a broad public. A generation later, the Pio-Clementino built on that legacy by employing specialist curators and restorers, a dedicated funding stream, and an ambitious campaign of state-sponsored excavations, requisitions, and purchases—and, significantly, by building its core galleries from scratch. Even if the papal collection remained the property of the Holy See, its increasing professionalization and connection with a broader cultural bureaucracy linked it more to Europe's emerging public museums than to private family collections. Much like today's museumgoers, eighteenth-century visitors to the Vatican were instructed by custodians or pocket guides coordinated with numbered labels, and kept in line by gates or protective balustrades. And although the papal collection concentrated on ancient sculpture, by the 1790s it included subsections for ancient coins and cameos, so-called Etruscan vases, and papyrus fragments, as well as a department of sacred antiquities, a print cabinet, and a gallery of modern paintings.

At the same time, the Vatican Museum's declared emphasis on teaching, study, and the elevation of taste allied it to the Enlightenment's expanding public sphere. Some of these features echoed an international museum culture. Where the Pio-Clementino innovated was in recasting the museum experience as something transcendent or otherworldy, and delivering a larger message; as Gagneraux's painting suggests, the Vatican's evocative galleries transported visitors to another time and place as curators sequenced displays into meaning-laden itineraries designed to instruct and improve. All these innovations helped the Pio-Clementino become not just a landmark of museology but a statement of the papacy's new nature in the age of the Grand Tour—or, rather, a new statement of the papacy's "essential" nature as custodian of Western culture.[2]

To study a museum demands a cross-disciplinary perspective encompassing not just art and architecture but the histories of collecting and the art market, antiquarian scholarship and criticism, and viewer response and reception. Developments in archaeology, art restoration, civil law, pontifical bureaucracy, and even poetry are equally relevant. To recapture the Pio-Clementino's historical importance we must reweave these severed threads, attending closely to surviving evidence while harnessing archival documentation to trace changes over time. Doing so provides a new and compelling picture—almost as vivid as Gagneraux's—of one of Europe's first modern museums of art.

Phase One: The Museum Clementinum

Had Gustav visited Rome a decade earlier, he would have found a very different situation at the north end of the papal palace. In order to understand the institution he encountered, we must consider both the long history of collecting and display at the Vatican and the overlapping, and in some ways diverging, visions of the two men—popes Clement XIV (Giovanni Vincenzo Ganganelli, b. 1705, r. 1769–74) and Pius VI (Giovanni Angelo Braschi, b. 1717, r. 1775–99)—who gave it their names.[3]

If *museum* means any collection of rarities, then the Vatican's may be said to have begun around 1503 with the decision by Julius II (r. 1503–13) to transport his prized antique Apollo from his residence at Santi Apostoli to Donato Bramante's new octagonal garden near the Palazzetto di Belvedere of Innocent VIII (r. 1484–92), atop the Mons Vaticanus (Vatican Hill). Successive popes enlarged the court into an arcadian precinct ringed with ornamental niches, watered by antique fountains, and shaded by orange trees.[4] By 1550 this "statue treasury," the Antiquario delle Statue, included the Laocoön, the Venus Felix, the Venus of Cnidus, the Hercules as Commodus, the Nile, the Tiber, the so-called Cleopatra (or Sleeping Ariadne), the Antinous, and the celebrated Torso—a nucleus of masterpieces that attracted visitors from throughout Europe and helped shape canons of ancient art. Yet already in Julius's day the

court was understood as a *hortus conclusus,* or secret garden, off limits to the masses and guarded by a Virgilian admonition—"Begone, ye uninitiated"—over the door. Counter-Reformation popes were less comfortable with the idea of pagan statues at the Vatican and began dispersing its antiquities or donating them to foreign monarchs. Sixtus V (r. 1585–90) planned to dismantle even the famed octagonal court; and although its contents largely survived behind protective wood shutters installed in the 1560s, his seventeenth-century successors focused on building private family collections rather than the Vatican *antiquario.* The short-lived project of Clement XI (r. 1700–1721) to use the area for an ecclesiastical museum of sacred inscriptions spurred some much-needed maintenance around 1705, but for most of the century the celebrated court remained decidedly shabby. Charles de Brosses (1709–1777), president of the Dijon parliament, who was visiting in 1740, compared it to an ugly stable yard whose stalls housed not horses but masterpieces of ancient art. Disgusted with this poor display, de Brosses proposed relocating both the Belvedere and the Capitoline sculptures to the corridor used as the conclave's warming kitchen. "Would it not be better," he asked, "that the cardinals ate cold food and even had a bit of stomach trouble than to leave such antique statues in poor order?"[5]

If, however, we reserve the term *museum* for an organized institution oriented toward the public in customized spaces with an accompanying infrastructure, then today's sprawling Musei Vaticani began in the summer of 1770, with Clement XIV's decision to found a new museum within the papal palace to shelter antiquities in imminent danger from rapacious foreigners. Clement's move reflected the reality that tourism, while buttressing Rome's economy, was threatening its artistic patrimony. The Borghese were still investing in their art collections, but most noble families—the Giustiniani, Odescalchi, Chigi, Albani, Barberini, Verospi—felt pressured to part with their ancestral holdings in return for ready cash.[6] Clement understood that papal export restrictions were not sufficient, and he determined to take bolder action. Similar concerns had prompted his namesake Clement XII (r. 1730–40) to establish the Capitoline Museum in 1733, though that collection was now stuffed to the seams; as early as 1740 de Brosses had found its halls claustrophobic and its sculptures "piled one atop the other in a disagreeable manner."[7] The airy Casino Belvedere offered a promising alternative. Eighteenth-century popes had already founded modest cabinet-museums within the Vatican Library for items of historical interest, including the Museo Cristiano (Christian Museum) of Benedict XIV (r. 1740–58), near the papal apartments, balanced by the Museo Profano of Clement XIII (r. 1758–69), for secular material, to the north. And if Bramante's statue court remained dilapidated, the lure of its masterpieces had only increased since publication of the writings on antique art of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), the late Prussian scholar who had served as Rome's official commissioner for antiquities under Clement's predecessor.

It was with these factors in mind that Clement issued his foundation medal in 1771, depicting Pontifical Liberality showering coins on antique artifacts and pointing to their refuge at the Belvedere—"a new ornament for the Vatican, thanks to her generosity."[8] Liberality's cornucopia, though conventional, highlighted the fact that acquisitions would be paid for from the public lottery as a way to return Rome's bounty, in a sense, to herself. Praise of the museum was sharpened in the following years in the frescoed ceiling (1772–73) painted by Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779) for Clement's new Camera dei Papiri (Room of the Papyri), in the library. Mengs's *Allegory of the Museum Clementinum* used the octagonal court to stage the Triumph of History: flanked by Moses and Saint Peter and supervised by Janus and Fame, the youthful Genius of Rome carries ancient scrolls into the Museum Clementinum, while Clio, leaning on a defeated Father Time, records their accession like a conscientious registrar. Indeed, Mengs's allegory stresses the need for teamwork. Clement himself, a Franciscan friar so unpretentious that he was nicknamed "the Protestant pope," must have found the museum a diversion from the political storm that would soon pressure him to dissolve the Jesuit order. Cameral accounts record his inspection tours, for which Roman Jews were hired to drape carpets and tapestries over unfinished floors and walls. For executive matters Clement relied on his vigorous and visionary treasurer, Monsignor Giovanni Angelo Braschi (the future Pius VI), whose ten-year experience supervising art exports for the Apostolic Chamber alongside Winckelmann gave him a personal perspective on their value. The museum's earliest records show that Treasurer Braschi personally approved all acquisitions and expenses, made his own inspection visits, and kept his finger on the project's pulse. Indeed, associates would later claim that the museum, including aspects of its design, was his idea. Even when one allows for exaggeration, both documentary and visual evidence places Monsignor Braschi at the heart of the Museum Clementinum, a role consistent with his native love of material splendor and his expansive vision of pontifical prestige.[9]

Neither Clement nor Braschi, however, had the antiquarian expertise required to assemble and curate a museum. Winckelmann had been murdered in Trieste in 1768, but before his departure he had tapped as his interim commissioner the Ligurian *abate* (a cassock-clad layman) Giovanni Battista Visconti (1722–1784), a scholar, coin collector, and rhetorician with limited experience of ancient art but, arguably, endowed with a temperament suited to administration. Visconti's appointment was soon made permanent, and it was presumably through him that Winckelmann's ideas about antique art, still largely untranslated from the original German, helped shape the future museum. Just as important, Visconti was the father of two exceptional sons and assistants who absorbed his belief that images were the key to pedagogy. The brilliant but headstrong Ennio Quirino (1751–1818), a child prodigy who

could identify imperial portraits by age two and translated Euripides by age thirteen, served from the outset as his father's scribe, adviser, and confidant; as the collection took shape, he would also author its seven-volume scholarly catalogue published between 1782 and 1810. The steadier and dutiful Filippo Aurelio (1754–1831) assumed his father's official post in 1782, coordinating the practical aspects of what had become the family business.[10] Besides invigilating exports and excavations, the three Visconti made regular tours to scout materials for the museum, inspecting aristocratic holdings and monitoring Rome's network of antiquities dealers, including merchants like Thomas Jenkins (1722–1798), Gavin Hamilton (1723–1798), and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1716?–1799).[11] The Visconti also contracted with specialist tradesmen such as the sculptor Gaspare Sibilla (1723–1782), who supervised the initial installation and assumed the lion's share of the repair work necessary to create presentable sculptures out of damaged fragments.

Correlating the 1771 medal with surviving documents suggests how these mechanisms worked in practice and elucidates the project's genesis. To the left of Liberality appear ten of the museum's early prizes, including two sumptuous antique marble candelabra (now in the Gallery of the Statues) that formed Clement XIV's first aquisition. A jewel of the Barberini holdings, the pair had been contracted for two thousand scudi to an English buyer in 1766, until Winckelmann prohibited their export; citing their "estimable artistry," Clement purchased them in 1770, "primarily from our personal funds... with the intention to install them to public advantage in a suitable location at the Vatican palace."[12] By March they were on display in the Library, signs of the pope's wish "that the precious relics of all types of antiquities might remain whenever possible in this our city of Rome and thereby enhance its dignity." A second refused export license led Clement to acquire the Verospi Augustus, adjoining the candelabra on the medal, from a Russian collector departing Rome, and in August 1770 he bought the famous Meleager at the medal's far left (see fig. 4-7) from the Fusconi palace in the Piazza Farnese, then owned by the monastery of San Cosimato. More complex was the trajectory of the candlebrum to the Meleager's right, one of a set of five acquired from the church of Sant'Agnese fuori le Mura. All were restored, but only four joined the museum; the fifth (which in fact was the only genuine antique, the rest being sixteenth-century copies) was returned to the church, together with a bronze pair newly made as compensation. Similar strategies helped assuage private vendors. When papal workmen came to remove the Jupiter from the Verospi Palace in the Corso in 1772, they took the time to install another Jove in its place; seven years later Giambattista Visconti's bargain with Prince Luigi Lancellotti for a crucial missing Muse included a substitute from the museum's stock.

