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Fig. 1: Etching after a drawing by Charles Eisen, Frontispiez, in: Charles de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les Causes de la Grandeur des Romains, et de leur Décadence*, Paris: Huart, Moreau, 1748.

Pascal Griener

Carlo Fea and the Defense of the "Museum of Rome" (1783–1815)

For Daniela Gallo and Philippe Sénéchal

Roma quanta fuit

The small mediaeval town that the popes of the Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation had turned into a religious and cultural metropolis consisted of more than ancient remains and modern architecture. It embodied a complex theatre designed to impress the many who came to it on the Grand Tour; it was dependent on words, images, and a powerful scenery. The theatrics were not confined to expressing the grandeur of ancient Rome, but sought to convey that the Roman empire had been without end, prefiguring the eternal reign of God. The omnipresent juxtaposition of ancient ruins and Christian monuments, of old and new, recalled the historic victory of the true Faith over paganism. Such an appropriation was carried out during the ceremony of the "Possessio", in which the Pope symbolically took possession of the City and of its ancient heritage.[1] The message was inscribed on the very ruins of ancient Rome, on a heritage that was considered to be the paradigm of Culture.[2]

During the eighteenth century, Rome retained a primary importance as the museum of Europe. In his edition of Montaigne's "Journal de voyage", Meusnier de Querlon pointed out that "Rome seule est pour un véritable Curieux un monde entier à parcourir: c'est une sorte de Mappemonde en relief, où l'on peut voir un abrégé l'Egypte et l'Asie, la Grèce & tout l'Empire Romain, le Monde ancien & moderne. Quand on a bien vu Rome, on a beaucoup voyagé."[3] (fig. 1) However, throughout the century, the visitors to the eternal city viewed with an increasingly critical eye the apologetical use of the Roman ruins made by the Catholic Church. A whole ideology staged during the baroque period, meant to prove that the Roman empire was intended by God as a preparation for the universal rule of Christianity, began to crumble.[4] Early on, English tourists or German protestants could take a certain distance towards such propaganda.[5] But soon, even some catholics were to sanction their ideas. In 1812, Vivant Denon expressed the view that "Ce sont moins les irruptions des Barabares qui ont saccagé cette ville, que les prêtres chrétiens".[6] Such an analysis was not new, and merely showed that Denon now subscribed to Edward Gibbon's analysis in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire".[7] Moreover, by linking the development of ancient art with that of liberty in ancient times, Winckelmann had opened the way to a political appropriation of the ancient history of art by the "philosophes", and after 1789, by the Revolutionaries.[8]

Rome or Athens?

Ancient Rome herself did, necessarily, propose a highly problematic model. By removing monuments and statues from Greece in order to decorate the capital of their empire, the Roman army had revealed Rome's own inability to "produce" such works of art. Admittedly, Winckelmann's views on this issue were somewhat contradictory, and he did admit that Rome had saved the arts at a time when they were in danger of decay in Greece.[9] French historiography of the second half of the eighteenth century, in any case, chose to stress the opposition between the (superior) Greek

and the (inferior) Roman civilizations. Mariette illustrated this in his "Lettre sur les ouvrages de M. Piranesi":[10] the Romans felt nothing but contempt for artists. For them art remained a futile business which they were glad to delegate to slaves and *Graeculi*. For the abbé Arnaud, the "liaison du système des sciences et des arts parmi les Grecs, avec leur système politique" deserved great admiration. "Le système de la politique et celui de la religion, ne formaient chez les Egyptiens et chez les Grecs qu'un seul et même système".[11] The secret of the development and perfection of Greek art was its complete integration within the structure of Greek society. In a letter to Bachaumont, the painter Pierre highlighted the contrast between Greece and Rome:

"Les arts autrefois utilisés par des hommes excellents en tout genre étaient certainement dans leur splendeur. Les Phidias, les Socrates étaient les sages qui instruisaient et gouvernaient leurs concitoyens; nuls préjugés, nulle mode. Les arts en se montrant dictaient les jugements; les concours publics, au milieu de la Grèce, n'étaient qu'une noble émulation, et les amateurs libres disaient leur avis, comparaient et décidaient pour le plus excellent. Comparez cet état de la peinture avec la façon dont elle fut regardée à Rome. Abandonnée aux esclaves, les Romains dépouillaient la Grèce et méprisaient les artistes."[12]

Despite their considerable efforts to transplant the arts into their country, the Romans remained borrowers. The French government after the Terror, the Directoire, quoted the model of Ancient Rome in an attempt to justify their plundering of antiques in Italy: thanks to those precious remains, modern French sculptors should have before their eyes the best models and should thus attain perfection, which would in turn proclaim the virtues of the modern Republic. It is no small paradox that an idea advocated in Rome, at the time when Rome was still the antiquary's principal field of activity, should then be turned against Rome and exploited to threaten its cultural supremacy. Winckelmann was eager to praise the freedom of thought he enjoyed in the papal state; the papacy, however, could not have foreseen that an antiquary's dream, born in the quiet gardens of the Villa Albani, should prosper and become the battle-cry of conquering nations. The violence of the French invasion served only to bring to light the reality of a decline well under way. Bonaparte's Italian campaign in 1796, as well the invasion of Rome in 1798, brought many ancient sculptures to Paris. On a symbolic level, they expressed the French ambition to remove Rome to Paris, so to speak. The Revolutionaries were taking possession of the paradigms of aesthetic perfection, thereby facilitating their own quest after high artistic achievement. The campaign also compelled the Revolutionaries to demonstrate that the monuments removed from Rome would find their rightful place in Paris, that there alone might they find their proper function, as crucial, organic components of the new Republic. Thus it was that the politicians and their spokesmen developed an ideology that would permit this articulation, accounting at the same time for the organic role to be played by modern sculpture and modern artists in the new state.

Carlo Fea, from the "Correction" of Winckelmann to the Appropriation of Quatremère's "Lettres"

At the very end of the eighteenth century, and even then only under pressure, the pontifical state revealed some willingness to modernise its own appropriation of the ancient Roman Heritage. One of the most active proponents of such a representation was an "abate" who was subsequently to be attributed the curatorship of the antiquities of Rome, Carlo Fea (1753–1836) (fig. 2).

