

16 Pedagogy in Plaster: Ercole Lelli and Benedict XIV's *Gipsoteca* at Bologna's Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti

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Patronage studies typically target projects with the boldest fingerprints, most often new works of art or architecture conceived and pushed forward by a single individual. This chapter investigates a more complex case that yoked the converging interests of diverse stakeholders in reproducing existing masterpieces. Benedict XIV's long campaign to provide a gallery of plaster casts after ancient and modern statuary for Bologna's pioneering Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti illuminates important debates about artistic education, sculptural display, and Bologna's aspirations as a cultural capital. By seeking to broaden access to aesthetic knowledge, Benedict's *gipsoteca* affirms his interest in the arts and exemplifies the spirit of Enlightenment. But in its many twists and turns and attempts to satisfy competing publics, the project also shows how eighteenth-century ideals ran up against institutional realities in ways that ultimately limited its impact.

Lux et Veritas: Lelli and Lambertini

By autumn 1744, the learned Bolognese churchman Prospero Lambertini – now Pope Benedict XIV – was having second thoughts about his beloved Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti, founded in 1711 by Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsili and installed in 1714 in Bologna's sixteenth-century Palazzo Poggi.¹ One of Lambertini's first acts as pope had been to promise the Institute his private library and commission a vast new public reading room northeast of the existing courtyard. That project now seemed a bridge too far, and, writing privately to a friend, he confided his fear that "the Institute's new library will never be filled with books, either because so many volumes will never be assembled, or

because by the time one part is collected and installed, those already there will have been ruined." Benedict wondered instead

if it might be more expedient to leave the new structure as a gallery in which to place the casts [*modelli*] in plaster of the most noble statues in Rome, on the example of Louis XIV, who had exactly the same casts made for Paris. We remember there are already some at the Institute, donated by the good Cardinal Gozzadini; but they are few. One would need to see how many statues the new site could accommodate with symmetry; and if one didn't want to install the casts there, one could substitute the room where the books are now, and determine how many casts it could hold.²

Benedict's proximate concern was the daunting scale of architect Carlo Dotti's new Aula Magna (Plate 26), a lofty, columnar hall that might well have seemed better suited to house antique statuary than a still-modest collection of books. With its soaring vaults inspired by ancient Roman baths, such a gallery – besides uniting all Rome's sculptural treasures – would have outdone even the Capitoline Museum in spatial grandeur. In the event, Benedict sent his trusted auditor, datary, and former student, Monsignor Giovanni Giacomo Millo, on a reconnaissance trip; after inspecting the site, Millo allayed the pontiff's doubts and convinced him to pursue his original plan. Fourteen years later, the new library opened to international acclaim, its magnificent walnut shelving designed by the multi-talented sculptor and anatomist Ercole Lelli (1702–66).³ Still, the fact that Benedict contemplated devoting the Institute's largest and grandest room to plaster casts encapsulates his vision of the foundation as a union of art and science and the flagship for reviving Bologna's faded reputation as a multidisciplinary centre of learning.⁴

In both goals Benedict followed the footsteps of General Marsili, a well-travelled soldier, diplomat, and amateur scientist who, as a member of both London's Royal Society and Paris's Royal Academy, was conversant with pedagogical developments across Europe. Ignoring Bologna's hidebound university, Marsili conceived the Institute not as a traditional degree-granting body but as a collection of laboratories predicated on first-hand observation, experimental methods, and the sharing of resources. Marsili himself donated antiquities, weapons, models of ancient obelisks and modern fortifications, and an impressive collection of corals.⁵ Benedict took Marsili's lead, presenting the Institute with 20,000 volumes and manuscripts, as well as telescopes,



Plate 26 Aula Magna (main reading room) of the Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti, Palazzo Poggi, Bologna (now Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna), constructed 1741–4 to designs by Carlo Francesco Dotti, with walnut bookshelves completed in 1756 to designs by Ercole Lelli. Photo by Jeffrey Collins.

microscopes, maps, surgical tools, "Etruscan" vases, a stuffed crocodile and a leatherback sea turtle from Ostia, a primitive flute made from a human tibia, 1,500 ancient Roman coins, and much more.⁶ In October 1742 he commissioned Lelli to prepare eight life-size wax anatomical models in various states of dissection for use as teaching tools, putting him in charge of the resulting Camera della Notomia and, after 1747, the famed collection of optical instruments acquired from the estate of the Roman optician and astronomer Giuseppe Campani (1635–1715). Lelli's oversight of both lungs and lenses reflected the Institute's commitment to empirical learning: as the German traveller Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz explained, its collections formed, "so to speak, an encyclopedia for the senses."⁷ Pierre-Jean Grosley, visiting in 1758, judged the Institute superior to all previous public foundations, ancient or modern: here, "the sciences and the arts are assembled together in one of the finest palaces of the city ... here is whatever the citizen's interest, and the foreigner's curiosity can desire."⁸ Joseph Jérôme de Lalande was even more expansive in 1765, calling the Institute "the most remarkable thing in Bologna and indeed all of Italy regarding the sciences."⁹ Visitors lauded its vast and busy library (containing some 115,000 volumes by Lalande's day), astronomical observatory, chemistry lab, museums of natural history and physics, and rooms of civic, military, and naval architecture. "Now imagine," wrote Grosley, "all these advantages heightened by the voice, and the lectures of able professors in every art and science; and this gives an idea of the magnificence of this foundation, which holds the greater part of its riches from Benedict XIV's love to his country."¹⁰

Not least of the teaching programs were those of painting and sculpture run by the Accademia Clementina, a body founded with Marsili's support in 1709 and moved to Palazzo Poggi in 1712 as a key component of the Institute (Figure 16.1). As in other such schools, instruction rested on the twin pillars of life drawing and the copying of approved artistic models, including modern paintings and prints and, above all, antique sculpture. Yet Bologna, as Benedict knew, lacked significant antiquities and would have to rely on plaster copies of unobtainable originals.¹¹ Marsili pioneered the practice in 1714, when he and the Bolognese Cardinal Ulisse Giuseppe Gozzadini sent the Academy six casts from Rome (the *Farnese Hercules*; the *Belvedere Apollo*, *Torso*, and *Laocoön*; the *Borghese Gladiator*; and the *Medici Venus*), along with several heads and nine sections of Trajan's Column. Though not numerous, they illustrated diverse physical and gestural types and formed the core

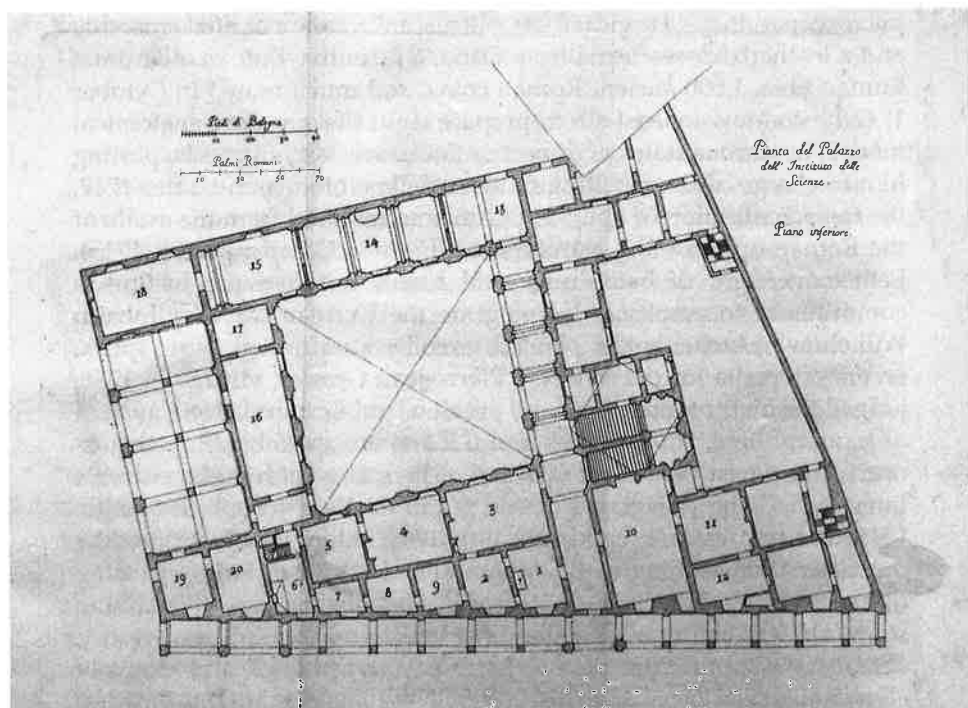


Figure 16.1 Ground floor of the Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti, as installed in Palazzo Poggi, ca. 1750 (southwest at top), showing the Accademia Clementina's (winter) Scuola del Nudo (14); the Stanza delle Statue (15); the Stanza dell'Antichità (18); and the undercroft of the new library (unnumbered, at left). From G.G. Bolletti, *Dell'origine e de' progressi dell'Istituto* (1751). Photo by author.

