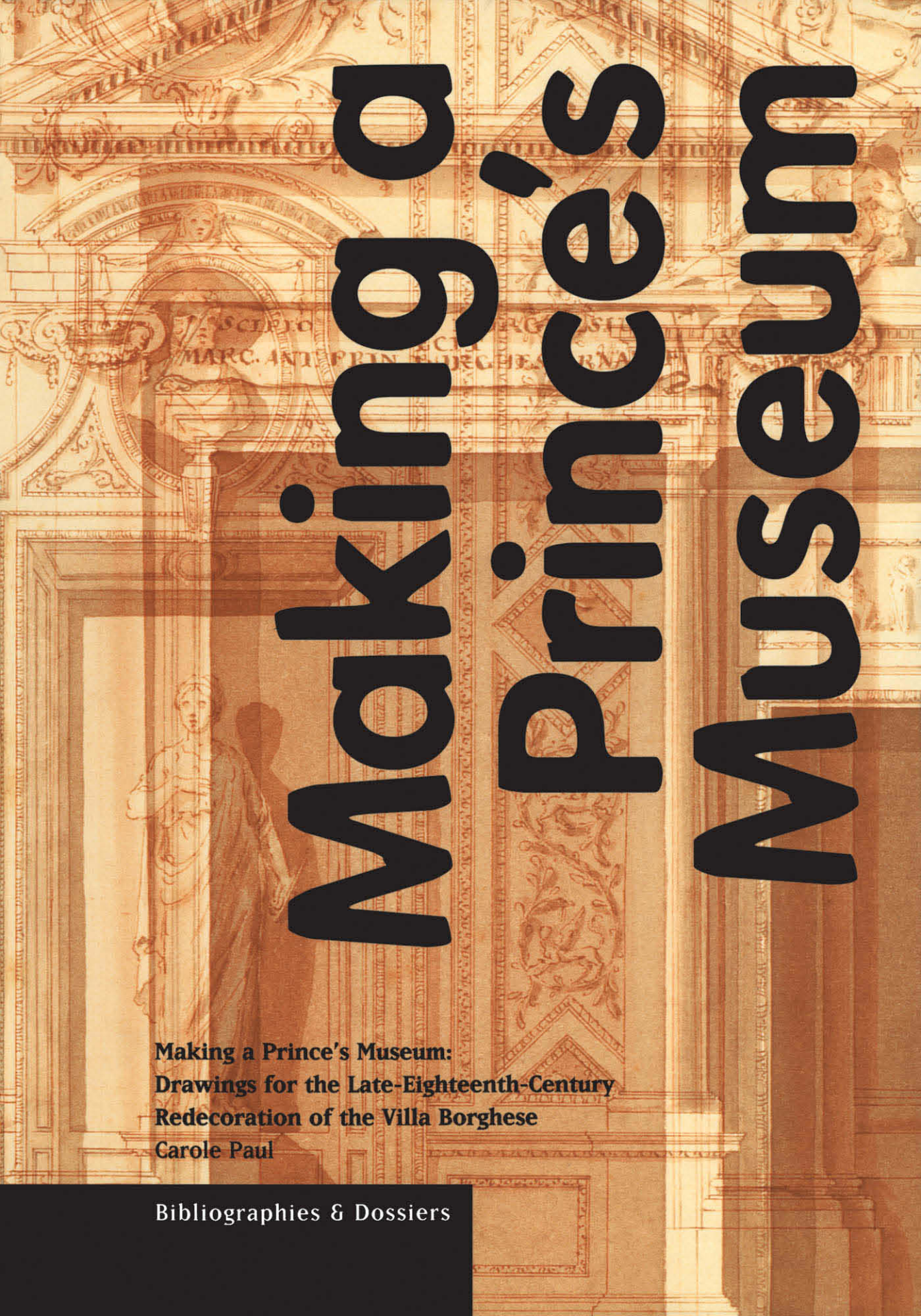


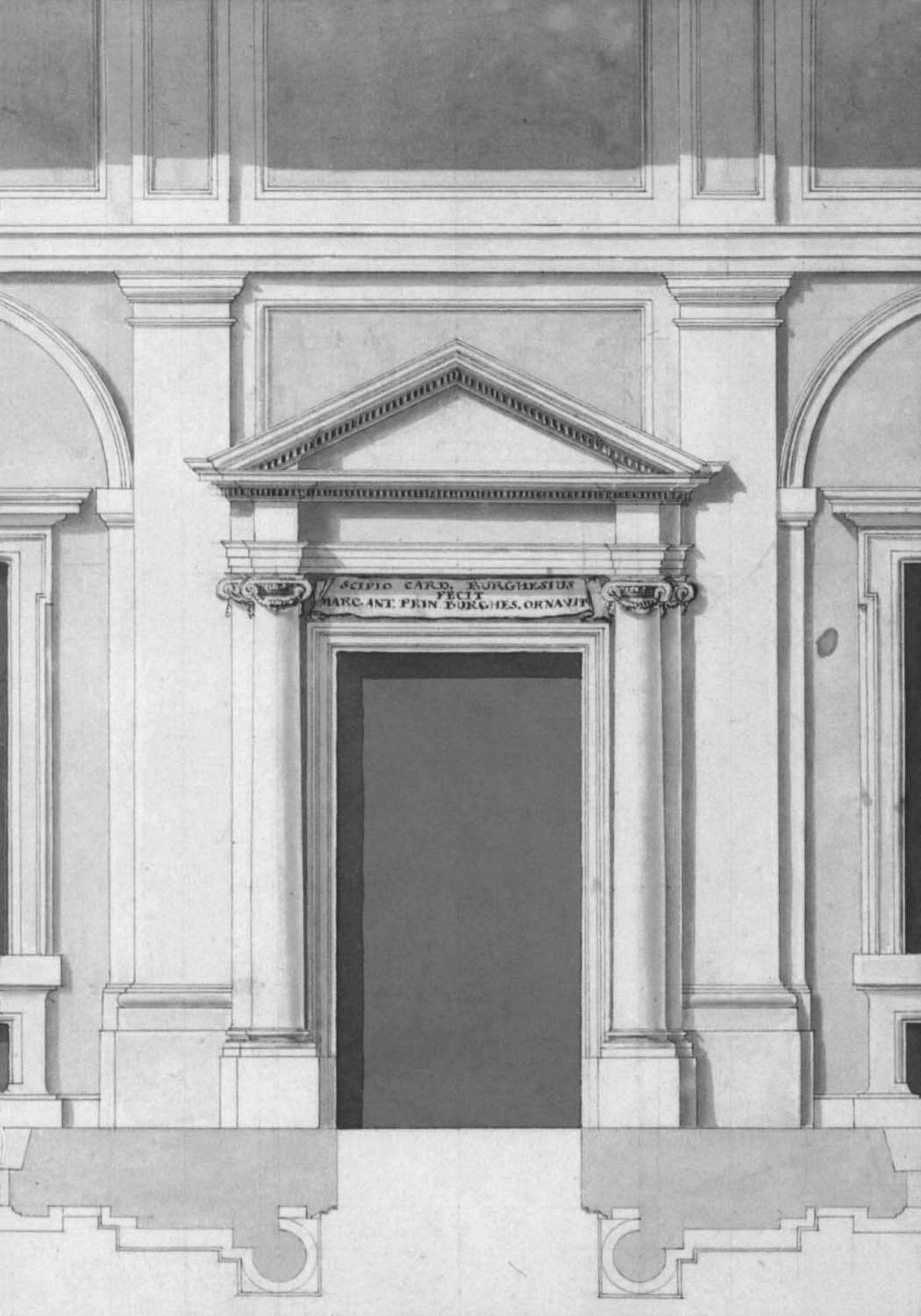
Making a Prince's Museum

Making a Prince's Museum:
Drawings for the Late-Eighteenth-Century
Redecoration of the Villa Borghese
Carole Paul

Bibliographies & Dossiers

For over twenty years, the architect Antonio Asprucci coordinated the work of painters, sculptors, artisans, and antiquarians to materialize the aspirations of the Villa Borghese's cultivated owner, Prince Marcantonio IV. The result of this extensive collaborative venture was justly acclaimed one of the grandest artistic triumphs of its day.

The Getty Research Institute holds a group of drawings that reveal the careful attention to imagery, ornament, lighting, and the display of statuary that characterized the refurbishing of the Casino, the villa's principal building and the focus of the renewal. In addition to documenting these beautifully rendered drawings, *Making a Prince's Museum* situates the Villa Borghese among the sumptuous palaces and suburban villas of Rome's collectors of antiquities, analyzes the renovated Casino's decorative program, and outlines its influence on the design of the first public galleries for classical sculpture at the Louvre.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Carole Paul
With an essay by Alberta Campitelli

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The Collections of the Getty Research Institute
Julia Bloomfield, Harry F. Mallgrave, JoAnne C. Paradise, Thomas F. Reese, Michael S. Roth, and Salvatore Settis, *Editors*

Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late-Eighteenth-Century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese
Michelle Bonnice, *Manuscript Editor*
Translation of Alberta Campitelli's essay by Rachel Bindman

This volume accompanies the exhibition *Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late-Eighteenth-Century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese in Rome,* held 17 June–17 September 2000 at the Getty Research Institute

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As always, I am grateful to my husband, Robert Williams, for his ready support of various kinds and to my daughter, Julia, for her patience with a sometimes preoccupied mother.

Making a Prince's Museum is dedicated to the memory of my parents, Sue and James Paul.

—Carole Paul

Making a Prince's Museum

In 1775 Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV and the architect Antonio Asprucci embarked upon the decorative renovation of the Villa Borghese, a celebrated suburban estate on the Monte Pincio in Rome. Over the next twenty-odd years, Asprucci coordinated the refurbishing of the Casino and other buildings at the villa, the display and cataloging of the famed Borghese sculpture collection, and the relandscaping of the nearly 125-acre property. This brilliant late-eighteenth-century renovation still largely determines the appearance of the buildings and grounds of the Villa Borghese.

Of the preparatory drawings for various aspects of the renovation that survive, the largest share is held by the Getty Research Institute.[1] Most of its drawings are attributable to Antonio Asprucci and relate to the ground floor (*pianterreno*) of the Casino, the principal building at the villa and the focus of the renewal. Now called the Galleria Borghese, the Casino had functioned since its inception as a semipublic museum as well as a place for entertainment and repose. By 1625 it housed much of the Borghese family's outstanding collection of ancient and "modern" sculpture, which was rearranged and reinstalled by Asprucci during the redecoration. Skillfully and beautifully rendered and in very good condition, the Getty Research Institute's drawings reveal the careful attention to imagery, ornament, lighting, and the display of statuary that characterized the refurbishing of the Casino.

While the Getty Research Institute's drawings corroborate Asprucci's supervisory role in the renovation, the Casino's decorative program reflects the aspirations of the patron, Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV, head of his prominent Roman family. The single largest landowner in the region of Latium, Marcantonio was a powerful prince from a family whose wealth and influence in Rome dated to the papacy of Paul V, the former Camillo Borghese, more than a century and a half earlier. By every account, Marcantonio was a cultivated man, hailed by his compatriots for his taste and for his munificence as a patron of the arts. In the projects he commissioned he was said to restore—or even exceed—the splendor of family patronage that had existed under Paul V and the pope's famous nephew, Cardinal Scipione Borghese. As a patron Marcantonio concentrated on enhancing his family residences, most of which had been built or acquired during the time of Paul V and Scipione. His efforts centered on the Roman properties, with their large and impressive art collections, and his greatest undertaking was the renovation of the Villa Borghese.

In refurbishing the Casino at the Villa Borghese, Asprucci coordinated the decoration of each room to form a sumptuous ensemble unified in form and content, including the statuary. The floors were paved with richly colored marbles, and the walls were embellished with stone pilasters and columns, gilded capitals and cornices, stucco bas-reliefs, and painted panels. The ceilings were adorned with large Baroque frescoes or with smaller, more restrained paintings surrounded by decorative motifs. In each room, all this decoration tended to relate thematically to the sculpture exhibited there, and especially to the most acclaimed work, which was usually placed in the center of the room. The decoration was also programmed across the rooms of the ground floor to form a panegyric to the Borghese from their putative ancient Roman forebears to Marcantonio's newly born heir.

The Casino's decorative program as devised and implemented was without peer in the history of villa and palace decoration. For the educated viewer part of the program's charm must have been its use of sophisticated visual and literary references. The way the program was revealed by juxtaposition and accretion as the visitor walked through the successive rooms of the ground floor presumably constituted a source of delight as well. Its most innovative aspect, however, was the consistent integration of the architecture and ornamentation of the exhibition spaces with the works of art displayed. By skillfully synthesizing existing strategies of decoration and exhibition, Asprucci and those who worked with him created an unusually cohesive program, one that marked a culmination in the display of princely collections of sculpture.

The redecorated Casino was so successful that it seems to have influenced the development of the modern public museum, then in its infancy. The villa and its collection provoked significant interest in Napoleonic France, and even in Napoléon Bonaparte himself. So coveted were many of the antiquities on display at the Villa Borghese that Marcantonio's heir, Prince Camillo Borghese, who had married Napoléon's sister, Pauline Bonaparte Leclerc, was apparently coerced in 1807 into selling most of the best pieces—more than three hundred works—to his brother-in-law. Eventually these were added to the collections of the new Musée Napoléon, which had opened in 1803 at the Palais du Louvre in Paris, where they constituted a considerable addition to the museum's already formidable assembly of ancient statuary. It thus transpired that fifteen years after the Convention Nationale had inaugurated the Louvre as the first public art museum in France, the antiquities gallery displayed a large number of classical works imported from the Villa Borghese.

It also happened that the antiquities at the Musée Napoléon were arranged, beginning in 1799, by Ennio Quirino Visconti, the antiquarian who had cataloged the Borghese sculpture collection for Marcantonio. Visconti organized the statuary to coordinate thematically with the ceiling paintings in the rooms of the antiquities gallery at the Musée Napoléon; some of these paintings dated from the mid-seventeenth century, and the rest were added under the direction of the supervising architect, Jean Arnaud Raymond. In 1804 Raymond was replaced by the architects Charles Percier and Pierre-François-

Léonard Fontaine. Like Visconti, they were admirers of the Villa Borghese: Percier had drawn the rooms of the Casino between 1786 and 1792, and their 1809 guidebook to Roman *maisons de plaisance* (country estates) included plans and views of the Villa Borghese.[2] Percier and Fontaine maintained the correlation of ceiling paintings and statuary as they carried on with the ornamentation of the antiquities gallery at the Louvre. The principles of display and decoration best exemplified by the programming of the Villa Borghese's Casino were thus brought to bear on the great changes made to the Louvre during the reigns of Napoléon Bonaparte and his immediate successors.

This essay contextualizes the Villa Borghese and the decorative renovation of its Casino in a number of ways. The first part situates the Villa Borghese within two intersecting traditions especially identified with Rome—the periodic retirement by wealthy urbanites to country estates (*villeggiatura*) and the collecting and exhibition of ancient sculpture. The second part of the essay outlines the history of the Villa Borghese from its origins in the early seventeenth century under the patronage of Cardinal Scipione to its renovation in the late eighteenth century under the patronage of Prince Marcantonio IV. The third part discusses the decorative programs of the rooms on the Casino's ground floor, individually and in aggregate. The final part of the essay explores the connection between the Villa Borghese and the early development of the Louvre as a public art museum.

Following this essay are an overview of two groups of drawings in the Getty Research Institute's collection as well as catalog entries for thirty-one drawings relating to the redecoration of the ground floor of the Casino that were selected from these groups. The book closes with Alberta Campitelli's discussion of ten drawings for the Museo di Gabii, the other antiquities museum at the Villa Borghese. Although the initial idea of constructing an entirely new building was abandoned, a small structure west of the Casino and just to the northeast of the Piazza di Siena was refurbished under Asprucci's supervision. Completed in 1793, this museum housed statuary from an excavation Marcantonio sponsored in the early 1790s. Campitelli's essay not only provides another glimpse of Asprucci at work at the Villa Borghese but also extends and complicates the history of the Borghese sculpture collection and its display at the villa. Only statues from the ancient Roman city were exhibited in the short-lived Museo di Gabii. Given this museum's historically and geographically defined focus, its exhibition strategy was seemingly more "modern" than the thematic program used to such great effect in the redecoration of the Casino at the Villa Borghese.

Part I. Collecting and Villeggiatura *in Rome*

It was affluent Italians from Renaissance cities, most notably fifteenth-century Florentines, who revived the ancient Roman practice of maintaining suburban or rural estates largely so that the aristocratic owner could at times abandon

the society, affairs, and politics of the city (*negotium*) for the quiet and healthy moderation of the country (*otium*).[3] Initially, villa life was valued most for its informality and for the tranquil pastimes it afforded: reading, study, contemplation, conversation with close friends, hunting, and fishing. During the sixteenth century, however, villas increasingly became loci of *feste*, entertainments, touring, and other social occasions. Villas also continued to be places where the natural was deliberately conjoined and contrasted with the artificial in ways that affirmed the owner's wealth and erudition. Landscaping made nature more artful, and art too was integrated into nature. As in antiquity, the interior walls of the buildings of the Renaissance villa might be painted with scenes of nature to be found without, or they might be decorated to be juxtaposed with nature as seen through a window, door, or open loggia;[4] and the gardens were embellished with ancient Roman statuary, often modeled after coveted Greek originals.

In addition to advertising the aristocratic owner's wealth and cultivation, the display of antique statuary at a villa might well have been regarded by the Renaissance owner—like his ancient Roman counterparts—as supporting attempts to trace his family's ancestry back to classical gods or heroes.[5] Poggio Bracciolini's *De nobilitate* (1440), for instance, relates how the humanist Lorenzo Valla teased his host during a visit to the sculpture garden at Bracciolini's villa:

> *Hic hospes noster inquit, cum legerit esse moris antiqui apud priscos illos excellentes viros, ut domos, villas, hortos, porticus, gymnasia variis signis tabulisque, maiorum quodque statuis exornarent ad gloriam et nobilitandum genus, voluit cum progenitorum imagines deessent, hunc locum, et se insuper his pusillis et confractis marmorum reliquiis nobilem reddere, ut rei novitate, aliqua eius ad posteros illis gloria manaret.*
>
> (Our host has read about that ancient custom of adorning houses, villas, gardens, porticoes, and gymnasia with *signa* [images] and paintings and statues of ancestors to glorify their families, and since he has no images of his ancestors he has ennobled this place with these little broken bits of marble, so glory shall remain to his posterity through the nobility of these things.)[6]

The power of the antique to add luster to its owner by association was one of the attractions of the Renaissance revival of the ancient Roman traditions of collecting and *villeggiatura*.

These traditions flourished in sixteenth-century Rome, which was widely known for the celebrated collections of antiquities that embellished its famous villa and palace gardens. Perhaps the most significant of these sites not only for the development of collecting and *villeggiatura* but also for the intersecting history of museums was the garden of the papal villa at the Vatican.[7] The story of the formation of the Vatican's collection there is well known. Giuliano della Rovere, on becoming Pope Julius II in 1503, brought the statue later called the *Apollo Belvedere* to the Vatican from the palace he had occupied as

a cardinal. Julius II had the statue placed in the garden adjoining the Villa Belvedere, and the papal architect, Donato Bramante, enclosed the garden to create a rectangular courtyard with a niche in each corner. Initially on display in the Belvedere Statue Court were the *Apollo Belvedere* as well as the *Venus Felix* and possibly other antiquities. In 1506 the pontiff purchased the acclaimed *Laocoon* group just three months after it was unearthed in Rome; it was placed in the Belvedere Statue Court in a specially designed niche.[8]

The Belvedere Statue Court was one of the first spaces specifically designed to display a collection of statuary *and* planned for "public" accessibility.[9] Although the statues were undoubtedly intended for the pope's private delectation, other visitors could access the collection without entering the palace complex, via the external spiral staircase built by Bramante at the east side of the Belvedere Statue Court. Given the renown of the collection and its accessibility, it soon became a mecca for those with the appropriate qualifications: high-ranking and scholarly visitors, cultivated amateurs and antiquarians, and—perhaps most important—artists, who copied and assimilated the works, establishing them as *the* canon of imitable antiquities in Europe. The significance of the collection for aspiring artists is apparent in one of a series of twenty drawings illustrating the artistic training of the painter Taddeo Zuccaro in mid-sixteenth-century Rome (fig. 1).[10] Federico Zuccaro depicts his older brother drawing the *Laocoon,* his back turned to the *Apollo Belvedere,* whose head is cut off by the frame. Flanking the seated Taddeo are the two colossal marble river-gods *Nile* and *Tiber* that were installed as fountains in the middle of the Belvedere Statue Court in 1523.[11]

Along with the pope's semipublic statue court at the Vatican, there were partly accessible private sculpture gardens in sixteenth-century Rome, as collectors increasingly turned to exterior settings for the display of those antiquities that were too large to be housed in urban palaces or their courtyards or in the smaller buildings at villas.[12] Among the most impressive of these were the sculpture gardens of two successive Cesi cardinals. Paolo Emilio Cesi and his brother Federico were two of the great collectors of classical antiquities in sixteenth-century Rome.[13] Paolo began assembling the collection in the 1520s at his recently acquired palace near Saint Peter's, and before long antiquities were on display throughout the palace and its gardens. A sketch by Maerten van Heemskerck, a Dutch artist who visited Rome between 1532 and 1535, records the fragmentary nature of some of the works in the southwest corner of the gardens (fig. 2). It also reveals their relatively casual installation, lacking any unifying visual or thematic organization, which was typical for early-sixteenth-century Roman gardens.[14]

When Paolo died in 1537, the palace passed to Federico, who carried on his brother's interest in collecting and himself eventually became a cardinal. Federico had the gardens reorganized and the statues restored and rearranged, but his most notable project was the Antiquario, completed by 1550. Located near the gardens, this small pavilion in the form of a Greek cross was perhaps the first Renaissance building *designed* to function as a museum of art.

Fig. 1. Federico Zuccaro
Taddeo in the Cortile del Belvedere in the Vatican, Drawing the Laocoon,
ca. 1590, pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk and touches of red chalk, 17.5 × 42.5 cm (6⅞ × 16¾ in.)
Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum

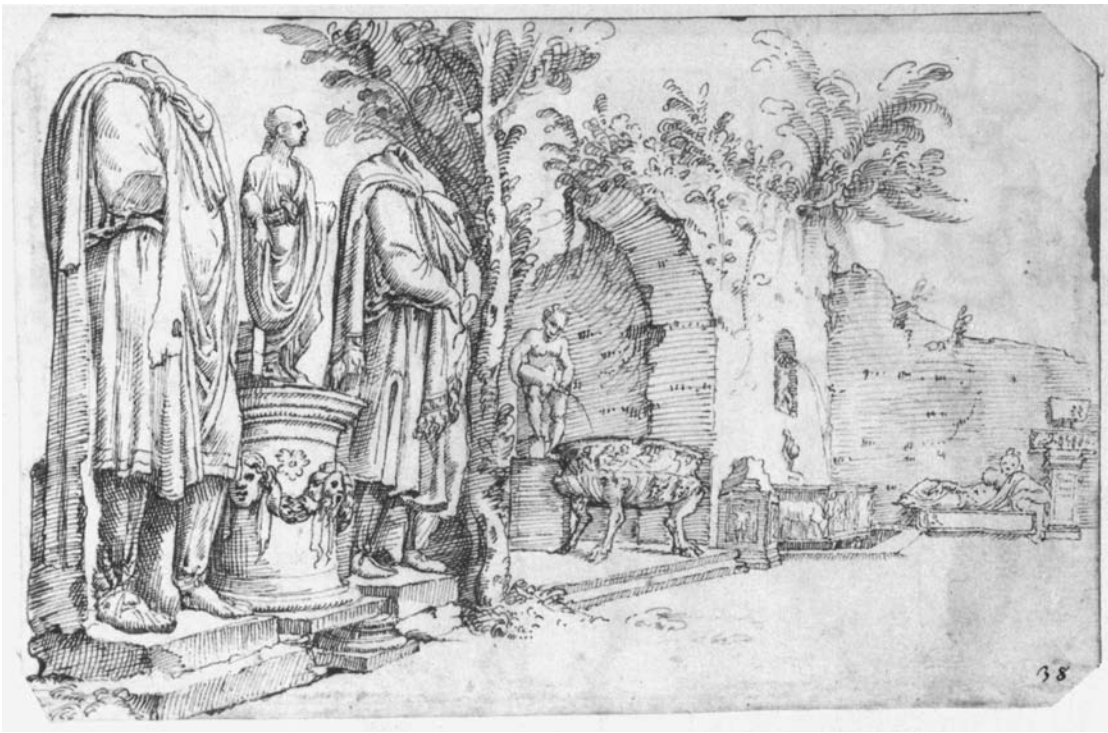


Fig. 2. Maerten van Heemskerck
Garden of the Palazzo Cesi in the Borgo, 1530s, pen and ink,
13.4 × 20.8 cm (5¼ × 8⅛ in.)
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

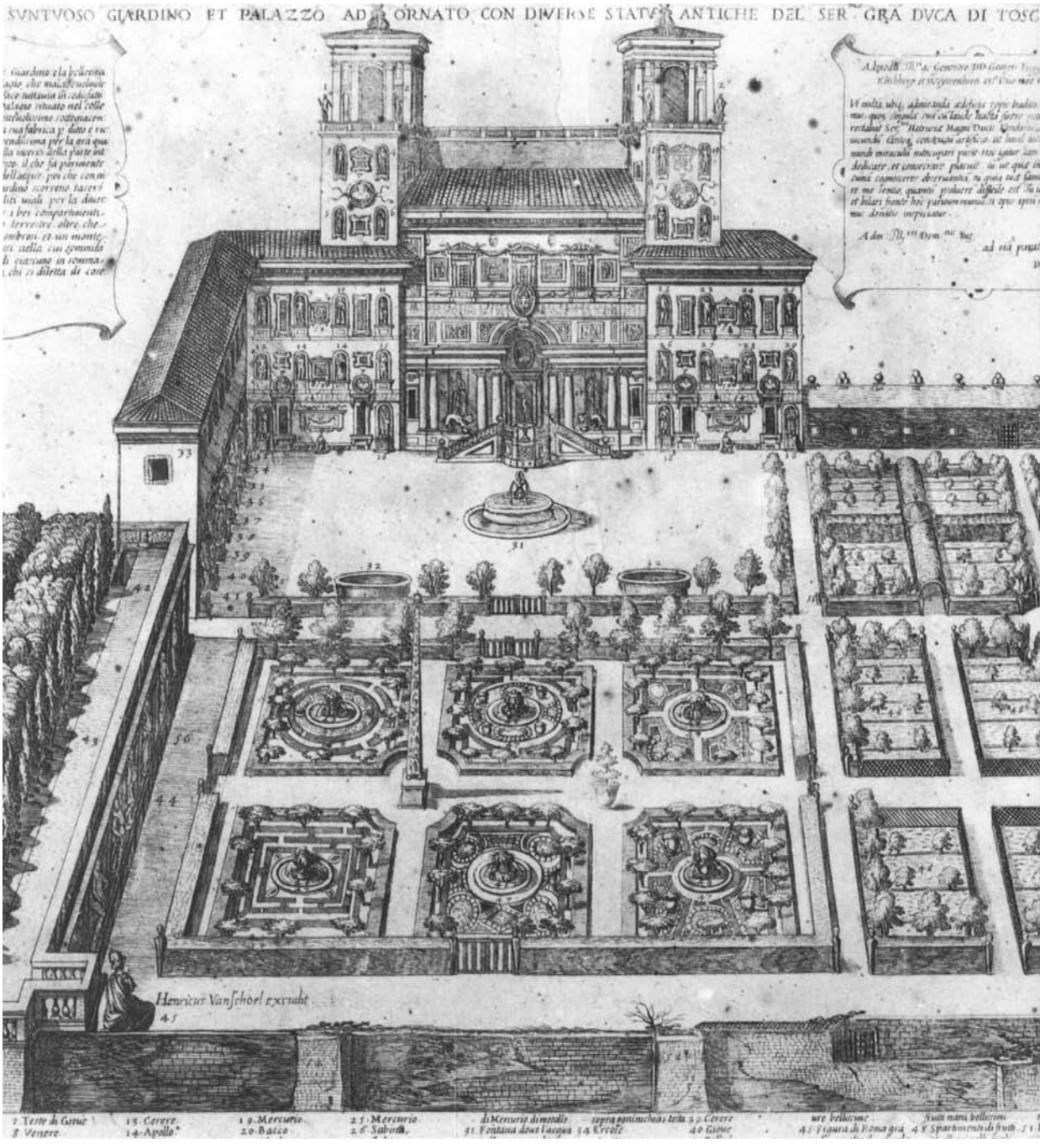
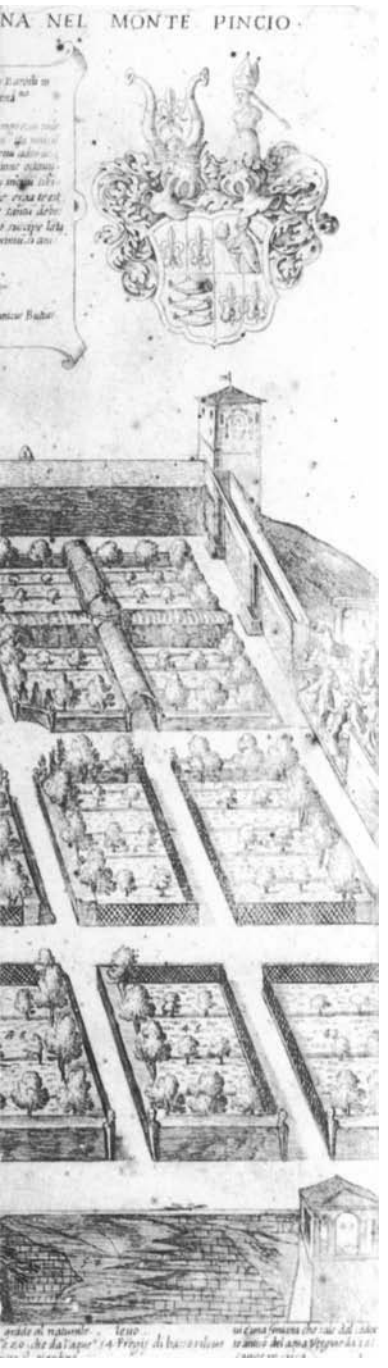


Fig. 3. Domenico Buti
Design and Layout of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Sumptuous Garden and Palazzo Decorated with Various Antique Statues on Monte Pincio (detail), 1602, etching, 41 × 54 cm (16⅛ × 21¼ in.)
Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica



Statues and busts were displayed in niches in the walls, which were embellished with polychrome ornamentation, and the shallow dome at the center of the ceiling was adorned with painted stucco figures. Also in the Cesi gardens was a semicircular terrace, which served as an outdoor dining room, whose rear wall was decorated with classical Latin inscriptions relating to the Caesia, the ancient Roman family from which the Cesi traced their descent. This genealogical claim, based on the similarity of the families' names, was reinforced by the display of antiquities in and near the dining room.[15]

The largest and most acclaimed sculpture collection of the Renaissance after the Vatican's was that exhibited at the Villa Medici.[16] Located on Monte Pincio, one of the uncanonical hills of Rome just to the east of the Tiber, the Villa Medici is situated to the south of the Viale del Muro Torto, adjacent to the Villa Borghese. A villa with buildings existed on the site when Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici bought the property in 1576. For Ferdinando, the villa was not just a retreat or a place of repose. He loved entertaining and collecting antiquities, and he pursued both of those pleasures there. The bulk of his collection, which was acquired from the Capranica family beginning in 1577 and included contemporary works as well as classical antiquities, was installed at the Villa Medici in 1584.[17] The garden facade of the Casino Medici was lavishly adorned with ancient reliefs and statues, and adjoining the Casino Medici at a right angle a long gallery was built for the choicest of the free-standing sculpture (fig. 3).[18] Drawings by the Florentine painter Jacopo Zucchi for the interior of this sculpture gallery show it decorated as a hall of gods and emperors.[19] Busts of the Caesars were to be set above the window embrasures, and statues of ancient deities, restored with their attributes, were to be placed in niches in the alternating bays. Inventories reveal that the works actually exhibited in the sculpture gallery were not as thematically unified as Zucchi intended; the statues were never restored, and Zucchi's decorations for the surrounding architecture were never executed.[20]

Zucchi's unexecuted scheme partakes of the tradition of cycles of images of *uomini illustri* (famous men). While in the residences of north European families these tended to be composed of portraits of ancestors, in Italy the *uomini illustri* typically were drawn from classical antiquity, with busts of the twelve Caesars being the most common group.[21] Such cycles were exhibited—like the antiquities that the Cesi and their peers placed in their gardens—to justify the pretensions of the family by presenting or implying a distinguished ancestry. As would be expected, the Caesars were especially popular in Rome and among families in papal power. Given that the Florentine as well as the Roman aristocracy traced their lineage to the ancient Romans, the program was appropriate for the cardinal of the ruling Tuscan family, and never more so than at one of his Roman properties.

As executed, the decoration of the Casino Medici included a set of busts of Roman emperors above the bookshelves in the cardinal's library. But the cycles of other kinds of *uomini illustri* at the villa indicate that the focus of the program of the Villa Medici was elsewhere. Seventy-two herm busts of pagan

gods, Greek philosophers, and famous Romans were situated in the garden; and a series of painted portraits decorated the *salone* of the Casino Medici.[22] On display in the sculpture gallery were statues of some of the Olympian gods from whom the Roman emperors traced their descent. Along the garden facade of the sculpture gallery and the contiguous terrace were additional ancient statues of deities and heroes, which formed a path that terminated at a colossal seated personification of Rome. Statues of gods also appeared in the niches of the garden facade of the Casino Medici, constituting a virtual pantheon of divinities.[23] The statues of gods displayed in the sculpture gallery and on the terrace and the Casino Medici's facade may be read as elements in the overall conceit of the villa's decoration as Mount Parnassus—home of Apollo, patron deity of the arts—which by analogy identified the patron of the villa as the "new" Apollo.[24] This conceit was appropriate to the cardinal's reputation as a great Maecenas, to his lineage, and to the idyllic hilltop setting of the villa.

The conceit was expressed explicitly in a variety of additional programmatic elements. The coffered ceiling of the central room of the Casino Medici was painted by Zucchi and his collaborators with images of Apollo and the nine muses.[25] In the niche at the top of the principal inside staircase stood a colossal ancient statue of Apollo, and at the top of the principal outside staircase, at the center of the garden facade, was a fountain with Giambologna's statue of the god Mercury, messenger of the Olympian deities. The latter was flanked by lions, one ancient and one a modern pendant, with orbs or balls, the Medici heraldic emblem.[26] As Philippe Morel has noted, the lions connect the Apollonian conceit to the family in general, and to Ferdinando, whose astrological sign was Leo, in particular.[27] The programming of the villa as Mount Parnassus was continued by the four fountains of the muses in the center of the parterres opposite the Casino's garden facade as well as by the man-made Mount Parnassus surmounted by a pavilion resembling a *tempietto* (small temple) that contained the fountain that supplied the waterworks of the entire villa (fig. 4).[28] Also related to the decorative scheme was the famous ancient group of fourteen dying Niobids displayed at the end of one of the gardens' grand allées, for all Niobe's children were killed by Apollo and his sister Diana (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 6.146–312).[29]

The decoration of the Villa Medici derives from the Renaissance tradition of creating a unified iconographic program—with an underlying ideological intent—primarily through the display of statuary, particularly antiquities, in the gardens and buildings of a collector's property. Although it is exceptionally evocative and extensive, the Villa Medici's program manifests the problems this strategy posed for the collector. The size of the collection allowed for the introduction of a theme, but it also proved a complicating factor. As Glenn Andres has observed, the thematic clarity of the Villa Medici's decoration was ultimately obscured by the iconographic variety of the sculpture exhibited as the cardinal's collection grew.[30]

Like the Villa Medici, the Villa Borghese was planned for the enjoyment of

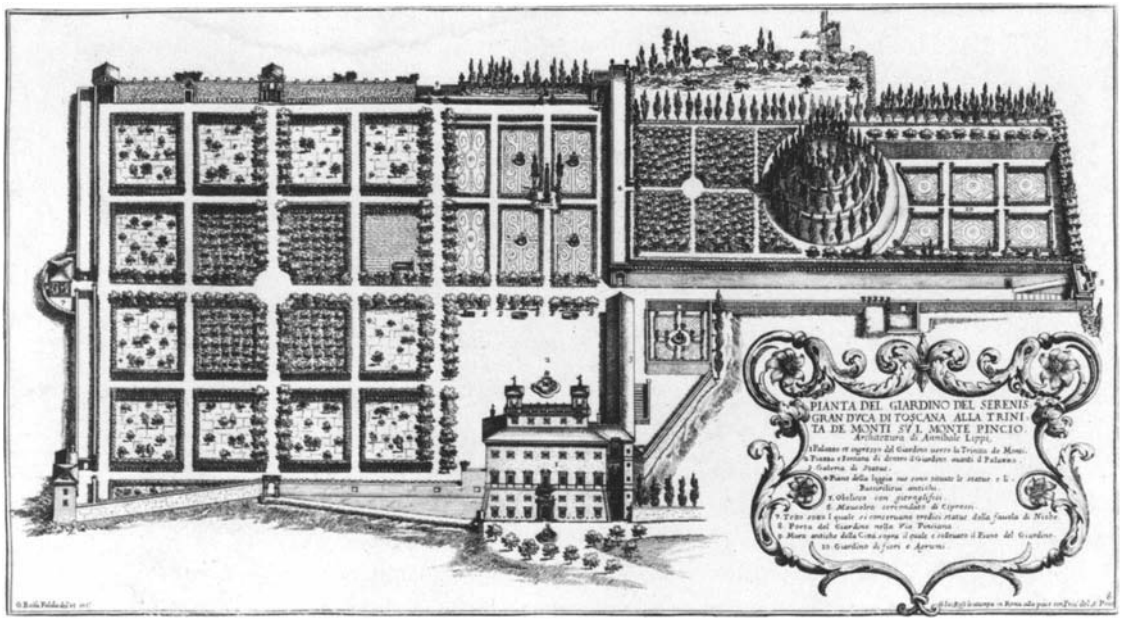


Fig. 4. Giovanni Battista Falda
Plan of the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Garden at Trinità de Monti on Monte Pincio, ca. 1667, engraving, 24 × 43 cm (9½ × 16⅞ in.)
From Giovanni Battista Falda, *Li giardini di Roma con le loro piante alzate e vedute in prospettiva* (Rome: Gio. Giacomo de Rossi, [1670]), pl. 8

a wealthy cardinal-cum-collector, and strategies similar to those at the Villa Medici were employed at the Villa Borghese to fashion a link between the ancient past and the Borghese family. Adorning the facade of the Casino at the Villa Borghese were ancient reliefs, busts, and statues of pagan gods and heroes (see fig. 13). On display inside was a comparable array of antiquities, which included a set of emperor busts in the large two-storied central hall known as the Salone. What was unusual at the Villa Borghese was that Scipione exhibited his sculpture collection primarily at the Casino, rather than in the gardens or a separate space designated as the statuary gallery. Although this innovation did not mark the end of other practices in the display of statuary, few gardens with elaborate programs such as that of the Villa Medici were created in Rome during the seventeenth century.[31]

Aside from the statuary displayed, not much is known about the Casino's interior decoration before the late-eighteenth-century renovation. However, seventeenth-century guidebooks and accounts never fail to mention the ceiling of the open loggia on the upper floor (*piano nobile*) where Scipione entertained. It was frescoed by Giovanni Lanfranco in 1624–1625, who painted an assembly of Olympian deities on clouds at the center of the vault (fig. 5) and a fictive architectural framework with figures and other ornamentation on the surrounding coving. The Borghese heraldic devices, the eagle and the dragon, appear in the central scene, at Jupiter's feet and on Mars's helmet, respectively. Like the statuary exhibited at the Casino, this painting associates the Borghese with the Olympian gods whom the Roman emperors regarded as their forebears. The association is furthered by the fresco's illusionism: the architectural framework of the upper register seems to give way to open sky, so that the room culminates in a celestial vision. The deities at the top of the vault are depicted almost *di sotto in su,* or perpendicular to the picture plane, as if hovering overhead in the heavens, a conceit that effectively links the deities' space to that inhabited by the Villa Borghese's owner and his guests.[32] Lanfranco's fresco thus augments and extends the propagandistic and genealogical impulse that in part had guided the display of antique statuary at the Casino.

An important precursor to Lanfranco's ceiling at the Villa Borghese was a particularly interesting program implemented a few years earlier by Guercino at one of the buildings of the Villa Ludovisi. Composed of four small properties on Monte Pincio that were bought in the early seventeenth century by Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, the nephew of the Ludovisi pope Gregory XV (who succeeded the Borghese pope Paul V), the villa was located to the south of the Villa Borghese and to the east of the Villa Medici. It encompassed a small *casino* or *palazzino,* a large *palazzo,* and a large *casino* with a sculpture gallery. The vast Ludovisi collection of antiquities was exhibited throughout the buildings and in the gardens without any apparent thematic program, but the decoration of the *palazzino,* now known as the Casino dell'Aurora, was important not only for its use of propagandistic imagery and illusionistic presentation but also for its innovative extension of the program across the

building's two main rooms. The ceiling of the central room on the ground floor was painted by Guercino in 1621 with an almost *di sotto in su* triumph of Aurora, goddess of the dawn (fig. 6).[33] This theme, associated with nature, was conventional for villa decoration, but Aurora could also symbolize the dawn of a golden age, which, according to tradition, accompanied the elevation of a new ruler.[34] Carolyn Wood has suggested that Guercino's *Triumph of Aurora* was in fact intended as an allusion to the new age inaugurated by the election of Gregory XV, for in the painting Aurora gallops over the Villa Ludovisi, identified by the three diagonal gold bars from the Ludovisi coat of arms on one of the gushing fountains.[35] Moreover, by connecting Aurora's space to that associated with the Ludovisi, the illusionism of the work reinforces the propagandistic message, just as it would in Lanfranco's *Council of the Gods* at the Villa Borghese.

In Guercino's pendant ceiling painting in the room directly above the Sala dell'Aurora, the figures of Honor and Virtue below the trumpeting figure of Fame are clothed in the red and gold of the Ludovisi coat of arms, and the advent of Aurora is suggested by the three rays of light—again evoking the family's heraldic three golden bars—raking across the composition (fig. 7). Guercino's ceiling paintings thus unite two vertically related vaults in a single narrative promoting and glorifying the patron's family through the use of mythological, allegorical, and heraldic imagery. While the development of such conceits was exclusive neither to Guercino nor to Roman villas, it was particularly prevalent among the families of ruling popes, especially during the seventeenth century. By capitalizing on the favor and legitimizing the sovereignty of the pope while he was alive, his family attempted to ensure its power into the future in which a pope from another family would rule.

Guercino's cycle in the Casino dell'Aurora set an important precedent in villa and palace decoration, one that would be perfected by Pietro da Cortona and widely disseminated through his work. In the mid-seventeenth century, Cortona developed this type of ceiling painting on a monumental scale, endowing it with unexampled degrees of complexity and cohesiveness. His illusionistic compositions filled with robust, expressive figures were acclaimed as innovative from the first. Cortona was by far the most influential painter in all Italy in his day; the visual language that he formulated to express the absolutist ideologies of popes and princes inspired many followers and initiated a long tradition in European painting.[36]

Cortona's most impressive ceiling paintings are to be found not in villa buildings but in urban palaces, especially those in Rome, perhaps because these functioned more formally as theaters of power.[37] As Patricia Waddy has shown, seventeenth-century Roman palaces, with their suites of reception and audience rooms, were in part designed to facilitate the sociopolitical ritual of visiting.[38] Generally, the visitor followed a planned route through a series of rooms to arrive at his or her audience with the secular or ecclesiastical prince in residence. Some of Cortona's ceiling frescoes were coordinated to form a single narrative across such suites, with perhaps the best example being

Fig. 5. Pietro Aquila (after Giovanni Lanfranco)
Council of the Gods, late 1600s, engraving, two prints, each 32.5 × 56.5 cm (12¾ × 22¼ in.)
Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica

Fig. 6. Guercino and Agostino Tasso
Triumph of Aurora, 1621, tempera and fresco
Rome, Casino dell'Aurora

Fig. 7. Guercino and Agostino Tasso
Fame, 1621, tempera and fresco
Rome, Casino dell'Aurora

the cycle he executed, with the assistance of Ciro Ferri, between 1641 and 1665 at the Palazzo Pitti in Florence. Across five rooms, each dedicated to a different planetary deity, the visitor followed the education of an ideal Medici prince under the tutelage of Venus, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and, finally, Saturn (figs. 8, 9). The walls of these so-called Planetary Rooms were covered mostly with tapestries, but the suite was preceded by a room filled with ancient busts and statues and a few pictures.[39] Although it would seem natural to ornament the ceiling of the room used for the display of sculpture and paintings as well as the ceilings of the rooms used for the display of power, this was not the case at the Palazzo Pitti. Exhibition space was carefully distinguished from the sociopolitical sphere, and the imagery of the former was not made to bear the message of the latter, as it had been at the Villa Medici, for example, and would be at the refurbished Villa Borghese, where these realms were fused.

The cycles of Lanfranco, Guercino, and Cortona were not tightly coordinated with the works of art displayed in the rooms, even though the idea had already been implemented in Rome. The most famous and admired instance in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the decoration executed by Annibale Carracci and his assistants between 1597 and 1600 in the Galleria Farnese of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome (fig. 10).[40] These frescoes antedate the developments in ceiling painting that we have been following, illustrating instead an older kind of compositional conceit: the vault is painted with *quadri riportati,* or framed pictures of the sort used to decorate walls.[41] Depicting, in tongue-in-cheek fashion, the amorous adventures of Olympian gods and goddesses, the cycle extended the function of the space as a gallery for the display of antiquities. Annibale's scenes brought to life the deities whose statues lined the walls by presenting them in color and in narrative context; his *quadri riportati* served as mock ancient paintings, modern works designed to vie with those of the past.[42] Within this decorative scheme, in fact, the frescoes occupied the superintending position. They established the theme to which the antiquities were then linked, an inversion of the relationship between ceiling painting and statuary at the Villa Medici.

The decorative and strategic potential of ceiling painting continued to be exploited for exhibition spaces into the eighteenth century. The immediate precedent for the refurbishing of the Casino at the Villa Borghese would have been the Casino at the Villa Albani, a sumptuous suburban villa located on the Via Salaria to the east of the Villa Borghese. The Casino Albani was built between 1755 and 1762 to house the collection of ancient sculpture assembled by Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the nephew of the Albani pope Clement XI and the greatest collector of antiquities among a field of great collectors in late-eighteenth-century Rome.[43]

The cardinal's collection was exhibited throughout the grounds and buildings of the Villa Albani. The immensity of the collection—over one thousand works—made the formulation of a single program difficult, if not impossible, although there were conventional thematic groupings: statues of emperors

Fig. 8. Pietro da Cortona
Ceiling of the Sala di Venere, 1641–1642, fresco and gilded stucco
Florence, Palazzo Pitti

Fig. 9. Pietro da Cortona
Ceiling of the Sala di Marte, 1644–1645/1646, fresco and stucco
Florence, Palazzo Pitti

Fig. 10. Giovanni Trevisan Volpato and Pietro Bettelini
View of the Galleria Painted by Annibale Carracci and His Workshop at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, 1777, engraving, 47 × 29.5 cm (18½ × 11⅝ in.)
Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica

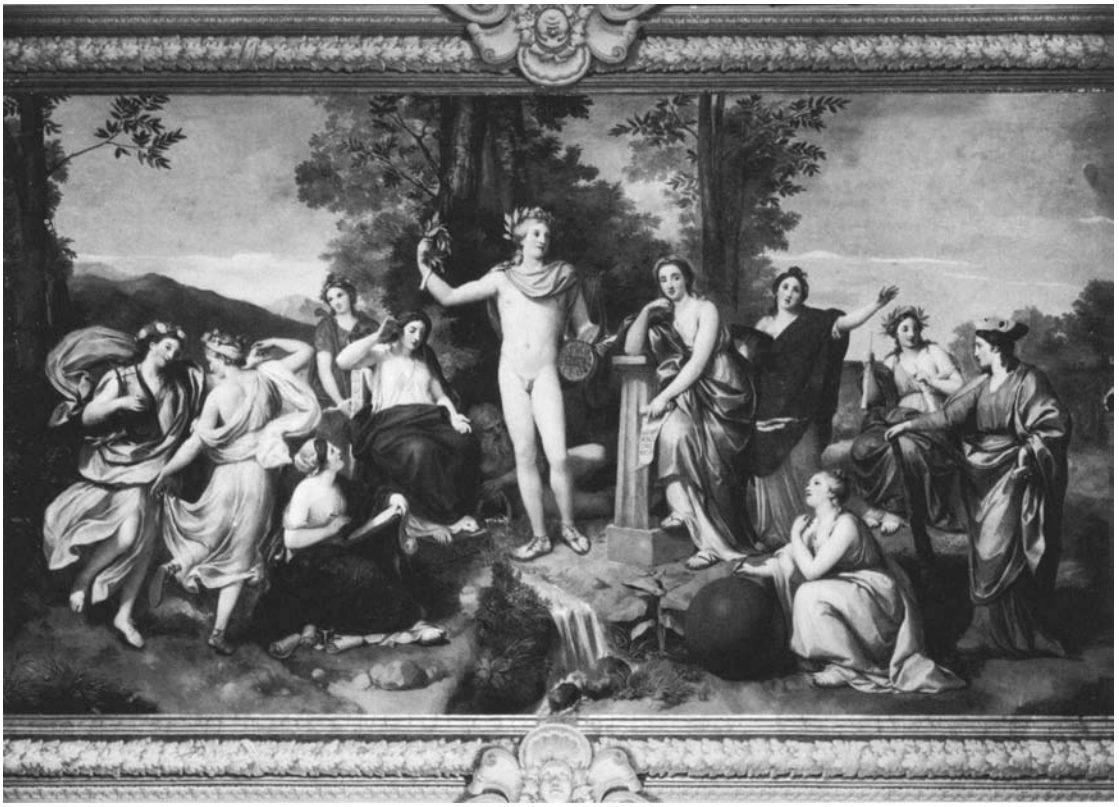


Fig. 11. Anton Raphael Mengs
Parnassus, 1760–1761, fresco and stucco
Rome, Villa Albani

and deities, portraits of generals and literati, and, more unusual, Egyptian and Etruscan sculpture.[44] The ceilings of the rooms on the Casino Albani's upper floor were frescoed with a cycle of planetary deities. The six smaller rooms flanking the long central gallery were painted by Antonio Bicchierari with Diana/Luna, Mars, Saturn, Venus, Jupiter, and Mercury, while the gallery culminated with Anton Raphael Mengs's famous fresco of 1760–1761 (fig. 11), in which Apollo—representing the sun—appears with the nine Muses and their mother, Mnemosyne, on Mount Parnassus.[45] Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the well-known antiquarian who was the cardinal's librarian, contributed significantly to the programming of the imagery. The controlled and highly idealizing style of *Parnassus* was well suited both to its classical subject and to its *quadro riportato* form, which had remained traditional for long, narrow ceilings such as the gallery's. The tondi *Gloria et Premium* and *Amor Virtutis et Genius Bonarum Artium* that flank *Parnassus* portray, in *di sotto in su* perspective, figures representing Glory, Distinction, Love of Virtue, and Genius of the Fine Arts; the latter tondo clearly linked the theme of the cycle to the cardinal and his family, for it shows the figures hovering above part of the Casino Albani. As at the Villa Medici, the conceit was perfectly suited to the great patron at the site of his collection. That it was articulated primarily through a program of ceiling painting is representative of the developments we have been following. By establishing the conceit in this way, rather than trying to compose it through the statuary, the decorative scheme at the Villa Albani attained a kind of clarity that eluded the programmers of the Villa Medici: the display of the collection as a whole supported the theme; the subjects of individual works being less consequential, the program could expand to include new pieces as they were acquired.

The decoration of the Casino Albani provided a model on a grand scale for correlating a diverse collection of sculpture with a cycle of ceiling paintings that glorified its commissioner for his patronage of the arts. The Galleria Farnese offered a source for linking the subjects of statuary and ceiling painting more specifically within a single room. The Cortonesque tradition evolved a visual language for expressing the political ambitions of noble families that accorded well with the genealogical implications of the exhibition of antiquities. These strategies of display and ornamentation, political and aesthetic, were developed and integrated at the renovated Casino at the Villa Borghese. There the somewhat random nature of collecting was reconciled with the desire for unity, both formal and thematic, inherent in exhibition and decoration. The result was a program exceptional in its coherence and its thematic complexity.

