VASI, PIRANESI, AND THE ACCADEMIA DEGLI ARCADI: TOWARD A DEFINITION OF ARCADIANISM IN THE VISUAL ARTS

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With the recent interest in eighteenth-century Italian art, the term Arcadianism has emerged to refer to the artistic style created during the transition between the Baroque and the Neoclassical periods.[1] The word derives from the Accademia degli Arcadi, an organization established in Rome in 1690. Its founders promoted a new literary movement characterized by a restrained style in prose and poetry rather than the prevalent flamboyant one. The Academy was instituted about the same time as the appearance of a new expression in the visual arts, one that distinguished itself from High Baroque art by the waning of its rhetorical exuberance in both subject and form.[2] Although this coincidence is noteworthy, the easy association warrants some further exploration because the organization had no stated interest in the visual arts. Aspiring for more than literary reform, the Accademia degli Arcadi encouraged a curiosity for new scientific knowledge. Its overall goal was to restore Italy's position as a leader in matters of culture, a position it had lost in the seventeenth century.[3] To maximize the realization of this goal, the Academy sought new members from all ranks of society, not just the aristocracy. Despite this potential for broad social representation, those from the papal court and the clergy were disproportionately represented because they had a large stake in the Academy's goal for the return of Italy's importance in cultural affairs.[4] Women, too, were admitted, although they tended to be of the nobility.[5] In addition to *letterati* of all types, its membership featured some visual artists (see appendix). It is estimated that over the course of the eighteenth century, 155 of 9,000, or 1.7 percent of all members, were artists.[6] Their presence in the Accademia degli Arcadi has animated scholars to search for a relationship between the reform of literature or science and that of visual art.

A few historians have attempted to define the engagement of the Accademia degli Arcadi with visual art. Sandro Benedetto's 1982 essay on proto-Neoclassical architectural projects in Rome ca. 1730 focused on the Concorsi Clementini, the papacy-sponsored competitions for all types of monumental structures, and the papal commissions for the façade for St. John Lateran Basilica and the Trevi Fountain. He suggested that these projects reflected the Arcadians' concern for a

N.B.: Throughout, members of the Accademia degli Arcadi are indicated by their Arcadian pseudonyms, in parentheses after their names and dates.

[1] Griseri 1982; Barroero and Susinno 2000, 47, prefer the term "Arcadian classicism."

[2] Wittkower 1999, 14.

[3] On the organization, see Donato 2000, 67–76 and 106–113; Graziosi 1991; and Morei 1761. On Arcadian literature, see Portal 1922; Natali 1946; Binni 1968; Felici 1971; and Costa 1990.

[4] For an analysis of the membership of the Accademia degli Arcadi, see Donato 2000, 109–112; and Quondam 1973, 426–429. For a list of members, see Vichi 1977. For short biographies of exceptional members, see Carini 1891.

[5] For women in the Accademia degli Arcadi, see Dixon 1999; Graziosi 2009; and Giuli 2009.

[6] Michel 1987, 61.


DELLE MAGNIFICENZE DI ROMA ANTICA E MODERNA
LIBRO PRIMO
CHE CONTIENE
LE PORTE E MURA DI ROMA
DEDICATE
ALLA SACRA REAL MAESTA'
DI CARLO
INFANTE DI SPAGNA RE DELLE DUE SICILIE
DA
GIUSEPPE VASI DA CORLEONE
PITTORE INCISORE ARCHITETTO E PASTORE ARCADE,
E dal medesimo fedelissimamente disegnate ed incise in Rame, secondo lo stato presente.
Con una spiegazione Istorica di tutte le cose notabili di dette Porte.
COMPOSTA
DAL P. GIUSEPPE BIANCHINI VERONESE
Prete della Congregazione dell' Oratorio di Roma, ed Accademico Antiquario.
IN ROMA MDCCXLVII.
NELLA STAMPERIA DEL CHRACAS PRESSO S. MARCO AL CORSO.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

Fig. 1. Giuseppe Vasi, title page, Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, Libro primo che contiene le porte e mura di Roma, dedicate alla Sacra Real Maesta di Carlo Infante di Spagna Re delle Due Sicilie *(Rome 1747), bk. 1. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*


DELLE MAGNIFICENZE DI ROMA ANTICA E MODERNA
LIBRO NONO
CHE CONTIENE
I COLLEGJ, SPEDALI, E LUOGHI PII
DEDICATO
ALL'EMINENTISSIMO, E REVERENDISSIMO PRINCIPE
IL SIGNOR CARDINALE
NERI CORSINI
ARCIPRETE DELLA BASILICA LATERANENSE
E PROTETTORE DE' REGNI DI PORTOGALLO &c.
DA GIUSEPPE VASI
PITTORE, INCISORE, ARCHITETTO, E PASTORE ARCADE,
E dal medesimo fedelissimamente disegnate, ed incise in Rame, secondo lo stato presente, aggiungendovi una breve spiegazione di tutte le cose notabili intorno alli medesimi.
Spedale di S. Gallicano
IN ROMA, NELLA STAMPERIA DI NICCOLÒ, E MARCO PAGLIARINI, MDCCLIX.
CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI.

Fig. 2. Giuseppe Vasi, title page, Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, Libro nono che contiene i collegi, spedali, e luoghi pii, dedicato all'eminentissimo, e reverendissimo Principe Il Signor Cardinale Neri Corsini *(Rome 1759), bk. 9. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*

clear demonstration of scientific principles in the structural integrity of their architectural form.[7] In 1986, Christopher M. S. Johns argued that the early eighteenth-century cabinet paintings, such as those by Carlo Maratti (1625–1713; Disfilo Coriteo) and Francesco Trevisani (1656–1746; Sanzio Echeiano), evoked the sweet pastoral Arcadian literature. He noted that the paintings' subjects were in tune with attitudes shaped by materialism, a scientific belief akin to empiricism in its attention to the physical world as a reliable source of truth. Johns thus tied the art of painting from ca. 1690 to 1710 to the two stated goals of the Academy: the simplification of literary expression and the application of the new science.[8] In 2006, using the tools of literary criticism to revisit and problematize Horace's dictum *ut pittura poesis*, Vernon Hyde Minor reasoned that the three major arts manifested Arcadian aspirations for literary good taste, particularly in the simplification of allegoric content—one of the major tenets of the Academy—and in the desire to embrace the pastoral.[9] These scholars chose works of art as examples of Arcadianism, in some cases regardless of whether or not the artist or patron had any noted affiliation with the Academy, a tendency that the organization's expansive membership encouraged. Liliana Barroero and Stefano Susinno expressed concern about this inclination and instead dealt with art patronized by a number of Arcadians from the elite of Roman society. Nonetheless, they do not present a concise definition of what constitutes Arcadianism in the visual arts.[10] In past scholarship, I focused on linking Arcadian cultural goals to the Bosco Parrasio, a garden meeting place, designed and produced collectively for and by the Accademia degli Arcadi.[11] However, with its narrow focus, my arguments did not address the larger issue: What kind of art did the Arcadians recognize as sympathetic to their efforts for cultural reform in eighteenth-century Rome?

This article aims to provoke further exploration of the relationship of the Accademia degli Arcadi to the visual arts. It begins by recognizing two facts: (1) that the organization's membership was unusually large and diffuse, even if certain members took a more active role than others in promoting its goals; and (2) that the institution's activities were episodic, having periods of little activity or of different types of activity, and refocusing its goals throughout the century. It will examine two works of art in which the visual artists promoted their membership as a means to please Arcadian patrons or audiences. They are publications of compiled prints with some explanatory text: Giuseppe Vasi's *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, ten books issued from 1747 to 1761, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi's *Prima parte dell'architettura e prospettiva*, the first edition of 1743 and the sixth of 1748/1749. Vasi (1710–1782; Dionisio) and Piranesi (1720–1778; Salcindo Tiseo) were unusual among the visual artists who were members of the organization in that they identified themselves as Arcadians on their works of art. Vasi did this on the title pages of most of the ten books of *Delle magnificenze* (figs. 1–2).[12] Piranesi, Vasi's erstwhile pupil, occasional collaborator, and eventual rival,

[7] Benedetti 1997, 11–34, relates ideas presented in orations delivered by Arcadian members at the award ceremony for the Concorso Clementino. Awards were given for the architectural projects of Carlo Stefano Fontana (1634 or 1638–1714; Olmano Falesio), Carlo Marchionni (1702–1786; Fidisco Macistanio), Paolo Posi (1708–1776; Minete Calidonio), Giovanni Quagli, and Domenico Lazzarini, among others.

[8] Johns 1993, 197–201.

[9] V. H. Minor 2006, 64–114. Minor's study of Arcadian visual narratives extends to works by Francesco Trevisani (1656–1746; Sanzio Echeiano), Filippo della Valle (1698–1768; Prassinoo Ateniense), and Jan Frans van Bloemen.

[10] Barroero and Susinno 2000. They note that certain subjects appealed to the Arcadians, and they highlight Arcadian commissions of landscape painting and private decorative projects. They, too, link the Academy with the rise of a Neoclassical style.

[11] Dixon 2006, 45–53.

[12] Vasi 1747–1764, 10 bks. Books 6, 7, 8, and 10 do not carry Vasi's byline ("Pittore Incisore Architetto e Pastore Arcade"), but I believe that the omissions were made necessary because the titles of the dedicatees took up too much space on the title pages.



Fig. 3. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, title page, Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva, *1st ed., 2nd issue, 1743/44. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Typ. 725.43.696.*

characterized himself as an Arcadian as well, on the frontispiece of the second issue of the first edition of his *Prima parte,* 1743/1744 (fig. 3).[13]

What did the identification signal to the Arcadians who accepted the publications' dedications, or who viewed or purchased copies of these publications? Surely it was intended to enhance sales of the work among the membership because it promised that there was something Arcadian in nature about them. I will argue that indeed both artists created projects that were part of the broad cultural reform effort of the Accademia degli Arcadi, and that both men used ideas or methodologies employed by Arcadians in other fields of knowledge. Looking beyond the different stylistic qualities of their work, I posit that Vasi and Piranesi's publications attempted to participate in a cultural change advocated by the Academy.[14] Vasi was more successful than Piranesi in securing Arcadian patrons. Between Vasi's success and Piranesi's failure, an opportunity emerges to examine the Accademia degli Arcadi's interest in the visual arts at midcentury.

1. The Accademia degli Arcadi and Cultural Reform

The Accademia degli Arcadi was an organization intent on restoring the cultural primacy of Italy, which most learned Italians felt had been regrettably lost, especially in the fields of literature and science. Italian literature of the seventeenth century was deemed full of embellishments, obscure phrasing, convoluted plots, and absurd allegoresis. The sciences had suffered from not fully or effectively using the methods of empiricism that undergird new scientific findings in France and England, among other places on the European continent. The Academy wanted to change that. To enable its reform efforts, it increased its membership sizably, from 14 in 1690, the number of men in the founding group, to more than 2,600 in 1725. The overall goal was to establish a culture in which members from all walks of life could create and perform prose that was simple and clear in content and form, aid in promoting the idea of a common good, and ultimately improve society. It also aimed to facilitate a general understanding of recent scientific writing. This was a bold task in the half-century after Galileo's death in 1642, when Church authorities repressed experimental investigations in the vein of Galileo's, fearing that the outcomes would undermine Catholic dogma.

In regards to the primary goal, the Academy's activities were designed to allow all members, even those who were not professional writers, to practice and acquire eloquence modeled on the natural and robust poetry associated with the ancient Arcadian shepherds. The eighteenth-century Arcadian men were called *pastori* to evoke the first humble inhabitants of ancient Arcadia, and the few women members were *pastorelle*, or shepherdesses. They assumed pseudonyms consisting of a pastoral name—that is, the name of a shepherd or shepherdess found in the classical pastoral literature of Theocritus's *Idylls* or Vergil's *Eclogues*, among others, or in Renaissance texts such as Jacopo Sanazzaro's *Arcadia* (1504) or Giovan Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590). More often than not, members also took a second name derived from a geographical feature in ancient Greece as recorded by Strabo and Pausanius.[15] (As membership grew, names from other sources were found.) The Arcadians wrote poetry that emulated certain classical and Renaissance literature, among other worthy

[13] Robison 1981, 65.

[14] For a synopsis of the rivalry between the two artists and their differing styles, see Campbell 2000, 561–565. Contemporaries of the artists were well aware of the stylistic differences. H. H. Minor 2001 relates that in 1748 the court of Naples rejected Piranesi's work in favor of Vasi's for aesthetic reasons.

[15] Morei 1761, 23–26, 67–68. For a list of some geographical place names in Arcadia, see Hejnic 1961, 138–139.

models.[16] They believed that with an innate eloquence, members of the Accademia degli Arcadi, and eventually of society in general, would be equipped to express and argue ideas, even controversial ideas, clearly and rationally. This would lead to the creation of a well-informed and homogenous public that participated in the betterment of civil society. As some scholars believe, the Italian enlightenment took root in the Accademia degli Arcadi, even if it never fully flourished there. They rightly note that the behaviors fostered in the Academy were modeled on the mores of aristocratic culture.[17] Because the Catholic Enlightenment of Italy has only recently been studied in some depth, the Arcadian contributions have often been overlooked or devalued.[18] My intent here is not to argue for a reconsideration of the Accademia degli Arcadi's place in the Enlightenment, although such a task is worthy, but to question and refine what qualifies as Arcadianism in the visual arts.

In practice, the Academy sponsored recitations and publications of some members' prose and poetry in *adunanze*, gatherings that were held in various places. The group intended to meet from May to October in a rustic garden setting in or around Rome, variously located on benefactors' properties and outfitted with amphitheaters in varied states of architectonic finish; some were mere bare patches of earth, while others had intricately carved stone seating and sculpture. The ad hoc meeting places were always referred to as the Bosco Parrasio, after the woods of Parrhasium in ancient Arcadia. In 1726, construction began on a permanent Bosco Parrasio on the Janiculum hill (fig. 4).[19] Special meetings included poetic competitive events called the Olympic Games, or *Giuochi Olimpici*, which ran approximately every four years, and infrequent occasions to honor distinguished members, known as *acclamati*.[20] More often than not, the *acclamati* were newly appointed cardinals, noblemen and noblewomen, and foreign kings and other rulers or their high-ranking ambassadors. They were admitted to aid some diplomatic efforts of the papal court, and their presence in the organization spoke of a function not articulated in the Academy's constitution, its role in the papacy's foreign policy.[21] One of the great paradoxes of the Accademia degli Arcadi is that it purported to be democratic in its constitution and operations and that it fostered enlightened ideas that could be construed as at odds with Catholic dogma, and yet it attracted many members of the papal court and was often a handmaid of papal politics.[22]

The Arcadians disseminated their prose and poetry in various ways. They held theatrical events, including melodramas, which took place in elite members' palaces and villas.[23] Some Arcadians read their poetry at public events—for example, in the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Capitoline hill, for the awarding of prizes for the visual arts at the Concorsi Clementini.[24] Works were also published. The Academy issued collections in multi-volume series entitled *Le rime degli Arcadi* and *Le prose degli Arcadi*, and in the publications for the special *adunanze*.[25] They monitored carefully

[16] The issue of models for good literature, in fact, was one source of contention in the Academy.

