

# ***A Cultural Crossroads between the Court and the City. The case of the Royal Academy of Turin, the capital of the Savoyard State***

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## **M11. The Court and Urban Sociability in Europe, c. 1400-1917**

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## **1. The Cosmopolitan Atmosphere in the Royal Academy of Turin: an Example of Osmosis of urban and courtly Practices**

Turin is not a city without historiography, but, in the past, it was often a literature that placed the city in a dialectical relationship with other subjects: the Court of the reigning dynasty (Savoy), the State created by it, the presence of the clergy and the elite and their liturgies<sup>1</sup>. To correct this perspective, in recent years some studies have identified specific power relations and socio-cultural contiguities that we would like to describe in this paper, devoted to an example of osmosis of urban and courtly practices.

This phenomenon is evident in the events of a training institute for young aristocrats such as the Royal Academy, that can be studied in a comparative perspective. The Royal Academy of Turin, in fact, was part of a circuit of training institutions which had spread to France, Italy and Germany<sup>2</sup>.

The *Ritterakademien* first developed in France, as well as in the Italian and German states, during the sixteenth century, and during the seventeenth century they became a typical expression of baroque culture, superseding the stylistic elements that had become established during the Renaissance. The survival of these institutions in the eighteenth century, finally, allows a study of their ability to dialogue with a political and social context that was by then very different. Paris held the accolade for being one of the most visited destinations in France since the sixteenth century. In Germany, a significant antecedent was the college founded in Tübingen in 1596; but this model had influenced the choices of other local rulers. The Landgraf Maurice of Hesse and King Christian IV of Denmark had established the Collegium

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<sup>1</sup> *Storia di Torino*: III, *Dalla dominazione francese alla ricomposizione dello Stato (1536-1630)*; IV, *La città fra crisi e ripresa (1630-1730)*; V, *Dalla città razionale alla crisi dello Stato d'Antico Regime (1730-1798)*, G. Ricuperati, ed., Torino, Einaudi, 1998, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> N. Conrads, *Ritterakademien der frühen Neuzeit. Bildung als Standesprivileg im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982; J. Boutier, «Le Grand Tour des gentilshommes et les académies d'éducation pour la noblesse. France et Italie, XVI<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle», in *Beihefte der Francia*, vol. LX, *Grand Tour*, R. Babel, W. Paravicini, eds., Ostfildern, Thorbecke, 2005, p. 237-253; P. Bianchi, «Una palestra di arti cavalleresche e di politica. Presenze austro-tedesche all'Accademia Reale di Torino nel Settecento», in *Le corti come luogo di comunicazione. Gli Asburgo e l'Italia (secoli XVI-XIX). Höfe als Orte der Kommunikation. Die Habsburger und Italien (16. Bis 19. Jh.)*, M. Bellabarba, J.P. Niederkorn, eds., Bologna-Berlin, il Mulino / Dunker & Humblot, 2010, p. 135-153.

Adelphicum Mauritianum of Kassel and the Kongelige Adelige Akademie of Sorø, respectively. After the crisis of the Thirty Years' War a number of similar institutions were founded in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1687 the *Ritterakademie* of Wolfenbüttel was established, becoming the model for the academies of Berlin, Lignitz and Copenhagen. From the last years of the century, members of the German and imperial aristocracy were attracted by the academy set up by Duke Leopold of Lorena in 1699 in Lunéville, where it survived until 1736, namely until the Court of Lorraine was transferred to Florence in Tuscany.