Part II. The History of the Villa Borghese

The Villa Borghese (also called, up through the mid-nineteenth century, the Villa Pinciana) is located to the east of the Tiber on Monte Pincio and just to the north of the Porta Pinciana and the road that has replaced the Muro Torto. The Borghese had owned property in the area from the time of Pope

Paul V's father, and over the years the family bought up adjacent villas and *vigne* (vineyards or farms) to create a single large estate. The Villa Borghese was founded on the site of four neighboring *vigne*. The first of these was given to Cardinal Scipione Borghese in 1608, and by 1610 he had purchased the other three. Between 1615 and 1620 the cardinal bought all or part of the seven additional *vigne* composing his villa, including a portion of two that had been acquired in 1606 by Francesco and Giovanni Battista Borghese, the brothers of Paul V.[46]

No doubt Scipione's interest in the villa was motivated not only by the status and pleasure of *villeggiatura* but also by the property's potential as a site for exhibiting his statuary. Scipione had originally displayed the family's large and impressive collection of paintings and sculpture in the palace in the Borgo Leonino that he had acquired in order to be near Paul V whenever the pontiff was at the Vatican. The paintings included masterpieces by Italian artists from the Renaissance and after. The sculptures were a similarly important group of works, predominantly antiquities but including a significant number of Renaissance and even contemporary pieces. Among the latter were acclaimed statues by the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini which Scipione had commissioned directly from the sculptor, whose genius he appreciated early on.[47] After the death of Paul V in 1621, Scipione moved to the Palazzo Borghese, the family palace in the Campo Marzio, where he established most of the painting collection in the Galleria Terrena, a suite of rooms on the ground floor. Some of the sculpture collection had already been transferred to the Casino at the Villa Borghese, and most of the remainder was installed there in 1625.[48]

Considered to be Scipione's greatest commission, the Casino was designed, erected, and decorated between 1610 and 1624 or 1625 and has always been the main building at the villa (figs. 12, 13). As Christoph Heilmann has shown, the planning and construction of the Casino was begun under Flaminio Ponzio, architect to Paul V, and the roof was in place when Ponzio died in 1613. He was succeeded, most notably, by Jan van Santen, a Dutch architect known in Italy as Giovanni Vasanzio. Vasanzio is thought to have been primarily responsible for the decoration of the exterior.[49]

The Casino was built in the style of the great villa buildings of sixteenth-century Rome and Latium. A two-storied structure with two *belvederi* (towers), a central portico in the main facade, and short wings, it follows the tradition of the *casini* of the Villa Farnesina and the Villa Medici in Rome. The organization of its interior space, however, with the large central two-storied Salone, more closely resembles the plans of the *casini* of the Villa Falconieri and the Villa Mondragone in nearby Frascati. In combining these architectural elements, the Casino, as Heilmann points out, formed a new type of Roman villa building, one that set an important precedent for such structures in the later seventeenth century.[50]

The decoration of the Casino commenced in 1616.[51] The walls of the rooms were adorned with silk and leather papers, many in blue and gold, and

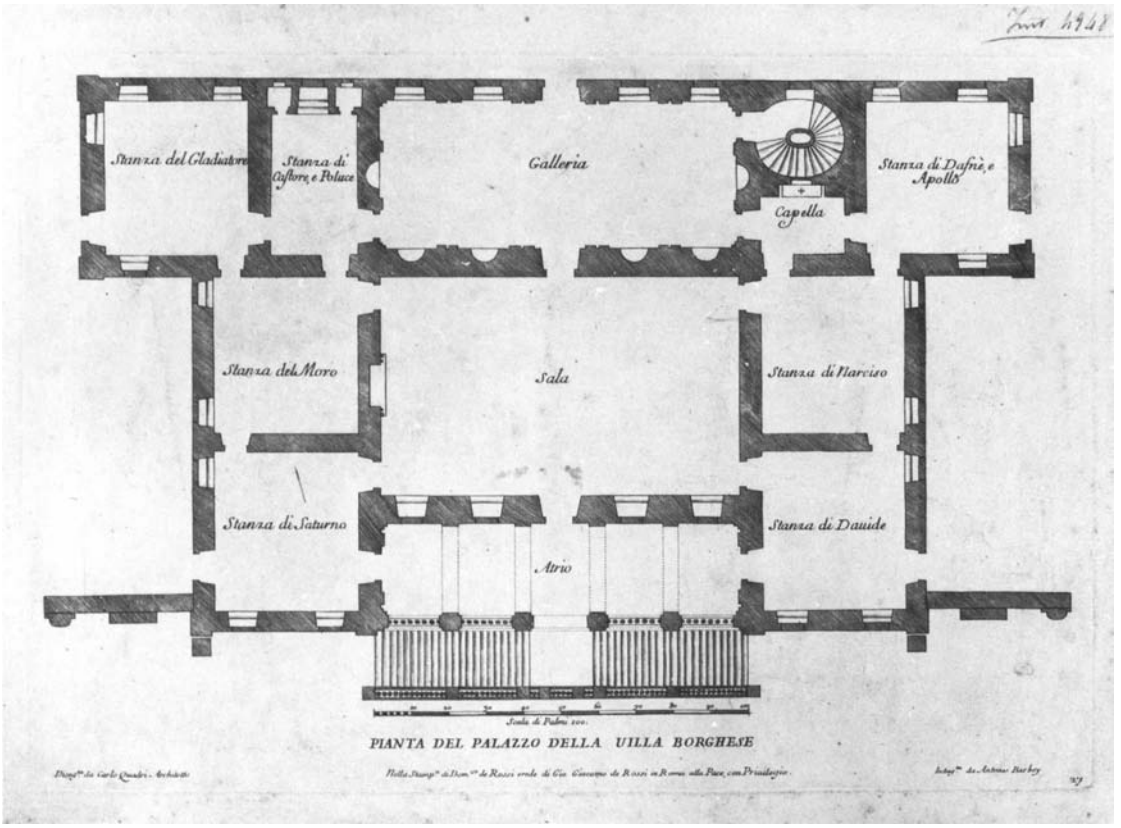


Fig. 12. Antonio Barbey (after Giulio Carlo Quadrio)
Plan of the Casino of the Villa Borghese, late 1600s,
engraving, 34.8 × 48.2 cm (13¾ × 19 in.)
Rome, Archivio Galleria Borghese

Fig. 13. Johann Wilhelm Baur
View of the Casino of the Villa Borghese, 1636, watercolor on parchment, 30.3 × 44.7 cm (11⅞ × 17⅝ in.)
Rome, Galleria Borghese

Gobelin tapestries. The ceilings were embellished with wooden coffering or frescoes, the latter painted mostly by Annibale Durante. Because the main attraction of the Casino's decoration was the sculpture collection, the other ornamentation tends to be de-emphasized in the guidebooks published at the time, and its precise nature remains largely unknown.[52] The notable exception is Lanfranco's fresco on the upper floor (see fig. 5), which was restored during Marcantonio's renovation.[53]

The building and adornment of the Casino was preceded and accompanied by the landscaping of the grounds. The general layout of the villa during Scipione's tenure is known from a plan dating to between 1618 and 1620, and the appearance of the property in the seventeenth century was described in the guidebook to the villa written by the villa's caretaker, Giacomo Manilli, and published in 1650.[54] Both the plan and Manilli's descriptions indicate that the grounds, enclosed by a high wall with gates, were divided into three *recinti* (enclosures), the first two planted as traditional bosquets, and walled-in *giardini segreti* (private gardens) formed wings to either side of the Casino. In effect, the Casino constituted the central axes of the gridlike pattern of the landscaping. This deliberate geometric integration of the plan of the Casino with that of the formal gardens proved influential for later seventeenth-century villa design; the relatively casual park to which the formal gardens in turn gave way illustrated another idiom that would later inspire the move toward informality in landscaping elsewhere in Europe.[55]

The *giardini segreti* were planted with flowers and trees, and also contained fountains and an aviary. The *primo recinto* (fig. 14), a public area located in front of the main facade of the Casino, was a *giardino boschereccio* (wooded garden of evergreen trees) that could be accessed via the original entrance to the villa, a grand arch designed by Ponzio and built in 1609. The entrance area was defined by a horseshoe-shaped piazza, with Pietro Bernini's herm figures of Flora and Priapus flanking the opening. The *secondo recinto,* located behind the Casino, was fully walled in. This private section was planted, like the *primo recinto,* with trees and also contained service buildings, piazzas, fountains, and statues. The formal gardens of the first two *recinti* stood in marked contrast to the sprawling park of the *terzo recinto* (fig. 15). In the plan dating to 1618–1620, there were vineyards, canals, and rural dwellings in this area. By 1650, according to Manilli's guidebook, it contained agricultural buildings, quarters for the gardener and other servants, oak and pine trees, a large rectangular lake with two artificial islands, and animals such as deer, hare, ducks, and peacocks.[56]

From Scipione's day, the villa was recognized as one of Rome's showplaces, and it would enjoy continual renown as such.[57] On a more private level, the villa served as an idyllic pastoral retreat for Scipione and Paul V, who used it not as a residence but as a place to hunt, relax, escape the city's summer heat, and host festivities and receptions for ecclesiastics, noblemen, and dignitaries.[58] When Scipione died in 1633, the villa passed into the hands of the Borghese heir, Marcantonio II, the son of Giovanni Battista Borghese,

Fig. 14. Giovanni Giacomo Rossi (after Matthäus Greuter)
Villa Borghese, 1623, engraving, 25.5 × 39.8 cm (10 × 15⅝ in.)
Rome, Archivio Galleria Borghese

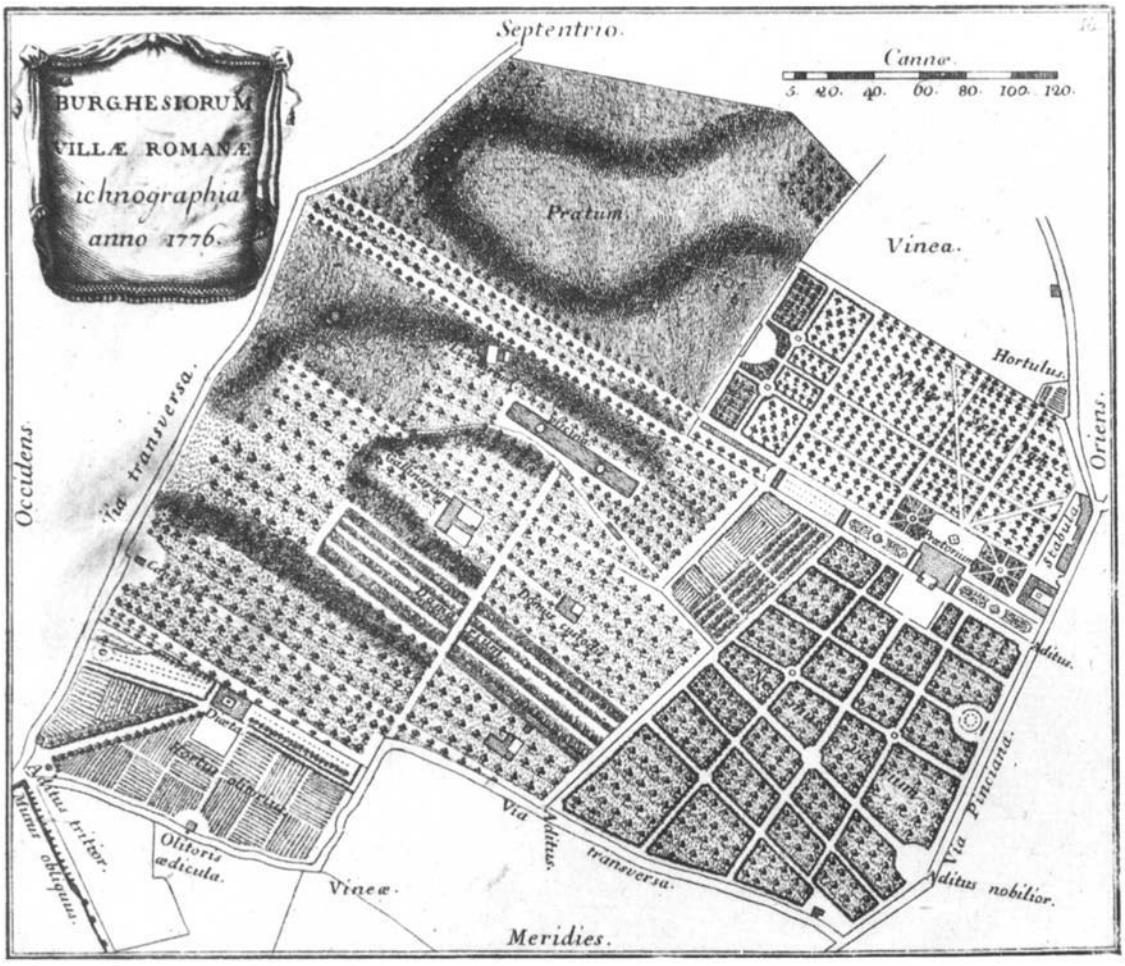


Fig. 15. ***Plan of the Villa Borghese,*** **1776, engraving, 22 × 29.2 cm (8⅝ × 11½ in.)**
Rome, Archivio Galleria Borghese

one of Paul V's brothers. Thereafter, it remained in the possession of the succeeding *primogeniti* (eldest sons and heirs) until the Italian state purchased it in 1902. Before the renovation instituted by Marcantonio IV, the only reported changes were some minor movement of the statuary around the Villa Borghese and between the family's properties.[59]

After Paul V and Scipione, with the family no longer in papal power, Borghese patronage waned, until Prince Marcantonio IV set out to revive something of its former glory. Marcantonio was born in Rome on 14 September 1730, the first son of Prince Camillo Borghese and his wife, Agnese Colonna. On 1 May 1768 Marcantonio married Anna Maria Salviati, a Florentine noblewoman.[60] In January 1770 she gave birth to their first child, a son named Camillo, who lived for just four days.[61] On 19 July 1775 she gave birth to a second Camillo, the eventual heir, and on 9 June 1776 to their other child, Francesco.[62]

When Marcantonio's father died in 1763, Marcantonio, as his *primogenito,* assumed the leadership of the family and inherited his father's property, titles, and wealth.[63] He became prince of Sulmona (in Abruzzi) and Rossano (in Calabria), duke of Palombara (in Latium), and the single largest landowner in all Latium.[64] He was the leader of a family that had placed itself, in less than two centuries, among the most propertied of Roman nobility. This is especially impressive in light of the fact that the number of aristocratic families that could claim large landholdings was in decline in eighteenth-century Italy.[65]

Like many a notable benefactor, Marcantonio was acknowledged for his commissions in his own lifetime. Perhaps the earliest formal recognition came in 1771, when he was made an honorary member of the Accademia di San Luca, the official art academy of Rome and one of the oldest and most influential of such institutions in Europe.[66] His contemporaries accorded his patronage the highest praise and compared it to that of his greatest ancestors, whose achievements the prince was said to revive and even exceed. Plaudits such as the following were common:

> *Principe D. Marcantonio Borghese Amante delle belle arti il quale proseguendo il nobile, e reale genio de suoi illustri Antenati, non solo ha voluto ristabilire ciò, che il tempo aveva diminuito; ma con illustre spesa accresciuto.*
> (Prince Marcantonio Borghese, lover of the fine arts, following the noble and true genius of his illustrious ancestors, has not only wanted to reestablish that which time had diminished, but with great expense added [to it].)[67]

> *Principe D. Marcantonio Borghese, soggetto meritevole de' maggiori elogi per i singolari pregi dell'animo e dello spirito, e per l'eccellente impiego che fa delle ricchezze, alimentando i migliori artisti di Roma in ogni genere, e sostenendo con un trattamento il più distinto l'onore dell'illustre sua famiglia e della patria. La sola villa Pinciana, che adornò tutta di nuovo, basta a far conoscere qual sia il suo vasto e singolar genio.*

(Prince Marcantonio Borghese, worthy subject of great praise for his singular virtues of soul and of spirit, and for the excellent use that he makes of his riches, sustaining the best artists of all types in Rome, and maintaining in the most distinguished way the honor of his illustrious family and country. Just the Villa Pinciana, which he has adorned all anew, suffices to make known that which is his vast and singular genius.)[68]

While such compliments may now strike us as rhetorical, especially when Marcantonio's commissions are measured against those of Paul V and Scipione, they do serve to indicate that in late-eighteenth-century Rome the prince's patronage recalled the efforts of his ancestors. They also attest to the quality and extensiveness of Marcantonio's commissions, which seem not only to have been worthy of note but also to have distinguished him as perhaps the major secular patron of his time in Rome.

Marcantonio's first large artistic commission was the redecoration of the Galleria Terrena in the Palazzo Borghese. The renovation of this suite of twelve rooms where most of the family's paintings hung was carried out under the supervision of Antonio Asprucci between 1768 and 1775. It included a cycle of ceiling paintings, a number of which were executed by artists who would later work at the Casino.

Marcantonio's renovation of the Villa Borghese was begun in about 1775 and continued for over twenty years, halting only with his death in 1800. As the villa was the largest Roman property reserved wholly for the prince's use, and entirely a showplace, it quite naturally became the focus of his patronage. Together with Asprucci, he worked upon it a major transformation, which, as celebrated as the appearance of the villa had been under Scipione, met with equal—if not greater—praise:

La Villa Pinciana che sotto gli Auspicj faustissimi di S. E. Il Sig. Principe Marc'Antonio Borghese, raccogliendo in se tutto quel che di più bello e nobile, uniscono e l'antico, e il moderno buon gusto, la natura, e l'arte; e giunta oggi mai ad un segno, che non si lascia addietro ne suo genere veruno de' più famosi luoghi di delizie, non che d'Italia, di Europa tutta.
(The Villa Pinciana, which under the most propitious auspices of His Excellency Prince Marcantonio Borghese, conjoining in itself all that which of the most beautiful and noble unites the best antique and modern taste, nature and art, is become henceforward equal in rank to any of the most famous places of delight, not only in Italy but also in all Europe.)[69]

The course and scope of the renovation is well documented, primarily through records of payment to artists from account books in the Borghese family archive.[70] Of importance, too, are the publications on the Villa Borghese by the antiquarian Ennio Quirino Visconti, including his catalogs of the sculpture collection and of the inscriptions on the ancient statuary.[71] In addition to Visconti's writings, there are reports from contemporary guidebooks

and notices about the project that appeared in contemporary fine-arts journals.[72] The diary of Vincenzo Pacetti, a prominent Roman sculptor who took part in the refurbishing, provides additional details.[73] The various surviving drawings for the project constitute the other major source of information; some of these are discussed in the catalog that follows this essay.

Inasmuch as the renovation of the Villa Borghese was Marcantonio's greatest project, it consumed the latter part of the professional life of the prince's architect. Antonio Asprucci was born in Rome on 20 May 1723 to the architect Mario Asprucci and his wife, Prassede Battini.[74] He trained with and eventually became an assistant to the well-known Roman architect Nicola Salvi.[75] While working under Salvi, Asprucci supervised the building of Santa Maria, a church in Gradi in Viterbo. His first independent project, the enlargement of the Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi in Piazza Santi Apostoli, brought him back to Rome. Asprucci subsequently directed the restoration of the monastery of Santa Francesca Romana in Rome's Campo Vaccino and carried out some unspecified work for the monks of San Stefano del Cacco. In 1756 Asprucci was appointed architect for the Roman buildings of the grand duke of Tuscany. In this capacity, he directed restorations at the Villa Medici between 1757 to 1762 and at the family's palace in Campo Marzio. Asprucci was made a member of the Accademia di San Luca in 1772.[76]

After this, Asprucci worked almost exclusively for the Borghese prince, occupying the position of family architect. As such, his name appears continuously between 1773 and 1805 on the prince's *ruoli di famiglia* (household roll), which shows that he received a comparatively small monthly stipend of about five *scudi*.[77] As Asprucci's position carried considerable prestige, according him the status more of a courtly adviser than a mere servant, one assumes that he was appropriately rewarded with unrecorded benefits and gifts.

Asprucci began his career for Marcantonio by supervising, between 1768 and 1775, the redecoration of the Galleria Terrena in the Palazzo Borghese. As of 1780 he had also completed for the prince the construction of a *casino* on the beach, near Pratica di Mare. In 1775, however, Asprucci turned to the renovation of the villa, a task with which he would be occupied for the most part for the next two decades. As director of the project, he performed a variety of tasks. In addition to designing the reinstallation of the sculpture collection in the Casino, he coordinated the work of the artists and artisans at the villa; wrote and signed many of the payment records; saw to the acquisition of works of art as well as the purchase of construction and decorative materials; supervised archaeological excavations; and directed the restoration of antiquities. He also concerned himself with Visconti's publications, and, last but hardly least, he designed and erected, in collaboration with others (including his son, Mario Asprucci), various new structures on the property.[78] Of these activities, he seems to have kept Marcantonio closely informed, for his few surviving letters to the prince, all bearing dates between 1788 and 1793, are little more than itemized reports, describing, often in minute detail, the day-to-day progress and costs of the project.[79] While Asprucci clearly

assumed a great deal of responsibility, these letters and other reports suggest that the prince was closely involved in his patronage.

The renovation began primarily with the interior of the Casino, as can be discerned from the payment records in the Borghese family archive. As we learn from Visconti and others, Asprucci coordinated the decoration of each room to form an ensemble, unified in form and content.[80] On the ground floor, where most of the statuary was exhibited, the walls were designed with an eye to the reinstallation of the sculpture collection.[81] Asprucci treated the walls of the rooms like those of earlier sculpture galleries, such as the Galleria Farnese, dividing them by dimensional or painted architectural elements and inserting niches for busts and statues into the broad panels within the divisions. Some of the floors were repaved, and the ornamental scheme culminated in the series of ceiling paintings. The ceilings of the rooms on the upper floor, where some of the prince's picture collection was displayed, were also decorated with paintings.[82]

The Salone was among the first rooms to be redone, beginning in 1775. Much of the adornment of the other rooms was carried out concurrently, however, with various aspects of the ornamentation attended to at the same time across the Casino. This was possible because, as with the Galleria Terrena, most of the central ceiling paintings were executed by different artists, while many of the same artists worked in a number of rooms. Agostino Penna and Vincenzo Pacetti were responsible for much of the sculptural decoration, and Giovanni Battista Marchetti did most of the ornamental painting.[83] In any given room, the work usually began with the central ceiling painting, moved to the surrounding vault decoration and then to the adornment of the walls, and ended with the paving of the floor. The embellishment of the rooms on the ground floor seems, in general, to have preceded the refurbishing of the rooms of the upper floor, and the whole scheme was substantially complete by the end of 1790.

Under Asprucci's direction, the decoration of the Casino was executed by many of the prominent artists of the day in Rome. For painters especially, as Anthony Clark has noted, the project held particular significance:

> Perhaps the most important new opportunities for painters of the period were the noble decorations for private (including papal) palaces.... [T]he tradition was brilliantly to culminate ... in the Casino of Villa Borghese[:] ... the redecorations of the Casino form one of the most important monumental decorations in Italy and present an anthology of the major contemporary painters in Rome that has very few exceptions.[84]

Most of the painters were Italian, principally Roman, and active in the Accademia di San Luca, although some of the more eminent ones, such as the Englishman Gavin Hamilton and Austrian Anton von Maron, were from the north.[85] All the artists and artisans seem to have been paid according to the extent of their labor and the cost of their materials. Occasionally, when

the prince was especially pleased with the results, he had a small bonus added to the set amount of payment. For some of the largest endeavors, such as the ceiling fresco in the Salone, contracts were drawn up.[86]

The results of the refurbishing of the Casino were widely praised. The following typifies contemporary reaction:

> *L'Ecc[ellentissi]mo Principe D. Marco Antonio Borghese... à decorato di pitture, e vi à aggiunto un gran numero di preziosi marmi da lui medesimo acquistati. Tutto è distribuito con tal'ordine, con tanta magnificenza, e buon gusto, ch'è cagione a chi lo mira, non solo di gran diletto, ma ancora di estrema maraviglia.*
> (His Excellency Prince D. Marcantonio Borghese... has decorated [the Casino] with pictures and there has added a great number of precious marbles, which he himself acquired. All is distributed with such order, with such magnificence and good taste, that it is the cause for all who see it, not only of great delight, but also of extreme marvel.)[87]

Work on the grounds seems to have begun in 1785 and continued until 1793.[88] The renovation of the property focused on the transformation of the *terzo recinto* into the first Roman example of the sort of informal and naturalistic English-style park that was then in vogue throughout Europe (see fig. 16; cf. fig. 15).[89] The landscape was adorned with a man-made lake and temple, a fictive ruin, a hippodrome, and various classicizing structures. As at English estates, the park became the point of entry to the villa. A new gate was erected leading into the Villa Borghese from the recently developed area of the Piazza del Popolo, and the wall between the *primo* and *terzo recinti* was demolished.[90]

If the redesigning of the villa's park reflected the fashionable nature of Marcantonio's patronage, so too did his interests as a collector, for he focused on acquiring antiquities by sponsoring an excavation on property he owned in Pantano, some twelve miles east of Rome. There antiquarians discovered the ancient Roman city of Gabii, and the results were so abundant that the prince planned to have a small museum built in the villa's park for the display of much of the retrieved statuary, as discussed by Alberta Campitelli in her essay on drawings for this project.[91] Ultimately, the idea of constructing a new building was abandoned, and Asprucci instead converted a small building in the park into a museum for the newly excavated works.[92] These works were cataloged by Visconti, and the whole collection at the villa was drawn and engraved by various artists to provide illustrations for the publications.[93] The cataloging activities and the excavation at Pantano continued through the 1790s and marked the last phase of the project. The renovation of the Villa Borghese was a long-term, thoroughgoing, and incredibly lavish enterprise. By virtue of the customary and more innovative features of the scheme, as well as its sheer extensiveness, the refurbishing can be seen to represent at once both the culmination and the transformation of the tradition of *villeggiatura* and its association with the collection and display of antique statuary.

Part III. The Decorative Program of the Villa Borghese's Casino

The late-eighteenth-century visitor to the Villa Borghese found a quintessential Roman country estate, an au courant version of an ancient expression of wealth, status, and beauty. Entering through the new gates at the Piazza del Popolo, those wishing to reach the celebrated Casino would have traversed an informally landscaped park that encompassed a man-made lake, hippodrome, three temples, and other classicizing structures. The smallest of the temples was dedicated to Diana, goddess of the hunt; the inscription on the "ruined" temple hailed the Roman empress Faustina as a new Ceres, goddess of the earth; and the largest temple was dedicated to Aesculapius, god of medicine, whose arrival in the form of a snake when ancient Rome was besieged by plague was depicted on the temple's facade.[94] Clearly the temples were meant to harmonize with the emphasis on rulers and saviors of Rome, Roman deities, and elements of nature evident in the decorative program of the Casino.

After reaching the regularly designed bosquets, the visitor would have approached the imposing facade of the Casino (fig. 17; see also figs. 13, 49). Decorated with ancient sculpture, the facade announced the Casino's dual functions as art museum and ancestral Roman seat. From at least 1650 the facade was embellished with busts of the emperors Hadrian and Trajan, as well as busts and statues of other Romans, including Marcus Aurelius and Marc Antony, and bas-reliefs illustrating deeds of ancient Romans.[95] After ascending the front staircase, the visitor stepped into the portico, where busts and statues of Roman gods and rulers predominated, sustaining the connection to the leadership of ancient Rome.[96] The preparatory drawing at the Getty Research Institute for the rear wall of the portico shows the busts installed above the niches that held the statues (pl. 1). In the drawing, the inscription over the door into the Salone reads "SCIPIO CARD BURGHESIUS FECIT / MARC ANT PRIN BURGHES ORNAVIT" (Cardinal Scipione Borghese built it / Prince Marcantonio Borghese embellished it). The end of the actual inscription has a slightly different tone: "MARC ANT PRIN BURGHES IN SPLENDIDIOREM FORMAM RESTITVIT" (Prince Marcantonio Borghese restores it in splendid form). Instead of commemorating the prince for embellishing the achievements of the past, it evokes the prince as the restorer of the golden age initiated by his illustrious ancestor.

Adjoining the portico is the Salone, the Casino's central and largest room and the conceptual as well as physical core of the refurbished Casino. The Salone's decorative program was superintended by the narrative of the ceiling fresco and consolidated in the other ornamentation in the room, as coordinated by Asprucci and executed by various artists and artisans between 1775 and 1780 (figs. 18–20, pl. 2).[97] The architect removed all the paintings and some of the statuary that crammed the walls before the redecoration and then rearranged the remaining sculpture. As indicated in the preparatory drawings, the walls of the Salone were divided into broad panels (five on each of the long walls, three on the short) separated by fictive pilaster strips, and niches for statues and busts were inserted into these panels (see fig. 20, pl. 2). Both

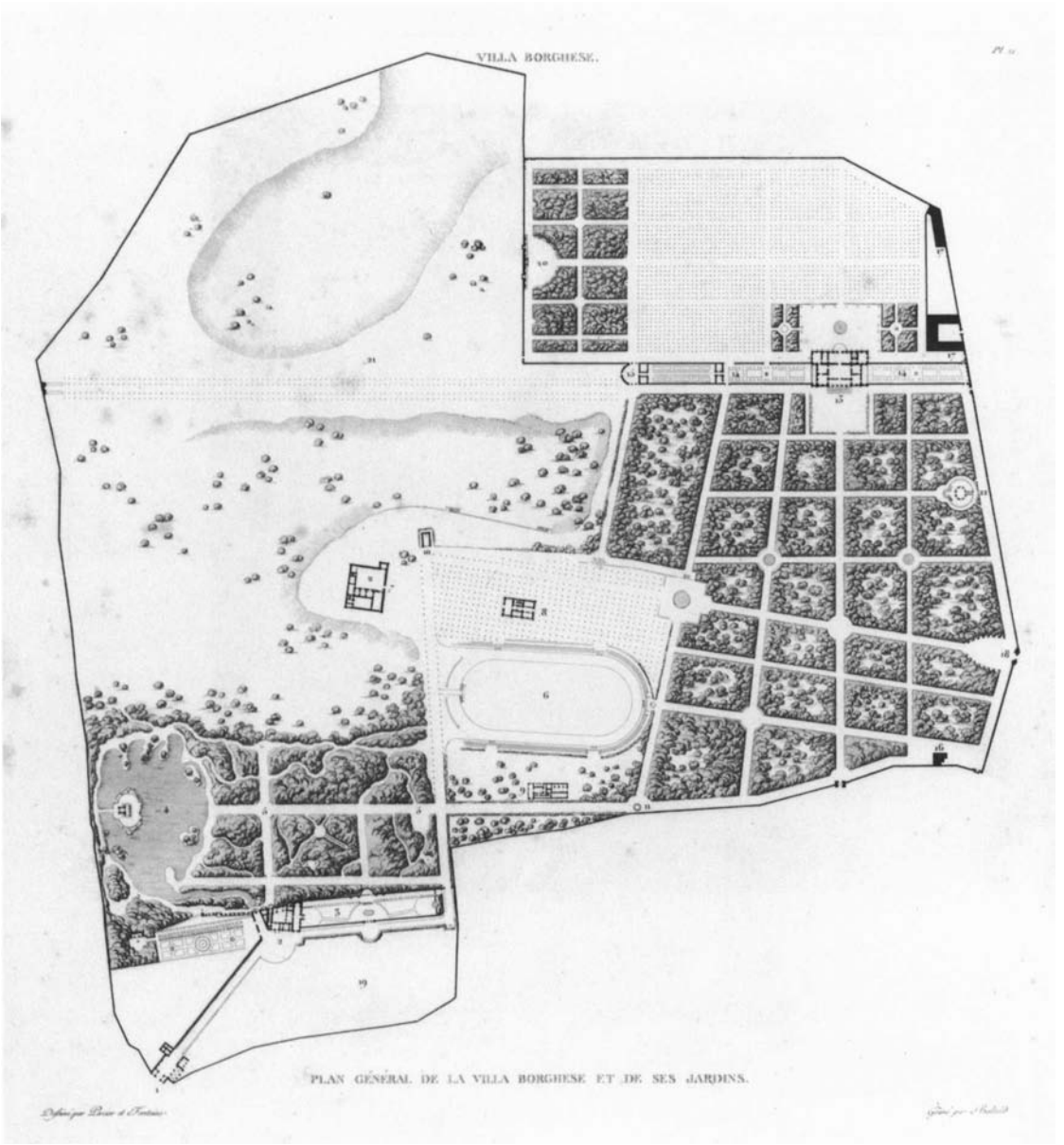


Fig. 16. Louis Pierre Baltard (after Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine)
Plan of the Villa Borghese and Its Gardens, 1809, engraving, 36.5 × 33.5 cm (14⅜ × 13⅛ in.)
From Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et de ses environs* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'âiné, 1809), pl. 21

1. *Entrée de la villa du côté de la porte du Peuple*
   Entrance to the villa from the Porta del Popolo
2. *Petit pavillon séparé servant de logement pour la famille*
   Small separate house being used as lodging for the household servants
3. *Jardin fleuriste et serre chaude*
   Flower garden and hothouse
4. *Grand lac au milieu duquel est construit un petit temple dédié à Esculape. Les bords du lac sont enrichis de fontaines et de statues*
   Large lake in the middle of which is built a small temple dedicated to Aesculapius [Tempio di Esculapio]. The shores of the lake are embellished with fountains and statues
5. *Jardin orné de fragments antiques*
   Garden decorated with ancient fragments [Giardino del Lago]
6. *Grand hippodrome, disposé à la manière des anciens, pour les courses et les exercices d'équitation*
   Large hippodrome, laid out in the ancient manner, for races and equestrian exercises [Piazza di Siena]
7. *Bâtiment isolé servant de faisanderie*
   Isolated building being used to house pheasants [Fortezzuola]
8. *Petit muséum dans lequel on a rassemblé les richesses tirées des fouilles de l'ancienne ville de Gabie*
   Small museum in which were collected objects of value from the excavations of the ancient city of Gabii [Museo di Gabii, Casino dell'Orologio]
9. *Chapelle et dépendance*
   Chapel and annexes [Chiesa o Casina di Raffaello]
10. *Petit temple ruiné*
    Small ruined temple [Tempio di Faustina]
11. *Temple de Diane*
    Temple of Diana [Tempietto di Diana]
12. *Salle fraîche et glacière*
    Cold store and icehouse
13. *Grand palais d'habitation*
    Large residential palace [Casino]
14. *Jardins botaniques*
    Botanical gardens
15. *Volière*
    Aviary
16. *Logement des jardiniers*
    Gardeners' lodgings
17. *Bâtiments de dépendances*
    Outbuildings
18. *Porte d'entrée sur la via Pinciana*
    Entrance gate on the Via Pinciana
19. *Potagers*
    Vegetable gardens
20. *Bosquets du jardin particulier, ornés de statues, de vases, et de fragments antiques*
    Private garden grove, decorated with statues, vases, and ancient fragments
21. *Grande prairie peuplée de gibier et de troupeaux de daims qui y vivent en liberté*
    Large meadow populated with game and with herds of deer living there at large

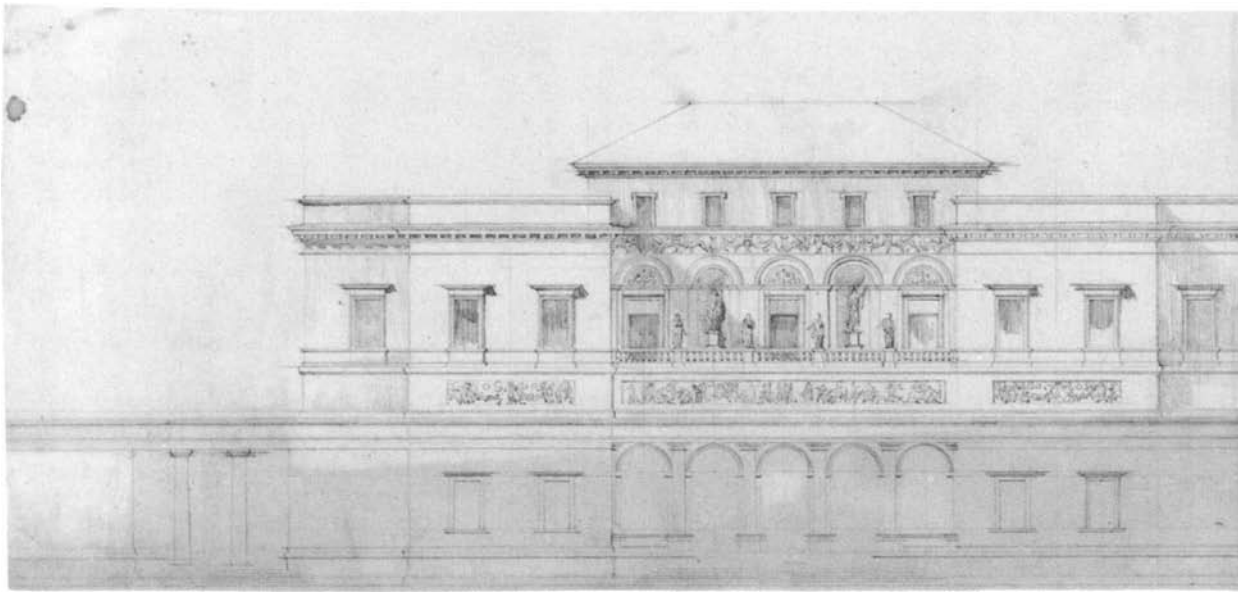
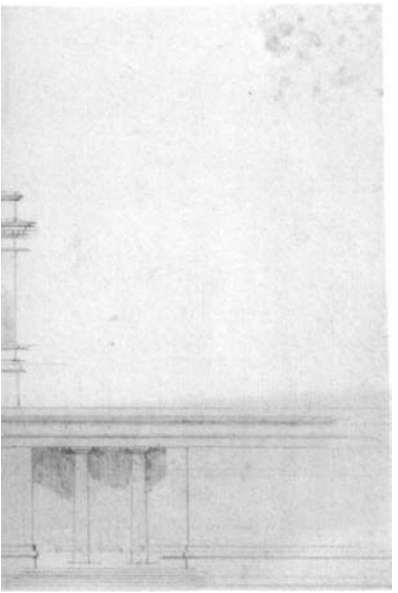


Fig. 17. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Main Facade of the Casino, ca. 1775–1790, pencil,
19.7 × 54.1 cm (7¾ × 21¼ in.)
See no. 1

the panels and the pilaster strips were embellished with painted *grottesche* decoration and with stucco bas-reliefs that illustrate mythological scenes or figures *all'antica* (in the ancient style), some based upon images found on ancient gems. The latter, which imitate sculpture of the smallest scale, evoke the collector's cabinet, thus allowing the adornment of the Salone to extend the Casino's function as a museum of antique and "modern" works of art.

The display of sculpture in the Salone after the redecoration can be reconstructed through late-eighteenth-century sources. In part, the statuary is still arranged at it was then.[98] Over the central portal of the wall opposite the portico, as seen in one of the drawings (see pl. 2), is a celebrated (and heavily restored) very high relief that was thought to represent Marcus Curtius, an ancient Roman hero, astride his horse and plunging into the chasm that had opened in the Forum—his response to the soothsayers' augury that if Rome was to endure, that which constituted the chief strength of the Roman people must be thrown into the chasm (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 7.6.1–6). Although the so-called Curtius relief adorned the Casino by 1648, it was moved from the southeast facade to its present site during the renovation. The relief is aligned with the entrance from the portico, so that the visitor would read the inscription commemorating Scipione and Marcantonio and then see the relief upon entering the Salone. The prominence given the relief within the redecorative scheme is explained by its long association with Scipione, who in encomiastic literature published during his lifetime was compared to Curtius for going on horseback to visit victims of the Tiber's flooding.[99]



The set of emperor busts that appear in niches above the freestanding statues in the drawing with the Curtius relief was exhibited in the Salone before the refurbishing, albeit on brackets that were dismantled by Asprucci. These busts were executed by Giovanni Battista della Porta in the sixteenth century and were placed in the Salone during the time of Paul V, presumably by Scipione, whose coat of arms embellished the brackets on which they were set.[100]

Most of the other freestanding and relief sculpture that was in the room has been dispersed. In the niches and along the walls were antique statues of Roman heroes, heroines, gods, and goddesses, as well as mythological figures and busts of learned ancient Greeks; bas-reliefs of similar subjects were over the main doors and above two of the niches.[101] In 1788 an antique statue of Hercules and his son Telephus, recovered at Tivoli by the sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti, was placed in the Salone as well. This is known from an anonymous article published in the *Giornale delle belle arti* shortly afterward, which noted both that the Hercules group was set up in the middle of the room and that Hercules' father, Jupiter, occupied the center of the fresco above.[102] This sculpture not only added another series of fathers and sons to the decorative program of the Casino's ground floor but also gave prominence to another of the legendary founders of Rome, for a few classical sources trace the origins of Rome to Hercules (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 1.7.3–15, 9.29; Virgil, *Aeneid* 8.184).[103] It accorded as well with the general association between the Roman founders, heroes, and leaders who figured so prominently among the

Fig. 18. Mariano Rossi
Camillus, 1775–1779, fresco
Rome, Galleria Borghese

Fig. 19. Mariano Rossi
Camillus Triumphant, 1775–1776, pen and brown ink with wash, 18.9 × 25.3 cm (7 3/8 × 9 5/8 in.)
Rome, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica

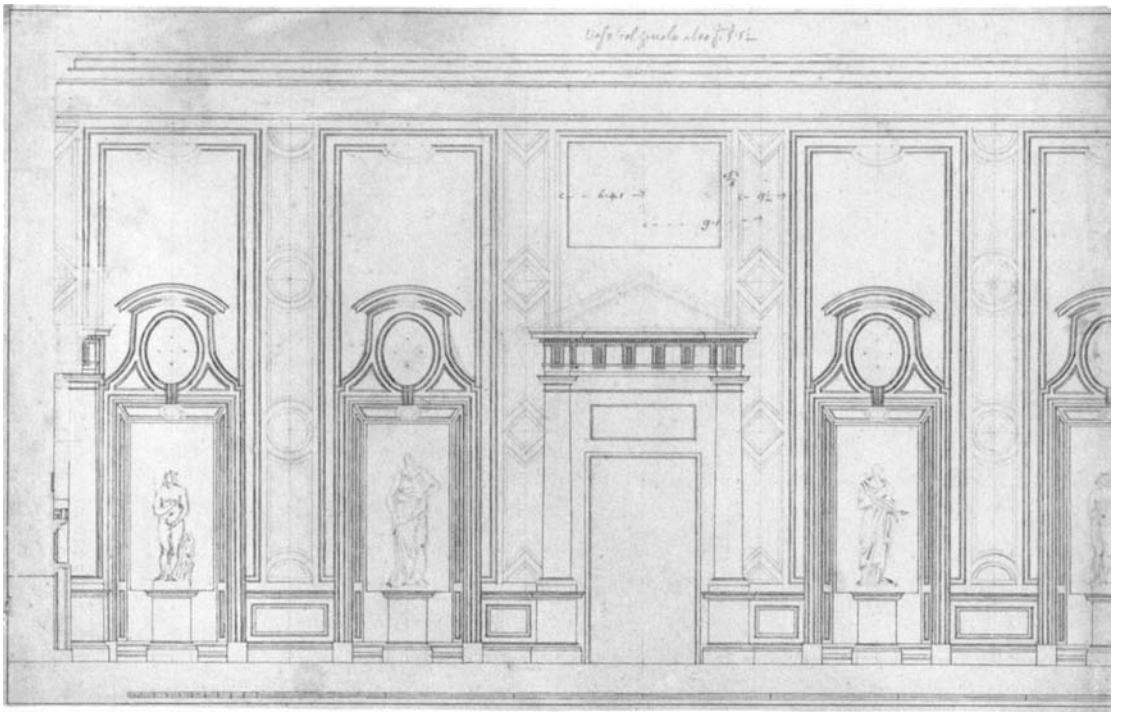


Fig. 20. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Salone, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and pen and ink, 33.5 × 52.7 cm (13⅛ × 20¾ in.)
See no. 4

sculptures displayed in the Salone and the subject of the Salone's ceiling fresco, who is likewise a founder, hero, and leader of Rome.

The Salone's ceiling fresco, painted between 1775 and 1779 by the Sicilian-born artist Mariano Rossi, represents a sequence of episodes from the history of Marcus Furius Camillus, a Roman hero and leader of the fourth century B.C.E. (see figs. 18, 19).[104] The fresco focuses on the battle between the Gauls who had occupied Rome and the Romans fighting under Camillus's leadership to recapture the city. After the Romans triumphed, Camillus was hailed as the refounder of the city, a second Romulus (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.49). The battle scene and the other imagery are arranged in four tiers on a groin-vaulted ceiling. The lowest tier consists of a painted balustrade interspersed with painted niches and sculpture. Above the balustrade is set most of the narrative, with the battle scene on the principal side of the composition, opposite the entrance from the portico and over the Curtius relief. Above this level are four groups of allegorical figures, and the composition culminates at the center of the ceiling, where Jupiter and others appear among clouds.

The Camillus fresco is a great Baroque composition in the Cortonesque tradition—a complex and monumental history painting enriched with allegorical and mythological figures. Its narrative, on the most obvious level, is both a visual panegyric to the ancient hero and a model offered for emulation to all observers. Its further significance for the Borghese seems to have been twofold: it pays tribute to their most illustrious ancestor, Pope Paul V, the former Camillo Borghese; and it provides an exemplar for Prince Marcantonio's newly born heir, Camillo.

The name Camillo, the Italian cognate of the name Camillus, held a significant place in the Borghese family's genealogy. It was repeated through the generations from at least the time of Paul V, who was linked to the ancient Camillus in court panegyrics. The Borghese traced the ancestry of the ancient Camillus to that of Aeneas, the founder of Latium and the offspring of Anchises' union with the goddess Venus. This genealogy is registered explicitly in an anonymous panegyric addressed to Paul V: "*Quis neget Aeneae magna de stirpe Camillum?*" (Who would deny that Camillus descended from the great line of Aeneas?).[105] It is also registered implicitly in several works of art at the Casino. Paul V's nephew, Cardinal Scipione, had acquired two famous images of Aeneas fleeing Troy with his father Anchises, his son Ascanius, and their household gods; in the Virgilian tradition, this was the event that led to the founding of Rome. These two works, Federico Barocci's *Aeneas Fleeing from the Burning of Troy* and Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Aeneas and Anchises,* continued to be exhibited prominently by Scipione's heir and his descendants, including Marcantonio.[106] Two additional images of Aeneas's flight were incorporated into the ceiling painting cycles during the late-eighteenth-century redecoration, one by Domenico de Angelis in the Stanza del Vaso and the other by Anton von Maron in a room on the upper floor.

Paul V is the Camillo Borghese alluded to most plainly by the fresco, for he, like the ancient Camillus, officially held dominion over Rome. That the

theme of the Camillus fresco was intended to refer to the Borghese pope is corroborated by indications in the composition itself. These do not derive from the fresco's narrative, since that is specific only to the ancient Camillus, but rather from its encomiastic and thematic significance. The scene with Jupiter, in the very center of the fresco, seems to constitute the most significant of these allusions. It has no basis in ancient historical sources, but an unsigned pamphlet on the fresco published in 1779 describes the scene as Romulus, founder of Rome, praying to Jupiter, who in response dispatches Mars, the god of war, to aid Camillus in the fray.[107] In Rossi's fresco Romulus has the same bearded face and wears the same garb—sans helmet—as Camillus. This resemblance, of course, is perfectly appropriate, for Camillus was hailed after the battle as "*Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis*" (a Romulus and father of his country and a second founder of the city) (Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 5.49.7). A panegyric written to Paul V in 1605 by a Scotsman, John Colville, not only echoes Livy's sentiment but also links Romulus, Camillus, and Paul V together as pious defenders of Rome. It opens by invoking "*Ille pius quonda[m] ob Mavortia facta Camillus / Audire à cunctis meruit sibi Romulus alter*" (that pious Camillus [who] because of his military achievements merited to be known by all as another Romulus).[108] In Rossi's fresco, the founder of Rome (Romulus) kneels before Jupiter while below him the refounder of Rome (Camillus) brandishes his sword to form a cross with the Roman standard behind him and, by implication, prepares the way for the pope and the supreme defender of the Catholic Church, Paul V, the former Camillo Borghese.

The theme of the Salone's fresco, then, seems to have been chosen with Paul V in mind. That Marcantonio would have paid such homage to Paul V within the context of the renovation is unsurprising given the pope's importance in the history of his family. It was Paul V who first glorified the name Borghese, established the family's fortune and property, and acquired the title that more than a century and a half later still furnished Marcantonio's claims to nobility.[109] Marcantonio himself seems to have taken pains to preserve Paul V's memory through works of art. During this prince's reign a mosaic portrait of Paul V, executed in 1621 by Marcello Provenzale, constituted the only known likeness of a Borghese in the Palazzo Borghese.[110] In the renovated Casino there were three portraits of the pontiff: a bust that has been attributed, variously, to Alessandro Algardi and to Gian Lorenzo Bernini; a painting attributed to Caravaggio; and a red porphyry profile relief on a white marble background. The relief was mounted on a recessed panel above the door in the northwest wall of the Stanza del Gladiatore (see no. 17).[111] Integrally and immovably incorporated into the decoration of the Casino, the relief thus registers Paul V's exceptional position as the rock upon which the Borghese family's status and fortune were built.

The interpretation of the fresco suggested by the nominal association between Camillus and Camillo, and by Marcantonio's overt homage to Paul V, is furthered by its use of the Borghese heraldic devices: eagles surmount

the standards flanking the fighting hero, and the dragon appears just below and to the left, on a soldier's helmet. This configuration is repeated on a larger scale by Jupiter's eagle at the apex of the vault, in the fictive heavens, and the dragons at the lowest point of the ceiling, beneath the simulated statues in the four corners. Moreover, the putto who carries a wreath of victory toward Camillus in the fresco holds it over the Roman eagle on the standard below, a motif that is repeated by the putto in the niche beneath Camillus's feet. Through the symbol of the Roman eagle, the fate of Rome is linked to the leadership of Camillus/Camillo. This association is available in yet another panegyric to Paul V: "*Romanae vicere Aquilae, Burghesis quondam / Omina, nunc Urbis gloria, certa salus*" (The Roman eagles have triumphed; once portents of the Borghese, now they are the glory of the city, its sure protection).[112]

Rossi's fresco thus commemorates Camillus, an ancient refounder of the Roman *patria,* and through him, Camillo Borghese, Pope Paul V. But if it furnished only reminders of family leadership long gone, the tribute would hardly suffice for one of Marcantonio's obvious wealth and standing. It is perhaps not entirely coincidental, then, given the importance of nominal association, that Marcus Curtius and Marcus Furius Camillus, the heroes of the Salone, both have first names related to Marcantonio's.[113] Furthermore, it may be recalled that at the time of the renovation, statues of Marc Antony and Marcus Aurelius flanked the main facade of the Casino. If all this suggests that Marcantonio saw himself, through his Borghese ancestors, as successor to the heroes and rulers of ancient Rome, his pretensions extended into the future as well. To understand how this is manifested in the imagery of the Salone, yet another level of meaning in the Camillus fresco must be explored.

Closely allied to the panegyric is the literary genre of the *speculum principis,* which was typically addressed to a present or future prince—not one of the past. It recommends that the dedicatee cultivate princely virtues, rather than praising him for their prior acquisition or present display. Conjointly, it may suggest a course of education or offer particular exemplars to be followed.[114] I believe that the fresco—which portrays Romulus and Camillus as men of arms and piety, and evokes through them Camillo Borghese, Pope Paul V—was meant to serve as a *speculum principis* for the young Camillo Borghese, heir to the patron and future prince. This contention is based, of course, on the association of the fresco with the name Camillo and, in turn, on the importance of that name within the Borghese genealogy and on Marcantonio's hope that he would have an heir to bear it.[115] His first son, who was born in 1770 but died four days later, had been given the name; five years later, as Marcantonio awaited the birth of his second child, the contract for the fresco was drawn up. It could well be that he planned the fresco, whose subject was clearly defined in the contract as "*l'Istoria di Camillo, che libera Roma da i Galli*" (the history of Camillo liberating Rome from the Gauls),[116] in anticipation of the birth of the son and heir whom he would name Camillo.

If the fresco were intended as a *speculum principis* for the new Camillo

Borghese, it could be surmised that it was meant to be both didactic and celebratory. Directed toward the future prince, it predicts that he, too, will lead and glorify Rome if he follows the example set by his illustrious ancestors. The even broader implication of Rossi's fresco is that in his son Camillo, Marcantonio has literally produced a Roman ruler whose future dominion is assured and validated by his ancestors, including the Borghese pope Paul V (Camillo) and the ancient Roman hero Camillus. Standard bombast perhaps, but a remarkable allusion to have been made by a prince in Rome who was not closely related to the reigning pope.[117]

In sum, the program of the Casino, with the Salone at its core, may be understood as celebrating Borghese leadership in Rome—past, present, and future—and as commemorating the tradition of greatness in Borghese patronage, from Scipione and Paul V to Marcantonio. The Camillus fresco plays the principal role in this multilayered and inventive homage.

