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The Sculptors at Palazzo Rondinini in Archival Documents

The Marquis Giuseppe Rondinini (1725–1801) not only preserved the prestigious family collection that he inherited, but he was also an avid collector of antiquities of great value[1]. Despite his efforts, he was unsuccessful in his attempt to spread the knowledge of the most important sculptures through printed reproductions[2].

According to the archival documents kept in the Capitoline Historical Archive, we know that the Marquis made numerous and substantial payments not only for the purchase of ancient sculptures and for the making of new ones, but also for the restoration and for the arrangement of a scenic exhibition of marbles at Palazzo Rondinini in Rome (Fig. 1)[3].

There was a significant interruption in payments between 1776 and 1785. This is due not to a supposed gap in the documentation: rather, it is a consequence of the Marquis's absence from Italy during those years. In fact, he was travelling in Europe, visiting Spain, France, Germany, and the United Kingdom. The Marquis, who was about 60 years old, sought and found a wife abroad through his vast network of acquaintances[4]. The marriage contract with the 20-year-old Irish Elisabeth Kenny was drawn up in 1784. After coming back to his Palace in Rome, the Marquis Giuseppe Rondinini made many payments, though less substantial, to artists between 1786 and 1793[5].

So, we know that many sculptors and stonemasons were engaged in the restoration of the sculptures and worked together at Palazzo Rondinini in the second half of the 18th century.

Some of them, such as Pietro Bracci and Giovanni Battista Grossi, already enjoyed great notoriety: in this case, the archival documentation allows us to expand attributions of sculptures to them. Others, however, like Francesco Gesuelli, Filippo Tenti, Giuseppe Moisé, Domenico Urbani, Ottavio Brizi, Raimondo Troiani, Fabrizio Pelliccia, and Camillo Guglielmotti (to mention just a few) seem to acquire a higher profile from the archival documents. Considering the space available, I will limit myself to a few examples.

According to the archival documents, the Marquis Giuseppe Rondinini addressed Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (1716–1799) exclusively as an art dealer[6]. On November 10th, 1757, the Mar-

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1   For the prestigious family collection see [50; 45; 7; 38; 9; 12; 32; 33; 23; 13; 14]. I am very grateful to Claudia Valeri and Clara Di Fazio for having facilitated me the autopsy analysis of the so-called "Flora" in the Vatican Museums.
2   See [13].
3   See [12; 13; 14].
4   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 744, fasc.1.
5   See [13; 14].
6   About Cavaceppi see [31; 39; 23, pp. 171, 186–189].

quis bought from him a headless female statue[7] which was later restored by Pietro Bracci[8]. On December 30th, 1765, Cavaceppi was paid for the ancient statue, representing Alexander the Great, according to him, restored by a sculptor of Bernini's school[9]. This is the so-called Alexander Rondinini now kept in the Glyptothek in Munich[10].

The almost constant presence of Pietro Bracci (1700–1773) at Palazzo Rondinini is attested by numerous payments recorded between 1757 and 1771. At that time, he was already an established artist, valued in the Roman artistic environment not only as a talented sculptor, but also as a cultured intellectual[11]. In 1725, he started keeping a diary where he listed and described his works: thus, many restorations carried out in Rome can be attributed to him for certain. As he noted, he was involved in both the conception and realization of his works[12].

He was particularly known for the restoration of artworks dating back to classical antiquity. Among the most prestigious tasks, we can mention the restoration of the arch of Constantine, entrusted to him in 1732[13], the statue representing *Antinous* in 1734 (now in the Capitoline Museums)[14], the male torso from the Albani collection, which, in 1742, he transformed into the figure of *Apollo* by adding a head, arms, and legs[15].

Fig. 1. Rome, Palazzo Rondinini, the court. Photo from the author's personal archive

7   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 73; b. 816, c. 288: «Io sotto scritto ho ricevuto dal Illmo Sig[e] Marchese Giuseppe Rondanini scudi quarantadue baiocchi cinque moneta che sono p(er) prezzo di una statua senza testa e in altri luoghi fraghmentata così d'accordo in fede di 10 novembre Bartolomeo Cavaceppi».
8   See note 19.
9   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 823, c. 270: «Io Sotto Scritto ho ricevuto dall Illmo Sig[e] Marchese Giuseppe Rondinini scudi Quattrocento moneta quali sono per prezzo accordato fra di noi di una figura antica restaurata dalla scola del Bernini rapresentante Alesandro il grande chiamandomi sodisfatto in fede di 30 Xbre 1765 Bartolomeo Cavaceppi».
10   Munich, Glyptothek inv. 298, see [49, pp. 370–379]. In 1767 the statue was described by Winckelmann as «l'unica vera statua di Alessandro Magno» [5, p. 475; 6, p. 634, a 475,19–21, with previous bibliography].
11   [24; 29; 28; 23, pp. 156–157, 159, 166–170, 187; 42].
12   [24, *passim*].
13   [24, pp. 98–99, n. 7]. About the Arch, see [41, with previous bibliography].
14   [24, p. 99, n. 10]. Roma, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, Sala del Galata, inv. S 741: Papini M. in [35, n. 17, pp. 500–505].
15   [24, p. 103, n. 21]. Roma, Villa Albani, inv.113: Maderna-Lauter C. in [4, Kat. 234, pp. 300–306, tavv. 205–207].