of a teaching museum. Indeed, a 1739 drawing by the Academy's secretary Giampietro Zanotti (Figure 16.2) depicts the Hercules at the centre of the "Stanza delle Statue" established next to the life-drawing room and also containing skeletons, an *écorché* (a flayed figure illustrating the muscles), copies of ancient vases, architectural drawings, and original terracottas by modern sculptors, including Alfonso Lombardi, Gianlorenzo Bernini, Alessandro Algardi, and François Duquesnoy.¹² Yet even these pedagogical resources did not prevent recurring complaints that the Academy's meetings were poorly attended, its classes infrequent, and students loath to enter its competitions.¹³ Morale improved when



Figure 16.2 Giampietro Zanotti, *The Sala del Nudo at the Accademia Clementina, with a model being positioned by the drawing master and a cast of the Farnese Hercules beyond*, 1739, pen and brown ink over black chalk, the outlines indented for transfer. 10.3 × 14.6 cm. The drawing (reversed for engraving) looks northeast from the life-drawing room (Fig. 16.1, #14) into the original Stanza delle Statue (Fig. 16.1, #15). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (digital image courtesy of the Getty's Open Content Program).

Benedict established a free summer drawing school in March 1753 – soon followed by one in Rome – but the need for more permanent models remained.

While Benedict tackled other problems at the Institute and the metropolitan cathedral, it fell to Lelli to promote a true *gipsoteca* as part of a broader instructional reform.¹⁴ The polymathic Lelli – gunsmith, painter, sculptor, architect, engraver, and three-time Academy *principe* – was an apostle of anatomy for artists and viewed ancient statues as essential complements to his waxes. His 1747 mission to Rome to retrieve

the Campani instruments must have cemented his sense that artistic instruction in Bologna would be forever hampered without access to the corpus of esteemed prototypes that made the Eternal City Europe's artistic Mecca. Perhaps aware of Benedict's own interest, Lelli seized the occasion to develop a list of desired casts and push the idea with the pope. His co-conspirator was the Bolognese *letterato* Flaminio Scarselli, then secretary of Bologna's Roman embassy and a familiar of Lambertini who used his access to promote the *gipsoteca*.¹⁵ Yet the project took time to bear fruit. On 21 June 1752, urging absolute secrecy, Scarselli informed Lelli that Benedict had been reminded of their cherished project and seemed ready to order the casts. But the pontiff remained concerned about the lack of an appropriate location: could Lelli re-send the wish list he had placed in the pope's hands, and confirm, if Scarselli remembered right, that the plasters would be installed upstairs in the former library, above the Scuola del Nudo? But as Benedict still doubted that that gallery – then tentatively destined for memorials to the Institute's benefactors – was large enough, Lelli should also include a drawing or demonstration proving that all the statues would fit.¹⁶ Three weeks later Scarselli acknowledged receipt but urged patience until timing improved for another run at the pope; meanwhile, he would ask the Institute's senatorial governors (the *Signori Assunti* or *Assunteria*) to enlist the support of Giorgio Doria, Bologna's cardinal legate, who had endorsed the idea to Benedict after the last prize ceremony. Scarselli also predicted that the Assunti might soon call Lelli to testify about the casts' potential cost and location: if so, he should give his candid professional opinion but conceal their correspondence to avoid arousing gossip or suspicions that might jeopardize their plans.¹⁷

Scarselli proved prescient, and on 19 August 1752 Lelli presented the Assunteria and the legate with his confidential proposal to revise the Academy's curriculum on the basis of new casts. Praising the Academy's achievements despite its meagre budget, Lelli noted how much its reputation would rise if it could acquire "exact and faithful copies [*modelli*] of those never sufficiently praised statues located in glorious Rome, to supplement the few we currently possess." If properly installed, such casts would "increase the glories of the already sumptuous Institute" and help "young students learn what the Roman school, and the Divine Raphael, learned: I mean, the most correct proportions, and the exact idea of true beauty." All the quicker would those advantages flow, Lelli continued, if students could study these statues and the nude model

not just in winter, as at present, but in summer, as in the academies of Paris, Rome, and Florence. The extra cost would be minimal, since neither lamps nor heat would be required. Best of all, studying by natural light would reveal both those precise outlines and infinite degrees of shading invisible by candlelight, whose stark silhouettes and total shadows confuse even assiduous pupils, who now go elsewhere for private study. But if Bologna's Academy could add a daytime summer academy to its existing winter school, Lelli explained, then it would truly lack for nothing in terms of convenience, utility, and honour.¹⁸

Lelli outlined the revised curriculum: from Easter through May (it being still too cold for a man to pose nude for two hours without a fire), students could observe, study, and copy ancient Greek statues, if only there were casts fine enough to capture the "justness of proportions," the "beauty of the ideas," and the "variety of characters" so gracefully expressed by the statues' "divine authors [*artefici*]." The nude academy could then run diurnally from 1 June through July, almost twice its present duration; every Thursday, students could pass to the study of Lelli's own anatomical models, multiplying their usefulness and satisfying students' "ardent desire" to discover and correct errors encountered with the live model. The Academy's eight teaching directors would require compensation, but a small stipend and a gold medal worth 10 scudi presented at graduation would surely suffice. Lelli himself was happy to teach pictorial anatomy free of charge. Apart from the casts, all these improvements could be provided with an additional 100 scudi per year from Cardinal Aldrovandi's legacy. Given His Holiness's love of the Academy, Lelli was sure he would support such a plan "without the slightest pressure," demonstrating his triple attachment to the arts, public benefit, and his homeland.¹⁹

A Profitable Partnership: Benedict and Farsetti

Although we cannot know which arguments swayed the pontiff, they must have been buttressed by his fortuitous discovery of a collaborator in the person of Filippo Farsetti, a wealthy Venetian nobleman whose interest in the arts was perhaps even keener than Lambertini's own. Although Farsetti is best known today for his collecting of modern terracotta *bozzetti*, this activity was just part of a larger ambition to relaunch the arts in Venice on firm historical foundations.²⁰ In January 1753, Charles Natoire, director of the French Academy in Rome, informed his superior in Versailles, Abel-François Poisson de Vandières

(the future marquis de Marigny and brother of Mme de Pompadour), that Farsetti was assembling a choice collection of casts of statuary (his primary interest) with the aim "of forming in Venice a gallery where the Venetian school might study the correct method of drawing." Not all lovers of Rome were happy to see Farsetti "carry off her curiosities," but money, Natoire observed, had a way of moving mountains. Farsetti's breakthrough was to secure Benedict's permission to take moulds of about fifty of "the most distinguished antiques and others of the most famous modern pieces," together with a 6,000 scudi subvention, on the sole condition that he provide a full set of casts to the Academy in Bologna. The campaign had generated a stir in Rome, Natoire concluded, and "at the moment one sees nothing but mold-makers scattered all around the city, both in the churches and the palaces."²¹