The decorative ensembles of the Casino's other rooms bolster this program in various ways: they may incorporate Borghese heraldic devices, refer to the gods and goddesses and historical figures who were the putative ancestors of the Borghese, or function as panegyrics or *specula principum*. In the rooms on the ground floor, the imagery of the ceiling paintings is most easily interpreted as extending the function of the Salone's program as a *speculum principis*. Such an interpretation is supported by late-eighteenth-century written descriptions of the rooms. The most important and sizable set of such descriptions comprises the articles printed as pamphlets, clipped from fine-arts journals, or preserved in manuscript form that are to be found in the Borghese family archive.[118] Visconti's catalog, which focuses on the sculpture collection but also offers some description of the decoration of the rooms, provides us with an order to follow in touring the ground floor—namely, proceeding from the Salone through the rooms around it, beginning at the south corner of the Casino (see fig. 49).[119]

After the redecoration of the first room to the right of the Salone, a huge antique vase decorated with a frieze of ecstatic Bacchantes accompanying the drunken Silenus stood in the center of the room, and Bernini's renowned statue of David slinging a stone presumably stood against one of the walls. This room was, therefore, known either as the Stanza del Vaso or as the Stanza del David (figs. 21–23, pl. 3).[120] The decoration of this room is unusual in that neither the vase nor the *David* seems to relate in theme to the ceiling painting. The five *quadri riportati* on the ceiling were painted by Domenico de Angelis (see fig. 21). The central canvas represents the Judgment of Paris, which was the event that led to the Trojan war and Aeneas's flight to Italy. According to Visconti and the archival descriptions, de Angelis based his composition on a well-known bas-relief from a Roman sarcophagus at the Villa Medici. At the left in the painting, Venus holds the apple bestowed upon her by Paris, and at the right the three goddesses return to Olympus, where they are met by Jupiter and other deities.[121] The four smaller canvases depict Aeneas after the war: Minerva commanding the Fates to sever the lifeline of Troy, aflame

Fig. 21. Domenico de Angelis and Giovanni Battista Marchetti
Ceiling of the Stanza del Vaso, ca. 1779, oil on canvas, fresco, and gilded wood
Rome, Galleria Borghese

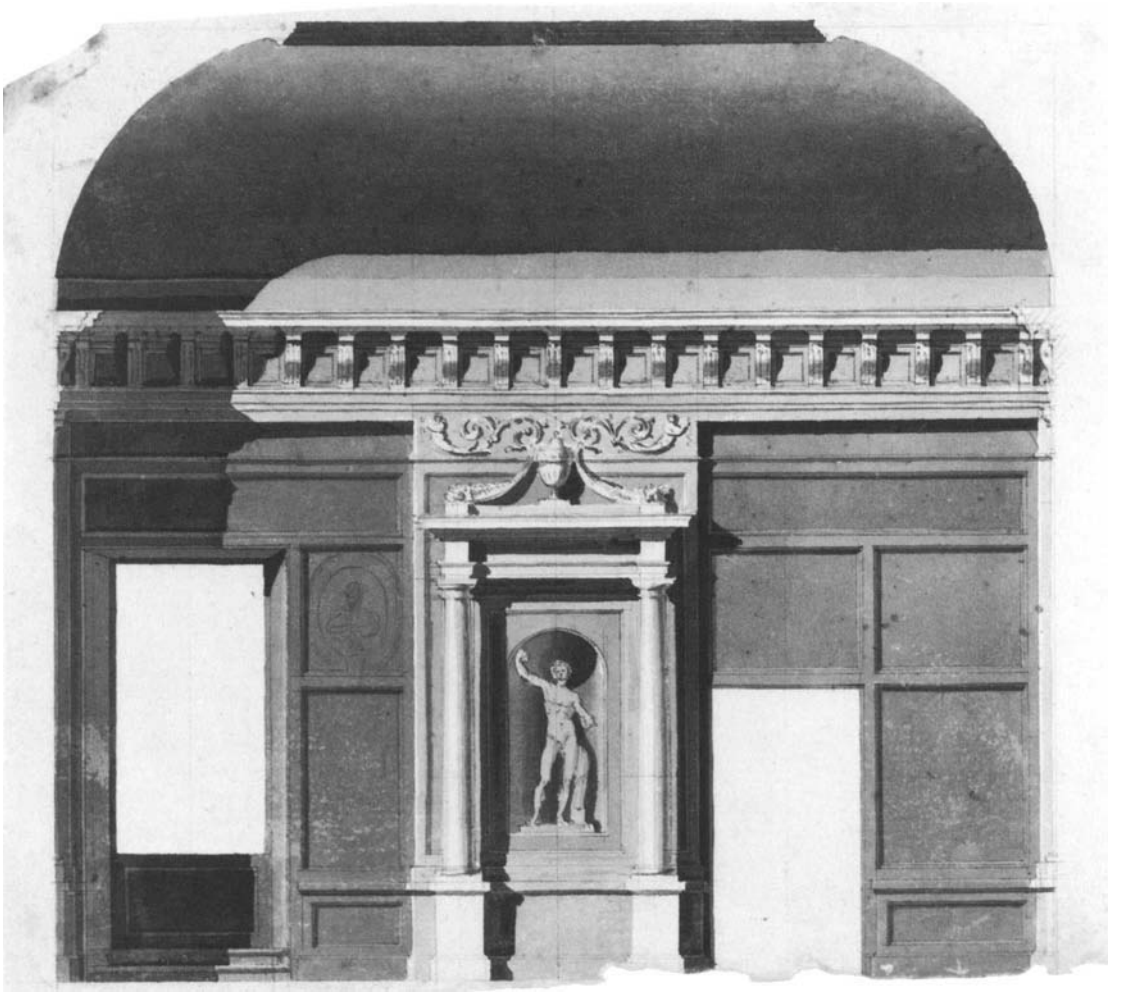


Fig. 22. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Vaso, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 36.3 × 40.2 cm (14¼ × 15⅞ in.)
See no. 5

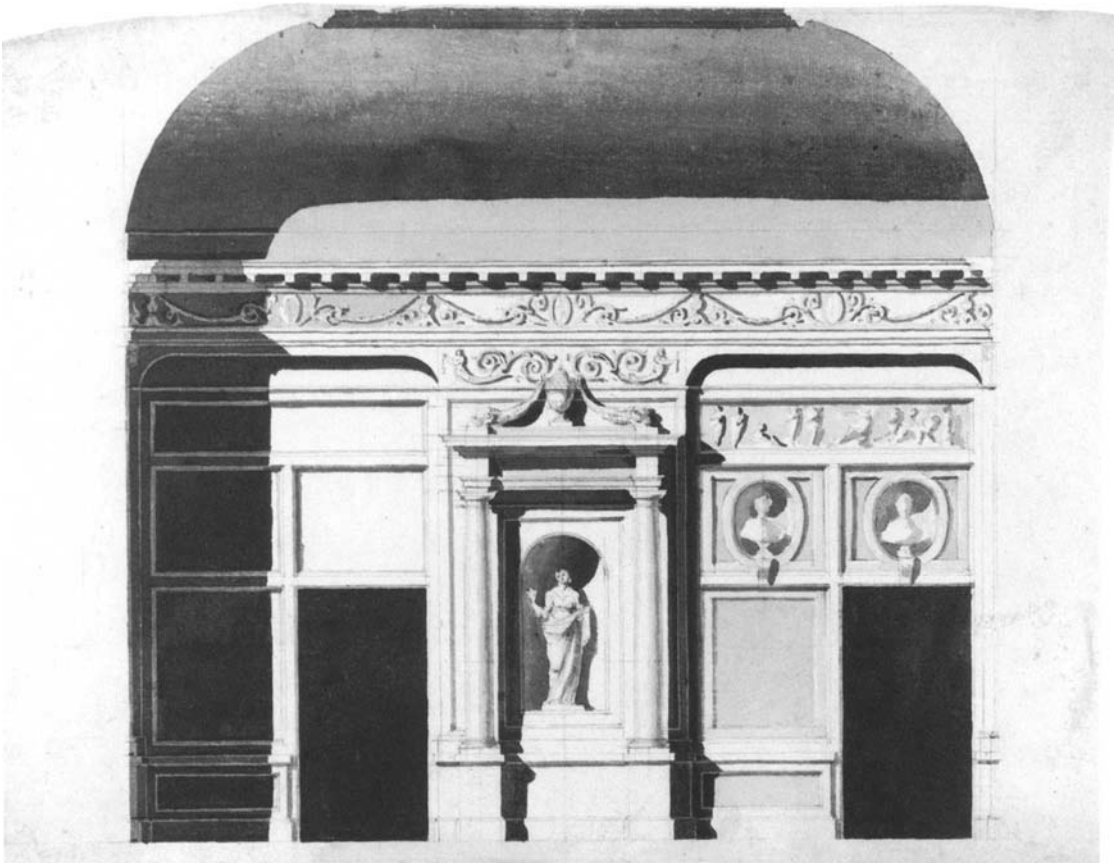


Fig. 23. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Vaso, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 36.3 × 46 cm (14¼ × 18⅛ in.)
See no. 6

in the background;[122] Aeneas fleeing the burning city, his father on his back and his son by his side; Juno promising Aeolus the nymph Dejopeia if he would sink Aeneas's fleet; and Jupiter yielding to Venus's supplications and sending Mercury to rouse Aeneas to leave Dido and continue his journey to Italy. The sculpture on display that accorded with the theme of the room's ceiling paintings included statues of Minerva and Venus; a bust of Augustus, who was regarded as a descendant of Aeneas; and three reliefs based upon ancient prototypes.[123] One of these reliefs, executed by Agostino Penna, showed the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, where the goddess of discord, Eris, by throwing an apple marked "for the fairest" among the banqueting wedding guests, initiated the events that led to the Judgment of Paris. Vincenzo Pacetti's two reliefs depicted scenes from the Trojan war: Antilochus informing Achilles of the death of Patroclus, and Mercury weighing the destinies of Achilles and Hector.

The importance of the imagery of this room, with its focus on the Judgment of Paris, the Trojan war, and Aeneas's journey to Italy, should, for our purposes, be fairly apparent. This series of events led to the founding of Rome by Aeneas and, since the Borghese believed themselves to be descended from Aeneas, the founding of the Borghese family as well. Less clear, however, would be the allegorical nature of the imagery, were it not for the contemporary description of de Angelis's *Judgment of Paris,* which justifies the inclusion of so many figures extraneous to the story by pointing to their symbolism. It interprets Paris as Youth foolishly choosing Pleasure, embodied by Venus, over Prudence and Virtue, in the guise of Juno and Minerva. Such an understanding of this event had been available since at least the Renaissance.[124] Pietro da Cortona's ceiling fresco cycle in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, which also functioned as a kind of *speculum principis,* may have provided a precedent as well. There, in the center of the Sala di Venere (see fig. 8), the ideal Medici prince is wrested from the couch of Venus (Pleasure) by Minerva (Prudence or Virtue).[125] Although Paris is allowed in de Angelis's painting in the Stanza del Vaso to make the "wrong" choice, the painting does allow him a virtue. According to the description, by placing the war god Mars at the center of the composition, the scene emphasizes Paris's military valor despite his alliance with Venus.

The imagery in each of the next three rooms (excluding the chapel) creates a *speculum principis* by virtue of behavior less than wholly exemplary. The next room to the east is the Stanza del Sole (figs. 24–27; pls. 4, 5), which was named for the antique statue of the personified Sun formerly exhibited in the niche (see fig. 25).[126] In the center of the room was a Bacchic crater mounted on an ancient altar decorated, according to Visconti, with a priest sacrificing to the sun god Apollo, also identified as Phoebus (see fig. 27). Thematically related to these works is the central ceiling painting by Francesco Caccianiga, which represents the fall of Phaeton from the chariot of the sun, which belonged to his father, Phoebus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.1–400). After refusing to heed his father's warnings about the difficulty of the task, Phaeton was

Fig. 24. Francesco Caccianiga
Fall of Phaeton, ca. 1777, pen and brown ink with wash, heightened with white over traces of black chalk, squared for transfer, 43.3 × 34 cm (17 × 13⅜ in.)
Menlo Park, California, Horace W. Brock

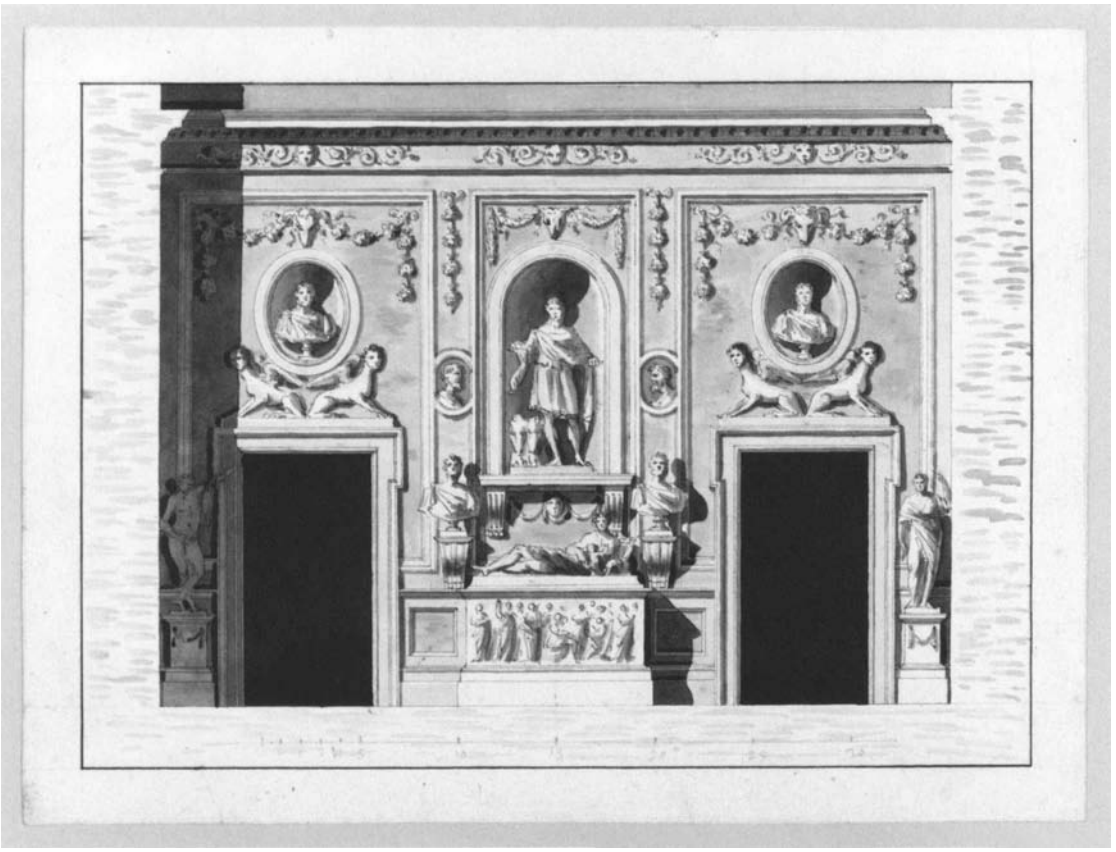


Fig. 25. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Sole, ca. 1775–1780, pen and ink with gray wash, 25.2 × 33.2 cm (9⅞ × 13⅛ in.)
See no. 8

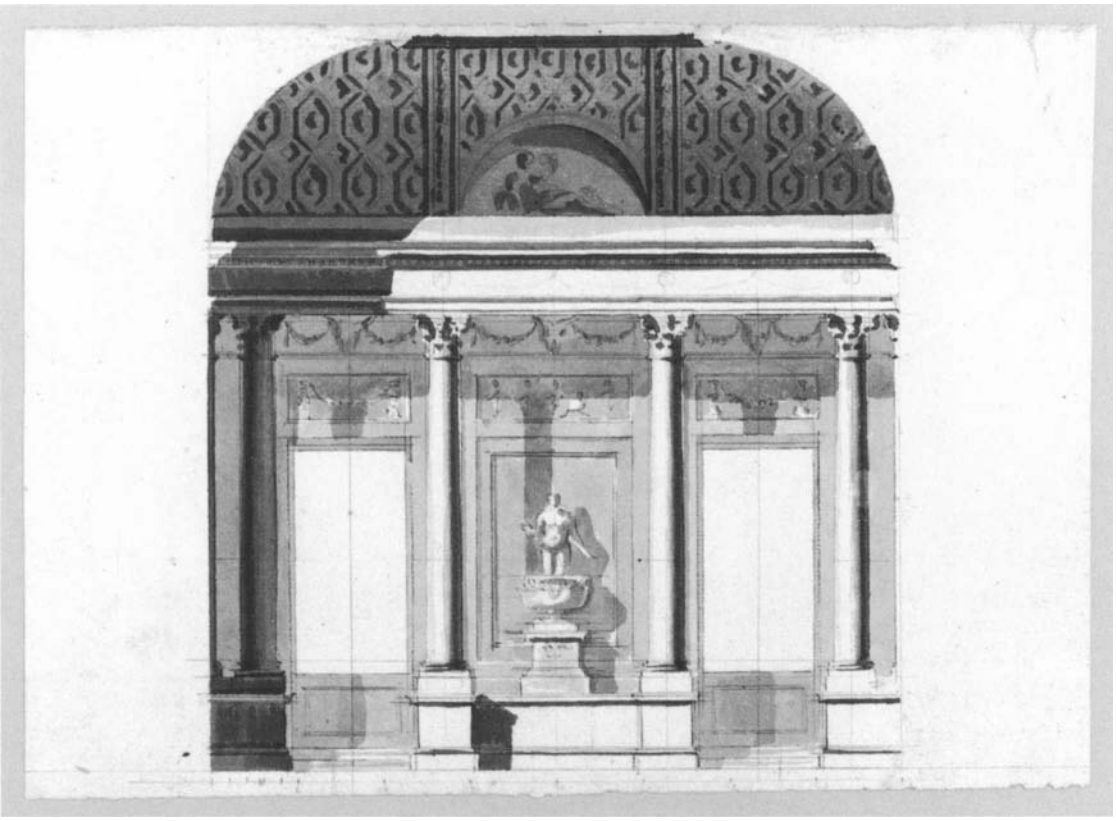


Fig. 26. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation with the Dying Seneca, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 25.2 × 34.5 cm (9⅞ × 13⅝ in.)
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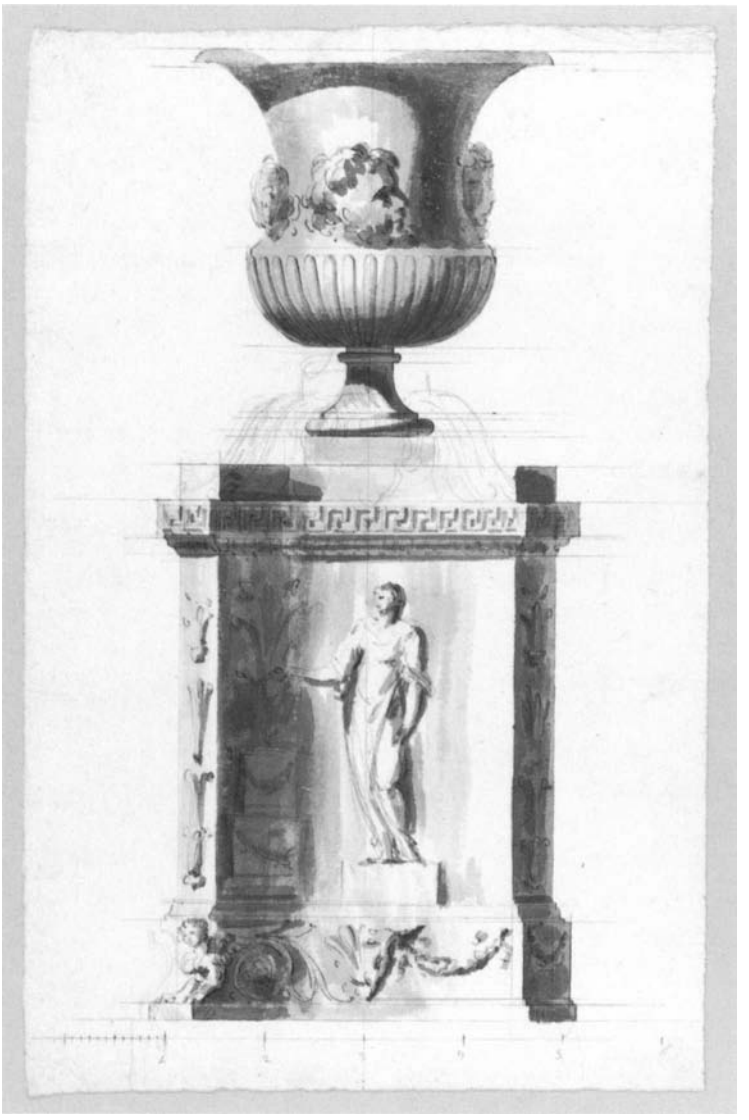


Fig. 27. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Bacchic Crater on an Ancient Altar, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 39.7 × 25.3 cm (15⅝ × 10 in.)
See no. 11

unable to control the horses and eventually was plunged to his death by Jupiter after causing rivers to dry up and the earth to burn. In one of the four painted medallions by Gioacchino Agricola surrounding Caccianiga's central panel, Cycnus, who turned into a swan in his grief for his friend, and the Heliades, Phaeton's sisters, mourn by the god of the river Eridanus, into which Phaeton fell. The other three medallions represent morning, noon, and night: Venus and Cupid in the light of her star, announcing the day; the Sun in his chariot; and the personified Evening.[127]

In addition to Caccianiga's highly finished *bozzetto* (preparatory design) for the central scene (see fig. 24), there also survives Tommaso Conca's alternative (see pl. 5).[128] Conca's beautiful drawing features Phaeton setting out on his calamitous journey. In the central tondo, which is surrounded by astrological symbols, various divinities, and the eagle and the dragon from the Borghese coat of arms, the young man proudly drives Phoebus's chariot and horses. Caccianiga's proposal was chosen for execution, however. Not only was its simpler format more in keeping with the ceiling paintings in the smaller rooms than Conca's intricate design, but its focus on the disastrous end of Phaeton's journey forcefully registers the myth's warning against the foolhardiness and willfulness of youth.

The third room is the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne, named after Bernini's famous statue group, which, during the redecoration, was moved into the middle of the space.[129] The central ceiling painting, by Pietro Angeletti, suggests deliberate pairing with the sculpture: both depict the same scene, and the statue is located directly below the painting and arranged to offer a comparable view of the figures when the painting is viewed in its intended orientation. Angeletti's painted *bozzetto* is oriented vertically (fig. 28), unlike the finished ceiling painting.

Both the ceiling painting and Bernini's sculpture illustrate the beautiful young huntress Daphne as she is being transformed into a laurel tree in order to escape the attentions of Apollo, who had been stung with love for her by Cupid's arrow (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.453–568). In this case, the moral of the story is inscribed on the base of the statue in the form of a verse composed before August 1623 by Cardinal Maffeo Barberini, later Pope Urban VIII, and framed by the Borghese dragon: "QVISQVIS AMANS SEQVITVR FVGITIVAE GAVDIA FORMAE / FRONDE MANVS IMPLET BACCAS SEV CARPIT AMARAS" (Whoever under the influence of love pursues the joys of fugitive beauty is filling his hands with leaves or trying to pluck bitter berries).[130] As this cautionary verse indicates, the lesson to be learned is taught by bad example, as was the case with Paris and Phaeton. In 1785 the passage from Ovid describing Daphne's transformation (*Metamorphoses* 1.549–51) was inscribed on the other side of the base and framed by the Borghese eagle.[131] Two contemporary landscape paintings depicting Apollo and Daphne were displayed in the room as well. The capitals of the columns and pilasters were adorned with images of the sun, as befits Apollo. Also appropriate to Apollo in his role as sun god—and to the theme of metamorphosis—are Angeletti's

Fig. 28. Pietro Angeletti
Preparatory Design for the Painting of Apollo and Daphne,
ca. 1780, oil on canvas, 73 × 42.5 cm (28¾ × 16¾ in.)
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini

personifications of the seasons on the sides of the vault, as well as four vases, made for the redecoration, that are carved with reliefs of putti in seasonal activities.[132] In addition to its mythological and allegorical connotations, of course, seasonal imagery was traditional to the decoration of villa buildings, for it accords well with the emphasis on nature inherent in *villeggiatura*.[133]

Between the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne and the Galleria is a small chapel that Claude Deruet decorated with frescoes in the seventeenth century.[134] On the altar wall is an Assumption, and the flanking walls bear images of Carlo Borromeo and Francesca Romano, who were canonized during the papacy of Paul V. During the renovation, Gioacchino Agricola painted a glory of angels in the center of the vault and fictive reliefs with putti in two flanking tondi, as well as the four putti who hold the coats of arms of Marcantonio and his wife above the chapel's entrances.

The fourth room is the Galleria, named for its long, narrow shape (figs. 29–31).[135] This is perhaps the most richly ornamented room in the Casino. The adornment of its walls includes panels of *grottesche* decoration in mosaic as well as pilasters of yellow marble embellished with gilded capitals and inset with small marble bas-reliefs on blue mosaic grounds.[136] One of the drawings for the short walls shows some of this decoration, as well as the lighting (see fig. 30). Another, for the long wall opposite the Salone, represents its interior and exterior treatment (see fig. 31).

The three *quadri riportati* on the ceiling are by Domenico de Angelis and illustrate the story of the nymph Galatea, her lover Acis, and the Cyclops Polyphemus who was enamored of Galatea. The central painting appears, rotated ninety degrees from its actual orientation, in Percier's view of the room (see fig. 29). The literary source for the image is Philostratus's account (*Imagines* 2.18) of Galatea sporting upon the sea while watched from afar by Polyphemus.[137] The flanking scenes illustrate the myth as told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* 13.738–897). One shows the jealous Polyphemus, who, seeing Galatea and her lover Acis together, prepares to hurl the boulder that will strike and crush Acis, after which Galatea transforms Acis into a river.[138] The other represents Acis as the god of his river, with Galatea and Cupid weeping in the background.

Here, again, the descriptions in the archive make the connection between this room's theme and the theme of the *speculum principis*. Portraying Galatea as an antihero, one of the discussions of the central scene asserts that she recognized Polyphemus's jealousy of Acis and sought to entice the Cyclops by displaying herself to him while listening to his love songs.[139] Clearly, they imply a moral to the story, suggesting that Galatea's coquettish behavior triggered the violent action of the enamored Polyphemus. The larger lesson, though, not unlike that of the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne, is an admonition about the power of sensual love.

The myth of Galatea on the ceiling prompts much of the other decoration in the room. Running along the top of the walls is a gilded frieze with marine animals and Tritons. Beneath this, and between the pilasters, are eleven large

Fig. 29. Charles Percier
View of the Galleria, ca. 1786–1792, watercolor and pencil,
20.3 × 16.1 cm (8 × 6⅜ in.)
Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France

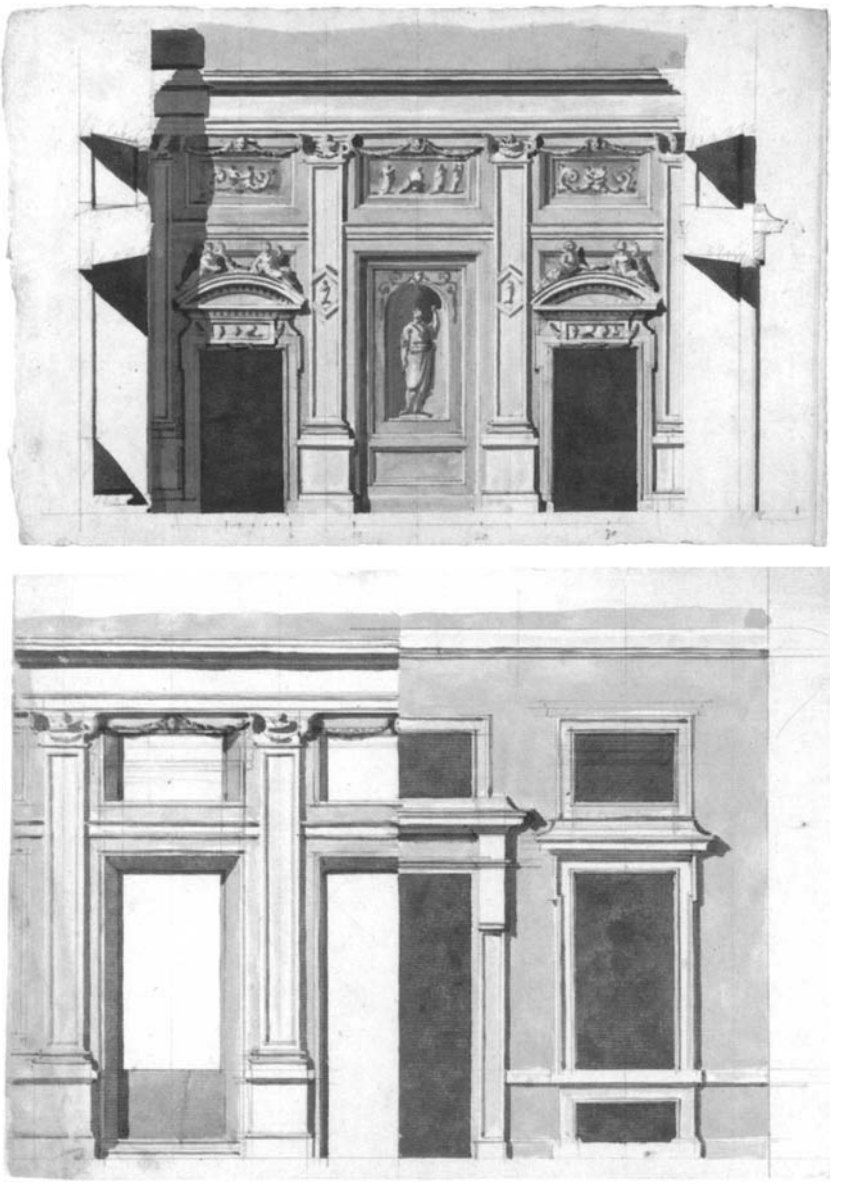


Fig. 30. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Galleria, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 26.2 × 39.6 cm (10¼ × 15⅝ in.)
See no. 13

Fig. 31. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Galleria, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 25 × 33.8 cm (9⅞ × 13¼ in.)
See no. 14

stucco bas-reliefs that were designed by Tommaso Conca. Three portray Neptune, one depicts Amphitrite, two concern the attempts of Juno and Aeolus to sabotage Aeneas's Trojan fleet, two show Perseus and Andromeda, and two involve Nereus and the Nereids.[140] Among the freestanding sculpture in the room were six images of Venus, including one statue of the goddess entering her bath and one with Cupid and a dolphin's head. Of course, all the depictions of Venus, the goddess born from the sea, would have been appropriate to the ornamentation of the room. Visconti remarks, in fact, that

> *Il fregio dell'ordine tutto messo a oro, è variato con animali marini, e Tritoni coloriti al naturale sul campo d'oro, e allusivi ai soggetti della Volta, e dei bassirilievi, che tutti hanno relazione alle molte immagini di Venere, che adornano la Galleria.* (The gilded frieze [running along the top of the walls] is decorated with marine animals and Tritons, alluding to the subjects of the vault and bas-reliefs, which are all related to the many images of Venus that adorn the Galleria.)[141]

On a more abstract level, the multiple images of Venus, goddess of love, in the room is a reminder that the tale of Galatea was interpreted as a lesson about jealousy and carnal desire.

Following the Galleria is the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito (figs. 32–34), named for the celebrated ancient marble statue of a sleeping hermaphrodite that stood before a shallow niche on the wall adjoining the Stanza del Gladiatore. This statue, which was exhibited in the Casino from at least 1638, had been restored by Bernini, who also made its mattress.[142] In accordance with the subject of the statue, the five *quadri riportati* on the ceiling, painted by Nicola Buonvicini, illustrate the fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 4.313–92) (see fig. 32). In the central scene the nymph Salmacis approaches the handsome young Hermaphroditus, son of Mercury and Venus, and suggests herself as his future bride. The youth is offended by her boldness and threatens to leave, so she pretends to go away. In the first of the four surrounding scenes Salmacis spies upon Hermaphroditus as he prepares to bathe in a stream. In the second scene, overcome with passion, she dives in after him and locks him in her embrace; although Hermaphroditus struggles to get free, Salmacis prays that they may never be parted, and their two bodies are merged into one. In the third scene Hermaphroditus sits by the stream and prays to his parents that any man who enters those waters will suffer the same fate as he. In the final scene a faun and a satyr observe the sleeping Hermaphroditus—much as the visitor to the room would voyeuristically observe the *Hermaphrodite*.[143]

The descriptions of the room in the archive interpret the tale of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis as providing a role model, a contrast to the moral antitypes of the preceding rooms. Two of the three descriptions explicate the tale of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis as an allegory of how one should proceed into marriage, with Hermaphroditus as an exemplar of prudence and grace.[144] The central painting is interpreted as an illustration of proper modesty and

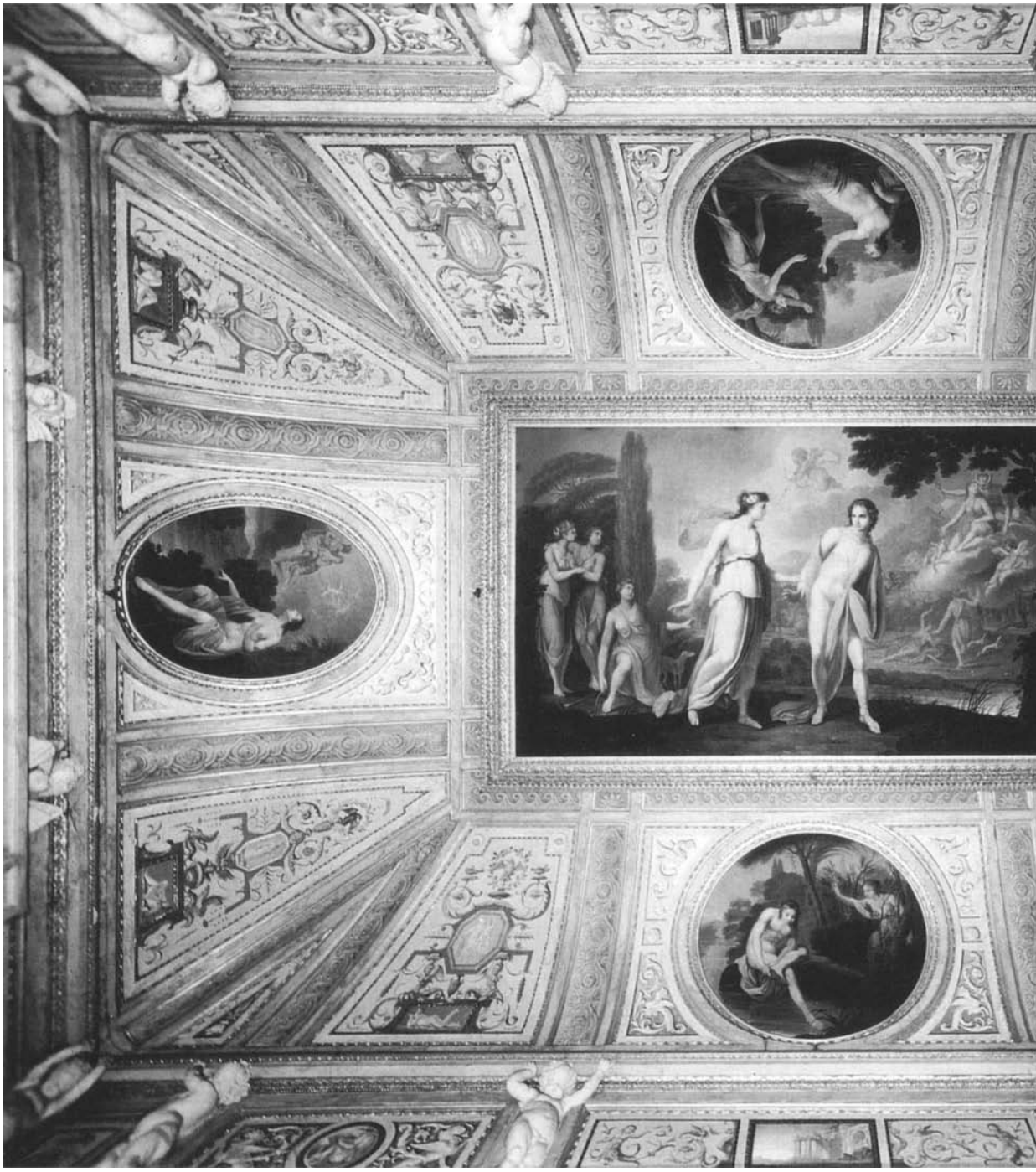
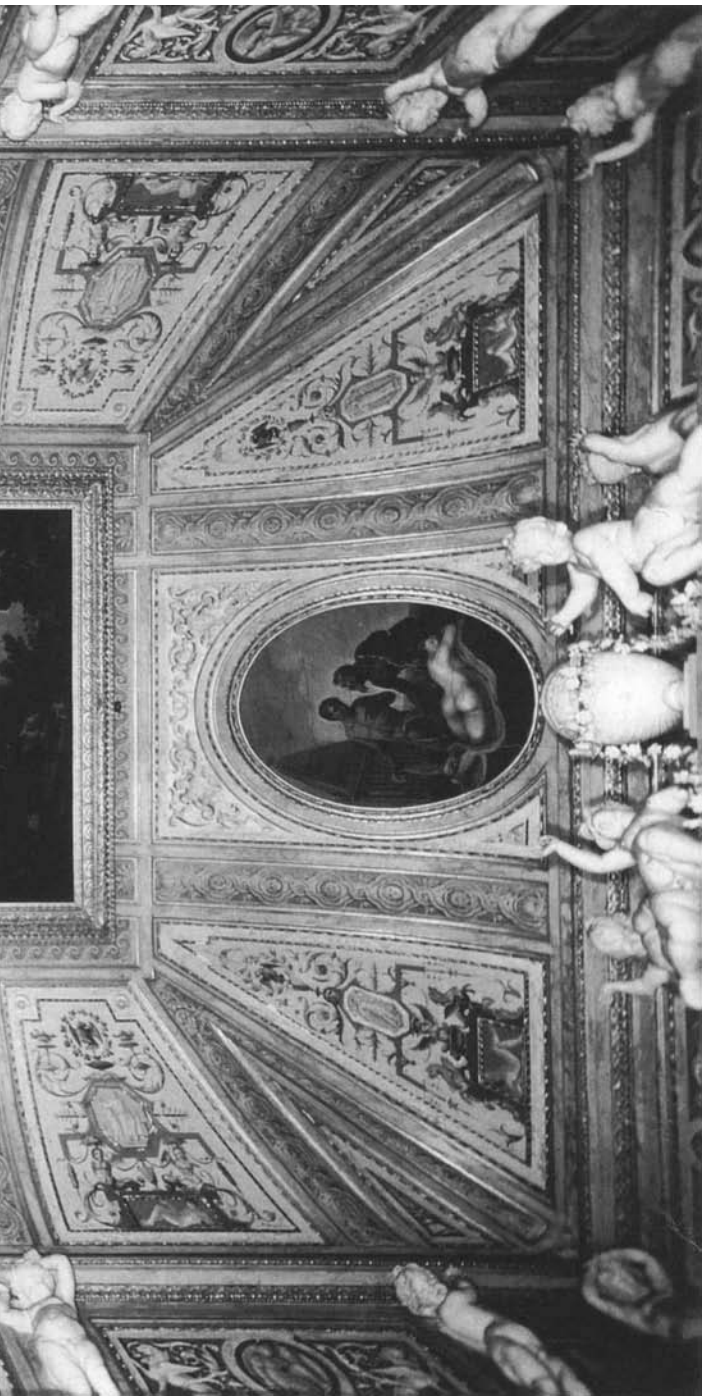
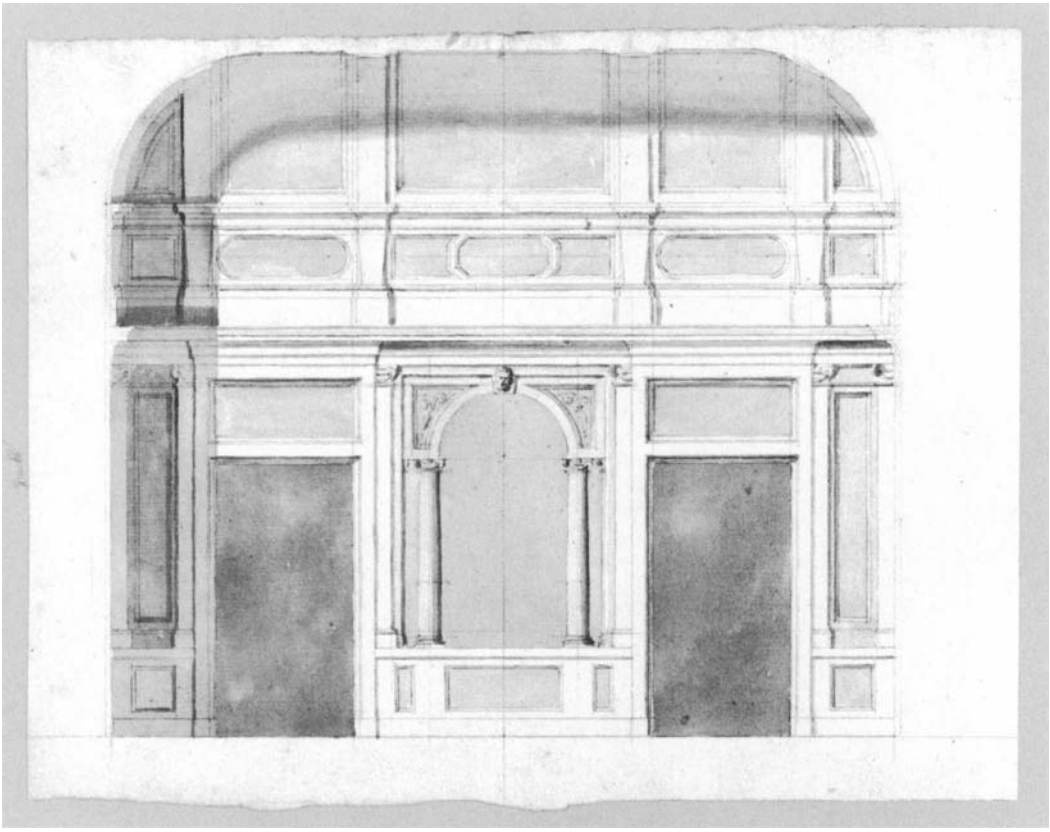


Fig. 32. Nicola Buonvicini, Giovanni Battista Marchetti, and Vincenzo Pacetti
Ceiling of the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito, 1781–1782, oil on canvas, fresco, gilded wood, and stucco
Rome, Galleria Borghese





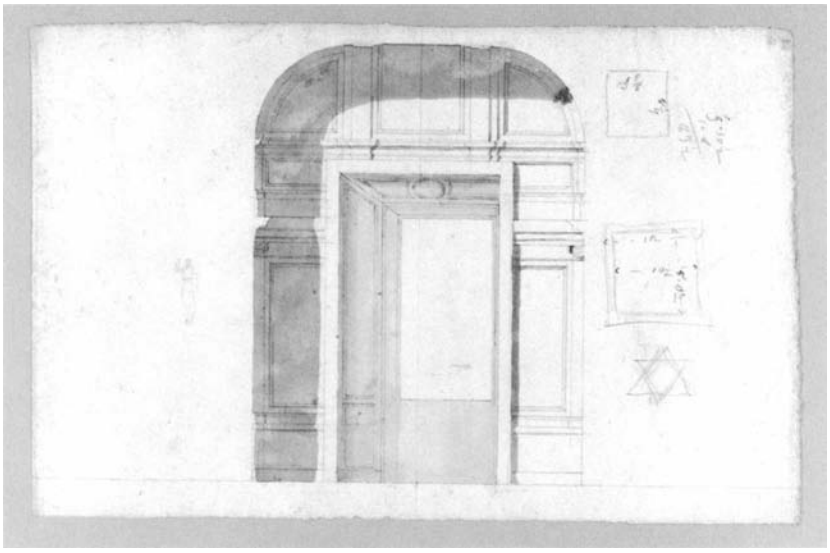


Fig. 33. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 25.2 × 32.3 cm (9⅞ × 12¾ in.)
See no. 15

Fig. 34. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 25.2 × 39 cm (9⅞ × 15⅜ in.)
See no. 16

reticence: Hermaphroditus resists the enticements of Salmacis, just as in choosing a bride one should resist the allure of beauty until securing true love and constancy. In the first scene, where he prepares to bathe in the stream, Hermaphroditus is praised for his temperance and virtue in repressing his passions. The joining of the two bodies as a consequence of the second scene is said to signify the perpetual union of feeling and will in those who are joined in marriage. The prayer that Hermaphroditus makes to his parents in the third scene is interpreted to have been inspired by his joy in his union, and thus to suggest that all who conduct themselves as moderately as he will live as happily in marriage.

Among the elements in the room that related to the theme of the *quadri riportati* were the grotto painted in the fictive niche on the wall adjoining the Galleria, opposite the *Hermaphrodite;* four statues of Venus, who was Hermaphroditus's mother; a statue of his father, Mercury; and a statue of his half brother, Cupid.[145] Most of the subjects of the painted medallions on the ceiling are unidentifiably obscure, but it is clear that Hercules appears at least twice, perhaps because he was so universally recognized as an *exemplum virtutis,* as Hermaphroditus is made to be in the archival descriptions.[146]

The sixth room is the Stanza del Gladiatore (figs. 35–38), named for the marble statue known as the *Borghese Gladiator* that stood in the center of the space and was the most celebrated work of antiquity at the villa.[147] Inspired by the subject of the statue, which Visconti maintains is a heroic warrior rather than a gladiator, the room is decorated with images of war and athletics.[148] The central ceiling painting (see fig. 35), by Laurent Pécheux, illustrates an episode recounted in Homer's *Iliad* (24.95–117), recalling the imagery in the Stanza del Vaso and its supposed genealogical relevance for the Borghese. The event depicted by Pécheux is a gathering of Olympian gods and goddesses after Achilles' murder of Hector and abuse of the corpse. In the painting, Zeus is about to send Iris to Priam, Hector's father and the Trojan king, with the message that he should take a ransom to Achilles for Hector's body. To the left, Minerva watches Hera pour a drink into a golden cup for Thetis, Achilles' mother, whom Zeus will send to tell Achilles that the Olympians are displeased with his behavior.

This episode, presenting examples of honorable and dishonorable behavior in war, offers a lesson in conduct, as do the ceiling paintings in the other rooms. In two of the archival descriptions of the scene, though, it is not only Achilles who is criticized but also Hera, who, as an ally of the Greeks, opposes the restitution of the corpse and "*come femmina, più d'ogni altro godeva della vendetta*" (like a woman, more than anything else was enjoying the revenge).[149] This comment extends the warnings about the wiles of women inherent in the decoration of the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito and the Galleria.

In accordance with the theme of the room's imagery, a relief of dancing warriors, based upon the Vatican's famous relief of the Corybantes, surmounted by painted trophies appears below Pécheux's painting on each side of the vault.[150] The window reveals feature fictive painted medallions

Fig. 35. Laurent Pécheux, Costantino Mazzoni, and Giovanni Battista Marchetti
Ceiling of the Stanza del Gladiatore, ca. 1782–1783, oil on canvas, fresco, gilded wood, and stucco
Rome, Galleria Borghese

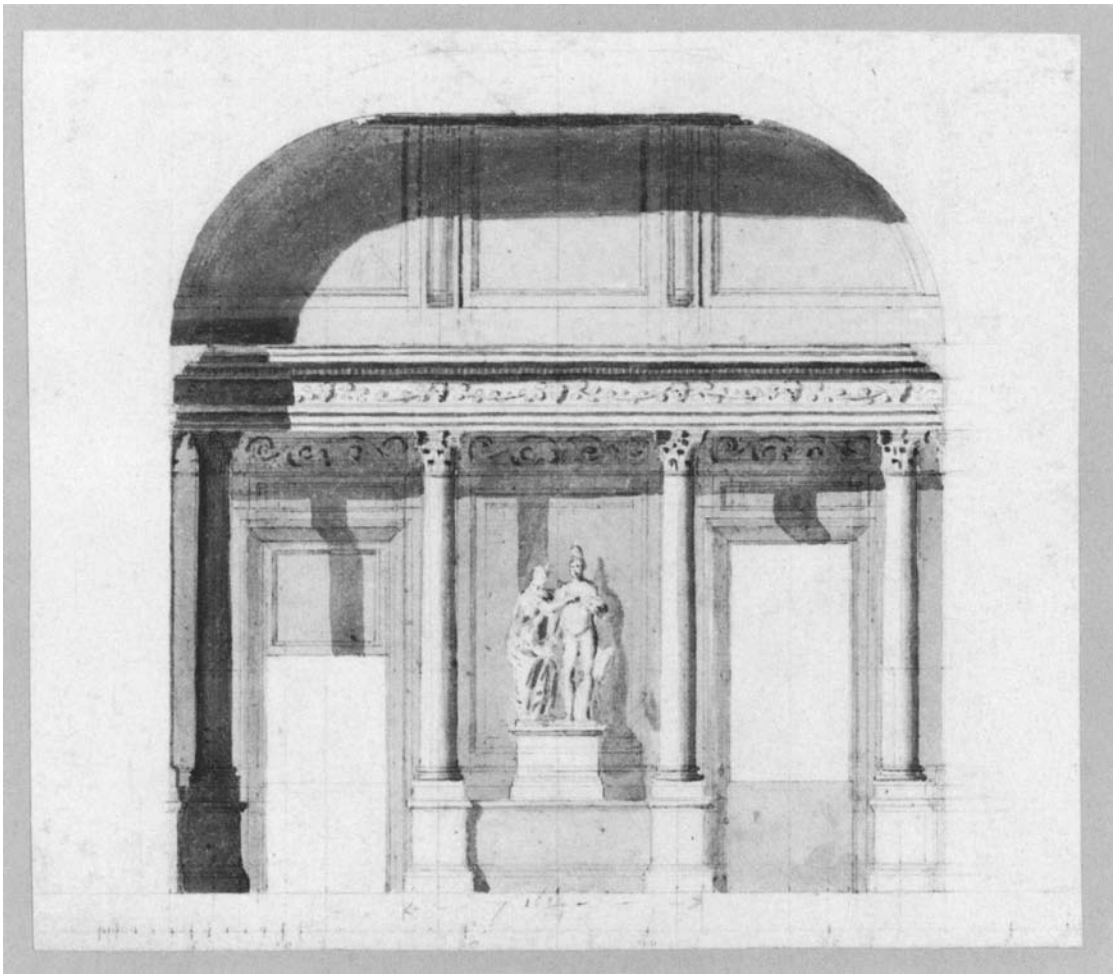


Fig. 36. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Gladiatore, ca. 1775–1780,
pencil and gray wash, 24.2 × 27.7 cm (9½ × 10⅞ in.)
See no. 17

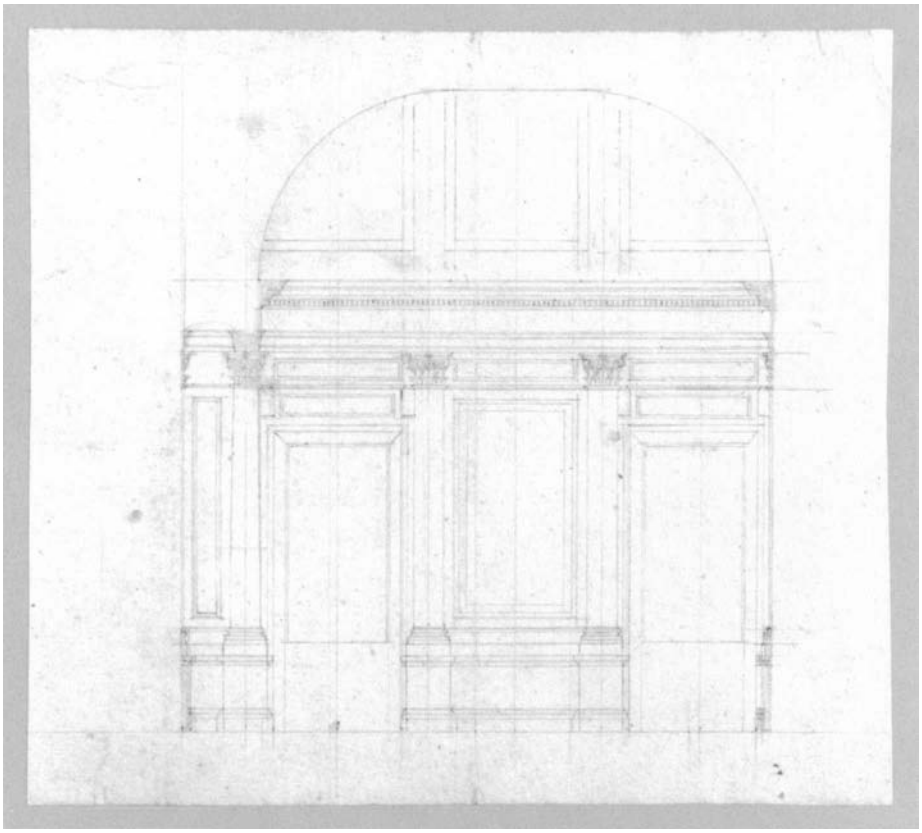


Fig. 37. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Gladiatore, ca. 1775–1780, pencil, 24.7 × 27.4 cm (9¾ × 10¾ in.)
See no. 18

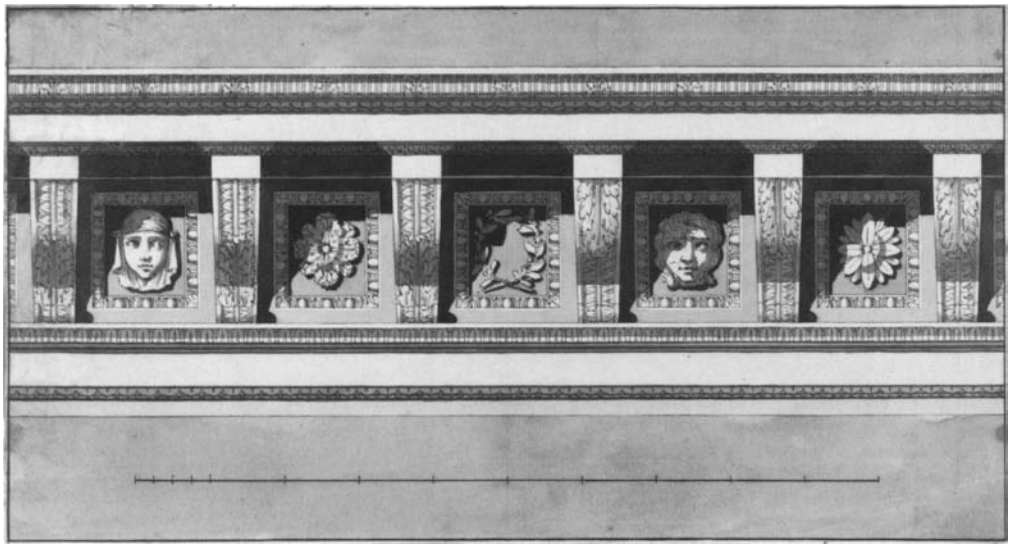


Fig. 38. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Entablature for the Stanza del Gladiatore, ca. 1775–1780, pen and brown ink with gray and brown wash, 23.9 × 44 cm (9⅜ × 17⅜ in.)
See no. 19

illustrating battle scenes, and on the walls hung four landscape paintings with images of athletes or warriors.[151] Among the sculpture exhibited in the room were four statues of athletes and one of a wounded warrior. Even the base of the *Borghese Gladiator* was adorned with marble bas-reliefs depicting athletic games.[152]

Over one of the doorways of the room is a profile portrait in relief that was restored to represent Alexander the Great and over another, as a kind of pendant, is one of Paul V.[153] Alexander was relevant to the ornamentation of the room because he was an acclaimed soldier and leader, while Paul V was, of course, the supreme defender and leader of the Christian faith—and both were model patrons of the arts. Together they join the function of Pécheux's painting as a *speculum principis* by serving as exemplars, as Paul V does by implication in the Camillus ceiling fresco in the Salone. Furthering this connection in the Stanza del Gladiatore are the eagles and dragons from the Borghese coat of arms carved on the capitals of the columns.[154] Eagles and dragons also appear between the modillions of the entablature, along with arms and victory wreaths; one of the latter appears in a preparatory study for this cornice (see fig. 38).