In Italy, cities like Treviso, Vicenza, Bologna and Padua had shown a lead in this sense during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But the institutions created there were on the whole short-lived, and attracted a relatively small number of students. During the seventeenth century, when the Grand Tour route followed by the higher ranks of the aristocracy had already been clearly traced, the colleges controlled by religious orders (*seminaria nobilium*) started to compete with the military academies. Parma, Modena, Bologna and Siena had successfully welcomed the Jesuit-inspired *ratio studiorum*, while the military academies had not yet achieved the harmonious blend of physical exercise and the study of theoretical subjects that was the goal of the religious colleges. The closing decades of the seventeenth century saw a change in this situation: the leading *Ritterakademien* rationalised their programmes, adding the teaching of mathematics, civil and military architecture, history, geography, ethics, civil law and a number of modern languages (French, German and Italian, in particular) to the chivalric arts (horsemanship, dancing, fencing). Moreover, since the mid seventeenth century, an important trend had emerged that would transform the educational journey: princes consolidated their patronage of the military academies by linking them to their Courts, to the schools for pages and to leading courtiers<sup>3</sup>. These political and cultural phenomena had a marked influence on the choices made by noblemen planning their journey to Italy<sup>4</sup>.

Turin, capital of the Duchy of Savoy (a small State with a growing reputation: Kingdom of Sicily since 1713, Kingdom of Sardinia between 1720 and 1861), was ideally placed to exploit this phenomenon. In 1678, in fact, the Duchess Maria Giovanna Battista of Savoy-Nemours founded in this town an academy to guarantee a lasting flow of foreign visitors, members of the leading European aristocratic families, along one of well-established routes linking France to Italy. Not surprisingly, this academy was inspired on the one hand by the models of the French schools for pageboys and the *seminaria nobilium* from the Courts in the Po Valley, and on the other by the academies developed by the German Courts. The ostentation of the "equestris Academia" in *Theatrum Statuum Regiae Celsitudinis Sabaudiae Ducis* (1682) was indicative of the European value that had been assigned to the institute. In the impressive iconographic corpus published by the prestigious publisher and Dutch cartographer Blaeu appeared the Royal Academy, but not the College of Nobles, despite both the architectural project was being developed<sup>5</sup>.

From the outset, the Royal Academy in Turin had included physical exercise (dance, vaulting, riding, mock battles and attacks on fortresses) alongside the study of mathematics, drawing,

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<sup>3</sup> About the schools for pages, I. Protopapa, I, «La paggeria: una scuola per la giovane nobiltà», in *Vivere a Pitti. Una reggia dai medici ai Savoia*, S. Bertelli, R. Pasta, eds., Firenze, Olschki, 2003, p. 27-44.

<sup>4</sup> P. Del Negro, «Alle origini delle accademie militari: l'Accademia Delia di Padova (1608-1801)», in *Formare alle professioni: La cultura militare tra passato e presente*, M. Ferrari, F. Ledda, eds., Milano, Franco Angeli, 2011, p. 127-138. About *seminaria nobilium*, G.P. Brizzi, «La pratica del viaggio d'istruzione in Italia nel Sei-Settecento», *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento*, II, 1976, 203-291; Id., *La formazione della classe dirigente nel Sei-Settecento: i seminaria nobilium nell'Italia centro-settentrionale*, Bologna, il Mulino, 1976.

<sup>5</sup> *Theatrum Sabaudiae. Teatro degli Stati del duca di Savoia*, R. Rocca, ed., Torino, Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, 2000, 2 vols. (the Royal Academy of Turin in vol. II, tab. I, 13).

Italian and French (both languages habitually spoken in Turin, both in the city and at Court), geography, heraldry, history and chronology. A series of eighteenth-century reforms finally clarified the timetables, subjects and student classes (the so-called *appartamenti*: apartments). After 1730, there were three *appartamenti*: one for those who wanted a military and chivalry education, the second for those studying subjects that would lead to the courses taught at the nearby university, and the third (closed in 1778) for the youngest students who were given a rudimentary education at a lower level. After 1769 the students in the second *appartamento* were allowed to leave the Academy not only to attend courses at the university but also those at the Theoretical and Practical Schools of Artillery and Military Engineering (*Reali Scuole teorico-pratiche d'Artiglieria e Genio*) of Turin, which were established in 1739 and were typical of the trend towards the so-called “learned arms”. So, the Royal Academy offered an up-to-date and prestigious education in military and diplomatic culture to a range of young aristocrats who resided in it for extended periods: on average two or three years<sup>6</sup>.

