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THE MEMORIAL TO THE VISIT
OF THE QUEEN OF POLAND
MARIA CASIMIRA SOBIESKI
IN THE MUSEI CAPITOLINI

History, Style, Setting up and Dismantling
over Two Centuries

Abstract

The research focuses on the new attribution to Lorenzo Ottoni (1648–1736) of the commemorative monument dedicated to the visit to the Capitoline Hill of Queen Maria Casimira Luisa de la Grange d'Arquien Sobieski (1641–1716), considering the different transfers connected to the everchanging taste and settings of the museum halls during the last two centuries; with a new hypothesis on its original display in the Sala degli Orazi e Curiazi of Palazzo dei Conservatori, on the Capitoline Hill.¹

Keywords: Maria Casimira Sobieski, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Lorenzo Ottoni, Sala Orazi e Curiazi, Sala dei Magistrati

- 1 The present essay is a part of a much larger research on the presence of Sobieski memorabilia in Musei Capitolini, submitted at the Accademia Polacca delle Scienze di Roma on 26 february 2020, together with the work by my colleague Francesca Ceci. The previous research “La memoria di Maria Casimira Sobieski nei Musei Capitolini. Una storia lunga due secoli” is being published soon online for the Atti dell'Accademia Polacca delle Scienze di Roma.

During the spring of 1699, the Polish Queen Maria Casimira Sobieski (Fig. 1) and her sons arrived in Rome after a long journey through Northern Europe and Italy, amongst “applicazioni in devozioni e divertimenti pubblici” (devotions and public amusements).² Officially, the visit was to attend the forthcoming Jubilee, but the main reason was due to precise diplomatic and political objectives for herself and her sons.

They were welcomed and hosted the first night *in incognito* by her friend – and defender during the long voyage – Abbot Pompeo Scarlatti, in his *vigna suburbana* next to *Monte Pariolo*.³ Soon after, she moved to the sumptuous dwelling owned by Prince Livio Odescalchi (Como 1645 ca. – Rome 1713), Pope Innocenzo XI’s nephew (1676–1689), a huge building set in a central position between Piazza SS. Apostoli and Via del Corso, gradually transformed into a private museum made up of famous paintings, fine furnitures, rare ancient coins, and sculptures (like the famous “Gladiatore” bought by the Ludovisi family).⁴ That episode of contemporary hospitality was soon masterfully reinterpreted and transfigured by the hands of Odescalchi’s favourite French sculptor Etienne Monnot (1657–1733) into a mythical event, equal to the visit of Queen Saba and her court to wise King Solomon⁵ (Monnot 2005: 164–165) (Fig. 2).

The sudden appearance of the fascinating and cultured Polish sovereign, walking around the city surrounded by her court of 187 people and 200 horses, as reported by contemporary sources, awoke in the people’s minds the recent image of Maria Christina Alexandra, queen of Sweden (1626–1689), who stayed in Rome for long periods since the Jubilee of 1655.⁶ Indeed, they had a lot of things in common: religious piety and charity (Christina decided to convert to the Catholic religion in 1654, and Casimira founded a monastery in her last res-

2 The quotation is in Platania 2018: 10. On the queen’s journey see the essential (Bassani 1700); in addition (Platania 1995; De Caprio 2004; Vincenti 2018).

3 The Scarlatti vineyard, or Villa San Filippo, was already the property of the Scarlatti family before 1674. The family became extinct, replaced first by the Del Grillo family (1818) and then by the Capranica family (1831), who sold it to Giuliano Capranica Del Grillo Scarlatti in 1858. Until in the early 20th century, it was owned by the Felicettis. Nowadays, of the extensive Vineyard (19 acres), there is only one portale left; see: (Morlacchi 2010: 85, n. 28; Eschinardi 1750: 212) (for the ancient topography).

4 On Livio Odescalchi: (Pizzo 2002: 119–153; Pierguidi 2014: 53–60). For the Chigi – Odescalchi Palace: (Norberg-Schulz 1998: 150; Ashby 1916: 55–90).

5 The same artist received from the prince Livio the assignment of the funerary monument for his uncle, pope Innocenzo XI in St. Peter: (Bacchi 1995: 39–52; Montagu 2005b: 164–165).

6 On Christina of Sweden: (Borsellino 2000: 202–207; Caira Lumetti 2005).

idence of Palazzo Zuccari)⁷. They had a similar and powerful personality “[*un carattere...*] *autoritario, arrogante, invadente* [...] *impose un suo stile di vita alla sonnolenta corte pontificia*”⁸ (“[...] an authoritarian, arrogant, intrusive character [...] imposing their own lifestyle on the sleepy papal court”). They were both endowed with intellectual curiosity which led them to play a preeminent role in the cultural and social attractions in papal Rome during the Baroque period. They were the first two women to enter the Arcadia Academy, both were experienced in literature, music, art, and founded personal theatres in their own residences.⁹

After their first positive impressions about Casimira, the contemporary Roman people seemed not to have treated her in so friendly a manner: at least judging by a famous *pasquinata* recorded by the chronicler, Francesco Valesio on 28 August 1700, which recalled her humble origins, playing on her French geographical origins:¹⁰

“*nacqui da un Gallo semplice gallina/ vissi fra li pollastri e poi regina/ venni a Roma cristiana e non Cristina*” (I was born from a cock simple hen/ lived among the chickens and then as a queen I came to Rome, Christian but not Christina) (Cancellieri 1802: 339, note 1).¹¹

7 On the queen’s residence in Palazzo Zuccari: (Re 1926–1927: 160–167; Curti 2009–2010: 345–349).

8 This quotation, referring to queen Casimira, is in: (Platania 2018: 13).

9 On Arcadia and the Polish queen’s passion for theatre: (Badolato 2016; Markuszewska 2016: 7–28; Caputo 2017: 139–164).

10 “Pasquinata” was a Roman satire written by the people since the 15th century against contemporary figures or the papacy on sheets of paper and attached to the ancient mutilated statue known as *Pasquino*, near Piazza Navona: (Il Pasquino).

11 Casimira’s father, Henri Albert de La Grange d’Arquien (1613–1707), was captain of the guards of Gaston d’Orleans, before becoming a cardinal of the Church of Rome, see: Re 1926–1927: 162–164. Pasquino’s pungency was probably caused both by her wasting money and by his son Alessandro’s disreputable female acquaintances, which put him at odds with the powerful Sforza Cesarini, see Platania 2018: 13.

THE 1700 JUBILEE: MARIA CASIMIRA ON THE CAPITOLINE HILL

At the turn of the century, the Eternal City which welcomed Sobieska was going through a difficult period like most countries in Europe, characterised by: the War of the Spanish Succession, following the death of Charles II of Habsburg (1701–1711); the Turkish threat, only temporarily quelled by the Polish-Austrian-German army led by Jan III Sobieski; the progress of Jansenism; the 1703 earthquake in central Italy, and the flooding of the Tiber.¹²

But, as if to balance all these adversities, Rome could benefit from the election, after weeks of conclave, of the “*pensieroso e malinconico*” (thoughtful and melancholic) (Valesio 1977: 451) pontiff, Clement XI (Giovanni Francesco Albani, 1700–1721), who consulted no less than four theologians over three days before accepting, and who, as a refined intellectual, would dictate the city’s cultural guidelines for twenty years, inaugurating a new era.¹³ Rome was increasingly becoming a cosmopolitan capital city, attracting numerous foreign *Grands Tourists* through the memory of Antiquity on the one hand, and the cohesive force of Christianity as a centre on the other, strengthened by the recent defeat of the Ottoman threat.