[17] Quondam 1975–1976 and Kiernan 1999, among many others.

[18] For a historiographic overview of the study of the Catholic Enlightenment, see Johns 2014, 1–31. For a synopsis of the devaluation of the Accademia degli Arcadi, see Dixon 2006, 11–16.

[19] The garden design and construction was paid for using seed money from João V, king of Portugal, who hoped the gift would garner favors at the papal court. See Dixon 2006, 83–86; Predieri 1990, 39–80; and Rinaldi 1990.

[20] The list of *acclamati* can be found in Morei 1761, 163–181. Bibliographies of the more famous Arcadians can be found in Carini 1891.

[21] Morei 1761, 163–181; Vichi 1977, ix–xi.

[22] Cipriani 1971, 101–161; Ferraris 1986–1987.

[23] Accorsi 1991–1994; Guccini 1989, 445–448.

[24] Barroero 2000; Benedetti 1997.

[25] Dixon 2006, 151.

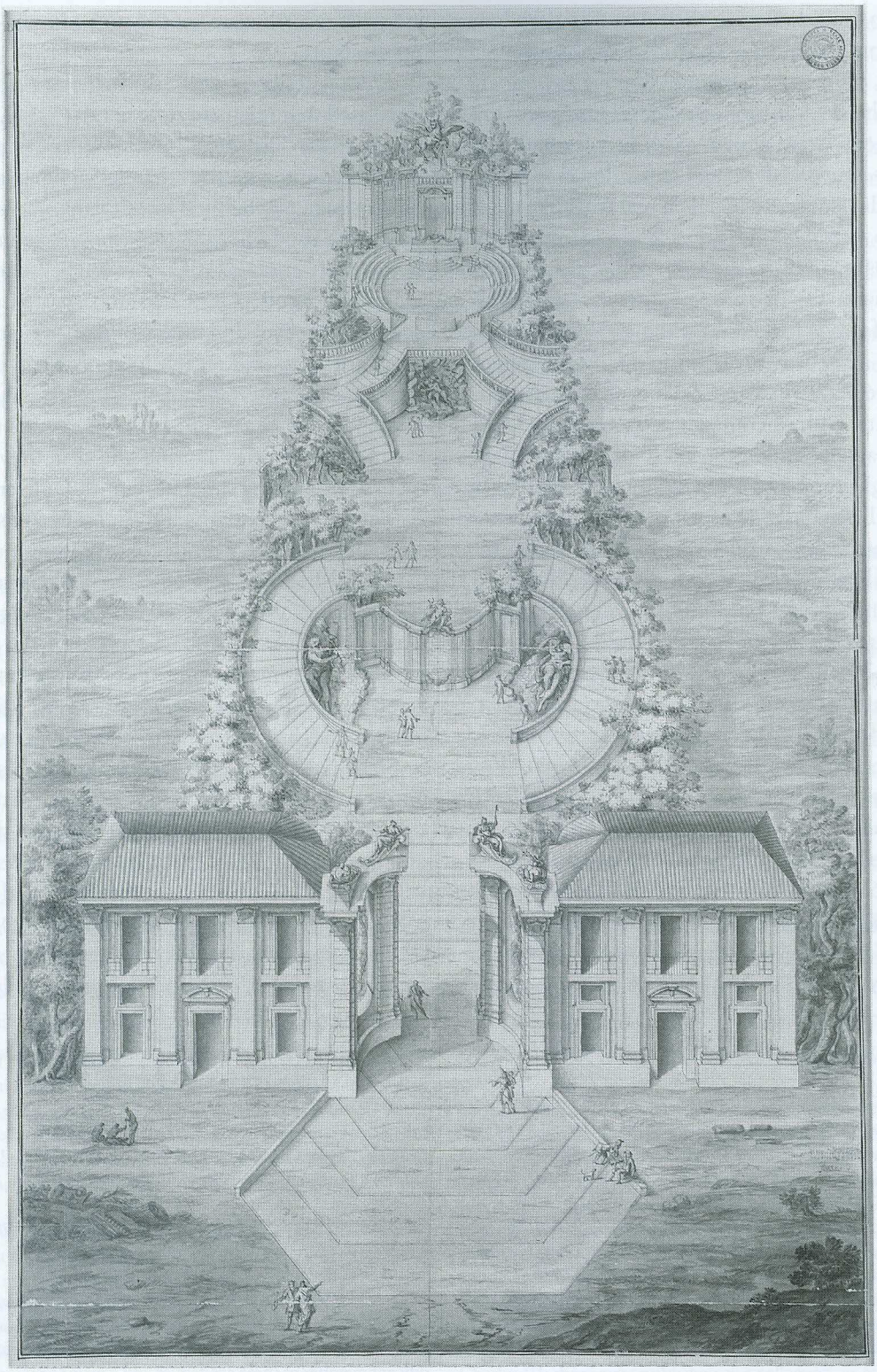

Fig. 4. Antonio Canevari and Nicola Salvi, Bosco Parrasio, *ca. 1728, drawing. Rome, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca.*

who published using their Arcadian pseudonyms, and strict records were kept of such tomes.[26] The records would have included Vasi's and Piranesi's publications.

Monsignor Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni (1663–1728; Alfesibeo Cario), the first chief official of the organization, elucidates how the Arcadians intended to implement its secondary goal, the dissemination of new scientific information and methods. In his "historical" fable entitled *Arcadia*, first issued in 1708 and expanded in 1711, Crescimbeni recounts a journey through an imaginary idyllic landscape in which real Arcadian members visit rustic huts inhabited by scholars, who were also Arcadian members. The itinerant group, mainly comprised of *pastorelle*, who are referred to as nymphs in the text, and some *pastori*, who act as their guides, calls upon six well-known individuals. Two are scientists—an anatomist and a botanist; a collector of art and natural history artifacts, a caretaker of the estate of a recently deceased historian and archaeologist, a painter, and a linguist are also visited.[27] The *pastorelle* ask lively questions and receive lectures from these esteemed Arcadians. After each engagement, the Arcadians are entertained with dinners, dances, hunts, and, of course, poetry readings and poetic competitions. Crescimbeni's tale reveals that Arcadians sought the latest and most tantalizing scientific discoveries. During one visit, they are taught the basic ideas of atomism, the Epicurean theory explaining the nature of the universe's smallest constituent parts.[28] This was extraordinary. The ideas were derived from Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, which was an illicit text in the first decade of the eighteenth century in Rome. It had been translated by Alessandro Marchetti (1632–1714; Alterio Elio) in 1669 and was circulated in Italy, but because of suppression by Church authorities for its encouragement of heretical thought, it was not printed until 1717.[29]

The Accademia degli Arcadi did not advocate scientific experimentation or publication. Rather it gave its members opportunities to understand and articulate the new science. Some Arcadians advocated for the versification of scientific ideas in clear and simple language.[30] However, some of its most involved members, including Francesco Bianchini (1662–1729; Selvaggio Afrodisio), Gianvincenzo Gravina (1664–1718; Opico Erimanto), and Vicenzo Viviani (1622–1703; Erone Geonio), were more active in scientific pursuits. They belonged to Rome's scientific academies dedicated to advancing principles of empiricism and experimentalism. These included the Accademia Fisico-matematico, established by Giovanni Giustino Ciampini (1633–1698; Idmone Oeio), and the Accademia Gualtieri, by Cardinal Filippo Antonio Gualtieri (1660–1728; Megalo Petrosacio). In the latter, Sir Isaac Newton's experiments were replicated surreptitiously.[31] According to Vincenzo Ferrone, for much of the first half of the eighteenth century, Newton's scholarship, particularly in

[26] Morei 1761, 112–128.

[27] Crescimbeni 1711. In book 2, they meet Giorgio Baglivi (1669–1707; Epidauro Pirgense), the anatomist; in book 5, Pirro Maria Gabrielli (1643–1729; Eufisio Clitoreo), the botanist; and in book 7, Abate Domenico Riviera (1671–1752; Metaureo Geruntino) introduces them to the garden of Rafaelle Fabbretti (1618–1700; Iasiteo Nafilio), the archaeologist. In book 3, they encounter Monsignor Leone Strozzi (1652–1722; Nitilo Geresteo), the collector; in book 4, Carlo Maratti (1625–1713; Disfilo Coriteo), the painter; and in book 5, Antonio Maria Salvini (1653–1705; Aristeo Cratio), the linguist and poet.

[28] Crescimbeni 1711, 200–204.

[29] Before this lecture, the Arcadians walk through the "hut" of Antonio Magliabechi (1633–1714; Diotimo Oeio), Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany's librarian. His residence was full of books, including some by Epicurus, Pierre Gassendi, Copernicus, and Galilei, all authors who were considered suspect by Church authorities in 1711. Crescimbeni 1711, 200.

[30] Portal 1922, 11–12; Bertana 1909, 9; and Dixon 2006, 27–28.

[31] Ferrone 1995, 4–40. Members also included Giovanni Vignoli (1667–1733; Alburnio Ripeo) and Biagio Garafolo (1677–1762; Faunio Stomiate). Celestino Galiani was a significant member of these academies and a major protagonist in the spread of Newtonian science in Italy; he was not an Arcadian.

astronomy and optics, was anathema to Church authorities because its findings rehabilitated some of Galileo's ideas.[32] Thus, the Arcadian scientists, as well as other scientists in Italy, worked cautiously. By the 1740s, however, Newtonian science was widely accepted, its apologists having won the day. Its methods of inquiry included empiricism and reductionism—that is, observing the world and understanding its nature by fathoming its constituent parts. These methods quickly were brought to bear on other scholarly disciplines, especially in the social sciences such as history and economics, in a manner that could support enlightened reform.[33]

In the 1740s, both Vasi and Piranesi issued publications that were conceived with the Arcadian objective to help reshape civil society in mind. They accomplished this in different ways. In his *Delle magnificenze di Roma*, Vasi adapted Newtonian principles to sort through the architecture of the city, considering its diverse functions as a reflection of Rome's grandeur. Piranesi's publication, on the other hand, presented the stateliness of an imagined ancient Rome as a backdrop for Arcadian theatrical events, designed to promote civic virtue in its audience.

2. *Vasi: Basking in Arcadia*

The recent ground-breaking exhibitions featuring the work of the eighteenth-century Italian printmaker Vasi have prompted new questions about the artist, among them what to make of his membership in the Academy.[34] That Vasi's affiliation with the Accademia degli Arcadi provided him patrons for the ten books of *Delle magnificenze di Roma*, arguably the best known of his publications, has been noted only recently.[35] In producing and issuing this publication, Vasi referred to the ideas of prominent Arcadians Monsignor Giovanni Gaetano Bottari (1689–1775; Agesia Beleminio) and the Oratorian Padre Giuseppe Bianchini (1704–1764; Silvagide Tomirio), both powerful intellectuals associated with the papal court, especially under Benedict XIV Lambertini (1675–1758, reigned 1740–1758; Egano Aluntino). Both had keen ideas on art and art patronage, ideas aligned with Arcadian goals.[36]

Vasi most likely entered the Accademia degli Arcadi between 1736 and 1738, the years immediately after his arrival in Rome from Palermo, with Bottari sponsoring his membership.[37] This was when Francesco Maria Lorenzini (1680–1743; Filacida Luciniano) was *custode*, or chief officer, between 1728 and 1743. This was an unusual time for the Academy because Lorenzini suspended most of its customary operations and instead concentrated its efforts on nurturing the literary elite. Vasi's admission at this time might speak to the quality of his poetry, of which only one example is known.[38] It was not until after Lorenzini left office, however, that Vasi began his *Delle magnificenze*.

[32] Ferrone 1995.

[33] Ferrone 1995, 185–247; and Finocchiaro 2016, as well as Donato 2016.

[34] Vasi was featured in the exhibition held in the Palazzo Fontana di Trevi in Rome, 2004–2005 (see Bevilacqua 2004) and in the Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art at the University of Oregon (see Tice and Harper 2010).

[35] Harper 2010, 21–26.

[36] Coen 2001, 27–29; and Scalabroni 1981, 48–49 and 118–119.

[37] Coen 1996, 9, deduces that Vasi joined under Lorenzini's tenure, even though Vichi 1977, 80 and 399, notes that he entered after 1743. Coen notes that Vasi is identified as an "abate" in the membership list, and therefore he must have entered before he abandoned a career in the priesthood in order to marry, i.e., before 1738. Vasi, then, was one of just a few artists to join during Arcadia seconda (see appendix).

[38] I thank James G. Harper for bringing this to my attention. The poem appears in Vasi 1747, bk. 1, last page. It was similar to many other Arcadian sonnets written to honor Charles III; these were published as a collection, as was the practice in the Accademia degli Arcadi, in *Adunanza tenuta dagli Arcadi* 1748.

The years after 1743 are significant because they mark a phase in the Accademia degli Arcadi's history when visual artists were engaged seriously in the organization's goals. The following sketch of that history suggests how that came about.

The *custode*, or chief shepherd, the top elected administrator, recordkeeper, and implementer of policy, shaped the nature of the organization. Lorenzini was the second *custode*, coming in the wake of Crescimbeni, the long-serving and formative officer, who was one of the organization's founders. Under Crescimbeni's stewardship from 1690 to 1728, referred to in the secondary literature as "Arcadia prima," the membership had grown considerably, as meticulous records of members and of the organization's activities document.[39] After Lorenzini's fifteen-year charge, known as "Arcadia seconda," no such records were found.

Other changes in the organization's operations marked Lorenzini's leadership, among them different membership patterns, meeting locations, and program emphases. Lorenzini's conduct as *custode* could have been predicted because his election was contentious.[40] During Arcadia prima, he had been one of a schismatic group of Arcadians who had left the Academy temporarily from 1711 to 1718, under the leadership of the opinionated jurist Gravina. Although the Schism was provoked by what the dissenters claimed to be breaches of the organization's democratic rules, they also agitated for a more serious and concentrated effort at literary reform than Crescimbeni's Arcadia prima offered. Instead, Arcadia seconda preferred participation of fewer members, selecting those with genuine literary interests and talents.[41] They met every Thursday to discuss models of good literature and to read some classical plays.[42] Rather than convening in the Janiculum hill Bosco Parrasio, some of whose main features were newly built but whose design was not yet completed, Arcadia seconda members gathered in Lorenzini's modest house on the Via dei Leutari in the Campo Marzio, a locale that encouraged a sense of intimacy.[43] Only a few Arcadians, mainly young men who were serious writers, attended Lorenzini's meetings.

