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A Garden of Statues and Marbles: The Soderini Collection in the Mausoleum of Augustus

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the others put together, and from now on, with good cause, it will be labelled 'Flaminian'. But I'm 'flummoxed'<sup>88</sup> as to how you have come to the conclusion that it is a bust of Socrates or who on earth said this to you. It should certainly have 'a snub nose and protruding eyes',<sup>89</sup> and it should look very like a satyr, for these, they say, were his distinguishing features. I'd really like to learn this from you. For a statue of one of the Roman emperors or indeed of certain Greeks, even if damaged, can be easily identified by means of the coins of them which survive. But since we have never seen a coin struck of Socrates, which could convey his features, I do not see how we can confirm that it is him.

Yet, for all my agonising about this, I am not a difficult or ill-mannered person and firmly believe that it is none other than Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus and the teacher of Plato, the man, if you like, who died in prison at Athens after drinking hemlock. Just make sure that I get the statue, and by all means use my little chest to transport it, so that it is carried in comfort and safety. Everything will be fine as far as I'm concerned if Socrates arrives here safe and sound. For now, I wish you and our patron Bembo good health, and do take care to reply to me as soon as possible. Also, give my greetings to Sadoletto, a most considerate man who deserves the best sort of treatment from me. Padua. 2 February 1525.

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<sup>88</sup> The text reads 'cedo per deos flumini' (literally, 'by the gods, I abandon to the river'); we have been unable to trace the origin of this phrase, but 'flumini' may be a pun on the name Flaminio.

<sup>89</sup> Plato, *Theaetetus*, 209C1.

## A GARDEN OF STATUES AND MARBLES: THE SODERINI COLLECTION IN THE MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS\*

According to a legend recorded in the *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, the emperor Augustus had a handful of soil brought from every country of the world and deposited on his tomb, so as to recall his memory to all visitors to Rome.<sup>1</sup> This was the medieval explanation for the cone of earth on top of the ruins of the ancient mausoleum which served as the burial place of the Iulii Claudii. The history of the mausoleum illustrates the varying extent to which it fulfilled Augustus's dream of immortality, with the building used and re-used to different purpose.<sup>2</sup> In the twelfth century the powerful Colonna family transformed it into a fortress. In 1354 the body of Cola di Rienzo was burnt on its ruins. In the Cinquecento the mausoleum was excavated to be turned into a beautiful garden of statues, and two centuries later, under the ownership of the Portuguese Vincenzo Correa, it became a popular *plaza de toros*. The mausoleum remained a place of public entertainment until the 1930s, when it was known as the Augusteo and served as a concert hall. Its imperial dignity was then reasserted; on 22 October 1934, standing on the roof of a building in the vicolo Soderini and wielding a pickaxe, Mussolini began the destruction of the late-Renaissance neighbourhood surrounding the monument.

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\* This Note is the result of the three stimulating months I spent at the Warburg Institute as holder of a Frances Yates Fellowship. It forms part of a study of the post-antique history of the mausoleum of Augustus. I thank Elizabeth McGrath and especially Ruth Rubinstein for comments and suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> See R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, iii, Rome 1946, p. 48 and n. 1: 'de omnibus regnis totius orbis iussit venire unam cirothecam plenam de terra, quam posuit super templum, ut esset in memoriam omnibus gentibus Romam venientibus'.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief history of the mausoleum see most recently P. Virgili, 'Mausoleo d'Augusto. Funzioni sociali di un edificio storico', *Roma. Archeologia nel Centro*, ii, Rome 1985, pp. 565–8; C. Benocci, 'Il Mausoleo d'Augusto come sede di spettacoli: da Anfiteatro Correa ad Augusteo', *ibid.*, pp. 574–7.

The aim was to isolate the mausoleum in order to create an appropriate setting for the celebration of the Augustan bimillennium;<sup>3</sup> but rather than revitalising it as a symbol of the new imperial Rome, that pick-axe assault effectively deprived the monument of any real function, and until recently it has lain neglected on the bank of the Tiber.

In the following pages I shall focus on what is perhaps the most interesting and, surprisingly, least well-known episode in the mausoleum's history: the sixteenth-century transformation of Augustus's sepulchre into a garden decorated with all types of ancient sculpture. Monsignor Francesco Soderini, who purchased the ruins in 1546,<sup>4</sup> set about converting them into a fashionable outdoor museum, frequented by artists as well as antiquarians and other devotees of classical antiquity.<sup>5</sup> The purchase of the mausoleum was part of a series of property investments in Rome by the Florentine Soderini family, initiated in the second half of the fifteenth century by Francesco Soderini, Cardinal of Volterra and great uncle of Monsignor Francesco.<sup>6</sup> The Cardinal's interest in buildings

and architecture, and his passion for ancient ruins,<sup>7</sup> were apparently inherited by his great nephew—about whom, however, we know almost nothing. He must be identified with Francesco di Tommaso di Paoloantonio, who lived in Rome as a cleric of the Camera Apostolica. In his famous survey of Italian families, Pompeo Litta simply characterised him as 'an inept and mediocre man' who died in 1534;<sup>8</sup> but this latter piece of information, at least, must be a mistake.<sup>9</sup> One thing we do know about this 'inept man' is that he created a garden of statues and marbles.

In 1549, Monsignor Francesco was given permission by the Camera Apostolica to excavate inside the building to dig up ancient marbles.<sup>10</sup> The work produced interesting results<sup>11</sup> and the excavation of the funerary chambers made possible a more precise reconstruction of the original layout. Pirro Ligorio carefully registered all of the findings and suggested a hypothetical elevation

<sup>3</sup> See E. Ponti, 'Come sorse e come scomparire il quartiere attorno al Mausoleo di Augusto', *Capitolium*, xi, 1935, pp. 235–50; and A. Muñoz, 'La sistemazione del Mausoleo di Augusto', *ibid.*, xiii, 1938, pp. 491–508.

<sup>4</sup> The purchase is attested by a document in the Archivio di Stato di Roma (Tribunale criminale del governatore, *Investigazioni*, vol. 26, fol. 73), dated 6 June 1546 and partially published by E. Rodocanachi in *Les monuments de Rome après la chute de l'Empire*, Paris 1914, p. 100 n. 8.

<sup>5</sup> In a letter dated 1549, 'nel prelibato Mausoleo', the Florentine exile Giovan Battista Busini, entertained in Rome by Francesco Soderini, wrote to Benedetto Varchi that 'I am writing this letter to you in the middle of the Tomb of Augustus in the Campus Martius, which my Monsignore has undertaken to re-do, and he transformed it into a rather lovely garden with some rooms there for eating, and this is his how he spends his time' ('Io vi scrivo questa lettera nel mezzo del Sepolcro d'Augusto in Campo Marzio, il qual luogo Monsignor mio ha tolto a rifare, e l'ha ridotto in forma di giardino assai bello, con alcune stanze da magnarci, e questo è il suo passatempo'): see 'Lettere di Giovan Battista Busini a Benedetto Varchi sugli avvenimenti dell'assedio di Firenze', in B. Varchi, *Opere*, Trieste 1859, i, p. 497, letter no. xx.

<sup>6</sup> On the building and property investment policies of Cardinal Francesco see K. J. P. Lowe, 'A Florentine Prelate's Real-estate in Rome between 1480 and 1524. The Residential and Speculative Property of Cardinal Francesco Soderini', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, lix, 1991, pp. 259–82; eadem, *Church and Politics in*

*Renaissance Italy. The Life and Career of Francesco Soderini, 1453–1524*, Cambridge 1993, esp. pp. 193–225.

<sup>7</sup> As an example of his activities, it is worth mentioning that during his years of exile in Fondi, he restored a long wall in *opus reticulatum* belonging to the so-called Villa of Varro, an early Roman villa, on the ruins of which he built his modern residence. An inscription referring to the restoration is still displayed at the entrance of the villa: 'Varronianum restitutum P. F. de Soderinis Card. Vulterrano an. MDXIX'. See G. Conte-Colino, *Storia di Fondi*, Naples 1901, pp. 47–7; and now Lowe, *Church and Politics* (as in n. 6), pp. 219–23, figs 6–7.

<sup>8</sup> P. Litta (continued by L. Passerini), *Famiglie celebri italiane*, xi, Turin 1879, 'Soderini family', pl. vi.

<sup>9</sup> Apart from his purchase and excavation of the mausoleum, a document in the Soderini archives, recently discovered by Francesco Scoppola, implies that Francesco's will, in favour of his brother Paoloantonio, was written in 1553: see *Palazzo Attems. Indagini per il restauro della fabbrica Riario, Soderini, Attems*, ed. F. Scoppola, Rome 1987, p. 268 (21 Mar. 1553).

<sup>10</sup> R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, Rome 1902–12, ii, p. 15.

<sup>11</sup> The fragments of a Egyptian obelisk were found, but the Monsignore decided to bury it again (later it was rediscovered by Pius VI and erected on the Quirinal), perhaps as a result of the problems that had been encountered in relocating another obelisk from the ancient mausoleum, found in 1519 and still lying at that time in Via di Ripetta. On the discovery of both obelisks and on the projects for their erection see C. D'Onofrio, *Gli obeliski di Roma. Storia e urbanistica di una città dall'età antica al XX secolo*, 3rd edn, Rome 1992, pp. 85–94, 235–42.