The pact between Farsetti and the pope thus seemed a marriage made in heaven: Bologna would get its *gipsoteca* with minimal cost to the papal exchequer, while Farsetti's nascent school in Venice would obtain the blueprints of fifty masterpieces, more than any similar holding except the French Academy. The roster of reproductions, formalized in the contract dated 20 April 1755, included four works from the Vatican's Belvedere Courtyard; thirteen from the papally controlled civic collection at the Capitoline; eight from Villa Medici; three from Palazzo Farnese; one each from Villa Borghese, Villa Albani, Villa Mattei, and Palazzo Pighini; and four from Roman churches.²² Villa Ludovisi caused a hiccup, however, since the Prince of Piombino flatly refused Farsetti's request to mould the *Paetus and Arria* and the seated *Mars*, papal imprimatur or no. Farsetti next requested aftercasts from the copies at the French Academy, but after consulting with Vandières, Natoire agreed this end run would offend the prince, who ultimately bypassed Farsetti and made his own casts for the pope – then promptly broke the moulds.²³ The French Academy did let Farsetti copy its rare cast of the *Germanicus* (which Louis XIV had exported to Versailles in 1686) in exchange for a copy of Bernini's *Santa Bibiana*, which Natoire judged "one of his finest pieces." But even with papal support Farsetti proved unable to obtain moulds for ten works on the original list, which had to be substituted for by others from Farsetti's own holdings – presumably the reason the Institute received casts of eleven statues in the grand-ducal collections in Florence.²⁴ Despite these hurdles, moulding proceeded apace, and by September 1753, Bologna's ambassador, Fulvio Bentivoglio, informed Lelli from Rome that Farsetti had sent 100 crates to Venice, of which fifty-four had arrived, and he hoped the rest would be concluded in a year.²⁵

Attention could now turn from gathering the templates to creating the finished products. The 1755 contract stipulated that Farsetti was to deliver all fifty casts to Bologna within two years, providing at least three months' notice before shipment. Although his cargo was exempted from customs fees and inspections, Farsetti was fully responsible for the costs of transporting and installing the statues in a space to be appointed by the Institute. Quality would be judged by a team of professors, and if any casts were found inferior to those at Rome's French Academy, Farsetti would be obliged to replace them at his own expense. The logistical challenges were colossal if one considers that large plasters of this type were shipped not whole but in dozens of separate sections to be mounted, joined, and patinated by specialists – Marsili's *Hercules* alone had required eleven wooden crates in 1714 and the assistance of a master craftsman sent from Rome. Benedict's request that Lelli represent the Institute in Venice led to further questions: should he simply reject substandard casts or swap them for alternative subjects from Farsetti's stock, even if not on the list? Should he be present for both packing and embarkation and remain until the shipping was complete? Although the replies are unrecorded, on 1 October 1757 Benedict commended Farsetti for the statues' arrival, high quality, and successful installation, while Farsetti sent Lelli his own concluding expression of thanks and appreciation.²⁶ Natoire, meanwhile, happily reported to Paris on 22 September 1756 that both the *Santa Bibiana* and the *Meleager* had arrived as a gift from "M. l'abbé Frassetti," who had refused to allow the Academy to cover any costs.²⁷

Moving Rooms: Millo and Malvezzi

Any academic administrator in charge of allocating space knows the deep and potentially toxic swamp of campus politics. This proved no less true at the Institute, where the challenge of accommodating fifty additional statues in an already crowded palace provoked inevitable clashes about where the new *gipsoteca* would be housed, how it would be arranged and lit, and by whom and for what purposes, it would be used. Benedict delegated the task to Gian Giacomo Millo, whom he had since created cardinal, and Bolognese Senator Sigismondo Malvezzi, the Institute's president, long-time supporter, and next-door neighbour.²⁸ As the delivery date approached, it thus fell to Millo and Malvezzi, assisted by Ercole Lelli, to solve the thorny problem of location.

Fortunately for historians, their discussions are preserved in three written exchanges mediated by the Bolognese embassy in Rome.²⁹ Despite intentions, the *gipsoteca's* location was still unresolved by June 1757, when the Academy's minutes record the casts' arrival "at this very moment" and Millo forwarded his first set of questions to Bologna.³⁰ After establishing that Farsetti had delivered forty-eight statues and eight busts (substitutes for the two Ludovisi statues)³¹ Millo inquired if all these objects would be kept separate or intermingled with the eleven statues already present? Intermingled, Malvezzi replied, although for reasons of lighting, convenience, and distribution only four old casts would be retained and the inferior duplicates sent to other rooms. What would it cost, Millo asked, to paint the pope's arms on the pedestals, and would there be some commemorative inscription? About 30 scudi each, answered Malvezzi, and the Assunteria would indeed place an inscription in the vestibule, visible to anyone entering the rooms or observing the statues through the gates. His answer shows that by this time the upstairs ex-library had been discarded in favour of space on the ground floor, including a vaulted, rectangular hall adjoining the old "Stanza delle Statue," built below the new library in the early 1740s and previously housing the antiquities (Figure 16.1, #18, and Plate 27), and a somewhat longer, two-part hall to the northeast, built in the mid-1750s as the chemistry lab, the two to be joined by a small atrium or vestibule opening off a subsidiary courtyard. Besides preserving proximity to the drawing rooms and providing a separate entrance for visitors, this solution maintained the old tradition of displaying statues on the *pianterreno*, largely because of their weight.

Yet the Bolognese were not satisfied with colonizing existing rooms, and Millo's second set of *proposte*, drafted by Scarselli in early July, addresses their proposal to expand the *gipsoteca* with a third, perpendicular gallery extending south into the Institute's garden.³² Sceptical, the cardinal requested a scaled rendering, complete with bases and pedestals, showing how the collection could be installed in the existing space, together with a similar plan and cost estimate for the new room if the others proved insufficient. Not quite complying, Malvezzi – or, more likely, Lelli – provided three drawings: (1) a ground plan (Figure 16.3) distributing sixty-one pedestals in both existing rooms (in black) and in the "Camera da farsi" (in grey); (2) an east-west section (Figure 16.4) showing the interior volumes and fenestration; and (3) an exterior view from the south, illustrating the existing and proposed galleries beneath the towering Aula Magna.³³ The pair also provided