The remaining objects shown on the medal were acquired from local dealers: Thomas Jenkins supplied the colossal bust of Oceanus, and Cavaceppi

furnished the rare Minotaur and the small Defeated Persian Warrior from the Giustiniani collection. Visconti's memorial to Braschi arguing for these and other acquisitions (already drafted by young Ennio Quirino) are instructive about the criteria in force. Visconti noted the warrior's "lively expression" and unusual Phrygian cap, adding that "even though the piece is missing both arms and a leg, it is nonetheless an ancient monument of such a sublime style that it may be esteemed an example of art of the first rank." Other proposals stress rarity and usefulness to scholarship. A bust of Euclid, also from Cavaceppi, was "unknown in sculpture, but recognizable by comparison with an extremely rare Greek coin from Megara"; an inscribed portrait of Antisthenes bought from the amateur excavator Domenico De Angelis (fl. 1769–ca. 1786) in 1773 was not only "unique in all antiquity" but proof that Fulvio Orsini's published likeness of Antisthenes was "mere conjecture" and that busts currently identified as Carneades actually depicted the famous Athenian. Quality and fit were decisive in other cases, like that of a gigantomachy sarcophagus in Greek marble "of a grandiose style and extravagant invention" and perfectly proportioned to support the Vatican Cleopatra. Rivalry with competing collections was a concern from the start: a head of Antoninus Pius offered by Gavin Hamilton was "finer than any on display in Rome," whereas one of Aristophanes "yields nothing in stylistic beauty, and trumps in conservation all the portraits of orators, poets, and philosophers admired in the unique room [the Sala] at the Capitoline." Even fragments had a place as study objects. An arm of Pallas costing fifty scudi was "[of such] distinguished carving that it will become a standard of its type for artists, and a delight for connoisseurs," and an even more incomplete hand and globe was acquired for just two scudi as a model for restoring a Trajan.[13] All these detailed rationales suggest an eager curator's bid to convince a sharp-eyed patron, a need that diminished as trust grew. But Visconti's memorials also reflect the museum's goal not to repeat, or merely complement, but to surpass Rome's existing antiquities collections.

Imposing as these firstfruits were, it was larger purchases like the thirty-four statues from the Mattei collection acquired in September 1770 (for which Clement dissolved a fideicommissum, or entailment) that forced the question of how to house the antiquities. The following February, Clement, Braschi, and Monsignor Francesco Saverio de Zelada, the future Vatican librarian, inspected the Palazzetto di Belvedere, whose remodeling was assigned to the aging cameral architect Alessandro Dori (1702–1772), while Sibilla oversaw the installation and decoration. Dori had specialized in redecorating Roman palaces, and his respectful but grandiose remodeling retained the festive aura of Innocent's pleasure villa. His design preserved a small sacristy and chapel frescoed by Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506); freshened the geometrical ceilings, figural lunettes, and grotesque pilasters decorated by Pinturicchio (ca. 1454–1513); and renewed the loggia's colorful landscapes as a spirited backdrop for

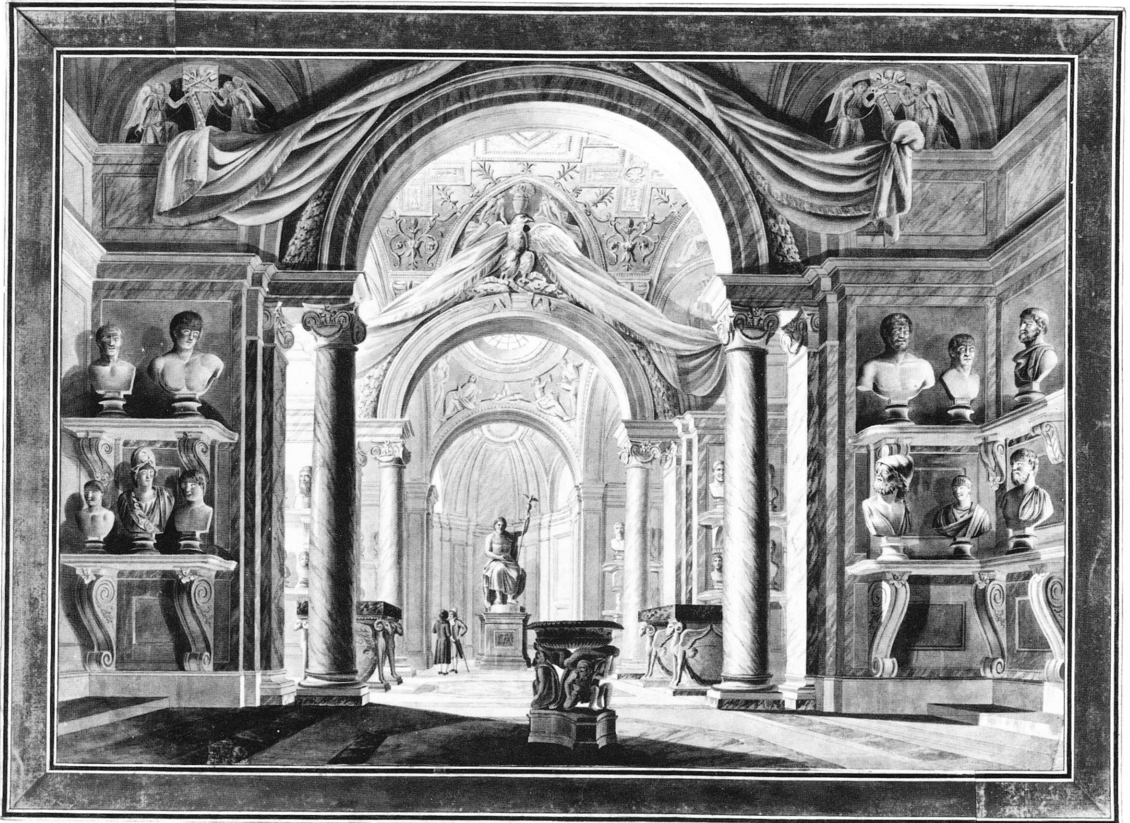


FIGURE 4-2. Giovanni Volpato (Italian, 1735–1803) and Abraham-Louis-Rodolphe Ducros (Swiss, 1748–1810), *View of the Rooms of the Busts in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome,* 1786–92. Hand-colored line etching, 60.3 × 82.5 cm (23¾ × 32⅜ in.). Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Res. 2. Arch. 170 M, no. 11). The view is looking east, toward the Verospi Jupiter.

the sculptures. This riot of color and pattern suited Dori's rococo temperament and conformed to the ideal art galleries imagined by Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691–1765) in the 1750s, in his several versions of the companion paintings *Ancient Rome* and *Modern Rome.*[14] Although Dori could not duplicate Panini's colossal scale, he re-created an atmosphere of abundance by replacing internal doorways with serlianas, supported on veneered marble columns and adorned with stucco masks and draperies, to create a unified vista (fig. 4-2).[15] The total effect is so different from that in the museum's later phases that it is worth underlining its pictorial and aristocratic inspiration.

Whereas the architecture of Clement's museum looked to established Roman tradition, its strategies of display leaned on the Capitoline Museum. Following Capponi's precedent, Visconti and Sibilla grouped the works by size and subject rather than perceived chronology. The main hall was lined with statues, and the adjoining Stanza dei Busti (Room of the Busts) was stocked with portrait heads on ornamental shelves as in the Capitoline's Stanza degli Imperatori (Room of the Emperors; see chap. 1, fig. 1-6) and Stanza de' Filosofi (Room of the Philosophers). To the west, further rooms displayed the Fusconi Meleager and the Barberini Virgin (or Atalanta); to the east, a small corridor contained the Cleopatra and a few Egyptian works, and an early Sala degli Animali (Room of the Animals) on the site of Innocent's

covered loggia contained the Minotaur and the Fusconi Molossus. There were, of course, false starts—one bust had to be moved four times before the curators were satisfied—but on the whole, museum accounts confirm that typology was the orienting principle and neo-Renaissance classicism the dominant aesthetic key.[16] The first hint of change came with the installation of the majestic Verospi Jupiter (acquired in May 1771 for fifteen hundred scudi) at the east end of the enfilade, set below drawn stucco curtains in an apse that required special buttressing. Dramatically framed by Dori's multiple arches, the king of the gods sits in majestic isolation, aligned with Pinturicchio's solar roundels and surrounded by his subjects. The effect is enhanced by windows punched in the side of the niche, which cause Jupiter to glow like a cult statue at the end of a dark temple cella. Indeed, the Jupiter's dramatic lighting and placement seem targeted to evoke a pagan model, a link one satirist confirmed, on Clement's death, by imagining the pope's catafalque in the form of "the Museo Clementino with the pope in the act of adoring a statue of Jupiter Ammon, with the motto *worshipper of idols.*"[17]

As work continued inside Innocent's villa, Clement embarked on a second phase of construction crucial to the museum's future. When Dori died in January 1772, his younger successor, Michelangelo Simonetti (1731–1787), was commissioned to update Bramante's octagonal statue-courtyard just south of the new galleries. The idea may date from as early as 1770, when the young architect Thomas Harrison (1744–1829), newly arrived from Yorkshire, had sent the pope an ambitious plan for transforming Bramante's court into a museum by adding a dome with an oculus, on the model of the Pantheon. Although at that time Clement was still thinking small and could hardly have employed an unknown foreigner, Harrison's plan, which the rationalist critic Francesco Milizia (1725–1789) praised as "Vitruvian" and the Prussian scholar Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz (1743–1812) described as a "temple," excited connoisseurs and may have paved the way for future developments.[18] For the time being, Simonetti again turned to a Capitoline model, adapting Alessandro Specchi's 1715 portico at the Palazzo dei Conservatori (Conservators' Palace) to ring the walls of Julius's historic garden (fig. 4-3). In the preface to the museum's catalogue, Giambattista Visconti credits Treasurer Braschi with inventing the "fine scheme of surrounding the aforesaid courtyard with a majestic portico, in order to give the beautiful statues that filled its niches greater protection and decorum, and the new Museum Clementinum greater space and extension."[19] Simonetti's design achieved these goals in multiple ways. First, it regularized the court's appearance by substituting top-lit canopies for the protective shutters and replacing the two large River-Gods with a colossal porphyry basin from the Villa Giulia. Second, by smoothing the transition from the palace's eastern corridor to Dori's statue gallery, the portico created a grand vestibule for Clement's museum. But

FIGURE 4-3. Vincenzo Feoli (Italian, ca. 1760–1827), after Francesco Miccinelli (Italian, act. 1790s), *Right Side of the Portico Adorning the Courtyard in the Museo Pio-Clementino,* ca. 1795. Etching and engraving, 51 × 86 cm (20 × 33⅞ in.). Photo: Author. The view shows Bramante's octagonal statue court with the portico added between 1773 and 1774.

most important, by accentuating the court's octagonal shape and elegantly framing its edges, the portico belatedly acknowledged the Apollo, the Laocoön, the Venus Felix, the Antinous, and the other sculptures still woefully underexploited as a tourist resource. Simonetti's superimposed arches and pediments slow visitors' rhythm like fermatas, helping them to recognize those masterworks that cognoscenti rated the most sublime creations of human genius.

