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A Portrait Bust of Julia Mamaea from the *Pantanello* of Hadrian's Villa?

Abstract – This paper examines the reported discovery of a «bust of Julia Soaemias» during the eighteenth-century excavations conducted by Francesco Antonio Lolli in the *Pantanello* area of Hadrian's Villa (Tivoli), proposing its identification with a portrait of Julia Mamaea now in Potsdam, at Schloss Sanssouci. A combined analysis of antiquarian sources and collecting history makes it possible to reconstruct the sculpture's transfer from Cardinal Polignac's collection to the Brandenburg holdings of Frederick II of Prussia, offering substantial evidence for its Tiburtine provenance. The identification adds a significant piece to the sequence of imperial portraits from the Villa and illuminates the role of the Severan dynasty in the continued use of the complex well into the third century.

Keywords – Hadrian's Villa; Julia Mamaea; Pantanello; Polignac; Roman portraiture

Titolo – Un busto-ritratto di Giulia Mamaea dal Pantanello di Villa Adriana?

Abstract – Il contributo esamina la notizia del ritrovamento di un «busto di Giulia Soemia» nell'ambito delle indagini settecentesche condotte da Francesco Antonio Lolli al *Pantanello* di Villa Adriana (Tivoli), proponendone l'identificazione con un ritratto di Giulia Mamaea oggi a Potsdam, presso lo Schloss Sanssouci. L'analisi congiunta delle fonti antiquarie e delle vicende collezionistiche consente di ricostruire il passaggio dell'opera dalle raccolte del cardinale Polignac a quelle brandeburghesi di Federico II di Prussia, individuandone con buona probabilità la provenienza tiburtina. Il riconoscimento aggiunge un tassello significativo alla sequenza dei ritratti imperiali della Villa e illumina il ruolo della dinastia severiana nella frequentazione del complesso ancora nel III secolo inoltrato.

Parole chiave – Villa Adriana; Giulia Mamaea; Pantanello; Polignac; Ritratto romano

Introduction

Among the hundreds of sculptures brought to light over the centuries in the area of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, imperial portraits form one of the most substantial and significant categories.

First and foremost, the group is exceptionally large, without parallel in any comparable contexts. Drawing not only on Joachim Raeder's work on the villa's *Skulpturenausstattung* but also on studies by Elena Calandra, Anna Maria Reggiani, David Ojeda, and, most recently, Matteo Cadario, the number of confidently identified pieces exceeds thirty – excluding the portraits of Antinous¹ – to which may be added numerous further headless or fragmentary busts preserved in the "Cento Camerelle" storerooms.²

Secondly, the assemblage encompasses a varied yet comprehensive succession of emperors, extending over more than a century. It unfolds with almost no interruption from Trajan, Hadrian and his family to members of the Antonine and Severan dynasties, effectively providing a model for similar portrait galleries that became a characteristic feature of imperial residences of the second and early third

* This article builds on the line of research initiated under the direction of Prof. Fabrizio Slavazzi within the PRIN 2017 project *L'Architettura dell'Imperatore*, and later developed with the aim of providing an integrated view of the sculptural *decor* of Hadrian's Villa and its relationship to the surrounding architectural space.

¹ On Antinous portraits from Hadrian's Villa, see most recently DI SANTI 2023, pp. 74-82.

² RAEDER 1983; CALANDRA 2002; REGGIANI 2006; OJEDA 2021; CADARIO 2024. On bust fragments from the "Cento Camerelle" storerooms, see OJEDA 2018. A comprehensive reassessment of the corpus of imperial portraits from Hadrian's Villa is offered in COLZANI - SLAVAZZI.

centuries AD: a format particularly favoured for its capacity both to underscore the cohesion of the *domus Augusta* and to affirm the legitimate continuity of imperial rule.³

In addition to the material that can be securely identified, a less readily quantifiable set of exemplars must also be taken into account, consisting of pieces now missing or untraceable but mentioned in antiquarian sources, especially those relating to the investigations carried out within the Tiburtine complex during the eighteenth century. This evidence is often given only limited consideration, yet a closer analysis can occasionally offer useful insights.

From this perspective, particular attention is warranted by the reports concerning the so-called *Pantanello*, a stagnant lake or bog situated on the northern edge of the Villa, where, at an uncertain time and for reasons that remain unclear, vast quantities of marbles were deposited.⁴ The area is known above all for the remarkably successful excavations conducted by Gavin Hamilton from November 1769 onward.⁵ Working in partnership with Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Hamilton brought to light such an abundance of marbles that he decided to leave those of lesser quality at the bottom.