This academy, attended also by noble subjects of the Savoy dynasty, played an important role in encouraging many foreign gentlemen to visit Italy during the eighteenth century. But, while Italian cities were traditionally seen as focuses of the past, Turin was singled out by several foreign visitors as an exception to this rule: its appeal lay in its contemporary qualities.

It is worth stressing that foreign noblemen came to Turin not only to complete their studies but also to serve in the army or in diplomatic delegations. In this sense, the German presence was particularly strong throughout the eighteenth century. The turning point had come in the late seventeenth century, as John Dodington, the secretary to the English delegation in Turin, was careful to note in 1670. Already at this time Dodington stressed the excellence of the Turinese Court compared to other Italian Courts, and the good reputation it enjoyed throughout Europe. A number of French travel journals, also written in the late seventeenth century, agreed that Turin was a city of liberal and social customs compared to the rest of Italy, where instead there were “more statues than men”. French was spoken as much as Italian at the Court in Turin with the result that the city was perfectly in harmony with the international relations undertaken by diplomatic missions. Furthermore, as a centre for Court life, it was much less pompous than its French counterpart, while still remaining extremely elegant<sup>7</sup>.

The flow of foreign visitors became even more intense after the ruling dynasty obtained a royal crown in 1713. However, during the first half of the century for many noblemen the Court of Turin represented the only real opportunity to socialise: the free access to the salons (*salotti*) and aristocratic gatherings (or *conversazioni*) that would characterise Turin during the latter half of the century were still missing. The hierarchies within the Court taught young gentlemen how to behave in society, without being, according to some travellers, too rigid and formal. For example, at the end of King Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoia’s lifetime, an English traveller, John Breval (1726), and a Frenchman, Etienne de Silhouette (in 1729), noted a growing lack of transparency and a rather gloomy emphasis on devotion. But again in

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<sup>6</sup> P. Bianchi, «In cerca del moderno. Studenti e viaggiatori inglesi a Torino nel Settecento», *Rivista storica italiana*, CXV, 2003, p. 1021-1051; Ead., «Quel fortunato e libero paese». L'Accademia Reale e i primi contatti del giovane Alfieri con il mondo inglese», in *Alfieri e il suo tempo*, M. Cerruti, M. Corsi, B. Danna, eds., Firenze, Olschki, 2003, p. 89-112; Ead., «Nella specola dell'ambasciatore. Torino agli occhi di John Stuart, lord Mountstuart e marchese di Bute (1779-1783)», in *Architettura e città negli Stati sabaudi. Studi in onore di Franco Rosso*, E. Piccoli, F. De Pieri, eds., Macerata, Quodlibet, 2012, p. 135-160; P. Bianchi, «Conservazione e modernità: il binomio corte-città attraverso il prisma dell'Accademia Reale di Torino», in *La città nel Settecento. Saperi e forme di rappresentazione*. M. Formica, A. Merlotti, A.M. Rao, eds., Roma, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2014, p. 107-123.

<sup>7</sup> For these quotes see P. Bianchi, «La corte dei Savoia: disciplinamento del servizio e delle fedeltà», in *I Savoia. I secoli d'oro di una dinastia europea*, W. Barberis, ed., Torino, Einaudi, p. 135-174.

1734 Jeremiah Milles, an expert on antiques and archeology educated at Eton and Oxford, appreciated the vitality and modernity of life in Turin. Finally Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy, who succeeded Vittorio Amedeo II, had allowed foreign ambassadors to establish their own residences and had not objected to the establishment of *salotti* where the nobility and bourgeoisie could meet<sup>8</sup>. Beside the Royal Academy, the Royal Theatre had also begun to welcome an international audience with ballet and opera performances shared with the leading European theatres<sup>9</sup>.

During the eighteenth century it was well known that no public figure of rank would fail to participate in the rituals of the Court in Turin, and this explained why Lord Chesterfield, among others, had sent his son to the Royal Academy.