Architecturally, the new stone-and-brick portico was relatively traditional. Its column bases and capitals are sixteenth-century spolia, and the alternating pediments, diamond coffering, canopy vaults, and vivid skyline echo the entrance portico added by Ferdinando Fuga (1699–1781) to the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore—qualities that led Milizia to complain in 1773 that "the peristyle of the Belvedere courtyard is nearing completion, and according to all appearances it will be one of the most famous monuments of Borrominesque architecture."[20] But in calling Simonetti's creation a "peristyle," Milizia grasped its new debt to archaeological precedent. Whereas an early public notice had called the portico "a colonnade in the form of an amphitheater," Milizia recognized its true model as the ancient houses and palaces whose peristyle gardens were yielding many of the finest statues from Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Tivoli. Carlo Marchionni (1702–1786) had already made porticoes and arcades the centerpiece of Cardinal Alessandro Albani's museum-villa around 1750, perhaps at the urging of Winckelmann, Albani's librarian and adviser. Simonetti went further by re-creating an ancient house's enclosed perimeter and central basin, a notion to which Giambattista Visconti's dedicatory inscription alludes:

> Pope Clement XIV, having filled the museum with monuments of antiquity, enriched the library with treasures and paintings, and strengthened the palace with new foundations, ordered that the impluvium renowned for its statues be adorned with a portico in 1773, the fifth year of his pontificate.[21]

The term *impluvium* seems to evoke the Roman domus and turn Julius's *hortus conclusus* into a neo-antique atrium for the Museum Clementinum.

Besides providing a sense of history, the new portico altered the visitor's experience of the statue court's contents. Simonetti's peristyle replaces the axial focus common to recent precedents with a series of shifting vignettes that isolate the Vatican's chefs d'oeuvre within evocative microenvironments. Contemporary illustrators accentuated these melodramatic effects to suggest how hidden oculi suffused the statues with overhead light and made the white marbles glow in their dark recesses. In the case of the Laocoön, the top-lit setting may also have been intended to recall the sculpture's dramatic rediscovery in the so-called Baths of Titus, a scene later added to the painted wall decorations in the adjoining gallery. Even more important, like devotional chapels or alcoves, Simonetti's semiprivate *gabinetti* (literally, small cabinets; one reviewer called them *tempietti,* or small temples) encouraged the immediate and personal experience of the antique promoted by Winckelmann and diffused by tourist guidebooks and memoirs. Alone with the world's greatest works of art, no visitor could forget Winckelmann's classic descriptions of Laocoön's noble suffering or Apollo's transcendent beauty:

> In gazing upon this masterpiece of art, I forget all else, and I myself adopt an elevated stance in order to be worthy of beholding it. My chest seems to expand with veneration and to heave like those I have seen swollen as if by the spirit of prophecy, and I feel myself transported to Delos and to the Lycian groves, places Apollo honored with his presence—for my image seems to assume life and movement, like Pygmalion's beauty.[22]

Although Simonetti's portico postdates Winckelmann by half a decade, it enhances the privacy and the spatial and temporal disorientation upon which his aesthetic experience depends. On a late afternoon one can still recapture the Laocoön's "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" by leaving loud tour groups behind and stepping into its domed *gabinetto.*

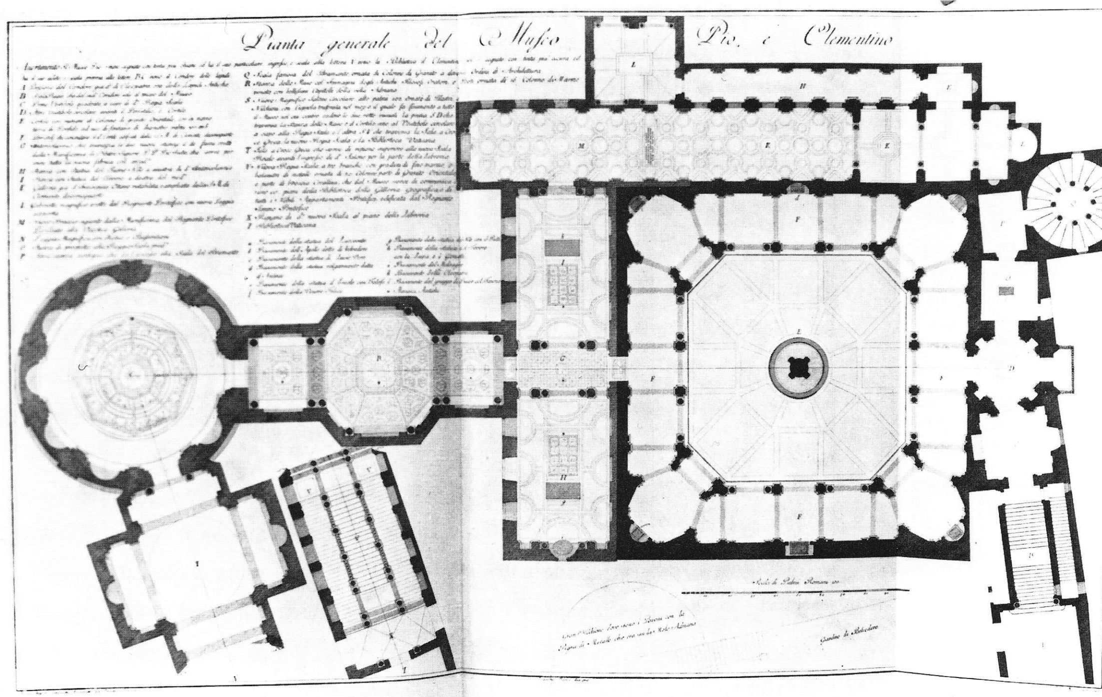
Phase Two: The Museum Pium

Had the new papal museum stopped here, it would already have made history; as it was, a serendipitous conjunction of events catalyzed its expansion into

Europe's leading laboratory for the study and display of ancient art. In May 1773, Treasurer Braschi was promoted to cardinal and replaced by Guglielmo Pallotta (1727–1795). Sixteen months later, in September 1774, an increasingly reclusive Clement XIV died under mysterious circumstances—poisoned, many believed, by angry ex-Jesuits. Over the ensuing winter, with the cardinals deadlocked in conclave, Domenico De Angelis made one of the century's most spectacular finds, in an olive grove near Tivoli: an extensive, though damaged, set of Apollo Citharoedus and the Muses from the so-called Villa of Cassius, together with a set of inscribed herms of Greek statesmen and philosophers. Although he had already supplied the museum's Antisthenes, this time De Angelis exploited the power vacuum to conceal his godsend; but on February 10, 1775, Commissioner Visconti got wind of the discovery and rushed to Tivoli to confront De Angelis, prohibit private sale, and sequester the entire trove for acquisition by the Apostolic Chamber. As if recognizing an omen, five days later the cardinals broke their impasse by electing ex-treasurer Braschi as Pope Pius VI. Even more than his predecessor, this cultured protégé of the Albani embraced the arts, including those of pagan antiquity, as tools to reverse the steady erosion of papal prestige and influence. Over the next twenty-four years, during the longest pontificate since Peter's, Pius placed the museum project at the heart of his vision for a reinvigorated papacy marked by scholarly, aesthetic, and moral leadership.[23]

Upon Braschi's election in 1775, Clement's museum was entered from the palace's eastern corridor via a vaulted staircase that led visitors to a square and then a round vestibule in which they pivoted toward the octagonal court—a sequence Pius would soon echo, and expand, to the west. After launching other urgent additions to the Vatican, most notably Marchionni's massive neo-Baroque sacristy for Saint Peter's, Pius returned to the museum with Visconti, Simonetti, and Sibilla in May 1776 and "ordered work to begin on the con-struction of two new wings, already projected in the time of the late pope."[24] Simonetti's resulting scheme for the new Museum Pium (fig. 4-4) transformed the museum's layout. By sacrificing Mantegna's chapel, Simonetti extended Clement's long gallery by another five bays to join a new Hall of the Animals created west of the octagonal court. Even more boldly, he designed three new halls centered on a domed rotunda and linked to the library corridor by an elaborate triple-flighted staircase. Besides multiplying the space for new acquisitions, including the Tivoli hoard, the addition reversed the museum's intended circulation, shifted its center of gravity, and altered its relation to the palace as a whole. On the one hand, the combined "Pio-Clementino" completed the Vatican's northern wing, while on the other, its monumental new entrance and direct access from the Vatican gardens created a symbolic separation.

Yet the Museum Pium's greatest novelty was its form, which opened up new paradigms of installation and interpretation. By building from the ground



up, Simonetti rethought museum architecture according to the requirements of lighting, circulation, and display. These were no longer modern rooms stocked with inherited antiques; they were, rather, full-size evocations of the baths, temples, palaces, and nymphaea in which those treasures were originally housed. From a distance the prismatic brick forms rising atop the Vatican Hill resembled the very ruins from which the galleries' contents were emerging, rearranged and adapted to the museum's program.[25] Variety was the goal: the Sala Rotonda suggested the Pantheon, with niches, clerestory, and exterior buttresses derived from the Temple of Minerva Medica; the Sala a Croce Greca (Greek Cross Atrium) borrowed its cavernous groin vaults from the Mausoleum of Hadrian and the Baths of Caracalla. Other spaces were novelties *all'antica* (in the antique style), like the grand, or "noble," staircase studded with precious antique columns, or the three-part Sala delle Muse (Hall of the Muses) that conjoined a lofty octagon and lower vestibules in a way recalling arrangements at Hadrian's Villa. Visitors noted the subtlety with which these diverse settings were stitched into a compelling sequence. As Hester Lynch Piozzi (1741–1821), visiting from Wales in 1789, enthused:

> Never were place and decorations so adapted: never perhaps was so refined a taste engaged on subjects so worthy of its exertion. The statues are disposed with a propriety that charms one; the situation of the pillars so contrived, the colours of them so chosen to carry the eye forward—not

FIGURE 4-4.
Marco Carloni (Italian, 1742–1796), after Michelangelo Simonetti (Italian, 1731–1787), Plan of the Museo Pio-Clementino as expanded after 1776. Engraving, 52.5 × 86 cm (20⅝ × 33¹⁵⁄₁₆ in.). From Giovanni Battista and Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Il Museo Pio Clementino* (Rome, 1782), vol. 1, plate between pages iv and v. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 82-B1403

> fatigue it; the rooms so illuminated: Hagley park is not laid out with more judicious attention to diversify, and relieve with various objects a mind delighting in the contemplation of ornamented nature; than is the Pope's Musaeum calculated to enchain admiration, and fix it in those apartments where sublimity and beauty have established their residence.[26]

