

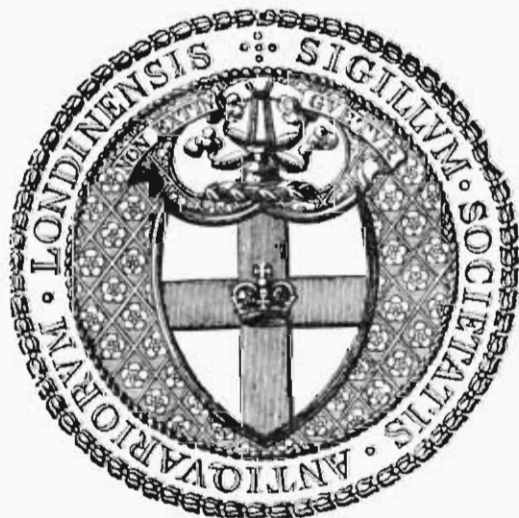
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THE VILLA D'ESTE AT TIVOLI
AND
THE COLLECTION OF CLASSICAL SCULPTURES
WHICH IT CONTAINED.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

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The Villa d'Este at Tivoli and the Collection of Classical Sculptures which it contained. By THOMAS ASHBY, Esq., M.A., D.Litt., F.S.A.

Read 25th June, 1908.

AMONG the most characteristic features of the life of the Roman aristocracy in classical times may be reckoned the habit of retiring from the noise and bustle of the city to a country house in the neighbourhood.

We hear of it among the Greeks, but with them it never attained the same vogue; and in Rome it was a comparatively recent development, for the first mention we have of a villa is that of the country house of the elder Scipio Africanus at Liternum (before 183 B.C.), while the next is that of the various estates of the jurist M. Junius Brutus (about 150 B.C.).^a From that time, however, the practice increased, and at the end of the Republic, as is clear from the correspondence of Cicero, a wealthy man like Cicero himself would probably possess several country houses. Under the Empire, and especially in the second century A.D., which seems to have been the zenith of prosperity in the Campagna di Roma, the number of villas became far greater.

In the neighbourhood of Rome the favourite districts were the Alban Hills and the neighbourhood of Tibur, the modern Tivoli; and one may still see on the hill-sides many of the massive platforms which served to support the house itself and the garden terraces belonging to it, and which, owing to their utility to the olive or vine grower of the present day, still remain even where the villas which

^a For the date cf. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, i. 121.

stood upon them have been destroyed for the sake of the building material which they afforded.

With the decline of the Roman empire came the gradual loss of prosperity and of security, and in the low-lying districts, though not in the hills, the spread of malaria. It is a sign of the times when we find among the ruins of such villas late burials, poor tombs made of roof tiles inclined towards one another to form a gable, under which the body was placed without further ceremony. During the early Middle Ages the insecurity and desolation which spread over the Campagna were in the strongest contrast to what had gone before. The cultivators collected into centres for mutual protection; the main roads were commanded by baronial castles, the denizens of which no doubt took toll of wayfarers; while the numerous lofty watch-towers served in part for shelter and in part as outposts of the castles. With the Renaissance came, in this respect as in others, a return to the habits of the classical period; and the country house or villa came into vogue once more, especially in the hills. Among the later of these, but certainly one of the most magnificent, and for the number and variety of its fountains and for the objects of art which it contained without a rival, is the villa which forms the subject of the present paper.

The Villa d'Este at Tivoli is well known to all who have visited that town, which forms a part of the itinerary of all but the most hasty tourist. Its gardens, perhaps too formal in their prime, are now, being left to a certain extent to themselves, among the most beautiful of their kind; while the view from its highest terrace, whether northward towards the conical hills on which stand the villages of S. Angelo in Capoccia, Montecelio, and Palombara, or westwards across the open Campagna to Rome, is one of those which defies description and has been the delight and the despair of many an artist.

The object of the present paper is to describe the collection of classical sculptures which once adorned the now empty halls and half dilapidated fountains of the villa, to trace the circumstances of their discovery and acquisition, as far as possible, to follow the architectural history of the house and its garden in so far as it concerned them, to point out the various changes in their arrangement, and to identify them in the different collections into which they have now found their way. In order not to weary the reader, the detailed results of my researches have been relegated to an appendix, where they are set out in tabular form. It may be added that the task was undertaken in connexion with a work upon which the British School at Rome is engaged, that of forming a catalogue of the municipal collections of ancient sculpture in Rome. The first volume, now in course of

preparation, will deal with the Capitoline Museum, in which are contained some of the best specimens of the collection of the Villa d'Este.

There is a considerable amount of documentary evidence available, which those who saw the villa in its full glory have left to us, but it has not hitherto been brought into connexion with the descriptions of the gardens and the statues in them. This has indeed formed a considerable part of all the works on Tivoli which have been published since the sixteenth century; and it will be well at the outset, to save frequent repetitions, to give a fairly full bibliography.

The only work dealing exclusively with the villa and its history is that of F. S. Seni,^a from which, though it is not complete, much valuable information has been derived.

I. DOCUMENTS.

Extracts from account books (1540-1572) of Cardinal Ippolito II. d'Este (Cardinal of Ferrara), published by Venturi,^b and (in part) in a more convenient form by Lanciani.^c

An inventory published by Fiorelli,^d which was discovered by Bertolotti in the papers of the notary Piroli in the Archivio di Stato at Rome,^e and bears the date 3rd December, 1572. Its contents are given in Appendix A.

Various correspondence, inventories, etc. in the Archivio di Stato at Modena (Buste 70-72), parts of which have been published by Seni. An inventory of 1752-3 in Busta 72, by the antiquary Gaetano Cartieri, mentioned by Seni,^f and comprising 70 different items, has been transcribed for me by Cav. A. G. Spinelli of Modena. The results are given in Appendix B.

II. DESCRIPTIONS AND ENGRAVINGS.

A large view of the villa and its gardens from the north, published at Rome in 1573 by Antoine Lafréry, drawn and engraved by Étienne Du Pérac, and by him

^a *La Villa d'Este in Tivoli*, Rome, 1902.

^b *Archivio Storico dell' Arte*, iii. 196 *sqq.*

^c *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 114; iii. 186 *sqq.*

^d *Documenti Inediti per servire alla storia dei musei d'Italia*, II. vii.

^e Vol. 375 (now vol. 6039), f. 357 *sqq.* I have myself examined the original.

^f *Op. cit.* 165.

dedicated to Catherine de Medici.^a Seni^b speaks of several plates of the villa engraved by Du Pérac in this year, but I have no knowledge of others than this,^c that published by Mario Cartaro in 1575, and that published by Claude Duchet in 1581, both of which are practically identical with that of Du Pérac, though from different plates.^d

All of these give the same representation of the villa, and show as finished what was not yet completed, *e.g.* the Fontanone.^e They are, however, very fairly accurate, though they seem to show one fountain too many in the middle line below the entrance to the villa.

Another plate, published by Lafréry in 1575, gives a view of the Fontana dell' Ovato or Fontanone, which was decorated entirely with modern statues in peperino and stucco.

G. A. Zappi, *Memorie di Tivoli*, MS. (from an eighteenth-century copy in my own possession),^f ff. 85 *sqq.* (the description is dated 1576).

Uberto Foglietta, *Tyburtinum Hippoliti Cardinalis Ferrariensis ad Flavium Ursinum Card. Amplissimum* (Rome, Zanetti, 1579). A translation is given by Seni, 58 *sqq.* It is of no importance for our purpose.^g

Antonio del Re, *Dell' Antichità Tiburtine capitolo V.* (Rome, 1611), pp. 2-71, a detailed description of the villa as it then was, written with knowledge of the engraving of Cartaro (1575), and most useful for the identification of the statues.

^a The legend to it states that it was reduced by the artist from a drawing made by order of the cardinal for the Emperor Maximilian, to whom we know that he presented various statues (Venturi, 204, entries of 9th and 27th August, 1570). The view is reproduced by H. Inigo Triggs, *The Art of Garden Design in Italy* (London, 1906), pl. 117, from which, with Messrs. Longmans' kind permission, our Plate XXV. is taken.

^b *Op. cit.* 57, n. 1. The statement appears to be founded on Callet, *Notice historique sur . . . quelques architectes français du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1842), 111, who speaks of a volume entitled *Vues perspectives des jardins de Tivoli* dedicated to Maria (!) de Medici. Ehrle, who quotes it (*Roma primo del Sisto V.: la Pianta di Roma Du Pérac—Lafréry del 1577—*(Rome, 1908), 11, n. 4), does not seem inclined to accept it.

^c The plate fell into the hands of Giovanni Domenico de Rossi (1691-1720) who re-issued it. In all other known plates published by him he uses only the one Christian name Domenico (Ehrle, *op. cit.* 22 *sqq.*). It is still preserved at the Regia Calcografia in Rome (No. 1242).

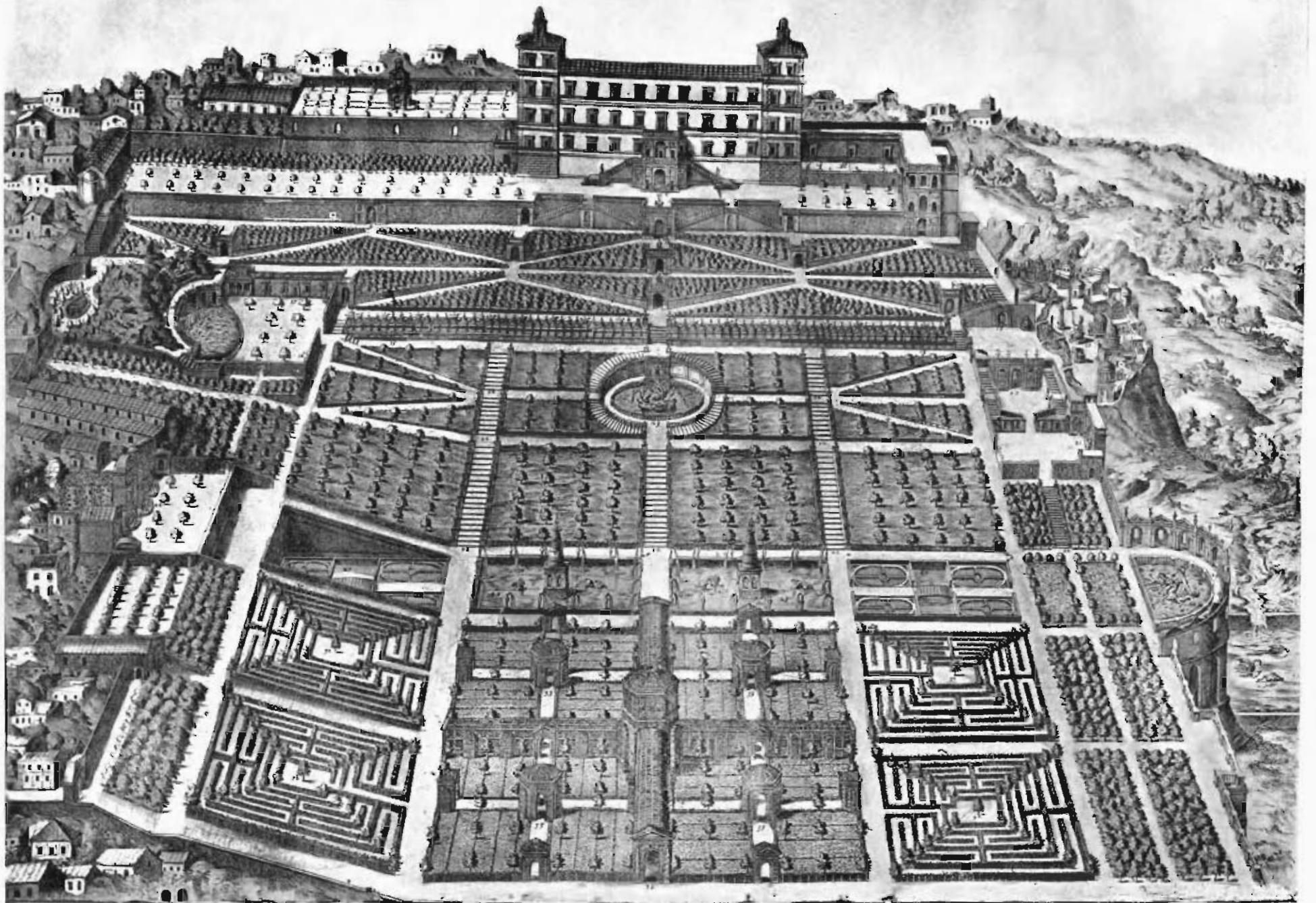
^d This view was copied on a smaller scale by Francesco Corduba, and published by Gottifredo de Schaichi about 1621, and appears, still further reduced, in Giacomo Lauro's *Antiquae Urbis Vestigia* (Rome, 1628, pl. 161) and in the appendix (1686-1696) to Domenico Parasacchi's *Raccolta delle Principali Fontane* (1647).

^e Cf. Seni, 72.

^f See *Papers of the British School at Rome*, III. 117, n. 3.

