When rooms or areas illustrated are noted in this part of the catalogue, we begin with features in the foreground and work to the background. Features are mentioned only if a large enough portion is visible to be useful for documenting the condition of the site. All photographs are black and white, unless otherwise noted.

G.2.1. **Horace’s Villa and related sites on maps prior to 1885**


G.2.1.5. 1624. Ph. Cluverius, “Italiae Antiquae Novissima Tabula” (Leyden 1624). Notes: has Horatij Villa on the south side of the Faberis flumen, the Fanum Vacunae on the north side of the Faberis flumen. Cf. Frutaz, vol. 2, XXIV.1, 60.


G.2.1.7. 1650. J. Jansson, “[Latium]” (Amsterdam 1650). Notes: puts the Lucretiis Mons just to north of Gabii and the via Praenestina; Vacunae fanum is south of Casparia, north of Fabaris fluvius. Seen in British Museum Map Library.

G.2.1.8. A. Kircher, *Latium. Id est, Nova et parallela Latii tum veteris tum novi descriptio qua quaecunque vel Natura, vel veterum romanorum ingenium admiranda effect, geographic-historico-physico ratiocinio, juxta rerum gestarum, temporumque seriem exponitur & enucleatur* (Amsterdam 1669) has a map of the Sabina between pp. 216-217. Notes: has

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1. Prerequisite for inclusion here is that a map contain at least one of the following sites: Digentia, Fanum Vacunae, Horace’s Villa, Licenza, Mandela, Mons Lucretiis, Rocca Giovine (or Rocca Giovan), Ustica. The cutoff date of 1885 was chosen because that is the year of publication of Tito Berti’s little study of the villa, which included the most detailed map of the area around the Roman villa at Licenza since the antiquarian search for Horace’s Villa began with Flavio Biondo in the 1440s. By the nineteenth century, mapmaking had become more scientific, the variations from one map to another much less drastic, and the number of published maps increased significantly. Hence, between 1784 and 1885 the only map included is that of Berti, published with his booklet on the villa in 1885. The first map to show Vicovaro (the first point in our general area to be included on maps) is: Anon. “Italia centrale con quasi tutto il Lazio, intagliata in legno” (in Studienbibliothek, Salzburg: cf. Frutaz, Carta IX, “Sec. XV fine/sec. XVI inizio”).
Bernard Frischer

Licenza after Vicovaro, then Roccagiovane, then Civitella; has a second “Rocca Giov.” just below (=west); Licenza on the Rinero fl.; puts Fons Blandusia, Ustica, Villa Horatij, Mandela pagus, Lucretilis Mons in valley of “Avens fl. hod. Galantino”—south of Casperia, northeast of Montopoli.

G.2.1.9. 1680. R. Fabrettus, De Aquis et Aquaeductibus veteris Romae (Rome 1680) third map bound before p. 3. Notes: has Licenza valley; Rocca Giovine (“olim fanum Vacunae”) is north of Licenza; Licenza is on the wrong side of the Licenza River (“olim Digentia”); Cantalupo and Bardela are on the wrong side of the river.

G.2.1.10. 1693. G. F. Ameti, “Il Lazio con le sue piu Cospicue Strade Antiche e Moderne e principali Casali e Tenute” (Rome 1694). Notes: has many features of the area around Horace’s villa, including Mons Lucretilis (but it is not equivalent to the Monte Gennaro, which is shown with Ustica on it to the north of Tivoli); Vicovaro, S. Cosimato, Bardela, Licenza olim Digentia, Rocca Giovane olim Fanum Vacune di Orsini, Licenza olim Digestia di Orsini. It mistakenly puts Rocca Giovane north of Licenza.


G.2.1.15. 1739. D. G. de Revillas, Diocesis et agri Tiburtini topographia (Rome 1739, 1767). Notes: has Licenza, Rocca Giovine.


G.2.1.18. 1750-1755. C. Maire and R. G. Bosovich, Carta geographica dello stato della Chiesa. This map is illustrated and discussed in A. P. Frutaz, Le carte del Lazio, vol. 1, xxix-xxx, 90-92; vol. 2, carta XL c.

G.2.1.19. 1761. D. De Sanctis. Dissertazione sopra la villa di Orazio Flacco (Rome 1761) map bound at end of book, after p. 45. Notes: has Vicovaro aut Varia, Cantalupo, Bardela aut Mandela, Roccagiovane aut Fanum Vacunae, Licenza, Mons Lucretilis, Villa Horatii (Fons Digestiae, rudera veteris aedificii), Rivo Licenza aut Digestiae. The Villa Horatii corresponds to the general area of the archaeological site known today.
G.2. Graphic Sources

G.2.1.20. 1767. D. G. de Revillas 1739/1767. Notes: the second and third editions of Revillas’ 1739 map were published in this year. They now show the ruins of Horace’s Villa.


G.2.1.22. 1769. G. Piranesi, Diverse maniere d’adornare i cammini, 3 vols. (Rome 1769) tailpiece to the book’s Apologia. Notes: this is a parodic map sending up the Abbé Capmartin de Chaupy and his three-volume work on Horace’s Villa (cf. G.1.8.4 above). See Frischer and Brown, 85-87.

