

Jérôme-Charles Bellicard's Italian Notebook of 1750–51: The Discoveries at Herculaneum and Observations on Ancient and Modern Architecture

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IN MEMORY OF THOMAS PATTON BAIRD (1924–90)

FEW SURVIVING FIRSTHAND RECORDS preserve the visual evidence of the beginnings of modern archaeology, and fewer still place the eighteenth-century attitude to antiquity in a context of then-modern interests. This essay is about a previously unidentified notebook, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art,¹ which must be recognized as the earliest illustrated description of the archaeological finds at Herculaneum. Furthermore, this notebook served as the basis for publications that stole the secrets of the discoveries of Charles III, king of the Two Sicilies. Bellicard's notebook and the editions of his book on Herculaneum are of historical importance for their anticipation of the wave of publications of ancient art and architecture by architects, scholars, and amateurs.² To art historians the notebook is of particular interest for its ancient, medieval, and modern material, which records the daily activities of a group of travelers whose interests reflect the most sophisticated aesthetic and historical sense of the mid-eighteenth century.*

The Metropolitan notebook belonged to a Paris-born architect and engraver, Jérôme-Charles Bellicard (1726–86), who had an opportunity in 1750 and 1751 to accompany the most important French

tourist of the eighteenth century, Abel-François Poisson de Vandières (1727–81), later marquis de Marigny³ et de Ménars. Marigny was the brother of the marquise de Pompadour (1721–64), *maîtresse en titre* to Louis XV from 1745 until her death. In 1745 Vandières had been named to succeed Lenormant de Tournehem as the surveyor of royal works, a post he held from 1751 until 1773. To prepare for his career, young Vandières had been sent to Rome by Louis XV to visit the French Academy, which he would one day direct, and to visit the courts and see the art treasures of Italy. During the journey and up to 1754, he was known as Monsieur de Vandières, by which name I shall refer to him in this article. Bellicard created the notebook between November 1750 and the mid-summer of 1751, while traveling with Vandières.

The attribution to Bellicard and the dating of the work are verifiable by several independent external sources, as well as by internal evidence. Bellicard himself gives a date when he describes the “state of Mount Vesuvius during the month of November 1750.”⁴ Its authorship is proven by the similarity of the notebook's drawings and the illustrations in the various editions of the *Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, discovered at the Foot of*

*A transcription of the notebook is available on request from the Editorial Department of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

*Mount Vesuvius. With some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples,*⁵ jointly authored by Bellicard and Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger. The combination of material illustrated, the style of the drawings, and the repetition of idiosyncracies and deviations from the original monuments imply that the notebook and the *Observations* share the same source. That the former might be based on the publication rather than vice versa is disproved by the internal date of November 1750 cited above. The variations of facts that exist in the notebook and in the final, much elaborated text of the *Observations*, which was based on research and historical and literary information from several published sources, as well as on direct observation and hearsay, also prove that the notebook preceded the printed text. But the most definite proof of the authorship and dating of the Metropolitan notebook relates to the history of the Italian sojourn of the future marquis de Marigny.

THE GRAND TOUR OF MONSIEUR DE VANDIÈRES

The Italian journey of Vandières was a sophisticated educational grand tour. From 1746, he was being groomed for his designated future position of Directeur et Directeur Générale des Bâtiments, Arts, Académies et Manufactures du Roi, and the finishing touch to his education was a journey to Italy. This model conclusion to Vandières's apprenticeship was conceived for him by Charles-François-Paul Lenormant de Tournehem (1684–1751), the incumbent in the post of Directeur des Bâtiments, and Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694–1752), the First Painter to the king and Director of the Royal Academy of Painting in Paris.⁶ At the heart of Vandières's grand tour was the inclusion of three tutors to travel as his companions—a man of letters, an artist, and an architect. In addition to introducing Vandières to the appreciation of the arts and architecture, the artist and the architect were also to serve as draftsmen during the journey. The artist was asked to draw views of the Italian sites and monuments; the architect was to record plans of structures of special interest.⁷

Vandières's nominal chaperone was the abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc (1706–81), a pioneering art critic, playwright, *philosophe*, and unsuccessful aspirant to the Académie Française.⁸ Vandières's professional teachers were the printmaker-author Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger (1715–90) and Jacques-Germain Soufflot (1713–80), a rising architect from Lyons.

Vandières's trip began in December 1749 and was projected to last three years.⁹ The group arrived in Rome in March 1750. The future Surveyor of Royal Works was the honored guest of the French Academy in Rome, which was then housed in the Palazzo Mancini on the Corso. Vandières and his companions made a strong impression on Rome's artistic community and were caricatured by Pier Leone Ghezzi (Figure 1). Early in the summer of 1750, after barely six months, Soufflot became seriously ill and had to be replaced. Before returning to Lyons to convalesce, Soufflot recommended a friend and collaborator, Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont (1720–90), a long-time resident and former pensioner of the French Academy in Rome and an active architectural engraver. Dumont willingly served Vandières while he was in Rome, but as he was committed to illustrate



1. Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755), *Caricature of Monsieur de Vandières, Abbé Le Blanc, Jacques-Germain Soufflot, and Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger*. Pen and brown ink over traces of black chalk on paper, 30.3 × 21.1 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1972, 1972.84

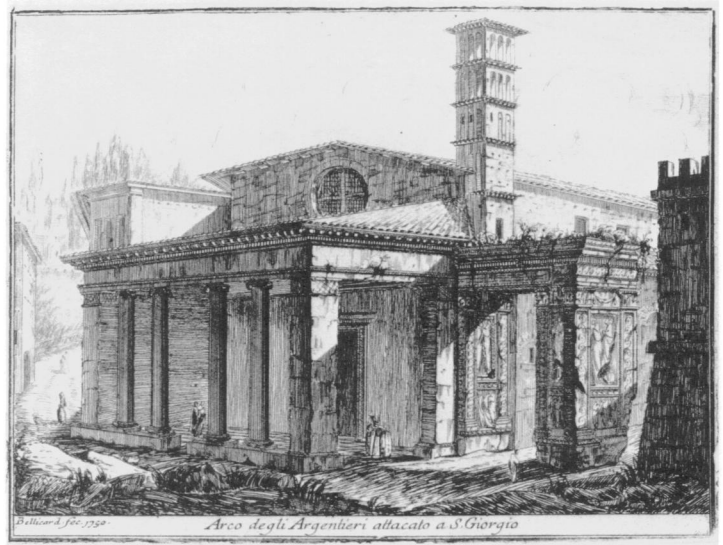
many publishing projects, he was unable to accompany Vandières in his peregrinations in southern and northern Italy. Vandières therefore required a third architect to accompany him on his travels, and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard was chosen. Vandières had already met Bellicard in Rome, where the architect was a current pensioner¹⁰ and, thus, a fellow resident in the Palazzo Mancini. Dumont was most probably the one who suggested employing Bellicard.

Bellicard had become a member of the group of French architectural students who were strongly influenced by the antiquarian movement then current in Rome. In 1750 he contributed views of Rome to Venuti's *Roma* and collaborated with Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–78),¹¹ Jean-Laurent Legeay, and Louis-Jean Duflos on *Varie Vedute di Roma* (Figure 2). Bellicard has been characterized as the link between the French and Piranesi.¹² Bellicard's nervous engraved line has much of the sensitivity of Piranesi, and he may have been the engraver for certain vignettes in Piranesi's *Opere Varie*.¹³

Bellicard's collaboration with Piranesi was in his favor as Vandières admired Piranesi and had visited him in his studio.¹⁴ Because of Bellicard's interest in antiquities and a previous trip to Campania,¹⁵ he was chosen to accompany Vandières on his journeys outside Rome.¹⁶ In late fall 1750 Bellicard joined the travelers in time for what was to have been an extended journey to Naples, Sicily, and Malta.

Bellicard owed his later career to having been Vandières's traveling companion.¹⁷ Through this association he became, like Cochin and Le Blanc, a member of the academies of Florence and Bologna. After his return to France, Vandières took Bellicard into the administration of the Royal Works; he was received in the French Royal Academy of Architecture in 1762 and was eventually made comptroller of two important royal dwellings, the châteaux at Compiègne and Fontainebleau. His career as a practicing architect was negligible,¹⁸ and he failed to complete his major scholarly work, an engraved architectural manual entitled "Architectonographie ou Cours complet d'architecture." A compulsive gambler, he squandered a generous government pension of 6,000 livres a year.¹⁹

But at the earlier and happier moment when Bellicard was a pensioner, the opportunity to travel in Italy at someone else's expense and to have access to all of the finest collections and most jealously

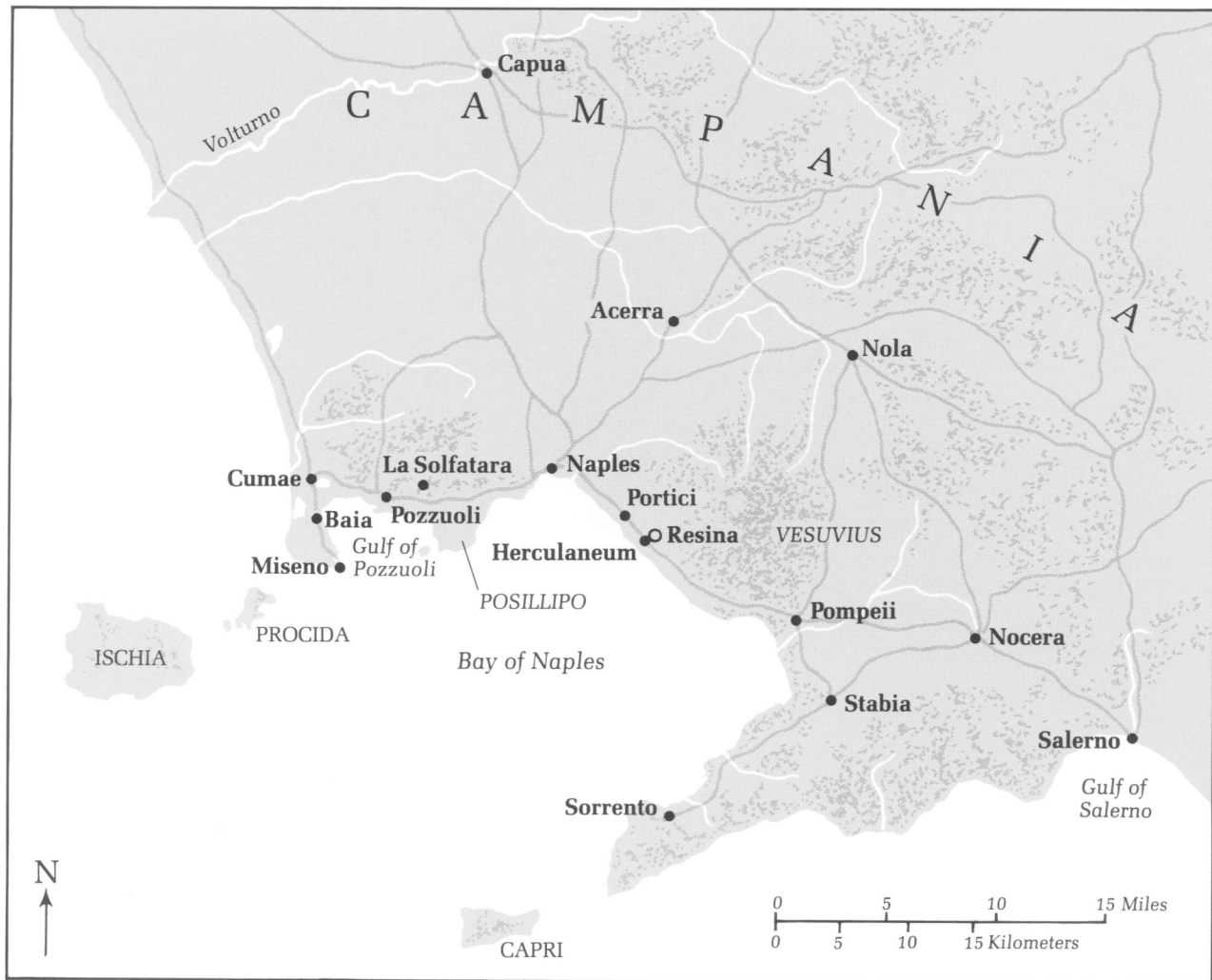


2. Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Arch of the Silversmiths Attached to San Giorgio*, from *Varie vedute di Roma Antica e Moderna* (Rome, 1750), pl. 78. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1957, 57.619.1

guarded archaeological sites was a stroke of luck.

On November 3, 1750, Vandières and his party arrived in Naples, where they stayed until after Christmas.²⁰ Vandières and the abbé Le Blanc were guests of the French ambassador, the marquis de l'Hôpital, in his small private house, and Cochin and Bellicard were lodged at a nearby inn.²¹

From Cochin, Bellicard learned the commendable habit of keeping a notebook of his journey. Since leaving Lyons, Cochin had been making analytical notes on the arts and architecture, which he published after his return to Paris as *Voyage Pittoresque d'Italie ou Recueil de Notes sur les Ouvrages de Peinture et de Sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie*.²² In November and December of 1750, trapped in their lodgings for much of the time by poor weather, Cochin and Bellicard made drawings and detailed written records of the observations gathered on the group's outings to the ancient sites at Herculaneum and in Campania. Bellicard began his notebook with a primary interest in antiquity, although later he added much material that dealt with more recent architecture. At first, Bellicard's intention must have been to maintain a record of the things he was seeing rather than to make a preliminary set of notes for eventual publication. Only his notes on the ancient architecture and on the volcanic phenomena of the then-active Vesuvius and the



3. Map of Campania (drawn by Wilhelmina Reyinga-Amrhein)

hot springs at La Solfatara eventually found their way into Bellicard's joint publications with Cochin. Cochin's notes, on the other hand, dealt with both ancient sites and the modern art and architecture of Naples.²³

That such detailed records were shared by the collaborators is offhandedly affirmed by Cochin, who wrote in his "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici," addressing a fictional correspondent:

Vous savez, Monsieur, que mon Camrade de voyage [Bellicard] avoit emporté une espèce d'Ecritoire, qui renfermoit quelques traits & quelques vues que j'ai dessinées l'année dernière dans mon voyage d'Italie. Cette

étourderie m'a mis hors d'état de vous donner, pendant mon séjour à Paris, des preuves qui me paroissent incontestables, sur une partie de ce que vous pensez de la peinture des Anciens, & principalement sur tout ce qui est donné comme conjecture, au sujet d'*Herculanum*, dans un Mémoire qu'on a lû l'année passée à l'Académie des Belles-Lettres, & que vous avez eu la bonté de me communiquer.²⁴

The concrete evidence that Bellicard's notebook is the kind of "ecritoire" cited above is corroborated in the first French edition of the *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum*. . . .²⁵ The dedication presenting the book to Vandières states that the work had its origins in "quelques foibles observations que

nous jettions sur le papier, tandis que vous acqueriez cette connoissance superieure des Arts qui vous rends si cher aux Artistes.” Thus, the authors testify that the basis for their subsequent publication was in a written set of notes that originated as part of the “curriculum” of Vandières’s study in Italy. One should also note Cochin’s specific statement that the notebook contains “several views that I drew last year.” This would seem to refer to the drawings of Mount Vesuvius and the sketches of paintings and possibly of sculptures. In this light, we would have to assume that the thumbnail sketches of these objects in the notebook are Bellicard’s copies of drawings by Cochin. We may likewise assume that the architectural drawings are Bellicard’s own, except for the few cited below.

Although Vandières’s time—particularly in the evening—was taken up with the social activities of the court,²⁶ he and his group used their days to serious advantage, contrary to what has been suggested by earlier authors.²⁷ Bellicard’s notebook and Cochin’s *Voyage* prove that Vandières and his entourage paid a great deal of attention to Naples and its surrounding sites (Figure 3), especially to Herculaneum on the slopes of Vesuvius to the southeast and the sites around the Gulf of Pozzuoli to the west. Unlike other grand tourists, whose average stay in Naples lasted from five to nine days (with only one day for both the collections at the royal palace at Portici and the excavations at Herculaneum),²⁸ Vandières’s party stayed in Naples for two months. The group made long visits to each of the major sites of interest and gave substantial time to the exposed sites between Misenum and Pozzuoli, which were not frequently visited and rarely the subject of serious study.²⁹

Vandières and his companions visited monuments, royal properties, private collections, natural wonders, and ancient sites. Bellicard’s notes and sketches provide the best direct evidence of the detailed attention that Vandières and his companions paid to what they saw. The tutors discoursed on the merits and defects of each work of art or natural wonder, while Vandières took notes and entered into the discussion. One telling comparison of a drawing in Bellicard’s notebook with a drawing by Vandières demonstrates the seriousness with which his education was pursued. While at Pisa in 1751, both men made drawings of the campanile. Vandières’s is an exercise in the use of geometry to measure the degree of the tilt of the

campanile (Figure 4),³⁰ undoubtedly made under the tutelage of his architectural master. Vandières confesses in a marginal notation that his calculations were thrown off by his failure to add the height of the capitals to the overall height of the columns. Bellicard’s drawing (Figure 5), made at the same moment, gives professional attention to the effort to compensate for the tilt of the tower in the building of each subsequent story. (See page 105 for further discussion of Bellicard’s study of the Pisa campanile.)

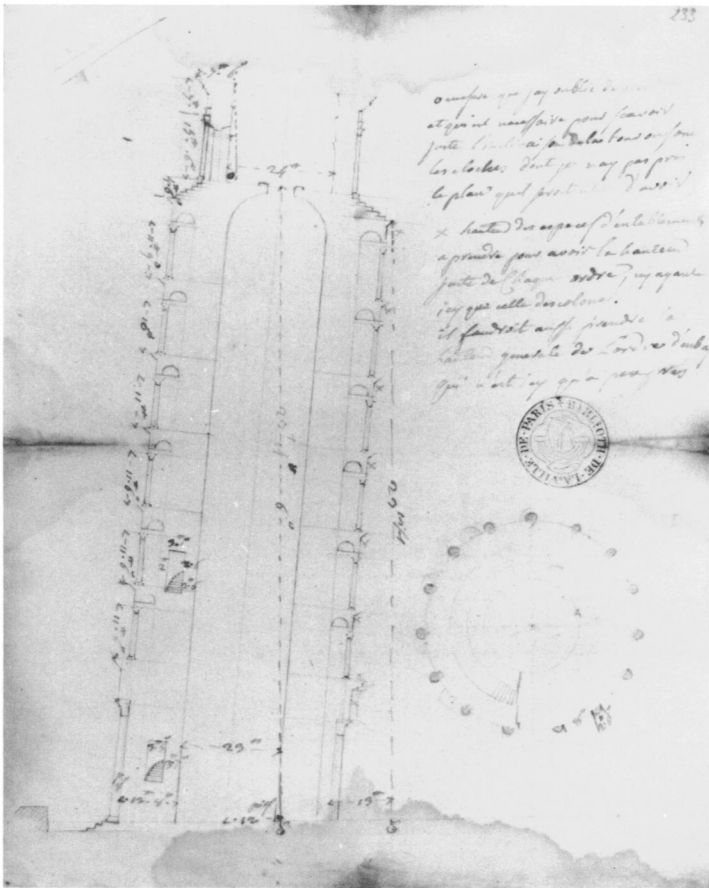
One of Bellicard’s duties was to make pictorial records of the sites Vandières was studying. The notebook is entirely in keeping with the nature of this responsibility but is exceptional in comparison to other journals of the period in that it contains so many illustrations.³¹ Quantities of unbound drawings were made in the course of Vandières’s trip and many remained in his private collection. They appeared in his estate inventory and in the sale after his death.³² The small sketches in Bellicard’s notebook were not the only illustrated record of the journey but rather a first set of annotated personal memoranda. Using the written notes in conjunction with the sketches to aid his memory, the artist could make at leisure the separate drawings that he gave to Vandières. While one might suppose that Bellicard and Cochin made additional finished drawings for themselves, no surviving evidence exists. One may safely assume, however, that the more elaborate drawings made for Vandières were made available to Bellicard and Cochin for the preparation of etching plates used in their respective publications.

The notebook was originally bound in soft covers. Several leaves were torn out in the eighteenth century, probably by Bellicard himself. The notebook as it is today³³ consists of 29 sheets that make up 58 pages illustrated with 158 sketches. Bellicard was only loosely systematic in the way he used his notebook. When it was new, he had begun each new subject on a right-hand page, leaving many of the versos blank—perhaps as reserves for his eventual amplification of his notes. Later, having worked his way through the greater part of the notebook, he returned to the front and began to use all of the blank spaces, leaping in sequence from one page to another and squeezing fragments of his notes into the bottoms of pages nearly filled with other writing.³⁴ Accompanying most of the drawings are keys to the diagrams, brief descriptions, fragments of recorded

fact, and many pages of rough-draft discourse on the natural sites and ancient and modern monuments that attracted the author's wide-ranging curiosity.

The drawings in the notebook have three distinct sources: drawings made directly from observation, drawings copied from other drawings, and sketches made from memory.³⁵ The presence of so many rough sketches made from memory rather than directly from the actual objects (Figure 6) is a clue to the unusual conditions under which this pocket-size notebook was created. One carries a small sketchbook precisely to be able to make direct drawings from the originals one may happen upon or at a place where it would be inconvenient to sketch at length. That Bellicard was frequently forced to use

4. A.-F. Poisson de Vandières, marquis de Marigny, *Measured Drawing of the Pisa Campanile*. Drawing. Paris, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, N. A. 90, fol. 233 (photo: author)



5. Bellicard, *The Tower of Pisa*, from Notebook, 1750–51, p. 19. Sheet size: 21 × 14.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940, 40.59.6

his notebook after having left the presence of the originals points directly to its purpose in getting around the restrictions on the freedom of visitors to Herculaneum and Portici.

HERCULANEUM

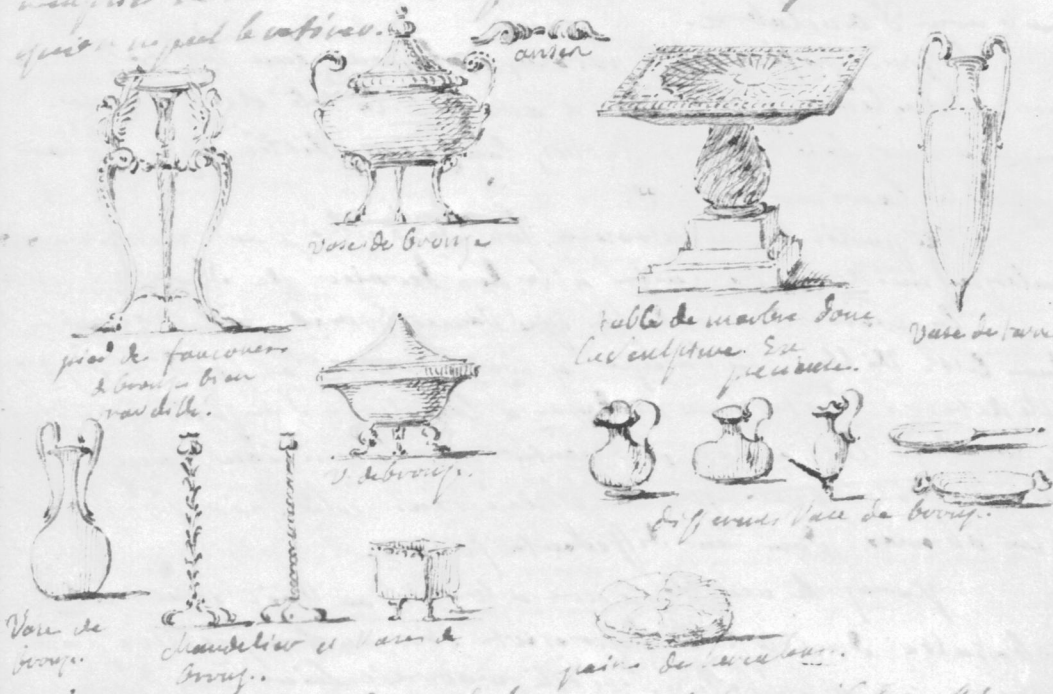
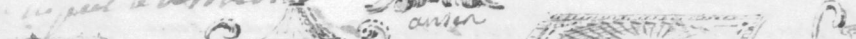
Among the most vivid experiences of Vandières's journey was exploring the tunnels in which a Roman city had been found undisturbed since its burial by an eruption of Mount Vesuvius. Bellicard's notebook begins (Figure 7) by describing the discovery of this subterranean city, which had been identified from various inscriptions as the Roman resort city dedicated to Hercules (hence the name Herculaneum, or in Italian Ercolano), whose destruction in A. D. 79 had been described by Pliny the Younger.

The ancient city stood at the foot of the western slope of Vesuvius on a cape jutting into the Sinus Cumanus, the Bay of Naples. The city had been completely buried and the coastline had been extended westward by later volcanic activity, creating the channel and port called Resina,³⁶ which lies between Vesuvius and the sea southeast of Naples.

The first trace of the ancient city was found, unwittingly and unrecognized, at the bottom of a well shaft in 1689 by a peasant living at Resina.³⁷ The revetments of the Roman public buildings served at first as a marble quarry, which was exploited by the peasant who had sunk the well. In 1710 Prince Elboeuf, a courtier at Naples with a country house at nearby Portici, bought some stone to use as terrace steps and discovered that the backs of the slabs were carved. He quickly bought the peasant's land.

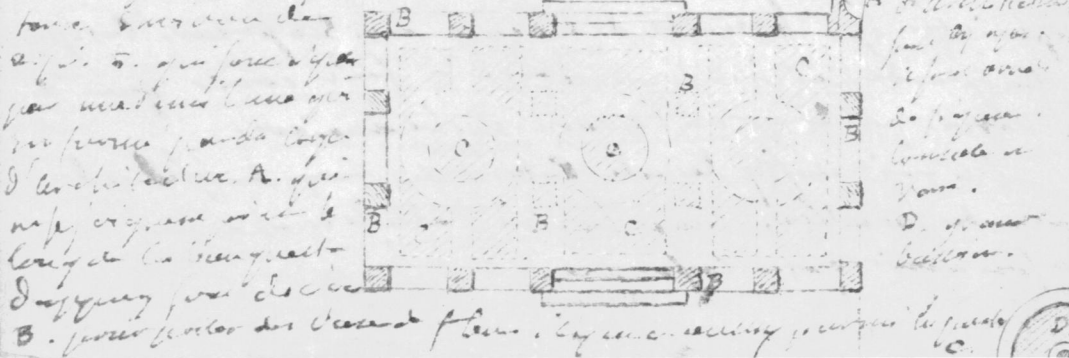
By lucky accident, the magnificent Theater at Herculaneum became the entry point and earliest site of exploration in the new find (Figure 8). Serendipitously for Prince Elboeuf, his workmen found some of the finest sculptures at Herculaneum in their initial, completely unsystematic burrowings out from the first well shaft. Three magnificent marble statues, then called the Vestal Virgins, were found in 1711 and smuggled to Vienna as gifts to Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736).³⁸

Il y a peut-être apparence qu'il peut y en avoir de
Celle. Elle n'est pas encore y trouver peut de l'opallite. un
peu de l'ancien. Cependant il y a peut-être un cinq ou six
mille. Sur un certain point, car si on en a une certaine
quantité de celle. l'opallite a été de couleur
qu'on ne peut le voir.



Tout ces obstacles étant de la nature de la terre il est affecté
d'une maladie de la peau et en fait une espèce de pest.

L'habitant le plus au nord du département de la Gironde est celui de la commune de Saint-André de Gironde. Cette commune est située sur la rive gauche de la Garonne, à l'embouchure de la Garonne dans l'océan Atlantique. Elle est la plus septentrionale de la Gironde.



6. Bellicard, *Utensils and Curiosities Found at Herculeaneum* (above) and *Plan of the Upper Garden of the Palazzina at Caprarola* (below), from Notebook, p. 13

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L'histoire de la ville de Carleton Place est très intéressante. Elle fut fondée en 1786 par le capitaine John Graves Simcoe, qui y établit une station militaire. La ville s'est développée rapidement et est devenue l'une des principales villes du sud-ouest de l'Ontario. Elle est connue pour son architecture victorienne et ses nombreux parcs.

Son Origine a vu.
 Monarque. La reine de cette ville dans le voyage
 de la Y. qui arriva au 2^e ann. de l'empire de Siam.

la matrice fuo la quella Se venisse colta d'ella Ed. nuovo.
con molti molti, qui s'assemba adde Vre pende.

Digni: l'alta irrigazione su un locale di acqua dolce e
con un canale per la raccolta d'acqua dolce e per il
collezione delle acque da 80 ft.

Il faut le major. J'en ai vu un à l'armée du téle et l'un
quelque collation polonoise que le Vostok a pris j'espère
d'être avec eux. Le Loger d'Orger, que Jean. 631
le port de Naples verra un nouveau. et de la 10^{me} il y a un
immersion latine qui peut de cela

Postari postari, vestra ve agitur diu.

Colte de la vasa de Soc. Pacifica Soc. de la vasa
Carpenteria.

Stamm - Neapel 2 Regium
papaveris

40, 59, 6

In the years after 1713, Elboeuf's diplomatic duties increased, and as a result the exploration of his well ceased. The initial discovery of the buried remains of a Roman city produced no concerted archaeological effort.³⁹ Interest was renewed in Elboeuf's finds when the three Vestal Virgins were sold as part of the estate of Prince Eugene after his death in 1736. They were bought by Augustus III (1696–1763), king of Poland,⁴⁰ who carried them off from Vienna to Dresden,⁴¹ in one of the many bold moves he made in his role as an art collector.⁴² In 1738, shortly after his acquisition of the Vestals, the king's daughter Maria Amalia Christina married the king of the Two Sicilies, Charles III (1716–88).⁴³ The new queen, who shared her father's interest in art and knew of Elboeuf's discoveries, encouraged her husband to pursue the explorations under Portici. Charles duly bought the land, and work was resumed before the end of 1738, with dramatic and immediate results.

The importance of Charles III's finds of sculpture and painting at Herculaneum cannot be overestimated. No major new finds of antique sculpture, outside those at Herculaneum, had been made since the middle of the seventeenth century, and all of the great private collections of antiquities formed by the most important families had been made by 1650.⁴⁴ Charles III managed one of the most brilliant successes in the history of eighteenth-century art patronage by forming a major collection of antiquities through the relatively inexpensive device of excavation on his own land.

The new finds propelled the king and queen of the Two Sicilies to the front rank of royal collectors and, by encouraging their subjects to study and publish these unknown objects, they showed themselves to be enlightened and benevolent rulers.

Charles III recognized the value of his find. Hoping to preserve the site from plunder by outsiders, he controlled access to it.⁴⁵ To encourage the intellectuals at his court, he gave them exclusive publication rights to all the riches and new discoveries, and to enforce his objectives, he imposed strict secrecy concerning the excavations. Distinguished visitors were allowed to descend into the deep underground excavation and also to see the treasures once they were brought to the museum Charles created at his summer palace at Portici. But one rule was rigorously enforced: At no time during a visit could an outsider use a pencil.⁴⁶ This prohibition remained in effect for

decades. A force of royal guards accompanied visitors to the site to keep tourists moving quickly so that they did not have time to dwell upon particular objects or to smuggle out souvenirs. In the museum, visitors were watched over by the royal keeper, the painter-restorer Camillo Paderni,⁴⁷ whose other duty was to prevent drawing.

Paderni and the marchese Marcello Venuti, superintendent of the Royal Library and of the Farnesian Museum in the king's palace in Naples,⁴⁸ were allowed the early publication—although very limited—of the finds.⁴⁹ Ottavio Bayardi (1694–1764) was put in charge of the major scholarly publication of the royal treasure of antiquities, but he was slow and not very astute. The first volume of Bayardi's catalogue of the paintings appeared only in 1755, sixteen years after their discovery. His publication was a general disappointment and was eventually completed under the aegis of the Accademia Ercolanese that was created by royal decree in 1755 to take charge of the project.⁵⁰

Thus, in the 1740s and early 1750s, there was no legitimate source of information about this most important of new discoveries. To fill the vacuum a clandestine network—made up of some of Bayardi's enemies among the courtiers in Naples and of foreigners—began to operate. They sought to circumscribe the restrictions, to share information, and to “leak” for publication some accounts and estimates of the Herculaneum discoveries.

In late 1750, just as Vandières was arriving in Naples, l'Hôpital, the French ambassador, was recalled to Paris. In his absence his secretary, d'Arthenay (d. 1765), became host and guide to Vandières and his companions.⁵¹ This secretary is a central figure in the history of Bellicard's notebook because he was the author of its principal published source, a 1748 tract on the recent discoveries at Herculaneum, first published in Avignon and later reprinted in Paris, London, Florence, and Göttingen.⁵² D'Arthenay's life is almost unknown, but from a letter to Vandières we learn that he had spent eleven years in Italy.⁵³ We do not even know his first name,⁵⁴ yet as an amateur student of antiquity and published author, d'Arthenay introduced his guests to the intellectual community of Naples. Thanks to d'Arthenay and to the cachet of Vandières's status, Cochin, Bellicard, and Le Blanc had extraordinary access to the closed world of Neapolitan archaeology.

D'Arthenay was at the heart of the foreign conspiracy to steal the secrets of Herculaneum. His London publisher, D. Wilson, was to publish the first edition of Bellicard's *Observations*, which was based on his notebook. Other contacts in this circle may have included the English artist John Russell (ca. 1720–63).⁵⁵ Russell was a London portrait painter and printmaker who, in 1740 at about the age of twenty, went to Rome to study with Francesco Ferdinandi, called Imperiali,⁵⁶ one of the best of the Roman successors to Carlo Maratti. Russell seems to have had Jacobite contacts if not sympathies,⁵⁷ and he became a favored guide of English visitors to the archaeological sites. Affiliated as he was to the circle of the Catholic pretender to the British throne,⁵⁸ Russell would quite naturally have made friends among French supporters of the exiled English court. Russell's father or brother, the publisher W. Russel, compiled and issued in 1748 *Letters from a Young English Architect in Italy*, which gives accounts of the young man's several visits to Herculaneum as a guide to English tourists.⁵⁹

Members of the Sicilian court who were sympathetic to the demands for serious study of the finds had to be extremely discreet. These inside sources are never mentioned by name in the prefaces of publications, but they certainly existed; for without them Bellicard could never have been given the plans of the Theater and Basilica to copy (see below).

Cochin and Bellicard must have recognized almost immediately that it would be a great coup—and possibly a lucrative one—to rush into print an illustrated commentary on the ancient finds at Herculaneum. They certainly already knew of widespread interest in France and England, where the few written descriptions of the discoveries were quickly published and eagerly purchased by amateurs.⁶⁰ The idea for some publication certainly was seized first by Cochin, who was already engaged in considering (for the benefit of his pupil) the critical merits of the fresco paintings discovered beginning in 1739.⁶¹ Their immediate inspiration to publish must have come from d'Arthenay, who gives a description of the newly discovered Forum, or Basilica, in his 1748 tract and states that a drawing of it is needed.