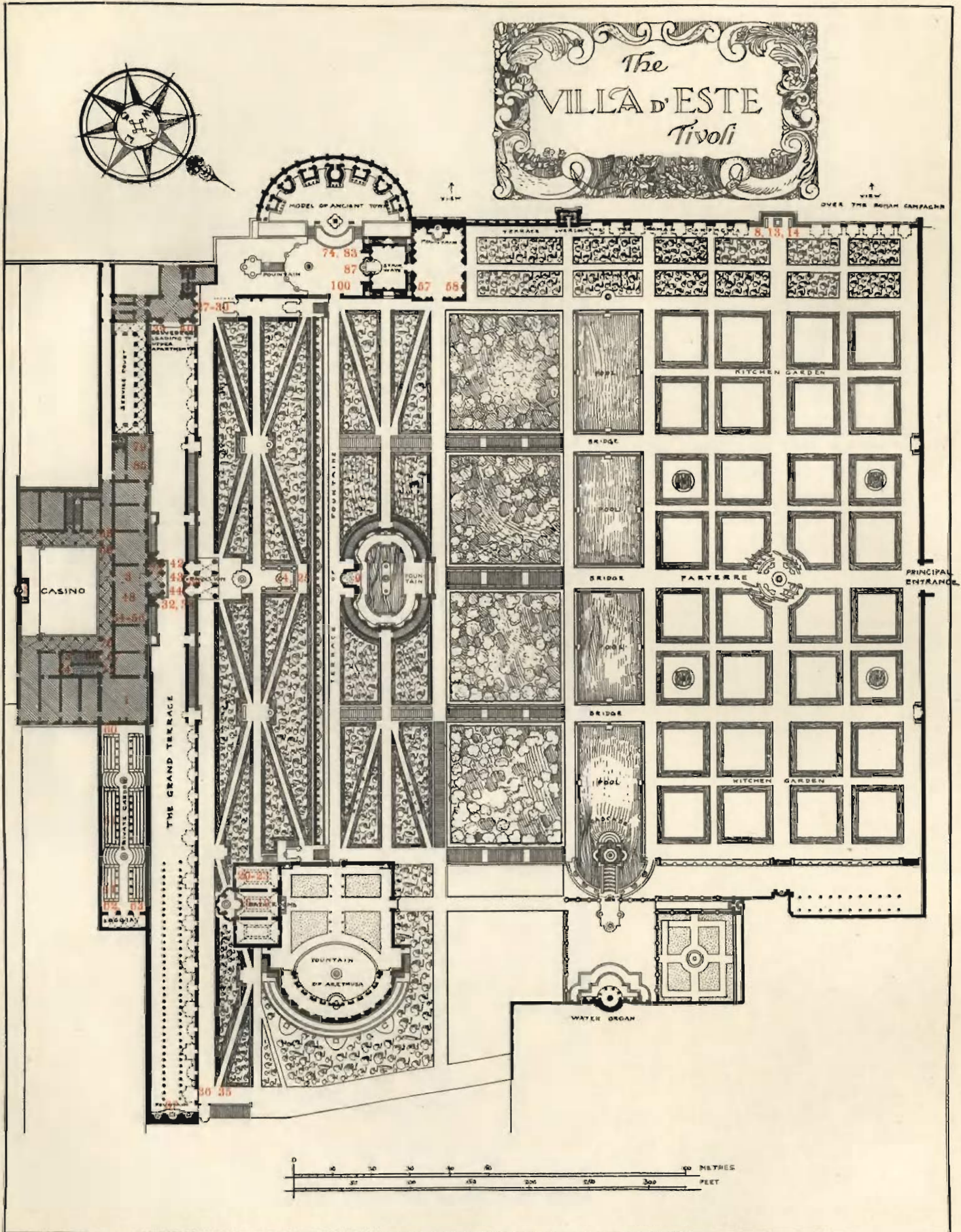
^g Triggs (*op. cit.* 125) wrongly gives his date as 1629.

IL SONTVOSISS.° ET AMENISS.° PALAZZO ET GIARDINI DI TIVOLI.



VIEW OF THE VILLA D'ESTE IN 1573, BY DU PÉRAC.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.



PLAN OF THE VILLA D'ESTE (From Inigo Triggs's *Art of Garden Design in Italy*).

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

Israel Silvestre (*Alume vedute di giardini*, etc. Paris, 1646). Views.

Fabio Croce, *Delle Ville di Tivoli* (Rome, 1664), and L. Moni, *Villa Estense in Tivoli*, Palestrina, 1702, mention nothing not otherwise known.

Descrizione della villa fatta da un'anonimo (1 Nov. 1678), (Arch. Stato Modena Busta 71, published by Seni, p. 261).

Giovanni Francesco Venturini, *Le Fontane del Giardino Estense in Tivoli* (Rome, Giovanni de Rossi, circa 1685). Cf. Plates XXVII.-XXXIV.^a

Descrizione della R. Villa Estense di Tivoli, written by the then keeper of the fountains (*l'ontaniere*) in 1725. Unpublished MS. bought by the present writer in a sale in Rome at the Libreria Romana in February, 1908 (no. 633), in which were included some documents that had belonged to the Albani family.

G. B. Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma*, i. 46 (*Opere complete*, vol. xvi. No. 730).

O. Brioschi, *Villa d'Este in Tivoli* (Rome, 1899). Introduction by Hülsen. Views.

An excellent plan and a brief description are given in H. Inigo Triggs, *The Art of Garden Design in Italy* (London, 1906).^b The three photographs of the villa as it now is, by Mrs. Aubrey Le Blond (plates 114-116), are indeed so good that I have not ventured to challenge comparison by reproducing any of my own.

The founder of the villa was the younger Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, called the Cardinale di Ferrara, to distinguish him from his uncle, who also bore the name Ippolito. He was the son of Alfonso I. d'Este and Lucretia Borgia, and was born in 1509. In December, 1538, he became cardinal, and in 1549 was appointed Governor of Tivoli.

He already possessed a palace in Rome on the Quirinal, in the gardens of which there was a considerable collection of statues,^c and the accounts published by Venturi contain a reference to excavations at Tivoli as early as 1550, in which a

^a Lauciani, *op. cit.* ii. 115, mentions five views of fountains in the "Nuova Raccolta di Fontane," dedicated by Giangiacomo de Rossi to the marquis Andrea Corsini.

^b Pp. 125 *sqq.* pl. 113-117. The plan is adapted from that of Percier and Fontaine, *Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance a Rome* (Paris 1824), pl. lviii. It is reproduced, with the kind permission of the publishers, Messrs. Longmans, as our Plate XXVI. The numbers inserted are those of the inventory of 1572, and show the collocation of the statues in the time of Del Re.

^c Of this collection three inventories exist: one bearing date 15th July, 1568 (some of the objects mentioned in which had already been transferred to the Villa d'Este in Tivoli by 1572), published by Fiorcelli *op. cit.* 157; another bearing date 2nd December, 1572 (*op. cit.* iv. n. 4), and immediately preceding that of the Villa d'Este given in Appendix A; and a third (undated) of 1572-4 (*op. cit.* viii. n). With the statues that were not conveyed to Tivoli I do not propose to deal here.

Hercules, a headless Venus, and another statue were found; while in 1560 excavations were made at the Villa of Hadrian,^a and at Capo di Bove, and Casal Rotondo on the Via Appia,^b and from this year onwards we find many entries for the purchase, the repair, and the transport of statues to and from Monte Cavallo and the sculptors' shops.

The provenances of these, as far as it has been possible even conjecturally to determine them, will be found in Appendix A, but a certain number of the more important may be mentioned here. Thus, one of the statues of Hercules, either the recumbent one or that with Telephus (the latter of which, as we shall see later, is now in the Louvre), the Æsculapius^c and the Hygieia of the Villa d'Este, were probably found upon the Palatine in the large niche behind the straight end of the so-called *Hippodromus Palatii* or *Stadium* (really the garden of the Domus Augustana as reconstructed by Domitian), in the Orto di S. Bonaventura, possibly in 1552, inasmuch as they correspond with the indications given by Pirro Ligorio on a MS. plan probably belonging to that date.^d

Again, the Amazon sold to the cardinal for 75 scudi by Francesco Roncone and Leonardo Sormanno on 5th March, 1570, and found no doubt in or close to the *Stadium*, the site of which was occupied by the vineyard of the Roncone

^a According to the account given by De Fabris (*Diss. Pont. Accad. Rom.* xiii. 209), the truth of which is not certain, the fragment of a frieze representing Ariadne abandoned by Theseus, and discovered by Dionysus, now in the Galleria delle Statue in the Vatican (No. 416, see Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, ii. 654), was found in Hadrian's Villa in the sixteenth century by Cardinal Ippolito d'Este and given by him to his relatives at Ferrara. De Fabris, who came across it in the custom-house at Rome in 1845, and on whose report the Pope saw it and ordered its transport to the Vatican, conjectured that it had been sent back to Rome three centuries later for restoration. Amelung, however, notices that there are, in the same museum, two other fragments of a precisely similar frieze (*Gabinetto delle Maschere*, 434, 442), agreeing in measurements, material, arrangement, style, and details, the provenance of which from Corcolle (for the locality, see *Papers of the British School at Rome*, iii. 138), where they were found by Volpato in the eighteenth century, is absolutely certain. And it is possible that the unnamed family of which De Fabris speaks (p. 211, n. 4) as having possessed other fragments, may have been the Volpato family.

^b The results of a careful examination of the extracts from the accounts as given by Venturi will be found in the notes to Appendix A. I may have omitted some doubtful identifications.

^c It may be mentioned that the description does not tally with either of the engravings of *De Cavalleriis*, I. 20, 21 = I. II. 39, 40, nor can we be certain if this is the Æsculapius for materials for the putting together of which 497 scudi were paid on the 9th February, 1561 (Venturi, 199).

^d See Hülsen, *Römische Mitteilungen*, 1895, 281. He there (and rightly) rejects Ligorio's identification of the statue with the Hercules of Lysippus, which he accepts in Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, i. 3, p. 96, n. 126.

family (Vigna Roncone), is probably one of the two Amazons which figure among the statues of the villa, and afterwards found their way to the Capitoline Museum, though it is impossible to say which. Hülsen^a is probably wrong in not taking the word Amazon literally; instead of this he refers it to one of the fifty Danaids which adorned the portico of the library connected with the temple of Apollo on the Palatine.^b

The entries for transport to Tivoli begin in 1569, when we find a Diana and Hercules and Æsculapius conveyed thither.^c On 30th May, 1570, the Mars (Inv. 45) was carted thither, and on 11th May, 1571, a Venus and a Pollux. Another Diana went there on 8th October, 1571. One of the two Dianas was restored on 31st March, 1572, at the price of 16·50 scudi.^d

In the purchases made by the Cardinal, we may remark that he preferred statues to bas-reliefs, as being apparently more suitable to the architectural character of the fountains.

The statues were in part placed in the various apartments of the villa, but

^a *Röm. Mitt.* 1891, 106; *cf.* 1896, 207.

^b Schol. Persius, 2, 56. It is not possible to glean further information about the twenty or more torsi of Amazons (so called) seen by Vacca (*mem.* 77), which have been identified with these Danaids.

^c Venturi, 204. Probably (Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1896, 101) Inv. 1572, 24.

^d Records of the purchase of both these Dianas are preserved in the documents published by Venturi. One of them is mentioned as having been bought on 13th November, 1565, for Monte Cavallo from Messer Giuliano, a surgeon who had a house at Monte Giordano, together with a Venus and a Faun (not certainly identifiable) for the total cost of 45 scudi 50 baiocchi, while the other was bought on 20th January, 1567, from Messer Alessandro Brunorio for 23 scudi. Neither of these statues is mentioned as still at Monte Cavallo after the Cardinal's death. It is curious that only one Diana is mentioned at Tivoli either in the Inventory of 1572 (No. 27) or in subsequent descriptions. Its identification with either of the two described by Ligorio as found at Hadrian's Villa to the north of the Canopus (Winnefeld, p. 154, quotes the various accounts) is thus inadmissible. Ligorio says that one was "a large statue of Diana with the dog close to her," while the other was also of Diana with the bow and arrows in the act of going hunting." And in the Turin MS. he adds that these and the other statues found there passed into the hands of Cardinal Caraffa, who gave them to various princes. Penna (*Villa Adriana*, iii. 20) identifies the first of the two mentioned by Ligorio with the Diana of the Villa d'Este and the statue of Diana in the Sala degli Animali at the Vatican (No. 210), but this statue agrees far less well with the description of Del Re than that in the Capitol (Atrio, 52), in regard to which we have the further evidence of the inventories given in Appendix D. However, if Penna's statement that the statue in the Vatican was acquired by Pacetti from the Villa d'Este in 1788, and by him sold to the Vatican, is correct (it finds some favour from Winnefeld, but is not even mentioned by Amelung) we have in it the second statue of Diana which we need.

also served to decorate the elaborate fountains which adorned the garden, with their mythological scenes in painted stucco and mosaic forming a background to these works of classical art.

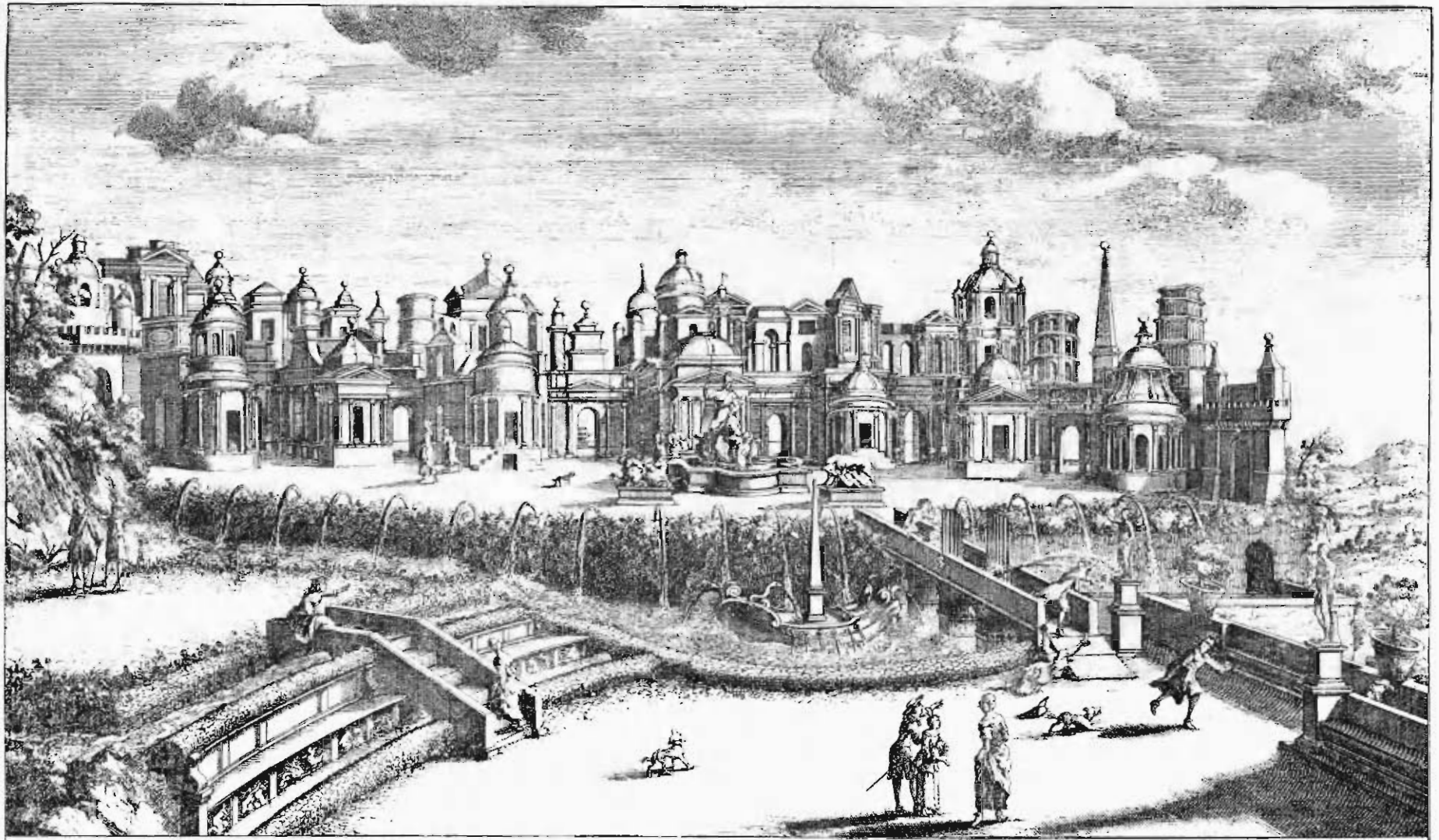
For some of the principal fountains, however, the necessary statues were made then and there of peperino or tufa, or travertine coated with stucco; and we have records of the artists who made them and the sums they were paid for them. These were naturally not saleable; and the result is that, while the treasures of classical art which the villa once contained have, with a very few unimportant exceptions, found their way elsewhere, these works of late Renaissance artists still remain for the most part in the places they were intended to adorn, sadly dilapidated as a rule, but perhaps more pleasing to our taste than when they were aggressively new, inasmuch as their artistic merit cannot be said to be very high.