G.2.1.23. 1780 (?). J. P. Hackert, Carte generale de la partie de la Sabine où etoit située la Maison de Campagne d’Horace (Rome, no date). Notes: has Rocca Giovine, Mons Lucretilis, Licenza, Horace’s Villa, Bardela-Mandela. The purpose of this relief map is to show the spots from which Hackert made his ten views of the Licenza valley. See Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 59-66; Frischer in Frischer and Brown, 89. The map is illustrated in Frischer and Brown, 146.


G.2.1.25. 1810. R. Bradstreet, frontispiece to The Sabine Farm, A Poem: Into Which is Interswoven a Series of Translations, Chiefly Descriptive of the Villa and Life of Horace, Occasioned by an Excursion from Rome to Licenza (London 1810).

G.2.1.26. 1886. T. Berti, “Pianta topografica della vallata del Licenza nelle adiacenze della Villa d’Orazio,” in T. Berti, La villa di Orazio (Rome 1886). Notes: in inserts, the map also contains drawings of the mosaics in rooms 1 and 4, as well as views of the Vigne di S. Pietro site and the nymphaeum of the Orsini.

G.2.2. Horace’s Villa in the Graphic Arts Prior to 1911: Drawings, Watercolors, Gouaches, Engravings

G.2.2.1. 1755. A. Ramsay, [Sketchbook 1755], National Gallery of Scotland D4878. Notes: includes Victoria inscription (CIL XIV.3479) at Rocca Giovane, Sept. 27, 1755 (p. 20); view of Rocca Giovane from the northeast near the Licenza, Sept. 27, 1755 (p. 24). Also in this book is Ramsay’s map of the Licenza area, which is derived from de Revillas 1739 (cf. G.2.1.15). (=Ramsay 1, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158).

G.2.2.3. 1777. A. Ramsay, “View of Horace’s Farm, 1777,” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 509. Black chalk on paper. 44.7 x 61 cm. Inscribed on the top with a legend giving the identifications of spots indicated with letters in the drawing, as follows: “View of Horace’s farm from the window of Count Orsini’s villa at Licenza, drawn exactly by me A. R. by the help of pack thread squares, June 21 1777 / a. The field in which is the mosaic pavements / b. The place where stands amongst the bushes the remains of some old walls - c. The Cypress a little below the source of Fonte Ratini - d. The Mill - e. Rocca Giovane - f. The spot where the stones of a portone were dug up a few years ago - g. Colle Franchisi - h. The convent of S. Cosimato, bearing due South.” (=Ramsay 2, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158, with fig. 8.1).

G.2.2.4. 1777. A. Ramsay, “[Five sketches of the Licenza area].” Bound with Ramsay’s “Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace’s Sabine Villa, written during Travels through Italy in the years 1775, 76, and 77,” ms. in the National Library of Scotland, MS 730. Note: on the ms., see B. Frischer and I. G. Brown in Frischer and Brown, 105.

G.2.2.4.1. 1777. A. Ramsay, “Taken from Licenza looking towards Mons Lucretilis. Horace’s villa a little above the house that is in this drawing.” Squared pencil drawing; 13.8 x 20.8 cm. (=Ramsay 3.1, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158).

G.2.2.4.2. 1777. A. Ramsay, “View of Rocca Giovane.” Pencil drawing with light colored washes; 18.1 x 23.7 cm. (=Ramsay 3.2, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158).

G.2.2.4.3. 1777. A. Ramsay, “From the road [?] Licenza, looking toward Horace’s villa, Rocca Giovane and St. Cosimato.” Squared pencil drawing; 13.8 x 20.5 cm. (=Ramsay 3.3, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158).

G.2.2.4.4. 1777. A. Ramsay, “View near the mill looking toward Licenza. Horace’s villa on the left.” Pencil drawing; 16.4 x 21.8 cm. (=Ramsay 3.4, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158 with fig. 8.2).

G.2.2.4.5. 1777. A. Ramsay, “View of Licenza on the east side looking towards Lucretilis.” Pencil drawing; 18.0 x 20.5 cm. (=Ramsay 3.5, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 158).

G.2.2.5. 1777. J. More. At the request of Allan Ramsay, he prepared a series of watercolors of the Licenza Valley in 1777. See P. Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 52-58.

G.2.2.5.1. 1777. J. More, “L23. View down the valley with meandering river, hill slopes on either side.” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 505. Pen and ink with wash over black chalk; 33.4 x 44.6 cm. (=More 1, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 160 with fig. 8.3). Notes: derives from Ramsay G.2.2.3.

G.2.2.5.2. 1777. J. More, “View of the Valley of Digentia, the Situation of Horace’s house, Rocca Giovane, Colle Franchise, Colle Franco and San Cosimato.” National Gallery of Scotland, D1417. Watercolor over pencil; 34.5 x 53.8 cm. (=More 2, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 160).
G.2. Graphic Sources

G.2.2.5.3. 1777. J. More, “View from Count Orsini’s Window of the Valley of Digentia—not drawn in proportion.” National Gallery of Scotland, D1415. Watercolor over ink and pencil; 45.1 x 60.4 cm. (=More 3, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 160). Notes: derives from Ramsay G.2.2.3.

G.2.2.5.4. 1777. J. More, “L22 [View of Licenza].” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 506. Pen and ink and wash over black chalk; 33.4 x 44.5 cm. (=More 4, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 161).

