'Per accompagnare l'antico'

The restoration of ancient sculpture in early eighteenth-century Rome

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The birth of a modern theory of restoration of ancient sculpture, as well as the rise of the restorer as a professional figure, is traditionally fixed at the point when the theories of Johann Joachim Winckelmann encountered the restoration practices of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. This new approach was completely different from normal practice a century earlier, when Bernini was restoring the Ludovisi Ares and Orfeo Boselli wrote, in his treatise of the Osservazioni, *that the replacement of missing arms and legs was 'necessarissimo'.*

The long gap between Baroque restoration and the new theory of Winckelmann and Cavaceppi has been only partially investigated by scholars but it was at the beginning of the eighteenth century that a fresh approach to antiquity came to light. A new way of looking at the damaged marbles emerging from the earth began to take form and some scholars in literary and scientific academies began to consider these fragments as independent works of art. Nevertheless, the two different attitudes of practice and theory of restoration coexisted side-by-side without merging to form a new methodological approach. The tyranny of taste continued to prevail over the correctness of the fragments' stylistic interpretation and the completeness of a statue remained an imperative. The high-quality outcome of a restoration still depended on the skill of the sculptor/restorer and his sensitivity in following the style of the antique master.

IN September 1770, the sculptor Gaspare Sibilla (1723-82) was appointed by Pope Clement XIV official restorer ('Sovrintendente ai restauri') of the collections of ancient sculptures preserved in the Museo Capitolino and in the Vatican palaces and gardens. In order to facilitate the work of Sibilla and his assistants, a restoration workshop was set up within the building of the Museo Pio–Clementino, establishing one of the criteria of the modern museum system. For the first time, a professional restorer received a salary to repair the headless and armless statues entering the museum and also regularly to inspect and preserve the papal collections. Now his work could easily be done in a fully equipped workshop where the ancient statues could be transferred directly from the nearby museum without difficulty or danger, with a consequent reduction in the costs of transportation to the studio of the sculptor. In addition, Sibilla could work under the strict supervision of the papal antiquary Giovanni Battista Visconti (died 1784), discussing with him every single step of the restoration process from the making of a terracotta model of the pieces to be rebuilt to the final polishing of the marble surface.[1]

At the beginning of the century, only fifty or sixty years earlier, the professional status of the restorers and their working environment had been very different. Their practice was also much more related to the traditional techniques developed by the Roman sculptors of the previous century and epitomized by the treatise *Osservazioni sulla scultura antica*, composed by Orfeo Boselli in about 1657.[2] At that time, for instance, the newly excavated fragments and reliefs were immediately brought to the restorer's workshop, and their owner, whether a cardinal or a mere antique dealer, had to pay frequent visits to inspect the improvements of the work and was also expected to pay for return delivery of the pieces. Although there was evident continuity with the past, in the first decades of the eighteenth century an increasing number of excavations in the neighbourhood of Rome were undertaken and the market for newly restored ancient sculptures drew the attention of popes, cardinals and savants, also tantalizing the cupidity of the masses of Grand Tourists that started to invade the Eternal City.[3] In the meantime, a new way of looking at the damaged marbles emerging

from the earth began to develop: some scholars in literary and scientific academies began to consider these fragments as independent works of art, as true witnesses of the taste and culture of the ancient citizens of Rome. This essay will attempt to demonstrate how the two different attitudes to practice and theory of restoration coexisted side-by-side without, however, merging to form a new methodological approach. The completeness of a statue was still an imperative rule and the tyranny of taste continued to prevail over the correctness of the fragments' stylistic interpretation. The favourable outcome of a restoration rested mainly with the skill and experience of the sculptor and with his sensitivity in following the style of the antique master ('nell'accompagnare l'antico').

When Cardinal Giovan Francesco Albani was elected pope in November 1700, with the name of Clement XI, he already had very clear ideas about the artistic and cultural politics he wanted to pursue. Albani spent the greater part of his intellectual and financial resources in promoting the restoration of the most important Early Christian basilicas, in order to re-establish the tradition of the church of the first centuries. The Early Christian revival – as Christopher Johns labelled this phenomenon[4] – was definitely one of the most relevant aspects of his pontificate, but not the only one. Clement XI, in fact, reserved a great deal of attention also to the antiquities of Rome in an attempt not only to preserve them from the ravages of time but especially to defeat the plague of illegal export. His ambition was to act as guardian of the memory of a glorious past, a role testified by the motto on the medals coined soon after his election: 'Restitutor bonarium artium'. In 1701 he issued an edict prohibiting the export of ancient statues in marble or bronze as well as of coins and gems, and in 1704 the restriction was extended also to paintings, stuccoes, mosaics and other precious objects.[5]

The papal antiquary ('Commissario alle antichità'), responsible for the conservation of classical monuments and in charge of overseeing exports and excavations, was then Francesco Bartoli, son of the famous draughtsman Pietro Sante Bartoli and an excellent draughtsman himself. Soon after his appointment, Bartoli wrote a long memorandum to the Pope – preserved in the Vatican Archive[6] – pointing out the many problems that he had to deal with on a daily basis, especially trying to stop the continuous dispersal of ancient sculptures. At the end of the document he also listed the names of the most dangerous dealers, some of whom were famous antiquaries, such as Francesco Ficoroni or Luca Corsi, who used to trade with foreign noblemen. 'If the Commissario forbids the embarkation of some works of art at the Dogana di Ripa on account of their excellent quality', wrote Bartoli to the Pope, 'they proceed in alternative ways and make things pass through the gates of Rome without any obstacle.'[7] Bartoli's concern for the fate of the ancient treasures of Rome reveals all his passion and sense of duty, but also the urgent need to keep this problem under control.