The stucco representation of Rome is especially noteworthy. A view of it is given by Venturini (Plate XXVII.) as it was in its prime, and fig. 1 (which I owe to the kindness of Miss D. E. Bulwer) shows its present condition with the statue of Rome. Besides all the principal buildings of Rome and the island of the Tiber, we even have the famous group of the lion and horse. In the centre was a large statue of Rome;^a and in another place a recumbent statue of the Tiber. Del Re (55 *ad init.*) and the *fontaniere* (p. 15) note the use as a fountain basin of a rectangular sarcophagus of white marble with figures of men and animals fighting, of good work; it was, according to the former, 2 metres long and 0.50 metres wide. (See Inv. 1572, 74.)

The site selected for the villa faced almost due north, and was upon a steep slope, so that the villa itself commanded the garden below it, with its terraces at various intermediate levels. A part of the site had been already occupied by a villa in Roman times, the remains of which are described by Antonio del Re^b as those of the villa of Quintus Cæcilius Pius Metellus Scipio. The name rests, as indeed do most of the traditional names of villas in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, upon a somewhat slender foundation, merely the fancied resemblance between the name Campetello, applied to the locality, and Campus Metelli. Del Re gives us, however, some interesting information, that it began near the church of S. Maria in Colle Marii (supposed to mark the site of the villa of Marius), extended

^a It is of travertine: De Brosses (*Lettres familières*, ii. 282) is strangely in error of speaking of it as a "fairly good statue of Greek marble," and he mentions no others, though his visit (1739-40) was previous to the sale of any of the statues.

^b *Op. cit.* 107.



FONTANA, E PROSPETTO DI ROMA ANTICA CON L' ISOLA TIBERINA DAL LATO SINISTRO DEL VIALONE DELLE FONTANELLE 15

Gio Francesco Venturini del. et inc

Gio Giacomo Rossi le stampa in Roma alla Pace con priv. del S. P.

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE REPRESENTATION OF ANCIENT ROME IN THE VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

towards the churches of the Annunziata and S. Pietro, reached the main road to Rome at the houses belonging to the Gentili family, where in the neighbouring garden mosaic pavements with figures of peacocks had been found, and extended as far as the garden of the Villa d'Este on the side where the large fountain called the Ovato was constructed. In making the foundations of it a small statue



Fig. 1. The Fountain of Rome and the Casino, Villa d'Este.

of Diana was found, and a few months before Del Re wrote,^a in digging under a house not far from the fountain, ruins of this villa were found, with a pretty little Satyr of white marble. Remains, apparently more recently excavated, may

^a That is to say, early in 1610, for the *imprimatur* bears date 18th October of that year, though the preface was not written until 8th April, 1611.

indeed still be seen in the garden of the Villa d'Este itself, on the same side as the Fontana dell' Ovato, but a good deal lower down, to the east of the Fontanile delle Aquile Estensi, including walls of *opus reticulatum*, orientated in the same direction as the garden, of two or three chambers, an *impluvium* paved with travertine, and some columns; a part, in all probability, of the villa mentioned by Del Re.

In 1550,^a we find purchases of land beginning. The architect was Pirro Ligorio,^b who is known, according to Seni (p. 54), to have written a description of the villa; but this does not seem to be any longer in existence, if indeed it was ever written. There are, however, three different editions of a description of Hadrian's villa written by Ligorio and dedicated to the Cardinal.^c

The copy in *Barb. Lat.* 5219 of the second was that actually used by Antonio del Re, who copied considerable sections of it in regard to the Villa of Hadrian, etc. That he used a description by Ligorio of the Villa d'Este, however, is not anywhere stated by him, though Seni supposes it.

The first and most important edition of the description of Hadrian's Villa^d refers to the excavations made by the Cardinal (f. 8^r) and mentions in the so-called Latin theatre the discovery four years before, *i.e.* in 1560 (?), of 40 niches, in which were as many (*sic*) *torsi* of statues from the knee upwards of "cose Herculee" (athletes?) (13^r). Close by, in the so-called Palaestra, Giovanni Bartolomeo Bucciola, the owner of the site, found several fine statues: a Hadrian^e and a Ceres (possibly Inv. 1572, 44) which went to the garden of the Quirinal, a head of Isis,^f and "a draped Hecate who was carrying the letter to Juno in a vase," the so-called Pandora of Inv. 1572, 34.

^a Seni, *op. cit.* 52.

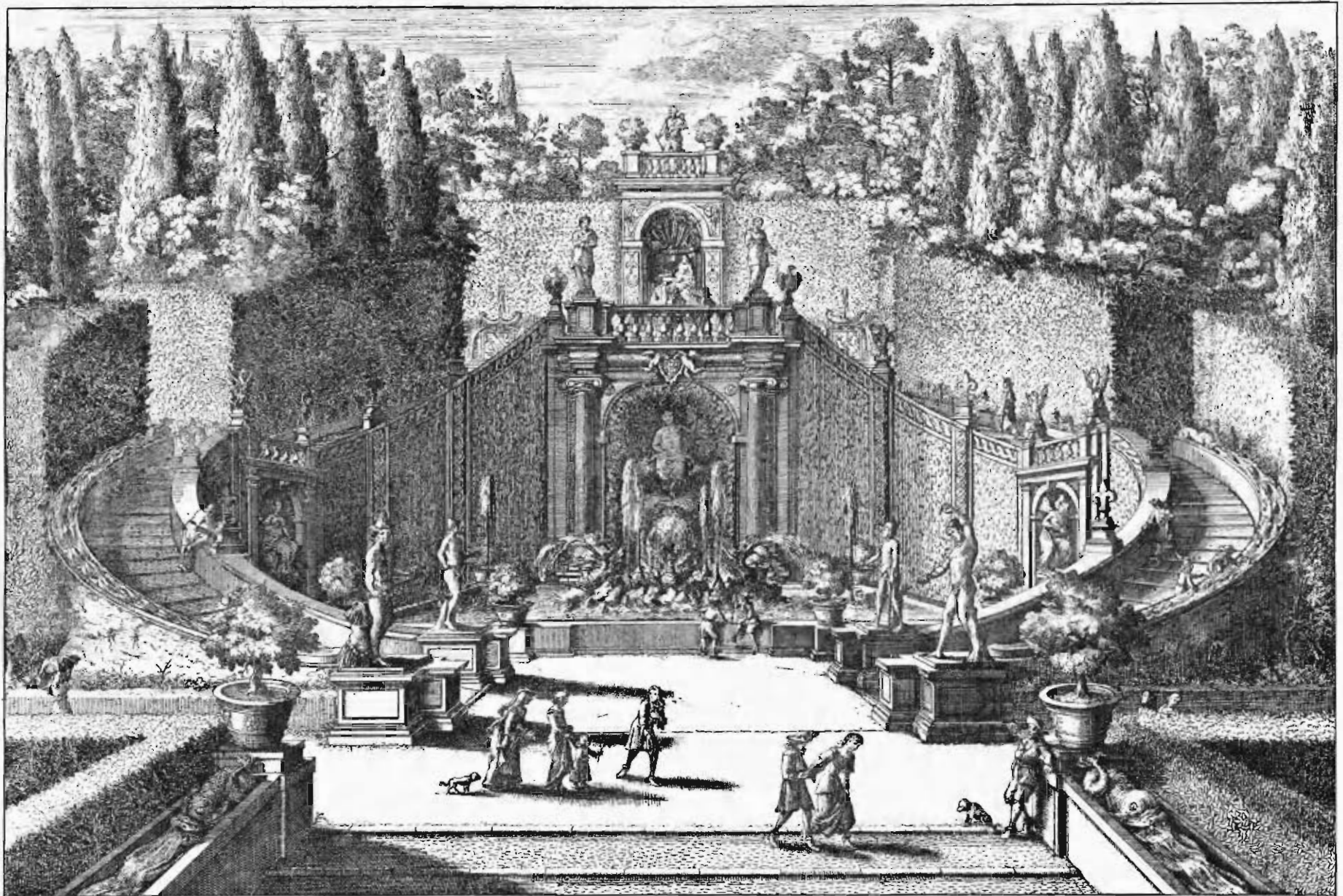
^b Triggs (*op. cit.* 125) attributes the design of the gardens to the joint work of Pirro Ligorio, Giacomo della Porta (who certainly made some of the fountain statues), and the hydraulic engineer, Orazio Olivieri (*cf.* Percier and Fontaine, 45).

^c See *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, Ergänzungsheft V. (Winnefeld, *Die Villa des Hadrian*), 5; Seni, *op. cit.* 56 n. The first edition is to be found in *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4849 (8^r *sqq.*), *Vat. Lat.* 5295 (9^r *sqq.*); also in *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 22001; Paris, *Bibl. Nat. fonds ital.* 625 (so P. de Nolhac in *Mélanges Renier* (1886), p. 325 n. 1); the second in *Barb. Lat.* 4342 (38 *sqq.*), 4849 (47 *sqq.*), 5219 (127 *sqq.*), and was published from a MS. at Leyden by Havercamp in Grævius and Burmann's *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, viii. part 4. The third is only preserved in vol. xx. (29^r *sqq.*) of the Turin MS. of his work on antiquities (*cf.* Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi II.* 111 *sqq.*).

^d I cite *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4849, 8^r *sqq.*

^e De Cavalleriis I. 36, i. ii. 41. Vatican, *Braccio Nuoro*, 132.

^f Museo Chiaramonti, 547.



FONTANA DE DRAGHI DETTA LA GIRANDOLA SOTTO IL VIALONE DELLE FONTANELLE

Gio: Francesco Venturini del et inc

Gio: Giacom. Rossi le stampa in Roma alla Pace con Priv. del S. P. 11

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE FOUNTAIN OF THE DRAGONS, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

In the Piazza d'Oro^a were placed, on each side of the apse, statues of Venus, two of which were removed to the garden of the Cardinal on the Quirinal "with other figures which represented nymphs of the ocean, where was Inachis, or the Egyptian Venus, and Hipponoe" (f. 18).

None of these correspond certainly with statues in the Villa d'Este except the so-called Pandora.

The death of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1572 left the villa incomplete; but the work was continued by his nephew and heir Cardinal Luigi d'Este, and visited in 1573 by Pope Gregory XIII., in compliment to whom the Fontana dei Draghi with its dragons, allusive of the crest of the Boncompagni family, was inaugurated. Plate XXVIII.,^b from Venturini, plate 11, gives a good idea of it.

The internal decorations of the villa consisted of frescoes and stuccoes, due in the main to the brothers Taddeo and Frederico Zuccari, and especially to the latter. They need not, however, be further dealt with here; particulars will be found in the descriptions already cited.

The death of Cardinal Luigi d'Este in 1586 led to the seizure of the villa by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, then dean of the Sacred College, in virtue of the will of Cardinal Ippolito; in the charge of the successive deans it was much neglected.

Cardinal Alessandro d'Este, nominated governor of Tivoli in 1605, took possession (perhaps even earlier) of the villa, and carried out very considerable improvements and repairs to the fountains and gardens, as is attested by the register of payments.^c (It is to him that Del Re dedicated his work.) The only

^a *cf.* Winnefeld 70 *med.*, 150.

^b The panorama of 1573 shows the gardens complete, as they were intended to be, and certain changes of plan naturally took place, *e.g.* the fountain of Neptune was intended, according to this engraving (No. 29) to have had in the centre a standing statue of the god, with his trident in his hand, standing upon and driving four sea-horses; whereas Del Re (p. 69) saw fragments of the unfinished statue, the head and some limbs, lying about in the garden, where they still are; while the fountain itself was never built. Nor were the fountains of the grottos of the Sibyls (No. 19) nor of Venus (No. 31) ever constructed as designed. Also the Grotta di Venere (No. 17) had already been altered by Del Re's time (p. 52), a Bacchus having been substituted for the Venus. Zappi, 93, and the inventory of 1572, Nos. 12-20, describe it in its original state.

Again, the fountain of Arethusa (No. 9) is not noted by Del Re or subsequent writers; while No. 11 seems to have acquired subsequently the name of "fontanile del Mascherone" (*cf.* the *Descrizione* of the *Fontaniere*, 8, 12), and neither it nor its fellow No. 12 was decorated with statues (*cf.* Del Re, 46). The fountain of Antinous, too (No. 26), had not been completed by Del Re's time.

^c Seni, *op. cit.* 118. *Cf.* the list of work done by the painter Calderoni in 1609-12, *ibid.* 254.

antiquity noted among these is a column of porta santa marble, found in Hadrian's villa, and brought to the palace (payment of 29th May, 1613). He succeeded eventually in obtaining from Pope Gregory XV. in 1621 the restitution of the villa to the house of Este.

Other repairs to the fountains were carried out by Duke Francesco I. in 1632; and the elder Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este (1641—1672) followed his example. In the inventories of the period cited by Seni we find mentioned four marble heads, two large and two small, a small torso of a statue, various fragments of a statue with the head of a puttino.^a The description of Croce (1664) belongs to this period.

The second Cardinal Rinaldo, who soon abandoned the purple, appears to have done little or nothing, and the various references to the moving of statues and the construction, *e.g.* of the Fontanile del Bicchierone above the statue of Hercules and Telephus from Bernini's designs, refer to the elder cardinal. Bernini also improved the water supply of the villa. This had been due to a special conduit, which conveyed to it the water of a spring known as the Acqua Rivellesse, from the Colle Ripoli, to the east, and also to a tunnel starting from the Anio above the falls, which brought some of the river water to the villa.