The construction sites in the paleo-Christian basilicas of St. John in Lateran (for the statues of the Apostles, 1703–1721), St. Peter’s (for the Chapel of Baptistry, the cenotaph of Queen Christina of Sweden, the statues for the colonnade of the square, etc.), and especially the church of St. Clement (1714–1716)¹⁴ – the pope’s beloved church due to his election on 23 November, the saint’s birthday – while continuing the programs of his predecessors, were visible signs to confirm the role of Rome as the centre of Christianity.

On the other hand, the pontiff’s interests were focused also on social issues, as testified by his dedication to continue the building ensemble of the Hospice of Saint Michel at *Ripa Grande*, with a correctional facility for minors; or were aimed at improving the public use of the city, like the *Granai* (1705) near

12 For a panorama of the beginning of the eighteenth century in Rome: (Lo Bianco, Negro (eds.) 2005: 53–59).

13 On Clement XI: (Andretta 1982. Cucco 2001).

14 On the Apostles in St. John: (Conforti 1980: 243–254; Negro 2001: 99–109); for St. Peter’s see further; on the restoration of St. Clement: (Guerrieri Borsoi 2001: 110–115).

Termini,¹⁵ or the project for the *Porto di Ripetta* by Alessandro Specchi (1704) (Marder 1980: 28–56).

Last but not least, we remember the pontiff as the “*restitutor bonarum artium*”¹⁶ (Giometti 2012: 220), for his zealous activity towards protection of antiquities from being exported abroad, and for the attention he paid to their restitution in the contemporary society. Famous examples are the acquisition of some sculptures from the ancient Verospi and Cesi collection for the new porch in *Palazzo dei Conservatori* by Alessandro Specchi (1722) and the institution of the *Concorso Clementino* at the Academy of Saint Luke.¹⁷

Comfortably established in the Roman *milieu* after a training of nearly twenty months, on 2 December 1700, the widowed queen obtained the rare honour to be hosted in the Roman Capitol. Here, she was welcomed by the three high magistrates of the city, who paid their tribute “*cooperto capite*” (with the head covered) to the queen; the same ceremony that they had offered Queen Christina, about fifty years before: a rare privilege reserved only for the sovereigns and for this reason immortalised by two marble memorials in the main hall of the *Palazzo dei Conservatori*.

The presence of such a well-known queen on the Capitoline Hill resulted in a rich celebration including a royal banquet, taking care to fulfill its role as an occasion for the prominent and noble citizens to reinforce their role and social identity, making their own assets available to the Conservatori and for the royal visit.

A precious document in the Archivio Storico Capitolino, still unpublished (dated 31 December 1700, see doc.1, in appendix) sheds new light on the ceremony, listing the expenses incurred towards objects, foods, beverages, animals and workers, for a total of scudi 48,68 (ASC, C.C., Credenzione VI, t. 45, foll. 284 v.–288 v). Thanks to these old papers we can imagine the feverish preparations on the site set up to welcome the queen, for example the expenses for

15 The Hospice of Saint Michel was one of the places of worship rarely visited by Queen Casimira, see: (Bassani 1700: 21; Melasecchi 2001). For the public *Granai* (barns) see: (Da Gai 2008: 120–122, 595–606).

16 This was the motto on his medals.

17 For the Academy and its Clementine contests: (Golzio 1939; Cipriani 2012: 23–28; De Bellis 2015: 181–196). One of the participants of the Clementine competition in 1709 was Carlo Fontana with a daring project to renovate the Palazzo Senatorio: (Manfredi 2008: 179–180). For the new acquisitions and the porch by Alessandro Specchi in Palazzo dei Conservatori: (Arata 2017: 53–67; Benedetti 2017: 42–44, 67–68).

cleaning and the balcony repairs. The same document appears also as a valuable historic source to learn about Roman habits of the time concerning wine and gastronomy, mentioning the menu for the meeting, enriched by fresh Montepulciano flasks, hot chocolate, and biscuits from Savoy.

The following year, the Polish queen, now a *habituée* of the most prominent social and intellectual circles of the city, could not miss the appointment to the sumptuous ceremony following the new Pope's election, the *possesto*, on 10 April 1701: this time she gained the honour to be hosted at the Capitoline palaces once again, beneath a royal baldachin on the balcony of *Palazzo Nuovo*, specially reserved to her. From that privileged stage, she was able to greet the pontiff, who blessed the Polish queen flattering herself with her velvet mask.

This colourful ceremony was the very last step of a complex medieval catholic liturgy which followed the former "Conclave" and the "Incoronazione" of the new pontiff, who, accompanied by a cavalcade of courtiers, crossed the city north-to-south on a white mare, from St. Peter to St. John in Lateran to take *possesto* of the old *Patriarchio* (the papal see until the Avignonese captivity). The Conservatori magistrates, the civil power representatives of the city, accompanied closely the white papal steed among a cheering crowd, trumpets, and mortars, in a display of modern triumph,¹⁸ until the pause on the Capitol: here the homage of the Senatore was paid, on behalf of the citizens of the Urbe, to the head of the Church of Rome.¹⁹

The rare coincidence of the Pope's assignment and the presence of a queen on the Capitoline Hill was a chance for our sovereign to enjoy another extraordinary, private celebration tasting pistachio and cedro sorbets, in a rare view on the Capitoline palaces covered by coloured tapestries and damasks (Cfr. note 20).

MARIA CASIMIRA'S MEMORIA.

A NEW ADDITION TO LORENZO OTTONI'S *OEUVRE*

Many historical sources and modern scholars quote the honorary monument to the Polish sovereign, especially focusing on the celebratory value of the epigraph; but its sculptor was destined to remain unknown until 2006, when one

18 For this ceremony: (Cancellieri 1802: 326–340; Fagiolo 1997: 8–25).

19 See Valesio's description in: (Cancellieri 1802: 329).

of the most renowned experts on Baroque sculpture, Jennifer Montagu, discovered the documentation on the payment to Lorenzo Ottoni (1648–1736) and his stonemason Giacomo Antonio Ferrari (Montagu 2018: 312–314. ASC, C.C., Credenzzone VI, t. 45, fol. 277 r. [G.A. Ferrari], fol. 278 v. [L. Ottoni]). From the first of the two old papers (doc.2, in appendix), we learn that the precious black marble (*nero antico*) slab carrying the commemorative inscription was carved by Ferrari on 15 March 1701, about three months after the sovereign's visit, with the help of a certain Diomedes; its cost was 72.10 scudi, including a three-percent fee for the *scrittore del popolo romano* (writer of the Roman people), a Capitoline employer expert in Latin. Thanks to the second paper (doc. 3, in appendix), which shows a different date, 15 March 1707 (possibly a mistake) we are informed about the low payment to the famous baroque sculptor Lorenzo Ottoni, who earned only 30 scudi, and learn some details about the position both of the portrait and the monument as a whole. In fact, the queen's portrait was going to be set in the slab with the epigraph, in “*la sala del Palazzo della nostra residenza*” (“our residence hall”, that is the *Sala degli Orazi e Curiazi*). This is a very important information which confirms the original arrangement of the *memoria* in a different hall of the palace to the current one.

Having a closer look at the celebratory monument of Queen Casimira, we find out that it is composed of a black marble slab with a 25-line epigraph²⁰ of golden capital letters, surmounted by a medallion with a $\frac{3}{4}$ white marble portrait relief of the woman. The two parts are included into a mixtiline *pavonaz-zetto* frame with two upper coils beside the medallion, the latter connected by a curved *peduccio*-like segment to the inscribed slab.