Piozzi's emphasis on color, light, and motion highlights a key innovation: unlike the Capitoline or earlier Roman galleries, the Pio-Clementino had no facade and relied entirely on interior spaces to elicit visitors' responses. In some sense, that enclosure anticipated the oneiric qualities that in the twentieth century Walter Benjamin would find in Parisian arcades: "houses or passages having no outside—like the dream."[27] This new stress on setting helps explain why the museum's official catalogue included both a groundplan (see fig. 4-4) and perspective views. The market for the latter was further addressed by two extensive suites of prints published in the late 1780s and 1790s; with views of the galleries complete with strolling visitors, both sets were large enough for framing, and one was laboriously hand-colored to increase its realism (see figs. 4-2, 4-3, and 4-6).[28] Although Simonetti was universally acknowledged as the architect, little in his previous, conservative career prepares us for this volte-face. He must have had direction from Visconti, perhaps (as Giambattista and Ennio Quirino's catalogue claimed) "assisted by suggestions from the Sovereign himself."[29] Whatever its genesis, the plan echoed northern European innovations in gallery design, from the Palladian experiments of William Kent (ca. 1685–1748) and Lord Burlington (1694–1753) to the Neoclassical innovations of Robert Adam (1728–1792). Simonetti's plan recalls both Adam's Marble Hall and Rotunda at Kedleston (begun in 1760) and the sculpture gallery Adam had added to Newby Hall in Yorkshire in 1767 (published in 1773), to house the fifteen crates of ancient sculpture William Weddell (1736–1792) had exported from Rome with a license cosigned by Winckelmann and, significantly, the future Pius VI.[30] Although historians typically focus on Italy's influence on England, in this case the museum's planners embraced ultramontane innovations to entice their largely foreign audience.

The task of filling the new rooms fell to Giambattista Visconti, who redoubled acquisition efforts begun under Clement XIV. With the Tivoli Muses as inspiration, some 130 official excavations were opened in the first five years of Pius's pontificate, and almost six hundred of the Pio-Clementino's treasures—including the Otricoli Zeus, the Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, many of the mosaics, and dozens of animal sculptures—emerged from digs sponsored by the Apostolic Chamber. Cameral records are replete with bills from search parties sent to identify promising sites, invoices for food and supplies, and balance sheets tabulating the profitability of each dig. Although well-preserved statues and mosaics remained the prize (and occasioned well-

earned tips for the workmen), cameral excavations yielded troves of humbler material—lead, stone, colored marbles, and sometimes whole columns—that financed or enriched the galleries. In the case of private digs the camera retained one-third of the finds and the right of first refusal on the rest. Besides the Muses group, these included the minute mosaics of theatrical masks in the Gabinetto delle Maschere (Cabinet of the Masks), uncovered in 1779 at Hadrian's Villa by Cardinal Mario Marefoschi and purchased for sixteen hundred scudi from the local landowner.[31]

Professional dealers remained keen to interest Visconti in their stock. His list of "Acquisitions to make from [Francesco] Piranesi," of about 1779, includes a basalt "idol" of the god Apis on a fluted column ("the whole extremely well preserved"), a headless swan or duck on a shell, and four sections of a marble frieze later built into the Cabinet of the Masks.[32] The sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti (1746–1820) recorded numerous sales in his diary, like the "ancient statue of a soldier" he delivered in March 1780, or the "very beautiful fragment of a seated woman" Visconti bought for ninety scudi in 1781. Pacetti also provided professional expertise, accompanying Visconti to the Villa Giustiniani in 1779 "to judge if a statue of Mercury was entirely ancient, or in any case to say what I thought"; when Pacetti found it to be heavily restored, the matter was dropped. The tables were turned when Mengs advised Visconti "in secret" that an expensive athlete he had contracted from Pacetti "was not a statue for the Museum," scuttling the deal and forcing Pacetti to unload it at a reduced price to Prince Marcantonio IV Borghese.[33] Valuable additions came from donors seeking favor, like two fine sarcophagi presented by Cardinal Antonio Casali for the portico, or an alabaster Diana of Ephesus from the Vatican's head mosaicist. Other objects were appropriated from church properties, such as a colossal bust of Hadrian removed from Castel Sant'Angelo, the large Ceres and Melpomene transferred from the Cancelleria, and a Bacchic sarcophagus unearthed in excavations for the new sacristy of Saint Peter's. As works poured in from sites throughout the Papal States, the Pio-Clementino became a national art repository, a Musée central des arts *avant la lettre.*

The explosion of excavations meant more work for the restorers, who assumed a core administrative role. A key step toward centralized bureaucracy had been taken in September 1770, when Clement appointed Gaspare Sibilla to a salaried post at the cameral Calcografia, or printing house, with the duty to "restore all the statues and every other type of marbles that we have acquired and will acquire in the future." The unorthodox arrangement hints at restoration's growing importance as a lifeline to artists starved of independent commissions. Over the next decade Sibilla not only directed the museum's initial installation but operated twin studios in town and in the meadows below the Belvedere, where specialist sculptors worked six or more days a week to transform mutilated fragments into completed works of art. Sibilla's regular

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accounts allow us to reconstruct the hours worked, supplies consumed, and extra expenses, such as live models needed for achieving naturalistic restorations. One bill from 1779 even includes a "tip to the man who brought in a Molossus Dog and stayed for half a day to make him hold still while we copied him for the restoration of the dog found near Civitavecchia."[34]

In practice, the volume exceeded even Sibilla's capacity, and Visconti hired contractors like the animal specialist Francesco Antonio Franzoni (1734–1818), who charged 150 scudi in 1787 for restoring a small green porphyry crab "based on studies from life," and another 310 for carving a lobster (which Pius personally inspected in the artist's studio) as a pendant. Interventions could be radical by today's standards: to equalize a pair of granite sphinxes for the Greek Cross Atrium, Franzoni skinned off several inches to "remove unsightly scratches and holes," and shortened one sphinx's torso by nearly two feet.[35] Franzoni became the restorer of choice for virtuoso reconstructions like the life-size marble biga (described later in this essay), a chariot or triumphal car he rebuilt from an ancient spolium that had previously served as the episcopal throne in the Roman church of San Marco and hitched to a pair of horses carved almost entirely from scratch. At times such interventions bordered on pastiche: a five-foot-tall Tree of Putti from the Albani collection was "restored" in 1787 from scant shards of one nest and fragments of a second. Here, too, the goal was less to reconstruct the artifact's antique appearance or context than to create an appealing exhibit. Franzoni specified that he carved his additions "in a lively and natural fashion," then treated them "with acid to blend in with the old parts." Most visitors were none the wiser, though on his regular inspection tour the pope, ever vigilant, found the trunk too high and had Franzoni shorten it for ease of viewing.[36]

Figural pieces demanded a far greater historical accuracy befitting their dual artistic and evidentiary value. Ennio Quirino Visconti had little patience with the often freewheeling approach of earlier restorers, or with those who belittled the value of antiquities as a window onto ancient life and thought. As he explained in the museum's catalogue, antiquarian science "tells us in particular and in detail the customs, nature, habits, rituals, opinions, arts, religions, memories, traditions, and learning of ancient peoples... and thereby gives us a more exact and complete knowledge of the history of man, the world, and society than can be obtained through civil history."[37] But for artifacts to yield their secrets they had to be accurately identified, a task for which Visconti deployed his vast knowledge of history, literature, mythography, and numismatics. Tough cases forced him to use "a form of divination" or "conjecture" based on scant surviving evidence, and Visconti was not above drafting featureless torsos and busts into service when restoration required. Yet he maintained (as in the case of a so-called Perseus misguidedly completed with the head of a Faun) that appropriate modern additions were always better than incorrect antique

ones, which "deprived so many handsome statues of that expression that once constituted their best quality, and which must have stood out primarily in the face."[38] A Centaur and Amorino in the Hall of the Animals (see fig. 4-7) is a case in point. Whereas Carlo Antonio Napolioni (1675–1742) had glossed over key features in restoring an analogous piece at the Capitoline (the younger Furietti Centaur, bought by Clement XIII in 1765), Visconti aimed to recover the ancient artist's *concetto* (original idea). Having scrutinized the evidence, he instructed Sibilla to "give a joyful expression to the Amorino on the Centaur's back, in order to express the idea that while the Centaur is happy with the prey he has just captured, Love laughs at having captured the hunter."[39]

Visiting the Vatican: Arrangement and Decoration

As Charles de Brosses had made clear, masterpieces do not make a museum, and the Pio-Clementino's international success depended on addressing and accommodating the visitor. Despite its semiprivate status, the papal collection functioned much like a state museum; the Spanish Grand Tourist Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760–1828) noted in 1794 that in contrast to the Vatican Library, where "all is difficulties, keys, locks, and permissions," the new museum "is open to the public daily, and for the six reals that one pays on entering, anyone can remain inside as long as he wishes."[40] During Holy Week those fees were waived, in an annual open house for the entire populace. Visitors had multiple sources of information about the exhibits. Connoisseurs might acquire or be given (like Gustav III) the sumptuous catalogue produced with papal support by the paintings dealer and antiquarian publisher Ludovico Mirri. This luxurious set of folio tomes featured full-page plates by a large team of Roman engravers and detailed entries by Ennio Quirino Visconti discussing provenance, attributes, comparanda, and, occasionally, aspects of the restoration. Like earlier antiquities catalogues, it proceeded by class, beginning with the Olympian gods; in all, three volumes were dedicated to statues (published in 1782, 1784, and 1790), two to sarcophagi and bas-reliefs (1788, 1796), and one each to busts (1792) and miscellanea (with an imprint of 1807, but in fact published in 1810). Tourists seeking a more portable reference could consult the standard Roman guidebooks and, from 1792, the pocket-sized *Indicazione antiquaria del pontificio museo Pio-Clementino* (Antiquarian guide to the pontifical Museo Pio-Clementino), prepared with parallel Italian and French texts by Pasquale Massi, the museum's resident custodian. Putting himself in a visitor's shoes, Massi inventoried every room in strict sequence, offering brief identifications and cross-references to Visconti's seven-volume catalogue and numbering each object (corresponding to paper labels in the galleries) in three series by period of accession—Julius II and his successors, Clement XIV, and Pius VI. Still other visitors preferred literary reflections over raw historical

FIGURE 4-5.
View of the Greek Cross Atrium in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome, late 19th–early 20th century. The view of the room, planned by Michelangelo Simonetti in 1776, shows the Hadrianic telamones (the "Cioci") acquired in 1779, the mosaic from the Villa della Rufinella restored between 1778 and 1780, the porphyry sarcophagi of Saints Helena and Constantina, added in 1786 and 1790, and the sphinxes restored by Francesco Antonio Franzoni in 1787.

data: Goethe brought along the latest edition of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of the art of antiquity) so he could read it in the octagonal court, "on the spot where it was written."[41]