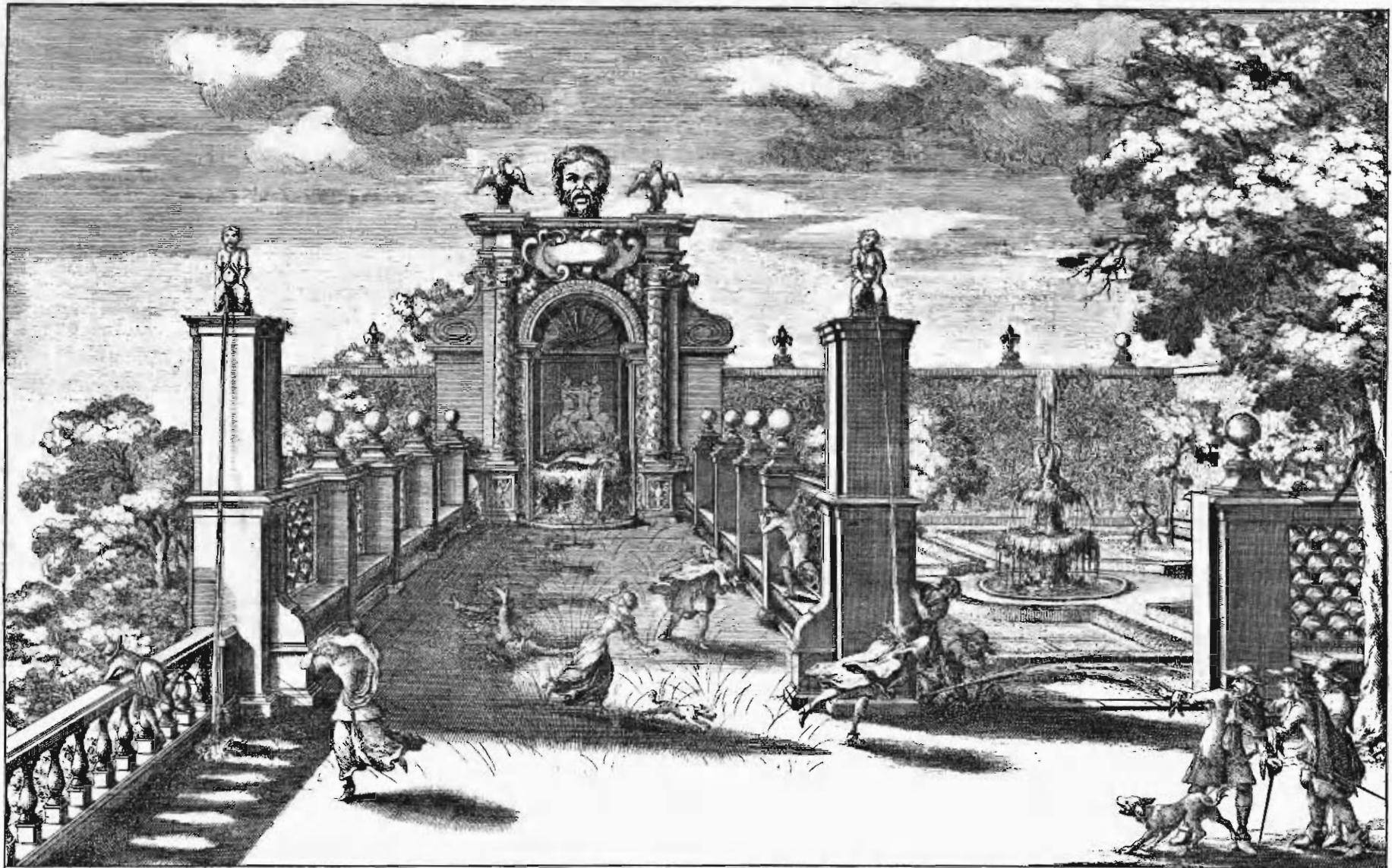
Francesco II. (1672—1694) on the other hand carried on various works of the kind, as an inscription still preserved in the villa and bearing the date 1685 records, and it is to him that the work of Venturini is dedicated.

These engravings of Venturini are the only representation in detail of the fountains of the villa, when they were in all their glory, that we have; and they supplement and illustrate the descriptions that we have in important points.

Thus, we see the Fontanile dei Draghi (Plate XXVIII.) with the various statues which adorned it. On the lower level we see the four nude male statues mentioned by Del Re (p. 64).^b In the niche in the centre, at the back, is the seated Jupiter (Inv. 1572, 9); and on each side is another niche with a statue, the Psyche (Inv. 1572, 41) on the right, and a seated female statue on the left. These two were not here in the time of Del Re, and the latter I have not identified. The *Fontaniere* (p. 20) has omitted to fill in the names of the statues, but Cartieri (No. 18) describes the Psyche as here, and in the opposite niche "a seated woman, life-size: it is mediocre work and modern. The head has been put on again: the left arm is wanting, and the whole is generally damaged: value 10 scudi."

^a *Arch. Stat. Modena*, Busta 70.

^b *Infra*, Appendix C.



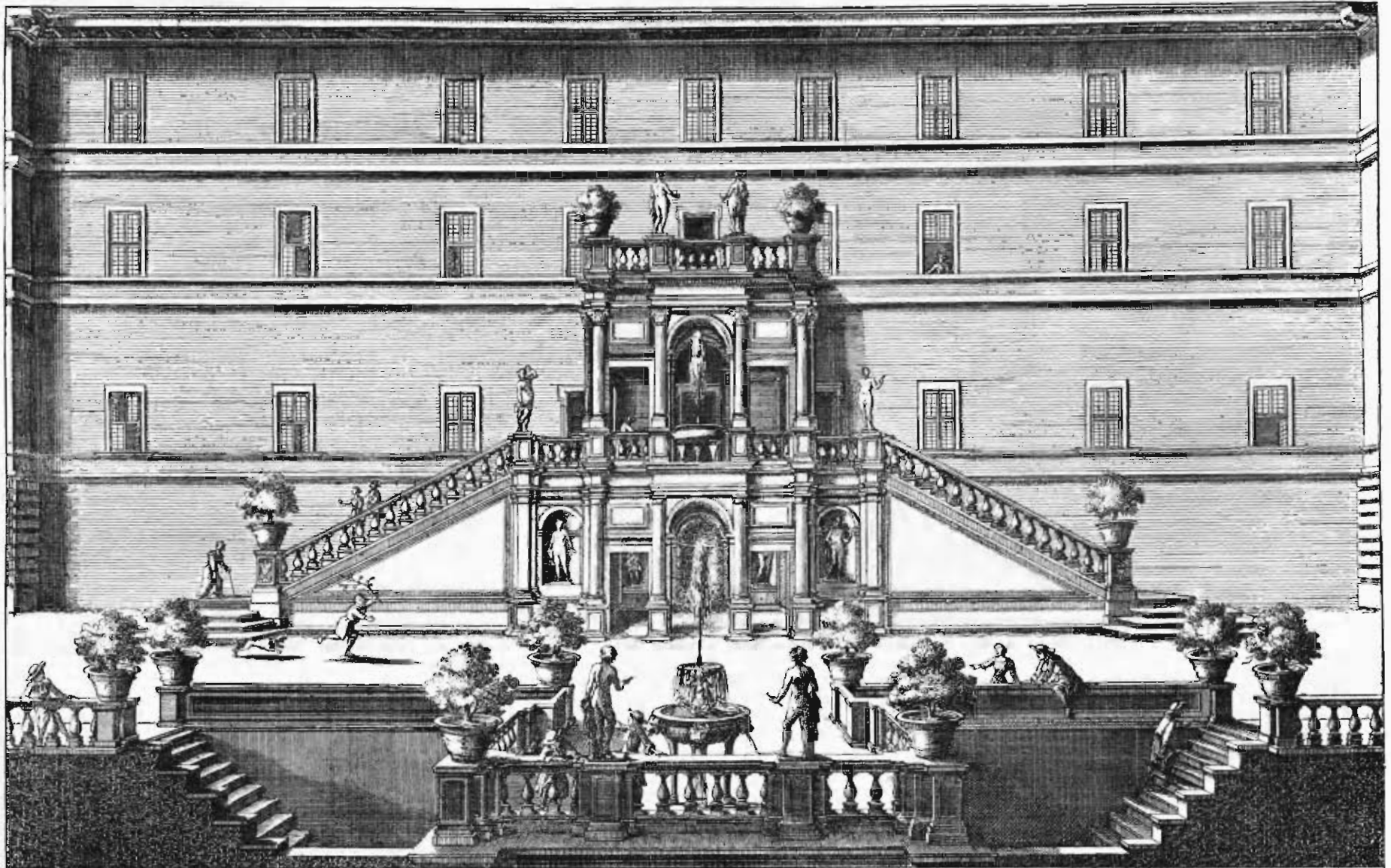
FONTANA DI VENERE POSTA NEL PIANO DELL' ORGANO

Gio: Francesco Venturini del. et inc

22

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE FOUNTAIN OF VENUS ON THE LEVEL OF THE FOUNTAIN OF THE ORGAN, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.



VEDVIA E PROSPETTO DEL PALAZZO NEL GIARDINO

Gio. Giacomo de Rossi le stampa in Roma alla Pace con Priv. del S Pont.

Gio. Francesco Venturini del. et sculp.

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE GARDEN FRONT OF THE PALACE, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

On the balustrade above the niche containing the statue of Jupiter are two draped statues, apparently of women. Del Re (p. 54) mentions them as having helmets on their heads, but they are not so shown in the engraving. They are not spoken of by other writers, unless they are the "two ideal statues of marble, of ordinary work, in a very bad state, so that they are not priced" of Cartieri's inventory (Nos. 21, 22). Above and behind them may be seen the niche containing the recumbent Hercules, and, still higher, the statue of Hercules with Telephus.

On the other hand, the *Fontaniere* (p. 23) mentions, but gives no particulars of, two statues, each standing on a pedestal at the top of the paved steps, where Venturini shows two large flower-pots.

We get from him too (plate 22 reproduced in Plate XXIX.) a representation of the "fountain of Venus on the level of the fountain of the organ," identical with the fountain of Venus (Cloacina of the bird's-eye view of 1573, and still existing. A recumbent statue of Venus, not mentioned by Del Re, but described by the *Fontaniere* (p. 35) and by Cartieri (No. 25), who speaks of it as much damaged, may be seen in the niche; and it is amusing to observe the effect upon the visitors of the various fountain jets in the pavement, which produced somewhat unpleasant surprises. Such *giuochi di acqua* existed in other parts of the villa also.

Again, his representation of the front of the villa itself (Plate XXX.) shows us two nude statues on the balustrade in front of the fountain of the sea-horses (Inv. 1573, 78) not mentioned by either Del Re or the *Fontaniere* as standing here, but which might be the Faun and the Pan mentioned by the latter on p. 66.^a

The statue of Leda and the two statues in the inner niches (Bellona and Ione) are not clearly visible, while two nude male statues have taken the place in the outer niches of the Vestal Virgin and the Cerès which Del Re saw there. The inventory of 1572 mentions indeed (No. 45) "a nude statue of marble" as under the stairs of the palace, though Del Re does not, and both Zappi (who speaks of Castor and Pollux) and the view of 1573 show two nude statues here. The Castor of the inventory of 1572 (No. 31) seems to have been situated in a niche rather to the west between the fountain of Diana and the statue of Pandora.

There are two other nude statues on the balustrade above, which the bird's-eye view of 1573 shows where Venturini shows the two large flower-pots, not mentioned in any of our descriptions, while above the door into the palace are

^a See below.

still two more, which have, curiously enough, their backs to the spectator. The *Fontaniere* (see below) saw four statues there.

It is of course conceivable that Venturini's accuracy is not unimpeachable;^a or, again, that some of these statues were modern; but in that case we should expect to find some of them there now, which we do not.

Among the fountains completed in or about 1680 appears to have been that of Pluto and Proserpine. The fountain is called, in the 1573 panorama, *fontana degli Imperatori* (No. 20), while Del Re (p. 62) describes it as not yet finished, the stucco decorations of the background being intended to represent scenes connected with Pan.

In 1680, however, we find Venturini (see Plate XXXI.) representing it as the Fontana di Proserpina, and the *Fontaniere* describes it in 1725 (p. 16) as having in the main niche two ancient statues larger than life-size, representing Pluto in the act of embracing and carrying off Proserpine. These statues are not mentioned by Del Re nor in the inventories; and from the representations given of them by Venturini I should be inclined to believe that they were not ancient at all. In the lateral niches outside the fountain were two standing statues of putti, mentioned by the *Fontaniere* as also ancient, and shown by Venturini.

The *Fontaniere* notes that the fountains in the long viale were decorated with bas-reliefs in stucco, intended to be models for those of marble, but that the death of Cardinal Ippolito put an end to the project. After 160 years they were still in good condition (p. 10 *fin.*), but are now dilapidated.

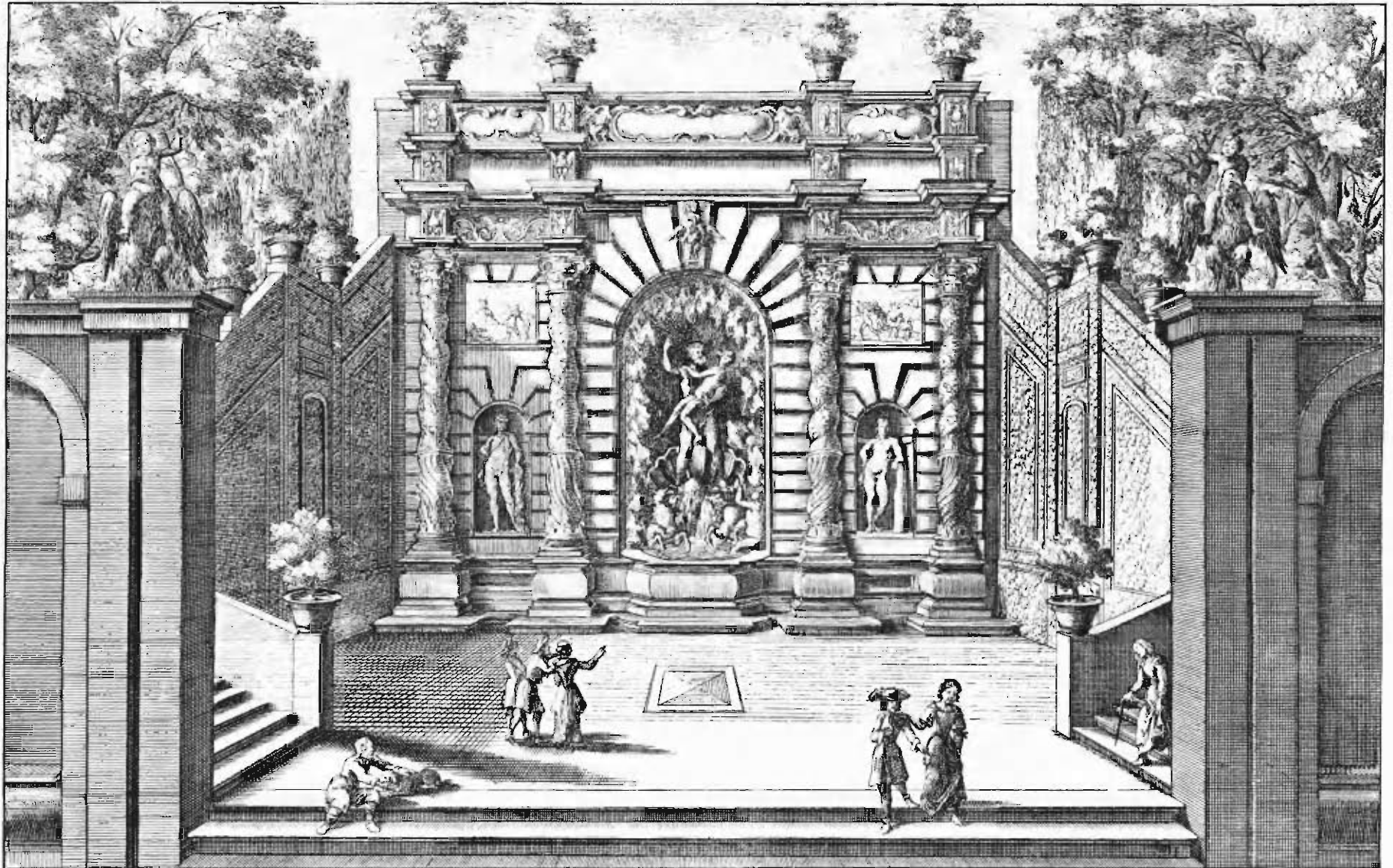
Other improvements took place after a visit of the hereditary Prince of Modena and his wife in 1721. The steward, Sig. Settimio Bulgarini, discovered the existence of a row of fountains on the east of the villa (the *fontanini*) which had up till then been covered up.