While Bartoli had to address practical problems, all those aspects related to research and erudition were in the charge of a higher public superintendent, the President of Antiquities ('Presidente delle antichità'). By 1703 monsignor Francesco Bianchini was appointed to this position by the Pope; he had already acted as the keeper of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni's library and was considered one of the most eminent scholars in Europe. His interest was focused mainly on ancient inscriptions and epigraphs which he started to collect in order to create a museum devoted to the history and chronology of the ancient and Early Christian world.[8] Since 1707, the pieces coming from the churches and gardens in the papal state had been on display in the Belvedere garden, but in 1716 the project was abandoned due to its excessive cost. Unfortunately, this extraordinary collection was dispersed, but many of the pieces were later bought by the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Alessandro Albani, a great friend of Bianchini and one of the most eminent collectors in Rome. What makes Bianchini's approach to antiquity interesting is the fact that he considered the relics of the past as symbols and proof of history ('Simboli insieme e pruove dell'historia'): a coin, a relief or a statue served as evidence to support his erudite treatise, *La Istoria Universale provata con monumenti e figurata con simboli degli antichi* (Rome, 1697). In order constantly to be kept abreast of the most recent discoveries, Bianchini made use of drawings, involving in this activity a number of professional draughtsmen. His favourite artist was the almost unknown Carlo Lera, a pupil of Francesco Bartoli, whom Bianchini appointed also as his personal valet ('Cameriere'). The high quality of his draughtsmanship is well expressed in the drawing of

Three ancient statues from the Verospi collection (Fig. 1) which gained him third prize at the Accademia di San Luca in 1704.[9] Highly finished drawings like this were often used as models for engravings that were later published by Bianchini in order to make the new archaeological discoveries available to a wider public.[10] The President of Antiquities also made by himself many interesting drawings of statues and other works that he came across during his visits to the excavations of Rome (Fig. 2). These roughly sketched works helped to fix the outline of the fragments or some details of a fresco or a mosaic but they also testify to a new awareness toward the ruined marbles. We can almost assert that these drawings were considered as the first and most essential form of restoration, an approach that Bianchini well explains in the introductory essay of his volume illustrating the chambers and inscriptions discovered in the Via Appia in 1725. In the dedication to Cardinal Giovanni Antonio Davia, who financed the publication, Bianchini wrote that 'the engraved images and the description here published thanks to the liberality of the Cardinal repair the presence of the work that was not saved from the ravages of time'.[11] Bianchini makes use of the verb 'riparare', meaning in fact 'to mend', 'to restore': thus for him the act of restoring consists in bringing back to light the ancient relic, studying it, and making it available to the community of scholars as it comes up from the earth, without in fact restoring any part of it. A drawing was perfectly suited to fixing on paper the appearance of the object and to keeping it for future generations and eventually to protect its memory from misconceived additions.

Bianchini never fully described this assumption, but it is one that he may have shared with other connoisseurs of the day. In particular, the painter Pier Leone Ghezzi seems to have been well aware of Bianchini's thinking.[12] Famous for his caricatures of the contemporary Roman *beau monde*, Ghezzi collected a great number of ancient terracottas and also made many drawings after the antique, now preserved in the Vatican Library. In his paper museum, Pier Leone drew utensils from everyday life, gems and also sculptures, complemented by short but careful descriptions. In his drawings too are often represented works in a fragmentary state and at times we can read

Fig. 1. Carlo Lera, *Three ancient statues from the Verospi collection.* Rome, Accademia di San Luca.

Fig. 2. Francesco Bianchini, *Fragment of an ancient statue*. Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare.

complaints about the serious damage caused to them by bad restoration. For example, Ghezzi depicted the face of a medallion representing the emperor Antoninus Pius portrayed as Hercules giving his hand to an Amazon. He later came across the same medallion which the new owner wanted to clean and restore, partially changing its iconography; Ghezzi expressed his dismay, observing that the Amazon was transformed into Cacus: historical evidence had been betrayed for the enjoyment of the collector. "Nel rovescio - writes Pier Leone - si vede l'istesso Antonino Pio nudo in figura di Ercole laureato . . . e sta in atto che porge la mano ad un'amazzone . . . che lo à ripulito il rovescio lo a fatto diventare Ercole con Caco . . . Faccio punto per non dare occasione alla penna di scrivere quello che penso sopra i nostri antiquari che sono". Ghezzi's drawing formed the sole record of the previous appearance of the work and it is only thanks to that image that we are able to restore it to its original likeness.[13]

Bianchini's erudite theories are early signs of the archaeological sciences definitively formulated by Winckelmann only some decades later. But Bianchini, as well as Ghezzi and Bartoli, were men of their times and their personal stories disclose the other side of the coin. Francesco Bartoli became one of the most appreciated suppliers of drawings after the antique for both Roman and foreign collectors, some of them being the very same tourists who exported marbles illegally and against whom Bartoli was battling every day. Bianchini also acted as personal adviser to Cardinal Albani, in particular regarding questions related to the purchase of ancient sculptures for his collection. The Cardinal often invited the 'monsignore' to inspect newly discovered sculptures and eventually to negotiate acquisitions on his behalf, being careful not to overspend.[14] We can easily imagine that Bianchini also passed judgement on the sculpted additions carved by Carlo Antonio Napolioni, the Cardinal's most trusted restorer.[15]

As already pointed out, it was generally considered essential for ancient marbles to be completely restored before being exhibited in the palaces and gardens of Rome, and an enlightened patron of the arts such as Cardinal Albani was not immune to this attitude. This old dogma, already stated by Vasari,[16] was again reinforced in the second half of the seventeenth century by Orfeo Boselli, a sculptor and a talented restorer in his own right. In his treatise he devoted an entire book to the art of restoration, a practice that he considered to be indispensable ('necessarissima'). In Boselli's opinion the sculptor who intended to do this job had to develop a highly refined technique and also had to attain a sound knowledge of ancient literature in order to correctly identify the myths and the characters represented by the earlier artist. He praised Bernini, Algardi and Duquesnoy for the excellent quality of their integration but expressed concern for the lack of good restorers in his own day: in order to reduce the expenses, the majority of contemporary patrons commissioned restorations by artists with limited abilities who, in Boselli's words, transformed the statues into monsters.[17]

The situation described by Boselli in 1657 remained, more or less, unchanged in the first decades of the Settecento. The industry of restoration was now even more lucrative and almost every sculptor in Rome, famous or unknown, talented or not, was busy carving arms and heads for ancient statues. The range of works restored in private and public collections is vast and some particularly interesting cases have been selected here in

order to show how the approach to ancient sculpture differed and very much depended on the restorer's ability.