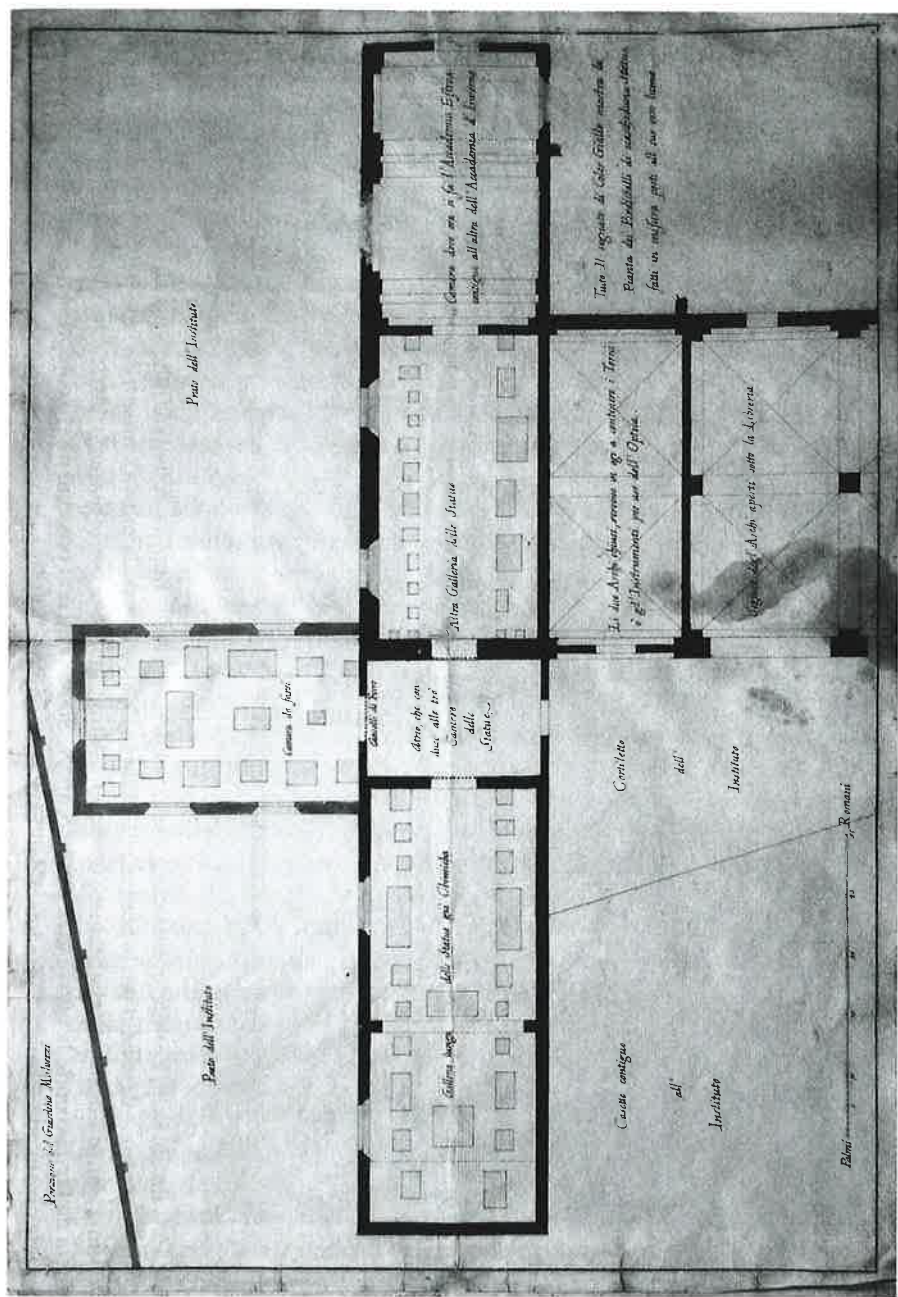


Figure 16.3 Ercole Lelli, Project for installing the expanded cast collection, ca. June 1757, showing sixty-one pedestals distributed among three rooms (from left): "Galleria lunga delle Statue già Chimica"; "Camera da farsi"; "Altra Galleria delle Statue" (Fig. 16.1, #18). Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Assunteria di Istituto, Diversorum, b. 5, fasc. 22, number 18. Photo by author.

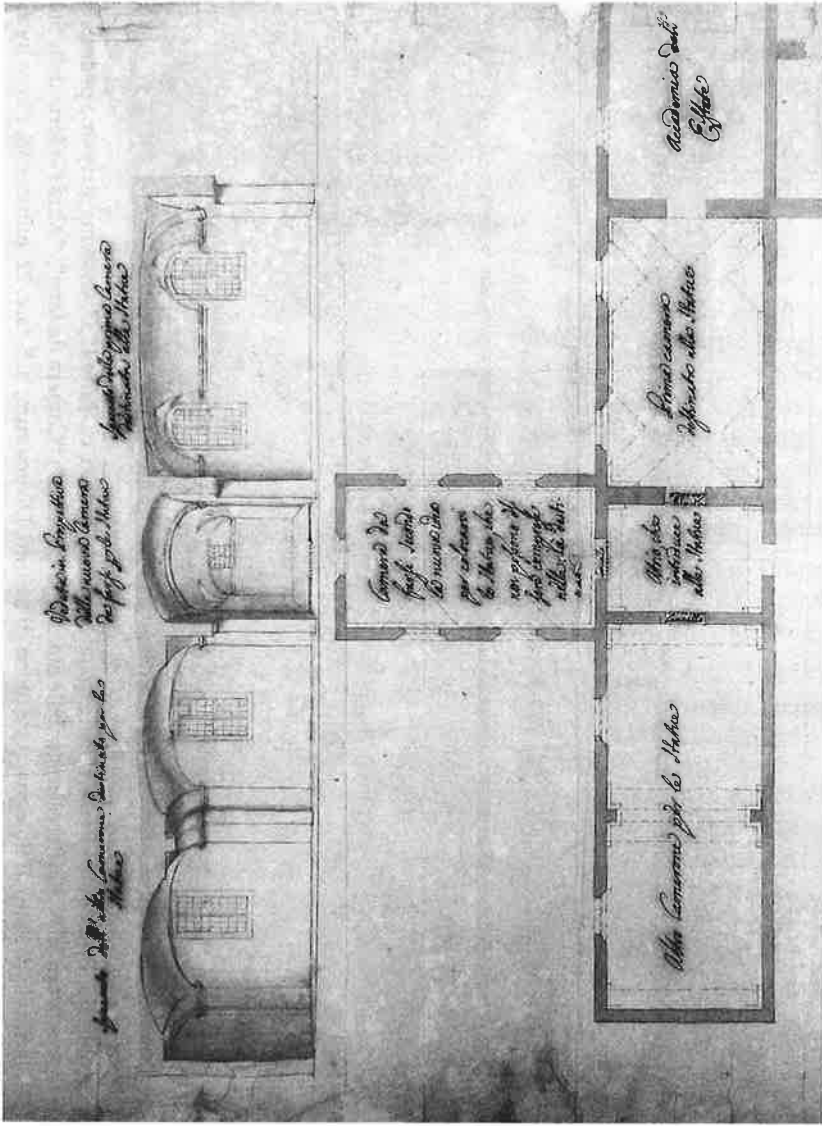


Figure 16.4 Ercole Lelli, Project for installing the expanded cast collection, ca. June 1757, showing (from top left) “Spaccato dell’Altro Camerone destinato per le Statue”; “Veduta in Prospettiva della nuova Camera da farsi per le Statue”; “Spaccato della prima Camera destinata alle Statue”; (bottom), “Altro Camerone per le Statue”; “Atrio, che introduce alle Statue”; “Prima camera da farsi secondo la nuova idea per collocarvi le Statue, che non possono essere comprese nelle già destinate”; “Prima camera destinato alle Statue”; “Accademia dell’Estate” (Figure 16.1, #15). Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Assunteria di Istituto, Diversorum, b. 5, fasc. 22, number 20. Photo by author.

estimates showing that the fifty-eight new pedestals (evidently including the two from the Prince of Piombino and all eight Farsetti busts) would cost 218 scudi if fabricated in wood and 230 scudi if in stone, including paint, papal arms, and rotating mechanisms thought necessary for effective study. The new room itself, including a final white-wash and matching iron gate, would cost 568½ scudi.

But it was not just cost that worried Millo, whose next queries suggest an amateur's interest in architecture and display.³⁴ His Eminence was concerned, Scarselli explained, that the proposed gallery would darken the library and existing rooms and resemble an unattractive barn (*capannone*) when seen from the garden. And, if built, should it not be as wide as possible to provide maximum light for the collection's best statues, which required viewing from all angles? As for the pedestals, Millo and his advisors were convinced they should be of stone and not rotate as proposed. Malvezzi and Lelli did their best to rebut Cardinal Millo's objections, explaining that the summer teaching room had indeed once held casts, but that these had been removed when the nude class was instituted, for fear of damage from the students. As for blocking the new library, although the addition would reach the level of the great window, it was sufficiently offset so as to leave the *finestrone* unencumbered and fully visible from both Malvezzi's and the Institute's gardens. Nor would the new room be ugly, while its width – and here the pair must have held their tempers – would be the same as the others and certainly sufficient for the purpose. Lelli in particular must have bristled at Millo's absentee second-guessing, since the addition's five large clerestory windows – four lunettes east and west and a squarish opening to the south – were evidently designed to provide precisely the diffused, natural illumination he found essential for revealing contours and volumes, without casting distracting shadows despite the dense configuration of seventeen substantial pedestals. Each of the older rooms, by contrast, featured two low, south-facing windows that would create glare behind the casts and limit where students could sit (Plate 27). In those spaces, all that could be done was to pull the pedestals away from the walls and position each, according to the caption, for its proper illumination (*all suo vero lume*) (Figure 16.3). Yet symmetry was also desired, and by lining the statues up in rows, Lelli and his draughtsman – if he used one – did their best to keep the central axis clear and create a balanced arrangement.³⁵

However, Millo seemed unconvinced, and Scarselli closed his communiqué by noting that the cardinal, after "better considering the



Plate 27 Room below the new library, previously used as the Stanza dell' Antichità (Fig. 16.1, #18), assigned in 1757 for the display of casts (labelled in Fig. 16.3 as "Altra Galleria delle Statue"), now used as a departmental library at the University of Bologna. Photo by Jeffrey Collins.

proposal for a new room," felt that if one were required it should be built not in the garden but in the undercroft beneath the library, where two full-height windows, answered by two new doors onto the adjoining hall, would provide sufficient space and light at little cost. At worst, this new room could be used for service and storage until several small adjoining houses could be acquired to extend the gallery proper. At this Malvezzi retorted that the site was occupied by the Campani optical instruments, already relocated to make room for the new library staircase. What was worse, banishing a portion of the statues here would destroy that striking prospect (*quel colpo d'occhio*) that could be obtained only by revealing all the statues to the visitor in a single glance, greatly enhancing their effect (*comparsa*). It would also mean doubling the guards, since students would need to work in multiple rooms, whereas the proposed plan required only a single custodian stationed in the central vestibule. Finally, building the new room – and here Malvezzi echoed Millo's own words – would provide direct, even light from both sides, a useful and indeed necessary provision for appreciating the finest statues.