The next room is the Stanza Egizia, which derives its name from its Egyptian style of ornamentation (figs. 39–43, pls. 6–12).[155] The adornment of this room, composed of Egyptian materials, motifs, and subjects, was widely celebrated as the most unusual and voguish in the Casino, and it set the fashion for similar rooms throughout Europe.[156] The ancient, restored, and contemporary sculpture decorating the room included three figures of Isis, the Egyptian goddess of the earth; one of Isis's husband Osiris, the Egyptian god of the underworld and fertility; three Egyptian idols; a Moor; and, in the center, a huge ancient Roman porphyry *labrum* (large basin or tub) supported by four bronze crocodiles, symbols of the Nile, set atop a red porphyry base.[157]

The walls of the room are divided into three sections by red granite pilasters surmounted by gilded capitals of rams' heads and palm leaves in pseudo-Egyptian fashion. Originally the three aediculae were surmounted by Egyptian birds, and atop the entablatures of the two doorways into the Salone were urns flanked by sphinxes (see figs. 41, 42; pls. 6, 7). The walls have horizontal painted bands of mock hieroglyphs, and above these Tommaso Conca painted twelve scenes from Egyptian history and myth (see fig. 41, pl. 7), including the story of Cleopatra and Mark Antony, which might be an allusion to Marcantonio.[158] Conca also made beautiful drawings for the walls (see pls. 9, 10), but Asprucci's designs were chosen instead for implementation—perhaps because Asprucci's are more architectonic and more in keeping with the schemes executed in the Casino's other ground-floor rooms.

The ceiling, too, is painted with mock hieroglyphs, as well as with eight fictive sculptures of Egyptian figures interspersed between eight pendant *quadri riportati* of seven Roman planetary deities (Jupiter, Diana/Luna, Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Venus, Saturn) and Anubis, a winged Egyptian god with a jackal's head who here symbolizes the dog star Sirius.[159] The ceiling's

Fig. 39. Tommaso Conca
Cybele Distributing Her Riches, ca. 1778–1779, pen and sepia shading, 41 × 54 cm (16⅛ × 21¼ in.)
Rome, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte

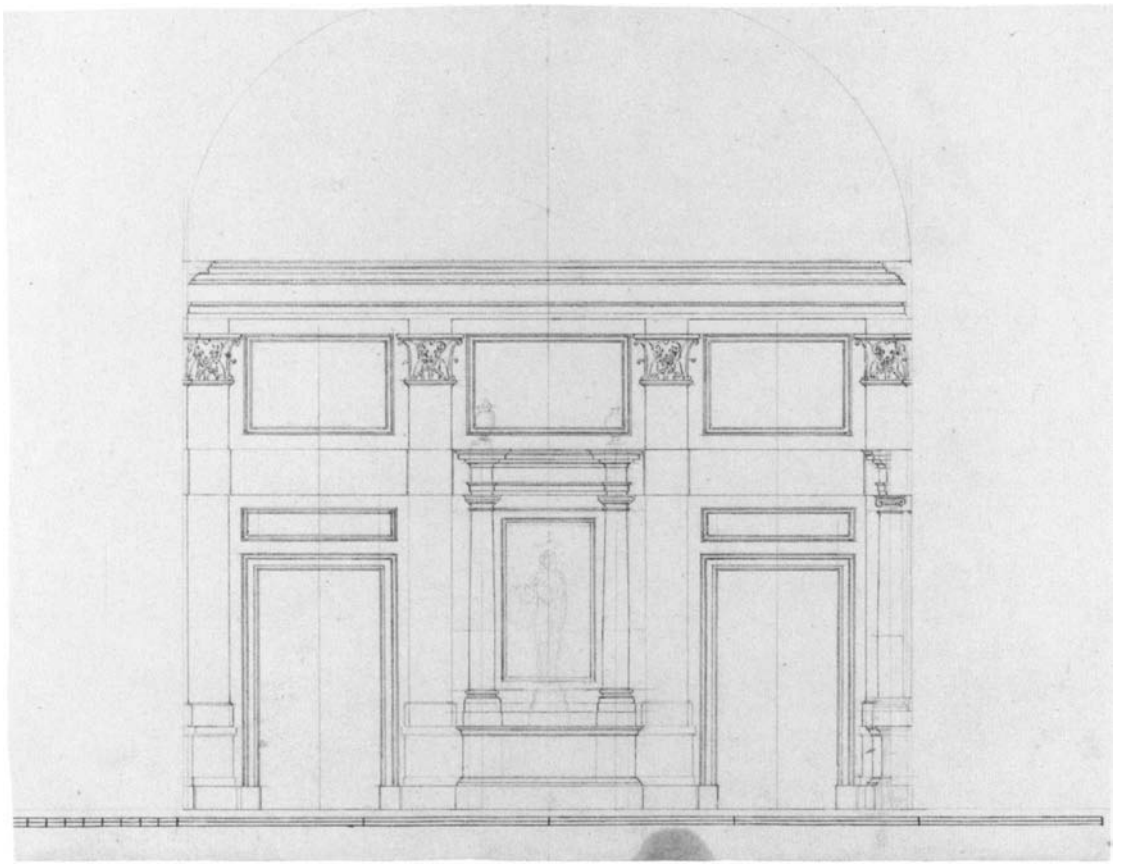


Fig. 40. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pen and ink with pencil, 26.8 × 34.9 cm (10½ × 13¾ in.)
See no. 22

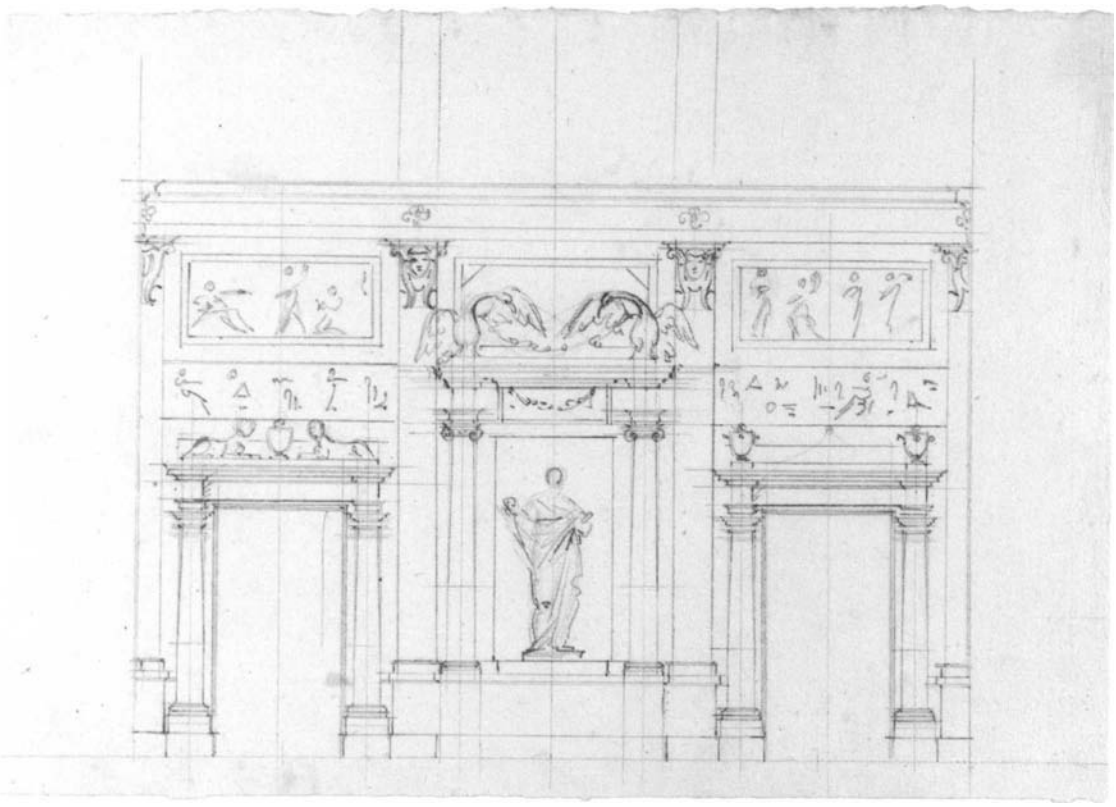


Fig. 41. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pencil,
25.2 × 35.5 cm (9⅞ × 14 in.)
See no. 23

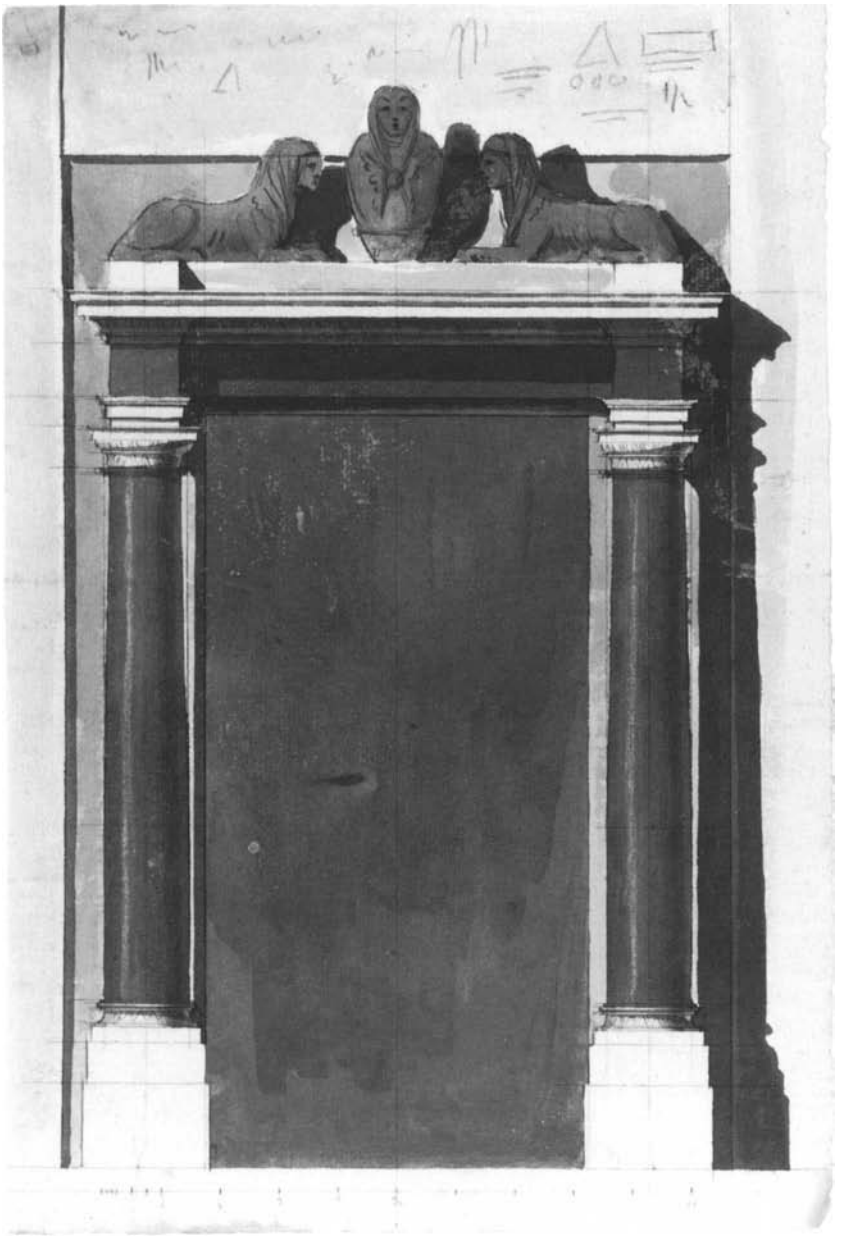


Fig. 42. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Doorway for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and gray wash, 36.5 × 24 cm (14⅜ × 9½ in.)
See no. 24

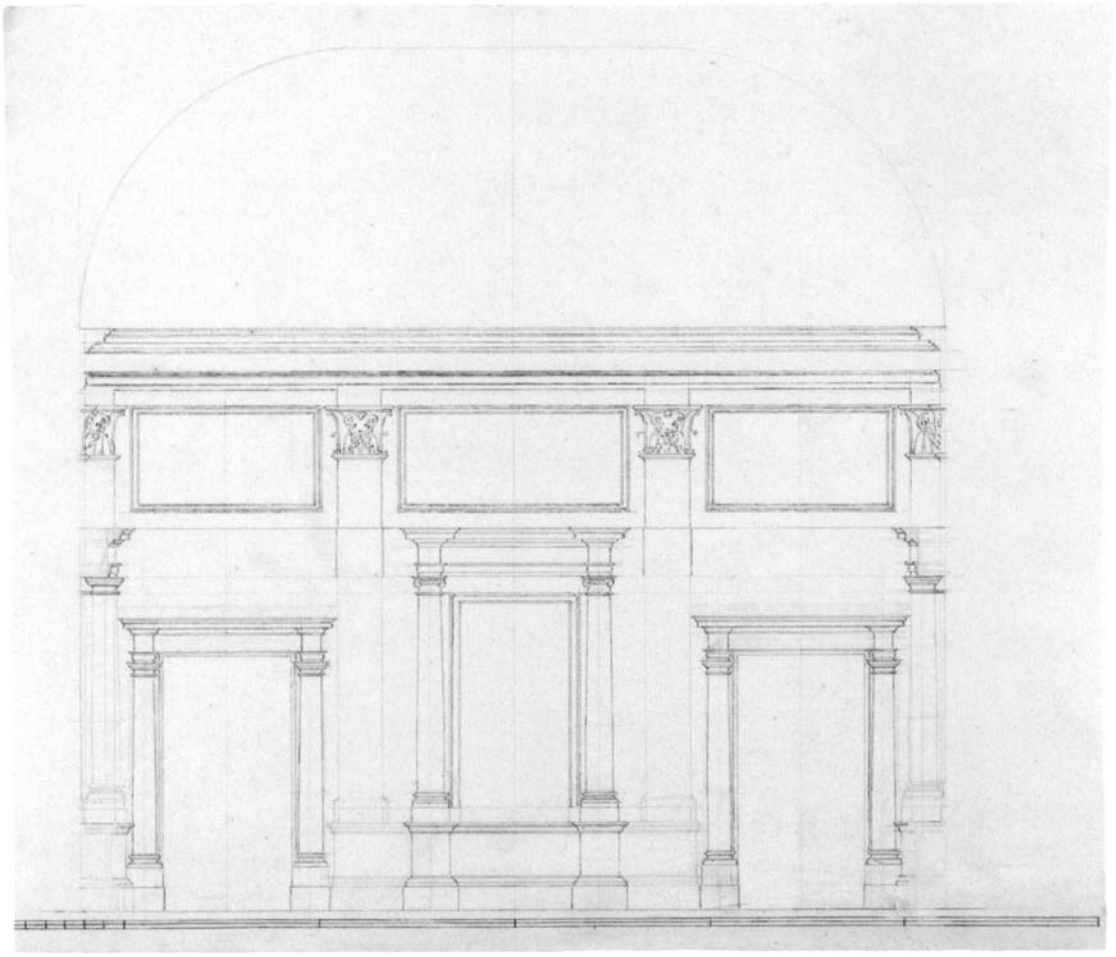


Fig. 43. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and pen and black and brown ink, 28.2 × 32.3 cm (11⅛ × 12¾ in.)
See no. 25

central painting, executed by Conca, represents Cybele, the Phrygian goddess of fertility, distributing the riches of her cornucopia to the god of the river Nile.[160] A preliminary drawing by Conca for this executed image exists (see fig. 39), as do *bozzetti* for two unexecuted alternatives (see pls. 11, 12); neither of the latter includes the narrative interaction between Cybele and the river-god that motivates the room's decoration. A contemporaneous description written by Francesco Parisi explains that the central painting signifies how the wise Egyptians emphasized above all else the cultivation of the land as the basis for a happy and stable society. This moral is appropriate not only to the location of the room in a villa building but also to the status of the Borghese heir as the son of the largest landowner in Latium, an area noted for its agricultural productivity.

The eighth and final room on the ground floor of the Casino is the Stanza del Sileno (figs. 44, 45), named for the ancient marble statue of a standing Silenus holding the infant Bacchus that stood in the center of the space.[161] The *quadro riportato* in the middle of the ceiling depicts a scene of sacrifice to a statue of a seated Silenus with a young Bacchus (see fig. 44; the *bozzetto* does not quite match the executed painting—for example, the preliminary sketch shows the marble statue of Silenus holding the infant Bacchus, which is not in the final painting). This scene, like that on the ceiling of the Stanza Egizia, was painted by Conca, who also did flanking fictive reliefs with related themes. One of these shows the drunken Silenus supported by fauns; the other Silenus before King Midas of the Phrygians. Midas, having honored Silenus with feasts after he was captured and brought before the king by Phrygian peasants, reunited Silenus with Bacchus (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.90–100). The adventures of King Midas (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 11.90–194) were also illustrated in two stucco bas-reliefs over the doors.[162] On the sides of the ceiling Conca painted satyrs romping with putti, and adorning one of the niches for statuary were two satyrs sculpted in stucco by Agostino Penna. The display of sculpture, in addition to the Silenus group, included a well-known statue of a centaur with a cupid on his back.[163]

The archival descriptions are of little help in interpreting the decoration of this room as part of a *speculum principis*. Nonetheless, the room offers at least two lessons appropriate to a young heir and future ruler. For one, the central ceiling painting is a scene of piety, an important virtue for the *primogenito,* even if guised, as in the Salone's ceiling fresco, in pagan form. For another, the central ceiling painting in the Stanza del Sileno is a scene of devotion to a tutor, and therefore a fitting end to a cycle that seems to have been intended for the schooling of the young prince. Indeed, in both the statue group and the *quadro riportato,* Silenus's role as guardian of a young Bacchus is emphasized, rather than Silenus's usual state of raucous inebriation.[164] As an homage to Silenus as tutor and protector, then, the decoration of the room constituted a suitable and touching finish to the imagery of the ground floor.

The decorative programming of the rooms on the ground floor of the Casino allowed them to function, individually and in aggregate, both as a

Fig. 44. Tommaso Conca
Sacrifice to Silenus, ca. 1775–1776, pen and pencil, 46 × 70 cm (18⅛ × 27½ in.)
Rome, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte

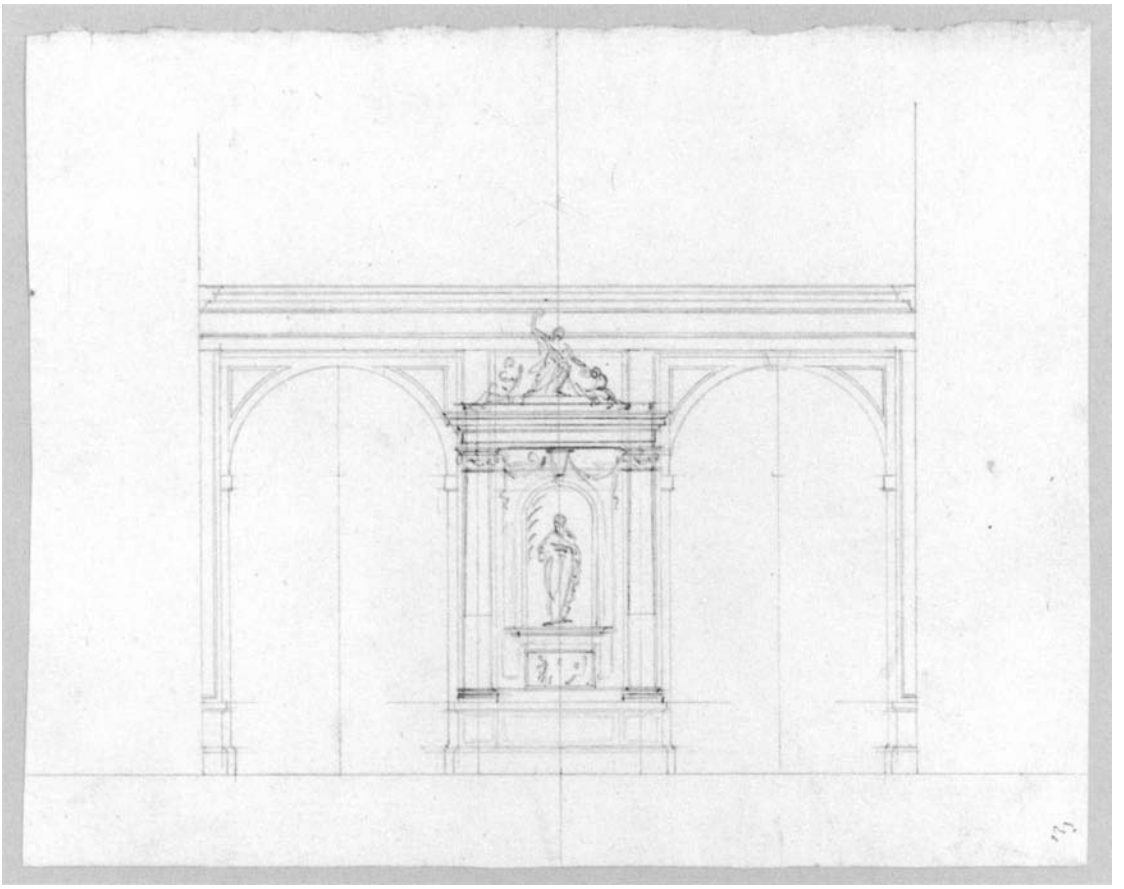


Fig. 45. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Sileno, ca. 1775–1780, pencil,
25.4 × 32.1 cm (10 × 12⅝ in.)
See no. 31

speculum principis and as a space for the display of the prince's collection.[165] The integration of these roles was achieved through the brilliant scheme of coordinating much of the statuary with the theme of the other adornment, most significantly the ceiling painting, in each room. In this way, the didactic significance of the sculpture was emphasized as much as, if not more than, its aesthetic value.[166] The selective use of the imitation of famous works of art in various elements of the decoration enhanced the integration of the Casino's functions as prince's museum and didactic space.[167] The adornment of the ground floor rooms, then, works cumulatively to fulfill the highest goal of art within the humanistic tradition—"to instruct and delight."[168]

Part IV. The Villa Borghese's Casino and the Napoleonic Era

The refurbishing of the Villa Borghese's Casino marked a culmination in the tradition of the princely exhibition of classical antiquities as it intersected with *villeggiatura,* particularly as practiced in Rome. The museological importance of the Casino's redecoration went beyond late-eighteenth-century Rome, however, into the changing world of collecting and display in Europe. The Casino's program provided the connecting link between the encomiastic-allegorical typology of the early modern princely collection and the historically evolutionistic typology of the modern museum. Specifically, the refurbished Casino offered a compelling argument not only for coordinating the decoration of sculpture galleries with the works of art to create an effective panegyric but also for applying the strategy of organized walking through "programmed" space to pedagogical ends. Both of these strategies were to be adopted—and adapted—at the first "modern" museums, including the Louvre.[169]

Rome had long been the major object of European art tourism, boasting the great works of antiquity and of the Renaissance. Throughout the eighteenth century the grand tour increased in popularity alongside the rise of interest in antiquarianism, and artists came in ever greater numbers from all over Europe to study and work. By the end of the century, the city abounded with collections. Those of Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV and Cardinal Alessandro Albani were but two of a dozen or so large sculpture collections assembled by the nobility, all "must sees" on the grand tour circuit. Of course, there were also vast painting collections—the Borghese housed one of them in a wing of their urban palace—as well as smaller collections of all kinds assembled by artists, amateurs, antiquarians, institutions, and the lesser nobility. Among these were various cabinets of medals, vases, prints, or drawings that were of a more scholarly nature.[170]

Grandest of all, by the late eighteenth century, were the two "official" collections of antiquities in Rome—one civic, the other papal.[171] The Museo Capitolino displayed the oldest municipal art collection in Europe and was among the first public museums in the world, opening as such in 1734. The immense papal collections grew from the prized works in the Belvedere Statue Court, which was incorporated into the Museo Pio-Clementino, a grand new complex built at the Vatican between 1771 and 1784. These two institutions

retained similarities with the great noble collections, but they also pointed toward the future of collecting, paving the way for the rise of large, official museums in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Museo Capitolino represented Rome's power and heritage to its people through the exhibition of *their* cultural patrimony, suggesting a model for later state museums for nation building through the display of art. Similarly, the Museo Pio-Clementino represented the Catholic Church's power and heritage to visitors through the exhibition of classical antiquities, promoting the idea of apostolic succession to the ancient Roman empire.

The Capitoline and Vatican museums also fostered the growth of the professions, practices, and products that would become standard at modern museums. Conservators and curators were hired to preserve and restore the antiquities and manage their display, for example, and antiquarians and art historians were asked to research and catalog collections.[172] Giovanni Bottari's four-volume *Museo Capitolino* (1741–1782) proved an important model for the scholarly catalog, as did the seven-volume catalog of the new Vatican museum, *Il Museo Pio-Clementino* (1782–1807), which was begun by Giovanni Battista Visconti but primarily written by his son Ennio Quirino.[173] Inspired, no doubt, by these enterprises, the practice spread to noble collections: the Albani antiquities were cataloged by Stefano Morcelli in 1785, and Ennio Quirino Visconti published two volumes on the Borghese statuary in 1796.[174]

The crowded mid-eighteenth-century displays at the Museo Capitolino were typical of exhibition practices of the period, but at the Museo Pio-Clementino the more spacious, well-lit, and simply adorned installations that would characterize modern state museums were effected. The new papal museum had relatively less than the princely gallery in the way of ceiling paintings or other decoration that correlated with the thematic groupings or pressed the broader claim of apostolic succession via the display of antiquities.[175] Nonetheless, the architecture of the Museo Pio-Clementino was innovative in employing ambients to complement the groupings. In the domed Sala Rotonda, for example, statues of pagan deities were displayed as if in a pantheon. The organization of the Vatican's collections was, for the most part, traditionally thematic, but "modern" chronological and geographical arrangements were employed as well. For instance, important examples of Egyptian sculpture were exhibited in the vestibule leading to rooms containing statuary mostly in the later Greco-Roman tradition.

The redecoration of the Villa Borghese's Casino was almost exactly contemporary with the construction of the Museo Pio-Clementino and shared the careful attention to well-organized displays and good lighting, yet it preserved the rich ornamentation characteristic of the installation of a princely collection. Although this ornamental tradition would increasingly be relegated to the past or the private sphere, the sustained and extensive kind of program with which it was associated—as well as the critical role assumed by ceiling decoration in such a program—was to influence exhibition practices at modern state museums.

The refurbishing of the Villa Borghese, effected over a period of twenty-five years, spanned the changing world of late-eighteenth-century Europe. If Marcantonio began his life as a prince, he ended it—nearly—as a *cittadino* (citizen) in the service of the short-lived Roman Republic of 1798–1799, installed by the French, to which he was appointed one of the five governing consuls. Surprisingly, perhaps, Marcantonio seems to have been truly sympathetic to the republican cause. He may have been inspired by the vision of himself as a leader of Rome resurrecting the ancient governmental ideal of his "ancestor" Camillus. He may also have regarded Napoléon Bonaparte, a rising star in the French army, as a reformer and a representative of a conservative strain of "revolution."

Prince Camillo shared his father's apparent sympathies; unlike his ancient namesake, he allied himself with the Gauls through his marriage to Pauline Bonaparte Leclerc in 1803, shortly before her brother was crowned emperor of France.[176] For about a decade, at the behest of the revolutionary government, Camillo's new brother-in-law had been confiscating the great works of art in Europe and sending them off to be exhibited at the Louvre, which had been converted into a public state museum in 1793. Through the acquisition of these works Paris was to become the new Rome, the artistic capital of the Western world, superseding even its model and symbolizing, inseparably, the succession of France to the center of Western power, its line of descent ultimately reverting to antiquity.

Napoléon particularly coveted the renowned statuary of the Villa Borghese, and in 1807 he coerced Camillo into selling him most of the best of the antiquities then on display at the Casino and the Museo di Gabii.[177] At first Napoléon considered installing the Borghese statuary at a summerhouse in the French countryside that would have been comparable to the kind of site it had occupied in Rome. Ultimately displayed in the Louvre, at that time called the Musée Napoléon, the Borghese sculpture was brought to Paris at great expense and not without some damage in 1808.[178] After the Napoleonic Wars and Napoléon's first abdication, the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) stipulated the restitution of artworks plundered from the states that had been conquered by the French. Camillo and Pauline's marriage had not been a success, and in 1816 the prince demanded the return of his family's statuary, but to no avail.[179]

The absence of the works sold by Camillo disrupted the decorative schemes of many of the rooms of the Casino and stripped its facade of much of its ornamentation, and the Museo di Gabii simply ceased to exist. Nonetheless, Camillo's later renovations to the villa were sympathetic to his father's program. The adornment of the rooms in the Casino was supplemented with other sculpture from the family's collection, and new structures were built on the villa's grounds, which were expanded with newly purchased land. When Camillo died in 1832, the villa passed to his brother Francesco. It was Francesco who really restored the sculpture collection to the size and breadth—if not quality—it had reached under Marcantonio by enhancing it with works

from new excavations that he sponsored. At this time, also, the pavement of the Salone was decorated with the ancient gladiator mosaics that complement the other imagery of combat in the room.[180]

As admired as was the Borghese's sculpture collection in Napoleonic France, so was the decoration of the Casino, even after the depletion of the statuary under Camillo. Percier had drawn the Casino, including its interiors between 1786 and 1792 (see fig. 29), and together with Fontaine he published its architecture in 1809 (see figs. 16, 49).[181] The decorative program of the Casino was also well known to the French through Ennio Quirino Visconti's publications on the Villa Borghese's collections, which were printed between 1794 and 1797.[182] Visconti, along with Marcantonio, had been one of the consuls of the short-lived Roman Republic. With the collapse of the republic, Visconti took refuge in France, where he became curator of antiquities at the Louvre in 1799.

The antiquities confiscated in 1796 and 1797 (and perhaps in 1799) from the Vatican and other Italian collections were installed on the ground floor of the Louvre, in a suite of rooms that in the mid-seventeenth century had been the apartments of the regent Anne of Austria. In her time, these rooms had been decorated by Giovanni Francesco Romanelli, who had assisted Pietro da Cortona, with ceiling paintings in elaborate gilded stucco frames, reminiscent of the Palazzo Pitti cycle.[183] It should come as no surprise, considering the history we have been tracing, that at the end of the eighteenth century a suite of rooms decorated with Cortonesque ceiling paintings was deemed appropriate for the display of antiquities. Given the success of the Museo Pio-Clementino, it should also come as no surprise that the Directoire had stipulated that the display and lighting of the works was to resemble that at the Vatican, which had clearly set a new standard.[184] Under the direction of Jean Arnaud Raymond, architect of the Louvre from 1798 to 1804, the suite was adapted to its new role as a sculpture gallery. Raymond followed, with some alterations, the scheme of his predecessor, Auguste Cheval de Saint-Hubert, whose plan for arranging the statuary focused on showcasing the most famous works.[185] Visconti modified this focus by organizing the sculpture in the collection—to the extent that he could—to coordinate thematically with the ceiling paintings. The new Musée des Antiques opened on 9 November 1800, the first anniversary of the coup d'état of 18 brumaire which had made Napoléon first consul of France.

As curator of antiquities, Visconti compiled small guidebooks—really pamphlets—to the collection, which were issued roughly once a year between 1800 and 1817. The one published in 1802, by which time the first phase of the decoration was complete, provides a tour of the space, describing the ceiling ornamentation as well as listing the statuary.[186] The tour begins with the vestibule, the Rotonde de Mars. Because only the ceiling's stucco frame had been finished in Romanelli's time, paintings and reliefs were inserted to introduce the theme of the origin and progress of the art of sculpture. At the center of the ceiling, Jean Simon Berthélemy depicted man formed by Prometheus

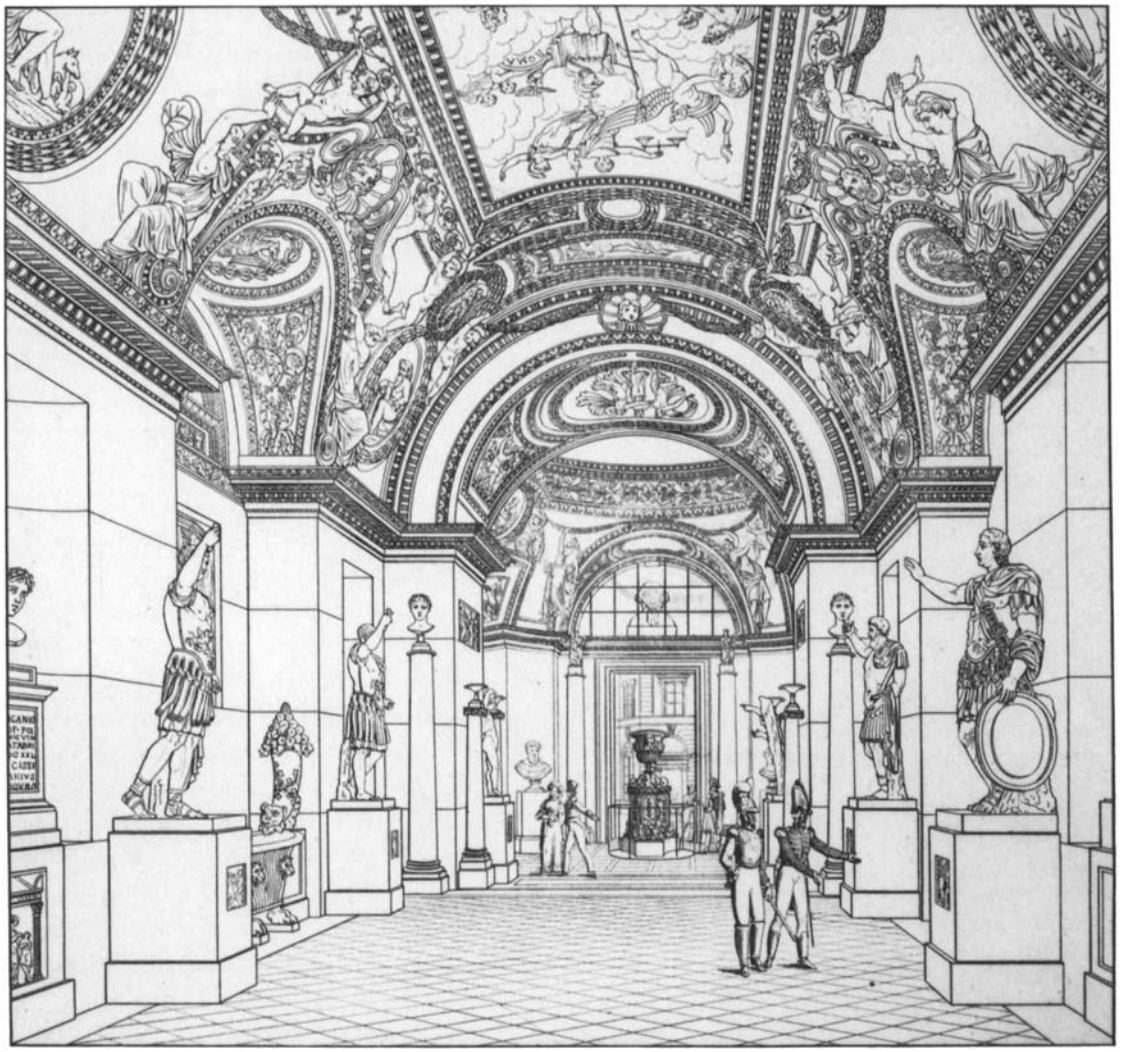


Fig. 46. Auguste Hibon (after Christophe Civeton)
Salle des Empereurs Romains, 1826–1827, engraving, 24.6 × 32.3 cm (9⅝ × 12¾ in.)
From Comte de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne; ou, Description historique et graphique du Louvre et de toutes ses parties,* pls. vol. 1 (Paris: V. Texier, 1826–1827), pl. 70

and animated by Minerva in the presence of the Fates, and a bust of Minerva was among the antiquities displayed in this room. The four bas-reliefs surrounding Berthélemy's painting featured personifications of great artistic cultures of the past holding famous examples of their sculpture: Egypt with the Colossus of Memnon, Greece with the *Apollo Belvedere,* Italy with Michelangelo's *Moses,* and France with Pierre Puget's *Milo of Crotona.*[187] This decoration represents, as Carol Duncan has stated, the progress of Western art and civilization, with modern France as the culminating phase.[188]

The empty stucco frame at the center of the ceiling of the next room, the Salle des Empereurs Romains, was filled with Charles Meynier's painting showing the Earth receiving the code of Roman law, as dictated by Nature, Wisdom, and Justice, from the emperors Hadrian and Justinian. Bas-reliefs of river-gods—the Po, Tiber, Nile, and Rhine—in the corners of the vault symbolize the territories conquered by the French Republic, and the walls of the room were lined with statues of Roman emperors (fig. 46).[189] The political implications of this decoration are an obvious complement to the program of the vestibule and the pretensions of Paris as the new Rome.

In the Salle des Saisons, the next room of the suite's enfilade, Romanelli had painted the ceiling with images of Apollo and Diana in the center, mythological episodes involving the celestial siblings along the sides, and representations of the seasons in the corners. Statues of various Romans, goddesses, and gods, including Apollo, were placed in this room. The Olympian divinities were, as we have seen, supposed to have been the ancestors of the Romans, and the presence of Apollo ties the imagery to the arts and the seasons. These themes carried over to the ceiling decoration of the fourth room, the Salle des Hommes Illustres, where Romanelli's three ceiling paintings represent allegories of the Arts, Peace, and Commerce. Visconti installed here images of learned ancients including Alcibiades, Demosthenes, Hippocrates, Phocion, and Zeno, as well as Minerva, the Roman goddess of wisdom and patroness of the arts.

In the fifth room, the Salle des Romains, Romanelli's ceiling featured, at the center, Poetry and History celebrating the success of Bellona, the Roman goddess of war. The four scenes on the sides depicted famous episodes from the early Roman Republic: Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus made dictator, the rape of the Sabines, the courage of Gaius Mucius Scaevola, and the continence of Scipio Africanus. The room was filled with statues of Romans, male and female, and some of the gods and goddesses from whom they claimed descent.

The suite's enfilade ended with the Salle du Laocoon, where the famed work for which it was named was displayed. The statue group was installed in a niche, as it had been at the Belvedere Statue Court, and was visible from the Rotonde de Mars at the end of the corridor formed by the aligned doorways of the suite's enfilade. Because Raymond constructed this space out of two of the seventeenth-century rooms, one of Romanelli's ceiling frescos was moved and new paintings were commissioned. At the center of the Salle du Laocoon's ceiling, Philippe-Auguste Hennequin painted a victorious *Hercules français,* flanked, on the coving of the vault near the *Laocoon,* by images of the genius,

immortality, and victory of the arts done by various other painters of the period.[190] The theme of Romanelli's paintings on the coving of the vault, according to the guidebook, was "*le Triomphe de la Religíon par les Vertus théologales*" (the triumph of religion by the theological virtues), a subject not unbefitting the Trojan priest who exemplified noble suffering. The cycle included as well allegorical figures of three of the cardinal virtues, Prudence, Justice, and Fortitude, along with Wisdom, and illustrations of two episodes involving Old Testament heroines: Judith with Holofernes, and Esther swooning. Aside from the *Laocoon,* this room was filled with sculptures of various Romans and mythological deities.

The guidebook's description of the ceiling decorations in the gallery ends here, but it contains lists of the statuary displayed in other rooms of the suite. To the west of the Salle du Laocoon, was the Salle d'Apollon where the *Apollo Belvedere,* the other great prize from the Vatican collection, was displayed. There was also a Salle des Muses, with statues of the Muses and the *Apollo Musagetes.* The rooms of the Musée des Antiques, which incorporated earlier cycles of decoration, did not form as cohesive a program as the rooms of the ground floor of the Casino at the Villa Borghese, but there were, as we have seen, recurrent themes and subjects to the installation.

The Louvre's collection of antiquities continued to expand, and in 1804 Percier and Fontaine, succeeding Raymond, were asked to ornament more rooms for the display of sculpture.[191] As admirers of the installation of Roman collections, including that at the Casino of the Villa Borghese, they were predisposed to carry on with programmatic ceiling paintings correlated with the thematic display of statuary. Their first room was the Salle de Diane, to the east of the Rotonde de Mars, named for the *Diane Chasseresse,* the celebrated statue of the goddess of the hunt housed there. The central ceiling painting, by Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, illustrates Diana beseeching her father, Jupiter, not to subject her to marriage, while other episodes of her tale were painted on the coving of the vault.[192] Percier and Fontaine's subsequent remodeling of the walls and vault of the Salle des Cariatides in the Louvre's Cour Carrée was notable for its architecture but did not include ceiling paintings.

Percier and Fontaine may have planned other rooms at the Louvre for the thematic exhibition of antiquities, such as the Salle de la Vénus, for which they published illustrations (fig. 47).[193] In the print, the lavishly decorated room displays many ancient statues of the goddess, as well as other works. The walls are covered with marble, but as in the other rooms of the sculpture gallery, the ornamentation is concentrated on the gilded stucco ceiling with imagery lauding Napoléon's patronage of the fine arts: the emperor's monogram appears, for instance, in conjunction with a central scene with personifications of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, an iconography appropriate to the goddess of beauty.

Percier and Fontaine's greatest work at the Louvre, however, was their grand staircase (fig. 48), built off the Rotonde de Mars between 1809 and 1812. Their design, which seems to have been based on the monumental

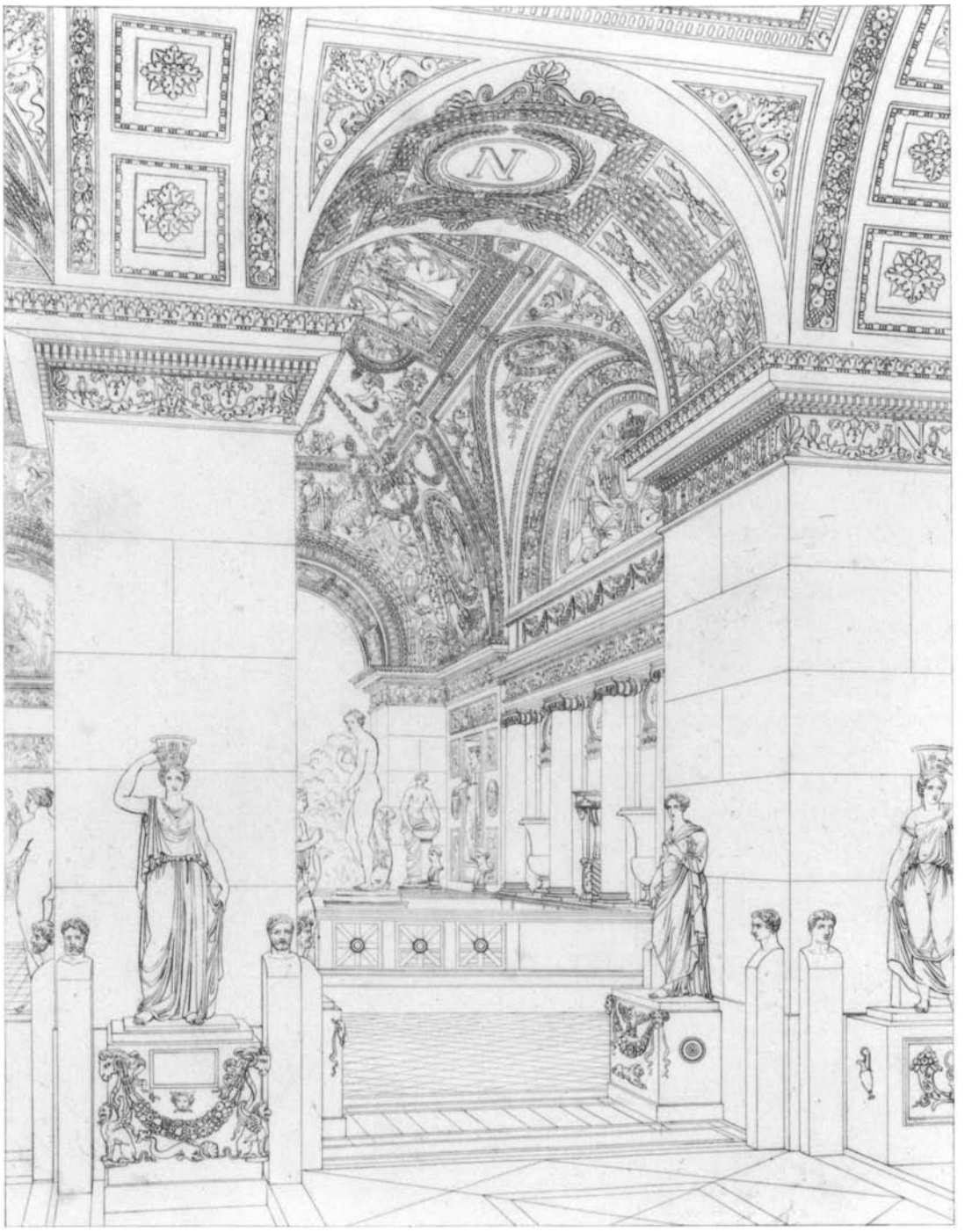


Fig. 47. Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine
Perspective View of the Salle de la Vénus Planned for the Musée Napoléon at the Louvre, 1812, engraving, 34.7 × 26 cm (13⅝ × 10¼ in.)
From Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Recueil de décorations intérieures, comprenant tout ce qui à rapport à l'ameublement* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'âiné, 1812), pl. 67

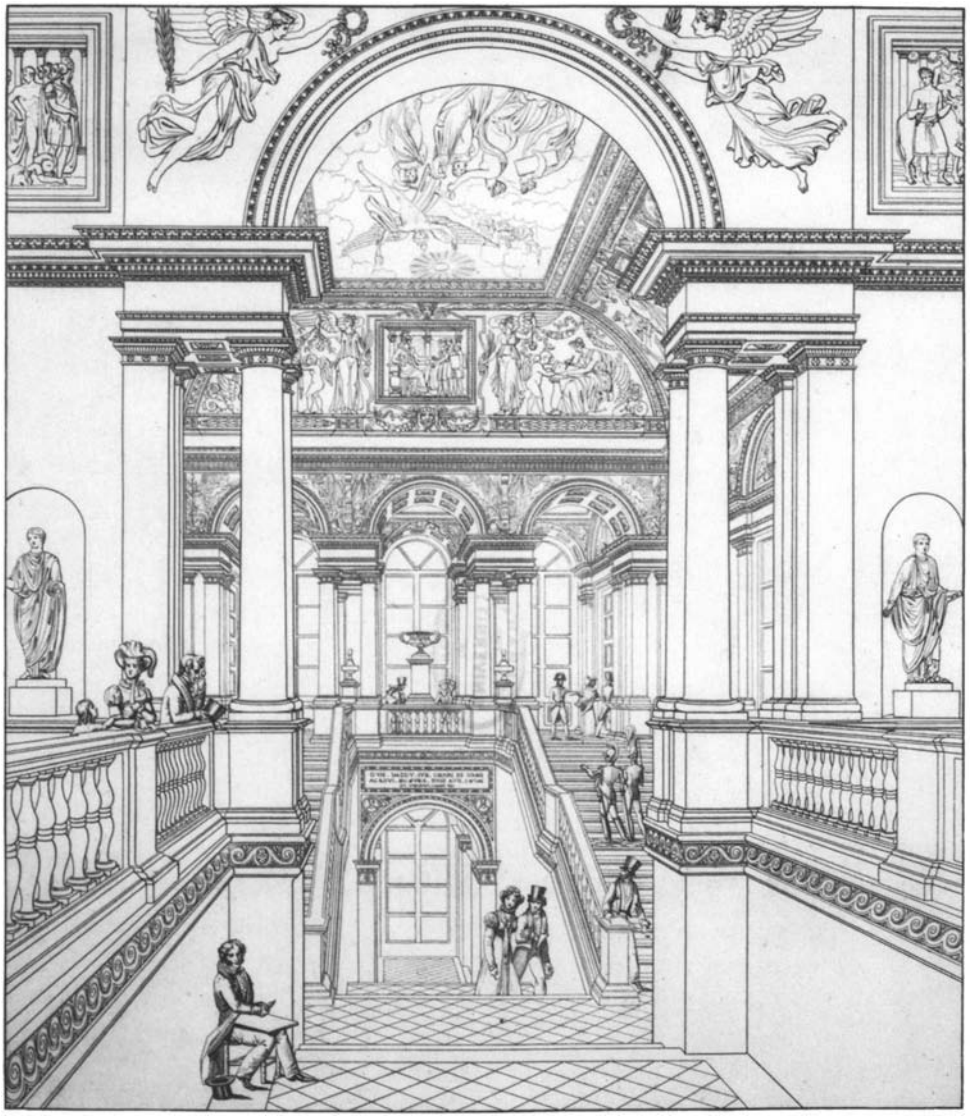


Fig. 48. Auguste Hibon (after Christophe Civeton)
Grand Staircase at the Musée Royal, by Percier and Fontaine,
1826–1827, engraving, 32.3 × 24.6 cm (12¾ x 9⅝ in.)
From Comte de Clarac, *Musée de sculpture antique et moderne; ou, Description historique et graphique du Louvre et de toutes ses parties,* pls. vol. 1 (Paris: V. Texier, 1826–1827), pl. 97

stairway and vestibule that formed part of the Museo Pio-Clementino, included in the center of the vault Charles Meynier's painting of 1819, *France in the Guise of Minerva Protecting the Arts*.[194] Ornamented with Napoleonic insignia, later removed, its message comes very close to that of the ceiling of the Salle de la Vénus.

Percier and Fontaine's staircase led to the Grande Galerie where the painting collection was hung.[195] The paintings in the gallery were not organized thematically, which we know to have been the practice for the exhibition of antiquities, but rather by national or regional "school" and artist, and more or less chronologically, such schemes invariably being limited by availability and conditioned by the need to create a pleasing layout.[196] Spurred by Enlightenment culture, interest in making art publicly accessible and comprehensible through a "rational" system of art historical classification led to the emergence of the chronological installation in the second half of the eighteenth century. This scheme varied both from older thematic arrangements and from the "mixed school" organization that stressed the juxtaposition of different styles and traditions.[197]

While chronological display had originated in princely painting collections, it was perfectly suited to the goals of a state museum, such as the Louvre, that aimed—at least in theory—to enable the education of a bourgeois public.[198] Seemingly more objective than the dynastic agendas underlying the exhibitions at, for instance, the Museo Pio-Clementino and the Villa Borghese's Casino, chronological installation, widely adopted in state museums, nonetheless promoted the notion, unquestioned until relatively recently, of the development of Western art as an evolutionary progression. By dividing works by "schools" as well, this system of organization could also emphasize the "genius" of one school over others, presumably the one in which artistic progress culminates, and thereby promote a sense of national pride and identity that might be useful in the political arena.

At the Louvre, this narrative of progress was further reinforced by the route that visitors were obliged to follow through the museum: one began with the antiquities and proceeded upstairs to the Grande Galerie of painting from the Renaissance and after, arranged chronologically and geographically.[199] An innovative system of skylights precluded large fields for narrative scenes on the ceiling of the painting gallery, but the pictures were not simply left to tell their own story; all conclusions were anticipated by the ceiling decoration in the Rotonde de Mars and echoed in the vault of Percier and Fontaine's staircase, which linked the programs of the differing displays of ancient sculpture and modern painting. Later, ceiling decoration at the Louvre remained programmatically important, even appearing in the painting galleries; but increasingly it centered on portraying artists or their names in ornamental schemes devoted to the geniuses of various epochs and "schools," thus complementing the chronological installation and its demonstration of progress.[200]

It is only stating the obvious to observe that at the Louvre exhibition strategies derived from the display of princely collections were recycled and

adapted to a public state museum with a "modern" art historical and political agenda. The idea of organized walking through programmed space superintended by ceiling decoration was generally available by the late eighteenth century, for example. What has been less obvious is that the display of princely collections of antiquities at the villas of Rome—of which the refurbished Casino at the Villa Borghese was perhaps the most complex and mature example—inspired the programmatic installation of classical antiquities at the Louvre's Musée des Antiques. At the Louvre, however, the strategies employed for the education of the ideal Borghese prince were redeployed for the education of the ideal citizen, and the glory that the prince's museum had accrued to the noble patron instead redounded to the state.

Notes

1. I am referring here to drawings that the Research Library of the Getty Research Institute has cataloged under archival accession nos. 860224 (six sheets) and 880400 (fifty-four sheets); some of the drawings in these groups cannot be securely related to the renovation of the Villa Borghese.

Most of the drawings for the renovation that have appeared on the market have been listed in catalogs published by Galleria Carlo Virgilio, Rome: *Disegni del XIX e XX secolo: Catalogo di vendita, n. 3: Architettura, decorazione, scultura* (Rome: Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1981), lots 28–57 (thirty sheets attributed to Antonio and Mario Asprucci; not all can be securely related to the renovation); *Schede 1982: Disegni italiani dal 1790 al 1930* (Rome: Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1982), 15–19 (entry no. 1 by Susanne Petereit; two sheets attributed to Antonio Asprucci); and *Disegni del XIX e XX secolo: Catalogo di vendita, n. 7: Architettura, decorazione, scultura* (Rome: Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1984), lot 2 (thirty sheets attributed to Antonio Asprucci; drawings of antiquities from the villa's collection). The Getty Research Institute holds seven of the drawings listed in the sale catalog from 1981 (lots 33, 36, 37, 40, 43, 48, 56), as well as the two sheets published in *Schede 1982*.