Casimira (Fig. 3) is portrayed in a view from underneath, in a left-turned bust cut under the breast, while her head is turned in the opposite direction. She is elegantly but soberly dressed, in a V-neck blouse, from which a lace camisole emerges. Above it a stole knotted in the centre with a wide fold is fastened on the right shoulder in the antique manner and pinned with a flower-shaped jewel of a central pyramidal stone. In the centre of the breast, she displays an important piece of jewellery with scrolls from which a fashioned striking teardrop pearl hangs; a similar one decorates her earrings (we know that she liked this kind of striking teardrop pearls a lot).²¹ Her hair with a central parting is elegantly

20 On the text and meaning of the epigraph see Francesca Ceci's essay in this same book.

21 Valesio cites the “*peregrina*” pearl, a rare enormous one she used for her hair and for her monastery ostensory (Valesio 1977: vol. 2, 615).

gathered in a *chignon* embellished with several turns of pearl strands. Some short curls frame the oval face while a few long locks fall onto the shoulders in a decorative way. Her face is telling of a mature but still attractive woman: she shows elongated eyes in deep orbital cavities; the pupils are not engraved but lightly drawn with a circular spot, and the slightly upwards looking right gaze gives her an almost inspired expression. The nose is narrow and regular and the mouth appears closed with plump lips. The slightly loose skin around the chin reveals the adult age (in that year she was fifty-nine years old).

So, as Montagu noted, we are truly facing an “interesting and well-carved portrait” (Montagu 2018: 312) by the prolific long-life sculptor Lorenzo Ottoni, one of the main artists of the late-Baroque period, who dominated the panorama of Roman art for about fifty years, not yet adequately appreciated.²²

Like most of his contemporaries, he trained as a restorer with Giuseppe Giorgetti at the Barberini family (Montagu 1970: 278–298; Magnanini 1983: 136–138), for whom he then worked as a portraitist for the gallery of portrait busts of ancestors: among them are the vibrant portraits of Francesco Barberini seniore (1597–1679) and Antonio Barberini juniore (1607–1671), Pope Urbano VIII’s nephews, (Figs. 4, 5) in the Museo di Roma.²³ Thanks to his deep knowledge of the technique of carving stones, and his capability of portraying subjects characterized by particularly appreciated likeness and expressiveness, he soon participated in all the most prestigious public artistic undertakings of the *Clementine* era, directed by the architect Carlo Fontana: like the monumental “Apostles” for the Church of Saint John, for which he carved a statue of Saint Taddeus (1704–1709) (Montagu 2005: 35–39); or the papal program for the renovation of the sculptural decoration of the interior of St. Peter’s, with his plaster statues of “Virtues” and the two “putti” for the funerary monument of Queen Christina of Sweden (1697–1702); and the exterior of the basilica (with the statues projected for the colonnade) (Engass 1972: 315–342; Giometti 2014). Such assignments earned him the prestigious title of “sculptor of the Vatican Basilica of Rome” (*Basilicae sculptor Rom.Vat.*), as it appears in the severe portrait of the Saint Luke Academy (Fig. 6) (Anonimo. *Lorenzo Ottoni*), where he was appointed an academician of merit.

His fame brought him many other assignments in Rome, like the funerary monument of the *Santacroce* family in Santa Maria in Publicolis (about 1707)

22 For his life and *oeuvre*: (Pascoli 1981: 207–228; Giometti 2014).

23 For these portraits: (Di Gioia 1990: 31–32; Ferrari, Papaldo 1999: 520; Di Gioia 2002: 195–206; Pierguidi 2013: 33–51).

(Fig. 7) and abroad, even in Paris, where he was asked by King Louis XIV to carve a copy of the ancient “Nile statue” of Belvedere in Vatican.²⁴

In most of his portraits, we find the same characteristics of Casimira’s portrait: deep orbital cavities; the play of contrastingly treated surfaces (rough and well-polished); an “impressionistic” technique, made of surfaces freshly roughened by the chisel and others hollowed out with the drill; a virtuosistic treatment of the hair and the jewels in the female portraits.²⁵

So, while choosing an eminent sculptor for the memory of Queen Casimira in Palazzo dei Conservatori, Lorenzo Ottoni was in the pole position in the artistic Roman *milieu*; additionally, he may have earned the prestigious commission with the support of the Cardinal Carlo Barberini (1630–1706), one of his prior commissioners, or that of Ludovico Chigi Marquis of Montoro, related by the wife *Drusilla* Santacroce, one of the capitoline magistrates who welcomed Casimira on the Capitoline Hill, and dedicated the celebratory monument.²⁶

In this portrait, like in the *Saint Taddeus*, Ottoni shows his typical “*pacato classicismo*” (Montagu 2005: 37), (mild classicism) reinforced in the Capitoline site by the *genius loci* of the Antiquity: the cut of the bust is trapezoidal like the one of a Roman matron, and the regal signs are very few. The circular frame reminds of ancient coins, and the sculptor probably could have been inspired by other medal portraits of the sovereign, like the one by the famous French medallist Charles Jean François Chéron (1635–1698) commemorating the queen’s visit to the Loreto sanctuary on the way to Rome, in 1699 (Gerola 1935: 476–477; Bulgari 1958: 285).

More generally, we can think of the consolidated circulation of models, old coins or sculptures in the academic environment of the *Settecento* artists and collectors: but in particular, the severe expression of the queen and above all her hairstyle, with a chignon and a few long locks, recall the *Agrippina the elder’s* busto portrait (14 BC – 33 AD), now in *Musei Capitolini* (Fig. 8) (*Testa di Agrippina maggiore*. Musei Capitolini, Sala degli Imperatori, inv. MC 0421, before: inv. Albani C12: Stuart Jones 1912, 190, n. 10, pl. 47). The empress, Germanicus’ wife and Caligula’s mother, was considered a symbol of morality, like the devout Casimira, and was her husband’s companion in his war exploits; Casimira encouraged her husband at war, too. The Roman portrait was not in the Capitolini

24 For Santacroce see: (Montagu 1997: 849–859); for the statue of Nile: (Giometti 2014).

25 For Ottoni’s technique: (Brunetti 2015: 277–297).

26 See Serafini 2021 [forthcoming].

Museums at that time: but there was one busto of the empress in the Certosini collection of Antiquity, in the Michelangiolesque church of *S. Maria degli angeli* near Termini: quite a well-known site by the Polish sovereigns, indeed, as evidenced by the dedication of the sundial on the church floor – by the famous astronomer and antiquarian Francesco Bianchini – to the victory of the Christian army against the Ottoman Turks in 1683.²⁷

After all, even a famous painter like Pieter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) was fascinated by *Agrippina* who was portrayed together with her husband *Germanico* in an “all’antica” (old style) exercise, in profile (1612–1614, Washington, National Gallery) (Fig. 9), taking as a model one of the old coins of his collection, visited in his Roman sejour (1600–1608) (Peter Paul Rubens. *Agrippina and Germanicus*. Vaan Wagenberg-Ter Hoeven, Hoeven 2005: 113–127).²⁸

As it is widely known, the medallion-shaped portrait was highly popular among late Baroque sculptors, but it was especially preferred as a format for funerary monuments. Ottoni, on the contrary, originally used this shape in a distinctive personal way, to portray living individuals, like he did with Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni (1690) (Montagu 2005: 40),²⁹ in a $\frac{3}{4}$ view (Fig. 10).