Malvezzi had won his point, and there was no more talk of placing statues beneath the reading room. But Millo continued to resist, and the third and final exchange confirms his determination not to be seduced into a building project.³⁶ Instead, Millo proposed to commandeer the well-lit room just east of the Scuola del Nudo (the former Stanza delle Statue) where the Academy now held its summer life-drawing classes (Figure 16.1, #15; see also Figure 16.3 and Figure 16.4, at right). Its position in line with the other three, he reasoned, would create a "straight, continuous, and very handsome gallery" large enough for all the statues, if one included the former vestibule. The summer school, of course, would have to be relocated. Was there another room available? If not, what might it cost to purchase and convert an adjoining house? Or could the Campani lathes and lenses be moved there, and the summer life class held below the library? How well enrolled was it, compared with the winter school? Against this onslaught Lelli and Malvezzi mounted their best and last defence, observing that such a restricted plan would require both placing statues in the middle of the rooms (thus destroying the desired enfilade) and opening new windows. Even then, it was hardly a continuous gallery as the cardinal supposed, since the three interrupting doors could not be widened without weakening the upper storeys. Visitors looking through the entrance gate thus would see only the statues in the first room and one or two in the next.

Allowing strangers to enter the galleries by themselves was hardly safe. Nor was there any other room for summer classes. The adjoining house would cost 1,000 scudi (almost twice that of the new room), plus 600 scudi to convert it for drawing, and double that if still used for the lenses. In any case, the undercroft was utterly unsuited to the summer academy, which was, if anything, even more popular than the winter one, as it was precisely the former that drew foreigners.

Millo, however, remained unmoved. On 30 July, Scarselli reported by special express post that, after reviewing the senator's replies, the cardinal felt obliged to insist on his proposal and terminate discussions with His Holiness, "so as not to run the real risk of alarming or irritating him to no avail."³⁷ Both light and space would be adequate if not ideal – after all, statues occupied the middle of galleries both in the proposed addition and at the Capitoline. Time was also a factor, since construction would delay installation and spark further complaints from Farsetti's modeller, who already feared that moisture from new pedestals would damage the casts. A damp new room would be even riskier. As for the experience of foreign visitors, they were either connoisseurs ("intelligent and distinguished persons") who would not be content to look from a distance, or plebeians who had as little need to see the casts as they did any of the Institute's holdings. Serious visitors of all ranks would have to enter the galleries, as they would the other rooms and those at the Capitoline, where the guardian showed each statue one by one. Millo's analogy with Rome is telling and suggests his vision of the *gipsoteca* as both a teaching tool and a tourist attraction.

Impatient to proceed, Millo instructed Malvezzi not to disturb partition walls or widen doorways, although he agreed to provide funds to open new windows (never accomplished). The adjacent house was currently too expensive, and if the summer academy could not be relocated, perhaps by adding windows in the winter academy, then he would try to find some stopgap by next season. His Holiness, however, was willing to let it go now that the nude class was available all winter and the new statues year round. The school's budget could be reassigned and the balance, after the new pedestals and windows were paid for, used to acquire Dr Galli's fine collection of obstetrical instruments. Finally, the cardinal urged Malvezzi and the Assunti to bring the long-desired *gipsoteca* immediately to completion, lest the pontiff misinterpret a delay as reluctance or refusal. Malvezzi and Lelli were beaten, with no choice but to settle for a conventionally linear, if less than ideally luminous, gallery.

Looking and Learning: Students and Tourists

Neither Millo, who died on 16 November 1757, nor Benedict, who followed on 3 May 1758, lived to see the new *gipsoteca*. With them expired any notion that the casts would constitute a new civic amenity, and when the gallery finally opened on 16 April 1759, with Lelli as director, the focus was largely on internal discipline and security rather than public access. In a retreat that could not have pleased Lambertini, the Assunteria specified that the rooms were to open for study for just two hours each weekday from the first Monday after Easter until the summer nude academy started in mid-June. To ensure respectful behaviour, the director, who had the only keys, must remain present and available for instruction, sending a substitute only in case of illness. He must inform the Academy's *principe* of all pupils wishing to enrol and must expel all violators, who could be reinstated only by the Assunteria.³⁸ The director, moreover, was not to admit the merely curious during lessons, nor was he obliged to open the rooms to foreigners – and never to their servants – at other times, except when specifically so ordered in writing. Tourists, the familiar logic went, could see well enough through the iron gates. Whether or not these provisions were enforced, they marked a step backwards towards paranoia and narrow thinking. The precious casts needed protection, to be sure, but the ideal of open access enshrined at the Capitoline, Millo's recurring reference point, had vanished.

What did the new gallery offer those lucky enough to pass the gates? Since the cast collection departed Palazzo Poggi with the Academy in the early nineteenth century and only partially survives, the fullest picture is provided by a detailed inventory taken on 26 March 1766, when Lelli's former assistant Domenico Piò (1715–99) succeeded him as custodian-director upon the former's death.³⁹ Although it does not specify position, the counterclockwise sequence, correlated with details in Malvezzi's plan (Figure 16.3) and successive inventories, permits a reconstruction of the installation's appearance and aims. For the most part, Lelli maintained the criteria foreshadowed in the project for Cardinal Millo. Balancing the needs for illumination, circulation, and order, Lelli arranged most of the casts in two parallel rows, the finer works facing the windows and smaller busts or reclining figures placed opposite so as not block the light. Symmetry was favoured both within these rows and on the end walls, either by centring the largest or most important statue or by creating balanced groupings.



Plate 28 *Pighini Meleager*, moulded in Rome for Filippo Farsetti ca. 1754, cast in Venice ca. 1756, and installed ca. 1758 in the middle of the northwest wall of the first room of Bologna's *gipsoteca* (Fig. 16.1, #15; Plate 27), now in the main hall at the Accademia delle Belle Arti, Bologna. Photo by Jeffrey Collins.

Furthermore, whenever possible, casts were juxtaposed or clustered to highlight formal or conceptual similarities and/or contrasts, thereby enhancing their pedagogical value.

Absent the new room, Lelli's challenge was to actualize these principles despite the greater density. As Millo envisioned, visitors entered the *gipsoteca* from the Academy's original (winter) Scuola del Nudo on the west, first encountering the space vacated by the summer drawing school.⁴⁰ In the middle of the room stood a cast of Giambologna's *Neptune* from Bologna's public fountain, a recent gift from the Royal Academy of Parma in thanks for the senate's permission to make a copy for its use. The right-hand or southeastern side was roughly centred on the *Pighini Meleager* (Plate 28), placed near or against the wall but offset to take account of the room's single window. An icon of the youthful male ideal, the *Meleager* was flanked on the right by two beautiful youths (the *Capitoline Antinous* and the *Ganymede* from Florence) and to the left, near the window, by two low female statues, the *Capitoline Agrippina* and the *Crouching Venus* from the Uffizi.⁴¹ The left wall presented further male types, clustered by provenance: *Laocoön* near the centre, flanked by the *Belvedere Apollo* and *Antinous* (all three from the Vatican statue court) with the *Bacchus* and *Silenus* from Villa Medici at each end. The room was complemented by a grille-fronted cabinet set into the far wall and containing thirty-seven heads, busts, and a "Puttino" (largely donated by Lelli, according to Bolletti) and by the (now ten) bas-reliefs from the Column of Trajan attached to the entrance wall.⁴²

The next room, containing six busts and nineteen statues, again echoed but condensed the earlier plan for eight busts and thirteen statues. The right side presented smaller figures representing specific types: the *Apollino* from Villa Medici, the *Idol* from Florence, a putto by Duquesnoy from Palazzo Farnese, a head of the Roman Emperor Geta (one of six Farsetti busts in the room), the *Ganymede* from Villa Medici, a head of Silenus, the *Uffizi Morpheus*, a *Niobid* from Villa Medici, and the *Mattei Horse*, a flayed or *écorché* specimen particularly useful to students, donated by the Tuscan sculptor Agostino Cornacchini. The east wall was bookended by two standing, togate figures – the so-called *Marius* and *Zeno* from the Capitoline – flanking two male and two female busts, together with the small *Mattei Ceres* (identified in the inventory as the *Dea Tellure*). To the left stood the larger and more complex masterpieces: the *Germanicus*; the *Capitoline Antinous*, *Paetus* and *Arria* (apparently opposite the window), and the seated *Mars* from

Villa Ludovisi; *Niobe and Her Daughter* from Villa Medici; *Silenus with the Infant Bacchus* from Villa Borghese (opposite the other window); and *Mercury and the Faun* from the Uffizi. The *Borghese Gladiator*, a staple of teaching exercises routinely drawn from all angles, appropriately occupied the middle of the room.