The months that you are to pass there will be very decisive ones for you. The exercises of the Academy, and the manners of courts must be attended to and acquired; and, at the same time, your other studies continued. I am sure you will not pass, nor desire, one single idle hour there: for I do not foresee that you can, in any part of your life, put out six months to greater interest, than those next six at Turin.

We will talk hereafter about your stay at Rome and in other parts of Italy. This only I will now recommend to you; which is, to extract the spirit of every place you go to. In those places which are only distinguished by classical fame, and valuable remains of antiquity, have your classics in your hand and in your head; compare the ancient geography and descriptions with the modern, and never fail to take notes. Rome will furnish you with business enough of that sort; but then it furnishes you with many other objects well deserving your attention, such as deep ecclesiastical craft and policy<sup>10</sup>.

It was also a topic covered by the press, as is clear from the pages of the *London Gazette*.

Actually, by the second half of the eighteenth century, criticism of the court of Turin began to appear; but the comments of the authors of these reports must be seen in context. Some were French, and therefore they were generally more prejudiced towards Piedmont than the English. The opinions of Charles De Brosse (1709-1777), president of the Parlement of Bourgogne, have often been used to reveal a monotonous and austere image of the Turinese Court, but De Brosse had arrived while the royal family were in mourning for the death of Carlo Emanuele III's second wife's brother-in-law. Other Frenchmen had different, more positive impressions of the Court. Also Edward Gibbon and James Boswell were unenthusiastic. As a young man Gibbon had arrived in Turin in 1764, writing to his father to describe one of the most sophisticated Courts in Europe, but one that had latterly fallen prey to bigotry. During the same period (1764-1765) Boswell, then aged twenty-five, complained of the easy habits and libertinism at the *salotto* of Contessa di Saint Gilles, a place outside the Court but frequented by the same set of courtiers and in particular by travellers and English delegates. Between the lines of Boswell's attack one can detect not just Gibbon's detachment so much as the easy English moralism towards the customs of a Catholic country.

Apart from these criticisms, in the late eighteenth century Turin retained its reputation as a centre for fashionable aristocratic society. The city also garnered positive opinions of its artistic collections and buildings. In 1779, for example, Philip Yorke, the son of an English Lord Chancellor, was introduced to an audience with the King of Sardinia during which he spoke about economic, diplomatic and military matters, and also took the chance to visit Palazzo Reale. «We saw the Palace, which is very extensive and contains some elegant apartments», he noted in his diary. «The collection of picture is numerous ... The Flemish collection is the

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<sup>8</sup> A. Merlotti, «Salotti in una città cosmopolita. Gentildonne e conversazioni nella Torino del secondo Settecento», in *Salotti e ruolo femminile in Italia tra fine Seicento e primo Novecento*, M.L. Betri, E. Brambilla, eds., Venezia, Marsilio, 2004, p. 125-152.

<sup>9</sup> A. Colturato, «Musica e cerimoniale nel Settecento», in *Le strategie dell'apparenza. Cerimoniali, politica e società alla corte dei Savoia in età moderna*, P. Bianchi, A. Merlotti eds., Torino, Zamorani, 2010, p. 167-199.

<sup>10</sup> Lord Chesterfield, *Letters to his son* (first ed. London, 1774), letter LXVIII, London, 19 April 1749.

best in Italy»<sup>11</sup>. These excerpts from Yorke's journal are far from the only indication of how, having initially attracted *connoisseurs* for the political opportunities linked to its Court, Turin gradually started to narrow the gap separating it from the centres of Italian culture. Having visited the Royal Academy and the Court in Turin, some of these gentlemen continued their tour around the rest of Italy, but retained memories of Turin even after they had returned home, recreating in their own homes the "modern" architectural styles (rectilinear, regular, uniform) they had seen in Piedmont.

