



# THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

## Edinburgh Research Explorer

### **Pirro Ligorio and two columna caelata drawings at Windsor Castle**

**Citation for published version:**

Campbell, I & Gaston, R 2010, 'Pirro Ligorio and two columna caelata drawings at Windsor Castle' Papers of the British School at Rome, vol. 78, no. November 2010, pp. 265-287. DOI: 10.1017/S006824620000088X

**Digital Object Identifier (DOI):**

[10.1017/S006824620000088X](https://doi.org/10.1017/S006824620000088X)

**Link:**

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

**Document Version:**

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

**Published In:**

Papers of the British School at Rome

**Publisher Rights Statement:**

Publisher's Version/PDF: subject to Restrictions below, author can archive publisher's version/PDF  
General Conditions: Publishers version/PDF may be used in an institutional repository or PubMed Central after 12 month embargo

**General rights**

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

**Take down policy**

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact [openaccess@ed.ac.uk](mailto:openaccess@ed.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



## *Pirro Ligorio and two columna caelata drawings at Windsor Castle\**

by Ian Campbell and Robert W. Gaston

### INTRODUCTION

In 2004, Ian Campbell published some drawings, including two by Pirro Ligorio (c. 1513–83), of a highly unusual antique column (or, possibly, two columns from the same set) that had been recorded in the Naples area during the earlier sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> The column shafts feature carvings in high relief and an inscription tablet. Robert Gaston subsequently recognized a reference to the same column(s) in one of Ligorio's manuscripts in Naples, and the present article is the result of our collaboration. It begins by discussing the drawings before moving on to the related Ligorian textual references, and attempting to make sense of sometimes conflicting information. From there we go on to explore the possible fate of the column(s) and the likely original context.

### THE DRAWINGS

The two drawings by Ligorio are in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle and formed part of the Paper Museum, the encyclopaedic collection of thousands of prints and drawings amassed by Cassiano dal Pozzo (1588–1657) and his brother Carlo Antonio (1606–89).<sup>2</sup> They almost certainly originally shared a single sheet of paper, which probably contained accompanying explanatory text, as is still the case with several of Ligorio's other drawings at Windsor.<sup>3</sup> In

---

\* The authors would like to thank the following for their assistance in writing this article: Maria Letizia Caldelli, Amanda Claridge, Martin Clayton, the Centro di Studi sulla Cultura e l'Immagine di Roma, Giancarlo Coccioli, Bianca De Divitiis, the Edinburgh College of Art Research Board, Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Elisa Garcia Barraco, Pietro Gnan, Simon Keay, Maria Luisa Madonna, Arnold Nesselrath, Silvia Orlandi, Elisabeth Péniisson, Eugenio Polito, Johannes Röhl, Susan Russell, Thomas Schäfer, Valerie Scott, William Stenhouse, Ginette Vagenheim, Claudia Valeri and Alessandra Villone.

<sup>1</sup> I. Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: Series A — Antiquities and Architecture, Part 9)*, 3 vols (London, 2004), I, 230–1; III, 850.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), I, nos. 70–1.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), I, 177.

the present case any text must have been discarded when, at some unknown point, they were silhouetted.<sup>4</sup> After entering the Royal Library they were mounted on separate sheets and bound into a volume titled, 'Buildings and Architectural Ornaments', the contents of which include some antiquities but also many Renaissance objects, suggesting that there was some doubt whether Ligorio's drawings were of a genuinely antique column or merely an *all'antica* invention.<sup>5</sup>

One of the Ligorio drawings (FIG. 1) shows the front view of the column, which lacks a capital. At the top of the shaft are two winged victories, the one on the left holding a palm while the one on the right catches her dress and turns her head to the left. The victories stand on an inscription tablet (see below), which in turn is supported by two tritons. The zone below has two *panopli*, one with a Phrygian cap, flanking a hexagonal shield, while the bottom row has two standing barbarian captives, with a helmet and what may be a quiver of arrows between them. At the foot of the shaft is a narrow frieze displaying weapons and armour. Below it is an Attic base and square plinth, undecorated apart from ovoli on the lower torus.

On the back of the column, shown in the second drawing (FIG. 2), the top zone has two victories bearing torches, above two erotes carrying scrolls across their shoulders. Next down follow the tails of the tritons from the front, then two *panopli*, flanking a round shield; then two more barbarian captives with some items of arms or armour between them. The frieze at the bottom of the shaft differs from that on the front in being plain, while the Attic base is identical to that on the front.

Another drawing of the same column (or conceivably one of the same set) was also once in the Paper Museum,<sup>6</sup> but formed part of a large group of drawings that were sifted out in the decades following the collection's acquisition by George III in 1763. Some of these rejects from the Royal Library were collected into two albums in the nineteenth century, which belonged to the Stirling-Maxwell family until 1990, when they were broken up and sold at auction.<sup>7</sup> The present location of the drawing of the column is unknown.

A further drawing (FIG. 3), attributed tentatively to Battista Franco (c. 1510–61) by Campbell, is on oiled paper, indicating it has been traced from another source. It broadly agrees with Ligorio's front view, but differs in some details, most significantly the presence of an enriched Doric capital, the neck being decorated with bay leaves; the cavetto with bead-and-reel decoration; the echinus with ovoli; and the abacus with Lesbian leaf. Resting on the capital is the lower part of a draped statue. The column base also differs from Ligorio's in being a single torus enriched with guilloche, while the plinth is decorated with ox skulls and garlands. On the shaft, the Franco drawing differs from Ligorio's in that the victory on the left is not holding a palm, while the victory on the right turns her whole body to the left. There are also

<sup>4</sup> On the silhouetting of Paper Museum drawings, see Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), II, 480.

<sup>5</sup> Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), I, 43.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), III, no. 333.

<sup>7</sup> Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), I, 45–6.



FIG. 1. Pirro Ligorio, Front view of the *columna caelata*. Windsor Castle, Print Room, inv. no. 10741: The Royal Collection © 2010 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. (Reproduced by permission of Her Majesty the Queen.)



FIG. 2. Pirro Ligorio, Rear view of the *columna caelata*. Windsor Castle, Print Room, inv. no. 10742: The Royal Collection © 2010 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. (Reproduced by permission of Her Majesty the Queen.)



FIG. 3. Battista Franco (?), Front view of the *columna caelata* (ex-Stirling-Maxwell Sculpture Album, fol. 110. Present location unknown: The Royal Collection © 2010 Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. (Reproduced by permission of Her Majesty the Queen.)

more shields filling the space between the *panopli* and more items of armour between the two barbarian captives, both of whom in this case are depicted bareheaded.

Campbell also published two parallel drawings to Ligorio's front and rear views, attributed to the prolific Renaissance draughtsman known as the 'Anonymous Mantuan 'A'' (fl. 1525–60), from a sketchbook in the Hermitage, known as the Destailleur-Polofzoff Album 'B'.<sup>8</sup> They are extremely similar to Ligorio's, the principal difference being the absence of any base. The details of the frieze at the foot of the shaft are sketchier and extend to the rear as well as the front, but the details of the figures on both sides are virtually identical. Otherwise the only difference is in the contents of the inscription panel, to which we shall return below.

