Tasting Clay, Testing Clay. Medicinal Earths, Bucarophagy and Experiential Knowledge in Lorenzo Legati's Museo Cospiano *(1677)*

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Ch'egli è vero che il Bucchero è poi terra.
Ma una terra tale,
Che più di tutte l'altre terre vale,
E che in sé Impero, ed istupor rinserra.

LORENZO BELLINI, *La Bucchereide*, ca. 1699

Introduction: an unexpected encounter

A showcase at the Museo Civico Medievale of Bologna displays a small group of reddish ceramics. The labels drawing on Lorenzo Legati's *Museo Cospiano* (1677) – an inventory of the famous *Wunderkammer* like Bolognese collection assembled by Marquis Ferdinando Cospi – attribute the vessels to Armenia and the island of Elba. Nevertheless, the ceramics can be identified as *búcaros*, the famous "scented clays" that enjoyed a huge popularity in early modern Europe. In the following, besides providing a brief synthesis of their collection history, I will focus my analysis on Legati's texts in order to ascertain how the conjoining of textual sources and direct observation of the objects underwent a typically antiquarian discourse on the ceramics and their medicinal properties. I will specifically stress how Legati's texts call our attention to two different but sensorially related forms of engagement with the vase clays: bucarophagy (the actual consumption of *búcaro* clay) and tongue-testing, a practice that Legati employed to identify the constituent material of the vases. Even if this method often led to wrong identifications, it is nonetheless a clear example of the value that Legati attributed to the empirical, sensory engagement with material culture in order to produce a body of experiential knowledge that could be matched, and often contrasted, with the one transmitted by traditional textual sources.

The *búcaros* of the Museo Civico Medievale: a collection history

The reddish clay vessels that we identify here as *búcaros* have been part of the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale since its opening in 1985. Before that date, they had been part of the collection of the Museo Civico since 1881 and, prior to that, of the Museo delle Antichità della Regia Università di Bologna (1810-1881). Not explicitly

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mentioned in the guide of the former,[1] the *búcaros* are probably to be recognized among the "various tools of clay, and coloured earths, and gilded, of various shapes, times, and nations, most of them Oriental, some ultramontane" recorded by Filippo Schiassi in the *Guida del forestiere al Museo delle Antichità della Regia Università di Bologna* (1814).[2] Like many other artefacts of the museum, the ceramics had been previously preserved in the Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna, whose collection had been described in the various editions of Gaetano Bolletti's *Dell'origine e dei progressi dell'Instituto delle Scienze di Bologna*, first published in 1751, as well as in its later rewriting by Giuseppe Angelelli, *Notizie dell'origine e Progressi dell' Instituto delle Scienze di Bologna*… (1780). Unfortunately, their descriptions are so scanty that it is impossible to identify the red clay vessels securely, probably included among the "many and very ancient vases" held in the Stanza delle Antichità.[3] Nevertheless, the existence of the vessels in the collection is witnessed by an unpublished manuscript list of objects in the Stanza delle Antichità, dated 16 March 1763, and penned by an anonymous author whose handwriting has been convincingly identified by Samuele Tacconi as that of Giacomo Biancani Tazzi, then Professor of Antiquities at the Istituto.[4] One of the entries records "N. 5 Big clay cups from Guadalaxara with a very pleasant scent, which the Mexicans use at table for drinking water; for they rarely drink wine, and then only in moderation. They are filled with smaller vessels of the same kind in various shapes, in which they serve the water".[5] This is a key piece of information, since it not only allows us to clearly recognize the red ceramics within the collection of the Istituto delle Scienze but also represents the only, and so far unknown, correct identification of them as *búcaros de Indias*, produced in the Mexican city of Guadalajara according to the author.

It is well known that between 1742 and 1749 the collection of the Istituto delle Scienze incorporated the famous Bolognese collections of Ulisse Aldrovandi and Ferdinando Cospi. A reading of the various inventories of the Museo Cospiano clearly

[1] PERICLE DUCATI, *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* (Bologna: Fratelli Merlani, 1923). Since the *búcaros* are not explicitly mentioned in the guide, it is not clear if they were on display or preserved in the museum storage rooms.

[2] FILIPPO SCHIASSI, *Guida del forestiere al Museo delle Antichità della Regia Università di Bologna* (Bologna: Giuseppe Lucchesini, 1814), 144. In a footnote, Schiassi noticed that some of the vases had been "not always accurately" described by Lorenzo Legati in his *Museo Cospiano* (1677); FILIPPO SCHIASSI, *Guida del forestiere*, 144, n. 1. Cfr. also: "53 Pezzi di terraglie diverse colorite, e dorate di varie forme, varj tempi, e varie Nazioni, la maggior parte Orientali, alcune oltramontane" (manuscript note, *Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Fondo Speciale Filippo Schiassi*, busta XXXVIII, fascicolo 8).

[3] GAETANO BOLLETTI, *Dell'origine e dei progressi dell'Instituto delle Scienze di Bologna* (Bologna: Lelio dalla Volpe 1751), 59.

[4] SAMUELE TACCONI, *A Jesuit in the Amazon. An 18th century collection of Amazonian objects* (University of Bologna: unpublished M.A. thesis, 2019), 6, 21. I thank Samuele Tacconi for letting me know about the existence of the manuscript and for sharing his identification of the author.

[5] "n°5 Grandi pocula ex argilla Guadalaxarensio doris gratissimi, quibus Mexicani ad hauriendama quam in mensa utuntur; raro enim et nonnisimo dicoutuntur vino. Plena suntistiusmo di vasa aliis minoribus varia e figurae, quibusa dornans reddunta quam." (*Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna, Fondo Speciale Filippo Schiassi*, busta XXXVIII, fascicolo 8).

shows that the red ceramics had been part of its collection, as we shall see in detail below. But before that, it is useful to provide some information on the *búcaros*, their transatlantic circulation, and their multiple uses in the early modern world.