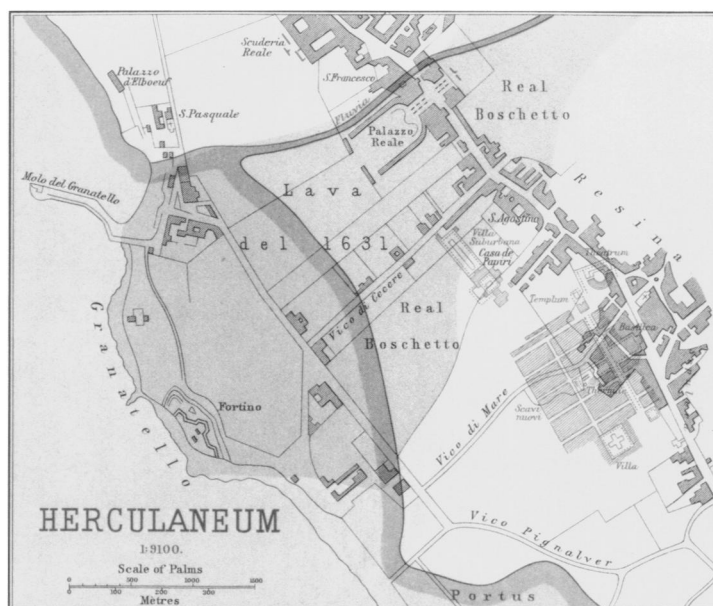
It was precisely to supply these first visual descriptions of the finds that Bellicard developed his notebook and the related, but now lost, separate drawings. In the notebook he has made no effort to

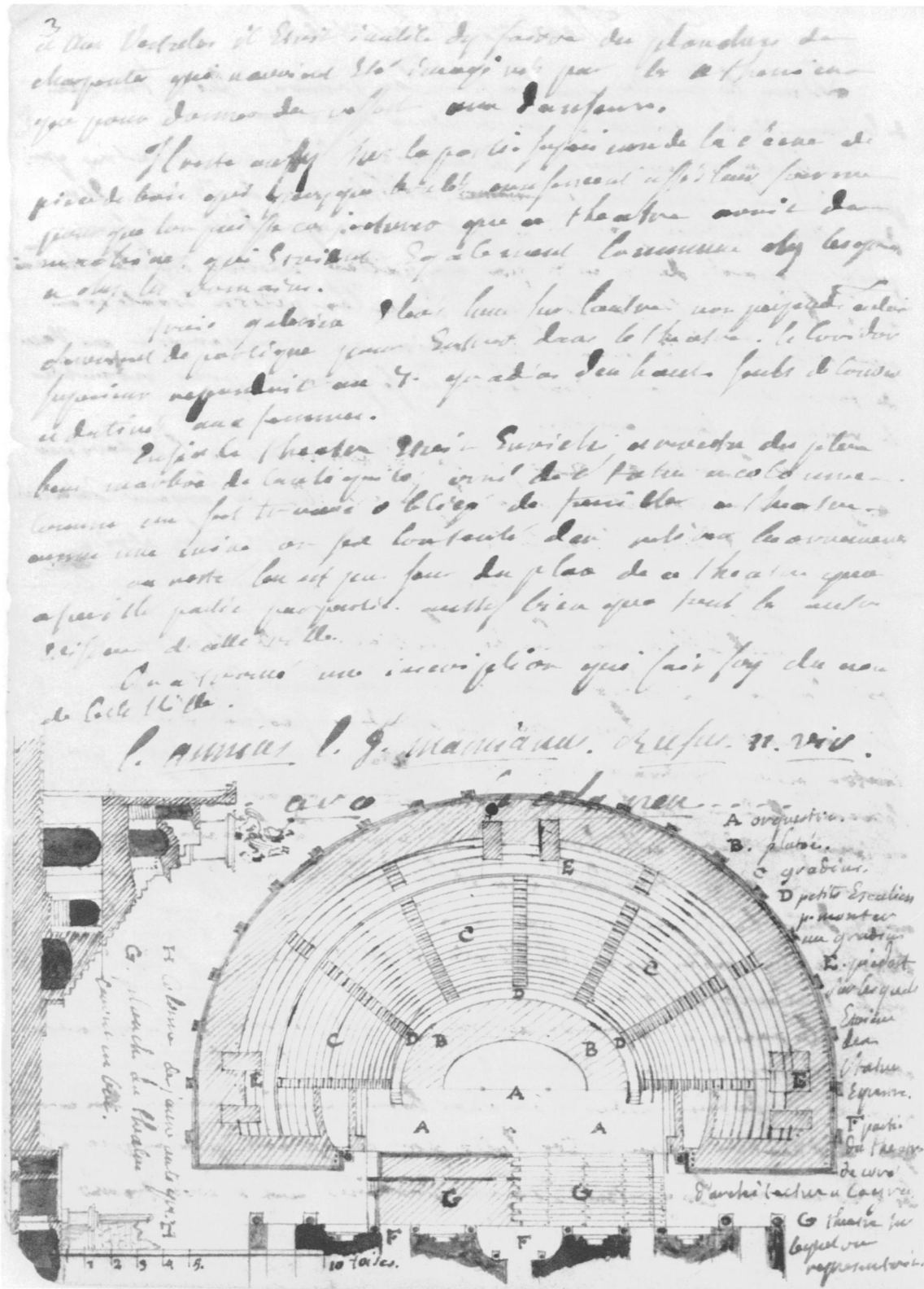
record original insights but rather has copied, verbatim in places, from the published sources he has read, principally d'Arthenay, Venuti, and the authors of earlier guidebooks.⁶²

The discovery of Bellicard's notebook adds an important link to the knowledge of the most important edifices at Herculaneum. To this day, the prints published by Bellicard and Cochin in the *Observations* are the earliest and best of the surviving plans of what Bellicard called the Forum (see Figure 17), now thought to be the Basilica, and of the Tombs (see Figure 18), now thought to be the tombs of the Balbi family. Because of the way the tunneling was conducted, it is extraordinary to see how far one could travel underground from the well entrance in the Theater (Figure 8) past the Basilica to the Tombs, found at the southeastern edge of the town. The excavators literally dug from one side of Herculaneum to the other.

Using the notebook and other contemporary sources, one can try to imagine the reactions of early visitors to the tunnels in which Herculaneum was found in the 1740s and 1750s. Before 1828 virtually none of Herculaneum was excavated from above in

8. Plan of Herculaneum showing the Theater, Basilica, and Tombs and indicating the location of unexcavated sites in relation to excavated areas. The Tombs are indicated as "Sepulcra" at the extreme right edge of the plan (from Waldstein and Shoo-bridge)





9. Bellicard, *Theater Found at Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 3

open-air trenches and the important buildings Bellicard visited and drew, notably the Theater and the Basilica, are still buried from eighty to more than one hundred feet deep beneath the villages of Resina (Ercolano) and Portici.⁶³

Access to the Herculaneum dig was through the Theater, which was entered then as now via deep well shafts. The old 1689 shaft, now closed, is marked *L* in the plan of the Theater attributed to Alcubierre and dated 1747–48; a second shaft sunk in 1742 in the risers of the auditorium is marked *M* on his plan (Figure 10).⁶⁴

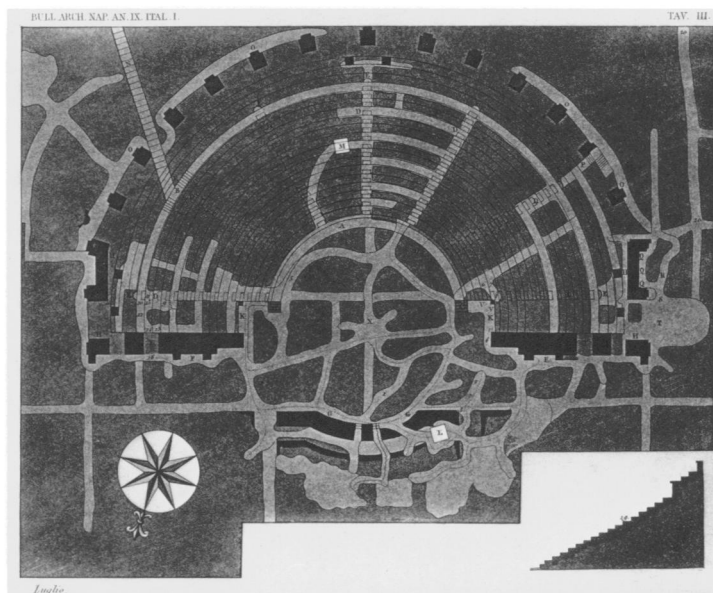
When Bellicard and his companions descended into the suffocating excavation in the Theater, they found a place at once wonderful and frightening. The only light was provided by smoking torches whose fumes choked them and made prolonged excursions physically punishing.⁶⁵ One could see only tantalizing fractions of what had been buried and was only partially revealed, and from this impressionable visitors extrapolated fantastic visions of the whole. The need for secrecy added to the haphazard, fragmented nature of the visit underground. The most formidable obstacles to comprehension were the guards, who hustled visitors along and prevented any illicit sketching, measuring, or souvenir hunting, and the disorienting lack of order to the excavation, which was engineered for expediency rather than revelation.

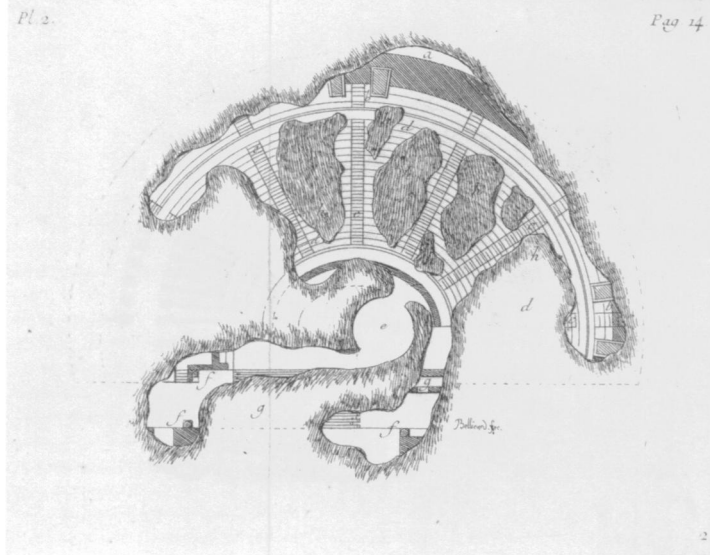
Visitors moved through narrow tunnels laboriously chipped out through the unyielding mortarlike sediment of lava, sand, and seashells that Vesuvius had spewed out on this side.⁶⁶ Working eighty feet below the surface, the men were loath to remove excavated material from the pit. Removal could only be done by a system of baskets with ropes and pulleys, and in lieu of this the excavated material was simply moved around inside the excavation.⁶⁷ The director of the project settled on the expeditious solution of stashing the pumice excavated from one tunnel into older tunnels from which all of the removable artifacts had been extracted.⁶⁸ While this served to shore up the earth, the process was more like mining than archaeology and constituted a form of vandalism.⁶⁹ The early excavators were seeking treasure without giving much thought to a systematic, scientific exploration of the site.

The result was an experience entirely unlike that of earlier or later visitors. Each one would see, liter-

ally, different parts of the whole and relatively little that might be shared. For this reason, the early descriptions of Herculaneum and particularly of the Theater, Basilica, and Tombs are extremely valuable. Bellicard is particularly important for two reasons. He was the first to publish visual records of the Theater, the Basilica, and the Tombs, and thus he is still the primary source of visual information and plans. Further, Bellicard offered a key to the extent of the excavation of each sub-area of the site and, in so doing, provided a plan of the ensemble into which the detached parts could later be made to fit together. Visitors who emerged teary-eyed and gasping would like to have been able to reconstruct what they had seen. For example, when Bellicard visited in 1750, they were excavating the orchestra of the Theater;⁷⁰ when Charles de Brosses visited in 1739 he had seen the stage.⁷¹ The plan of the Theater attributed to Alcubierre (Figure 10) must be assumed to represent *all* the tunnels that had been explored and not just the tunnels that were open at the same time. By 1750, when Bellicard visited the Theater, many of these tunnels had already been refilled and blocked up.

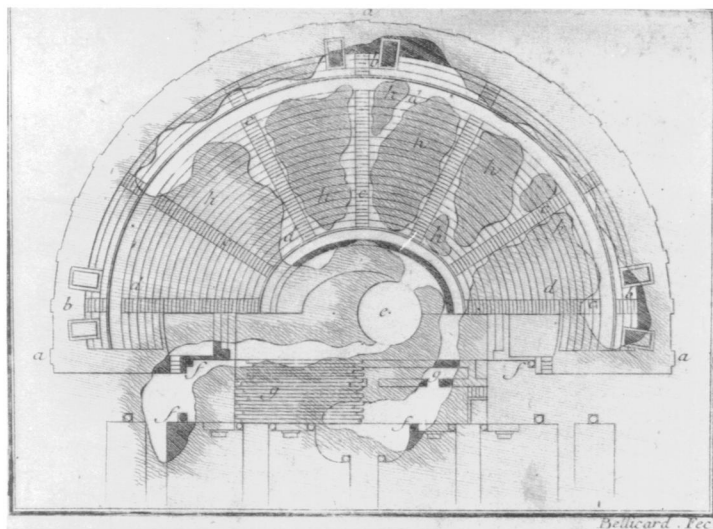
10. Attributed to Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre, *Plan of the Theater of Herculaneum*, 1747–48 (from Giulio Minervini, *Bullettino Archeologico Italiano* I [1861], pl. 3)





11. Bellicard, *Plan of the Theater of Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, A. Hyatt Mayor Purchase Fund, Marjorie Phelps Starr Bequest, 1980, 1980.1015.1

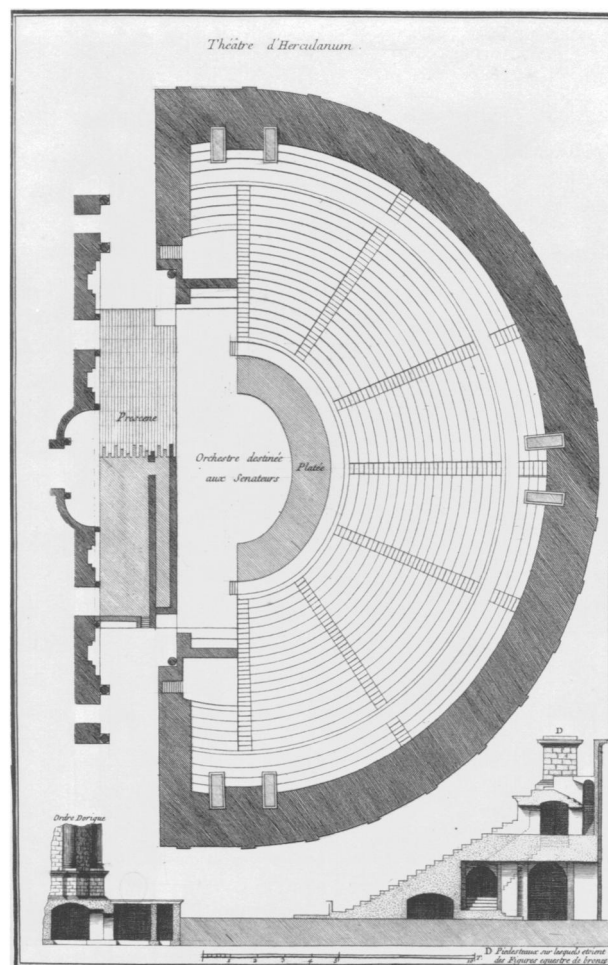
12. Bellicard, *Theater of Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 2. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library



13. François-Philippe Charpentier (1734–1817) after Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont, *Theater of Herculaneum*, 1765. Engraving and etching. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 5692 v. 69 (photo: Bibliothèque nationale)

The Theater is still one of the parts of Herculaneum that is very difficult to reach. It is the most deeply buried and is covered by the hardest of volcanic lava. Above it today is part of the modern town, which makes any excavation problematic in terms of both politics and engineering. By Bellicard's own testimony, he considered the plan of the Theater given to him to have been inaccurate, but he still preferred to use it rather than hazard a reconstruction based upon his own original sketch.⁷² Bellicard's sketch, now lost,⁷³ must have been very close to the etching he printed in 1754 (Figure 11), which shows excavated parts that Bellicard was able to visit and know at first hand. The plan that he drew in the Metropolitan notebook (Figure 9) must be "the plan which I received in the country," meaning a plan supplied to him in Italy.⁷⁴

In order to arrive at the etching he published in the 1753 edition of the *Observations* (Figure 12), Bellicard conflated two plans: a reconstruction of the Theater supplied to him in Naples and his own sketch indicating the areas he had actually visited.⁷⁵ Bellicard's notebook drawing provides particularly

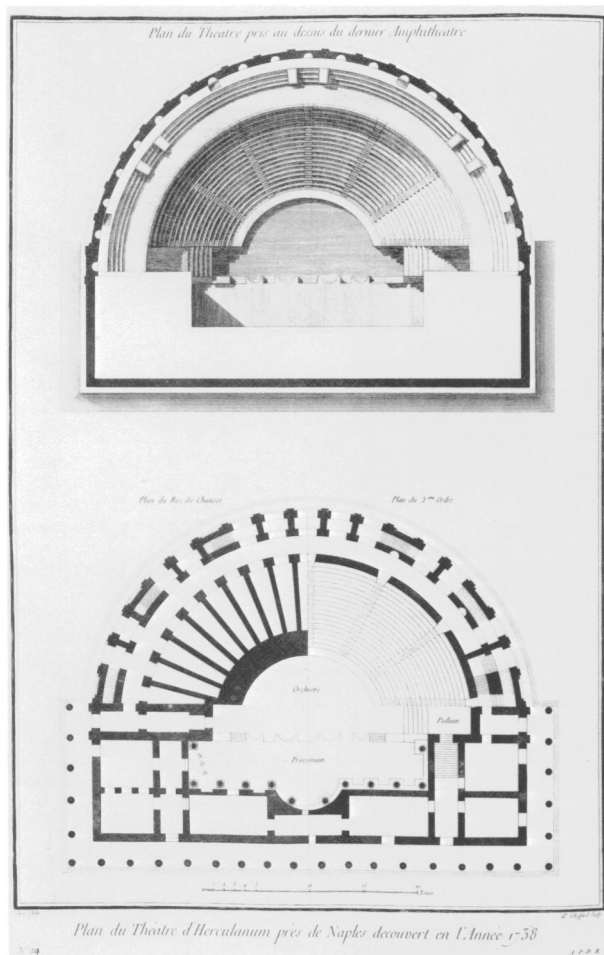


interesting proof of the architect's access to an informed source privy to the secret of Herculaneum. It is a schematic re-creation of the entire plan of the Theater extrapolated from accumulated knowledge of the fragmentary parts actually known, presenting both a plan and a section of the Theater as it was thought to be in its entirety, including the placement atop the walls of equestrian statues of the Balbi. Furthermore, Bellicard's written notes reflect the discussion of the Greek or Roman origin of the Theater by repeating d'Arthenay's conjecture that "if they would dig among the seven little stairs, which divides equally the rows of seats, they would find earthen or brass vessels, used by the Greeks to increase their actors' voices."⁷⁶ Thus, the sketchbook contains a learned reconstruction of the Theater that combines what was found in the excavations at Herculaneum with what was known about Greek and Roman prac-

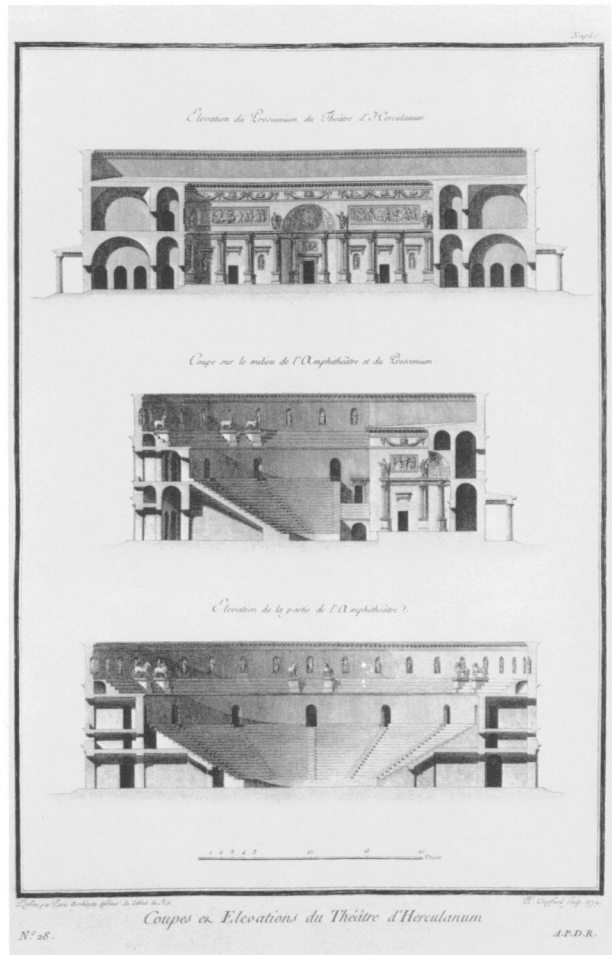
tices in constructing and performing in their theaters.

This kind of reconstruction was beyond what Bellicard could have accomplished on his own in Naples, given the restrictions on taking measurements or sketching, so this must be a sketch based upon the plan "which I received in the country" from someone with authorized access to the site or the documents kept by the superintendent's office.⁷⁷ The "mole" must have been placed either at court or within the office of the superintendent, Rocco Gioacchino de Alcubierre, the first director of the excavations.⁷⁸ Alcubierre was succeeded by Karl Weber, a Swiss, who would have been new at his job at the time of Bellicard's visit in late 1750. Intrigue at court and Alcubierre's efforts to sabotage Weber's career do not eliminate Alcubierre himself as the source of the drawings shown to Bellicard.

14. Choffard, after Pierre-Adrien Pâris (1745–1819), *Plan of the Theater at Herculaneum near Naples discovered in the year 1738*, from Richard Saint Non, *Voyage Pittoresque de Naples et de Sicile* (Paris, 1782), I, pt. 1, pl. 29



15. Choffard, after Pâris, *Cross Section and Elevation of the Theater at Herculaneum*, from *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, pt. 1, pl. 28



Dimension 12 p. de face, sur lequel on a trouvé quelque de l'air. 6
 char de bronze.

Ce temple fut consacré à une Vierge. Les murs intérieurs
 étoient ornés de Colonne entre laquelle il y avoit des peintures de
 figures, et de grandes tables de marbre par lesquelles étoient inscrites
 les noms de ceux qui avoient fait la dépense de faire bâtir.

A. lieu où étoient les statues de Vierge en pied, et deux autres en habits civils.
 B. niche où étoient les statues de Mars, et germaniques.

C. niche où étoient
 placés alternativement
 de figures de bronze et
 de marbre.

D. portiques où l'on
 a trouvé de statues
 équestres, dont il n'y
 en avoit que deux
 de marbre, entre autres
 celle de l'albion. Les
 trois autres de bronze
 ont été fondus.

E. F. temple qui étoient
 voisins du forum.

G. lieu où l'on devoit être
 les nouvelles dispositions au
 sacrifice.

H. portiques qui étoient
 devant le grand pied.

I. différentes maisons
 voisines du forum.

L. petit sanctuaire du petit
 temple.

la colonne de co
 forum. Devant de l'org
 volonte de l'org.

On a trouvé
 aussi des statues
 dans cette ville
 par lesquelles on a
 connu l'usage de la
 statue. On a aussi
 vu les statues qui
 ont été trouvées
 dans les fouilles.

par la manière, on a
 vu toute celle par
 laquelle.

On a vu aussi
 par la table d'au
 les statues qui
 ont été trouvées
 dans les fouilles.
 On a aussi vu
 les statues qui
 ont été trouvées
 dans les fouilles.

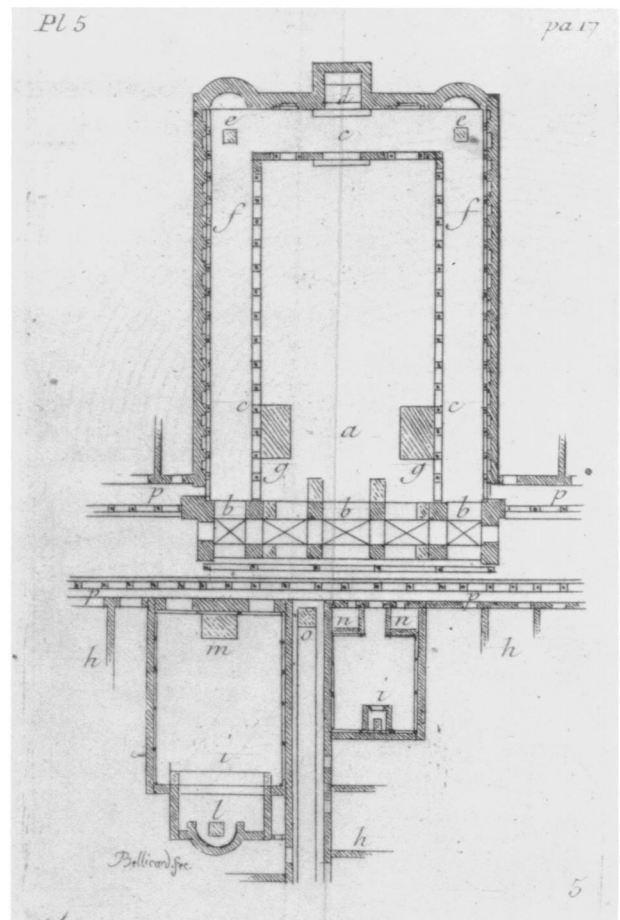
16. Bellicard, *The Forum [Basilica] of Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 6. *A* is the location where the statue of Vespasian once stood; *B* the niches where the statues of Nero and Germanicus were; *C* the niches that originally held alternating figures of bronze and marble; *D* the portico where the two marble and three bronze equestrian statues were; *E* and *F* temples neighboring the forum; *G* the place where sacrificial vessels were found; *H* the covered portico for pedestrians; *I* various houses neighboring the forum; and *L* the "little sanctuary of the little temple."

That plans leaked out is supported by the existence of a print by the Frenchman Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumont (the one who may have originally recommended Bellicard to Vandières) of a plan and section of the Theater at Herculaneum. It is a reversal (to be expected in an engraving) of a design strikingly like Bellicard's in its layout, in the details of the plan, and in attention to the materials of the original building fabric (Figure 13). This invites us to conjecture that the Bellicard drawing and the Dumont engraving may be made after the same lost original. Authorship of the original plans is distinctive owing to the stylistic conventions used and the particular reconstruction of the site proposed by the artist. Other reconstructions of the Theater from about the same date are dramatically different: one by Camillo Paderni develops the vaults at the back of the loges more elaborately and treats the proscenium in an entirely different way. The 1782 engravings after the designs of the French architect Pierre Pâris (Figures 14, 15) are equally distinctive as they reconstruct the exterior of the stage-side wall as a peristyle and change the proportions of the uppermost wall of the amphitheater.

Bellicard's notebook preserves a precious and detailed description of what he called the Forum (Figure 16)⁷⁹ and what is generally referred to today as the Basilica, although, pending further exploration, its true nature still remains quite uncertain.⁸⁰ Bellicard's drawing of the Basilica is particularly important because the building has not been accessible for study since his drawings were made with one exception, when it was reexcavated but was again refilled. Bellicard's published plans of the Basilica in the *Observations* were, until the identification of the present

notebook, the only surviving designs of the complex⁸¹ and are, therefore, extremely useful for our knowledge of this important civic center. The drawing in Bellicard's notebook adds significantly to what was known from his own published etching (Figure 17). In addition to other differences, he clearly indicates in the drawing that the niches lining the walls of the arcades were flanked by columns (perhaps slightly engaged) standing before square piers. Further, in the two unidentified "temples" at the bottom of the drawing, the notebook shows that the interior walls were ornamented with engaged columns, and that in Temple *F* free-standing columns flanked the entrance and shrine and a pair of free-standing columns created a vestibule, or intermediate space, between the porch and the principal space before the

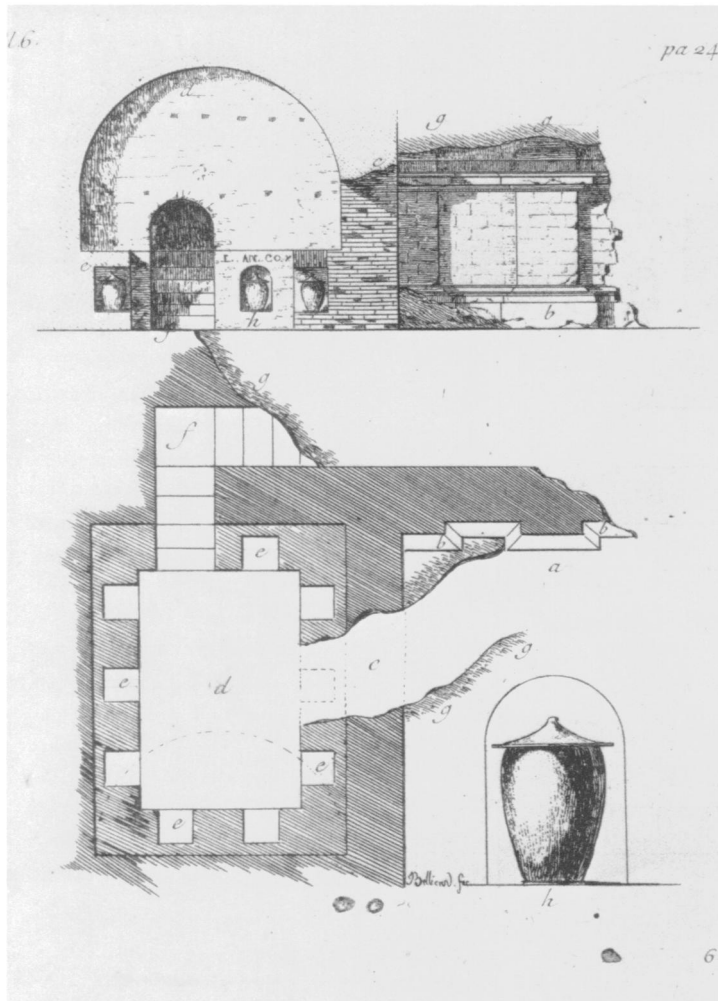
17. Bellicard, *The So-called Forum at Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 5



altar. None of these details is present in the etched plates of the *Observations*.

Now known from Bellicard's etchings (Figure 18), his notebook drawing (Figure 19), and written accounts in the archives of the excavation published by Ruggiero, the tombs of members of the Balbi family lie just beyond the southeastern limits of the town on the upward slope of Vesuvius.⁸² The vaulted chamber has nine niches in the walls; in each stood a large clay funerary urn. Above each niche the name of the family member whose ashes reposed there was painted in red on the plaster wall.⁸³ In this case the etching gives more information about the fabric of

18. Bellicard, *The Tombs of the Balbi Family Found at Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 6



19. Bellicard, *Tombs Found at Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 18. *A* is the vaulted cellar of the tomb; *B* the tunnel cut by the excavators through the wall in accidentally finding the tomb; *C* are the niches for the vases containing the ashes of the ancients; *D* the steps leading up to the building *E* outside which were found the pedestals *F*. In the sectional drawings, *G* is the little door leading to the stair and *H* a "niche in which is placed the vase which holds the ashes."

the structure, indicating brick and ashlar, than the notebook, which was made quickly to set down the remembered form of the place. The differences between the drawing of the tombs and that of the Basilica are worth considering. Does the presence of greater detail in the case of the Basilica reflect a more leisurely observation of the site or does it suggest that the drawing was derived from another, now lost, original, and that the drawing of the tombs was made from Bellicard's own recollections and without the aid of a second-party drawing?

THE ROYAL PALACE AT PORTICI

Following the notes for the Theater and the Basilica, Bellicard devotes several pages of the notebook to the collections of detached fresco paintings, sculptures, and household utensils that were the pride of the museum created by Charles III in his palace at Portici. Here, watched over by Camillo Paderni, one saw the large fresco paintings of mythological themes that were supposedly removed from the Basilica as early as 1738. These formed the subject of Cochin's separate essays on ancient painting, in which he assaulted the hallowed superiority of ancient over modern painting and caused the defenders of antiquity, such as the comte de Caylus, to write at length to refute him. All of the drawings in this section of Bellicard's notebook (Figures 20–22) are thumbnail sketches made from memory. Cochin made his own sketches, which were the basis for his etchings used to illustrate his "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculaneum, Aujourd'hui Portici," published first in 1751 and reused by Bellicard beginning in 1753 (Figures 23–27).⁸⁴ Comparisons of Bellicard's miniatures of the Theseus in the notebook, for example (Figures 20, 21), with Cochin's etchings of the

Des Tombes, Trouvés, à Hercule...

18

En continuant la fouille des terres de la cité de forum
J'ai eu la surprise de trouver un grand édifice qui
paraît être un temple à cet grand temple on a
puisé beaucoup de choses dans les inscriptions mais les
inscriptions ont été enlevées dans un mur qui se trouve
à l'ouest de la cité et on trouve un bas-relief de 12 p.
de long sur 9 de large et de hauteur.
tel est le Casque, A.

B. chemin en terre pour aller
des Cyprien de 6 angustres

C. Différentes niches pour le
vase ou l'écrit ou les vases
le caducée de plusieurs autres

D. Degré qui vont à l'ouest
dans le bâtiment, E. sont en
a de l'ouest au
dehors, les pieds dans

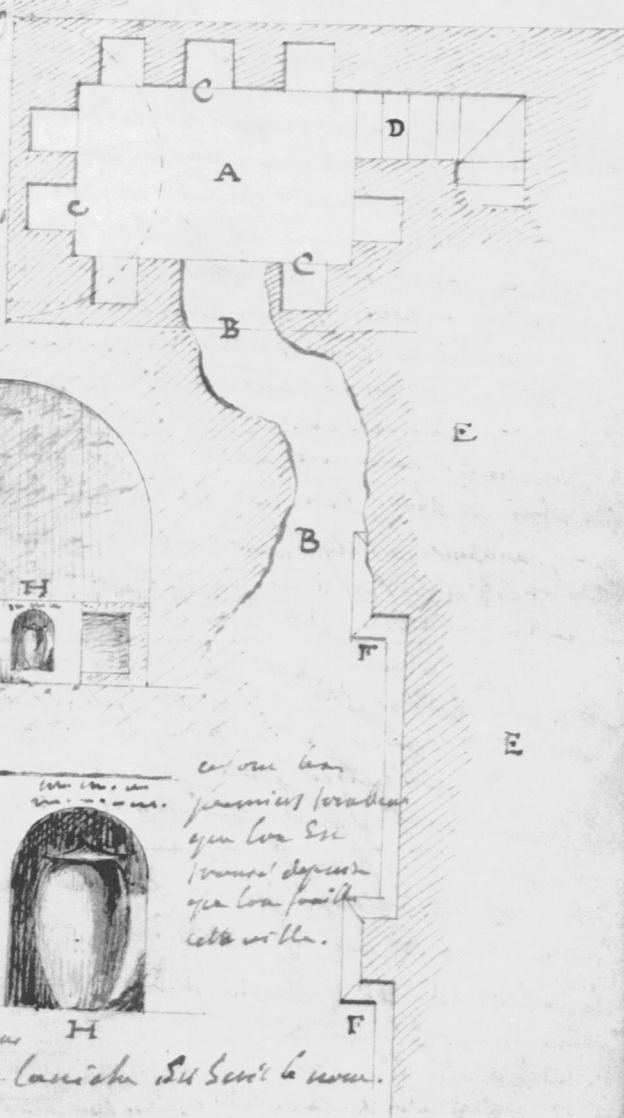
F. sont le profil
commune quelques-uns
de grand.

G. petite porte qui
conduit à l'écrit.

H. Niche dans
laquelle se place
le vase qui se trouve
le caducée.

Il y a encore aujourd'hui
4. a. 5. des Cyprien y les autres
autres de plusieurs autres

Les vases sont de terre
cuite et couverte d'une petite
bille en couleur de la terre
rouge. au-dessus de la crosse de la crosse de la crosse.



20. Bellicard, *Some Paintings Found in Herculaneum*, from Notebook, p. 8

21. Bellicard, *Eleven Small Drawings after Frescoes Removed from Herculeaneum*, from Notebook, p. 9. Top row, left to right: 1. The Centaur teaching Achilles to play the lute; 2. The Judgment of Appius; 3. Hercules and Pomona; 4. The children of Athens thanking Theseus for delivering them from the Minotaur. Middle row: 1. Egyptian sacrifice with Ibis in foreground; 2. Egyptian sacrifice with a

[illegible]

un labiale voisine
une Saccante.

Frederick
Brown Johnson.