Seven studies by Mariano Rossi for his ceiling fresco in the Casino's Salone have been cited in the scholarly literature: two are at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome; and five are in private collections; see fig. 19, and Carole Paul, "Mariano Rossi's Camillus Fresco in the Borghese Gallery," *Art Bulletin* 74 (1992): 303 n. 37, 306, fig. 13. A *bozzetto* (preparatory design) by Francesco Caccianiga for his ceiling painting in the Stanza del Sole is held by Horace W. Brock, Menlo Park, California; see fig. 24. A *bozzetto* by Pietro Angeletti for his ceiling painting in the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne is at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica di Palazzo Barberini, Rome; see fig. 28. Nineteen drawings by Tommaso Conca for ceiling paintings and bas-reliefs for the Casino's ground floor are held by the Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome; see figs. 39, 44; and Valerio Cianfarani, ed., *Mostra di disegni della Biblioteca dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte,* exh. cat. (Rome: Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 1956), 56–57 (entry nos. 262–80). The Philadelphia Museum of Art owns a drawing by Domenico de Angelis for the cupids in his painting at the center of the Galleria's ceiling; see Ulrich W.

Hiesinger and Ann Percy, eds., *A Scholar Collects: Selections from the Anthony Morris Clark Bequest,* exh. cat. (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1980), 91–92 (entry no. 80 by Ulrich W. Hiesinger). At the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, is a sketch by Cristoforo Unterberger for a ceiling painting on the Casino's upper floor; see Federico Zeri, *Italian Paintings in the Walters Art Gallery,* ed. Ursula E. McCracken, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1976), 2: pl. 281 (no. 427).

Relatively few of the known drawings for the renovation are for sites other than the Casino, but at the Museo di Roma there is an unattributed plan for the Piazza di Siena; see Beata Di Gaddo, *L'architettura di Villa Borghese: Dal giardino privato al parco pubblico* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1997), 134. For ten drawings held by the Museo di Roma, the Getty Research Institute, and the Archivio Segreto Vaticano which Alberta Campitelli recently identified as relating to the Museo di Gabii at the Villa Borghese, see her essay in this volume.

2. MS 1008, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, nos. 49–80; Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et de ses environs* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'âiné, 1809), 17–19.

3. For a fine general study of villas, see James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990). David R. Coffin's *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1979) remains the essential text on this subject.

4. Baldassare Peruzzi's frescoes of circa 1515–1516 at the Villa Farnesina in Rome are perhaps the greatest example of illusionistic vistas *all'antica* (in the ancient style); see Coffin (see note 3), 101–3.

5. Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1988), 44–53.

6. Poggius Bracciolini, *Opera omnia,* vol. 1, *Scripta in editione Basilensi anno 1538 collata* (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1964), 65, as translated and discussed in Caroline Elam, "Lorenzo de' Medici's Sculpture Garden," in William E. Wallace, ed., *Michelangelo: Selected Scholarship in English,* vol. 1, *Life and Early Works* (New York: Garland, 1995), 64–65.

7. See, for example, Carlo Pietrangeli, *The Vatican Museums: Five Centuries of History* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar/Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1993); as well as *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art,* exh. cat. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 14–25.

8. For the Villa Belvedere, see Coffin (see note 3), 69–87, 109–10. For the Belvedere Statue Court, see H. H. Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1970); and Pietrangeli (see note 7), 9–30. Brummer (pp. 216–55) notes that some contemporary poets perceived the sculpture displayed in the statue court as reflecting the power and achievements of Julius II. Although there was no preconceived program, the statue court may have been intended, David Coffin suggests, to evoke the Hesperides; see David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991), 20. For the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Laocoon,* see Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1981), 148–51 (entry no. 8), 243–47 (entry no. 52).

9. See Roberto Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), 192; and Coffin (see note 3), 82.

10. See Zygmunt Wázbiński, "Lo Studio—la scuola fiorentina di Federico Zuccari," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 29 (1985): 275–346; Sergio Rossi, "Virtù e fatica: La vita esemplare di Taddeo nel ricordo 'tendenzioso' di Federico Zuccari," in Bonita Cleri, ed., *Federico Zuccari: Le idee, gli scritti* (Milan: Electa, 1997), 53–69; and Cristina Acidini Luchinat, *Taddeo e Federico Zuccari: Fratelli pittori del Cinquecento: Volume primo* (Rome: Jandi Sapi, 1998), 9–17.

11. On *Nile* and *Tiber,* see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 272–73 (entry no. 65), 310–11 (entry no. 79). In the drawing, Taddeo sits at the top level of the large courtyard known as the Cortile del Belvedere, which is adjacent to the Belvedere Statue Court and was designed by Bramante.

12. The classic reference is Christian Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1917). For antiquarian collections during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Claudio Franzoni, "'Rimembranze d'infinite cose': Le collezioni rinascimentali di antichità," in Salvatore Settis, ed., *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana,* vol. 1, *L'uso dei classici* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1984), 302–60.

13. See Ulisses Aldroandi, *Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, e case si veggono* (1562; Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1975), 122–38; Domenico Gnoli, "Il giardino e l'antiquario del Cardinal Cesi," *Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts, Römische Abtheilung* 20 (1905): 267–76; Marjon van der Meulen, "Cardinal Cesi's Antique Sculpture Garden: Notes on a Painting by Hendrik van Cleef III," *Burlington Magazine* 116 (1974): 14–24; and Franzoni (see note 12), 328–32.

14. See Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, eds., *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im Königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin,* 2 vols. (Soest, Netherlands: Davaco, 1975), 1: 14–15, pl. 26, fol. 25r. In the drawing are, from left to right, two headless statues of captive Barbarians flanking an altar on which stands a figure in a toga; Silenus pouring water into a marble basin; a base or cippus with reliefs; a naked boy pouring water from a pitcher into a sarcophagus, above which is a marble snail; a seminude figure reclining on a base; and a cippus with an inscription beneath two panels with reliefs.

15. See Aldroandi (see note 13), 132.

16. See Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, *Le antichità di Villa Medici* (Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1951), 6; and Glenn Andres, *The Villa Medici in Rome,* 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1977), 1: 218. For in-depth studies, see *La Villa Médicis,* 3 vols. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1989–1991); for an overview, see Coffin (see note 3), 219–33.

17. See Andres (see note 16), 1: 216–18; and Carlo Gasparri, "La collection d'antiques du cardinal Ferdinand," in *La Villa Médicis,* 3 vols. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1989–1991), 2: 443–85.

18. See Andres (see note 16), 1: 253, 329–416, for the decoration of the facade and the traditions that inspired it; see also Fritz-Eugen Keller, "Les reliefs de la façade sur jardin," in *La Villa Médicis,* 3 vols. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1989–1991), 2: 412–42.

19. See Andres (see note 16), 1: 259–60. All seven drawings are in London—two at the Victoria and Albert Museum, five at the Royal Institute of British Architects.

20. See Gasparri (see note 17), 2: 466–71.

21. See Howard Hibbard, "Palazzo Borghese Studies—II: The *Galleria,*" *Burlington Magazine* 104 (1962): 9–20.

22. See Andres (see note 16), 1: 320; Gasparri (see note 17), 2: 474–76; and Alessandro Cecchi, "La collection de tableaux," in *La Villa Médicis,* 3 vols. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1989–1991), 2: 492.

23. See Gasparri (see note 17), 2: 461, 471–72. The figures on the facade included (sometimes more than once) Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Mercury, Pomona, Venus, Apollo, Ceres, Flora, Bacchus, and Hercules. Those on the exterior of the gallery included Jupiter and his children, Apollo, Diana, Hercules, and Ceres.

24. Andres (see note 16), 1: 290–95.

25. Apollo and the muses was a traditional theme in villa decoration; Zucchi's Apollo figure was actually Jupiter with Apollonian attributes. For the painted decoration of the *casino,* see Philippe Morel, *Le Parnasse astrologique,* vol. 3 of *La Villa Médicis* (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1989–1991). The cardinal also owned Baldassare Peruzzi's painting of *Apollo and the Nine Muses* (Galleria Palatina, Florence); see Cecchi (see note 22), 2: 487–89. Related, too, is the fresco cycle by Zucchi in the Stanzino d'Aurora, the vestibule of Ferdinando's small private study, built on the city walls behind his garden; see Eric Darragon, "Le stanzino d'Aurore," in *La Villa Médicis,* 3 vols. (Rome: Académie de France à Rome, 1989–1991), 2: 539–52.

26. For the Apollo, see Gasparri (see note 17), 2: 458. For the lions, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 247–50 (entry no. 53). For the bronze Mercury, see Andres (see note 16), 1: 293 n. 618.

27. See Morel (see note 25), esp. 187–91, who notes that the lion was also a symbol of Florence (the Marzocco), and that the Medici pope Leo X (1513–1521) used a lion with its paw on an orb to signify his sovereignty over the world. The more general associations of the lion with power and nobility, emphasized by the inclusion of the orb, would have accorded well with Ferdinando's identity as the new Apollo.

28. The fountains of the muses—of which there were only four, although six are shown in engravings—were removed in the 1700s; see Andres (see note 16), 1: 227 n. 16, 298 n. 632. See also Coffin (see note 3), 205, for the great fountain of Apollo and the Muses at the Villa d'Este in Rome.

29. On this group, see Andres (see note 16), 1: 309; Gasparri (see note 17), 2: 475–76; and Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 274–79 (entry no. 66).

30. Andres (see note 16), 1: 293–95.

31. Coffin (see note 8), 97.

32. For the term *di sotto in su,* which dates from at least the sixteenth century, see Luigi Grassi and Mario Pepe, *Dizionario di arte,* s.v. "Sotto in su." For Lanfranco's fresco, see Howard Hibbard, "The Date of Lanfranco's Fresco in the Villa Borghese and Other Chronological Problems," in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Hertzianae zu Ehren von Leo Bruhns, Franz Graf Wolff Metternich,* [*und*] *Ludwig Schudt* (Munich: Verlag Anton Schroll, 1961), 355–65; and Matthias Winner, "Bernini the Sculptor and the Classical Heritage in His Early Years: Praxiteles', Bernini's, and Lanfranco's *Pluto and*

Proserpina," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1985): 191–207. By 1693 the painting had been partly ruined by the elements, and by 1779 the loggia had been enclosed; see Luciana Ferrara, "Domenico Corvi nella Galleria Borghese," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte* 21–22 (1974–1975): 169.

33. For the Villa Ludovisi and its collection, see Armando Schiavo, *Villa Ludovisi and Palazzo Margherita* (Rome: Editrice Roma Amor/Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, 1981); and Beatrice Palma, *I marmi Ludovisi: Storia della collezione,* Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture 1, 4 (Rome: De Luca, 1983). The fictive architectural painting, known as *quadratura,* was done in fresco by Agostino Tassi, a specialist in the genre; see Carolyn H. Wood, "Visual Panegyric in Guercino's Casino Ludovisi Frescoes," *Storia dell'arte* 58 (1986): 223 n. 5.

34. See Arthur O. Lovejoy and George Boas, *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1935), 85; and Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975).

35. Wood (see note 33), 223–28.

36. For the Cortonesque tradition, see Malcolm Campbell, *Pietro da Cortona at the Pitti Palace: A Study of the Planetary Rooms and Related Projects* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1977), 165–83; and Carole Paul, "Pietro da Cortona and the Invention of the *macchina,*" *Storia dell'arte* 89 (1997): 74–99.

37. In Rome, the ceiling frescoes in the Palazzo Pamphilj and, especially, the Palazzo Barberini are noteworthy. See Rudolf Preimesberger, "Pontifex Romanus per Aeneam Praesignatus: Die Galleria Pamphilj und ihre Fresken," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 16 (1976): 221–87; John Beldon Scott, *Images of Nepotism: The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1991); and Paul (see note 36).

38. Patricia Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces: Use and the Art of the Plan* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990), esp. 3–13.

39. See Campbell (see note 36), 67–77.

40. For the Galleria Farnese, see John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965); Charles Dempsey, "'Et nos cedamus amori': Observations on the Farnese Gallery," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968): 363–74; and John Beldon Scott, "The Meaning of Perseus and Andromeda in the Farnese Gallery and on the Rubens House," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 51 (1988): 250–60.

41. The term *quadro riportato* generally designates a framed picture used as vault decoration, typically in fresco or oil and framed by stucco, but sometimes, as in the Galleria Farnese, with a fictive (painted) frame. For the origins of the term in the seventeenth century, see Luigi Grassi and Mario Pepe, *Dizionario di arte,* s.v. "Quadri riportati."

42. Scott (see note 40), 256, notes that only three of the ten statues originally installed in the niches on the walls did not have obvious counterparts in the vault frescoes.

43. For the Villa Albani, see Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Antike Kunst und die Epoche der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982). For Cardinal Albani as a collector, see Anthony Morris Clark, "The Development of the Collections and Museums of Eighteenth-Century Rome," *Art Journal* 26, no. 2

(1966–1967): 136–43; and Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 63–67. Alessandro's first collection was sold to Augustus the Strong of Saxony, his second to Pope Clement XII to form the core of a new museum on the Monte Capitolino, and his third was housed at the Villa Albani before it was seized by Napoléon's troops and sold, after the emperor's downfall, to become the nucleus of the Glyptotek in Munich.

44. See [Stefano Morcelli], *Indicazione antiquaria per la villa suburbana dell'eccellentissima casa Albani* (Rome: Paolo Giunchi, 1785); Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, "Die Antikensammlung in der Villa Albani zur Zeit Winckelmann," in Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Antike Kunst und die Epoche der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982), 301–80; and Wolfgang Liebenwein, "Die Villa Albani und die Geschichte der Kunstsammlungen," in Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Antike Kunst und die Epoche der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982), 499–501.

45. See Elisabeth Schröter, "Die Villa Albani als Imago Mundi," in Herbert Beck and Peter C. Bol, eds., *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Antike Kunst und die Epoche der Aufklärung* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1982), 185–299, for a Neoplatonic interpretation of the program. On Mengs's *Parnassus,* see Steffi Röttgen, "Mengs, Alessandro Albani und Winckelmann: Idee und Gestalt des Parnass in der Villa Albani," *Storia dell'arte* 30–31 (1977): 87–156; and Thomas Pelzel, *Anton Raphael Mengs and Neoclassicism* (New York: Garland, 1979), 107–27.

46. For the history of the property, see Archivio Borghese, 8661/3, "*Stato descrittivo delle proprietà acquistate dall'anno 1600 all'anno 1838, che ora compongono la Villa Borghese*" (Description of the properties acquired from year 1600 to the year 1838 that now compose the Villa Borghese). The Archivio Borghese, hereafter cited as AB, is one of three Borghese-related *fondi* in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano; see note 70. The definitive early history of the villa and, especially, the architecture of the Casino appears in Christoph H. Heilmann, "Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Villa Borghese in Rom," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* ser. 3, 24 (1973): 99–102. In her *Villa Borghese: Il giardino e le architetture* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1985) and her *L'architettura di Villa Borghese* (see note 1), Beata Di Gaddo has surveyed the buildings and gardens from their earliest forms to their present appearance.

47. For Scipione's patronage, see Gino Borghezio, *I Borghese* (Rome: Istituto di Studi Romani Editore, 1954), 30–39; Cesare d'Onofrio, *Roma vista da Roma* (Rome: Liber, 1967), 197–315; Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque,* rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1980), 27–28; Torgil Magnuson, *Rome in the Age of Bernini,* vol. 1, *From the Election of Sixtus V to the Death of Urban VIII* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1982), 143–92; Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750,* 5th ed. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1982), 33–38; and Katrin Kalveram, *Die Antikensammlung des Kardinals Scipione Borghese* (Worms am Rhein: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1995).

48. For the Galleria Terrena, see Hibbard (see note 21); Howard Hibbard, *The Architecture of the Palazzo Borghese* (Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1962), 74; Waddy (see note 38), 58–60, 73–127; and Elena Fumagalli, *Palazzo Borghese: Committenza e decorazione privata* (Rome: De Luca, 1994). From at least 1650 a few

paintings hung in the rooms on the Casino's ground floor, with the bulk in the rooms of the upper floor; see Giacomo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana* (Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1650).

49. For the history of the building of the Casino, see Heilmann (see note 46), 102–15; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 20–29.

50. On the precedents for and the influence of the Villa Borghese's Casino, see Heilmann (see note 46), 129–30. For the Villa Farnesina, see Christoph Luitpold Frommel, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1961); and Coffin (see note 3), 87–110. For sources on the Villa Medici, see note 16. For the Villa Falconieri and the Villa Mondragone, see Almamaria Tantillo Mignosi, ed., *Villa e paese: Dimore nobili del Tuscolo e di Marino: Mostra documentaria: Catalogo,* exh. cat. (Rome: De Luca, 1980), esp. 82–124.

51. See Heilmann (see note 46), 111–14.

52. Among the early guidebooks are those published by Giacomo Manilli (1650; see note 48) and [Domenico Montelatici], *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana* (Rome: Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1700).

53. For references on Lanfranco's fresco, its restoration, and engravings, see note 32; Susanne Petereit Guicciardi, "Das Casino Borghese: Dekoration und Inhalt," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Universität Wien, 1983), 1: 210–14; and Carole Paul, *The Redecoration of Villa Borghese and the Patronage of Prince Marcantonio IV* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1989), 164–71, 380–88.

54. AB, vol. 310, int. 181; Manilli (see note 48).

55. See Heilmann (see note 46), 130; and Ackerman (see note 3), 160–64, 294 n. 4.

56. For the *giardini segreti,* see Di Gaddo (see note 1), 65–86. For the *giardino boschereccio* and the entrance area, see Heilmann (see note 46), 115–17; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 30–46. For the entrance area's herm figures by Pietro Bernini, who was Gian Lorenzo's father, see Catherine Sloane, "Two Statues by Bernini in Morristown, New Jersey," *Art Bulletin* 56 (1974): 551–54. For the *secondo recinto,* see Heilmann (see note 46), 128–29; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 47–64. For the *terzo recinto,* see Di Gaddo (see note 1), 87–95.

57. For example, in November 1644, the Englishman John Evelyn recorded in his famous diary that "I walked to Villa Burghesi, which is an house and ample Garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the Citty-Wales; circumscrib'd by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting houses, which makes it appeare at a distance like a little Towne, within it tis an Elysium of delight"; see John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn,* vol. 2, *Kalendarium, 1620–1649,* ed. E. S. de Beer (Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 251.

58. See Magnuson (see note 47), 146. It was most common for a villa's *casino* to be used as a place of entertainment and repose but not of steady habitation; see Elisabeth B. MacDougall, "The Villa Mattei and the Development of the Roman Garden Style" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1970), x.

59. See Heilmann (see note 46), 113.

60. For Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV (1730–1800), see Pietro Ercole Visconti, *Città e famiglie nobili e celebri dello Stato pontificio: Dizionario storico,* 3 vols. in 4 (Rome: Tip. delle Scienze, 1847), 3: 966–73; Borghezio (see note 47), 48; and *Dizio-*

nario biografico degli Italiani, s.v. "Borghese, Marcantonio [b. 20 May 1660]." Anna Maria Salviati (1752–1809) was the only child of Duke Averardo Salviati and the only surviving niece or nephew of his brother, Cardinal Gregorio Salviati; see Pierre Hurtubise, *Une famille-témoin: Les Salviati,* Studi e Testi, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 309 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1985), 420–25, 488–91.

61. *Cracas,* 20 January 1770, 3.

62. For Camillo (1775–1832) and Francesco (1776–1839), see Visconti (see note 60), 3: 973–84; Borghezio (see note 47), 48–51; and *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* s.vv. "Borghese, Camillo [b. 19 July 1775]," "Borghese Aldobrandini, Francesco." Only Visconti gives Camillo's date of birth as 8 August.

63. Borghezio (see note 47), 47, gives 16 September 1763 as the date of Camillo's death, while the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* 12: 603, lists 12 September. A copy of Camillo's last will and testament of 17 August 1763 is in AB, 8661/1, no. 291.

64. See Guido Pescosolido, *Terra e nobilità: I Borghese, secoli XVIII e XIX* (Rome: Jouvence, 1979), esp. 29, 39–40.

65. See Stuart J. Woolf, *A History of Italy, 1700–1860: The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London: Methuen, 1979), 43–50.

66. Archivio Storico dell'Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Libro delle Congregazioni 52, 5 May 1771, 184v: "*Furono acclamati a viva voce Principi Accademici d'onore:... Sua Ecc[ellen]za Don Marcantonio Borghese*" (The following were by oral vote acclaimed honorary officials of the academy:... His Excellency Don Marcantonio Borghese); as quoted in Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 33 n. 13. All the major artists in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Rome, native or foreign-born, were associated with the academy, and the most highly regarded of its members served as officers.

67. Pietro Rossini, *Il Mercurio errante delle grandezze di Roma, tanto antiche, che moderne,* vol. 2 (Rome: Appresso Natale Barbiellini, 1789), 3 following 360.

68. Andrea Memmo, *Elementi dell'architettura lodoliana, o sia l'arte del fabbricare con solidità scientifica e con eleganza non capricciosa,* 2 vols. in 1 (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1786), 1: 62.

69. *Giornale delle belle arti e della incisione antiquaria, musica e poesia,* 7 April 1787, 106.

70. The Borghese family archive comprises three different *fondi* (collections of sources) in the Vatican's private archive, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Archivio Borghese (AB), the largest, which consists of account books in which contracts and payments were recorded; Fondo Borghese (hereafter cited as FB), which contains primarily diplomatic material and encomiastic literature; and Fondo Carte Salviati, the smallest, where most of the family's correspondence, especially from Marcantonio's time and later, is to be found.

71. *Iscrizione greche triopee ora borghesiane con versioni ed osservazioni* (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1794); *Sculture del palazzo della Villa Borghese detta Pinciana,* 2 vols. (Rome: Stamperia Pagliarini, 1796); and *Monumenti gabini della Villa Pinciana* (Rome: Presso A. Fulgoni, 1797). These are all first editions of Visconti's catalogs of the Borghese antiquities. A manuscript edition of the *Sculture* is in the Borghese archive; see AB, 1005.

72. The major guidebooks are Rossini (see note 67), 1–8 following 360; and

Mariano Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma,* 2 vols. in 1 (Rome: Perego Salvioni, 1794), 1: 297–306. The two most important journals are *Giornale delle belle arti e della incisione antiquaria, musica e poesia* (1784–1788), hereafter cited as *Giornale;* and *Memorie per le belle arti* (1785–1788).

73. Vincenzo Pacetti, "Giornale di Vincenzo Pacetti riguardante li principali affari, e negozi del suo studio di scultura, e altri suoi interressi particolari incominciato dall'anno 1773 fino all'anno 1803," MS 321 (90365), Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Università di Roma. See also two articles by Hugh Honour: "Vincenzo Pacetti," *Connoisseur* 146 (1960): 174–81; and "The Rome of Vincenzo Pacetti: Leaves from a Sculptor's Diary," *Apollo* 78 (1963): 368–76. In addition to restorations, Pacetti did appraisals for the prince; see AB, 5846 (1781), no. 100; 8089 (1781), no. 443.

74. For Antonio Asprucci (1723–1808), see [Giuseppe Antonio Guattani], *Memorie enciclopediche romane sulle belle arti, antichità etc.,* 7 vols. (Rome: Pel Salomoni, 1806–1819), 4: 86–89; Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1982 (see note 1), 15–19 (entry no. 1 by Susanne Petereit); and *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* s.v. "Asprucci, Antonio."

75. For Salvi, see John A. Pinto, *The Trevi Fountain* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1986); and *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects,* s.v. "Salvi, Nicola."

76. Between 1788 and 1790, Asprucci remodeled the seat of the Accademia di San Luca; he served as the academy's *principe* (president) in 1789.

77. AB, 4056, "*Rolli di Famiglia.*"

78. See Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1982 (see note 1), 15–16. For Mario Asprucci (1764–1804), see [Guattani] (see note 74), 4: 122–24, who characterized Mario as diligent and talented.

79. AB, 8661/3, no. 35.

80. See *Memorie per le belle arti,* April 1785, 59–65; and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71).

81. For the change in the display of sculpture, compare the descriptions of the rooms in the earlier guidebooks by Giacomo Manilli (1650; see note 48) and Domenico Montelatici (1700; see note 52) with those in Visconti's *Sculture* (1796; see note 71).

82. Sculpture was also displayed in the Stanza di Paride on the upper floor. See *Memorie per le belle arti,* April 1785, 61; Rossini (see note 67), 7 following 360; Vasi (see note 72), 1: 303–4; Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 98–100; and Paul (see note 53), esp. 158–82.

83. For sources on Pacetti, see note 73. In his *Sculture* (see note 71), 2: 98, Visconti states that "*Gli ornati... in tutte le stanze di ambedue i piani, sono del Marchetti*" (the decorations... in all the rooms on both floors are by Marchetti), and throughout the text he cites Marchetti's contributions to the decoration of the rooms that he describes. Although payment records naming Marchetti have not been found for some of this work, there are payment records for Marchetti's work in the Casino that do not specify in which room or rooms the work was done; see Paul (see note 53), 68 n. 49.

84. Anthony Morris Clark, *Studies in Roman Eighteenth-Century Painting,* ed. Edgar Peters Bowron (Washington, D.C.: Decatur House Press, 1981), 132.

85. The Roman-born painters include Pietro Angeletti, Nicola Buonvicini, Giuseppe Cades, Domenico Corvi, Domenico de Angelis, and Carlo Labruzzi. Angeletti, Cades, Corvi, and Labruzzi were known to have been active in the Accademia di San Luca.

86. For the fresco contract, see Paul (see note 1), 324 (no. 1).

87. Vasi (see note 72), 1: 298.

88. For the work on the grounds, see Di Gaddo (see note 1), 102–57.

89. See Nikolaus Pevsner, ed., *The Picturesque Garden and Its Influence outside the British Isles* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1974); and Ackerman (see note 3), 212–27. Jacob More, a Scottish landscape painter, worked on the grounds around the man-made lake; see Di Gaddo (see note 1), 107, 120.

90. On the Tempio di Esculapio—designed and built by Antonio Asprucci, with the help of his son Mario—and the Lago Nuovo, see Pacetti (see note 73), 23 June 1785; *Memorie per le belle arti,* March 1787, 57–60; *Giornale,* 7 April 1787, 106–8; 13 October 1787, 319–20; *Cracas,* 7 August 1790, 18; [Guattani] (see note 74), 4: 123; Alberta Campitelli, ed., *Il Giardino del lago a Villa Borghese: Sculture romane dal classico al neoclassico,* exh. cat. (Rome: Àrgos, 1993); and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 120–31. Drawings for this temple are illustrated in Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1981 (see note 1), lots 28, 29.

For the ruined Tempio di Faustina, built under the direction of Cristoforo Unterberger, see AB, 5854 (1792), no. 182; Di Gaddo (see note 1), 147–49; and Alberta Campitelli, "Christoforo Unterperger nel parco di Villa Borghese: Il Casino dei Giuochi d'Acqua, la Fontana dei Cavalli Marini, il Tempio di Faustina," in Chiara Felicetti, ed., *Cristoforo Unterperger: Un pittore fiemmese nell'Europa del Settecento,* exh. cat. (Rome: De Luca, 1998), 106–9. The Piazza di Siena, named for the Borghese family's place of origin and Siena's famous twice-yearly *palio* (festival and horserace), was intended to be a racecourse; see *Cracas,* 11 February 1792, 21; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 132–37. The other classicizing structures included the Tempietto di Diana and the new Cappella or Chiesa, which was added onto the preexisting building known as the Casa del Guardarobba or Casina di Raffaello; both are attributed to Mario Asprucci. On the Tempietto di Diana, see [Guattani] (see note 74), 4: 123; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 124–29. On the Capella, see *Cracas,* 5 November 1791, 10; AB, 5854 (1792), nos. 38, 127; [Guattani] (see note 74), 4: 124; Carroll L. V. Meeks, *Italian Architecture, 1750–1914* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), 84–88; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 137–41. For the new entrance, see *Cracas,* 20 March 1790, 15; 19 June 1790, 5; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 109–113.

91. Located near Castiglione, on what was the east shore of a small dried-up crater lake, the once-flourishing city of Gabii was for Cicero and the Augustan poets an example of decline and past glory, although excavations indicate that it survived as a municipium into the early second century. See also Alberta Campitelli, "Il Museo di Gabii a Villa Borghese," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte,* no. 66 (1998): 37–48. For the excavation, see Antonio Nibby, *Del lago gabino* . . . (Rome: Poggioli, 1824). For the restoration of statuary from the dig, see AB, 5855 (1793), nos. 17, 29, 38, 41, 48, 52, 53, 65, 71, 75, 86, 91, 105, 129, 130, 173; as indicated in many of these payment records, the site was excavated by Gavin Hamilton. See also David Irwin, "Gavin Hamilton: Archaeologist, Painter, and Dealer," *Art Bulletin* 44 (1962): 87–102.

92. The Casino dell'Orologio takes its name from the clocktower added to the former gardener's house during its conversion into the Museo di Gabii by Asprucci and Domenico or Nicola Fagioli; see *Cracas,* 5 November 1791, 10; 26 November 1791, 18;

25 August 1792, 14; Di Gaddo (see note 1), 132–45; and Campitelli (see note 91). The area of the entire ground floor of the Casino dell'Orologio (250 m² or 2,688 sq. ft.) is roughly that of the Casino's Salone (256 m² or 2,753 sq. ft.).

93. In the "Approvazione" in his *Sculture* (see note 71), Visconti states that an edition with very large engravings of the statuary was planned. Although this edition seems never to have been completed, payment records exist for the large engravings as well as for the smaller ones; for engravings for the "*Tomi dell'incisione piccola*" (volume with small engravings), see AB, 5856 (1796), nos. 35, 123; for drawings and engravings for the "*Tomi dell'incisione grande*" (volume with large engravings), see AB, 5857 (1797), nos. 64, 66, 91; 5858 (1798), nos. 8, 9, 12, 38, 51. An abbreviated text with selected works, *Illustrazioni de' monumenti scelti borghesiani già esistenti nella villa sul Pincio* (Rome: Stamperia de Romanis, 1821), was published after Visconti's death. Other payments relating to the cataloging can be found in AB, 5856 (1796), no. 108; 5858 (1798), no. 2; 8661/3, no. 386.

94. For sources on these temples, see note 90.

95. Guidebooks describe the same decoration before and after the renovation. See, for example, the 1771 and 1789 editions of Pietro Rossini's *Il Mercurio errante* ([Rome: Fausto Amidei, 1771], 241–42; [see note 67], 1–8 following 360). For other seventeenth-century views of the facade, see Kristina Herrmann Fiore, "Il colore delle facciate di Villa Borghese nel contesto delle dominanti coloristiche dell'edilizia romana intorno al 1600," *Bollettino d'arte,* ser. 6, no. 48 (1988): 93–100. For the statue of Marcus Aurelius, now at the Musée du Louvre, see Kalveram (see note 47), 169 (entry no. 1).

96. Some of the same works—or at least works of the same type and theme—were displayed in the portico before and after the redecoration. [Montelatici] (see note 52), 184–87, and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 6–7, both list, for example, statues of Venus, Jupiter, and Leda and the swan, a bas-relief with four of the labors of Hercules, and busts of various Roman emperors and their wives.

97. The decoration and program of the Salone is treated extensively in Paul (see note 1). For a summary of the Salone's decoration, see Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 48, 53–62. For documentation, see Paul (see note 53), 236–60.

Antonio Nibby, *Itinéraire de Rome e de ses environs,* 12th ed. (Turin: n.p., n.d.), 184, gives the Salone's dimensions as 19.27 m (63¼ ft.) long, 13.29 m (43⅝ ft.) wide, 16 m (52½ ft.) high. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 15, provides the comparable dimensions 90 *palmi* long, 60 *palmi* wide, 76 *palmi* high; he also tells us that the vault is 11,000 square *palmi.* Hibbard (see note 48), 107, states that 1 *palmi romani* equals approximately 0.223 m.

Most of the painting was done by Pietro Rotati, an ornamental painter long in the service of the Borghese, although the animals were inserted by Wenceslao Peter, a Bohemian who specialized in the genre. For Rotati's work for the Borghese, see Paul (see note 53), 17–21, 29 n. 71, 195–409 passim. On Peter, see Luciana Ferrara, "Pompeo Savini, Venceslao Peter e il mobile neoclassico romano," *Palatino* 3 (1968): 256–62; and Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 472–77. According to the documentation, the bas-reliefs were produced by six sculptors: Angelo Brunelli, Francesco Carradori, Massimiliano Laboureur, Giovanni Monti, Vincenzo Pacetti, and Tommaso Righi; see Paul (see note 53), 236–60. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 16, who omits Brunelli and

adds Luigi Salimei, assigns the reliefs to the various artists by locations in the room and identifies the compositions of four reliefs on the short walls as taken from antique prototypes. This is certainly true for the relief of Neptune and Minerva and the relief with a sacrifice to Hygieia; see Paul (see note 1), 312–13. The compositions of some of the other reliefs were drawn from ancient gems or later copies; their subjects include Adonis, Apollo, Bellerophon, Hercules, Juno, Saturn, Vulcan, Diana and Endymion, Jupiter and Ganymede, Pan and Syrinx, Venus and Cupid, and the sacrifice of Polyxena.

98. Visconti's catalog is the main source; see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 17–32, pls. 1–43 for *stanza* 1.

99. On the relief and its history, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 191–93 (entry no. 27). Haskell and Penny note that two additional images of Curtius adorned the Casino in the seventeenth century. The significance of the relief in relation to Scipione was first noted by d'Onofrio (see note 47), 208–12.

100. For the busts and their history, see Italo Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le sculture dal secolo XVI al XIX* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1954), 49–51, pls. 48a–n. See also Manilli (see note 48), 56; [Montelatici] (see note 52), 195; and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 30, pls. 19–30 for *stanza* 1.

101. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 17–32, pls. 1–18, 31–43 for *stanza* 1, describes and illustrates ten large statues, including ones of Mercury, Achilles, Augusta, Agrippina, a Caesar, and an emperor; four busts, including ones of Zeno and Epicurus; and seven bas-reliefs, including ones with the story of Prometheus, the children of Niobe, the body of Hector, Venus Anadyomene, and a celebrated group of dancing maidens. For the last, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 195–96 (entry no. 29).

102. See *Giornale,* 3 May 1788, 137–41.

103. See John Garrett Winter, "The Myth of Hercules at Rome," in Henry A. Sanders, ed., *Roman History and Mythology* (New York: Macmillan, 1910), 171–273.

104. For a fuller discussion of the Camillus fresco, along with relevant documents and bibliography, see Paul (see note 1).

105. The panegyric is reprinted in Paul (see note 1), 325 (no. 3).

106. For Barocci's painting, see Paola della Pergola, *Galleria Borghese: I dipinti,* 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1955–1959), 2: 68–69, 218; and Paul (see note 53), 51–53. For Bernini's sculpture, see Faldi (see note 100), 26–29, pls. 32a–c; and Paul (see note 53), 52–53.

107. *Descrizione della pittura fatta nella volta della sala di Villa Pinciana* (Rome: Per il Casaletti, 1779); see Paul (see note 1), 324–25 (no. 2).

108. John Colville, *In Felicissima Inauguratione Beatissimi Papae Pauli Quinti Gratulatio* (Paris: D. Binet, 1605). Further information appears in Paul (see note 1), 316 n. 133.

109. For Pope Paul V, see Paul (see note 1), 297 n. 4, 315. Paul V had acquired the principate of Sulmona from Philip III of Spain for his nephew, Marcantonio II (1601–1658), who was heir to the family leadership; see *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani,* s.v. "Borghese, Marcantonio [b. 31 July 1601]."

110. For the mosaic, now in the Casino, see della Pergola (see note 106), 1: 62–63; and Paul (see note 1), 315 n. 125.

111. On the bust and its various locations, see [Montelatici] (see note 52), 231–33;

and Faldi (see note 100), 26. On the painting, see della Pergola (see note 106), 2: 83–84. On the relief, see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 55.

112. The panegyric is reprinted in Paul (see note 1), 326 (no. 5).

113. I am grateful to Professor Matthias Winner, formerly codirector of the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome, for this observation.

114. For the *speculum principis,* see the following four publications by Lester Kruger Born: "The Perfect Prince: A Study in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Ideals," *Speculum* 3 (1928): 470–504; "The *specula principum* of the Carolingian Renaissance," *Revue belge de philologie e d'histoire* 12 (1933): 583–612; "The Perfect Prince According to the Latin Panegyrists," *American Journal of Philology* 15 (1934): 20–35; and Desiderius Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince,* trans. Lester Kruger Born (1540; New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1936; reprint, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1961), esp. 99–124.

115. Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 58, notes in passing that the fresco may have been intended to allude to the infant Camillo.

116. For the contract, see AB, 5300 (1775), no. 3453; reprinted in Paul (see note 1), 324 (no. 1).

117. In the late eighteenth century, the temporal power of the papacy was declining; see Owen Chadwick, *The Popes and European Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1981), esp. 382. At the same time, the nobles were more than holding their own in terms of rights, privileges, wealth, and the land from which they derived all these. In 1783, 113 noble families owned 61 percent of the land in Agro Romano (the agricultural area around Rome), and Marcantonio owned the most of all; see Woolf (see note 65), 43–50. So if anyone was entitled to nourish the aspirations suggested by this interpretation of the fresco, it was he.

118. FB, ser. 4, no. 9, includes forty-five such items, some of which are copies of others, some of which seem to be manuscripts for the journal articles and pamphlets. The archive also contains a copy of the journal article on the Stanza del Gladiatore (*Giornale,* 15 May 1784, 153–59; 5 June 1784, 177–78) with additions and corrections in Asprucci's hand. A manuscript description of the ceiling paintings in the Stanza del Vaso is to be found in AB, 55. The decoration of all the rooms is discussed and the iconography and its sources are detailed in Guicciardi (see note 53) and in Paul (see note 53), 132–85, 236–409 passim.

119. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), describes the ground-floor rooms as well as the Stanza di Paride on the upper floor.

120. See AB, 55; FB, ser. 4, no. 9; Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 32–47; and Paul (see note 53), 260–68. For the *Borghese Vase,* now at the Musée du Louvre, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 314–15 (entry no. 81). For the *David* of 1623–1624, see Faldi (see note 100), 31–34; Rudolf Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini: The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque,* 3d ed. (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1981), 182–83; and Joy Kenseth, "Bernini's Borghese Sculptures: Another View," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 191–210, who states mistakenly that the statue was moved from the room during the late-eighteenth-century renovation. *David* was moved to the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne in 1821, to the loggia upstairs in the mid-1800s, and to the Stanza del Sole at the end of the nineteenth century.

121. See Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 34. Other elements in the composition, such as the personification of the zodiac in the sky, were derived from Marcantonio Raimondi's famous engraving dating to circa 1510 of Raphael's design for the Judgment of Paris, also based on the Villa Medici's bas-relief. The engraving and the bas-relief are illustrated and briefly discussed in Margaret R. Scherer, *The Legends of Troy in Art and Literature* (New York: Phaidon, 1963), 18–19, figs. 13, 14. The source for the story of the Trojan war is Homer's *Iliad.*

122. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 34, misinterprets this as depicting the Fates spinning the destiny of Rome, but the archival accounts describe it correctly. Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 73–74, notes that this scene is not described in Virgil's *Aeneid.*

123. See Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 32–33. Augustus's descent from Aeneas is, of course, assumed in Virgil's *Aeneid.*

124. This interpretation appears in two (one of which is an expanded version of the other) of the five descriptions of the room in FB, ser. 4, no. 9:

> *L'allegoria di questa favola renderà allo spettatore intelligibile l'induzione delle altre figure. In Paride si ravvisa la sconsigliata gioventù, che sorda alle voci della ragione, ed affascinata dall'appetito de' dannosi piaceri delle cose sensibili figurate in Venere, a queste pospone le utili, e le oneste figurate in Giunone, e Pallade.*
> (The allegory of this fable will make the inclusion of the other figures intelligible to the viewer. In Paris, one recognizes the rash youth, who deaf to the voices of reason, and seduced by the desire for the harmful pleasures of the earthly things represented by Venus, postpones the useful and honest [things] represented by Juno and Minerva.)

For Renaissance interpretations of the Judgment of Paris, see Marsilio Ficino, *The* Philebus *Commentary,* trans. Michael J. B. Allen (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1975), 446–55, 480–83; and Inge El-Himoud-Sperlich, "Das Urteil des Paris: Studien zur Bildtradition des Themas im 16. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität zu München, 1977).

125. See Campbell (see note 36), 94–99.

126. See FB, ser. 4, no. 9; Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 48–64; and Paul (see note 53), 268–75.

127. For the star of Venus as Day, see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia,* ed. Cesare Orlandi, s.v. "Ora undecima." For the chariot of the Sun, see Ripa's *Iconologia,* s.v. "Carro del sole." The figure of Evening is identified as such in the archival descriptions preserved in FB, ser. 4, no. 9.

128. By the late eighteenth century, painted and colored sketches or *bozzetti* were common. The Caccianiga drawing, as suggested by the squaring, appears to be the *bozzetto* indicated in payment records; see AB, 5842 (1777), no. 74 and the unnumbered record following; 8253 (1773), no. 16. It may have served as a presentation drawing as well as a *bozzetto.* The documents explain why the framing is so simple: Caccianiga made other sketches for the surrounding ornamentation, which was executed by Gioacchino Agricola and Pietro Rotati. Caccianiga must have completed these by the time the 200 *scudi* allotted for them were paid on 8 August 1776; see AB, 5842 (1777), no. 74.

129. For the decoration of the room, see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 1–18; Paul (see note 53), 275–81; and Alvar González-Palacios, "The Stanza di Apollo e Dafne in

the Villa Borghese," *Burlington Magazine* 137 (1995): 529–49. For Bernini's *Apollo and Daphne* of 1622–1625, see also Faldi (see note 100), 34–37; and Wittkower (see note 120), 183–84. For the work's original installation and relocation, see Kenseth (see note 120), 191, 194–201; Alvar González-Palacios, "La storia della Stanza di Apollo e Dafne," in Kristina Herrmann Fiore, ed., *Apollo e Dafne del Bernini nella Galleria Borghese* (Milan: Silvana, 1997), 15–39; and Anna Coliva and Sebastian Schütze, eds., *Bernini scultore: La nascita del barocco in Casa Borghese* (Rome: De Luca, 1998), 252–78. Bernini's *Aeneas and Anchises* group of 1619 was also in the room; see Faldi (see note 100), 26–29; and Wittkower (see note 120), 177, 274.

130. See Faldi (see note 100), 34–35.

131. The renovation of the base was done by Lorenzo Cardelli in 1785, although Vincenzo Pacetti had been commissioned to make a model of a new base for the group; see Pacetti (see note 73), 20 December 1782.

132. Now lost, the paintings were by Jacob More and Carlo Labruzzi. Lorenzo Cardelli made the vases, and the reliefs on them were carved by Massimiliano Laboureur; see *Giornale,* 29 October 1785, 337–38.

133. See Mignosi (see note 50), 23; and Coffin (see note 3), 161–62, 164, 250–52, 275–77, 289, where the use of the seasons in the sixteenth-century decoration of selected Italian villas is discussed.

134. See Paul (see note 53), 281–82. Antonio Asprucci's drawing of an altar, now held by the Getty Research Institute, may have been a design for the chapel; see Peter Fuhring, "Antonio Asprucci," in Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, *Design: Drawings for Architecture, Costume, and the Decorative Arts from 1570* (London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1989), 117 (checklist no. 50).

135. See FB, ser. 4, no. 9; Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 19–36; and Paul (see note 53), 282–323.

136. Designed by Tommaso Conca and executed by sculptors, the bas-reliefs represent mythological deities. Seventeen drawings for the twenty bas-reliefs are listed in Cianfarani (see note 1), 56–58 (entry nos. 262–75, 277, 278, 280). A copied set of drawings by Conca for all twenty bas-reliefs is in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome; see Kristina Herrmann Fiore, "Disegni di Tommaso Conca per la Galleria di Villa Borghese," *Antologia di belle arti* 43–47 (1993): 52–66.

137. The visual source is Raphael's fresco of the triumph of Galatea in the loggia of the Villa Farnesina, Rome; see Coffin (see note 3), 99–100.

138. The visual source for this scene is Annibale Carracci's ceiling fresco of Polyphemus in the Galleria Farnese.

139. See FB, ser. 4, no. 9, which has ten descriptions of the decoration of the Galleria, including two versions of the one cited in the text.

140. For the subjects, see the descriptions in FB, ser. 4, no. 9; and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 21–22. One of the reliefs with Nereus is characterized as Glaucus and the Nereids in one of the descriptions but as Venus in her chariot on the sea in Visconti.

141. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 20.

142. For the statue, see Italo Faldi, "Note sulle sculture borghesiane del Bernini," *Bollettino d'arte* 38 (1953): 142, 146; Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 234–36 (entry no. 48); and Wittkower (see note 120), 178. It was in the possession of Scipione

Borghese from at least 1620 and is now in the Musée du Louvre. For the decoration of the room, see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 37–50; and Paul (see note 53), 323–29.

143. The final scene in the cycle is not in Ovid but was perhaps inspired by the statue; see Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 143.

144. See the descriptions in FB, ser. 4, no. 9.

145. See Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 40–47. The grotto was painted by Michael Wutky, not Giovanni Battista Marchetti as stated in Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 37. One of the images of Venus is part of the statue of a couple in the guise of Venus and Mars, which appears in one of the drawings held by the Getty Research Institute (no. 17; see fig. 36).

146. See Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 145–49. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 38, attributes this decoration to Giovanni Battista Marchetti. The images of Hercules are based upon the ancient statues known as the *Capitoline Hercules* and the *Farnese Hercules* (see Haskell and Penny [see note 8], 227–32 [entry nos. 45, 46]), thereby extending the role of the room as part of a museum.

147. On the Stanza del Gladiatore, see the four descriptions in manuscript form in FB, ser. 4, no. 9; an article published in two issues of the *Giornale* (May 1784, 153–58; June 1784, 177–78); Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 51–68; Paul (see note 53), 329–40; and Alvar González-Palacios, "La Stanza del Gladiatore," *Antologia di belle arti* 43–47 (1993): 5–33. Laurent Pécheux was the programmer for the ceiling of the Stanza del Gladiatore. The painter wrote to Asprucci explaining his choice of subject, and certainly he was erudite enough to have chosen the narrative and designed the composition; see AB, 5336 (1782); the letter is published in González-Palacios (see above), 31. For Pécheux, see Luigi Cesare Bollea, *Lorenzo Pecheux, maestro di pittura nella Reale accademia delle belle arti di Torino* (Turin: n.p., 1942). For the *Borghese Gladiator,* now at the Musée du Louvre, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 221–24 (entry no. 43); and Kalveram (see note 47), 111–15, 208–10 (entry no. 94).

148. Although Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 58–60, argues that the statue resembles no surviving representation of a gladiator, he emphasizes the theme of athletics in the decoration of the room, while the archival descriptions stress the theme of war.

149. The two descriptions are actually slightly different versions of the same text; see FB, ser. 4, no. 9.

150. According to Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 52, the *quadratura* painting on the vault was done by Giovanni Battista Marchetti. Visconti also states that the reliefs were sculpted by Vincenzo Pacetti, but documents show that they were executed by Costantino Mazzoni; see also Honour, 1960 (see note 73), 175. For the Corybantes relief, see Giovanni Battista Visconti and Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Il Museo Pio-Clementino,* 7 vols. (Rome: Ludovico Mirri, 1782–1807), 4: 56–70, pl. 9.

151. See Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 160, 163, for the medallions, which were painted by Gioacchino Agricola. Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 52–53, describes the subjects of the paintings. According to an article published in the *Giornale,* 15 May 1784, 156–58, the paintings also represented the four times of day. The *Giornale* and Visconti attribute all four paintings to Jean-Baptiste-Antoine Tierce, but the documents indicate that three were done by Tierce (only two were hung) and two by Peter, although his are described as "*Paesi con diversi animali*" (landscapes with various

animals). The two smaller paintings hung over the doors leading into the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito; the larger two were in the aediculae on the contiguous walls.

152. For the sculpture exhibited in the Stanza del Gladiatore, see *Giornale,* 15 May 1784, 155; and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 54–63. The four bas-reliefs on the statue's base were made by Agostino Penna; see *Giornale,* 15 May 1784, 156; and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 53.

153. See *Giornale,* 15 May 1784, 156, in which a relationship between the two reliefs is acknowledged: "*Gli Eruditi si affanneranno a spiegare la coerenza di queste due teste*" (The scholars will busy themselves explaining the relation of these two portraits). For these portraits, see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 55, 68.

154. The capitals were made by Lorenzo Cardelli; see *Giornale,* 15 May 1784, 153; and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 51–52.

155. See *Giornale,* 9 December 1786, 292; Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 69–84; Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, "Charles Percier et la Salle égyptienne de la Villa Borghèse," in Georges Brunel, ed., *Piranèse et les Français: Colloque tenu à la Villa Médicis, 12–14 Mai 1976* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1978), 1–32; and Paul (see note 53), 340–62.

156. The architect and engraver Carlo Antonini was commissioned by Asprucci to do five engravings of the room, now apparently lost; see Arizzoli-Clémentel (see note 155), who also discusses Percier's drawings of the room and other drawings of the Villa Borghese held by the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris (see note 2). For the Egyptian fad in eighteenth-century Italy, see *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730–1930,* exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux; Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1994), esp. 38–45.

157. See *Giornale,* 30 December 1786, 309–10. Vincenzo Pacetti restored some of the statuary, and Antoine-Guillaume Grandjacquet sculpted two figures of Isis and one of Osiris; see Arizzoli-Clémentel (see note 155); and *Egyptomania* (see note 156), 101–3 (entry no. 39–40). For the *Moor,* which was sold by Camillo to Napoléon and taken to the Louvre but is now at Versailles, see Kalveram (see note 47), 128–36, 213–14 (entry no. 100).

158. In the *Giornale,* 9 December 1786, 310, and Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 71, the birds on the aediculae are identified as ibises and storks. Visconti reports that the birds were sculpted by Vincenzo Pacetti and painted by Clemente Cittadini to imitate bronze; of the six original birds, only four remain. The sphinxes were sculpted by Luigi Salimei. The capitals were carved by Lorenzo Cardelli. Arizzoli-Clémentel (see note 155), 6, notes that the room is decorated with mock hieroglyphs. Most of the ceiling and wall painting in the Stanza del Egizia was done by Tommaso Conca, but the festoons of flowers in the vault were painted by Giuseppe de' Pedibus, and Pietro Rotati did some of the room's ornamental painting. For Conca's scenes from Egyptian myth and history, see *Giornale,* 9 December 1786, 311–12.

159. According to the *Giornale,* 9 December 1786, 311, Sirius was represented in this group because it is the star "*il cui nascimento interressava le più accurate osservazioni degli Egiziani*" (whose rising prompted the most careful observations by the Egyptians).

160. There seems to be no textual source for the painting, but its subject is identified by Francesco Parisi in his article on the Stanza Egizia in *Giornale,* 30 December

1786, 311; and in Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 73; the characterizations of the figures are traditional. Parisi identifies Cybele as a Phrygian deity and equates her with the Egyptian Isis and the Phoenician Ceres. Two copies of the published version of Parisi's article as well as five copies in manuscript form are in FB, ser. 4, no. 9. For representations of Cybele, see Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini... degli dei* (Venice: V. Valgrisi, 1571; reprint, New York: Garland, 1976), 215–16, who explains that Cybele's crown is crenellated like a tower because she was considered a protectress.

161. On the Stanza del Sileno, see the three archival descriptions in FB, ser. 4, no. 9; Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 85–97; and Paul (see note 53), 363–72. For the sculpture group, now at the Musée du Louvre, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 307 (entry no. 77); and Kalveram (see note 47), 217–18 (entry no. 105). During the redecoration, Lorenzo Cardelli carved a porphyry base for the group.

162. The theme of the central painting is explained in the archival descriptions in FB, ser. 4, no. 9; and by Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 87. It does not seem to have any textual source; see Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 197. The reliefs, which were sculpted by Tommaso Righi (see Vernon Hyde Minor, "Tommaso Righi's Roman Sculpture: A Catalogue," *Burlington Magazine* 126 [1984]: 668–75), are no longer in the room; their themes are known from Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 86.

163. For the *Centaur and Cupid,* now at the Musée du Louvre, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 179–80 (entry no. 21); and Kalveram (see note 47), 102–3, 239–40 (entry no. 145).

164. This Silenus imagery has a precedent of sorts in Cortona's ceiling painting *Divine Providence* in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome. In one scene, Silenus is depicted as the antitype of Piety, who stands near him, and the young Bacchus appears in the lap of a nymph. Silenus looks fat and drunk, and he and his group represent, we are told, "*la rea educatione de' figliuoli*" (the bad upbringing of youths); see [Mattia Rosichino], *Dichiaratione delle pitture della sala de' Signori Barberini* (Rome: V. Mascardi, 1640), 8; I am grateful to John Beldon Scott for suggesting Cortona's Silenus group as a precedent and for pointing out its interpretation in the *Dichiaratione.* Conca's central ceiling painting in the Stanza del Sileno gives us almost the exact reverse, for Silenus looks sober and seems to be associated with both piety and good guardianship.

165. Because they contained most of the statuary, the rooms on the ground floor constituted the most important part of the museum and received the most attention in written sources. The rooms on the upper floor tend to be less richly decorated; this is especially true of the walls, since part of the painting collection was hung there. The imagery of the rooms on the upper floor seems, in aggregate, more loosely related than that of the rooms on the ground floor, and it also seems only loosely related to that of the Salone—the *speculum principis,* for example, is not a pervasive conceit—or at least this seems to be the case, for there survive only two written accounts. One is an archival description for the Stanza di Didone; see AB, 1005, no. 135, "*Descrizione delle pitture dipinte in una camera del palazzo alla Villa Pinciana dal pittore Antonio de Maron*" (Description of the pictures painted in a room of the palace [Casino] at the Villa Borghese by the painter Anton von Maron); see also Paul (see note 53), 373–75. The other is Visconti's description for the Stanza di Paride; see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 1: 98–100.

166. For the regard for didactic value, see, for example, the remarks of Renaissance and Baroque commentators on the various works in Haskell and Penny (see note 8).