G.2.2.5.5. 1777. J. More, “[A View of Licenza].” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 374. Yellow-green and brown washes over pencil or black chalk; 33.3 x 44.4 cm. (=More 5, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 161).

G.2.2.5.6. 1777. J. More, “L21 [View near Licenza].” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 504. Green and brown wash over black chalk; 34.0 x 51.5 cm. (=More 6, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 161).

G.2.2.5.7. 1777. J. More, “View of the Hillock to the east of Horace’s house, Mons Lucretilis, and the Mill of Licenza. The source of Fonte Ratini just about the two little Cypresses Taken from a little rising a little to the north of Colle.” National Gallery of Scotland, D1416. Watercolor over pencil with pale washes; 34.2 x 53.4 cm. (=More 7, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 161 and Plate V). Notes: view from the Colle Franchisi toward the west across the Licenza River toward the Mill on the modern Luisella Hotel property. In the middle ground is the Castagneto, behind which (and hence out of view) is the villa site. Provides a precious glimpse of the agricultural and pastoral use of the valley and mountains, which appears sparsely settled and mainly farmed along the river and on the slopes of the Colle Rotondo rising off the Vicovaro-Licenza road (the modern Via Licinense).

G.2.2.5.8. 1777. J. More, “A View of Horace’s Villa taken near the Mill of Licenza.” Coll. James Holloway. Watercolor; 36.1 x 50.3 cm. (=More 8, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162).

G.2.2.5.9. 1777. J. More, “[View of Horace’s Villa].” National Gallery of Scotland, D5028. Watercolor and body color over pencil; 51.0 x 72.0 cm. (=More 9, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162). Notes: view just off the Vicovaro-Licenza road (the modern Via Licinense) just to the east of the Castagneto and the Mill, on the property of the modern Luisella Hotel. A view of the villa site is blocked by the Castagneto.

G.2.2.5.10. 1777. J. More, “[View of Licenza].” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 538. Watercolor and bodycolor; 37.1 x 54.4 cm. (=More 10, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162).

G.2.2.5.11. 1777. J. More, “View near the Mill, looking towards Licenza. Horace’s Villa on the left.” Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, B.1977.14.5766. Pen and black ink and watercolor over pencil; 28 x 40 cm. (=More 11, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162).

G.2.2.5.12. 1777. J. More, “A view of Licenza on the East side, looking towards Mons Lucretelis, No. 4.” National Gallery of Scotland, D4938. Pen and ink and wash over pencil; 27.6 x 39.6 cm. (=More 12, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162).

G.2.2.5.13. 1777. J. More, “View from Licenza, looking to the west, towards Mons Lucretelis. Horace’s villa lies a little above the house in this drawing, No. 5.” Location unknown (Christie’s, London,
17 November 1992 [82]). Watercolor; 27.7 x 40.2 cm. (=More 13, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162).

G.2.2.5.14. 1777. J. More, “View of Rocca Giovane, No. 6.” National Gallery of Scotland, RSA 355. Pencil and wash; 27.5 x 40.3 cm. (=More 14, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 162).

G.2.2.5.15. 1777. J. More, “[Horace’s Villa].” British Museum 1870-12-10-237. Watercolor over pencil; 35.4 x 49.4 cm. (=More 15, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 163). Notes: a view from Colle Franchisi of the Castagneto, which blocks the view of the villa site.

G.2.2.5.16. 1777. J. More, “[Rocca Giovane].” Location unknown (Spink’s, London, 1978). Pencil and wash, 35.0 x 49.5 cm. (=More 16, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 163).

G.2.2.6. 1780. J. P. Hackert. In 1780, Hackert produced ten paintings of the Licenza Valley and ten related engravings. The paintings are now in the Goethe Museum in Düsseldorf. The engravings were published in multiple copies. In 1782-83, Hackert added to the engravings a relief map of the Licenza Valley. See P. Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 59-66.

G.2.2.6.1. 1780. J. P. Hackert,2 “Endoit ou la Maison de Campagne d’Horace et situe Rocca Giovine.” Goethe Museum, Düsseldorf. Gouache; 33 x 44 cm. (=Hackert 1.7, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 164 with fig. 8.14).

G.2.2.6.2. 1780. J. P. Hackert, “Vue de la situation de la maison de campagne d’Horace, avec Rocca Giovine prise du Village de Licenza…. ” Engraving, 37.5 x 47.0 cm. (=Hackert 2.7, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 166 with fig. 8.20). Notes: in a legend, Hackert states that beneath the white bird is the archaeological site. The view is from the Colle Franchisi, on the eastern side of the Licenza River. The white bird is not over the modern archaeological site, called “a” in Ramsay (G.2.2.3). It seems rather to be several hundred meters to the west, over the Ninfeo degli Orsini, where de Chaupy reported seeing lead waterpipes and tesserae of pasta vitrea in G.1.8.4 (cf. Frischer 1998, 282-287).

G.2.2.7. 1790 (?). L. Sabatelli, La villa d’Orazio o la sua abitazione di campagna ed i siti circonvicini con una carta topografica della stessa grandezza…. (Rome n. d.), plate 7, “Vue ou etoit la maison de campagne d’Horace.” Engraving, 17.1 x 20.2 cm. (=Sabatelli 1.7, Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 168 and fig. 8.24).