Tableau de
Général
des papiers.

une ciguë -
conduisant en char
tire par un perroquet

Ver et
Boutelle

dancer; 3. (above) Painted vase; 4. (below preceding) Figure labeled "There are many pictures of this type"; 5. Centaur with figure on his back labeled "sketch whose intention is unknown." Third row: 1. Type of galley; 2. Vase filled with liquid labeled "Vase in which the liquor is fairly well painted." Below left: "Diagrammatic drawing of colored stone floor inlays from Herculaneum," where A is white

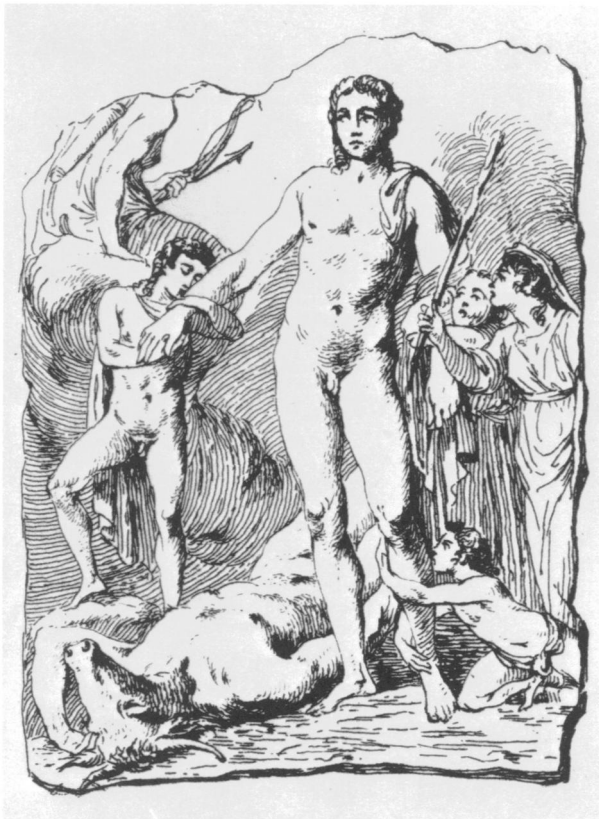
marble; B is blue and yellow "antique" stone; C is a band of different colored stones cut in triangles; D is a band of different colored ornaments, such as sheaves of grain, pearls, or rosettes; E a band of different colored stone (in triangles); F the central area of a uniform, beautiful brick; and (below right) "Painted illusionistic architectural wall decoration from Herculaneum."





22. Bellicard, *Scene of Sacrifice and Schematic Diagram of Painted Illusionistic Wall Decoration to Imitate Mosaic of Yellow Circles and Black Bars on a Red Ground*, from Notebook, p. 10 (detail)

23. Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger (1715–98), after anonymous Roman painter, *Theseus Receiving the Thanks of the Athenian Youths for Rescuing Them from the Minotaur*, from “Lettre sur les Peintures d’Herculanum,” 1751, pl. I, reprinted in *Observations*, 1755



24. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, *Hercules Watching His Son Telephus Suckled by a Hind*, from “Lettre sur les Peintures d’Herculanum,” pl. II



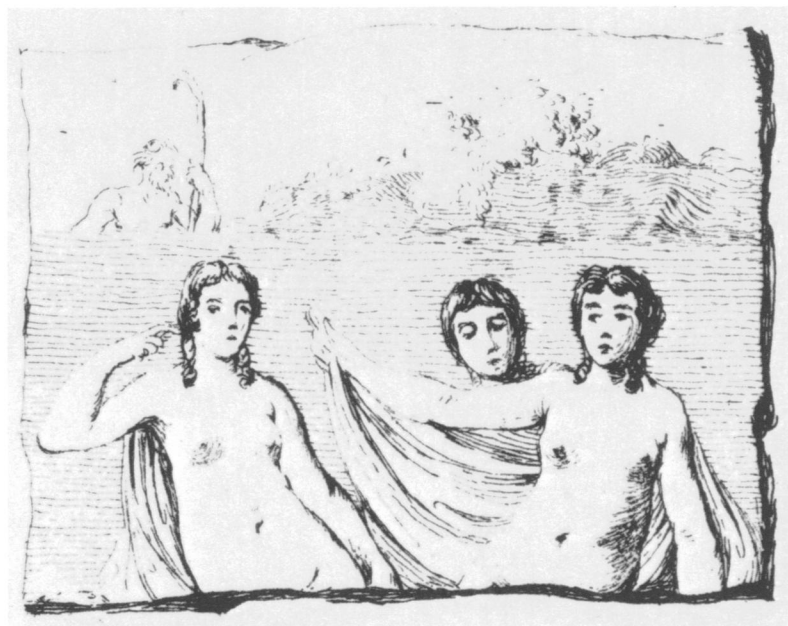


25. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, *The Education of Achilles*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. iii



26. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, called by Cochin *Judgment of Appius Claudius* but now identified as *Admetus and Alcestis*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. iv

27. Cochin, after anonymous Roman painter, incorrectly called by Cochin *Judgment of Paris*, from "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," pl. v



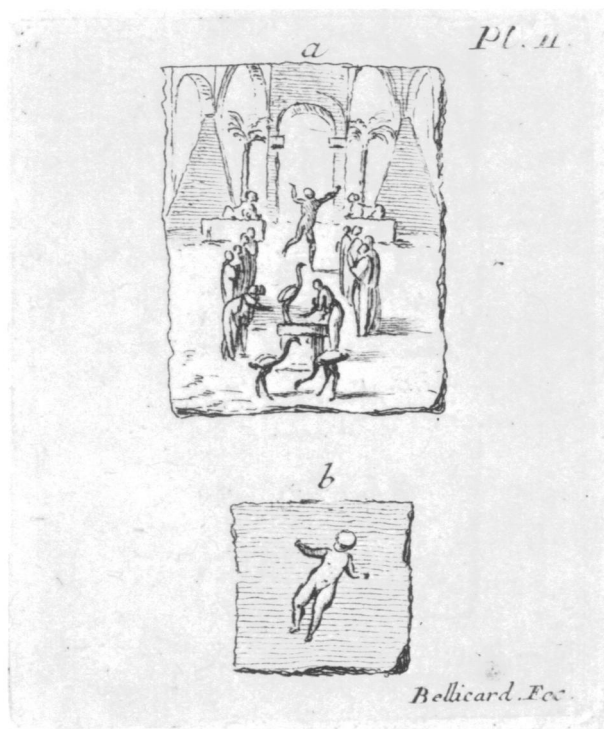


28. Anonymous Roman, active at Herculaneum, possibly after lost Hellenistic original, *Theseus Receiving the Thanks of the Athenian Youths for Rescuing Them from the Minotaur*, A.D. 1st century. Fresco from Basilica at Herculaneum, 94.3 × 160.7 cm. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, no. 9049 (photo: Alinari)

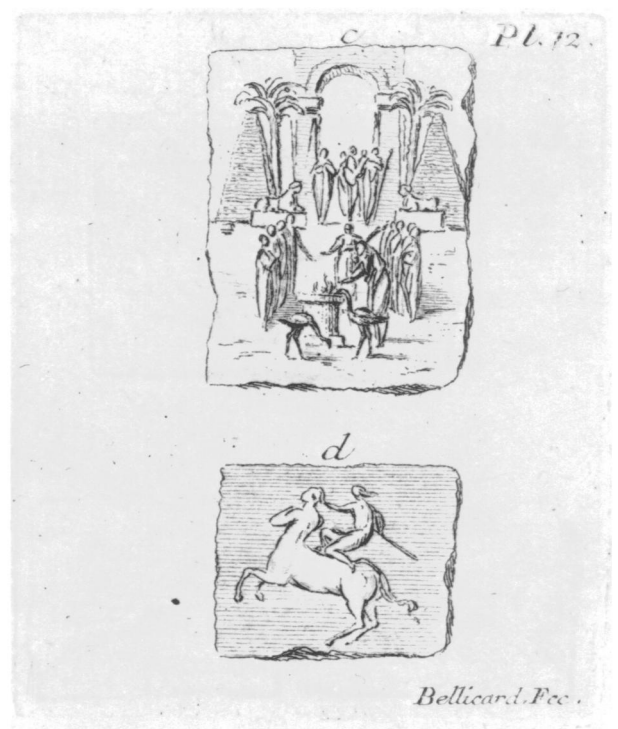
surviving original frescoes (Figure 23) and with the original (Figure 28) make it abundantly clear that the Cochin and Bellicard drawings were made from memory and not from observation.

Bellicard expanded upon Cochin's illustrations of the Herculaneum frescoes by adding several examples of curious pictures that were bound to excite scholars and interested amateurs north of the Alps. Bellicard's diminutive pictures in his notebook show us the fragmentary basis from which he worked up his published etchings. One good example is the pair of Isis cult paintings that he recorded in the notebook (see Figure 21). He initially published them in the first London and Paris editions in a minute format close to that of the thumbnail sketches (Figures

29. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Dancer*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 11



30. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Ibis*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 12





31. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Dancer*, from *Observations*, 1755, pl. 21



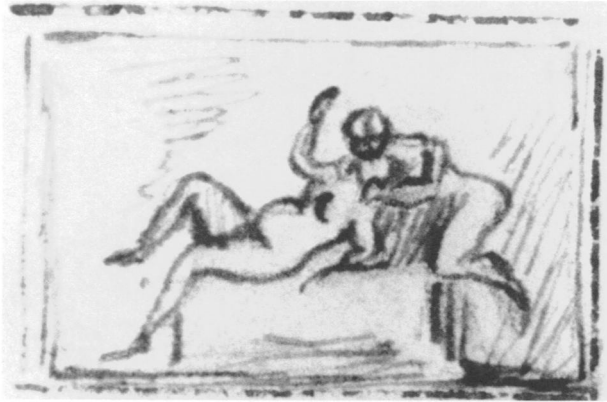
32. Bellicard, *Egyptian Sacrifice with Ibis*, from *Observations*, 1755, pl. 20

33. Anonymous Roman, *Religious Ceremony of the Isis Cult*, ca. A.D. 63–69. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico, no. 8919 (photo: Alinari)

29, 30). In the subsequent Paris edition of 1755, he elaborated on them entirely from memory (Figures 31, 32). The extraordinary discrepancies from the originals he fleetingly saw at Portici (Figure 33) demonstrate just how unreliable these publications were for forming any serious idea of Roman painting style or of cult practices.⁸⁵ Other sketches by Bellicard are so rudimentary that while they can be identified with existing paintings or other images, they provide only the most fragmentary idea of the original's appearance. Take the case of the sketch of a Nymph and



Satyr (Figure 34) sketched by Bellicard and as etched in 1782 by Duflos after Pâris (Figure 35). Bellicard's sketch merely proves that it had been accessible by 1750, while the later etching gives a completely different format, setting, and meaning to the image.



34. Bellicard, *Nymph and Satyr*, from Notebook, p. 8 (detail)

35. Pierre Duflos (1742–1816), after Pâris, *Antique Pictures from Herculaneum*, from *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, pt. 1

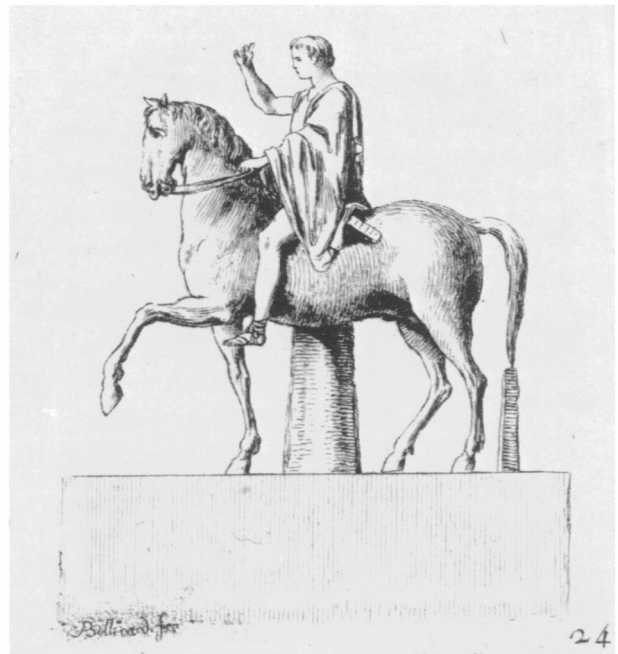


36. Anonymous Roman, *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior*, from Herculaneum Basilica, marble. Naples, Museo Nazionale Archeologico (photo: Museo Nazionale Archeologico). By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University

Curiously, there are no illustrations in the notebook of the free-standing sculptures found at Herculaneum, although these were among the most impressive finds. Bellicard devotes a page to the sculpture⁸⁶ and lists heavily damaged bronze portraits of Nero, Germanicus, Claudius, and two anonymous women. Of the many marble portraits he lists only those of identifiable sitters: Athalantes, Vespasian, Mannius Maximus, and several members of the Balbi family. He reports that two figures of consuls seated in curule chairs found in the Forum were especially prized. He mentions quantities of medals and marble busts of gods but singles out for sketching (Figure 22) only one relief, found in the Basilica, representing a scene in which a sacrificial offering is being made. Bellicard was aware of the two major marble equestrian statues, for he reports that: "They are currently at work restoring an equestrian statue which was found at the entrance to the forum next to that of M. Balbus." He refers, therefore, to the statue now identified as of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior



37. Attributed to Cochin, *Engraving after the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior*, from *Mercure de France* (October 1751), facing p. 170

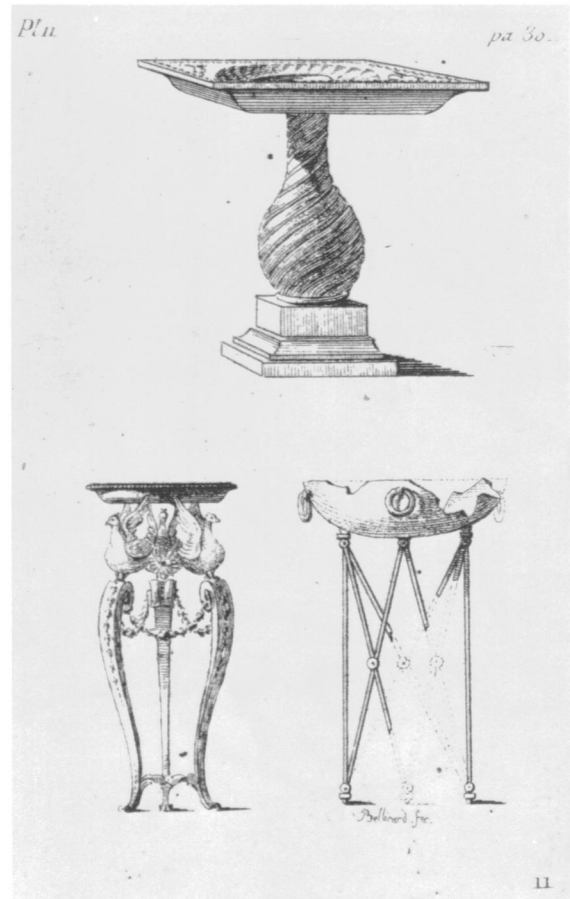


38. Bellicard, *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Nonius Balbus, Junior*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 24

(Figure 36), and to the previously identified pendant of his father, Marcus Nonius Balbus, Senior. An anonymous engraving of the left side of the equestrian statue of M. Nonius Balbus, Junior, was published in the *Mercure de France* immediately after Cochin's publication of the "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum," along with a paragraph explaining to the general readership the difficulty of making drawings of the objects (Figure 37).⁸⁷ The original drawing from which this print was made must have been by Cochin and it must also have served as the model for the much cruder etchings by Bellicard that illustrated the *Observations* (Figure 38).

Bellicard was very interested in the surviving mosaics and decorative wall paintings; he was surprised by the vivid remnant of the colors used in Roman interiors (see Figure 21). He was also strongly attracted by the architectonic and mechanical qualities of the tripods, urns, candlesticks, and other surviving examples of Roman metalwork that bore architectural, vegetal, and animal ornament (Figure 39).

39. Bellicard, *Metalwork Found at Herculaneum*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 11



14

1750.

x.

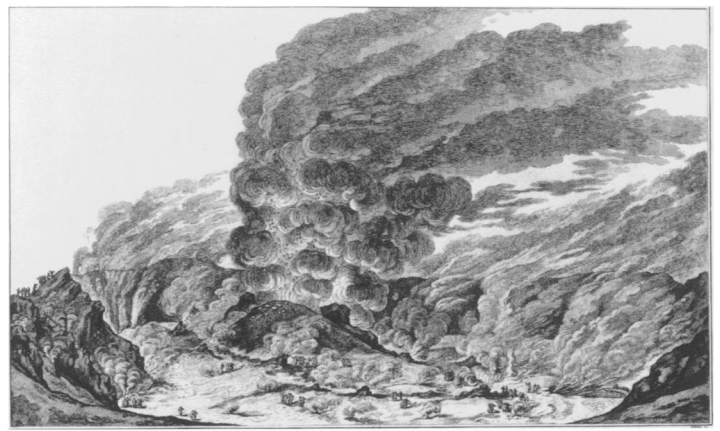
A circular diagram, possibly a celestial map or a complex system, drawn on a piece of paper with faint, illegible handwriting in the background. The diagram consists of a network of lines and dots. A central point is connected to several other points, which are further connected to each other, forming a web-like structure. The lines are drawn with a dark ink or pencil, and the dots are small, dark circles. The overall appearance is that of a hand-drawn sketch or a preliminary drawing for a more formal diagram.

VULCANOLOGY

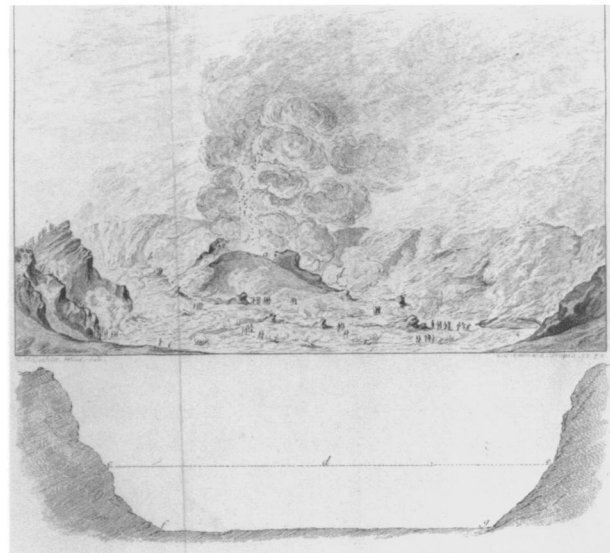
In the midst of the notes and sketches relating to Herculaneum itself and to the objects removed from the excavation to the museum at Portici, Bellicard devotes several pages⁸⁸ to a discussion of the state of the volcanic cone of Mount Vesuvius (Figure 40). On a page labeled “State of Mount Vesuvius in the month of November 1750,” Bellicard begins, with protoromantic sensitivity, to express his inability “to paint by description the terrifying beauty of this volcano.” His description is based on firsthand experience as he had made the ascent with Vandières.

Once again, Vandières and his group showed a seminal interest in an activity that would become more widespread: climbing the active volcano was a much sought-after experience well into the nineteenth century. Many descriptions have come down to us, and paintings of Vesuvius glowing by night became a stock subject. The characteristic eighteenth-century interest in empirical knowledge is evident in the seriousness with which Vandières’s group studied the mountain. D’Arthenay later published a long article on his observations of Vesuvius made over the years from 1741 to 1755.⁸⁹

Bellicard and Cochin were interested in drawing the cone and identifying the shifting sites of the vents and outlets of lava. Using measurements made in June 1750 by Soufflot, Vandières’s group was anxious to establish the nature and rapidity of change of this mountain in the process of transforming itself. In 1749 it had been reported that the bottom of the crater had only one mouth, but Bellicard records no fewer than five and locates them on his plan. His elevation of the cone of the volcano shows how the right half of the old crater had been blown out in the recent eruptions, and he gives its dimensions as a circumference at the summit of 850 *toises* (1,656.65 meters) and a diameter of 282 *toises* (546.62 meters).⁹⁰ Cochin also drew Vesuvius (Figure 41),⁹¹ and his drawing was the basis for the 1754 etching by C. O. Gallimard that served as the first plate in the 1754 and subsequent French editions of Bellicard and Cochin’s *Observations* (Figure 42). But Bellicard must have made drawings other than the one in the Metropolitan notebook, and one of these he made into an etching that became Plate 1 in the 1753 English edition of the *Observations* (Figure 43).

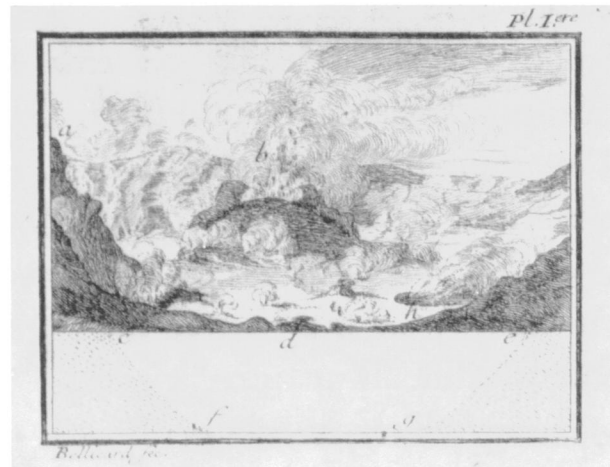


41. Pierre-Quentin Chedel, after Cochin, *View of Mount Vesuvius, Drawn There in 1750*, 1756. Engraving. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (photo: Bibliothèque nationale)



42. C. O. Gallimard, after Cochin, *View of Mount Vesuvius*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 1

43. Bellicard, *View of Mount Vesuvius*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 1



L'ancienne Capoue.

20

Cette ville dont on ne voit aujourd'hui que de faibles vestiges
parait avoir été considérable autrefois. Ce qui reste de principal
est un Amphithéâtre, qui étoit composé de ce que j'ai pu voir ou que
de trois ordres au plus dont il ne reste que deux. Le 1. qui est un
demi ordre du Dorique, l'on ne peut juger à son profil que son
apparence est plus riche que le 4. ou 5. cas.

La Corniche A. de cet Ordre peut avoir environ un
quart de plus que la frise. Son larmier est fort petit et
est couronné d'une cimaise fort basse qui reçoit d'une
goutte dans le chapiteau, et l'impasto.

La frise B. est assez élevée et l'architrave C.

Le Chapiteau D. est d'une proportion qui surpasse le
diamètre de la Colonne. Entre le profil qui le compose
la base a une place trop forte pour lui.

Son impasto E. a environ trois quarts de diamètre
s'adapte de force d'autant quelle s'écartera
de la Colonne qui étoit vis-à-vis dans le mur.

Son architrave F. peut avoir un tiers de la

hauteur. Vis-à-vis le théâtre en passant j'ai vu que en passant
le théâtre.

Son plan est ovale fait au-dessus qu'au-dessous

dont le grand diamètre est de 100 pas et le petit de 60.

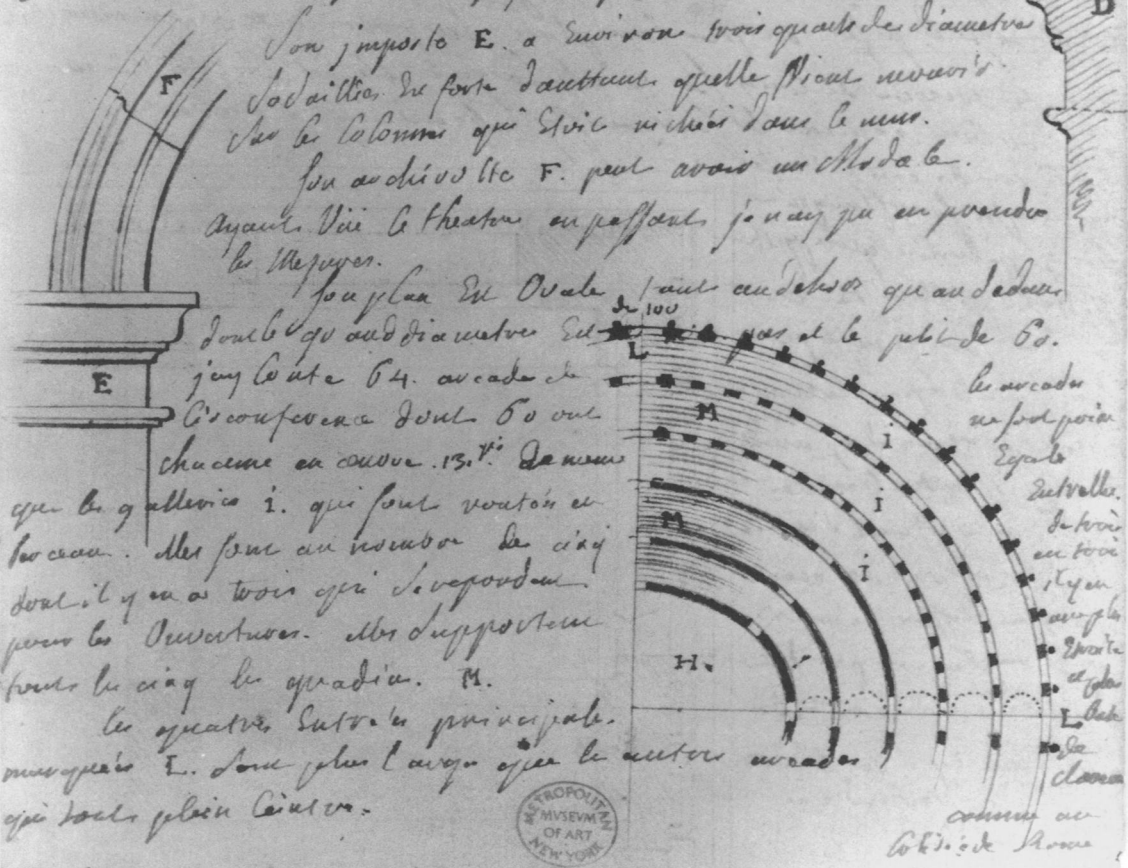
J'ai vu 64. arcades de

65. confédération dont 65 ont

chacune en œuvre 13. 1/2. de plus

que la galerie i. qui sont voutées en
bois. Elles sont au nombre de cinq
dont il y en a trois qui se regardent
par les ouvertures. Elles supportent
toutes les cinq le gradin. M.

Les gradins sont en principe
marqués L. Son plan est large et les autres arcades
qui sont plus petites.



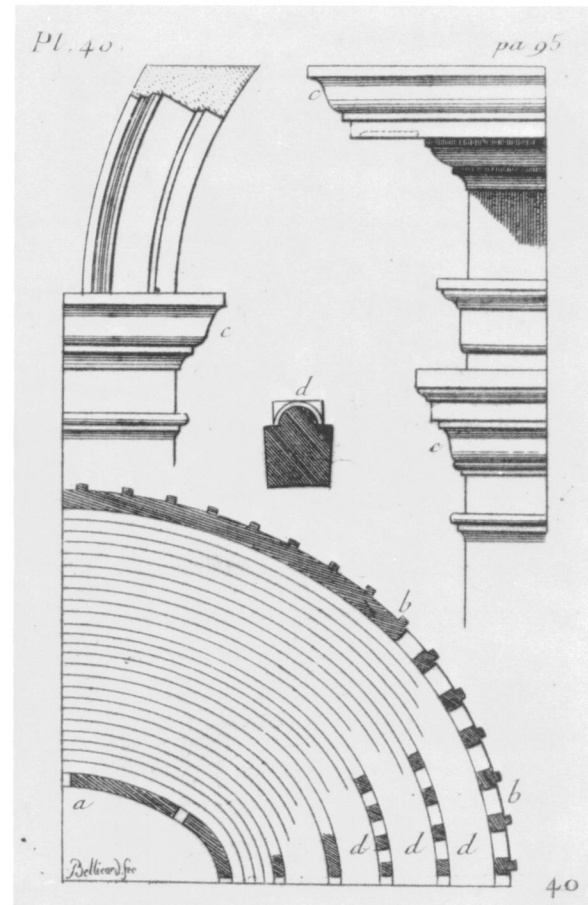
ANCIENT SITES

In every likelihood, the section of the notebook devoted to ancient sites other than those at Herculaneum was preconceived for publication as a travel guide to points of interest in Campania. Bellicard's treatment of the sites reflects his personal concern with feats of engineering and functional efficiency. The structures he drew were designed—although he often did not know it—for entertainment (theaters and thermal complexes), for water storage (cisterns), and for sepulchers (tombs and catacombs). He also included several natural and man-made wonders that were features of this volcanic region.

Bellicard's interest in ancient Capua centers on a close study of the Theater (Figure 44), which he compares to the Colosseum in Rome. In Capua he had the time to draw directly from the ruins, to sketch the moldings of the cornice in section and elevation, and to draw a part of the plan.⁹² This finds its way directly into the published *Observations*, where he dwells upon the choice of the orders and the carvings of the keystones (Figure 45). He also refers his readers to the source he used himself, Canon Mazocchi's 1727 commentary on the Amphitheater.⁹³

The Catacombs of St. Januarius (San Gennaro) at Naples (Figures 46, 47) are Early Christian and Byzantine in origin, dating from the second to the ninth centuries, and they have very good fifth-century Byzantine mosaics. In his notebook Bellicard gives the dimensions of the major caverns as 18 to 20 *pieds* wide (5.85 to 6.50 meters or roughly 19 to 21 feet) and pays special attention to the variety of niche sizes relative to the importance of decoration as expressions of cult practice. He remarks on the extent of the Catacombs as a marvel of practical if crude engineering. Interestingly, in the published account in the *Observations*, he deletes much of the specific detail and substitutes a conversational description.

To the west of Naples, and separated from the city by the mountainous projection of land called Posillipo, is the Gulf of Pozzuoli. Along its western edge is a second, inner gulf, called the Gulf of Baia, which in ancient times sheltered an early Greek settlement with mythic associations.⁹⁴ The region is lush in vegetation, with beautiful hills that drop down to the sea and are dramatically punctuated by volcanic fissures and bubbling natural hot springs. The area earned



45. Bellicard, *Theater at Capua*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 40

its picturesque sobriquet—I Campi Phlegraei or Flegrei (in English the Phlegraean Fields) meaning “burning fields”—because of its special geophysical characteristics.⁹⁵ In Late Republican Roman times and extending into Imperial times, this volcanic region between Cumae and Pozzuoli was a fashionable resort famed for its thermal baths, as well as a major fleet anchorage served by the best land-based facilities Roman engineers could devise. In the eighth century the area was sacked by the Saracens and abandoned. Over the centuries, owing to the active seismic nature of the zone, the earth has alternately risen and subsided (in what is called a bradyseismic cycle) and old shoreside sites are now under the waters of the bay. The rediscovery of this area, with the exception of those prominent structures that remained above ground since antiquity, did not begin until the twentieth century. Consequently, when Bellicard was there in 1750 he was unaware of the true Temple of the Cumaean Sibyl and other buried sites

Des Catacombes de Naples.

22

Celles qui sont au ^{de} Gennaro de pêcheurs sont très considérables. Les autres ^{ont} environ 15. à 20. pi. de longueur sur 8 ou 10 de hauteur. Selon la facilité de l'escalier on se a peu de chose.

Il y a des distances en-
tre les prisons B qui
sont toutes de la même

Il y a quelques
Catacombes dont l'architecture
est si simple que chaque famille
avait sa chapelle
ou son tombeau
comme on en
peut juger par
Ces qui sont marqués
C. C'est de grands

espaces dans le quel on a posé
plusieurs niches de différentes formes.

Il y a aussi beaucoup de niches plaines - petites et grandes. Traces d'une
généralité que l'on voit dans les sépultures de plusieurs autres.

Il y a aussi quelques-unes de peintures.

On dit que
le chemin A?

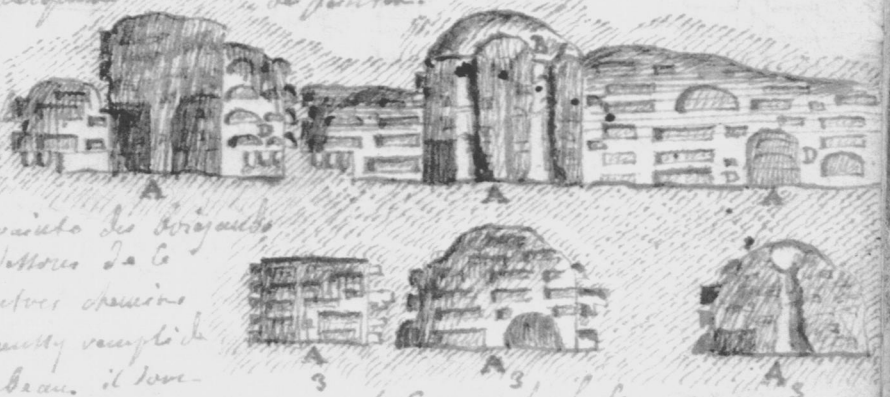
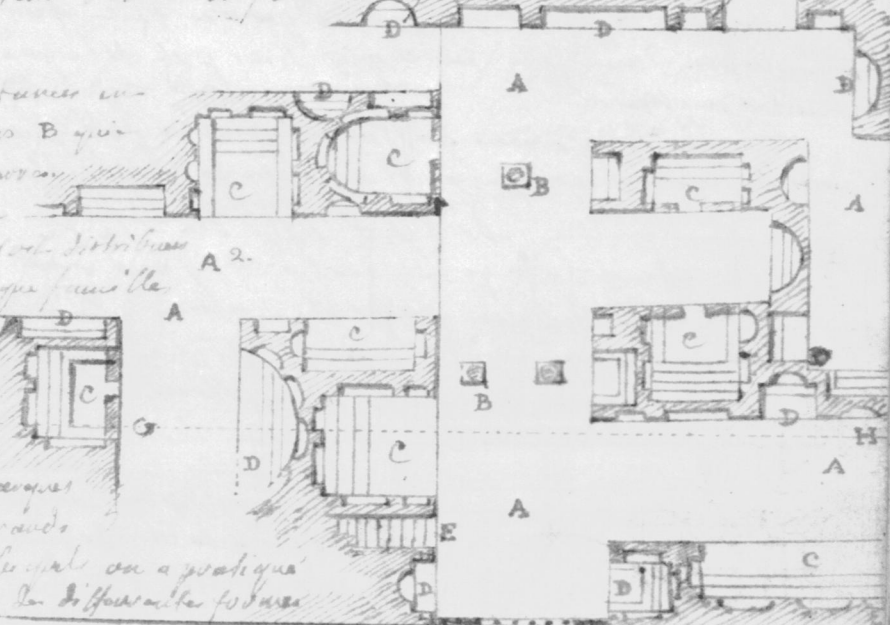
qui va jusqu'à
qui est à l'extrémité
de Naples mais
par la bouche couverte des brigands.

Il y a au-dessous de la
plaine plusieurs chemins

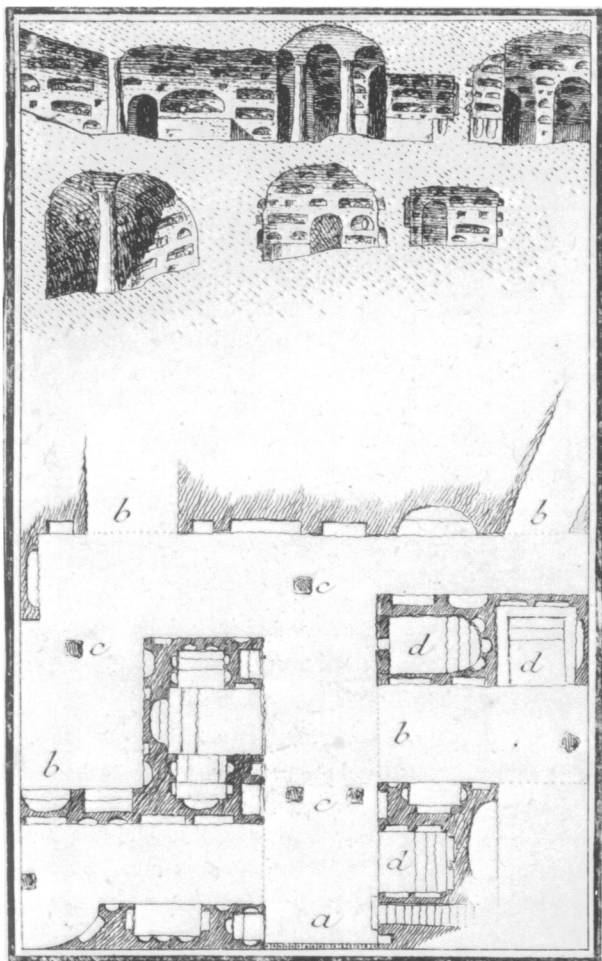
A.S. qui sont en très mauvais
état. et de tombeau. il y en

parce qu'ils sont comme un bois par la coupe des bûches. On les a
rencontrés d'aplomb avec les chemins de terre.