By all accounts, Lorenzini's Academy did not participate in the work of diplomacy for the papal court, something that had happened during Crescimbeni's time. In Arcadia prima, the institution attempted to cater to the needs of the papacy by not showing favoritism toward one Catholic power over another but by honoring all the European courts equally, mainly with special *adunanze* and dedicatory publications. In Arcadia seconda, there were no special meetings for any elite members, as far as can be known, nor did it publish members' works, at least not under the aegis of the Accademia degli Arcadi.[44] A few individuals were acclaimed in Arcadia seconda, although far fewer than before and after Lorenzini's custodianship. These included Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685–1770; Adrane), who became cardinal when his uncle Pope Clement XII (1652–1740; Lingero Stomiate)

[39] Quondam 1973.

[40] Gallo 2006, 41–42; and Donato 2000, 73–76. The election rules required that the candidate for *custode* receive a two-thirds majority, which the first candidate, Giuseppe Maria Bianchini (1685–1749; Inaste Dindimonio), failed to get by a mere few votes; Giuseppe Maria Bianchini, a literary scholar from Prato, was not the Giuseppe Bianchini under examination in this article. The rules were then suspended to allow for a simple majority vote. Lorenzini won. The outcome was challenged, and the case went before a papal tribunal, for which some vituperous opinions were written. The dissenters lost the case.

[41] Quondam 1968, 275–309.

[42] See Alessandro Pompeo Berti's eulogy for Lorenzini, published in *Componimenti degli Arcadi* 1744, 17. Lorenzini's critics noted that members read plays by Plautus and Terence, suggesting that Arcadia seconda had become a rowdy boys' club. More sympathetic to the rigor of the literary efforts promoted by Lorenzini, Berti noted that they also studied more serious works by authors such as Dante, Cicero, and Ovid.

[43] Dixon 2006, 55–64; and Cametti 1923.

[44] Morei 1761, 109–112. The Accademia degli Arcadi's serial publications were halted during these years. For example, volume 4 of *Le vite degli Arcadi illustri* was published in 1727, and volume 5 in 1751, while volume 9 of *Le rime degli Arcadi* was published in 1722, and volume 10 in 1747.

was elected in 1730, as well as a few of Corsini's allies.[45] Clement XII, when he was still a cardinal, had been an active member in Arcadia prima and was sympathetic to the Schismatic group of 1711; in 1718 he negotiated an end to the feud in Arcadia.[46] If there was any political leaning in Arcadia seconda, it likely reflected the anti-Jesuit or Jansenist positions of its protector Cardinal Neri Corsini and his circle, which included his librarian Bottari, and Bianchini, and perhaps even Lorenzini.[47]

In the final years of Clement XII's reign, and certainly by the election of Benedict XIV in 1740, the role that the Accademia degli Arcadi had once played in appeasing the increasingly demanding and competing foreign powers was sorely missed. Recent wars on Italian soil saw the Imperial Habsburg and the French and Spanish Bourbons reconfigure territorial maps, and the recent dissolution of dynastic families in Tuscany, Parma, and Piacenza exacerbated the situation. Since the early years of the eighteenth century, the absolutist rulers had been attempting to erode the spiritual authority and political influence of the Catholic Church in their domains, and those attempts became more aggressive as time passed. They fought to assert control of ecclesiastical appointments, legal jurisdictions, and taxation policies, and before the end of the century, they had won much.[48] The papal court strategy most useful at this time was a claim of neutrality in conflict and a use of cultural politics to bolster the Church's traditional assertions of power. In some measure, this strategy had been in play in Arcadia prima, and it was needed again.[49]

Lorenzini's health had never been good, and by 1741 he relocated to a suburban villa, and the weekly Arcadian meetings came to an end.[50] In that year, the newly elected Pope Benedict XIV intervened in Arcadian operations, and at Lorenzini's death in 1743, he swayed the election of the *custode* of the next phase of the Accademia degli Arcadi's history. For this, Benedict XIV took advantage of the fact that Lorenzini had kept no membership list. He asked newly appointed Cardinal Domenico Silvio Passionei (1682–1761; Tileno Caradrio)[51] to choose an electing body—fifty members known to have been active in Arcadia prima and fifty in seconda. They chose as *custode* Monsignor Michel Giuseppe Morei (1695–1767; Mireo Rofeatico), who reinstated events that served the papal court's diplomatic policies while still fostering the most serious and talented poets

[45] Morei 1761, 175–177. Whereas in both Arcadia prima and Arcadia terza, an average of 3.5 individuals per year were acclaimed, only 6 were so honored between 1729 and 1738. They are mainly Florentines and allies of the Corsini family. They include Neri Corsini; Grand Duke Gian Gaston of Tuscany (1671–1737; Tirrenio); papal nephew Cardinal Francesco Giovanni Antonio Guadagni (1674–1759; Tesbio); and Monsignore Girolamo de Bardi (1685–1761; Temistide), of a noble Florentine family, elevated to cardinal in 1743. The number of *acclamati* began to increase between 1739 and 1743, and this corresponds to the time when Lorenzini became seriously ill and efforts had begun to be made to reinstate the habits of Arcadia prima.

[46] The Schismatic group, which eventually took the name of the Accademia dei Quirini, met in a garden theater behind the Palazzo Corsini, as seen in Vasi 1761, bk. 10, pl. 198. See Mariani 1889. Cardinal Lorenzo Corsini, later Pope Clement XII, negotiated between the Schismatic groups at the behest of then Pope Clement XI Albani (1649–1721, reigned 1700–1721; Alcindio Elideo).

[47] On Corsini, Bottari, and Bianchini in terms of their Jansenist sympathies, see Johns 2014, 40–45; Dammig 1945, 63–98 and 194–212; and Palozzi 1941. Lorenzini was trained as a Jesuit but renounced the order, as did other followers of Gravina. Nonetheless, Lorenzini's good friend, present at the *custode*'s deathbed, was a Jesuit. See also Brunel 1978, 83.

[48] Carparetto and Ricuperati 1987, 179–207; and Johns 1993, 1–12. For example, after the War of Polish Succession (1733–1738), the Spanish Borbone acquired the Two Sicilies and Charles became its king, and in 1741 Benedict XIV signed a concordat with Spain and Naples, conceding many traditional papal privileges to Charles.

[49] On the Accademia degli Arcadi's role in papal diplomacy, see Cipriani 1971. See also Ferraris 1986–1987.

[50] After the death of his patron Cardinal Prefect Alessandro Falconieri (1657–1734; Idante), Lorenzini struggled to maintain a livelihood. Cardinal Francesco Borghese (1697–1759; Sulmonio), the first individual to be acclaimed in Arcadia seconda, became his new patron by 1738, and Lorenzini resided in the Villa Borghese.

[51] Passionei was part of the Jansenist circle, as well as someone who was trusted by Benedict XIV; see Dammig 1945, 51–63.

Fig. 5. Arcadian stemma, from Michel Morei, Memorie istoriche *(Rome 1761), engraving (photo author).*



who had felt disregarded in Arcadia prima. During Morei's tenure, from 1743 to 1766, all political interests were represented in the membership, particularly among the *acclamati*: the Holy Roman Imperial and the Spanish Borbone courts, and the Jansenists and their opponents.[52] The Accademia degli Arcadi's identification with the papal court is perhaps most apparent in the great number of lower-level ecclesiastics and administrators at the papal court in its membership.[53]

Morei also oversaw the completion and refurbishing of the Bosco Parrasio on the Janiculum hill, which had stood nearly unused since 1728,[54] and had Ferdinando Fuga (1699–1781; Dedalo Ippodromiaco) refresh the design of the Arcadian stemma, which featured panpipes surrounded by sprigs of laurel and oak (fig. 5).[55] Significant to this argument, Morei's Arcadia terza admitted more visual artists (see appendix).

In the renewed environment of Arcadia terza, Vasi produced *Delle magnificenze*. He found intellectual mentors in Bottari and Bianchini, both of whom had issued publications whose methods of presentation were informed by the new science. More significantly, both scholars were deliberate in their use of the visual in their scholarly projects. Both arranged visual information as inviolate empirical evidence that supported the narrative of eighteenth-century Rome's great cultural heritage. Vasi worked on projects with both these men and used their publications as intellectual models. Moreover, Bianchini collaborated with Vasi on *Delle magnificenze*.

3. *Vasi's* Delle magnificenze di Roma

Each of the ten books of *Delle magnificenze* deals with a type of architectonic structure common in the urban setting of Rome. Some types were ancient, and others were newly created in the early modern period. They include defensive walls, gates, bridges, and squares (figs. 6–7); palaces and

[52] Morei 1761, 177–181. The acclaimed included Stanislas I, King of Poland, in 1753 (1677–1766; Eutimio Alfireo); Maria Antonia Walburg of Bavaria in 1747 (1724–1780; Ermelinda Talea); Charles, King of the Two Sicilies and his queen Maria Amalia of Saxony in 1748; Cardinal Carlo Vittorio Amadeo delle Lanze; Cardinal Fortunato Tamburini in 1743 (1683–1761; Arefilo Trochio); and Cardinal Angelo Maria Querini in 1740 (1680–1755; Corcirio), who quarreled with the historian Ludovico Antonio Muratori over what Querini perceived to be Muratori's Jansenist critique of the sacraments. At Pope Benedict XIV's request, Giuseppe Bianchini served as a conciliator between Querini and Muratori.

[53] Donato 2000, 110–112. For the progressive bureaucratization of the papal government in the eighteenth century, see Prodi 1987.

[54] Dixon 2006, 94–96 and 100–103.

[55] D'Onofrio 1976, 269 and fig. 228. The panpipe and the oak branch refer to Pan, and the laurel to Apollo. According to the ancient authors, these gods, along with the Muses, the shepherds, and some nymphs, were inhabitants of Arcadia.



Fig. 6. Giuseppe Vasi, Porto di Ripa Grande, *from* Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, *bk. 5, no. 97. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*



Fig. 7. Giuseppe Vasi, Porta Pia al Viminale, *from* Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, *bk. 1, no. 4. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*



Fig. 8. Giuseppe Vasi, Palazzo Farnese, *from* Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, *bk. 4, no. 73. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*



Fig. 9. Giuseppe Vasi, Piazza di San Giovanni in Laterano, *from* Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, *bk. 2, no. 34. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*

suburban villas (figs. 8–9); basilicas and churches, including parish churches, monasteries and convents; and hospitals, hospices, and poorhouses (figs. 10–11). Vasi dedicated the books to powerful individuals associated with the Accademia degli Arcadi and, as was the custom, most likely received their sponsorship in return. Eight of the ten dedicatees were Arcadian members, including Charles,



Fig. 10. Giuseppe Vasi, Chiesa di San Silvestro in Capite delle Suore Francesciane Urbanista, *from* Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, *bk. 6, no. 113. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*



Fig. 11. Giuseppe Vasi, Spedale e Chiesa di Santo Spirito in Sassia, *from* Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna, *bk. 9, no. 171. The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, California, 88–B12976.*

King of Naples and the Two Sicilies, and his wife Maria Amalia Walburga; the remaining two were blood relatives of the king.[56] The tomes that featured secular buildings were dedicated mainly to members of the Neapolitan royal court, which was implementing enlightened urban redesign projects in Naples, including modernized fortifications such as the Castel Nuovo, commercial squares such as the Foro Carolino, and hospices such as the Reale Albergo dei Poveri.[57] The books dealing with religious buildings carried dedications to members of the papal court.[58]

Vasi's publication was innovative in two ways. One, by sorting his views by architectural typology rather than urban topography, the artist engaged in an untypical exercise for the presentation of the city. Typological classification was a scientific practice not often applied to the built world before the eighteenth century.[59] Two, by identifying all of Rome's buildings, from its palaces to its modest poorhouses, as part of the city's grandeur, Vasi acknowledged the vital importance of hospitals and hospices: because they functioned for the betterment of the city and contributed to the public good. In an enlightened metropolis, as Vasi described Rome, all edifices were of equal value in conveying magnificence.[60]

Delle magnificenze was a different kind of publication in other ways. It was not a traditional illustrated guidebook, with text and images arranged to aid those touring the city.[61] Rather it used the fairly large prints of the city as a starting point to present knowledge about eighteenth-century Rome's cultural vitality.[62] The text is not secondary to the images, but neither does it overpower them, as was common in contemporary guidebooks. Furthermore, the ten-volume project was conceived as a totality. Each volume was planned to contain twenty views of a single building type,

[56] Book 1, 1747, on city gates and walls, dedicated to Charles, Infante of Spain and King of the Two Sicilies (1716–1788; reigned in Two Sicilies 1734–1759, reigned in Spain, 1759–1788; Eraclide Samio); book 2, 1752, on urban squares, dedicated to Maria Amalia Walburga, Queen of the Two Sicilies (1724–1760; Ermelinda Talea); book 3, 1753, on basilicas and ancient churches, to Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758; Egano Aluntino); book 4, 1754, on palaces and streets, to Elisabetta Farnese, widowed queen of Spain and mother of Charles, King of the Two Sicilies, 1692–1766); book 5, 1754, on bridges and buildings along the Tiber River, to Don Filippo Borbone, Prince of the Two Sicilies (1757–1777; Leontide Eucleio); book 6, 1756, on parish churches, to Cardinal [Henry Benedict] Duke of York (1725–1807; Tamisio); book 7, 1756, on convents and monasteries, to Cardinal Carlo Vittorio Amadeo delle Lanze (1712–1784; Parmedide Sireo); book 8, 1758, on monasteries and convents for women, to Don Girolamo Colonna di Sciarra (1708–1763; Ferento); book 9, 1759, on schools, hospices, and hospitals, to Cardinal Neri Corsini (1685–1770; Adrane); and book 10, 1761, on villas and gardens, to Cardinal Domenico Orsini d'Aragone (1719–1789; Rodaspe Agoretico).

[57] Thomas 2013.

[58] Book 3, on the major Roman basilicas, is dedicated to Benedict XIV, who continued the efforts of earlier eighteenth-century popes in restoring these churches. Book 6, on parochial churches, was dedicated to the Cardinal Duke of York, Henry Benedict Stuart, elevated in 1748, and acclaimed in the Academy in 1750; book 7, on monasteries and convents, to Carlo Vittorio delle Lanze, made cardinal in 1747 and acclaimed the same year; book 8, on convents that often served as charitable institutions, to Prince Girolamo Colonna di Sciarra, made cardinal in 1759; and book 9, on the colleges, hospitals, and other public institutions, to Cardinal Neri Corsini. Book 10, on gardens, is dedicated to Domenico Orsini d'Aragone. This dedication was perhaps a personal strategic move on Vasi's part because Orsini d'Aragone, as cardinal protectorate of Naples, was reported to be considering ousting the printmaker from his longtime residence and studio in the Palazzo Farnese (see Coen 1996, 16 and 29 n. 150).

[59] Durand 1799 or 1800; Quatremère de Quincy 1825; and Vidler 1987. One could argue that the concept of architectural type begins much earlier than Vasi's time, but this classification was found in archaeological texts (see Stinger 1998, 63), and it was not standard practice for a *vedutista* to organize and bind his prints by architectural types. An exception is Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–1678), whose views of various types of grand monuments in Rome included fountains, palaces, churches, and piazzas, and these were presented in separate books. See Bellini 1993.