The papal museum's continuing expansion meant frequent changes to installations and circulation patterns, and for decades the old vestibules of the Museum Clementinum continued to offer an alternative entrance from Bramante's eastern Belvedere corridor. But by the mid-1780s visitors were clearly meant to approach the Pio-Clementino from the west, either on foot via the long library corridor or, especially after the completion of the projecting Atrio dei Quattro Cancelli (Four-Gated Atrium) under Simonetti's successor, Giuseppe Camporese (1763–1822), in the early 1790s, by carriage directly from the Vatican Gardens.[42] After alighting in the new atrium and passing a wrought-iron gate bearing Pius's dedicatory inscription of 1784—a date that might be taken as that of the Pio-Clementino's official unveiling—visitors ascended Simonetti's grand staircase, whose scenographic ramps and antiquity-studded landings the journal *Memorie per le belle arti* likened to "beautiful stage designs." This first flight led to the Greek Cross Atrium, a cool, sail-vaulted Doric hall with a monumental portal labeled *Museum Pium* and guarded like a tomb by two gigantic Egyptian telamones of red granite originally from Hadrian's Villa (fig. 4-5). Commandeered from the bishop's palace at Tivoli in

1779 in exchange for funding to repair the town's aqueducts, these two "Cioci," as they were popularly known from their origin in Lazio's Ciocaria region, were meticulously repaired by Sibilla in order to resume, according to Visconti, their ancient protective function. Fittingly, the room's glory was the massive pair of sarcophagi of Saints Helena and Constantina in porphyry, another Egyptian stone, transferred from the basilica of San Giovanni in Laterano and the church of Santa Costanza and set on animal-headed consoles carved by Franzoni. Pius's decision to remove these famous relics from a sacred context and exhibit them without any Christian gloss announces the new priorities. Indeed, together with the Cioci, four large sphinxes, and additional Egyptian "idols," these porphyry wonders suggest a conscious attempt to evoke a historic and artistic itinerary beginning in Egypt, much as Winckelmann had done in his groundbreaking *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums,* first published in 1764.[43]

From the Egyptian atrium one passed into the romanizing Sala Rotonda, a symbolic fulcrum whose importance was enhanced in 1792 by the transfer of Julius II's massive porphyry basin from the octagonal court (fig. 4-6). The

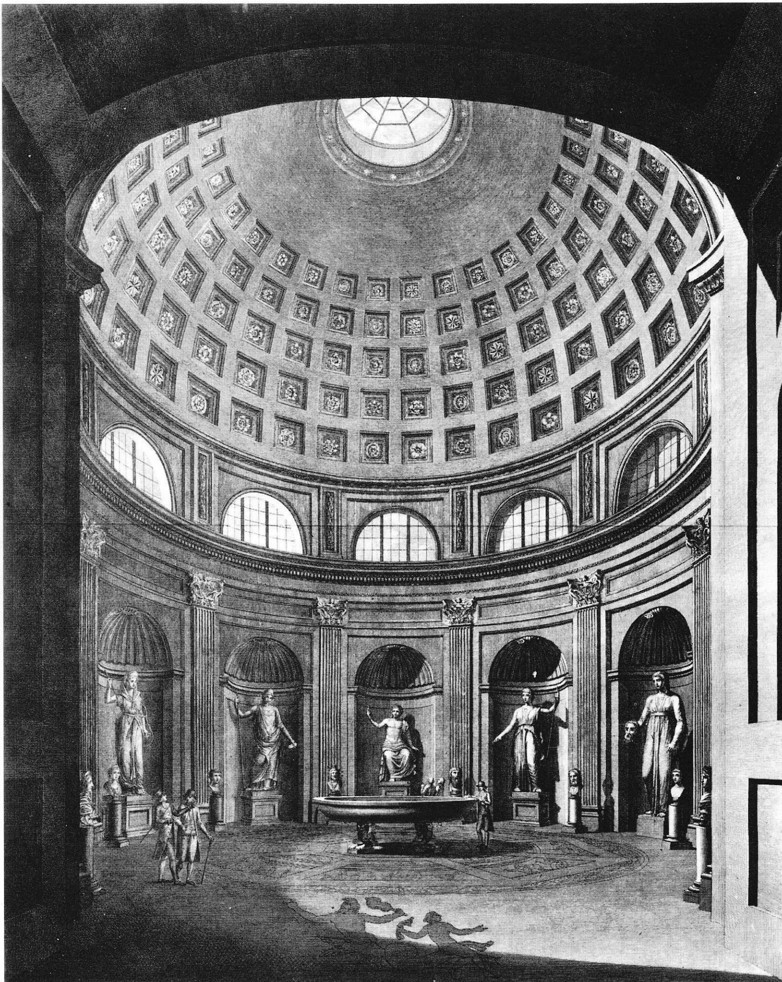

FIGURE 4-6. Vincenzo Feoli (Italian, ca. 1760–1827), after Francesco Miccinelli (Italian, act. 1790s), *View of the Sala Rotonda in the Museo Pio-Clementino,* Rome, ca. 1795. Etching and engraving

museum's tallest room, the Sala had ten shell-headed niches (originally painted a speckled light gray, rather than today's Pompeiian red with gilding) reserved for colossal statues of major divinities and deified mortals—Juno, Ceres, the divine Nerva, Claudius, and Antinous—set on bold cipollino plinths alternating with large busts of Jupiter, Serapis, Oceanus, Claudius, Faustina, Hadrian, and Antinous on porphyry half-columns. The ensemble evoked a divine assembly gathered in Rome's "temple of all the gods," and the glazed oculus followed Montesquieu's 1729 dictum that the Pantheon was the best model for "a school of sculpture . . . in which to place a large number of statues, needing only one single light source, that is, from above."[44] By the late 1780s that light also fell on a magnificent octagonal mosaic with marine divinities discovered in a bath complex at Otricoli in 1776, the largest such pavement then known and one that seemed to one visitor "to have arrived to us intact and perfectly preserved."[45] In fact, its restoration required sixteen years of labor by dozens of expert mosaicists, who integrated losses and adapted the work to its new setting. The studio itself became an attraction, visited nine times by the pope as well as by Gustav III and Joseph II, and enterprising vendors sold scarves imprinted with the mosaic's design. Indeed, the new prominence of mosaics at the Pio-Clementino bespeaks the museum's difference from earlier antiquities displays. Although the Capitoline, like some private collections, had repurposed ancient floors as tabletops or immured them like framed paintings, the costly decision to restore room-sized examples at the Vatican and exhibit them in their original position and function was central to the Pio-Clementino's goal of offering a firsthand experience of the ancient world.

The sense of temporal dislocation intensified in the adjoining Sala delle Muse (Hall of the Muses), dedicated to the group from the Villa of Cassius. Pioneering in multiple senses, it was perhaps both the first purpose-built museum room designed around a coherent archaeological nucleus and the first specifically dedicated to ancient Greece.[46] Although the curators were not afraid to edit the original ensemble (Visconti had not acquired a group of a Silenus and a Bacchante he judged "rather lascivious," and found other locations for the site's sleeping Apollo and reclining Bacchus), they maintained and, where possible, expanded the Tivoli grouping's Hellenic and Apollonian theme. In fact, only seven of the eight Muses that had been found were usable, and to complete the cycle Visconti had to obtain a Euterpe from Prince Luigi Lancellotti and to re-restore a Urania masquerading as a Fortuna.

Threading between the Muses were herms of Greek authors, politicians, and philosophers, ostensibly positioned as they had appeared at the Villa of Cassius; these exhibits were gradually expanded with portraits, from Alcibiades to Zeno, to represent all facets of Greek political and intellectual life.[47] Greek, too, were the mosaic pavement of theatrical actors, the reliefs of Lapiths and Spartan Warriors set into the walls, and, especially, the continuous

entablature supported by sixteen monolithic columns ordered from Carrara (with veins to suggest striated cipollino from Euboea) and topped with ancient Corinthian capitals from Hadrian's Villa. This logic is now obscured by later paint that covers illusionistic landscapes that originally dissolved the room's corner walls as if to evoke the Muses' original habitat. The room's *concetto,* then, was both an evocation of the leafy, elevated Villa of Cassius and a re-creation of an open pavilion on Mount Parnassus, the sanctuary Apollo shared with immortal poets. This theme was magnified in a grandiloquent ceiling frescoed by Tommaso Conca (1734–1822) according to a program provided by Giambattista Visconti.[48] Adapting ideas from Raphael's private loggia for Leo X (r. 1513–21) at the Vatican (1518–19), with echoes of the same painter's *Parnassus* in the private library of Julius II, or Stanza della Segnatura (1508–11), Conca created a fictive pergola under which Apollo and his Muses consort with Homer, Aeschylus, Pindar, and the seven sages, while Mercury and Minerva descend in front of the painted ribs. To demonstrate that Parnassus was open to all, four oil paintings below the ribs show Virgil, Tasso, and Ariosto alongside the venerable Homer, each visited by an inspiring deity. Most significantly, Conca designed his fictive portico, complete with top-lit *gabinetti,* to recall the museum's own peristyle and thereby emphasize the continuity between the Pio-Clementino and Bramante's hilltop garden.

From the Hall of the Muses visitors entered the new Hall of the Animals (fig. 4-7), a marble menagerie housing the two River-Gods (later removed),

FIGURE 4-7.
View of the Hall of the Animals in the Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome, late 19th century. This photograph shows the hall as it was expanded and reconfigured after 1776, with the Centaur and Amorino (extreme left) and the Fusconi Meleager (far background).

the Meleager, and the growing collection of animal sculptures. Their rarity and variety advertised the enterprise's reach: ancient herons, elephants, camels, boars, dogs, hedgehogs, leopards, sea nymphs, and zoological fantasies populate shelves and tables, while animal mosaics fill the floor and Molossian hounds guard the door. If the room's abundance recalls the palace zoos of the Medici or Louis XIV (an effect magnified by Pius's ubiquitous inscriptions), the collection also embraced Enlightenment science. To restore an ancient lynx, the papal envoy obtained plaster molds from a live specimen in Warsaw, and the inscription below a rare Ethiopian sheep cites John Johnston's *Historiae Naturalis de Quatrupetibus* (1650).[49]

More princely magnificence awaited in the adjoining Cortile delle Statue (Gallery of the Statues), now significantly lengthened, with a sumptuous marble pavement echoing the Renaissance vault. Although the Verospi Jupiter remained in its western niche, the corresponding Barberini Juno in the eastern niche had been moved to the Sala Rotunda in 1780 and replaced with the Cleopatra, set against an evocative backdrop of pyramids and palm trees by Cristoforo Unterperger (1732–1798). The same painter had provided two large new landscapes "depicting the acquisition and transportation of the statues of the Muses and Apollo... [and] showing a view of the Baths of Titus with the transportation of the Laocoön group"—a pairing that both emphasized the statues' provenance and equated Pius and Julius II as benefactors.[50]

Just beyond lay the Cabinet of the Masks, its luxurious decor perhaps inspired by a 1786 visit to the Villa Borghese, where Pius "observed the precious statues that the said prince has had arranged in beautiful symmetry throughout the new *appartamento nobile*."[51] The Borghese Gallery of the Emperors is the model for the Vatican room's tall statue niches, sculptured garland frieze, alabaster pilasters with gilded Corinthian capitals, and mythological ceiling panels painted in 1791 and 1792 by one of the prince's artists, in correspondence (and implicit competition) with the sculptures. If anything, the Vatican cabinet outdoes its prototype by adding the eponymous mosaics from Tivoli, four precious *emblemata* in *opus vermiculatum* guarded by mahogany reductions of the Cioci in the Greek Cross Atrium.[52] The fineness and subtlety of these pictorial panels, not to mention their formal echoes of the vault, imply a *paragone*, or contest, between ancient and modern painting designed to stimulate informed reflection and discussion about the history of art. With its gilt-bronze gates, gilt-wood-and-porphyry benches, and lofty position beside Innocent's open loggia, the precious Cabinet of the Masks reaffirmed the popes' exalted status as patrician connoisseurs while offering guests an ideal place to rest and admire the views.