The French sculptor Pierre Étienne Monnot died in Rome in 1733, after a successful career: at the top of his posthumous inventory listing the works still in his studio we find the statue of a *Gladiator* (Fig. 3), a very beautiful marble restored by the artist himself.[18] The composition created by Monnot originates from a torso possibly discovered in Rome in 1513, bought by Giulio Romano and afterwards in the possession of Cardinal Cesi. The marble was thought to be the torso of a gladiator and was restored as a fallen warrior, though it was originally conceived as a copy or derivation of Myron's *Discobolus*. At the time of his work Monnot had no iconographic representation of a *Discobolus*, since the most famous example was discovered on the Esquiline Hill only in March 1781 (Fig. 4),[19] so he transformed the discus-thrower into a falling gladiator: instead of the vertical orientation, he leaned the bust horizontally and carved the arms almost fully stretched in order to amplify the span of the shoulders. The statue, with its beautiful head inspired by the elder son in the Laocoon group, was greatly admired
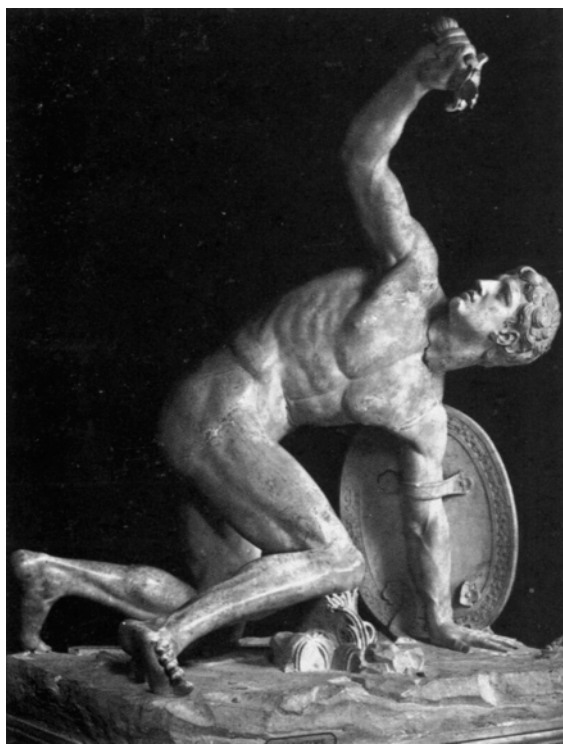
and, some years after the death of Monnot, Alessandro Gregorio Capponi, director of the Museo Capitolino, bought it from the sculptor's heirs at the price of 1,000 *scudi*. On 18 July 1737 the stonemason Paolo De Rossi, with the help of sixteen porters, moved the statue up to the museum, where it was exhibited facing the other famous *Gladiator* from the Ludovisi collection.[20]

In some cases, the same statue was restored by two different artists in the space of few years. The Colonna family owned a huge collection of antiquities that is still exhibited in their palace at the Santi Apostoli. From the documents published by Safarik in 1990, we know that two major campaigns of restoration were undertaken: the first started in the mid seventeenth century and involved the sculptors Baldassarre Mari and Orfeo Boselli; the second took place in the late 1600s and was carried out by sculptors
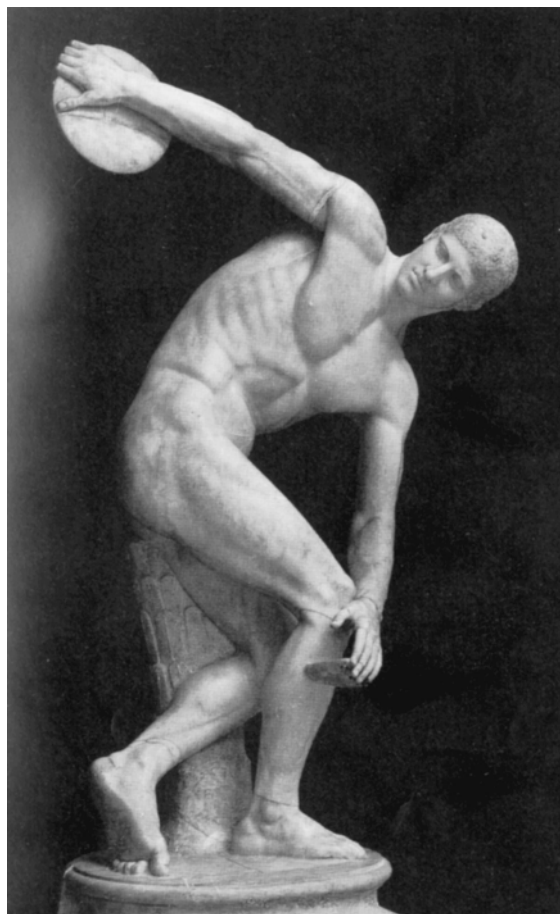

Fig. 3. Pierre Etienne Monnot, *Gladiator*. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Capitolini.

Fig. 4. *Discobolus*. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano. Courtesy of the Ministero per ie Beni e le Attività Culturali - Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma

of a younger generation such as Andrea Fucigna, Jacopo Antonio Lavaggi, Vincenzo Felici and Giuseppe Napolini. Among the variety of examples, the story of the *Amazon* seems to illustrate our argument aptly. The torso, dated to the first century AD, was provided with a new head carved by Giulio Cartari, the favourite pupil of Gian Lorenzo Bernini. In 1684 Cartari created this beautiful piece in a modern style, only vaguely recalling antique prototypes: the hairstyle, for instance, is elegant and complicated and terminates with a flying lock of hair on the left shoulder that is a typical Baroque flourish.[21] The statue, in any case, was not immediately exhibited in the Colonna gallery and in 1699 was again restored by Jacopo Antonio Lavaggi, who consolidated the integrations made by his predecessor.