G.2.2.8. 1790 (?). Carlo Labruzzi, “Il Fonte sopra la Villa Oraziana.” Ink and watercolor, 38.2 x 54.4 cm. On the stone in the foreground are inscribed verses 12-13 of epist. I.16 (“fons etiam rivo dare nomen ideoneus, ut nec / frigidior Thracam nec purior ambiat Hebrus”). On Labruzzi’s views of the Licenza area, see Andrew in Frischer and Brown, 58.

G.2.2.9. 1810. Robert Bradstreet, The Sabine Farm, A Poem: Into Which is Interwoven a Series of Translations, Chiefly Descriptive of the Villa and Life of Horace, Occasioned by an Excursion

2. Hackert published ten views of the Licenza valley in 1780; see Andrew, 59-66. Each engraving corresponds to a small gouache (33 x 44 cm), and the ten gouache are now in the Goethe Museum in Düsseldorf. A reduced version of the Hackert engravings was published (with or without Hackert’s knowledge and approval) by Luigi Sabatelli, probably in the 1780s or 90s; see Andrew, 66-67. In this catalogue, I include only one Hackert engraving and one gouache: both are views of the archaeological site. For the rest, see Andrew, 59-66, 164-167, and plates IX-XII.
**G.2. Graphic Sources**

from Rome to Licenza (London 1810). Two plates show features in the Licenza valley: the plate opposite p. 81 shows Roccagiovine (“Roccagiovine, anciently Fanum Vacunae”); the plate opposite p. 84 shows the view from Colle Franchisi across the Licenza River toward the villa site and the Monte Rotondo (“Valley of Licenza, looking towards the Scite [sic] of the Villa Horatiana”).

G.2.2.10. 1816. J(ohn) Smith, W. Byrne, and J. Edwards, Select Views in Italy, with Topographical and Historical Descriptions, in English and French (London 1816), plate 36: “Villa of Horace, drawn by J. Smith and engraved by J. Emes.” The accompanying text states that the villa was at the foot of Mt. Lucretilis and below Licenza (in the center of the engraving).

G.2.2.11. 1829 (?). W. Havell and F. W. Topham, “The Valley of Licenza, in which stood the Villa of Horace.” Engraving, 9 x 2.5 cm. Notes: the view is on the Via Licinese to the south of Licenza. No view of the villa itself is seen. William Havell (1782-1857) visited Italy in 1828-29. The sketch on which this view is based may therefore go back to 1828/29; it is not known when it was published.

G.2.2.12. 1830 (?). Charles-Joseph Hullmandel, published by Mcqueen & Co. (n. p., n. d.). Notes: Hullmandel lived from 1789-1850; the date given here is just a guess. The view is of the Via Licinese, with Licenza and Civitella in the background.

G.2.2.13. Ca. 1833. James Duffield Harding, “Licenza from the spot where formerly stood Horace’s Villa” (London, ca. 1833). Engraving, 13.25 x 8.70 cm. Notes: the exact site illustrated by Harding is hard to locate today. It would appear to be lower down the slope of the Colle Rotondo, near the bank of the Licenza River. On the other hand, the arch standing in the middle ground on the left could be ancient. The position of the drawing appears similar to that in Smith’s engraving above (G.2.2.10), although we are placed higher up the slopes of the Colle Rotondo.

G.2.2.14. 1849. [anon.], apud Henry Hart Milman, The Works of Quintus Horatius Flaccus Illustrated Chiefly from the Remains of Ancient Art. With a Life (London 1849) 21: “Fons Bandusiae” (Fonte Bello in Fosso delle Chiuse); 47: “Digentia” (a black and white illustration of the town of Licenza seen from the south along the river banks, not far from the Castagneto and the villa site, neither of which is seen); 61: “Rocca Giovane”; 415: “Varia” (the monastery of S. Cosimato with the old bridge over the Anio River); 421: “A Fountain on the Sabine Farm at Digentia. From a sketch taken in 1816 by the Rev. J. Eagles” (the Nymphaeum of the Orsini). It is not stated who the artist or artists of the other views were.

G.2.2.15. 1885. Tito Berti, views of the mosaics in rooms 1 and 4 and of the surface of the site in the Vigne di San Pietro. Printed as insets on Berti’s “Pianta topografica della vallata del Licenza,” dated 1886 (=G.2.1.26) and bound with his booklet, La villa di Orazio (Rome 1886).

**G.2.3. Photographs of sites identified as Horace’s Villa, 1855 to 1911**

G.2.3.1. Ca. 1855. Anon., photography of Horace’s Villa, from Joannis Bond, Qvinti Horatii Flacci opera... 47 x 76 mm. This is the earliest photograph purporting to illustrate the villa. It actually shows the Colle del Poetello at nearby Rocca Giovine, which, owing to the theories of Pietro Rosa, in the mid-nineteenth century was erroneously thought to be the site of Horace’s Villa. The photograph is interesting for showing us how important Horace’s Villa was considered
in the period of early photography. In fact, it has been said that this is the first photographic illustration ever published in a book. The view is from north to south toward the Anio valley and the mountain town of Saracinesco. In the foreground we see “the artificial terrace where some bricks lying on the ground indicate the location of an ancient Roman house.”


G.2.3.2.1. 1910. Dana and Dana, “Pavement on the supposed site of Horace’s house,” opposite p. xvi.