From the Gallery of the Statues visitors recrossed the animal hall to reach the octagonal court, the culmination of every Grand Tourist's journey. Although Simonetti's portico sheltered an increasing variety of supplementary

artifacts—ornamental columns, altars, cippi, basins, and sarcophagi as well as overflow herms from the Hall of the Muses—its focus remained the handful of historic masterworks. By the 1780s their impact was further enhanced by the new fad for nocturnal visits; as Archenholz advised his readers, "in order to admire this collection in its full splendor one must scrutinize it by torchlight. The effect is extraordinary, revealing beauties through the contrasts of light and shadow that the keenest connoisseurial eye will seek in vain by day."[53] The more imaginative Heinrich Meyer (1760–1832), visiting in 1783, watched the marble "come alive" under his party's advancing brands, until Apollo himself, "like an arrival from heaven," seemed "to glide down toward us from his pedestal and raise his proud, ever-youthful head to dissipate the ancient night of chaos and transform it into day."[54] Meyer's rapture suggests how effectively the museum blurred the boundaries between art and life: as Hester Piozzi put it in 1789, "It is the fashion for every body to go see Apollo by torch light: he looks like *Phoebus* then."[55] Even Giambattista Visconti fantasized that the Apollo's creator, having conceived the image of a god, realized it not by meticulous labor but with "a simple act of will." Yet by the 1780s such icons posed a challenge of classification, as some skeptics, including Mengs, had come to believe that works like the Apollo were in fact Roman reproductions of lost Greek bronzes, and thus implicitly less valuable and prestigious. Sensing the threat, Visconti vigorously defended their originality even as he was ready to categorize more recent discoveries, like a Discobolus found on the Esquiline Hill in 1781, or even the Tivoli Apollo and Muses, as "beautiful copies of even more beautiful originals." Although his opinion would evolve, for Visconti in 1782 the Belvedere Apollo, like the Laocoön, the Antinous, and the Torso, as well as the collection's newer anchors like the Verospi Jupiter and the Fusconi Meleager, were still incontestably Greek, based on their uniqueness, their materials, and, above all, their quality.[56]

To the east of the octagonal court, a series of older and smaller rooms, including a small passage housing a fine statue of Bacchus and a Faun, echoed the grander spaces to the west (see fig. 4-4). To the south, a domed Round Vestibule showcased fragmentary statues of particular merit, centered on the famous Belvedere Torso beloved by Renaissance artists including Michelangelo. This prominent exception to the taste for complete statues suggests the growing appreciation of the Romantic or authentic ruin that would blossom in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries into a veritable cult of the fragment. In 1791 the Torso was moved into the adjoining Square Vestibule, which already featured neo-Renaissance grotesques celebrating its role as an artist's model: Unterperger's *Allegory of Painting* (1776) shows putti dutifully drawing the Torso, and a nearby pair of battling tritons suggests how muscular human trunks might be combined with curling fish tails. The Square Vestibule's other glory was the extraordinary Sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus, great-grandfather

of Scipio Africanus, rediscovered in the family tomb on the Via Appia in 1780 and installed in a landscape-painted niche in 1787 with a related bust and memorial slabs in a way suggestive of the original findspot. Dating from the third century B.C., the massive coffin in local volcanic tufa was the most visibly "primitive" of the museum's exhibits and offered a marked contrast to the imperial refinement featured in other rooms. Posted at the Pio-Clementino's eastern entrance, along with two sepulchral sphinxes, this archaic harbinger of Roman glory confirmed the installation's gestures toward chronology while cementing the visitor's sense that the entire museum was, in some respect, a trip to the netherworld.

Having completed this eastern circuit, hardy visitors would return to the grand staircase and the palace's eastern corridor. A descending flight led them to the library's small Museo Profano, where papal goldsmiths Luigi (1726–1785) and Giuseppe (1762–1839) Valadier had crafted elegant brazilwood cupboards filled with cameos and gems set into jewel-like confections worthy of the finest princely Kunstkammer. Recalling monstrances or altar cards, the Valadiers' Neoclassical assemblages combined varied materials and techniques into colorful paeans to ancient glyptic arts. Additional cabinets, still being furnished as late as 1797, contained hundreds of gilt-bronze frames for Roman imperial coins, each labeled by issuer and equipped with pivots for ease of inspection, with blank spaces for still-elusive specimens.[57] From the Museo Profano, a vista enhanced by newly widened doorways and ancient porphyry columns carved with portraits of the tetrarchs, relocated from the Choir Chapel at Saint Peter's, stretched south almost a thousand feet to Benedict XIV's Museo Cristiano and the new Room of the Papyri. A short ascent via Simonetti's "noble" staircase, by contrast, led to the domed Sala della Biga (Hall of the Chariot), occupying the upper story of Giuseppe Camporese's projecting Four-Gated Atrium. Modeled on a pavilion from the Baths of Diocletian, the room showcased objects focused on athletics and the circus: the triumphal car restored by Franzoni, along with a gladiator, two discus throwers, and a charioteer. Completed in the mid-1790s, the installation documents the continuing appeal of thematic, rather than chronological, groupings as the best way to convey the multiple aspects of ancient life.

To the south stretched the long Galleria dei Candelabri (Gallery of the Candelabra) begun in 1785, an overflow space filled with sarcophagi, vases, and statuettes in towering assemblages recalling the plates of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Vasi, candelabri, cippi, sarcophagi . . .* (1778). Although these corridors contained few masterpieces, the sense of abundance, variety, and profusion made a dramatic impact. At the corridor's far end visitors encountered Pius's final addition to the museum complex, a painting gallery opened in 1790. It, too, was a first for the Vatican, presenting 118 pictures in three rooms created by enclosing a former loggia north of the sixteenth-century Galleria delle

Carte Geografiche (Gallery of Geographical Maps). But whereas the sculpture collection had been shaped by Giambattista Visconti's targeted acquisitions, the papacy's holdings of paintings were a more haphazard assemblage formed over centuries from redundant altarpieces from Saint Peter's and other Roman churches, as well as gifts, legacies, and decorations purchased for the papal apartments. Clement XIV's dissolution of the Jesuit order in 1773 brought an influx of new works, and in 1787 the combined collection was being displayed in and around the Salone dei Corazzieri (Hall of the Cuirassiers) at the Quirinal Palace, still an essentially private setting. The decision to transfer it to the Vatican reflects both the Pio-Clementino's maturation as a publicly oriented museum and the long Roman tradition (exemplified at the Capitoline Museum as well as in private collections) of seeing early modern painting as an essential complement to ancient sculpture in a "complete" museum of art, even while separating the two classes for the purposes of exhibition.[58]

Reflecting its origins, Pius VI's Pinacoteca consisted almost entirely of religious works (with the exception of a few Flemish landscapes, two battle scenes by Jacques Courtois, a pair of allegories by Francesco Mancini, and a king on horseback by the Cavaliere d'Arpino), with an emphasis on devotional pictures by classicizing Italian masters of the sixteenth through early eighteenth centuries. The installation reflected eighteenth-century preferences for symmetry, with most wall sections featuring pairs of similar-sized pictures or one large anchor piece surrounded by smaller canvases. Yet the installation was relatively spacious by contemporary standards, with pictures rarely hung in more than two registers—a stark contrast to the Capitoline galleries, which contained over three hundred works in what Mariano Vasi (1744–1820) described in 1794 as "two very large salons filled from ceiling to floor with pictures."[59] Wherever possible, the Vatican arrangement grouped artist and school: thus, the three canvases ascribed to Anthony van Dyck were hung together in the central room, while Andrea Sacchi's four large altarpieces from the grottoes at Saint Peter's dominated the western wall of the south room, together with three works by the Carracci. Strategic contrasts were also encouraged: below the classicizing Sacchis (exemplifying the Roman school) hung pairs of Old Testament scenes by followers of Salvator Rosa (Neapolitan school) and New Testament scenes by Jacopo Bassano (Venetian school); directly opposite the Bolognese trio hung a tenebrist cluster including a Saint Jerome then ascribed to Caravaggio, two works by Giuseppe Ribera, and Valentin de Boulogne's *Martyrdom of Saints Processus and Martinian.* Elsewhere, thematic groupings—assemblages of saints, Holy Families (by Raphael, Titian, Rosso Fiorentino, Antonio Carracci, Antonio Barbalonga, Luca Giordano, and Benedetto Luti), martyrdoms (by Giorgio Vasari, Nicolas Poussin, and Guillaume Courtois), or scenes from the life of Christ (by Albrecht Dürer, Giuseppe Passeri, Girolamo Pesce, and Gianfrancesco Penni)—encouraged viewers to compare

treatments by different periods and schools. In comparative terms, the Vatican's painting gallery thus stood somewhere between the older, mixed-school approach calculated to spark aesthetic debate and newer, didactic installations designed to highlight historical and stylistic trends. What seems to have been avoided—despite the sacred subjects and location—was any obvious appeal to moral or religious, as opposed to visual or scholarly, criteria.

The experiment proved brief, however, since the collection was largely confiscated or dispersed during the French invasion of 1798, and only eight of Pius VI's original nucleus rejoined the current collection. The Pinacoteca refounded by his successor, Pius VII (r. 1800–1823), in 1816 is better known for works removed from churches in 1797 for transport to Paris according to the Treaty of Tolentino (like Raphael's *Transfiguration,* of 1516–20, and *Madonna of Foligno,* of 1511/12) and returned to the pope at the Congress of Vienna on the express condition that they remain in a central, publicly accessible repository. Ephemeral as it was, Pius's Pinacoteca thus helped consolidate European opinion that the Vatican Museum was a proper home for both Italy's pagan and Christian masterpieces.