In the same year Vincenzo Felici, who was also working for the Colonna family, restored the statue of a *Vestal Virgin*, changing her identity into a *Muse* with the addition of the flute and the mask.[22] Felici is an interesting figure, representing a typical late-Baroque example of an independent sculptor who regularly worked as a restorer. He was the most talented pupil of the famous Domenico Guidi and, after the master's death, married his daughter Maddalena and inherited his workshop, located very close to the Via Giulia. He often collaborated with the architect Carlo Fontana, carving statues of saints for the façades of Santa Maria in Trastevere and San Silvestro in Capite, but he enjoyed a good reputation also among the Grand Tourists, as attested by the 'all'antica' bust portraying John Percival, 1st Earl of Egmont, who sat for Felici during his visit to Rome in 1707.[23] Recent archival discoveries have attested that he was also employed as a restorer by Pope Clement XI, who involved him in one of the most significant projects of his pontificate.[24] In May 1703, during architectural works at the convent of the Lazzaristi fathers in the area of Montecitorio, the top of a monumental granite column surfaced in a corner of the garden. The Pope decided to dig it out and Carlo Fontana, under the supervision of Bianchini, started the excavations. In November the mission was almost accomplished and the inscription found on the pedestal allowed the object to be identified as the column of Antoninus Pius.[25] While the architect was designing a machine capable of raising the column, the so called 'castello', the Pope entrusted Felici and his partner Giuseppe Napolini with the restoration of the pedestal. Due to the monumental scale of the marble, the sculp-

tors worked for two years in the Montecitorio square under a wooden shed erected for the purpose until, in 1708, their task was finished. Felici and Napolini carried out a traditional restoration, replacing the missing parts of horses and soldiers, using iron armatures to fix them, as suggested by Boselli. We can compare the results of the additions thanks to two sets of engravings, the first printed soon after the discovery of the pedestal (1703, Fig. 5) and the second at the completion of the sculptor's work (1708, Fig. 6). In this case, the printed source forms the only visual proof of the eighteenth-century state since, in 1846, the sculptor Giovanni De Fabris undertook a further restoration of the previous (and already damaged) additions.[26]

A similar, or even more drastic de-restoration, befell the famous collection of ancient sculptures assembled by Thomas Howard, 2nd Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), during the first three decades of the seventeenth century.[27] In 1691, a group of the Arundel marbles was bought by Sir William Fermor, 1st Baron Leominster, and moved to Easton Neston, his country seat in Northamptonshire. When his son Thomas, the 2nd Baron, visited Rome in 1718, he engaged a sculptor to restore the statues and brought him to England. He was Giovanni Battista Guelfi, a pupil of the most famous Camillo Rusconi; although he was not a first-rate artist, his career is of some interest since he was the only Roman sculptor to have worked in England in the first half of the eighteenth century.[28] In 1721, soon after his arrival at Easton Neston, Guelfi is recorded as repairing the damaged marbles in a temporary workshop set up in a greenhouse in the gardens. In 1755 the collection was presented to the University of Oxford and in 1763, in order to commemorate the donation, Richard Chandler published the engravings of all the marbles in his *Marmora Oxoniensia*. It is only thanks to Chandler's images that we are able to asses the impact of Guelfi's work. A century later, the statues were exhibited in the University Galleries, today the Ashmolean Museum, at Oxford, and later additions were removed at this stage. The judgements on the restoration made by 'Signor Guelfi' vary in their enthusiasm. George Vertue, who visited Easton Neston in 1734, expressed his appreciation: the new arms of the *Bacchus* (Fig. 8), for instance, were in Vertue's opinion 'so well done that they deceive many good judges'.[29] The opinion of Horace Walpole was distinctly less favourable: according to him, the best pieces were those that the

Fig. 5. Arnold van Westerhout, *Apotheosis of Antonino and Faustina* (before restoration). Rome, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Fondo Lanciani.
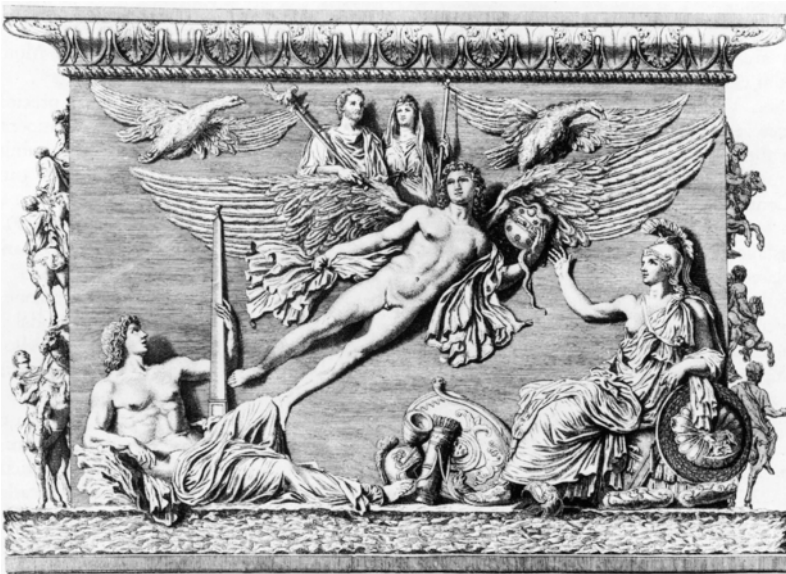

Fig. 6. Francesco Faraone Aquila, *Apotheosis of Antonino and Faustina (after the restoration)*. Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, per gentile concessione del Ministero per i beni e le Attività Culturali

Italian sculptor 'restored the least', since he 'misconceived the original character of almost every statue which he attempted to make perfect, and ruined the greater number of those he was permitted to touch'.[30] After some time spent at Easton Neston, Guelfi moved to London and became the protégé of Lord Burlington, who secured him many works among the nobility, especially portrait busts and funerary monuments. But his reputation as a restorer lasted many years and in 1732 he was paid on behalf of King George II and Queen Caroline 'for carriage & reparing the antique statue of Venus',[31] probably to be identified with the *Crouching Venus*, now in the British Museum.