Dans le sépulchre C. on voit la quantité de petites niches qui



47. Bellicard, *Catacombs of San Gennaro*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 41



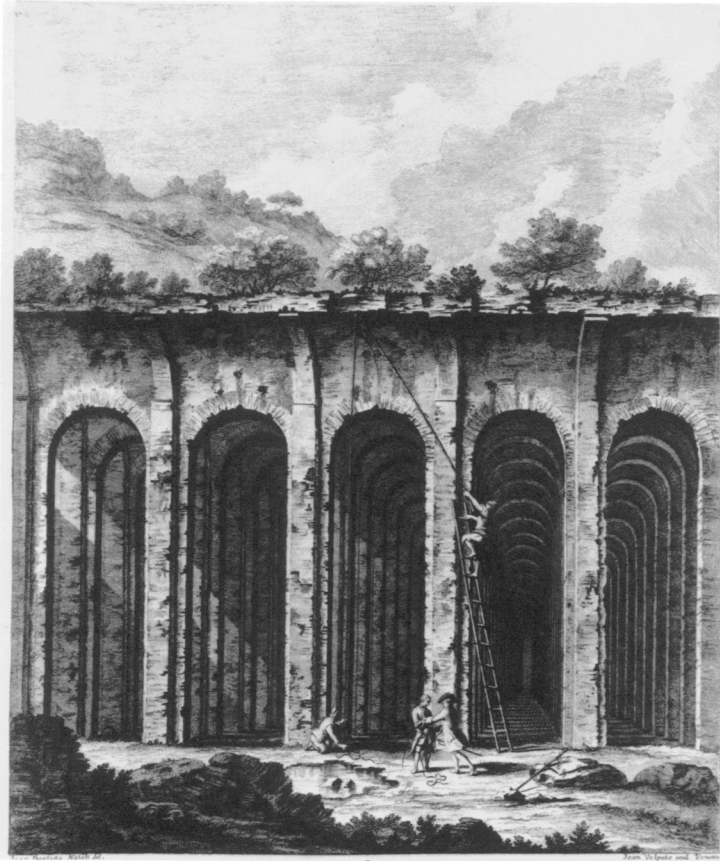
farther to the west. He tended to accept local legend for the identifications of buildings, almost all of which were considered shrines of one sort or another. In fact, many were secular buildings that were part of a resort, antiquity's most extensive and luxurious thermal complex, which catered lavishly to Rome's wealthiest citizens.⁹⁶

In order to visit the ancient and natural wonders of the Phlegraean Fields, Vandières and his group went out by coach, via the Grotto of Posillipo, to Pozzuoli (Figure 48),⁹⁷ where they embarked on a ship which coasted along the Gulf of Pozzuoli past Baia, to Cape Misenum. They then made their way back toward Naples by land and stopped along the way to see the sites (see Figure 3).⁹⁸

The "miraculous pool," the Piscina Mirabile, is the largest surviving ancient subterranean reservoir (Figure 49). It was located at Misenum and could replenish the supplies of the fleets that sought shelter in the excellent harbor below the village of Miseno. The brick-arcaded tank represents one of the wonders of ancient engineering, and Bellicard paid it due respect—both in his notebook (Figure 50) and in his

48. Bellicard, *Grotto at Posillipo*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 24





49. Giovanni Volpato, after Giovanni Battista III Natali, *The "Miraculous Pool,"* from P. A. Paoli, *Avanzi delle Antichità, Pozzuoli, Cuma & Baja & Napoli* (1786), pl. LXI (photo: Fototeca Unione)

publications—by giving detailed attention to the variety and strength of the brickwork.

Bellicard reports that the tombs of the Elysian Fields, so-called by Virgil, are in the hills between the reservoir at Misenum and Baia down the coast. To reach them from Misenum the travelers crossed the causeway that separates the harbor of Misenum from the "dead sea," the Mare Morto. The coast road leads below the hills into which the tombs are cut. Bellicard was intrigued by the barrel vaults, cut into the living rock (Figure 51), which were lined with niches into which funerary urns and vigil lamps could be placed.

Just north of Bacoli is the so-called Tomb of Agrippina, which was remarkable for its surviving stucco-work and relief sculpture (Figure 52). Bellicard's drawing of it is valuable for its clear indication of the location and distribution of the decoration along the length of the round vault of the aisle. Bellicard does not comment on the oddity of decorating a tomb in this way. Agrippina was the mother of Nero, who had her assassinated, and the legend was that this "tomb" at Bacoli was the burial place raised by her friends. It is now understood that the Tomb of Agrippina is really the remains of the *cavea*, or auditorium, of a small theater attached to a grand Roman seaside villa,⁹⁹ and this accords more convincingly with the nature of the decoration. Had the visitors known that it was a theater, their interest would only have been piqued, as Vandières was fascinated by the comparison between ancient and modern theater design.

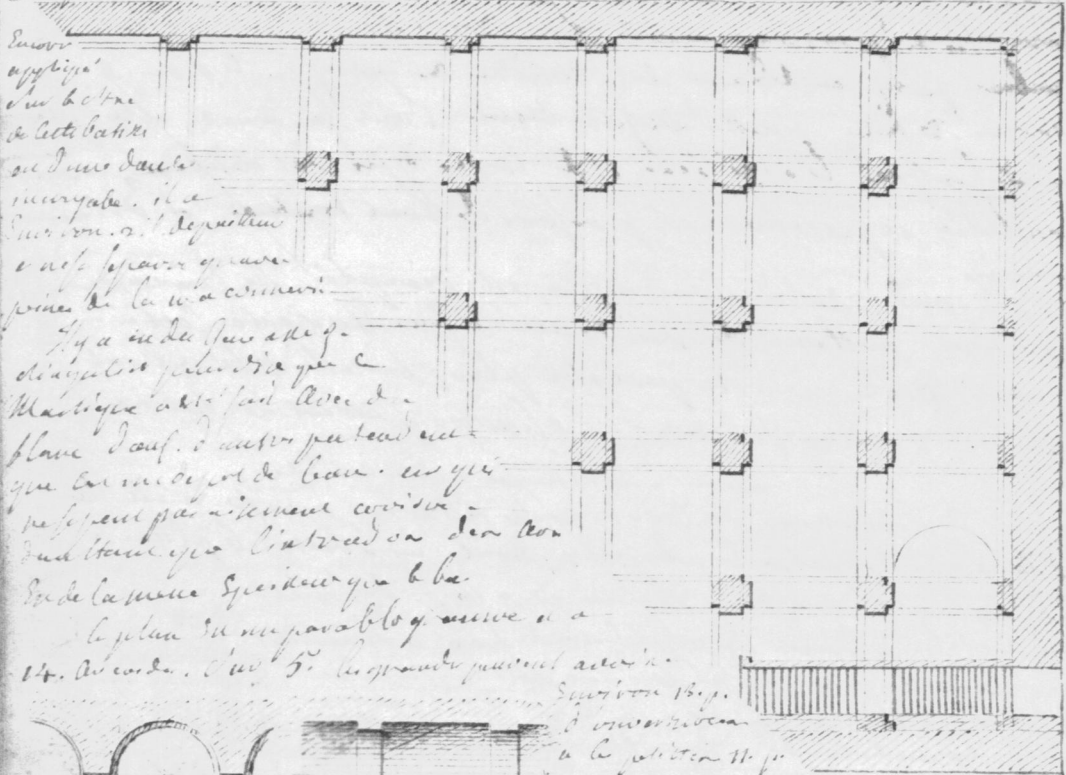
From Bacoli Vandières and his party moved up the coast to Baia, which possessed several important partially exposed buildings. Most of what is now recognized as a thermal bathing establishment was deeply buried. After it was excavated, beginning in 1931,¹⁰⁰ the site was found to be extensive, but in 1750 it was not obvious that the buildings were a secular resort complex or what their relationship was. Bellicard followed local usage in calling most ancient thermal establishments "temples." This in no way invalidates what he has to say about them as he never attempts to derive any notion of ritual practices from his discussion of the structure, site, or decoration.

50. Bellicard, *The "Miraculous Pool,"* from Notebook, p. 17

De la Piscine admirable

de Constance par Bay.

On dit que le Seigneur fit miraculeusement de l'eau dans cette Piscine pour
 guérir celui qui y avoit été jeté. On y a de même creusé la piscine qui y est



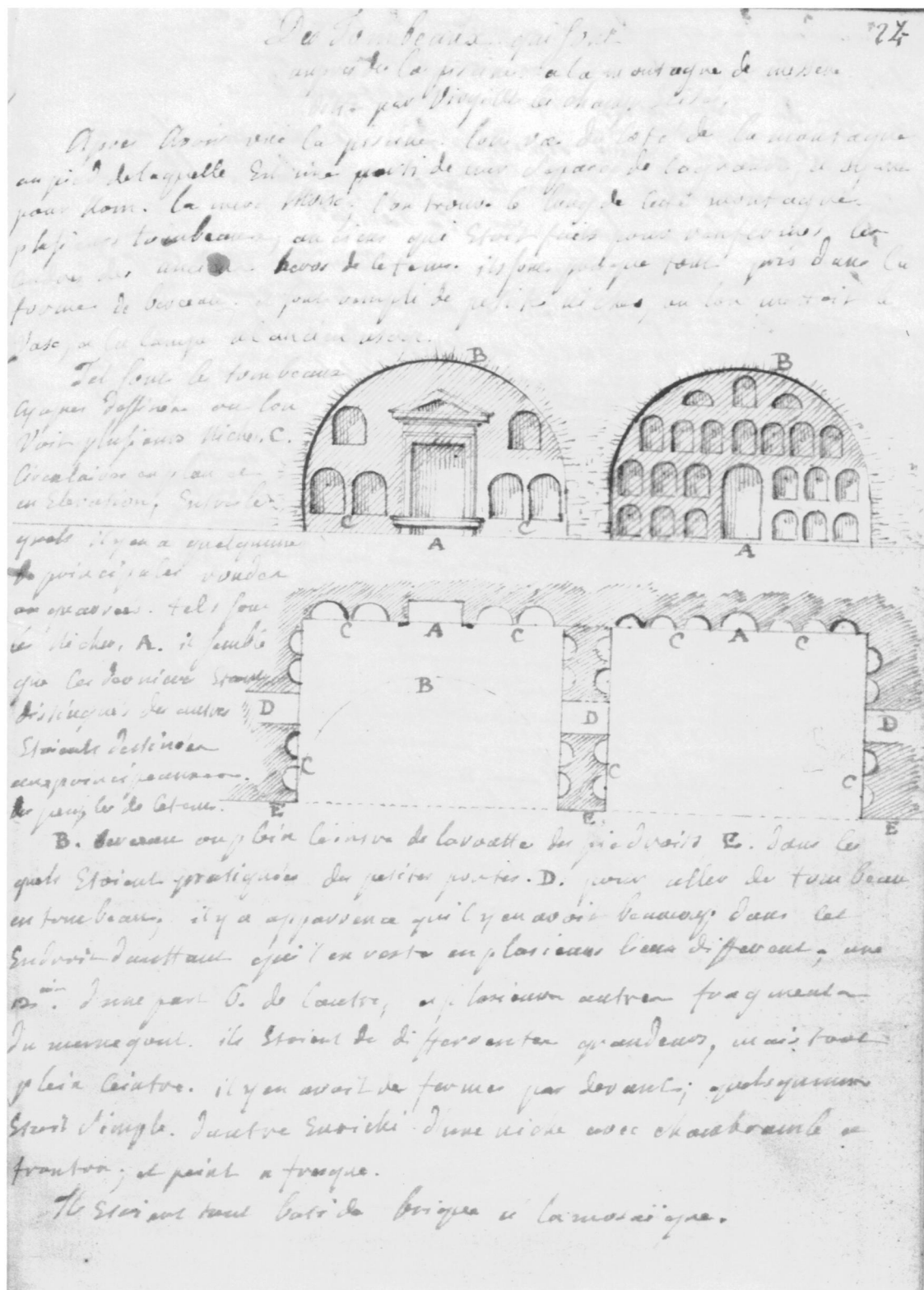
Environ
 appuie
 sur les murs
 de cette Piscine
 on trouve de
 nombreuses
 figures. Il y a
 une image de
 saint Jean-Baptiste
 et une figure qui paraît
 être la Vierge Marie.

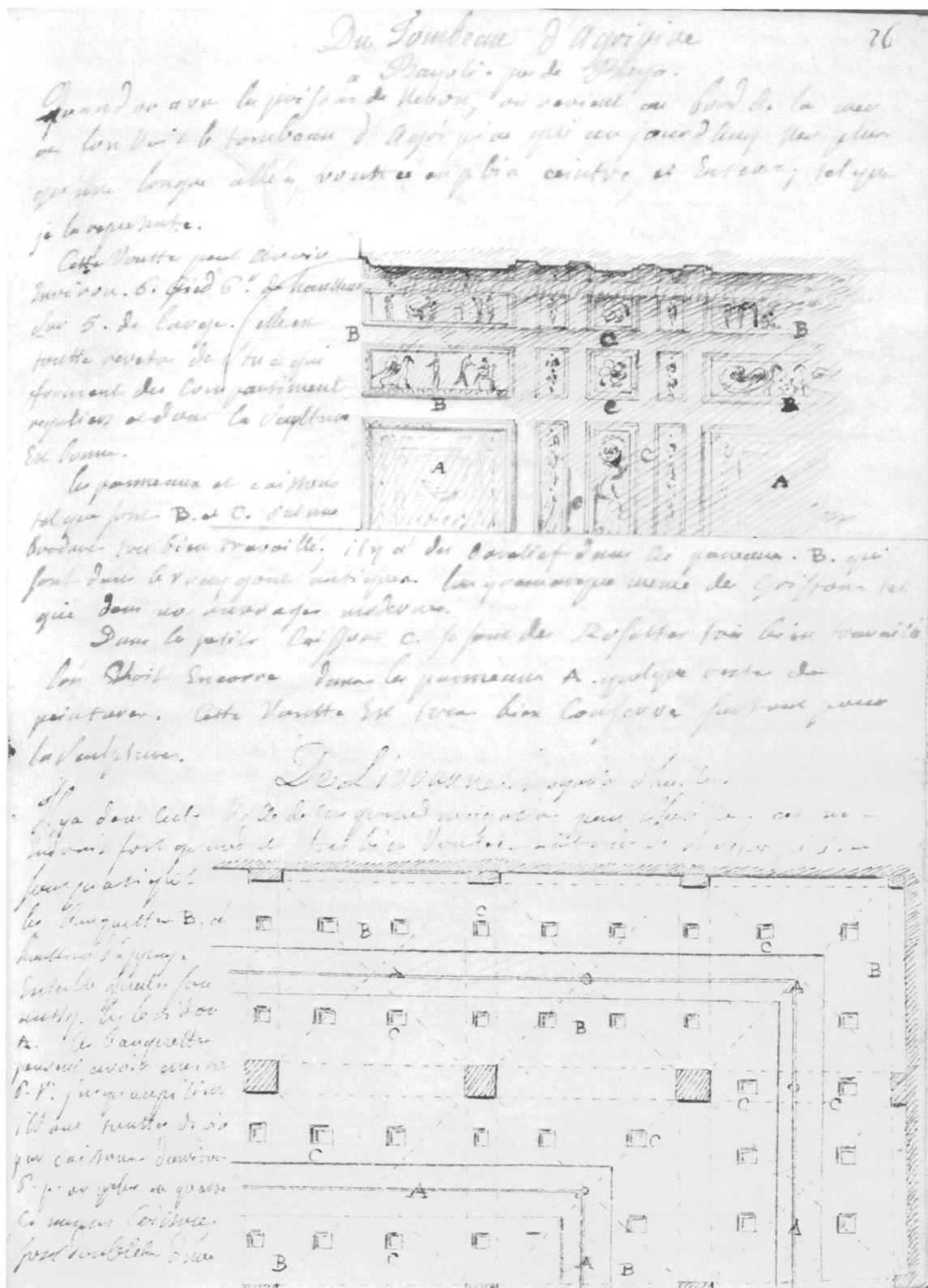
Il y a en outre dans cette
 piscine plusieurs figures en
 plâtre qui ont été faites avec de
 la boue. On dit qu'on peut guérir
 que par le miracle de l'eau. Les yeux
 ne peuvent pas même se fermer
 sans tomber. On dit aussi que
 l'eau de la piscine guérit ceux qui la boient.

La piscine est un pavillon qui mesure 11
 toises de long sur 5 toises de large.

On dit que le Seigneur fit miraculeusement de l'eau dans cette Piscine pour
 guérir celui qui y avoit été jeté. On y a de même creusé la piscine qui y est
 faite par le miracle de l'eau. Les yeux ne peuvent pas même se fermer
 sans tomber. On dit aussi que l'eau de la piscine guérit ceux qui la boient.

83





52. Bellicard, *The Tomb of Agrippina at Bayoli near Baia* (top) and *Livorno: Oil Magazine* (bottom), from Notebook, p. 26

Temple de Neptune.

74

Après avoir vu le tombeau d'Agrippine on va jusqu'à Bayen par mer et on débarque au pied du temple de Neptune; ce temple est octogone; et son architecture est de bon goût. Les murs sont en pierre de taille.

Le Temple qui est octogone a sur quatre faces deux pilastres dont au nord il n'y en a pas pour servir de soutien à l'architecture qui de l'autre est de pierre.

On voit sur le fronton A. une porte d'entrée sur le côté B. qui est plein cintre.

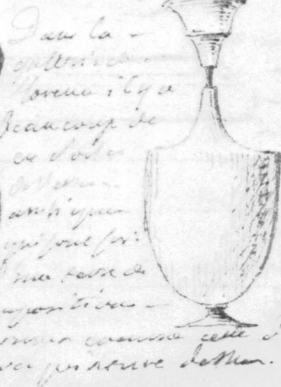
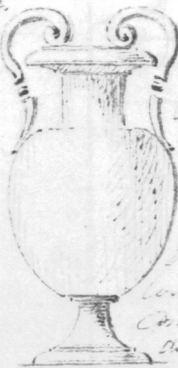
Au-dessus de cette porte il y a une corniche qui est pleine-cintre et qui est de pierre.

Sur le fronton qui est de la même pierre il y a des pilastres qui sont de la même pierre.

Les pilastres D peuvent servir de soutien. 3. pi. 5. de diamètre.

Le fronton du Temple peut servir de soutien 5. à 6. fois la hauteur de la corniche.

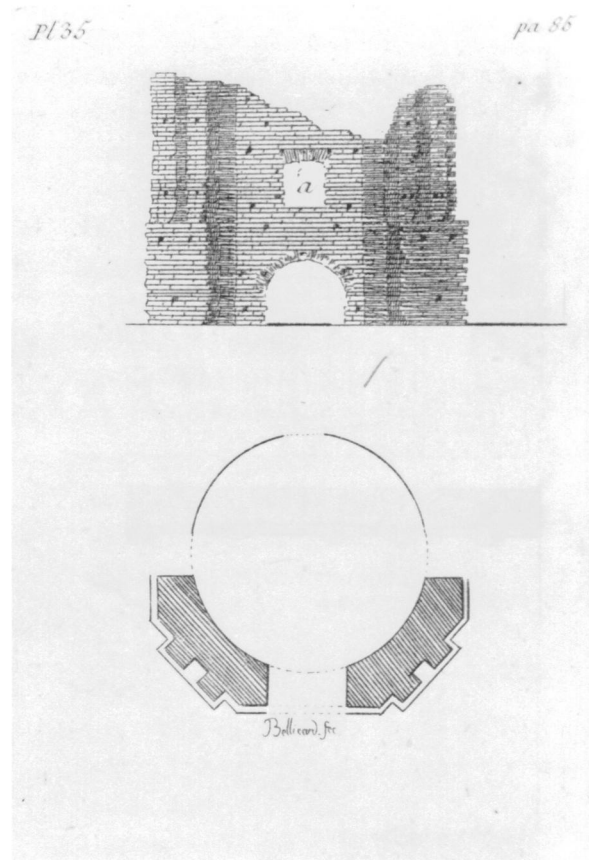
Vale de Balai Pitti et de la Galleria à Florence.



Dans la collection de la Galleria Pitti à Florence il y a beaucoup de ces vases anciens qui sont très beaux et qui ont été trouvés dans les fouilles de la ville.

One of the buildings at Baia was the octagonal structure Bellicard called the Temple of Neptune (Figures 53, 54), which attracted his attention for its construction with oversized bricks. This great, centrally planned building is commonly called the Temple of Venus. It was the centerpiece of a bath complex and originally stood close to the shore, where it collected both seawater and thermomineral waters for a dual-purpose gathering hall and swimming pool.¹⁰¹ Within the same complex were the smaller, elaborately decorated rooms that Bellicard called the Chambers of Venus (Figure 55). His drawings are the earliest visual record of these two small rooms with vaults decorated with stucco ornaments. These very beautiful rooms—originally fitted out with ten couches and ten baths—were destroyed along with other parts of the baths by the pozzolana quarries and new houses built at Baia in the nineteenth century. Therefore, Bellicard's notebook illustration and description and his more detailed published etching (Figures 55, 56) are among the most valuable records he has left us.

The best preserved of the rotunda baths at Baia is the so-called Temple of Mercury, which is the only structure to have kept its dome intact (Figure 57). Lit from above by an oculus and constructed of massive wedge-shaped tufa blocks, this structure predates considerably the Pantheon in Rome and represents a significant instance of sophisticated Roman engineering dating to the end of the Republican era.¹⁰² When Bellicard visited in the mid-eighteenth century it was during a descending bradyseismic phase and this extensive circular bath was filled with water, thus approximating its original appearance as a vast indoor swimming pool. Bellicard was unaware of this fortuitous accident. The baths were originally fed with hot thermal waters delivered by an aqueduct through the partially submerged great niche in the end wall, through which eighteenth-century visitors were carried in order to stay dry. Today, in an ascending bradyseismic phase, the building is dry and silted up to the dome, so that the great niches and vaulted corridors linking the rotunda to its adjacent barrel-



54. Bellicard, *The Temple of Neptune*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 35

53. Bellicard, *Details from the So-called Temple of Neptune* (above) and *Vases from the Pitti Palace and the Gallery at Florence*, from Notebook, p. 28

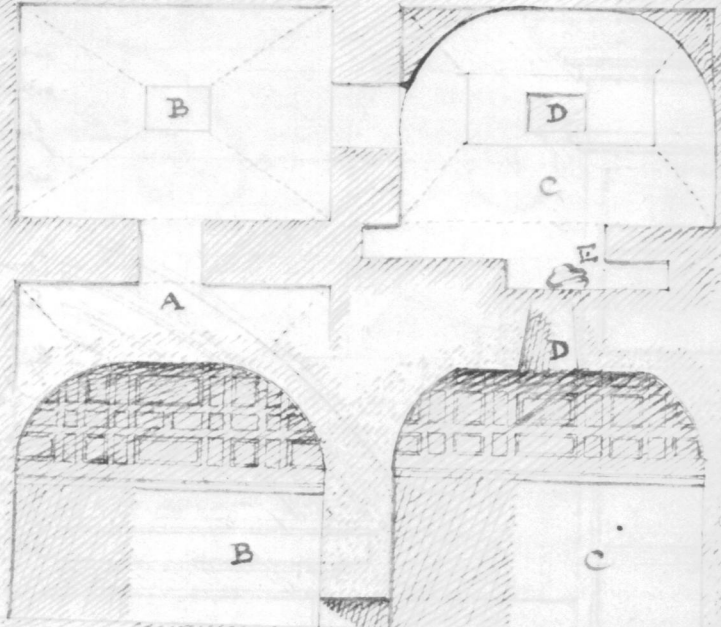
Chambre de Venus.

30

a Baia.

En quittant le temple de Neptune, l'on va a la chambre de Venus
ou pour mieux dire au Châpelle - car l'autre a presque toutes
encore une partie assez considérable par sa description qui est
laite.

Telle est la chambre
A aujour d'heur toute ruinée
et dont l'on voit encore
quelques parties de son
ancien état. On travaille
pour les sinéments. On
en a enlevé dans la
chambre B. Les deux
parties voisines: deux
cendres de ponceau et
Caissons qui sont aussi
très ruinés avec moins
de goût que ceux de la
chambre C, qui sont



plus fins et mieux travaillés. il y a assez peu de choses ou l'on y voit
des gladiateurs, surtout dans l'autre qui est en ruine.

Dans cette chambre l'on voit a une ouverture qu'on voit D.
Elle paroit fort spacieuse. de plus les chambres sont aujour d'heur
entièrement.

Il y a aussi dans cette chambre C. un arbre E. pétrifié.

Ces tombeaux ont environ. 18 a 20. pi. de long. Sur 12. a 14
de large. et que l'on a fait de plus pour la hauteur.

Suite du P. de G. de la

apothèque

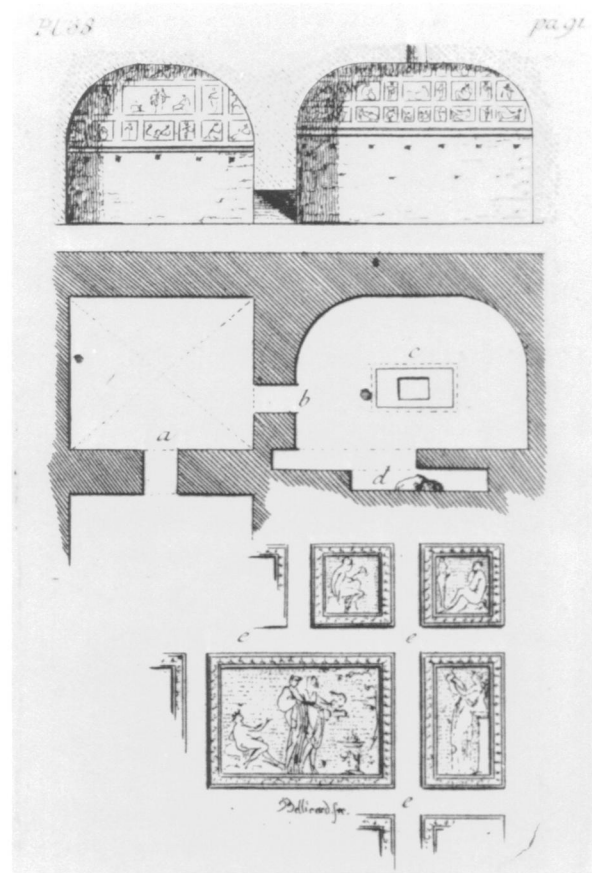
La suite de la description des tombeaux de la chambre de Venus est la
même. On a enlevé dans la chambre C. les deux
cendres de ponceau et Caissons qui sont aussi
très ruinés avec moins de goût que ceux de la
chambre C, qui sont plus fins et mieux travaillés. il y a assez peu de choses ou l'on y voit
des gladiateurs, surtout dans l'autre qui est en ruine.

vaulted halls (marked A in Bellicard's drawings) lie buried. The stairs that originally led bathers down to the water are no longer visible, and only bits of painted decoration and the mosaic of the dome described by Bellicard still exist.

Near the Temple of Mercury is another element of the large thermal complex identified as the Temple of Diana (Figure 59). Bellicard was quick to notice that its vault was in what he termed the Gothic style ("goût Gothique"), meaning that its roof was in the shape of a rotated pointed arch, and this immediately cooled his interest in the place. He saw the half-ruined building in a sectional view, for in crumbling the pointed dome had been sliced open, which left a section of the original vault standing (Figure 60). Bellicard seems to have understood immediately that the building was domed with a pointed vault, yet this was proved only by excavations in the twentieth century. It is very much to his credit that Bellicard accepted the fragmentary visual evidence of the rare pointed Roman vault rather than insisting on a semi-circular dome by extrapolating from the many known single-centered, curved Roman vaults.

It is only when Bellicard dealt with the metaphorically named Ovens, or Stoves, of Nero (Stufe di Nerone) that he acknowledged the use of an ancient place as a spa. What he visited and drew (see Figure 59) were the last remains of the sweating rooms, which were but a small part of a vast complex of steam baths prized in Imperial Roman times for their therapeutic value. The chambers Bellicard drew were carved into the tufa rock halfway up the flank of the hill overlooking Lake Lucrinus at Bauli. He describes as a sequence of ramps leading from the swimming pools by the shore the tunnels that trapped the steam rising from the fumaroles, or volcanic fissures, in the rock face. What Bellicard calls a curving path (G) for going down to the baths is actually a gallery carved to collect steam.¹⁰³ Within the sweating rooms (C), the brick couches covered with stucco (D) were designed to allow the exhausted patients to rest.

On the same sheet with the previous two sites Bellicard goes on to describe what was shown to him as the supposed grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl on the shores of Lake Avernus, at the very base of the Monte di Cuma near a Temple of Apollo. The place described by Bellicard was a vault twelve *pieds* in



56. Bellicard, *Chambers of Venus*, from *Observations*, 1754, pl. 38

Don Temple de Mercur.

32

Après avoir vu la Chambre de Vénus on se fait porter dans le temple de Mercur qui est aujourd'hui enfouie jusqu'au Centre des plus grande p. parton. Le temple se fait en Rotonde. et s'élève le jour comme celle de Rome.

A côté de la temple il y a 2 grandes arcades A. qui par si seules avoit des arcades d'autres bâtiments.

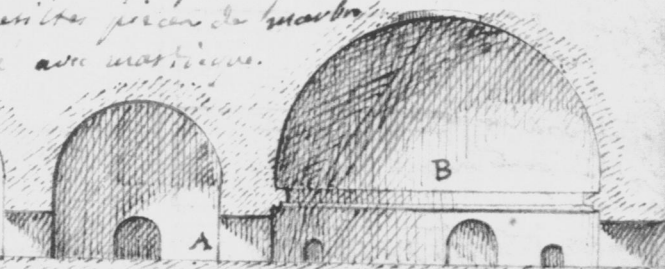
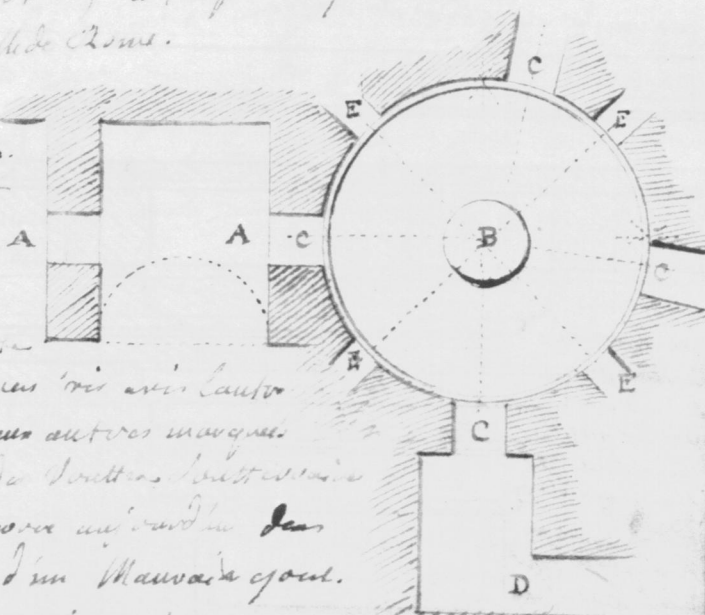
On entre dans la rotonde B. au milieu d'une par la porte A.C. qui se rencontre par trois arcs la porte C. n'est plus que les deux autres marquées C. D'une lune conduit à des petites boutiques D. dans lesquels il y a encore un rondin des peintures à peu près mais d'un mauvais goût.

Dans cette rotonde qui en toute vérité n'est qu'une de ses revêtements. il y a par dessus la porte de l'entrée un lin de voutes et des petites pièces de marbre de forme de l'opéra antique avec mastic.

Il en sortant par les grandes portes C. ne se répondent pas si que les petites E. se répondent les uns aux autres.

Le temple peut avoir environ 10. Toises de diamètre. Les portes C. peuvent avoir 8. Toises de hauteur. Je n'ai pu le mesurer. L'arcade qui est plus de 10. Toises de hauteur dans la voute qui peut encore peindre.

Le temple qu'on dit d'Antoine n'est qu'un effet d'erreur pour l'un des centres qu'on se doit de faire dans la Rotonde et n'est qu'un belvédère comme tous les autres Edifices de la C. A. D. le Colosse.



height by nine or ten *pieds* in width¹⁰⁴ that narrowed down to an opening that one could only pass *à nu*—implying that one could only squeeze through unclothed—before emerging into the supposed grotto of the sibyl. It was in fact the partially filled-in southern entrance of one of two *crypta*, or tunnel galleries, built by the Roman military to link forces in the Gulf of Baia with forces in Cumae without having to sail around or climb over the steep mountainous spine of the peninsula. It was only in 1932 that the true grotto of the mysterious ancient oracle described by Virgil was discovered.¹⁰⁵ Understandably, Bellicard did not dwell on this modest site, which seemed to be unworthy of its mythic descriptions in ancient literature. Indeed, he was justified; for, once found, the true grotto proved to be an awe-inspiring troglodytic

world of echo chambers, cisterns, pools, and shrines.

Everywhere in the region of the Phlegraean Fields, the Romans had expended enormous resources on the supply and storage of fresh water by means of aqueducts and underground cisterns—some of vast proportions, like the Piscina Mirabile at Misenum. There must have been thousands of smaller, private cisterns.¹⁰⁶ One of the most remarkable of these was a circular vatlike reservoir constructed at Pozzuoli in such a way that the vessel of the cistern did not come into contact with the surrounding earth (Figure 61). This reservoir was locally called the Piscina of the Capucins after the convent later built over it. Bellicard was fascinated by this engineering achievement and drew this cistern in plan and section. The reason for the special arrangement was to insulate the fresh

58. P. A. Paoli, *Visitors to the "Temple of Mercury" at Baia*, 1768, from A. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, fig. 46. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library

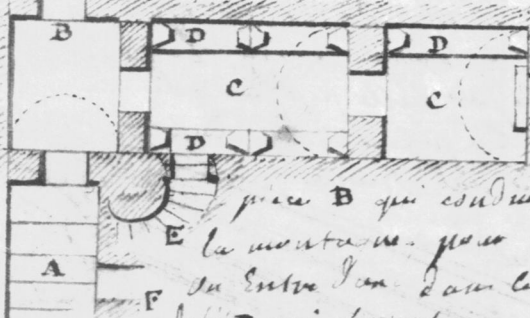


Du Temple de Diane & des
Bains de Néron, et de la
grotte de la St. Alce.

34

A quelques pas du temple d'Esculape on voit un vestige du Temple de Diane dont la voute est en forme d'abîme, il n'y a rien de remarquable pour l'architecture de ce temple, on y voit seulement quelques mauvais peintures à fresque.

Après avoir vu tout le temple doul. l'Esc. quelle plus haute on va aux bains de Néron qui sont placés sur une hauteur, on parvient en passant à plusieurs petites chambres on s'y a même des lits de fer.



Cela fait encore la chambre C. laquelle on peut voir par la porte de la A. dont le commencement est au bas de la rue.

On entre dans une petite pièce B qui conduit à un chemin qui mène sur la montagne pour aller aux Bains de Néron. On entre dans la pièce C au pied des Esc. D qui servent à ceux qui n'ont point pu aller à pied. On descend par la cheminée terrassée. G. il y a dans la première chambre C. un petit escalier terrassé, E qui va vers l'off. mais il est maintenant ruiné que plusieurs autres pièces marquées F. qui sont le long de cette porte A.

Il y a apparence qu'il y avoit beaucoup de logement en l'angle de cette montagne; l'on peut juger par la quantité de restes qui en font foi.

Ces chambres peuvent avoir environ 20. à 21. pi. de large.

Après avoir vu les Bains de Néron l'on va à la grotte de la St. Alce de Cume, qui est située dans une montagne sur l'arce de Lucerne, sur l'arce de la St. Alce. Dans laquelle il y a une

59. Bellicard, *The Temple of Diana, Nero's Baths, and the Sibyl's Grotto*, from Notebook, p. 34. The vault of the temple of Diana is at upper right. The plan at center left is of the Baths (or "Ovens") of Nero. There is no drawing of the (false) Grotto of the Cumaean Sibyl.