[60] The word "metropolis" warrants some investigation in this context. Of Greek origin, and meaning "mother city," in eighteenth-century Spain, Portugal, and France it referred to the power behind colonial settlements. Bottari, Vasi, and Piranesi all use it in their publications to describe Rome.

[61] Vasi 1777 employs the traditional format.

[62] Campbell 2000, 564, notes the increased size of the prints, despite the fact that such prints were less portable. See also Garms 1995, 10–15, for a brief history of the production of views of Rome.

and each view was to be accompanied by two pages of text that explained something of the history and current use of the featured building and, in some cases, of nearby buildings featured in the view.[63] More or less, as we will see, it was realized as planned.

What makes this project Arcadian? With its thoughtful dedications, it participated in the diplomatic work of the papacy after the concordat of 1741 between the courts of papal Rome and Naples. More importantly, it scrutinized and organized visual information according to the methods of the new science and thus demonstrated cultural achievement. Vasi had access to models of this new way in the scholarly works of Bottari, in his illustrated catalogue of classical sculpture in the newly established Capitoline Museum, and of Bianchini, in his early Christian history, whose illustrations replicate an imaginary museum. The considered arrangement of the museum artifacts reflected these scholars' embrace of enlightened scientific methods.

4. *Bottari's* Museo Capitolino

Monsignor Giovanni Gaetano Bottari had keen ideas regarding how to revitalize and strengthen the Catholic Church, including ideas about the importance of well-considered art patronage. He was a noted philologist and historian. Florentine by birth, he moved to Rome in 1730 as part of Cardinal Neri Corsini's entourage and in 1740 became a member of the inner circle of Benedict XIV. Known as a fierce individual, Bottari wielded great power in the papal courts. He served in many capacities, including as a member of some of Benedict XIV's newly formed academies instituted to bolster papal claims of spiritual and cultural authority by investigating and shaping the history of ancient and early Christian Rome.[64]

Bottari was given the weighty responsibility of creating a catalogue of the ancient sculptures purchased by the papacy and donated to the city for the first public art museum, the Capitoline Museum.[65] His didactic arrangement—first by type as determined by the subject, and then by chronology as determined by the date of that which is represented (sometimes this was determined intuitively)—informed the layout of the four volumes of *Museo Capitolino*.[66] Volume one, issued in 1741, presented about eighty busts of classical philosophers, orators, and authors in chronological order, from the earliest of the Greeks to the latest of the Romans (fig. 12); Volume two, issued in 1748, included approximately the same number of busts of emperors, empresses, and other members of the imperial court, from the first century B.C. to the fourth century (fig. 13). Volume three, issued in 1755, dealt with gods and demi-gods, whose statues were arranged in logical fashion from the major Olympians to the minor gods (fig. 14); appended to this group are statues of extraordinary mortals, from the most powerful rulers of the classical period, such as Alexander the Great, to the gladiators. The last volume, issued after Bottari's death but with his sanction, includes bas-reliefs, many from sarcophagi, first ancient Roman and then early Christian.

Bottari's progressive way of organizing objects makes visual the idea that ancient Rome's noble traditions and cultural authority were inherited and claimed by the Catholic Church and its overseer, the papacy. Bottari referred to the museum, with its location in the political center of secular Rome,

[63] Vasi 1752, bk. 2, v. Including the smaller images inserted here and there, the total number of illustrations in the ten books is 238.

[64] Johns 2014, 53–54; and H. H. Minor 2010, 94–99. On Bottari as Arcadian, see Costamagna 1975.

[65] Paul 2012. She notes that Bottari's arrangement was not the same as that of the objects in the museum (Paul 2012, 27).

[66] Bottari 1743–1782.

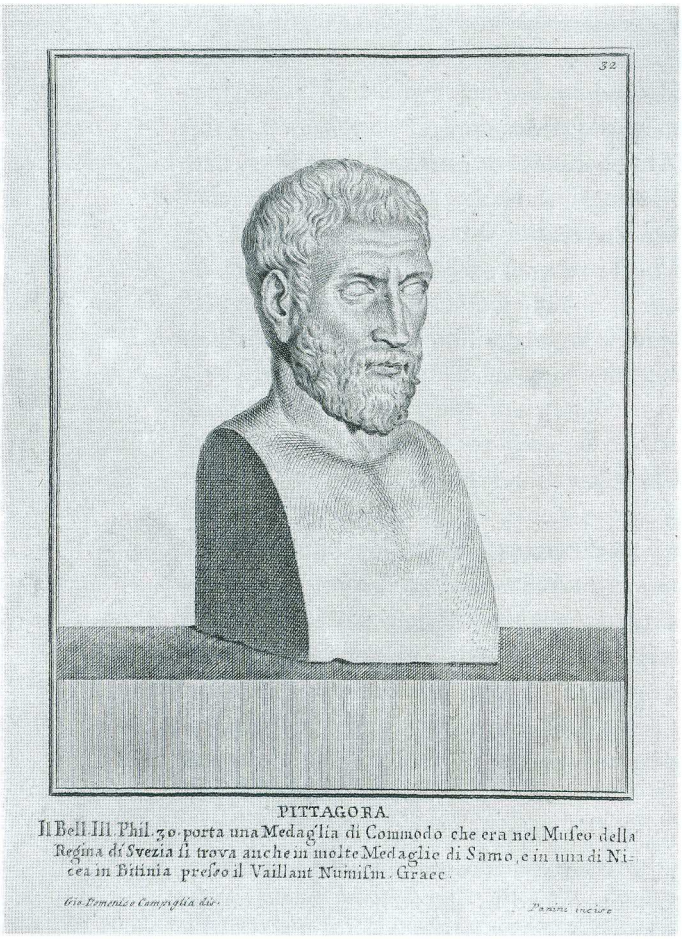

Fig. 12. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, designer, and (?) Panini, engraver, Pythagorus, *from Giovanni Gaetano Bottari,* Del Museo Capitolino, *vol. 1 (Rome 1741) pl. 32. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, -f- N 2830 B7 1748.*

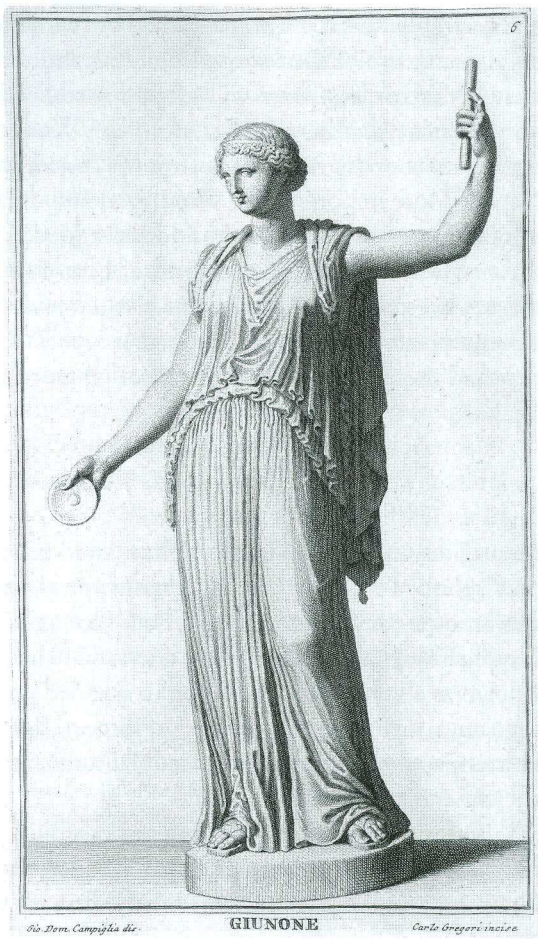

Fig. 13. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, designer, and Carlo Gregori, engraver, Juno, *from Giovanni Gaetano Bottari,* Del Museo Capitolino, *vol. 2 (Rome 1748) pl. 6. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, -f- N 2830 B7 1748.*

as the "metropolis of the universe."[67] In its arrangement, the catalogue was in harmony with Arcadian goals, as interpreted by Morei during the reign of Benedict XIV, to employ the new scientific methods to demonstrate Rome's cultural supremacy.

Vasi produced some prints for *Museo Capitolino*—the frontispiece (fig. 15) and introductory page—while many other artists engraved the prints of the objects in the collection.[68] Nonetheless, Vasi learned the value of classification of visual material from Bottari's methods, as is demonstrated in *Delle magnificenze di Roma.* His grouping of Rome's edifices by type, rather than location, offers a valuation that is scientifically inspired.

5. *Bianchini's* Demonstratio historiae ecclesiasticae

The Oratorian Padre Giuseppe Bianchini was a hardworking polymath, born and trained in Verona, who moved to Rome to follow in the footsteps of his equally hardworking uncle Francesco Bianchini.

[67] Bottari 1743, unpaged. See above, n. 60.

[68] Thomas 2005, 240–248. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia (1692–1768) created many of the drawings; the engravings were executed by a number of artists.



Fig. 14. Giovanni Domenico Campiglia, designer, and Carlo Gregori, engraver, Titus, *from Giovanni Gaetano Bottari,* Del Museo Capitolino, *vol. 3 (Rome 1755) pl. 23. Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, -f- N 2830 B7 1748.*



Fig. 15. Giuseppe Vasi, title page, from Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, Del Museo Capitolino, *vol. 1 (Rome 1743). Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, -f- N 2830 B7 1748.*

Francesco was a prelate who served the papal court as an astronomer, an archaeologist, and a historian; he was committed to Newtonian science and met with Sir Isaac himself while on a diplomatic mission for the papal court.[69] Francesco undertook many large research and publications projects, some of which he left incomplete at his death.[70] Much of Giuseppe's scholarly work was shaped by a desire to finish what his uncle had begun. One such project was the *Demonstratio historiae ecclesiasticae*, an illustrated history that employed the precepts of the new science, using artifacts rather than texts as proof of the earliest periods of Christianity and its institutions.[71] It aligned with Giuseppe's charge as a member of the academy on early Church history, one of the four academies established by Benedict XIV to promote knowledge useful in the Church's efforts at legitimizing its authority.[72] The project was so laborious, however, that it was still unfinished at Giuseppe's death.[73]

[69] On Francesco Bianchini, see Kockel and Sölch 2005, 9–19; and Ferrone 1995, 22–25.

[70] Rotta 1968.

[71] Bianchini 1752–1754. On this method of historical inquiry, new to the eighteenth century, see Momigliano 1950; Oechslin 1983; and Schnapp 1997, 182–188.

[72] Donato 2000, 77–105, posits that Benedict XIV's academies were conceived to counter the trivial and secular nature of the Roman academies that proliferated in the first half of the eighteenth century.

[73] Sölch 2007, 177–252. The divisions of history are the first age of Martyrs and Doctors, 50–400; second age of Councils and Rites, 450–800; third age of Diplomacy and

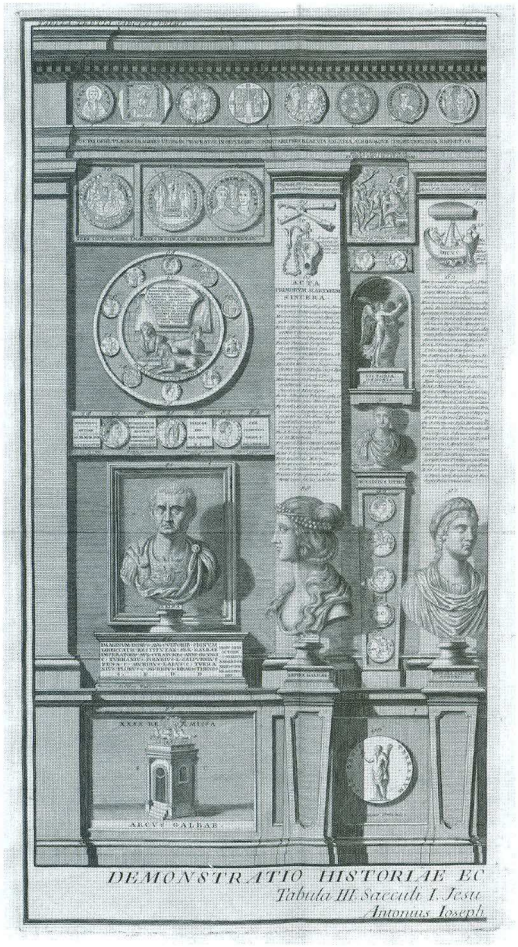

Fig. 16. Antonio Giuseppe Barbazza, tav. III, saeculo I, part 1 of 4, from Giuseppe Bianchini, Demonstratio Historiae Ecclesiasticae Quadripartitae *(Rome 1752). Butler Library, Columbia University Libraries, IE3 B57.*



Fig. 17. Antonio Giuseppe Barbazza, tav. III, saeculo I, part 2 of 4, from Giuseppe Bianchini, Demonstratio Historiae Ecclesiasticae Quadripartitae *(Rome 1752). Butler Library, Columbia University Libraries, IE3 B57.*

Bianchini issued *Demonstratio historiae ecclesiasticae*, in multiple parts, from 1752 to 1754. Six large fold-out illustrations represent the first two centuries A.D. Each illustration represents an interior wall, articulated with pilasters, pedestals, bays, entablatures, shallow frames, and niches that create defined places in which ancient artifacts are positioned. These include busts, bas-reliefs, paintings, various objects such as coins and relics, and inscriptions, which are all numbered and referenced in an accompanying index (figs. 16–19). The prints illusionistically fit together so that, when assembled, they read as the interior walls of a museum.

Bianchini arranged the composition so that the bottom half of the illustrated wall housed objects representing the reign of various ancient Roman emperors, arranged from left to right, in chronological order. Their busts sit on pedestals, framed by niches and surrounded—below, beside, and sometimes above—by objects suggesting some of the emperors' achievements. For example, the head of the emperor Nerva is surrounded by images of the Forum Transitorium and the Temple of Minerva (fig. 19), while in another print (from tav. II, saeculo II), the images around the likeness of Titus allude to his conquest of Jerusalem. The artifacts on the upper wall all convey something about early Christian



Fig. 18. Antonio Giuseppe Barbazza, tav. III, saeculo I, part 3 of 4, from Giuseppe Bianchini, Demonstratio Historiae Ecclesiasticae Quadripartitae *(Rome 1752). Butler Library, Columbia University Libraries, IE3 B57.*



Fig. 19. Antonio Giuseppe Barbazza, tav. III, saeculo I, part 4 of 4, from Giuseppe Bianchini, Demonstratio Historiae Ecclesiasticae Quadripartitae *(Rome 1752). Butler Library, Columbia University Libraries, IE3 B57.*

history at a time when these emperors reigned. For example, because many Christian martyrdoms occurred during the reigns of Galba through Nerva, depicted above their busts are various painted images and artifacts from the catacombs, where it was believed some of the martyrs' bodies were found (figs. 16–19) An object was sometimes chosen not because it was created during the reigns of these emperors but because its subject or its function referred to the events at that time.