Fig. 2. Rome, Palazzo Rondinini, the "small Herculaneum woman". Photo from the author's personal archive

The work that gave him greater visibility, however, was the realization of the Neptune and the Tritons group for the Trevi Fountain in Rome[16]. As is known, the talented sculptors Pietro Bracci, Filippo della Valle, Giovanni Battista Grossi and Andrea Bergondi were responsible for the sculptural decoration of the fountain between 1759 and 1762[17].

However, the activity of Pietro Bracci at Palazzo Rondinini is less known and can be reconstructed thanks to the archival documents. We know that since May 1757 he was engaged in the realization of new marble sculptures[18]. His work as a restorer began at the end of 1757, when he was given a head, considered to be that of Marciana (the emperor Trajan's older sister). On February 3rd, 1758, he was paid for the restoration of a headless female statue (the same sold by Cavaceppi) to which he had to attach the so-called Marciana's head[19].

This statue, now kept in the Gallery of the Palace, is represented according to the type known as "the small Herculaneum woman" (Fig. 2). The lower part of the figure is integrated, from above the knees down to the base. The neck is restored too, in order to insert the head, which is ancient but not the original. The hairstyle is an adaptation of the fashion of the Flavian age to the taste of the Trajan age[20].

On June 6th, 1758, Pietro Bracci was paid for the restoration of two ancient statues, representing a small Faun and a Putto[21]. According to the receipt dated October 25th, 1765, seven years after the payment, due to

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16   [24, p. 163, n. 36].
17   Chrachas on-line: 1759 2/6, n. 6537, p. 20; 1762 29/5, n. 7005. See also [36, *passim*].
18   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 816, cc. 329, 330, 344, 345, 346, 356.
19   See note 8; ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c.73; b. 816, c. 427: «Io Sottos.tto ò Ric.to dall'Illmo Sig.r Mrc. Gius.e Rondinini Scudi Cento moneta sono per prezzo… di una testa di Marmo Greca Rappresentante una Marciana, e questa consegnata sino li 27 =Nov. questo al Sig.r P(iet)ro Bracci Scultore d'ordine di detto Ill.mo ad effetto di ristaurarla… In fede questo dì 31= Decembre 1757 Giuseppe Lancioni»; b. 860, c. 160; b. 817, c. 33: «Io Sotto ò ricevuto dall'Illmo Sig. Marche Giuseppe Rondinini Scudi Trenta Moneta. Sono per averli restaurata e ridotta a perfezzione una Statua antica panneggiata rappresentante una Femina Augusta, avendoci collocato sopra una testa antica di Sua Sig. Illma, che rassembra una Marciana sorella di Traiano essendo d(ett)a Statua dell'altezza del Naturale…questo di 3 Febraro 1758 Pietro Bracci».
20   Cellini G. A. in [9, n.180, pp. 181–183]. Haist dated the sculpture in the Augustan age without evidence [28, cat. 58, p. 336].
21   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 160; b. 817, c. 157: «Io sotto ò ricevuto dall'Illmo Sig. March. Giuseppe Rondinini scudi venti moneta sono per il ristauro di due statue antiche di altezza p.mi 4 ½ in circa rappresentanti una un Faunetto, e l'altra un putto. Q(ues)to di 6 Giugnio 1758 Pietro Bracci».

the Marquis' change of heart, this restoration had not been carried out[22]. On June 29th, 1770, Bracci received 25 scudos as the final payment for "a half standing Faun", whose integrative restorations are accurately described in the receipt[23].