If Guelfi and Felici were accustomed to alternating the activities of sculptor with those of restorer, we can find at least two artists who became specialists exclusively in the art of restoration. Domenico Amici and Carlo Antonio Napolioni were cousins and partners in a business located in Rome, at the corner of the Via del
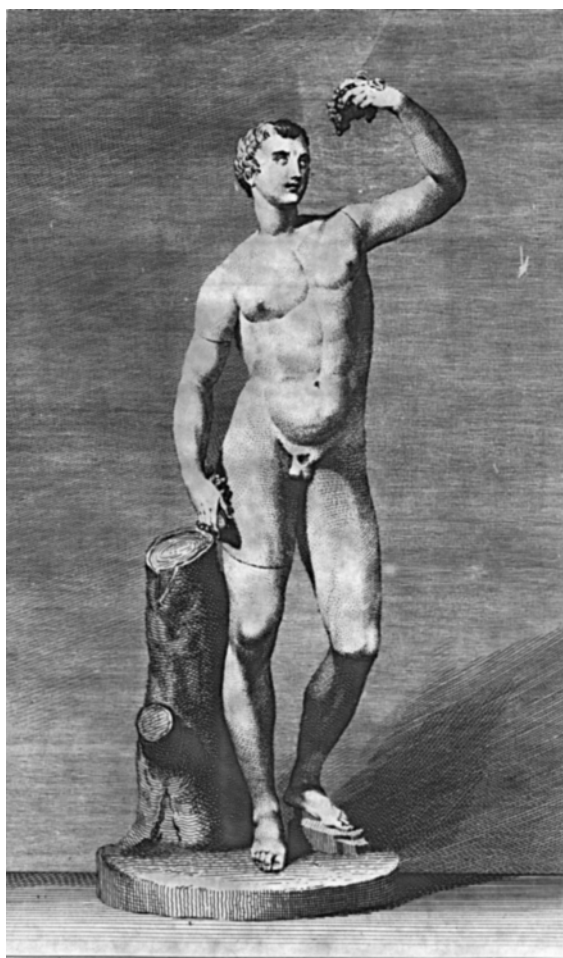
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Fig. 7. J. Miller, *Bacchus*, engraving published in R. Chandler, *Marmora Oxoniensia* (Oxford, 1763), pl. XI.

Babuino towards the church of Gesù e Maria on the Corso. The only sculpture known to have been carved by Amici is the statue of *St Primus* for the colonnade of St Peter's (1702-3); otherwise his name is associated only with the restoration of ancient marbles.[32] When he died, in April 1724, the direction of the workshop passed to Napolioni, who became the favourite restorer of Cardinal Albani:[33] he was in charge of repairing the ninety statues of the Albani collection acquired in 1733 by Alessandro Gregorio Capponi for the Museo Capitolino. It is now possible to add some information and an additional restoration to the *œuvre* of Amici, thanks to a document found in the State Archive in Rome.[34] In 1724, some time before his death, Amici restored two statues for the Camera Apostolica and compiled a report on the

works. In each entry he specifies the nature of the intervention, the dimensions and material of the pieces eventually supplied and he concludes with the cost of every single item. He also asks for the reimbursement of 10 *scudi* for carriage of the statues from his studio to the Quirinal Palace ('Palazzo Pontificio di Monte Cavallo'), and this detail allows us to identify one of the marbles with a statue representing *Alexander the Great* (Figs. 8–9), now preserved in a niche of the Quirinal gardens.[35] Amici carved the new pedestal in order to secure the statue, and he repaired both legs that had been broken at the knees and the left at the pelvis too. He carved the right arm after the production of a terracotta model in order to study the overall effect. He repaired the head, that was broken in two pieces, repaired the mantle over the left shoulder and carved the missing sections of the same, being careful to reproduce the folds following the style of the ancient master.[36] The restoration report, apart from the use of the typical instruments and techniques, reveals the will of the sculptor to recreate the Antique, a will exemplified by frequent repetition of the sentence 'per accompagnare l'antico' – 'to follow the Antique'. Also through his account, Amici sought to emphasize his mimetic intent, a mimesis achieved only on stylistic grounds and without the fundamental instrument of comparative stylistic research. We can easily imagine that he worked in his studio in the Via del Babuino without the assistance of a scholar who might suggest iconographical interpretations of the marble, an experience which became possible only some decades later when the papal antiquary Johann Johachim Winckelmann started his artistic *liaison* with the restorer Bartolomeo Cavaceppi.[37] According to Winckelmann's theory, it was first necessary to study the fragment and compare it with other pieces stylistically related, and only after this fundamental step could the ancient marble be correctly integrated.[38]

As we have seen from the examples examined, at the beginning of the eighteenth century restoration was read as an indispensable metamorphosis to make the fragment suitable for exhibition and, at the same time, it was one of the most flourishing industries in Rome. We have also encountered some voices from the chorus of artists, such as that of Pier Leone Ghezzi, complaining about the mystifications produced by some sculptors. In line with Bianchini's frame of thinking, attention was increasingly being given to unrestored fragments and original ancient pieces, and

Fig. 8. *Alexander the Great*. Rome, Giardini del Quirinale. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. Courtesy of Segretariato Generale della Presidenza della Repubblica.
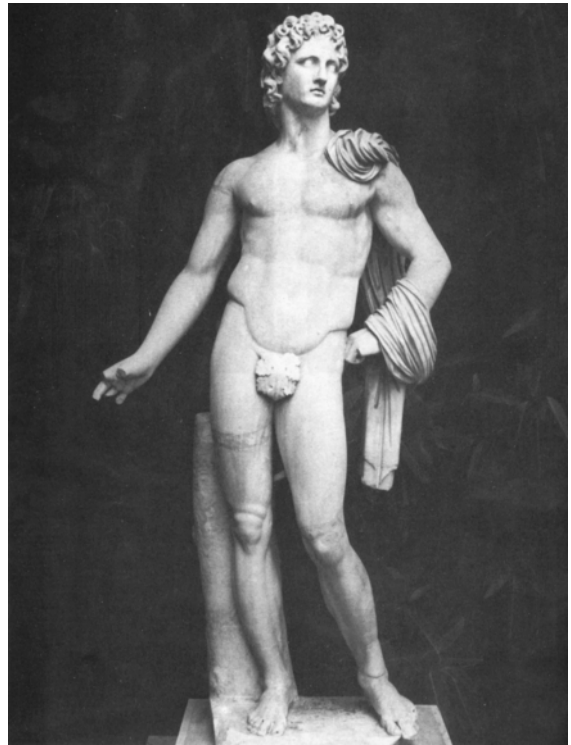

Fig. 9. *Alexander the Great*. Rome, Giardini del Quirinale. Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma. Courtesy of Segretariato Generale della Presidenza della Repubblica.