The third chamber, which apparently still served as an alternative gated vestibule, contained only the colossal *Farnese Flora* in majestic isolation – at over eleven feet, taller even than the *Hercules* and requiring an appropriate viewing distance. The last and largest room, first targeted for twenty-two full-size statues, now sheltered twenty-five statues and two busts, including several modern works. The right (window) side offered an anthology of reclining or crouching figures – the *Dying Gladiator*, the *Vatican Cleopatra*, the *Uffizi Wrestlers*, Duquesnoy's mourning putto from the tomb of Jacob van Hase in Rome, the *Fallen Warrior* from the Capitoline (in fact, a wrongly restored *Discobolus*), and Guglielmo della Porta's *Justice* from the tomb of Paul III at St Peter's.⁴³ The end wall offered another symmetrical composition, with the two *Della Valle Satyrs* flanking busts of Domitian and of Bernini's *Apollo* from Villa Borghese.

The adjoining north wall presented six standing specimens of female beauty sure to spark *paragoni*. The *Medici Venus*, widely considered the most beautiful antique female nude, thus stood next to the *Capitoline Flora*, renowned for its drapery. To their left, two modern female saints – Duquesnoy's *Santa Susanna* (Plate 29) and Bernini's *Santa Bibiana* – encapsulated stylistic alternatives from seventeenth-century Rome, followed by two further ancient models of female perfection, the *Calipygian Venus* and a small but alluring *Venus with a Shell*. In a similar comparative vein, viewers next encountered a pair of sixteenth-century *Bacchuses* closely inspired by the antique, one by Michelangelo and the other by Sansovino. Further west, a cluster of four male statues – the *Belvedere Torso*, the *Hercules and Hydra* from the Capitoline (dramatically restored by Algardi), the Uffizi's *Arrotino*, and Giambologna's *Mercury* – displayed a quartet of useful poses ranging from rest to fight to flight. The instructive sequence was closed by the Uffizi *Cupid and Psyche*, the only work, apart from *Paetus and Arria*, that represented both sexes in a single composition. Marsili's *Farnese Hercules* dominated the room's centre, together with the two *Furietti Centaurs*, installed in positions that evoked their placement in the main salon at the Capitoline just months before.⁴⁴ The inventory finished with ten chairs “for the convenience of the draughtsmen and painters,” reminders that these



Plate 29 *Santa Susanna*, after François Duquesnoy, moulded in Rome for Filippo Farsetti ca. 1754, cast in Venice ca. 1756, and installed ca. 1758 in the middle of the northwest wall of the fourth room of Bologna's *gipsoteca* (Fig. 16.3, "Galleria lunga delle Statue già Chimica"), now in the main hall at the Accademia delle Belle Arti, Bologna. Photo by Jeffrey Collins.

rooms were teaching laboratories, just like those of chemistry, obstetrics, or dioptrics.

Rich as it was for students, the *gipsoteca* seems to have disappointed tourists and connoisseurs expecting a modern museum. Grosley, otherwise impressed by the Institute, in 1758 found the cast collection too dense, noting that it literally filled three large rooms and suggesting that it "be distributed in other apartments, which it will embellish without losing anything of its value: the whole being thus crowded together, has too much the appearance of a warehouse; besides, a fine statue is no where misplaced."⁴⁵ Lelli and Malvezzi seem to have been right about the need for more space; was it partly this realization that induced the Assunteria to limit tourist access? Two decades later, guidebook writer Giuseppe Angelelli felt compelled to apologize for the casts' humble material, explaining that Bologna lacked marble quarries.⁴⁶ The impulse may reflect the Institute's increasing attraction for VIPs, including Emperor Joseph II in May 1769, Archduke Maximilian Francis of Austria in October 1775, Archduchess Christina and Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen in January 1776, and Benedict's own successor, Pius VI (Giovanni Angelo Braschi, r. 1775–99), on his way back from Vienna in May 1782. Pius, at least, seemed pleased, having come of age in Benedict's Rome and patterned aspects of his cultural patronage on Lambertini's. After inspecting the obstetric models and watching chemistry experiments, Pius "proceeded to the Scuola del Nudo and to the Camere delle Statue, praising their collection" – if not their installation, which must have seemed backward compared with his own cutting-edge galleries at the Museo Pio-Clementino.⁴⁷ Pius proved just as interested in the series of papal medals, promising to send his own, and, above all, in Bernardino Regoli's virtuoso mosaic rendition of Giacomo Zoboli's portrait of Benedict XIV. Restored by Lelli after damage in transit, the mosaic dominated the Institute's main reception hall, where Braschi scrutinized it at length while "commending that pontiff's memory and acts."⁴⁸ Just like Grosley and the students, Pius had encountered a warehouse bursting with approved models, copies, and translations – which was, of course, the *gipsoteca's* *raison d'être*.

Conclusion: The Aura of the Copy

In the end, neither Benedict's nor Farsetti's hopes for a spacious, well-lit statue gallery – a public branch of Rome abroad – were fully realized. Nor did the Institute singlehandedly revive *Bologna la dotta*, remaining,

for Archenholz, a tree planted in sterile soil, a child's plaything, a "scientific Trojan Horse."⁴⁹ Still, Benedict's project exemplifies a characteristic instinct to blend his particular love for his homeland – Grosley called him a "munificent patriot" – with a wider view of the public good. Antiquity was the rage in eighteenth-century Europe, but the question was how to leverage it. Whereas the Bourbon court at Naples restricted diffusion of discoveries from the buried cities of Vesuvius to the point of barring visitors from making notes or sketches, Benedict gambled that the diffusion of authorized copies would increase, not lessen, the value of Rome's originals. The ripples would have spread even wider if the young English architect Matthew Brettingham, in Rome in 1753, had realized his plan to commission from Farsetti a full third set of casts of "all or near all the finest Statues in Rome both Antient and modern" to anchor a new "Accademy of Design" in London.⁵⁰ This proposal, too, met obstacles, but had it succeeded, Benedict's ambitions for Bologna might have changed the history of British art.

Benedict's donation must also be seen as part of a larger faith in the value of good models for both educating students and edifying the public. That conviction oriented his patronage, as Francesco Algarotti acknowledged in 1756: "I hear that Bologna and Rome, the Institute and the Campidoglio, are growing richer by the day through the pope's munificence. Two great Museums, two temples, are rising there to the three sister arts, becoming stores of every beauty; fragments of ancient architecture, paintings, and statues that will form precepts and examples for studious youth. I'll tell you an idea that came to me in this regard for making my own contribution to such a great enterprise, adding another drop [*gocciola*] to the sea."⁵¹ In Algarotti's case the exemplar was a section of an ancient cornice (*gocciolatoio*) he offered to the Institute or the Capitoline, as the pope preferred. Benedict chose the latter – where it was scorned – but Algarotti's understanding of both sites as reservoirs of beauty (*conserve di ogni bello*) is striking.

Finally, the concern jointly shared by Benedict, Lelli, Millo, and Malvezzi for how those beauties would be viewed by an increasingly sophisticated and demanding public suggests the *gipsoteca's* links to broader developments in European museology. Far from constituting an isolated case, Benedict's insistence that Bologna's new casts be situated and exhibited for maximum benefit is paralleled in his detailed enquiries to Magnani about the clarity of the Venetian glass ordered for the anatomy room, the design of special medal cabinets sent from Rome, and suggestions for how to secure "Etruscan" vases atop the

library's bookcases. Copies though they were, the Institute's casts were central to its mission of instructing through strategic exhibition. Plaster was not marble, as Angelelli admitted, but if measured ounce for ounce, and properly displayed, its power to inspire was unequalled.