Tasting clays: bucaromania and bucarophagy in early modern Europe

The Spanish term *búcaro* was originally employed to refer to Portuguese red ware ceramics (*púcaros*), also produced in various Spanish towns, renowned for cooling and scenting water, as well as being a refreshing remedy in Galenic medicine. Around the middle of the seventeenth century, similar burnished red (and black) wares started to be produced in the Americas, conjoining indigenous technological practices and European formal canons, ultimately deriving from the famous late-Hellenistic and Roman red ware today known as *terra sigillata*.[6] The main loci of production of the so-called *búcaros de Indias* were Tonalá, near Guadalajara, in the Kingdom of Nueva Galicia (today in Jalisco, Mexico), Natá (also spelled Nata, or Natán) in Panama, and the convents of Santiago de Chile; minor centres of production existed in New Spain and other Spanish American territories. The different kinds of *búcaros* can be distinguished by formal details and surface finish. The Portuguese ones usually display a poorly burnished red surface, often decorated by small punctured dots. American *búcaros*, on the other hand, display a surface covered by a highly polished red or black slip. The Guadalajara ones often have a red dimpled surface; the ones from Natá are mostly black; those from Chile, of a deep red or black colour, usually show complex appliqués, bas-reliefs, and painted decorations.[7]

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[6] Ironically enough, the name *terra sigillata* was not employed in antiquity; it became common precisely in early modern times when clays imported for medicinal purposes from regions of the Ottoman empire (Greek islands, Armenia, etc.) arrived in Europe impressed with various seals, as also noticed by Legati himself; cfr. Legati, *Museo Cospiano*, 271-272; see also Aldrovandi, *Museum Metallicum*, 263-67, with engravings of a variety of seals. On *terra sigillata* see ARTHUR MACGREGOR, "Medicinal *terra sigillata*: a historical, geographical and typological review," in *A History of Geology and Medicine*, ed. CHRISTOPHER J. DUFFIN, RICHARD T.J. MOODY, CHRISTOPHER GARDNER-THORPE (London: Geological Society, 2013), 113-36.

[7] On Portuguese *búcaros*, see: SARAH NEWSTEAD and TÂNIA MANUEL CASIMIRO, "Strange Adventures in a City Made of Marble: Exploring Pottery Production in Estremoz, Portugal," *Medieval Ceramics* 2018: 37-45, and references there. On Spanish American ones, see MARÍA CONCEPCIÓN GARCÍA SÁIZ and JOSÉ LUIS BARRIO MOYA, "Presencia de cerámica colonial mexicana en España," *Anales Instituto Investigaciones Estéticas* 58 (1987): 103-110; MITCHELL CODDING, "The Decorative Arts in Latin America 1492-1820," in *The Arts of Latin America 1492-1820*, ed. JOSEPH J. RISHEL and SUZANNE STRATTON PRUITT (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2006, 98-113); BEATRIZ E. ROVIRA and FELIPE GAITÁN, "Los búcaros de las Indias para el mundo," *Canto Rodado* 55 (2010): 39-70; CATHERINE E. BURDICK, "Lo que vio Dombey: las cerámicas perfumadas de las Monjas Clarisas de Santiago de Chile y su contexto en la edad moderna," in *Mujer y literatura femenina en la América virreinal*, ed. MIGUEL DONOSO RODRÍGUEZ (New York: IDEA, 2015, 233-45); the excellent and lavishly illustrated catalogue by Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, *La hija del Virrey. El mundo femenino novohispano en el siglo XVII* (Madrid: Secretaría General Técnica, Ministerio de Cultura y Deportes, 2018, 134-54, 410-11, 431-52, 466-68) contains what is by far the best and most updated information on *búcaros* production, typology, use and collecting; on scientific analyses of *búcaros*, see MARÍA LUISA FRANQUELO, JOSÉ LUIS PÉREZ-RODRÍGUEZ and NATACHA SESEÑA, "Caracterización de materias primas y muestras cocidas de utilidad domo búcaros," in *III Congreso Nacional de Arqueometría*, ed. BLANCA M. GÓMEZ TUBIO et al. (Seville: Secretariado de Publicaciones, 2001, 315-24).

Búcaros de Indias gained an enormous popularity in Southern Europe, where they became a common item in well-to-do households. The most important literary source on their use are the eight *Lettere sopra le terre odorose d'Europa e d'America dette volgarmente buccheri* (1695) that Lorenzo Magalotti addressed to Marquise Ottavia Strozzi, a noblewoman who owned a collection of around three hundred pieces.[8] Magalotti's letters also inspired the dithyrambic poem *La Bucchereide* by the physician and poet Lorenzo Bellini, who first read some of its verses during a *cicalata*, or burlesque speech, presented at the Accademia del Cimento in 1699.[9] From these sources we learn that *búcaros* were employed as water containers, both to produce a scented drinking water and to diffuse their fragrance to the spaces where they were held (properties at times enhanced by adding ground aromatic herbs to the slip): their porous surface absorbed water and then, through evaporation, infused the air with a characteristic scent. Small containers (called *castañas* or *huevos*) were held in the hands or worn as scent-producing pendants; *búcaro* fragments were also worn as pendants, sewn within clothes, or employed to transmit their fragrance to gloves, tobacco or tea. According to Magalotti, the difference between Portuguese and American *búcaros* was as marked as the one between European and American mines, the richness of the latter being almost legendary: Portuguese *búcaros* had the most tenuous scent, similar to the one that "every sun-heated earth exhales when comes the first rain";[10] the same scent was also typical of the *búcaros de Indias* which, in addition, also had an aromatic note, "mellow, which comforts without being too strong".[11] Among them, those of Chile were the less aromatic, while those of Guadalajara were usually the most; the quality of those of Natá was uneven, with some of them being the most fragrant of all.[12] Magalotti even described the procedure that the Carmelite nuns in Madrid employed to deprive the *búcaros* of the sea smell they acquired during the transatlantic voyage.