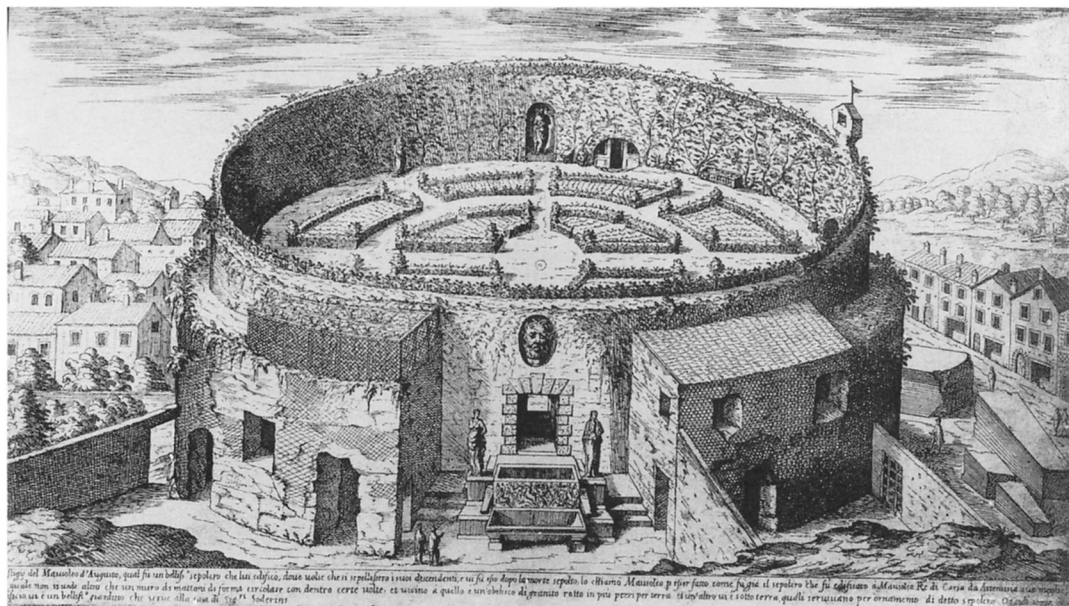


Fig. 91—Etienne Du Pérac, ‘The Mausoleum of Augustus’, engraving, 1575

and plan of the mausoleum (Figs 92–3), commenting that

how big and impressive it was, we can argue from the remaining walls and foundations, where as a result of the excavations undertaken all around by the Abate Soderino, its original shape could be clearly grasped, as it is documented by its remains.<sup>12</sup>

The aim of the excavations was not, however, a thorough archaeological investigation of Augustus’s sepulchre, and Ligorio dwells considerably on the destruction and levelling of the ancient structures carried out by Francesco Soderini. The Monsignore simply hoped to find interesting ancient pieces which could decorate his proposed statuary garden.<sup>13</sup>

Nothing is left of this garden, which was destroyed in the eighteenth century, but a

number of engravings show its setting quite clearly. The main sixteenth-century graphic testimony is Etienne Du Pérac’s engraving of 1575 (Fig. 91).<sup>14</sup> In the foreground, flanking the entrance portal, are two small dwelling rooms projecting from the circular wall, one with a terraced roof garden and a pergola. Above the rusticated portal is a colossal mask, and in front of it are some ancient sculptures arranged symmetrically. The garden is planted within the great circular walls of the ancient building, the shape of the beds corresponding to its concentric rings. Around the interior wall of the garden are set various statues and sarcophagi, and set into the wall, facing the main entrance, is a large niche containing a statue.

Ulisse Aldrovandi, writing in 1550, carefully described the sculptures collected in ‘casa di Monsignor Francesco Soderini, ò al Mausoleo d’Augusto istesso’, and gave an idea of the specific location of some of them.<sup>15</sup> Aldrovandi was in Rome in 1550, so

<sup>12</sup> ‘Quanto sia stata grande et meravigliosa fabrica, si può considerare dalli muri e fundamenti che vi sono remasti. Ora havendo veduto cavare attorno dall’abate Suderino, si vide assai chiara la forma sua, che teniva quando fu intero’. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS xliii B10, fol. 117<sup>v</sup>. For the reconstruction of the elevation see *ibid.*, fol. 119<sup>r</sup>, and for the plan fol. 120<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Commenting on his plan, Ligorio notes that ‘La parte segnata A e B dentro del quarto cerchio, è stata per li tempi passati spianata, et hoggidì ridotta in forma di un giardino della famiglia de Suderini’. *Ibid.*, fols 119–20.

<sup>14</sup> E. Du Pérac, *I vestigi delle Antichità di Roma*, Rome 1575, pl. 36. The preparatory drawing for this engraving is now in the Uffizi, inv. Arch. 1750; see A. Bartoli, *I Monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze*, Rome 1914–22, iii, pl. cccvii, fig. 738.

<sup>15</sup> *Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi*

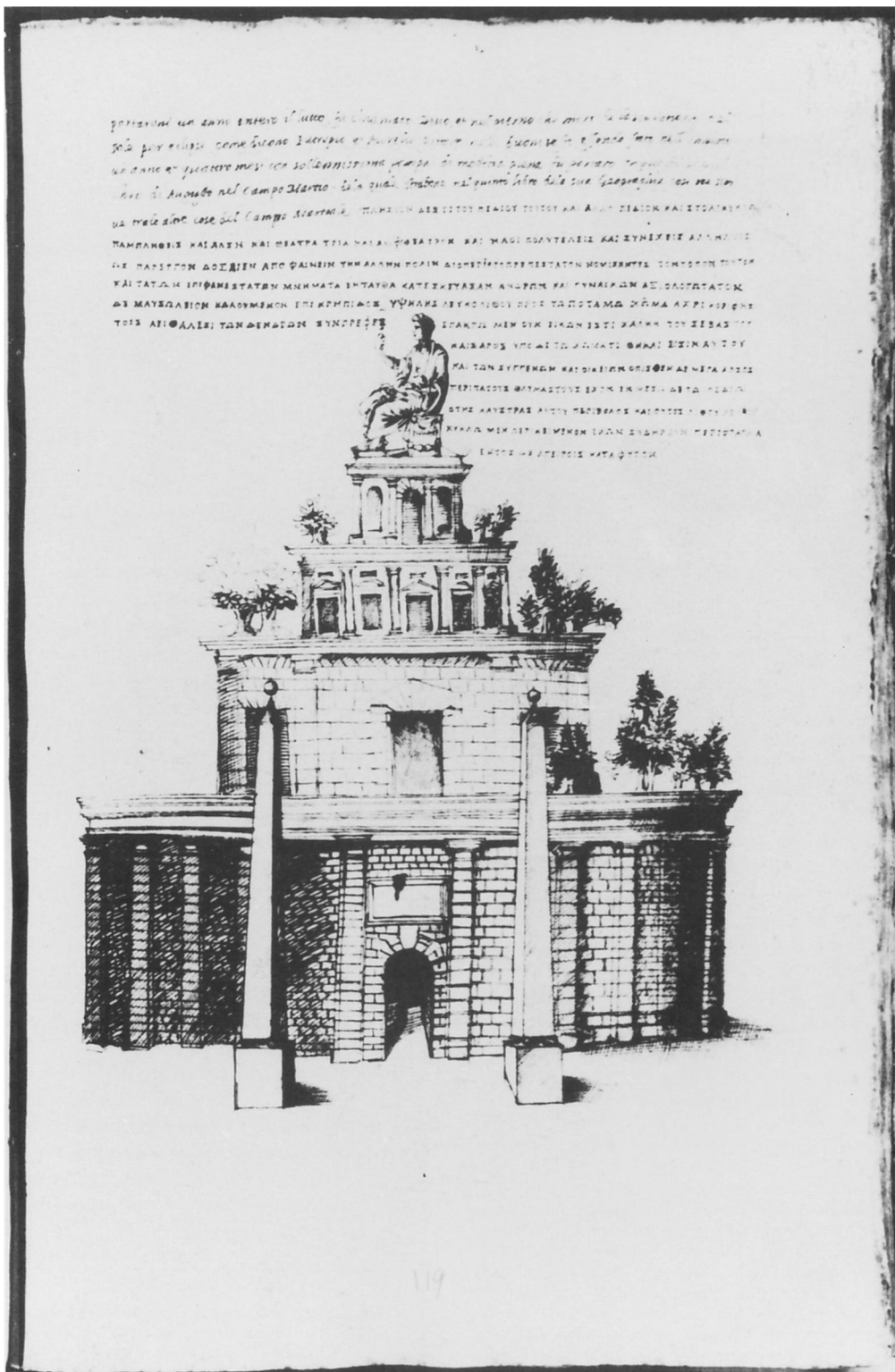


Fig. 92—Pirro Ligorio, Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus, elevation.  
Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS xiii B10, fol. 119<sup>r</sup>