167. In addition to the various imitative works already mentioned, there were four bas-reliefs by Pierre Monnot above the niches in the Stanza del Sileno that were based upon famous paintings, such as Domenichino's *Hunt of Diana,* which was in the picture collection in the Galleria Terrena; see Visconti, 1796 (see note 71), 2: 86; and della Pergola (see note 106), 1: 28–29.

168. See Rensselaer W. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1967), 32–34.

169. On the history of museums, see, for example, Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992); Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics, and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

170. For cultural life in eighteenth-century Rome, see Hanns Gross, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment: The Post-Tridentine Syndrome and the Ancien Régime* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1990), esp. 310–65. For collecting in eighteenth-century Rome, see Clark (see note 43) and Liebenwein (see note 44).

171. For the Capitoline museums, see Settimo Bocconi, *The Capitoline Collections: Museo Capitolino, Palazzo dei conservatori, Museo nuovo, Pinacoteca, Tabularium,* 4th ed., trans. Alice Elinor Bocconi (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1950); Carlo Pietrangeli, ed., *Musei Capitolini: Guida breve,* 4th ed. (Rome: Musei Capitolini, 1963); and Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 63–64. For the Vatican museums, see Pietrangeli (see note 7).

172. Hooper-Greenhill (see note 169), 176–90, discusses the development of new "subject positions" at later museums, especially the Louvre. Some of the positions, such as curator and antiquarian or art historian, overlap.

173. See [Giovanni Gaetano Bottari], *Del Museo Capitolino,* 4 vols. (Rome: Calcografia Camerale, 1741–1782); and Visconti and Visconti (see note 150).

174. [Morcelli] (see note 44); Visconti, 1796 (see note 71).

175. Especially pertinent was the exhibition of the herm bust of Pericles with a papal panegyric, written by Vincenzo Monti at the prompting of Visconti, that encapsulates the ideology of the museum; see Carolyn Springer, *The Marble Wilderness: Ruins and Representation in Italian Romanticism, 1775–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 21–38. Of similar intent was the contemporary decorative cycle in the Vatican's painting gallery, the Pinacoteca. For the development and program of the Museo Pio-Clementino, see Jeffery Laird Collins, *Arsenals of Art: The Patronage of Pope Pius VI and the End of the Ancien Régime,* 2 vols. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1996), 1: 249–315.

176. Camillo and his brother Francesco were strong supporters of the Roman Jacobin Republic; Francesco was a colonel of the National Guard, and both he and Camillo burned their coats of arms and patents of nobility during a revolutionary celebration; see Antonio Cretoni, *Roma giacobina: Storia della Repubblica romana del 1798–99* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1971), 143.

177. Ferdinand Boyer, "L'achat des antiques Borghèse," in idem, *Le monde des arts en Italie et la France de la Révolution et de l'Empire: Etudes et recherches* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 197–202, has suggested that Camillo was in financial straits due to large family expenditures incurred because of Napoléon's invasion of Italy and was therefore constrained to sell part of the collection. However, Pescosolido (see note 64), 29–30, notes that despite Camillo's difficulties the Borghese patrimony remained the largest in Latium at the end of the eighteenth century and throughout the lifetimes of Camillo and Francesco. See also Paolo Moreno, "Formazione della raccolta di antichità nel Museo e Galleria Borghese," in Sodalizio tra Studiosi dell'Arte, *Colloqui del sodalizio: Seconda serie 5 (1975/1976),* ed. Licia Magnante Torti and Jörgen Birkedal Hartmann (Rome: De Luca, 1977), 125–58, esp. 125, who reports that Camillo sold 344 works (this number varies significantly across the literature, from 255 to over 500 works); and Paolo Moreno and Clementina Sforzini, "I ministri del principe Camillo: Cronaca della collezione Borghese di antichità: Dal 1807 al 1832," *Scienze dell'antichità: Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 1 (1987): 339–71.

178. See, for example, Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Journal, 1799–1853,* 2 vols. (Paris: Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1987), 1: 189 (30 January 1808), 196 (28 February 1808), 217 (25 October 1808).

179. See Fontaine (see note 178), 1: 528 (15 July 1816): "*car on y verra malgré les sollicitations reitérées du prince Borghèse, qui n'a pas eu honte de se placer au nombre des réclamants, toutes les richesses de la villa Borghèse dont le Gladiateur et le Faune font partie*" (for one will see there [in the Louvre's antiquities gallery] despite the repeated requests of Prince [Camillo] Borghese, who is not ashamed to place himself among the group of reclaimants, all the riches of the Villa Borghese, including the *Gladiator* and the *Faun*).

180. For Camillo's changes to the villa, see Luigi Canina, *Le nuove fabbriche della Villa Borghese denominata Pinciana* (Rome: Società Tipografica, 1828); Meeks (see note 90), 115–18; Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 40–42; Antonio Iacobini, *Concetto e progetto di villa in Luigi Canina* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1984); and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 159–82. For Francesco's changes to the villa, see Renato Lefevre, "Gli architetti Percier e Fontaine a Roma e nel Lazio alla fine del '700," in idem, ed., *Ville e parchi nel Lazio* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1984), 515–42; Guicciardi (see note 53), 1: 43; and Di Gaddo (see note 1), 182–94. For changes to the sculpture collection, which is much altered from Marcantonio's time, see Moreno (see note 177), 125–58; and Campitelli (see note 91), 46. For the gladiator mosaics, see Nibby (see note 97), 185.

181. For Percier and Fontaine's work as Napoléon's architects, see Renato Lefevre, "Gli architetti Percier e Fontaine a Roma e nel Lazio alla fine del '700," in idem, ed., *Ville e parchi nel Lazio* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1984), 515–42; Genevieve Bresc Bautier, *The Louvre: An Architectural History* (New York: Vendome, 1995), 89–119, 219–20; and Timothy Wilson-Smith, *Napoleon and His Artists* (London: Constable, 1996), esp. 99–133. Percier's drawings of the Villa Borghese and its Casino are in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris (see note 2).

182. Ennio Quirino Visconti (1751–1818) was perhaps the foremost European antiquarian of his day. His father, Giovanni Battista, had succeeded Winckelmann as papal prefect of antiquities, and Ennio became director of the Museo Capitolino. For Ennio's

life, see the preface to the 1818–1821 edition of *Il Museo Pio-Clementino* (Milan: Nicolò Bettoni), 1: xvii–xlvii; and Daniela Gallo, "I Visconti: Una famiglia romana al servizio di papi, della Repubblica e di Napoleone," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 2, no. 1 (1994): 77–90. For his work, see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 71, 106–7, 111–13; Daniela Gallo, "Ennio Quirino Visconti e il restauro della scultura antica fra Settecento e Ottocento," in Patrick Kragelund and Mogens Nykjaer, eds., *Thorvaldsen: L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1991), 102–22; and Daniela Gallo, "Originali greci e copie romane secondo Giovanni Battista ed Ennio Quirino Visconti," *Labyrinthos* 21–24 (1992–1993): 215–51. For his publications on the Villa Borghese's collections, see note 71.

183. On this suite of rooms, see Pierre Quoniam and Laurent Guinamard, *Le Palais du Louvre* (Paris: Nathan, 1988), 91–98.

184. On the creation of the antiquities gallery of the Musée Napoléon, see especially Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 111–31; and McClellan (see note 169), 148–54. McClellan notes that the Directoire specified that "the *Laocoon* be placed prominently in good light and the *Apollo Belvedere* in 'its own temple.'"

185. See Quoniam and Guinamard (see note 183), 156–60; and McClellan (see note 169), 151–53.

186. See [Ennio Quirino Visconti], *Notice des statues, bustes et bas-reliefs de la galerie des antiques du Musée Napoléon, ouverte pour la première fois le 18 brumaire an 9* (Paris: Imprimerie des Sciences et Arts, [1802/1803]). Here the rooms are identified as the former apartments of Marie de' Medici, who occupied them before Anne of Austria. For Visconti's work at the Louvre, see Gallo, 1991 (see note 182), 112–15, 120 n. 7. For an overview of the decoration of the antiquities gallery, see McClellan (see note 169), 151–52, 258 n. 103: "The [ceiling] paintings were set in a framework of interlacing gilded stucco borders. Below, the whiteness of ancient statuary was enhanced by pinkish-gray walls, marble floors, and richly colored columns. The overall effect was one of opulence."

187. See Christiane Aulanier, *Histoire du Palais et du Musée du Louvre,* 11 vols. (Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, [1947]–1964), 5: 76. The reliefs of Egypt and Greece are by Bernard Lange, those of Italy and France by Jean-François Lorta.

188. See Duncan (see note 169), 27–32.

189. The reliefs were by the sculptors Etienne Gois, Barthélèmy Blaise, Pierre-Charles Bridan, and Jacques Lesueur, respectively.

190. The painters were Paulin Guérin, Guillaume Lethiers, Jean-François Peyron, and Pierre-Paul Prud'hon.

191. See Quoniam and Guinamard (see note 183), 160–69.

192. For the *Diane Chasseresse,* see Haskell and Penny (see note 8), 196–98 (entry no. 30). Paulin Guérin and Jean-François Merimée were the other painters who worked on the Salle de Diane's vault. There were also bas-reliefs with related subjects by Jean-Joseph Espercieux, Jean-Joseph Foucou, and Louis Petitot.

193. Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Recueil de décorations intérieures, comprenant tout ce qui à rapport à l'ameublement* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'âiné, 1812), 42, pls. 67–71.

194. On the stairway and vestibule, see *The Vatican Collections* (see note 7), 119.

Percier and Fontaine were impressed by the new entrance to the Vatican Museum; see Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Palais, maisons, et autres édifices modernes dessinés à Rome* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'âiné, 1798; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1980), 27, pl. 91. Percier had drawn the Vatican's stairway while in Rome; see MS 1011, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris, nos. 71, 72, 100. Percier and Fontaine's stairway no longer exists, although the decorated vault remains.

In the coving of the vault, Louis Petitot executed two bas-reliefs with the geniuses of Apollo and Minerva being honored by and honoring the fine arts, and Louis Plantard did the other relief sculpture; see Ennio Quirino Visconti and Comte de Clarac, *Description du Musée royal des antiques de Louvre* (Paris: Vinchon, 1830), 266.

195. For the installation of the paintings, see McClellan (see note 169).

196. Given the limited availability of ancient sculpture, as well as the problems of accurate dating and provenance for late-eighteenth-century scholars, antiquities were resistant to the ideal of chronological arrangement—although Egyptian antiquities were sometimes displayed separately from Greco-Roman works. This was done at the Villa Albani and the Museo Pio-Clementino, for example; see Liebenwein (see note 44), 499–501; and Pietrangeli (see note 7), 85, 88, figs. 66, 95, 96. See McClellan (see note 169), 153–54, on Visconti and the contemporary debate about dating antiquities.

197. For these different kinds of installations and their applications and implications, see McClellan (see note 169), esp. 1–12; and Duncan (see note 169), 21–33.

198. On the origins of the chronological installation of paintings, see McClellan (see note 169), 2–6; and Duncan (see note 169), 25 n. 10.

199. See Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3 (1980): 448–69.

200. See Duncan (see note 169), 29–31, who explains that the imagery devoted to artists grew with the cult of genius in the nineteenth century.

Catalog of the Getty Research Institute's Drawings for the Renovation of the Villa Borghese

The Research Library of the Getty Research Institute holds two groups of unsigned drawings that relate, for the most part, to the late-eighteenth-century renovation of the Villa Borghese in Rome. Fifty-four of these sixty drawings were probably executed by Antonio Asprucci (1723–1808), five have been assigned to Tommaso Conca (1734–1822), and one remains unattributed.

Six of the sixty drawings are cataloged at the Research Library under archival accession no. 860224. One of these six is discussed in Alberta Campitelli's essay, where she characterizes it as an interior view for the Villa Borghese's Museo di Gabii by an unidentified hand (see fig. 57; Galleria Carlo Virgilio 1981, lot 48). Four of the six are illustrated in catalogs published by a dealer in Rome: a drawing for a monumental arch (Galleria Carlo Virgilio 1981, lot 33); a scaled drawing showing four different pedestals as well as an urn that is similar to a late-eighteenth-century urn still in the Borghese collection (Galleria Carlo Virgilio 1981, lot 40); and a plan and an elevation for a fountain in the form of a small temple (Petereit 1982, entry no. 1). The final sheet bears, on the recto, sketches of a fountain and two herms and, on the verso, four studies for different fountains (Galleria Carlo Virgilio 1981, lot 43). Like Susanne Petereit Guicciardi (Petereit 1982, 16), I believe that the latter five drawings should be attributed to Antonio Asprucci.

Most of the remaining fifty-four drawings, which were acquired as a group in 1989, clearly relate to the redecoration of the Casino at the Villa Borghese. The thirty-one entries published below are for drawings from this group, which may be found at the Research Library under archival accession no. 880400. A checklist covering all fifty-four drawings in this group appears in *Design: Drawings for Architecture, Costume, and the Decorative Arts from 1570* (Fuhring 1989). According to the checklist, one drawing is for the facade of the Casino (checklist no. 54), fourteen of the drawings cannot now be located securely within the Casino (checklist nos. 40–53), three of the drawings relate to the Casino's upper floor (checklist nos. 37–39), and thirty-six may be assigned to the Casino's ground floor. Of the latter, four pertain to the portico (checklist nos. 1–4), five to the Salone (checklist nos. 5–9), six to the Stanza del Vaso (checklist nos. 10–15), three to the Stanza del Sole (checklist nos. 16–18), two to the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne (checklist nos. 19, 20), three to the Galleria (checklist nos. 21–23), one to the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito (checklist no. 24), two to the Stanza del Gladiatore (checklist nos. 25,

26), and ten to the Stanza Egizia (checklist nos. 27–36); none of the drawings pertain, at least according to the checklist, to the Stanza del Sileno or the Cappella, the other two rooms on the Casino's ground floor. The checklist represents a preliminary attempt to locate the drawings within the Casino, and the reasoning behind the placements is not discussed in the catalog. As will become apparent, I assign some of the drawings to different rooms.

The forty drawings from this group that I believe can be securely located within the rooms of the Casino's ground floor obviously represent different phases and fulfill different functions in the design process for the Casino's renovation. A few of the drawings present alternate schemes, some were not implemented at all, and most were varied upon execution. Excluding the unexecuted design for the facade of the Casino (see fig. 17), these drawings fall roughly into four categories. There are twenty-two sketches for the design and ornamentation of individual walls or parts of walls (see, for example, figs. 22, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 42; pls. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10). Such sketches indicate the placement of statuary—sometimes later changed—and lay out the wall's overall scheme, the individual features of which would be developed and executed by the architect or his collaborators. Offering wonderfully cohesive views replete with lighting, these sketches may well have been presented to the patron, Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV, for approval. In another category are ten line drawings blocking out the ornamental fields of individual walls or parts of walls (see, for example, figs. 20, 37, 40, 41, 43, 45; pl. 3). These drawings, some of which have measurements or scales, seem more utilitarian than the sketches. In the third category are four *bozzetti* (preparatory designs) for the decoration of ceilings or floors (see pls. 5, 8, 11, 12). The final category comprises three drawings for details of architectural or sculptural decoration (see, for example, figs. 27, 38). Some of the sketches include measurements, scales, or plans for the architectural elements seen in elevation, indicating a degree of flexibility in the function of such sketches. Similarly, some of the diagrammatic line drawings have elements such as statues, urns, garlands, or other ornamentation sketched in. For the most part, the sketch for a wall seems to have been executed before the line drawing, given that the details included in the latter are usually closer to what was executed, as the entries show.

Combining architectural and programmatic elements, Asprucci's conception for the renovation of the ground floor of the Casino integrated ornamentation and the display of statuary to impart a remarkable unity to the newly decorated rooms. The drawings at the Getty Research Institute leave the impression that Asprucci designed or ordained nearly everything himself, from floor to ceiling. As such, they confirm what the archival payment records and other primary sources suggest, namely, that Asprucci was the supervisor, coordinator, and presiding genius of the renovation.

The drawings also suggest, however, that Asprucci left some freedom of execution to the individual artists and that a certain fluidity of ideas obtained. For example, the five drawings attributed to Tommaso Conca (see pls. 5,

9–12)—perhaps the most colorful and striking in the group—were not used. Each was rejected for reasons that were programmatic and aesthetic—at least in hindsight it seems easy to speculate so. Nonetheless, the fact that the capitals of the Stanza Egizia consist of minor variants of the foliage and the rams' heads that top the pilasters in one of Conca's unexecuted wall designs may imply a degree of collaboration between Asprucci and his artists.

Asprucci seems to have exercised the least control in the area of the designs—if not general subject matter—for the Casino's ceilings, despite their programmatic importance. This appears to have been the case especially with the narrative scenes, which are never indicated in the drawings; Asprucci was not, after all, a history painter. Given the complexity of the Camillus fresco, for example, Mariano Rossi probably devised the composition with the aid of one or more literary advisers, who may also have worked with Asprucci in implementing the program in the Salone and, possibly, throughout the Casino (see Paul 1992, 319–20). For the smaller rooms on the ground floor, the ceiling painters presumably devised their own compositions and even chose the narratives—subject to approval, of course—as we know to have been the case with Laurent Pécheux's programming of the Stanza del Gladiatore's ceiling.

Before turning to the entries, I would like to note that previously many of the drawings held by the Getty Research Institute have been attributed to Antonio and his son, Mario (1764–1804), jointly. Mario was eleven when the refurbishing of the Casino began, and it is likely that he assisted his father, with whom he trained, in some capacity before working more independently at the villa. Nonetheless, all the written and visual evidence supports the attribution of fifty-four of the sixty drawings at the Getty Research Institute to Antonio alone, leaving the role of Mario problematic.

Primary sources link Mario by name only to three small structures, all built between 1785 and the early 1790s on the grounds of the Villa Borghese. One of these, the Tempio di Esculapio, which was completed in 1786, is attributed by Giuseppe Antonio Guattani (1806–1819, 4: 123) wholly to Mario; Guattani claims that this temple was, in fact, Mario's first independent work. More recently, Guicciardi (Petereit 1982, 16) has noted that the simply adorned, strictly classicizing style of Mario's nine securely attributed drawings (Marconi, Cipriani, and Valeriani 1974, nos. 1091–98, 2190) accords with the design of the three structures. In contrast, primary sources credit Antonio with directing all the renovations carried out at the Villa Borghese in Marcantonio's lifetime; and the relatively ornamental style of Antonio's one securely attributed drawing (Marconi, Cipriani, and Valeriani 1974, no. 2108) is consistent not only with the majority of the drawings held by the Getty Research Institute but also with Antonio's handling of decorative and architectural elements at the Casino at the Villa Borghese. Guicciardi therefore assigned to Antonio Asprucci alone all but one of the drawings relating to the renovation of the Villa Borghese that were known to her in 1982, including the thirty drawings attributed to Antonio and Mario Asprucci jointly in the Galleria Carlo Virgilio sale catalog (1981, lots 28–57), seven of

which have made their way into the holdings of the Getty Research Institute. Similarly, I do not believe that Mario Asprucci had a discernible hand in executing any of the Getty Research Institute's drawings.

Among the thirty-one drawings discussed here are a range of the drawings for the ground floor of the Casino. I have included those of greatest programmatic interest as well as at least one drawing for almost every room; in addition, I have sought to illustrate the range of functions that these drawings seemed to have served within the design process. The entries are grouped by the rooms (fig. 49) to which the drawings relate, and the rooms are listed in the order recommended in Ennio Quirino Visconti's guidebook to the renovated Casino, which was published in 1796. All the drawings were executed, probably between 1775 and 1780, on medium- or heavyweight white paper. Measurements are given height by width.

1. ***Main Facade of the Casino*** (see fig. 17)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil, 19.7 × 54.1 cm (7¾ × 21¼ in.)

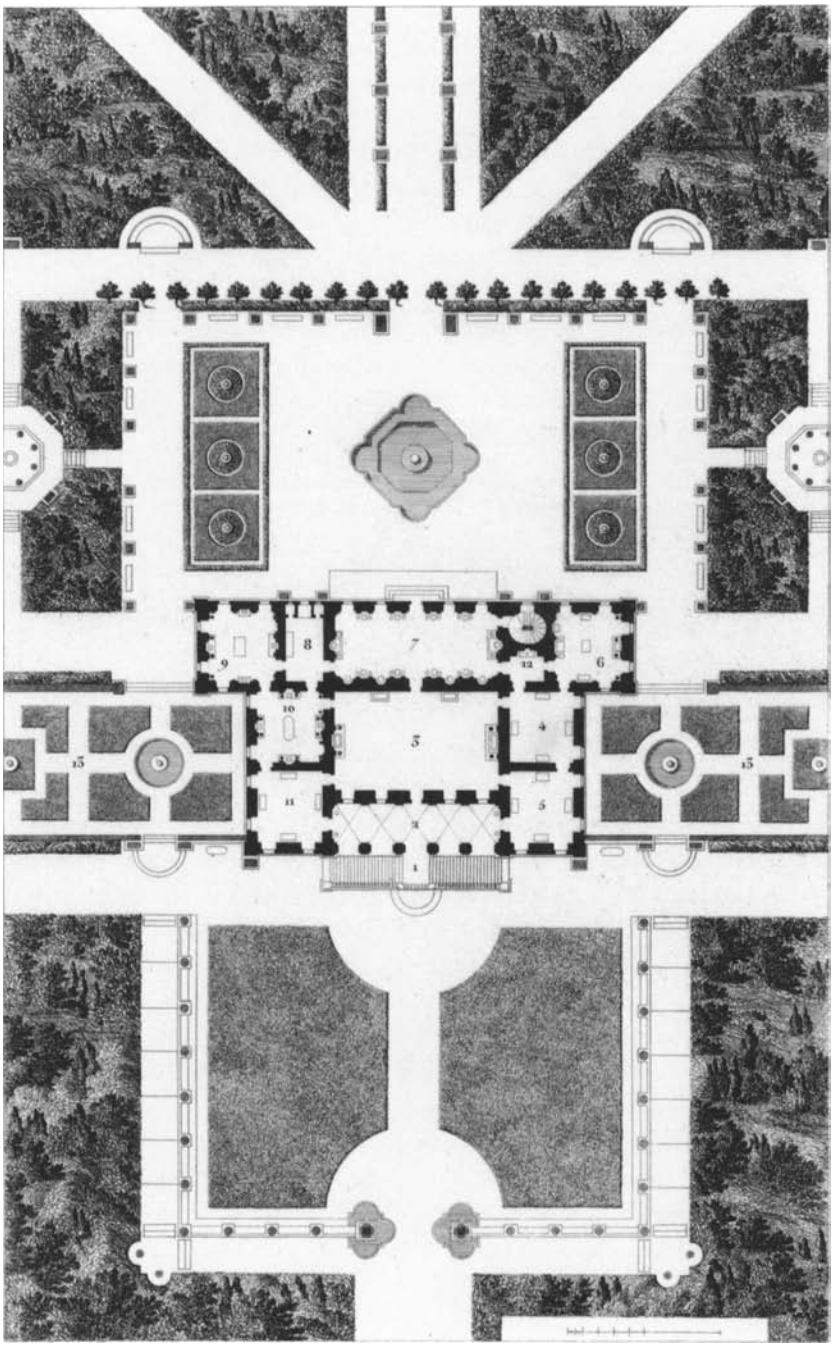
This elevation shows the Casino's main facade stripped of some its seventeenth-century ornamentation and with a central pyramidal staircase instead of the original double staircase (see figs. 12, 13). The double staircase appears in the drawings of the Casino that Charles Percier made between 1786 and 1792—and thus in *Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et de ses environs* (see fig. 49; Percier and Fontaine 1809, pls. 22–24)—but a pyramidal staircase is shown in the plan made by Pierre Adrien Pâris between 1807 and 1808 (Debenedetti 1991, fig. 6). In the mid-1990s, as part of a program of restoration, this pyramidal staircase was replaced with a reconstruction of the earlier double staircase.

The facade remained largely unchanged during the refurbishing of the Casino, although the drawing does show modifications that would have lent it greater unity. For instance, in the drawing the frames of the windows and niches in the recessed center of the upper floor have been altered to repeat the arched design of the loggia below; a long frieze has been inserted above these frames and niches, at the level of the cornice of the upper floor; and another long frieze replaces the bas-relief panels in the attic above the loggia. Where the walls of the flanking *giardini segreti* (private gardens) adjoin the facade, colonnaded recesses with pyramidal staircases have been added.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 54).

2. ***Elevation and Plan for the Portico*** (see pl. 1)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and brown and black ink with gray and pink wash, 33.9 × 48.7 cm (13⅜ × 19⅛ in.)

The drawing shows the central part of the wall adjoining the Salone in plan and in elevation, with busts in oval niches above rectangular niches for statues. It is very close to the implemented design. In execution, the end of the inscription over the entrance to the Salone was altered, the pediment



1. Principal entrance
2. Portico
3. Salone
4. Stanza del Sole
5. Stanza del Vaso
6. Stanza di Apollo e Dafne
7. Galleria
8. Stanza dell'Ermafrodito
9. Stanza del Gladiatore
10. Stanza Egizia
11. Stanza del Sileno
12. Cappella

Fig. 49. Bonnard (after Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine)
General Plan of the Grand Casino at the Villa Borghese, 1809, engraving, 34.9 × 22.7 cm (13¾ × 8⅞ in.)
From Charles Percier and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine, *Choix des plus célèbres maisons de plaisance de Rome et de ses environs* (Paris: Imprimerie de P. Didot l'âiné, 1809), pl. 22

above the doorway was raised to the height of the entablature, and an unadorned stone plaque was inserted between the pediment and the inscription. Many of the areas left undecorated in the drawing were painted to simulate architectural details—for example, fluting on the pilasters.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (entry no. 30a, checklist no. 1).

3. ***Elevation for the Salone*** (see pl. 2)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and black and brown ink with gray wash, 37.5 × 63.5 cm (14¾ × 25 in.)

This sketch shows the wall adjoining the Galleria, opposite the entrance from the portico, with the very high relief of Marcus Curtius in place above the entrance to the Galleria. Overall the drawing is very close to the completed decoration. Some of the architectural detailing and its painted ornamentation was varied in execution. For example, the Ionic order was used in the framework of the doorway, instead of the Doric order shown in the drawing, and the frieze at the top of the wall was left unadorned. The subjects of the stucco bas-reliefs on the painted pilaster strips and above the busts also differed from the drawing in execution, as did the busts and statues in the niches.

The only securely identifiable statue is that drawn in the far right niche, the Mercury holding a purse in his proper right hand. Ultimately this statue was placed in the aedicula on the wall of the Salone that adjoins the Stanza Egizia; see Visconti 1796, 1: 18 (*stanza* 1, no. 2). The aedicula is visible, in profile, at the far left in the drawing. Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, the *Mercury* is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 550); see Kalveram 1995, 221–22 (entry no. 114).

The statues actually installed in the niches in the drawing represented, left to right, the Muse Euterpe, Lucius Aelius Caesar, Agrippina Minor in the guise of a Muse, and an unidentified Roman hero; see Visconti 1796, 1: 19–21 (*stanza* 1, nos. 4–7). For the statue of Agrippina Minor, see Kalveram 1995, 191–92 (entry no. 63); for the busts, see Faldi 1954, 49–51, pls. 48a–n.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (checklist no. 5).

4. ***Elevation for the Salone*** (see fig. 20)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and pen and ink, 33.5 × 52.7 cm (13⅛ × 20¾ in.)

The wall is blocked out and scaled for ornamentation in this drawing showing most of the wall adjoining the Galleria. The measurements of the relief above the doorway are indicated, and statues are lightly sketched in the niches. Ultimately the Ionic order was substituted for the Doric in the framework of the doorway, but otherwise the drawing is consistent with the decoration as executed.

The sketched-in statue in the far left niche and that in the niche, partially cut off, to the far right are recognizably of Venus entering the bath or

accompanied by Cupid on a dolphin. They may be any of the three very similar statues eventually installed, presumably for programmatic reasons, in the Galleria instead of the Salone; see Visconti 1796, 2: 23–29 (*stanza* 5, nos. 2, 5, 9). Two of these three statues were sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807 and are now in the Musée du Louvre (MA 316, MA 373); see Kalveram 1995, 194 (entry no. 67). To the left of the truncated Venus seems to be the *Muse Euterpe,* which was eventually installed in the far left niche on this wall; see Visconti 1796, 1: 20 (*stanza* 1, no. 5).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (checklist no. 6).

5. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Vaso*** (see fig. 22)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 36.3 × 40.2 cm (14¼ × 15⅞ in.)

The *Bacchus* in the aedicula shown in this sketch for the southeast wall of the Stanza del Vaso was apparently displayed instead in an aedicula on the wall opposite, namely, on the wall adjoining the Salone; see Visconti 1796, 1: 35 (*stanza* 2, no. 1), where it is noted that the head of the figure was a modern restoration. Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, this statue is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 2333); see Kalveram 1995, 202–3 (entry no. 85).

Apparently a niche was never built into the southeast wall, and the aedicula was installed but no longer exists. It was topped by two busts as well as an urn and garlands; see no. 7 of this catalog and Visconti 1796, 1: 47 (*stanza* 2, nos. 29, 30). Two busts in oval niches in addition to the one penciled in to the left of the aedicula in this drawing were inserted in the panels of the wall at the level shown; see Visconti 1796, 1: 46 (*stanza* 2, nos. 20–22). Bas-reliefs were inserted in the panels above and below the level of the panels with busts; see no. 6 of this catalog. A cornice similar to that running below the ceiling vault here was implemented in the Stanza del Gladiatore, rather than in the Stanza del Vaso; see no. 19 of this catalog.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (checklist no. 13).

6. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Vaso*** (see fig. 23)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 36.3 × 46 cm (14¼ × 18⅛ in.)

In this sketch for the treatment of the wall adjoining the Salone, the statue in the aedicula is identifiable as the *Flora* (or *Chloris*) ultimately displayed in the northwest corner of the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito; see Visconti 1796, 2: 42 (*stanza* 6, no. 5). Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, this statue is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 481); see Kalveram 1995, 220 (entry no. 111).

Apparently a niche was never built into the wall adjoining the Salone, and the aedicula was installed but no longer exists. It was topped by two busts as well as an urn and garlands; see no. 7 of this catalog and Visconti

1796, 1: 47 (*stanza* 2, nos. 27, 28). Altogether three busts in oval niches were inserted as shown in the drawing in the panels of the wall at the same level; see Visconti 1796, 1: 46–47 (*stanza* 2, nos. 23–26). Bas-reliefs were inserted in the panels below as well as above the level of the panels with busts. Upon implementation, the band of dentil molding edging the ceiling vault and the frieze below the molding were varied slightly from the pattern in this drawing.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (checklist no. 12).

7. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Vaso*** (see pl. 3)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil, pen and brown ink, and gray wash, 26.5 × 35.7 cm (10⅜ × 14 in.)

In this drawing, most of the wall adjoining the Salone is blocked out and scaled for decoration. Busts were displayed in the oval niches, and bas-reliefs were inserted in the rectangular panels above these niches and to the left of each doorway; see no. 6 of this catalog and Visconti 1796, 1: 46–47 (*stanza* 2, nos. 23–26). The band of molding edging the ceiling vault is very similar to the implemented decoration.

The statue very lightly penciled in the aedicula is the *Apollo Sauroctonus* (lizard killer). Ultimately this statue was displayed in the aedicula on the southeast wall of the Stanza del Vaso; see Visconti 1796, 1: 37–38 (*stanza* 2, no. 5). Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, the *Apollo Sauroctonus* is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 441); see Haskell and Penny 1981, 151–53 (entry no. 9). For the two busts on top of the aedicula, which no longer exists, see Visconti 1796, 1: 47 (*stanza* 2, nos. 27, 28).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (checklist no. 10).

8. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Sole*** (see fig. 25)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and ink with gray wash, 25.2 × 33.2 cm (9⅞ × 13⅛ in.)

This sketch for the wall adjoining the Stanza del Vaso is very close to the design as implemented. The stucco (fictive bronze) sphinxes, the busts in oval niches, and the decorative rams' heads with festoons above the doorways were executed much as shown. Upon implementation, painted pilasters were substituted in the bands to either side of the niche in the drawing, and stucco bas-reliefs replaced the profile portraits in the medallions; the painted frieze below the cornice was varied as well. The doorway on the right is fictive.

In the niche is the statue of the personified Sun for which the room was named, which was displayed above the statue of Bacchus reclining on a sarcophagus, as shown in this sketch; see Visconti 1796, 1: 49–50 (*stanza* 3, nos. 1, 2). To the personified Sun's proper right are the heads of his horses; the cornucopia he holds was a modern restoration, as was the figure's crown of gilded metal rays, which the drawing omits. Sold by Prince

Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, both the *Sun* and the *Bacchus* are in the Musée du Louvre's collection. For the *Bacchus* (MA 1654), see Kalveram 1995, 186–87 (entry no. 50); for the busts that stood on the consoles flanking the niche, which is now gone, see Visconti 1796, 1: 62 (*stanza* 3, nos. 15, 16).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 17).

9. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Sole*** (see pl. 4)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and brown ink with gray wash, 25.7 × 36.1 cm (10⅛ × 14¼ in.)

In this sketch for the wall adjoining the Salone, the design and layout of the wall matches that of no. 8 (although the space between the niche and bands differs) and was similarly varied upon implementation. The doorway on the left is fictive.

The statue in the niche is the *Eros* (or *Genius*) that ultimately was displayed along the northwest wall of the Stanza del Sileno; see Visconti 1796, 2: 94–95 (*stanza* 9, no. 11). Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, the statue is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 545); see Kalveram 1995, 203–4 (entry no. 86). For the busts that stood on the consoles flanking the niche, which is now gone, see Visconti 1796, 1: 62 (*stanza* 3, nos. 17, 18).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 16).

10. ***Elevation with the Dying Seneca*** (see fig. 26)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 25.2 × 34.5 cm (9⅞ × 13⅝ in.)

The statue between the columns at the center of the wall was understood in the seventeenth century to represent Seneca dying in his bath, but since the late eighteenth century it has been identified as a fisherman. After the redecoration, this statue was displayed against the wall adjoining the Salone in the Stanza del Sole; see Visconti 1796, 1: 36–37 (*stanza* 3, no. 10). Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, the statue is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 1354), where it is exhibited without the modern urn or bath, which was removed sometime between 1896 and 1922; see Haskell and Penny 1981, 303–5 (entry no. 76); and Kalveram 1995, 122–28, 196–97 (entry no. 75). Note that in this drawing—which cannot be placed securely within any room at the Casino—as in a handful of the others, the design extends into the coving of the ceiling vault.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (entry no. 30b), 115 (checklist no. 25), where it is described as the "left-hand external wall" of the Stanza del Gladiatore, with a funeral bas-relief with three figures substituted for the statue of Seneca upon implementation. The funeral bas-relief (now there) is not in Visconti's catalog, however, and the northwest wall of the Stanza del Gladiatore had (and still has) a door at the left and a window at the right (see no. 17 of this catalog).

11. ***Bacchic Crater on an Ancient Altar*** (see fig. 27)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 39.7 × 25.3 cm (15⅝ × 10 in.)

Visconti, who argues that the priest on the side of the altar is sacrificing to Apollo, located this ensemble in the center of the Stanza del Sole, where it must have been placed for programmatic reasons; see Visconti 1796, 1: 59–61 (*stanza* 3, no. 13). Lightly sketched in is the leafy addition to the base of the vase; this was presumably designed by Asprucci to create a harmonious transition from the urn to the form of the altar.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 49), where it is described as a "study for a vase with a marble base" and appears among the drawings whose images do not correspond to any recognizable location in the Casino.

12. ***Ceiling Design for the Stanza del Sole*** (see pl. 5)
Attributed to Tommaso Conca, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 24.5 × 48.9 cm (9⅝ × 19¼ in.)

Conca's beautiful drawing presents an unexecuted alternative for the ceiling painting in the Stanza del Sole (cf. fig. 24). Backed by the sun and escorted by putti, Phaeton stands in his father's chariot in the central tondo of Conca's *bozzetto*. Bordering this tondo is a band with the signs of the zodiac. In the small triangular spaces around the tondo are four figures (three with wings) among clouds; in the larger spaces are four divinities—at the top are Mercury and a river-god (perhaps Eridanus, into whose river Phaeton would fall), while Venus and Jupiter appear at the bottom. To either side of the central panel is a rectangular "bas-relief" scene flanked by the eagle and dragon from the Borghese coat of arms. In the triangular compartment at the center of the left side is Diana, while Mars appears in the triangular compartment at the center on the right. Written in pencil at the lower left-hand corner, apparently in Antonio Asprucci's hand, is "*Tom. Conca.*"

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 18).

13. ***Elevation for the Galleria*** (see fig. 30)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 26.2 × 39.6 cm (10¼ × 15⅝ in.)

This sketch for the wall adjoining the Cappella varies subtly from the actual treatment of the short walls of the Galleria. The mosaic frieze of the entablature—a running pattern of shells, Tritons, and various mythical sea animals—is missing from the drawing, along with the band of dentils. In addition, the festoons above the bas-reliefs in the upper register are looped up at the center by a mask, rather than hanging free; the bas-reliefs of decorative motifs in the upper register are somewhat smaller than the stucco bas-reliefs of narrative scenes actually inserted; the images of the hexagonal medallions are different from the final marble bas-relief images; the

putti strike other poses on the pediments over the doorways; the molding between the pediment and the top of the doorway is drawn curved at the edges rather than squared; and the figured bas-reliefs with surrounding decoration over the doorways were replaced with ancient marble bas-reliefs of the seasons (Visconti 1796, 2: 29). Despite these variations, the overall effect is similar to the completed decoration. The statue shown in the niche remains unidentified; during the redecoration, the programmatically appropriate *Venus Marina* (possibly the truncated Venus shown in no. 4 of this catalog) was installed there, according to Visconti 1796, 2: 28–29 (*stanza* 5, no. 9).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 21).

14. ***Elevation for the Galleria*** (see fig. 31)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 25 × 33.8 cm (9⅞ × 13¼ in.)

The central portion of the northeast wall is blocked out for decoration in this sketch. Except for the masks looping up the festoons, the drawing is close to the scheme as executed, although the actual frame of the doorway and window is slightly different than shown in this sketch. On the left is the treatment of the wall inside the Galleria; on the right is its handling as the exterior wall of the Casino. The doorway opened onto a piazza with fountains within a private walled-in garden dotted with trees, statues, vases, and ancient fragments.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 22).

15. ***Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito*** (see fig. 33)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 25.2 × 32.3 cm (9⅞ × 12¾ in.)

In this sketch, the wall adjoining the Stanza del Gladiatore is blocked out for decoration in a manner consistent with the final ornamentation. The split pilasters framing the doorways were implemented, as were the columns supporting a round arch decorated with a mask, as shown at the center of the drawing. The foliate sprays painted in the spandrels above the arch were replaced by shields, and the Borghese eagle was painted inside the top of the arch. In the shallow niche between the columns stood the statue pair *Mercury and Vulcan,* above the celebrated ancient marble statue of a sleeping hermaphrodite; see Visconti 1796, 2: 42–44 (*stanza* 6, nos. 6, 7); and Kalveram 1995, 119–22, 206–7 (entry no. 90), 231–32 (entry no. 134). The doorway at the right is fictive. Note that the design extends into the coving of the ceiling and the blocking of the lower register of the ceiling is similar to that shown in the drawing. The octagonal frames at the attic level were squared in execution.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 24).

16. ***Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito*** (see fig. 34)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 25.2 × 39 cm (9⅞ × 15⅜ in.)

In this sketch, the northeast wall and the adjacent portion of the coving of the ceiling (the end without the urn, to the left in fig. 32) is blocked out for ornamentation as it was executed, with measured sections to the right. The frame of the window was designed to suggest a distorted perspectival illusion, as indicated in the drawing.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 53), where it is described as a "study for a window embrasure" and appears among the drawings whose images do not correspond to any recognizable location in the Casino.

17. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Gladiatore*** (see fig. 36)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 24.2 × 27.7 cm (9½ × 10⅞ in.)

Both the blocking for ornamentation and the architectural elements shown in this sketch are close to the actual design of the northwest wall and the adjacent coving of the ceiling. The eagles and dragons of the Borghese coat of arms were added to the foliate scrolls in the narrow panels at the top of the wall, however, and the eagles also decorate the capitals shown in the drawing. The entablature was treated not as shown here but rather as shown in no. 19 of this catalog. Over the doorway was inserted a profile portrait in relief of Pope Paul V, which functioned as a pendant to the relief restored to represent Alexander the Great inserted over the doorway leading to the Stanza Egizia, in the southwest wall; see Visconti 1796, 2: 68 (*stanza* 7, no. 21).

The statue group, identified by Visconti as a Roman couple in the guise of Venus and Mars, was located in the aedicula on the wall adjoining the Stanza Egizia in the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito; see Visconti 1796, 2: 40–41 (*stanza* 6, no. 3). Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, the group is now in the Musée du Louvre, where it is cataloged as the Roman empress Faustina with a gladiator (MA 1009); see Kalveram 1995, 210–11 (entry no. 95).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 19), where it is described as a project for the exterior wall, facing right, of the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne. If that were the case, the positions of the door and the window would be reversed.

18. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Gladiatore*** (see fig. 37)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil, 24.7 × 27.4 cm (9¾ × 10¾ in.)

This drawing shows the northeast wall and the adjacent section of the ceiling vault blocked out for decoration in a manner consistent with the executed scheme. The treatment of the capitals of the pilasters, the panels between them, and the entablature matches that of no. 17 of this catalog,

and all were similarly varied upon implementation. The column to the left is from the adjoining wall, as illustrated in fig. 36 (no. 17).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 20), where it is described as a study for the wall between two windows in the Stanza di Apollo e Dafne. If that were the case, the freestanding column at the left would be at the right.

19. ***Entablature for the Stanza del Gladiatore*** (see fig. 38)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and brown ink with gray and brown wash, 23.9 × 44 cm (9⅜ × 17⅜ in.)

The section of entablature in this drawing is similar to that running just below the ceiling vault in the Stanza del Gladiatore—a testament to the attention Antonio Asprucci paid to architectural details in renovating the Casino. As installed, the entablature resembles a giant cornice above an architrave, and arms as well as the eagles and dragons of the Borghese coat of arms were substituted for the masks and rosettes shown between the modillions in this drawing; the victory wreaths were retained.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 26), where it is described as the decoration of the architrave in the Stanza del Gladiatore.

20. ***Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito Decorated as a Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 6)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 24.8 × 31.6 cm (9¾ × 12⅜ in.)

Meant for the wall in the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito that adjoins the Stanza Egizia and the adjacent portion of the ceiling vault, this sketch represents an abandoned plan to decorate the eventual Stanza dell'Ermafrodito as a Stanza Egizia and is a companion piece to no. 21 (see pl. 7). The decorative scheme shown incorporates some of the distinctive elements eventually implemented in the Stanza Egizia: a tripartite division of the wall effected by pilasters with ram's-head capitals, Egyptian birds atop a central aedicula that is flanked by sphinxes on plinths, a frieze decorated with isolated rosettes, and a decorative band of mock hieroglyphs. Among the elements that were varied in execution are the mock hieroglyphs on the ceiling vault, which were shifted from the center to the lower corners of the vault, and the pilasters, which were executed in red granite rather than the white stone indicated in the drawing.

The statue in the aedicula's niche seems to be the figure of Osiris—Egyptian god of the underworld and of fertility, and Isis's husband—that Visconti located in the Stanza Egizia in the aedicula on the wall adjoining the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito; see Visconti 1796, 2: 75 (*stanza* 8, no. 2). The hoopoe-headed baton and the *taw,* the attributes that the figure originally held, are not depicted. Commissioned by Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV in 1779 from the sculptor Antoine-Guillaume Grandjacquet, the statue was completed by 1781. It was sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon

Bonaparte in 1807 and is now in the Musée du Louvre (MR 1588); see *Egyptomania* 1994, 101–3 (entry no. 39–40 by Michael Pantazzi).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 41).

21. ***Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito Decorated as a Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 7)

Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 24.7 × 35.2 cm (9¾ × 13⅞ in.)

Meant for the wall in the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito that adjoins the Galleria and the adjacent portion of the ceiling vault, this sketch represents an abandoned plan to decorate the eventual Stanza dell'Ermafrodito as a Stanza Egizia and is a companion piece to no. 20 (see pl. 6). The decorative scheme shown incorporates some of the distinctive elements eventually implemented in the Stanza Egizia: a tripartite division of the wall effected by pilasters with ram's-head capitals, Egyptian birds atop a central aedicula, a frieze decorated with isolated rosettes, a series of panels of narrative scenes, and a decorative band of mock hieroglyphs. Among the elements that were varied in execution are the mock hieroglyphs on the ceiling vault, which were shifted from the center to the lower corners of the vault, and the pilasters, which were executed in red granite rather than the white stone indicated in the drawing. The column, niche, and entablature shown in profile at the far right are from the aedicula shown in the sketch for the wall adjoining the Stanza Egizia (see pl. 6); the deep window embrasure at the far left is illustrated in fig. 34 (no. 16). The doorway at the left is fictive.

The statue in the aedicula's niche seems to be the statue that Visconti described as "*Diana, detto volgarmente la Zingarella*" (Diana, commonly called the little gypsy) and located in the Stanza Egizia along the wall adjoining the Stanza del Sileno; see Visconti 1796, 2: 81–82 (*stanza* 8, no. 9). Still at the Casino, *La Zingarella* is usually attributed to the French sculptor Nicolas Cordier and dated to the early 1600s; see Faldi 1954, 48–49 (entry no. 47); Haskell and Penny 1981, 341; and Kalveram 1995, 128–36, 233–34 (entry no. 135).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 40), where it is described as part of an abandoned plan to decorate the eventual Stanza dell'Ermafrodito as a Stanza Egizia and as representing the wall of the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito adjoining the Stanza del Gladiatore. If the latter were the case, the positions of the aedicula shown in profile and the deep window embrasure would be reversed.

22. ***Elevation for the Stanza Egizia*** (see fig. 40)

Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pen and ink with pencil, 26.8 × 34.9 cm (10½ × 13¾ in.)

In this drawing, a companion piece to no. 25 (see fig. 43), the wall adjoining the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito is blocked out and scaled for ornamentation as executed. The column with the Ionic capital at the far right is

from the aedicula on the wall adjoining the Salone (see figs. 41, 43), and the door at the right is fictive. The lightly sketched urns surmounting the aedicula were replaced by ibises or Egyptian storks with snakes in their beaks.

The statue barely legible in the aedicula seems to be the figure of Isis—Egyptian goddess of the earth, protector of the sick and the dead, and wife to Osiris—that Visconti located in the Stanza Egizia in the (matching) aedicula on the wall adjoining the Stanza del Sileno; see Visconti 1796, 2: 75 (*stanza* 8, no. 10). Commissioned by Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV in 1779 from the sculptor Antoine-Guillaume Grandjacquet, the statue was completed by 1781. It was sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807 and is now in the Musée du Louvre (MR 1586); see *Egyptomania* 1994, 101–3 (entry no. 39–40 by Michael Pantazzi).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 27).

23. ***Elevation for the Stanza Egizia*** (see fig. 41)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil, 25.2 × 35.5 cm (9⅞ × 14 in.)

In this drawing, the design of the wall adjoining the Salone is blocked out, and much of the decoration is sketched in as executed. The isolated rosettes in the frieze and the ram's-head capitals on the pilasters were implemented as shown. Some details were varied in the band of mock hieroglyphs and in the narrative scenes painted in the panels of the upper register. The blank panel (perhaps a mirror) above the aedicula was filled with a narrative scene, the Egyptian birds surmounting the aedicula were reduced in size, and the festoon decorating the aedicula was omitted altogether. Ultimately the sphinxes flanking an urn (on the left; see also fig. 42) rather than the urns (on the right) were adopted as the ornamentation surmounting the doorways on this wall. The doorway on the right is fictive.

The statue in the aedicula seems to be the *Juno* created in 1780 by Vincenzo Pacetti; the sculptor added arms of white marble to an antique red porphyry torso and reworked an ancient white marble head for it as well. Visconti described the statue as an empress *adorante* (worshiping or praying) and located it in the aedicula on the wall adjoining the Salone; see Visconti 1796, 2: 75 (*stanza* 8, no. 6). Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, the statue is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 2228); see Arizzoli-Clémentel 1978, 8; and Kalveram 1995, 198–99 (entry no. 76). The two porphyry fluted Ionic columns from the aedicula on the wall adjoining the Salone were also sold and are in the Musée du Louvre (MA 1348, MA 1359); see Arizzoli-Clémentel 1978, 8. The Egyptian birds and the urns have disappeared.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 31).

24. ***Doorway for the Stanza Egizia*** (see fig. 42)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and gray wash, 36.5 × 24 cm (14⅜ × 9½ in.)

The design shown in this scaled sketch, which is very close to the one implemented for the two doorways in the wall adjoining the Salone, is similar to the doorway on the left in no. 23 of this catalog (see fig. 41). As the drawing suggests, the columns were made of black marble with bases and capitals of white marble. The capitals are "*intrecciate da fogli di piante Egiziana*" (interlaced with the leaves of Egyptian plants), according to Visconti 1796, 2: 72. Ultimately the canopic vase shown between the sphinxes in the sketch was either omitted or a cylindrical vase, now gone, was substituted; see Arizzoli-Clémentel 1978, 6.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 29); *Egyptomania* 1994, 98 (entry no. 37 by Michael Pantazzi); *Ägyptomanie* 1994, 74 (entry no. 33 by Michael Pantazzi).

Exhibition: *Ägyptomanie: Ägypten in der europäischen Kunst, 1730–1930,* Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1994–1995.

25. ***Elevation for the Stanza Egizia*** (see fig. 43)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil and pen and black and brown ink, 28.2 × 32.3 cm (11⅛ × 12¾ in.)

In this drawing, a companion piece to no. 22 (see fig. 40), the wall adjoining the Salone is blocked out and scaled for ornamentation as executed, following the design of no. 23 (see fig. 41). The Ionic column at the far right is from the aedicula housing *Isis* (see fig. 40) that was installed on the wall adjoining the Stanza del Sileno; that at the far left is from the aedicula housing *Osiris* (see pl. 6) on the wall adjoining the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito.

Prince Camillo Borghese sold the aedicula's two porphyry fluted Ionic columns to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, and they are now in the Musée du Louvre (MA 1348, MA 1359). In their place are unfluted columns with pseudo-Egyptian capitals, like those flanking the doors in the drawing (see also fig. 42); see Arizzoli-Clémentel 1978, 8.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 115 (checklist no. 28).

26. ***Pavement Design for the Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 8)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 28 × 38 cm (11 × 15 in.)

The design of the floor is laid out, with mock hieroglyphs and areas of colored stone sketched in. The grid shown in the drawing is similar to that of the executed pattern, but in the actual floor ancient Roman mosaics with figures were inserted into the four compartments filled with circles or ovals in the drawing. The implemented design also omits the black squares imbedded in the white grid in the drawing. The pavement was laid by Antonio Mander, a *terrazano* (paver) who did much of the flooring in the Casino; see Paul 1989, 360–61.

The center of the floor is left blank in the drawing, thus anticipating the location of an ancient Roman porphyry *labrum* (large basin or tub)

supported on the backs of four modern bronze crocodiles resting on a porphyry plinth, a work that Visconti situated in the middle of the room; see Visconti 1796, 2: 74. Sold by Prince Camillo Borghese to Napoléon Bonaparte in 1807, this work is in the Musée du Louvre (MA 438); see Arizzoli-Clémentel 1978, 8.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 36).

27. ***Elevation for the Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 9)
Attributed to Tommaso Conca, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 37 × 46 cm (14⅝ × 18⅛ in.)

This unexecuted design for a wall of the Stanza Egizia (excluding the northwest wall) incorporates a few of the distinctive elements eventually implemented in the Stanza Egizia: a tripartite division of the wall effected by pilasters, ram's-head and foliate capitals, paired sphinxes over doorways, and bands of mock hieroglyphs. The design lacks, however, the aedicula as well as the more architectonic conception of the executed ornamentation. The elements in this drawing stress the verticality of the wall, which is offset in the implemented decoration by the continuous band of hieroglyphs and similar elements.

Between the doorways, at the center of the drawing, is a hexagonal panel depicting Anubis—the jackal-headed Egyptian god who leads the dead to judgment—which is set against a rectangular panel with scarabs and mock hieroglyphs. Above this panel is a tondo depicting Apis, the sacred bull worshiped by the ancient Egyptians, and birds and geometric shapes are lightly sketched above the tondo. Apis figures in some of the scenes that Tommaso Conca ultimately painted in the panels of the upper register of the Stanza Egizia's walls. Above the doorway on the right is Cybele, the Phrygian goddess of fertility, who is the subject of the ceiling painting executed by Conca in the Stanza Egizia. Over the other doorway is a lightly sketched figure with a lyre (perhaps Apollo). Above the scale at the bottom is written "*Piedi 11 Castellani*" (11 Castellani feet).

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (entry no. 30c), 115 (checklist no. 32), where it is described as a "design for the decoration of the end wall"; *Egyptomania* 1994, 97 (entry no. 36 by Michael Pantazzi).

Exhibition: *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730–1930,* National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1994.

28. ***Elevation for the Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 10)
Attributed to Tommaso Conca, pencil and watercolor, 34 × 49.8 cm (13⅜ × 19⅝ in.)

This unexecuted design shows two variants for the treatment of a wall of the Stanza Egizia (excluding the northwest wall); each proposal lacks the aedicula as well as the more architectonic conception of the executed design. Featuring painted panels with Egyptianized figures and motifs, these variants show the influence of Giovanni Battista Piranesi's Egyptian

decors (see *Egyptomania* 1994, 39–41). At the center of the large rectangular central panel is Apis, the sacred bull worshiped by the ancient Egyptians. In the central panel of the lower register is a narrative featuring an Egyptian god (perhaps Thoth); a sistrum appears in the panel to the right. At the base of the pilaster to the left is an ibis, while at the base of the pilaster to the right is an owl. In the panel over the doorway to the left, Egyptian caryatids—one male, one female—flank a canopic jar under the eye of Horus. Over the doorway to the right is a fountain or an altar within a gazebo-like structure.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 113 (entry no. 30d), 115 (checklist no. 33), where it is described as a design for the wall adjoining the Salone.