Art and Ideology

As we have seen, early visitors to the papal museum stressed not just its richness but its success as an installation. Despite its potentially bewildering trove of artifacts—Pasquale Massi tabulated 1,445 antiquities in twenty-nine classes ranging from statues and busts to mosaics and monopodia—the collection somehow cohered into something greater than the sum of its parts. Effective display was the key: as Hester Piozzi had prophesied in 1789, "those would be worse than Goths, who could think of moving even an old torso from the place where Pius Sextus has commanded it to remain."[60] The Irish priest John Eustace, who took what he called a "classical tour of Italy" in 1802, was even more expansive:

> Never were the divinities of Greece and Rome honored with nobler temples; never did they stand on richer pedestals; never were more glorious domes spread over their heads; or brighter pavements extended at their feet. Seated each in a shrine of bronze or marble, they seemed to look down on a crowd of votaries and once more to challenge the homage of mankind; while kings and emperors, heroes and philosophers, drawn up in ranks before or around them, increased their state and formed a majestic and becoming retinue.[61]

From the popes' perspective, these innovations helped naturalize the notion that ancient art belonged in the papal palace and that displaying it was

their duty. Much as Mengs's *Allegory of the Museum Clementinum* had presented the collection as a triumph over time, Bernardino Nocchi's *Allegory of the Museum Pium* (ca. 1788), painted for Pius's cardinal-nephew, presented it as a school. Here, on the museum's threshold, the "Genius of the Sovereign" invites Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture as well as "foreign lovers of the arts" to enter "the great collection made for their advantage."[62] Decorations within the museum yoked it to ideas of good government, cementing the Pio-Clementino's function as a state museum and perhaps inspiring the decoration of later national institutions. Many of these invoked great princes of the past. As early as 1772, Visconti had acquired and displayed amid the antiquities a modern bas-relief, then attributed to Michelangelo, depicting Grand Duke Cosimo I de' Medici (1389–1464) revitalizing Pisa by chasing away enemy vices "and introducing the sciences, arts, and commerce"—a clear allegory of Clement XIV's analogous efforts in Rome.[63] In a similar way, medallions added to the ceiling of the Gallery of the Statues in 1777 celebrated Pius's construction of new agricultural villages and military barracks, and the 1789 vault of the Pinacoteca alluded to his accomplishments with fictive imperial cameos. Here Augustus's foundation of the Temple of Mars Ultor evoked Pius's campaign of church building; the *gesta* of Trajan and Nerva, his legal reforms; and Hadrian's inspection of plans for his Tivoli villa, the creation of the Pio-Clementino itself.[64] The project's finances bear out its centrality to the business of government. Although firm figures are elusive, one tabulation estimates that over a million scudi were spent on the museum between 1770 and 1796—more than 90 percent under Pius VI—at a time when the entire budget of the Apostolic Chamber averaged less than 2.5 million scudi per annum.[65]

The museum's ideology may be clearest in the Hall of the Muses, guarded by an elegantly robed Apollo who, as Conca's ceiling fresco shows, will not hesitate to flay those who disrupt celestial harmony or challenge his artistic supremacy. The installation's impact was enhanced in 1779 when renewed excavations at the Villa of Cassius yielded a well-preserved portrait herm of Pericles, the first confirmed likeness of the great Athenian statesman and an epitome of the museum's role in recovering the ancient world. The landmark find inspired the young Romagnan poet Vincenzo Monti (1754–1828), prompted by his mentor Ennio Quirino Visconti, to revive the antique technique of imbuing an inanimate object with human qualities to create his first-person "Prosopopoeia of Pericles"; first recited at Rome's Arcadian Academy on Pius's fifth anniversary, the poem was soon framed and placed beside its subject in the Hall of the Muses, like an early wall label.[66] In labored, archaizing verses, Pericles (speaking through his bust) recounts his glory in Athens, his fall to invading hordes, his ensuing burial, and the Muses' flight from Greece to the Tiber; now, thanks to Pius's efforts, Pericles rises to rejoin his former colleagues in the museum's echoing halls as heralds of a new golden age.

As Monti's imagery makes clear, for many in the 1770s and 1780s the creation of the Pio-Clementino anchored optimistic visions of cultural rebirth. Gagneraux, too, chose the Hall of the Muses as the site of his ecumenical summit, though his alterations to the room's form and contents disturbed contemporary critics. "Why," asked one reviewer in 1785, "did he paint a location undeniably grandiose, but different from the Museo Pio-Clementino?"[67] History is again the key, for as well as invoking the Pantheon, Gagneraux's mise-en-scène blended the Hall of the Muses with Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Stanza della Segnatura, which he had recently copied and which Giovanni Volpato (1735–1803) was diffusing in prints dedicated to the pontiff. Whether or not Gagneraux meant to cast Pius as Plato the idealist and Gustav as Aristotle the materialist, he clearly saw the Pio-Clementino as a new venue of intellectual and moral advancement. Just as Raphael had hellenized New Saint Peter's, Gagneraux transfigured the Pio-Clementino into the ideal Christian Muse-eum.

As a showcase of a progressive papacy, the Pio-Clementino impressed its visitors with the glories of the Eternal City. Yet its larger message—that the popes were the ultimate guardians of human culture—was short-lived. Just thirteen years after Pius showed Gustav III his collection, he signed a treaty that ceded sixty-four of its finest works to the French people. Fired with Revolutionary fervor, Ennio Quirino Visconti chose to join them, and after a perilous trip across the Alps and a parade through the streets of Paris, the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoön, the Torso, and the Muses graced the Musée Napoléon, in rooms recalling those of the Pio-Clementino. Only the defeat at Waterloo ensured that they returned in 1816 to the shrines constructed for them—even if consensus was emerging, thanks in part to Visconti's own studies, that the Vatican's marble masterpieces were merely copies. Although the nineteenth century looked elsewhere for its image of antiquity, the Pio-Clementino's blend of conservative ideals and progressive aesthetics canonized the art museum as a tool of modern cultural politics. By welcoming ancient art to the Vatican, and by perfecting its display, the Pio-Clementino both broadened the church's cultural ambitions and enshrined the museum's place in Europe's collective imagination.

NOTES

1 On Gustav's Roman visit, see Carlo Pietrangeli, "Gustavo di Svezia a Roma," *Capitolium* 36, no. 10 (1961), pp. 15–21 (citing Chracas's *Diario ordinario* at p. 16 regarding the New Year's meeting), and no. 12 (1961), pp. 13–20; for Gagneraux's description of the event in a letter of July 21, 1785, see *Bénigne Gagneraux (1756–1795): Un pittore francese nella Roma di Pio VI,* exh. cat. (Rome, 1983), pp. 98–100. Translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

2 For a comparison of the Capitoline and the Pio-Clementino, see Jeffrey Collins, "A Nation of Statues: Museums and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Rome," in *Architectural Space in Eighteenth-Century Europe: Constructing Identities and Interiors,* edited by Denise Amy Baxter and Meredith Martin (Farnham, 2010), pp. 187–214. This essay also draws on my previous discussions in "The Gods' Abode: Pius VI and the Invention of the Vatican Museum," in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond,* edited by Clare Hornsby (London, 2000), pp. 173–94; *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts* (New York, 2004), chap. 4; and "Marshaling the Muses: The Vatican's Museo Pio-Clementino and the Greek Ideal," *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 16, no. 1 (Fall-Winter 2008–9), pp. 35–63, all with further bibliography.

3 For a helpful overview, see Carlo Pietrangeli, *I Musei Vaticani: Cinque secoli di storia* (Rome, 1985).

4 On Julius's collection and its background, see, most recently, Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350–1527* (New Haven, 2010).

5 Charles de Brosses, *Lettres familières sur l'Italie publiées d'après les manuscrits,* with an introduction and notes by Yvonne Bezard (Paris, 1931), vol. 2, p. 176, letter 18; p. 260, letter 47. De Brosses's letters, though based on a nine-month trip in 1739 and 1740, were not completed until 1755 and not published until 1799. He was almost as critical of the conditions at the Capitoline, and argued that by consolidating the two collections at the Vatican, the popes might create a museum rivaling the grand-ducal collections in Florence.

6 On the Borghese and eighteenth-century collecting, see Carole Paul, *The Borghese Collections and the Display of Art in the Age of the Grand Tour* (Aldershot, 2008).

7 De Brosses, *Lettres sur l'Italie* (note 5), vol. 2, p. 259.

8 The medal, designed by Francesco Cropanese, is illustrated by Pietrangeli, *Musei Vaticani* (note 3), p. 42, fig. 50.

9 On Braschi's role, see Collins, *Papacy and Politics* (note 2), pp. 148–51, differing with Gian Paolo Consoli's reading in *Il Museo Pio-Clementino: La scena dell'antico in Vaticano* (Modena, 1996), pp. 20–22 and p. 26, n. 6.

10 See Giambattista's manuscript "Notizie famigliare dall'anno 1750" and Filippo Aurelio's memorial of his father, both Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ferraioli 484, as well as later studies by Giovanni Sforza and Daniela Gallo.

11 For an early record of the family's commercial contacts, see Seymour Howard, "An Antiquarian Handlist and Beginnings of the Pio-Clementino," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7, no. 1 (Autumn 1973), pp. 40–61.

12 The collection's growth is documented in the extensive "Giustificazioni del Museo Clementino Pijano," Archivio di Stato di Roma, Fondo Camerale II, Antichità e Belle Arti, bb. 16–31, supplemented by the "Mandati spediti a Mons. Tesoriere," Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Sacro Palazzo, vols. 330–500, which mostly concern the structure and decoration. For the Barberini candelabra, see "Giustificazioni," b. 16, no. 2 (chirograph of August 7, 1770); and Pietrangeli, *Musei Vatican* (note 3), p. 44.

13 "Giustificazioni" (note 12), b. 16, no. 3 ("Nota de' monumenti antichi di marmo da acquistare...," authorized by Braschi, April 5, 1771) and no. 39 (the arm, from Jenkins, January 22, 1772); b. 17, no. 2 (Antisthenes and hand, authorized by Pallotta, June 16, 1773).

14 Panini first painted *Ancient Rome* (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie) and *Modern Rome* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) in 1756; he made another two versions (both New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) in 1757, and still more versions (both Paris, Musée du Louvre) in 1758 and 1759. The 1756 *Ancient Rome* is illustrated in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *The Taste for the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven, 1981), p. 83, fig. 45; for the 1756 *Modern Rome,* see Collins, *Papacy and Politics* (note 2), p. 143, fig. 85.

15 See especially the stuccoists' and painters' bills in "Giustificazioni" (note 12), b. 16; Consoli, *Museo Pio-Clementino* (note 9), pp. 41–42.

16 For the installation of the Museum Clementinum, see "Giustificazioni" (note 12), b. 16, especially a long unnumbered bill dated January 1771–June 1772 from the masons who helped install the statues, and a manuscript inventory by Ennio Quirino Visconti of about 1773, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Ferraioli 974, fol. 10ff.

17 Consoli, *Museo Pio-Clementino* (note 9), p. 31, n. 87, citing Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma, mss. Vitt. Em. 1427, fol. 20v.

18 Harrison's design was still admired years later; see Collins, *Papacy and Politics* (note 2), p. 159.

19 Giovanni Battista and Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Il Museo Pio Clementino* (Rome, 1782), vol. 1, preface, p. vi. The seven volumes are predominantly the work of Ennio Quirino.