This sculpture is now kept in the "Loggia a Vetri" at Palazzo Rondinini (Fig. 3). The torso was subjected to an extensive restoration that has affected part of the head, arms with attributes, and parts of the thighs. The head, ancient but not original, has also been heavily retouched. The sculpture, after restoration, can be interpreted as a Satyr: it is characterized as such by the *nebris* attached to the left shoulder. Bracci modified the torso, introducing some iconographic alterations. For example, he added the bunch of grapes and turned the head differently. In addition, the small Satyr is now crouching on a base, while originally he was probably tilted forward, with the left leg advanced and the corresponding foot resting on a rock[24].

In a letter sent to Bianconi, dated July, 1758, Winckelmann mentioned a more-than-life-size seated female statue, recently discovered, which had been purchased

Fig. 3. Rome, Palazzo Rondinini, the "half Faun". Photo from the author's personal archive

by the Marquis Rondinini and entrusted to Bracci for restoration[25]. The sculptor did not consider it to be ancient, while Winckelmann did. This difference of opinions is also evident in the payment receipts dated June 20th 1758[26]. The restoration of the statue, representing the goddess *Salus* (*Hygieia*) was long and demanding, and it required the collaboration with the stonema-

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[22]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 823, c. 218: «Io Sotto hò ricevuto dall'Illmo Sig.e Marche Giuseppe Rondanini scudi Settantanove Moneta a conto de Lavori ad uso di Scultore da Mè da farsi a seconda delle di lui Ordinazioni, quali sono in commutazione, a vece sì del Bassorilievo, che doveva rappresentare la Illma Annunziata, quanto ancora al ristauro che doveva fare d'un faonetto e Putto, ambi da Sig.re March.e già l'addietro pagatimi, è da mè per mutatione di lui parere non fatti ancorche […] In fede Questo di 25 Ottobre 1765 Pietro Bracci m. p. p.». But Haist [28, n. 59, p. 337; n. 75, p. 364] doesn't know this document.

[23]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 826, c. 105: «Io sottoscritto ho ricevuto dall'Ill.mo Signor March.e Giuseppe Rondinini scudi venticinque. Sono per il ristauro fattogli di una statua di un mezzo Fauno in Piedi, con averli rifatto alla Testa il naso, la bocca e mezzo Collo, e con haverli scolpito quasi meta della schiena, il codino, e due pezzi di coscie, e finalmente con haverli fatto di nuovo le braccia isolate, tenendo uno un Rampazzo di Uva, e l'altro una Tazza con una cascata di pelle, che attacca con l'antico et è involtata nel Braccio[…] 29 Giugno 1770 Pietro Bracci Scultore».

[24]   Cellini G. A. in [9, n. 236, p. 220].

[25]   «Un certo Sig.re Romano [=il marchese Giuseppe Rondinini] avendo comprato una Statua d'una Donna vestita troncata d'una mano e de' piedi con una parte della tonaca, la fece portare da uno de' primi Scultori Romani, Bracci, per farla ristaurare. Avra 12 palmi d'altezza. Lo scultore non la stimava antica. Il possessore mi ci condusse per sentire il mio parere. La statua era trovata in una vigna non già scoperta recentemente, ma non si sa per qual ragione precipitata in un fosso buttatevi sopra molte carrette di calcinaccio» [19, I, n. 206, pp. 496–497, 810].

[26]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 160; b. 817, c. 166.

Fig. 4. Rome, Piazza del Popolo, the "goddess *Salus*". Photo by the author, 2024

son Fabrizio Pelliccia[27]. The restoration ended on the 25th of September, 1764, when the gilder Salvatore Sabbatini was reimbursed for the final costs of restoration and transportation of the statue to Palazzo Rondinini[28]. According to the inventory of 1775, found by the author, the sitting statue of "the daughter of Aesculapius" was exposed in the palace in the room called "caffeaos"[29]. In 1787, it was seen there by Giuseppe Antonio Guattani, who represented the statue in his *Monumenti antichi inediti*[30]. According to the inventory of 1807, the statue was in the palace "nella stanza del Camerone"[31], but later it was considered to be lost. However, *Hygieia-Salus* has been visible since 1831 at Piazza del Popolo in Rome, in the prospect of Pincio[32] (Fig. 4).

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[27]   On 5th september 1758 Fabrizio Pelliccia was paid «per un basso marmo statuario consistente in una cavitate e questo serve per rappresentare la figura dea della Salute» (ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 817, c. 257). On 20th october 1759 he received «scudi 2 e Baiocchi 45 moneta… per un pezzo di marmo … per la sedia della statua rappresentante la Dea della Salute (ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 818, c. 259).

[28]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 822, c. 207.

[29]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 828, c. 292; see [14].

[30]   [25, Novembre, tav. I, pp. LXXXI–LXXXII].

[31]   [45, pp. 310–311].