Also, in the Capitoline Casimira portrait, in spite of the “all’antica” medallion format in profile (already chosen by Francesco Maria Nocchieri for the previous Capitoline portrait dedicated to the visit of Christina of Sweden, in 1656)³⁰ (Fig. 11), Ottoni preferred to use a $\frac{3}{4}$ setting. Actually, being a late Baroque sculptor educated on Bernini’s masterpieces through the apprenticeship of his followers, he knew that this setting was more suitable to a dynamic, lively approach to the portrayed person, as many Ottoni’s busts may demonstrate: here she is very naturally presented, like in a flash shot *hic et nunc* during her visit to the Capitol, head slightly turned aside as if to hear someone speaking.

27 On the Certosini collection: Picozzi 2004: 29, note 11; Bocci Pacini, Gambaro, 2012: 455–484. On the sundial or “gnomone clementino”: (Cancellieri 1811: 194; Sigismondi 2014: 3–78).

28 On Rubens as a collector: (Muller 1989). On his interest for antiquities: (Doderò 2016: 71–83).

29 For the pope’s portrait (Lorenzo Ottoni, *Portrait medaillon...*) commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini junior.

30 Francesco Maria Nocchieri (1651–1686), called *l’Anconitano* (i.e. from the city of Ancona), was her favourite sculptor; the current marble image is supposed to have been replaced by an earlier bronze portrait (Giometti 2013).

There was one portrait of the Swedish queen which Lorenzo Ottoni seemed to recall: the bronze image in the medallion of the funerary monument of *Christina* in St. Peter's (1696–1702): a complex work of an Italo-French team, in which he took part, as we saw earlier. In spite of the differences (the profile setting, the materials), in both portraits we find many common details like: the elegant hair-style with curls and a pearled chignon; the lace border of the camisola, the old Roman-fashioned mantel pinned on one shoulder with a brooch. We are probably yet dealing with another testimony of a common artistic-antiquarian culture based on the same ancient iconographic models.

SEARCHING FOR THE ORIGINAL SITE OF THE *MEMORIA* IN PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI. A RECONSTRUCTION HYPOTHESIS

The *memoria* dedicated from the Conservatori to Maria Casimira Sobieski is currently placed, together with that of Christina of Sweden, on the main wall of the III Castellani Hall, once the “*Magistrati Hall*”, in the wing of the *Clementino* Palace, adjoining the Conservatori Apartment.³¹ And we will see how the fate of the two queen's epigraphs joined these women together once more: inside the descriptions of the guides quoting them, and for the same shifts they happened to experience.

Thanks to the old sources on the Capitol – both the guides for *Grand Tourists* of the early eighteenth century and the nuseum catalogues, after the birth of the Museo Capitolino in 1733 – we know that the original site was the *Sala maggiore* or *degli Orazi e Curiazi*, the most important and formal one of the Michelangeloesque Palace, where the Public Council session were held, as well as prestigious ceremonies and events, like more recently the establishment of the Economic European Community on 25 March 1957. For this reason, its walls were soon covered with inscriptions and many statues of Popes were placed there, in time.³²

But neither the ancient writers nor the modern ones, like Carlo Pietrangeli – for long the Director of the Civic Museums – give us complete informa-

31 See *infra*.

32 On the statues of Popes, (Pietrangeli 1962: 198 ss; Hager 1929, *ad indicem*).

tion on the *memoria*, failing to say, as the author just recently discovered, anything on the precise wall of the quoted originary setting, in the huge hall painted by Cavalier d'Arpino (1595–1640) (Pl. I).³³

The challenge was to discover it, understanding the reason why it was removed, and when.

A useful survey of ancient authors was already collected (1980) by Maria Elisa Tittoni, former Director of the Civic Museums, and this was the first step in this research (Cesari, Tittoni Monti (eds.) 1980: 104–107).

In the eighteenth century, two guides of international voyagers revealed precious information regarding the *memoria*: Jean François Deseine in *Rome Moderne...* (1713)³⁴ lists the title of the frescoes and the statues in the *Orazi and Curiazi* hall, quoting on the east wall the “Sacrifice of Numa Pompilius and the Vestals” beneath which he cites the marble medallion of Christina of Sweden. He also testifies that the statue of *Urbano VIII* (1639–1640) by Gian Lorenzo Bernini was placed between the two frescoes with battles in the west hall. So, we can suppose that the epigraph of Christina should have been in the lower left-hand part of the Numa Pompilius scene – where there now appears a visible huge loss of painting near the red-dressed Vestal turning to her right – probably taking the place originally arranged for the statue of the Pope *Urbano VIII*, later shifted to the opposite wall. No mention is made about the other queen’s monument.

In the middle of the same century, another *Grand Tourist* and archaeologist, Johann George Keyssler, in his *Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy...* (1760) guides the voyager across the world, describing everything with great precision. In the famous hall, he quotes the frescoes and illustrates both monuments, retelling their peculiar position: “Near the entrance on the right-end is a busto of Maria Casimira, queen of Poland ...facing which is the busto of Queen Christina, with the following inscription...” (Keyssler 1760: 369–370).

33 On the hall and the monument: (Pietrangeli 1962: 194–203); On the frescoes by G. Cesari, called *Cavalier d'Arpino*: (Masini 2008: 14–31).

34 *Tout proche est un sacrifice du grand Pontife & des Vestales, & au dessous un médaillon de marbre de la Reine Christine de Suède taillé par François Marie d'Ancone...*(Nearby is a sacrifice of the pontifex maximus and vestals and beneath a marble medaillon carved by Francesco Maria d'Ancona...): (Deseine 1713:II, 518–519). On the French traveller Jacques François Deseine (16...–1715) who lived in Rome between 1688 e 1697: <https://archive.org/details/romemodernepremi02dese/page/518/mode/2up> by the University of Studies of Palermo (Italy).

Therefore, if the *memoria* of Christina was on the eastern wall, in the *Numa Pompilius* scene, we can assume that the monument of the Polish sovereign should have been on the same wall near the entrance, that is, to its right, alongside the window towards the corner on Palazzo Senatorio; so that the two memorials were facing each other.

Even Abbot Ridolfo Venuti, like others, confirms in 1755 the off-center position of the monument of Casimira: "...in un cantone della sala..." (in a corner of the hall) (Venuti 1755: 131).³⁵

In the following century, the painter and Director of the *Museo Capitolino*, Agostino Tofanelli (1768–1834), in his catalogue of the sculptures and paintings – which celebrates the recovery of the works looted by Napoleon, under Pope Pius VII Chiaramonti (1800–1823) (Tofanelli 1843: 135)³⁶ – chooses a more scientific method in the description of the *Orazi and Curiazi* hall. Above all, he specifies the criterion of listing the paintings and sculptures on display, beginning from the fresco with the *Legend of Romulus and Remus* (Northern wall) in a clockwise direction. After the monument to *Innocenzo X* (beneath the *Lupercale*) he first cites the *memoria* of Christina and then Casimira's, confirming the previous hypothesis on their setting on the eastern wall, facing each other.

At this point, it was necessary to confirm the reported data, collected in the historical sources, by searching for a visual impression of the presence of Casimira's *memoria* on the wall.

The recent conservatory intervention on the frescoes by *Cavalier d'Arpino*³⁷ gave a chance for a close-up view of the painting: a vague imprint of the upper medallion and the epigraph seems perceptible on the band with grotesque motifs to the right of the *Numa Pompilius*, beside the window and the inscription dedicated to the Conservatori. In this area, many conservation interventions are visible with the naked eye,³⁸ particularly clear in the red curtains and the grotesque motifs, all rendered in a lower pictorial quality and with dull colours, likely applied dry.

As a test of the hypothetical original setup of both monuments of the queens, a scaled rendering was prepared on the basis of a measurable photographic

35 On the distinguished Cortonese abbot: (Arata 2017: 153).

36 For the collection's events of the period: (Arata 2017: 232–236; Dodero, Parisi Presicce (eds.) 2017: 15).

37 The conservation work, necessary due to humidity problems, was carried out between 2016 and 2017 and financed with funds from the business magnate Alisher Usmanov.