While some of the finds entered the Vatican collections, most were exported and are now scattered across museums and collections throughout Europe and beyond. The whereabouts of many others, including several portraits, remain unknown.⁶ Hamilton, however, was not the first to operate at the *Pantanello*. Several decades earlier, in the 1720s, the local nobleman and landowner Francesco Antonio Lolli had already undertaken investigations in the area, which culminated in the discovery of a number of noteworthy sculptures.⁷ This early phase of investigation, although far less well documented than Hamilton's, nonetheless produced material that cannot be excluded from any comprehensive assessment of the sculptural *decor* of the Villa.

Among the pieces reportedly unearthed by Lolli was a bust described in contemporary sources as «of Julia Soaemias», now lost. The attempt to re-establish its identity serves here as a case study illustrating how such dispersed finds can, at times, be partially recovered through the combined analysis of antiquarian records and early collecting histories.

Francesco Antonio Lolli at the *Pantanello*

In the eighteenth century the *Pantanello* at Hadrian's Villa formed part of the Lolli family's estate, a short distance northwest of the *Greek Theatre*, in an area that is today immediately adjacent to the main entrance of the archaeological park.⁸ The excavations carried out here by Francesco Antonio Lolli and his son Luigi – who were thus operating on land they owned – are known only in broad outline.

Permission to proceed was granted on 10 December 1721 by Cardinal Annibale Albani, following the approval of Francesco Bartoli, then Commissioner of Antiquities, according to a note preserved in one of the Lanciani manuscripts in the library of the Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte in Rome.⁹ The document stipulated not only that Lolli was licensed to excavate in the site («di cavare nel

³ For dynastic portrait series in imperial residences, see NEUDECKER 1988, pp. 84-91; CALANDRA 2002, pp. 71-73; DEPPMEYER 2008, I, pp. 149-154; PAPINI 2019, pp. 293-296; CADARIO 2024, with further references.

⁴ For the hypothesis that the basin was originally an artificial lake, see MACDONALD - PINTO 1995, p. 177; OPPER 2008, p. 158. On the reasons why the sculptures were gathered there – whether for lime-burning, concealment, or future sale – SALZA PRINA RICOTTI 2001, p. 423; SLAVAZZI 2002, p. 54.

⁵ On Hamilton's excavations at the *Pantanello*, see PARIBENI 1994, pp. 31-32; GRANIERI 2007-2008, pp. 49-55; BIGNAMINI - HORNSBY 2010, I, pp. 160-170; QUIGNA 2016 with further references.

⁶ The pieces are mentioned in a well-known letter from Gavin Hamilton to Charles Townley («An Account of Ancient Marbles found by Gavin Hamilton in various Places near Rome between 1769 and the Month of Nov.r 1779»), see RAEDER 1985, pp. 133-135, no. IL15; MACDONALD - PINTO 1995, p. 294; BIGNAMINI - HORNSBY 2010, I, pp. 159-160.

⁷ RAEDER 1983, pp. 14-15; SAVONA 1992; PARIBENI 1994, p. 28; GRANIERI 2007-2008, pp. 36-48; BIGNAMINI - HORNSBY 2010, I, p. 156.

⁸ On the location of the *Pantanello*, see DELLA GIOVAMPAOLA 2008; CINQUE 2017, pp. 199-203.

⁹ INASA, Ms Lanciani 114.1 n.343 c.167v (note 481). First cited in GRANIERI 2007-2008, p. 36.

sito chiamato Pantanello esistente dentro la Tenuta di Villa Adriana»), but also that he was entitled to retain all antiquities recovered («e spettante al Lolli, Marmi, Statue, Colonne, Pitture, Oro, Argento et ogni altra sorte d'Antichità»).

Information on the finds is provided by a passage in Francesco Bulgarini's *Notizie [...] intorno all'antichissima città di Tivoli* (1848), which lists among the pieces brought to light:¹⁰

«due busti di Adriano, altro di Eliogabalo, altro di Giulia. Le teste di Omero, Socrate, Seneca, Antinoo, Laocoonte, Marco Aurelio, Antonino Pio, Lucio Vero, ed altri busti e teste di filosofi e gladiatori; torsi di statue femminili, e di deità; bassorilievi con genij, putti, animali e mostri marini, pezzi di colonne di vario marmo, capitelli e mucchi di marmi, verde, giallo, alabastro, africani ed altri; quattro iscrizioni latine».