60. Photograph of the so-called Temple of Diana, from Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*

water in the tank from the geothermal heat present in the volcanic zone, just inland from Pozzuoli.

Vandières and his party visited two popular sights in the active volcanic zone between Pozzuoli and Naples. One was the spectacular field of fumaroles, which the ancients called the Forum Vulcani and which was commonly called La Solfatara (Figure 62). The other was the infamous suffocating "grotto of the dog," or Grotto del Cane, near the thermal area known as the Ovens of San Germano (Stufe di San Germano) on Monte Spina. The oddity of the place is that carbon dioxide seeps into this one cave in such a peculiar way that it lies approximately eighteen inches thick at floor level. While not knowing anything of the properties of gases, the locals had remarked that a man standing erect when entering the



De la Piscine ou
reservoir de Capucins.
par pozzuoli.

38.

Le Couvent de Capucins par pozzuoli. est bâti sur un
Montagne par la solfatara. dont l'ordre les environs sont
bouillants et d'une chaleur de tout le côté. de sorte que l'on ne
peut aller de la petite fontaine de la source de l'Archevêque. il y a
même de petite fontaine par la marche de l'Archevêque. de sorte
qu'on ne peut aller que par une seule route.

Pour le Montagne fort fort de ce genre
l'Archevêque de la source ne peut pas aller. On a été obligé
de pratiquer dans le jardin de la source un réservoir.
c'est-à-dire qu'il faut que le vase B. qui contient l'eau ne
soit pas joint à la terre solfatara. car pour cela que
l'on a bâti ledit vase B. sur une colonne A. de
façon que le vase se trouve. 1. de la terre la source E.
et un trou qui se trouve au travers qui empêche les
conduits qui y appartiennent la source de l'Archevêque.

Autour de la source. il y a un dôme C. d'
environ. 2. pi. de la source.

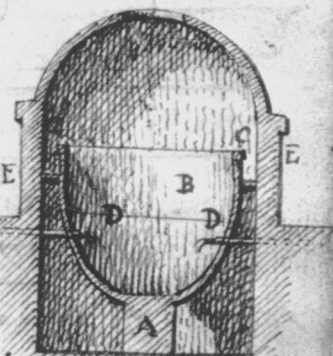
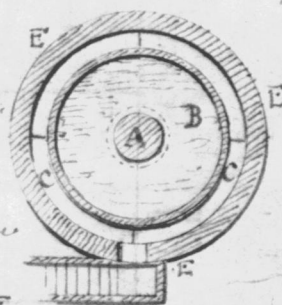
Le vase ne peut pas être profond. l'on
l'a fait qui provient la source de la source de la source.

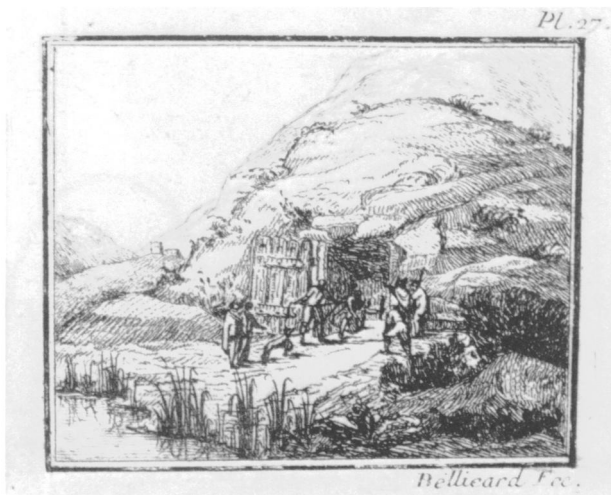
Le vase est à présent au-dessus de la ligne D.
Le dessus de la source qui renferme le vase B. est
couvert au-dessus de la source de la source de la source.
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Le vase de la source peut avoir environ. 15. pi. de
la source.

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63. Bellicard, *The Grotto of the Dog*, from *Observations*, 1753, pl. 27

cave would suffer no ill effects while a dog or—one assumes—a child would suffocate if exposed for too long. The peasants of the neighborhood, for a small fee, made a grisly business of demonstrating this deadly phenomenon to tourists by using dogs who were repeatedly stupefied with gas.¹⁰⁷ In the etching Bellicard published (Figure 63), he shows a dog on a leash being dragged into the cave.

Bellicard devoted only a few lines to the large but badly ruined amphitheater at Pozzuoli (Figure 64). When he saw it in 1750, trees were growing on the floor of the amphitheater and no excavation had taken place. He briefly noted that it was in the style and scale of the better preserved theater at Capua, which he had visited earlier.

Bellicard and the members of Vandières's party were fortunate enough to be in Pozzuoli in 1750, shortly after excavations had begun on the market, or *macellum*,¹⁰⁸ which Bellicard refers to only as a newly discovered temple.¹⁰⁹ Bellicard had already seen this site in 1749, when all that was visible were three massive cipollino marble columns projecting from the earth. At the time of the later visit the bases of these columns had been revealed as well as parts of the arcade, doorways into the surrounding shops, and one of the large public toilets (see Figure 64, lower right and center left) that were placed at the two corners of the rear of the marketplace. It was only in subsequent excavation that the full plan of

the market was discerned and its similarity to other Roman markets was recognized. At the *macellum*, Bellicard only drew details of a column base, the moldings of a doorway and (labeled C in his drawing) the continuous carved benchlike marble toilet seat through which (labeled A in his drawing) the outfalls descended to the sewer. It is characteristic of Bellicard, the practical architect, to concentrate on such amenities.

A marble statue of the Egyptian god Serapis was found in the excavation (which Bellicard did not draw because it had already been removed from the site), and this led to the erroneous identification of the market as the Temple of Serapis.¹¹⁰ Immediately preceding the so-called Temple of Serapis in the sequence of pages of Bellicard's notebook is the startling presence of the drawing, albeit inaccurate, of the Egyptian temple of Hathor at Dendera, the ancient Tentyra (Figures 65, 66).¹¹¹ Bellicard mistakenly identifies the Temple as dedicated to Isis instead of the correct dedication to the cow-goddess Hathor, sister of Isis with whom she became conflated in late Egyptian mythology. This was most likely a long-standing error that Bellicard heard repeated in the eighteenth century. Hathor was a love-goddess similar to Isis and Aphrodite.¹¹² The surviving structure, illustrated by Bellicard, was begun by Ptolemy Soter II (116–107 B. C.) and was added to and embellished by both Egyptian and Roman rulers down to and including Trajan (A. D. 98–117).¹¹³

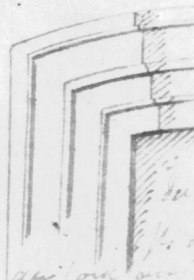
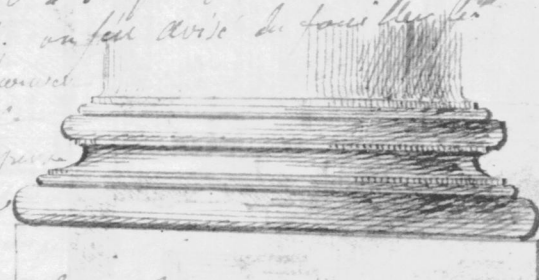
Since Bellicard certainly did not go to Egypt, the existence of this drawing in his notebook poses a most intriguing mystery. Indeed, the evidence that there was a drawing of an Egyptian temple in circulation in Italy in 1750 for him to copy is something of a revelation. I have been unable to identify the source for Bellicard's drawing. There are four travelers who might have brought back drawings of the temple at Dendera in time for Bellicard to have copied them in 1750. None of these travelers' publications, however, include designs with the detail or point of view necessary to have served as a model for Bellicard and none of these names can account for the presence of an original drawing or an unpublished engraving in the Naples area specifically. No published engravings I have found provided the models for Bellicard.¹¹⁴ It is tempting to think that Richard Dalton (1715–91), an English draftsman and engraver who studied in Rome and traveled to

Dr. Theater. de. Pozzuoli.
et d'un Temple nouvellement

36 bis

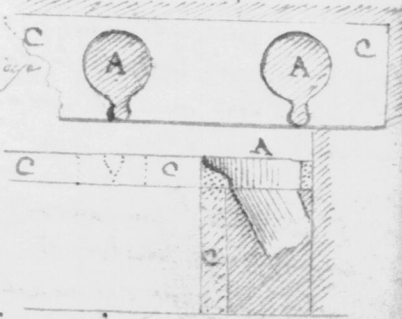
Le temple de Pozzuoli est d'une architecture qui se voit à l'extérieur
de l'édifice qui est de la même grandeur de l'édifice et de l'édifice
l'édifice. Les deux de même hauteur. et se trouvent à l'extérieur
l'édifice. Le plus qu'on tire d'ailleurs de l'édifice. Le plus de
chauffage. La plote de l'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice
à l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.
L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.

Quand au Temple Nouvellement de l'édifice. il y a l'édifice.
Les trois colonnes de l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.
L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.
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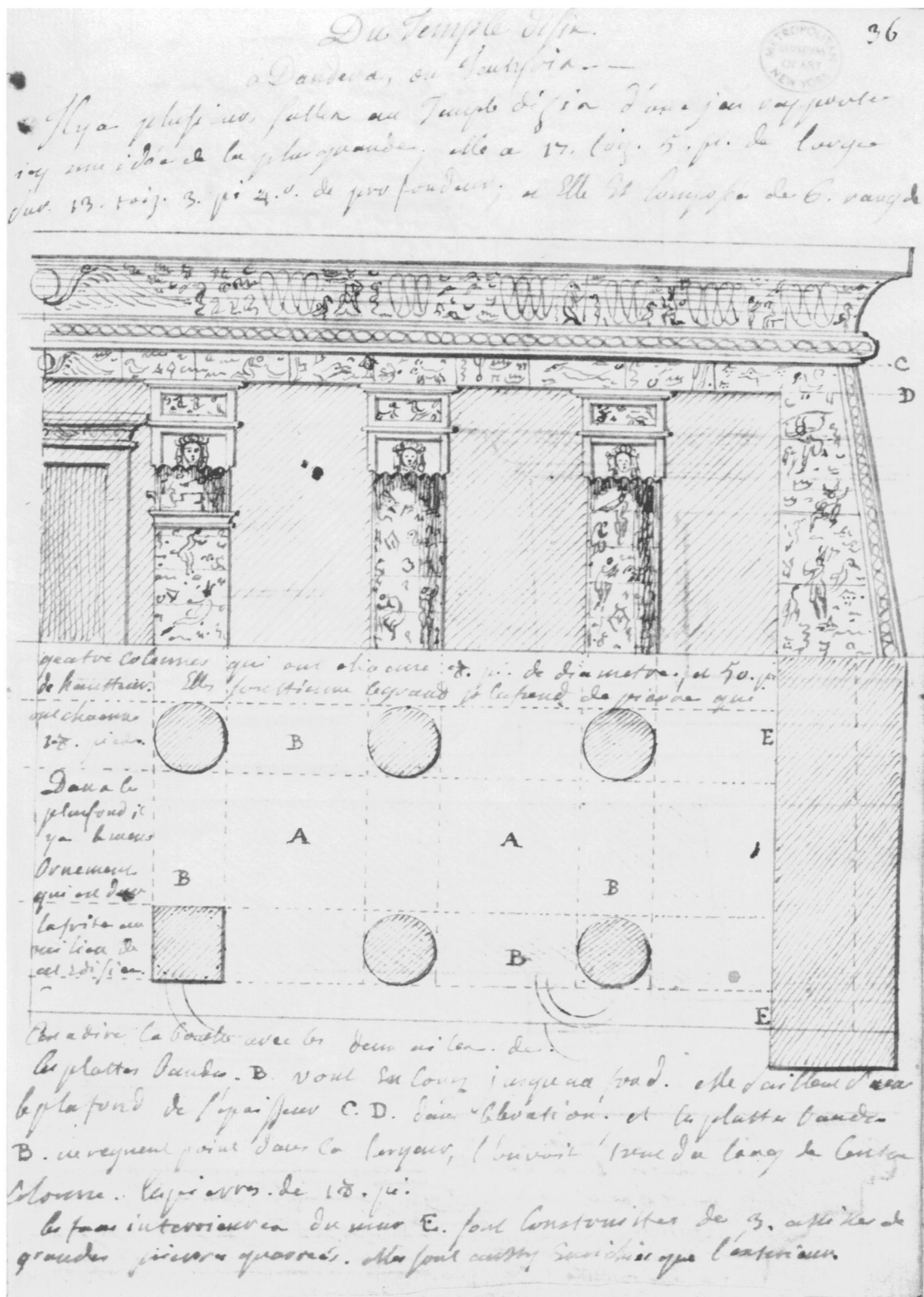


La vue plusieurs petites portes de l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.
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L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.

Les deux colonnes de l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.
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L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice. L'édifice est l'édifice.



64. Bellicard, The Theater at Pozzuoli and a Newly Discovered Temple, from Notebook, p. 36bis



65. Bellicard, *The Temple of Isis [Hathor] at Dendera or Tentyra*, from Notebook, p. 36

Greece and Egypt in 1749 (he published his engravings decades later), who had just returned from Egypt to Italy may have met Bellicard or a mutual acquaintance of Bellicard through d'Arthenay's English connections or through such fellow artist-antiquarians as John Russell. In any event, the location of the drawing of the Egyptian temple in Bellicard's notebook in the midst of material seen in the Phlegraean Fields makes it possible to speculate that Bellicard saw and copied the design of the Egyptian shrine from a person encountered during this part of the journey.¹¹⁵ It is also tempting to think that even in the mid-eighteenth century someone or some group of scholars working at Pozzuoli or Naples was interested in the ancient links with Egypt evidenced in the figure of Serapis newly found in the *macellum* and in the two Herculaneum frescoes depicting

Egyptian religious ceremonies in which the sacred ibis is prominent.

Vandières and his companions spent two months in Naples and Campania, from the first days of November until after Christmas 1750. Their stay was plagued with stormy weather that made it too dangerous to venture out to sea to continue their planned journey to Sicily and Malta. In Naples the heavy rains resulted in terrible mudslides and loss of life and property.¹¹⁶ Frustrated in their effort to see the less-frequented sites to the south, they were able to make a thorough investigation of Campania. Knowing that the time allotted for the southern leg of their tour was over, they prepared for a direct return to Rome and thence back to France by way of Tuscany, Emilia, and the Veneto.

While the roads were muddy and the winds adverse for sailing south, the winds were right for traveling up the coast. The group departed shortly after December 26 on the ship of one Captain Gameau. The crossing from Naples to Anzio was made in the

66. Facade of the Temple of Hathor photographed from the north in 1929 or earlier. The Egyptian Expedition, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



extraordinarily fast time of five hours because of the high winds in this extremely stormy season.¹¹⁷ From Anzio, the group traveled by coach the short distance to Rome.

During the winter of 1751, the notebook probably began to serve its purpose, as Cochin, with Bellicard as understudy, prepared the first drafts and illustrations of his "Lettre" that would appear in the *Mercure de France* in September. Vandières and his companions stayed again at the French Academy and resumed their study of the arts and mores of the city. But Vandières was aware from reports coming from Paris that the health of Lenormant de Tournehem was deteriorating, so he accelerated his itinerary for an early return to France.

Bellicard carried his notebook with him when he accompanied Vandières on the first part of his homeward route via Florence and Bologna. This part of the journey begins with their departure from Rome on March 3 and continues to late June 1751.¹¹⁸

None of the material added in this second journey—dealing primarily with medieval, Renaissance, and modern architecture—was ever published by Bellicard, nor does it seem likely that he had publication in mind when he made the notes. Rather, the later additions to the notebook seem genuinely to reflect the interests of Bellicard and his traveling companions in their critical and comparative evaluations of the art of the past.

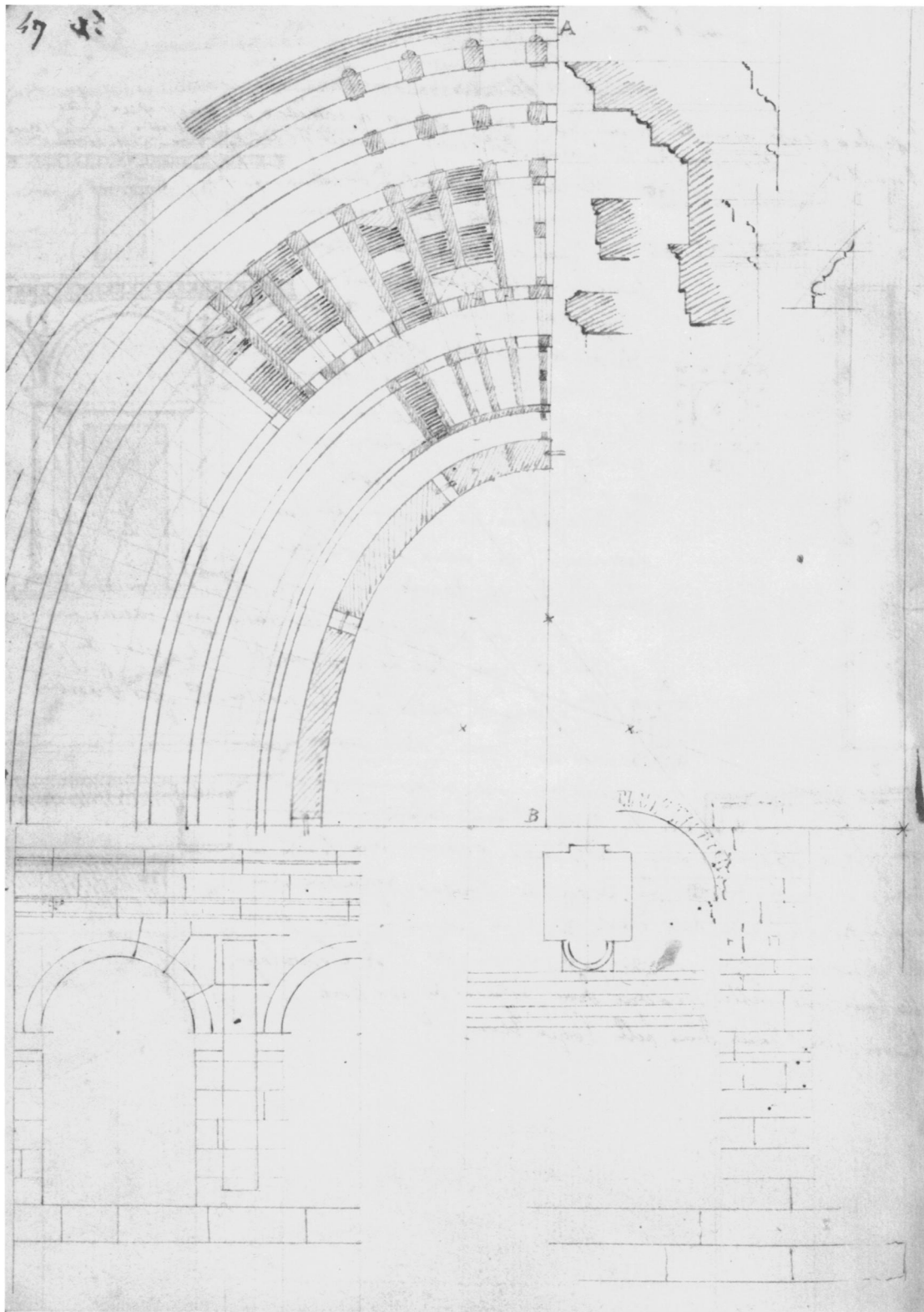
The notes that follow the descriptions of Herculaneum and ancient Campanian sites are not so much a comprehensive travelogue of places visited or a collection of material illustrating themes in Vandières's curriculum of study, as they are notes echoing Bellicard's or Vandières's personal interests. In this sense, the non-Herculaneum parts of the notebook are capsule studies of sites meriting attention. Bellicard was often far more concerned with feats of engineering than he was with style or specific categories of use. Following the pattern established in his discussions of the extant ancient architecture at Baia, Bellicard scrutinized medieval architecture for its complex engineering and exotic qualities, while Renaissance and post-Renaissance architecture was studied for the practical applications to be learned by an architect who saw himself as both modern and in continuity with the tradition of Italian masters such as Michelangelo, Palladio, and Vignola. The lessons of ancient

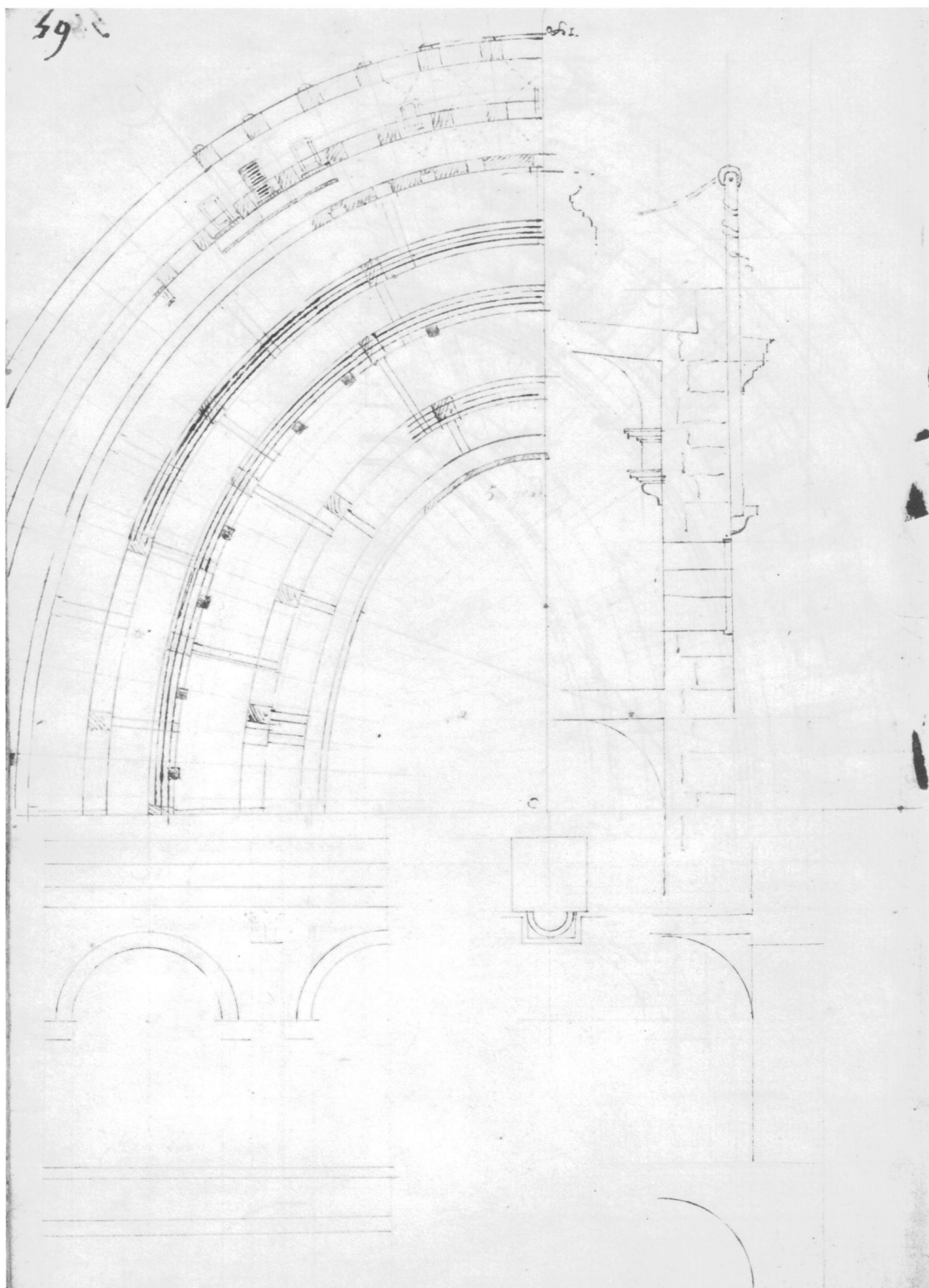
architecture were not intended to replace the traditions of architecture of the immediate past but to augment it. The pages of Bellicard's notebook are almost equally divided between ancient and non-antique material.

It is remarkable that, in his later notes, Bellicard concentrated far more on modern material than on ancient. With the exception of a tiny part of one page depicting ancient vases in the Pitti Palace (see Figure 53) and several sheets of drawings reconstructing the section and details of the plan and orders of various levels of the Colosseum in Rome (Figures 67–70), no single antiquity is referred to or drawn. This leads one to think that the interest of Herculaneum was in the novelty and completeness of the site and not a product of a pervasive scholarly attitude toward antiquity.

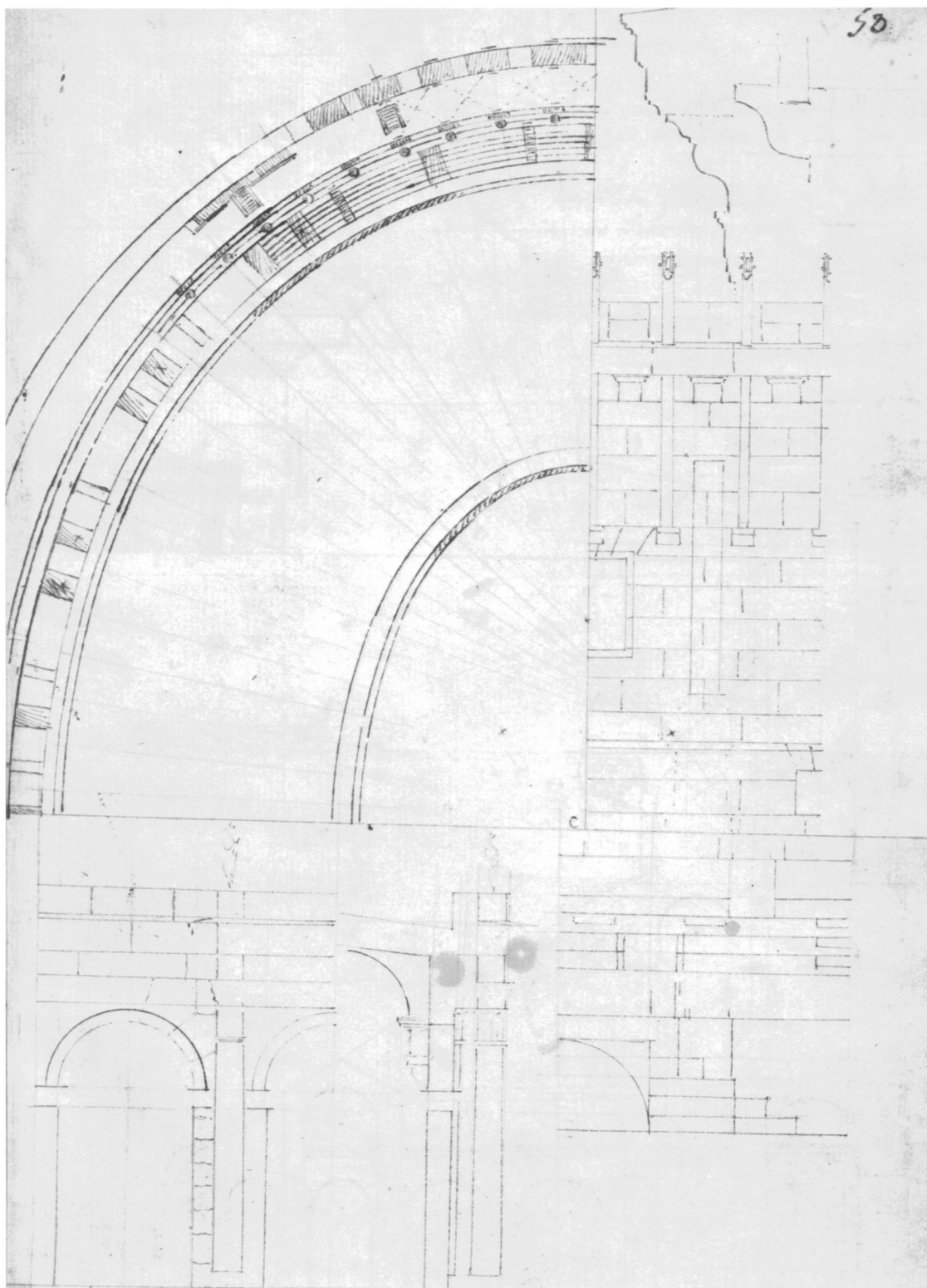
It is more revealing to treat Bellicard's notes by subject than by the order of the itinerary, which can be briefly summarized. The travelers went north to Ronciglione from Rome (where they studied the novel design of the water-driven forge hammers in the iron mills), thence to Caprarola, Viterbo, Montefiascone, Bolsena, Acquapendente, Radicofani, San Quirico, Siena, and Florence, which they reached six days later on March 9.¹¹⁹ The party stayed in Florence until April 9 but made a side trip, from March 22 to 31, to Poggio a Caiano, Pistoia, Pisa, Lucca, and Livorno. After their month-long stay in Tuscany, they moved on to Bologna on April 10 for a seven-week stay. Departing Bologna on May 28, they proceeded to Ferrara and Padua and then on to Venice, where they remained for four weeks.¹²⁰ Despite the length of time in Bologna, very little was added to the notebook and virtually nothing from Venice, implying that Bellicard did not stay the entire time with the group in Bologna; that he did remain with them in Bologna but did not go on to Venice with the others; that he did go but found nothing of particular interest for his notes; or that he had begun an entirely new set of notes, which are now lost. Most likely he left the others at Bologna and his note-taking diminished once he was deprived of the

67. Bellicard, *Architectural Elements of the Upper Part of the Colosseum at Rome with Profile of an Entablature*, from Notebook, p. 47

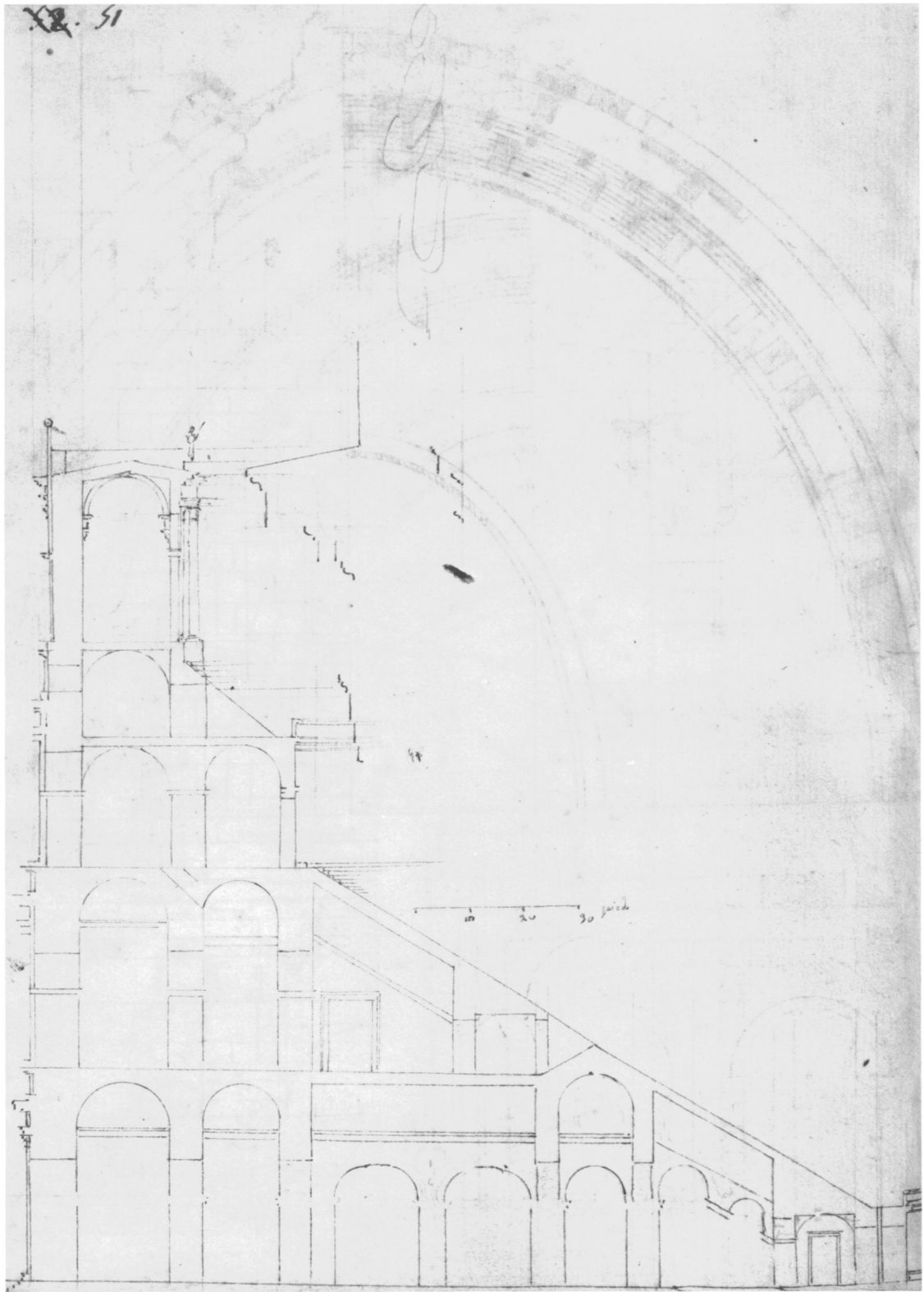




68. Bellicard, *Architectural Elements of the Upper Part of the Colosseum at Rome with Reconstruction of the Masts for the Awning in Section*, from Notebook, p. 49



69. Bellicard, *Architectural Elements of the Upper Part of the Colosseum at Rome Showing the Awning Masts and Location of Statuary*, from Notebook, p. 50



stimulation and intense interests of his traveling companions. The notebook ends with a few desultory and barely visible drawings of architectural details with measurements and several entries and sheets left unfinished.¹²¹ Returning to Rome, Bellicard used the notebook to help prepare the two separate sets of etching plates used in the London and Paris editions of the *Observations*.

Among the very few drawings of antiquities made after his departure from Campania are five sketches reconstructing the Colosseum in Rome with its apparatus for suspending the *velarium*, or awning, which the Romans stretched over masts and webs of rope to shade their amphitheaters and theaters (Figures 67–70).¹²² These drawings were not made from direct observation but are more likely sketches after another artist's reconstructions. These kinds of reconstructions are very much a part of the commerce of ideas among scholars, amateurs, and architects whom Bellicard would have encountered either among the members of the academy at Florence¹²³ or among artists and antiquarians in Rome. These drawings clearly indicate the long-forgotten wooden masts over which the rigging for the *velarium* was passed down to the sailors, detached from the fleet at Misenum, and stationed in Rome to maintain and operate the cable-and-tackle apparatus for unfurling the awning in accordance with the movement of the sun. Bellicard never published these drawings nor did he make any reference in his publications to the *velarium* in comparing the Colosseum in Rome with the amphitheaters at Capua or Pozzuoli.