38 The research on this topic is in progress; still basic is: (Tittoni Monti 1980: 40–43).

relief of the South-Eastern wall of the *Orazi and Curiazi* hall (Pl. II)³⁹: the result seems quite satisfactory, for the shape of Casimira's monument coincides with the signs on the fresco, but the upper scrolls of the pavonazetto frame, a few centimetres larger, are probably the result of a modern restoration, as it will be discussed.

This placement, suggested for the first time hypothetically, should have been the result of a wise decision taken by the *Conservatori*. Actually, they could give the right tribute to the Polish sovereign and, at the same time, be able to safeguard the integrity of the prestigious fresco scenes: hanging the monument in a peripheral wall area, on a decorative pattern, thus avoiding damage to the main scenes.

At the same time, the placement appears truly strategic: coming up the monumental staircase into the huge hall, the visitor's look suddenly focuses on this celebratory monument, together with the *Conservatori*'s epigraph.⁴⁰ Furthermore, Casimira would be standing next to the Swedish queen, and both pious women would turn their gaze towards the Pope's statue on the South wall (at the time Sixtus V, whose statue – which in time became a symbol of hateful despotism – would be melted years later by the Jacobin Republic in 1789) (Pietrangeli 1962a: 197).

THE REMOVAL OF THE *MEMORIE*

The annexation of the city of Rome to the Kingdom of Italy in 1870 and the following proclamation as capital of the Savoie Kingdom headed by Vittorio Emanuele II (3 February 1871) changed many aspects of the city and its most ancient museum of antiquities. In the capital, the demand for housing for the employees of the new ministries led to a proper building fever⁴¹: as a result, numerous excavations were carried out, the study of Antiquity developed considerably,

39 I am grateful to the architect Valerio Pampanini (Zétema Progetto Cultura) for his orthophoto, and to the archaeologist colleague Angelo Canzano for producing the photomontage of the queen's monuments.

40 The epigraph re-introduced in 1640 the custom of engraving the names of magistrates: Pietrangeli 1962 b 199.

41 For an overview on the post-unification period: (Insolera 1980: 360–394). For the archaeological topic: (Palombi 2006: 95–112).

and thousands of findings came to light, asking to be studied, catalogued, and exposed in a museum. For this purpose, a specific scientific institution was created, the “Ufficio della Commissione Archeologica Comunale” (24 may 1872),⁴² which got together many renowned personalities of the time, like the archaeologists Pietro Ercole Visconti and Giovanni Battista de’ Rossi; the goldsmith, politician, and collector of art Augusto Castellani (1829–1914); the architect Virginio Vespignani (1808–1882), and the archaeologist and engineer Rodolfo Lanciani (1845–1929). Shortly afterwards, the same office gave birth to the prestigious “Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale”, directed by the archaeologist Carlo Ludovico Visconti, considered “[...] tra le più dotte pubblicazioni archeologiche che veggano oggi la luce in Europa” (Francescangeli 2014: 44) (“among the most learned archaeological publications in Europe today”), and still an essential reference on the scientific activity of the Municipal Superintendence of Rome.

While Mayor Pietro Venturi (1875–1877) was leading the Municipality of Rome, the *Musei Capitolini* were destined to be filled with ancient artefacts as never before (4000 objects are mentioned). Consequently a new museum was established, just born to bring prestige to the new capital of the kingdom: the octagonal hall pavilion by the architect Count Virginio Vespignani (1875) housing Etruscan and Roman collections and objects given by the famous Augusto Castellani⁴³ – also emeritus Director of the museum from 1873 to 1914 – gives an idea of the substantial transformation the *Musei Capitolini* went through.

The same innovative wave which was radically changing the appearance of the ancient museum, affected the monuments of both queens, which were removed from the prestigious hall, for reasons that we can just hypothesize, waiting for more specific documents on the item.

It might have been a circumstance due to a change in taste, which sought to clear the hall of what was not ancient, or because they were not prestigious works like the other sculptures in the hall, or, more probably, a different reason.

42 On the excavation activity, the “Commissione Archeologica Comunale” and the “Bullettino”: (Mura Sommella 1992: 145–150).

43 About the pavilion by Vespignani: (ASC, Tit. 13 Archivio Comune post-unitario, b.1, f. 50 (1875); Palombi 2006: 92–93). On the architect: Apollonj 1937. On Augusto Castellani: (Magagnini 1994; Pietrangeli 1962b, 36–39); for the Castellani collection nowadays on display: http://www.museicapitolini.org/it/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/museo_del_palazzo_dei_conservatori/sale_castellani.

It is a matter of fact that in the same period (1875–1876), under the direction of Pietro Ercole Visconti, the statues of other pontiffs in the Palazzo Senatorio and Palazzo dei Conservatori suffered the same fate: between them, the first one was positioned in the largest hall, dedicated to *Leone X Medici* and started in 1514 by *Domenico Aimo*, “*il Varignana*” (ca. 1460–1539). The statues definitely left the Capitoline buildings for the nearby church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, traditionally involved in the Capitoline civic life (ASC, TIT. 12 Post-unitario, b.1, *Statue di Paolo III e Gregorio XIII collocate nell’aula senatoria e statua di Leone X collocata nel Palazzo dei Conservatori: parere della Commissione Archeologica sul loro trasferimento nella chiesa del-l’Aracoeli*, cc. 5, 1876, 6–30 settembre, prot. 53065; Hager 1929: *ad indicem*; Pietrangeli 1962: 200–201).⁴⁴

Years later, in 1882, even the cross on top of the tower of Palazzo Senatorio was removed, together with the next statue of the *Christian Rome*.⁴⁵ Therefore, we can suspect that a kind of republican, anticlerical sentiment, combined with the deep pride in a recovered national identity, would smoulder under these decisions. And maybe, all of a sudden, the two female icons of foreign monarchies joined with the pontifical tiara were no longer seen favourably: so, once more in the history of the Capitoline Hill, it occurred that political and civic power seemed to challenge religious power, through its symbols.

After all, paradigmatic of the *milieu* may be considered the case of the Castellani family, leading figures in the cultural and political life of the time: Augusto was in close relationship with General Cadorna (the leader of the Bersaglieri army which conquered papal Rome in 1870) and his brother Alessandro, was a republican follower of Mazzini, imprisoned several times and exiled for his political beliefs, while their workshop was under government surveillance (Montani 1928–1929: 209–222).

Coming back to our queens and their *memorie*, far from the *Orazi and Curiazi* Hall they were condemned to live about fifty years in oblivion, abandoned in the Tower of *Palazzo Senatorio* (Re 1926: 160).

Despite it all, they were still quoted among the notheworthy objects in 1914 by the then director of *Musei Capitolini* Settimo Bocconi (Bocconi 1914: 211–214). Later they become the subject of the outraged outburst of the scholar and

44 On the statues from Palazzo Senatorio (Farina 2016: 61–74). On the statue of Leone X (Agosti 2008: 18–24).

45 About the cross on top of the tower, which was re-positioned in 1924 (Gallavotti Cavallero 1989: 50). For the ancient statue (Ensoli Vittozzi, Parisi Presicce 1991: 64, 110).

medician of the *Pio Istituto di S. Spirito* Alessandro Canezza (1931: 588–589), who testified to having seen them being thrown away into an underground recess at the Capitol, like many other objects of the Christian age (so confirming my previously suggested hypothesis on the anticlerical motivations behind the displacement of the two monuments). Moreover, he gives credit to the mayor of his time, Filippo Cremonesi, for exposing them again in the newly opened wing of the Museum.