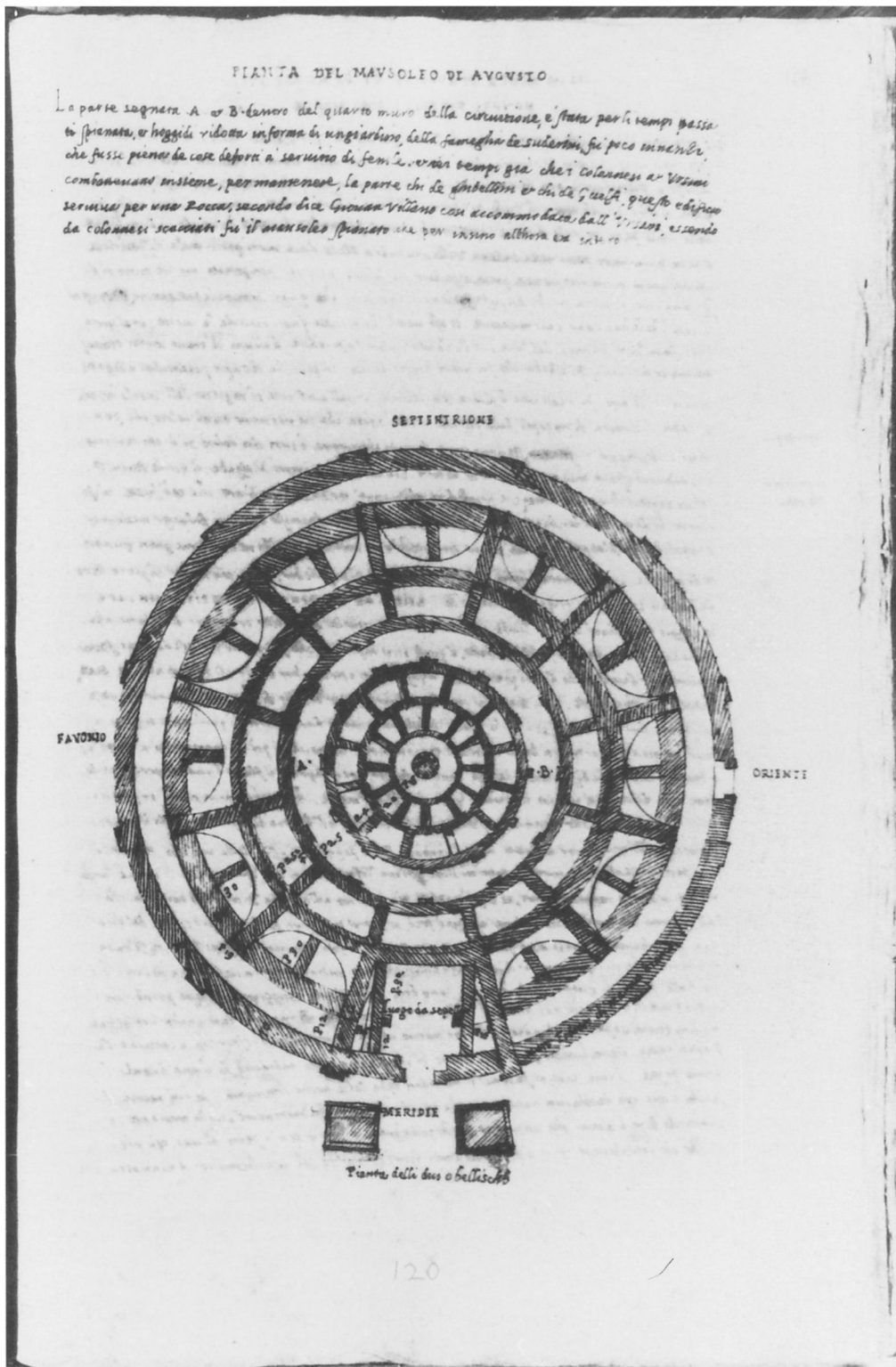


Fig. 93—Pirro Ligorio, Reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Augustus, plan. Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS xiii B10, fol. 120<sup>r</sup>



Fig. 94—'Pasquino'. Florence, Pitti Palace

that his testimony reflects the original setting of the garden. He lists sixteen ancient pieces, including a statuary group, seven free standing statues, three torsos, four sarcophagi and a colossal mask. Nevertheless, we know that Aldrovandi generally recorded only the major items, overlooking inscriptions, funerary urns, altars and other minor works. As we shall see, there were more works; Aldrovandi himself mentions some reliefs placed in the interior wall. In addition to the outdoor collection, he records a statue of the Dea Copia located in a room of the mausoleum, possibly one of the burial chambers that Soderini had transformed into rooms for habitation. Some items in the collection must have been exhibited in these rooms, and in fact Ligorio's drawings suggest that the Monsignore also collected small objects. His *Antichità romane*, for example, contains a drawing of some Roman coins belonging to the 'Abate Soderino',<sup>16</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *case si veggono*, in L. Mauro, *Le antichità della città di Roma*, Venice 1562, pp. 199–200. The text of Aldrovandi's account is given in the Appendix below, p. 284.

<sup>17</sup> Turin, Archivio di Stato, Ligorio, vol. xxi, fol. 246<sup>v</sup>, and vol. xxii, fols 65<sup>r</sup>, 66<sup>r</sup>; see also I. Campbell, 'Pirro

and also a discussion about a herm of Pitagoras found in Tivoli, which is compared to a cornelian carved with a head of this sage recently purchased by Francesco Soderini.<sup>17</sup>

Only the first of the statues recorded by Aldrovandi seems to have come from the mausoleum itself. This was 'a Pasquino embracing an Antaeus dead as a result of a wound; it is a work much praised by Michelangelo'.<sup>18</sup> Around 1594, Flaminio Vacca wrote that Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, had bought from Paoloantonio Soderini a version of the Pasquino which had been discovered in the mausoleum of Augustus.<sup>19</sup> This replica of the famous Pergamene group of Menelaus carrying the body of Patroclus<sup>20</sup> is today still in Florence, in the Cortile dell'Aiace of the Pitti Palace (Fig. 94).<sup>21</sup>

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Ligorio and the Temples of Rome on Coins', in *Pirro Ligorio, Artist and Antiquarian*, ed. R. W. Gaston, Florence 1988, p. 100, figs 11–12.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, xxiii, fols 540–2; see B. Palma Venetucci, *Pirro Ligorio e le erme tiburtine*, Rome 1992, pp. 169–70. The 'Antonietto Antiquario' from whom Soderini purchased the cornelian is probably Antonio Conteschi, better known as 'Antonietto delle Medaglie', a famous Roman antiquarian and collector of ancient marbles and other objects of art; see Lanciani (as in n. 10), iii, pp. 256–8.

<sup>18</sup> Presumably this means that he interpreted the subject as Hercules and Antaeus; Pasquino was sometimes taken to be Hercules: see P. P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture. A Handbook of Sources*, London and Oxford 1986, p. 187.

<sup>19</sup> *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma*, Rome 1594, p. 17, no. 97. B. Schweitzer, *Das Original der sogenannten Pasquino-Gruppe*, Leipzig 1936, pp. 1–4, comments that if the Pasquino was really found *in situ* during the 1549 excavations, it could have belonged to the statuary decoration of the Roman 'silvae et ambulationes in usum populi' (Suetonius, *Augustus*, 100) surrounding the mausoleum. Another possibility is that the group was not found *in situ* at all: Schweitzer mentions the presence of a lime kiln (*calcaria*) quite close to the mausoleum and notes that the statue could have been moved there and, for some reason, eventually abandoned, which would mean that it was totally unconnected with the original decoration of the mausoleum.

<sup>20</sup> For the Roman replicas of this famous statuary group see B. Conticello and B. Andrae, 'Die Skulpturen von Sperlonga', *Antike Plastik*, xiv, Berlin 1974, pp. 87–95; also F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique. The Lure of Classical Sculpture*, New Haven and London 1981, p. 291, no. 72; Bober and Rubinstein (as in n. 18), pp. 187–8, no. 155.

<sup>21</sup> H. Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*, ii, Leipzig 1875, p. 23, no. 47; W. Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz*, Munich 1897, p. 134, no. 187 (EA 3723–26).

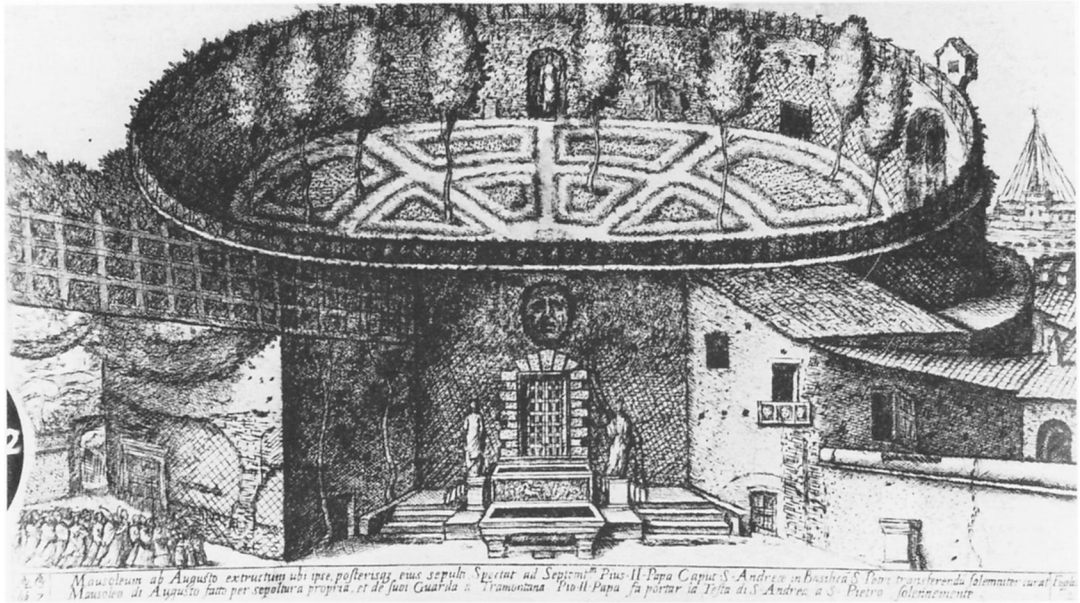


Fig. 95—Alò Giovannoli, 'The Mausoleum of Augustus', engraving, 1619

After the Pasquino, Aldrovandi describes 'an undamaged, clothed statue of a vestal virgin', referring to a colossal piece now in Berlin which is after the type of the so-called Cherchel Demeter.<sup>22</sup> In the Du Pérac view (Fig. 91), the statue is located outside the mausoleum, to the left of the main entrance.<sup>23</sup> A drawing in Venice reproducing a lost page from the so-called Fossombrone sketchbook<sup>24</sup> proves that this 'vestal' was already known around 1530—a circumstance which excludes any link with the Soderini excavations of 1549. It was still in the garden in 1638, when François Perrier engraved it (Fig. 97).<sup>25</sup> In 1766 the statue was restored by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, who eventually