ARCHITECTURE

The Campanile, Cathedral, and Baptistery at Pisa, which are admired today for their rich Gothic style, would not normally be of interest, one would expect, to an artist trained in the shadow of Le Vau and Gabriel at the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris or to a disciple of Piranesi in Rome. Indeed, Bellicard states that their Gothic architectural style is of

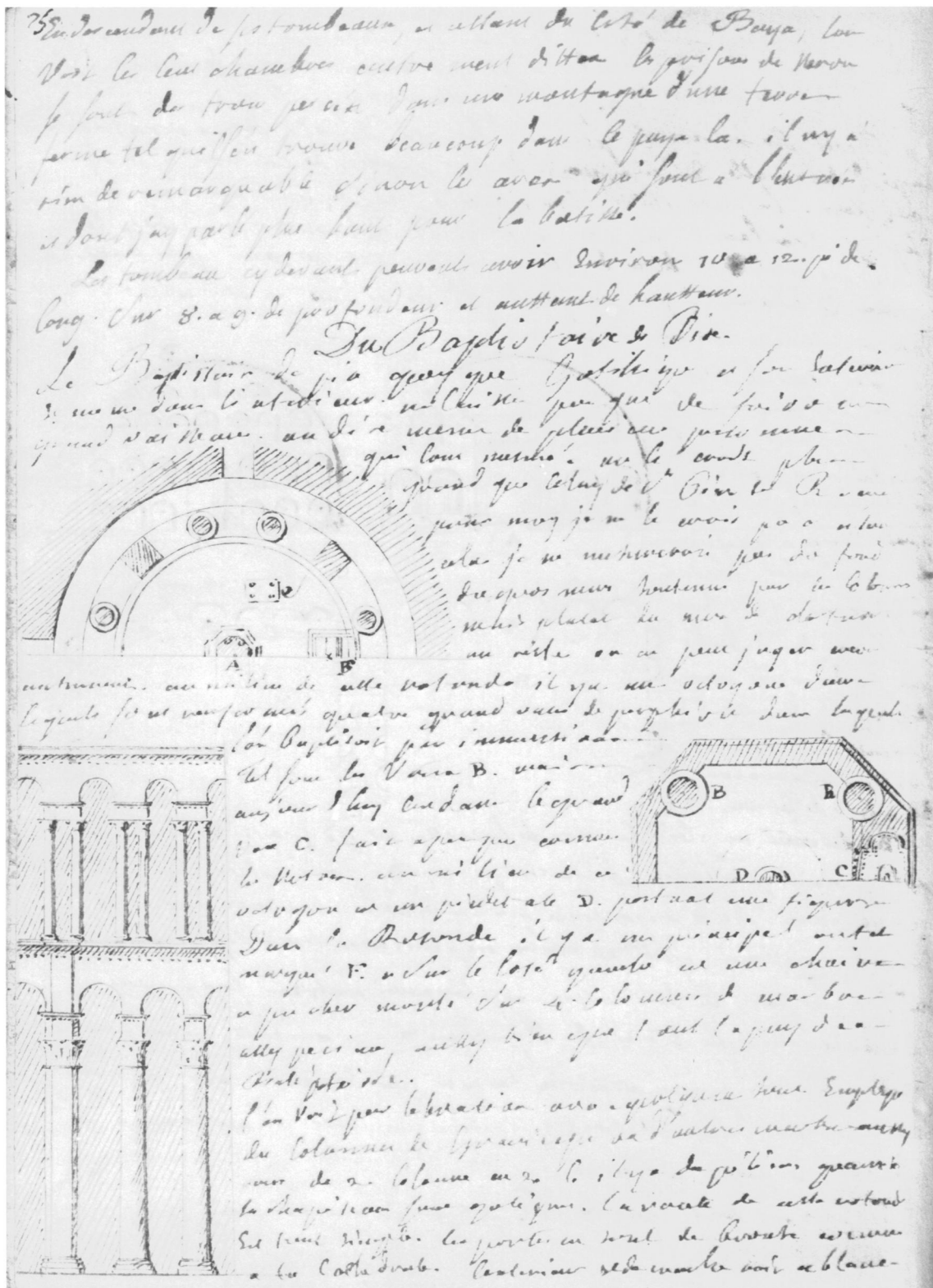
no particular interest, although in the notebook he takes special notice in his marginal remarks of the reuse of ancient fragments and columns in the Pisan complex. However, he is captivated by difficult problems of engineering in construction, whether they occur in ancient, Gothic, or modern structures. He devotes a full-page discussion to the incline of the Tower of Pisa and upon its probable origin in the subsidence of the soil (see Figure 5). He goes on to praise the unknown engineer who tried to compensate for the tilt of the building by elongating the columns on the downward side and gradually diminishing their height on the upward side at the fifth, sixth, and seventh stories and in the eighth-story bell chamber.

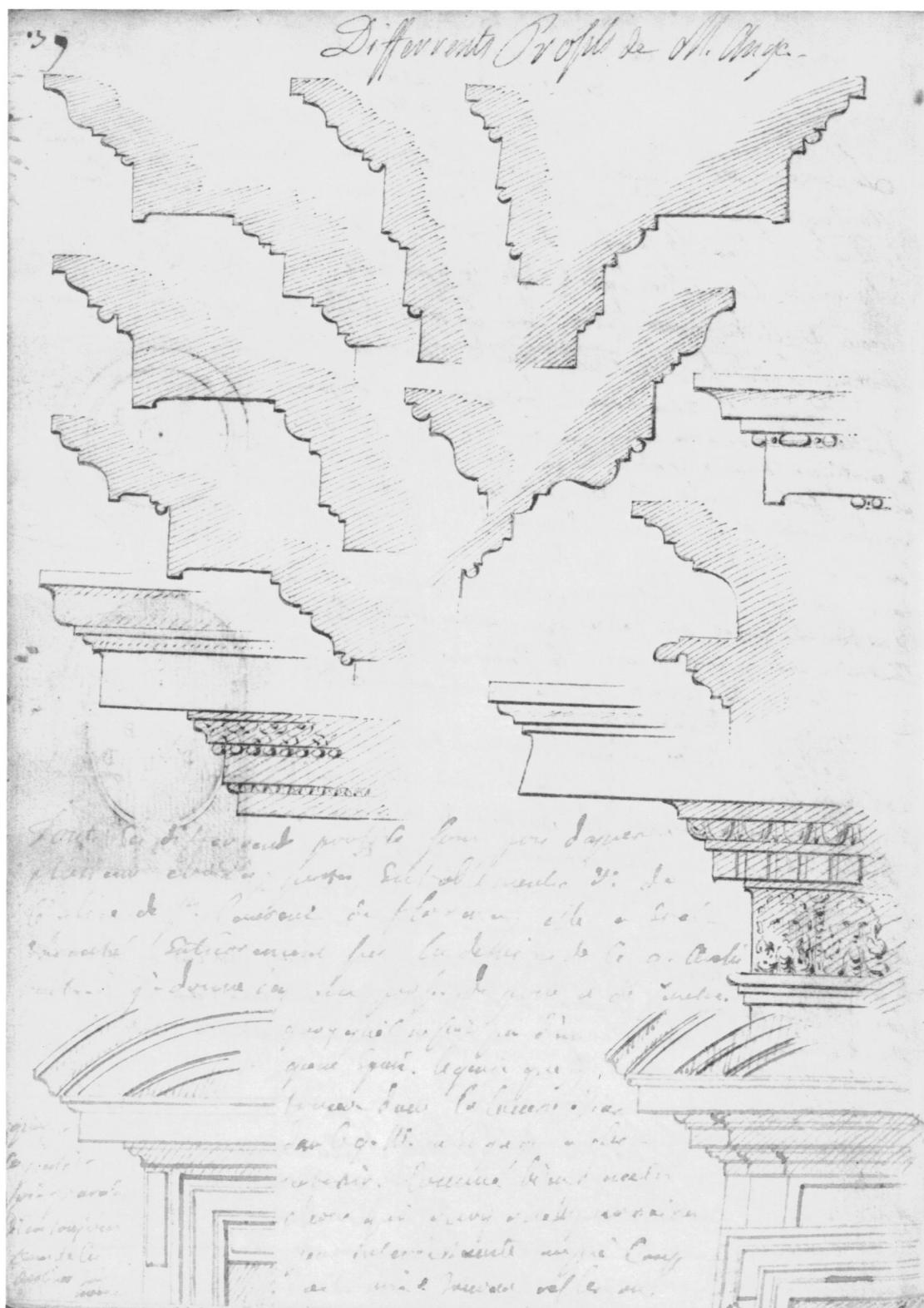
The Baptistery in Pisa (Figure 71) wins grudging admiration from Bellicard largely for its achievement, even in an inferior (i.e., Gothic) style, of a vast, vaulted, centrally planned space. The architect admires the rich effects of the combination of materials and colors and notes the lavish use of different marbles in the columns and interior decoration, the porphyry baptismal fonts, and the bronze sculpture and doors.

In his notebook Bellicard devotes much of his attention to the architecture of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, placing the greatest emphasis on the late sixteenth century. This is what we should expect of an architect trained in the living tradition of classicizing architecture as it was practiced in France. No matter how strong his attraction for antiquity, an architect preparing to practice in the second half of the eighteenth century would have found his models in the great architecture of the tradition in which he worked. For Bellicard, this meant the language of architectural conventions developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and he was instinctively drawn to the more austere examples, regardless of date or authorship. Bellicard was an architect with a scholarly attraction to the obscure and unknown example. Just as he had been attracted by the idea of the unpublished finds at Herculaneum, so he studied one of the lesser examples of architecture attributed to Michelangelo, which had the additional interest of being in a genre—domestic architecture—that the master rarely practiced.

In addition to filling corners of his notebook with profiles of moldings attributed to Michelangelo from

70. Bellicard, *Section through the Colosseum at Rome Showing Location of Awning Masts and Statuary*, from Notebook, p. 51





72. Bellicard, *Different Profiles of Michelangelo* (above) and *Details from the Palazzo Giacomini* (below), from Notebook, p. 39

73. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *The Palazzo Giacomini-Larderel*, ca. 1580 (photo: Alinari)



San Lorenzo in Florence (Figure 72 and the four sections at the bottom of Figure 92), Bellicard chose to study an obscure palace on the via dei Tornabuoni that he and others mistakenly attributed to Michelangelo: he devoted more pages to it than to any other monument, ancient or modern. The Palazzo Giacomini, later called the Palazzo Michelozzi and currently known as the Palazzo Larderel (Figure 73), is a narrow three-story town house distinguished by handsome fenestration. The portal and windows at the ground floor are articulated with engaged Doric columns capped with triangular pediments that are echoed in pilasters with triangular pediments on the upper story. The central axis is enforced by using triangular pediments at all three stories. The facade is varied by the insertion of two segmental pediments in the flanking bays of the second story. The whole composition is framed by a heavy cornice and massive, rusticated corner pilasters.¹²⁴

"This palace has three bays on the front with a portal. The architecture is by Michelangelo B[uonarrotti] similar to many others in this city," Bellicard wrote.¹²⁵ He was probably comparing the windows supported on scroll brackets that Michelangelo added to the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi with those on the ground floor of the Palazzo Giacomini. Bellicard described and drew every important part of this restrained design. He drew details of the portal and of the ground-floor level of the rusticated corner pilaster (Figure 74), a section of the door-frame molding of the portal leading into the courtyard (Figure 75), the segmental pediment at the second level (Figure 76), the heavier cornice and corner pilaster at the top level (Figure 77), and the "Doric" pediment of the portal (Figure 78). He finished with a beautiful page of elevations and plans of the bases of the windows and the main portal on the ground floor, as well as perspectival views of the scroll bracket supporting the windows of the ground floor and of the large modillions, or ornamental square brackets, under the cornice at the top of the building (Figure 79).

The building is now dated to about 1580 and attributed to Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533–1609), an architect, antiquarian, and engraver and a man with whom Bellicard would have had an affinity. Dosio's 1569 publication of Roman antiquities is a document evincing a continuing interest in Roman architectural style by architects in the Renaissance tradition.¹²⁶ The

relationship between Dosio's antiquarian interests and his own architecture is similar to the aspirations of Bellicard and his antiquarian colleagues.

While Bellicard did not know very much about the architectural history of the High Renaissance and *maniera*, he recognized that the Palazzo Giacomini exemplified many of those qualities of the continuing legacy of antiquity to classicizing modern architecture: restraint, traditional applications of the orders, and a rhythmic and rational organization of the facade. Bellicard had incorrectly identified these qualities of Renaissance architecture with Michelangelo, who was far more experimental and unorthodox in using traditional forms than Bellicard would have approved. Leaving the misattribution aside, Bellicard had nothing but praise for the Palazzo Giacomini and its architect.

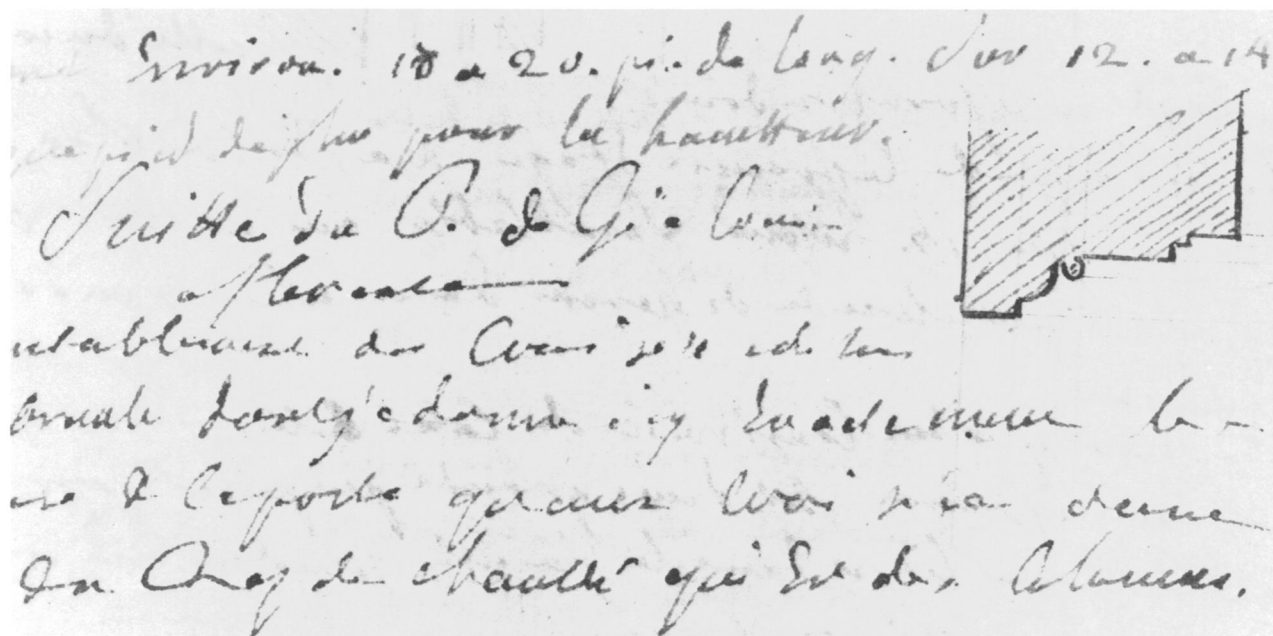
Bellicard dismissed the plan of the church of the Santissima Annunziata as only rather good and the decoration of the ceiling as "sticking to the taste of all churches in Naples and Rome" (Figure 80).¹²⁷ He concentrated on the centrally planned sanctuary completed by Leon Battista Alberti in 1477. He

singled out for attention and praise the architectural and decorative ordonnance of the square chapel designed by Giovanni Bologna (1529–1608) to be his own tomb (Figure 81). As in his discussion of the Baptistry in Pisa (see Figure 71), Bellicard proves sensitive to the effects achieved by mixing colored marble with other materials in the tomb chapel of Giovanni Bologna and in the rotunda of the Annunziata (Figure 82). It is worth noting that this kind of rich coloration is spoken of in Bellicard's *Observations* as being "in the manner of the ancients."

Bellicard completed his drawings in Florence with one of the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata and the orphanage of the Innocenti, and commented in particular on the equestrian statue and fountains he attributed to Giovanni Bologna (Figure 83).¹²⁸

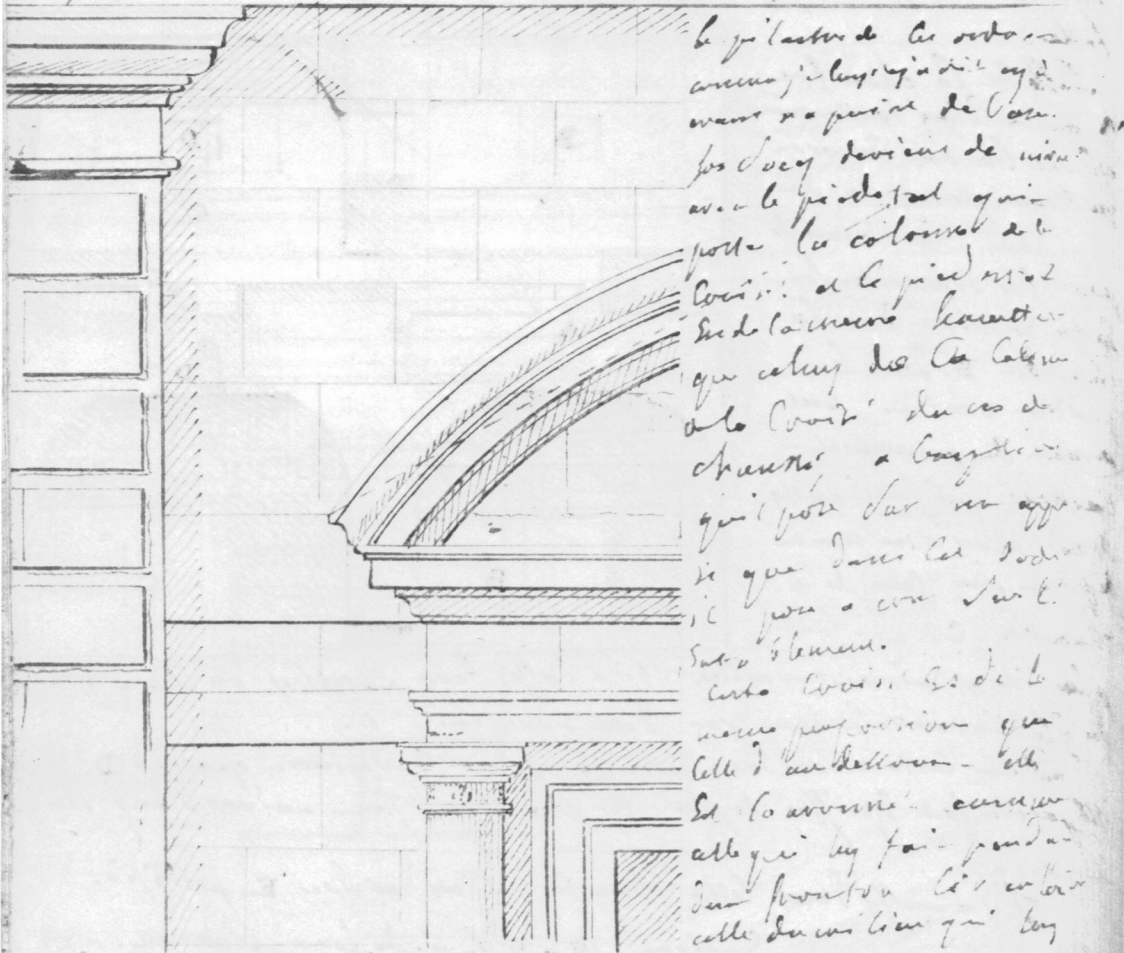
En route from Rome to Florence, Vandières and his party had stopped to see the Farnese villa at Caprarola. Both Cochin and Bellicard treated Caprarola in their respective notes, and there Bellicard drew some of the most beautiful sketches in the notebook.¹²⁹ He devoted most of one page to an extremely positive evaluation of the great pentagonal

75. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 30 (detail)



Vue du P. de Giacomi.
à Florence.

Le plan d'ensemble du palais Stagi a la même proportion
et les mêmes mesures que celui des deux de Florence. Les chapiteaux
et quelques moulures de différence, et c'est à craindre que plus que de l'antique.



Le pilastre de la section
antique, le long duquel on a
vu une petite de l'arc.
Les deux derniers de même
avec le piedestal qui
porte la colonne de la
Crosier. et le piedestal
de la même hauteur
que celui des autres colonnes
de la Croisier du cas de
chaque, à l'exception
qui se pose sur un appui
si que dans les deux
il y a une croix sur le
dessus même.

Cette Croisier est de la
même proportion que
celle d'un d'ailleurs. Elle
est la même, comme
celle qui se fait pendant
sur fronton. C'est en fait
celle d'un d'ailleurs qui se fait

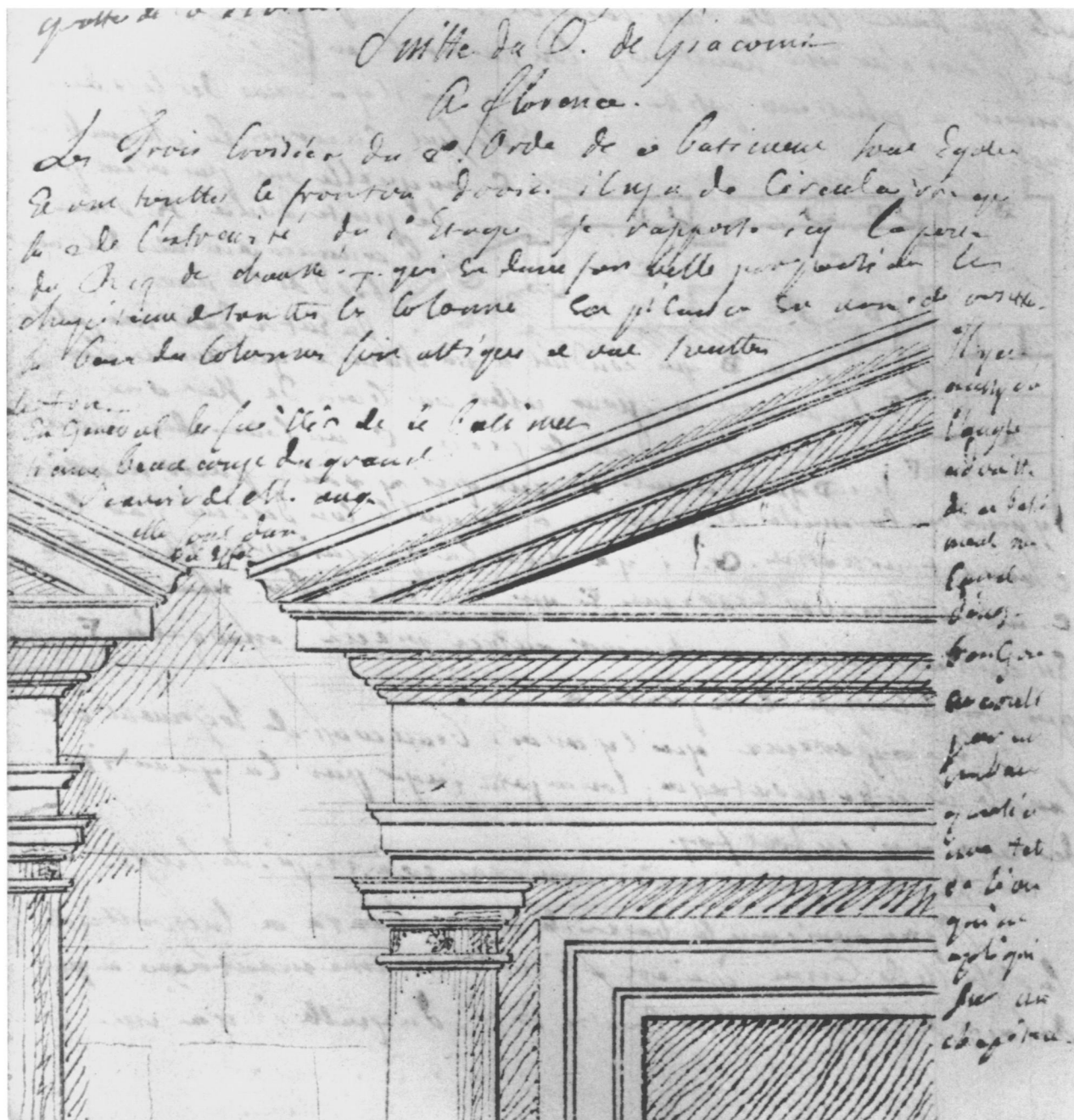
sur l'arc de la porte d'entrée.

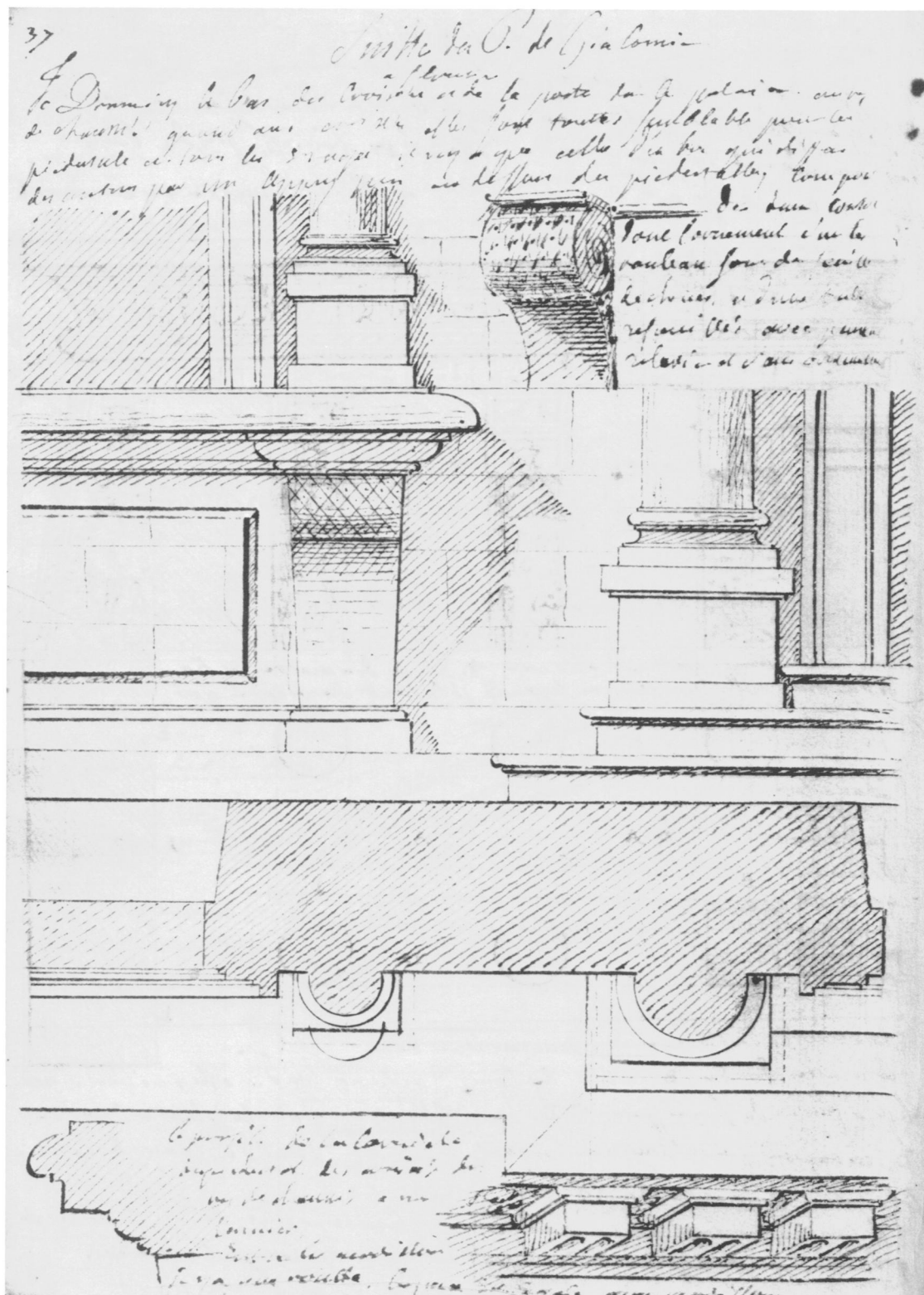
Le plan de la section Stagi n'a rien d'un chapitre, mais
il est que le regard se ressemble aux autres. Les chapiteaux
quelques moulures de différence, dans ceux d'un d'ailleurs, et dans
d'autres.

Cela même qui se construit de cette. Cette pierre de Florence d'un
suy parti d'un d'ailleurs. Est d'une grande proportion pour la section
qui se fait par les joints pendant une d'un d'ailleurs
qui se fait par les joints pendant une d'un d'ailleurs.

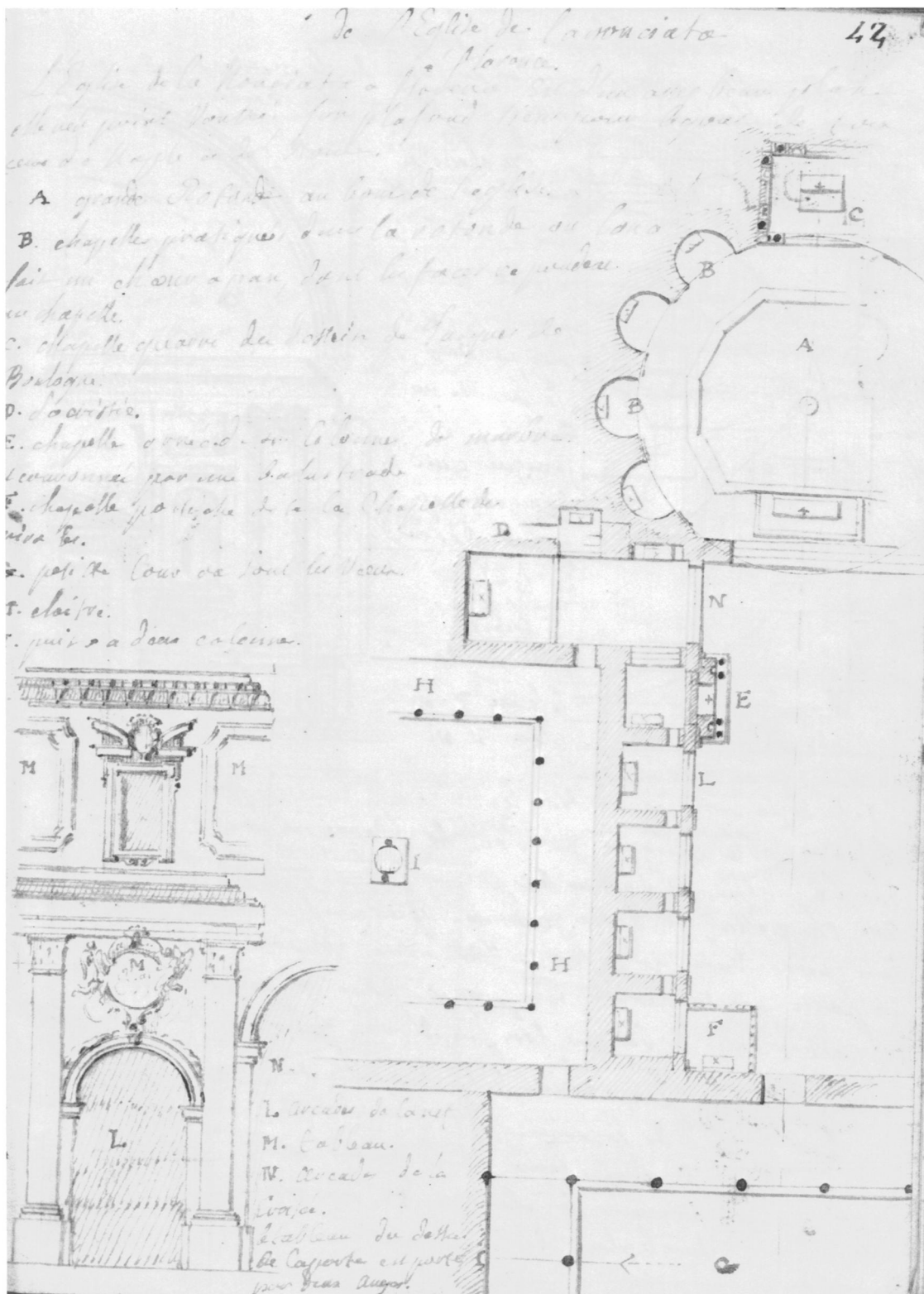
77. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 33

78. Bellicard, *View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 35 (detail)

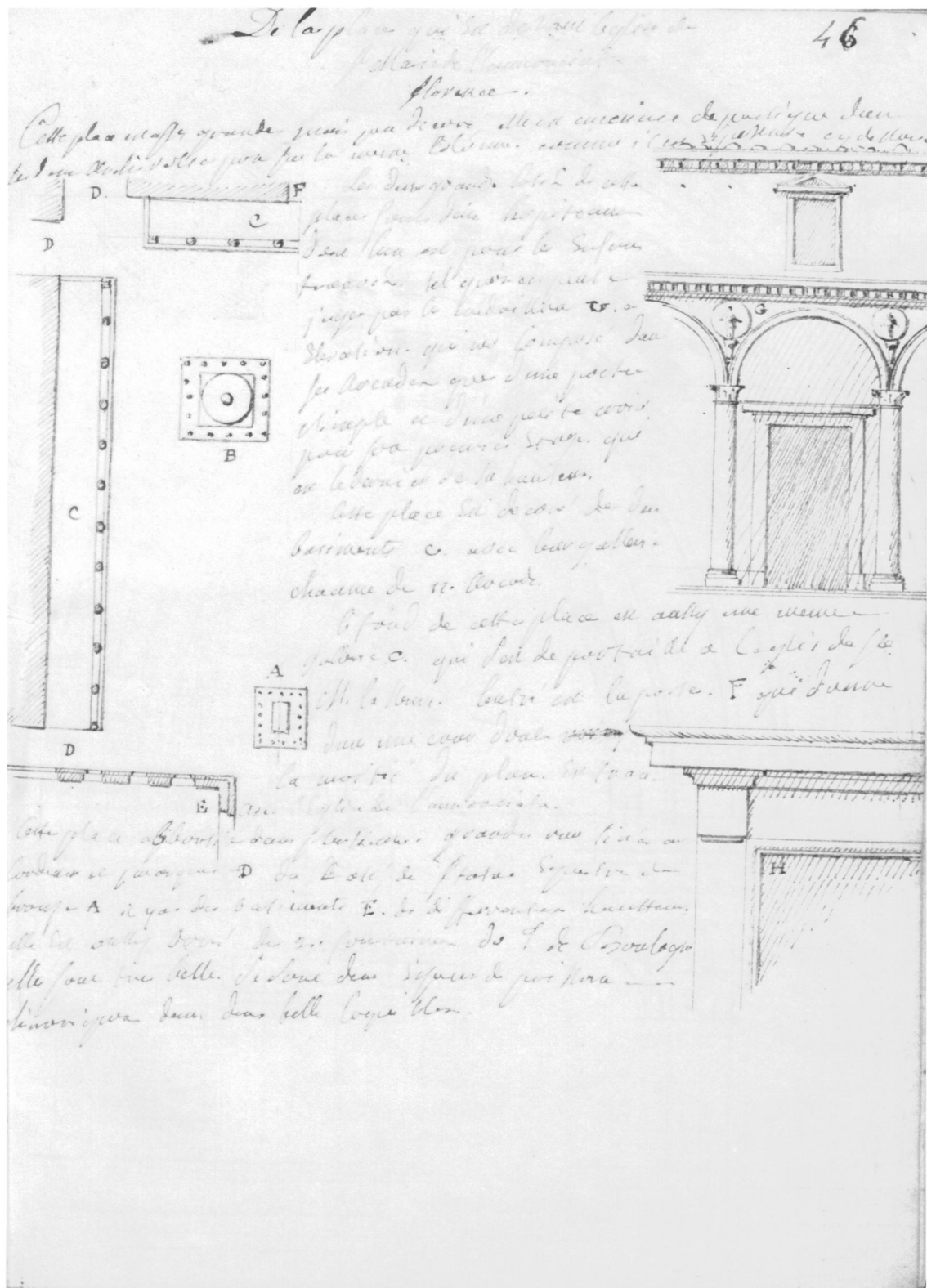




79. Bellicard, View of the Palazzo Giacomini, Florence, from Notebook, p. 37



80. Bellicard, *The Church of the Santissima Annunziata*, from Notebook, p. 42



83. Bellicard, *From the Piazza in front of the Church of Santissima Annunziata, Florence*, from Notebook, p. 46

villa designed by Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507–73) between about 1565 and his death, and completed in 1584 by an architect known only as Maestro Giovannantonio.¹³⁰ Bellicard paid special attention to the elevation and decoration of the circular inner courtyard (Figure 84). Bellicard admired the gallery at ground level and the articulation of the piers to receive sculpture in square openings that alternated with arches of elegant proportions. He also discussed (but did not illustrate) the fresco decoration of this gallery based on the *groteschi* in the style of Raphael in the Vatican. Cochin elaborated on this description by noting that the decoration of the vaults of the courtyard arcade were arabesques in “good” taste, but that the overall effect was bad because the colors of these ornaments clashed with the overall slate color of the stonework.¹³¹

What particularly attracted their interest was not the villa itself but the garden architecture, the cascades, and the small casino called the Palazzina (Figures 6, 85).¹³² It was in all probability Vandières’s personal interest that inspired the attention given to the garden architecture at Caprarola.¹³³ He had a lifelong interest in gardens and was later to create a magnificent garden at the Château de Ménars, complete with hydraulic machines, architectural follies, and specific souvenirs of his memories of Italian gardens.