In fact, in the year 1925, yet another renovation in the museum was in progress,⁴⁶ consistently with the regime's ideology of the *Romanitas*, adding a new light and primacy to the Capitoline Hill, the "*Capitoli immobile saxum* (Vergil, *Aeneid*, 9, vv. 446–449)" (Danti 2016: 181). Isolation works of the site took place, together with the enlargement and renewal of the museum through the recovery of *Palazzo Caffarelli*, owned by the Prussians for about a century, in which the new *Museo Mussolini*, or *Museum of Ancient Art*, and the *Galleria d'Arte Moderna*⁴⁷ were created.

Next to the *Conservatori* Apartment three new halls were recovered from the *Clementino Palace* (once owned by the same Caffarelli family): the largest one (Fig. 12), decorated with an impressive gilded lacunar ceiling, was dedicated to the "Magistrates" for the statues of two *togati* ready to start the circus races (Bocconi: 194).⁴⁸ In the main wall the two queens' monuments were placed, separated by the oval inscription of Pope Urban VIII – now in the staircase leading to the Art Gallery – and in the same site of the marvellous bust of "Commodus as Hercules" (190 AD).

The position of the queens' memories seems to be reversed with regard to the assumed location, and no doubt they have suffered a lot from the repeated changes of placement, as it is evidenced both by the loss of the second terminal band in *bigio* marble carved with *Conservatori* coat of arms in the Christina monument (Pietrangeli 1966: 26),⁴⁹ and by lesions and fractures on the *nero antico* slab of the Casimira bust, and, moreover, by the copious changes on the external *pavonazzetto* frame, like the symmetrical upper coils.

46 On this phase of renovation: (Bocconi 1925–1926: 189–195).

47 For the Museums in Palazzo Caffarelli (Parisi Presicce, Danti 2016: 103–111; Catalano 2016: 113–118).

48 For the Magistrates from *Horti Liciniani*, now in Centrale Montemartini Museum, Rome (Cima (ed.) 1995: 53, 126–128).

49 His dates for the removal of both monuments and the repositioning in the Magistrates Hall are: 1872 and 1922 (Pietrangeli 1966: 24–25).

In addition, curiously enough, in the photographic documentation of that time, the bust – portrait of *Kazimiera* – stands out against a contrasting dark background, now lost⁵⁰ (Fig. 13); as well as the side walls appear still lacking the inscriptions dedicated to the famous, honorary citizens of Rome (Gian Lorenzo Bernini; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Tiziano Vecellio), dating about 1926 and still *in situ* today.

The new set-up, conceived by the archaeologist Giulio Quirino Giglioli (1886–1957), was also inspired by a precise museographic criterion that in the disposition of the objects considered also the aesthetic aspect of the whole: therefore, the two honorary monuments were then conceived as pleasant chromatic spots on the walls too, due to their agreeable, variegated marbles, contrasting with the white sculptures nearby (Bocconi 1925–1926: 194). And perhaps, we can assume that according to the same criterion, the background of the Polish queen's bust was changed to dark, in order to harmonize it symmetrically with the contrasted dichrome portrait of Christina.

No doubt the prominence of both royal *memorie* was better at that time than at present, when the powerful bronzes of the *Bull* and the *Horse* discovered in Trastevere loom over them.

In spite of the hardships she had to suffer, our royal and haughty *Marysieńka* still looks thoughtfully away, framed by the circular medallion, like in an enchanted mirror, unconcerned about the daily bustle of modern visitors.

50 The monument of Christina was restored for the exhibition in Stockholm in 1966, where a cast of it was sent; maybe on that occasion also Casimira's one was restored, and the background was changed (no documentation found until today) (Pietrangeli 1966: 24). Photographs in: Bocconi 1925–1926: 193; Romualdo Moscioni. *Monumento a Maria Casimira regina di Polonia*; Cecchelli (introduction) 1925: 43.

APPENDIX

Archive

ASC (Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome)

Documento 1

- Camera Capitolina, Credenzzone VI, t. 45, *Registro di mandati a favore di Offiz.li et artisti*
- 1689–1706.

Spese fatte per la visita tenuta del Campidoglio dall'Ecc[ellentissi]mi S[igno]ri Cons[ervato]ri della Reg[i]na vedua di Polonia foll.284 v.–288 v.

FOL. 284 verso

Spese fatte per la visita tenuta del Campidoglio dall'Ecc[ellentissi]mi S[igno]ri Cons[ervato]ri della Reg.na vedua di Polonia per una spazzola di coda di

volpe, scopettino, scopetta, e spugna (*spugna*) (scudi) sc. 67 ½

Per tre pertiche scopini di paglia, spago, stracci

da spolverare (b) 30

Dato ad uno che aiutò a scopare per 2 giornate (b) 50

FOL 285 recto

Per chiodi per accomodare la tavola nella stanza

dove si fecero li rinfreschi (b) -05

Per far levare e rimettere la predella e balaus-

tra dell'udienza in occasione di d[et]ta visita spesa

di chiodi et altro per rimettere in opera la mede-

sima nella quale andarono male alcune tavole

per tu[tt]a tavolata fattola risarcire speso in tuttosc. 1:20

Per otto fiaschi di vino Monte Pulciano sc. 1:60

Per cioccolata lib.6sc. 2:40

Per zucchero per d[et]ta (*cioccolata*) (b) 15

Per lib.20 di neve per mettere in fresco il vino (b) 24

Pagati lib.20 di biscottini di Savoia presi dal

confettiere sotto il Palazzo dell'Ill.mo Sig. Mar-

chese Bongiovanni (*uno dei conservatori firmatari della lapide*) sc.3 –

Dato al Battaglione (o bottigliere) del Sig. Contestabile Colonna per

li botti facti (*o: per le botti facte*) dal medesimo in occasione di d[et]ta visita e ricognizione datoli per ordine dell'Ecc.mo Sig.

Marchese Bongiovanni Cons.re sc. 5:70

Per noliti di 6(?) bicchere, giare, cantinette per detto ri (*soprascritto*) fresco sc. 1-

Per porto e riporto di Argenti prestati dal Sig. Con-
testabile Colonna (*Filippo II*) (b) 40

Per torcie per d[et]ta visita N 8 di peso libb. 30 ½ - sc.8:54-

Candelle di cera da *tavola libb.2 (b)56

(**sembrerebbe detta, però andrebbe sottinteso un per*)

Due candelle per l'altare di peso lib.1 (b)28

sc. 9:38

L'avanzo di d.tta cera fu venduto alla presenza dell'Ecc.mi

SS.ri Conservatori e ne fu cavato scudi sette e b[aiocchi] 35

si che nella sud.ta cera non si trova speso altro che sc. sc. 2:03-

Carbone per la cioccolata sc. 1: -

Per rifreschi nelle sei Cong[regazio]ni tenute nel sud. tri=
mestre

sc. 4:80

FOL. 286 verso

Per tre copie di scrittura date alli Sig[no]ri Cons[ervato]ri circa

il modo di poter fare la Cavalcata del Possesso di N[o]stro

Sig[no]re come era solito di farsi ne i tempi andati

l'originale delle quali fu dato all'Ecc.mo Cardinal

Camerlengo (b) 30-

Cons. C.