Subsequently, two more parallels (FIG. 4) have been identified in a sketchbook in Padua University Library thought to be from the circle of Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511–92).<sup>9</sup> The drawings are very similar to those of the Anonymous Mantuan 'A' but are more crudely executed and lack some details, such as the decoration of the frieze at the bottom of the shaft. The fact that the other two drawings on the page match those in similar positions on the page of the Destailleur-Polofzoff Album 'B', and are again simplified versions, allows us to infer that all the drawings are copies after those of the Anonymous Mantuan 'A', and hence add little to our knowledge.<sup>10</sup>

The final point to be discussed on the drawings is the contents of the inscription tablets in the four drawings showing the front of the column. Ligorio provided what purports to be the original inscription: 'IMP(erator) CAES(ar) DIVI F(ilius) AVGVSTU[S] / PONT(ifex) MAX(imus) TRIB(unicia) POT(estate) / XXIII P(ater) P(atriae) EX S(enatus) C(onsulto) PORT(icum) / NEPTUNI CONS(tituit) LAT(um) / P(edes) CXVIII IN PRONAON P(edes) XX[X]', which can be construed as 'The Emperor Caesar, son of Divus [Julius], Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding tribunician power for the 23rd time, Pater Patriae, by decree of the Senate, built the Porticus of Neptune, 119 feet wide, 30 feet in front (?) of the pronaos'.<sup>11</sup> The inscription is recorded nowhere else and is probably an invention.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), I, 230, Comp. fig. 70. On the Anonymous Mantuan 'A', see A. Nesselrath, *Das Fossombroner Skizzenbuch* (London, 1993), 46, and the *Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known to the Renaissance* ([www.census.de](http://www.census.de) (last consulted 08.07.2010)), census ID 40033.

<sup>9</sup> L. Olivato, 'Due codici 'veneti' cinquecenteschi d'architettura', *Arte Veneta* 32 (1978), 153–60.

<sup>10</sup> Another example can be seen in Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 764, fol. 16 (Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), I, 332, Comp. fig. 108i), where three of the four drawings on the page parallel those on Saint Petersburg, Hermitage, Destailleur-Polofzoff Album 'B', fol. 8v (Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography* (above, n. 1), II, 612, Comp. fig. 220).

<sup>11</sup> The final 'S' of 'AUGUSTUS' and most of the last 'X' were cut off when the drawing was silhouetted. There are also some corrections in dark ink over paler ink: 'LAT' originally read 'I.I MP'. 'EXSC' was expanded to 'exscriptum' in the 2004 publication in the belief that Ligorio's text seemed to be both a record of an inscription to Augustus and a description of its find-spot, run together, but that interpretation now seems less plausible than the one presented here. We are indebted to Maria Letizia Caldelli, Silvia Orlandi and Will Stenhouse for their assistance.

<sup>12</sup> The second part of the inscription may be based on *CIL* XIV 3664, which is an inscription from Tivoli that Ligorio would have known, and which has the words 'PORTICVS P CCLX ... ET PRONAON / ET PORTICVM ... LONG P CXL'. We are grateful to Eugenio Polito for bringing this to our attention.





FIG. 4. Circle of Bartolomeo Ammannati after Anonymous Mantuan 'A', Front and rear views of the *columna caelata*. Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria, MS 764, fol. 9r. (Reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)



The contents of the inscription panel on the other three drawings all relate to location. On the ?Franco drawing (FIG. 3) we read 'ALO PORTO·DE / BAI·A·APRESSO DE / PVTEOLO· / 1·5·38 / cos / i detto pezulo', which can be translated as 'At the port of Baia, near Puteoli, 1538, so-called Pozzuoli'. On the Hermitage drawing is found 'fu trova i[n] baia et / adesso é i[n] Napoli' ('was found in Baia and now is in Naples'), which is echoed incoherently on the Padua drawing (FIG. 4) as 'fu trovato i[n] no / ari (?) avesso e ana / poli'.

Before attempting to analyse the information provided by the drawings, it is necessary to include two passages of text found in Ligorio, one major and specifically on the column in the drawings, and the other minor, but which may allude to it.

### THE TEXTUAL REFERENCES

The major passage is found in the ninth of the ten volumes of Ligorian manuscripts that were acquired by the Farnese in April 1567 and passed into the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples. These represent the bulk of Ligorio's first attempt at an encyclopaedia of antiquity, arranged by subject in 51 books.<sup>13</sup> The first Neapolitan volume is dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, for whom Ligorio worked from 1549.<sup>14</sup> Work continued on this first recension until 1566, and the reference in the ninth volume, on rivers and fountains, to a flood of the river Arno in September 1557 shows it was being worked on in the late 1550s.<sup>15</sup> The reference to our column occurs in the midst of the entry on Lake Avernus, where we find the following:

Near to this lake [Avernus] in Monte Miseno, the same emperor [Augustus] made the harbour which was called [Portus] Julii, above which he built a most beautiful portico which surpassed every most beautiful and worthy work of Parian marble, all with columns carved with figures and trophies of marine objects. Thus this work demonstrated the victory over Sextus Pompeius, and against various nations vanquished at sea during the civil war of the triumvirate. In that war all these harbour works were made in order to have safe refuges in the sea coasts for the naval ships, where the fleet called 'Misenatium' was located by being lodged in Portus Iulii at Misenum ... Having finally acquired victory, [Augustus] commemorated it in the

<sup>13</sup> Some of the books are contained within other Ligorian manuscripts in Oxford, Paris and Turin: G. Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions ligoriennes: notes sur la tradition manuscrite', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 30 (1987), 199–309, at pp. 266–70.

<sup>14</sup> D.R. Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio: the Renaissance Artist, Architect and Antiquarian, with a Checklist of Drawings* (University Park, 2004), 12.

<sup>15</sup> Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIII.B.9, fol. 61v; on the dating, see R.W. Gaston, 'Ligorio on rivers and fountains: prolegomena to a study of Naples XIII. B. 9', in R.W. Gaston (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio Artist and Antiquarian (Villa i Tatti. The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies 10)* (Cinsello Balsamo, 1988), 159–208, at pp. 187–8; A. Schreurs, *Antikenbild und Kunstschaunungen des Pirro Ligorio (1513–1583)* (Cologne, 2000), 332, suggesting 1550–9. The flooding of Florence on 14 September 1557, described at fol. 47r–v, is one of the most secure *termini post quem*.

aforementioned portico, the columns of which remained intact submerged in the sea up to our time. Lodovico de' Montalti, wanting to take them to Naples, fell so ill that he died unfortunately while he was having them loaded on board ship, and only one was safely brought to shore opposite the *Insula Megaris* which is now called *Castello dell'Ovo*. Where by the cruelties of the sea, greatly assaulted by the sand and by the malignity of the water whipped up by the wind it now lies very damaged. It has in the upper part, near to the top of the shaft, carved images of victory with wings and with palms in their hands, which support the inscription tablet, which stated it to have been made from the victory of the naval war. And lower down, in the middle, are some sea gods like tritons who call the great name of Augustus, who are half men and half fish. Below these, towards the bottom of the shaft, are trophies, with bound prisoners under the armour hanging from the trunks of trees. The capitals of which [i.e the columns] were also carved, like the bases, in the Doric order with some things to do with the sea and arms. The bases, that is the pedestals, which supported the bases of the columns were also carved with similar ornaments [and] where these were there were also some other ornaments of the Corinthian order to be seen, which were from another building.<sup>16</sup>

Another possible allusion to our column occurs in Ligorio's second attempt at an encyclopaedia of antiquities, arranged alphabetically, which he began compiling after entering the service of Alfonso II d'Este, duke of Ferrara, in late 1568.<sup>17</sup> At the end of the entry for the