An inscription intended to be set up in the honour of these distinguished visitors is given by the *Fontaniere*.^b

^a The two statues on the edge of the balustrade which in pl. 4 face the villa, are shown in pl. 17 looking the other way.

^b It is not mentioned by Seni, who (p. 161) passes over the first half of the eighteenth century almost entirely, only quoting a letter of Bulgarini of 1736; and I do not think it was ever set up. The text runs as follows:

"Serenissimis/ Francisco Maria Estense, et Carlotta Aurelianense Principibus Mutine/ ex fausto ad Urbem accessu, in hanc Villam divertentibus/ fontes hi, et alii complures/ quorum vix memoria supererat/ in pristinum statum restituti/ Serenissimo Raynaldo Estense Mut(inae) Reg(e) Mirandule Duce/ Anno Salutis MDCCXXI."

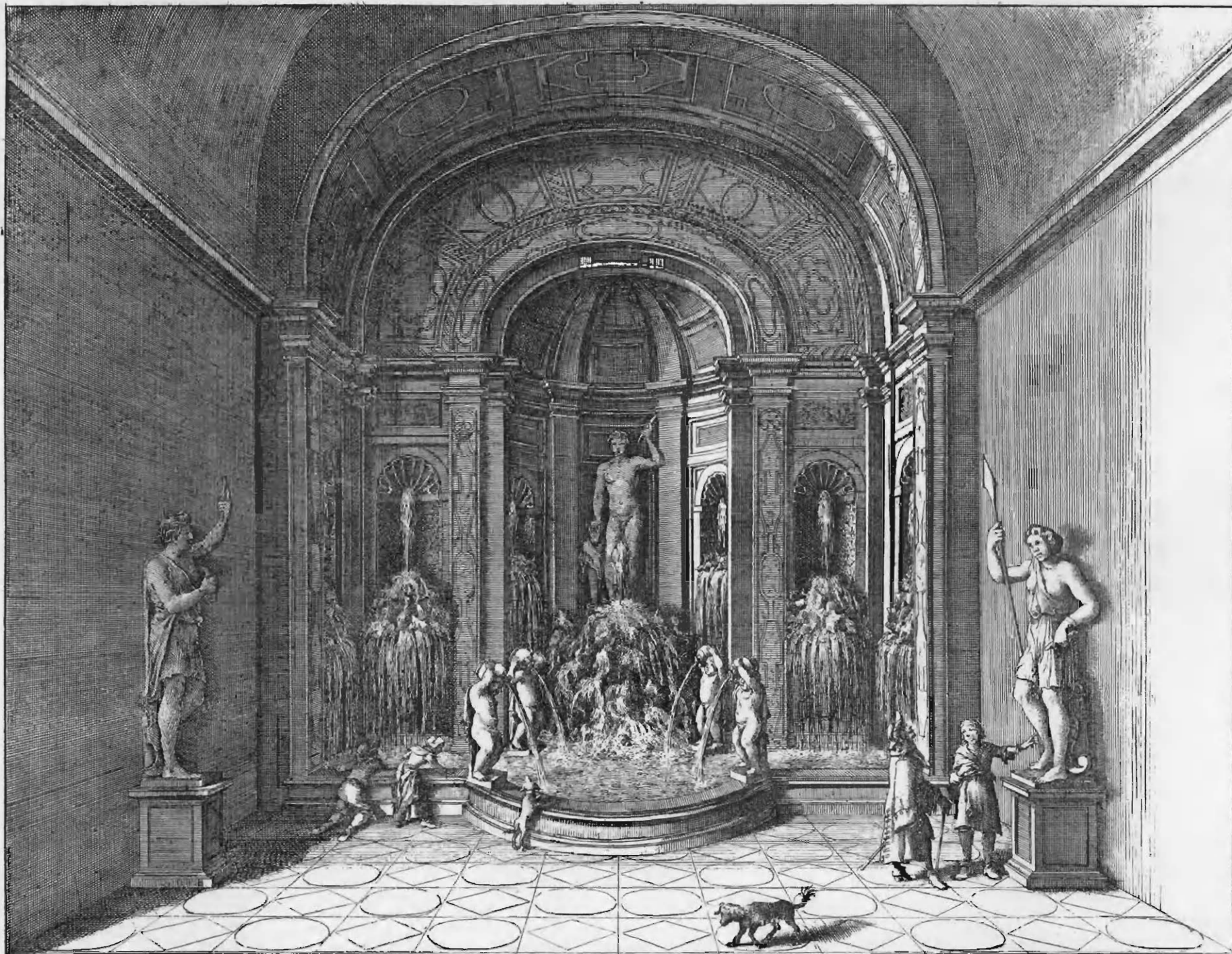


FONTANA DI PROSERPINA CONTIGVA A QUELLA DELLA CIVETTA NEL GIARDINO ESTENSE IN TIVOLI

Gio. Francesco Venturini del. et Sculp

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE FOUNTAIN OF PROSERPINE, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.



FONTANA DI BACCO IN VNA STANZA CONTIGVA AL FONTANONE NEL PIANO DELLE FONTANELLE

Gio. Francesco Venturini del. et inc.

Gio. Giacomo Rossi le stampa in Roma alla Pace. con Priv. del S.P.

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE FOUNTAIN OF BACCHUS, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

Some of the statues which were considered too valuable to stand in the garden were, in course of time, removed to the interior of the villa. Thus the two Amazons, which in 1665 had been placed in the Fontana di Bacco, where Venturini (see Plate XXXII.)^a shows them (though the one drawing the bow is very badly represented, while the one with the staff is shown reversed) had by 1725 been removed to the Salone, and their niches in the Fontana di Diana were occupied by the two Cupids $5\frac{1}{2}$ palms high, which Del Re saw in the *sala grande* of the upper story of the villa. The statues of the niches under the balustrades on each side of the fountain of Leda and several others were removed to the interior of the palace between Croce's time (1664) and 1725, and in their place were put two putti.^b The Bellona and the Ione were also removed, as it would seem.

In the loggia too, near the statues of the four seasons, which Del Re (33 *ad fin.*) mentions as being of peperino covered with stucco, while the *Fontaniere* speaks of them as marble, "Cardinal Rinaldo placed a statue of _____ in black marble 12 palms high, with the arms and hands outstretched, and the hair scattered and curling, representing _____" (*Fontaniere*, p. 47—the blanks are in the original).

In any case the statue is not one of those mentioned by Del Re, and it is difficult to determine what it may be.

Venturini (see Plate XXXIII.) shows in the fountain of Venus in the room at the east end of the palace, on the level of the Giardino segreto, the recumbent statue of Venus, though the stag is not visible, and the two fountain statues of women mentioned by Del Re;^c and on the seats there are also two busts, no doubt two of those from the lower corridor, or the room where the statue of Senta Fauna stood. The *Fontaniere* (p. 60) mentions no busts there, but besides those enumerated by Del Re, he saw there a group of many statuettes representing the River Nile; two small but very valuable satyrs of white marble; a table of white marble; and he adds "various ancient friezes sculptured with grapes, vines, and birds, with some bas-reliefs collected in this room increase its interest" (p. 60). These last are not mentioned by Del Re.

In the niches on the stairs halfway up were placed a Jupiter, $7\frac{2}{3}$ palms high,

^a The fountain is in a room on the level of the great Fontanone, or Fontana dell' Ovato. The engraving shows the Bacchus in the niche described by Del Re, p. 51 (Appendix B), and the four putti of Inv. 1572, 16-19, though the "masks" are not visible, nor are they mentioned by Del Re.

^b *Fontaniere*, 49.

^c P. 26 (*cf.* Inv. 1572, 49, 50; and Appendix B).

leaning on the left arm, which is resting on a pilaster, and all draped except the arms, and a draped Bellona. The latter is that which stood on the east of the fountain of Leda,^a but the former does not occur in any of the previous descriptions.

In the *Sala* on the upper level, that of the *cortile*, were eight statues,^b placed there by Cardinal Rinaldo before 1678, as is shown by the anonymous description of that year cited by Seni:^c

- (1) A standing Venus, that seen by Del Re (p. 26) in the Giardino Segreto, with a dolphin at her feet, and an amorino riding on it.
- (2) The Venus leaving the bath, which was already in the *sala* in Del Re's time (p. 12).
- (3) Ceres with the torch, from one of the lateral niches under the balustrades (Del Re, p. 31).
- (4) A Vestal Virgin from the same place.
- (5) Saturn, from the stairs (Del Re, p. 17).
- (6) Jove, with the eagle, from the same place (Del Re, p. 17).
- (7 and 8) The two Amazons (Del Re, p. 41).

Two large tables of *giallo antico* (Numidian marble) were also to be seen there.

Upon the balustrade above the main entrance from the garden, four statues, each 5 palms high, had been placed:^d a youthful Venus, that seen in the fourth room to the west by Del Re (p. 14); a faun and a Pan, seen in the *Sala* by Del Re (p. 13); and a curly-haired boy with a dog (*ib.* p. 14).

The description by the *Fontaniere* of 1725^e still shows us the villa in all its glory; and the attempts to sell the villa and its artistic treasures did not begin until the middle of the eighteenth century.^f

^a Del Re, 30.

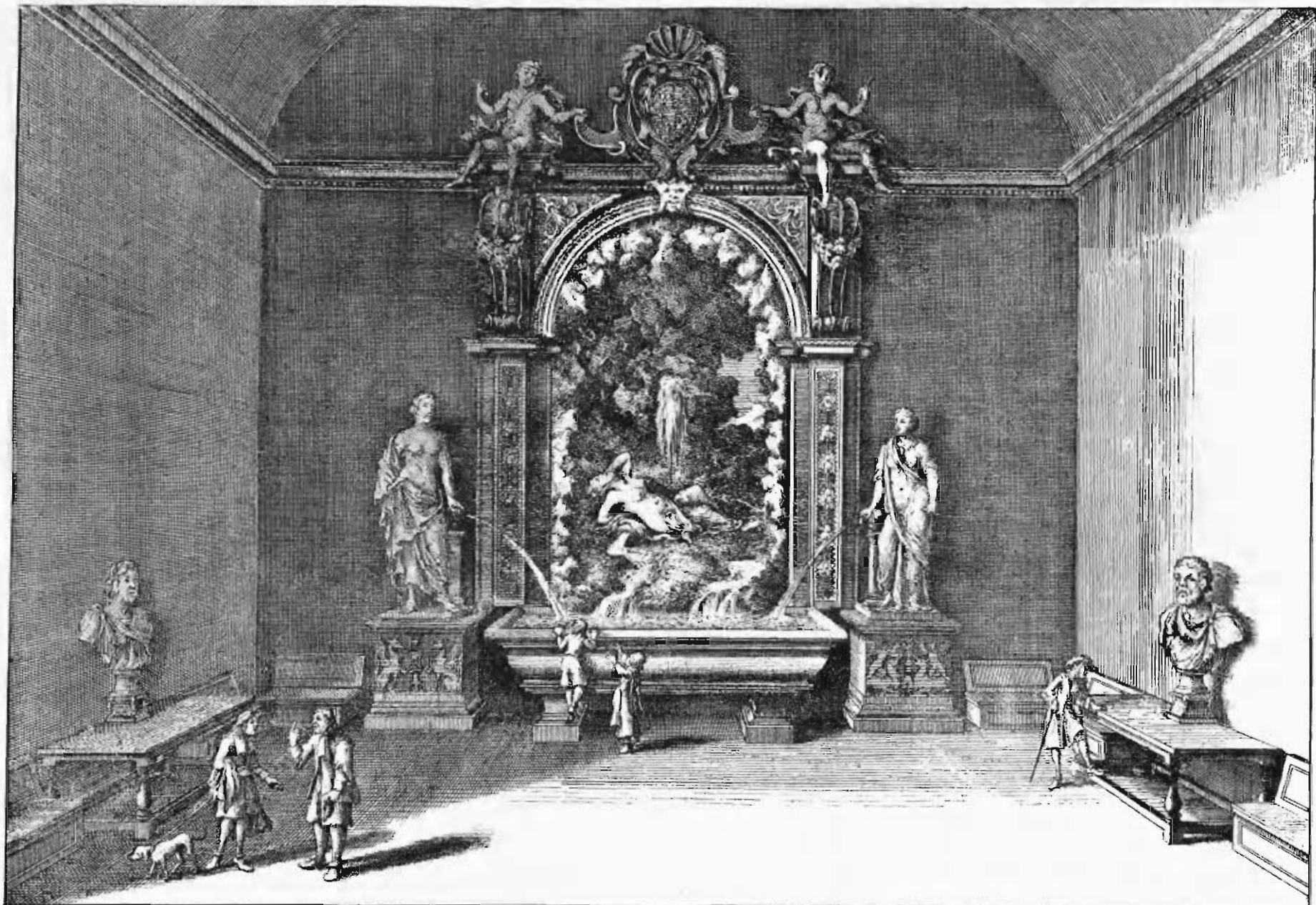
^b *Fontaniere*, 63.

^c *Op. cit.* 261.

^d *Fontaniere*, 66.

^e Seni, 161 *sqq.*

To those mentioned by Seni I may add the following, copied from a fragmentary MS. diary, and under date 14th October, 1752, which I saw in a sale at the Libreria Romana in December, 1907 (No. 677 of the catalogue): "Siccome la Villa d'Este in Tivoli era stata posta in vendita sin dal tempo che il Sereno Duca di Modena era passato in Francia (1743) così penetrasi che ora ne abbia formato trattato il Sig. Principe Ruspoli per farne compra quando potrà convenirsi del valore."



FONTANA DI VENERE IN VNA DELLE CAMMERE VLTIME DEL PALAZZO

Gio Giacomo de Rossi le stampa in Roma alla Pace con Pruu del S. Pont.