Sig[no]ri Provisori per far pagamento

Al Sig. Santi Randanini camerlengo della sud[detta]

Cam[e]ra scudi quarantotto e b. 68 ½ -moneta quali

sono per suo rimborso d'altri e tanti da esso spesi

e pagati con ordine nostro come nel pr[esen]te conto che

pagasi et con ricevuta etc. Dal nostro Campidoglio

Li 31 dicembre 1700 sc. 48: 68 ½

FOL.287 recto

**Spese fatte in occasione del passaggio per il Campidoglio
della Cavalcata, o Possesso della S.tà di N.tro Sig.re dove**

intervenne la Maestà vedova di Polonia, et altre Dame Romane.

Dato allo scarpellino, che impiombò alcuni ferri per sostenere il finestrone di mezzo del Palazzo novo il bal-	
dacchino per sua maestà	(b) 60
Per corda per d.º baldacchino, et altro	(b)30
Per n. 3 candele per la notte per li festaroli, e guardie	(b) 18
Per haver fatto cuscire assieme dall'ebreo le felpe per le fenestre del Palazzo vecchio, metterle e levarle d'opera	(b)20

sc. 33:50 ½

FOL.287 verso

Pagato al fontaniere per suo salario delle fontane
pubbliche per il suo trimestre conforme il solito sc.1:50

Pagato al Sig. Segretario del Popolo Romano per le lettere
della Posta per i suddetti tre mesi sc. 7:25

Dato per l'elemosina per il suddetto trimestre alli
RR. PP. d' Araceli conforme il solito sc. 7:50

Spese per far fare le copie di quattro liste
dell'esigenze del fieno per darle nella Congregazione
del Sacro Palazzo Apostolico à Monsig. Ill.mo
maggior-domo di Nostro Signore et altri che inter=
vennero à detta Congregazione conforme il solito sc. 1:20

Per carbone per la sala de fedeli dovuto-
li nel presente trimestre conforme il solito (b) 90

Per 15 botte(i) servite per fuochi di Allegrezza
nelle cinque sere della Creazione e coronazio=
ne della S. ta di N°. Sig.re sc. 6-

Per fascine n.500 per d.a (detta) (b) 75

Per lanternoni per d[ett]e funzioni n.42 con Arme del
Nuovo Pontefice (b) 84

Per candelotte per li lanternoni

sc. 1:40

FOL.287 verso

Spese fatte per la visita tenuta dal Campidoglio dalli Ecc.mi Sigg.ri Cons.ri dalla Reg.na ve=

dua di Polonia per una spazzola di coda di

volpe, scopettino, scopetta e spugna

(b) 67 ½

Per tre pertiche scopini di paglia, spago stracci

(b) 30

da spolverare

Dato ad uno che aiutò a scopare per 2 giornate

(b) 50

FOL.288 verso **33:563**

Dato per beverage all'i festaroli

(b) 10

Dato a due homini che aiutorno à fare diversi servitij

tanto per il giorno della Cavalcata, quanto il seguente

per scopare l'arazzi, piegarli, caricarli, scaricarli dal=

le carrette per riportarli in guarda robba in Casa Colonna

(b) 50

Speso nella carretta, che portò, e riportò l'Arazzi e Dama=

schi, nella guarda robba di Casa Colonna in Campidoglio

e da Campidoglio in casa Colonna

(b) 30

Per vino di MontePulciano fiaschi n.8 con porto (=trasporto) sc 1:65

Per neve lib. 30 per. d.o (detto, *scilicet* vino)

(b) 50

Per Boccali 20 sorbetti di pistachi, e cedrato

sc. 6-

Porto di dd. sorbetti con due fachini, quali restorno fino

doppo la funtione per d. ti servitij per d.o

(b) 40

Per nolito di cantinette 16 bicchieri n.80 giare servite

per detto rinfresco

(b) 50

Dato ad uno per pulire la stalletta dallo sterco che ren=

deva fetore

(b) 20

Per rinfresco nelle sei Congreg[gazio]ni di d[et]to 3.re (trimestre) fra'quali vi fur=

no dui sindacati

sc. 6

Per la scrittura d'un chirografo in forma signiandi con=

cernente la spesa fatta nella memoria messa della

visita della maestà della Reg.a ved[u]a di Polonia

e delle banderole per le trombe delli trombetti del

Popolo Romano

(b) 30

Ludovico Montoro Conservatore Conservatores

Girolamo Theodoli Conservatore Camerae Almae Urbis 50:81

Sig.ri Provisori del Sac: monte della pietà farete pagare etc.

Al sig.re Santi Randanini Camerlengo della sud.ta Cam[er]a
scudi cinquanta, e b. 1 ½ m[one]ta quali sono per suo rimborso
d'altrettanti da esso spesi, e pagati con ord.ne n[ost]ro come
nel pr[esen]te conto. Che pagasi e con ricevuta e dal n[ost]ro
Campidoglio li 22 Aprile 1701___ **50: 81**

ASC

Documento 2

- Camera Capitolina, Credenzione VI, t. 45, *Registro di mandati a favore di Ufficiali et artisti 1689–1706*, fol. 277 r.

A m(aestr)o Giacomo Antonio Ferrari scarpellino
s.72:10 m.(onet)a quali gli si fanno pagare cioè s. settan
ta p(er) intero pagamento, e saldo del opera a intere
sue spese, fatt.(ura) tanto in marmi di qualsia sorte,
Pietre Manifatture di scarpello, mettitura in opera
quant'in ogn'altra cosa, e spesa da esso fatta e da farsi
et della Lapide et iscrizione p(er) la memoria della Mae-
stà della Regina vedua di Polonia che di pr (esen)te
fassi da noi erigere nella Sala del Palazzo della
n(ost)ra Residenza in Campidoglio, e scudi due a Diomede
p(er) conto dovuto al suo ufficio e d(etto) pagamento
gli si fa firmare in virtu' d'un Chirografo segnato
dalla S.(anti)tà di N(ostro) S(ignore) li 9 del pr(esen)te. et pagati scudi 72,10
dal n(ostr)o Campidoglio li 15 marzo 1701
Ferdinando Bongiovanni Cons(ervatore)
Lud.(ovic)o Montorio Cons(ervatore)
Girolamo Theodoli Cons(ervatore)
.....scrivano.....

Contratto di pagamento a favore dello scalpellino

Giacomo Antonio Ferrari, 15 marzo 1701

(©Roma – Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali –
Archivio Storico Capitolino)

[illegible]

Documento 3

- Camera Capitolina, Credenzione VI, t. 45, *Registro di mandati a favore di Ufficiali et artisti 1689–1706*, fol. 278 v.

Al Sig. Lorenzo Ottone scultore s.(cudi) 30:90 (di) m(onet)a
quali gli si fanno pagare cioè s.(cudi) 30: p l'intiero paga-
mento, e saldo del Ritratto in basso rilievo di marmo della
Maestà della Regina di Svezia (*sic!*) Polonia a tutta sua spesa
fatto da erigersi nella n(ostr)a Sala del Palazzo di Campido-
glio sopra la Memoria d(ella) d(etta) M(aest)à, e 9 giuli per suo rimbor-
so di altri e tanti che esso paga allo scrittore del popolo
Romano. Dal N.stro Campidoglio li 15 marzo 1706 s.30:90

Contratto di pagamento a favore di Lorenzo Ottone scultore, 15 marzo 1706
(©Roma – Sovrintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Archivio Storico
Capitolino)

[illegible][illegible]

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Scheme of the frescoes by Cavalier d'Arpino.

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Pl. II Palazzo dei Conservatori, Orazi e Curiazi Hall.