Carlo Fea became the "prefetto delle Antichità" to Pope Pius VII in 1798; he was thus the successor to Winckelmann, Giambattista and Ennio Quirino Visconti. His early training had been as a lawyer and then, in 1783, he had signed the critical edition of Winckelmann's "Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi".[13] By so doing, he committed himself to the reformulation of the Roman Catholic vision of classical culture and its axioms: the "concinnitas" between pagan and Christian Rome, and the use of classical culture to vindicate Christianity. His critical edition of Winckelmann's "Geschichte" brought him to the attention of the Pope, and thereafter led to his appointment as "Prefetto delle Antichità".[14]

Fea first attempted to restore the old myth of the "Umbilicus orbis" in its various dimensions: political, religious, and cultural. Its major historical reference was still the age of Constantine, and its authorities the "Praeparatio evangelica" and the "Demonstratio evangelica", texts by Eusebius.[15] The bishop of Cesarea had welcomed the triumph in 312 of Constantine over Maxentius, a triumph that secured the dominance of Christianity in the Roman empire. In Constantine, he identified and praised the conjunction of the "imperator" and of the defender of the faith, the synthesis of the Pax Romana and of Christianity.[16] This conjunction quickly became part of a new vision of history; it was represented as the last stage in the evolution of humanity from barbarism to civilization. Paganism had surrendered to Christianity,[17] as polyarchy had done to the "imperium"; the unified empire was the "mimesis" of God's celestial reign. The only tension this apology was eager to underline was the incompatibility of paganism with the new religion, but this point of conflict was inserted into a teleological vision of history progressing toward the reign of God.[18]

Fea developed these ideas even further, moderating Eusebius's attacks against paganism, and reinforcing the continuity between the pagan divinities and the new God. Thus, the *imperium* "fu destinato da Dio precursore, e culla di lui vicario: Impero trionfante par virtù e per armi."[19] The Romans were virtuous; their morality was seen as being a clear sign of their election by

Fig. 2: Carlo Fea, Engraved Portrait after a design by Jean-Baptiste Wicar (1813). (Fea, Carlo, *Varietà di Notizie economiche fisiche antiquarie sopra Castel Gandolfo Albano Ariccia Nemi loro laghi ed emissarii*, Rome: Bourliè, 1820.)

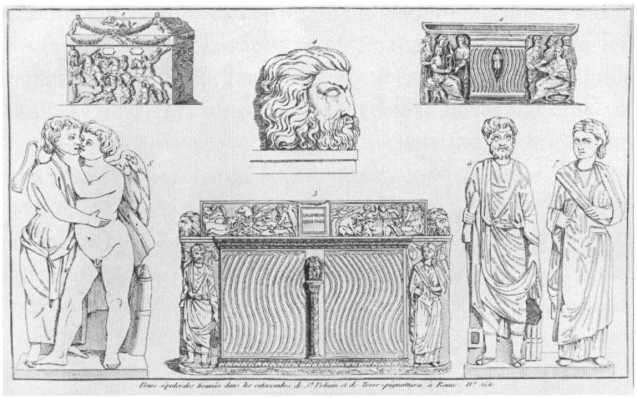


Fig. 3: Séroux d'Agincourt, Jean Baptiste, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens*, Paris/Strasbourg: Treuttel & Würtz, 6 vols., 1810-23, vol. II p. 30-31, and vol. IV plate IV.

God. An Augustinian outlook[20] allowed Fea to interpret this as a prophecy: "[...] quella unità di principi, d'animi, e di sentimenti, e di culture, che poi doveva perfezionarsi dalla Religione christiana."[21] His vision of the "Conversio" is a tamer version of Eusebius's, in which the pagan gods cede their thrones to God with the urbanity of English lords: "Quell'Impero eterno universale, promesso le tante volte da Giove alla sua Consorte Giunone, era certo; ma doveva appieno verificarsi nell'Impero di Gesù Christo. *Roma aeterna*, sempre in bocca e negli scritti di tutti non era una vanità; era; era un presagio indelebile dell'eternità, della perpetuità della sua Fede."[22]

Such an interpretation of classical culture was to find fertile ground in Rome; it filtered through to visitors wandering both in the Vatican Museum and in the more recent "Museo Borgiano" of Velletri.

The "Museo Pio-Clementino" restored a temple to the pagan Gods; and this temple belonged to the same complex of buildings as St Peter's. These buildings, just as was St Peter's tomb, were the penates of the Vatican. Even so, Pius VI was determined that the double significance of their display would not be forgotten. In 1791 he ordered that two splendid porphyry sarcophagi of Costanza and Helena should be moved from St Agnese and put on display in the new rooms of the Vatican museum. Their artistic value – as an example of fourth-century Roman art – and their significance as a witness to the spiritual "telos" of ancient history were paramount (fig. 3).[23]

Carlo Fea attempted to adapt Winckelmann to support this vision of culture. The universal fame of the art historian could be of benefit to the Holy See, and could serve to enhance its vision of culture. By the end of the eighteenth century there were many who had begun to view ancient Greece with more interest than ancient Rome; nonetheless, even they could admit that Winckelmann's life proved that Rome was still the most important place from which to observe "Hellas".[24] During his time in Rome, Winckelmann had acted as an ambassador for Greco-Roman culture in the Holy See whenever foreign kings and princes visited the Eternal City. Fea soon realized that the pontifical government had not extracted all the possible benefits from Winckelmann's work. His masterly history of ancient art was written in German; it had certainly been translated into Italian, but had been published in Milan rather than in Rome. Fea therefore decided to produce a critical edition whose fate would be more closely linked with that of the Eternal City: "[...] un'opera fatta dal Presidente delle Antichità in questa metropoli madre, e maestra delle belle arti, e che tanto conferisce alla di lei gloria coll'illustrarne i monumenti [...]"(fig. 4).[25]

In his preface to the "Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi", he was at great pains to catalogue errors amended in his own edition. With just cause, his edition is still considered the most useful amongst those published before the advent of the

twentieth century.[26] But Fea's famous obsession for correcting other scholars concealed a more fundamental ambition: the appropriation of Winckelmann by the Holy See.[27] And indeed, his edition of Winckelmann was so orthodox that Cardinal Stefano Borgia, head of the "Congregatio Propaganda Fide", could recommend it to his "nipote" Camillo as a good introduction to his own "Museo sacro".[28]

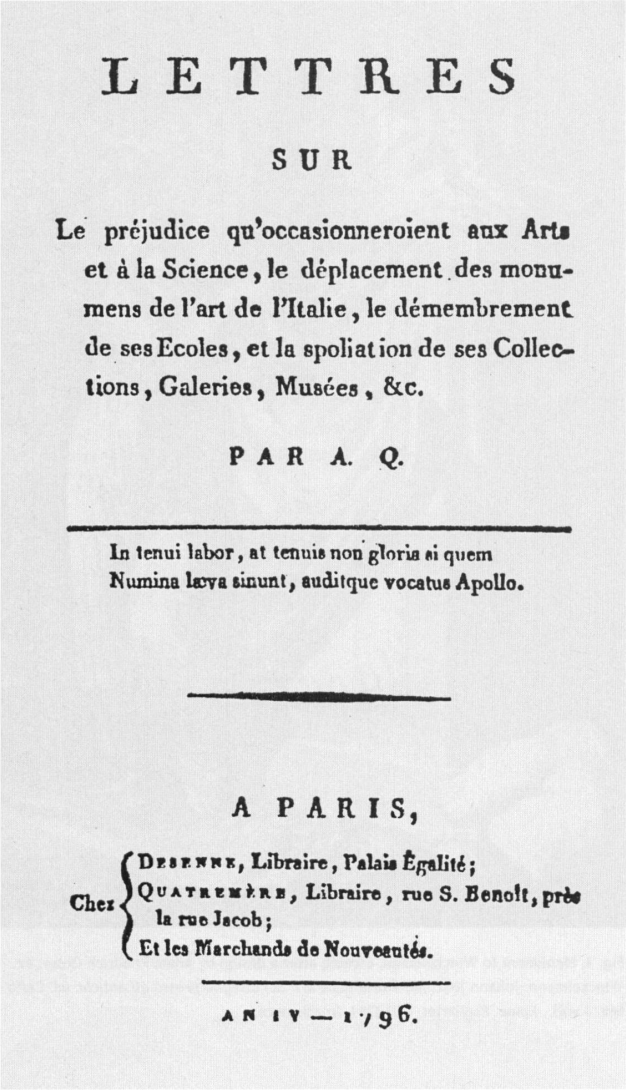
Fea's first step here was the reappropriation of the "man" Winckelmann, the former heretic and reader of Bayle and Montesquieu, who could be seen as harbouring a certain nostalgia for paganism – the artistic religion *par excellence*. It was this paganism that Goethe was, with reason, to celebrate in his "Sketch of a portrait of Winckelmann"[29]. Fea reacted against what he perceived as being a threat.