[32]   [32, p. 39, fig. 13; 33]. About the type see [21; 22, pp. 434–435, fig. 4].

Giovanni Battista Grossi acquired great visibility in the artistic environment of Rome around the middle of the 18th century thanks to some very important public and private commissions. After the death of his master, Bernardo Ludovisi, he took over from him as a sculptor at the Palazzo Colonna in Rome and carried out the restoration of many ancient sculptures. He was also involved in the realization of the sculptural decoration of the Trevi Fountain until 1762[33].

Thanks to the archival documents, we know that, even if his name does not appear in the Colonna's general ledger from 1762 to 1777, he certainly did not remain inactive, because he was very busy with the restoration of the sculptures at Palazzo Rondinini, especially from 1767 to 1770 and from 1786 to 1792[34].

On November 14th, 1767, Grossi was paid to restore a "Vestal"[35]. In the common sense, this term referred to female statues dressed in a long tunic and with a veiled head.

It could correspond to a sculpture described in the inventory of 1775 in the first antechamber at Palazzo Rondinini as "a life-size statue representing the Empress Faustina", with "a poppy in her (left) hand, modern arms and lower legs"[36]. In the inventory of 1807 the statue, kept in the same place, is mentioned as a veiled Vestal[37]. It can be recognized in the female veiled statue, represented according to the *Fortuna* Braccio Nuovo type,

Fig. 5. Rome, Palazzo Rondinini, the "Vestal". Photo from the author's personal archive

now standing in the Gallery of the Palace (Fig. 5). The sculptor added non-original attributes, such us poppies and ears of corn (instead of the horn of abundance on the left forearm), altering the iconographic understanding of the subject[38].

Between 1768 and 1770, Giovanni Battista Grossi was closely involved in the restoration of some sculptures for the fountain in the palace courtyard. A few years earlier, in 1758, the stonemason Ottavio Brizzi had carried out a series of interventions to create a scenic backdrop where to insert a "sitting Bacchus", a "tiger", a statue of "Apollo" and others sculptures[39].

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[33]   [10; 17; 23, pp. 189–191, 193].
[34]   [13, pp. 53–54; 14].
[35]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 824, c. 247: «Io Sotto Scritto ò riceuto dal Il.mo Sig.re Marchese Giuseppe Rondinini scudi dicidotto per ristauro di una Figura rapresentante una vestale […] questo di 14 Novebre 1767 Gio: Bat.a Grossi».
[36]   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 828, c. 292: «Una statua rapp.te Faustina al naturale con Papauro in mani con braccia, mezza gambe moderne»; see [14].
[37]   [45, p. 308].
[38]   See Cellini G. A., in [9, n. 172, pp. 175–176].
[39]   ASC Capranica, Rondanini, b. 896: Volume di conti dei lavori dello scalpellino Ottavio Brizi, nel Palazzo al Corso di Giuseppe Rondanini (1758). See [14]: «[…] Nella Fontana a' piedi il Nicchione di mezzo in d.º

Fig. 6. Rome, Palazzo Rondinini, the "Bacchus" in the court. Photo from the author's personal archive

On 14th December, 1768, Grossi was paid for the restoration of a "tiger" of coloured marble[40]. It was exposed near the "sitting Bacchus" in the fountain at least until 1904, while later it was moved to the *Giardino d'Inverno*. Actually it is interpreted as a "panther" in pavonazzetto marble[41].

On 26th December, 1768, the sculptor Giovanni Battista Grossi was paid for the restoration of the colossal seated statue "representing Bacchus"[42]. Another payment was registered on January 6th, 1769[43], while the final payment was recorded on the 2nd of June, 1769[44]. In the receipt, it was explained that this more-than-life-size sculpture had to be placed in the courtyard fountain. This statue, described in the inventories of the palace from 1807[45], is still visible at the same place[46] (Fig. 6). Only the torso, preserved from the neck to the thighs attachment, is ancient. The head, both arms and legs, drapery and base were integrated. The integrative restoration altered the scheme of the seated male statue: in its original form, the left arm was bent upward to lean on a sceptre, while the right one was stretched out (to hold a globe or a laurel branch). This iconographic

Prospetto Per il Rustico di Travertino di qualità scelta come sopra di diversi pezzi, che formano porzione della scogliera, dentro d.a. fontana, e fondo del Nicchione, che fanno Terazzo, ove resta collegato e commesso tutto in completo di d.a Fontana. La figura di marmo rappresentante **Bacco sedente** sopra un conchiglione, e scogli con un Tigre di pietra dura con la Tazza di marmo, che riceve lo Sgorgo dell'Acqua Vergine con un serpe di piombo parimenti getta dalla sua bocca l'acqua[…] Per la deduzione li medesimi lavorati a' seconda di quanto veniva ordinato dallo Scultore con rustico levato in scaglie ad imitare il vero […] con averci adattato anche la med.a figura sedente, e tutt'altro che semplice[…]».