In the early nineteenth century Louis Dutens, an Englishman whose family was of Huguenot origin and who was secretary at the English embassy in Turin on various occasions between 1758 and 1781, nostalgically reminisced about the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Turin: «Ce qui me plaisoit de Turin étoit la facilité d'y rencontrer les étrangers de distinction, qui y abordoient de toutes parts pour visiter l'Italie»<sup>12</sup>. It was this cosmopolitan city, with its countless salons, stimulating *conversazioni*, theatres and masonic lodges that had been catalysed by the presence of the Court<sup>13</sup>. Yet by the time Dutens was writing, the old regime had long disappeared. The climate was very different in Piedmont after the period of French rule (1800-1814), during the so-called Restoration.

In the eighteenth century the Royal Academy of Turin was established as a place of education reserving to its students a close proximity with the space of the Court; it had become too, however, the point of connection to an international aristocracy who chose the Savoy capital as an opportunity for sociability and frequenting salons, theaters, scientific circles, masonic lodges. This network had space not only in a closed Court, but also in the city that housed it, and, in this cultural crossroads, the Royal Academy was a sort of architectural and institutional appendix and *trait d'union*.

(P. Bianchi)

## **2. The Palace becomes a City: Architecture and Functions in the Heart of a baroque Capital from XVIIth to XVIIIth Century**

Thanks to the eastern urban expansion started in 1673, the old palace of the Dukes of Savoy (founded in 1584) could be re-designed according to new architectural, artistic and functional parameters. In a book<sup>14</sup> the architect Amedeo di Castellamonte depicts the project of joining new wings to the palace, as complex of new functions: a Great Gallery (350 m long) for displaying the art collections of the dynasty, four huge - cross shaped - stables, with in the middle an octagonal riding hall, the mint, the Royal Theatre (for drama and opera), the hall for playing tennis ("pallacorda") and – the most imposing building – the Royal Academy, conceived to host the Royal Pages, the Court young noblemen, and other young noblemen from abroad, to learn dancing, fencing, Mathematics and Humanities. The architect followed renown models in designing the Academy: at first the Collegio Borromeo in Pavia, built by Pellegrino Tibaldi in 1561. A four wing building around a great courtyard (in this case , with galleries at each floor, sustained by twin columns. In the project by Castellamonte the west wing was occupied by the theatre, with arcades, and the north one by the painting gallery,

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<sup>11</sup> P. Yorke, *Travels in Switzerland and Italy*, British Library, Manuscripts, Add. 36250 (Hardwicke Papers, vol. DCCCCXL), in particular p. 104-107.

<sup>12</sup> L. Dutens, *Mémoires d'un voyageur qui se repose*, Paris, Masson et Besson, 1806, vol. II, p. 252-253.

<sup>13</sup> A. Merlotti, «Il caso Dunand: vitalità e insidie della sociabilità nella Torino di Alfieri (1772-1777)», in *Alfieri e il suo tempo*, p. 131-177Id., «Salons and Lodges: British Travellers and Turin Society in the Eighteenth Century», in *Torino britannica. Political and Cultural Crossroads in the Age of the Grand Tour*, P. Bianchi, K. Wolfe, eds., in print.

<sup>14</sup> Amedeo di Castellamonte, *La Venaria Reale Palazzo di Piacere e di Caccia* [...], Zapata, Torino 1674 ma 1679, pp. 87-88.

without arcades. Works started according to a contract signed in October 1674, with the obligation to complete, up to the roof, within the following October the Festival Hall, the theatre, the tennis hall, the arcades with shops facing the Castle square, the chapel and the rooms towards the square. The real works, on the contrary, were addressed to build at first the two main wings of the academy (the eastern and the southern ones) and the chapel close to the square. The first wing is completed in 1678, and furnished by window wooden frames in 1678. The other wing is completed in 1680: the opening was fixed on the 29<sup>th</sup> of September, the day of Saint Michel. The records allow us to understand deeply the works methods and techniques: the stone furnishing was a sector aside. The arcades with their twin columns (carved in Switzerland by the Fossati family and sent by rivers and canals) were built after the wing where they were joined, and then covered by the roof, whose middle line was on the middle of the wing built before. As a consequence, the internal fronts – in the courtyard - were lower than the external ones<sup>15</sup>.