As one proceeded along the illusionistic walls of this paper museum, the Christian monuments began to take up more of the represented space and to encroach upon the imperial Roman works of art. In this way, Bianchini manipulated the composition to signify the eventual triumph of the Catholic faith. Beyond the story of Christianity's Roman origins, the publication's underlying idea was that by employing the weight of history as demonstrated by its artifacts, the eighteenth-century papacy would prove that it had inherited the traditions of pagan and early Christian Rome, and that therefore it deserved the privileges that historically it had demanded of the European ruling elite but that currently it was having to defend. In essence, ancient history was put in service of cultural politics that in turn sought to shape the modern historical narrative.

What makes Bianchini's project innovative was his use of scientific methods to shape the narrative of early Christian history, demonstrating it with visual objects rather than solely on textual evidence, which in many cases did not exist. He provided very little accompanying text to the images, as this was not the major means of informing the viewer about history. In this way, it is akin to both Bottari's and Vasi's projects.

Most likely Bottari introduced Vasi to Giuseppe Bianchini, who employed the artist in his various publishing projects.[74] As noted above, Bianchini and Vasi collaborated on *Delle magnificenze*. According to Paolo Coen, Bianchini helped conceive the premise and structure of the multi-volume book.[75] Bianchini also provided the text for the first two books.[76] Vasi initially believed that Bianchini would supply explanatory essays for all the books. In the preface to book two, he informed readers that the scholar's backing out of the *Delle magnificenze* series was a result of his overcommitment to other projects. The relationship between the two men was not severed at this point, as some earlier scholars have suggested, and Vasi undertook some work for Bianchini in 1750, after Bianchini had stopped working on *Delle magnificenze*.[77]

In comparison to the explanatory essays in the subsequent books, Bianchini's text in book one is much longer than the specified two pages, and those pages contain scholarly information such as etymological investigations, historiographic analyses, and long scholarly quotes, sometimes in Greek or Latin. In book two, however, with only a few exceptions, Bianchini's essays are exactly two pages; in the later books, essays by another author follow this model.[78] Much of the heavy scholarship was eliminated, and the quotes were shortened; added were mundane observations, for example, about the types of commercial goods that were sold in the illustrated piazza or street. I suspect that even Bianchini recognized the incongruity of his book one text to the project and altered his writing for clarity and cultural relevance. In this sense, the essays in the subsequent books are Arcadian in their simplification of language and their attention to worldly observations.[79] Marco Bevilacqua notes this tone of "scholarly popularization" in Vasi's *Delle magnificenze* and posits that it "became a key point in the evolution of art publishing in the eighteenth century."[80]

Vasi's highly successful career was enhanced commercially as well as intellectually by his membership in the Accademia degli Arcadi. *Delle magnificenze* was in line with the Accademia degli Arcadi's cultural goals. It used the methodologies of the new science and the stipulations of literary reform to showcase mid-eighteenth-century Rome's growing sophistication and, by implication, its

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Expeditions (Pilgrimages and Crusades), 850–1200; and fourth age of Laws and Academies, 1250–1600, or close enough to Bianchini's day.

[74] Coen 1996, 15. Giuseppe was an accomplished draftsman, like his uncle, but he required skilled engravers to translate his drawings into book illustrations. Dixon 1999, 204 and 213 n. 80; and Dammig 1945, 70 nn. 2–3. Bottari in fact was not happy with the way in which Giuseppe Bianchini was proceeding with the project. On Vasi's work for Bianchini's other projects, see Jatta 2005; and Lefevre 1976.

[75] Coen 2001, 33–34. See also Sassoli 2004, 31–35.

[76] Bevilacqua 2006, 40 n. 82.

[77] Coen 2001, 33–34. See also Scalabroni 1981, 118–119; and Lefevre 1976, 5–8. See Sölch 2007, 377, for a transcription of a letter from Bianchini to Vasi.

[78] Coen 2001, 35 n. 104, identifies the author as Cesare Orlandi.

[79] Like Bianchini, Bottari simplified his text over time. In volume 3 of *Museo Capitolino* (1755), in the preface to the reader, he notes that critics wanted to read only "cose concrete, sicure, chiare ed evidenti e quasi quasi provate con tutto il rigore geometrico," a sign that empiricism had become *de rigueur*. Although he argues that conjecture, the result of reasonable deduction, is a sign of intellect, and necessary in antiquarian studies so that all does not remain "sempre oscure ed inutile," the subsequent text's content and style are arguably more straightforward than those of earlier volumes.

[80] Bevilacqua 2000, 28. He also observes that Vasi's publication provided the basis, in many ways, for Piranesi's later success.

right to cultural authority in the European arena. Because of dedications to many in the Neapolitan court, it enhanced diplomatic relations between Rome and Naples. What can be said about Vasi's former student and colleague Piranesi? His career was also aided by Bianchini and Bottari, both of whom tried to secure him commissions, and the latter to whom Piranesi would dedicate a 1750 publication.[81] In 1743, Piranesi at first made appeals for Arcadian readers and, after 1748, for an Arcadian patron, but in the latter he was not successful. What about his prints did the artist believe might be compelling to the Accademia degli Arcadi membership, and in line with its goals? Where had he miscalculated?

6. Piranesi: Searching in Arcadia

Piranesi entered the Accademia degli Arcadi in 1743, a year after he ended his brief apprenticeship with Vasi.[82] As per the Arcadian rules, his candidacy for membership required that he be sponsored, and most likely that sponsor was either his fellow countryman Giuseppe Bianchini or, as is more commonly noted in the literature, Bottari.[83] This was in the early years of Arcadia terza, when the Academy was under the direction of the *custode* Morei and beginning a period of renewal.

Piranesi issued the first edition of *Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva*, a collection of a dozen or so prints of fanciful reconstructions of imaginary architectural sites in ancient Rome (e.g., a triumphal bridge and an imperial mausoleum) in 1743. As a first work, a sole endeavor, it sits awkwardly at the beginning of Piranesi's extensive oeuvre, which in the main deals with the subject of the actual remains of ancient Rome or their informed reconstruction. The prints in *Prima parte* are early works, immature and experimental but memorable for their astonishing creativity, although they were not as successful commercially as his later publications. The inventiveness of the content and the diversity of the style and technique of individual prints are highly compelling, and they have elicited some scholarly attention. Foremost among the scholars is Andrew Robison, who carefully narrated the history of Piranesi's various changes to the title page of *Prima parte*.[84] When the prints were first issued in 1743, they carried an identification of the artist as an "architetto Veneziano" and a dedication to fellow Venetian Nicola Giobbe, a construction engineer associated with the creation of the Trevi Fountain and someone to whom Piranesi owed much for his initial inroads into Roman society.[85] Giobbe was not an Arcadian. To the second issue of 1743–1744, Piranesi added his Arcadian pastoral pseudonym Salcindio Tiseio (see fig. 3).[86] In 1743, before or while this issue was being printed, he left Rome because he was having financial difficulties.[87] Piranesi did not reissue the *Prima parte* again until after his return to the city in September 1747. By the sixth issue in late 1748–1749, he had burnished away the dedication to Giobbe, who had died in October 1748. Redesigning much of the print, Piranesi created a central image of a ruined

[81] Bevilacqua 2006.

[82] Bevilacqua 2006, 21–28.

[83] Scott 1975, 51–52; and Bevilacqua 2006, 52.

[84] Robison 1981, 1–25 and 65–112.

[85] Brunel 1978, 77–113. See also Kazovsky 2009.

[86] Salcindo, as far as I know, is not the name of any shepherd, but it may allude to the *salice*, or weeping willow trees, referenced in much of the literature about ancient Arcadia. Tiseo was a mountain in ancient Magnesia, northern Greece. It may also be that the two words, when misspelled or misspoken slightly, might translate as something clever or cheeky, related to the personality of the artist. However, there is no supporting evidence to suggest that Piranesi's name generated any chuckle from those who knew him, or that any Arcadian pseudonym evinced the same.

[87] Robison 1981, 9–11; and Bevilacqua 2006, 28–49.



Fig. 20. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, title page, Prima parte di architettura, *1st ed., 6th issue, 1748. Rosenwald Collection 1949.5.13 (image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington).*

tablet with a smooth surface seemingly ready for the inscription of a new patron's name (fig. 20).[88] He had not burnished away his Arcadian pseudonym.

In the preface to the 1743 issue of *Prima parte*, which went substantially unchanged in the late 1748–1749 reissue, Piranesi embarked on a diatribe—foreshadowing later diatribes—about how little his contemporary fellow architects knew about ancient architecture and how much they would gain from its study. Piranesi's prints showcased his skill set: his familiarity with antiquity, his mastery of *disegno*, his knowledge of perspective, as well as his facility in printmaking. Piranesi claimed good company for himself in the dedication. He mentioned some of the most successful architects of his day, who also happened to be important Arcadian members: Nicola Salvi (1697–1751; Lindreno Issuntino) and Luigi Vanvitelli (1700–1773; Cleante or Archimede Fidiaco). Salvi had written Arcadian poetry and had been of great assistance in the design of the Bosco Parrasio, while Vanvitelli's skills as a poet were recognized and celebrated in Arcadian publications.[89] Piranesi identified these men as his friends, and he praised their exceptional projects at the Trevi Fountain and the Lazzaretto, or quarantine station, at the port of Ancona, respectively.[90] These civic architectural projects were commissioned by the papacy, and they allied with enlightened goals to provide for the betterment of society in a very tangible way, by the delivery of water to Rome and the improvements to public health in Ancona. In the dedicatory text, Piranesi also mentioned Filippo Juvarra (1678–1736; Bramanzio Feesseo), then deceased, as someone who had learned much from antiquity.[91] The prints in *Prima parte* were intended to illustrate what Piranesi himself had learned from the ancient ruins he had encountered since his arrival in Rome in 1740. He waxed poetic over the perfection of the ancient circuses, fora, and imperial palaces, whose vastness had been justly captured in drawings of the "immortal" Palladio, some of which Piranesi knew firsthand from work in Venice.[92] The *Prima parte*, then, established Piranesi's philosophy of design, which was informed by knowledge of ancient Roman architecture, and conveyed his admiration for colleagues and fellow Arcadians Juvarra, Salvi, and Vanvitelli.

What did Piranesi think the members of the Accademia degli Arcadi would find appealing about these scenographic prints of imaginary ancient Roman spaces? I suggest that the print imagery corresponded to types of theater sets designed for dramatic events that flourished during Arcadia prima, some fifteen years before. Piranesi was well trained in perspectival drawing needed for stage design. As a young man in Venice, he was exposed to the work of many stage set designers and

[88] Wendort 2001, 174–175. He notes that the figural group around the stone resembles that in Nicolas Poussin's *Et in Arcadia Ego* in the Louvre.

[89] Predieri 1990, 69–72. Salvi wrote poetry for the Academy's publications; see *I Guochi olimpici* 1726, 63. He also served as an Arcadian official and hosted an *adunanza* at his residence (Dixon 2006, 93.) On Vanvitelli as poet, see Thomas 2010, 510–511. Vanvitelli was one of two *pastori* honored with an Arcadian publication: see *Sonetti ed orazione* 1764. The other artist so honored was Rafael Mengs (1728–1779; Dinia Sipilio): *Adunanza tenuta dagli Arcadi* 1780.

[90] On Salvi, see Pinto 1986, 98–235. There has yet to be an exploration of Vanvitelli's project at Ancona. To problematize Piranesi's claim of friendship with Vanvitelli, see Wilton-Ely 2002, 37 n. 72.

[91] Pls. 4, 15, 16, and 18 are exceptional in *Prima parte* because they are *capricci*, or representations of compiled actual ancient artifacts. One such *capriccio* features the ancient Roman sarcophagus, thought to have been that of Marcus Agrippa, which was repurposed to hold the body of Clement XII, in the Corsini Chapel in San Giovanni in Laterano. Perhaps one of the patrons whom Piranesi was targeting for the *Prima parte* was the pope himself or perhaps his nephew Cardinal Neri Corsini. Robison 1981, 23, has noted that although there were only twelve plates in the first issue of the first edition of 1743, the plates of the twenty images that appear in the 1748 issue were designed and perhaps cut, if not printed, before Piranesi left Rome in 1743.

[92] Piranesi 1743, dedication. He uses the phrase "queste parlante ruine" to describe the buildings. On Piranesi's copying of Palladio's drawings, and his collaboration with Giorgio Fossati, who etched prints for a re-edition of Palladio's architecture, see Bevilacqua 2006, 17.

is said to have worked with members of the Valeriani family.[93] While in Rome, Piranesi studied some of Juvarra's stage sets, among them some created for Arcadian patrons, and he copied them. I conjecture that Piranesi believed he could find interest for such designs in the membership of Arcadia terza. After all, following the aberrant Arcadia seconda, Morei reinstated many of the customs of Arcadia prima, expanding the membership and reconvening regular meetings.[94] Morei also resumed the official Arcadian publications, whose issue of serial volumes had been suspended during Arcadia seconda. Although many of the major patrons of theater during Arcadia prima had died or left Rome by 1740, there were emergent patrons. For example, in 1737, Cardinal Camillo Cybo (1681–1743; Rovildo Leucianitide) staged an oratory and a cantata in his palace, and in 1741 the Marchese Angelo Gabrielli (d. 1774; Salcenio Eracleense) hosted a comedy in his residence with sets by Giovanni Paolo Pannini (1691–1764; Ludio Frigiense).[95] Furthermore, the number of public theaters in Rome increased in the 1730s. They were run by entrepreneurial managers who provided melodramas more economically than private patrons, and in the process they reached broader audiences.[96]

In the 1740s, the papal court required a different diplomatic balancing act among the Habsburg and Bourbon powers, and the Academy once again aided in this task. This is reflected in Morei's measured choices about which dignitary to acclaim as a member and which international occasion to celebrate in special *adunanze*.[97] It may also be reflected in the increased number of foreigners among the membership.[98] Important to this argument, the number of artists entering the Academy, both from the Italian peninsula and beyond, increased (see appendix). As Vasi's *Delle magnificenze* suggests, artists' talents were needed to participate in Arcadia terza's efforts for cultural reform. I suggest that Piranesi believed that he could find a patron among the Arcadians as well, perhaps one who had an interest in restoring the Academy's support of the theater as a vehicle of social change.

7. Arcadian Theater and Piranesi

The Accademia degli Arcadians of the early eighteenth century loved performance and theater, and it served their goals in a few ways. It provided an opportunity for members to practice eloquence and for audiences to exercise good taste in literature, a taste determined by the Arcadian committee whose function was to choose exemplar prose and poetry from the members' submissions. Lastly, theater had an ability to reach a large public and thus facilitate Arcadian efforts. In addition, as one scholar has argued, the Accademia degli Arcadi had a mindset for theater; pastoral fantasy was at the root of their psyche.[99]

[93] Wilton-Ely 1978, 10.