Gio Francesco Venturini del. et sculp. 6

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE FOUNTAIN OF VENUS, AT THE EAST END OF THE PALACE, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.

Negotiations were entered into with the King of Naples, and the documents are preserved under the title of *Carte attinenti al contratto delle Statue* in Busta 72, of the Archivio di Stato at Modena.

His offers were, however, not sufficiently high, and after considerable negotiation a far better offer made by Cardinal Valenti on behalf of Pope Benedict XIV. was accepted, fourteen pieces being sold for 5,000 scudi, or about the price that the king had offered for the whole collection. Two inventories relating to the transaction exist.^a (See Appendix D.) The latter, containing twelve statues, a tazza of *africano* and a basin of white marble, was the one which was eventually acted upon;^b and all the statues which occur in it^c are now in the Capitoline Museum. They include some of its best known treasures, the marble faun after Praxiteles, the Cupid, the two Amazons, the Psyche, etc. Where the tazza is I do not know: the upper part of the basin at least is in the Vatican.

It is noticeable that the Cupid, valued at 2,000 scudi (Capitol, Galleria 5), is not mentioned in any of the descriptions of the villa previous to this date.

An Egyptian statue valued at the same price is mentioned only by Croce, *op. cit.* 49, "nel fin poi del vial verso l'ocaso una loggia vedrai, doue si goda sotto l'arco a man destra entro al suo seno un Idolo assai vago di marmo de l'Egitto," and in the following passage of a diary of Diego Revillas which I purchased at the sale of the library of Costantine Corvisieri (under date September 30th, 1728): "Nella villa d'Este . . . e da osservarsi l'antica statua gigantesca di basaltide egizio, collocata [*sic*] sotto di una gran loggia, e già ritrovata nella villa di Adriano, senza la testa: la quale poi due anni sono fu ritrovata nelle vicinanze della medes (ima) villa di Adriano dal S^{co} Lolli insieme con altre molte teste, e vari pezzi antichi." ("In the villa d'Este . . . is to be observed the ancient gigantic statue of Egyptian basalt, placed beneath a great loggia, and found formerly in the villa of Hadrian, but without the head, which was found two years ago by Sig. Lolli, with many other heads and various ancient fragments.")^d

^a Seni, 263 *sqq.*

^b A postscript mentions a Mars and three *liberti pileati*. The former may be identical with the Mars of the inventory of 1572, No. 46 (now Ince 43), but the latter three I cannot account for.

^c Except the Venus, which was there at least up till 1830 (No. 8 in the Salone), but disappeared between that date and 1834, as can be learned from a comparison of the editions of Tofanelli's guide of those years, and the Egyptian statue, which was transferred to the Louvre by Napoleon, and was never sent back to Rome. The Venus might be identified with one now on the roof of the Sala Rotonda at the Vatican, with which it agrees in type and measurements, were it not that this has the original left leg, whereas both Cartieri and his annotator state that this was partly restored.

^d For Lolli's excavations *cf.* Winnefeld, *op. cit.* 9, 153; Crocchianti, *op. cit.* 237; Bulgarini, *op. cit.* 128.

That the price actually paid was only 5,000 scudi is stated by Dall' Olio,^a who cites the order for payment dated 25th May, 1753. His other statements are similarly authenticated. Justi^b makes the same statement, but quotes no authority.

The statues mentioned in the first inventory which do not recur in the second are: a "Statue of Abundance," with the head and hands of white marble and the drapery of gray, probably the so-called Senta Fauna or Bona Dea of Del Re, 21, though her drapery is described as black; a damaged statue of a Faun (the second in the Giardino Segreto);^c a Cupid less perfect than that purchased; the Hercules and Telephus group; the seated Jupiter from the stairs, 10 palms high (Ince 2); and a seated nymph, damaged.

The contemporary inventory of Cartieri (1752-3, the exact date is not given) contains, as Bondigli, the Secretary of State to the Duke of Modena, complains in a letter quoted by Seni,^d a very adverse judgment on most of the pieces, and the prices, with the exception of those assigned to the Meleager, the Queen of the Amazons, the Cupid, and the Egyptian statue, are very low, as will be seen in Appendixes B, C, and D. To some of these, indeed, which are now at Ince, the Anchyrrhoe and the Cybele (Inv. 1572, 58 and 40), he refused to assign any value, and some of them he considers modern, *e.g.* the Venus, the Venus with the Dolphin and Cupid, the standing Jupiter, and the Minerva (Capitol, Salone 36), which last he attributes to the school of Michelangelo! At the beginning of the inventory his statements have been corrected in the margin, and he appears to have been an incompetent person. His descriptions of the fractures is, however, interesting, and the statues do appear to have been in a somewhat bad state; the Psyche and the unicorn, indeed, had been painted yellow, which naturally did not improve their value! On the other hand, we find him stating that the two river-gods on each side of the Sibyl of Tiber, above the great Fontanile dell' Ovato, are works of marble, whereas they are, like the Sibyl itself, of travertine, stuccoed, and pricing them at 1,000 scudi the pair.

Those statues mentioned in the inventory of Cartieri, which I have not yet identified, are:

No. 11. Ideal recumbent statue at the fountain of Leda, too much damaged to be priced (probably one of the recumbent Venuses).

No. 23 (if ancient). A river-god of marble, behind the waterfall, not examined (in the Teatro).

^a *Regio Palazzo di Modena* (Modena, 1811), 32.

^b *Winckelmann*, ii. 27.

^c Inv. 1572, 63.

^d P. 165.

- No. 42. Bacchus, with his right hand leaning on a rock placed upon a tree-trunk. The skin of an imaginary animal (*una pelle ideale*) is across his shoulders; his left hand is wanting (20 scudi). Perhaps Inv. 1572, 47 or 84.
- No. 44. Large bust of Hadrian, draped, with the nose, and a little more, broken (20 scudi). Cf. Inv. 1572, 93-99.
- No. 48. Bust of Lucius Verus, draped, the head replaced on the bust, and pieces of the face (15 scudi).
- No. 55. Bas-relief from a late sarcophagus, 1.78 m. long, with various figures, fragmentary (8 scudi).
- No. 56. Part of a sarcophagus, about 1.56 m. long and 0.50 high, with a vase from which a grape-vine springs (10 scudi).

Even after Benedict XIV. had purchased the best pieces in the collection, there still remained in the villa a considerable number of statues, some of them works of some merit. Of these Winckelmann picked out an Æsculapius (Inv. 1572, 35), a philosopher, a river-goddess (Inv. 1572, 37; now No. 590), and a small Nile,^a which, on his recommendation, Cardinal Alessandro Albani bought from the agents of the Duke of Modena in 1765. "Shortly afterwards," Pannini and Zoboli, who had served as intermediaries in the Pope's purchase, inventoried sixty-five statues, valued at 8,195 scudi.^b

Some of these seem from the authority quoted in the footnote^c to have passed into the hands of the Roman dealer Giuseppe d'Este.

From d'Este they passed into the hands of Jenkins, the well-known English dealer, from whom Blundell and Smith Barry bought for Ince and Marbury

^a *Fontaniere*, 60. The philosopher is perhaps No. 202 in the Glyptothek at Munich. Dall' Olio (*loc. cit.*) tells us that the price paid for the four was 1,260 scudi.

^b The authority is Justi, *Winckelmann*, ii.² 27, who, as usual, quotes no documents.

^c A note on a loose piece of paper enclosed in the description by the *Fontaniere* and bearing the signature of the sculptor Antonio d'Este, remarks that the seventy-five articles therein noted (I made the exact total to be seventy-seven) may serve for comparison with the statues mentioned in the description of Fabio Croce, and with the others bought by the writer's deceased father in 1780.

Seni (p. 176) mentions this estimate of the value of the villa and its contents, which was placed at 78,963 scudi, while that of the statues and furniture only was only 787 scudi! (p. 167 n.). He cites, however, a letter of March 6th, 1779, showing that Pierantoni was offering 900 scudi for three of the statues (*Arch. Stat. Mod. Busta*, 72.); and dall' Olio (*op. cit.* 34) informs us that these were bought by him, and were as follows: a woman leaning against a pillar, a nymph with a vase on her shoulders (Inv. 1572, 57 ?), and a seated Jupiter (Inv. 1572, 9 ?).

respectively. Michaelis^a wrongly cites Justi^b as an authority for this statement, which is really due to Dallaway.^c Those which Michaelis mentions as at Ince and recorded as coming from the Villa d'Este are as follows:

- Jupiter (No. 2. Inv. 1572, 64);
- Juno (No. 3. Inv. 1572, 43 (?));
- Mercury with the purse (No. 28. Inv. 1572, 86);^d
- Anchyrhoe (No. 37. Inv. 1572, 58);
- Cybele (No. 42. Inv. 1572, 40);
- Mars (No. 43. Inv. 1572, 46);
- Boy and swan (No. 45);
- Julia Pia? (No. 52. Not identified);
- Hare (No. 78. Inv. 1572, 59);
- Head of a water-god (No. 123. Not identified);
- Sarcophagus of the winds (No. 221. Not identified);
- Sarcophagus; fight with wild beasts (No. 393. Inv. 1572, 74).

At Marbury there is the seated Zeus (Inv. 1572, 9).

In 1774 seven of the statues which still remained in the villa were removed from Tivoli to Rome, and there restored at the cost of 165 scudi. Six of them (we are not told the fate of the seventh) were sent by sea to Ancona for Modena, where Duke Francesco III. intended them to adorn his villa at Sassuolo.^e The ship, however, was wrecked off Ischia; five of the statues were recovered in 1775, and reached Modena in 1776. After having been restored there by Sebastiano Pantanelli, they were dispatched to Sassuolo. A few years later Duke Ercole III., when completing the façade of the palace at Modena, sent for four of the statues that had been sent to Sassuolo, and placed them on the balustrade. They were removed in 1807, and placed in the royal garden in 1811. They are now on the stairs of the palace according to Strafforello.^f They

^a *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 79. n. 195.

^b *Loc. cit.*

^c *Of Statuary*, 352 (Michaelis, *op. cit.* 334).

^d Not. Inv. 1572, 87, the one noted by Del Re. which has no drapery on the shoulder.

^e The museum at Cataio, near Battaglia, not far from Padua, was founded by Tomasso Obizzi in 1789 and following years, and left by him to the house of Este in 1805. It is therefore improbable that we should find in it any statues from the Villa d'Este, unless any that had been conveyed to Modena (where none from the Villa d'Este, indeed hardly any statues at all, are mentioned by Dutschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien*) were taken to Cataio to swell that collection. For it is, indeed, the case that the Obizzi museum was transferred by the Archduke Maximilian to Vienna, and returned to Modena in 1822. (*Documenti inediti*, ii. p. xv.) A glance through Dutschke, however, does not reveal any promising identifications.

^f *Geografia dell' Italia* (Provincia di Modena e Reggio nell' Emilia. 45).



FONTANA DE CIGNI, CON STATVA DI NINFA, CHE DORME NEL PIANO DEL GIARDINO

Gio. Francesco Venturini del. et inc.

VENTURINI'S VIEW OF THE FOUNTAIN OF THE SWANS, VILLA D'ESTE.

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London, 1908.



were a Venus (a copy of the Medicean, identifiable with Inv. 1572, 85, if it were not that Del Re gave the height as only 1 metre), a Bacchante, an Antinous, and a beardless Hercules, all of them of white Carrara marble, the first three 1.53 metre high, and the last 1.48 metre high. They are not certainly identifiable with any of those mentioned in the descriptions of the villa. What happened to the fifth statue, and what was its subject, we are not informed.^a

The sixth statue was not recovered from the sea until 1779, and was sent to Naples, and thence to Rome, where it was sold to Giambattista Visconti for 80 scudi, having been much damaged by the sea, and being a "statua consolare" (*i.e.* a male Roman portrait statue in a toga), and therefore not of much value. It might be Inv. 1572, 66 or 67, the fate of which is otherwise unknown to us.

Dall' Olio (p. 35) also says that Duke Ercole III. gave orders in 1787 that all the statues remaining should be sold. Ten statues and four heads of very little value were sold to Paolo Cavaceppi for 283 scudi in December, 1787, and twenty-five statues and some heads to Vincenzo Pacetti for 842 scudi in January, 1788. Through them several statues passed into the various Roman collections.

The Hercules and Telephus group (Inv. 1572, 25) was bought by Vincenzo Pacetti, and from him found its way into the Villa Borghese^b and thence to the Louvre. The representation of Clarac (plate ccii. No. 2002) agrees with the description of Del Re, and the representation of Venturini in plate 3 (not in plate 9, but he is apt to be careless); and the height (11 palms) agrees with the measurement of 2.437 m. given by Clarac.^c

The "spinario" (Inv. 1572, 2) may be identified with that in the Louvre (*Cat. Somm.*, 255; Reinach, *Répertoire*, ii. 142, 4), which also came from the Borghese collection, where the Leda (Inv. 1572, 42) still is.

Similarly the recumbent Hercules is identical with that in the Museo Chiaramonti (Clarac, 796, 1991—present number 733).

Whether there were any statues of any moment left after this seems doubtful.^d

^a Dall' Olio, 33.

^b *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, 1788, 29.

^c The statue given by Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 85, fig. 33, is not the same.

^d The removal of some of the less important was certainly carried out somewhat carelessly; the recumbent Venus, for example, of the fountain of the swans (Inv. 1572, No. 8), seems to have been violently chiselled away from her base, a part of which still remains. Venturini's view of the fountain (pl. 26), with the two boys riding geese (Inv. 1573, 13, 14), is given as our Pl. XXXIV. The boy at the top with the swan is not mentioned by Del Re, or in other descriptions, but is identical with Ince 45. The boy eating a bunch of grapes of which Del Re speaks (not so shown by Venturini) is probably Vatican, Candelabri, 83A.

Among some letters acquired by me at the sale referred to above, and relating to the years 1812—1834, there is nothing about statues, though a few odd items may be mentioned.^a

Cardinal Albani seems to have represented the interests of the family in Rome in 1826, and this would account for the fact of the description of the villa of 1725, and these other papers relating to it, having come into his possession.

There is an interesting description of the terrible flood of 16th November, 1826, written on the 21st of the month to Vincenzo Constantini, Computista Generale dell' Amministrazione dei Lotti. The villa itself does not seem to have suffered, indeed it was too far removed from the falls. But the channel which conveyed part of the water of the Anio to the villa, and which had been made to supply its fountains, was rendered useless.

A description of it is given in a Relazione sent by Giuseppe Mantovani, the guardarobbiera, to Constantini, on December 21st, 1826.

It was one of five channels which served to supply the city of Tivoli, and the furthest up stream. Opposite to it, Bernini had, by the order of the house of Este, constructed a buttress to drive the water into the channel. It measured about 10 palms (2.22 metres) by 5 (1.11 metre), and it had a proper inlet sluice gate and a grating to keep dirt out; and above it was a small chamber. The result of the flood was to destroy the chamber, while the level of the river fell to such an extent that the mouth of the aqueduct was some 45 palms (9.90 metres) above the water level.