Fig. 10. *Ludovisi Ares*, engraving published in P. A. Maffei, *Raccolta di Statue Antiche e Moderne* (Rome, 1704).

Fig. 11. *Ludovisi Ares*. Rome, Museo Nazionale di Palazzo Altemps.

in the collection of engravings titled *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, published by Paolo Alessandro Maffei in 1704, we can observe an interesting fact. Maffei selected the most beautiful ancient and modern sculptures of Rome, among them the famous *Ludovisi Ares* (Fig. 10) that had been restored by Bernini in 1622:[39] at first glance, we can immediately notice that in the engraving the seated god is represented without Bernini's integrations, specifically a laughing putto at the base of the statue and the wonderful hilt of the sword (Fig. 11). How are these omissions to be accounted for? A real removal due to an unknown restoration made at the time of the publication, or a clear disapproval of Bernini's interpretation of the Antique?

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Acknowledgements

Notes and references

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4 See C. Johns, *Papal Art and Cultural Politics. Rome in the Age of Clement XI* (Cambridge, 1993).

5 'Prohibitione sopra l'estrattione di statue di marmo, o metallo, figure, antichità e simili' (18 July 1701); 'Editto sopra le pitture, stucchi, mosaici, et altre antichità, che si trovano nelle cave, inscrizioni antiche, scritture e libri manoscritti' (30 September 1794), both published in A. Emiliani, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei Beni Artistici e Culturali negli antichi stati italiani 1571-1860* (Bologna, 1996), pp. 66-9.

6 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Albani 14, *Scritture spettanti al Conclave, alla Dataria Apost.a, Archivij, Officij, Colegij de Prelati, Fabriche, altre opere pubbliche di Roma. Et Arti Liberali, e mecaniche*, fols 178r-181v. For the office of Papal Antiquary see R.T. Ridley, 'To protect the monuments: the Papal Antiquarian (1534-1870)', *Xenia Antiqua* 1 (1992), pp. 117-54. For Francesco Bartoli (Rome 1670–1733) and his activity as a draughtman see R. T. Ridley, 'Francesco Bartoli: a corrected obituary', *Storia dell'Arte* 72 (1991), pp. 195-8; C. Giometti, 'John Talman and the Roman art world', in C.M. Sicca (ed.), *John Talman. An Early Eighteenth-century Connoisseur* (New Haven and London, 2008), pp. 159-87.

7 'Prima, che stante l'impedimento, e prohibitione data dall'Antiquario al Ministro della Dogana di Ripa per l'imbarco di robbe senza la recognitione fatta per vedere se siano cose singolare, e venendo dal detto ministro rigettate per farle passare, non havendo la licenza della recognizione e sapendo di non poterla ottenere per esser cose bone, si servono di altre strade con farle uscire dalle Porte, ove non hanno alcun Impedimento, non ostante un bando che l'Eminentissimo Signor Cardinal San Cesareo fece publicare, e che dall'Antiquario à Portinari sia stato in voce prohibito à nome ancora della Santità Sua non stimando Cosa alcuna, e per ogni minima recognizione ad essi passa il tutto liberamente, servendosi della via, et imbarco di Civitavecchia' (Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Fondo Albani 14, *Scritture spettanti al Conclave, alla Dataria Apost.a, Archivij, Officij, Colegij de Prelati, Fabriche, altre opere pubbliche di Roma. Et Arti Liberali, e mecaniche*, fol. 179r).

8 For Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729) and his work for the Museo Ecclesiastico, see B. Sölch, *Francesco Bianchini (1662-1729) und die Anfänge öffentlicher Museen in Rom* (Munich, 2007).

9 See A. Cipriani and E. Valeriani, *Disegni di figura nell'Archivio dell'Accademia di San Luca* (Rome, 1989), vol. II, pp. 42-3; no. 54 A.175.

10 For the fortunes of the 'columbarium' see, for example, F. De Polignac, 'La fortune du columbarium. L'archéologie suburbaine et l'ébauche d'un nouveau modèle culturel', *Eutopia* 2 no. 1 (1993), pp. 41-63.

11 '. . . mentre con le immagini che ne fa incidere, e con la descrizione che fa pubblicare, ripara la presenza del'opera, che non fu a tempo preservata dalla ruina' (F. Bianchini, *Camera ed iscrizioni sepulcrali de' liberti, servi ed ufficiali della Casa di Augusto* (Rome, 1727) quoted in J. Raspi Serra, 'Idea e scienza dell'antichità. Roma e l'Europa 1700-1770. Essenza, Ricerca', *Eutopia* 2 no. 1 (1993), pp. 3-8, at p. 4).

12 For Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674-1755) and his career as a painter see V. Martinelli, *Giuseppe e Pier Leone Ghezzi* (Rome, 1990); A. Lo Bianco (ed.), *Pier Leone Ghezzi. Settecento alla moda*, exh. cat., Ascoli Piceno (Venice, 1999); M. C. Dorati da Empoli, *Pier Leone Ghezzi: un protagonista del Settecento romano* (Rome, 2008).

13 (BAV, Ottoboniani Latini 3109, fol. 143, quoted in A. Themelly, 'Pier Leone Ghezzi tra "eruditione" e nuova scienza archeologica', *Eutopia* 2 no. 1 (1993), pp. 65-89, at p. 85).