---

<sup>16</sup> Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIII.B.9, fol. 61v: 'Presso di questo lago nel monte Miseno fece il medesimo imperatore il che fu chiamato Iulio, sopra del quale edificò un portico bellissimo che avanzava ogni bellissima et degnissima opera di marmo pario, tutto con colonne intagliate a figure et a trophèi di cose maritime. Per ciò che con quest'opera si dimostrasse la vittoria acquistata contra Sesto Pompeo, et contra a varie nationi superate in mare nella guerra civile del triumvirato, nella qual guerra fu fatta tutta quest'opera de porti per havere ricetti sicuri de navi in le coste maritime, ove loco l'armata chiamata *Misenatium*, per esser quell'albergo nel Miseno porto Iulio. . . . per lo che finalmente acquistatone la vittoria, ne fece memoria nel sudetto portico, del quale le colonne sue ch'erano remaste intiere sono state ai nostri giorni annegate in mare. Per che Lodovico de' Montalti, volendole condurre a Napoli fu tanto male a sortito che morì mentre l'havono imbarcate, et solo una ne fu condotta salva insino al lito del mare incontro dell'insula *Megaris*, che si chiama hora *Castel dell'Uovo*. Ove dall'impiti del mare sbattuta grandamente dall'arene et da le malignità dell'acque spiantagli dal vento adosso iace molto consumata. Havea in la parte più alto vicino al sommo scapo sculpite imagini di vittorie con le ali et con le palme in mano che reggevano la tabella dell'intitulatione che annunciava esser fatte dal conquista della guerra delle cose del mare. Et più sotto nel mezzo sono alcuni dii marini come tritoni, che vocitano il gran nome di Augusto, che sono mezzi huomini et mezzi pesci. Sotto di essi più verso l'imo scapo sono trophèi, con prigionii ligati sotto l'armature appese nelli tronchi dell'arbori. Li cui capitelli erano anche lavorati come le basi d'ordine dorico con alcuni segni di cose di mare et d'armi. Le basi, in vero ciò è stilobati, che sosteneano le spire de le colonne anche erano de simili ornamenti lavorati, dove erano queste vi si vedeano alcuni altri ornamenti dell'ordine Corinthio, che erano d'altra parte d'altro edificio'.

<sup>17</sup> Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio* (above, n. 14), 107.

Portus Iulius we read that the ‘... harbour was decorated with marble columns carved with reliefs of things pertaining to the Naval Victory [Augustus’s over Pompey]’.<sup>18</sup>

### ANALYSIS OF THE EVIDENCE

Our analysis will begin by discussing the form of the column, and proceed to look at where it was found, when and by whom, before moving on to discuss its original function and context.

The information provided in Ligorio’s Neapolitan manuscript is so full and circumstantial that there surely can be no lingering doubt that the column really existed and is not an *all’antica* invention. Nevertheless, there are details that are difficult to reconcile both between the internal evidence of the drawings and writings and between them and the external evidence.

Taking the form of the column first, Ligorio’s description of the shaft fits the evidence of all the drawings perfectly. However, there is some doubt about the capital and the base. The drawings of the Anonymous Mantuan ‘A’ and the Paduan copies show only the shaft, while Ligorio’s drawings give it an Attic base, and that attributed to Franco both a capital and base. Had we only the drawings, one might infer that Ligorio and Franco were adding conjectural restorations to the shaft (although one might wonder why Ligorio failed to supply a capital), and that the others show it in its original state. However, perplexingly, Ligorio described the column as having a Doric base and capital, which accords better with the ?Franco drawing than with his own. The conundrum is perhaps solved if we accept Ligorio’s testimony that there was more than one column, and assume that his Windsor drawings were executed before he had seen the more complete example.

Moving on to the find-spot, it is clear that the column was found somewhere along the southern shore of the Campi Flegrei, just northwest of Naples (FIG. 5), but precisely where is harder to determine. The Anonymous Mantuan ‘A’ said specifically it was found at Baia, while the ?Franco drawing refers to Puteoli, several kilometres to the east.<sup>19</sup> However, it is unclear

<sup>18</sup> Turin, Archivio di Stato, Cod. A.II.I.J.14, fol. 74v. s.v. Porto Iulio Misenio: ‘PORTO IVLIO MISENIO era nel monte Miseno congiunto nelli Opici Campani popoli situato incontro del Porto di Poteoli o vogliamo dire Pozzuoli. Il quale Porto Iulio edificò il grande Augusto messendo il mare dentro al’lago Averno, fece chel lago non più nuocese et chel porto diventarse più commodo per l’etruata [?] e classe cognominata Misenatio. Come scrive Dione, nella Vittoria che Augusto hebbe nel Triomvirato contra Sesto Pompeo. Et questo tale Porto ornò di colonne di marmo historiate di cose dela Navale Vittoria’ (‘The PORTUS IVLIUS MISENIUS was [excavated] in Mount Misenum adjoining [the territory of] the Opici people of Campania, situated opposite the port of Puteoli, or, as we say, Pozzuoli. The great Augustus built the Portus Iulius, allowing the sea into lake Avernus, [which] made it that the lake was no longer noxious, and that the port became more suitable for the entry of the fleet designated Misenatiun. As Dio writes, in the victory that Augustus had in the triumvirate against Sextus Pompeius. And this [Augustus] decorated the port with marble columns sculpted with relief about the naval victory.’). ‘Storie’ is commonly used to refer to relief sculpture during the Renaissance: see A. Grafton, ‘Historia’ and ‘Istoria’: Alberti’s terminology in context’, *I Tatti Studies. Essays in the Renaissance* 8 (1999), 37–68, esp. pp. 60–2.

<sup>19</sup> The distance is only about 3 km directly across the gulf of Pozzuoli, but about 8 km around the shoreline.