On 1st May, 1834, the gardener, Luigi Martini, wrote to Constantini describing the hurried visit of the Pope, Gregory XVI., to the villa on the 28th April, on his way to visit the factory in the Villa di Mecenate. He merely passed through going and returning, and though the fountains were turned on for his benefit, no one of his suite left any gratuity.

A plane tree fell on June 8th, 1834, in the Piazza dell' Organo, and damaged the balustrade.

The packet closes with two letters of December, 1834, in regard to the Campanile of S. Valerio, which had to be demolished with some other houses close to the river. A stemma of the house of Este in travertine stood upon it, and the gardener writes on behalf of Maria Mantovani (no doubt the widow and successor of the former guardarobbiera) on December 15th to ask what is to be done. It appears to have been placed there when the d'Este as governors of Tivoli

^a Another lot, even less interesting, I did not purchase.

brought a supply of water to the fountains, one of the fountains being close by. It was promised that either it should be placed on the reconstructed Campanile or in the *comunità* or communal building.

It will be seen from the foregoing account of the sculptures which the villa contained in the sixteenth century that practically nothing now remains there; the only pieces I have been able to find are the recumbent Venus in the niche of the fountain of the courtyard, the oval sarcophagus with strigil ornamentation which serves as a basin, and the head of Constantine above it.* There is also, near the fountain with the representation of the buildings of Rome, a small seated male figure 38 centimetres high, without the head, which looks as if it had recently been broken off, and with the left hand resting on the head of a dog. This is not mentioned by any authority I have consulted.

Since the death of Cardinal Hohenlohe (who had rented it since 1859) in 1896 the villa has remained untenanted; some of the fountains still run, but the whole has an air of picturesque and beautiful, but melancholy, desolation. The foregoing pages are an attempt to conjure up some image of its former splendour.

ADDENDUM.

Seni, p. 38 *fn.*, quotes from Busta 70 in the Archivio di Stato at Modena a list of statues entire and finished, which are to be carried to the statuary store (*statuario*) of Monte Cavallo, including "a large Lion of marble and a Cerberus in the garden of Paolo del Bufalo, which have been paid for, and are to be used at Tivoli." Another list in the same Busta of statues which "can be finished while the Cardinal is away from Rome," includes a mention that "M^{ro} Andrea, the sculptor, has two statues, one of Antinous and the other of Hercules, of black marble, which are ancient and very fine; the Antinous can be used for the loggia at the upper end of the fish-ponds at Tivoli (No. 26 in the view of 1573 is indeed 'Fontana d'Antinoe,' and occupies precisely this position) and the Hercules will be placed in the grotto of Venus."

Of none of these four statues can I find any record that it actually reached Tivoli.

* Del Re, 8, 9.

APPENDIX A.

THE INVENTORY OF 1572.

Firstly, in the lower apartment on the level of the courtyard :

In the first room :

- Modern.^a A statue of the Nile in stone, headless.
- M. A rustic statue without arms and head.

In the second room :

- 1. A sleeping Venus.^b

Apartment of the Cardinal of Ferrara :

In the Gallery :

- 2. A statue of the boy extracting a thorn, of marble, entire.^c

In the lower apartment of the palace :

In the hall of the small fountain :

- A small fountain decorated with mosaic, with—
- 3. A statue of marble, entire, called a Faun.
- 4-6. Three heads with the bust, of white marble.^d
- 7. A black head with a white bust of marble.

In the large garden :

- 8. A Venus draped and recumbent, entire.^e

At the entrance to the garden :

- 9. A statue called Jove; the hands are wanting.^f
- 10. A torso of a draped woman.

In the grottos under the fountain of the Flood :

- M. An eagle of travertine.
- M. A wolf with Romulus and Remus.
- M. A Goddess of Nature in the fountain of the Flood.

In the oval fountain :

- M. The Albunean Sibyl with a child in travertine, draped.
- M. Two rivers of travertine.
- M. Ten nymphs of peperino in the oval fountain.
- M. Two nude Bacchuses, entire, of marble, standing, with tree-trunks^g and a vase which throws water under the arm, in the rustic fountains.^h
- 11. A statue of marble, draped, without head and arms, at the door of the grottoes.
- M. A Nereid (?) of travertine in a shell of travertine.

In the grotto of Venus :

- 12-14. A nude Venus of marble with two small putti who sit on the ducks, of marble.ⁱ
- 15. A Spring of black marble with the head white and the arms white, with the cornucopia, entire.

^a Abbreviated as M throughout the rest of the inventory.

^b By exchange from the people of Rome in 1568 *una Venerina che dorme mezzo vestita* (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, ii. 82.).

^c This was excavated in 1566 and 15 scudi given to its finder, who was working for the Cardinal. (Venturi, 201.)

^d For two busts in the hall of the fountain at Tivoli a chest piece (*petto*) in marble was supplied in July, 1570, for a Septimius Severus on the 4th and a M. Aurelius on the 31st. (Venturi, 204.) The reference should be to two of these three busts—but *cf. infra*, 71, 92.

^e No. 30 in the plan of 1573 (Venus Cloacina (?)).

^f Zappi, 86^v.

^g *Trenta* is printed in *Documenti inediti*, *loc. cit.*, but makes no sense. I read "tronchi."

^h No. 16 in the plan of 1573. They are in reality of stone.

ⁱ No. 17 in the plan of 1573 (the text to which mentions also the four small putti). Zappi, 93 *med.*, who mentions four putti, two of them riding geese (swans according to Del Re). The latter are also mentioned in the inventory of 1568 (No. 22). Zappi describes the Venus as nude, holding her hands before her, and with her drapery on a tree-trunk (*sic*).

APPENDIX B.

THE DESCRIPTION OF DEL RE (1611) AND SUBSEQUENT AUTHORITIES.

Inventory of 1572.	Del Re.	Notes, including Name and Collocation (but only if altered) in Del Re's time, and size as given by him.	Fontaniere.	Inventory of Cartieri (1752-3), with estimated value.	Present Collocation.
No. 1	Page. 14	Corner room on courtyard level (1.44 m. long)	Page.	(25 ?) (10 sc.)	Vatican, Giardino della Pigna, 157 (?).
2	—	—	—	—	Louvre, Cat. Somm. 255 (?).
3	13	For this was substituted the statue of Senta Fauna. With this, and <i>infra</i> 48 (or 84) are to be identified the statues of a Faun and of Pan in the hall on the courtyard level, each 1.22 m. high	66 (balustrade of loggia at entrance to garden)	10 (no value)	
4	19 <i>sqq.</i>	Pertinax (?)	52	70 (60 sc.)	
5	„	Lucilla (?—but <i>cf.</i> 91 <i>infra</i>)	52	(47 ?) (12 sc.)	
6	„	Scipio or Sulla	52	49 (50 sc.)	
7					
8	70 <i>fin.</i>	At fountain on W. at bottom of garden (2.00 m. long)	25		
9	65	Fontanile dei Draghi (hands restored, with thunderbolt in left)	20	20 (20 sc.)	Marbury 1.
10					
11					
12					
13, 14	71 <i>init.</i>	At fountain on W. at bottom of garden (0.50 m. high)	25	—	(One of them) Vatican. Candelabri, 83A.
15	21	“Senta Fauna.” In hall of the small fountain (1.33 m. high)	53	50 (30 sc.)	

16-19. Four small nude putti of marble with four vases which throw water with masks, with their feet preserved.^a

20. A torso of a goddess draped, without head and without arms.

In the first room of the grotto :

21. A Terminus (herm) of black marble, headless.

22. A large marble head of colossal size.^b

23. A slab of porphyry.

In the second room :

24. A recumbent Hercules, entire, with the lion's skin under him, of marble.^c

25. Another nude Hercules with Achilles in his arms and a marble stag standing, entire.^d

M. A Rome of travertine.

M. The River Tiber of travertine, nude.

M. The four seasons of the year, of peperino, entire, are in the room.

26. A Mercury on the top, nude, of marble, entire.

In the grotto of Diana :

27. A Diana of white marble, entire, with the dog and the bow.^e

28. A Minerva of marble, entire, with the shield on her arm.^f

29. An Amazon with the bow, entire.^g

30. A Lucretia of marble, entire, with the spear.

Under the niche at the top of the stairs :

31. A nude Castor of marble.^h

Under the small loggia :

32. A draped statue of marble, entire.

33. A draped statue of Pallas, entire.ⁱ

34. A draped statue of Pandora, of marble, entire.^k

At the end of the Cardinal's walk :

35. An Æsculapius of marble, entire, with the serpent below.^l

36. An Egidia (*sic* for Hygeia) daughter of Æsculapius, draped, of marble, entire.^m

M. The horse Pegasus.ⁿ

At the end of the walk below the palace :

37. A statue of Ethis (*sic*—for Thetis) with a head of a sea-bull, of marble.^o

^a Two of them (?) bought for 13 scudi on May 25th, 1568 (Venturi, 202). Zappi, 93 *fin.*

^b This may be perhaps identical with the colossal head of Cybele, said by Penna (iii. 48) to have been found at Hadrian's villa, which was presented by Benedict XIV. to the Museo Capitolino (Atrio 18 until 1903, since then in the Palazzo dei Conservatori). This head, however, is not mentioned in either of the inventories in Appendix D.

^c Restored on 21st August and 22nd November, 1568 (Venturi, 202). Zappi, 100, *init.*

^d Restored 20th July, 1568, and again 25th October, 1570 (Venturi, 202, 204). Zappi, 100 *med.*

^e No. 18 in the plan of 1573. Zappi, 97^v *init.*

^f Zappi, 97^v *fin.* Restored 6th June, 1572, at the cost of 15 scudi (Venturi, 206).

^g One of these two was found on the Palatine and bought in 1570. Both, Zappi, 97.

^h Not Zappi, 99 *init.* (which was elsewhere).

ⁱ Zappi, 96^v *init.* Del Re describes it as having a thin robe down to the feet, a mantle on the back, sandals, the right hand raised, a long spear in the left, a helmet, and a chlamys (no doubt with the Gorgon's head) in front of the breast.

^k Found at Hadrian's villa. De Cavalleriis (who calls it Psyche), I. 24 = I., II. 43. No. 115 in the Inventory of 1568, where it is noted as in Rome ready to go to Tivoli. No. 10 in the plan of 1573. Zappi, 96 *fin.*

^l No. 8 in the plan of 1573. Zappi, 96 *init.* It is not either of the two statues of Æsculapius given by De Cavalleriis I. 20, 21 = I., II. 39, 40, as these do not tally with the description of Del Re.

^m De Cavalleriis I. 35 = I., II. 44. No. 8 in the plan of 1573. Zappi, 96 *med.*

ⁿ No. 15 in the plan of 1573.

^o No. 7 in the plan of 1573. Zappi, 98^v *init.*

Inventory of 1572.	Del Re.	Notes, including Name and Collocation (but only if altered) in Del Re's time, and size as given by him.	Fontaniere.	Inventory of Cartieri (1752-3), with estimated value.	Present Collocation.
No. 16-19	Page. 51	At the Fountain of Bacchus (near the Fontanile dell' Ovato)	Page. 7		(Two of them.) Vatican, Candelabri, 117, 119
20					
21					
22		— —	—	—	Capitol, Atrio 18 (now Conservatori) ?
23					
24	45	Fountain in central line, below palace (2.45 m. long)	11 & 37	26 (60 sc.)	Museo Chiaramonti, No. 733 (Clarac, 796, 1991).
25	44	Fountain in central line, below palace (2.45 m. high)	38	27 (30 sc.)	Louvre (Clarac, 302, 2002). Cat. Somm. 75.
26					
27	43	Fountain of Diana (1.95 m. high)	43	31 (60 sc.)	Capitol, Atrio, 52.
28	42	"Bellona" (2.22 m. high). Fountain of Diana	43	30 (100 sc.)	Capitol, Salone, 36.
29	41	"Amazon with the Bow" (1.89 m. high). Fountain of Diana	65 (in the hall on courtyard level)	7 (200 sc.)	Capitol, Gladiatore, 4.
30	41	"Queen of the Amazons" (1.89 m. high). Fountain of Diana	65 (in the hall on courtyard level)	8 (1,200 sc.)	Capitol, Salone, 19.
31	64 ?	A boxer at the Fontanile dei Draghi (?)			
32	30	"Ione," under the steps of the villa (1.70 m. high) ^a	62 (stairs)	63 (60 sc.) stairs	Capitol, Galleria, 52.
33	30	"Bellona," under the steps of the villa (1.78 m. high)	62 (stairs)	64 (35 sc.) (?)	
34	37	Fountain below terracc (2.11 m. high)	41	32 (60 sc.)	Capitol, Gladiatore, 6.
35	36	Fountain below terrace (2.30 m. high)	39	34 (30 sc.)	Louvre (Clarac, 293, 1148). Cat. Somm. 639.
36	37	Fountain below terrace (2.07 m. high)	40	33 (40 sc.)	Vatican. Reinach. <i>Rép.</i> II. 338, 2.
37	34	"Europa," E. end upper terrace (3.33 m. long)	46	35 (10 sc.)	Villa Albani, 590.

^a Del Re's measurement is wrong: the real height is 1.30 m.

- 38. A vase of cipollino marble.
- 39. A statue of the goddess Pomona, entire, of marble.
- 40. A draped statue of the goddess Cybele, of marble, entire.
- 41. A statue of marble turned into a butterfly.

Under the stairs of the palace :

- 42. A nude recumbent statue of Leda with the swan and a small putto.^a
- 43. A Helena, and ^b
- 44. A Clytemnestra of marble, draped, entire ^c
- 45. A nude statue of marble.^d

In the lower part of the loggia :

- 46. A nude Mars ^e
- 47. A nude Bacchus ^f } of marble.

In the lower corridor :

- 48. A statue of marble called a Faun, entire.
- 49, 50. Two draped statues of women in two fountains.
- 51. A head of Cæsar of black marble.^g
- 52. A head of a Faun.
- 53. A head called Julia.

^a Bought in 1566 for 18 scudi (Venturi, 200). No. 6 in the plan of 1573. Zappi, 98^v *fn.*

^b Zappi, 98^v *fn.*

^c Found at Hadrian's villa (?). Zappi, 98^v *fn.* *Not De Cavalleriis*, I. 39 = 1., II. 45.

^d Zappi, 99 *init.* mentions statues of Castor and Pollux here; two also are shown in the view of 1573, and Venturi has three entries, in 1569 and 1570, of the restoration of a Pollux (pp. 203, 204), by Leonardo Sormanno, which was carted to Tivoli in 1571.

^e Zappi, 99 *med.* (Restored 22nd November, 1568 (?), Venturi, 202.)

^f Zappi, 99 *med.* It would appear that these statues occupied the niches where, in Del Re's time, 39 and 40 stood.