29. ***Ceiling Design for the Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 11)
Attributed to Tommaso Conca, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 37.8 × 29.7 cm (14⅞ × 11¾ in.)

Like no. 30 (see pl. 12), this unexecuted ceiling design features painted scenes separated by decorative borders. In the octagonal portion, the standing figures to either side of the central sun are the goddess Isis, who is flanked by a stag and a mythical bird, and the god Osiris, who is flanked by a sphinx and a lion. A seated figure with a crocodile, a bird, an owl, and the jackal-headed god Anubis with a tablet appear in the four compartments below Isis, while those below Osiris contain Anubis with a foliate spray, two birds, and a figure reclining on a sphinx. Along the other sides of the octagonal portion are narrative scenes flanked by snakes. In the triangular portion, Cybele appears with Egyptian attributes—a crocodile and the personified Nile, his head covered to signify the mystery of the river's source. The scheme was eventually replaced by a single painted subject, an allegory of Cybele, which was painted by Conca (see fig. 39). The motif of leaves on the bordering bands here was used to decorate the mock pilasters that in the executed design divide the compartments of the ceiling vault.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 34); *Egyptomania* 1994, 96 (entry no. 35 by Michael Pantazzi).

Exhibition: *Egyptomania: Egypt in Western Art, 1730–1930,* National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1994.

30. ***Ceiling Design for the Stanza Egizia*** (see pl. 12)
Attributed to Tommaso Conca, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 35.5 × 28 cm (13⅞ × 11 in.)

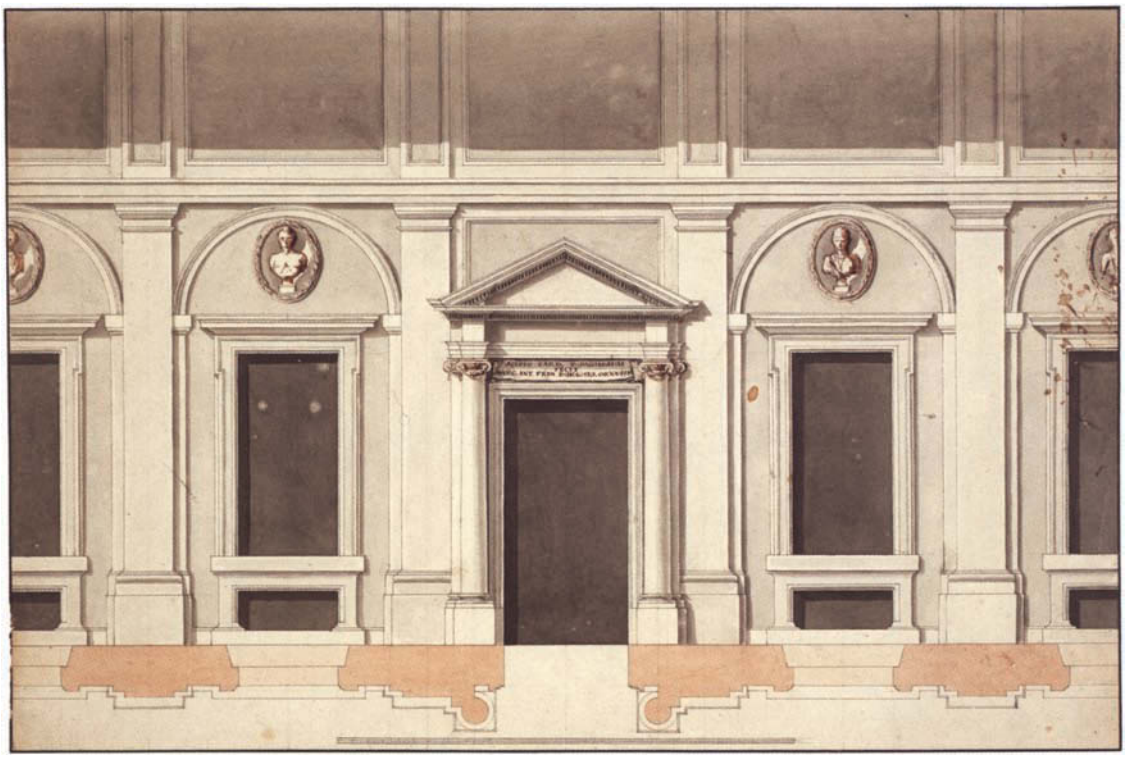
Compared to no. 29 (see pl. 11), this drawing for an unexecuted ceiling design is not as finished and is colored differently and less cohesively. The imagery and design of the two drawings are very similar, however; the most obvious differences are that in this drawing, each of the standing figures is backed by a foliate lattice and flanked by canopic jars, and plinths have been added under the flanking animals.

Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 35).

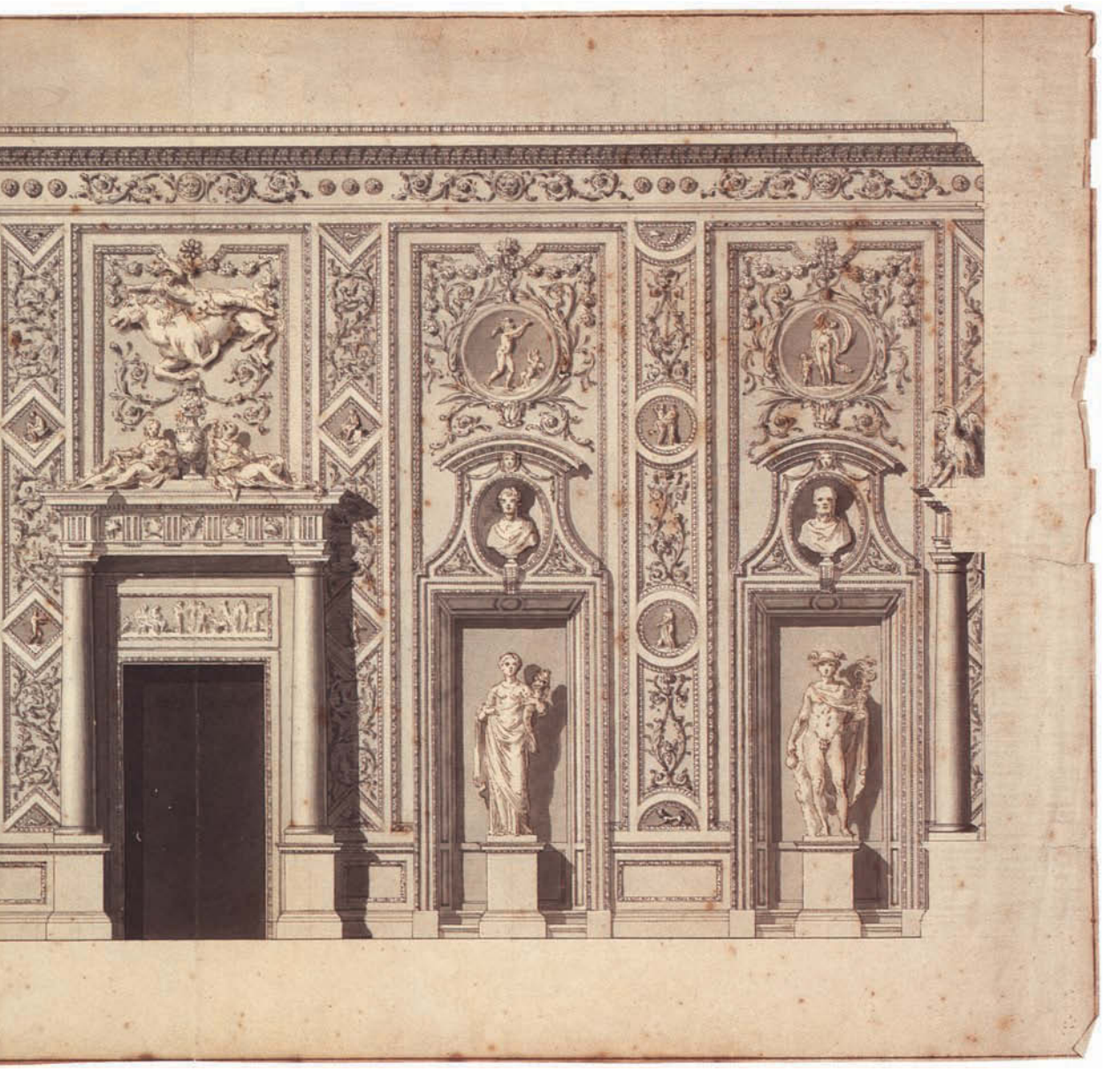
31. ***Elevation for the Stanza del Sileno*** (see fig. 45)
Attributed to Antonio Asprucci, pencil, 25.4 × 32.1 cm (10 × 12⅝ in.)

This drawing is for the Stanza del Sileno—either the northwest wall or the wall adjoining the Salone. Its simple, broad arches are similar to those presently adorning the long walls of the Stanza del Sileno. Apparently niches and aediculae were installed on these walls but no longer exist. The columns of the aediculae were of green marble, with bases and Ionic capitals in white marble; see Visconti 1796, 2: 85–86. Surmounting the gilded cornices of the aediculae were programmatically appropriate groups of satyrs in high relief with garlands and vine leaves, as suggested in the drawing. The statue shown in the niche remains unidentified; during the redecoration, a statue of Ceres was installed in the aedicula on the northwest wall, and a statue of Julia Soaemias Bassiana in the guise of Ceres was placed in the aedicula on the wall opposite, according to Visconti 1796, 2: 91–94 (*stanza* 9, nos. 5, 10). For the two statues, see Kalveram 1995, 223 (entry no. 118), 217 (entry no. 104).

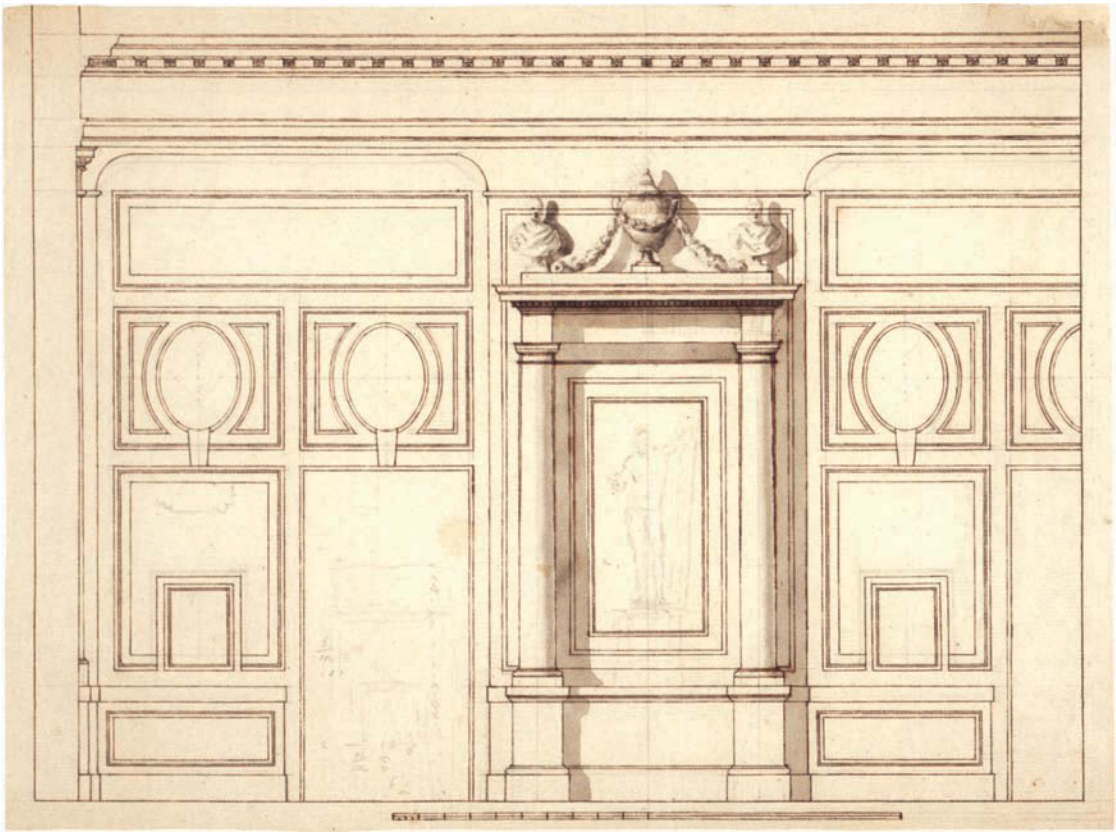
Literature: Fuhring 1989, 117 (checklist no. 45), where it is described as a project for a wall of the Stanza Egizia and appears among the drawings whose images do not correspond to any recognizable location in the Casino.



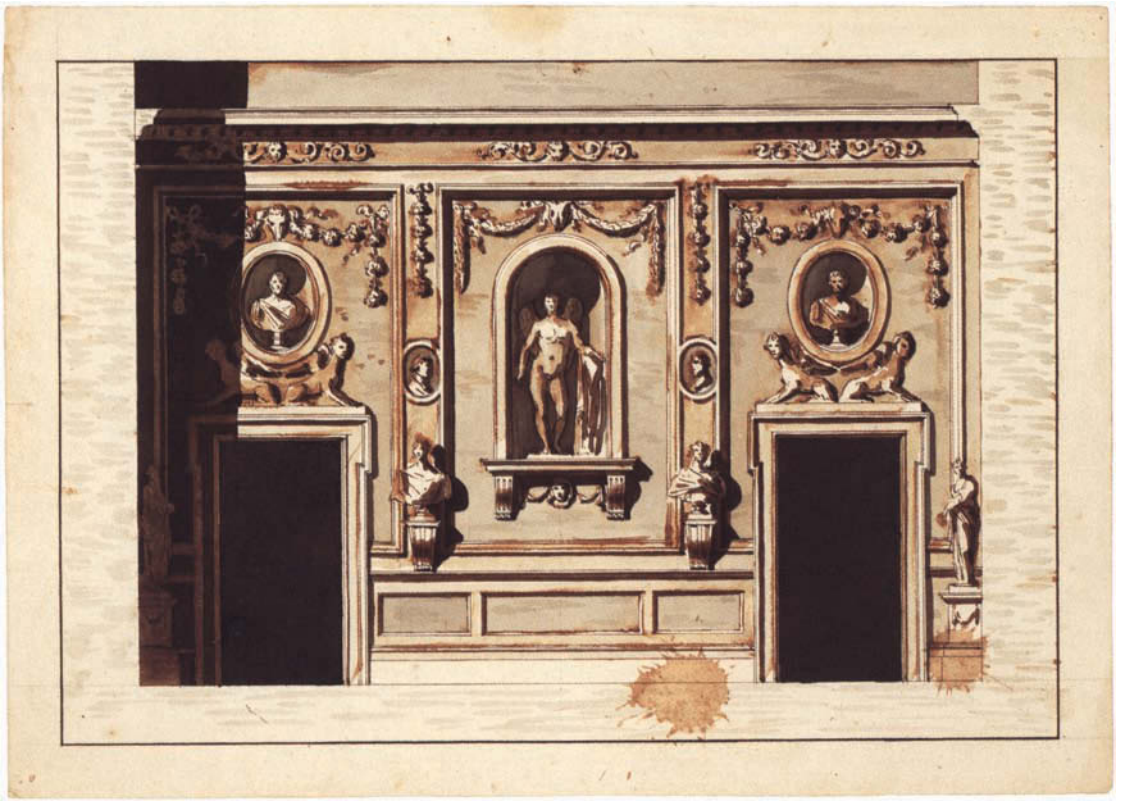
Pl. 1. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation and Plan for the Portico, ca. 1775–1780,
pen and brown and black ink with gray and pink wash,
33.9 × 48.7 cm (13⅜ × 19⅛ in.)
See no. 2



Pl. 2. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Salone, ca. 1775–1780,
pen and black and brown ink with gray wash,
37.5 × 63.5 cm (14¾ × 25 in.)
See no. 3

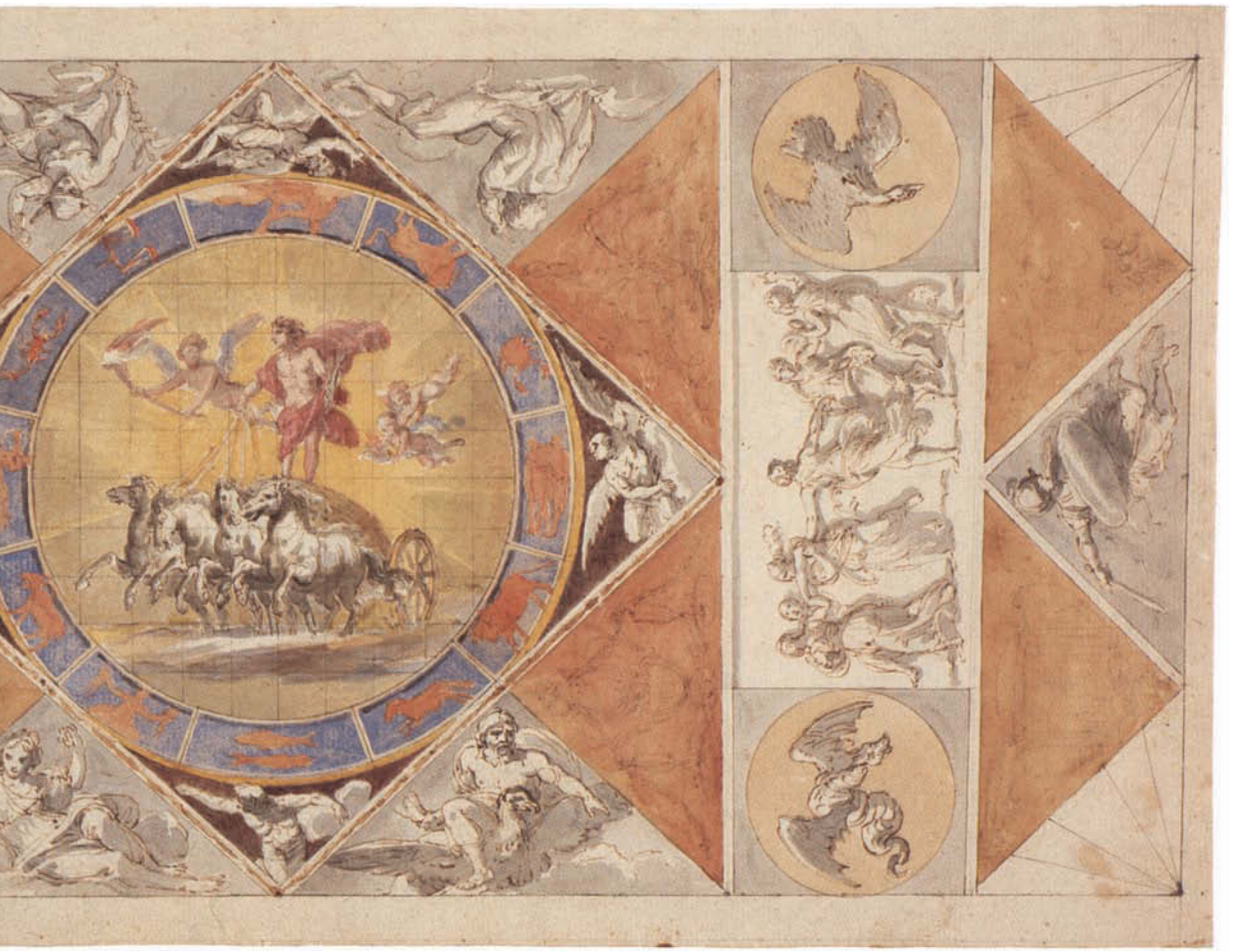


Pl. 3. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Vaso, ca. 1775–1780, pencil, pen and brown ink, and gray wash, 26.5 × 35.7 cm (10⅜ × 14 in.)
See no. 7

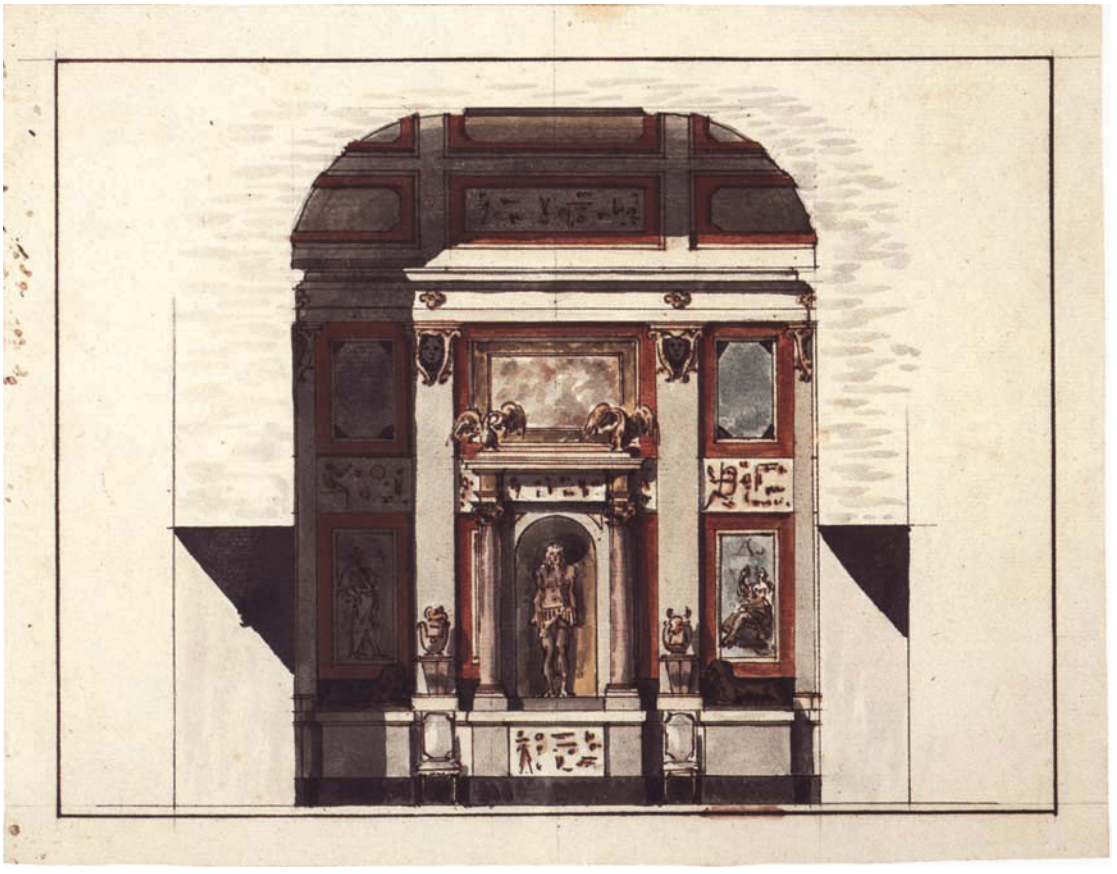


Pl. 4. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza del Sole, ca. 1775–1780, pen and brown ink with gray wash, 25.7 × 36.1 cm (10⅛ × 14¼ in.)
See no. 9

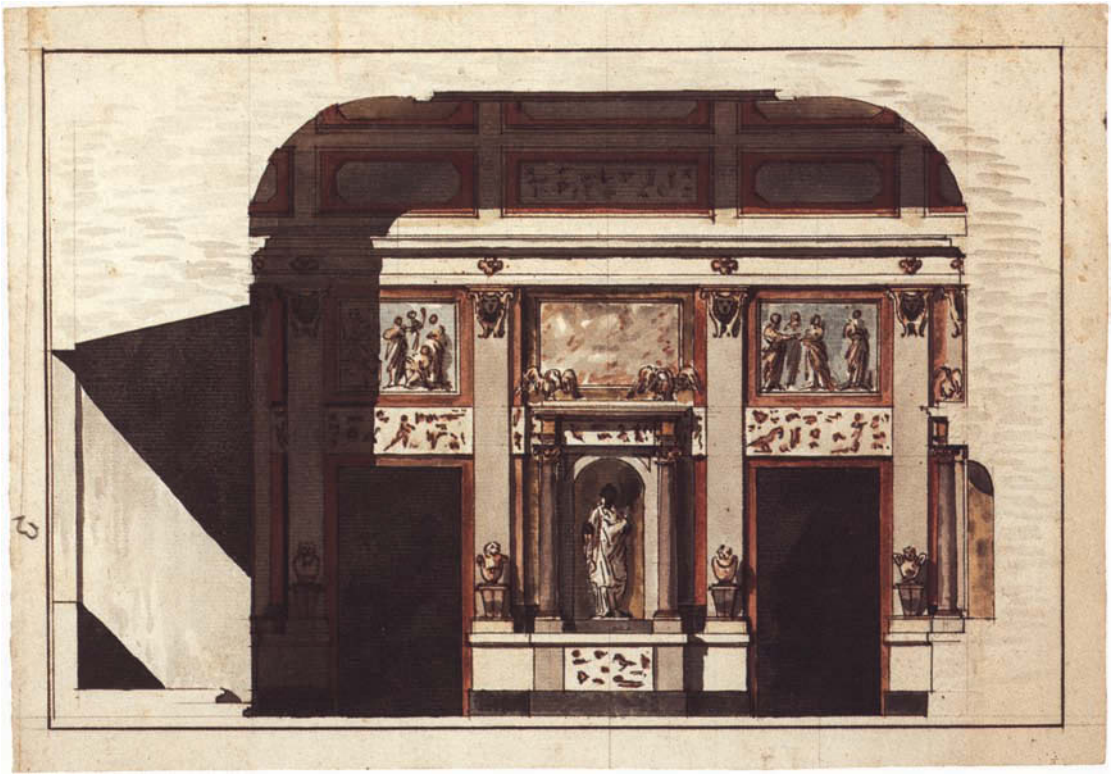

Dom. Cerezo



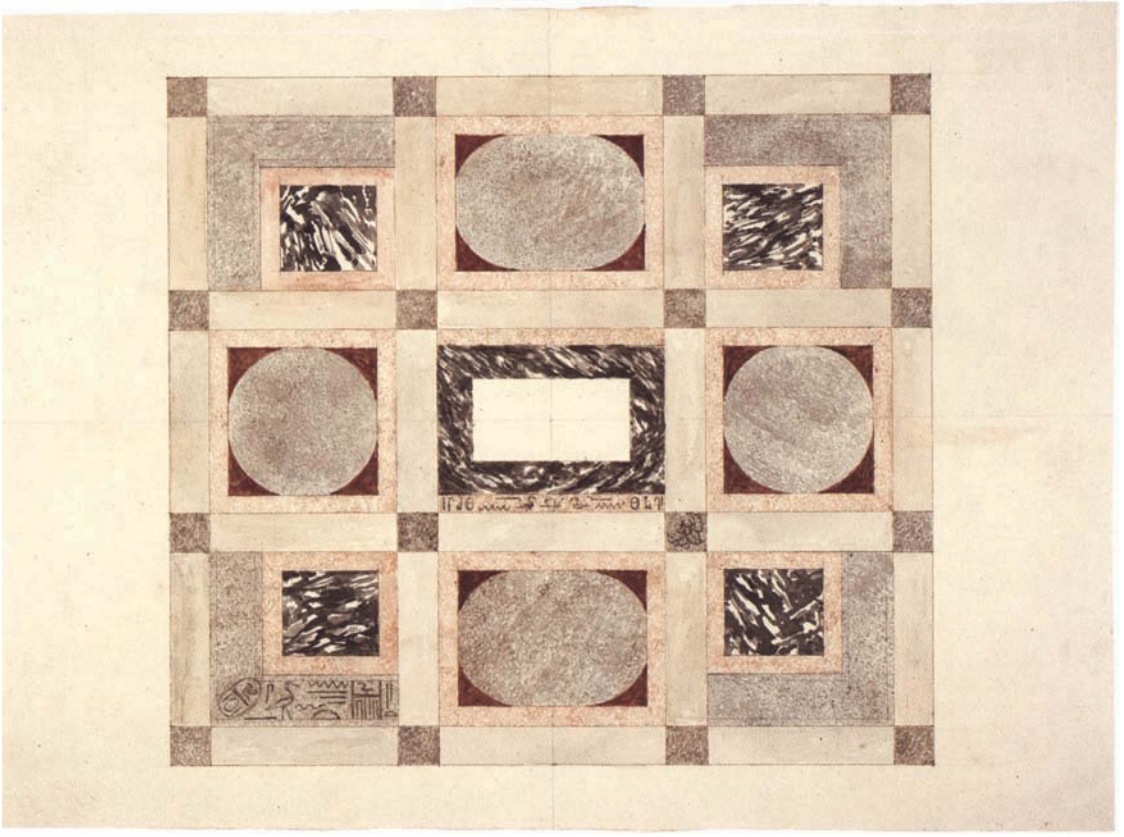
Pl. 5. Attributed to Tommaso Conca
Ceiling Design for the Stanza del Sole, ca. 1775–1780, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 24.5 × 48.9 cm (9⅝ × 19¼ in.)
See no. 12



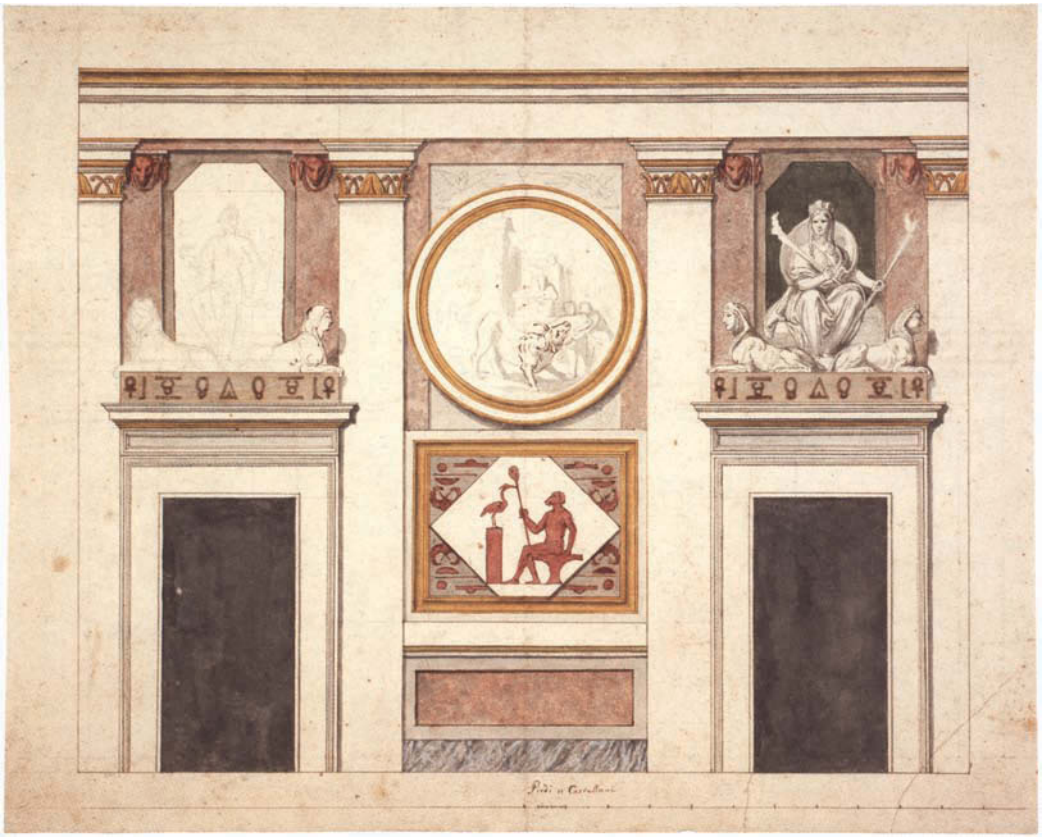
Pl. 6. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito Decorated as a Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 24.8 × 31.6 cm (9¾ × 12⅜ in.)
See no. 20



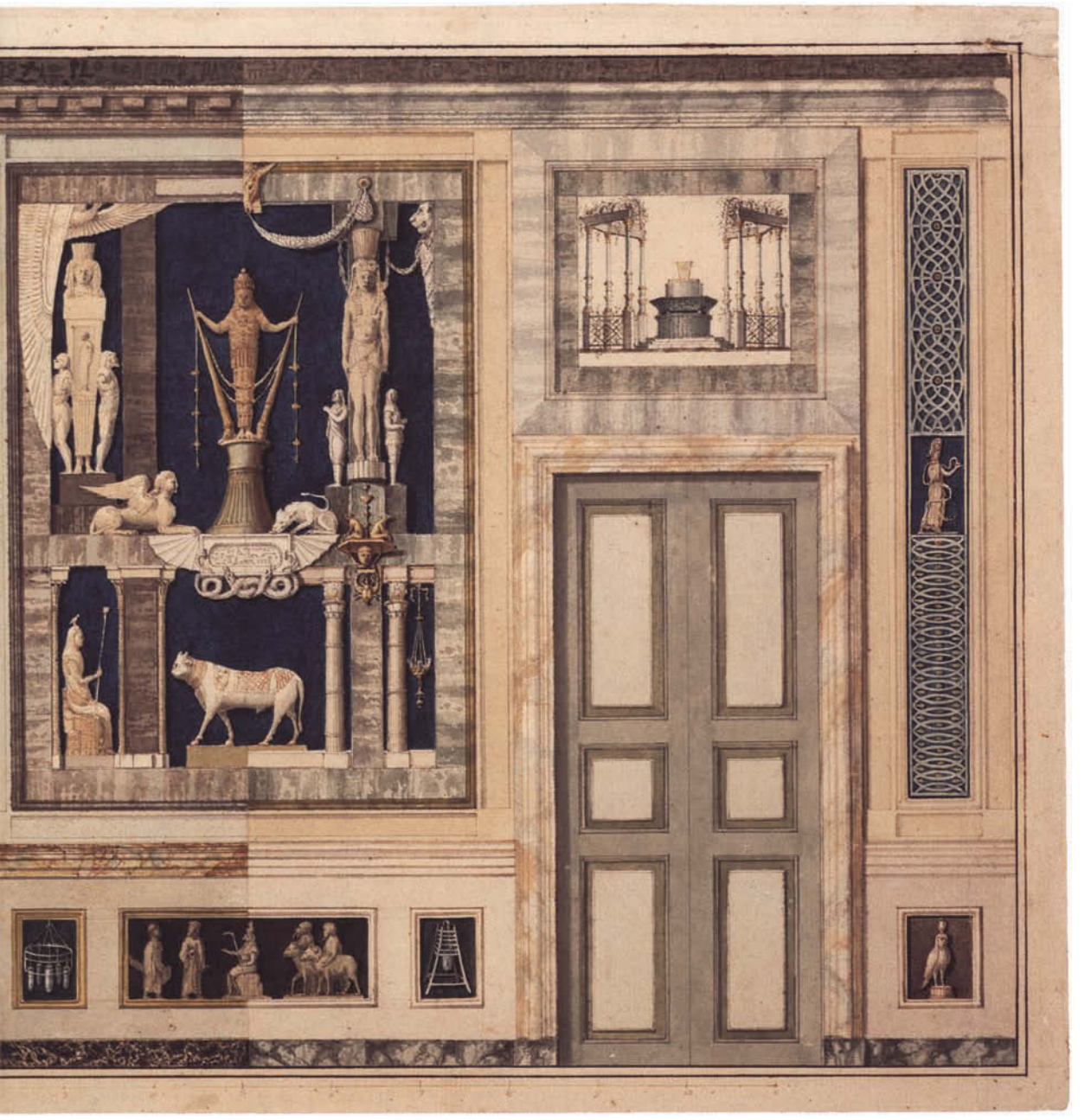
Pl. 7. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Elevation for the Stanza dell'Ermafrodito Decorated as a Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pen and brown ink with watercolor, 24.7 × 35.2 cm (9¾ × 13⅞ in.)
See no. 21



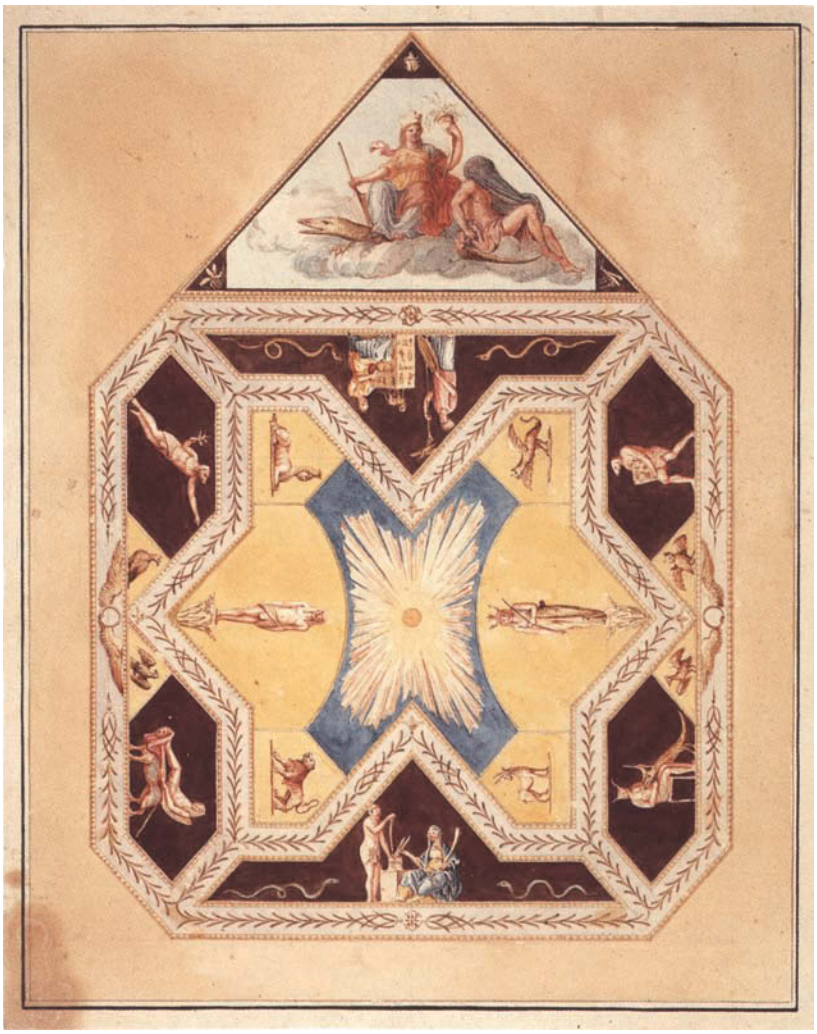
Pl. 8. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Pavement Design for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 28 × 38 cm (11 × 15 in.)
See no. 26



Pl. 9. Attributed to Tommaso Conca
Elevation for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 37 × 46 cm (14⅝ × 18⅛ in.)
See no. 27

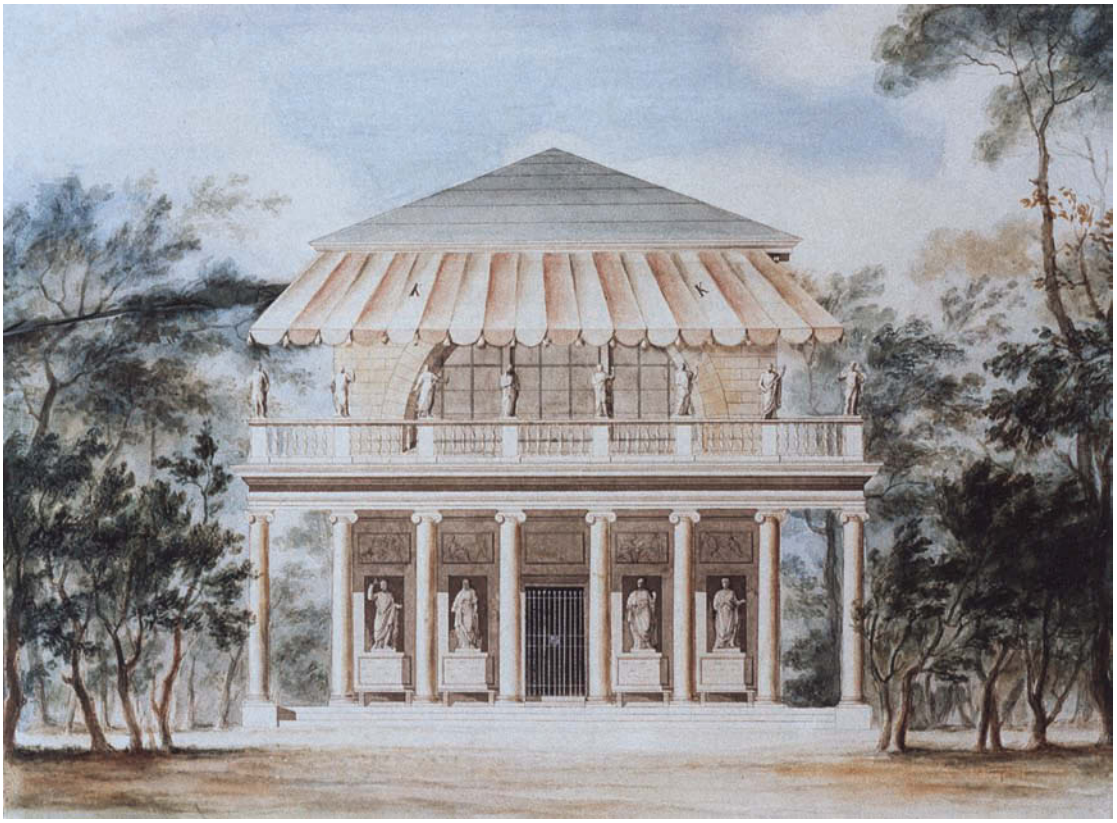


Pl. 10. Attributed to Tommaso Conca
Elevation for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780, pencil and watercolor, 34 × 49.8 cm (13⅜ × 19⅝ in.)
See no. 28



Pl. 11. Attributed to Tommaso Conca
Ceiling Design for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780,
pen and brown ink with watercolor, 37.8 × 29.7 cm
(14⅞ × 11¾ in.)
See no. 29

Pl. 12. Attributed to Tommaso Conca
Ceiling Design for the Stanza Egizia, ca. 1775–1780,
pencil, pen and brown ink, and watercolor, 35.5 × 28 cm
(13⅞ × 11 in.)
See no. 30



Pl. 13. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 4 (main facade), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma

The Museo di Gabii at the Villa Borghese: Drawings for the Prince's New Museum

Alberta Campitelli

In 1791, some fifteen years after beginning their renovation of the Villa Borghese, Prince Marcantonio Borghese IV and the architect Antonio Asprucci decided to add a second venue for the display of classical sculpture at the villa.[1] The new museum was to house statues arriving from an excavation about twelve miles east of Rome, where antiquarians supervised by the English art dealer and painter Gavin Hamilton had discovered the remains of the ancient Roman city of Gabii on land owned by the prince.[2] Today the Museo di Gabii is scarcely remembered and rarely studied, perhaps because it existed for so short a time and suffered an end so ignominious as almost to warrant consigning all memory of it to oblivion.

It is true that Marcantonio's adviser and curator Ennio Quirino Visconti published a wonderful volume in which the antiquities formerly exhibited at the Museo di Gabii—all now at the Musée du Louvre in Paris—are illustrated.[3] Nonetheless, very little is known about the new museum's genesis, development, or program. Eventually the statuary from Gabii was installed in what had been a gardener's residence. Situated just to the northeast of the Piazza di Siena, this building has been known since Asprucci remodeled it as the Casino di Gabii or, more commonly, the Casino dell'Orologio, because of its tower with four clock dials (see figs. 16, 58).

Yet Marcantonio and Asprucci settled on the transformation of the gardener's residence into the Museo di Gabii only after abandoning plans to construct an entirely new building—an idea that evidently stirred up interest in contemporary Rome, judging from the drawings that still exist for the project. Altogether three versions of the Museo di Gabii are offered in ten drawings recently discovered in different collections:

- Eight watercolor drawings and a legend for an *ex novo* Museo di Gabii (Museo di Roma)
- A drawing in pencil of an interior with statues (Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles)
- A watercolor drawing for the Casino dell'Orologio (Archivio Borghese, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City)

Despite obvious stylistic differences, all these drawings have been attributed to Antonio Asprucci.

The Set of Drawings at the Museo di Roma

In the early 1980s the Museo di Roma acquired a set of eight watercolor architectural drawings (figs. 50–56, pl. 13) accompanied by a legend entitled "*Indice generale de disegni per il museo*" (General index for the drawings for the museum).[4] Presumably the attribution of these unsigned and undated drawings to Antonio Asprucci was based on the identification as Asprucci's of the rather generic handwriting on the folder holding the drawings and, perhaps, on the well-known fact that Asprucci supervised the Museo di Gabii's construction. Nonetheless, comparison of these drawings with architectural drawings attributed to Asprucci at the Getty Research Institute reveals profound differences in style: most of the latter barely suggest a setting or context and are sketchier or more schematic than the highly finished drawings at the Museo di Roma, in which the proposed museum, its monuments, and even its landscaping are depicted in detail. In short, the drawings at the Museo di Roma do not look like drawings executed by Antonio Asprucci.[5]

Recently I have discovered evidence in the Archivio Borghese that confirms this intuition. This evidence comprises an unsigned letter attached to a legend that is identical to the legend with the drawings at the Museo di Roma. Addressed to Prince Borghese, the letter mentions sketches for "*suo nuovo museo gabbino*" (his new Museo di Gabii).[6] Juxtaposing the legend and letter from the Archivio Borghese with the legend and drawings at the Museo di Roma makes it clear that they once constituted a single document. None of these items bears a signature, date, or other element that allows the author to be identified easily and conclusively. Yet the drawings cannot be by Antonio Asprucci, as this declaration in the letter presenting the drawings to the prince makes clear: "[*Io*] *intendo di rimettere il tutto al saggio parere del Sig. Asprucci, cui professo particolare stima, e amicizia*" (I intend to submit the entire [plan] to the learned opinion of Mr. Asprucci, for whom I profess special esteem and friendship).

Having excluded Asprucci, we must look for a likely author elsewhere among the architects active in late-eighteenth-century Rome. The inscription on the plaque in the elevation for the back of the museum allows us to date the set of drawings to 1791 (see fig. 54): "GABIORUM MONUMENTA E MUNICIPI RUDERIBUS LACUM ADSPECTANTIBUS XII LAPIDE VIAE PRAENESTINAE IN FUNDO SUO TRANS VERESIM AMNEM EFFOSSA TABLINO A FUNDAMENTIS EXSTRUCTO MARCUS ANTONIUS BURGHESIUS MUSIS ET ARTIBUS DAT A MDCCLXXXXI" (The monuments of the city of Gabii excavated from the rubble fronting the lake at the twelfth milestone of the Via Praenestina, on [the prince's] farm across the stream Veresis. Marcantonio Borghese, having erected a marker on these foundations, offers [the monuments] to the Muses and the Arts, in the year 1791). According to the letter, the new museum was to be situated just north of the Piazza di Siena, in the wooded

valley between the Giardino del Lago and the so-called Fortezzuola, the picturesque example of medieval revival that today houses the Museo Canonica.

In addition to explaining how the museum would look in this setting and why it would be relatively inexpensive to build, the author of the letter focuses on how the museum's design manages the display and lighting of the statuary. In the elevation for the front facade, four statues are shown on pedestals in niches inside the portico, and eight statues appear on the balustrade of the gallery above (see pl. 13); by arranging the statues around the entrance, the architect seems to have deliberately mediated the interior-exterior relationship for the visitor. The remainder of the statues are depicted inside, in the museum's *salone,* a large two-storied room with a high undecorated barrel vault (see figs. 55, 56). The walls of the *salone* are decorated with a discrete monochrome frieze *all'antica* (in the ancient style) meant to complement rather than compete with the antiquities on display; according to the letter, the frieze "*servirà d'ornamento serio, ed appartenente all'Istoria, ed al Museo Gabbino*" (will serve as serious decoration, relating to the history [of Gabii] and to the Museo di Gabii). The portico and the small lateral wings enliven the rectangularity of the building, whose main room was designed to be "*come le antiche sale delle Terme, ove tra le altre celebri Statue esisteva ancora quella del Laocoonte*" (like the ancient rooms of the thermal baths where, among the other celebrated statues, the *Laocoon* was once displayed). From the gallery with its retractable awning and large semicircular window, as the letter points out, "*si goderebbe tutto il bello del gran Circo e nell'istesso tempo l'interna veduta del Museo*" (one could enjoy all the beauty of the great circus [Piazza di Siena] and simultaneously view the museum's interior). The author states as well, "*Quello che soprattutto può qui interessare si è l'ottimo lume libero da ogn'altro oggetto. Questo lume è doppio, onde chiudendone uno con bandinelle, si potranno godere le Sculture a quel lume che più piacerà*" (Above all, what is of interest here is the optimal ample lighting of each object. The lighting comes from two sides, so that by closing off one side with the awning, the sculptures may be enjoyed in the best light).

Each of the drawings in the Museo di Roma's set is executed with careful attention to detail as well as overall aesthetic effect. The precision with which the decorative elements, the play of light and shadow, and the landscaping are drawn indicate that the author was not a novice or without skills, yet the letter suggests that the author was eager to make a good impression on the prince and to obtain this prestigious commission. The only architect known to be active in and around Rome during the period who fits this description was Giuseppe Valadier.[7] Born in 1762, the twenty-nine-year-old architect was already established; however, a commission from the Borghese prince could not but interest him, and it would have furthered his career.