«two busts of Hadrian; another of Elagabalus; another of Julia; the heads of Homer, Socrates, Seneca, Antinous, Laocoön, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus; and other busts and heads of philosophers and gladiators; torsos of female statues and of divinities; reliefs with genii, putti, animals and marine monsters; pieces of columns of various marbles, capitals, and piles of marbles, verde, giallo, alabaster, African and others; four Latin inscriptions» (Translation by the Author).

Although the reliability of this list was questioned by Raeder («Die Nachricht [...], die sich bei F. Bulgarini findet, erscheint unglauwürdig»),¹¹ Bulgarini in fact reproduces it almost verbatim from an earlier account by Giovanni Carlo Crocchiante, a direct witness to the Lolli excavations, and can therefore be regarded as essentially accurate.¹² In his *Istoria delle chiese della città di Tivoli* (1726), Crocchiante wrote:¹³

«La magnificenza, e grandezza di essa [*i.e.* Villa Adriana *NdA*] viene anche oggi autenticata dallo scavo, che fa in un suo pezzo di Terreno ivi adiacente appellato Pantanello Francesco Antonio Lolli, in cui ha ritrovato fin'ora due Busti di Adriano Imperadore ben conservati, un busto di Eliogabalo, un busto di Giulia Soemia, una Testa di Omero, una di Socrate, un'altra di Seneca, oltre di queste, cinque altre teste, la prima di Antinoo, la seconda di Laocoonte, la terza di Marco Aurelio, la quarta di Antonino Pio, e la quinta di Lucio Vero; per tali riconosciute, non solo da noi, ma anche da persone pratiche delle cose antiche; Vi ha ritrovati di più diversi altri Busti di Eroi, teste di Filosofi, teste di Gladiatori, torzi di Statue rappresentanti Donne, ed altre Deità, bassorilievi, in cui sono effigiati, e Genj, e Putti, e Animali diversi, e Mostri Marini, mucchi di Verde antico di Giallo, di Africano, di Porta santa, di Pavonazzetto, di Bianco nero, di Alabastro Orientale, Vasi infranti, pezzi di Colonne, e cose simili tutti di un ottima maniera lavorati; ed oltre di questo vi ha ritrovate anche quattro Inscrizioni».

«The magnificence and vast extent of it [*i.e.* Hadrian's Villa *NdA*] are still today confirmed by the excavation that Francesco Antonio Lolli is carrying out on a piece of his land adjoining it, called the Pantanello, where he has so far uncovered two well-preserved busts of the emperor Hadrian, a bust of Elagabalus, a bust of Julia Soemias, a head of Homer, one of Socrates, and another of Seneca; in addition to these, five further heads – the first of Antinous, the second of Laocoön, the third of Marcus Aurelius, the fourth of Antoninus Pius, and the fifth of Lucius Verus – recognised as such not only by us but also by persons well versed in ancient matters. He has moreover found several other busts of heroes; heads of philosophers; heads of gladiators; torsos of statues representing women and other divinities; reliefs depicting genii, putti, various animals and sea monsters; piles of verde antico, giallo, africano, porta santa, pavonazzetto, bianco e nero, and oriental alabaster; broken vases; pieces of columns; and other similar objects, all worked in an excellent manner; and beyond this he has also uncovered four inscriptions» (Translation by the Author).

According to these accounts, at least seven imperial portraits would thus have been brought to light during Lolli's excavations at the Pantanello (two of Hadrian, one of Antoninus Pius, one of Marcus Aurelius, one of Lucius Verus, one of Elagabalus, and one of Julia Soemias).

¹⁰ BULGARINI 1848, p. 128.

¹¹ RAEDER 1983, p. 14 (see also pp. 136-137, n. II.22).

¹² PARIBENI 1994, p. 28; GRANIERI 2007-2008, pp. 36-38.

¹³ CROCCHIANTE 1726, p. 237.