^g No. 79 in the inventory of 1568.

Inventory of 1572.	Del Re.	Notes, including Name and Collocation (but only if altered) in Del Re's time, and size as given by him.	Fontaniere.	Inventory of Cartieri (1752-3), with estimated value.	Present Collocation.
No. 38	Page.		Page.		
39	34	Loggia at W. end of villa (2.06 m. high)	47	38 (no value)	
40	33	Loggia at W. end of villa (1.93 m. high)	47	37 (no value)	Ince, 42.
41	27	"Cloto," private (or small) garden (1.67 m. high)	20 (niche at Font. dei Draghi)	18 (30 sc.) "Psyche"	Capitol, Galleria, 20.
42	28	Under steps of villa (1.45 m. long)	50	36 (20 sc.)	Villa Borghese 62 (Clarac, 413, 710).
43	31	"Vestal Virgin," under steps of villa (1.78 m. high)	64 (in hall on courtyard level)	4 (70 sc.)	Ince, 3 ? (Juno).
44	31	"Ceres with the Torch," under steps of villa (1.78 m. high)	64 (in hall on courtyard level)	3 (40 sc.) (Cleopatra)	
45					
46	—	— —	—	"About 9 palms (2.00 m.) high." Inv. 1752. Seni I.	Ince, 43.
47	—	— —	—	42 ? (20 sc.)	
48	13	<i>Cf. supra</i> , 3	66 (balustrade of loggia at entrance to garden)	9 (no value)	
49, 50	26	N.E. angle room, lower level (Venturini, 6)	60	53, 54 (30 sc. each)	
51	19	In the hall of the small fountain	—	46 (40 sc.)	
52					
53					
54	12	Hall on level of courtyard (1.85 m. high)	63	2 (60 sc.)	

In the grotto of the small garden :

- 54-56. A Venus with two Cupids with their bows, of marble.^a
 57. A Myrtoessa of marble, draped, and a vase on her shoulder (?)^b
 58. A statue of a Hirroe (Anchyrrhoe), draped, with a vase on her shoulder.
 59. A hare of marble.^c

In the small garden :

60. A unicorn of marble, entire.^d
 61. A nude Venus with a Cupid, standing, with a dolphin of white marble.
 62, 63. Two nude Fauns at the end of the garden in two niches.^e

Half-way up the stairs :

64. A Jove of marble, nude, entire, with an eagle.^f
 65. A nude Saturn of marble, entire, ancient.^f

On the landing of the stairs at the level of the loggia :

- 66, 67. Two draped statues of marble, entire, of two consuls.^g
 Four heads of white marble with their busts, viz. :
 68. Commodus,
 69. Vitellius,^b
 70. Meleager,ⁱ
 71. Septimius,^k and
 72. One of black marble.
 73. A statue of a nude recumbent Venus in the fountain of the courtyard, of white marble.

In various places in the palace :

74. A sarcophagus^l of white marble with two lions' heads.
 75. A sculptured marble sarcophagus.

^a No. 21 in the plan of 1573. A Venus leaving the bath was transported from the house of Mo. Andrea to Monte Cavallo on (day not named), 1568, and another Venus given by Card. Borromeo from S. Prassede on 26th October (Venturi, 202, 203). A Cupid was bought for 15 scudi on 4th June, 1568, and 30 scudi paid on account of the Hercules and two Cupids on 20th November of the same year (Venturi, 202).

^b The copy has "farfalla," which makes nonsense; "in spalla" is probable, and occurs in the next entry. I read "in spalla" in the original.

^c Acquired on 2nd May, 1567, with the stag (Appendix C) for 10 scudi, 44 baiocchi (Venturi 201).

^d No. 3 in the plan of 1573.

^e A faun was bought in 1568 from the Abbot of S. Sebastiano at Rome, through the antiquary Stampa, for 46.40 scudi (Venturi, 201, 203) paid on 28th February, and 1st April.

^f Restored on 15th June, 1572, at the cost of 6 scudi (Venturi, 206).

^g One of these is probably the "Commodus" bought of Nicolò Staglia for 75 scudi early in 1565 (Venturi, 200).

^h No. 82 in the inventory of 1568 ("modern").

ⁱ Bought 1st April, 1561 (Venturi, 201, 203). (With it was bought a "small Nile," and a head of Alexander Mammæus (*sic*) (unidentified), the price paid being 38.28 scudi.)

^k No. 86 in the inventory of 1568 ("modern").

^l "Pilo" (literally "pillar") may mean sarcophagus, or cippus—the latter is probably meant where it is expressly described as "square." In the case of 77 it probably means a fountain basin.

Inventory of 1572.	Del Re.	Notes, including Name and Collocation (but only if altered) in Del Re's time, and size as given by him.	Fontaniere.	Inventory of Cartieri (1752-3), with estimated value.	Present Collocation.
No. 55, 56	Page. 12	Hall on level of courtyard (1.22 m. high)	Page. 43 (Fountain of Diana)	28 (1,500 sc.); 29 (30 sc.)	55 Capitol, Galleria, 5.
57	63	Fontanile della Civetta (1.67 m. high)	17	12 (no value)	
58	63	Fontanile della Civetta (1.67 m. high)	17	13 (no value)	Ince, 37.
59	—	— — —	—	—	Ince, 78.
60	26	Private (or small) garden	61	59 (60 sc.)	
61	26	Private (or small) garden (1.85 m. high)	63 (in the hall on the courtyard level)	1 (110 sc.)	
62	27	Faun, with tiger skin, private (or small) garden (1.78 m. high)	—	41 (20 sc.)	Capitol, Gladiatore, 10.
63	27	Faun, with goat skin, private (or small) garden (1.93 m. high)	—	40 (20 sc.)	
64	15	(2.22 m. high)	64 (in the hall on the courtyard level)	6 (60 sc.)	Ince, 2.
65	17	(2.22 m. high)	64 (in the hall on the courtyard level)	5 ♀ (called Hercules) (100 sc.)	
66	11	Alexander Severus (2.06 m. high)	62	67 (80 sc.)	
67	11	Marcus Aurelius (2.15 m. high)	62	66 (60 sc.)	
68	10	"Septimius Severus"	62	65 (60 sc.)	
69	9	— — —	62	69 (60 sc.)	
70	10	— — —	62	68 (1,000 sc.)	Capitol, Fauno, 5.
71	10				
72					
73	8	(2.22 m. long)	69	—	Villa d'Este.
74	55	Sarcophagus, with battle of men and beasts, at Rome fountain (2.00 by 0.50 m.)	15		Ince, 393.
75					

- 76. A square marble cippus.
- 77. A basin of africano marble.
- 78. A circular vase of marble with three sea monsters.
Four tables with five tripods.

In the store room :

- 79. A small marble Satyr leaning against a tree-trunk.
- 80. A small Cupid of marble with a vase on his shoulders—a fountain statue.
- 81, 82. Two small putti of marble with shells on their heads.

In the open space above the store room :

- 83. A small nude Bacchus of marble, 4 palms high (0·889 m.).
- 84. A nude Faun of marble, entire.
- 85. A nude Venus of marble with a dolphin at her feet, entire.
- 86. A Mercury of marble with the purse in his hand and a garment on his shoulder, nude, entire.
- 87. Another small Mercury of marble, nude, entire, with the purse in his hand.
- 88. A mask of marble with a pedestal.
- 89. Another large mask in two pieces.
- 90. A small nude torso of marble.
- 91. A head of Faustina without the nose, of marble.^a
- 92. A head of an Antinous of marble, damaged.
- 93-99. Seven heads of white marble.
- 100. A small frieze of marble with two small masks and an eagle.
- 101. A round slab of serpentine.

^a Found at Hadrian's Villa 1st October, 1570 (4 scudi paid) (Venturi, 204).

Inventory of 1572.	Del Re.	Notes, including Name and Collocation (but only if altered) in Del Re's time, and size as given by him.	Fontaniere.	Inventory of Cartieri (1752-3), with estimated value.	Present Collocation.
No. 76	Page.		Page.		
77	5, 27	Loggia at top of stairs to garden (1.77 m. long, 0.67 m. wide)	50, 51		
78	32	Fountain of the sea-horses	48		(Upper part.) Sala dei Busti, 312.
79	14	Room at N.W. angle, upper level (0.56 m. high)			
80					
81					
82					
83	62	Rome fountain (1 m. high)			
84	13	<i>Cf. supra</i> , 3	66	9	
85	14	Room at N.W. angle on upper level (1 m. high)	66 (balustrade of loggia at entrance to garden)	—	Modena?
86		— —	—	—	Ince, 28.
87	62	Rome fountain (1 m. high)			
88					
89					
90					
91	19	"Lucilla"	52	47 ? (12 sc.)	
92	18	"Youthful M. Aurelius," lower corridor	61	45 (Antinous) (20 sc.)	
93	17	"Head of Claudius," lower corridor	—	60	
94	17	"Head of a Woman," lower corridor	—	61	(18 sc.)
95	—	— —	—	62	
96	—	— —	—	44 Hadrian (20 sc.)	

Inventory of 1572.	Del Re.	Notes, including Name and Collocation (but only if altered) in Del Re's time, and size as given by him.	Fontaniere.	Inventory of Cartieri (1752-3), with estimated value.	Present Collocation.
No. 97	Page. —	— —	Page. —	48 Lucius Verus (15 sc.)	
98					
99					
100	55	"Fragments of friezes," Rome fountain	60 (fountain N.E. angle room, lower level)		
101					

NOTE.—I desire to express my thanks to Dr. W. Amelung for help in identifying several of the statues mentioned in the Inventory of 1572, given while this paper was passing through the press. Among them I may note especially the so-called Hygeia (Inv. 1572, 36), which owed its name to arbitrary restoration, as it is really an example of the type of the "Venus of Milo." After having been for some years removed from the Giardino della Pigna, it has now once more been replaced there.

APPENDIX C.

STATUES NOT MENTIONED IN THE INVENTORY OF 1572.

Del Re.		Fontaniere.	Cartieri Inventory, 1752-3.	Present Collocation.
Page. 9	Head of Constantine. Fountain in courtyard (No. 84 in the inventory of 1568)	70	—	Villa d'Este.
14	Curly-haired youth threatening a dog with a whip. Room at N.W. angle, upper level (1.22 m. high)	66 Balustrade of loggia at entrance to garden		
26	Recumbent Venus. N.E. angle room, lower level (1.67 m. long) Venturini 6	59	50	} sc. 60
26	Stag. N.E. angle room, lower level (Bought 2nd May, 1567. Cf. Inv. 1572, 59)	60	50	
51	Bacchus, nude, crowned with berries and ivy leaves	7	24 (70 sc.)	
54	Two statues with long drapery and helmets, above Fontana de' Draghi			
55	Fragment (hand and water skin) attributed to the statue of Hercules from his temple at Tivoli			
62	Bacchus	—	39? (20 sc.)	
64	Four nude male statues. ^a Fontana de' Draghi	21 16 Pluto and Proserpine 16 Two putti at this fountain	14-17 (50 sc.)	

^a One of these, of a boxer, is mentioned by Zappi, 96^v *med.* Perhaps it is the Castor of the Inventory of 1572, No. 31. The Fontaniere calls it a valuable statue of a fighting gladiator. Possibly the other three are the "tre liberti pileati" of the Inventories of 1752-53 published by Seni.

Del Re.		Fontaniere.	Cartieri Inventory, 1752-3.	Present Collocation.
Page.		20 Seated female draped statue in niche at Fontanile dei Draghi	19 (10 sc.)	
		23 Two statues on balustrades below it (no particulars)		
		35 "Venus Cloacina"	25 (10 sc.)	
		47 *A statue in black marble (2.67 m. high), arms out- stretched, hair scattered		
		49 Two putti at the fountain of Leda		
		60 Statue of the Nile ^b Two small Satyrs	52 (12 sc.) 57, 58 (12, 5 sc.)	
		62 Jove, leaning with left arm, on a pillar, draped, arms bare (1.71 m. high) (on stairs)		
		66 Two tables of giallo antico		
		Egyptian statue (<i>supra</i> , p. 17)	43 (2,000 sc.)	Louvre (Clarac 307, 2585).
		Juno (but <i>cf. supra</i> , 43)	—	Ince, 3.
		Julia Pia?	—	Ince, 52.
		Head of a water-god	—	Ince, 123.
		Sarcophagus of the winds	—	Ince, 221.

^a Probably one of a pair of statues of black marble, one presented by the Bishop of Narni, the other purchased, in 1568 (Venturi 202, 203). *Cf. Seni*, 38 *fin.*

^b *Cf. footnote to Inventory 1572, 70.* Cartieri describes it as about 0.67 m. long and 0.33 high, with several putti around the figure, and hieroglyphs on the pedestal, so that it could not be Clarac 749 C, 811 A. Amelung, *Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, i. 130, mentions it as now lost.

APPENDIX D.

THE TWO INVENTORIES GIVEN BY SENI.

No. in Inventory of 1572.	Inventory I.	Value in Scudi.	Value in Inventory II.	Value in Cartieri.	Present Collocation.
70	Meleager, bust	1,000	750	1,000	Capitol, Fauno, 5.
54	Venus	400	400	60	?
30	Amazon	800	350	1,200	Capitol, Salone, 19.
29	Do.		200	200	Capitol, Gladiatore, 4.
32	"Ione"	350	250	60	Capitol, Galleria, 52.
15	"Abbondanza" (Senta Fauna)	200	—	30	?
—	Egyptian statue	2,000	2,000	2,000	Louvre (Clarac, 307, 2585).
62	Faun	400	600	20	Capitol, Gladiatore, 10.
63	Faun	250	—	20	?
55	Cupid	2,000	2,000	1,500	Capitol, Galleria, 5.
56	Cupid (less fine work)	400	—	30	?
28	Pallas	1,000	800	100	Capitol, Salone, 36.
27	Diana	1,000	600	60	Capitol, Atrio, 52.
25	Hercules and Telephus	600	—	30	Louvre
34	Pandora	200	300	60	Capitol, Gladiatore, 6.
64	Jupiter	400	—	60	Ince, 2.
41	"Psyche" (somewhat damaged)	150	140	30	Capitol, Galleria, 20.
?	Seated nymph, similar (more damaged)	60	—	—	?
	Carried forward	11,210	7,693		

No. in Inventory of 1572.	Inventory I.	Value in Scudi.	Value in Inventory II.	Value in Cartieri.	Present Collocation.
	Brought forward	11,210	7,690		
46	Mars ^a	200	400	—	Ince, 43.
?	Three freedmen with caps (liberti pileati)	240		50	
77	Basin of africano	—	820	—	
78	Fountain basin with three sea-horses	300	350	—	Vatican, Sala dei Busti, 312.
		11,950	9,260		

^a The account of the purchase given by Dall' Olio (*see above*) omits all mention of the Mars, of the three liberti pileati, and of the basin of africano, and substitutes a table of giallo antico.