G.2.3.2.2. 1910. Dana and Dana, “Mount Lucretilis and the Sabine Farm,” opposite p. xviii.

G.2.3.2.3. 1910. Dana and Dana, “Entrance to the Sabine Farm,” opposite p. 38.

G.2.4. 1911-1914. Graphic documentation of Pasqui’s excavations

Collection of drawings in SAR AS Pal. Altemps, b.18 fasc. 10.3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Areas 23, 34, 33, 32, 21, 20, 19, 31, 30, 29, 28, 27, 15, 5, 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Area 53: section through stairwell</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Rooms 11, 12 (plan)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Details of Area 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4v</td>
<td>Brick stamps</td>
<td>From Area 53? Includes MN NAEV, CCOMIN FECFELIC, LPOMP. Dated “Licenza, 9 May 1911.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Rooms 11, 12 (section)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Area 53: section through niche</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v</td>
<td>Area 53: section through structure</td>
<td>A note identifies the level where burials were found</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Areas 53, 47, 48, 39, 34, 33, 32, 20, 23, 25, 1, 3, 2, 6, 7, 8</td>
<td>Situation late March, 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Areas 53, 52, 47, 36, 48, 46, 45</td>
<td>Summer, 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Area 53</td>
<td>May-June, 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Area 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Areas 8, 17, 26, “muro di cinta”</td>
<td>“Licenza, 25 Ottobre 1913” Note that the “muro di cinta” is drawn longer to the west than was actually built</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. These documents were found by Dr. Klaus Werner, who attributed them to Lanciani. Dr. Werner wishes to express his thanks to Dr. Maria Elena Bertoldi, Director of the Archive, who helped him to find this material. Bernard Frischer attributed them to Pasqui’s office.
### G.2. Graphic Sources

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11v</td>
<td>Areas 53, 52, 49, 48, 47, 23, 25</td>
<td>Summer, 1911 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Rooms 22, 15, 14, 12, 4, 2, 1, 3, 6, 7</td>
<td>Situation ca. April 22, 1912</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Area 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
<td>Detail of Area 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Area 53 and outline of residence and quadriporticus superimposed on cadaster</td>
<td>Summer, 1911 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Villa outline on cadaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Areas 53, 47, 48, 44, 43, 49</td>
<td>“Licenza, 2 Giugno 1911... staccato il lavoro per portare su la lastra di piombo-grande fatica degli operai...”</td>
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<tr>
<td>17v</td>
<td>List of workers</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Section of engaged column drum; drawing of fragmentary frieze block; drawing of pavement from roof-tiles whose flanges have been cut</td>
<td>Dated: May 11, 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18v</td>
<td>Note dated 22 Maggio 1911; may not pertain to Horace’s Villa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Drawing of sewers in baths</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>19v</td>
<td>Sections of drains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Villa plan and cadaster</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>Villa plan and cadaster</td>
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<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Villa plan and cadaster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Areas 53, 47, 48, 39, 34, 33, 32, 20, 23, 25, 1, 3, 2, 6, 7, 8, 22, 15, 14, 12, 4</td>
<td>Situation of May, 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23a</td>
<td>Detail of Area 6</td>
<td>Feature present no longer seen; 1.85 x 1.46 m walls of brick with notation “reinterrato;” “muro di cinta” broken line in area of fountain and peristyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>23c</td>
<td>Detail of Area 54</td>
<td>South wall of quadriporticus is unbroken where Lugli, etc. show opening</td>
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### G.2.5. 1911-1914. Pasqui’s Photographic Documentation of His Excavations

Selections from the photographs in the Photographic Archive of the Archaeological Superintendency for Lazio (=SAL).

**G.2.5.1.** 1911-1914. SAL F337: Area 53 and adjacent areas seen from the east during excavation and restoration (=SAL A96-1070=G.2.5.18).

**G.2.5.2.** 1911-1914. SAL F338: shot from south of corridor 23, pool 25 and the baulk between 25 and the residence.
G.2.5.3. 1914-15 (?). SAL F339: shot of residence from southeast. Work has ceased, and the restorations have been completed.

G.2.5.4. 1911-1914. SAL F368: shot from the south of the following areas of the residence: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

G.2.5.5. 1911-1914. SAL F370: shot from the southwest of the following areas of the residence and baths: 14, 15, 20, 21, 22, 33 (=SAL F374=G.2.5.9).

G.2.5.6. 1911-1914. SAL F371: shot from the west of the following areas of the residence and baths: 5, 8, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 33.

G.2.5.7. 1911-1914. SAL F372: shot from the south of the following rooms of the imperial baths: 47, 48, 52, 53. Views also of the corridor 23 and the baulk of the garden between the residence and the pool (25).

G.2.5.8. 1911-1914. SAL F373: shot from the east across the pool (25) and garden to the south toward Area 53 of the imperial baths.

G.2.5.9. 1911-1914. SAL F374: =SAL F370 (G.2.5.5).

G.2.5.10. 1911-1914. SAL F375: view from within structure 53 looking north toward Licenza.

G.2.5.11. 1911-1914. SAL F376: view from within structure 53 looking west.

G.2.5.12. 1911 (?). SAL E661: view of the imperial baths from 53 to 50 prior to excavation.

G.2.5.13. 1911 (?). SAL E663: view of the corridor 23 during the early stage of the excavation.