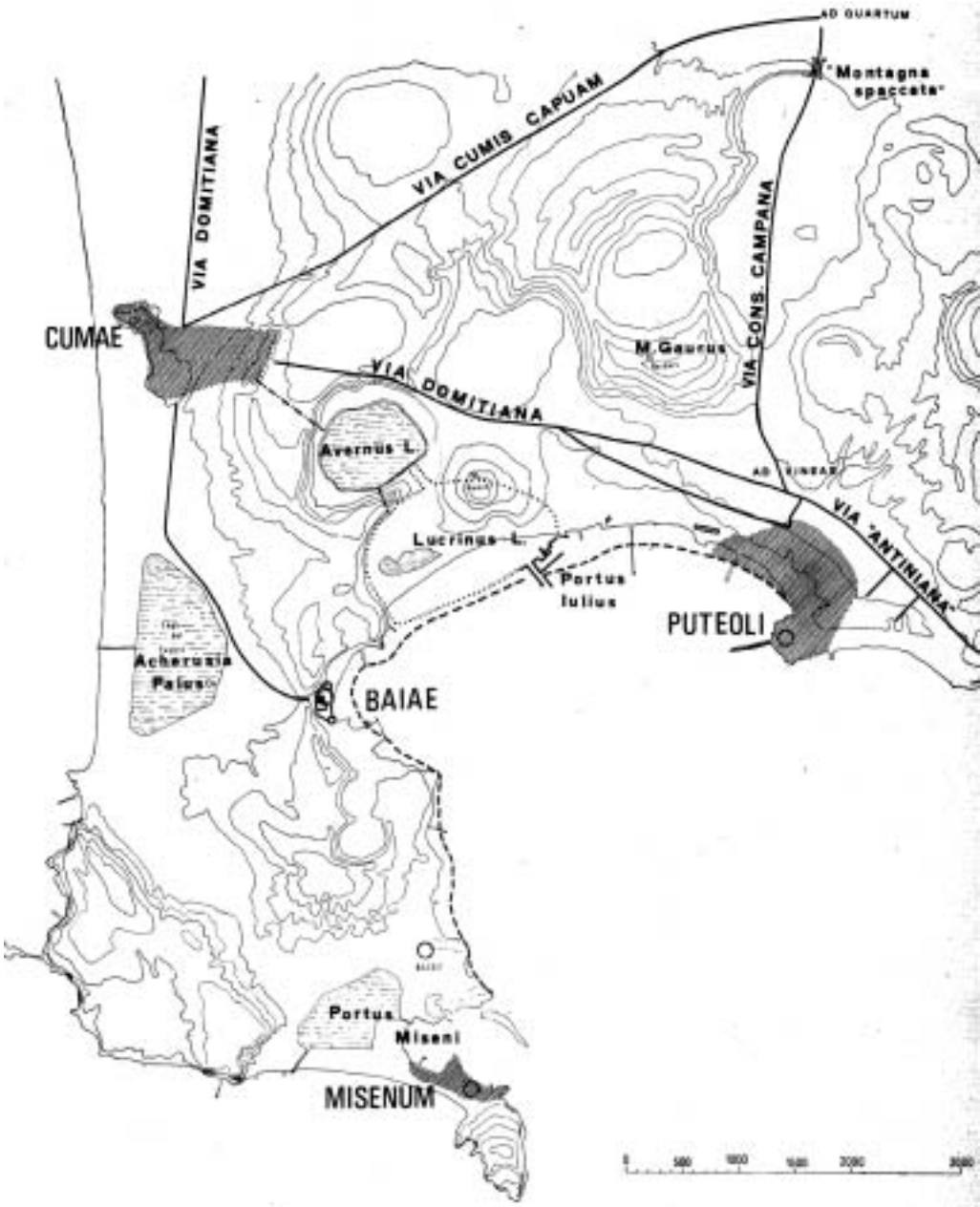


FIG. 5. Map of the Gulf of Pozzuoli. (From Castagnoli ‘Topografia dei Campi Flegrei’ (n. 22), fig. 20). (Reproduced by permission of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei and Bardi Editore.)

what the place name signifies in the latter case — was the column found there or was it merely located there when the original draughtsman saw it? One piece of evidence that might support its meaning the find-spot are the words ‘PORT(icus) NEPTUNI’ on the inscription on Ligorio’s drawing (FIG. 1). We know that a building of that name existed at Puteoli from references in

Cicero, and it appeared named as such on the famous Roman wall-painting of the Esquiline 'Harbour Landscape' discovered in Rome in 1668, and now known only from contemporary copies, which is generally agreed to depict Puteoli.<sup>20</sup> However, this interpretation cannot be reconciled with Ligorio's account.

Ligorio said that the columns were found offshore from the Portus Julius. However, both in the Naples manuscript and in his entry on the port in the Turin encyclopaedia he erroneously located that port at Misenum, at the western extremity of the Gulf of Pozzuoli.<sup>21</sup> In reality the Portus Julius was located several kilometres to the northeast (FIG. 5). It was created in 37 BC, when Agrippa cut a channel through the narrow spit that separated the shallow lagoon of the Lacus Lucrinus from the sea about 1.5 km west of Pozzuoli, and constructed a tunnel to connect the Lacus Lucrinus with Lake Avernus, sited in a volcanic crater just to the north. The port was built to accommodate Augustus's navy, but the fleet was moved to Misenum within two decades, and the port facilities at Portus Julius were probably absorbed into the commercial port of Pozzuoli.<sup>22</sup> Much of the site was buried by the Monte Nuovo eruption in 1538, leaving the lake a fraction of its former size.<sup>23</sup> The outer bay at Misenum was already a much better natural harbour than the Lucrine Lake, and Agrippa improved it still further by linking it by canal with a lake that, like that of Avernus, occupied a volcanic crater behind. This inner lake at Misenum became known as the Mare Morto in the Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup>

To make his siting of the Portus Julius fit, Ligorio had to argue that the outer bay at Misenum was the Lucrine Lake and that the Mare Morto was Lake Avernus. This flew in the face of the evidence of the classical sources and, most perversely, against the testimony of his own map of the Kingdom of Naples, which shows the Portus Julius, correctly located just west of Pozzuoli, with 'Porto di Augusto' indicated at Misenum (FIG. 6). The map was published in 1556/7, contemporaneously with the composition of the ninth volume of the Naples

<sup>20</sup> Cicero, *Academica* 2.25.80; I. Sgobbo, 'I templi di Baia', in *I Campi Flegrei nell'archeologia e nella storia* (*Atti dei convegni Lincei* 33) (Rome, 1977), 283–328, esp. p. 286. On the Harbour Landscape, see H. Whitehouse, *Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: Series A — Antiquities and Architecture, Part I)* (London, 2001), 266, 276.

<sup>21</sup> Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS XIII.B.9, fol. 61v; Turin, Archivio di Stato, Cod. A.II.1.J.14, fol. 74v.

<sup>22</sup> The exact date of the foundation of the naval base is unclear. J. Beloch, *Campanien* (Breslau, 1890), 198, gave the foundation date of the Augustan *colonia* at Misenum as 31 BC, but M. Borriello and A. d'Ambrosio, *Baiae-Misenum (Forma Italiae Reg. I 14)* (Florence, 1979), 24, were reluctant to hazard a date before 19 BC, while G. Vittucci, 'Classis Misenatium: qualche problema storico-antiquario', in *I Campi Flegrei* (above, n. 20), 181–9, believed the only secure *terminus ante quem* was Agrippa's death in 12 BC. On Portus Julius, see L. Jacono, 'Il Porto Giulio', *Rendiconti dei Lincei: Scienze Morali* 19 (1941), 650–76; F. Castagnoli, 'Topografia dei Campi Flegrei', in *I Campi Flegrei* (above, n. 20), 41–80, esp. pp. 65–7, fig. 20; S. de Caro and A. Greco, *Campania* (Bari, 1993), 75–6.

<sup>23</sup> Castagnoli, 'Topografia' (above, n. 22), 65. See also A. Scherillo, 'Vulcanismo e bradisismo nei Campi Flegrei', in *I Campi Flegrei* (above, n. 20), 81–116, esp. p. 100.

<sup>24</sup> There is some doubt whether the waters of the two basins were already intercommunicating before Agrippa or whether he made the link. The Mare Morto seems to have gained its name after the link was blocked in the thirteenth century and its waters became stagnant. See Borriello and d'Ambrosio, *Baiae-Misenum* (above, n. 22), 131–3, no. 130; De Caro and Greco, *Campania* (above, n. 22), 65–7.



FIG. 6. Pirro Ligorio, detail of *Nova Regni Neapolit. descriptio*, a Pirro Ligorio (a reprint of 1558) (London, British Library, K.Top. 83.3). © The British Library Board K.Top 83.3. (Reproduced by permission of the British Library.)

manuscripts.<sup>25</sup> What caused Ligorio's volte-face is not known. A revised edition was published in 1558 of Lucio Fauno's 1543 Italian translation of Flavio Biondo's *Italia illustrata* (originally published in Latin in 1474), but there is nothing in its discussion of the area to suggest confusion between Misenum and the Lucrine Lake area.<sup>26</sup> The same can be said of Leandro Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, first published in 1550, based on fieldwork in the Campi Flegrei in 1526,<sup>27</sup> and of Benedetto di Falco's *Antichità di Napoli, e del suo amenissimo distretto*, the first

<sup>25</sup> R. Almagià, 'Studi storici di cartografia napoletana. Cap. III. La carta del Napoletano di Pirro Ligorio', *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 38 (1913), 3–17, dating at p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> F. Biondo, *Italia illustrata* (trans. L. Fauno) (Venice, 1558), fols 230v–231r.