Búcaros – so fashionable that "everywhere the curious, the erudite, the philosopher observes them, studies them, reasons about them"[13] – were often represented in paintings, as in Diego Velázquez's *Las meninas* (1656) or Franscisco de Zurbarán's *Christ and the Virgin in the House at Nazareth* (1635-40). Among the still life

[8] Magalotti's letters, despite being well known in literary circles, remained unpublished until 1825. The 1943 edition, by Enrico Falqui, also contains a series of letters on the scented clays which Magalotti addressed to Leone Strozzi, Giovanbattista d'Ambra and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as well as a series of anacreontic verses on the *buccheri*; see LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Lettere odorose (1693-1705)* (Milano: Bompiani, 1943).

[9] Both the *cicalata* and *La Bucchereide* were published in 1729 in LORENZO BELLINI, *La Bucchereide* (Firenze: Gaetano Tartini e Santi Franchi, 1729).

[10] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette del Conte Lorenzo Magalotti, con giunta di otto lettere sulle terre odorose d'Europa e d'America volgarmente dette buccheri e ora pubblicate per la prima volta* (Milano: Giovanni Silvestrini, 1825), Lettera ottava, 455.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Ibid.*, Lettera ottava, 413.

[13] *Ibid.*, Lettera ottava, 412.

genre, especially notable are *Still life with servant* by the Neapolitan artist Giuseppe Recco (1679) and Antonio de Pereda's *Still life with ebony desk* (1652) and *Still life with clock* (1652), all of them displaying the typically dimpled Guadalajaran *búcaros*. In the *Still Life with Silvergilt Salvers* (1624) by Juan Bautista Espinosa, one can even appreciate two red *búcaros* literally "sweating" their watery content.[14]

A most curious aspect of the veritable *búcaro* craze that affected early modern Europe is the practice of bucarophagy. Even if the ingestion of clays was traditionally implied by their medicinal use since antiquity, the term bucarophagy refers to a specific phenomenon that gained high popularity in the Iberian peninsula during the seventeenth century, in coincidence with the peak of imports of *búcaros de Indias* from various Spanish American domains.[15] A famous account is that of the French noblewoman Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy who, in her *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (1691), recorded the visit paid in 1679 to Princess Monteleón in Madrid: "[women] have a great passion for this earth, which usually causes them an obstruction; the stomach and the belly inflate and become hard as stone, and they are as yellow as quinces. I wanted to taste that so much esteemed and so little estimable food; I would prefer to eat sandstone. If one wants to please them, he should donate them some *búcaros*, which they call *barros*, and often their confessors do not impose on them any other penitence than to spend a day without eating them".[16] This passage became so popular in France that a century later the *Encyclopédie* recorded the practice, attributing it to contemporary Iberian women. Even if probably simply drawing on Madame d'Aulnoy's testimony, the mention was not completely anachronistic: still in 1845, Théophile Gautier recorded with disgust the practice of bucarophagy in Madrid.[17]

Spanish women ate *búcaros* to obtain a pale yellowish skin, to lose weight, or out of simple greed, as attested by literary sources such as Sebastián de Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* (1611), Francisco de Quevedo, *Casa de locos de amor* (1606-1623), Lope de Vega, *El acero de Madrid* (1608), and Juan de Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta por la tarde* (1659).[18]According to some, the ingestion of *búcaros* could even have psychotropic effects and could have stopped menstruation, thus functioning as a contraceptive. The best source on bucarophagy, at times assuming the character of a veritable pathological

[14] NATACHA SESEÑA, "El búcaro de Las Meninas," in *Velázquez y el Arte de su tiempo* (Madrid: Alpuerto, 1991, 38-49); ALFONSO PLEGUEZUELO, "Cerámicas para agua en el barroco español: Una primera aproximación des de la literatura y la pintura," *Ars longa: Cuadernos de arte* 9-10 (2000): 123-38; BYRON ELLSWORTH HAMANN, "The Mirrors of Las Meninas: Cochineal, Silver, and Clay," *Art Bulletin* 92.1-2 (2010): 6-35; PATRICIA PADGET LEA, "Clay treasure: the búcaro in Francisco de Zurbarán's Christ and the Virgin in the house of Nazareth", unpublished manuscript, downloadable at the author's Academia.edu page; Andrés Gutiérrez Usillos, *La hija de Virrey*, 151-153, 438-45.

[15] Apart from Magalotti's letters and most of the texts cited in note 36, on bucharophagy see also ALFRED MOREL-FATIO, "Comer barro", in *Mélanges de philologie romane dédiés à Carl Wahlund* (Maçon: Protat Frères, 1896); NATACHA SESEÑA, *Elvicio del barro* (Madrid: El Viso, 2009).

[16] MARIE-CATHERINE D'AULNOY, *Relation du voyage d'Espagne* (Paris: Éditions de Paris, 1699) II, 273.

[17] THEOPHILE GAUTIER, *Voyage en Espagne, 1840-1845* (Paris, Charpentier, 1845).

[18] ALFRED MOREL-FATIO, "Comer barro".

addiction,[19] is again Lorenzo Magalotti who, as a diplomat, had the opportunity to observe Spanish customs. Stating that the *búcaros* from Guadalajara were the tastiest, Magalotti mentioned the preparation of a scented water through a process of distillation of *búcaro* fragments (at times added with musk), the addition of powdered *búcaros* to freezing water in order to obtain a sorbet-like preparation (which could have been enriched with sugar, musk, or floral infusions), the sucking of *búcaro* fragments, and the preparation of candies with sugar, musk and ambergris; finely ground *búcaros* were also added to any kind of food.[20] Unfired or poorly fired *búcaros*, at times containing minute and fragile "spaghetti-like" pottery filaments, were specifically produced to be eaten.