[94] Toward the end of his tenure, Morei wrote a history of the society (Morei 1761), presenting it as a monolithic progressive agency and downplaying the disruption of both the Schism of 1711–1718 and Lorenzini's term as *custode*. He related the organization's goals and its rules, some of which cannot be verified in the earlier archival material. In this way, Morei presented the Accademia degli Arcadi as a timeless and utopian institution, something that has long colored the scholarship on the Academy.

[95] Cairo 1989, 789. The event in the Gabrielli residence could have been staged for the young Caterina and most probably her younger sister Francesca. They were talented daughters of the marchese's cook, who took the marchese's surname as they pursued successful careers in the theater; see Salvo 1998.

[96] Cairo 1989.

[97] The best source to convey the complexity of mid-eighteenth-century politics remains Pastor 1949–1950.

[98] Michel 1987, 61; Bernström 1964; and Redford 2008, 8.

[99] Guccini 1989.

The Arcadians performed all types of literary works (much to the chagrin of the Schismatics): short sonnets and epigrams, longer songs and odes, and improvised poetry. Musical accompaniment to text in the form of the cantata, serenata, oratorio, and eventually opera prevailed in the Academy.[100] The Arcadians used whatever stage or theater they had available. Patrons lent their gardens and indoor theaters or *salone* for the performances, which they marked as Arcadian by hanging their insignia nearby. In Arcadia prima, some members had aspired to develop a type of theater event specifically identified with the Academy. After experimenting with an unsuccessful form of musical pastoral, they developed a type of melodrama that met with some success, albeit short-lived.[101] The playwrights adapted Aristotelian rules of drama for Arcadian purposes, putting them in the service of plots with specific moral lessons on how to acquire civic virtue. In order to argue that Piranesi was aware of the melodramas of Arcadia prima and that the architectural views of his *Prima parte* are in some measure a response to them, I elaborate on the dramatic plots and on the stage sets that accompany them.

The plots were predictable. The narratives mostly derived from history, and occasionally mythology, with the specifics liberally altered so that they presented a Christian allegory. In every play there was usually a ruler or ruler-in-the-making—Constantine, Theodosius, Cyrus, Charlemagne—who overcomes some kind of moral obstacle, either exterior to himself, such as an enemy, or interior, such as a crisis of faith.[102] More complicated tensions also arose in the pursuit of power, such as when choices are made between loyalty to family or lovers and loyalty to state. Likewise, there is suspense when the protagonists struggle to achieve virtuous behavior as they develop into wise and just rulers. After that transformation, their subjects, and sometimes their enemies, come to admire and love them.

The Arcadians of Crescimbeni's day were fortunate to have four major patrons interested in staging their melodramas. The most active of these was the cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740; Crateo Pradolini), chancellor to the Papal States and one of the last great wealthy cardinals appointed during the age of papal nepotism. He was noted for offering the theater in the Palazzo Cancelleria for the productions of Arcadian melodramas and at times for writing the libretti himself.[103] The other patrons were Prince Francesco Maria Ruspoli (1672–1731; Olinto Arsenio), Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska (1640–1716), and Duke Livio Odescalchi (1652–1713; Aquilio Naviano). Among them, these four friendly rivals commissioned some of the best eighteenth-century musicians and artists to execute the Arcadian plays.[104] In this manner, the visual arts promoted the Accademia degli Arcadi's literary reform.

Juvarra was a designer of many Arcadian sets for these patrons during his time in Rome from 1704 to 1714. He was known for creating relevant architectonic settings for Arcadian melodramas; some of the librettists edited their texts to respond to elements in Juvarra's designs.[105] Juvarra was a prolific artist who devised many alternative set designs for a given scene.[106] The engravers' illustrations after Juvarra's drawings of the implemented sets, which appear in the published libretti,

[100] Tcharos 2011 explores the Academy's apprehension about opera in a broad cultural and political context.

[101] Accorsi 1995.

[102] Dixon 2006, 36–40.

[103] Holmes 1985; Viale Ferrero 1978, 276–285; and Piperno 1987. Also see Volpicelli 1989, 683–687; and Manfredi 2010, 317–420.

[104] Kirkendale 1972–1973; Talbot and Timms 1987, 369–394; Cairo 1989, 786–787; and Manfredi 2013, 182.

[105] Piperno 1987, 350–354. See also Strohm 1997, 11.

[106] Manfredi 2010, 359–420; Viale Ferrero 1999.

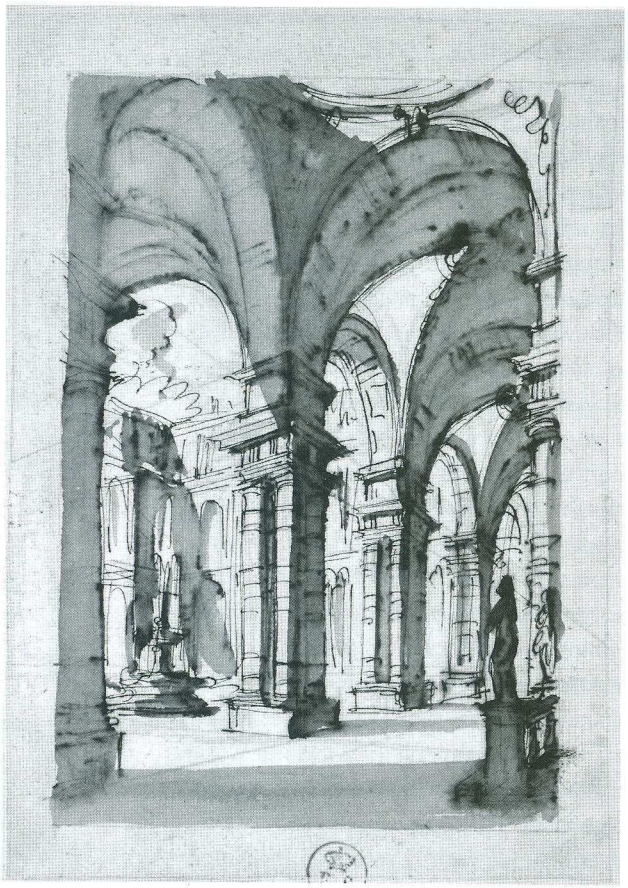


Fig. 21. Filippo Juvarra, Courtyard of Library, *scene v from* Costantino Pio, *drawing. Ministero per i Beni e Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Ris 59–4, fol. 109 (2).*

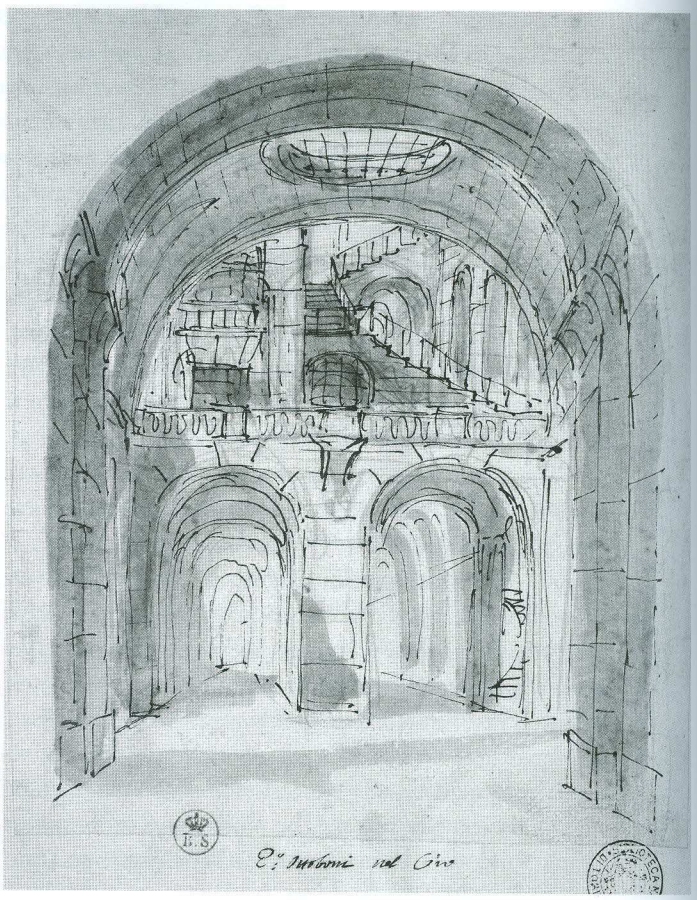


Fig. 22. Filippo Juvarra, Prison, *scene ix from* Ciro, *drawing. Ministero per i Beni e Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Ris 59–4, fol. 87 (1).*

capture only a glimmer of the vibrancy of Juvarra's draftsmanship and the breadth of his capacity for invention. Despite Juvarra's talents, however, he provided predictable types of sets to embody the predictable scenes of the Arcadian plots. Because the sets were intended to echo the action or the emotional state of the characters engaged in the action, a repertoire of four standard sets was established for others to emulate.[107] The Deception Type defines a scene in which tensions developed because of some trickery or some delivery of faulty information. The action usually happened in a library, a prison, or some large interior room with multiple compartmentalized smaller units—balconies or stair landings—and some strong elements to distinguish the units—elaborately designed structural piers, sometimes clusters of columns on high bases, short runs of zigzag staircases, or skylights (figs. 21–22). This series of small interlocked spaces allowed for interlopers either to overhear dialogue or to stage dialogues to be overheard. The Deception Type scenes were created using the *scena per angolo*; the oblique perspective afforded the audience a view of the various nooks and crannies in the large space, and thus provided viewers with knowledge of the action that the characters themselves did not always possess.

[107] Dixon 2006, 40–44.

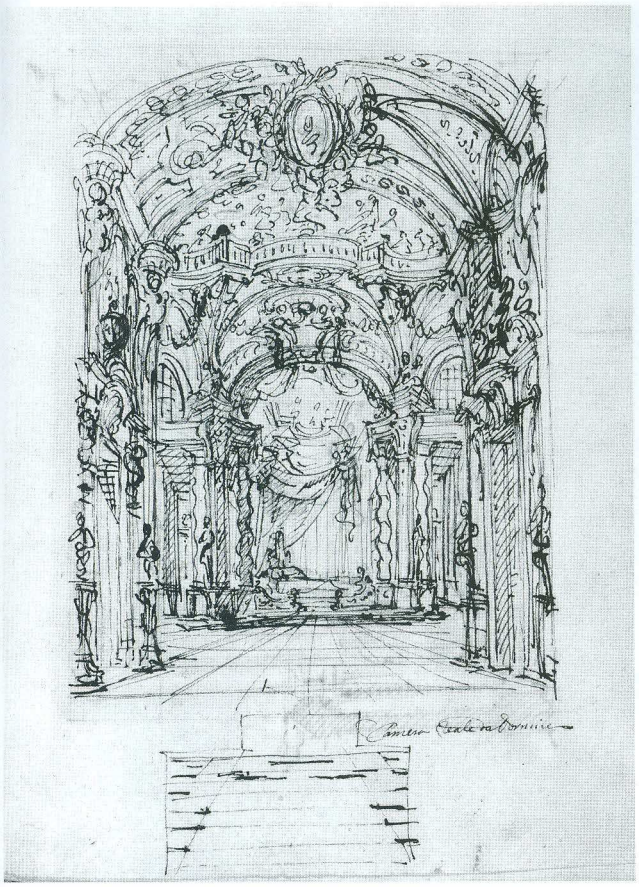


Fig. 23. Filippo Juvarra, Gabinetto, scene ii from Teodosio il Giovane, *drawing.*
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 8426.42 recto.



Fig. 24. Filippo Juvarra, City Square, *from an unidentified melodrama, drawing.*
© Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 8426.36.

Intimate dialogues, sometimes between the protagonist and his lover or his loyal sidekick, occur in shallow sets, usually employing one-point perspective. These Dialogue Type sets are usually relatively small rooms in a palace, such as a throne room or bedchamber (fig. 23). In these Dialogue scenes, great sorrow is expressed or confusion grows, where the dilemma of trying to find a virtuous way out of a complex situation is articulated and begins in full earnest. The shallow and sometimes even constrained space of these sets creates an apt atmosphere for these emotional scenes.

A third type, the Wilderness, includes sites where nature encroaches on the civilized world, as in seaports or forests outside the city walls. The sets contain uninhibited and wild dramatic action. Occasionally, such scenes happen in wide open city squares, places where civic unrest, if prompted, might occur (fig. 24). These tend to employ the *scena per angolo*, which mimics the depth and complexity of the characters' emotions.

In the last type of set, the Stair, virtue is achieved and all action is resolved. It is always a magnificent stair, usually split, with multiple symmetrically placed landings. Rendered in one-point perspective in order to accommodate the straightforward resolution of the plot, this set is lit from above, which suggests that a divine entity intervened to help the main character in his final transformation (fig. 25).



Fig. 25. Filippo Juvarra, final scene from an unidentified melodrama for Teatro Ottoboni, Palazzo Cancelleria, Rome, drawing. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 8426.77.