<sup>27</sup> L. Alberti, *Descrittione di tutta Italia di F. Leandro Alberti Bolognese. Aggiuntavi la descrizione di tutte l'isole* (facsimile of 1568 edition, Bergamo, 2003). The Portus Julius and Lucrine Lake are discussed on fol. 167 and Misenum on fols 171 and 171v. On the 1526 visit see fol. 173v. As was first pointed out by Almagià ('Studi storici' (above, n. 25), 10), the names of mountains and rivers on Ligorio's map of the Kingdom of Naples are almost identical to those in Alberti.



topographical work to be published specifically on the area in 1549.<sup>28</sup> The only author to support Ligorio's contention that the Portus Julius was at Misenum is Scipione Mazzella writing in 1595, but even he still located the Lucrine Lake and Lake Avernus correctly.<sup>29</sup>

Whatever the reason for Ligorio's error, we can reasonably assume that the column was found offshore in the vicinity of Misenum, and proceed to investigate its finder.<sup>30</sup>

## LUDOVICO MONTALTO

The jurist Ludovico Montalto was of Sicilian stock and rose high in the Neapolitan bureaucracy, ending his career as a *Reggente della Cancelleria*, one of the heads of the Collateral Council, the supreme ruling body under the viceroyalty.<sup>31</sup> Jacopo Sannazaro dedicated an elegy to him, and the poet Il Chariteo (Benet/Benedetto Gareth) two sonnets. In 1527 he is recorded as a member of the Accademia Pontaniana.<sup>32</sup> He is, however, perhaps best known to art historians at least as a patron of Raphael's pupil Polidoro da Caravaggio (1492/5–1543), who first visited Naples in 1522–3: according to the famous letter sent in 1524 by Pietro Summonte (1463–1526) to Marcantonio Michiel, Polidoro decorated the *cortile* and *logge* of Montalto's palace with *sgraffiti* 'derived from Trajan's Column'.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> B. di Falco, *Antichità di Napoli, e del suo amenissimo distretto* (Naples, 1679) (available online at <http://www.fedoa.unina.it/959/> (last consulted 12.07.2010)). Misenum is discussed on p. 45 and the Lucrine Lake on p. 46. The Portus Julius is not mentioned specifically.

<sup>29</sup> S. Mazzella, *Sito et antichità della città di Pozzuolo* (Naples, 1595), 223–4: 'A lato del promontorio Miseno si vede il magnifico, e nobil porto Giulio, che è assai ben grande, & oportuno, e tutto nel monte intagliato: Et avanti della bocca di esso vi sono superbe braccia di fabbriche, che riparano le fortune del mare, le quali furono fatte da Giulio Cesare' ('Next to the Misenum promontory one sees the magnificent and noble Portus Iulius, which is quite large and convenient and entirely excavated into the mountain. And in front of its [the harbour] mouth there are stately wings of buildings that protect [the port] from the vagaries of the weather, which were constructed by Julius Caesar'). For the Lucrine Lake, see pp. 113–21, and for Lake Avernus, pp. 122–35.

<sup>30</sup> The faint doubt must remain that if Ligorio was relying on second-hand information, which merely told him that the column was found near the Portus Julius, we cannot know if his source meant the real one or the one at Misenum!

<sup>31</sup> On Montalto's origins and career, see: V. Spreti (ed.), *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare italiana*, 8 vols (Milan, 1928–35), IV, 659–60; C. Trasselli, *Da Ferdinando il Cattolico a Carlo V. L'esperienza siciliana 1475–1525*, 2 vols (Soveria Mannelli, 1982), 21, 247 n. 28, 258 n. 60; A. Cernigliaro, *Sovranità e feudo nel Regno di Napoli, 1505–1557* (Naples, 1983); R. Cancila, *Fisco, ricchezza, comunità nella Sicilia del Cinquecento* (Rome, 2001), 75. For the Collateral Council, see G. Muto, 'A court without a king: Naples as capital city in the first half of the 16th century', in W. Blockmans and N. Mout (eds), *The World of Emperor Charles V* (Amsterdam, 2004), 129–41, esp. p. 136.

<sup>32</sup> J. Sannazaro, *The Major Latin Poems of Jacopo Sannazaro Translated into English Prose with Commentary and Selected Verse Translations by Ralph Nash* (Detroit, 1996), 135–7; B. Gareth, *Le rime di Benedetto Gareth detto il Chariteo secondo le due stampe originali* (ed. E. Percopo) (Naples, 1892), 233–4, sonnets CXCV and CXCVI.

<sup>33</sup> Cited in A. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, 2 vols (Rome, 1969), I, 151. For the full text of the letter, see F. Nicolini in *L'arte napoletana del Rinascimento e la lettera di Pietro Summonte a Marcantonio Michiel* (Naples, 1925), 161–3.

Montalto's interests in columns should be seen in the wider context of collecting antiquities in Naples. Already in the previous century, Diomede Carafa (1406/8–87), first count of Maddaloni, whose collecting of antiquities from the Naples area was familiar to Ligorio,<sup>34</sup> made great show of an antique marble column topped with a late antique capital, and set on a pedestal with inscriptions *all'antica* in the courtyard of his new palace in Naples, which was built between c. 1444 and c. 1470.<sup>35</sup> The column was not sculpted in the manner of the Ligorian example(s), but, taken together with Montalto's fascination with Trajan's Column and later Spanish collecting in Naples and the export of exquisite examples of Roman columns, indicates a strong local interest in column *spolia* as prized antiquarian objects.<sup>36</sup> Polidoro's fresco cycle for Montalto was destroyed, but other façade friezes he executed in Rome between his Naples visit and the Sack of Rome in 1527, for example at the Palazzo Ricci and Palazzo Milesi, contained elements of Roman triumphal iconography, such as barbarian prisoners and trophies, similar to those drawn on the Ligorian column(s). Polidoro's Neapolitan and Roman works were likely to have been a potent source of inspiration for the young artist Ligorio, who left Naples for Rome c. 1534, although this presumed influence has yet to be studied in detail.<sup>37</sup>

Two other instances of Montalto collecting antiquities were recorded by Ligorio. One is to be found in the *Libri degli antichi eroi e uomini illustri*, books 44–6 of Ligorio's first attempt at an encyclopaedia, where he included a herm of Archytas, the pre-Socratic Greek philosopher, which he said was found by Montalto among the ruins of many columns in the *paese Puteolano*.<sup>38</sup> The other, in the Turin encyclopaedia entry on Pozzuoli, is more interesting for the present investigation:

This other dedication, which had been left decayed near the shore, was also brought to Naples by Ludovico Montalto. Due to his death other beautiful antiquities have

<sup>34</sup> Ligorio referred several times to items collected by 'il vecchio conte' and to having spent some of his childhood in the territory of the Maddaloni: Schreurs, *Antikenbild* (above, n. 15), 52–7. Carafa owned an archaeological site in Pozzuoli from which much of his collection came: see B. de Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza nella Napoli del Quattrocento* (Venice, 2007), 105–6.

<sup>35</sup> On the column, see De Divitiis, *Architettura e committenza* (above, n. 34), 85 (fig. 57); cf. pp. 107–8 on two columns 'composte da spolia al centro del cortile e all'ingresso del giardino'. See also B. De Divitiis, 'New evidence for sculptures from Diomede Carafa's collection of antiquities', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 70 (2007), 99–117; B. De Divitiis, 'Building in local *all'antica* style: the Palace of Diomede Carafa in Naples', *Art History* 31 (4) (2008), 505–22, esp. p. 512 (pl. 14).

<sup>36</sup> On the Spanish collecting, see below, p. 000.

<sup>37</sup> See Schreurs, *Antikenbild* (above, n. 15), 215, for evidence that Ligorio warmly praised Polidoro's work in his *Trattato on the nobiltà . . . dell'antiche arti*, composed during his later years at Ferrara.