The drawings at the Museo di Roma—so carefully executed to engage the attention of an important patron—are different from the quick sketches characteristic of the many extant examples of Valadier's work. Nonetheless, several architectural elements in the drawings for the Museo di Gabii support an

Indice generale de disegni per il museo
General index for the drawings for the museum

A.	*Arena del Circo* Piazza di Siena	*Carta 1*
B.	*Stradone che guarda il Tempio di Faustina* Avenue that runs to the Tempio di Faustina	*Carte 1, 8*
C.	*Portico del Museo d'Ordine Ionico* Portico of the museum, with Ionic columns	*Carte 2, 3, 4, 7, 8*
D.	*Museo con la volta a Camera canna* Museum with a barrel vault	
E.	*Cordonate che portano giù alla Piazza Circolare* Ramps that lead to the circular piazza	*Carte 2, 3, 6, 8*
F.	*Piazza Circolare che può servire alla Cavallerizza per maggior commodo del Circo* Circular piazza that will allow the equestriennes better access to the Piazza di Siena	*Carte 1, 5, 6, 7*
G.	*Vialetti di communicazione alla Piazza Circolare* Paths to the circular piazza	*Carta 1*
H.	*Entrone Sotterraneo, che dalla Piazza Circolare porta alle Scale del Circo* Subterranean passage that leads from the circular piazza to the stairs of the Piazza di Siena	*Carte 5, 6, 7, 8*
I.	*Scaletta che porta nel Loggiato sopra del Portico con sottoscale di Commodo agli utensili* Stairway that leads to the gallery above the portico, with spaces underneath for storing implements	*Carte 2, 3, 5, 7, 8*
K.	*Loggiato sopra al Portico, che guarda nell'interno del Museo, e nell'esterno dalla parte del Circo coperto di Tendone per comodo di osservarsi i giuochi* Gallery above the portico, which overlooks the interior of the museum and [which is] covered, on the outside near the Piazza di Siena, with an awning for comfort while observing the players	*Carte 4, 5, 7, 8*
L.	*Catene che reggono la Balaustrata interna* Beams that support the interior balustrade	*Carta 8*
M.	*Fregio dipinto in Chiaroscuro rappresentante Istorie della Città di Gabbi* Painted monochrome frieze representing the history of the city of Gabii	*Carte 7, 8*
N.	*Gabinetti e comodi da aggiungersi alla Fabrica* Small rooms and meeting places in the building	*Carte 1, 3, 6*
O.	*Alberi che esistono, e restano per coprire le Fiancate della Fabrica* Existing trees that will remain to cover the sides of the building	*Carte 1, 3, 7, 8*
P.	*Porte con Passetti che introducono alli Gabinetti* Doors to passages leading to the small rooms	*Carte 3, 7*
Q.	*Porta segreta che dal Loggiato da il comodo di calare nell'interno del Museo* Concealed door from the gallery that allows easy descent into the museum's interior	*Carte 3, 7, 8*

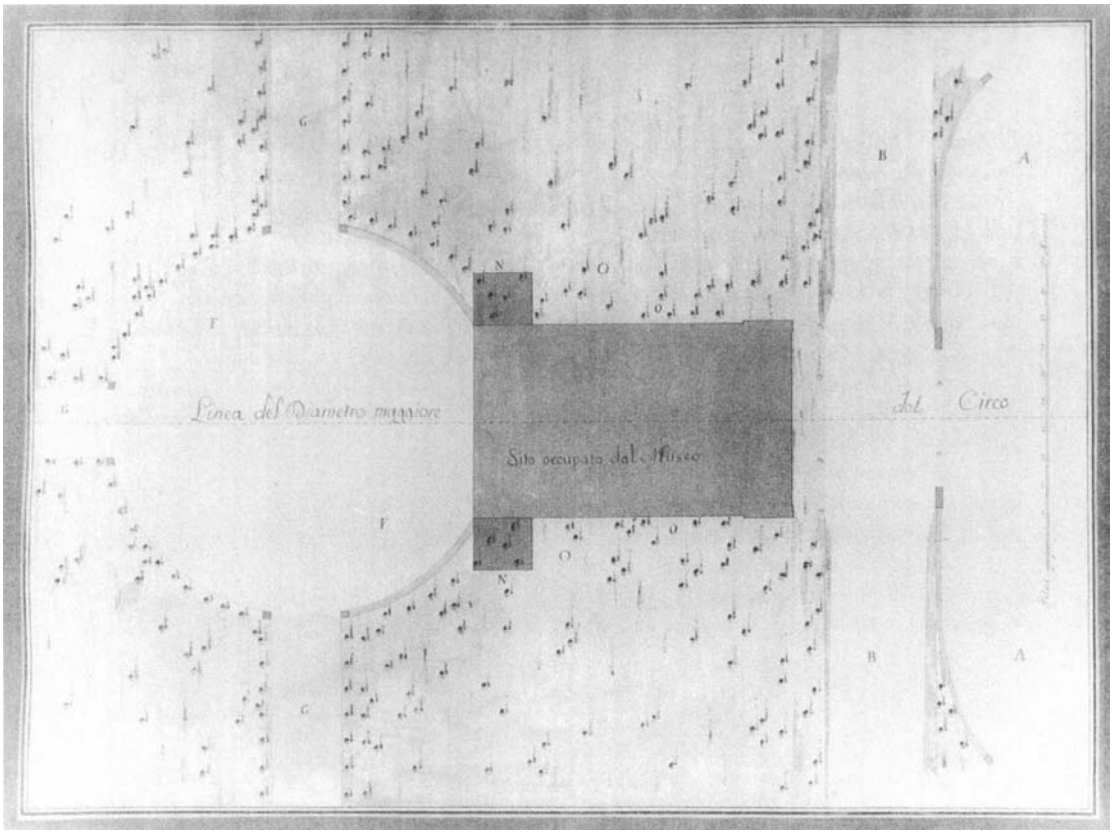
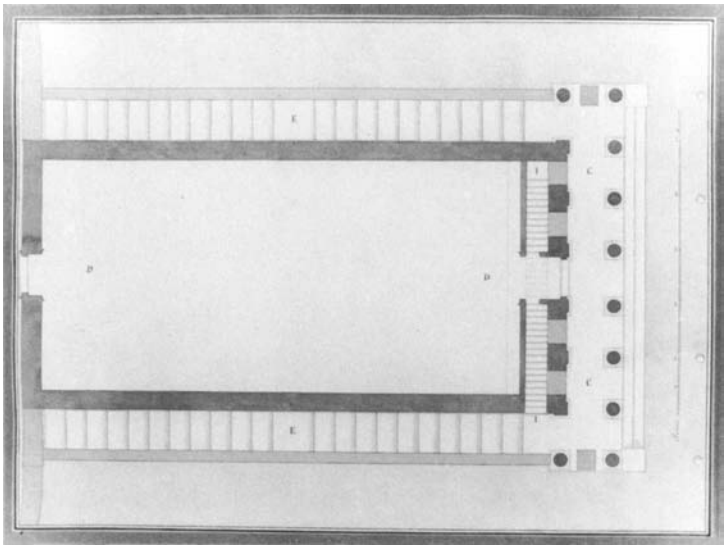


Fig. 50. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 1 (site plan), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma



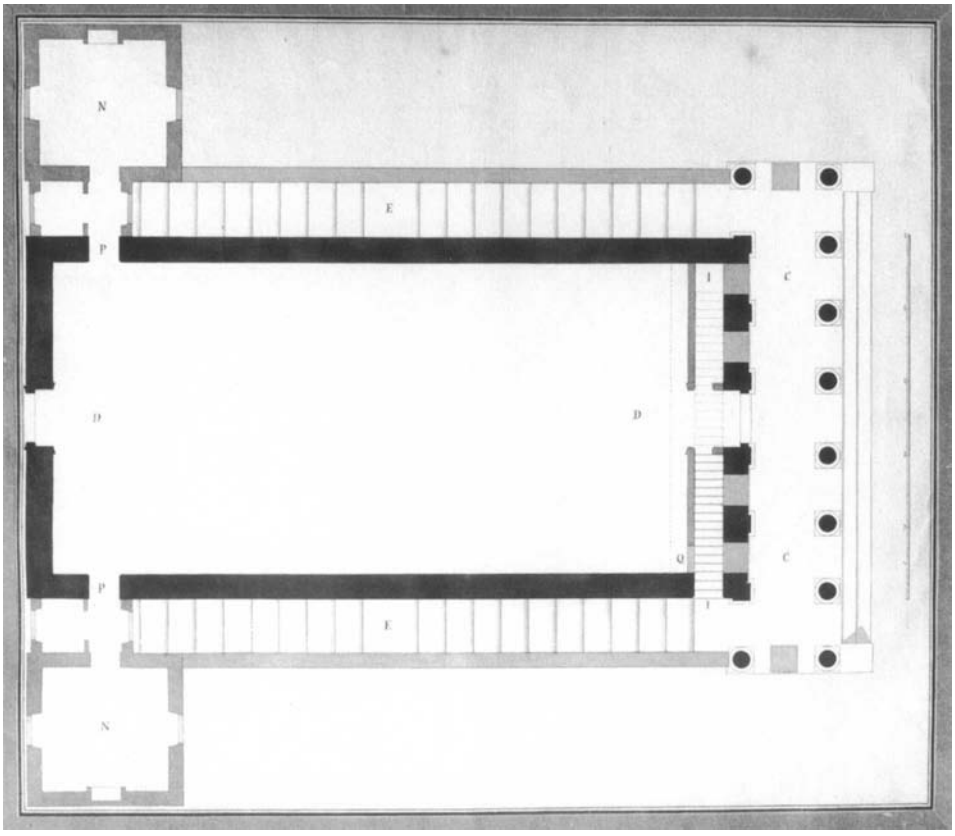
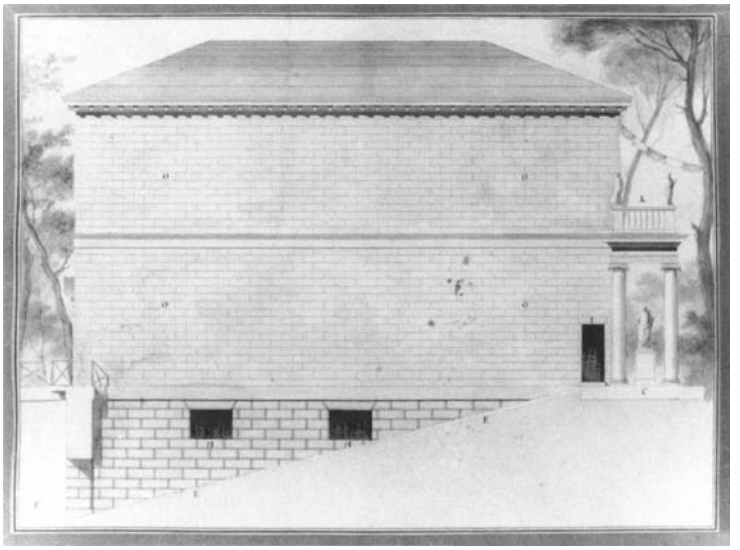


Fig. 51. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 2 (ground plan), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma

Fig. 52. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 3 (ground plan), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma



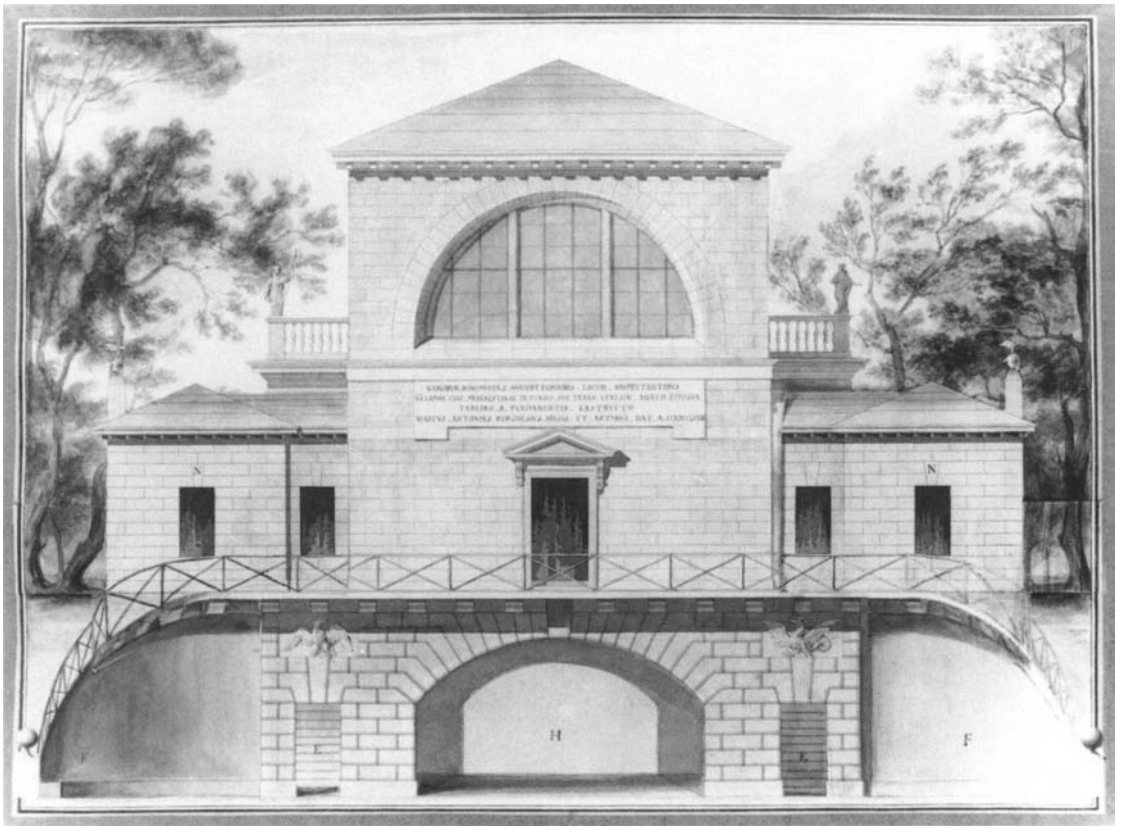


Fig. 53. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 5 (side elevation), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma

Fig. 54. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 6 (back elevation), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma

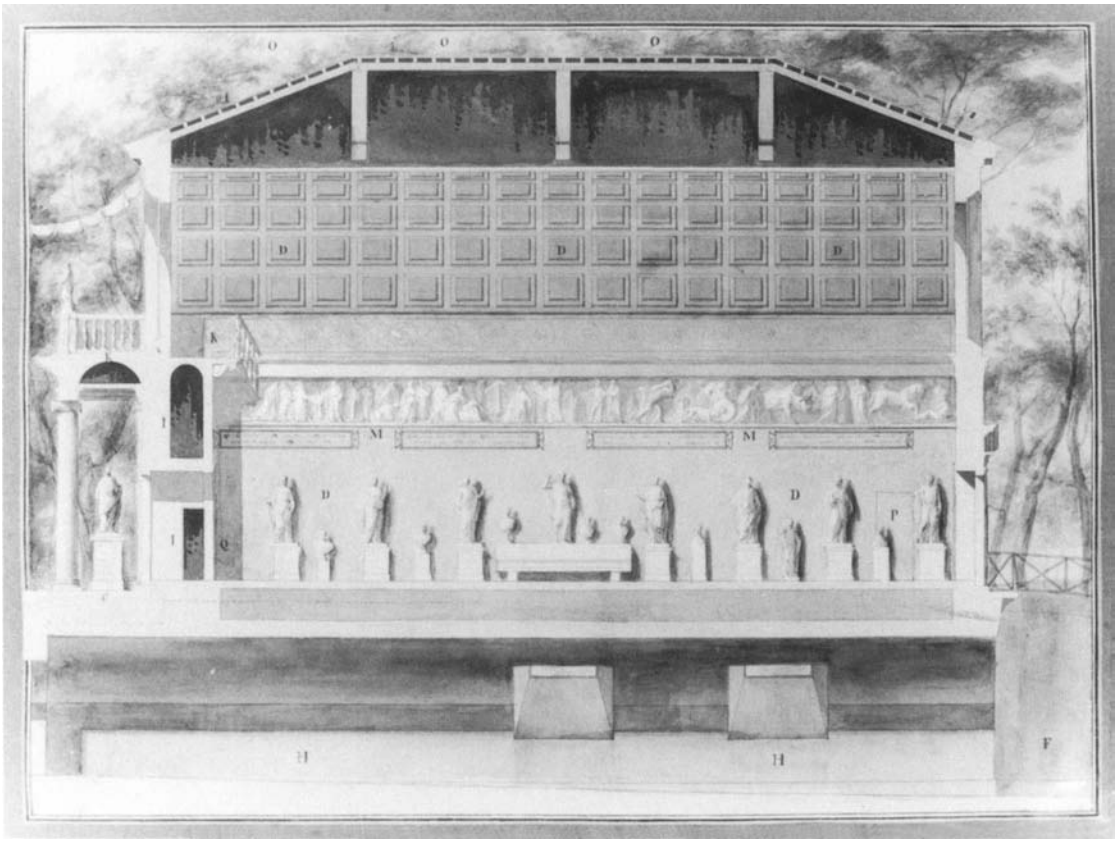


Fig. 55. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 7 (longitudinal section), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma

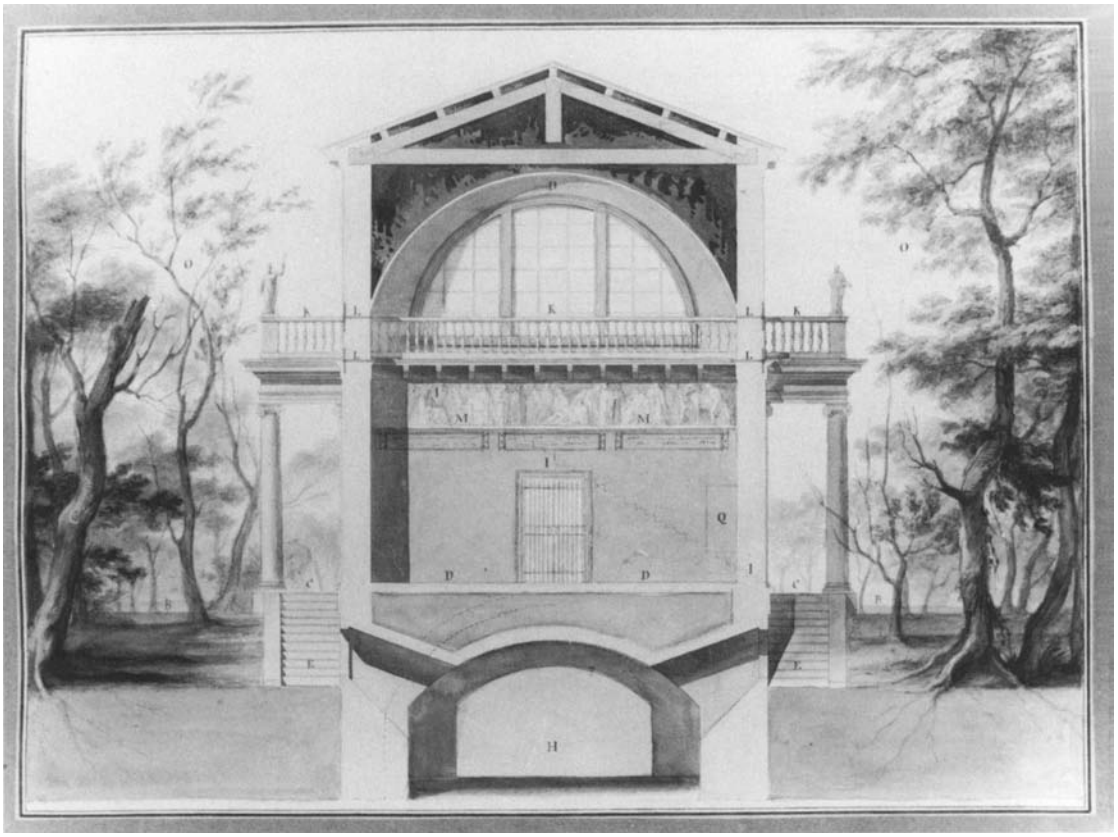


Fig. 56. Attributed to Giuseppe Valadier
Design for a Museum for the Statues at the Villa Borghese, Carta 8 (latitudinal section), ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 46 × 60 cm (18⅛ × 23⅝ in.)
Rome, Museo di Roma

attribution to Valadier. Although used by other architects of the period, large semicircular windows like the two illuminating the *salone* in the drawings occur with notable frequency in Valadier's plans over the course of his career. For example, they appear in his designs for the facades of San Pantaleo (1806) and Santa Maria del Popolo (circa 1816–1818) and for the ballroom of the *casino* at the Villa Torlonia (1802), as well as in his sketches dating to 1799 for a bathhouse, a coffeehouse, and a coin mint. The portico is a favorite element of Valadier's as well, appearing in his designs for the Casino del Pincio and many other buildings, including all those already mentioned.[8] Moreover, a very large number of Valadier's buildings are faced with ashlar, and he often used ashlars in relief on the lower levels with flat ashlars on the upper levels, as is done in the drawing for the back facade of the Museo di Gabii (see fig. 54). The permanent awning designed to protect the statues of the Museo di Gabii has features in common with the temporary awning Valadier proposed for the decoration of the Mausoleum of Augustus during festivities organized in 1815 in honor of Francis I of Austria.[9] Finally, because the architect's father, the noted silversmith Luigi Valadier, had worked for Marcantonio, the son might well have had an entrée to the prince or an inside track on the project.

There is, moreover, written evidence previously uncorrelated with the Museo di Roma's set of drawings that supports an attribution to Giuseppe Valadier—namely, a letter by the engraver, antiquarian, and diplomat Francesco Piranesi in which he details two proposals presented to Marcantonio for a new structure to house the antiquities from Gabii.[10] According to Piranesi, Antonio Asprucci submitted drawings for a building on the hill adjacent to the Piazza di Siena. Asprucci's proposed museum, which comprised a portico with six arches leading into a large octagonal room flanked by two rooms, was admired by everyone but Cristoforo Unterberger, who objected that its construction would require the destruction of too many of the ancient trees on the hill. Unterberger then submitted his own plans, which Piranesi described to his correspondent. Without doubt, Piranesi was writing about the Museo di Roma's set of drawings for the Museo di Gabii—the coincidence of details is exact. His attribution of the drawings to Unterberger is problematic, however. Essentially a painter and decorator, Unterberger had designed the Fontana dei Cavalli Marini and the Tempio di Faustina at the Villa Borghese, but he was not an architect and no architectural drawings have been found among his extant works. It is not possible that Unterberger executed the set of drawings at the Museo di Roma, which clearly reveal the hand of an architectural expert. A plausible solution to this problem is provided by Unterberger's biography, however. Between 1788 and 1792, he and Giuseppe Valadier collaborated on numerous enterprises, and their names appear side by side on many drawings for projects where Valadier occupied himself with the architecture and Unterberger with the decoration.[11] It seems likely that the Museo di Roma's set of drawings was another such collaborative effort, and Piranesi's attribution of the plans to Unterberger is easily explained. Because Unterberger was already in Marcantonio's service, whereas

Valadier had never worked for the prince and Asprucci held the monopoly on architectural projects at the Villa Borghese, Unterberger probably presented the proposal as his alone in order to increase its chances, perhaps intending to reveal his collaborator at a later date, once the commission was won.

The Drawing at the Getty Research Institute

No trace of the prince's response to the set of drawings now held by the Museo di Roma remains, but the scheme was not implemented. Instead, the building chosen to house the statues from Gabii was a gardener's residence that was in existence by the mid-seventeenth century. It figured in the plan of the Villa Borghese made by Simone Delino and published in Giovanni Battista Falda's *Li giardini di Roma* in 1670, and it was described by Giacomo Manilli in 1650 as well as by Domenico Montelatici in 1700.[12] According to Montelatici's guidebook, "*Vien divisa in due piani, con un Cortile, et un'altra stanza assai grande fabbricata a volta nel primo piano, dipinta tutta à grotteschi di bellissima invenzione, e con diverse vedute di paesi boscarecci*" (It is divided into two floors, with a courtyard and a very large vaulted room on the ground floor that is painted entirely with *grottesche* decoration of marvelous invention and with various views of woody landscapes). Several sketches by Charles Percier confirm these descriptions, which suggests that the building had not undergone significant structural changes prior to 1791.[13]

The first report of alterations to the gardener's residence appeared in *Cracas,* a periodical published in Rome, on 5 November 1791. The article mentioned the construction of a portico as well as a tower topped by a clock with four dials and a bell, and credited the architect Nicola Fagioli.[14] This attribution is corrected in the issue of *Cracas* published on 26 November 1791:

> *Diciamo con sicurezza adunque che un tal Casino assegnato per abitazione del giardiniere, con ordine di Sua Eccellenza il Signor Principe Padrone si orna in tutte le facciate; vi si forma nel pian terreno un bel comodo, che nell'interno tutto si dipinge per potervisi ritirare, e trattenersi al coperto con sedili attorno e vi è stata piantata da fondamenti una ben alta torre nel mezzo, che termina a guisa d'un picciolo osservatorio rotondo guarnito da otto colonne, dentro nel quale vi sono state poste tre sonore compane per l'orologio a quattro mostre, che fra pochi giorni si porrà sotto. Il disegno poi del tutto e la direzione sono dell'Architetto Sig. Antonio Asprucci ed il solo movimento dell'Orologio si fa dal Sig. Nicola Fagioli.*
>
> (We say assuredly then that, upon the order of His Excellency the Prince [Marcantonio IV], the *casino* formerly assigned to the gardener is adorned on all facades; the ground floor consists of a comfortable space with painted walls where one may withdraw and be seated to rest, and at the center are the foundations for a very tall tower; at the top of the tower is a small round belvedere with eight columns that holds three sonorous bells for the four dials of the clock, and [the clock] will be put in place below in a few days. The entire design and supervision are by the architect Antonio Asprucci, and Nicola Fagioli is responsible only for the movement of the clock.)[15]

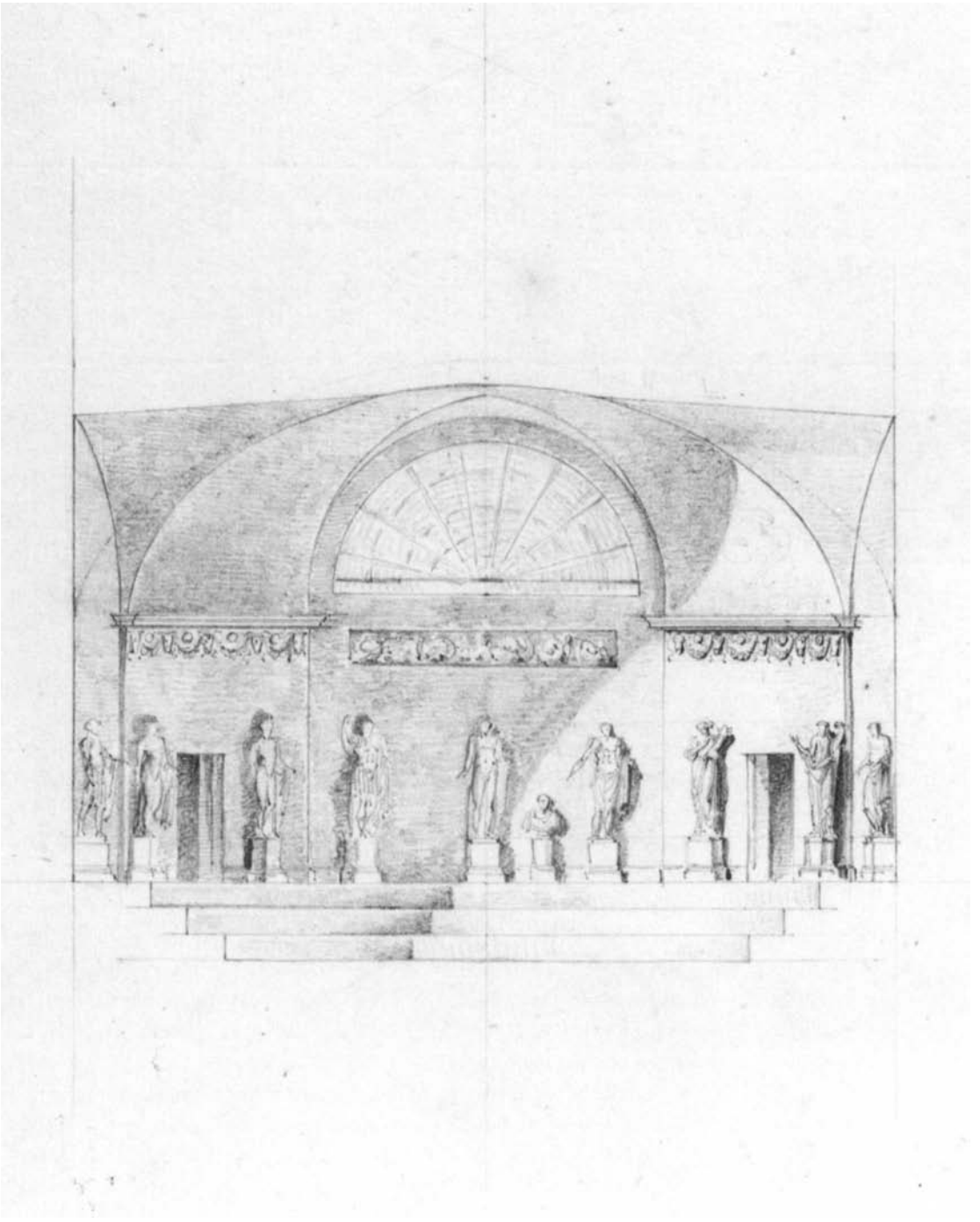


Fig. 57. ***Interior with a Display of Ancient Statues,***
ca. 1791, pencil, 28 × 22.2 cm (11 × 8¾ in.)
Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, Research Library

Among the drawings relating to the late-eighteenth-century renovation of the Villa Borghese held by the Getty Research Institute is a sketch in pencil that clearly refers to a project for a sculpture gallery (fig. 57).[16] The elevation deals with one section of a room with a vaulted ceiling. Several statues and a bust are displayed on pedestals along a wall featuring a central recess with a large semicircular window and a door to each side. A decorative frieze of swags and rams' heads running below a cornice is drawn over each of the doors; below the window is a bas-relief panel of what looks like a running pattern of shells, Tritons, and mythical sea animals.

The drawing does not relate to the Casino Borghese, because neither the architectural nor the decorative elements can be matched to any of the Casino's rooms; yet at the Villa Borghese, sculpture was exhibited indoors only at the Casino and the Casino dell'Orologio. Is the drawing a proposal for the transformation of the *salone* of the Casino dell'Orologio into the Museo di Gabii? The main room of the Casino dell'Orologio does have a vaulted ceiling, and its facades are punctuated by windows and doors topped by large semicircular windows reminiscent of the window in the drawing.

Even more intriguing is that several of the sculptures depicted in the drawing seem to correspond to statues illustrated in Visconti's catalog for the Museo di Gabii.[17] The statues second and third from the right resemble the statues Visconti identified as Sabina, wife of Hadrian, as Peace (no. 43) and Nemesis (no. 31), respectively. The fourth statue from the right might be either Tiberius Claudius (no. 5) or Nero (no. 36); the fourth statue from the left could be either Trajan (no. 3) or Gaius Caligula (no. 38); and between them may be either Hadrian (no. 1) or Lucius Aelius Caesar (no. 40). In the drawing, statues and busts are simply aligned along a wall, and decorative friezes are inserted on the wall below the cornice. A similar arrangement is found in the set of drawings at the Museo di Roma (see fig. 55). Because no descriptions of the interior of the Museo di Gabii have been found, we cannot reconstruct either how the antiquities were actually disposed in the *salone* or how the rooms were decorated. The only surviving evidence regarding the proposed or actual appearance of the interior of the Museo di Gabii might well be this drawing.

Although surely executed by someone familiar with the proposed exhibition site and the works to be placed there, the drawing is curiously summary and undefined compared to other architectural drawings attributed to Antonio Asprucci. It lacks the clear sense of lighting, dimensions, and the proportion of figures to space that characterizes his drawings. I believe that while this work probably refers to the Museo di Gabii at the Casino dell'Orologio—a project that Asprucci both planned and supervised—its attribution to him is questionable. Moreover, not enough is known about the draftsmanship of Asprucci's collaborators to support a different attribution.

The Drawing in the Archivio Borghese

Another unpublished drawing referring to the Casino dell'Orologio has recently been unearthed in the Archivio Borghese (fig. 58).[18] Undated and unsigned,

the drawing shows an ashlar-faced two-storied building that features a portico flanked by semicircular windows within arches. In addition to the two unidentifiable statues installed in niches inside the portico, four equally unidentifiable but smaller statues stand on the portico's roof. The main mass of the building is surmounted by a small graceful tower that bears a tondo for a clockface and culminates in a temple-belvedere supported by columns; a two-storied wing extends the building to the right. The ashlar facing, semicircular windows within arches, tower with a clock and belvedere, portico, and statues are characteristic of the ultimate location of the Museo di Gabii, namely, the Casino dell'Orologio. During Antonio Asprucci's refurbishing, this former gardener's residence assumed (and still has) an appearance very similar to that in the drawing.

Antonio Asprucci may well have executed this drawing. It is meticulous but elemental, without any details of the setting or superfluous ornamentation, like all the architectural drawings whose attribution to Asprucci is more certain. The portico in the drawing was never built, but *Cracas* includes it on a list of the work being carried out by Asprucci at the Casino dell'Orologio,[19] a coincidence that might substantiate the attribution of the drawing to Asprucci. Moreover, at various times *Cracas* is definite in naming Asprucci as the architect and supervisor of the restructuring of the Casino dell'Orologio, and it is unlikely that Marcantonio would have commissioned the plans from another architect and entrusted Asprucci only with their execution. That the Museo di Gabii in this drawing and the Museo di Gabii shown in the set of drawings at the Museo di Roma share distinctive features (portico, ashlar facing, semicircular windows) tends to confirm the attribution of the former to Asprucci. As Carole Paul has pointed out, between Asprucci and his collaborators a certain fluidity of ideas seemed to exist.

The documents in the Archivio Borghese provide many facts about the building activities at the Casino dell'Orologio. For example, in 1791 Asprucci signed payments for work at the "*Casino rinnovato ove è stato posto l'orologio*" (renovated *casino* where the clock was placed); Nicola Fagioli and Giuseppe Valadier were reimbursed for expenses related to their work on the clock; and the "*pittore figurista*" (figure painter) Felice Giani was paid for painting a Triton in a banderole on two sides of the new tower.[20] The restructuring of the building lasted until 1793, in conjunction with the excavation and restoration of the sculpture from Gabii. In a letter to Marcantonio dated 23 July 1793, Asprucci wrote that according to his calculations, the expenses for the repairs to the statues for the Museo di Gabii would amount to 3,600 *scudi*, whereas he had not yet counted the overall expenses for the building; he also noted that "*presentemente ho in mano li conti dello stagnaro, e del vetraro, che presto sbrigherò, ed il muratore Rossi ha incominciato a darmi qualche nota de' suoi conti*" (at present, I have in hand the accounts for the tinsmith and the glazier, which I will soon settle, and the mason Rossi has begun to give me notes about his accounts).[21]

Payments for Asprucci's work on the Casino dell'Orologio do not appear

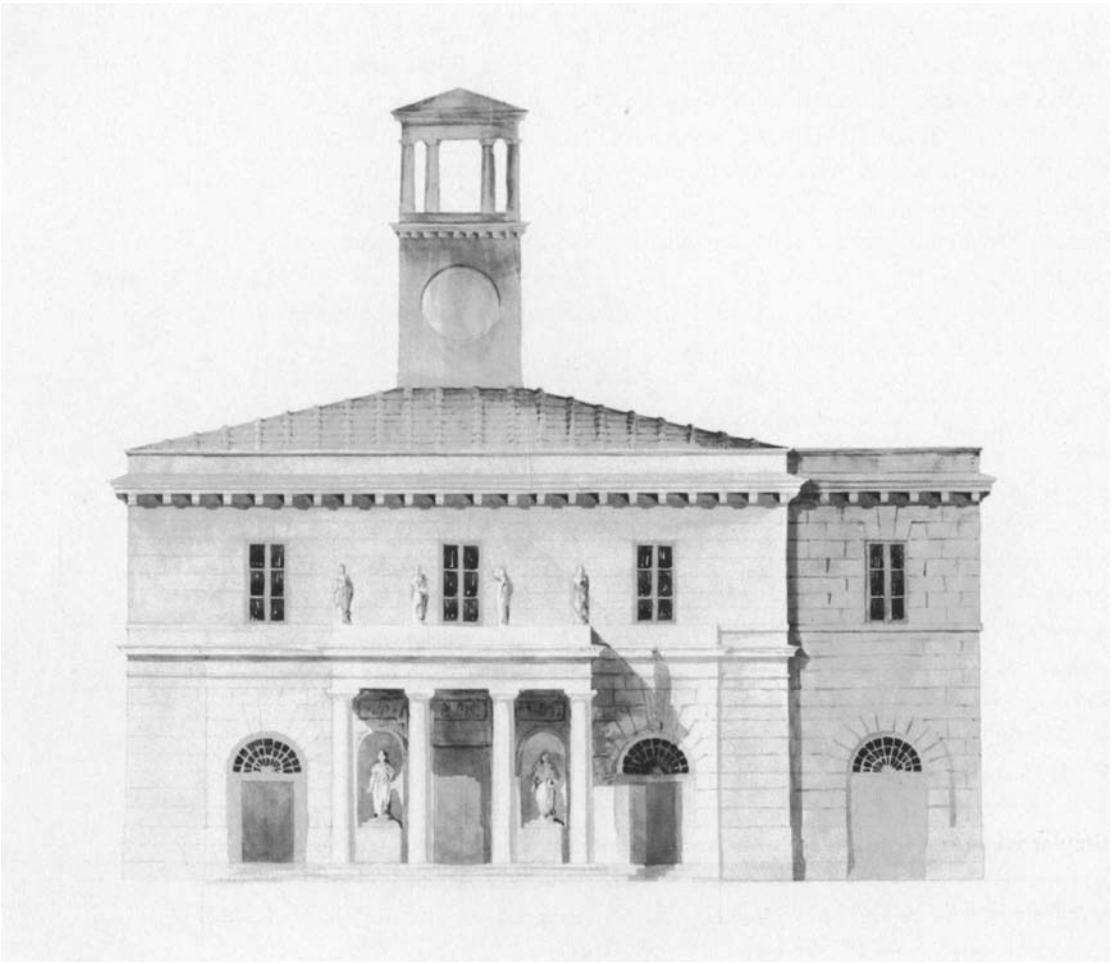


Fig. 58. Attributed to Antonio Asprucci
Design for a Museum at the Villa Borghese, ca. 1791, watercolor and india ink, 40 × 65 cm (15¾ × 25⅝ in.)
Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio Borghese

in the ledgers because Asprucci received a fixed salary from Marcantonio for all his activities at the Villa Borghese. Thus, Asprucci's effect on the Casino dell'Orologio must be gauged by comparing the appearance of the building before and after the renovation. Sketches executed by Charles Percier between 1786 and 1791 show the gardener's residence structurally configured in an L-shape, with ashlar facing at the corners and buttressing that endowed it with a rustic but massive appearance, as if it were a small fortress. On the exterior, Asprucci covered all the facades with flat ashlar facing that was carefully painted on the ground level to look as if the blocks were in relief.[22] To illuminate the *salone* where the statues would be exhibited, Asprucci opened large windows within ashlar-trimmed arches on the ground floor. To soften the overall severity of the former gardener's residence, he devised a square tower with a clockface on each side which was crowned by a graceful belvedere with a small dome supported by eight columns.

The prince's activities at Gabii and his new museum apparently held the public's interest, for *Cracas* periodically printed information about it. The issue of 19 May 1792 reported,

> *Da qualche mese a questa parte il Sig. Hamilton scultore inglese si accinse all'impresa di aprire una cava nella tenuta detta di Pantano Secco spettante al Sig. Principe Borghese.... [F]urono trovati gli avanzi di sculture, e pietre scelte del miglior gusto, che indicavano qualche magnificenza o qualche antica abitazione, rovinata per l'ingiura de' tempi. Difatti non andarono deluse le speranze dell'intraprendente scultore, poiché continuandosi lo scavo più profondo sono stati rinvenuti de' superbi appartamenti, buona parte lavorati a mosaico con pietre dure, e pavimenti ornati di moltissime scolture del miglior gusto. Sono state altresi rinvenute alcune iscrizioni lapidarie, dalle quali si ricava esser quella l'antica città di Gabie tanto celebrata da Plinio, che restò subissata da un terremoto.*
>
> (For the past several months, Mr. Hamilton, the English sculptor, has been excavating on the estate called Pantano Secco that is owned by Prince Borghese.... [T]he remains of sculptures have been found, along with stones of the best taste, which indicates a certain magnificence or an ancient residence ruined by the injustices of time. Indeed, the hopes of the resourceful sculptor were not disappointed, since deep in the ground were found excellent furnishings, a good many worked in mosaics of hard stone, and floors decorated with a great many sculptures of the best taste. Likewise a few stone inscriptions were found, from which we see this to be the ancient city of Gabii that was ruined in an earthquake and so celebrated by Pliny.)[23]

A few months later, *Cracas* noted that Marcantonio "*volendo far riattare le statue e busti ritrovati nel cavo ultimamente fatto fare unitamente a mr. Hamilton nella sua tenuta detta de Pantano Secco... ha prescelti gli scultori Penna, Grossi e Pacetti per eseguire questo lavoro*" (wishing to repair the statues and busts found in the recent excavation conducted by Mr. Hamilton on [the prince's] estate known as Pantano Secco... has chosen the sculptors Penna, Grossi, and Pacetti to execute this work).[24]

The restoration of the statuary from Gabii was supervised by Hamilton as well as Ennio Quirino Visconti, and there was so much to do that they eventually recruited additional sculptors and stonemasons.[25] Most of Visconti's definitive volume devoted to the Museo di Gabii consists of engravings of the forty-eight works displayed at the new museum, including the four statues installed on the exterior and the twenty-three statues and fourteen busts exhibited inside; it also contains an engraved frontispiece after a drawing by Antonio Asprucci showing the amphitheater and the ruins of Gabii and an engraving after a drawing by Mario Asprucci showing the facade of the forum in Gabii. Concerning the genesis and development of the museum, Visconti's introduction adds nothing to the reports published in *Cracas*. He states only that Hamilton convinced Marcantonio to conduct excavations at Pantano, and in the spring

> *uscirono al giorno tanti be' monumenti scolpiti e scritti, che hanno arricchito le belle arti non meno che l'erudizione filologica ed antiquaria, e che tutti acquistati dal padrone del fondo, adornano ora d'un nuovo Museo Gabino le delizie Borghesiane ond'è più ameno e più celebre il Pincio.*
> (every day beautiful sculptured and inscribed monuments emerged that have enriched the arts no less than philological and antiquarian erudition, and all have been acquired by the master of the property. Now the delights of the Borghese adorn a new Museo di Gabii so that the Pincio is even more extraordinary and famous.)[26]

The works are presented in his book, Visconti explains, in the same order "*che tengono nella sala terrena d'un edifizio in Villa Pinciana, dove ora son collocati, incominciando dalla sinistra di chi entra*" (that they have in the ground room of a building in the Villa Pinciana, where they are now placed, beginning from the left as one enters).[27] No additional information about the logic of display or the interior decoration at the Museo di Gabii was provided either by Visconti or by any other visitor—an omission that we have had cause to regret, for almost immediately after the publication of Visconti's catalog, Marcantonio began preparing to dismantle the Museo di Gabii. In 1799 the Borghese prince signed a contract with a Dutchman named Henry Hope for the sale of "*tutta ed intera collezione delle statue ed altri monumenti dell'antica Gabi presentemente esistenti in Villa Pinciana nel Casino contiguo alla Piazza di Siena*" (the full and entire collection of statues and other monuments of ancient Gabii at present in the Villa Pinciana in the *casino* adjacent to the Piazza di Siena). The contract was not executed, however, and on 1 May 1800, immediately after Marcantonio's death, his son Camillo signed for the contract's dissolution, stating that it would be "*impossible eseguir... in appresso*" (impossible to execute... in the near future).[28]

The destiny of the Museo di Gabii was nonetheless marked. By 1803, the year of his sister Pauline Bonaparte Leclerc's marriage to Prince Camillo Borghese, Napoléon Bonaparte was very interested in acquiring the classical antiquities at the Villa Borghese. Camillo prevaricated, but after repeated

appraisals of the works and drawn-out negotiations, a contract of sale was stipulated on 29 September 1807. Despite protests by the pope and intellectuals, more than three hundred of the Borghese's antiquities, including all those from the Museo di Gabii and many others from Villa Borghese's Casino, were shipped to Paris.[29]

Created for the display of statues from Gabii, the Museo di Gabii could not survive their removal. Its narrow historical and geographic focus proved less resilient than the Casino's more integrated and far-reaching thematic program. The devastation wreaked at the Casino by the sale of so many celebrated statues was partially repaired by substituting apropos works formerly displayed elsewhere at the Villa Borghese[30] or recently discovered at excavations sponsored by Camillo and his brother, Francesco, who succeeded Camillo in 1832. The excavations Francesco sponsored on several of his holdings soon yielded so many Etruscan artifacts that he planned to create a Museo Sabino devoted to their display.[31] This new museum was to be located in the Casino dell'Orologio, which, after the dismantling of the Museo di Gabii, had been left unoccupied and abandoned.[32] Francesco's scheme was never implemented, however, and the antiquities that Camillo sold to Napoléon are still in Paris, despite the family's attempts to reclaim them. Reintegrated as much as possible, the Casino no longer shows obvious signs of pillage, but nothing remains at the Casino dell'Orologio to recall its past glory.

Notes

1. Parts of this essay have been published in Alberta Campitelli, "Il Museo di Gabii a Villa Borghese," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte,* no. 66 (1998): 37–48. For selected bibliography on the Villa Borghese, see the notes to Carole Paul's essay in this volume.

2. On the cultural and artistic climate in Rome and the craze for archaeological excavations at the end of the eighteenth century, see especially Anna Ottani Cavina, "Il Settecento e l'antico," in *Storia dell'arte italiana,* 12 vols. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1979–1983), 6: 599–660. On construction activities at the Villa Borghese and the artists involved, see Sandra Pinto, "La promozione delle arti negli Stati italiani dall'età delle riforme all'Unità," in *Storia dell'arte italiana,* 12 vols. (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1979–1983), 6: 889–916, 957–79. These essays make reference to the activities of Gavin Hamilton, who was employed by the Borghese as a painter and as a consultant for the excavation of Gabii. For documentation of the association between Marcantonio and Hamilton, see especially Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Archivio Borghese (hereafter cited as AB), 5424 (1792), no. 1346.

3. Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Monumenti gabini della Villa Pinciana* (Rome: Presso A. Fulgoni, 1797). On Visconti, see Daniela Gallo, "Les Visconti de Rome," in *Louis Visconti, 1791–1853* (Paris: Délégation à l'Action Artistique de la Ville de Paris, 1991), 48–51; and Daniela Gallo, "I Visconti: Una famiglia romana al servizio di papi, della Repubblica e di Napoleone," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 2, no. 1 (1994): 77–90.

4. *Progetto di un museo delle statue a Villa Borghese* (Design for a museum for the statues at the Villa Borghese), Museo di Roma, inv. no. 45656. This set of drawings is

mentioned in Susanne Petereit, "Antonio Asprucci," in Galleria Carlo Virgilio, *Schede 1982: Disegni italiani dal 1790 al 1930* (Rome: Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1982), 18 n. 16. Two versions of the museum are presented in this set of drawings: one with lateral wings at the back (see figs. 50, 52, 54), the other without these wings (see figs. 51, 53; pl. 13). The statues, reliefs, and busts depicted in the drawings do not seem to correspond to those illustrated in the catalog for the Museo di Gabii; see Visconti (see note 3).

5. See as well the one drawing securely attributed to Antonio Asprucci, which appears in Paolo Marconi, Angela Cipriani, and Enrico Valeriani, *I disegni di architettura dell'Archivio storico dell'Accademia di San Luca,* 2 vols. (Rome: De Luca, 1974), no. 2108. Executed in pen and ink with watercolor, it is an elevation and plan for the facade of a church.

6. AB, 8611, no. 58. My thanks to Giuseppina Licordari for transcribing the letter attached to the legend.

7. On Giuseppe Valadier, see Paolo Marconi, *Giuseppe Valadier* (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1964), and Elisa Debenedetti, ed., *Valadier, segno e architettura,* exh. cat. (Rome: Multigrafica, 1985).

8. Debenedetti (see note 7), figs. 46, 149–52, 155, 314, 315, 317, 471, 474.

9. Entitled "*Copertura e decorazione dell'Anfiteatro sul Mausoleo di Augusto*" (Cover and decoration of the amphitheater of the Mausoleum of Augustus), the drawing appears in an album prepared by Valadier and Giuseppe Camporese held by the Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte (Collezione Lanciani, MS 93, pl. 4). It was published by Orietta Rossi, "L'apparato come progetto urbano: Un album di disegni di G. Camporese e G. Valadier per i festeggiamenti in onore di Francesco I d'Austria," in *Miscellanea,* Quaderni sul neoclassico, 3 (Rome: Bulzoni, 1975), pl. XX.

10. Rossana Caira Lumetti, *La cultura dei lumi tra Italia e Svezia: Il ruolo di Francesco Piranesi* (Rome: Bonacci, 1990), 311–12.

11. See Chiara Felicetti, ed., *Cristoforo Unterperger: Un pittore fiemmese nell'Europa del Settecento,* exh. cat. (Rome: De Luca, 1998), esp. 9–15, 64–65, 106–9.

12. Giovanni Battista Falda, *Li giardini di Roma: Con le loro piante alzate e vedute in prospettiva* (Rome: Gio. Giacomo de Rossi, [1670]); Giacomo Manilli, *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana* (Rome: Lodovico Grignani, 1650), 167; [Domenico Montelatici], *Villa Borghese fuori di Porta Pinciana* (Rome: Gio. Francesco Buagni, 1700), 112. The entire ground floor of the Casino dell'Orologio (250 m^2 or 2,688 sq. ft.) has an area roughly that of the Casino's Salone (256 m^2 or 2,753 sq. ft.).

13. Charles Percier's drawings are located in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Paris (MS 1008); three of Percier's sketches of the gardener's residence appear in Beata Di Gaddo, *L'architettura di Villa Borghese: Dal giardino privato al parco pubblico* (Rome: Fratelli Palombi, 1997), 142–43.

14. The alterations are mentioned in a long article on the new buildings at the Villa Borghese in *Cracas,* 5 November 1791, 8–10.

15. *Cracas,* 26 November 1791, 18–19.

16. Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, acc. no. 860224. This drawing is listed in Galleria Carlo Virgilio, *Disegni del XIX e XX secolo: Catalogo di vendita, n. 3: Architettura, decorazione, scultura* (Rome: Galleria Carlo Virgilio, 1981),

lot 48, where it was attributed to Antonio and Mario Asprucci and described as a "*Progetto per la sistemazione di una collezione di statue antiche*" (Plan for the arrangement of a collection of ancient statues).

17. Visconti (see note 3). If we could assume that the ten sculptures in the drawing must be in Visconti's catalog, then they could readily be identified as nos. 1 (Hadrian), 3 (Trajan), 4 (Lucius Septimius Geta), 5 (Tiberius Claudius), 13 (a young man as Hercules), 31 (Nemesis), 34 (Hadrian's wife Sabina as Peace), 36 (Nero), 38 (Gaius Caligula), and 40 (Lucius Aelius Caesar). Unfortunately, the assumption is not tenable.

18. AB, 8611, no. 66.

19. *Cracas,* 5 November 1791, 8–10.

20. AB, 5422 (1792), no. 1293; 8661/2, no. 5; 5421 (1791), no. 1287. Felice Giani received 4 *scudi* for his painting, Nicola Fagioli received 268.30 *scudi* for the clock, and 755.77 *scudi* were paid to Giuseppe Valadier "*per prezzo di tre campane per l'orologio a quattro mostre e altre spese per banderuole, palla, sfera di rame, bussola e varie*" (for the cost of three bells for the clock with four dials and other expenses for banderoles, a ball, copper globes, a compass, and various other items). For other payments to Fagioli for work on the clock, see AB, 520 (1791), no. 1272; 5422 (1792), no. 1290.

21. AB, 352, no. 100. Various letters from Asprucci can be found in AB, 352, including one dated 27 August 1793 in which Asprucci mentions that Hamilton had been of "*grande assistenza*" (great assistance) in restoring the statues.

22. On the painting of the exterior ashlar facing, see Di Gaddo (see note 13), 136.

23. *Cracas,* 19 May 1792, 18–19.

24. *Cracas,* 14 July 1792, 4.

25. Many documents in the Archivio Borghese provide details about the transport and restoration of the sculptures, the advice provided by Visconti, the business arrangements between Marcantonio and Hamilton, and the work of the sculptors Giovanni Battista Grossi, Vincenzo Pacetti, and Agostino Penna, to whom were added eventually Carlo Albacini, Paolo Cavaceppi, Massimiliano Laboreur, Annibale Malatesta, Giovanni Pierantoni, Casimiro Ponziani, Luigi Salimei, and several stonemasons; see AB, 5426 (1793), nos. 1361, 1370, and various unnumbered documents in AB, 5426. Apparently the agreement between Hamilton and Marcantonio was that the former set up the excavation at his own expense and the latter received one-third of what was found. In reality Marcantonio purchased most of what Hamilton was entitled to, and numerous documents describe the complex computations carried out on the basis of surveys usually done by the three chief sculptors. The lists of the statues that were found and restored warrant a separate study. Most of these lists are in the ledgers for the years 1791–1793; see, for example, AB, 352, 5422, 5424, 5426.

As Pacetti noted in his diary, Hamilton visited the sculptors' studios and evaluated their work between July and October 1792; see Vincenzo Pacetti, "Giornale di Vincenzo Pacetti riguardante li principali affari, e negozi del suo studio di scultura, e altri suoi interressi particolari incominciato dall'anno 1773 fino dall'anno 1803," MS 321 (90365), Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina, Università di Roma, 124r, 126r, 129r. During these months, Pacetti notes payments "*in conto delli restauri che attualmente sto facendo delle statue di gabbio*" (on account of the restorations that I am at present making on the statues from Gabii).

A list of Visconti's activities between 1792 and 1794 details manuscripts relating to the Museo di Gabii, suggestions for restorations to be executed, translations into Italian of Latin and Greek inscriptions, and other material to be brought together in his catalog of the Museo di Gabii; see AB, 5430, no. 1448, "*Nota di vari scritti d'Ennio Quirino Visconti ordinatigli da S. Eccellenza il S. Principe Borghese gli anni 1792, 1793, 1794, a tutto aprile e già consegnati alla medesima Eccellenza*" (Note of various writings by Ennio Quirino Visconti ordered by His Excellency Prince Borghese for the years 1792, 1793, 1794, including those through the end of April and already delivered to the said Excellency). The note provided compensation of 180 *scudi* and was approved by Asprucci.

26. Visconti (see note 3), 9.

27. Visconti (see note 3), 29.

28. Both Marcantonio's contract with Hope and Camillo's rescission of the contract are in AB, 1005, no. 185; on each, Antonio Asprucci's name appears among the witnesses for the Borghese prince.

29. See Ferdinand Boyer, "L'achat des antiques Borghèse," in idem, *Le monde des arts en Italie et la France de la Révolution et de l'Empire: Etudes et recherches* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1969), 197–202. Boyer was the first to publish documents on the transfer of these works to France; he also reconstructed the circumstances surrounding the sale and clarified why the Borghese's application for the return of the works sold by Camillo was unsuccessful under the terms set by the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815). The appraisals were done by Dominique Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon, and Visconti, who was by then curator of antiquities at the Musée Napoléon as well as the recognized expert on the Borghese sculpture collection.

According to Gaetano Moroni's *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastic,* 103 vols. in 53 (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1840–1861), 100: 222, Camillo sent 255 sculptures to the Louvre. Several higher estimates have been published more recently; see, for example, Paolo Moreno, "Formazione della raccolta di antichità nel Museo e Galleria Borghese," in Sodalizio tra Studiosi dell'Arte, *Colloqui del sodalizio: Seconda serie 5 (1975/1976),* ed. Licia Magnante Torti and Jörgen Birkedal Hartmann (Rome: De Luca, 1977), 125–58, who estimates 344 works.

30. Paolo Moreno and Clementina Sforzini, "I ministri del principe Camillo: Cronaca della collezione Borghese di antichità: Dal 1807 al 1832," *Scienze dell'antichità: Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 1 (1987): 339–71, show that some of the statues moved into the Villa Borghese's Casino had been in the park.

31. AB, 346. The excavation sites were in Bomarzo, Chia, and Monte Calvo.

32. AB, 458, no. 5, "*Eredità Fidecommissaria dell'Ecc.ma Casa Borghese. Oggetti di scultura e mobili. Descrizione degli oggetti di scultura e mobili esistenti nei Casini di Villa Pinciana li 9 maggio 1832*" (Fidei-commissary inheritance of the most noble Borghese family. Objects of sculpture and furniture. Description of the objects of sculpture and furniture existing in the *casini* of Villa Pinciana on 9 May 1832). The Casino dell'Orologio seems already to have been stripped of its furnishings and decorations; the only element listed in this document is a fireplace in white marble with a mirror.

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Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late-Eighteenth-Century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese

Carole Paul

With an essay by Alberta Campitelli

Carole Paul specializes in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century art and architecture in Italy. She is a lecturer in the Department of the History of Art and Architecture at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Dr. Paul has published articles on Baroque ceiling painting and programmatic imagery in *Art Bulletin* and *Storia dell'arte,* and she is a contributor to *The Oxford Illustrated History of Western Art* (forthcoming). Her current research focuses on eighteenth-century Roman collections, especially collections of antiquities, and the role they played in the emergence of modern museums of art.

Alberta Campitelli was appointed Dirigente at the Comune di Roma's Sovraintendenza Beni Culturali in 1978. Since 1992 she has directed the Sovraintendenza's Unità Organizzativa di Ville e Parchi Storici, which oversees the restoration and conservation of the buildings and gardens of thirty-four of Rome's historic villas and parks. In addition to organizing exhibitions and conferences regarding historic sites, Dr. Campitelli has written numerous museum guides, catalogs, articles, and monographs. Among her recent publications are *Il Museo della Casina delle Civette* (1997), *Villa Borghese, Roma* (1997), and *Villa Torlonia, Roma* (1997).

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