sold it to Frederick the Great.<sup>26</sup>

Aldrovandi also describes 'another dressed virgin vestal, but it has no head, no right arm and no left hand'. This statue, supplied with a head, seems to have been the second one flanking the entrance of the mausoleum and recorded in the engraving by Du Pérac (Fig. 91). It is recognisable in a mid-seventeenth-century drawing ascribed to Gaspar Dughet (Fig. 98), the distinguishing feature being the drooping hemline of the mantle.<sup>27</sup> The precise correspondence of the broken right arm and left hand suggests a possible identification with the statue later restored as Hygeia and now in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 96).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> C. Blümel, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen*, iv, Berlin 1931, pp. 29–31 and pls 55–7 (inv. K 168).

<sup>23</sup> The statue is seen more distinctly in a drawing attributed to Gaspar Dughet (Fig. 98), discussed below.

<sup>24</sup> Venice, Accademia, inv. 1513. See A. Nesselrath, *Das Fossombroner Skizzenbuch* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, xli), London 1993, p. 211, fig. 85. A drawing in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex Miniatus 21, 2, fol. 8, depicts the same Vestal standing upon a base inscribed 'VESTAE / Q. CASSIVS. M.F. / VARVS / D.S.D.D.D'.

<sup>25</sup> F. Perrier, *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum*, Paris 1638, pl. 80, with the label 'Max[im]a Vestalis in Aedibus Soderinis'.

<sup>26</sup> B. Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d'antiche statue*, i, Rome 1768, pl. 55, described as 'Or esistente in Germania'. For the provenance of the Berlin statue see Blümel, loc. cit in n. 22.

<sup>27</sup> See *Vasari Society for the Reproduction of Drawings by Old Masters*, ser. 2, part 3, Oxford 1922, p. 11, no. 16. Here the drawing it is recorded as in the collection of Lady Lucas; I have no knowledge of its current location. T. Ashby, in a letter to the *Burlington Magazine*, xlii, 1923, p. 107, proposed dating the drawing 'somewhere between 1635 and 1645 or 1650'.

<sup>28</sup> See W. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, 2 vols, Berlin 1903–8, ii, pp. 227–32, no. 85, pl. 22. Amelung noted that the present head, which is different from the one in the drawing, is not original.



Fig. 96—Ancient statue restored as Hygeia.  
Vatican City, Museo del Vaticano

Among the other sculptures decorating the mausoleum entrance, Aldrovandi notes a great sarcophagus...with various beautiful figures, that seems to be a triumph of Love. Among the other beautiful things carved there, can be seen a man who is resting his cheek on his hand and is leaning on a stick, with a dog at his feet, barking, and there is also a fine ram.

This is the large, third-century sarcophagus representing the myth of Endymion and Selene, now in the Galleria of the Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome (Fig. 100).<sup>29</sup> The

<sup>29</sup> C. Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, Berlin 1890–1919, iii.1, p. 92, no. 77, pl. xx; R. Calza et al., *Antichità di Villa Doria-Pamphilj*, Rome 1977, p. 152, no. 181, pl.



Fig. 97—François Perrier, 'Vestal', from  
*Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum*,  
Paris 1638

winged, youthful figure of Hymenaeus and the *amorini* surrounding Selene's chariot might have suggested Aldrovandi's identification. The previous history of this sarcophagus is unknown. Du Pérac reproduced it carefully in front of the main entrance of the garden (Fig. 91), where it still lay at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as can be seen from a drawing from the Dal Pozzo collection at Windsor<sup>30</sup> and a view of 1619 published by Alò Giovannoli (Fig.

xciii; H. Sichtermann, *Die Mythologischen Sarkophage. Apollon bis Grazien*, Berlin 1992 (*Die Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, xii.2), pp. 142–3, no. 93, pl. 87.

<sup>30</sup> Inv. xviii 89 (34), labelled 'a Sodarini'; C. C. Vermeule, 'The Dal Pozzo-Albani Drawings of Classical Antiquities in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, lvi.2, 1966, p. 67, no. 8082.

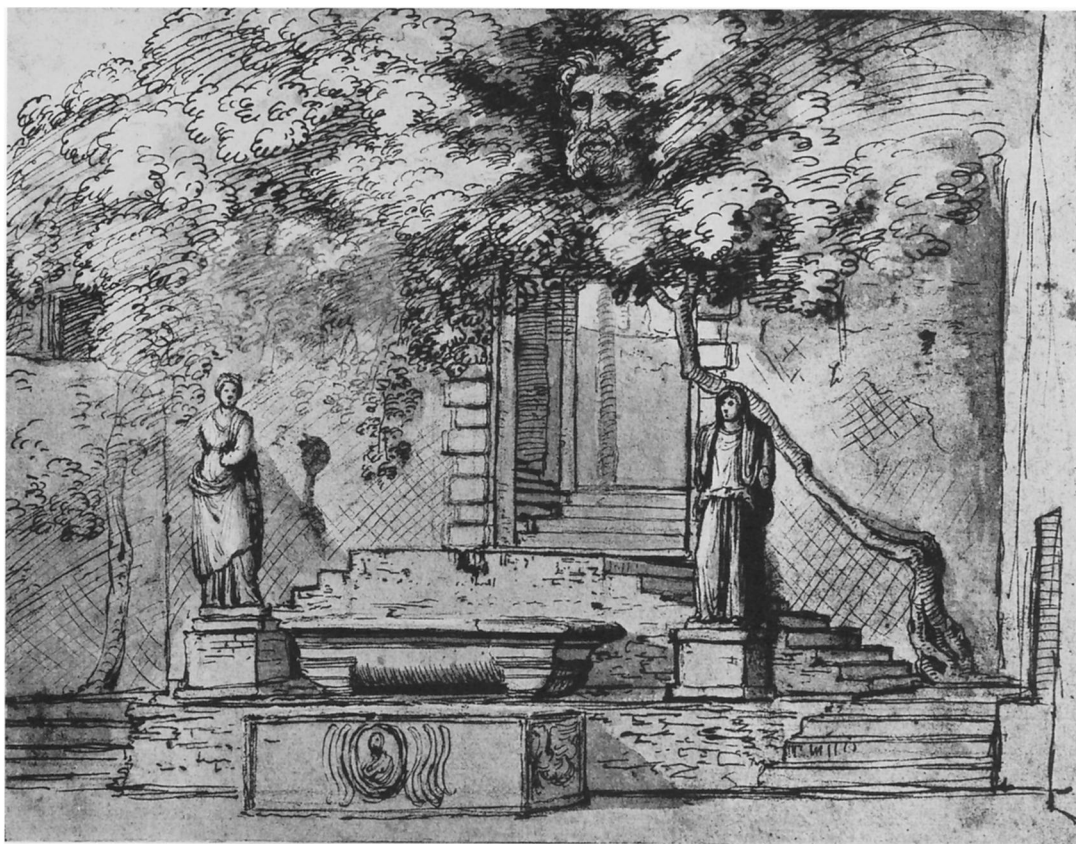


Fig. 98—Attributed to Gaspar Dughet, 'The Mausoleum of Augustus', drawing. Present whereabouts unknown

95).<sup>31</sup> It passed into the Doria Pamphilj collection around the middle of the seventeenth century.

What is common to all the statues decorating the entrance is their colossal size, an evocation of ancient monumentality: even from outside, the collection was intended to impress. Largest of all in scale was the huge mask set into the wall above the doorway. Prominent in Du Pérac's engraving (Fig. 91) and the drawing attributed to Dughet (Fig. 98), it was noted by Aldrovandi<sup>32</sup> but is not yet identified. The great niche inside the garden, facing the entrance, seems to have housed another massive statue (see Fig. 91),

which could have been the 'big draped Aesculapius, 25 palms in height and 8 wide', described by Aldrovandi as very beautiful but headless.<sup>33</sup> This statue was drawn by the French artist Pierre Jacques between 1572 and 1577, when it was still armless below the elbow but no longer headless (Fig. 101).<sup>34</sup> As is reported by Antonio Guattani in 1784, a statue of this type remained neglected in the ruins of the mausoleum

until the distinguished sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti, admiring its beauty and value, purchased it. He moved it to his studio and with a *dotta imitazione*

<sup>31</sup> A. Giovannoli, *Vedute degli antichi vestigij di Roma*, 1619, i, pl. 40. It does not, however, appear in the drawing attributed to Dughet (Fig. 98): see further below, n. 70.

<sup>32</sup> 'Above the sarcophagus there is in the wall a great head with its mouth open'. *Delle statue antiche*, loc. cit. in n. 15.

<sup>33</sup> That the Aesculapius was in this location seems to be supported by some later accounts of the garden, for example Ridolfino Venuti, *Accurata e succinxta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma*, 1767(?), edn Rome 1803, ii, p. 96, who says: 'Nel prospetto del Giardino si vede una rovinata statua colossale d'Esculapio, che dicono qui ritrovata'.