NOTES

- 1 This study is dedicated to the memory of my beloved aunt and friend Janet Meyer. In conformity with the sources, I have retained the eighteenth-century name and spelling "Istituto" rather than the modern "Istituto" often used by Italian scholars. All translations are mine.
- 2 Benedict to Marchese Paolo Magnani, 31 October 1744, in Prodi and Fattori, *Le lettere di Benedetto XIV al Marchese Paolo Magnani*, 319–20: "Ci andiamo figurando, che la nuova biblioteca dell'istituto non sarà mai riempita di libri, perché o non si uniranno mai tanti libri, o perché quando se ne sarà ammassata una parte da riporvi l'altra che v'era sarà già andata in malora. / Proponiamo se fosse più espediente il lasciare la nuova fabbrica in qualità di galleria, riponendovi in essa i modelli in gesso delle più nobili statue che sono in Roma. / Coll'esempio di Luigi XIV che fece fare pure gli stessi modelli per Parigi. Ci ricordiamo, che nell'istituto ve ne sono alcuni regalati dal buon cardinal Gozzadini: ma son pochi. Bisognerebbe far vedere di quante statue collocate con simetria sia capace il nuovo sito; e quando in esso *non* si volessero mettere i modelli, *si potrebbe sostituire la camera*, ove ora sono i libri, e riconoscere di quanti modelli essa sia capace." The omission of key phrases (here italicized) in previous scholarship has confused Benedict's initial idea, in which Ercole Lelli (see below) may already have had a part; cf. Maino, "Magistero e potestà pontificia sull'Accademia Clementina di Bologna," 335, and *L'immagine del Settecento*, 87; and Pagliani, *L'orma dell'bello*, 23. Maino's important studies (see also Gaetano Gandolfi, 13ff) offer the fullest assessment to date of Lambertini's involvement in the Academy, while Pagliani's book, with its partial catalogue of surviving casts and documentary appendix, provides the starting point for any discussion of the *gipsoteca*.
- 3 On Millo's 1744 inspection trip, see Prodi and Fattori, *Le lettere di Benedetto XIV*, 273, 332. On the building (but not the *gipsoteca*) see Lenzi, "Le trasformazioni settecentesche: l'Istituto delle Scienze e delle Arti," in Cavina, *Palazzo Poggi*, 58–78. On Lelli, see below, n14.
- 4 Benedict expressed his optimism about the Institute to Magnani on 1 January 1746 (Prodi and Fattori, *Le lettere di Benedetto XIV*, 415): "Il tutto va a meraviglia, e ci creda, che mettendosi fuori a tratto a tratto quanto vanno

lavorando questi virtuosi, la nostra commune patria riassumerà nel concetto degli uomini di garbo il vero titolo di madre de studij, se non per le materie legali, almeno per le scienze fisiche."

- 5 On Marsili (also spelled Marsigli) see Daniela Scaglietti Kelescian, "Una vita al servizio di un progetto: Luigi Ferdinando Marsili e l'Istituto delle Scienze," in Cavina, *Palazzo Poggi*, 184–90. For Marsili's donations see Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Assunteria di Istituto, *Diversorum* (henceforth ASB, *Diversorum*), b. 31 [Accademia Clementina], fasc. 1.
- 6 For a partial list, see ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 13, fasc. 5, noting "Artefatti antiche e moderne" sent by the pope on 10 April 1745, for installation "nella Stanza delle Antichità"; see also *Novelle letterarie*, 12 December 1755. On Benedict's "refoundation" of the Accademia Clementina see Maino, "Magistero," 331ff, and *L'immagine*, 81–98.
- 7 Archenholz, *England und Italien*, 2: 78: "Es ist gleichsam eine sinnliche Encyklopädie."
- 8 [Pierre-Jean Grosley], *New Observations on Italy and its Inhabitants*, 1: 130–1 (originally published as *Nouveaux Mémoires, ou Observations sur l'Italie*, where cf. 1: 207–8).
- 9 Lalande, *Voyage d'un François en Italie*, 2: 28–9; the description of the Institute continues through 47.
- 10 Grosley, *New Observations*, 1: 130.
- 11 On the Accademia Clementina, initially composed of forty painters, sculptors, and architects, see Zanotti, *Storia dell'Accademia Clementina*; Bolletti, *Dell'origine e de' progressi dell'Istituto delle scienze di Bologna*, 26–39; and a rich modern bibliography. On Benedict's consciousness of Bologna's comparative lack of antiquities, see Prodi and Fattori, *Le lettere di Benedetto XIV*, 419 (8 January 1746).
- 12 For a resume of the donations, including casts presented by Marsili's brother, bishop of Perugia, and the modeller charged with their installation, see ASB, *Diversorum* b. 31 [Accademia Clementina], fasc. 1, fols 221v through 223r.
- 13 See, for instance, ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 30 [Accademia Clementina], fasc. 23.
- 14 On Lelli (in Rome in June 1747), see Medici, "Elogio d'Ercolo Lelli"; Briganti, *La pittura in Italia*, 1: 276 (discussion by Maino), 2: 764–5 (biography by Nicosetta Roio); Maino, *L'immagine*, 84ff (insisting on Benedict's driving role but with some confusions about chronology); and Messbarger, *The Lady Anatomist*, 20–51.
- 15 For Scarselli's role in a subsequent proposed donation see Pasquali, "Francesco Algarotti." For his own donation of gold medals to the Institute see Angelelli, *Notizie dell'origine*, 98 (an expanded edition of Bolletti's 1751 guidebook).

- 16 Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna (henceforth BUB) Mss. Italiani 3882, capsula LVIII, item A 13 (5 letters to Lelli from Flaminio Scarselli from Rome, 1748–52), dated “Roma 21 Giugno 1752” and beginning “Dopo lungo silenzio ho il piacere di scriverle con qualche speranza, che non sia p. essere del tutto inutile il nostro carteggio ...” Bolletti’s 1751 *Dell’origine* (cf. Fig. 16.1) identified the space as “Atrio destinato per le memorie de’ Benefattori dell’Istituto,” a sign that its use was still under discussion.
- 17 BUB, Mss. Italiani 3882, capsula LVIII, item A 13, dated “Roma 12 Luglio 1752” and beginning “Se il potere corrispondesse alla mia buona volontà ...”
- 18 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 30, fasc. 25, a fair copy beginning “Lo stato presente dell’Accademia de Pittori è poco comodo.”
- 19 However, Lelli was hoping for a paid appointment as the collection’s curator, which did not materialize until 1759 (see below); on 17 February 1753 Mons. Millo informed Lelli that budgetary constraints and objections from the Assunti had prevented him from securing Lelli “la Custodia delle Statue,” but that the pope hoped to provide some assistance from the Aldrovandi bequest (BUB, Mss. Italiani 3882, capsula LVIII, item A 9, three letters from Millo to Lelli).
- 20 I am currently preparing a detailed study of Farsetti and his academy, including questions of pedagogy and display.
- 21 Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs*, 10: 434 (letter 4942, Natoire to Vandières, 17 January 1753).
- 22 The contract, based on Benedict’s *motu proprio* of 16 April 1755 and signed by Cardinal Girolamo Colonna di Sciarra for the pope and Niccolò Coduzzi for Farsetti, noted ten changes to the original list of works but still included the Ludovisi statues and wrongly ascribes the *Dea Tellure* (the so-called *Mattei Ceres*, not acquired for the Vatican until 1770) to the Belvedere. For the full text, published in 1756, see Pagliani, *L’orma*, 153–6.
- 23 Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs*, 10: 442 (letter 4946, Natoire to Vandières, 14 March 1753) and 447 (letter 4948, Vandières to Natoire, 8 April 1753). On the moulds, see Lalande, *Voyage*, 2: 44.
- 24 Montaiglon, *Correspondance des directeurs*, 10: 434 (letter 4942, Natoire to Vandières, 17 January 1753); Natoire clarified that the Academy had two casts of the *Germanicus* and that the one in the main apartment would not be touched.
- 25 BUB, Mss. Italiani 3882, capsula LVIII, item A 17, Bentivoglio to Lelli, 13 September 1753.
- 26 De Angelis, *Prospero Lambertini*, 314; ASB, *Diversorum* b. 31, fasc. 2, an undated “memoria” to the Bolognese ambassador; and BUB, Mss. Italiani