The layout of the academy – today almost completely demolished - is clear thanks to a survey of the ground floor traced in 1730<sup>16</sup>. The main entrance was in via della Zecca (Mint street) by a great portal flanked by columns and decorated by statues<sup>17</sup>. This is well depicted in a portrait of the duke Victor Amadeus II, with the Royal Academy in the foreground, engraved by Antonio de Pienne<sup>18</sup>: a signal of the great importance of the institution for the Savoy Court. Probably this was the main wing conceived to host the young noblemen: the layout shows groups of four rooms, two facing the street, two the courtyard, as a repeated scheme for all the wing. These were the “apartments” of the young noblemen and their institutors. In one of the two room facing the courtyard stairs lead to the mezzanine, we don’t know how much expanded over the other rooms. So each apartment had an entrance room (maybe antechamber, to west), two main rooms towards the street (maybe reception room and bedroom, to east) and *cabinets*, dressing rooms, more comfortable bedrooms, etc. in the mezzanine. At the two end of this main building the architect places the main staircase (to east, in the corner of the two wings) and the chapel (to west), opening both to the courtyard and to the street. In the eastern wing we can see bigger halls, maybe for general purposes (e.g. the Fencing hall). Two rows of toilets are placed in a room close to the staircase, with anteroom, another group are at the opposite end of the wing: there were no toilets in the apartments, but only night commodes. The absence of a sewer system caused bad smell around the toilets, so they usually were placed far from the bedrooms and close to the stairs, and called “luoghi comuni” (common places). The riding hall used by the young hosts of the academy was one of the four stables, the west one, turned to this use. The other three stables belonged to the Royal Palace, but this was only a difference in using a space, because all the buildings of this area were royal property.

In these years in Turin there was another institution whose task was the training of young noblemen, the “Collegio dei Nobili”, operated by Jesuits. The huge palace – the higher in town, with the Royal Palace and the Princes of Carignano Palace - was built in 1679

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<sup>15</sup> About the works for the Royal Academy and surrounding buildings see Paolo Cornaglia, *Il palazzo diventa città: la grande galleria, l'Accademia Reale, il teatro, la zecca, e la dogana nell'impianto di Amedeo di Castellamonte (1674-83)*, in Francesca Bagliani, Paolo Cornaglia, Marco Maderna, Paolo Mighetto, *Architettura, governo e burocrazia in una capital barocca. La zona di comando di Torino e il piano di Filippo Juvarra del 1730*, «Esiti», n. 20, settembre 2000, pp. 39-58.

<sup>16</sup> [Filippo Juvarra], Survey of the “zona di comando” (royal palaces area), AST, Corte, *Carte topografiche e disegni, Palazzi Reali, Torino, Palazzo delle Segreterie e Archivi*, n. 1.

<sup>17</sup> Maybe only in the project by Castellamonte, because in the survey of the ground floor no traces of columns flanking the portal are recorded.

<sup>18</sup> Published in Luigi Firpo, *Torino*, Tipografia Torinese Editrice, Torino 1971, p. 13.

according to the project by Michelangelo Garove and Father Carlo Maurizio Vota<sup>19</sup>, a Jesuit, adopting a completely different layout. Two superposed rows of little rooms, the upper one connected by a balcony reached by stairs, faced a great common hall. The rooms hadn't a window towards the street but opened on the gallery of the courtyard, the main connection system of each floor. This layout, more "inside oriented", is more related to the colleges where to train the young people (the same happens in the Collegio Borromeo of Pavia and in the "Collegio dei Nobili" in Bologna, built in 1706) than the one used in the Royal Academy. Its structure by apartments take more care of the noble rank of the guests and is more "outside-oriented", with "private" windows opening to the street<sup>20</sup>.

The great system of buildings conceived by Castellamonte wasn't finished because of the duke's death in 1675. The building program was reduced and only the Royal Academy, the stables and the mint were completed: the duchess decided to concentrate the efforts only in the more useful part of the project. The great gallery, the octagonal riding hall and the theatre received only the foundation walls and works stopped for years.