Bucarophagy epitomizes the new patterns of consumption which transformed the habits of early modern European élites, inhabiting a material landscape replete with new goods of colonial origin. *Búcaros de Indias* are "eloquent testimonies of the globalization of consumption which derived from the colonial enterprise", as well as "magnificent examples of cosmopolitan artefacts typical of modernity".[21]As Magalotti brilliantly put it, "in Spain everyone wants them, from Mexico everyone sends them".[22]

Fashionable *búcaros* of various provenances were also eagerly collected both in America and Europe, often kept in boxes of resinous, scented woods: the most important European collections were in Spain, foremost among them that of Catalina Vélez de Guevara, Countess of Oñate, today held at the Museo de América in Madrid.[23] In Italy, *búcaros* could be found in the Roman collection of Ottavia Renzi Strozzi, in that of the Jesuit Collegio Romano assembled by Athanasius Kircher, as well as "in many cabinets of Italian Prelates and Princes".[24] To these collections we

[19] ANDRÉS GUTIÉRREZ USILLOS, *La hija del Virrey*, 137, 446.
[20] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera quinta, 334-37.
[21] BEATRIZ E. ROVIRA and FELIPE GAITÁN, "Los búcaros de las Indias para el mundo", 44-45. See FELIPE PEREDA, "Response: The Invisible? New World," *Art Bulletin* 92 (1-2), 2010: 47-52, with interesting observations on the processes of redefinition and resignification that governed European reception of colonial goods.
[22] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera ottava, 411.
[23] See MARÍA CONCEPCIÓN GARCÍA SÁIZ and JOSÉ LUIS BARRIO MOYA, "Presencia de cerámica colonial mexicana en España"; PAZ CABELLO CARRO, "Spanish Collections of Americana in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Collecting Across Cultures: Material Exchanges in the Early Modern World*, ed. DANIELA BLEICHMAR and PETER C. MANCALL (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, 218-35); ANDRÉS GUTIÉRREZ USILLOS, *La hija del Virrey*, contains highly interesting information on the collection of the Museo de América, as well as on the collection once held by María Luisa de Toledo (1656-1707), daughter of Antonio Sebastián de Toledo, Viceroy of New Spain between 1664 and 1673.
[24] Cited in Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, "Algumas palavras a respeito de púcaros de Portugal," *Bulletin Hispanique* 7, no. 2 (1905), 159. Specimens of *búcaros* can be found today at the Quirinale Palace in Rome, at the Royal Palace in Turin, as well as in various Florentine collections such as those of Palazzo Ginori, the Uffizi and Palazzo Pitti; I myself identified American *búcaros* in the collections of the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana and of the Museo delle Culture (MUDEC) in Milan; see DAVIDE DOMENICI, "2242-2247. Coppe e vasetto" and "2250. Bottiglia", in *Pinacoteca Ambrosiana. Tomo Sesto: Collezioni Settala e Litta Modignani* (Milano: Electa, 2011), 192-93.

can now add that of the Museo Cospiano, today at the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna. Identifying the specific provenance of the Bolognese items by simple visual inspection is not an easy task, but it seems that at least two of them – two low and wide vessels with handles (MCMB, inv. 1179, 1190) – are Portuguese, as suggested by their dull surface and by the decoration consisting of linear arrangements of punched dots. Five specimens – a pitcher and four flasks or small jars, one of them with a semi-circular handle on top (MCMB, inv. 1183-1185, 1187, 1189, figs. 1, 2) – display a distinctive dimpled body that strongly suggests a provenance from Guadalajara, thus confirming the early identification by Giacomo Biancani Tazzi. Five poorly fired items (MCMB, inv. 1188, 1195, 1196, 1197, 1198) could also proceed from Guadalajara. Regarding the other specimens in the collection, I am unable to provide a reliable identification.

As said, before entering the Istituto delle Scienze the Bolognese *búcaros* were originally part of the Museo Cospiano, to whose descriptions we can now turn our attention.

The Museo Cospiano, Lorenzo Legati and the scented clays

After having being raised in Florence at the court of the Grand Dukes Cosimo II and Ferdinand I de' Medici, in 1624 Ferdinando Cospi moved back to Bologna (where he had been born in 1606) as local representative of the Grand Duke. There Cospi assembled a collection of *naturalia* and *artificialia*, which was donated in 1660 to the Senate, to be displayed in Palazzo Pubblico alongside the other important Bolognese collection of Ulisse Aldrovandi.[25] Three different inventories of the Cospi collection were compiled by Lorenzo Legati, a Cremonese physician who taught Greek literature at the University of Bologna.[26] The most complex and lengthy description of the vases was provided by Legati in Book 3, Chapter XXII ("De' Vasidelle Terre Medicinali") of the *Museo Cospiano* (1677), where *búcaros* are listed together with other ceramics with medicinal properties. A precise matching of the often vague chapter entries with the actual specimens at the Museo Civico Medievale is difficult, but in a few instances the matching is quite straight forward. For example, entries 2-8, devoted to three vessels

[25] On Ferdinando Cospi and his museum, see LAURA LAURENCICH MINELLI, "Museography and ethnographical collections in Bologna during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," in *The Origin of Museums. The Cabinet of Curiosity in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe*, OLIVER IMPEY and ARTHUR MACGREGOR (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985, 17-23); Giuseppe Olmi, "Il collezionismo enciclopedico italiano da Ulisse Aldrovandi a Ferdinando Cospi," in *Wunderkammer. Arte, Natura, Meraviglia ieri e oggi*, ed. LAVINIA GALLI MICHERO, MARTINA MAZZOTTA (Milano: Edizioni Skira/Mazzotta, 2013), 24-38, and references there.