Vandières’s personal interest also likely explains Bellicard’s splendid drawing of the hydraulically powered forge hammer (Figure 86) seen during a visit to the ironworks at Ronciglione.¹³⁴ Throughout his life Vandières had been fascinated by mechanical inventions; he sponsored experimental designs of wine presses and unsinkable boats and kept a laboratory at each of his houses.

Bellicard drew several villas in the Veneto, as he states in his notes, but only one sketch of a villa (Figure 87) survives in the notebook.¹³⁵ From Cochin we know that the group visited the Villa Cataio or Cataglio, at Cataio near Battaglia Terme, between Monselice and Padua.¹³⁶ However, the drawing in Bellicard’s notebook does not seem to be of that house. It has a distinctly Palladian quality, but it does not quite correspond to any of the villas designed by Antonio Palladio (1508–80). The drawing looks more like the Villa Chiericati-Porto at Vancimuglio,¹³⁷ although it shows a pediment supported by

square piers with Ionic capitals at the ends and Ionic columns at the center, with a flight of stairs as wide as the portico, while the Villa Porto has four Ionic columns and a narrow stair. The fenestration of the two facades also differs, and there is a rusticated basement in the drawing but not at the villa. Unfortunately, Bellicard never completed the written description for this design. Without question, his (and Vandières’s) interest in the beauty, exterior decoration, and large gardens of the villas between Padua and Venice was of a piece with the attention he had given to the gardens at Caprarola.

In comparison to the amount of space devoted to the Pisan medieval monuments, Bellicard characteristically gave more to the early-seventeenth-century loggia at Pisa, called the Loggia di Banchi (Figures 88, 89).¹³⁸ He was impressed by the way the architect had disguised the massiveness of the piers by clustering heavily rusticated pilasters around them. Cochin also discussed this loggia and amplified the evaluation found in Bellicard’s notes:

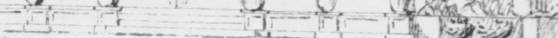
At the end of a marble bridge, there is an edifice built by the Medicis, as one may ascertain by the coat of arms which is there. It resembles a loggia suitable for merchants. It is arcaded, with grouped pilasters of the Doric order. There are triglyphs only on the pilasters and at the middles of the arches, which results in a naked and irregular frieze [seen in Bellicard’s drawing]. This building is beautiful up to the cornice of the first order, which is the original part. It has been raised by the addition of a story in modern style which is not good. The capitals seem defective in that the quarter round has too much curve which makes them seem heavy.¹³⁹

Among the seventeenth-century monuments Bellicard included in the notebook is one of his rare interior drawings. This was the dignified Anatomy Theater (Figure 90) of the Archiginnasio, the seat of the ancient University of Bologna, which was renowned as the first school to practice the dissection of the human body.¹⁴⁰ The Anatomy Theater, which is above the chapel of the Archiginnasio, was built between 1638 and 1649 based on designs by Antonio Levanti. The walls are of carved fir and the ceiling is of cedar of Lebanon. The walls are decorated with niches that contain statues of great men of medicine, and above them small oval niches contain busts of great teachers of the Bolognese faculty of anatomy

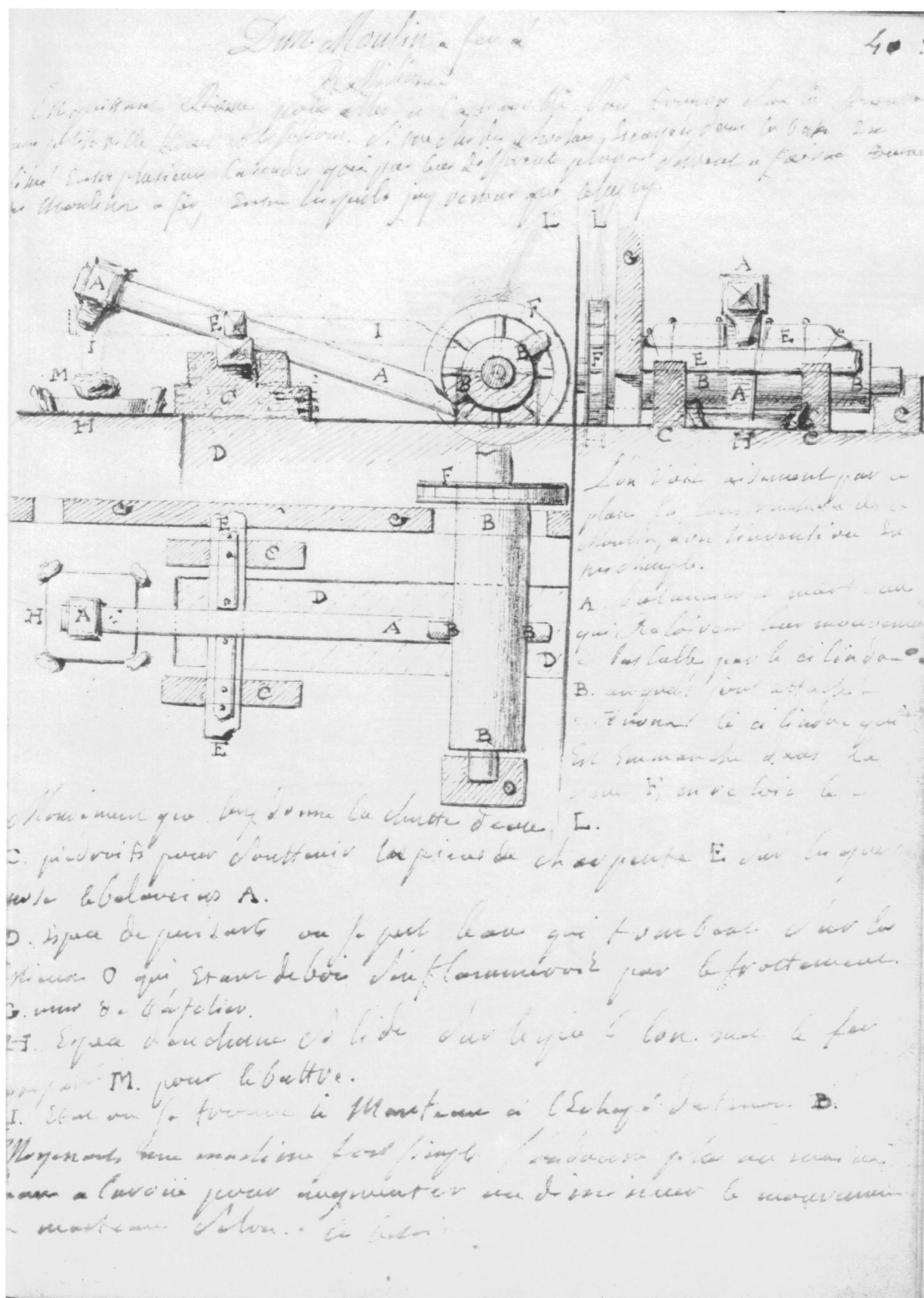
16

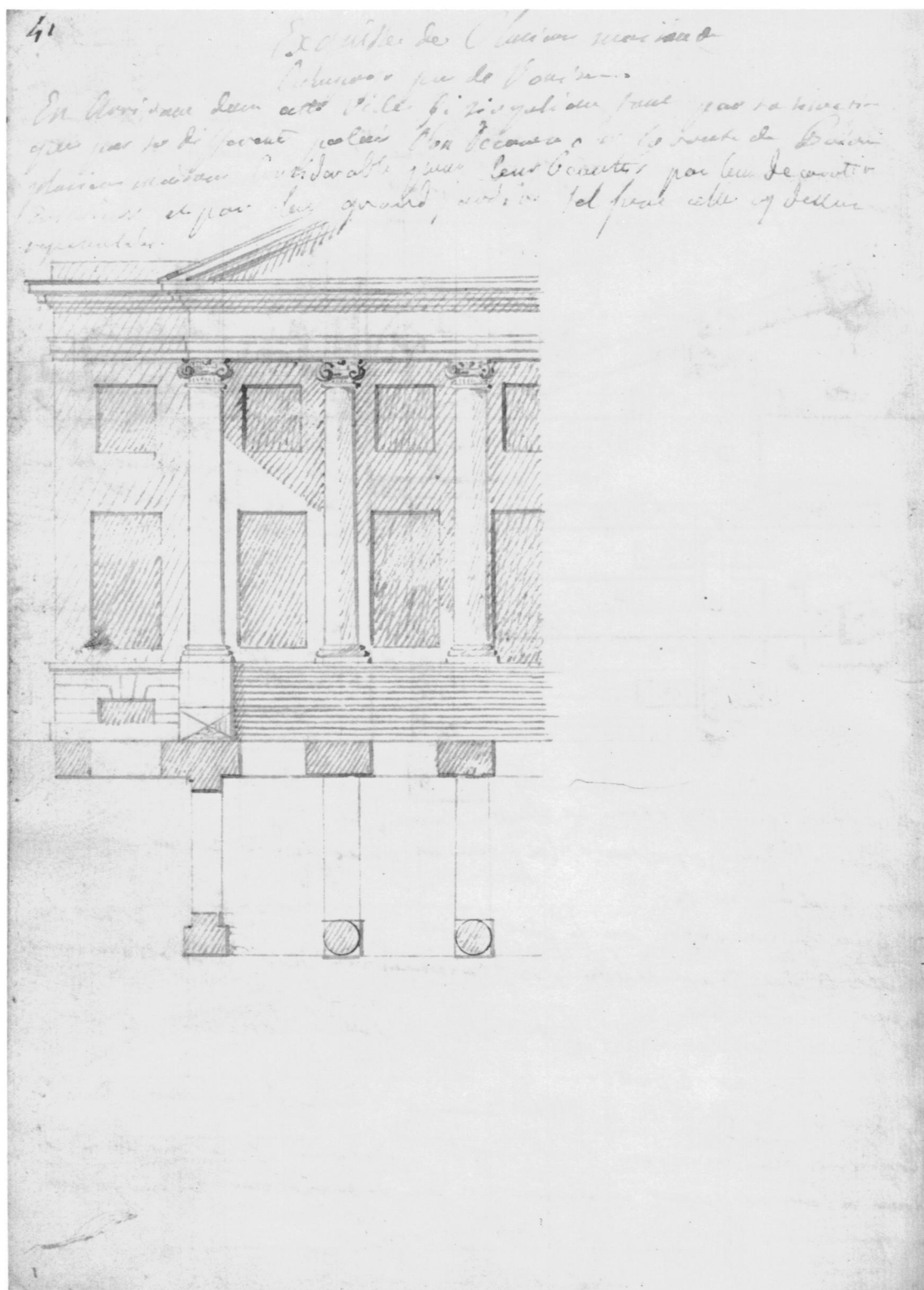
Du Gardin. Le Capivare.

2. je fusse de faire et d'arrêter
à ces deux côtés 2 figures et

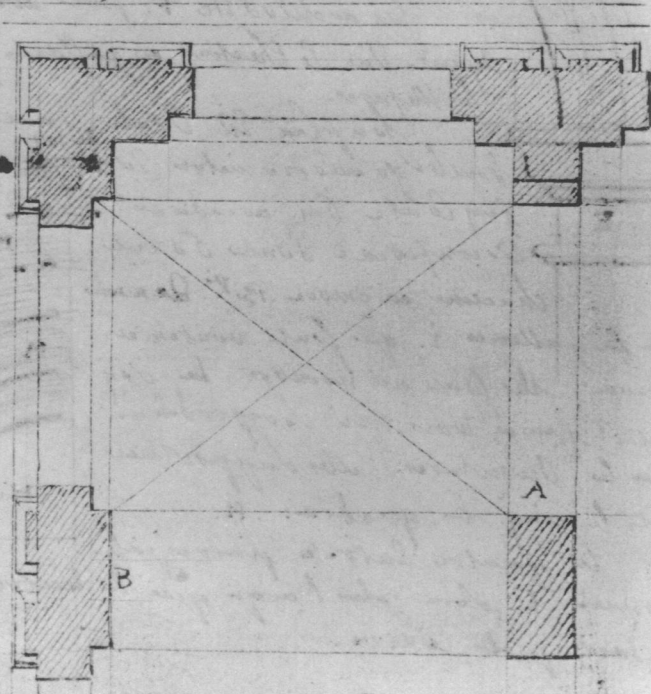


121





87. Bellicard, *Sketch of Several [sic] Country Houses near Venice*, from Notebook, p. 41

[illegible]

au d'après de la page A.3. il y a encore du fumier
de toutes sortes de forme qui ont été posés sur le terrain
de peilbott. Dans cette terre qui vient plus de la paille
autres matières.

De la Loge. de l'Ordre.

La poix de la Odor. En un peu
plus grande que la Containe au
Nochifou. Serde plus petite.

En part-age au 12.

valued, I am sure, by all parties.

2. Importe de la lepre

En J. H. in cy. 1822. C.

for Christopher B. Gellum

from 1845 to 1850

happen - so ist es auch für

from your page 10th.

and in the old Congress I am what after 15 years' absence was

L. pinguis m. D. hat abnormale de art. p. s. b. die alle 6 in

20. act of passing down and often the chapel of

L. no. 64-A.

On la jette par la latrine qui est

active. On a continué de peccer au long du V. 16.

mitige nach der form des blies dargeworden.

3. *Orthocentrus* *maculatus* *particularis*.



with their names inscribed below.¹⁴¹ At the place of honor—marked 8 on Bellicard's plan—was the presiding professor's seat beneath a canopy borne by two flayed male caryatids supporting an allegorical personification of Anatomy, accompanied by a putto representing Genius. Bellicard appreciated the arrangement of the risers in the Theater as a means of effecting both the practical business of demonstration and the ceremonial ordering of the students of differing accomplishment—the practicing anatomists and the faculty. Bellicard's design is of added value in that the Anatomy Theater was largely destroyed in 1944 (Figure 91).

Bellicard included only one eighteenth-century building in the notebook, and it reflects the common threads of novel building type and bravura engineering that he admired in ancient structures. In Livorno he described at length the Bottini dell'Olio (Figures 52, 92)—a warehouse for the storage and shipment of olive oil—built in 1703 by Cosimo III de' Medici and enlarged in 1731 by Gian Gastone after designs by the sculptor-architect Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652–1725). This depot was designed to hold 24,000 barrels of oil in 304 waterproof slate tanks built into the walls.¹⁴² Located behind the Fortezza Vecchia on the Viale Caprera on a canal leading directly to the harbor, this oil magazine was an ingenious solution to the difficult mercantile problem of handling large quantities of liquids owned by many different merchants. Bellicard's description of the oil warehouse's vaulted hall suggests that the architect was comparing it to the Piscina Mirabile at Misenum (see Figure 50).

VEDUTE IDEATE

Included in the Metropolitan Museum notebook are five *vedute ideate* on one sheet. Such imaginary architectural views including or combining real buildings in fanciful settings with invented structures are often called *capricci*. These pretty drawings are the only such views in the notebook and very likely predate the journey. They are drawn on a loose sheet of paper, which Bellicard must have kept folded between the pages. When the notebook was eventually bound, the loose sheet was pasted down on a page and

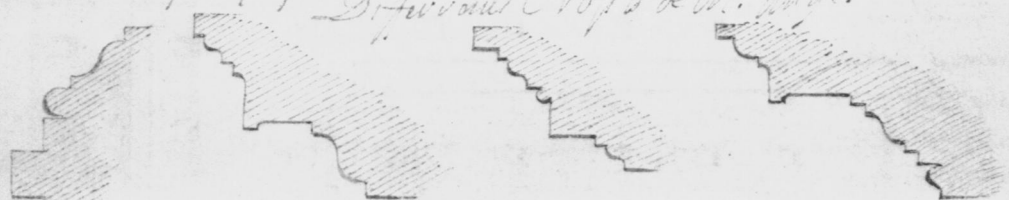
bound in with the fascicles of notes. On the verso of these architectural fantasies is a first draft of Bellicard's description of the initial discovery of Herculaeum. This text is, almost word for word, identical to the text copied into the notebook as page 1. My hypothesis is that, on reading d'Arthenay's pamphlet, Bellicard took a sheet of drawing paper upon which he had already made some drawings and began to make notes on the back. He then realized that he would eventually want to make more extensive notes on his reading and to illustrate them. He then acquired the notebook, copied his first passages into it, folded up his first essay, and tucked it between the sheets.¹⁴³

91. Photograph of the Anatomical Theater of the Archiginnasio, Bologna (photo: Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University)



This architectural drawing shows a perspective view of a vaulted structure, likely a tunnel or a large hall. Two large, semi-circular arches are supported by thick, square columns. The floor is marked with various letters and numbers, indicating different sections or measurements. A cross-section view is shown on the right side of the drawing, illustrating the internal structure of the vault. The drawing is a technical sketch, possibly a working drawing for a construction project.

A hand-drawn sketch of a mechanical component, possibly a valve or pump assembly, shown in a cross-sectional or side view. The drawing is on a grid background. The component has a central vertical shaft or piston rod. At the top, there's a flange or head with a central opening. Below this, there's a main body with internal components. A curved, shaded area on the right side is labeled 'VALVE'. Various parts are labeled with letters: 'A' at the top left, 'B' at the top center, 'C' at the top right, 'D' on the left side, 'E' on the right side, 'F' at the bottom left, 'G' at the bottom center, and 'H' at the bottom right. There are also some handwritten notes and numbers, including '71' at the top center and '100' at the bottom left.



92. Bellicard, *Architectural Details of the Bottino dell'Olio at Livorno*, with (at bottom) *Unrelated Drawings of Moldings Attributed to Michelangelo*, from Notebook, p. 27

The views themselves are of a type much favored by students at the French Academy in Rome, where perspective was taught by an Italian master, Giovanni Paolo Pannini, the celebrated maker of architectural *vedute*, which had become extremely popular with tourists and collectors. To some extent, such designs were exercises in perspective drawing and were practiced by all students of painting and architecture as a means of perfecting this useful illusionistic skill. For students, *vedute ideate* became forms of exercise in historicizing and proto-Romantic imagination. Rome's surviving monuments provided a lexicon of fragments lifted from their actual context and recombined with figures, invented natural phenomena (such as rivers, forests, and hills), and completely imaginary architectures that gave free rein to the artists' fantasies, hence the name *capriccio*.

Bellicard's five imaginary scenes are characteristic of this genre and together make up a small gallery of views, as if five paintings were hung edge to edge (Figure 93). The fact that no single recognizable "antiquity" is repeated across the designs emphasizes this sense of ensemble. We recognize the Pantheon (top left), the column of Trajan (top right), the Colosseum, columns of the Temple of Jupiter (bottom left), and other sites in the four small square compositions; but in the most dramatic—the long horizontal image at the center—we recognize absolutely nothing: for it is the only completely fanciful design of them all. Exploiting devices that Bellicard had seen Paninni and Claude-Joseph Vernet use and that Hubert Robert would repeat two decades later, Bellicard places the viewer in the shadow of a bridge and lets us look out through the frame of its arch toward a busy river with passing boats and a second monumental bridge, above which towers a range of columned and balustraded ashlar buildings surmounted by scores of free-standing sculpted figures.

Here at last we see realized in Bellicard's imagination a proof that connects his studies of great monuments of the past with his aspirations as an architect. Clearly reflected in this imaginary picture of archi-

tectural fantasy is his love of a kind of monumental architecture that defies the capacity of man and mere materials to realize. Yearning for the ability to make an engineering reality of such grand designs, the young architect seems to have sought examples of triumphant feats of ambitious architecture that had actually been made.

CONCLUSION

The sheets in Bellicard's notebook make up two distinct collections of monuments. One group was assembled as the preliminary research for a publication with the goal of satisfying a demand for up-to-date information and illustrations of Campanian antiquities. The other assemblage is a miscellany of drawings made for personal instruction and was not intended for publication. Unlike the published collection of antiquities, the latter category concentrates on but is not limited to post-Renaissance monuments. The sum of these two different but related classes of monuments reveals the omnivorous interests of Vandières's traveling companions. The selection of ancient, Gothic, and modern monuments and of natural phenomena is characteristic of the broad scope of the Enlightenment sensibility. Bellicard's notebook, along with the history of Vandières's tour, represents an openness to the critical examination of artistic conventions and styles of all periods.

Bellicard's writing on the archaeological finds at Herculaneum is intimately linked to the rise of a self-conscious history of architecture. For artists, architects, and serious amateurs, the need to travel for firsthand study of the great achievements of the past became increasingly urgent as the century's historicist tendencies made themselves felt. In the years after 1750, the nascent archaeology and the controversy between the ancients and moderns found new outlets in "popular" journalism, in art criticism, and among the learned men who contributed to the first volumes of the *Encyclopédie*.¹⁴⁴

Bellicard's historical position is at the threshold of modern archaeology and at the late moments of the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns—as it were, at the beginning of the loss of innocence about antiquity. This is the moment when architectural history begins to disengage itself from training for the

practice of architecture in what has come to be the modern attitude to the separation of the study of the past (for its own sake) from the skills needed for contemporary professional activity. Bellicard's notebook is part of the birth of a self-conscious historical study of the arts and is one small point of demarcation in the evolution of the modern sensibility.

Bellicard's publications and his notebook assure him a place in the history of archaeology and travel literature. He was more than a mere connoisseur of architecture but not just an antiquarian driven by nostalgia for the past. Men like d'Arthenay and Bellicard were interested in a factual recording of the actual state of monuments and in their essential social context. He gave little attention, however, to what we now recognize as the preoccupations of modern archaeology—the anthropological, historical, or sociological lessons to be derived from the site and the relationships of buildings and objects found there. Bellicard, as a harbinger of the new archaeology, was willing to present quite unimproved the fragmentary findings of past civilizations. It was just this fragmentary nature that made the surviving ancient monuments and works of art appear so limited in use to the French Academy.

In 1768, eighteen years after Bellicard's journal was begun and fifteen years after the publications based upon it, the Royal Academy of Architecture in Paris went on record as saying that archaeological studies of ancient sites such as Herculaneum were more useful to the history of architecture than to furthering the practice of architecture. Referring to the most recently issued volumes of the *Delle Antichità di Ercolano*, edited by Ottavio Antonio Bayardi and published by the Royal Academy at Naples, the minutes of the French Academy's session record: "La Compagnie a vu cet ouvrage avec plaisir, mais elle a jugé qu'il pouvoit être plus utile pour l'histoire de l'architecture que pour ses progrès, les édifices qu'on y voit ayant plus de rapport avec l'architecture chinoise et arabesque qu'avec la belle architecture grecque et romaine."¹⁴⁵

This statement masks a subtle division within the Academy between the orthodoxy of the classical

French tradition, as personified by Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698–1782), First Architect to the king, and a new architectural tradition, nowhere more forcefully evident than in the Parisian church of Sainte-Geneviève (already under construction in 1768, and known to us today in its deconsecrated form as the Panthéon), which Vandières had commissioned from his former traveling companion Soufflot. In this new tradition, architects accepted a far broader spectrum of models as valuable in the process of forming a style that would build upon the classicizing tradition and yet go beyond it in creating a language of symbolic form and in the engineering that would make dramatic spatial achievements a reality. For men like Soufflot, the study of Roman and Renaissance architecture, of Italian and exotic examples, were all valid. If nothing else, Bellicard's notebook disproves a statement of the French Academy in 1768 that the fragmentary remains of antiquity held no practical lessons for architects.

What is most revealing about the full range of interests reconstructed in Bellicard's notebook is the "modern" context against which the ancient material must be viewed. What we see in his selection and treatment of sites is not a "neoclassical" orthodoxy seeking fodder for imitation of a previously selected ideal style,¹⁴⁶ but a probing attitude that admires old solutions to problematic architectural conditions and shows respect for extremely pragmatic issues in engineering.

The way Vandières's group studied the ancient, modern, and natural phenomena of Italy in 1750 and 1751 helps us feel the pulse of an age. These men looked at artifacts as connoisseurs and explorers, and not with a scientific or sociological attitude. Their interests had a broad sweep. They exercised the same degree of interest and the same level of insight into modern as well as ancient things. Most dramatically, they did not look upon the past, as we often do today, as a fossil of some rather incomprehensible extinct being, but saw themselves in a living continuum with it, and this made the lessons they learned applicable to themselves and to contemporary architecture.

93. Bellicard, *Five Architectural Fantasies*, from Notebook, p. 54

On a fait la ruine de cette ville dans le temps ou y
 fit le Vésuve qui arriva la 1^{re} année de l'empire de Trajan



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank Mary Myers for bringing the notebook to my attention and for her generous invitation to publish it; her constant support of the project has made this article possible. I would also like to thank John Pinto, William MacDonald, and Steven E. Ostrow for helping me find my way in research on the Campanian archaeological sites. John Pinto was especially helpful in sharing his knowledge and insight into the Roman world. Christopher Riopelle made an initial transcription of the notebook supported by a stipend from the editorial board of the *Journal*, for which I express sincere thanks. Ann Russmann, formerly of the Egyptian De-

partment of the Metropolitan Museum, courteously helped in identifying the Temple of Hathor at Dendera. I would like to thank Diane De Grazia for identifying the precise locations in the gardens of the Palazzina that Bellicard drew and for other information about Caprarola. I am grateful to Leon Satkowski, who graciously assisted me in research on Dosio, and to Catherine Wilkerson Zerner for advice on Palladian villas. I would also like to thank Jeanne Marty and her staff at the J. Paul Getty Center Photo Archive for their kind assistance with this project.

NOTES

1. Acc. no. 40.59.6. The Bellicard notebook in the Metropolitan Museum has an interesting provenance. It was purchased at Parke-Bernet, May 1, 1940, lot 54, from the working library of the late Whitney Warren. Mr. Warren, a noted New York architect, had received it as a gift in 1917 from a French officer, commandant de Malleray, who served on the General Staff at Pétain's headquarters near Provins. The gift was made, Mr. Warren wrote on the flyleaf, "in souvenir of many chats we had together in those troublesome times." Their hours of conversation on more civilized and one assumes architectural topics must have distracted them from the realities of their situation.

2. Such as James Dawkins and Robert Wood's ruins of Palmyra and Baalbek published in 1753 and 1757 respectively; J.-D. Le Roy's *Ruines de Grèce* of 1758; Robert Adam's measured drawings of Diocletian's palace at Spalato published in 1763; and James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* (the first volume appeared in 1762); and the seminal writings of J. J. Winckelmann in his history of ancient art, which began to appear in German in 1763. (See also Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* [London, 1943, 1970] p. 356.) A useful compilation of recent work on all aspects of Pompeii and Herculaneum is V. Kochel et al., "Fund und Forschungen in den Vesuvstädten," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Institut*, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1985) pp. 495–571 (1986) pp. 443–569.

3. Vandières was raised to the titled nobility in 1754. On Sept. 14, 1754, the estate of Marigny, recently inherited by Vandières from his late father François Poisson, was raised to a *marquisat* by Louis XV. Archives Nationales P 2473, fols. 58–65 and X^{1a} 8760, fols. 192–95. After retiring, he was given the additional title of Marquis de Ménars by Louis XVI; he was known by this name in the years 1778–81.

4. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 14.

5. The first edition was published in London under Bellicard's name although Cochin is cited as co-author in the preface. So intense was the interest in Herculaneum, the *Observations* were published in three English-language editions in London in 1753, 1756, and 1758 and in three French editions in Paris in 1754, 1755, and 1757. Bellicard wrote section one, on the history and plans of the principal buildings at Herculaneum, and section three, describing the antiquities in the neighborhood of Naples. Section two, a dissertation on the paintings discovered at Herculaneum, is based on Cochin's ideas and he substantially wrote it. Each author made the etched plates accompanying his respective section of the book. The etchings vary from edition to edition. See note 25 below and Appendix.

6. Despite frequent repetition in the secondary literature, there is no evidence that Madame de Pompadour chose Vandières's tutors and planned the trip. This issue is beyond the scope of the present essay and will be discussed in my forthcoming book on Marigny's life and career.

7. The architecture given special attention included theaters, churches, garden architecture, and antiquities; public squares, details of architectural ornament, and urban planning also received considerable attention. Theater design was of particular current interest at the French court. Madame de Pompadour's activity in the Théâtre des Petits Cabinets had created a desire for a palace theater at Versailles. Vandières and his companions gave much attention to a comparative study of ancient and modern theaters. Indeed, Bellicard includes in the *Observations*, 1753, pp. 21–30, a comparison of the Theater of Herculaneum with the Theater of Marcellus at Rome and Palladio's Theater at Vicenza.

8. Hélène Monod Cassidy, *Un Voyageur-Philosophe au XVIII^e siècle: L'Abbé Jean-Bernard Le Blanc* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941).

9. The trip had to end after twenty-one months when Le-normant de Tournhem, who Vandières was to succeed, became seriously ill. He died on Nov. 19, within eight weeks of Vandières's return to Paris in Sept. 1751.

10. Bellicard had won his Rome prize fellowship in architecture in 1747. Under the sponsorship of the abbé de Lowendal, Bellicard had departed Paris in late 1748 and been assigned a place at the French Academy in Rome in 1749.

11. Gilbert Erouard, *Piranèse et les Français, 1740–1790*, exh. cat., French Academy in Rome (Rome, 1976) p. 52.

12. Hautecoeur, p. 8.

13. Ibid.

14. During the years of his official career, Vandières was a subscriber to Piranesi's publications and maintained a sporadic correspondence with him through Charles Natoire, the director of the French Academy in Rome. Vandières owned several Piranesi publications in his private collection. Ménars Sale, lots 521, 522, and 523.

15. Bellicard states that he had been to Pozzuoli in 1749 but makes no references to earlier visits to Herculaneum. *Observations*, 1753, pp. 129–130.

16. Furthermore, Bellicard and Vandières were both aged twenty-four.

17. This was recognized immediately and gratefully by the young architect's father, who wrote to Vandières from Paris on May 8, 1751, saying: "Les faveurs dont vous avez honoré mon fils et la joy que vous avez fait de luy pour avoir l'honneur de vous accompagner dans vos voyages est d'autant plus flatteuse pour moy qu'elle me fait esperer que votre compagnie et les lumières qu'il acquiera auprès de vous augmenteront les talents que vous aviez bien voulu reconnaître en lui." BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fol. 354.

18. Michel Gallet, *Stately Mansions: Eighteenth-Century Paris Architecture* (New York, 1972) p. 143.

19. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque nationale, *Inventaire du Fonds Français, Graveurs du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, 14 vols. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, 1937–69) p. 295. He was awarded this pension in Jan. 1777. After his death, his widow received an annual pension of 1,200 livres.

20. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fol. 321–26; 330–32; 354–65; 413–17; BHVP FM, N. A. 91, no. 25, letter of Tous-saint Combe to Vandières, Jan. 5, 1751.

21. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fol. 323–25v, letter of the French ambassador, the marquis de l'Hôpital to the marquis de Puysieux, Nov. 7, 1750.

22. First published by Charles-Antoine Jombert in Paris in 1756 and later revised and republished in 1758 as *Voyage d'Italie*. Both the 1756 and 1758 editions are dedicated to Vandières under his newly granted title of marquis de Marigny (see note 3 above). Cochin's *Voyage* went through many subsequent edi-

tions. The rare 1756 *Voyage Pittoresque* is particularly interesting for students of the grand tour because it is presented nearly in diary format and gives the dates of arrival and departure at stopping places, thus retaining some of the flavor of the actual journey.

23. There is much that Bellicard saw in Naples that did not become part of his notes, notably the modern architecture of the city. For the full range of activities of Vandières and his companions in the city of Naples, the best clues are contained in Cochin's *Voyage d'Italie*, where it is abundantly clear that the greatest part of the time was spent looking at Baroque—that is modern, if not contemporary—art in royal and private collections and in public places and churches.

24. Cochin, "Lettre," pp. 3–4. In this passage Cochin uses the excuse of his collaborator's possession of a notebook as a kind of facetious explanation to his fictitious correspondent as to why he had been unable to produce evidence in Paris of his claims about the inferiority of ancient painting to modern painting. That he produced this excuse as a literary device is an interesting allusion to the credibility of the kind of working relationship he actually had with Bellicard, though I would not dare to claim this example as a "proof" for the actual existence of the notebook in question. The "Mémoire" Cochin refers to in this passage is identified by Christian Michel as by the comte de Caylus (Michel, pp. 107–108).

25. The first French edition of 1754 is dedicated to Vandières. The later editions—after his elevation to a *marquisat*—are dedicated to him under the name of marquis de Marigny.

26. Vandières was an object of fascination to all the Italian courts. He was traveling under the aegis of Louis XV and, as the only sibling of Madame de Pompadour, he was inspected physically and spiritually for some clue to the qualities that made his sister the most successful courtesan in Europe. He was introduced to the king and queen of the Two Sicilies and was included in the entertainments given by the Neapolitan court and aristocracy. He hunted with the king and enjoyed an enormous social success.

27. Notably Hautecoeur, p. 3.

28. Grell, pp. 33–34.

29. As the sites at Baia, Pozzuoli, and La Solfatara had been above ground since antiquity, they had been on the itinerary of serious amateurs since the seventeenth century. However, for the same reasons, they had long since been stripped of any sculptural ornaments and were extremely eroded. Compared to the great interest and the number of publications about Herculaneum, Stabia, and Pompeii, they were given relatively little attention in the 18th and 19th centuries. The important new discoveries in the Phlegraean Fields did not occur until serious excavation was undertaken. In most instances this did not occur before the 20th century; and indeed much still remains to be explored.

30. BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fol. 233.

31. It is unfortunate in this regard that none of Cochin's notebooks have survived and this tends to make Bellicard's notebook all the more valuable.

32. These drawings were made by Soufflot, Bellicard, and Cochin. Ménars Sale, lot 404: "Trente Dessins de Palais, Tombeaux, Temple, Vases & Ustensils d'Herculanum, Théâtres, &c. dessinés en Italie pendant le Voyage de M. le Marquis dans les années 1749, 1750 & 1751"; lot 405: "Dix-sept plans des plus beaux Théâtres d'Italie"; and lot 407: "Dix-huit Elévations de Palais en Italie, Escalier des Prémontoirés à Paris, Bibliothèque de la Minerve à Rome, . . ." In addition to these lots of drawings kept in portfolios, Marigny had other drawings from the Italian journey framed and hung in his bedroom.

33. The original softbound book lost its soft covers and was rebound in tan leather. The obverse of the first sheet was glued down to the front board of the present binding, and, as a consequence, p. 1 appears at the left, and p. 2 at the right, and so on. An error in numbering led to two pages being numbered 36bis and 37bis.

34. For example, the notes he made on Caprarola begin on p. 7, leap to the bottom of p. 13, and conclude on the bottom of p. 16. See Figures 84, 85.

35. Bellicard's elevations of the garden structures at Caprarola (Figure 85) or of the forge hammer at Ronciglione (Figure 86) are examples of drawings made directly from the original site or object. Under ideal conditions, the architect has the time to make measurements to ensure the accuracy of his design. In drawings of the second type, the draftsman makes a copy of an existing drawing or engraving made at some previous time by another person. This was a long-standing practice in artistic circles going back to the copy books which circulated in studios in the early Renaissance. Bellicard's drawings of the Theater and Forum (Basilica) at Herculaneum (Figures 9 and 16) and the extraordinary drawing of the Egyptian temple of Hathor at Dendera (Figure 65) all fall into this category. In the least perfect situation, the artist was forced to draw from memory. There are many examples of this in Bellicard's notebook—among the most obvious are the thumbnail sketches of the frescoes, mosaics, and furnishings removed from Herculaneum and exhibited at the royal palace at Portici (see Figures 21 and 6).

36. Resina, Retina, or Retsina, but again now officially renamed Ercolano.

37. Marchese Don Marcello Venuti, *A Description of the First Discovery of the Ancient City of Heraclea . . . made in the years 1689 and 1711*, English trans. by Wickes Skurray (London, 1750) passim, and Corti, pp. 100ff.

38. Corti, pp. 103–104. Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven, 1981) p. 74. Eugene installed them in a special room that he opened to the public. These female figures subsequently passed into the Dresden Museum collections, where they were identified as portraits of three members of the Balbi family; they were part of a group of free-

standing statues that stood in niches in the proscenium of the Theater of Herculaneum commemorating that family's patronage. Michael Ruggiero, *Storia degli Scavi di Ercolano* (Naples, 1885) passim, and Barker, passim.