Fea's attempt to present Winckelmann as both a remarkable antiquary and an authentic Roman Catholic should be understood in this light. Fea may well have admired ancient religion as the most marvellous incentive for the creation of statues, but all of a sudden he seemed to notice the anti-Catholic seeds contained within this "paganism". He was very aware of the dangers of antiquity's attraction during the last decades of the eighteenth century: indifference or aggression towards the Catholic faith, libertinism, and even a scarcedly-concealed atheism. Some shared the view that all religions were similar in essence, but they rejected the Roman Catholic ideology, and consequently the Eusebian vision of humanity's progress, replacing it with another, secular representation of the philosophical "histoire de l'esprit humain". No hierarchy, no q u a l i t a t i v e difference, distinguished Christianity from other superstitions; the only possible difference came in a morality and an institution which aroused their contempt. No one was to express better this tension between the secular ethos of the new "philosophe"-art historian and the pontifical ideology than Georg Zoëga, the curator of Borgia's "Museo Sacro". Sketching his literary projects to a friend, he wrote: "[...] das Werk, welches ich schreibe, *si dis placebit*, von Aegypten handelt, der Titel sehr simpel Catalogus der Aegyptischen Münzen im Cabinet Borgia, aber nach dem geheimen Plan, ein erstes Capitel einer Geschichte der Menschheit, die ich lange meditire, und das erste philosophische Buch nebst dem Throne der Heucheley."[30]

Fea was eager not to give any chance to such detractors of the Christian religion; he was anxious, for example, to prove that the sculptors of the Costanza sarcophagus had recognized only the true religion, excluding all pagan beliefs, even if "i Cristiani ritennero molte cose, per sè indifferenti, come simboli, e addatabili anche alle usanze, e riti loro."[31]

Fea's second manoeuvre is to be found at the end of his edition of the "Storia". It takes the form of a dissertation inserted in volume III, called "Dissertazione sulle rovine di Roma".[32] The title is misleading, since the text's actual purpose is to disprove a

Fig. 4: Monument to Winckelmann, etching after a design by Adam Friedrich Oeser, ex: Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi*, ed. Carlo Fea, 3 vols., Rome: Pagliarini, 1783-1784, frontispiece.



LETTRES

SUR

Le préjudice qu'occasionneroient aux Arts et à la Science, le déplacement des monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses Ecoles, et la spoliation de ses Collections, Galeries, Musées, &c.

PAR A. Q.

In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria si quem
Numina læva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo.

A PARIS,

Chez { DESENNE, Libraire, Palais Égalité;
QUATREMÈRE, Libraire, rue S. Benoît, près la rue Jacob;
Et les Marchands de Nouveautés.

AN IV — 1796.

Fig. 5: Title page of the first edition of Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy's *Lettres* (1796).

mediaeval legend which had enjoyed considerable longevity, that is that the popes of the early church, and more especially Gregory the Great, had destroyed the Roman heritage of ancient statues; this had caused the decline and fall of ancient art.[33] The legend had been happily expounded by mediaeval theologians, who wished to "illustrate" by means of a powerful image the conflict or incompatibility between Christianity and late paganism. Similarly triumphant discourses provoked, of course, a reaction: the personification of Rome, mourning over the ruin of her classical heritage, had already appeared in late mediaeval iconography. By the time that Raphaël was appointed "Presidente delle Antichità",[34] he could bitterly remind Pope Leo X of the mistakes of his predecessors. Fea employed a variety of arguments to dismiss a legend that discredited the Holy See's cultural policy. To this end, he even went so far as to quote Bayle's "Dictionnaire historique et critique".[35] Wherever Winckelmann alluded to destruction in Christian Rome, Fea's footnotes cast doubt on the authenticity or meaning of the texts offered as authorities.[36] The Rome of Constantine allowed Christian objects and pagan idols to co-exist. From 312 onwards, these works of art, emptied of their meaning, became a heritage protected by the popes. The cult of beauty had simply replaced pagan worship.

Fea was proud of his new edition of Winckelmann's "Geschichte": "ho saputo fare un'edizione di un'opera, e quasi direi una nuova opera."[37] Indeed, in more than one respect, it was a new work. The main text was Winckelmann's, but commented on and presented with an apparatus that strongly proposed a biased reading of that text.

It is from that position that, after 1796, Fea realized that he should move towards a non-religious, more radical position, in order better to convince the European elites. He enrolled Quatremère and his "Lettres" to the rescue of the Roman heritage, even as it was already being looted by the French armies. In effect, Quatremère de Quincy's "Lettres sur le préjudice qu'occasionneroient aux Arts et à la Science, le déplacement des monumens de l'art de l'Italie" afforded the richest set of arguments supporting his cause, even among the enlightened elites which were highly critical towards a Catholic, apologetic defense of the classical heritage (fig. 5).[38] If by the time Quatremère was writing his pamphlet the game was already over – Bonaparte was looting Italy – the "Lettres" had found a very large audience.[39]

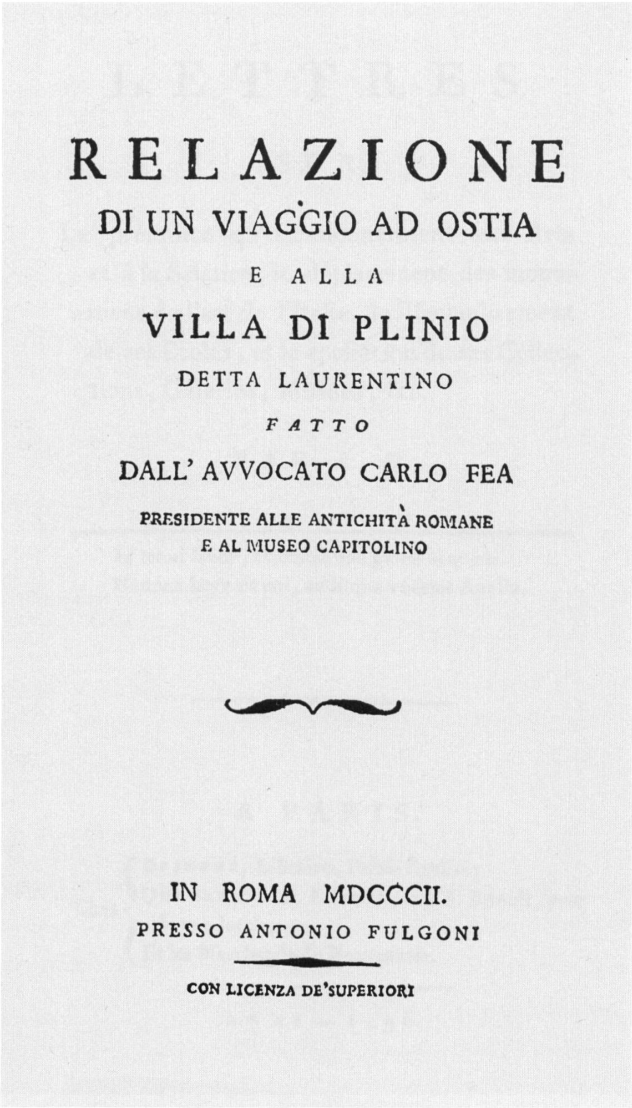
The Defense of Rome as a Museum

Quatremère de Quincy attempted to show that the test of the interdependence of nations was their mutual artistic relations, and their common dependence on an artistic metropolis: Rome. To deprive the city of its monuments and statues could only provoke the unavoidable decline of Western civilization. Quatremère had learnt from Montesquieu that between nations "Tout est