40   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 433; b. 825, c. 311: «Io Sotto Scritto ò Riceuto dal Sig. Marchese Giuseppe Rondinini scudi Otto e B 20 moneta. Sono per Ristauro di una Tigre di Breccia ciovè per una testa e una zampa e coda. In fede questo di 14 Decembre 1768 Gio: Batt.a Grossi».

41   Vigna L. M., in [9, n. 208, p. 202].

42   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 433; b. 825, c. 320: «Io Sotto Scritto o riceuto dall'Ill.mo Sig.e Marchese Giuseppe Rondinini scudi cento moneta quali sono in conto di scudi Cento Cinquanta Moneta per il Ristauero di una statua sedente colossale rappresentante un Bacco da mettersi sopra la Fontana del Cortile con avergli fatto la testa, le due Braccia e le due Gambe ed un Panno parte di Stucco e parte di marmo Così da Cordo In fede questo di 26 Decembre 1768 Gio: Batt.a Grossi».

43   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 433; b. 825, c. 334: «Io Sottoscritto ò ric.o dall'Ill.mo Sig. M. Giuseppe Rondinini scudi quattro moneta per diversi tasselli lavorati ad una statua. In fede questo di 6 gennaro 1769 Gio: Grossi».

44   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 433; b. 825, c. 468: «Io Sotto Scritto o Riceuto dall'Ill.mo Sig.re Marchese Giuseppe Rondinini scudi Ottanta Otto Moneta Sono per […] Saldo dello Ristauero del Figurone della Fontana di mezzo del Cortile Rappresentante un Bacco a Sola Fattura… questo di 2 Giugnio 1769 Gio: Batt.a Grossi».

45   [45, p. 305]; for the other inventories see [14].

46   Cellini G. A., in [9, n.73, pp. 109–110; 14].

scheme, which evokes the sacrality of *Iuppiter*, was used in representations of Roman emperors, especially in the Julian-Claudian age[47].

It is highly likely that this statue was originally completed by a portrait head. Maybe Grossi did not fully understand the subject represented. However, it is certain that he was commissioned to complete the statue as *Bacchus*, to insert it into the architectural frame of the fountain, and he did this.

On April 20th, 1770, Grossi was paid for the restoration of a statue of *Apollo*, exposed in a niche of the courtyard at Palazzo Rondinini, and for the making of its architectural frame[48]. This statue of *Apollo*, characterized as a standing archer, was mentioned in the inventory of 1807 (and then in the unpublished ones of 1841 and 1904)[49] and it is still visible at the same place[50] (Fig. 7).

However, only the male torso is ancient, preserved from shoulders to hips. The lower part of the body, the arms, and the drapery in veined fine-grained white marble were integrated, whereas the head was carved in white marble veined with grey. The architectural setting

Fig. 7. Rome, Palazzo Rondinini, the torso restored as *Apollo* in the court. Photo from the author's personal archive

(rocky ground, *cithara* and snake), the terminal folds of the mantle, and the feet were made in stucco. The soft curls, hanging on the chest, carved in relief, allow us to assume that it was an ideal sculpture, representing *Apollo* or *Dionysos*. After the integrative restoration, the figure, nude except for the mantel (*chlamys*), is slightly turned to his left. It has similarities with some representations of *Apollo*, such as the Tiber *Apollo* and that of Mantua, which took up eclectically late-archaic and proto-classical stylistic motifs, presumably inspired by an original from the Augustan age[51]. The restorer seems to have taken as a model the celebrated *Apollo* in the Vatican Belvedere[52], especially in rendering the head, the drapery and the pose of the figure.

On October 23rd, 1769, Grossi was paid for the restoration of a "half statue" representing "Flora"[53]: the sculptor restored the torso and added the ancient, but not the original head, the flower garland and the left forearm with flowers.