14 'Dopo aver resi i dovuti ringraziamenti à Vostra Signoria Illustrissima per l'incomodi che si hà tolti per me sono nuovamente à pregarlo d'altro favore . . . è che sentendo dalla sua essersi ritrovata l'Erma d'Ercole nella cava del Signor Marchese Palombara, desiderando che Vostra, Signoria Illustrissima la comprasse del detto à mio nome giachè la stima propria per la serie de' Filosofi, del prezzo si regoli secondo la sua prudenza, ma purchè non sia eccessivo, perche voglio ben io pagarla 3 ò 4 scudi più del valore, ma non vorrei arrivare ad un esorbitanza estrema. Non dubito però della somma attenzione e giudizio di Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, la quale avevamo pregato dire al detto Signor Marchese, che era in parola con me di darmi le due statue senza testa, se finita la Cava si fosse ritrovata, che se poi si ritrovasse, la darebbe, ma à prezzo un poco maggiore; onde ò si ritrovi, ò no la testa delle sud.e statue, si ricordi che è meco in parola e non la deliberò ad altri, perché voglio esser preferito. Non gli raccomando di vantaggio il negozio dell'iscrizione di San Pietro perché sò che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima, non avrà tanta premura quanta il medesimo n'avrei se fossi costì in persona, . . . Potrebbe intendersela col mio statuario e col signor Marc'Antonio del prezzo dell'Ercole conducendoli a vederlo . . .' (Rome Biblioteca Vallicelliana, Fondo Bianchini U.15, letter from Alessandro Albani to Francesco Bianchini, 11 October 1716, fols 100r-v).

15 For Napolioni (1675-1742) see F. P. Arata, 'Carlo Antonio Napolioni (1675-1742) 'celebre restauratore delle cose antiche'. Uno scultore romano al servizio del Museo Capitolino', Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma 99 (1998), pp. 153-232.

16 In the life of the sculptor Lorenzetto, Vasari writes: '. . . fece sotto certe nicchione un altro fregio di rottami di cose antiche, e di sopra nelle dette nicchie pose alcune statue pur antiche e di marmo, le quali, se bene erano intere, per essere quale senza testa, quale senza braccia et alcuna senza gambe, et insomma ciascuna con qualche cosa meno, l'accomodò nondimeno benissimo, avendo fatto rifare a buoni scultori tutto quello che mancava: la quale cosa fu cagione che altri signori hanno poi fatto il medesimo e restaurato molte cose antiche, come il cardinale Cesis, Ferrara, Farnese, e per dirlo in una parola, tutta Roma. E nel vero, hanno molta più grazia queste anticaglie in questa maniera restaurate che non hanno que' tronchi imperfetti, e le membra senza capo, o in altro modo diffettose e manche' (Vasari 1568, II, 134, Vita di Lorenzetto e Boccaccino). For an overview on the problem of restoration of ancient sculpture in the modern age see O. Rossi Pinelli, Chirurgia della memoria: scultura antica e restauri storici, in S. Settis (ed.), Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana (Turin, 1986), vol. III, pp. 181-250; N. H. Ramage, 'Restorer and collector: notes on 18th-century recreations of Roman statues', in E. K. Gazda (ed.), The Ancient Art of Emulation (Ann Arbor, 2002), pp. 61-77.

17 'De tempi passati si vedono bone ristaurature, ne Giardini o Ville de Medici, de Ludovisi, de Borghese et altre, perché quei Principi impiegarono i migliori maestri, senza riguardo di spesa alcune, ma ai nostri giorni vi si applicano, li più deboli soggetti del mestiere per non spendere, e così si mirano statue raccomodate simili alli mostri descritti nel arte poetica di Oratio' (O. Boselli, Osservazioni della scoltura antica, dai manoscritti Corsini e Doria e altri scritti, ed. P. Dent Weil (Florence, 1978), fol. 171v). For Boselli (1597-1667) as sculptor and restorer see A. Bacchi, Scultura del '600 a Roma (Milan, 1996), pp. 788-9; O. Ferrari and S. Papaldo, Le sculture del Seicento a Roma (Rome, 1999), pp. 1, 23, 60, 339, 417, 483-4; M. C. Fortunati, 'Il trattato Osservazioni della Scoltura Antica di Orfeo Boselli

(1657-1661). Per una rilettura', Storia dell'Arte 100 (2000), pp. 68-101; E. Di Stefano, Orfeo Boselli e la 'nobiltà' della scultura (Palermo, 2002); M.G. Picozzi, 'Orfeo Boselli and the interpretation of the antique', in J. Fejfer, T. Fischer-Hansen and A. Rathje (eds.), The Rediscovery of Antiquity. The Role of the Artist (Copenhagen, 2003), pp. 89-122.

18 For the restoration of the Gladiator see S. Howard, 'Some eighteenth-century restorations of Myron's "Discobolos"', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 25 (1962), pp. 330-34, republished in Antiquity Restored. Essays on the afterlife of the Antique. Studies in the History of Art (Vienna, 1990), pp. 70-77; S. Walker, 'The Sculptor Pietro Stefano Monnot in Rome 1695-1713', Ph.D dissertation (New York University, 1994), p. 340. For the sculptor Pierre Etienne-Monnot (1657-1733) and his career see Walker, op. cit.; Bacchi, op. cit. (note 17), pp. 826-7.

19 For the Discobolus found in the Villa Palombara of the Mattei family see F. Haskell and N. Penny, Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500-1900 (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 199-202, no. 32.

20 For the purchase and transportation of the statue see F. P. Arata, 'L'allestimento espositivo del Museo Capitolino al termine del pontificato di Clemente XII (1740)', Bollettino dei musei comunali di Roma 8 (1994), pp. 45-94; M. Franceschini and V. Vernesi, Statue di Campidoglio. Diario di Alessandro Gregorio Capponi (1733-1746) (Città di Castello, 2005).

21 See F. Carinci, H. Keunter, L. Musso and M. G. Picozzi, Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma. Sculture (Busto Arsizio, 1990), pp. 200-4, n. 109.