extrêmement lié".[40] This view of Europe as an organic entity was very close to Boyer d'Argens's in many respects; epistemologically, it was a by-product of the concept of the interdependence of living organisms, dominant in the biological sciences at that time. Like many successful theoretical models in the eighteenth century, this concept was used in other fields as a heuristic metaphor.[41] Certainly Quatremère made extensive use of it: hence, his representation of Europe as a single republic of arts and sciences, the capital of this harmonious, supra-national institution, of course, being Rome.

Quatremère's inquiry into what we could call the "Roman republic of culture" covered two main points: the organic relationship between Rome and its cultural heritage, and the no less organic relationship between Rome and Europe. To buttress his argument, he did not refrain from relying on very modern economic doctrines. Quatremère had lived in Rome for many years in his youth; like many travellers, he had been struck by the conservative, backward economy of the Holy See.[42] This peculiarity later became a positive element in his terms: he only had to translate the dichotomy between the "world of Art" and the "world of economic interest" into geographical terms. He praised Rome for being an angelic island in the middle of mercantile Europe.[43] Quatremère's modern Rome was not a city "au milieu de ce chaos de distractions d'un peuple nécessiteusement occupé de soins mercantiles".[44] It was the museum of the world, and the antithesis of the mercantile conception of the enjoyment of the work of art. Living was cheap for artists in the metropolis of the arts, far cheaper than in Paris. Besides, Rome did not actually possess any of its antiquities and monuments: "Les richesses des sciences et des arts ne sont telles, que parce qu'elles appartiennent à tout l'univers; pourvu qu'elles soient publiques et bien entretenues, qu'importe le pays qui en est le dépositaire: il n'est que le custode de mon museum. Oui, il mériterait d'en être dépossédé s'il en recelait les trésors, s'il en abusait, s'il les laissait dilapider: sinon il faut le payer pour qu'il veille à leur conservation."[45]

Each country of Europe had an equal right to possess them, but was expected never to exercise it. In both cases, enjoyment was exclusive of actual possession of the object of enjoyment. Clearly, in the "Lettres", relations between states are treated like relations between individuals. This analogy can be seen as Quatremère's ultimate attempt to speak the language of his opponents. In fact, he is defending a sense of cultural community lacking in his contemporaries. Quatremère derides those who seek to appropriate works by Raphaël, and compares them to relic hunters, whose fetishism of culture betrays the ideology of possessive individualism. The opposition between the "museum" Rome and mercantile Europe clearly drawn, Quatremère borrows the vocabulary of political economy to describe the cultural influence of Rome. It is important to note that such vocabulary is used metaphorically. Quatremère is translating, so to speak, his



RELAZIONE
DI UN VIAGGIO AD OSTIA
E ALLA
VILLA DI PLINIO
DETTA LAURENTINO
FATTO
DALL' AVVOCATO CARLO FEA
PRESIDENTE ALLE ANTICHITÀ ROMANE
E AL MUSEO CAPITOLINO

IN ROMA MDCCCII.
PRESSO ANTONIO FULGONI
CON LICENZA DE'SUPERIORI

Fig. 6: Title page of Fea, Carlo, *Relazione di un viaggio ad Ostia e alla villa di Plinio detta Laurentino*, Roma: Fulgoni, 1802.

own views of that influence into terms graspable by the bourgeoisie. This exercise of rhetoric produces the illusion that the world of culture is governed by its own, internal economy; through this conceit, Quatremère attempts to conceal the gap in his argument between the world of culture and that of the economy. He attempts to prove that the concentration of antiquities in Rome does not deprive foreign scholars of material. The scientific world is divided into different specialities, and some antiquaries will be able to observe the monuments, while others, living at a greater distance from Rome, will begin from the observations made and published by their colleagues, and systematize them. Here we see the principle of the division of labour, as defined by Adam Smith in "The wealth of nations", transposed to a higher level, the economy of culture and not that of goods.[46]

Such theories suggested that to mourn the tragic destiny of the Holy See, one need not have been a reactionary and ultramontanist. The baron de Grimm, who made no secret of his grief, was a friend of Diderot, and had enlisted himself in the battle for the "lumières".[47] He was a fierce defender of the conquests of the French Enlightenment, of which Quatremère was himself a product. Yet these two men viewed as the end of the world a process of plundering which the French Revolutionaries justified by reference to the dogmas of that same Enlightenment.

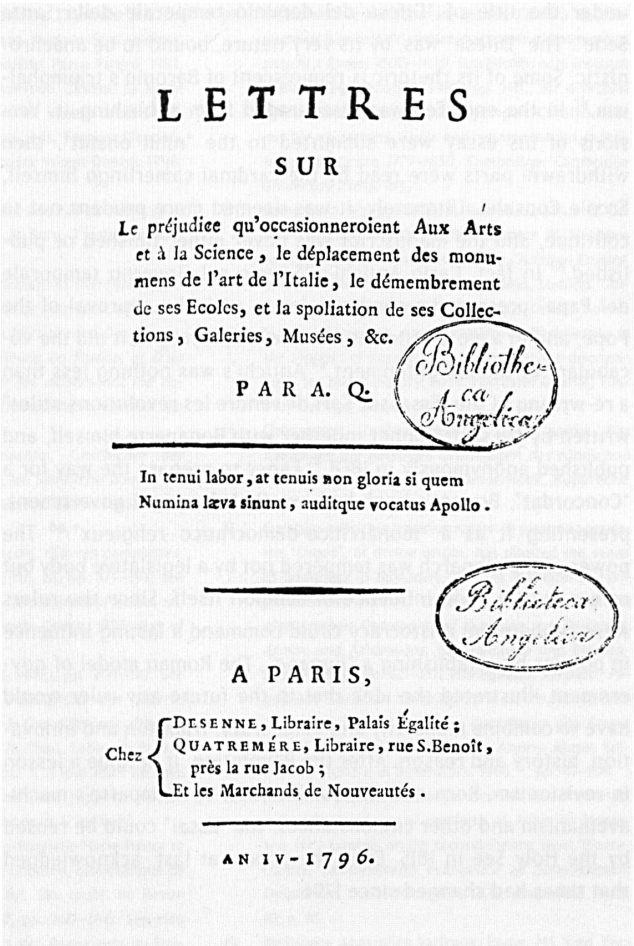
Carlo Fea seems to have understood at once the value of Quatremère's "Lettres" – a text which defended the "centrality" of Rome, and which used the language of the "philosophes", not that of theologians. As early as 1797 his "Discorso intorno alle Belle Arti in Roma" argued along the lines Quatremère had laid out.[48] In 1802 he decided to fight on two fronts. The chief product of his ambitious strategy was the promulgation of a new decree by Pius VII – but written by Fea - which again placed all Roman monuments and masterpieces under strict control.[49] The same year Fea's "Relazione di un viaggio ad Ostia" appeared (fig. 6),[50] with a deceptive title for a comprehensive anthology of papal decrees, all of them protecting the heritage of Rome against unlawful exports and the destruction of monuments.[51] These documents reassessed the ideology of the "Praeparatio evangelica", but to this anthology Fea added a unexpected summary of Quatremère's "Lettres", together with those of the most heretical of the "philosophes": the "Lettres juives" by the marquis d'Argens.[52] Letter CXCV of this second fictitious exchange was written ostensibly by Jacob Brito to Aaron Monceca; in it Jacob shows how the British, no matter how anti-papal, must take an interest in the conservation of Rome and its treasures. There follows this incredible statement, quoted by the abate: "Tout Juif que je suis, & nourri dans la Haine du Nazareïsme, je défendrais, si je pouvais, le Temple de St Pierre contre les attaques des Turcs. Comment, dirais-je, ce que les Hommes ont construit de plus beau, ce qui renferme les Ouvrages des plus grands Hommes, va être détruit & anéanti par la Fureur d'un Peuple Barbare! Quoique la Divinité