<sup>34</sup> See S. Reinach, *L'Album de Pierre Jacques sculpteur de Reims*, Paris 1902, p. 116, pl. 12.



Fig. 99—Giovannantonio Dosio, drawing of a sarcophagus in the mausoleum of Augustus, showing circus factions. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett MS 79.D.1, fol. 3<sup>r</sup>

added the missing parts and restored it without, supposedly, depriving it of any of its beauty or removing the patina of age.<sup>35</sup>

It is likely that this statue was the Aesculapius bought by Marcantonio Borghese IV from Pacetti in 1785, which is now in the Villa Borghese garden inside the Tempietto of Aesculapius that was built for it in 1793.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> 'Fino a tanto che l'esimio scultore Sig. Vincenzo Pacetti, consideratane la bellezza, ed ogni suo pregio, l'acquistò; et fattala trasportare al suo studio con una dotta imitazione la supplì nel mancante, e la restaurò senza alterare punto le sue belle forme, e senza togliergli quel venerabile vecchioso del tempo'. G. A. Guattani, *Monumenti antichi*, Rome 1784, p. xc, pl. ii. The singular beauty of the statue suggested to Guattani that it might be derived from one of those mentioned by Pliny in the temples of Concordia and Octavia, the first of which was executed by Niceratus and the second by Cephisodotus, son of Praxiteles (Pliny, *Natural History*, xxxiv.80 and xxxvi.24, respectively). On the restoration carried out by Pacetti see O. Rossi Pinelli, 'Chirurgia della memoria: scultura antica e restauri storici', *Memoria dell'Antico nell'arte italiana, III. Dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, Turin 1986, p. 237 n. 2.

<sup>36</sup> F. Matz and F. von Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom*, Leipzig 1881, p. 15, no. 56; S. Staccioli and P. Moreno, *Le collezioni della Galleria Borghese. Roma*, Milan 1981, pp.

At any rate this identification seems to me more convincing than the ones so far proposed, with the Torlonia Aesculapius found during the excavations at Porto in 1877,<sup>37</sup> or with the statue formerly in the Hope collection.<sup>38</sup>

Among the antiquities recorded by Aldrovandi was

a beautiful ancient sarcophagus with four men, each leading his horse, and there are some sacks beneath the horses, and five inscriptions: the second one says HOC EST, the third one SIC

9, 11 (fig.). For the history of this statue and its archaeological interpretation see also *Il Giardino del Lago a Villa Borghese. Sculture romane dal classico al neoclassico*, ed. A. Campitelli, Rome 1993, pp. 59–62.

<sup>37</sup> On the Torlonia excavations see E. Fabricius and G. Wissowa, 'Sopra una statua del Museo Torlonia', *Bullettino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1883, pp. 141–4; C. L. Visconti, *I monumenti del Museo Torlonia*, Rome 1885, p. 63, no. 94.

<sup>38</sup> As proposed in G. B. Waywell, *The Lever and Hope Sculptures*, Berlin 1986, p. 69, no. 3. The relatively small size of the Aesculapius statue in the Hope collection, as well as some minor differences in drapery and the presence of a casket by its left foot, make this proposal unlikely.

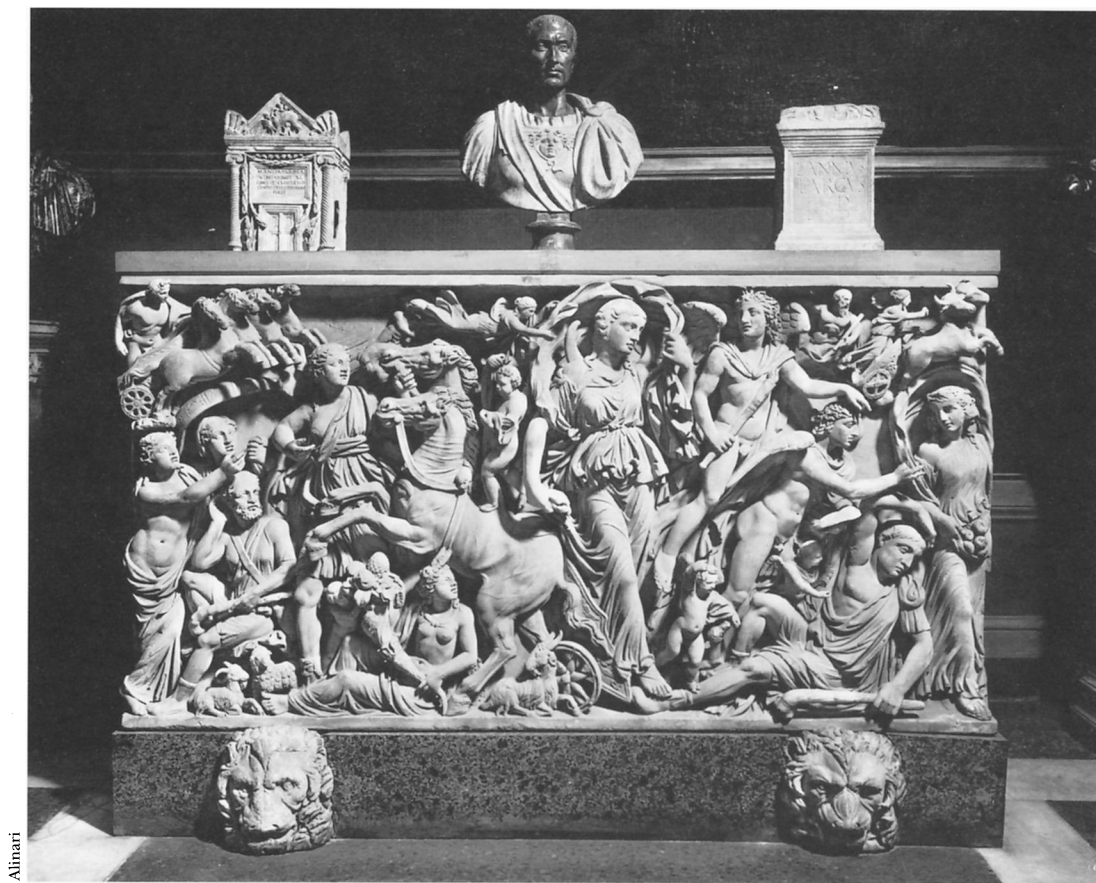


Fig. 100—Sarcophagus of Selene and Endymion. Rome, Palazzo Doria Pamphilj

EST, the fifth ET CREDE, NON LICET. The other two inscriptions cannot be read.

This is the Antonine sarcophagus representing the four circus factions, which in the eighteenth century belonged to the Obizzi collection at Il Catajo near Padua, later passing to Vienna (in fact the full text of the inscription is 'LEGE ET CREDE, HOC EST, SIC EST, ALIUT FIERI NON LICET').<sup>39</sup> The piece had been famous at least since the middle of the sixteenth century, when it was copied by Pighius and Dosio (Fig. 99)<sup>40</sup> on account of

its rare subject and its sibylline inscription, which is probably a moral maxim on the inevitability of death.<sup>41</sup> On the basis of Du Pérac's view (Fig. 91), it seems likely that the

<sup>39</sup> It is now in the Antikensammlung, Vienna. See R. Amedick, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*, Berlin 1991 (*Die Antike Sarkophagreliefs*, i.4), p. 172, no. 315, pl. 119.

<sup>40</sup> For the drawing by Stephanus Vinandus Pighius see the Codex Pighianus Berolinensis in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lib. pict. A.61, fol. 381<sup>v</sup> (formerly 365<sup>v</sup>); cf. the drawing by the anonymous artist of the Codex Coburgensis in Veste Coburg (fol. 126). It was recorded by Dosio as in the collection of

Paoloantonio Soderini, in the mausoleum of Augustus (see Fig. 99). See C. Hülsen, *Das Skizzenbuch des Giovannantonio Dosio*, Berlin 1933, p. 2, pl. iii (fol. 3<sup>r</sup>); R. Harprath, 'Zeichentechnik und Künstlerische Persönlichkeit des "Meister des Codex Coburgensis"', *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock*, ed. R. Harprath and H. Wrede, Mainz 1989, figs 14–15; A. M. Riccomini, 'Sul taccuino torinese di Girolamo da Carpi', *Prospettiva*, lxxvii, July 1992, p. 68, figs 1–2; eadem, 'Nota sulle antichità romane disegnate da Pierre Jacques, scultore di Reims', *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte*, li, 1993, p. 67, figs 5–8.

<sup>41</sup> *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*, Berlin 1863ff (hereafter CIL), vi, no. 29952. C. Cavedoni, *Indicazione antiquaria del Reale Museo Estense del Catajo*, Modena 1842, p. 50 n. 37, compares this inscription with one carved on a funerary epitaph in the Campana collection, reading 'HOC EST SIC EST ALIUT FIERI NON POTEST HOC AD NOS'.



Fig. 101—Pierre Jacques, 'Aesculapius'.  
S. Reinach, *L'Album de Pierre Jacques*, 1902

sarcophagus was against the interior wall at the end of one of the four radial pathways of the garden.