[26] LORENZO LEGATI, *Breve descrizione del museo dell'Illustriss. Sig. Cav. Commend. dell'Ordine di S. Stefano Ferdinando Cospi ... donato dal medesimo all'Illustriss. Senato, & ora annesso al famoso cimeliarchio del celebre Aldrovandi* (Bologna: Giovan Battista Ferroni, 1667); LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano annesso a quello del famoso Ulisse Aldrovandi e donato alla sua patria dall'illustrissimo signor Ferdinando Cospi* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1677); LORENZO LEGATI, *Inventario semplice di tutte le materie esattamente descritte che si trovano nel Museo Cospiano non solo le notate nel libro già stampato, e composto dal sig. dottore Lorenzo Legati mà ancora le aggiuntevi in copia dopo la fabrica* (Bologna: Giacomo Monti, 1680). On Legati, see GIOVANNI FANTUZZI, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognesi* (Bologna: Stamperia di S. Tommaso d'Aquino, 1789), t. VII, 357.

of *Terra Samia* and accompanied by an engraving of a vase with huge "openwork" handles (also appearing in the engraving of the Museo Cospiano by Giuseppe Maria Mitelli) are easily identifiable as Hispano-Moresque golden lusterwares from Manises (Spain) still in the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale.[27] Despite recognizing their modern manufacture,[28] Legati wrongly identified them as Greek due to the use of what he thought to be clay from the island of Samos and to the style of the decoration, which "being Greek, combines with the material to authenticate them as Samian Vases".[29] In a lengthy description of the medicinal properties of the two kinds of *Terra Samia*, (*Astere* and *Collirio*) Legati stressed their "sweet flavour" and refreshing medicinal qualities, referring (besides many poets who mentioned the Samian vases) to Dioscorides, Galen, and Ovidio Montalbani (1601-1671), Dean of the Medical College of Bologna and author of the *Indizi dell'arte dello Speziale Medicinalista*.

If in the initial entries the ancient term *Terra Samia* was explicitly used to describe modern "Greek" productions, thus assuming that the very same material had been used in different epochs, entry no. 9 represents a further step, since it records four vases of "Indian earth, white, similar to Samian, and maybe of the same kind and probably akin in its properties", so that *Terra Samia* is now transformed into a general category of earths, found both in Greece and in the (East?) Indies. A similar process is at work in entry no. 10, devoted to two Brazilian pipes made of an "Indian earth, white, very light" which Legati equates with the "Hicatlalli" collected in the Lake of Mexico according to Joannes de Laet and Ole Worm, thus transporting the reader to the West Indies. Even if Legati repeated almost verbatim the words employed by de Laet in the *Novus Orbis seu descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis* (1633),[30] his usage of the wrong Náhuatl term *Hicatlalli* (instead of *tizatlalli*) shows that he had no access to de Laet's original Latin text[31] but depended on the version given by Ole Worm (actually, by his son Willum) in the *Museum Wormianum* (1655),[32] as is also shown by the erroneous attribution to Worm of opinions that had been actually previously expressed by de Laet himself. This is the case of the *Hicatlalli/Tizatlalli* earth, to which "Vormio assigns the virtues of Cerussa [lead white] saying that it is cold, and dry, with astringent but not too mordant properties, and adds that artisans use it to clean silver, so that he

[27] MCMB, inv. 2782-2784; see MARK GREGORY D'APUZZO, *La vocazione museale della città: le Collezioni Aldrovandi e Cospi dal Palazzo Pubblico ai musei* (Bologna: Edisai, 2018), fig. 18. See also PERICLE DUCATI, *Guida del Museo*, 186-87.
[28] LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 267.
[29] *Ibid.*, 267.
[30] JOANNES DE LAET, *Novus Orbis seu descriptionis Indiae Occidentalis. Libri XVII* (Leiden: Johannes Elsevirius, 1633, Book V, Chapter 6, 235).
[31] An Italian compendium of de Laet's work, entitled *Descrittione dell'India Occidentale* had been published as the twelfth book of LUCA DI LINDA, *Le Relationi et Descrittioni Universali Et Particolari del Mondo* (Venezia: Combi & La Noú, 1672); nevertheless, the Italian text does not contain the passage about the Mexican white earth.
[32] OLE WORM, *Museum Wormianum seu Historia Rerum Rariorum* (Leiden: Johannes Elsevirius, 1655, 4).

thinks is a clay".[33] So, drawing on Worm and de Laet, Legati further develops the comparison between Old World and New World earths, stating that he "would believe that it could be of the kind of the Terra Eretria, or white Cimolia of the ancients, having the very same qualities".[34] This identification between classical names and earths used in modern productions leads to ambiguous entries such as no. 11, where another pipe of unspecified origin is said to be made of *Terra Chia*, a white clay "much praised by ancient and modern physicians".[35] We are left guessing whether it was another American pipe whose constitutive clay was not only compared but totally identified with the clay from the Greek island of Chios.

The following entries are devoted to items of a white kind of "Terra Lennia not observed by the ancients". A red kind of Terra Lennia is then identified as the constituent material of a "Small flask of Oriental red clay, or, let us say, of red Terra Lennia" (no. 17), while a similar white or red clay from the island of Elba is described as the constituent matter of four vessels (no. 14), two cups (no. 15), two vases (no. 18), two small flasks (no. 19), two cups (no. 20), a mug (no. 21), and two bowls (no. 22). Another red earth, called "Armenian clay" (*bolo armeno*), is associated with a cup (no. 24) and a globular vase (no. 26). It is in these entries dealing with red clays purportedly from Lemnos, Elba, and Armenia that we must recognize the Guadalajaran *búcaros de Indias* today at the Museo Civico Medievale.[36] Despite being unable to identify the American *búcaros*, Legati was not unaware of these scented clays, since in entry no. 16 he described two unprovenanced cups of "terra odorata, so called because it emits a gentle scent".[37] Moreover, describing two vessels of "buccaro odoroso" (no. 23),[38] Legati states that their clay is extracted in Portugal and that its properties had been described in the *Museum Metallicum* (1648), the posthumous work of Ulisse Aldrovandi who owned two such Portuguese bowls and also illustrated them in the book.[39] Beside their medicinal properties as antidotes, the scented clays are said to be refreshing and thus used to contain beverages. Then, not without irony, Legati introduces the curious practice of bucarophagy in a passage that deserves to be cited in its entirety: "The fragments of these vases do not lack virtue, since their dust is used to clean the teeth, as a cleaner without mordacity. The same fragments are also eaten by someone. This seems to me an appetite apt to a pregnant woman, as stated by Aldrovandi. And some time ago, a Person well known to me, while in Naples, observed a Princess who used to eat them as others would eat pastas from Genoa. Offering some to him, she even invited him to taste them. Showing him various Cabinets full of similar Vases, she said