me défende de prendre Part aux Querelles de Infidèles, elle ne m'ordonne pourtant pas d'approuver le Renversement des plus beaux Monuments, & qui font le plus d'Honneur à l'Humanité [...] Si les Sciences & les Arts sont de tous les Pays & de toutes les Religions, ceux, qui les cultivent, qui les aiment, & qui les honorent, sont tous Frères."[53]

In quoting this speech, the spokesman of the Holy See was willing to give away the primacy and universality of Roman Catholicism, in the hope that Rome could at least remain the world centre of a purely secular form of worship: that of classical culture.

In 1803, Fea and Quatremère were put in touch with one other by Canova: the artist left France with a copy of the "Lettres", which he gave to the Pope. Pius VII admired them greatly,[54] and it was most probably on his behalf that Fea attempted to translate them.[55] Fea then took the bold initiative to republish Quatremère de Quincy's "Lettres" in French – *incognito*, with the help an almost perfect fac-simile of the first edition. Discreet references to that new edition are to be found in two letters by Antonio Canova to Quatremère; on May 16, he announced that "credo che frappoco si ristamparanno le sue elegantissime lettere in Roma, dove sono cognotissime e estimate egualmente"; by October 26, it was completed: "si è qui fatta una ristampa delle nostre già note Lettere: e vengon lette col dovuto aggradimento" (fig. 7).[56] In 1816, Carlo Fea acknowledged that he has been distributing those "sette lettere [...] stampate in Parigi nel 1796 [...] ristampate in Roma nel 1801 [sic, corrected 1802] colla stessa data di Parigi, e sparse da me quanto è stato possibile gratuitamente".[57] To this day, the differences between the original edition and its fac-simile have not been analysed. Close examination of the title-page of the 1796 version and of that of the 1803 reprint allow for the identification of minor differences: the form of the bracket placed just after the publisher's names is not exactly the same. Moreover, the Italian printer did not correct very slight errors in spelling, errors which reveal themselves to be typical of an Italian compositor.[58] By some strange irony, Quatremère had lost much of his political courage. Later, when he was courting Bonaparte in the vain hope of being given the charge of the fine arts under the new regime, he went so far as to glorify Napoleon for having honoured "la métropole des arts, en y accumulant les trésors du génie de tous les siècles", before concluding, "Rome n'est plus dans Rome, elle est toute où je suis."[59] As early as 1802, he was insisting to various friends, such as Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi, that his famous "Lettres" should never appear again.[60] At that time too the "Concordat" had just been signed and the Holy See was anxious not to provoke the wrath of Bonaparte on such a sensitive subject.[61]

In 1815, however, the Restoration encouraged Fea to believe that the halcyon days of the Ancien Régime had returned, and that the former Roman catholic vision of history could simply be reinstated. He undertook a great defense of the Roman state



LETTRES

SUR

Le préjudice qu'occasionneroient Aux Arts et à la Science, le déplacement des monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses Ecoles, et la spoliation de ses Collections, Galeries, Musées, &c.

PAR A. Q.

Bibliotheca Angelica

In tenui labor, at tenuis non gloria si quem
Numina læva sinunt, auditque vocatus Apollo.

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A PARIS,

Chez { DESENNE, Libraire, Palais Égalité;
QUATREMÉRE, Libraire, rue S.Benoît, près la rue Jacob;
Et les Marchands de Nouveautés.

AN IV - 1796.

Fig. 7: Title page of the fac-simile edition of Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy's *Lettres* (1803). Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, shelf. SS.10.21*.

under the title of "Difesa del dominio temporale della Santa Sede". The "Difesa" was, by its very nature, bound to be anachronistic. Some of its rhetoric is reminiscent of Baronio's triumphalism.[62] In the end, Fea was discouraged from publishing it. Versions of his essay were submitted to the "nihil obstat", then withdrawn: parts were read by the cardinal camerlingo himself, Ercole Consalvi. Ultimately, it was deemed more prudent not to continue, and the manuscript was never either finished or published.[63] In fact, Carlo Antichi's "Saggio sul Governo temporale del Papa" presented a similar defense, with the approval of the Pope, and in a more efficient manner, employing as it did the vocabulary of the Enlightenment.[64] Antichi's was nothing less than a re-writing of the "Essai sur l'art de rendre les révolutions utiles" written by J.-Esprit Bonnet together with Bonaparte himself, and published anonymously in 1801.[65] Eager to prepare the way for a "Concordat", Bonnet's book had extolled the papal government, presenting it as a "monarchico-démocratico religieux".[66] The power of the monarch was tempered not by a legislative body but rather by the good influence of religion itself. Since the rulers were celibate, no aristocracy could command a lasting influence in politics by establishing a "lignage". The Roman model of government illustrated the idea that in the future any ruler would have to combine monarchy and democracy, tradition and innovation, history and reason. After the Revolution, it became a lesson in revisionism. Born out of a combination of Bonaparte's machiavellianism and other circumstances, the "Essai" could be reused by the Holy See in 1815. Even the popes, at last, acknowledged that times had changed since 1796.

1 It is probably no coincidence that during the most gloomy period for the papacy, this ceremony was studied by the abate Francesco Cancellieri; Cancellieri, Francesco, *Storia de'solemni possessi de'sommi pontefici detti anche processi*, Rome: Lazzarini, 1802.

2 Garms-Cornides, Elizabeth, *Zur Kulturpolitik der römischen Kurie um die Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: J. J. Winckelmann 1717–1768, ed. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, Hamburg: Meiner, 1986, pp. 179–194; *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, Exhibition catalogue, Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000; *La Fascination de l'Antique 1700–1770. Rome découverte, Rome inventée*, Exhibition catalogue, Musée de la Civilisation Gallo-Romaine Lyon/Paris: Somogy, 1998.