It is less easy to establish the exact situation of the statue of Diana which Aldrovandi also saw in the garden. She was evidently



Fig. 102—Girolamo da Carpi, 'Diana',  
drawing. Turin, Bibliotheca Reale

'dressed as a huntress, the wind blowing her clothes making her legs show through; she wears a quiver on her shoulder, but is headless'. Her elegant drapery was admired by the mannerist artist Girolamo da Carpi, who copied it three times in his sketchbook, adding arms and head and noting the location as 'nel Mausolio daugusto che hora è deli Soderini' (Fig. 102).<sup>42</sup> This statue too is not likely to have emerged during the Soderini excavations of 1549; in fact it resembles a Diana copied by Maarten van Heemskerck in Rome in the 1530s.<sup>43</sup> There are many versions of this statue-type, known as Artemis Colonna: the closest to the drawings by Da

<sup>42</sup> See N. W. Canedy, *The Roman Sketchbook of Girolamo da Carpi* (Studies of the Warburg Institute, xxxv), London 1976, pp. 87, 110, no. T47 (fol. 7<sup>r</sup>), and also nos T48, T140.

<sup>43</sup> See C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die Römischen Skizzenbücher von Maarten van Heemskerck*, 2 vols, Berlin 1913–16, i, p. 27 (fol. 51<sup>r</sup>); and Riccomini, 1992 (as in n. 40), p. 69.



Fig. 103—Statue of Emperor Rome, Museo Nazionale

Carpi and Van Heemskerck is an over-life-size Diana with arms and head added in a modern restoration, which belonged in the seventeenth century to the Doria and Pamphilj and is now in the Vatican.<sup>44</sup>

Aldrovandi further describes a 'torso of Vespasian, naked except for a mantle on his shoulders', and then a 'nude, male statue, quite fine, but headless and armless; on its right side there is a piece of armour as a trophy'. According to a drawing made in

<sup>44</sup> See Calza (as in n. 29), p. 65, no. 58, pl. xxxvii; Amelung (as in n. 28), i, p. 102, no. 92, pl. 15. The modern arms of this statue are in quite different positions from those in Girolamo's drawing. Apparently the artist was simply suggesting a possible restoration: in fact, in Girolamo's other two drawings (see n. 42) the statue is shown headless and armless. On the Roman replicas of this statuary type see M. Bieber, *Ancient Copies. Contributions to the History of Greek and Roman Art*, New York 1977, pls 60–1.

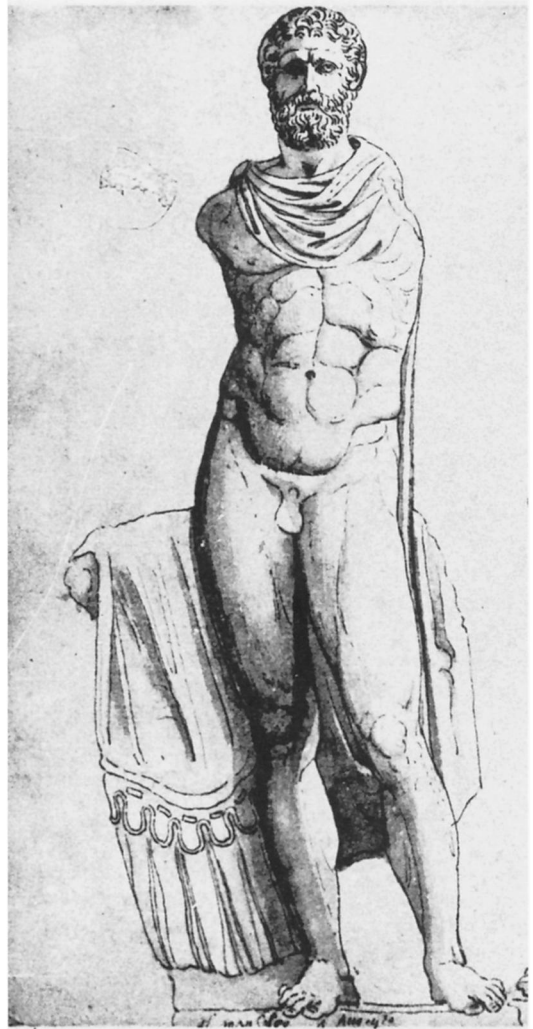


Fig. 104—Pierre Jacques, 'Nude emperor'. S. Reinach, *L'Album de Pierre Jacques*, 1902

the 1570s by Pierre Jacques (Fig. 104),<sup>45</sup> the latter was later restored with a portrait-head of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, contemporary with the figure type.<sup>46</sup> The piece must have left the garden by the early seventeenth century, since it is recorded in the Ludovisi collection between 1621 and 1632. It appears to be identical with a good, over life-size Roman statue (Fig. 103) which is today

<sup>45</sup> Reinach (as in n. 34), p. 116, pl. 11 bis.

<sup>46</sup> It is worth observing, given the presence in Rome of several greater and much more complete galleries of Emperor portraits at this time, that this Antoninus Pius might have served as a pendant to the naked Vespasian.



Fig. 105—Garland Sarcophagus, drawing from the Codex Pighianus. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz MS Lib. pict. A.61, fol. 358

in the Museo Nazionale in Rome, even if the support does not exactly correspond to that shown by Pierre Jacques.<sup>47</sup>

Also mentioned by Aldrovandi, if only in passing, are several 'mezzo rilievo' fragments embedded in the circular Roman wall of the mausoleum. Among them was

a very beautiful sarcophagus with six heads facing one another in pairs and resting on three vases supported by four young boys, and with some other animals and youths above.

This detailed description refers, I believe, to a garland sarcophagus documented until the last century at the Palace of Pavlovsk near to St Petersburg, but now apparently lost.<sup>48</sup> Many Renaissance artists, among them Pighius, Pierre Jacques and Girolamo da Carpi, must have shared Aldrovandi's high opinion, to judge from the copies they drew (Fig. 105).<sup>49</sup> It was probably displayed in the garden until the second half of the

eighteenth century: at some date between 1768 and 1779 it reached England in the possession of Lyde Browne, and migrated to Russia a few years later with the rest of that collection.<sup>50</sup>

So far it has been possible to propose identifications for nine of the sixteen pieces listed by Aldrovandi. To these may be added a number of items noted by other visitors. Sixteenth-century epigraphic collections record some ancient inscriptions from the Soderini collection, and Pirro Ligorio, in the Neapolitan volumes of his *Antichità romane*, reproduces at least six of them; apart from one in Greek, they are mostly Latin tributes to soldiers and freedmen.<sup>51</sup> These inscriptions cannot have been unearthed in the Soderini excavations, since most were earlier in the Roman collection of Giovanni Angelera.<sup>52</sup> It may be that Francesco Soderini acquired a few epigraphic items of different character, with the aim of extending the range of his collection to make up for what he lacked in quantity.

<sup>47</sup> L. de Lachenal, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture*, ed. A. Giuliano, i.5, Rome 1983, p. 15, no. 7; B. Palma, *ibid.*, i.4, Rome 1983, p. 11, fig. 11.

<sup>48</sup> See J. M. Toynbee, 'A Roman Sarcophagus at Pawlowsk and its Fellows', *Journal of Roman Studies*, xvii, 1927, pp. 14–27; eadem, *The Hadrianic School. A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, Cambridge 1934, pp. 206–7, pl. xlv, figs 1–2. On the 18th-century history of this sarcophagus, including its purchase from the Lyde Browne collection, see O. Neverov, 'The Lyde Browne Collection and the History of Ancient Sculpture in the Hermitage Museum', *American Journal of Archaeology*, lxxxviii, 1984, pp. 33–42, figs 69–70.

<sup>49</sup> Codex Pighianus Berlinensis (as in n. 40), fol. 358 (formerly 341); Reinach (as in n. 34), p. 129, pls 57–57 bis.

<sup>50</sup> See above, n. 48.

<sup>51</sup> Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS xiii B7, vol. xxxix, fol. 456 (see also *Corpus inscriptionum graecum*, III 6465); MS xiii B8, vol. xxxix, fols 60 (CIL, as in n. 41, vi, no. 2452), 70 (CIL, vi, no. 2902 and v.5, no. 2924\*), 227, 264 (CIL, vi, no. 15294 and 21294), respectively.

<sup>52</sup> As we know, for instance, from Fra' Giocondo's *Sylloge Inscriptionum*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Vat. lat. 10228, unnumbered fol. between 50 and 51. See also Lanciani (as in n. 10), ii, p. 15.