39. Corti, chap. IV, treats the sporadic researches around Vesuvius up to 1735.

40. The son of Augustus the Strong, he reigned also as Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony.

41. Corti, p. 110. These were the three statues that so impressed a young librarian at Dresden, J. J. Winckelmann, that he began to formulate and write down his ideas on classical antiquity. This became the first systematic effort to describe the attributes of ancient art.

42. He was later to purchase Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* and other treasures that helped make the Dresden collection great.

43. He later became king of Spain, where he reigned from 1759 to 1788 and was considered an enlightened monarch.

44. David Irwin, *Winckelmann* (London, 1972) p. 19.

45. This was absolutely necessary as theft of fragments was widespread even among nominally respectable people. Soufflot pilfered pieces of mural painting from the dig when he visited in the summer of 1750. He gave them to the comte de Caylus who audaciously published them. See also Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, p. 75.

46. Russell, vi, explained the restrictions: "In the meantime (awaiting the official publication), to prevent any anticipation, no one, who is admitted to the sight of these Antiquities, is permitted to make use of a pencil, either in the subterranean City, or in the palace at Portici." For more on Russell, see note 55 below.

47. Paderni, a portrait painter and architectural draftsman, also prepared drawings for reproductive engravings after paintings for George Turnbull's *A Treatise on Ancient Painting [with] remarks on Raphael, Michel Angelo, Nicholas Poussin and the use they made of the remains of Antiquity. The Whole illustrated with fifty pieces of ancient painting accurately engraved from drawings of Camillo Paderni* (London, 1740). Little is known about him; he died about 1770.

48. Venuti held this post for the relatively brief though crucial moments of the dig, from Nov. 1738 to June 1740.

49. Camillo Paderni was the first artist to prepare drawings for publication after the frescoes were removed from Herculaneum. Among other editions, Paderni's drawings were the basis for engravings published in George Turnbull, *A Treatise on Ancient Painting*.

50. Ottavio Antonio Bayardi, *Catalogo degli Antichi Monumenti Dissotterrati dalla Scoperta Città di Ercolano*, 2 parts in 4 vols. (Naples, 1755–65) was subsumed under the larger publication *Delle Antichità di Ercolano*, O. A. Bayardi, ed. (vols. 1, 2), and Pasquale Carcani, ed. (vols. 3–7) (Naples, 1757–92). Waldstein and Shoobridge, p. 130.

51. Monsieur d'Arthenay and his guests became good friends and they later corresponded. We know of this relationship from the firsthand evidence of d'Arthenay's surviving letters to Vandières, written after the latter's departure from Naples and before his return to Paris. BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fols. 252ff, 270ff, 280ff, 288ff, 298ff, 310ff, 344ff, 394ff, and 400ff. D'Arthenay, writing to his superiors in the foreign office in Paris in his official capacity, explained that he was serving as Vandières's guide. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fols. 321–26; 330–32; 354–65; 413–17.

52. *Mémoire Historique et critique sur la ville souterraine découverte au pied du Mont-Vésuve* (Avignon, 1748) 74 pp. This and the Paris editions are published as edited by the abbé Moussinot, about whom nothing is known. D'Arthenay's study was published in Paris by C. Hérisant, 1748, 51 pp.; in Göttingen by A. Vandenhoec, 1748, 38 pp.; in Florence, Giuseppe Pavini, 1749, trans., 80 pp., and in London (as *Memoirs Concerning Herculaneum, the Subterranean City, Lately discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius*) trans. from Italian by William Fordyce, D. Wilson at Plato's Head . . . in the Strand, 1750, 68 pp.

53. BHVP FM, N. A. 90, fol. 344v, May 4, 1751.

54. He goes unmentioned in even the most recent scholarly studies of French involvement with the rediscovery of ancient Italy; e.g., Chevallier, p. 37 n. 9, mentions only that one dictionary of French literature ascribes to him the 1748 tract often attributed to a certain Moussinot. Grell, p. 54 n. 21, makes the assumption that Moussinot and d'Arthenay are one and the same and refers to him as Moussinot d'Arthenay. In all likelihood, the "abbé Moussinot" is a nom de plume for d'Arthenay who, as a foreign diplomatic officer, could not disclose his involvement with the clandestine circle of Neapolitan amateurs of archaeology. He, like so many close associates of Vandières's early life, reappears years later as a beneficiary of Vandières's official patronage. In the case of d'Arthenay, he was appointed to the post of Premier Commis des Bâtiments on July 1, 1765, upon the retirement of François Perrier, but died less than four months later on Oct. 19, 1765. (Archives Nationales, 1*2265, fol. 405 verso). D'Arthenay was favored with an apartment in the Louvre which his heirs still occupied in 1777. BHVP FM, N.A. 91, fol. 35–6, Goy to Marigny, May 19, 1777. I would like to thank Christian Michel for pointing out that d'Arthenay was among the Italian circle of Vandières who later benefited by receiving one of his administrative appointments. For more on d'Arthenay, see note 89 below.

55. This Russell is identified by Ellis Waterhouse, *The Dictionary of British 18th-Century Painters in Oils and Crayons* (London, 1981) p. 323, as James Russel instead of John Russell. Waterhouse's spelling of the surname would accord with that of the publisher of Russell's letters, W. Russel, who appears to have been either the artist's father or brother. A man named William Russel is listed as a publisher in London about 1751–55 at Horace's Head without Temple-Bar. H. R. Plomer et al., eds. *A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775* (Oxford, 1932).

56. Imperiali was active in Rome by 1730.

57. Lesley Lewis, *Connoisseurs and Secret Agents in Eighteenth-Century Rome* (1961) p. 188.

58. James III (1688–1766), called the Old Pretender.

59. Russell's *Letters* are illustrated with a few engravings. They are not of the same subjects drawn later by Bellicard and did not serve as one of Bellicard's sources. Russell's letters describing his visits were written beginning in 1741.

60. There were several very brief notices published almost immediately: Marchese Don Marcello Venuti, *Novelle letterarie*, Florence, 1, 1740, no. 9, Feb. 26, 1740, pp. 138–139; W. Hammond, "An Account of the discovery of the Remains of a city underground near Naples," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 1, no. 453, 1740, p. 345; "Extracts of two letters from Sig. Camillo Paderni," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 2, no. 458, 1740, pp. 484–487; "Extracts from a letter of Mr. George Knapton," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 2, no. 458, 1740, pp. 489–493; "Extract of a letter from Mr. Crispe," *Philosophical Transactions*, 41, pt. 2, no. 458, 1740, pp. 493–495. The more extensive pre-1750 publications were: Antonio Francesco Gori, *Notizie del Memorabile scoprimento del Antica Città Ercolano* (Florence, 1748); d'Arthenay, Russell, and de Brosses. De Brosses was the first of the important French travelers to Herculaneum; he saw it in 1740, immediately after the excavations had been reopened in 1738–39.

61. Cochin's attitude toward the frescoes removed from Herculaneum has been discussed by Michel, pp. 105–117.

62. This is not unusual in the case of artist-authors. Cochin also made liberal use of information and even of opinions taken from other commentators and guidebooks in preparing his *Voyage d'Italie*, 1758.

63. Maiuri, *Ercolano*, p. 3.

64. This plan was studied by V. Catalano, *La scoperta di Ercolano. Il Fuidoro II* (Naples, 1955) pp. 7–10, who attributed it to Alcubierre and dated it 1747–48. For more on Alcubierre, see note 78 below. The plan has subsequently been reproduced in Minervini, *Bull. Arch. Ital.*, 1861, pl. III, and in Grell, pl. 3. The early-18th-century tunneling out from the 1689 well shaft *L* are the random paths near the center of the drawing. The 1740s tunnels near the second shaft *M* are more systematic and followed the stairs and circumference of the theater so as better to find works of art and to measure the building. The description of the stage *G* is considered fanciful.

65. "On ne peut discerner les objets qu'à la lueur des torches, qui remplissant de fumée ces souterrains dénués d'air, me contraignoient à tout moment d'interrompre mon examen pour aller vers l'ouverture extérieure respirer avec plus de facilité," de Brosses, p. 7.

66. Herculaneum is covered by the volcanic matter of no fewer than fifty-six eruptions since the destruction of the city in A. D. 79. Vesuvius's peculiarity of sucking the sea into itself and

then spewing forth a mixture of lava, cinders, and seashells that dried to adamantine hardness was observed in 1631. Bellicard's source for this is Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau voyage d'Italie, faite en l'année 1688*, 5th ed., 4 vols. (Paris, 1743) vol. 2, p. 59, and vol. 3, p. 354.

67. *Observations*, 1753, p. 19.

68. It is worth noting that a new campaign of excavation inaugurated in 1987 to explore the Villa of the Papyri will be conducted through the original 17th-century well shaft and by re-excavating the old 18th-century tunnels through which Bellicard passed and that had subsequently been blocked.

69. Chevallier, pp. 25–26.

70. *Observations*, 1753, p. 11.

71. De Brosses, *passim*.

72. *Observations*, 1753, pp. 16, 19–20.

73. Indeed, four sheets are missing from the sketchbook between pp. 1 and 2 where the discussion of the Theater begins. These sheets could have contained sketches consumed in the later process of making the printing plates or those plates could have been made from entirely different drawings of a different format or on separate sheets of paper.

74. *Observations*, 1753, p. 16.

75. There is no good explanation as to why he published different plans in the English and French editions other than that he had to prepare two entirely separate sets of etching plates for the two nearly simultaneous editions. Perhaps to save time, he used a plate he had previously prepared based on the “eyewitness” version of what he had seen but which he subsequently rejected as too fragmentary. In the later editions in France he prepared new plates similar to the superimposed plans of the 1753 English edition.

76. D’Arthenay, 1750, pp. 16–17. The argument based upon the use of “auditory” vases was cited in the debate as to whether the Theater at Herculaneum was built by Greeks rather than Romans. Bellicard, p. 2.

77. No fewer than twenty plans of the Theater are known to have been made between 1739 and 1751, some by Alcubierre, some by Bardet, and some by Weber; however, most of these have been lost. Waldstein and Shoobridge, p. 129 n. 1. For a summary of the early plans of the Theater, both lost and extant, see Barker, p. 214. It is impossible to say today which plan Bellicard saw and copied, though it is clear that it was not one of the extant plans.

78. Alcubierre was a military engineer in Spain and had come to Naples with King Charles III. Alcubierre directed the excavation from 1738 until 1750, with the exception of an interval from 1740 to 1745, when his duties were taken first by Francesco Rorro and then by a Frenchman named Pierre Bardet. Ruggiero, *passim*; Waldstein and Shoobridge, pp. 127–128.

79. “The ‘Forum’ of Herculaneum,” Bellicard, Notebook, pp. 4, 5, 6.

80. A. de Vos and M. de Vos, *Pompei, Ercolano, Stabia*, Guide archéologique Laterza (Rome/Bari, 1982).

81. Barker, p. 215.

82. From its placement in the notebook, Bellicard's drawing of the tombs found at Herculaneum must have been made after a later descent into the tunnels beneath Resina.

83. *Observations*, 1753, pp. 40–41 and pl. 18.

84. Cochin, “Lettre,” pp. 171–183. Extracts from the “Lettre” had been previously published in the *Journal de Trévoux* (June 1751) pp. 1355–1368. The “Lettre” was originally published without illustrations. Cochin then prepared the five etchings reproduced here to accompany a reprinting of the “Lettre” as an independent booklet. This private printing of the “Lettre” at Paris in 1751 was undertaken outside the normal system of Royal censorship and appeared without the name of a publisher, place, or date. Cochin's contribution to the *Observations* was to reuse the five etchings he had made to illustrate his “Lettre” with an altered text bearing much the same message. (See note 24 above.) For a complete discussion of the issue of Cochin's point of view in the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, see Michel, pp. 105–117.

85. See Enrica Pozzi, *Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Rome, 1986), nos. 174, 177, 187, 197, 270, 271.

86. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 10.

87. *Mercure de France*, Oct. 1751, p. 170. The text, by the editor of the *Mercure*, reads in part: “Quoique les difficultés qu'on rencontre à dessiner les précieux monuments qu'offrent les ruines d'Herculanum soient presque insurmontables, nous sommes parvenus à avoir un dessein très-exact d'un des côtés de la belle Statue équestre de marbre élevée à l'honneur du Proconsul Balbus: tous les Artistes qui l'ont vue l'ont admirée, & la mettent fort au dessus de celle de Marc Aurelle & des autres qui sont venue jusqu'à nous. Il ne nous a pas été possible d'avoir les deux principaux aspects de ce beau monument. . . . Malgré les éloges que l'Auteur donne au Peintre, d'après lequel il a fait graver cette superbe Statue, ni celui ci, ni le Graveur dont il a fait choix, ne donneront jamais une idée juste & favorable des ouvrages qu'ils voudront conserver à la Postérité.”

88. Bellicard, Notebook, pp. 14, 15, and the top of p. 16.

89. D’Arthenay, “Journal d’Observations dans les differens Voyages qui ont été faits pour voir l’éruption du Vésuve par M. d’Arthenay” and “Suite des Observations pendant l’éruption du Vésuve” in *Mémoires de Mathématique et de Physique présentés à l’Académie Royale de Sciences* IV (Paris, 1763) pp. 247–280.

90. The French *pied du Roi* equals 12.789 inches, or 32.48 centimeters. A *toise*, or fathom, varied enormously from country to country. I assume Bellicard is thinking in terms of the “*toise de Paris*,” which would have been “6 *pieds du Roi*” or, in modern terms, 1.949 meters (6.395 feet). Horace Doursther,

Dictionnaire Universel des Poids et Mesures Anciens et Modernes (Brussels, 1840) pp. 524–527.

91. A 1756 engraving by Pierre-Quentin Chedel (1705–63) after Cochin is preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, EE 15 Réserve tome 4, J 237, but it was never editioned. The surviving sheet bears the handwritten explanatory inscription: “Vue du Mont Vésuve, dessiné sur les lieux en 1750. M. Cochin n’ayant pas été content de la Manière dont le Graveur avoir rendu son dessin, a Supprimé totalement cette planche, en sorte que cette Estampe n’ayant pas paru.”

92. The placement in the notebook of the treatment of Capua suggests that Bellicard made a special trip to Capua, a half-day journey north of Naples, in the middle of his stay at Naples. It is possible, however, that he transferred to his notebook comments on Capua made en route from Rome on Nov. 2, 1750, when Vandières and his party stopped there. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pp. 93–96.

93. Canon Mazocchi, *Commentarius in mutilum Campani Amphitatri titulum*, 8^c. (Naples, 1727).

94. Baia (ancient Baiae) was named for Ulysses’s helmsman Baios, and Misenum was named after a companion of Aeneas. Aeneas consulted the oracle at Cumae.

95. In Greek legend, the steaming volcanic vents of the Phlegraean Fields led to the realm of giants who fought their battle with the gods on this plain running from Cumae to Capua. The Elysian Fields were close by.

96. John H. D’Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) and J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (New York, 1969).

97. The preliminary drawing for the grotto at Posillipo is not in the Metropolitan notebook.

98. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, I, p. 213. This reconstruction is corroborated by the sequence of use of the even-numbered pages beginning with p. 24 in the Metropolitan notebook, with the exception of the use of p. 17. Bellicard undoubtedly broke the pattern here because most of p. 16 and all of p. 17 had been left blank after the completion of the description of Vesuvius and it faced the description of the Tombs (of the Balbi) at Herculaneum on p. 18. On p. 17 he proceeded to describe the subterranean pool at Misenum and followed immediately, on p. 24, with his description of the tombs near the pool.

99. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, p. 87.

100. A. Maiuri, *Bolletino d’Arte* (1930–31) pp. 241–253.

101. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, p. 80.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

104. The space Bellicard describes is 12 *pieds* high (about 12.67 feet, or 3.89 meters) by 9 or 10 *pieds* wide (9.28 to 10.65 feet, or 2.92 to 3.24 meters).

105. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, pp. 132–135.

106. *Ibid.*, p. 51.

107. Unless the peasant miscalculated the exposure and killed his canine assistant.

108. Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, pp. 24–31.

109. *Observations*, 1753, p. 129. In the published work he identifies the “temple” with Serapis.

110. Serapis was a deity of mysteries, wine, and indulgence. The center of the worship of Serapis was at Canopus, just outside of Alexandria on Egypt’s Mediterranean coast. The dedication of the market to an Egyptian divinity is explicable because Pozzuoli was the center of the trade with Roman Egypt and by the fact that both Pozzuoli and Canopus were tourist resorts. The large (1,500 ton) corn ships routinely made the Puteoli (Pozzuoli) to Alexandria run in twelve days and carried 600 passengers (Balsdon, *Life and Leisure*, p. 227). Communication, trade, and travel between the two coasts were remarkably frequent and easy, especially after 30 B. C., when Egypt became a Roman province. “For two centuries there was an era of tourism that was not to be equalled until the present day. . . Travellers could go direct from Pouzzolez [*sic*. Pozzuoli] to Alexandria. . . Thus in revelry they came to Canopus, where Ptolemy Soter had built a temple of Serapis, celebrated throughout the antique world. This god was a concoction of Ptolemy Soter’s . . . compounded of the Egyptian god of the Underworld, Osiris, and Apis the bull god of Memphis,” Leslie Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt* (London, 1966) pp. 12–13; also Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, p. 27.

111. Bellicard’s drawing is a very notional representation of the upper quadrant of the colonnade of the right half of the north facade of the Temple of Hathor in the temple complex at Dendera. He has misunderstood the relationship of the squarish Hathor-head column capitals to the round column shafts. He has also omitted the low curtain wall interrupted by the column shafts which encloses the porch. His suggestion of the hieroglyphs is conceived in terms of the distribution of ornament across the surface and makes no indication of them as meaningful, ordered inscriptions. The plan in the lower part of the drawing is of the principal interior space as testified to in the text of Bellicard’s notebook, p. 36, ll. 4ff.

112. Bratton F. Gladstone, *A History of Egyptian Archaeology* (London, 1967) p. 191.

113. Peter A. Clayton, *The Rediscovery of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1982) pp. 12–13, 97–101.

114. The 18th-century travelers who, on a strictly chronological basis, could have been the conduits for the circulation of drawings of Dendera in Europe before 1750 are: Father Claude Sicard (1677–1726), a French Jesuit missionary, who was in Egypt from 1707 to 1726 with orders from Philippe d’Orléans to draw monuments; Paul Lucas (1664–1737), the son of a Rouen goldsmith, who traveled in Egypt in 1714 collecting coins, manuscripts, and antiquities and later published accounts

of his journeys with the assistance of writers who made up for Lucas's lack of literary abilities; and the Reverend Richard Pococke (1704–65), who traveled in Egypt in 1737–38 and published a two-volume illustrated *Description of the East* in 1743 that includes the so-called Temple of Isis at Dendera but only in a view without plan or elevation. One further traveler-author must be ruled out as a source. He is the Danish naval captain Frederik Ludwig Norden (1708–42), who was sent to Egypt by the Danish king, Christian VI, in 1738, and whose account was published posthumously in 1755 but does not include Dendera. Warren R. Dawson, *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1951) passim; Greener, *The Discovery of Egypt*, passim.

115. However, if the notes and designs relating to the Phlegræan Fields were only recorded after Bellicard's return to Naples and he used other, more temporary field notes, then his source for the Egyptian drawing was found in Naples.

116. AAE, Cor. Pol., Naples, vol. 61, fols. 321–26; 330–32; 354–65; 413–17.

117. BHVP FM, N. A. 91, no. 25. The passage is referred to in a letter of the merchant Toussaint Combe to Vandières, Jan. 5, 1751.

118. The itinerary, as mentioned by Cochin and borne out by the correspondence of Vandières, corroborates the sequence in which Bellicard filled up almost all of the space in his pocket notebook. In his use of the notebook on this second journey, Bellicard was obliged to use the blank versos of the sheets he had skipped over in his first notations in the book.

119. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, pp. 164–176.

120. Departing from here on July 1, Vandières with Le Blanc and Cochin continued back to France via Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Cremona, Brescia, Bergamo, Milan, Pavia, and Genoa, where they embarked on Aug. 13 to go by sea, stopping at Toulon on Aug. 18 and arriving in Marseilles on Aug. 22. Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*, passim.

121. Examples of this are the unfinished sheets that begin to treat the Mint in Bologna and the facade of a villa in the Veneto. Bellicard, pp. 52, 41.

122. Rainer Graefe, *Vela Erunt: Die Zeltdächer der römischen Theater und ähnlicher Anlagen* (Mainz, 1979) passim.

123. All three of Vandières's traveling companions—Cochin, Le Blanc, and Bellicard—were inducted into the Florentine Academy. From the placement of these sheets in the notebook, the drawings of the amphitheater in Rome seem to have been made either at the end of Bellicard's stay in Florence or early in his stay in Bologna. If my reconstruction of the sequence in which the sheets of the notebook were used as a guide to the chronology of the drawing is correct, then, in all likelihood, these designs are based upon discussions and other drawings in circulation in Florence.

124. Leonardo Ginori Lisci, *I Palazzi di Firenze* (Florence, 1972) I, pp. 53, 63, 237–239; Walter Limburger, *Die Gebäude von Florenz* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 67, 85, 367.

125. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 29.

126. Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Le Antichità di Roma*, 1569, published in facsimile with notes and bibliography (Rome, 1970). On the Palazzo Giacomini-Larderel there is very little. See Vera Daddi Giovannozzi, "Il Palazzetto Giacomini-Larderel del Dosio," *Rivista d'Arte* 17 ser. II (1935) pp. 209–210.

127. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 42.

128. The fountains (1629) in the Piazza della Santissima Annunziata are today attributed to Pietro Tacca (1580–1649) and his pupils. It was Tacca who cast Giovanni Bologna's last work, the equestrian figure of Grand Duke Ferdinand for the same square in 1609.

129. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, pp. 216–220. Bellicard, pp. 7, 13, 16.

130. Loren W. Partridge, "Vignola and the Villa Farnese at Caprarola—Part I," *Art Bulletin* 52 (1970) passim.

131. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, p. 216.

132. Most of this was probably the work of Maestro Giovannantonio, made between 1584 and 1586, although this was, of course, unknown to Bellicard; Partridge, "Vignola and the Villa Farnese," pp. 81–87.

133. The upper gardens surrounding the Palazzina are quite distinct from the formal gardens of the villa, with the Palazzina and its gardens on steeply rising terrain leading up to a pine forest. At the first terrace approaching the Palazzina Bellicard drew the cascade flanked on both sides by ramplike stairs and enclosing walls leading up to two colossal allegorical figures of river gods which frame a large vase-fountain at the level of the second terrace (seen at the bottom of Figure 85). This second terrace is immediately below the casino, which sits atop the third and highest terrace. Immediately behind the Palazzina, which is here atop the highest point of the upper garden, are paired ramps (seen at the bottom of Figure 84) and each ramp (decorated with a cascade of sculpted fish down its center, seen in the middle drawing of Figure 85) leads to a broad fourth terrace with one large and two small fountains—today they are without the figures Bellicard clearly indicated. At the very back of the upper garden is a raised step-terraced flower garden of three levels surrounded by a stonework parapet that ends on axis in a semicircular "apse," or gate, of free-standing pedimented aedicula with niches ornamented with great shells (seen in the top drawing of Figure 85 and in the plan at the bottom of Figure 11). Both Cochin and Bellicard remarked that these strange gates were not linked at the pediment by a cornice although Bellicard illustrates how the sill of the surrounding balustrade and the gap in the broken pediments above were meant to carry vases filled with flowers.

134. Ronciglione (Rassilione as Bellicard incorrectly writes it) on the shores of Lake Vico north of Rome was the site of a small 18th-century iron industry located there for the convenient water power supplied by its cascades. Cochin gives a brief description of the iron mills at Ronciglione in the *Voyage d'Italie*, I,

p. 215. The forge hammer drawn by Bellicard is called a tilt-hammer and is among the simplest types of forge hammers. See Frederick Overman, *The Manufacture of Iron in All Its Various Branches* (London, 1854) 3d ed., pp. 334–335. Cochin, interestingly, speaks of the village with its mills as picturesque and suggests it as offering many pleasing views for an artist to draw.

135. Others may have been on two leaves that are missing from the notebook between pp. 41 and 42. Bellicard, Notebook, p. 41.

136. Built in 1570 to 1572 in only two years by Pio Eneo I Obizzi and enlarged in the 17th century by the original builder's nephew Pio Eneo II, the house became a property of the dukes of Modena, housed a significant collection, and was further enlarged in the 19th century. *Veneto*, Touring Club Italiano (1969) p. 405; Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, III, pp. 169–171. The frescoes in the interior had been represented to Vandières and his group as the work of Veronese. Cochin takes exception to this attribution at some length. He was correct. The frescoes of the exploits of the Obizzi family are now known to have been painted by Gian Battista Zelotti in 1571.

137. Built in 1554–57. See James S. Ackerman, *Palladio's Villas* (Locust Valley, 1967) pp. 72–73 and fig. 41.

138. The loggia opens on to a piazza on the southern bank of the Arno and was built between 1603 and 1605 by Cosimo Pugliani, perhaps to designs by Bernardo Buontalenti.

139. Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*, II, pp. 105–106. Translation by the author.

140. Alta Macadam, ed., *Northern Italy* (London, 1978) p. 389.

141. These figures were carved by Silvestro Gianotti. *Emilia-Romagna*, Touring Club Italiano (1971) pp. 105–106.

142. *Toscana*, Touring Club Italiano (1974) p. 687.

143. Conversely, one might speculate that Bellicard began his note-taking on loose paper, decided upon his need for a notebook, and later used the back of this discarded sheet for his five small fanciful sketches. In either case, the relationship of the text on the verso of the drawings to the text on p. 1 of the Metropolitan notebook would be identical.

144. The *Encyclopédie* was published between 1751 and 1765, but the earliest article on Herculaneum did not appear until 1765. Chevalier de Jaucourt, "Herculanum," *Encyclopédie* (1765) VIII, pp. 150–154.

145. *Procès Verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture* (Paris, June 6, 1768) VIII, p. 16.

146. This is an error often made by art historians in discussing the Neoclassical phenomena in painting and sculpture. The *goût grec*, as it was called by practicing artists in the mid-18th century, was primarily iconographic and fundamentally unrelated to a profound interest in the styles of Roman painting or sculpture. The classicizing tendencies of artists such as Gavin Hamilton, Jean-Baptiste Greuze, Anton Raphael Mengs, and Joseph-Marie Vien have more to do with Poussin than with the frescoes found at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAE, Cor. Pol.—Archives des Affaires Etrangères, Correspondance Politique, Paris
d'Arthenay, 1748—Anon. (d'Arthenay), abbé Moussinot, ed., *Mémoire Historique et critique sur la ville souterraine découverte au pied du Mont-Vésuve* (Avignon, 1748) 74 pp. and other editions

d'Arthenay, 1750—Anon. (d'Arthenay), *Memoires Concerning Herculaneum, the Subterranean City, Lately discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius, Giving a particular Account of the most remarkable Buildings, Statues, Paintings, Medals and other Curiosities found there to the present Time*, translated from the Italian of a Memorial drawn up by the Secretary of the Marquis d'Hôpital Ambassador from France to the Court of his Sicilian Majesty at Naples, by William Fordyce, M. A. (London, 1750)

BHVP FM—Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, Fonds Marigny

Barker—Ethel Ross Barker, *Buried Herculaneum* (London, 1908)

Bellicard, Notebook—Notebook. Department of Prints and Photographs, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1940, 40.59.6. Here attributed to Jérôme-Charles Bellicard (1750–51)

de Brosses—President Charles de Brosses, *Lettres sur l'Etat actuel de la ville souterraine d'Herculée* (Dijon, 1750)

Chevallier—E. et R. Chevallier, *Iter Italicum: Les Voyageurs Français à la découverte de l'Italie ancienne*, Bibliothèque du Voyage en Italie 17 (Geneva, 1984)

Cochin "Lettre"—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, "Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici," *Mercur de France*, Sept. 1751, pp. 171–183, fictitiously datelined Brussels, Jan. 20, 1751, republished in Cochin and Bellicard, *Observations sur les Antiquités d'Herculanum suivies de 'Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici'* (Geneva, 1972)

- Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie*—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, *Voyage d'Italie ou Recueil des Notes sur les ouvrages de peinture et de sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* (Paris, 1758) reprinted Geneva, 1972
- Cochin, *Voyage Pittoresque*—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils, *Voyage Pittoresque d'Italie ou Recueil des Notes sur les Ouvrages de Peinture et de Sculpture, qu'on voit dans les principales villes d'Italie* (Paris, 1756). In enlarged form, this book went through many subsequent editions. The first edition, 1756, is rare.
- Corti—Egon Caesar Conte Corti, *The Destruction and Resurrection of Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London, 1951) trans. from the original German ed. of 1940
- Grell—Chantal Grell, *Herculaneum et Pompéi dans les Récits des Voyageurs Français du XVIII^{ème} Siècle*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français de Naples, ser. 3, I (Naples, 1982)
- Hautecoeur—Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'Architecture Classique en France* IV (Paris, 1952)
- Maiuri, *Ercolano*—Amadeo Maiuri, *Ercolano: I Nuovi Scavi*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1958)
- Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*—Amadeo Maiuri, *The Phlegraean Fields*, V. Priestley, trans. (Rome, 1958). 3d ed.
- Ménars Sale—*Catalogue des differens objets de Curiosités dans les Sciences et Arts, qui composoient le Cabinet de jeu Monsieur le Marquis de Ménars*. . . by F. Basan and F. Ch. Jougla (Paris, 1781), Lugt no. 3376. Although the catalogue was published in 1781, the sales took place in 1782.
- Michel—Christian Michel, "Les peintures d'Herculaneum et la Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes (1740–1760)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* (1984)
- Observations*, 1753—[Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils and] Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius. With some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples* by Mr. Bellicard, Architect, Member of the Academies of Bologna and Florence, enriched with Forty-two plates, designed and engraved by the author (London, 1753) 236 pp. plus a 3-page index, 42 etchings. 1st English edition published without Cochin's name
- Observations*, 1754—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculaneum, avec quelques réflexions sur la peinture et la sculpture des Anciens; & une courte description de quelques antiquités des environs de Naples* by Messieurs Cochin le fils et Bellicard (Paris, 1754) 102 pp. 1st French edition
- Observations*, 1755—Charles-Nicolas Cochin fils and Jérôme-Charles Bellicard, *Observations . . .* (Paris, 1755). 2d French edition
- Observations*, 1756—Mr. Cochin the younger . . . and Mr. Bellicard, *Observations upon the antiquities of the town of Herculaneum, discovered at the foot of mount Vesuvius. With some reflections on the painting and sculpture of the ancients. And a short description of the antiquities in the neighbourhood of Naples* (London, 1756). 2d English edition, with additions
- Russell—John Russell, *Letters from a Young English Architect in Italy* (London, 1748)
- Waldstein and Shoobridge—Charles Waldstein and Leonard Shoobridge, *Herculaneum Past Present and Future* (London, 1908)

Appendix

PUBLISHING HISTORY OF BELLICARD'S *OBSERVATIONS SUR LES ANTIQUITÉS D'HERCULANUM*

That there was intense interest in the subject of Herculaneum is proven by the existence of no fewer than six editions of *Observations*, three in French and three in English, published during the 1750s.

Observations upon the Antiquities of the Town of Herculaneum, discovered at the Foot of Mount Vesuvius. With some Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Ancients. And a short Description of the Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Naples by Mr. Bellicard, Architect, Member of the Academies of Bologna and Florence, enriched with Forty-two plates, designed and engraved by the author. London, Printed by D. Wilson, and T. Durham, at Plato's Head, in the Strand, MDCCLIII. vii, 236 pages plus a three-page index, 42 etchings, part folding, incl. plans, 20½ cm.

The first edition, London, 1753, does not bear the name of Charles-Nicolas Cochin the Younger as a co-author. Because of the improbable yet seemingly accurate dating of the English edition a year earlier than the first French edition, it is worth examining the evidence bearing on the accuracy of the date 1753. There seem to be three pertinent areas of evidence: the history of the printing firm, the internal evidence of errors existing in the 1753 edition (which are not present in the later editions), and the evidence of wear and condition of the etched plates. A likely fourth area, that of watermarks, is not helpful, as the examples of the 1753 edition I have examined are printed on unmarked paper.

A Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1726 to 1775, H. R. Plomer et al., eds. (Oxford, 1932 [for 1930]), pp. 80–81 and 266, explains that T. Durham was a bookseller and publisher in London from 1753 to 1775, at, successively (1) Plato's Head, near Round Court, Strand; (2) Golden Ball, Savoy, over against Exeter Change; (3) against Ivy Bridge; (4) Charing

Cross. In 1753 he was in partnership with D. Wilson at Plato's Head, from which address they published *The Works of Christina Queen of Sweden* as advertised in the *Public Advertiser* (formerly the *Oracle and Public Advertiser*) on Jan. 5, 1753. D. Wilson was a bookseller and publisher in London who had established himself in 1751 at the sign of Plato's Head in the Strand, where he remained in business until 1777. Wilson was in partnership with George Nicol and in 1753 with T. Durham. The firm was known as D. Wilson and Co. D. Wilson died at an advanced age in July 1777. Thus, the date of 1753 is entirely consistent with the chronology of Wilson and Durham's short-lived partnership at the Plato's Head.

A first French edition appeared in 1754, followed immediately by a second French edition in 1755.

Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum, avec quelques réflexions sur la peinture et la sculpture des Anciens; & une courte description de quelques antiquités des environs de Naples. par Messieurs Cochin le fils et Bellicard. Paris, C. A. Jombert, 1754. In-8°, xxxvi, 102 pp., fig. et pl. (BN) (The BM identifies the 1754 edition as in-12°.) (The NUC identifies the book as having only 98 pp. and measuring 18 cm.)

Observations . . ., 1755. 2^e édition. Paris, C. A. Jombert. In-8°, xlv, 104 pp., fig. et pl. (BN) (The BM identifies the 1755 edition as in-12°.) (The NUC identifies this as having 104 pp. with plates, part folding, and measuring 18 cm.)

A third French edition was published in 1757. (The BM identifies the 1757 edition as in-8°. The NUC suggests that this is a reprint of the 1755 edition, but it differs in number of pages in introduction, body, and number of plates and dimensions: xxxxi, 84 pp., 40 [41] pls., part folding, 17½ cm.)

A second English edition was printed in 1756 and a third English edition in 1758 (Lowndes: 8°, 42 plates, 6 shillings. Have they misread MDCCLIII for MDCCLVIII?).

Observations upon the antiquities of the town of Herculaneum, discovered at the foot of mount Vesuvius. With some reflections on the painting and sculpture of the ancients. And a short description of the antiquities in the neighbourhood of Naples. By Mr. Cochin the younger . . . and Mr. Bellicard . . . Enriched with forty-two plates, designed and engraved by Mr. Bellicard. The 2d ed., with additions. London, D. Wilson and T. Durham, 1756. 2 pp. 1., iii–vii, 236 {3}, 43 pls. 20½ cm.

There are variations in all of these editions regarding the length of the introductions and the advertisements, the length and order of the text and of the plates. There are no fewer than four different sets or combinations of etching plates used in the various editions: one for the 1753 London edition; one for the 1754 Parisian edition reused with significant changes in the 1755 Parisian edition; and a fourth,

quite inferior set of plates for the 1757 Parisian edition.

The publication date of 1753 for the first English edition does not appear to be a typographical error as suggested by the cataloguer of the NUC. Nor did a 1751 edition exist of the entire contents as stated by the editors of the Minkoff Reprint edition of 1972 reproducing the 1755 2d French edition. Cochin did publish, independently, in 1751, the part of the book he authored, namely the second volume on the paintings at Herculaneum called the *Lettre sur les Peintures d'Herculanum, Aujourd'hui Portici*.

Sources checked: Printed catalogues of the Bibliothèque nationale (BN); the British Museum Library (BM); the National Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress (NUC); William Thomas Lowndes, *Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (Lowndes), new edition by Henry G. Bohn, London, 1869, I, 151; Research Libraries I. Network, Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue (RLIN–ESTC)