3 Meusnier de Querlon, Anne-Gabriel, introduction to his edition of the *Journal de voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie, par la Suisse & l'Allemagne en 1580 & 1581*, 3 vols., Paris: Le Jay, 1774, vol. I, p. CIX; on the main illustrated publications of the time in Italy, see Gallo, Daniela, *Musea. I cataloghi illustrati delle collezioni di antichità nel Settecento*, in: Gli Spazi del Libro nell'Europa del XVIII Secolo, Bologna: Pàtron, 1997, pp. 279–294.

4 Jacks, Philip, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity. The origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought*, Cambridge: University Press, 1993; Labrot, Gérard, *L'image de Rome. Une arme pour la Contre-Réforme 1534–1677*, Seyssel: Champ-Vallon, 1983; *Antiquity and its interpreters*, eds. Alina Payne/Ann Kuttner/Rebekah Smick, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; Gallo, Daniela, *Per una storia degli antiquari romani nel settecento*, in: Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée III, 1999/2, pp. 827–845.

5 See for example Middleton, Conyers, *A Letter from Rome Shewing an exact Conformity between Popery and Paganism: or, the Religion of the Present Romans, derived from that of their Heathen Ancestors*, 4th ed., London: Manby, 1741; *Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, Exhibition catalogue, Tate Gallery, London 1996; Artigas-Menant, Geneviève, *L'utilisation de la Rome antique dans la propagande anti-catholique au XVIIIème siècle*, in: Images de l'Antiquité dans la littérature française. Le texte et son illustration, eds. Emmanuelle Baumgartner/Laurence Harf-Lancner, Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure, 1993, pp. 125–131.

6 Vivant Denon, lettre à Napoléon, 23 janvier 1812, in: Pierre Lelièvre, *Vivant Denon. Homme des Lumières. "Ministre des Arts" de Napoléon*, Paris: Picard, 1993, p. 219; Norci Cagiano de Azevedo, Letizia, *La Rome théorique de Vivant Denon*, in: Vivant Denon, Colloque de Châlons sur Saône, eds. Francis Claudon, Bernard Bailly, Châlons: Comité Vivant Denon, 1998, pp. 73–82.

7 Gibbon, Edward, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788), ed. J. B. Bury, 7 vols, London: Methuen, 1896–1900.

8 See the most agressive statement of that type, Pommereul, François de, *De l'art de voir dans les beaux-arts, Traduit de l'italien de Milizia; suivi Des institutions propres à les faire fleurir en France, et D'un Etat des objets d'arts dont ses musées ont été enrichis par la guerre de la Liberté*, Paris: Bernard, an VI [1798].

9 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764), in: *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Joseph Eiselein (1825), Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965, vol. V, pp. 275ff., 288, 290ff.

10 Published in: Arnaud, François, *Œuvres complettes*, 3 vols., Paris: Collin, 1808, vol. III, pp. 377–394; see also Giambattista Piranesi, *The polemical works*, ed. John Wilton-Ely, Farnborough: Gregg, 1972, text of 1765.

11 Arnaud 1808 (cfr. note 10), vol. I, pp. 309–310. See also Arnaud, François, *Description des pierres gravées du cabinet de Mgr le Duc d'Orléans, Premier prince du Sang*, Paris: de la Chau, Leblond, Pissot, 1780–84, vol. I, introduction: "[...] tout était lié chez les Anciens: les arts avaient des rapports nécessaires avec la Religion, les mœurs & les Lois".

12 Letter from the painter Jean-Baptiste-Marie Pierre to Louis Petit de Bachaumont, undated, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, MS 4041, fol. 336, (publ. in: Revue universelle des arts 5, 1857, pp. 260–264). See also Johann Georg Sulzer's entry *Art, Beaux-arts*, in: Supplément à l'Encyclopédie, Amsterdam: Rey, 1776, vol. I, p. 592.

13 Daniela Gallo (Paris) is presently completing what will be the most authoritative monograph on the Viscontis. On Carlo Fea, see the bibliography provided in Fraschetti, Augusto, *Bartolomeo Borghesi, Carlo Fea e la sovranità della Reppublica di San Marino*, in: Bartolomeo Borghesi scienza e libertà, ed. Giancarlo Susini, Bologna: Pàtron, 1982, pp. 289–309; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi*, ed. Carlo Fea, 3 vols., Rome: Pagliarini, 1783–1784.

14 On his action, see Jonsson, Marita, *La cura dei monumenti alle origini, restauro e scavo di monumenti antichi a Roma, 1800–1830*, Stockholm: Acta Instituti Romani Regni Sueciae, 1986, pp. 14ff.; for a factual account of the period, see Springer, Carolyn, *The marble wilderness. Ruins and representation in Italian romanticism 1775–1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

15 Sutherland Wallace-Hadrill, David, *Eusebius of Cesarea*, London: Mowbray, 1960 chapter IX; Hepburn Baynes, Norman, *Eusebius and the Christian Empire*, in: Byzantine studies and other essays, London: University of London, 1955, pp.168–172; Grant, Robert M., *Civilization as a preparation for Christianity in the thought of Eusebius*, in: Continuity and discontinuity in Church history, ed. F. Forrester Church, Timothy George, Leiden: Brill, 1979, pp. 62–70.

16 Christensen, Torben, *Christus oder Jupiter. Der Kampf um die geistigen Grundlagen des römischen Reiches* (1970), Göttingen: Vanderhoek, Rupprecht, 1981, chap. I, "Roma aeterna".

17 Eusebius sees this transformation in platonist terms: the "Logos", of divine origin, has planted the seeds of godliness in humanity; it leads mankind to civilization: see Ricken, Friedrich, *Zur Rezeption der platonischen Ontologie bei Eusebios von Kaisareia, Areios und Athanasios*, in: Theologie und Philosophie 53, 1978, pp. 321–337; Momigliano, Arnaldo, *Pagan and Christian historiography in the fourth century A. D.* (1963), in: Terzo Contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici e del Mondo Antico, Rome: Edizioni di storia e di letteratura, 1966, I, pp. 87–109.

18 From this perspective, paganism was also viewed as a degenerate form of the faith of Adam or Moses; see, for example, on the second theory, Huet, Pierre-Daniel, *Demonstratio evangelica ad Serenissimum Delphinum*, Paris: Michallet, 1679, *propositio* IV, 8, 10, p. 115.

19 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS, Cod. Ferrajoli 441, fol. 185.

20 Or, rather, Fea's reading of Augustine; compare *De civitate Dei*, V, 9, and II, 18, 19.

21 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS, Cod. Ferrajoli 441, fol. 185.

22 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS, Cod. Ferrajoli 441, fol. 186a. That ideology embodied the ritual of the "Possessio": the new-elected pope perambulated all the major sites of ancient Rome. The history of that ritual was completed by a colleague of Fea, Cancellieri 1802 (cf. note 1).

23 Séroux d'Agincourt, Jean Baptiste, *Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens*, 6 vols. Paris, Strasbourg: Treuttel & Würtz, 1810–23, vol. II, pp. 30–31 and vol. IV, plate IV.