Fig. 106—Alfonso Chacón, drawing in Rome, Biblioteca Angelica MS 1564, fol. 15<sup>r</sup>

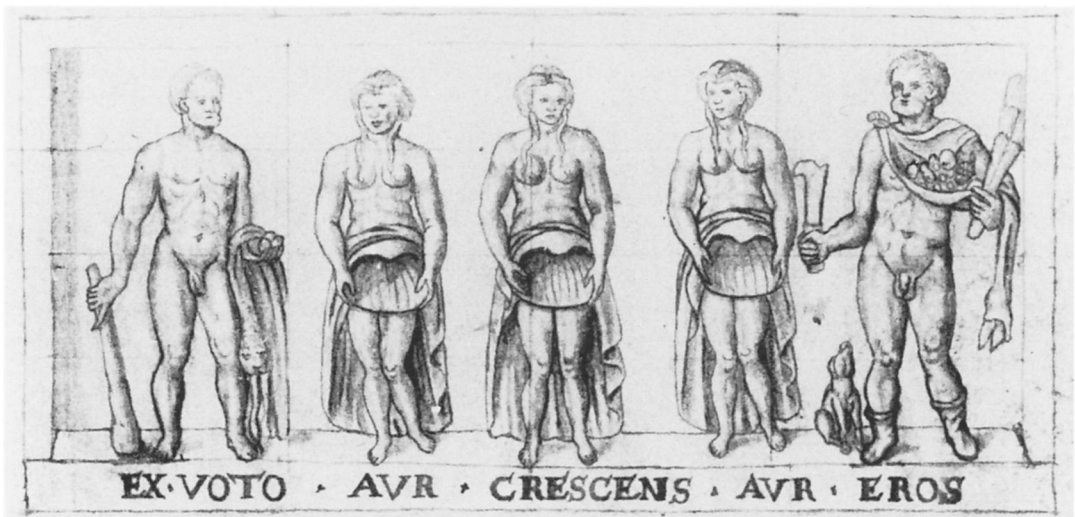


Fig. 107—Votive relief, drawing from the Codex Pighianus. MS Lib. pict. A.61, fol. 14

It is clear from notes and drawings made by Pirro Ligorio and, later, Alfonso Chacón (Ciacconius), that Soderini owned a funerary altar of a type showing a master and pupil (Fig. 106).<sup>53</sup> A votive relief dedicated

to Hercules (shown holding the apples of the Hesperides), the Nymphs and Silvanus is recorded by Pighius (Fig. 107) and Martinus Smetius, and later passed to the Borghese

<sup>53</sup> For Ligorio's drawing: Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale MS xliii B8, vol. xxxix, fol. 212 (p. 301); see CIL (as in n. 41), vi, no. 9752. Ciacconius (Fig. 106): Rome, Biblioteca Angelica MS 1564, fol. 15<sup>r</sup> ('olim in S. Stephano

ad cloacam S. Luciae cippo cui non dissimilis ad Mausoleum Augusti'). For the S. Stefano relief see also E. Casamassima and R. Rubinstein, *Antiquarian Drawings from Dosio's Workshop. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze N.A. 1159*, Florence 1993, pp. 27–8, no. 15.



Fig. 108—Neo-Attic triangular base, drawing, late 16th-century. London, British Museum

collection.<sup>54</sup> Also connected with the cult of Silvanus, tutelary God of orchards and gardens, was a votive altar now in the Vatican Museum but documented as 'in aedibus Soderini sive ad Mausoleum Augusti' in the sixteenth century.<sup>55</sup>

A late-sixteenth-century anonymous drawing labelled 'in Mausoleum Augusti' (Fig. 108), recently discovered and now in the British Museum, confirms the presence in the garden of a marble candelabrum base decorated with dancers.<sup>56</sup> The inscription at

the foot on the drawing notes that similar triangular bases are to be found elsewhere in Rome,<sup>57</sup> but the illustration does not correspond precisely to any of the extant examples of this type. Nevertheless, if we allow for a certain licence in recording, the piece in the Mausoleum can probably be identified with a triangular neo-Attic base which was in the Villa Borghese during the eighteenth century and passed from there to the Louvre. Two of its faces are decorated with dancers wearing clinging chitons and *kalahthiskoi*, while the third shows a dancing Maenad of a type similar to the one in the anonymous drawing but not found on comparable pieces known in the Renaissance.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> CIL (as in n. 41), vi, no. 834; for Pighius see Codex Pighianus Berolinensis (as in n. 40), fol. 14; and for Smetius his *Inscriptiones antiquae*, Leiden 1588, fol. 24.4. Gianfrancesco Doni recorded it 'in suburbano card. Borghesii extra portam Pincianam': Florence, Biblioteca Marucelliana MS A.293, p. 213.

<sup>55</sup> For the evidence see CIL (as in n. 41), vi, no. 618; Amelung (as in n. 27), i, p. 652, no. 516, pl. 69.

<sup>56</sup> See I. D. Jenkins, 'Newly Discovered Drawings from the Museo Cartaceo in the British Museum', *Cassiano Dal Pozzo. Atti del Seminario Internazionale di Studi*, ed. F. Solinas, Rome 1989, pp. 131–6, 150 and fol. 29b; and A. Claridge and I. D. Jenkins, 'Cassiano and the Tradition of Drawing from the Antique', *The Paper Museum of*

*Cassiano Dal Pozzo*, exhib. cat., London 1993, = *Quaderni Puteani*, iv, Milan 1993, pp. 13–26, fig. 5.

<sup>57</sup> 'visitur non absimilis triquerua basis in Capitolio et in S. Bartolomeo in Insula'.

<sup>58</sup> H. U. Cain, *Römische Marmorkandelaber*, Mainz am Rhein 1985, p. 169, no. 61; the edge is a modern restoration. This base and a similar one in Venice (which has a different sort of Maenad) were much praised by

We do not know whether this piece was already in the garden by the middle of the century, or whether it was purchased by Paoloantonio Soderini after the death of his brother Francesco. Paoloantonio in fact effected some changes to the collection: he evidently acquired two headless herms of Homer and Menander, not listed by Aldrovandi but recorded in the Mausoleum by some late-Renaissance antiquarians.<sup>59</sup> In his volume on ancient portraits, Achilles Stautius claimed that they were found in Rome in 1567, 'extra Porta Trigemina', and had recently been moved to the mausoleum.<sup>60</sup> Jean Jacques Boissard recorded them 'ad S. Rocchum', the church which still faces the monument.<sup>61</sup> It seems to have been these two herms which flanked the Endymion sarcophagus in front of the main entrance; in Du Pérac's view they are they are shown lying on the steps (Fig. 91).

One further addition to the collection by Paoloantonio is revealed in a letter of 20 February 1561 to Ruberto Strozzi, in which he talks of 'il mio villano' which has 'gone away'. Alessandro Parronchi, who published Paoloantonio's letter, concluded that his 'villano' was the statue in the Uffizi now known as the Arrotino (Fig. 110).<sup>62</sup> This statue, which shows a man sharpening his knife, actually in preparation for the flaying

of Marsyas, was indeed sometimes identified as a peasant at work.<sup>63</sup> As Parronchi noted, the Uffizi Arrotino was recorded by Aldrovandi in 1550 as 'in casa di Messer Nicolò Guisa, dove ora stà il Signor Duca di Melfi, di là dal Tevere'.<sup>64</sup> Until recently, it was assumed that the 'Guisa' statue was in a palace belonging to the Capodiferro, which passed to the Mignanelli and later became the Palazzo Spada; this palace, of course, is on the city side of the Tiber.<sup>65</sup> Roberto Bartolini, on the other hand, interprets Aldrovandi's location as referring to a house in Trastevere, indeed to the Farnesina, where a statue of 'uno Augure di marmo, sta a ginocchi piegati et sega un saxo', which surely must be the Arrotino, is recorded in an inventory of 1520.<sup>66</sup> The evidence is certainly confusing, but since the Mignanelli sold the Arrotino to the Medici<sup>67</sup> it can be assumed that the much-travelled statue must have crossed the Tiber between 1520 and 1561 when Soderini referred to it as 'his'.

However, attempts to increase the collection were soon thwarted by financial difficulties. For example, the Pasquino, one of the most famous pieces, was sold to Cosimo I.<sup>68</sup> Later views of the garden confirm the

Renaissance artists. See Bober and Rubinstein (as in n. 18), p. 121, nos 89, 89a; Nesselrath (as in n. 25), pp. 165–6, figs 44–5 (fol. 30<sup>r-v</sup>); and Riccomini, 1992 (as in n. 40), pp. 68–9, figs 3–5.

<sup>59</sup> See G. Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae*, xiv, Berlin 1890, nos 1188 (Homer), 1183 (Menander). At the beginning of this century the herm of Menander was in the entrance hall of the University of Turin, while the other was already lost. On the history of the two herms see Lanciani (as in n. 10), iii, pp. 240–1, and iv, pp. 39–40.

<sup>60</sup> *Illustrium virorum... vultus*, ed. A. Lafréry, Rome 1569, pl. xvi: 'in eam molem, quae vulgo Mausolaem Augusti dicitur'.

<sup>61</sup> Stockholm, Royal Library, Cod. Holmiensis, S.68 (1559), fol. 169<sup>r</sup>. The two herms were found after 1559 (the date recorded on the frontispiece): they were added, in the last pages of the manuscript, only at a later date. See C. Hülsen, 'Die Herminenschriften berühmter Griechen und die ikonographischen Sammlungen des xvi. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm. Abt.)*, xvi, 1901, p. 144.

<sup>62</sup> A. Parronchi, 'L'Arrotino opera moderna', *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore*, ser. 3, i, 2, 1971, pp. 345–74. For the Uffizi statue see G. A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le sculture*, Rome 1958, i, p. 84, no. 55, fig. 57a-b.

<sup>63</sup> See e.g. F. Boyer, 'Les antiques de Ferdinand de Médicis', *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, lv, 1924, pp. 203, 206. Duke Cosimo I himself calls the statue 'il villano che arrota il coltello' in a letter to Vasari in 1567: G. Gaye, *Carteggio inedito d'artisti...*, iii, Florence 1840, pp. 240–1, no. ccxvi. G. Celio, *Memoria fatta...delli uomini dell'Artefici delle Pitture che sono in alcune chiese, Facciate et Palazzi di Roma*, Naples 1638, p. 138, listing the antique statues in the Villa Medici in Rome, mentions a 'villano che arruota il coltello'.

<sup>64</sup> Aldrovandi (as in n. 15), p. 162.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. Bober and Rubinstein (as in n. 18), p. 475. This interpretation of the phrase 'di là del Tevere' is possible, since Aldrovandi had just been describing a collection in Trastevere.