22 Ibid., pp. 157-62, no. 87.

23 For the bust of John Percival by Felici see C. Giometti, Uno studio e i suoi scultori. Gli inventari di Domenico Guidi e Vincenzo Felici (Pisa, 2007), p. 49. The bust is now in the National Portrait Gallery, London

24 Clement XI entrusted Felici also with restorations of modern sculptures such as the statue of Pope Paolo IV Carafa for the Capitoline hill and the Fontana dell'Organo in the Quirinale gardens. For these works see A. Pampalone, 'La statua capitolina di Palo IV Carafa tra arte e storia. Il restauro di Vincenzo Felici e altri interventi settecenteschi', Annali della pontificia insigne Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon 4 (2004), pp. 193-243; A. Pampalone, 'Il restauro di Clemente XI alla Fontana dell'Organo nei giardini del Quirinale (1704-1705)', Bollettino d'arte, 93 (2009), pp. 167-182.

25 For the excavation and the restoration of the column during the pontificate of Clement XI, see A. Pampalone, 'Lo sterro della colonna di Antonino Pio, Roma 1703-1708. Nuovi documenti sulla storia del reperto archeologico e sulle vicende di Carlo e Francesco Fontana', Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte 58 (2003), pp. 265-322.

26 The pedestal was located in the Musei Vaticani during the pontificate of Pope John Paul II, while the column was never set up and was destroyed during the pontificate of Pope Pius VI Braschi (1775-1799); its granite was used to restore three other obelisks (Solare, Quirinale, Sallustiano).

27 See D. Haynes, The Arundel Marbles (Oxford, 1975); M. Vickers, The Arundel and Pomfret Marbles (Oxford, 2006).

28 For Guelfi (1688-1736) see C. Giometti, 'Giovanni Battista Guelfi: new discoveries', Sculpture Journal 3 (1999), pp. 26-43; C. Giometti, 'Guelfi, Giovanni Battista', Dizionario Biografico

degli Italiani vol. 60, Enciclopedia Italiana (Rome, 2003), pp. 563-6.

29 G. Vertue, *A Description of Easton-Neston in Northamptonshire, the seat of the right honourable the Earl of Pomfret; with an account of the curious antiques and statues, busto's, urn's &c.* (London, 1758), pp. 53-9.

30 H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Paintings in England* (London, 1862), p. 760. Walpole compiled his *Anecdotes* in 1762-71.

31 London, National Archives, AO 1/2454/166, published in H. Colvin (ed.), *The History of King's Works* vol. V: *1660-1782* (London 1976), p. 224 n. 4, and discussed in Giometti, op. cit. (note 28), p. 39.

32 For Amici, who is sometimes mentioned by Pier Leone Ghezzi in the commentaries to his drawings, see L. Guerrini, *Marmi antichi nei disegni di Pier Leone Ghezzi* (Vatican City, 1971), pp. 116-17 (with some confusion on the chronology); V. Martinelli (ed.), *Le statue Berniniane del colonnato di San Pietro* (Rome, 1987), p. 203; A. Marchionne Gunter, 'L'attività di due scultori nella Roma degli Albani: gli inventari di Pietro Papaleo e Francesco Moratti', in E. Debenedetti (ed.), *Studi sul Settecento Romano. Scultura romane del Settecento III. La professione dello scultore* 19 (2003), pp. 67-146, p. 129 n. 417.

33 For Carlo Antonio Napolioni, who died in February 1740, see Arata, op. cit. (note 15).

34 ASR, Camerale I, *Giustificazioni di tesoreria* 488, 'Conto de lavori fatti da me Domenico Amici delli resarcimenti di statue antiche, fatti per ordine dell'Illustrissimo Reverendissimo Monsignor Collicola nell'anno 1723', unpaginated.

35 For the history of the statue and the identification with *Alexander the Great* see L. Guerrini and A. Gasparri (eds.), *Il palazzo del Quirinale. Catalogo delle sculture* (Rome, 1985), pp. 58-63, no. 17, tav. XVIII-XIX.

36 'Segue per avere attaccato una Cascata di panno sopra la spalla alla sinistra et anco un altro pezzo di panno che segue, et averci fatto sopra à d.a spalla n.° 2 tasselli à tutti li suoi perni, et averci scolpito le pieghe al detto panno per accompagnare l'antico scudi 6' (ASR, Camerale I, *Giustificazioni di tesoreria* 488).

37 Among the extensive bibliography on Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1717-1799) see O. Rossi Pinelli, 'Artisti, falsari o filologhi? Da Cavaceppi a Canova, il restauro della scultura tra arte e scienza', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 13-14 (1981), pp. 43-56; S. Howard, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi. Eighteenth-century Restorer* (New York and London, 1982); M. G. Barberini and C. Gasparri (eds.), *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano (1717-1799)*, exh. cat., Museo Nazionale di palazzo Venezia (Rome, 1994); C. Gasparri, O. Ghiandoni, 'Lo studio Cavaceppi e le Collezioni Torlonia', *Rivista dell'Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte* 3rd ser. 16 (1993); C. Piva, 'La casa-bottega di Bartolomeo Cavaceppi: un laboratorio di restauro delle antichità che voleva diventare un'Accademia', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 70 (2000), pp. 5-20.

38 Winckelmann was appointed Papal Antiquary ('Commissario alle antichità') by Pope Clement XIII in 1763. On Winckelmann's theories see M. Fried, 'Antiquity now: reading Winckelmann on imitation', *October* 37 (1986), pp. 86-97; A. Potts, *Flesh and the Ideal. Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London, 1994); M. Kunze, 'Wiederherstellung und Rekonstruktion antiker Statuen bei Winckelmann', *Römische Antikensammlungen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 105-109.

39 For the restoration of the *Ludovisi Ares* see F. Coarelli, 'Ares o Achille?', in A. Coliva and S. Schütze (eds.), *Bernini scultore. La nascita del Barocco in Casa Borghese*, exh. cat., Galleria Borghese (Rome, 1998), pp. 134-47.