G.2.5.14. 1911-1914. SAL E729: view of imperial baths and residence from southwest including the following Areas: 13, 20, 21, 25, 22, 33, 34 (=G.2.8.2.1)

G.2.5.15. 1911-1914. SAL E730: view of residence with workers, from the west, with views of the following Areas: 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31.

G.2.5.16. 1911-1914. SAL A96-949: view of the residence from the east with Areas 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16.

G.2.5.17. Date unknown. SAL A96-950: photograph of a reconstruction of the villa set in the landscape. It is not clear who the artist was nor the medium in which he was working. The villa is shown in the phase before construction of the imperial baths.

G.2.5.18. 1911-1914. SAL A96-1070: Area 53 and adjacent areas seen from the east during excavation and restoration (=G.2.5.1).
G.2. Graphic Sources

G.2.6. 1911-1914: Photographs of Pasqui’s excavation from other sources

G.2.6.1. February, 1913. William Clifford Heilman

G.2.6.1.1. February, 1913. William Clifford Heilman *apud* E. K. Rand, *A Walk to Horace’s Farm* (Oxford 1930) 29: pool (25) seen from the southeast to the north, with baths to the west and baulk between the pool and the residence to the north (cf. SAL F338=G.2.5.2 for a similar view from the southwest corner of the pool).


G.2.6.2. May, 1913. V. R. Vaucher, “La villa d’Horace,” *L’Illustration*, May 17, 1913, 451-453; I have seen only the microfilm. Some of Vaucher’s photographs are reproduced in Rand, *A Walk to Horace’s Farm* (Oxford 1930) 42 (=Vaucher, 451); 44 (=Vaucher, 453); 48 (=Vaucher, 452); 75 (=Vaucher, 453).


G.2.6.2.2. May, 1913. V. R. Vaucher *apud* Rand, 44: room 21 seen from the south.

G.2.6.2.3. May, 1913. V. R. Vaucher *apud* Rand, 48: Area 53 seen from the south.


G.2.6.3.1. September, 1913. Giordani, 847 (top): corridor 23 seen from the south.

G.2.6.3.2. September, 1913. Giordani, 847 (bottom): Area 53 seen from the northwest.

G.2.6.3.3. September, 1913. Giordani, 848 (top): room 34.

G.2.6.3.4. September, 1913. Giordani, 848 (bottom): Area 32 seen from the south.

G.2.6.3.5. September, 1913. Giordani, 849 (top): view across the residence from the west of room 33.

G.2.6.3.6. September, 1913. Giordani, 849 (bottom): view of the front of the residence, from the east staircase to the west.

G.2.7. Photographs from the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Ministero per i Beni Culturali, Rome

These are catalogued and captioned, but have no date.

G.2.7.1. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale G.15725. View over the northwest corner of the excavations to the Monte Rotondo.

G.2.7.3. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale G.15728. View of the residence from the southeast.

G.2.7.4. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale G.15729. View from the southwest of rooms 33, 34, stairs from the western corridor of the quadriporticus to the residence, Areas 13, 22, 21, 20, 19, 15. This appears to have been taken during the latter part of the excavation campaign of 1911-14 when work was still underway.

G.2.7.5. Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale G.15730. View of the eastern part of interior of structure 53.

G.2.8. 1920-1990. MISCELLANEOUS PHOTOGRAPHS DOCUMENTING THE CONDITION OF THE SITE

G.2.8.1. 1923. G. H. Hallam, *Horace at Tibur and the Sabine Farm* (Harrow School Bookshop 1923), opposite p. 10: photograph of the villa from Area 53 over the baths toward the residence and Licenza beyond.


G.2.8.2.1. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 485-486, fig. 7 (=SAL E729=G.2.5.14).

G.2.8.2.2. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 519-520, fig. 21: view of the entire residence from the west behind Area 32.

G.2.8.2.3. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 531-532, fig. 22: view of the residence from the southeast. Note: the fountain in Area 8 has been reconstructed. The northern closure wall has not yet been restored to abut the fountain.

G.2.8.2.4. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 533-534, fig. 23: fountain in Area 8 seen from the north.

G.2.8.2.5. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 533-534, fig. 24: room 7 seen from the southwest.

G.2.8.2.6. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, col. 535, fig. 25: north termination of corridor 23 with the staircase to the residence seen from the south.

G.2.8.2.7. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 537-538, fig. 26: central part of southern area of the residence, seen from the south with good view of the center staircase (now restored) and Area 13.

G.2.8.2.8. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 539-540, fig. 27: mosaic in room 4 seen from the south end of the room. Fig. 28 is a measured drawing of the mosaic.

G.2.8.2.9. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 543-544, fig. 29: mosaic in room 1 seen from the south. Fig. 30 is a measured drawing of the mosaic.

G.2.8.2.10. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 547-548, fig. 32: view of room 34 from the west.

G.2.8.2.11. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 549-550, fig. 34: view from the south of the buttresses on the western external wall of corridor 23.
G.2. Graphic Sources

G.2.8.2.12. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 549-550, fig. 35: pool (25) seen from the south; the baulk between the pool and the residence is visible, as is the northern section of corridor 23.

G.2.8.2.13. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, col. 551, fig. 36: Area 32 from the south.


G.2.8.2.15. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 553-554, fig. 38: room 48 from the north.

G.2.8.2.16. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 555-556, fig. 40: interior of structure 53 from the southeast.