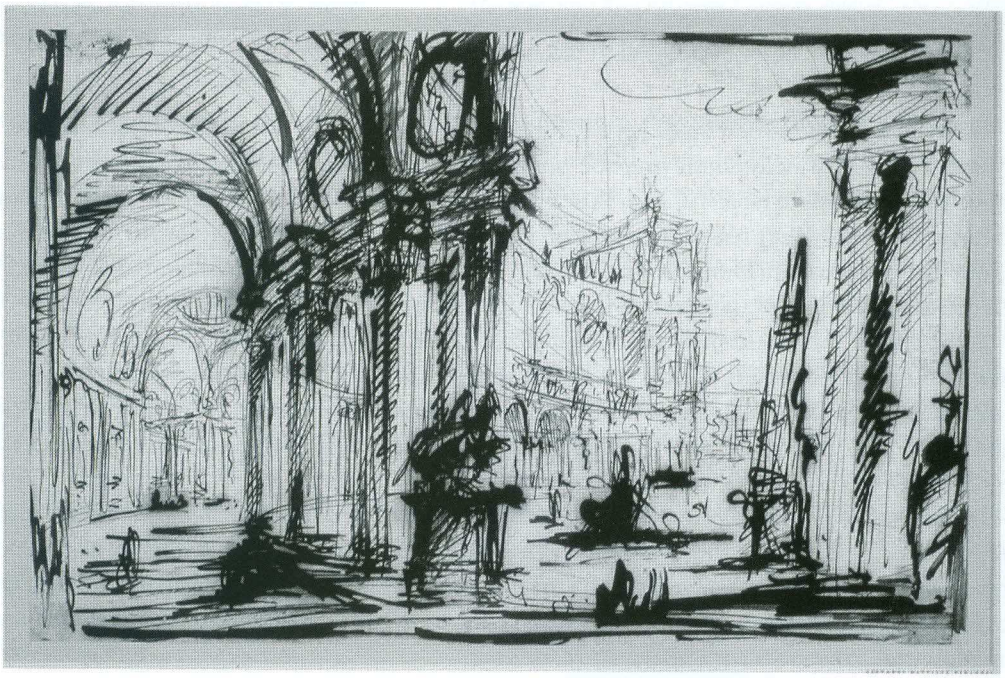


Fig. 26. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, after Filippo Juvarra, City Square Seen through a Curving Colonnade, *scene vii from* Teodosio il Giovane, *drawing, pen and brown ink. © The Trustees of The British Museum, 1908.0616.46.*

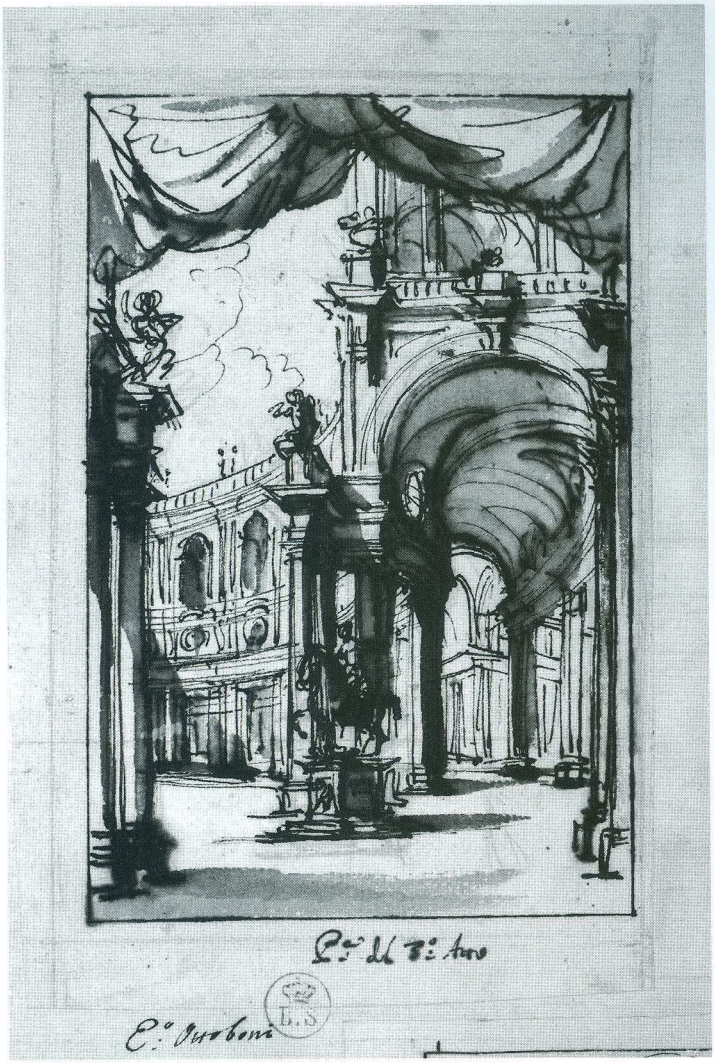


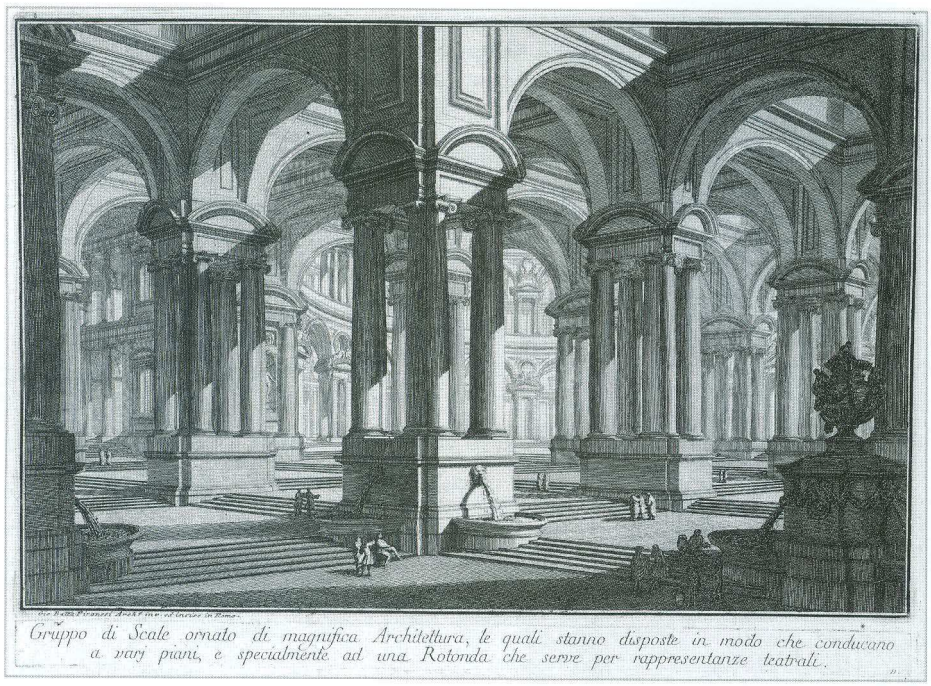
Fig. 27. Filippo Juvarra, City Square, *scene vii from* Teosodio il Giovane, *drawing. Ministero per i Beni e Attività Culturali, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, Ris 59–4, fol. 84 (1).*

As noted above, Piranesi commended Juvarra in the preface to *Prima parte*, and he knew and copied some of Juvarra's Arcadian stage sets (figs. 26–27).[108] Some of Piranesi's prints from *Prima parte* are inspired by the typical Arcadian stage sets. His *Rotondo* (fig. 28) and *Camera Oscura* (fig. 29) are formally like Juvarra's Deception Type sets (see figs. 21–22).[109] Similarly, the *Sala all'uso degli antichi Romani* is in the general form of the Dialogue Type (figs. 30, 23), while Piranesi's depiction of an urban square is akin to the Wilderness Type (figs. 31, 24). [110] The artist provided no triumphant Stair Types. However, his *Tempio antico* (figs. 32, 25) has elements related to this type, with the variety of stair runs and landings and with the light source from

[108] Murray 1968, 22–24. Three Piranesi drawings appear to be after two engravings of Juvarra's scenes for *Teodosio il Giovane*. The association of many of Piranesi's *Prima parte* prints to Juvarra's sets, and of Piranesi to Juvarra in general, is widely recognized. For example, see Wilton-Ely 1978, 19; and Marshall 2003.

[109] Robison 1981, 16–17. Piranesi's caption relates that the *Rotondo* could be used for theatrical performances.

[110] By the third issue of 1747, Piranesi had appended captions to the images, explaining that the compositions were imagined ancient ruins. See Robison 1981, 22.



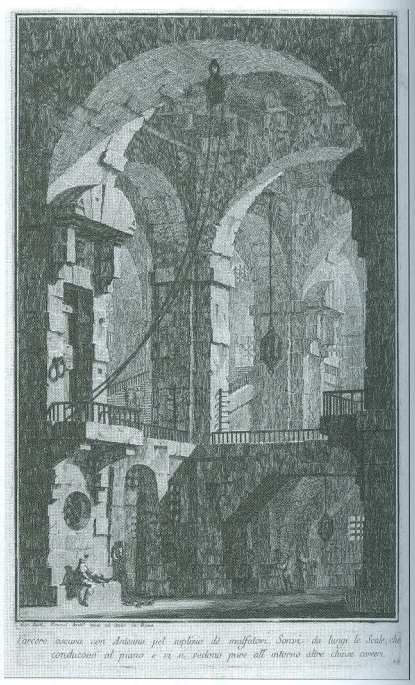


Fig. 28 (left). Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Rotondo (Gruppo di Scale), *from* Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva, *1st ed., 3rd issue, dated 1743 but printed 1747, pl. 11. Andrew W. Mellon Fund 1978.3.1 (image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington).*
Fig. 29 (right). Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Camera Oscura, *from* Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva, *state 3, ca. 1750, pl. 2. Harris Brisbane Dick Fund 37.45.3 (5) © The Metropolitan Museum of Art (image: Art Resource, New York).*

above. The correspondence is not exact. My point is not that Piranesi created these prints as stage set designs for a specific Arcadian melodrama. He did not indicate this. Rather, these are architectural fantasies, as scholars have rightly identified them. Piranesi was following the advice of the day that all good architects, among whom Piranesi included himself, should know how to create perspectival constructions.[111] Bottari, who wrote passionately about artistic creation and patronage, was very adamant on this point.[112] In *Prima parte*, Piranesi was advertising his skills in perspective to any prospective patron of architecture. Nonetheless, by identifying himself as an Arcadian on the title page and by showcasing designs akin to the formulaic stage sets of Arcadia prima, Piranesi signaled that perhaps he anticipated that the organization under Morei's custody would re-embrace theater to enact its cultural reform. That was not the case. Although there were some interested patrons, in general, theater events in private palaces were on the wane. In the public theaters, managers catered to audiences who demanded something more entertaining and innovative than the conventional and moralizing Arcadian plots. At the same time, elites argued about the immorality of theater.[113]

This situation partially explains why no patron emerged for *Prima parte* and why there was no *Seconda parte*.[114] Piranesi's career, however, as is well known, did not falter because of the lack of

[111] As noted above, Piranesi's early training prepared him well for this. Also, see Robison 1981, 12–13.

[112] Bottari 1845, 83–116.

[113] Grimaldi 1988–1989, referring to the argument between the Dominican Daniele Concina (Concina 1753) and the Franciscan Giovanni Antonio Bianchi (1686–1768; Lauriso Tragiense) (Bianchi 1753).

[114] Scholars, including Robison 1981, 37–38, have discussed Piranesi's *Grotteschi*, 1747, and *Carceri,* 1st edition 1749, as a series of prints whose imagery was akin to the prints of *Prima parte.*

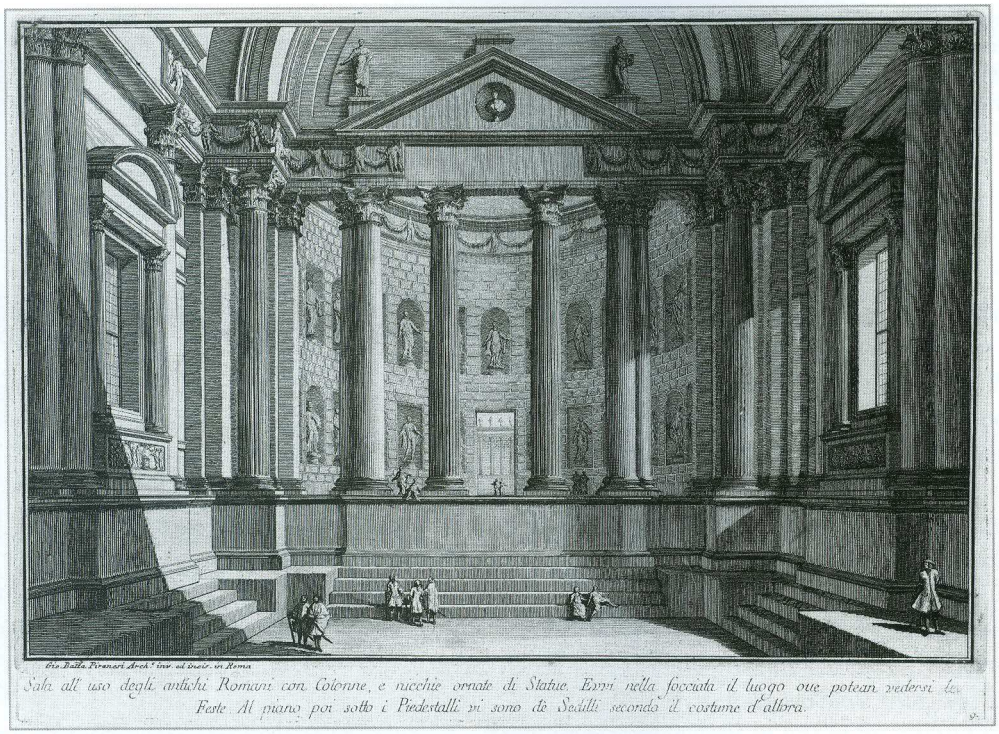


Fig. 30. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Sala all'uso degli antichi romani, *from* Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva, *1st ed., 3rd issue, dated 1743 but printed 1747, pl. 9. Andrew W. Mellon Fund 1978.3.1 (image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington).*



Fig. 31. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Campidoglio antico, *from* Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva, *1st ed., 3rd issue, 1747, pl. 10. Andrew W. Mellon Fund 1978.3.1 (image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1978.3.1).*

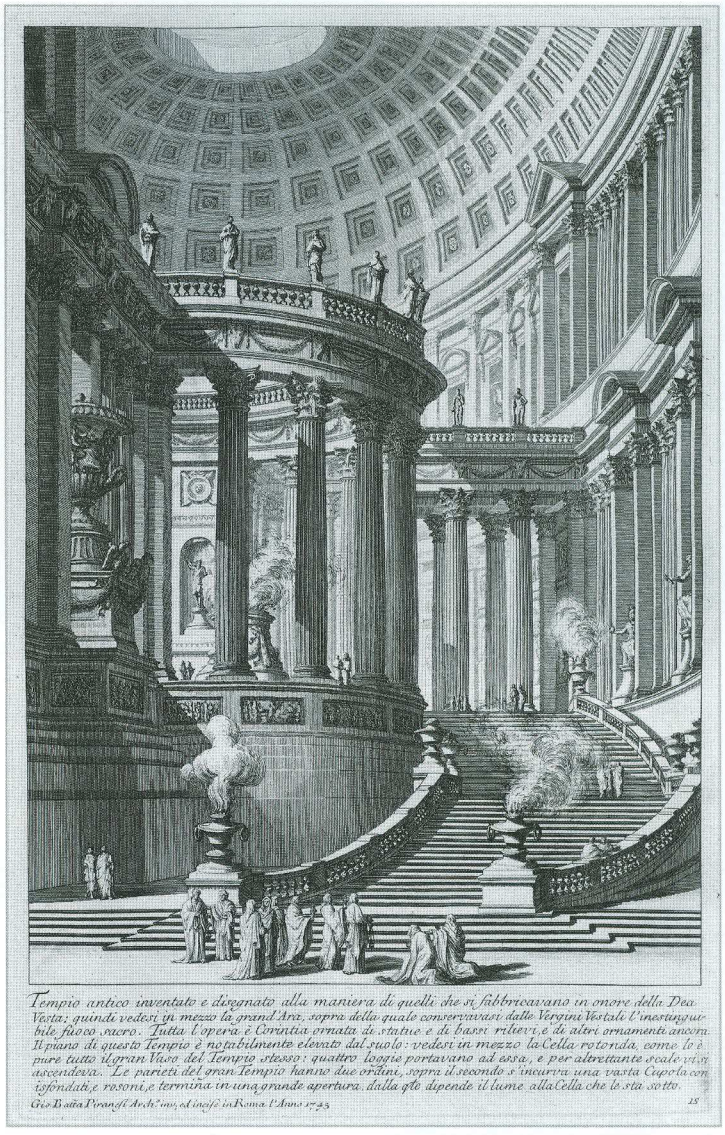


Fig. 32. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Tempio antico, *from* Prima parte di architettura e prospettiva, *1st ed., 6th issue, 1748/49, pl. 15. Rosenwald Collection 1949.5.13 (image courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington).*

great interest in his publication.[115] By 1750, Piranesi incorporated the prints into his *Opere varie*, and he was at work on other publications. In that year, he issued *Le antichità romane de' tempi della reppublica e de' primi imperatori,* a series of twenty-eight prints predominantly of ancient Roman arches, which he dedicated to Bottari. *Le vedute di Roma,* originally a series of thirty-four views, followed in 1751. *Le vedute* went without patronage, but even so it was a commercial success. Piranesi added prints with each reissue.[116] For the four volumes of *Le antichità romane* (1756), Piranesi sought the patronage of James Caulfield, First Earl of Charlemont (1728–1799; Nisidio Trezenio), who had joined the Accademia degli Arcadi along with a few British subjects.