Photo composition of the two memorials of the queens in Orazi e Curiazi Hall by Valerio Pampanini and Angelo Canzano



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

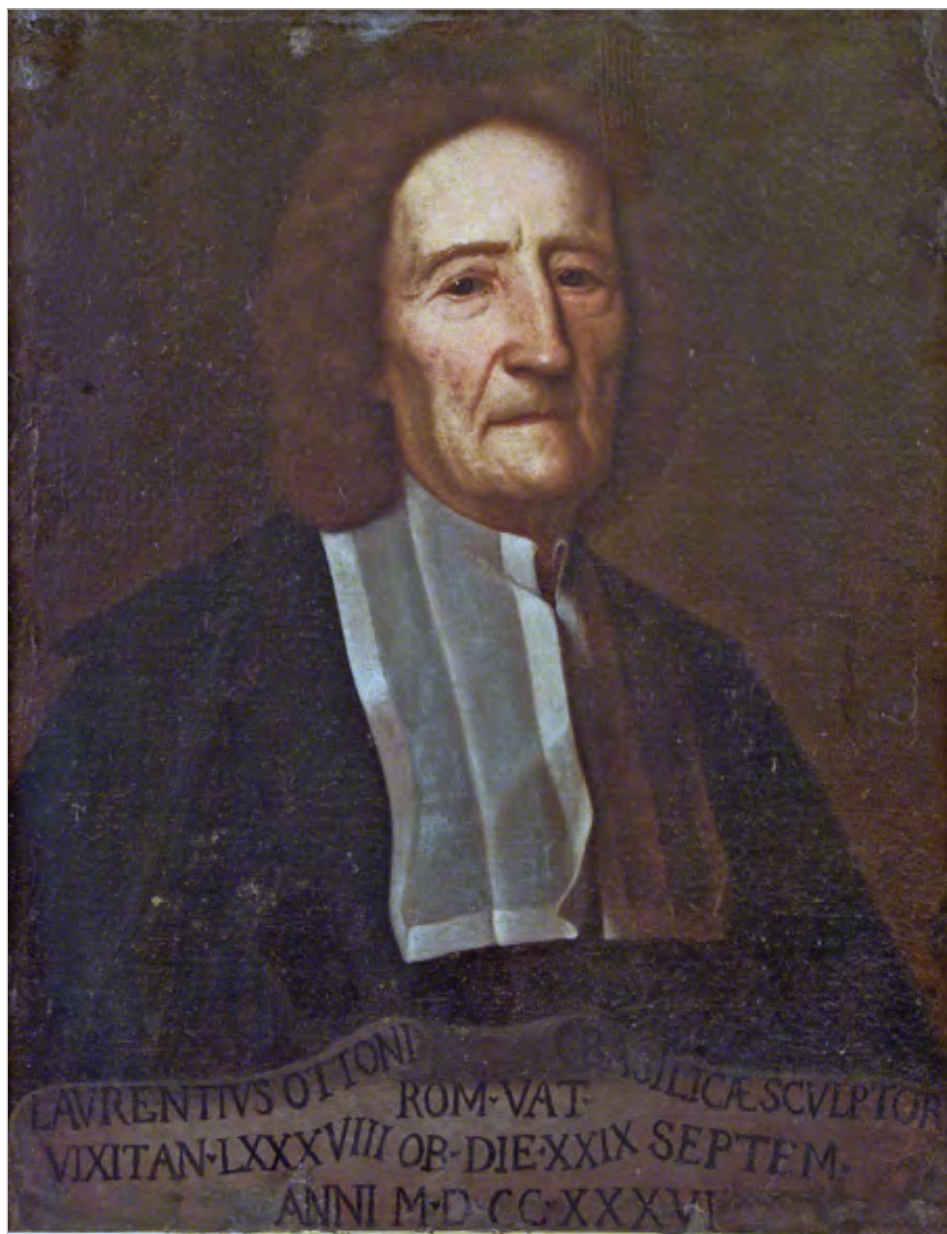


Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

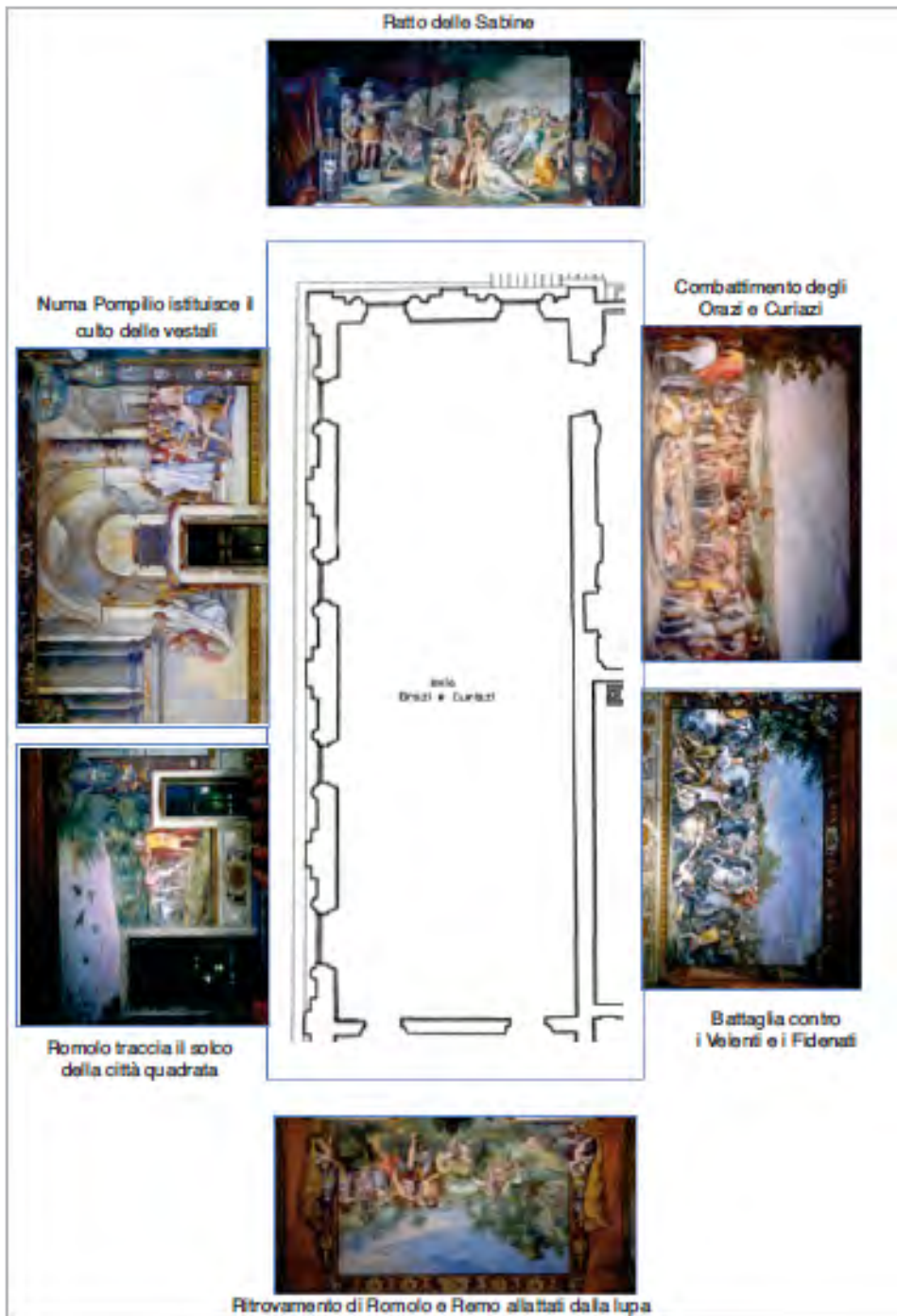


Plate 1



Plate 2