24 Constantine, David, *Early Greek Travellers and the Hellenic Ideal*. Cambridge: University Press, 1984, pp. 104–127.

25 Winckelmann, *Storia* (cfr. note 13), vol. I, p. VII.

26 "Winckelmanns Kunstgeschichte, übersetzt von Fea, die neue Ausgabe ist ein sehr brauchbares Werk, das ich gleich angeschafft habe, [...]" Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *Italienische Reise*, Rome, 3. 12. 1786, in: *Werke*, 14 vols., Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1982, vol. II, p. 147.

27 He even tried to denigrate Huber's translation: "[...] mon antagoniste est venu avec son Winckelmann italien, & comme il veut faire le commerce sans concurrent dans la capitale de l'art, il a cherché à décrier ma marchandise en préconisant la sienne", Michael Huber on Carlo Fea, extract from the first version of the "Nouvelle préface" to the 2nd (1789) edition of Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Zentralbibliothek, Zürich, MS, Ms V 323a, fol. 9b–10a; Giuseppe Bossi ridicules Fea's obsession for corrections, *Scritti sulle arti*, ed. Roberto Paolo Ciardi, II, Florence: SPES, 1982, pp. 748–749, Journal, september 12, 1810.

28 See the young Camillo's manuscript notes, Biblioteca comunale di Velletri, MS VIII 22, doc 3; Fea, for example, edited the life of Winckelmann published in the Milan edition of the "Storia"; the episode of the nuncio Archinto, promising much to Winckelmann in exchange for his conversion to Catholicism, and then "forgetting" him, is completely re-arranged in the Church's favour. Compare Fea's edition ([cfr. note 13], vol. I, pp. XLVIIIff.) to Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, *Histoire de l'art chez les anciens*, (Paris: Barrois, later Jansen, 1790–1793–1803, I, pp. XLIVff.) which, although published during the Revolution, respects the original text.

29 Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, *Skizzen zu einer Schilderung Winckelmanns (I.)*, in: Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert. In Briefen und Aufsätzen, ed. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Tübingen/Stuttgart 1805.

30 Georg Zoëga to Esmarch, Florence, 22 March 1784, in: Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, *Zoëgas Leben* (1819), 2 vols., Halle: Niemeyer, 1912–13, vol. I, p. 236.

31 Winckelmann, *Storia* (cfr. note 13), vol. II, pp. 411 n.B.

32 Winckelmann, *Storia* (cfr. note 13), vol. III, pp. 267–416.

33 Buddensieg, Tilmann, *Gregory the Great, the Destroyer of Pagan Idols. The History of a Medieval Legend Concerning the Decline of Ancient Art and Literature*, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 28, 1965, pp. 44–65.

34 See Raffael's letter to Leo X, in: Golzio, Vincenzo, *Raffaello, nei documenti e nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo*, Città del Vaticano 1936, pp. 78–92.

35 Winckelmann, *Storia* (cfr. note 13), vol. III, p. 282.

36 Winckelmann, *Storia* (cfr. note 13), vol. II, pp. 419ff. Winckelmann's arguments were echoed by Avril, in the "Dissertation sur les vrais destructeurs des grands edifices de l'ancienne Rome", in: Avril, Louis, *Temples anciens et modernes ou observations historiques et critiques sur les plus célèbres monumens d'architecture grecque et gothique*, Londres: s.e.; et se trouve à Paris, chez Musier, 1774, pp. 287ff.

37 Fea, Carlo, *Risposta dell'abate Carlo Fea giureconsulto alle osservazioni del Sig. Cav. Onofrio Boni sul Tomo III della Storia delle arti del disegno di Giov. Winckelmann Pubblicate in Roma nelle sue Memorie per le belle arti, ne'mesi di marzo, aprile, maggio et giugno del corrente anno MDCCLXXXVI*, Roma: Pagliarini, 1786 p. 40; see also Boni, Onofrio , *Lettera di Bajocco al.. Signor Abate Carlo Fea*, s.e. 1786, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Stampati, Ferrajoli III 1981 int. 27, and, by the same, the *Memorie per le belle arti*, vol. II, 1786.

38 Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome, *Lettres sur le préjudice qu'occasionneraient aux Arts et à la Science, le déplacement des monumens de l'art de l'Italie, le démembrement de ses écoles, et la spoliation de ses Collections, Galeries, Musées &c*, Paris: Desenne, Quatremère, an IV–1796; reprint ed. Edouard Pommier, Paris: Macula, 1989.

39 Contrary to what is usually repeated – see, among many others, Antonio Pinelli, *Storia dell'arte e cultura della tutela. Le "Lettres à Miranda" di Quatremère de Quincy*, in: Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte 8, 1978–79, pp. 42–62 – they were not printed in the *Rédacteur*. A German translation appeared in Johann Wilhelm Archenholz's *Minerva*, XX, vol. 4, 1796, October, pp. 87–120; November 271–307. Friedrich Melchior Grimm's and Jacob-Heinrich Meister's *Correspondance littéraire* reviewed the "Lettres": see Forschungsbibliothek, Schloss Friedenstein, Gotha, MS 1138 T, fols. 103–106; Kölving, Ulla/Carriat, Jeanne, *Inventaire de la Correspondance littéraire de Grimm et Meister*, 3 vols., Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1984, no 96, p. 111.

40 Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat baron de, *De l'Esprit des Lois* (1747), ed. Robert Derathé, 2 vols., Paris: Garnier, 1973, vol. I, p. 337 (Book XIX, chapter 15).

41 See the very important work by Jacob, François, *La logique du vivant. Une histoire de l'hérédité* (1970). Paris: Gallimard, 1976, chapter II, "L'organisation", pp. 87ff; on Quatremère see Rowlands, Thomas E., *Quatremère de Quincy. The Formative Years*, Ph. D., Northwestern University, 1987; Pommier, Edouard, *Quatremère de Quincy et la destination des ouvrages de l'art*, in: Les Fins de la Peinture, Paris: Desjonquères, 1990 pp. 31–51.

42 La Marca, Nicola, *Saggio di una ricerca storico-economica sull'industria e l'artigianato a Roma dal 1750 al 1849*, Padua: Milani, 1969; Gross, Hanns, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment. The Post-Tridentine Syndrome of the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge: University Press, 1990.

43 In this respect, Quatremère adopts the same dichotomy the ancients drew between "negotium" and "otium", but in Rome's favour. Rome was the capital in which one could enjoy the "otium" necessary to appreciate works of art. His source is probably d'Hancarville, Pierre Hugues, *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines. Tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton, envoyé extraordinaire et plénipotentiaire de S. Majesté Britannique en cour de Naples*, 4 vols, Naples: vol. I, 1766 (1768); vol. II, 1766 (1768–1769); vol. II, IV, 1767 (1776), see vol. II (1768–69), p. 30. See Jucker, Hans, *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen*, Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1950; Pape, Magrit, *Griechische Kunstwerke aus Kriegsbeute und ihre öffentliche Aufstellung in Rom. Von der Eroberung von Syrakus bis augusteiche Zeit*, diss., Hamburg 1975; Zanker, Paul, *Zur Funktion und Bedeutung griechischer Skulptur in der Römerzeit*, in: Le Classicisme à Rome aux Iers siècles avant et après J. C., Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique, (Fondation Hardt pour l'étude de l'antiquité, 25), Genève 1979, pp. 283–306.