<sup>38</sup> Turin, Archivio di Stato, Cod. A.II.10.J.23, fol. 113, now published as P. Ligorio, *Libri degli antichi eroi e uomini illustri* (ed. B.P. Venetucci) (Rome 2005), 94: 'Nel paese puteolano a d nostri cavandovi M(esser) Ludovico da Montalto, fu trovato tra le rovine di molte colonne questo termine col nome di Archita' ('In our days, [when] Messer Ludovico Montalto was excavating in the countryside around Pozzuolo this herm [inscribed] with the name of Archytas was found among the ruins of many columns').

been abandoned and ruined by the salt waves of the sea, and so even this additional persecution has befallen them, apart from that perpetrated by the barbarians throughout all of Italy in the past.<sup>39</sup>

The circumstances of the inscription's discovery sound similar to those of the column found at Misenum. Ligorio said that Montalto had had the column taken from the sea with others, and was in the process of putting them on board ship to take to Naples when he died. Only one of the columns reached Naples, but was then left on the shore or quayside at the Castello dell'Ovo, where it rapidly decayed. From Ligorio's account it appears as if Montalto was personally supervising the transport of the columns and his death was in some way connected with the wreck of the ship: but we know from other sources that he died in Palermo in July 1528.<sup>40</sup> Whatever the precise circumstances, the date allows us to be certain that the column was found before then, and reached Naples probably shortly after. This early date is important because it means that Ligorio had probably seen the column himself, while still living in Naples, before his move to Rome in the 1530s, rather than relying on second-hand information.<sup>41</sup> That may make it more difficult to sustain the idea that there was only one column and that the capital and base shown on the ex-Stirling-Maxwell drawing are the draughtsman's invention. We also have to reconcile the date 1538 that appears on that drawing. Given that it is a tracing, it may simply be that 1528 on the original drawing was misread as 1538; but if that is not the case, it may be that the draughtsman saw a different, more complete, column in Pozzuoli from the same set as the one at Castello dell'Ovo. Thus the drawings by the Anonymous Mantuan 'A' may represent the latter, copied after the earliest drawings by Ligorio, while the latter's Windsor drawings represent a second version partially reconstructed, possibly intended for the projected book 34 of the first recension of the encyclopaedia, to be on the antiquities of Naples, Capua and Pozzuoli, of which otherwise only the title page can be identified.<sup>42</sup> Then, by the late 1550s,

<sup>39</sup> Turin, Archivio di Stato, Cod. A.II.1.J.14, fol. 89r. 'Éstata portata ancho in Napoli quest'altra dedicatione, la quale era appresso al litto del mare, ridotta da Lodovico Montalto, che per la cui morte, sono state abbandonate dell'altre cose belle antiche et guaste dall'onde salse marine, acciò che non manca quest'altra persecutione, altra a quella che la barbarica gente fece per tutta la Italia, nelli tempi passati'. The reference to 'this other dedication' might be thought to belong to the long inscription that immediately follows, beginning 'L. ANNIO. L. F. COLLINA / MODESTO / HON. EQVO. PVBLICO'. However, although it is recorded in *CIL* X 1782 as having been found on the shore at Pozzuoli and taken to Naples, the source is a sylloge compiled by Fra Giocondo (1434–1515), who was in Naples intermittently from 1489 to 1495. Giocondo made no mention of Montalto, merely stating that it was 'in domo Pontani', who will be the poet Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1426–1503).

<sup>40</sup> R. Caneschi, 'La Cappella Montalto nel complesso ospedaliero di Santa Maria del Popolo degli Incurabili', in F. Abbate (ed.), *Percorsi di conoscenza e tutela: studi in onore di Michele d'Elia* (Pozzuoli, 2008), 147–58, esp. p. 150.

<sup>41</sup> See Schreurs, *Antikenbild* (above, n. 15), 51–2, who discussed Ligorio's early antiquarian interests in Naples.

<sup>42</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Ital. 138, fol. 83r: 'LIBRO XXXIV. DELLE ANTICHITÀ DOVE SI TRATTANO / DELLE COSE DI NAPOLI CAPVA ET POTTIOLI / CON ALTRI COSE DI DIVERSI / LVOCCHI / RITRATTE DA PIRRO LIGORI PITTORE / NAPOLITANO'; Vagenheim, *Inscriptions ligoriennes* (above, n. 13), 273–4; Schreurs, *Antikenbild* (above, n. 15), 51; illustrated in Coffin, *Pirro Ligorio* (above, n. 14), 24, fig. 14.

Ligorio had become aware of the more complete column and was able to describe it in the ninth volume of the Naples manuscript. The one flaw in this scenario is that he still only referred to the column that he saw at Castello dell'Ovo in a decayed state.<sup>43</sup>

Another puzzle is why the column and other antiquities Montalto had collected were abandoned after his death. Were there no heirs to claim them? The famous list of coin collectors compiled by Hubert Goltzius during his tour of Italy in 1559–60 refers to the Montalto brothers in Naples, but we do not know their relationship to Ludovico.<sup>44</sup> The neglect of the antiquities must be connected in some way with the mystery of the long delay in building the Montalto chapel at Santa Maria del Popolo, the church of the hospital of the Santa Casa degli Incurabili, attached to which was a confraternity to which Ludovico belonged. The chapel was willed by Ludovico on 24 July 1528, four days before his death, but construction does not seem to have begun before 1593, after which his last wishes were finally honoured and his remains transferred from Palermo.<sup>45</sup>

Thus from the available evidence, documentary and graphic, we have established that certainly one column as appears in the drawings, and possibly more, existed and that it or they was/were found in the sea near the shore at Misenum, shortly before 1528. One column, that drawn by Ligorio and the Anonymous Mantuan 'A', reached Naples, but was left exposed to the elements, where it quickly decayed. If we posit that the ex-Stirling-Maxwell drawing showed a different column from the same set, then we are left wondering what its fate was. One possibility for its disappearance from the Naples area would be acquisition by a member of the Spanish ruling élite. Don Pedro de Toledo (1484–1553), viceroy of Naples from 1532, established a famous *Antikengarten* on the outskirts of Pozzuoli from 1539, as part of his attempt to regenerate the area following the 1538 Monte Nuovo eruption, but nothing in the inventory of his collection fits the description of our column.<sup>46</sup> One of his successors, Pedro Afán de Ribera, duke of Alcalá, viceroy from 1559–71, shipped 59 cases of 'marbles' back to the 'Casa de Pilatos', his palace in Seville, in 1569 and another 34/5 cases of antiquities were sent after his death in 1571.<sup>47</sup> However, again, although several columns are listed in an inventory of the Casa de Pilatos dated 1588, none is described as figured, and nothing similar appears in the collection today.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Schreurs, *Antikenbild* (above, n. 15), 55–6, posited a visit to Naples by Ligorio in or after 1558, since he referred to the contemporary Diomede Carafa (1520–61) as duke of Maddaloni, a title bestowed on him in that year by Philip II.

<sup>44</sup> See I.M. Iasiello, *Il collezionismo di antichità nella Napoli del Viceré* (Naples, 2003), 133.

<sup>45</sup> Caneschi, 'La Cappella Montalto' (above, n. 40), 149–52.

<sup>46</sup> C.J. Hernando Sanchez, *Castilla y Nápoles en el siglo XVI. El virrey Pedro de Toledo* (Valladolid, 1994), 524–5. The inventory is Archivo Historico Nacional, Madrid, Osuna, Leg. 425.3.26, but the fate of the collection is not at all clear from Sanchez's account.