[115] Dixon 1999 argues that Piranesi's *Grotteschi* of 1747 or 1748 were created with Bianchini's theory of illustration, which was informed by the new science, in mind. The four prints went without dedication.

[116] Wilton-Ely 1978, 28–30.

Although he failed to secure Charlemont's financial backing, the publication was nonetheless issued.[117] Indeed, by the second half of the century, after Piranesi had focused most of his creative energies on representing the grandeur of ancient Rome, he found eager buyers for his prints, especially on the international market.

8. Toward an Arcadian Art

What does this microhistory of Vasi's ability and Piranesi's inability to obtain patronage for their respective publications tell us about Arcadian art? What kind of visual art did the Arcadians recognize as consonant with their efforts for cultural reform in eighteenth-century Rome? As Vasi's case suggests, the Accademia degli Arcadi embraced visual art as a tool to envision a new society concerned with the public good and to participate in efforts to use new literary expression and new scientific methods for social improvement.

Can this be demonstrated by studies of Vasi's and Piranesi's fellow artists? There were many; the increase in artists in the Accademia degli Arcadi after 1743 was significant, nearly quintupling, suggesting an expanded role for them. But what had been the role of artist members before 1743? Of the eleven who had been admitted into Arcadia prima, many were poets. Marchese Girolamo Teodoli (1677–1766; Audalgo Toledermio), known for architectural projects such as the renovation of the Church of SS. Pietro e Marcello in Rome, was a practicing poet, as, we have seen, was Salvi. Carlo Maratti was a favorite of Crescimbeni, and an ekphratic analysis of one of his paintings was featured in the *custode*'s *Arcadia*. Maratti's daughter Faustina Marrati Zappi (ca. 1649–1745; Aglaura Cidonia) was one of the more accomplished female poets of her age.[118] Other artist members created works for the organization. Various garden meeting places of the Accademia degli Arcadi were designed and realized by Girolamo Odam (1681–after 1718; Dorindo Nonacrino), Giovanni Battista Contini (1642–1723; Euclio Tagiense), Antonio Canevari, and Salvi. As noted, Juvarra supplied stage sets for Arcadian theater.[119]

In Arcadi terza, artist members increased 300 percent among those native to Italy and nearly 500 percent among those from all parts of Europe, while the percentage of their numbers in the overall membership increased by roughly 3.8 percent and 5.9 percent, respectively.[120] They include some of the most successful artists of the day: painters Francesco Trevisani, Marco Benefial (1684–1764; Distanio Etneo), and Agostino Masucci (1691–1768; Polignoto Eleusino); sculptors Pietro Bracci (1700–1773; Giliso Niddanio) and Filippo Valle (1698–1768; Prassinoo Ateniense); and architect Ferdinando Fuga (1699–1781; Dedalo Ippodromiaco).[121] It would be worth investigating whether

[117] Lord Charlemont was one of about a dozen Englishmen admitted in Arcadia terza; there had been less than a handful in Arcadia prima. Recent scholarship on the Society of the Dilettanti's sponsorship of Greek archaeological expeditions and of their publication in these years sheds light on why Charlemont, a member of the Dilettanti, might not have been interested in following through on accepting the dedication of *Le antichità Romane* (Piranesi 1756). Redford 2008; and Kelly 2011. For the circumstances of Piranesi 1757, the publication of the angry letter addressed to Charlemont and his agent, see Scott 1975, 109–116; and H. H. Minor 2006.

[118] Rudolph 1995 on Maratti's painting in Crescimbeni 1711, 129–175. Also see Maier 1954.

[119] For Juvarra's membership in the Accademia degli Arcadi, see Manfredi 2010, 354–357.

[120] These percentages are derived from data in Quondam 1973 and Michel 1987.

[121] Significant scholarship on these artists includes Barroera 2000; Kieven and Pinto 1998; Johns 2016; V. H. Minor 1976; and Wolfe 2007. See also Johns 2014; Bowron and Rishel 2000; Cipriani and Valeriani 1991; and Cipriani 2000, throughout. Successful non-Arcadian artists include Pompeo Batoni, Placido Costanzi, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, Camillo Rusconi, and Nicola Michetti.

any of their works, especially those created in association with fellow *pastori* or *pastorelle*, were Arcadian in the way that Vasi's is.

Arcadian archives, as far as I know, are silent on what precipitated the rise in the number of visual artists after 1743. However, since admission required sponsorship, the more elite Arcadians, including a great number of papal court functionaries, were responsible for fueling this trend. These include the scholars Bottari and Bianchini, for whom the visual, as we have seen, was an important mode of knowledge. It also includes the *custode* Morei, whose work as an officer of the Accademia degli Arcadi earned him a privileged place in one of Benedict XIV's four academies,[122] and Benedict XIV, whose embattled papal powers benefited from Arcadian diplomatic activities. The pope's enlightened agenda, including his patronage of the arts and his support of experimental science, has recently been the subject of scholarly attention.[123] Further study of the constellation of characters congregating in Arcadia terza could reveal an exquisite confluence of the operations of art and science in mid-eighteenth-century Rome.

[122] Donato 2000, 102–103.

[123] Messbarger, Johns, and Gavitt 2016; Johns 2014.

Appendix

Information from the Accademia degli Arcadi archives, as transcribed in Anna Maria Giorgetti Vichi, *Gli Arcadi dal 1690 al 1800: Onamasticon* (Rome 1977), with some modifications. Artists are listed in alphabetical order by surname, followed (in parentheses) by place of birth, title, and professional title, if applicable. Information in [brackets] was supplied by author.

Visual Artists Admitted in Arcadia Prima (1690–1728)

From Parts of Italy:

Canevari, Antonio (Rome, [architect]) = Elbasco Agroterico
Contini, Giovanni Battista (Rome, architect) = Euclio Tragiense
Cristofare, Pietro Paolo (Rome, mosaicist) = Evarte
*Fontana, Carlo (Rome, architect) = Olmano Falesio
Ghezzi, Giuseppe (Ascoli, secretary of Accademia di San Luca, [painter]) = Afideno Badio
Juvarra, Filippo (Messina, architect) = Bramanzio Feesseo
Maratti, Carlo (Ancona, cavaliere, painter) = Disfilo Coriteo
Morandi, Giovanni Maria (Florence, painter) = Mantino Agoriense
Odam, Girolamo (Rome, cavaliere, [architect]) = Dorindo Nonacrino
Salvi, Nicola (Rome, [architect]) = Lindreno Issuntino
Teodoli, Girolamo (Rome, marchese, [architect]) = Audalgo Toledermio

*Entered under Crescimbeni, but was no longer a member after the Schism of 1711; died in 1719.

From beyond Italy:

Poerson, Charles François (France, painter) = Timante Cochiano

Visual Artists Admitted in Arcadia Seconda (1728–1743)

From Italy:

Ricciolini, Nicolo (Rome, painter) = Telefane
**Vanvitelli, Luigi (Rome, architect) = Cleante Fidiaco
***Vasi, Gisueppe (Corleone, [printmaker], abate) = Dionisio

** Vanvitelli was readmitted in Arcadia terza, with a new pastoral name.
***Although the Arcadian lists indicate that Vasi was admitted in Arcadia terza, recent scholarship by Paolo Coen argues that he was admitted earlier.

No artists admitted from beyond Italy.

Visual Artists Admitted in Arcadia Terza (1743–1766)

From Italy:

Barbazza, Antonio [Giuseppe], (Rome, [printmaker]) = Sostrato Fedriano
Benefial, Marco (Rome, painter) = Distanio Etneo

Bergondi, Andrea (Rome, sculptor) = Quaristo Lirceio
Bracci, Alessandro (Rome, sculptor) = Nirilbo Compageneo
Bracci, Pietro (Rome, sculptor and architect) = Giliso Niddanio
Brioni, Filippo (Rome, architect) = Timomaco Dulichiense
Casanova, Giovanni (Venice, painter) = Saurio Trocense
Chiaveri, Gaetano (Rome, architect to king of Poland) = Eufranore Nepelo
Ciurini, Bernardino (Florence, architect) = Archita Ismento
Cornacchini, Agostino (Pescia, sculptor) = Alcamene Agripolitano
Corradini, Antonio (Venice, sculptor) = Prometeo Tritoniano
+Fuga, Ferdinando (Florence, architect) = Dedalo Ippodromiaco
Gionsensi ([?], sculptor and architect) = Seginio
Gregorini, Domenico (Rome, architect, cavaliere) = Silvasio Gnidio
Guglielmi, Gregorio (Rome, painter) = Nicofane Maratense
Mancini, Francesco (S. Angelo in Vado, painter) = Atenione Tebeo
Marchionni, Carlo (Rome, architect and sculptor) = Fidisco Macistanio
De Marchis, Tommaso (Rome, architect) = Asclepiodoro Isauriense
Masucci, Agostino (Rome, painter) = Polignoto Eleusino
Mora, Benedetto (Rome, painter) = Pratilbo
Nolli, Giovanni Battista (Milan, architect and geometer) = Quarino Atenalco
Orlandi , Clemente (Rome, architect) = Andronide Idruntino
Ostini, Pietro (Rome, architect) = Cratone Milesio
Pannini, Giovanni Paolo (Piacenza, view painter) = Ludio Frigiense
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista (Venice, architect) = Salcindio Tiseio
Stern, Ludovico (Rome, painter) = Cillenio Laconide
Tacchetto, Camillo (Verona, miniaturist, regular canon of the Lateran) = Femio
Tempesta, Giovanni Battista (Pisa, painter) = Clinio Tessalideo
Tibaldi Subleyras, Maria Felice (Rome, miniaturist) = Asteria Aretusia
Trevisani, Francesco (Venice, painter) = Sanzio Echeiano
Valle, Filippo (Florence, sculptor) = Prassinoo Ateniense
Vanvitelli, Luigi (Rome, architect) = Archimede Fidiaco

+ Fuga's wife, Angela Ponetti Fuga (Arianna Cinosuria), was a member; she was of the de' Rossi family, who were owners of the longstanding Roman publishing house purchased by the papacy in 1738 to form the Calcografia Camerale.

From beyond Italy:

Briard, Gabriel (Paris, painter) = Melito Rodopense
Challe, Charles-Michelange (France, painter) = Eupompo Macistense
Challe, Simon (Paris, sculptor) = Cinisco Callicrateo
Dance, George [the Elder]([England, architect]) = Goriceo Tegeatide
Doyen, Gabriel-François (France, painter) = Arelllio Focasio
Hallè, Noël (Paris, painter) = Adalgiso
Harsdorff, Caspar Frederick (Denmark, architect) = Nisendro Attico
Hoare I, Prince [the Elder] (London, sculptor) = Palmisco Ettidio
Lederer, August Gottfried (Saxony, architect) = Metrodo Lamsacense
Mengs, Anton Raphael (Saxony, painter) = Dina Sipillo

Parker, John (Jr.) (England, painter) = Dinia Tespio
Preciado da la Vega, Francisco (Seville, painter) = Parrasio Tebano
Queriolo, Francesco (Genova, sculptor) = Eudorio
Robert, Hubert (Paris, painter) = Cratidio Alneo
Roettiers, [Charles-]Norbert (Paris, designer and engraver of royal medals) = Androclide
Soufflot, Jacques-Germain (Bourgogne, architect) = Calippo
Subleyras, Pierre (Langedoc, painter) = Protogiste
Tüntzel (?), Karl Gottfried (Saxony, painter) = Agesandro Craneio

Visual Artists Admitted under Brogi's and Pizzi's Custodianship (1766–1790)

From Italy:

Corvi, Domenico (Rome, painter) = Panfilo Eracleate
Giansimoni, Nicola (Rome, architect) = Aracinto Isauriense
Manetti Porta, Veronica (Rome, miniaturist) = Calliroe Licastea
Morelli, Cosimo (Imola, architect) = Metagene Dedaleo
Nicoletti, Francesco ([Rome], architect) = Eliodoro Atticense
Pannini, Francesco (Rome, painter) = Adrasto Opunzio
Pannini, Giuseppe (Rome, architect) = Diomede Scolense
Passalacqua, Melchiorre ([Rome], architect) = Geronte Gortinio
Piranesi, Francesco (Rome, [printmaker] = Alcindo Tiseio
Posi, Paolo (Siena, architect) = Minete Calidonio

From beyond Italy:

Baraguay, Thomas-Pierre ([France], architect) = Cresifonte Ateniense
Bouquier, Gabriel (Terrasson, painter) = Eucrate Protogenio
Caillat, Antoine (Lyon, painter) = Silveno Nifasio
Descamps, Jean-Baptiste (Flanders, painter, member of the Academy of Science and Letters in Rome) = Tigreno Palladiano
Felix, Louis-Pierre (France, architect) = Denocrate Esareo
Hewetson, Christopher (England, sculptor) = Mirone Atticense
Hue, Jean-François ([France], painter to the king) = Alcindo Apelleneo
Jacques, Timoteo (Geneva, architect) = Artemone Rodiense
Jallier de Savault, Jean Baptiste (France, architect) = Aurillo Ninfasio
LeBrun, Andrzej (Poland, sculptor to the king) = Mirone Diospolitano
Magena, Giovanni (Denmark, architect) = Almonide Elimeo
Mènageot, François (France, painter to the king) = Apelle Caritofile
Meyn, Peter (Denmark, architect) = Eudoro Creteo
Panisse, Jean-Louis (France, painter) = Aristeno Iridense
Riegel, Francesco (?)(Bonn, painter) = Parrasio Saturino
Tierce, Jean-Baptiste[-Antoine] (France, painter) = Eufranore Miceneo
De Troy, Jean-François ([France], painter) = Zeuside Parrasiaco
Vien, Joseph Marie (France, [painter], director of French Academy in Rome) = Acronte Dodoneo

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