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47 [37; 3]. There are iconographic and stylistic affinities with two torsos in the Vatican Museums, Museo Gregoriano Profano, both dated to the Claudian period (Inv. 9950; 9961): see [8, pp. 85–86, nn. 25.2, 3–4, tavv. 70, 1–2; 71,1].
48 ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 826, c. 266: «Io Sottoscritto ò riceuto dall'Ill.mo Sig. March^e Giuseppe Rondinini Scudi cento Moneta, è sono per ristauero di Una Statua Rapresentante Un Apollo Nella Nichja in Cortile in faccia al Portone, oltre alcuni? Stucchj di Calce (?) à detta statua In fede questo di 20 Aprile 1770 Gio: Batta Grossi».
49 [45, p. 305]; for the others inventories see [14].
50 Cellini G. A., in [9, n. 69, pp. 106–107].
51 See [40, with previous bibliography].
52 See [15, pp. 160–163, 265–275, 368–372, with previous bibliography].
53 ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 860, c. 433; b. 825, c. 576: «Io Sotto Scritto ò riceuto dal Ill.mo March^e Giuseppe Rondinini scudi ventotto Per Ristauero di una mezza figura panneggiata al naturale Rappresentante una

But we know that the whole lower part of the body was integrated down from the hips. The restoration was carried out by a team of sculptors who collaborated with Grossi[54]. According to Annibale Malatesta, witness in a trial in June 1771, the sculptor Francesco Gesuelli modelled the lower part of the body in lime before proceeding to the integrative restoration in marble. He was helped by the young sculptor Annibale Malatesta and by the stonemason Camillo [Guglielmotti?]

According to the inventory of 1775, a female statue interpreted as "Flora" was standing in the Gallery of Palazzo Rondinini near *Pallade con scudo*[55], now in Rome at Palazzo Valentini[56]. According to the inventory of 1807, at that time the statue representing "Flora" was seen in a barn ("nella rimessa")[57].

According to an unpublished document found by the author, it was offered for sale by the Capranica heirs to the Vatican Museums in 1817, and the papal commission approved the purchase[58], which was registered in the *Registro Generale* of 1823–1824[59]. So, it is now in the Museo Pio Clementino (Galleria delle Statue 16, inv. 555)[60].

The head has been extensively remodelled including the hairstyle, the wreath of flowers and the face, with the nose and mouth forming a single piece. The integrations made in a white marble without veins were hidden by plastering. The left arm with flowers was also integrated and inserted. The neck appears disproportionate: an antique neck (male?) was probably adapted and inserted to make a connection between the head and the body.

At the level of the stomach, there are several connected pieces between the upper and lower parts of the body. The whole lower part is made up of four large fragments of marble.

The integrations were based on a misinterpretation of the subject and caused some iconographic alterations, especially by the addition of attributes. Now the statue is interpreted as a chaste variant of the *Venus Genetrix* combined with an ancient, but not the original head, of Niobid.

As is known, the iconography of Flora is uncertain and the attribution was often based on integrated attributes[61]. An archaizing statue, interpreted as Flora because of the flower-set, in 1788 was represented by Guattani in the «Museo Rondinini»[62].

If we compare the statue in the Vatican Museums with the table in Guattani's *Monumenti Antichi Inediti*, however, we can observe considerable differences in the hairstyle and in the

Frora di Marmo Biancho avendo fatto la cocuzza e la graladola [=ghirlanda] de fiori un Mezzo Braccio con mano e fiori e un tassello per Spianata da Piedi Naso e altri tasselli. Chiamandomi contento e soddisfatto questo dì 23 Ottobre [1769] a sola fattura Gio: Batt. Grossi».

54   [27]. About Malatesta see [11]. According to Guerrieri Borsoi [27], Malatesta was born in 1750.
55   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 828, c. 292; see [14].
56   Longobardo F., in [2, pp. 156–157, fig. 111].
57   [45, p. 314].
58   ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 114, fasc. 2 [see 14: «Esibizione fatta dalla Commissione delle Belle Arti per alcuni oggetti d'arte dell'Ill.ma Casa Capranica" (1817) «Il Signor Marchese Bartolomeo e Sig.re Domenico Capranica hanno fatto istanza per vendere alcune sculture ed antiche iscrizioni. Si scelgono per i Pontificj Musei i seguenti oggetti: Nel primo piano… Frammento di statua muliebre panneggiata chiamata Flora, di gentile ed elegante lavoro valutata 250 (prezzo richiesto) 200 (stima commissione)»].
59   [48, pp. 172–173].
60   [1, n. 410, pp. 623–624; 43, p. 89, n. 16; 48, pp. 154, 172–173; 47, GS 16, pp. 20–21].
61   [30].
62   [26, giugno, tav. III, p. XLVI].

dress. Clarac was right in representing the "Flora" of Guattani and that in the Vatican Museums as two separate statues[63]. The statue restored by Grossi and his team can be identified with this last. Perhaps in the work by Guattani a second statue or statuette was reproduced as "Flora": the sculpture, previously in the collection Rondinini, was presumably sold or lost[64].