G.2.8.2.17. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 557-558, fig. 41: interior of structure 53 from the southwest. In the background, the northern wall of pool (25) is visible, as is the baulk of the garden between the pool and the residence.

G.2.8.2.18. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, col. 559, fig. 42: central part of the upper level of the interior of the western side of structure 53 seen from the east.

G.2.8.2.19. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 561-562, fig. 44: rooms 27, 28, 29, 30 seen from the south.

G.2.8.2.20. 1926. Giuseppe Lugli, cols. 563-564, fig. 46: Area 36 from the south. Note that the area has not yet been completely excavated.

G.2.8.3. 1927. Thomas Ashby, Archive, British School in Rome. Licenza 87-100, This collection includes fourteen shots of the Licenza area, of which the following two show areas of Horace’s Villa.

G.2.8.3.1. 1927. Thomas Ashby, Archive, British School in Rome. Licenza 87. View of the residence, with Areas 1-26 seen from the east.

G.2.8.3.2. 1927. Thomas Ashby, Archive, British School in Rome. Licenza 88. View of the interior of room 53, seen from the south.

G.2.8.4. 1930-31 Lugli-Price excavation photos (Price family of Denver, Colorado).

G.2.8.4.1. 1930-31. Excavation in progress in Area 55 (view from north to south).

G.2.8.4.2. 1930-31. Excavation in progress in Area 55 (view from south to north).

G.2.8.4.3. 1930-31. View of “Horace’s Villa” with restoration in progress in room 19 (foreground) and excavation in progress in Area 55 (background).

G.2.8.4.4. 1930-31. Closeup of two oval features in the center of eastern branch of the quadriporticus (Area 55).

G.2.8.5. Before 1931. Postcards of the site in the photographic archive of the German Archaeological Institute, Rome. Inventoried in 1931 but of uncertain date.
G.2.8.5.1. Before 1931. Institute negative nr. 8720. A shot showing Areas 53 to 24.

G.2.8.5.2. Before 1931. Institute negative nr. 8721. A shot showing Areas 34, 33, 13, 21, 15.

G.2.8.5.3. Before 1931. Institute negative nr. 8722. A shot showing 13, 1, 2, 4, 9, 11, 10, 12, 5, 14, 7, 8, 16, 17.

G.2.8.6. 1935. Giuseppe Lugli’s guided tour of “Horace’s Villa” to a group from the Istituto di Studi Romani (Lugli Family collection).

G.2.8.6.1. 1935. Lugli with a group in a room of the residence. A small tract of opus reticulatum can be seen.

G.2.8.6.2. 1935. Lugli lectures to a group. A corner of room 6 can be seen.

G.2.8.6.3. 1935. Lugli talks to a group standing in structure 53.


G.2.8.7.1. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2715. View of residence from the east (rooms 1, 3 and 6 in foreground).

G.2.8.7.2. 1955 Fototeca Unione, neg. 2716. View from the north of Area 8.

G.2.8.7.3. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2717. View of Area 8 from the west.

G.2.8.7.4. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2718. View of Area 8 from the southeast.

G.2.8.7.5. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2719. View of Area 8 from the southwest corner.

G.2.8.7.6. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2720. View of the northern part of room 33 from the west.

G.2.8.7.7. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2721. View of the northern bath complex and the residence from the west.

G.2.8.7.8. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2722. View of the interior of room 33 from the south.


G.2.8.7.10. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2727. View of the stairs leading from middle of area 13 to the garden.

G.2.8.7.11. 1955. Fototeca Unione, neg. 2728. View of the southern wall of the residence and the stairs in the middle of corridor 13 from the west.

G.2. Graphic Sources


G.2.8.8. 1960s to 1990s. Soprintendenza Archeologica per il Lazio, Photographic Archive. These photographs are not captioned. The date refers to the year written on the SAL inventory (or hypothesized) and not necessarily to the time of the shot.

G.2.8.8.1. October, 1964. SAL neg. 20650. Detail of a wall in opus reticulatum showing damage. Exact location not given.

G.2.8.8.2. October, 1964. SAL neg. 20651. Detail of a wall in opus reticulatum showing damage. Exact location not given.


G.2.8.8.5. October, 1964. SAL neg. 20673. Detail of a wall in opus reticulatum showing damage. Exact location not given.


G.2.8.8.12. 1965. SAL neg. 22795. Detail of a wall in opus reticulatum showing damage in 34.

G.2.8.8.13. 1965. SAL neg. 22796. Detail of the wall in opus reticulatum at the southern end of 33.


G.2.8.8.15. 1965. SAL neg. 28985. Detail of northern end of 33. Negative printed on the wrong side (as in a mirror).


G.2.8.8.18. 1965. SAL neg. 28992. Detail of unknown part of the site showing damage to ancient walls. Probably the negative was printed on the wrong side (as in a mirror).


G.2.8.8.22. 1965. SAL neg. 30660. Detail of unknown part of the site showing damage to ancient walls.

G.2.8.8.23. 1965. SAL neg. 30662. Detail of unknown part of the site showing damage to ancient walls.

G.2.8.8.24. 1965. SAL neg. 30663. Detail of unknown part of the site showing damage to ancient walls.

G.2.8.8.25. 1965. SAL neg. 30664. Detail of 33: arch in the foundation of the perimeter wall between 21 and 33.