<sup>47</sup> M. Trunk, *Die 'Casa de Pilatos' in Sevilla: Studien zu Sammlung, Aufstellung und Rezeption Antiker Skulpturen im Spanien des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Mainz, 2002), 25–6.

<sup>48</sup> J. González Moreno, *Catálogo de documentos sevillanos del archivo duca del Alcalá de los Gazules* (Seville, 1976), 35–42.

## DATING

As for dating, Ligorio linked the column with Augustus both in the inscription on the Windsor drawing and in the textual references, but we have established already that the former is probably invented.<sup>49</sup> It is true that the enriched Doric capital is similar to those found in the Roman Forum, which are usually associated with the two lost Arches of Augustus.<sup>50</sup> However, as the Column of Marcus Aurelius testifies, such capitals persisted until the late second century. Similarly, the attitude of the tritons supporting the inscription tablet is not unlike that of the figures forming the upper part of the legs on a lost marble relief of a *sella curialis*, dated to around 30 BC.<sup>51</sup> But tritons feature in triumphal imagery from the early Imperial period to the Antonines.<sup>52</sup> There appear to be no exact parallels for the frieze of arms at the foot of the shaft, but column base plinths decorated with similar imagery are known from Domitian's Palace on the Palatine and from his villa at Castelgandolfo, and hence are datable to the late first century.<sup>53</sup> This would accord with the squared neckline of cuirasses in the drawings, which first appears on Domitianic sculpture and continues into the Antonine period.<sup>54</sup> The fact that the same neckline is found on both the Ligorio drawings and their derivatives and on that of ?Franco suggests it is more than Renaissance draughtsmen supplying missing details and that it was so on the column itself. This allows us to postulate a late first-century/early second-century date.

## THE ORIGINAL FUNCTION OF THE COLUMN

As we have seen already, Ligorio stated in the ninth volume of the Naples manuscripts that the column was one of a series decorated with marine subjects and trophies that formed part of a portico erected by Augustus to commemorate a victory of Agrippa over Pompey, which must

<sup>49</sup> On Ligorio's inscription inventions, see G. Vagenheim, 'La falsification chez Pirro Ligorio: à la lumière des Fasti Capitolini et des inscriptions de Préneste', *Eutopia* 3 (1994), 67–113. On the rehabilitation of Ligorio's reputation as an antiquary, see R.W. Gaston, 'Merely antiquarian: Pirro Ligorio and the critical tradition of antiquarian scholarship', in A.H. Grieco, M. Rocke and F. Gioffredi Superbi (eds), *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century: Acts of an International Conference. Florence, Villa i Tatti, June 9–11, 1999* (Florence, 2002), 355–73.

<sup>50</sup> See E. Nedergaard, 'Arcus Augusti (a. 29 a.C.)' and 'Arcus Augusti (a. 19 a.C.)', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae I (A–C)* (Rome, 1993), 81–5.

<sup>51</sup> The relief, formerly in the Villa Casali, Rome, is published in T. Schäfer, *Imperii Insignia: Sella Curulis und Fasces zur Repräsentation Römischer Magistrate* (Mainz, 1989), 23–8, no. 1, Taf. 20.1 and 21.

<sup>52</sup> E. Polito, *Fulgentibus Armis: introduzione allo studio dei fregi d'armi antichi* (Xenia Antiqua, Monografie 4) (Rome, 1997), 62, 150–1, 216–18.

<sup>53</sup> See F. Bianchini, *Del palazzo de' Cesari* (Verona, 1738), tav. 3; G.B. Piranesi, *Della magnificenza ed grandezza de' Romani* (Rome, 1761), tav. 14. The authors are grateful to Eugenio Polito for these comparisons.

<sup>54</sup> See K. Stemmer, 'Ein Fragment einer kolossalen Panzerstatue Domitians', *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1971), 563–80, at p. 574; K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin, 1978), 128. The authors are indebted to Eugenio Polito for these references.

be the battle of Naulochus or Mylae off Sicily in 36 BC, avenging Pompey's defeat of Octavian's attempted invasion of Sicily in 38 BC, which was the catalyst for the creation of the *Portus Julius*.<sup>55</sup> There is also the reference to a portico of Neptune in the text that Ligorio put into the inscription panel on one of the Windsor drawings.<sup>56</sup> That there were porticoes at Misenum is more than likely, whether belonging to public buildings or private villas.<sup>57</sup> In the last 30 years, fragments of columns and entablatures, indicating the presence of monumental buildings, have been excavated from the seabed just inside the remains of the western harbour mole, and this has led to a reassessment of a Roman wall fresco showing a harbour landscape that was excavated at Stabiae in the eighteenth century and survives in the National Museum in Naples.<sup>58</sup> It shows a walled town crammed with monumental buildings and porticoes around a deep bay partially enclosed by a smaller version of the arched mole of Pozzuoli, extending from the right of the scene (FIG. 7). The long-held consensus has been that it is a synthetic landscape composed of heterogeneous elements rather than a representation of a specific place.<sup>59</sup> However, in the light of the new finds, it has been argued that it represents Misenum, in which case the mole depicted must be the eastern one.<sup>60</sup>

Although a porticus supported by *columnnae caelatae* sounds highly improbable, it is not dissimilar in concept to the occasional Greek practice of using human figures in place of columns, as in the Caryatid porch on the Erechtheum, the porticus supported by Persians in Sparta (Vitruvius 1.1.6) and the use of *telamones* or *atlantes* (Vitruvius 6.7.6), as in the Doric Olympeion at Agrigentum in Sicily. The Caryatids were, of course, copied in the Forum of Augustus in Rome, and are notable there for their enriched Doric capitals.

Perhaps, more likely, if we concede there was more than one column in the series, they formed part of a triumphal monument such as an arch. It is true that no extant triumphal arches are decorated with *columnnae caelatae*, but it is not impossible that they existed.<sup>61</sup> Fred

<sup>55</sup> H. Philipp, 'Misenum', in A.F. von Pauly, *Real-Encyclopaedie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (rev. G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart, 1894–), XV, coll. 2043–8.

<sup>56</sup> See above, p. 000.

<sup>57</sup> On Misenum, see Borriello and d'Ambrosio, *Baiae-Misenum* (above, n. 22), 114–64.

<sup>58</sup> On the excavated fragments, see P. Gianfrotta, 'Harbor structures of the Augustan age in Italy', in A. Raban (ed.), *Caesarea Maritima: a Retrospective After Two Millennia* (Leiden, 1996), 66–76, esp. pp. 71–2; and P. Gianfrotta, 'I porti dell'area flegrea', in G. Laudizi and C. Marangio (eds), *Porti, approdi e linee di rotta nel Mediterraneo antico* (Galatina, 1998), 153–76, esp. pp. 157–65. The Stabian harbour landscape (Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 9514) is reproduced in full in *Le pitture antiche di Ercolano e contorni incise con qualche spiegazione*, 4 vols (Naples, 1757–65), II, 295, tav. 55 (available online at <http://lsw6.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/arc/ercolano/plate/frame.html> (last consulted 08.07.2010)). For a colour detail, see D. Camardo and A. Ferrara (eds), *Stabiae dai Borboni alle ultime scoperte* (Castellamare di Stabia, 2001), 126, fig. 48.

<sup>59</sup> C. Dubois, *Pouzzoles antique* (Paris, 1907), 219–21, identified it as Puteoli, but this was rejected by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (*Klio, Beiheft XIV, n.f. 1*) (Leipzig, 1923), 224–5, who believed it to be a generic synthesis, a view that generally has been accepted. It is illustrated in Philipp, 'Misenum' (above, n. 55), but the writer avoided a specific identification and followed Lehmann-Hartleben.