20 *Lettere di Francesco Milizia* (Paris, 1827), pp. 42–43 (May 23, 1773), denouncing Simonetti as an architect who "does not know architecture." See also Consoli, *Museo Pio-Clementino* (note 9), pp. 42–46.

21 The inscription is on the court's western wall. A variant draft (in Ennio Quirino's hand) is in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. lat. 10307, fol. 112v.

22 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity,* translated by Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles, 2006), p. 334 (with revisions by the author). The

reviewer for *Memorie per le belle arti* 1 (February 1785), p. 30, wished that the portico's "aedicules, or little temples with openings at the center of their vaults," were even more isolated from ambient light.

23 On the relation of the museum project to Pius's political and cultural agenda, see Collins, *Papacy and Politics* (note 2), esp. chap. 4.

24 Pietrangeli, *Musei Vaticani* (note 3), p. 64, n. 10. The basic structure was ready by 1780, and the decoration largely complete by 1784.

25 On the antique sources, see Consoli, *Museo Pio-Clementino* (note 9), chap. 3.

26 Hester Lynch Piozzi, *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (London, 1789), vol. 1, pp. 429–30.

27 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project*, translated by Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), p. 406, convolute L1a,1.

28 See, most recently, *Ricordi dell'antico: Sculture, porcellane e arredi all'epoca del Grand Tour*, edited by Andreina d'Agliano and Luca Melegati, exh. cat. (Milan, 2008), pp. 141–43, 145, cat. nos. 21–24, 25.

29 Battista and Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino* (note 19), vol. 1, p. 6.

30 Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale II, b. 11, fasc. 284 (April 15, 1765).

31 Besides the cameral archives, see Carlo Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperte di antichità sotto il pontificato di Pio VI*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1958), and Ilaria Bignamini and Clare Hornsby, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 2010). As Milizia noted tartly in 1779 (*Lettere* [note 20], p. 259), "This museum has spawned a craving to torment the earth, digging it up everywhere, even where it has already been dug."

32 Cod. lat. 10307 (note 21), fols. 40–41, ca. 1779.

33 Diary of Vincenzo Pacetti, Biblioteca Alessandrina, Rome, MS 321, fols. 7r, 14v, 5r–v, 8r.

34 "Giustificazioni" (note 12), b. 19, no. 21. On Sibilla's appointment and workshop, see Chiara Piva, *Restituire l'antichità: Il laboratorio di restauro della scultura antica del Museo Pio-Clementino* (Rome, 2007); he was replaced on his death in 1782 by Giovanni Pierantoni (1744–1817).

35 Franzoni's work on the crab, lobster, and sphinxes is documented in his 1787 bill, in "Mandati" (note 12), vol. 400, no. 44; the pope's visit to his studio was reported in Rome's *Diario ordinario* 1126 (October 15, 1785), a weekly periodical founded by the Chracas family. For an overview of Franzoni's production, see Rosella Carloni, "Francesco Antonio Franzoni tra virtuosismo tecnico e restauro integrativo," *Labyrinthos* 10, nos. 19–20 (1991), pp. 155–225; on eighteenth-century restoration more generally, see Daniele Gallo, "Ennio Quirino Visconti e il restauro della scultura antica tra Settecento e Ottocento," in *Thorvaldsen: L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito*, edited by Patrick Kragelund and Mogens Nykjær (Rome, 1991), pp. 101–22, and the extensive work of Orietta Rossi Pinelli.

36 "Mandati" (note 12), vol. 400, no. 44 (1787). Ennio Quirino (see Battista and Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino* [note 19], vol. 7, pl. 9) seconded Raffei's view that the nests came from a commemorative statue of a particularly fertile Roman matron; typically, the restorations are artificially "aged" in the illustration.

37 Battista and Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino* (note 19), vol. 2 (1784–85), preface, p. vi.

38 Battista and Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino* (note 19), vol. 4 (1788), p. 80 (regarding a badly preserved sarcophagus front with adventures of Hercules), and vol. 2 (1784–85), p. 65 (Perseus, perhaps originally Mercury or Meleager); see also Gallo, "Visconti e il restauro" (note 35).

39 Cod. lat. 10307 (note 21), fol. 56. For other details Visconti was willing to copy casts sent from the Capitoline; see Peter Rockwell, "The Creative Reuse of Antiquity," in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures*, edited by Janet Burnett Grossman, Jerry Podany, and Marion True (Los Angeles, 2003), pp. 79–83, and Piva, *Restituire l'antichità* (note 34), pp. 59–61.

40 Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Viage in Italia*, edited by Belén Tejerina (Madrid, 1991), pp. 339–40.

41 Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Italian Journey*, translated by W. H. Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (New York, 1962), p. 136. Massi's triple labeling system is attested in bills for painting these paper *cartelline*, as well as replacing and regluing those gone missing; see "Mandati" (note 12), vol. 438, no. 394 (1792).

42 Although the reorientation is clear from the signage, the orientation of the exhibits, and the setting of Nocchi's *Allegory* (discussed later in this essay), period guidebooks often maintained the older east-to-west circuit. In a similar way, today's visitors are blocked from entering the Greek Cross Atrium and routed across the Cortile della Pigna, diminishing the sequence's intended impact.

43 Paolo Liverani, "The Museo Pio-Clementino at the Time of the Grand Tour," *Journal of the History of Collections* 12 (2000), pp. 151–59; see also Hans von Steuben, "Das Museo Pio-Clementino," in *Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert*, edited by Herbert Beck et al. (Berlin, 1981), pp. 149–65.

44 Charles de Secondat [baron de Montesquieu], *Œeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1949), vol. 1, p. 714.

45 Quoted in Carlo Pietrangeli, "La provenienza delle sculture dei Musei Vaticani," *Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e Gallerie Pontificie* 7 (1987), pp. 139–40.

46 For a detailed discussion of the room's contents, form, and cultural repercussions, see Collins, "Marshaling the Muses" (note 2), and a longer forthcoming study.

47 Although the findspots at the Villa of Cassius were not documented, Visconti specified in 1781 ("Giustificazioni" [note 12], b. 21, no. 19) that the busts "are placed around the Muses in the manner that many of them had been placed in times past around those Muses on the [villa] site at Tivoli."

48 Collins, *Papacy and Politics* (note 2), pp. 174–76, 189–91; Collins, "Marshaling the Muses" (note 2), pp. 53–55; Francesco Leone, "Tommaso Maria Conca al museo Pio-Clementino in Vaticano: La decorazione pittorica della Sala delle Muse (1782–1787)," in *Antonio Canova: La cultura figurativa e letteraria dei grandi centri italiani* (Bassano del Grappa, 2005), vol. 1, pp. 237–55.

49 The ram is now considered modern; on the lynx, see "Giustificazioni" (note 12), b. 21, nos. 81 and 92 (1781).

50 Olivier Michel, "Peintres autrichiens à Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIème siècle II: Christoph Unterberger," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 14 (1972), pp. 192–96.

51 Chracas, *Diario ordinario* 1232 (October 21, 1786), pp. 9–10; see Paul, *Borghese Collections* (note 6), chap. 5.

52 For the railing by the *ebenista* Andrea Mimmi, see "Mandati" (note 12), vol. 410, no. 301 (1788).

53 Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, *England und Italien*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1787), vol. 5, p. 66; Claudia Mattos, "The Torchlight Visit," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 49–50 (2006), pp. 139–50.

54 Heinrich Meyer, *Darstellungen aus Italien* (Hamburg, 1792), pp. 119–20.

55 Piozzi, *Observations* (note 26), vol. 1, p. 429.

56 Battista and Visconti, *Museo Pio Clementino* (note 19), vol. 1 (1782), p. 23; Daniela Gallo, "Originali greci e copie romane secondo Giovanni Battista ed Ennio Quirino Visconti," *Labyrinthos* 21–24 (1992–93), pp. 215–51; Miranda Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue between Roman and Greek Sculpture* (Los Angeles, 2008), pp. 127–33. Of the fifty-two statues included in the catalogue's first volume (1782), seventeen are classed as copies of famous lost originals. As the collection expanded, the octagonal court absorbed a variety of additional artifacts, from columns, altars, cippi, basins, and sarcophagi to herms demoted from the Hall of the Muses as better examples were secured.

57 Valadier's continuing work on these *studioli* is documented in the "Mandati" (note 12), for example, vol. 464, no. 302 (July 1796); vol. 468, no. 178 (July 1797).

58 I thank Carole Paul for helpful observations on the historical significance of this installation; compare her discussions in *Borghese Collections* (note 6) and in chapter 1, on the Capitoline, in this publication.

59 Mariano Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma*, rev. ed. (Rome, 1794), transcribed and republished as *Roma del Settecento* (Rome, 1970), p. 91. On the Vatican picture gallery, see Carlo Pietrangeli, "La Pinacoteca Vaticana di Pio VI," *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 3 (1982), pp. 143–200; and Maria Fabiana Abita, "La sfortunata storia della prima 'Galleria di Quadri' di Pio VI in Vaticano, 1789–97," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte* 66 (1998), pp. 67–78, whose graphic reconstructions (based on an inventory of 1800 discovered by Pietrangeli) inform the remarks that follow.

60 Piozzi, *Observations* (note 26), vol. 1, p. 430.

61 John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy, an. MDCCCII*, 6th ed. (London, 1821), vol. 2, pp. 57–58.

62 Collins, *Papacy and Politics* (note 2), p. 182, with further bibliography.

63 The relief (now assigned to Pierino da Vinci) was purchased from Cavaceppi for five hundred scudi in January 1772 and initially displayed in Clement's Stanza degli Animali, near an equestrian statue of Commodus; Visconti's rationale stressed its artistic merits in the one area in which modern sculptors exceeded their ancient forebears. See "Giustificazioni" (note 12), b. 16, no. 43 (1772), and Cod. Ferraioli 974 (note 16), fol. 10ff. Under Pius VI the relief was moved to the long gallery—again the only ostensibly modern work in the collection—where it has now been replaced with a cast.

64 *Cristoforo Unterperger: Un pittore fiemmese nell'Europa del Settecento*, edited by Chiara Felicetti, exh. cat. (Rome, 1998), pp. 48–63; Olivier Michel, "*Exempla virtutis* à la gloire de Pie VI," *Bollettino dei monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 3 (1982), pp. 105–41.

65 See Consoli, *Museo Pio-Clementino* (note 9), p. 95, for (incomplete) figures from the lottery suggesting that the bulk was spent on construction and decoration, lesser sums on purchases and restoration, and relatively small percentages on excavations, tips, and transportation. For Roman finances, see Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Regime* (Cambridge, 1990), chap. 5.

66 Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism, 1775–1850* (Cambridge, 1987), pp. 21–38. A printed version has replaced Stefano Piale's parchment copy of 1784, installed at the suggestion of Cardinal Giovanni Carlo Boschi.

67 *Memorie per le belle arti* 1 (March 1785), p. 37.