G.2.8.8.27. 1965. SAL neg. 30667. Detail of mosaic in 1.


G.2. Graphic Sources

 Bernard Frischer


G.2. Graphic Sources


G.2.8.8.120. 1981 (July). SAL neg. 2160. Shot of unrecognizable feature during excavations of Bedello.


G.2. Graphic Sources


G.2.8.8.133. 1983. SAL neg. a83-244. Shot of 38, 39.


G.2.8.8.147. 1983. SAL neg. a83-275. Shot of unrecognizable area during restoration work by D'Offizi.\(^4\)


G.2.8.8.150. 1983. SAL neg. a83-278. Shot of Areas 41-51 during restoration work by D'Offizi.


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\(^4\) The inventory form in SAL is thus labelled.


G.2. Graphic Sources


G.2.8.8.185. April 1, 1983. SAL neg. a83-819. Shot of Areas 37, 38, 39, 40.


G.2.8.8.188. April 1, 1983. SAL neg. a83-822. Shot of Areas 37, 38, 35, 33.


G.2.8.8.193. April 1, 1983. SAL neg. a83-834. Shot of Area 44.


G.2.8.8.197. April 1, 1983. SAL neg. a83-838. Shot of Area 44.

G.2.8.8.199. April 15, 1983. SAL neg. a83-1107. Shot of Area 50 with pipe beginning to emerge from soil.


G.2.8.8.201. April 15, 1983. SAL neg. a83-1109. Shot of Area 50 with pipe beginning to emerge from soil.


G.2.8.8.203. April 15, 1983. SAL neg. a83-1111. Shot of Area 50 with pipe beginning to emerge from soil.

G.2.8.8.204. April 15, 1983. SAL neg. a83-1112. Shot of Area 50 with pipe beginning to emerge from soil.

G.2.8.8.205. April 15, 1983. SAL neg. a83-1113. Shot of Area 50 with pipe beginning to emerge from soil.


5. This date is written on the photographic inventory form in SAL. In view of the fact that the top of the fistula in 50 is just starting to emerge (cf. Bruun, D.13.2.2, nos. 5, 6, and 7), one wonders whether this series of negatives is not misdated to April, 1983, since the series G.2.8.8.152-165 carries the date February 22, 1983 on the inventory form in SAL, and they show the pipe fully dug out of the ground.
G.2. Graphic Sources


A series of four shots of “Horace’s Villa” from the air.
G.2. **Graphic Sources**

G.2.8.9.1. 1970. Aerofototeca, neg. 38089, concessione n° 233 del 27.4.71, Licenza 19. **Aerial shot of the archaeological site from the north.** Visible are (left to right): Castagneto, access road, residence, garden of quadriporticus planted with trees, bath complex.

G.2.8.9.2. 1970. Aerofototeca, neg. 38090, concessione n° 233 del 27.4.71, Licenza 20. **Aerial shot of the archaeological site from the northwest.** Visible are (left to right): property to the north of the site, road to the north of the site, residence, trees in quadriporticus garden.

G.2.8.9.3. 1970. Aerofototeca, neg. 38091, concessione n° 233 del 27.4.71, Licenza 21. **Aerial shot of the archaeological site from the west.** Visible are (left to right): property to the north of the site, road to the north of the site, residence, bath complex, trees in quadriporticus garden.

G.2.8.9.4. 1970. Aerofototeca, neg. 38092, concessione n° 233 del 27.4.71, Licenza 22. **Aerial shot of the archaeological site from the southwest.** Visible are (left to right): bath complex, residence, trees in quadriporticus garden, parking lot for visitors to the site.

G.2.8.10. 1970s. A series of photographs in the German Archaeological Institute, Rome, taken by Stefan Steingräber.

G.2.8.10.1. 1970s. Institute neg. 78.1547. Photograph showing Areas 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 5, 8, 7, 14, 12.

G.2.8.10.2. 1970s. Institute neg. 78.1550. Photograph showing Areas 31, 33.

G.2.8.10.3. 1970s. Institute neg. 78.1551. Photograph showing Areas 35, 33, 32.

G.2.8.10.4. 1970s. Institute neg. 78.1552. Photograph showing Areas 32, 33, 31, 16, 17, 8.

G.2.8.10.5. 1970s. Institute neg. 78.1553. Photograph showing Area 53.

G.2.8.10.6. 1970s. Institute neg. 1554. Photograph showing Areas 53, 52, 48, 47.

G.2.8.10.7. 1970s. Institute neg. 1555. Photograph showing Areas 49, 48, 44, 47, 46, 23.


Bernard Frischer


G.2.8.12.2. 1980s. Institute neg. 91.2593. Photograph showing Areas 1, 3, 6, 4, 5, 10, 12.

G.2.8.12.3. 1980s. Institute neg. 2594. Photograph showing Areas 1, 2, 3, 4, 13.

G.2.8.12.4. 1980s. Institute neg. 2595. Photograph showing Area 8.

G.2.8.12.5. 1980s. Institute neg. 2596. Photograph showing Areas 34, 33, 35.


G.2.8.12.11. 1980s. Institute neg. 2602. Photograph showing Areas 33, 32, 35.


G.2.8.12.16. 1980s. Institute neg. 2607. Photograph showing Area 53 and the hillside to the west.