33 LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 269.
34 *Ibid*, 269.
35 *Ibid.*
36 MCMB inv. 1179, 1180, 1183-1191; As said a one-to-one correspondence with Legati's descriptions is rarely feasible; anyway, the two flasks of entry no. 19 clearly correspond to MCMB inv. 1186-1187; the flask of entry n. 17 could be MCMB inv. 1185.
37 LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 271.
38 MCMB (inv. 1179, 1190) could correspond to this entry or to entry 16.
39 See ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum* (Bologna: Marcus Antonius Bernia, 1648), 229.

that she was planning to eat them all in a few months. The same happens with the Earth of the Field of Damascus (where the Orientals believe that the first man Adam was created), which Turkish Merchants bring and sell at high prices in Egypt, where it is eaten by the principals as a very savoury thing".[40] Legati's passage, so far overlooked by the scholars who have studied the practice of bucarophagy, is an almost unique source testifying the practice of bucarophagy in Italy (not incidentally in the Spain-related Kingdom of Naples), also anticipating the ironic tone that almost twenty years later was to mark the writings of Magalotti and Bellini.

Testing clay: tongue-testing, between erudition and experiential knowledge

In Chapter XXII of the *Museo Cospiano* Legati drew, either directly or indirectly, on a substantial corpus of textual sources mainly including – beside a host of poets – ancient and modern physicians, naturalists and antiquaries, such as Dioscorides, Pliny, Galen, Abraham Ortelius, Pietro Andrea Mattioli, Ferrante Imperato, Joseph Justus Scaliger, Ovidio Montalbani, Lodovico Moscardo, Ulisse Aldrovandi, Ole Worm, and Giuseppe Donzelli. From this corpus, Legati borrowed a typology of medicinal earths ultimately deriving from Dioscordes, Pliny and Galen, whose observations had been repeatedly reproduced and commented on by modern authors.[41] At first sight, Legati's work simply falls within this textual tradition; nevertheless, a relevant difference can be observed: all the modern authors he cites – including collectors such as Imperato, Moscardo and Aldrovandi – described medicinal earths in a systematic manner, often devoting a paragraph to each of them ("Terra Lemnia", "Terra Samia", etc.).[42] Even in cases where actual objects were in the hands of writers/collectors, the engravings of the objects served to illustrate those different categories of medicinal earth, which enjoyed conceptual primacy. This is the case, for example, of Lodovico Moscardo's vases of Terra Lemnia, as well as of Aldrovandi's Portuguese *búcaros*.[43] Following a strikingly different procedure, Legati always set out from the actual objects; accordingly, the title "De' Vasi delle Terre Medicinali" gives conceptual primacy to the vases rather than to the different earths. Thus, rather than simply reproducing the textual corpus he drew on, Legati used it as an authoritative body of knowledge useful

[40] LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 272. For the source of the references to pregnant women and the Field of Damascus see Aldrovandi, *Museum Metallicum*, 230, 247.
[41] On the uses of medicinal earths, their typology, geographic provenance and often-loose patterns of naming in early modern Europe, see the excellent ARTHUR MACGREGOR, "Medicinal *terra sigillata*".
[42] See PIETRO ANDREA MATTIOLI, *I Discorsi di M. Pietro And. Matthioli* (Venezia: Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1559), 728-30; FERRANTE IMPERATO, *Dell'Historia naturale* (Napoli: Costantino Vitale, 1599), 126-57; ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum*, 239-272; OLE WORM, *Museum Wormianum*, 2-6; LODOVICO MOSCARDO, *Note overo memorie del Museo di Lodovico Moscardo* (Padova: Paolo Frambotto, 1656), 163-68; GIUSEPPE DONZELLI, *Teatro farmaceutico, dogmatico, e spagirico del Dottore Giuseppe Donzelli, Napoletano, Barone di Digliola* (Roma: Felice Cesaretti, 1677), 118-21.
[43] LODOVICO MOSCARDO, *Note overo memorie*, 162; ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum*, 229.

to properly describe and study the actual vases collected by Ferdinando Cospi. In other words, the textual corpus provided him with a taxonomical framework useful to investigate and classify material objects from different epochs and places. This experimental method, as well as the choice of the inventory as the literary genre in which to infuse his erudition, can be understood as symptoms of Legati's participation in the antiquarian sensibility so typical of early modern European culture. Indeed, Legati's antiquarian stance is evident in various passages of Chapter XXII. As proofs of the abundance of ceramic workshops in ancient Rome, for example, he mentioned the existence of tangible evidence such as Mount Testaccio and the inscription on the door of a villa on the Via Tiburtina, whose existence he learnt from the *Roma subterranea novissima* (1671) by Paolo Aringhi, an expanded version of the *Roma sotterranea* (1632) previously published by the famous antiquarian Antonio Bosio.[44] Following a typically antiquarian method, Legati also used direct experience to criticize information transmitted by authoritative literary sources: to affirm the existence of white Terra Samia – a fact denied by Mattioli, Brasavola, Falloppio and Aldrovandi – he invokes "the experience of some eyewitnesses" like the physician Stefano Albucario (whose voyage to Samos had been reported by Pietro Andrea Mattioli and then repeated by authors such as Ferrante Imperato and Giuseppe Donzelli) and Carlo Bellonio. Similar appreciations of experiential knowledge can be found in other sections of the *Museo Cospiano*: when telling the story of an unnamed African who maintained that Maldivian coconuts had the capacity to repel iron, Legati wrote that, when presented to Francesco Redi, this conviction "met Experience in the hands of such a great man, thus showing that the stranger was a joker".[45] Or, to counter the assertion that – as written on the wooden box painted by Michelangelo Colonna – Cospi's Greenlandic sealskin clothing was an item of priestly attire, Legati cited not only the historical texts of Olaus Magnus and Herodotus, but also Ole Worm's detailed description of the actual specimen he had in his collection.[46]

From his sources, Legati even borrowed more experimental methods. To prove that the "Armenian" (actually Guadalajaran) clay of a cup in the Cospi collection was not to be identified with Terra Lennia, he states that it stains the hands when touched, a characteristic that he had previously reported not to be typical of Terra Lennia. Even more interesting is Legati's use of a second method that I would call tongue-testing. Writing about a "small flask of white Oriental clay which is said to be a kind of Terra Lennia not observed by the ancients" he added that "touched with the tongue,

[44] Mount Testaccio is also mentioned in Magalotti's letters when, playing on the chronicle of Antonio Solís (who had used the term *búcaro* to describe Aztec pottery), he imagined that the whole of Moctezuma's daily tableware, whose astounding amount was a common trope in Spanish chronicles, could have been of black *búcaro*; if so, it would have been enough to build a "scented Mount Testaccio on the outskirts of Mexico"; LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera ottava, 434-35.