<sup>66</sup> R. Bartolini, 'Due episodi del mecenatismo di Agostino Chigi e le antichità della Farnesina', *Prospettiva*, lxxvii, 1992, pp. 17–38, esp. pp. 31 and 38 n. 59.

<sup>67</sup> Boyer (as in n. 63), p. 206. Luigi Beschi disputes Parronchi's identification of the 'villano' with the Arrotino, proposing instead that the 'peasant' in question was the Meleager (Bober and Rubinstein, as in n. 18, p. 144, no. 112): 'Sculture antiche da Boboli agli Uffizi? Alcune precisazioni', *Boboli '90. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di studi per la salvaguardia e la valorizzazione del Giardino*, ii, Florence 1990, esp. pp. 646–7.

<sup>68</sup> For the sale see above, p. 270 and n. 19. Paoloantonio Soderini's financial difficulties are referred to in some of his letters to Ruberto Strozzi (1561), published by Parronchi (as in n. 62), p. 348 n. 5.

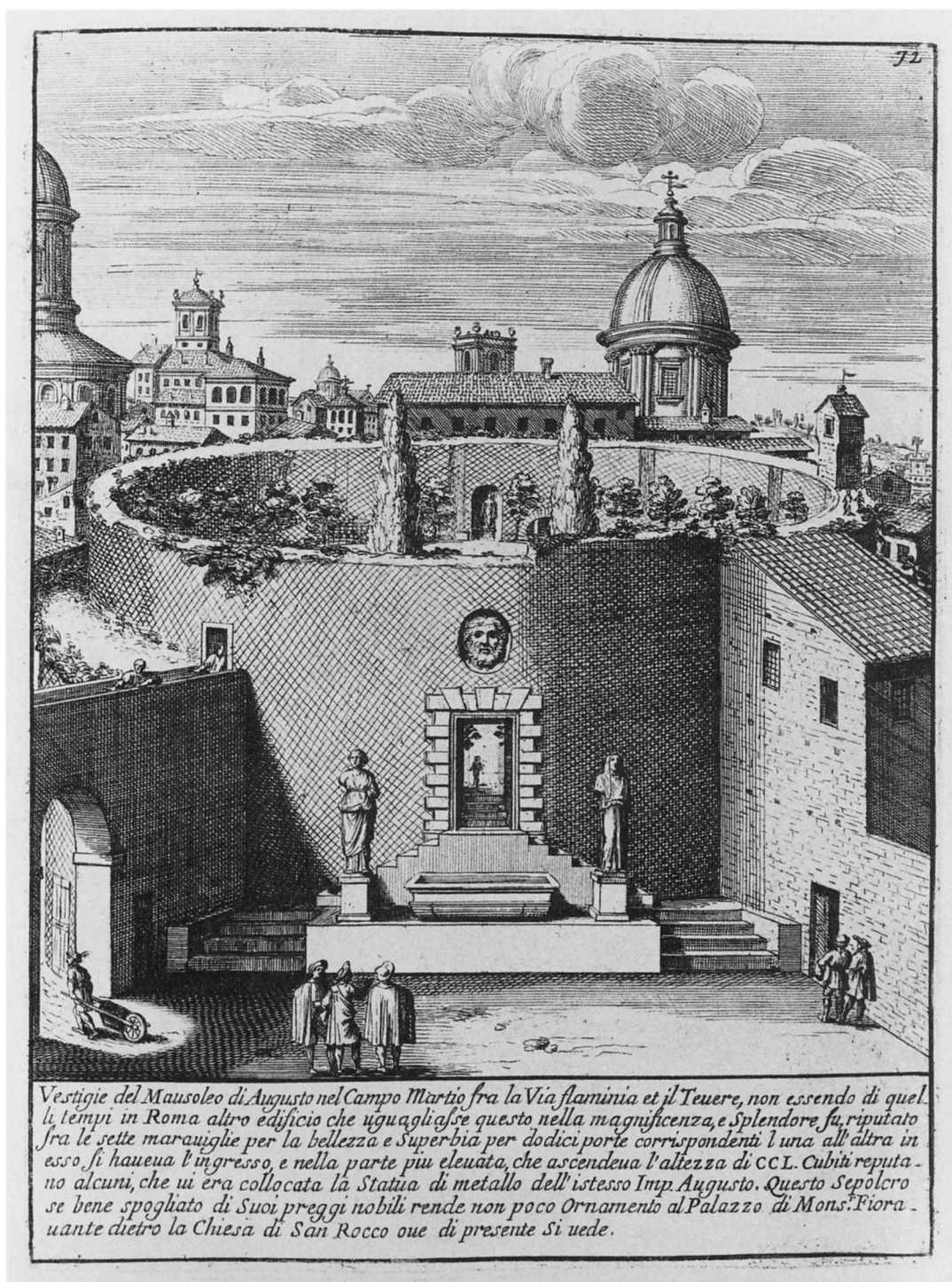


Fig. 109—'The Mausoleum of Augustus', from Pietro Santi Bartoli, *Gli antichi sepolcri*, ii, Rome 1727



Fig. 110—'Arrotino', Roman copy of 3rd-century BC Hellenistic statue. Florence, Uffizi

impoverishment of the collection: the sarcophagus with the four horsemen is already missing from Alò Giovannoli's view of 1619 (Fig. 95),<sup>69</sup> and this was followed by the two headless herms and the Endymion sarcophagus, as is confirmed by Pietro Santi Bartoli's engraving of 1727 (Fig. 109).<sup>70</sup> The garden survived, gradually deprived of its sculptural decoration, until 1780,<sup>71</sup> when it

was taken over for bull-fights.<sup>72</sup> Today, sixty years after the intervention of Mussolini,<sup>73</sup> there are plans to revitalise the piazza as a tourist attraction.<sup>74</sup> Probably, however, this will not involve the display of many works of ancient sculpture.\*\*

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<sup>69</sup> See above, p. 271. Giovannoli (as in n. 31), i, pl. 40.

<sup>70</sup> P. S. Bartoli, *Gli antichi sepolcri*, ii, Rome 1727, pl. 72. The drawing attributed to Gaspar Dughet (Fig. 98) depicts a different and much simpler sarcophagus at the main entrance of the garden, its only decoration being a portrait of the deceased in a *clipeum* between wavy lines, and a griffin at one end.

<sup>71</sup> In D. Magnan, *La città di Roma ovvero breve descrizione di questa superba città*, iii, Rome 1779, p. 18, 'un giardino

con una terrazza' is mentioned on top of the mausoleum.

<sup>72</sup> *Diario di Roma*, 1 July 1780. The inaugural bull-fight is shown in an engraving of 1780 by Francesco Barbazza after G. Vasi (C. Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperte di antichità sotto il pontificato di Pio VI*, n.d., edn Rome 1958, fig. 13).

<sup>73</sup> See above, p. 266.

<sup>74</sup> See the report in *La Repubblica*, 20 Apr. 1995.

\*\* The Appendix to this article follows on p. 284.

## APPENDIX

Ulisse Aldrovandi, *Delle Statue Antiche, che per tutta Roma in diversi luoghi & case si veggono* (from L. Mauro, *Le antichità della città di Roma*, Venice 1962, pp. 199–200)

In casa di Mons. Francesco Soderini, ò al Mausoleo d'Augusto istesso.

Qui è un Pasquino, che abbraccia un Antheo morto da una ferita; è un'opra molto lodata da Michel'Angelo.

Vi è una statua intiera vestita, d'una Monaca Vestale.

Vi sono due torsi antichi.

Poi vi è un Gladiatore, che si tiene la veste avvolta nel braccio in atto di combattere, ma non ha testa.

Vi è un'altra Monaca Vestale vestita, ma non ha testa, ne il braccio dritto, ne la mano sinistra.

Vi è una Diana vestita da cacciatrice, et il vento che soffia ne la veste, le fa mostrar le gambe, ha il carcasso con le frecce su le spalle: ma è senza testa. Vi è un torso di Vespasiano ignudo, solo con un mantello in spalla.

Vi è anco una statua ignuda d'huomo assai bella, ma non ha testa, ne braccia; et ha dal fianco dritto un'armatura à modo di trofeo.

Vi è una bellissima Pila antica dove sono quattro uomini, che conducono ciascuno il suo cavallo, e si veggono sacchi à piè de' cavalli, vi sono cinque iscrizioni. La seconda dice, HOC EST. La terza, SIC EST. La quinta, ET CREDE, NON LICET. L'altre due non si posson leggere.

Un'altra Pila grande dirimpetto à la porta del Mausoleo, dove sono varie figure et belle, et pare che sia un trionfo d'Amore. Fra l'altre belle cose, che iscolpite vi sono, vi si vede un'huomo, che ha appoggiata la gota su la mano, e sta tutto appoggiato in un bastone, ha un cane à piè, che abbaia: vi è anco iscolpito un bel montone.

Sopra questa Pila si vede nel muro una gran testa con la bocca aperta.

Vi è un'altra Pila antica con una caccia di Cinghiari iscolpita; e fra l'altre cose vi è un Leone, et un'huomo ignudo con un bastone in mano.

Sono nel muro fabricati varii frammenti di mezo rilevo, et fra gli altri vi è una bellissima Pila con sei capi, che à due à due si riguardano in tre vasi sostenuti da quattro fanciulli con alcuni altri animali, et giovani sopra.

In una stanza del Mausoleo si vede la Dea copia intiera vestita col suo corno pieno di frutti in mano.

Vi è un grand'Esculapio vestito, è alto da venticinque palmi, et largo otto; ha il suo serpe à canto, et è una bellissima statua, ma non ha testa.