The passage from duchy to kingdom (1713) was a turning point: it changed the needs of the Court and the architectural parameters, so in 1730 the First Architect of the king was appointed to plan again this great area, according to new functions or giving room to old ones in better locations. The foundations of the great gallery were used to build the buildings conceived to host the three Secretaries (Interior and International Affairs, War) and Royal Archives, where the documents produced by the offices were stored according to precise regulations. The Royal Archives were built closing the northern side of the main courtyard of the Royal Academy, and the western side was finally closed in 1740 when the First Architect Benedetto Alfieri built the Royal Theatre. The same architect designed a new, huge, riding hall 78 meters long, built – only partially - on the site of the eastern stable. These buildings conceived by Alfieri are witnesses of the new big scale of the architecture of this period, never reached before.

In these years, from 1730 to 1740 alterations were made in the Royal Academy to match the new needs of the moment. On the 7th of September 1730 the new king Charles Emmanuel III signed the transformation decree of the academy. Works started before, in May, to have the building ready for a different articulation of the institution. The academy training was addressed to noblemen aged from 10 to 30 years, divided in three categories and hosted in three different "apartments". The "first apartment" was for the elder students (trained only in cavalry arts and a little of languages, geography, mathematics) and consisted in a series of little apartments for the young noblemen and their institutors and servants, facing the great galleries of the courtyards. This respectful "first" category of academy student had lunch and dinner in a "sala nobile" (noble hall) with the major level of the academy hierarchies: Governor, deputy Governor, Prior, Chaplain, and institutors. The "second apartment" was prepared for a new category: the University students. Of each group of eight students is responsible an "assistant" (the best students who already passed the exam of Philosophy): they live in eight rooms connected by a large corridor, where the assistant and the servant sleep. These eight-room blocks are placed on the second floor. A not signed drawing of the second

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<sup>19</sup> See Giuseppe Dardanello, *Il Collegio dei Nobili e la piazza del principe di Carignano (1675-1684)*, in Giovanni Romano (a cura di) *Torino 1675-1699. Strategie e conflitti del Barocco*, Cassa di Risparmio di Torino, Torino 1993.

<sup>20</sup> About the layout of the Collegio dei Nobili see Paolo Cornaglia, *Residenze per studenti a Torino fra '600 e '800*, in Silvia Belforte (a cura di), *Collegi universitari. Esempi e progetti a confronto*, Celid, Torino 1996, pages 199-236, specially pages 210-219.

half of XVIIIth century shows us the structure of this “apartment”: four double units of rooms connected by a large corridor. Each unit, for 2 people, is composed by two rooms at the ground floor (an alcove facing the corridor and a room facing the street) and two in the mezzanine, reached by steep stairs. We find this kind of layout – similar to the one used in the “Collegio dei Nobili” - on the first and the second floor of the south wing, probably the “second” and the “third apartment” were in the eastern wing. In the “third apartment” lived the youngest students of the academy (following the courses of grammar, geography, languages, humanities...), ruled by an accurate but more rigid discipline. The members of the second and third apartment had lunch and dinner in a big dining hall at the ground floor, the former chapel.

Thanks to Benedetto Alfieri a new chapel and a new fencing room were established in 1739 over the vault of the western stable: the old chapel – as told before – was turned to a dining hall and the façade loose all decorations and was uniformed to the other fronts on the street. During the XIXth the academy was turned into a Military Academy, but only the bombing of WWII stopped all training activities. The buildings were seriously damaged, half of the eastern arcades and galleries broke down, but new needs of the town allowed the authorities to order the demolition of all the remains. The Royal Theatre burnt in 1936, before the war, and Municipality wanted to rebuilt it bigger than before, occupying the area of the great courtyard of the academy. For this reason the southern wing and half of the eastern wing were demolished, with the old chapel. On the other and all the columns, capitals and bases were dismantled and stored away. Today some columns are re-assembled in Turin and in Modena (where the Military Academy moved after the war) as a memorial.

(P. Cornaglia)