On October 22nd, 1770, Grossi was paid for the restoration of a statue of *Bacchus* to be displayed in the Galleria at Palazzo Rondinini[65]. According to the inventory of 1807, the more-than-life-size statue was extensively restored[66]. The head was retouched; the right shoulder, forearm, and arm with *patera* were integrated. The left arm (from the shoulder to the hand with the bunch of grapes), the right leg and the left from the hip were also added. This sculpture can be recognized in a statue representing *Dionysos* at Palazzo Valentini in Rome; the type is known as Copenhagen-Valentini[67] (Fig. 8).

I could continue with many more examples, but I think it is better to share some thoughts.

The restorations at Palazzo Rondinini were essentially integrative. Like many coeval collectors of antiquities, the Marquis probably did not appreciate displaying headless or fractured statues. So, they were integrated with ancient but not original heads or even with the modern ones. The missing parts of the bodies were completed, but in some cases the statues were equipped with wrong attributes.

Fig. 8. Rome, Palazzo Valentini, the "Bacchus in the Gallery". Photo by the author, 2024

Thanks to the great skill of the artists, the restorations are highly valuable, even when they can be considered as new creations. According to nowadays feelings and tastes, some of them could appear fakes or at least pastiche sculptures.

For the "small Herculaneum woman", the insertion of an ancient, but not the original, portrait head of the so-called *Marciana* required reducing the volumes and adding the neck.

In the restoration of the Goddess *Salus*, Winckelmann was a valuable consultant, who recognized the iconographic scheme and presumably suggested the attributes, although they are not always attested in Roman coins and the throne seems more elegant in its linearity.

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[63]   [16, 3, n. 798, p. 137, tav. 440 («Flore. Rome, magasins du Vatican, inédite»); n. 801, p. 138, tav. 441 («Flore, Guattani»)].
[64]   For example, a statuette representing "Flora" was mentioned in the inventory of 1741 [34, p. 144].
[65]   ASC, Capranica, Rondinini, b. 826, c. 158: «Io sotto scritto o ricevuto dal Ill.mo Sig.re March.e Giuseppe Rondinini Scudi Cento […] per ristauro del Bacco in Gallaria … 22 ottobre 1770 Gio. Batt. Grossi».
[66]   [45, p. 312].
[67]   Longobardo F., in [2, p. 155, fig. 108].

The addition of wrong attributes (such as poppies and ears) altered the iconographic understanding of the so-called *Vestal*, originally *Tyche-Fortuna*, characterized by the *cornucopia* leaning on the left forearm.

The restoration of the *Faunetto* required extensive reworking of the torso, thighs, and head, which were ancient, but not original. Some iconographic changes, such as the addition of the bunch of grapes, altered its original scheme.

The restoration of *Bacchus in the Gallery* represented a coherent intervention from the iconographic and stylistic points of view, despite extensive integrations and the addition of attributes.

Of the *Bacchus sitting* in the Fountain of the courtyard, only the torso was ancient. The integrations affected the head, both arms, the mantle, and the base. The restoration altered the iconographic scheme: the male figure was originally represented as *Jupiter* sitting on throne, presumably completed by a portrait head. On the contrary, he was transformed into the *sitting Bacchus*, in order to be inserted into the fountain.

Apollo in the courtyard was made from an ancient torso too. The lower part of the body, both arms and the flaps of the mantle were integrated in a white veined marble. For the head a grey veined marble was used, while the rock base, the *cithara*, the snake, the ending flaps of the mantle and the feet were made of stucco. The restorer took as a model the famous *Apollo of Belvedere*.

Considering the archival documents, it is hard to imagine that the collection was static and locked away until the death of the Marquis in 1801.

For example, we know that on December 10th, 1758, the Marquis Giuseppe Rondinini paid for a bas-relief of Circe, the erudite commentary by Ridolfino Venuti and the printing expenses of a short book of 55 pages[68] (with two plates engraved by Niccolò Mogalli)[69]. In 1788, once again Giuseppe Antonio Guattani published this bas-relief in his *Monumenti Antichi Inediti,* claiming the rarity of the subject and the limited distribution of Venuti's work[70]. In the caption of the plate, engraved by Giovanni Brunetti[71], but very similar to that by Mogalli, Venuti's interpretation as "Circe" and the location "Romae in Museo March. Rondinini" were confirmed[72].

This bas-relief was never mentioned in the inventories of the collection. So, it was considered lost until Anna Sadurska found it in the storerooms of the National Museum in Warsaw, and later she published it as "tabula Odyssiaca Rondinini" in her seminal study about the *tabulae Iliacae* . She assumed that the *tabula* was not at Palazzo Rondinini when it was reproduced in Guattani's work in 1788[73].