[45] LORENZO LEGATI, *Museo Cospiano*, 135.

[46] *Ibid.*, 298. The sealskin coat is today at the Museo Pigorini, in Rome, while the painted wooden box is at the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna. Cfr. *Bologna e il Mondo Nuovo*, ed. LAURA LAURENCICH Minnelli (Bologna: Grafis, 1992), cat. no. 42-43, 144-45.

suddenly it sticks, but with no mordacity".[47] Similarly, writing about the "two vessels of scented earth", Legati noted that "when touched with the tongue, immediately it sticks";[48] of a "small flask of Oriental red clay" he wrote "when touched with the tongue immediately it sticks, as happens with the white one" (no. 17),[49] while the "two vessels of scented *búcaro*" (no. 23) are said to be made of a Portuguese earth that "sticks when touched with the tongue, so that it remains hanging. And so do the vessels produced with it".[50]

The source of information regarding the sticking quality of certain clays is the above-mentioned literary corpus, ultimately based on Dioscorides[51] but, again, in all Legati's sources this property is simply mentioned among the various qualities of the earths. In Legati's hands (or, more properly, mouth), it became a tongue-testing experimental method to investigate specific objects whose material constituents and origins he was trying to ascertain. The fact that Legati's experimental attempts were often ultimately fallacious – leading him to misidentify the Hispano-Moresque vases and the Guadalajaran *búcaros* – does not detract from his research method, involving a direct physical and sensorial engagement with the objects he was studying. In this respect, his sensory experience was not so different from that of the noblewomen who elegantly sipped fragrant water from *búcaros*, obviously noticing its tongue-sticking quality. In the words of Magalotti, *búcaros* produced a double delight: the first was the water's fragrance, while the second was "a certain pretty little joke that this moistened earth makes to the lips, gently sticking to them, without them noticing it before they break away. But whoever is used to it, to multiply these playful kisses, during a same drink detaches the mouth more than once from the rim of the Bucchero; the newer it is, the more sticky and tenacious; and the hand that wants to detach it from the mouth, before letting it go, pulls the lip more than a little, and in leaving it, it produces a smack that sounds like a farewell kiss".[52]

Concluding remarks: antiquarianism and the sensorial engagement with material culture

My physical encounter with the unrecognized *búcaro* vessels in the Museo Civico Medievale di Bologna ignited an antiquarian-like search on their collection history. This search, besides revealing that in a 1763 unpublished manuscript Giacomo Biancani Tazzi had recognized the correct identity of the vessels, led us back to the Museo

[47] *Ibid.*
[48] *Ibid.*, 271.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*, 272.
[51] See, for example, PIETRO ANDREA MATTIOLI, *Discorsi*, 728, 729; FERRANTE IMPERATO, *Dell'Historia naturale*, 141, 149; ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Museum Metallicum*, 228, 239, 240, 243, 246, 247, 248, 263, etc.; OLE WORM, *Museum Wormianum*, 5, 6; GIUSEPPE DONZELLI, *Teatro farmaceutico*, 120.
[52] LORENZO MAGALOTTI, *Varie operette*, Lettera quinta, 330.

Cospiano and its textual description by Lorenzo Legati, a clear example of seventeenth-century antiquarian sensibility combining a mostly literary and medical erudition with novel forms of empirical inquiry of material evidence. The relevance of antiquarianism and the collecting of material culture in the shaping of early modern forms of knowledge has been stressed by a now flourishing scholarly tradition, mostly drawing on the pioneering works of Arnaldo Momigliano, which greatly expanded our understanding of this discipline, also exploring its non-Western manifestations as well as the unexpected connections linking different antiquarian traditions.[53] Even if Lorenzo Legati was not one of the leading figures of early modern antiquarianism, the reading of passages of the *Museo Cospiano* revealed a series of interesting phenomena. First of all, the difficult – and often failed – attempt to employ the received body of knowledge on medicinal earths not to compile their umpteenth systematic description but as a tool to enquire into the identity and properties of a set of physical objects, also including artefacts from the New World. Legati's analysis of Brazilian pipes and of (unrecognized) Mexican *búcaros* is thus a further example of the relevance that antiquarianism and evidential learning had in the European reception of the New World, in both its material and literary manifestations.[54]