Only one of them has a fully documented collecting history and a clearly identifiable present location: in a well-known letter addressed to Charles Townley, Gavin Hamilton recalls having visited Luigi Lolli in 1769 and having noted that at that time «the only thing of value that remained in the family was a bust of Hadrian», which later entered Townley's own collection and ultimately passed to the British Museum.¹⁴ In the same letter, Hamilton notes that the other pieces found by Francesco Lolli («the precious fragments that were found at the time») had been sold to Cardinal Melchior de Polignac, France's *chargé d'affaires* at the Holy See from 1724, and were taken by him to France in 1734.¹⁵

Displayed in the cardinal's residence in Paris until his death in 1741, the marbles – along with the rest of his antiquities collection – were subsequently purchased *en bloc* by Frederick II of Prussia, who later transferred them to Brandenburg.

A «bust of Julia Soaemias»?

Except for the Hadrian's bust now in the British Museum, the «bust of Julia Soaemias» is the only imperial portrait from Lolli's excavations for which an identification has been proposed.

In her still important study of the *Pantanello* excavations – regrettably never satisfactorily published – Francesca Granieri argued that «the head of Julia Soaemias» in fact reached Stockholm via Francesco Piranesi, where it was mounted on a Venus body.¹⁶ Granieri refers to a statue of Venus fitted with a Severan-period portrait head – variously interpreted either as a member of the imperial family or as a private portrait – purchased by Gustav III in 1783 and now in the Nationalmuseum.¹⁷

This reconstruction, however, does not withstand closer scrutiny. To begin with, both Crocchiante and Bulgarini explicitly speak of a bust, not of an isolated head, as this interpretation would require. Moreover, despite the doubts that have been raised on this point, Anne-Marie Leander-Touati has maintained that the association of head and body is not the result of an arbitrary modern restoration, but that the two pieces originally belonged together.¹⁸ Finally, although the statue's provenance from the *Pantanello* is not in doubt, its discovery should not be attributed to Lolli but, rather, to Hamilton and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, who subsequently passed it on to his son Francesco.¹⁹

The «bust of Julia Soaemias» must therefore be sought elsewhere, most likely among the marbles that passed through the Polignac collection and later entered the holdings of Frederick II. Tracing these sculptures is extremely difficult, and identifying among them material from the *Pantanello* is made even more challenging by the absence of any graphic documentation contemporary with the discovery.²⁰ However, an inventory of the cardinal's collection drawn up in 1738 and published by Jules Guiffrey in 1899 provides several indications of interest.²¹

¹⁴ On Hamilton's letter to Charles Townley, see *supra* nt. 7. On Townley collections and the marbles from Hadrian's Villa, see COOK 1985 and 2013. On Hadrian's bust from the Lolli excavations at the Pantanello, now in London, British Museum, inv. 1805,0703.95 (https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-95), see RAEDER 1983, pp. 40-41, n. I.13; EVERS 1994, pp. 126-127, n. 59.

¹⁵ On Cardinal Polignac's collection of antiquities, see DORSTER 2009.

¹⁶ GRANIERI 2007-2008, p. 41.

¹⁷ Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, inv. NMSk 16 (<https://collection.nationalmuseum.se/en/collection/item/38227/>), see RAEDER 1983, p. 165, n. III.68; LEANDER-TOUATI 1998, p. 89; CALANDRA 2002, p. 66, n. 18; LEANDER-TOUATI 2005, p. 26 with further references.

¹⁸ As «demonstrated by the fact that a snug fit of the joins in the neck was achieved in spite of the jagged edges of the fractures», LEANDER-TOUATI 1998, p. 89.

¹⁹ PANZA 2017, pp. 287-288.

²⁰ Identifications of several pieces in the Polignac collection as finds from Hadrian's Villa have been proposed, including some herms (see SAVONA 1992, pp. 287-290, nn. 1-3) and the heads from the Scylla and Polyphemus groups (HÜNEKE 2009, pp. 233-236, nn. 118-120).

²¹ GUIFFREY 1899, pp. 287-289 («Inventaire des Statues, Bustes, Testes, Bas-reliefs en marbre et en bronze avec leurs pieds d'estaux et pieds douches, on tables de pierre précieuses et de marbres, colonnes, vases, le tout antiques et d'ouvrages grecques»).