What had happened?

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68   ASC Capranica, Rondanini, b. 817, c. 359: «scudi 4.10 per il bassorilievo di Circe e un'arma di casa Rondinini… scudi 40 per recognizione al signor Abate Ridolfino Venuti e le spese occorse per la stampa». See [13, pp. 49–50].

69   Bénézit, in www.oxfordartonline.com., *s. v. Mogalli, Niccolò.*

70   [26, Marzo, pp. XI–XXIV, tav. III; 20, pp. 171, 211, n. 105].

71   Bénézit, in www.oxfordartonline.com., *s. v. Brunetti, Giovanni.*

72   «*Circes fabula/ In Graeco marmore exculpta/ Ex lib. X Odyss. Homeri/ Romae in Museo March. Rondinini*». Sul Brunetti cfr. E. Bénézit, *Dictionary of Artists,* s. v. *Brunetti Giovanni*, in www.oxfordartonline.com.

73   Warszawa, Muzeum Narodowe, inv. 147975 MN; [44, n. 11, pp. 61–62; 46, p. 401].

In my opinion, the tabula may have been put on sale together with other pieces from his collection through his correspondents in Poland in the 1770s[74].

It is not hard to assume that the Marquis, brilliant in trading (not only his oil and wine, but also the paintings and sculptures left over from adorning his palace), sold it to buy other valuable objects.

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[74] ASC, Capranica, Rondanini, b. 744, fasc. 1.

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Title. The Sculptors at Palazzo Rondinini in Archival Documents

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Abstract. The Marquis Giuseppe Rondinini (1725–1801) not only took care of the prestigious family collection he inherited, but himself collected antiquities of great value. We know that he tried in vain to spread the knowledge of the most important sculptures through printed reproductions. According to the archival documents kept in the Capitoline Historical Archive, the Marquis made numerous and substantial payments not only for the purchase of ancient sculptures and for the making of new ones, but especially for the restoration of the marbles and their scenic exhibition at Palazzo Rondinini in Rome. Since 1750, but especially between 1757 and 1775, many payments were recorded to artists engaged in the restoration of the sculptures in the Palace, while such payments are not attested between 1776 and 1785. This is not due to a gap in the documentation, but to the absence of the Marquis from Rome, because he was travelling in Europe. After coming back to Rome, the Marquis made many payments to artists, but they were less substantial. Among the many sculptors and stonemasons engaged in the restoration of the marbles, some of them, such as Pietro Bracci and Giovanni Battista Grossi, already enjoyed great notoriety: in this case the archival documentation allows us to expand their attributions. But many others, however, seem to acquire consistency and visibility from archival documents.

Keywords: Italian sculptors, antiquities, collecting antique sculpture, restoration of sculpture, 18th century, Giuseppe Rondinini, Rondinini palace

Название статьи. Скульпторы Палаццо Рондинини в архивных документах

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Аннотация. Маркиз Джузеппе Рондинини (1725–1801) не только заботился о престижной семейной коллекции, которая досталась ему в наследство, но и сам собирал древности, обладавшие большой ценностью. Известно, что он тщетно пытался распространять знания о самых важных скульптурах с помощью печатных репродукций. Согласно архивным документам, хранящимся в Капитолийском историческом архиве, маркиз многократно тратил крупные суммы денег не только на покупку древних скульптур и создание новых, но также на реставрацию мраморов и оформление их экспозиции в Палаццо Рондинини в Риме. Начиная с 1750 г., но особенно между 1757 и 1775 гг., было зафиксировано множество платежей художникам, занятым реставрацией скульптур во дворце, в то время между 1776 и 1785 гг. таких платежей не засвидетельствовано. Это связано не с пробелом в документации, а с отсутствием маркиза в Риме. Вернувшись в Рим, маркиз сделал много платежей скульпторам, но они были менее существенными, чем ранее. Некоторые из многочисленных скульпторов и каменщиков, занимавшихся реставрацией мраморов, такие как Пьетро Браччи и Джованни Баттиста Гросси, уже пользуются широкой известностью, в этом случае архивная документация позволяет нам расширить круг атрибутируемых им вещей. Но многие другие еще только начинают приобретать видимость и целостный корпус работ благодаря архивным документам.

Ключевые слова: итальянские скульпторы, древности, коллекционирование античной скульптуры, реставрация скульптуры, 18 век, Джузеппе Рондинини, дворец Рондинини