- 3882, capsula LVIII, item A 18, an undated letter from Farsetti to Lelli beginning "Or che tutto è non che finito mà dimenticato."
- 27 Montaignon, *Correspondance des directeurs*, 11: 159 (letter 5195, Natoire to Marigny, 22 September 1756).
- 28 Malvezzi, who had donated a whale's rib in 1738 (Bolletti, *Dell'origine*, 90), also brokered Benedict's large gift of master prints in the 1750s.
- 29 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 31, fasc. 12, first grouping, comprising three sets of questions/proposals from Rome with answers/responses from Bologna in a different hand, arranged in parallel columns; two supporting lists of expenses; a letter from Scarselli to Malvezzi dated 30 July 1757, beginning "All'Em.o Millo ho comunicato"; an anonymous letter (evidently also to Malvezzi) dated 6 August 1757, beginning "Io temo"; and a folded sheet beginning "Venendo ora." Although largely undated, this cluster is clearly out of order both in the fascicle and in the transcription by Pagliani in *L'orma*, 157–60, where it is somewhat misleadingly considered a single document. The detailed engagement with questions of installation suggest that Lelli, not Malvezzi, was the driving force behind the proposals discussed below.
- 30 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 31, fasc. 12, first grouping, unsigned and headed only "Domande" (left) and "Risposte" (right). For the Academy's minutes and proposed thanks to the pope, see Pagliani, *L'orma*, 27.
- 31 *Geta, Silenus, Augustus, Ariadne, Alexander, Faustina, Domitian*, and Bernini's *Apollo* from his group of *Apollo and Daphne* at Villa Borghese; see the 1766 inventory below.
- 32 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 31, fasc. 12, first grouping, as above, headed "Proposte al Sig.e Sen.re Malvezzi, secondo gli ordini dell'Emo-, e Rmo- Sig.e Card. Millo," in the hand of Scarselli, with a closing date of 2 July 1757. This exchange contains two inserts marked A and B, estimating costs as below.
- 33 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 5, fasc. 22, numbers 18–20, now separated but clearly prepared (perhaps by Lelli) in the summer of 1757 to accompany Malvezzi's second exchange with Cardinal Millo. The depiction of just sixty-one pedestals suggests that only three of the Institute's existing casts, with bases, were to be integrated with the pope's gift, likely for reasons of space.
- 34 Millo may also have sought advice from his protégé Carlo Marchionni, whom he successfully promoted that year to prestigious posts as Architetto generale of the Camera Apostolica and the Palazzo Apostolico, and Architetto revisore of St Peter's.
- 35 "Tutto il segnato di Color Giallo mostra la Pianta dei Piedistalli di ciascheduna Statua fatti in misura posti all suo vero lume." A study of the shapes and sizes might clarify the subjects intended; busts, for instance, are largely clustered in the western room, whereas the square pedestal in

- the middle of the eastern room is presumably the *Hercules*. Several features of the drawings, which seem to show only two lunette windows in the section, suggest that they are not the products of a professional draughtsman.
- 36 ABA, *Diversorum*, b. 31, fasc. 12, "Progetto, e domande dell'Emo-, e Rmo-Sig.r Card:le Millo al Sig.re Sen.re Malvezzi," beginning "I. Il Sig.re Card:le propone di valersi della Camera destinata in oggi per l'Accademica del Nudo in tempo d'Estate."
- 37 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 31, fasc. 12, first grouping, letter in Scarselli's hand, beginning "All'Emo- Millo ho comunicato il foglio delle risposte di V. E. al suo progetto."
- 38 ABA, *Diversorum*, b. 30 [Accademia Clementina], fasc. 26, beginning "Il Sig.r Sec.rio de l'Acad.a Clement.a per parte degli' Ill.mi et Ecc.i Sig.i de l'Ass.ria è avvisato," dated 5 April 1759 "di Palazzo." Two further drafts give the director more leeway about admission and timing; see also a satirical distich apparently left in the drawing rooms.
- 39 ASB, *Diversorum*, b. 31, fasc. 12, "Inventario delle Statue di gesso collocate nella Galleria delle Statue dell'Instituto contigua alla Scuola del Nudo: il qual Inventario è stato fatto li 26. marzo 1766. in occasione di farne la consegna al Sig.r Domenico Pio destinato Custode, e direttore di detta Galleria," transcribed by Pagliani in *L'orma*, 162–3, who also outlines the collection's later history.
- 40 The entrance wall bore a 1757 inscription commemorating Benedict's donation of "statuas ectypas ... summo artificio factas multoque aere comparatas"; see Angelelli, *Notizie*, 89.
- 41 Listed merely as "Venere" but presumably the *motu proprio*'s Uffizi "Venere a sedere," a statue described in 1598 as "Venere di marmo a sedere a nat^e che si lava"; see Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 321.
- 42 By 1780, this cabinet (which Bolletti described in 1763 as "un armario elegantemente disposte") had been supplemented with display tables and the reliefs moved to end wall of the eastern room, a position confirmed by 1803 inventory; see Angelelli, *Notizie*, 90–1, and Pagliani, *L'orma*, appendix, 165.
- 43 According to a common early reading, della Porta's figure was identified as "Verità" both here and in the 1755 *motu proprio*. Unusually, this side of the room had fewer pedestals than first projected (six rather than eight), since each was comparatively wider. The row's terminal figure, an upright "Venus" from Villa Albani now in the Louvre (listed in 1803 as "una Teti" [*Thetis*]), also needed a broad base to accommodate the ship's prow restored by Cavaceppi.
- 44 This placement may have been provisional, since by 1803 the centaurs had taken the place of the *Della Valle Satyrs* on the end wall. On the installation of the Capitoline salon, see Collins, "A Nation of Statues, 193–4.

- 45 Grosley, *New Observations*, 1: 130–1.
- 46 Angelelli, *Notizie*, 88.
- 47 Collins, *Papacy and Politics*, ch. 4, and “Nation of Statues,” 199–209.
- 48 ASB, Diversorum b. 18 fasc. 16 (Joseph II), fasc. 18 (Archduke Maximilian), fasc. 19 (Archduchess Christina), fasc. 23 (Pius VI, 23 May 1782). On Pius’s links to Benedict see Collins, *Papacy and Politics*.
- 49 Archenholz, *England und Italien*, 2: 79.
- 50 Kenworthy-Brown, “Matthew Brettingham’s Rome Account Book,” 102–6.
- 51 Algarotti to Flaminio Scarselli in Rome, in *Opere del conte Algarotti, Edizione Novissima* (Venice: Carlo Palese, 1794), 9: 178–9 (where misdated 27 February 1751; see Pasquali, “Francesco Algarotti,” 159, 165): “Sento che Bologna e Roma, l’Istituto e il Campidoglio si vadano arricchendo alla giornata per la munificenza del Papa. Due gran musei, due tempj s’innalzan quivi alle tre arti sorelle, si fanno quivi conserve di ogni bello; frammenti di antica architettura quadri e statue, che saranno precetti ed esempj alla studiosa gioventù. Le dirò fantasia, che a tal proposito mi è surta in mente di contribuire anch’io a sì grande impresa, di portare una gocciola al mare.” Algarotti puns on Palladio’s term for “drip moulding.”

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busta 5

fasc. 22 [architectural plans and drawings related to the Istituto, removed for conservation in 1992 and now kept unfolded with other plans from the Diversorum in a large folder in “Cassetiera F”].

busta 13

fasc. 5 [a note of gifts of “Artefatti antichi e moderne” sent by Benedict XIV on 10 April 1745 for installation “nella Stanza delle Antichità”].

busta 30 [Accademia Clementina]

fasc. 23 [later labelled “1744 Proposte circa il buon andamento delle scuole”].

fasc. 25 [later labelled “1752 Scuola del Nudo e delle Statue (Proposte del Lelli)”].

fasc. 26 [later labelled “1759 / Capitoli pel Direttore della Galleria e Custode delle Statue”].

busta 31 [Accademia Clementina]

fasc. 1 [later labelled "Doni di oggetti d'arte di varie genere (dal Card. Casoni, dal Gen. Marsili, dal Ema- Gozzardini, dal Monsig. Marsili, e da altri)].

fasc. 2 ["Contratto di Statue fatto dalla S. M. di Bened: XIV a comodo dell'Instituto dall'Abb:e Farsetti di Venezia"].

fasc. 12 [large group of documents later labelled "1757 / Disposizione di locali e collocamenti di statue (proposte del Card. Millo) / Inventario di modelli in gesso 1766"].

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