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[53] E.g. ARNALDO MOMIGLIANO, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950): 285-315; OLIVER IMPEY and ARTHUR MACGREGOR, eds, *The origin of museums*; JOHN ELSNER and ROGER CARDINAL (eds), *The Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994); PAULA FINDLEN, *Possessing Nature. Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); *Early Modern Things. Objects and their Histories*, ed. PAULA FINDLEN (London: Routledge, 2013); *Subject and Object in Renaissance Culture*, ed. MARGRETA DE GRAZIA, MAUREEN QUILLIGAN, and PETER STALLYBRASS (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); THOMAS DACOSTA KAUFMANN, "Antiquarianism, the History of Objects, and the History of Art before Winckelmann," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62, no. 3 (2001): 523-41; PETER N. MILLER, "Taking Paganism Seriously. Anthropology and Antiquarianism in Early Seventeenth-century Histories of Religion," in *Das 17.Jahrhundert und die Ursprünge der Religionsgeschichte*, ed. JAN ASSMANN and GUY G. STROUMSA (München/Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2001), 183-209; Id., ed., *Momigliano and Antiquarianism. Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences* (Toronto: University of California, 2007); Id., *Peiresc's Mediterranean World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015); Id., *History and Its Objects. Antiquarianism and Material Culture Since 1500* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2017); EDWARD Q. WANG, "Beyond East and West: Antiquarianism, Evidential Learning, and Global Trends in Historical Study," *Journal of World History* 19, no. 4 (2008), 489-519; DANIELA BLEICHMAR and PETER C. MANCALL, eds, *Collecting Across Cultures*; JESSIKA KEATING and LIA MARKEY, eds, *Captured Objects. Inventories of Early Modern Collections*, special issue of the *Journal of the History of Collections* 23, no. 2 (2011); SUSAN BRACKEN, ANDREA M. GÁLDY, ADRIANA TURPIN, eds, *Collecting East and West* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013); ALAIN SCHNAPP, ed., *World Antiquarianism. Comparative perspectives* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2013); REBECCA GOULD, "Antiquarianism as Genealogy: Arnaldo Momigliano's Method," *History and Theory*, 53 (2014): 212-33; DANIELA BLEICHMAR and MEREDITH MARTIN, eds, *Objects in Motion in the Early Modern World*, special issue of *Art History*, 38, no. 4 (2015); BENJAMIN ANDERSON and FELIPE ROJAS, eds, *Antiquarianisms. Contact, Conflict, Comparison* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2017); LYDIA JANSSEN, "Antiquarianism and national history. The emergence of a new scholarly paradigm in early modern historical studies," *History of European Ideas* 43, no. 8 (2017), 843-56.

[54] Besides many contributions to the works cited in the previous note, see, e.g., ANTHONY GRAFTON, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts. The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992); STUART B. SCHWARTZ, ed., *Implicit Understandings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); KAREN ORDAHL KUPPERMAN, ed., *America in European Consciusness 1493-1750* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995). Among more recent works, see ALAIN SCHNAPP,

In Legati's work, the physical interaction with material culture implied by most antiquarian enquiries assumed the unexpected form of "tongue-testing". Far from being a mere curiosity, this method – whose relationships with contemporary medical practices involving the testing/tasting of bodily fluids would be worth further inquiry – is an instance of a typically antiquarian attitude, that is, the transformation of a textually transmitted body of knowledge (where the tongue-sticking properties of some earths were described) into a practical research tool to investigate extant material evidence. In this way, the antiquarian research becomes a multisensory practice, involving the reading of texts, the visual inspection of images and objects, as well as their tactile exploration by touching and licking, thus also bringing into play the senses of taste and smell. At the very least, this multisensorial engagement with material culture defies an overly dichotomic view contrasting affective, indigenous forms of knowledge with a visually-biased modern Western one.[55] To a certain degree, this multisensorial engagement with pottery artefacts was induced by the clays themselves, whose medicinal properties had led to their ingestion for millennia, but in Legati's case it was also increased by the presence in the Museo Cospiano of the scented *búcaros de Indias*. Their presence in the collection mirrored the wide diffusion that these vessels had in early modern Europe, where their usage implied new, complex forms of sensorial interactions: indeed their shiny, lustrous surfaces were experienced through both sight and touch, while their flavour appealed to both smell and taste; when used to create huge, assembled water fountains where flows of scented water fell along a series of dish-like pottery stages, *búcaros* also called hearing into play, thus fully exploiting their potential to meet the multisensorial dimension of baroque aesthetic appreciation.[56] *Búcaros de Indias*, then, stand out as perfect examples of how early

"European antiquarianism and the discovery of the New World," in *Past presented. Archaeological illustration and the ancient Americas*, ed. JOANNE PILLSBURY (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collections, 2012), 49-67, ALESSANDRA RUSSO, "An artistic humanity. New positions on art and freedom in the context of the Iberian expansion, 1500-1600," *RES. Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 65/66 (2014/2015), 352-63; LIA MARKEY, *Imagining the Americas in Medici Florence* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2016); DAVIDE DOMENICI, "Missionary Gift Records of Mexican Objects in Early Modern Italy," in *The New World in Early Modern Italy, 1492–1750*, ed. ELIZABETH HORODOWICH and LIA MARKEY (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 86-102; GIUSEPPE MARCOCCI, "Inventing the Antiquities of New Spain: Motolinía and the Mexican Antiquarian Traditions," in BENJAMIN ANDERSON and FELIPE ROJAS, *Antiquarianisms*, 109-133.

[55] E.G. YANNIS HAMILAKIS, "Indigenous Archaeologies in Ottoman Greece," in *Scramble for the Past: The Story of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire 1733-1914*, ed. ZAINAB BAHRANI, ZEYNEP CELIK, and EDHEM ELDEM (Istanbul: Salt, 2011), 49-69: 61.

[56] See ANDRÉS GUTIÉRREZ USILLOS, *La hija del Virrey*, 431-34, 453-68; on the role of senses other than sight in modern Europe see, among others, ANTHONY SYNNOTT, DAVID HOWES and CONSTANCE CLASSEN, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994); HOLLY DUGAN, *The Ephemeral History of Perfume: Scent and Sense in Early Modern England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); DAVID HOWES and CONSTANCE CLASSEN, *Ways of Sensing: Understanding the Senses in Society* (London: Routledge, 2014); JONATHAN REINARZ, *Past Scents: Historical Perspectives on Smell* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2014).

modern global trade channelled colonial goods, produced by the hands of often marginalized colonial indigenous subjects, that radically changed the European material landscape, inducing new lifestyles, new aesthetic and sensorial experiences, as well as new forms of academic enquiry. Lorenzo Bellini masterfully condensed all this in a single verse of his *Bucchereide* (1699) when he wrote that the *bucchero* is an earth that *in sé Impero, ed istupor rinserra*.

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Fig. 1. *Búcaros de Indias* from the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna (inv. 1183, 1184, 1185). Courtesy of Istituzione Bologna Musei – Musei Civici di Arte Antica.

Fig. 2. *Búcaros de Indias* from the collection of the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna (inv. 1186, 1187, 1188). Courtesy of Istituzione Bologna Musei – Musei Civici di Arte Antica.