<sup>60</sup> Gianfrotta, 'Harbor structures' (above, n. 58), 71–2; Gianfrotta, 'I porti dell'area flegrea' (above, n. 58), 165–6.

<sup>61</sup> The Arch of Marcus Aurelius at Tripoli has pilaster shafts carved with vine scrolls and other vegetal ornament: see G.C. Picard, *Les trophées romains* (Paris, 1957), pl. XXIV.





FIG. 7. Roman wall fresco excavated at Stabiae. Naples, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 9514. (Reproduced by permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.)

Kleiner, in his study of the Arch of Nero, discussed the lost Pisan arch dedicated to Gaius and Lucius in AD 4, which is reported to have been decorated with the spoils of conquered peoples, and relates it to some of the early Imperial arches in Gaul, such as that of Tiberius at Orange, where the façades and sides of the arch often are decorated with spoils and with heaped armour.<sup>62</sup> Two drums decorated with such arms are preserved at Périgueux and have been thought to belong to the lower third of a column shaft of a triumphal arch (or possibly a town gate), although these fragments recently have been given a mid-second-century dating

<sup>62</sup> F.S. Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome. A Study of the Roman Honorary Arch Before and Under Nero* (Rome, 1985), 35.



FIG. 8. Two Roman column drums from Vesunna. Périgueux, Musée Gallo-Roman, inv. G67 and 69. (Photograph © B. Dupuy. Musée Vesunna. Périgueux, France. Reproduced by kind permission of Vesunna Musée Gallo-Romain de Périgueux.)

(FIG. 8).<sup>63</sup> In addition, one of the *sestertii* showing the lost Arch of Nero in Rome has columns that do not appear to be smooth or fluted and may represent the presence of sculpture on the shafts. Certainly the rest of the arch appears to have been heavily encrusted with sculpture,

<sup>63</sup> Périgueux, Musée Gallo-Romain, inv. G.67 and 69: D. Tardy with É. Pénisson and V. Picard, *Le décor architectonique de Vesunna (Périgueux antique) (Aquitania, Supplément 12)* (Bordeaux, 2005), 32–3, 46–8, associated the two drums with another that has flutes (inv. G 68.1.68). The authors ignored the arch possibility that had been raised by É. Esperandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, 2 vols (Paris, 1908), II, 248–9, no. 1294, and repeated by E. Löwy, *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens* (Vienna, 1928), 35–6, Tafn 77–80.

and the contemporary Jupiter Column at Mainz, erected between AD 59 and 67, is an example of a column with figured sculpture on the shaft, albeit free-standing.<sup>64</sup>

That there could have been a triumphal arch at Misenum is a distinct possibility. The above-mentioned harbour landscape of Puteoli shows two arches, each with two openings, on the harbour mole, and their existence is corroborated by their appearance on several glass flasks with incised decoration showing panoramic views of Puteoli and sometimes Baiae.<sup>65</sup> The Stabian harbour landscape now thought to represent Misenum also shows two arches (FIG. 7). One is an arch (perhaps a trabeated or flat arch like that of the silversmiths in Rome), supported on two columns or piers stands towards the seaward end of the eastern mole, in the middle ground of the picture. The other, in the background, is an arch with openings to the front and side, carrying what appears to be a triumphal statuary group, at the landward end of a pier. An obvious victory to be commemorated in such an arch would be that of Octavian over Mark Antony at Actium in 31 BC, in the aftermath of which the decision to make Misenum the main naval base of the western Mediterranean probably was taken.<sup>66</sup> We even have a series of extant reliefs related to Actium in the Casa de Pilatos in Seville. The reliefs were probably executed shortly after the battle and must have belonged to just such an arch. They formed part of the already-mentioned collection of antiquities shipped back from Naples by Afán de Ribera around 1570, but for which we have no earlier provenance.<sup>67</sup> Thus it is not implausible that the column or columns retrieved by Montalto from Misenum came from a triumphal arch. However, one other possibility remains to be discussed: that it was a free-standing column supporting a statue, as indeed is shown in the ex-Stirling-Maxwell drawing.

Free-standing columns were erected by the Romans for votive, honorary and funerary purposes, the commonest type being the honorary, the earliest recorded being that erected for L. Minucius Augurinus in 439 BC.<sup>68</sup> Votive columns were rarer, but the already-mentioned Jupiter Column at Mainz appears to have been the prototype for many others, mainly in the German provinces. Funerary columns were of necessity usually located outside city boundaries, but a cenotaph column was erected for Julius Caesar in 44 BC and Trajan's Column may have been converted from its original honorary function to use as a sepulchre.<sup>69</sup>

If our column was indeed found offshore at Misenum, it is unlikely to have had a funerary purpose, since the location would have been within the urban area. The triumphal nature of the *panopli* and the presence of the tritons would be equally appropriate to a votive or honorific

<sup>64</sup> G. Bauchhens, *Die Große Jupitersäule aus Mainz* (Mainz, 1984).

<sup>65</sup> On the Puteoli arches on the Harbour Landscape, see Whitehouse, *Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings* (above, n. 20), 270, no. 65; and, on the flasks, S.E. Ostrow, 'The topography of Puteoli and Baiae on the eight glass flasks', *Puteoli* 3 (1979), 77–140, esp. pp. 118–21.

<sup>66</sup> See n. 22.

<sup>67</sup> See Trunk, *Die 'Casa de Pilatos'* (above, n. 47), 250–4, nos. 57–8, plates 68–71.

<sup>68</sup> On free-standing columns generally, see L. Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge, 1973), 23–6; on the Columna Minucia, see M. Torelli, 'Columna Minucia', in Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum* (above, n. 50), 305–7.

<sup>69</sup> Vogel, *Column of Antoninus Pius* (above, n. 68), 24–6; A. Claridge, 'Hadrian's Column of Trajan', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 6 (1993), 5–22.

column. The two wall-paintings, from the Esquiline and Stabiae, again provide valuable supporting evidence. The Esquiline landscape of Puteoli shows four Corinthian columns on the mole supporting four statues of human figures, which have been interpreted as either imperial portraits or Castor and Pollux or even Isis and Serapis.<sup>70</sup> The Stabian landscape now thought to be of Misenum (FIG. 7) is sketchier in detail, but shows no fewer than seven columns bearing statues, one on the eastern mole, another very near it on the shore behind and five on the further shore at the top of the picture. The new finds excavated since 1980 near the western mole include several statues (one an Aphrodite) and statue pedestals bearing honorific inscriptions, in one case relating to the Emperor Verus.<sup>71</sup> It is possible that our column belongs in a similar context.

## CONCLUSION

We concede that they have left most of the questions posed unanswered. What we hope we have done is to establish that this extraordinary column did exist, and that it was found in the sea at Misenum during the 1520s. In the process, we have also filled several gaps in our knowledge of Pirro Ligorio, and in the culture of collecting antiquities of Renaissance Naples. By presenting this information to a wider audience we hope more of these gaps can be plugged and the column understood better.

---

<sup>70</sup> The statues on the Paper Museum drawing of the mole (Whitehouse, *Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings* (above, n. 20), 270, no. 65) all appear to be nude and male. Those on the Pietro Santi Bartoli copy of the whole landscape and the corresponding engraving (Whitehouse, *Ancient Mosaics and Wallpaintings* (above, n. 20), 266–7, figs 28, 29), seem to show one dressed, but it is impossible to make out the gender. See Ostrow, ‘Topography of Puteoli’ (above, n. 65), 117–18, on possible identifications.

<sup>71</sup> Gianfrotta, ‘I porti dell’area flegrea’ (above, n. 58), 157–62.