Fig. 1. Bust of Julia Mamaea. Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci, SPSPG Skulpturensammlung, inv. 204.
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Although no piece is explicitly designated as a “bust of Julia Soaemias” among the more than sixty *bustes antiques* listed in Guiffrey’s catalogue, one portrait appears potentially compatible with such an identification, namely «un buste de *Julie Mammée*, de 2 pieds 4 pouces», entered as no. 368.²²

The conflation of Julia Soaemias and Julia Mamaea in contemporaneous sources would be, in fact, scarcely surprising, given the degree of uncertainty that at the time surrounded the correct identification of the lesser-known imperial portraits. The close similarity of the numismatic portraits of the two Augustae is, moreover, remarkable – especially if one considers the repertoires available in the early eighteenth century.²³ After all, no securely identified sculpted likeness of Julia Soaemias has been recognised to date, aside from a few isolated pieces, which, however, fail to constitute a proper replica series.²⁴

By contrast, numerous portraits of Julia Mamaea are known, forming a well-defined replica series and originating in almost all cases from Italy²⁵ – a circumstance naturally explained by the considerably longer duration of her reign in comparison

with her sister’s, most of which was spent in the peninsula.

When combined with the fact that the «buste de *Julie Mammée*» listed by Guiffrey is the only portrait in the Polignac collection that can plausibly represent a Severan woman, these considerations greatly strengthen the possibility that the bust unearthed by Francesco Lolli at the *Pantanello* was indeed a portrait of Severus Alexander’s mother.

In fact, the sculpture in question can be recognised with considerable confidence as a bust of Julia Mamaea now in Potsdam, at Schloss Sanssouci, which contemporary reports state was acquired by Frederick II from the collection of the French prelate [Figg. 1-2].²⁶ This correspondence is reinforced by the measurements: at 76 cm in height, the bust matches exactly the «2 pieds 4 pouces» recorded in the eighteenth-century list. Among the works from the Polignac collection preserved in the Prussian residences in Brandenburg, no other piece appears to meet these criteria.²⁷

The bust preserves the head and the upper thoracic section up to roughly elbow level and is dominated by the substantial mantle that envelops the body almost entirely, with only a narrow segment

²² *Ivi*, p. 287.

²³ See, for example, FOY-VAILLANT 1674, pp. 131-132 (and subsequent reprints).

²⁴ For discussion, see VARNER 2004, p. 194, nt. 339.

²⁵ FITSCHEN, ZANKER 1983, pp. 30-33 cat. 33 identify twenty-six replicas of Julia Mamaea’s portrait. Broadly on the public image of Julia Mamaea, see KOSMETATOU 2002.

²⁶ Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci, SPSPG Skulpt.slsg, inv. 204, see HÜNEKE 2009, pp. 142-144, n. 58.

²⁷ For an overview, see HÜNEKE 2009.

of the tunic visible at the neckline. Weathering of the surface indicates prolonged exposure, and several details – including the nose, chin, and portions of the drapery – are the result of modern restorations.

The head corresponds fully to the established portrait type of Julia Mamaea: the characteristic, compact coiffure and the slight rightward turn of the head correspond closely to the canonical formulation, while the emphasis on specific physiognomic features finds close parallels in other replicas of the type now in Vienna and London.²⁸ The broad, slanting folds of the mantle likewise place the sculpture within a specific subgroup of the type, well represented by its finest examples in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Holkham Hall, and Palazzo Doria, whose arrangement of the drapery clarifies how the left part of the Potsdam bust must originally have continued in a similarly structured and enveloping fashion.²⁹

The close correspondence between the eighteenth-century synthetic descriptions and the possibility of reconstructing its collecting trajectory with reasonable certainty – thanks to the testimony of Giovanni Carlo Crocchiante, the letters of Gavin Hamilton, the Polignac inventory, and finally the registers of Frederick II's properties – strongly suggest that this work should be identified with the «bust of Julia Soemias» reportedly unearthed by Francesco Lolli during his excavations at the *Pantanello*, and that the piece is in fact to be recognised as a portrait of Julia Mamaea.

Although absolute certainty remains unattainable, the convergence of documentary, typological, and historical evidence makes an origin from Hadrian's Villa not only plausible but genuinely likely, thereby allowing the bust to be reinserted into the archaeological context from which it seems to have emerged.

Julia Mamaea at Hadrian's Villa

However conjectural, the identification of the bust of Julia Mamaea in Potsdam as originating from the *Pantanello* at Hadrian's Villa is particularly significant, as it represents more than the mere addition of another piece to the already vast corpus of imperial portraits from the Tiburtine complex.