44 Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres* (cfr. note 38), p. 40.

45 Quatremère de Quincy, *Lettres* (cfr. note 38), p. 51.

46 Smith, Adam, *Recherches sur la nature et les causes de la richesse des nations* (The wealth of nations, 1776), Paris: Gallimard, 1976, Book I, Chapter I, 2.

47 Friedrich Melchior Grimm, Letter from Gotha, 29 May 1796, in: Réau, L., *Correspondance artistique de Grimm avec Catherine II*, in: Archives de l'art français, nouvelle période 17, 1932, pp. 201–202 (letter no172): "Je ne saurais me faire à l'idée de la destruction que les beaux-arts vont subir dans leur patrie, ni à l'enlèvement que les barbares projettent déjà et qu'ils effectueront indubitablement des plus sublimes productions de peinture et de sculpture de leur pays natal, de la terre classique, pour les transporter parmi leur butin dans cette terre de malédiction où elles s'anéantiront au milieu d'une horde sauvage à laquelle tout sentiment du beau est devenu étranger."

48 Fea, Carlo, *Discorso intorno alle Belle Arti in Roma*, Roma: Pagliarini, 1797.

49 Rossi Pinelli, Orietta, *Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802: cronaca giudiziaria e non delle prime battaglie per la tutela delle Belle Arti*, in: Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte 8, 1978–1979, pp. 27–42; Emiliani, Andrea, *Leggi, bandi e provvedimenti per la tutela dei beni artistici negli antichi stati italiani, 1571–1860*, Bologna: Alfa, 1978, p. 110 ff; see, for example, Fea's strongly-worded refusal of a export permit, copy of a letter (about the export of antique statues representing the Muses) to the Cardinal Pro-Camerlingo, 29 April 1802, Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MS 2194, fol. 167a–169b; Pallottino, Elisabetta, *Il Restauro architettonico a Roma nei primi trent'anni dell' Ottocento; note sulla nascita del problemi della conservazione*, in: Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte 16, 1982, pp. 65–69.

50 Fea, Carlo, *Relazione di un viaggio ad Ostia e alla villa di Plinio detta Laurentino*, Roma: Fulgoni, 1802. See the copy of the Ecole française de Rome, 80AR 10, annotated by Fea himself.

51 Fea, *Relazione* (cfr. note 50), p. 79ff.

52 Boyer d'Argens, Jean-Baptiste de, *Lettres juives, ou Correspondance Philosophique, Historique et Critique, entre un Juif Voïageur en différens Etats de l'Europe, et ses Correspondans en divers Endroits*, 6 vols., La Haye: Paupie, 1738.

53 Boyer d'Argens, *Lettres Juives* (cfr. note 52), no CXCV, VI, 57–58, quoted in Fea, *Relazione* (cfr. note 50), p. 80.

54 See Antonio Canova's letter to Quatremère, Rome, 14 January 1803, Bibliothèque de France, Paris, MS, Mss italiens 65, fol. 15.

55 Fea, Carlo, *Relazione* (cfr. note 50), p. 80. In Fea's papers, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS, Cod. Ferrajoli 441, fol. 85, is an offprint of the original petition sent by Quatremère to the Directory, against the cultural plundering of Italy; this document was unavailable in Rome, though it was certainly sent by Quatremère. The "Lettres" were translated much later into French by Amico Ricci Petrocchini, following the text of the 1815 edition; his manuscript is in the Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti, Macerata, MS 1282.

56 See the letters from Canova to Quatremère de Quincy, Rome, May 16, and October 26, 1803, Bibliothèque de France, Paris, MS, Mss ital. 65, fol. 16a, 26a.

57 Carlo Fea, Pro-memoria, 16 febbraio 1816, *Il Commissario delle Antichità Fea prova la convenienza di restituire alle antiche loro sedi gli oggetti d'arte che tornano dalla Francia*, Archivio di Stato, Rome, Fondo Camerale II 6, busta 10, fol. 12a.

58 The main differences are the following mistakes, often typical of an Italian-speaking composer: 1803 ed.: title-page with publisher's name "Quatremére" [1796: "Quatremère"], errata after p. 74 [1796: errata after title-page], p. 2 l.27 "domande" [1796: "demande"], p. 4 l. 21, "privilége" [1796: "privilège"], p. 6 l. 9 "chacum" [1796: chacun], p. 27 l. 6 "metropolitan" [1796: "metropolitain"] etc.; the only scholar to have described some features of the counterfeit is Barbier, Antoine-Alexandre, *Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*, 3d edition. Paris: Féchaud, Letouzey, 1882, vol. II, pp. 1300–1301, letter f. But even he could not identify correctly the year of publication, or the author of the fac-simile.

59 Quatremère de Quincy, Antoine-Chrysostome, *Sur les vases céramographiques, appelés jusqu'à présent vases étrusques*, in: Moniteur, 14 October 1807, pp. 1110–1111, quotation p. 1111.

60 See the letter from his friend Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi to Goethe, Eutin, 23 November 1802, written just after Quatremère had written to Jacobi; Jacobi repeats that the "Lettres" "sind ganz vergriffen, und dürfen, wie sich von selbst versteht, nicht wieder aufgelegt werden", in: Jacobi, F. H., *Briefwechsel zwischen Goethe und Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi*, ed. Max Jacobi, Leipzig: Weidmann, 1846, p. 230; the sale catalogue of the *Bibliothèque de M. Quatremère de Quincy* (sale, May 27 1850 and foll., Paris: Le Clère, Delion, 1850 p. 207) is equally silent on the 1803 edition of the "Lettres".

61 See Carlo Fea's own testimony in his Pro-memoria, 16 febbraio 1816, Archivio di Stato, Rome, Fondo Camerale II, 6, busta, 10 fol. 12a (wrongly dated 1801). Some misspellings, typically Italian, as well as the different structure of the booklets, leave no doubts about this new edition: it is a mere fac-simile of the first: see the copy kept at the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, SS. 10. 21*. Pius VII's personal library (now in Cesena) holds a copy of the 1815 edition.

62 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, MS, Codex Ferrajoli 441, fol. 124a–151b, 152a–182b, 183a–216b, 218a–262b, 263a–274b, 275a; and Archivio Propaganda Fide, Rome, Fondo Consalvi, XXXV, 18 fols.; Baronio, Cesare, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 12 vols. (1589ff.), Lucca: Venturini, 1738 ff, vol. I (1738), p. 452 ff; vol. IV (1739) p. 227ff.; and Jacks, Philip, *Baronius and the antiquities of Rome*, in: Baronio e l'arte, ed. Romeo de Maio et al., Sora: Centro di studi sorani, 1985, pp. 75–96.

63 It is not mentioned in the very accurate manuscript bibliography which registers all the works published by Fea: Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, MS 2194, fols. 1–10.

64 Antichi, Carlo, *Saggio sul Governo temporale del Papa*. Roma: Mordacchini, 1815.

65 Bonnet, Jean-Esprit/Bonaparte, Napoléon, *Essai sur l'art de rendre les révolutions utiles*, 2 vols., Paris: Maradan, 1801.

66 Bonnet/Bonaparte, *Essai* (cfr. note 65), vol. II, p. 129.