As a matter of fact, this is all the more relevant because the portrait can be placed within the final phase of the dynastic gallery from Hadrian's Villa in the Severan period, and, within that group, in its latest stage, which can be dated to the reign of Severus Alexander, the last emperor for whom a likeness

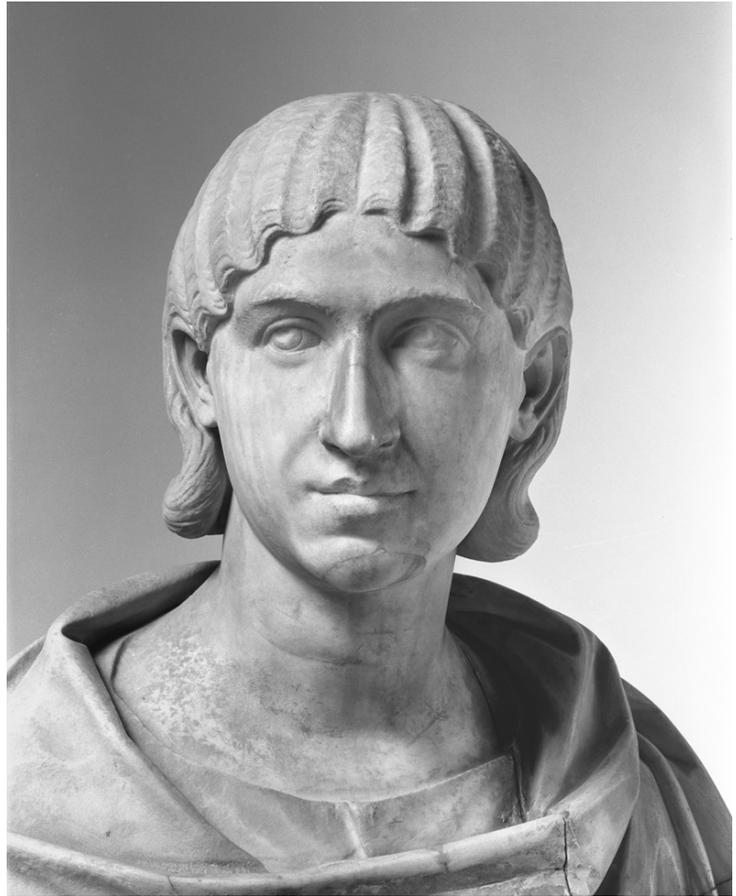


Fig. 2. Bust of Julia Mamaea, detail. Potsdam, Schloss Sanssouci, SPSG Skulpturensammlung, inv. 204.

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²⁸ FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, pp. 30-33 cat. 33, nn. 17; 23.

²⁹ FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, pp. 30-33 cat. 33, nn. 14; 15; 23.

is attested at the site.³⁰ In this sense, the bust also provides meaningful evidence for the prolonged engagement of the Severan house with Hadrian's Villa, illustrating the continued importance of the Tiburtine residence well into the early third century and its sustained inclusion within the imperial patrimony³¹ – at a time when several other extra-urban complexes were already showing clear signs of decline.³²

Notably, Julia Mamaea is the only woman of the Severan dynasty whose presence in imperial villas outside Rome is explicitly attested by contemporary sources. As with Severus Alexander, the *Historia Augusta* speak of a predilection for Baiae, where a *palatium cum stagno* was reportedly built for her.³³ It would therefore be unsurprising if the Augusta herself had also frequented Hadrian's Villa, since, as already noted, her son was in fact the only member of the Severan house to reside in Italy for an extended and continuous period of time.³⁴

Finally, it is worth noting that the empress's bust may not have been entirely isolated within the Villa. Another portrait of Julia Mamaea is also reported to have been found in the excavations carried out by Count Giuseppe Fede on his Tiburtine property (c. 1730–1750), situated along the northern boundary of the present archaeological area and, in antiquity, between the *Greek Theatre* and the so-called *Palestra*.³⁵ Its traces, however, have been completely lost.

Together with the Potsdam bust, the aforementioned Venus statue in Stockholm, and a head of Julia Domna found in the *Canopus*,³⁶ these works would thus form a small nucleus of female Severan portraits from the site, offering meaningful insight into how the sculptural display at Hadrian's Villa continued to evolve in response to the shifting dynamics of imperial presence and authority in the early third century.

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³⁰ The only portrait of Severus Alexander associated with Hadrian's Villa is a head – set on a non-pertinent bust – sold by Gavin Hamilton to the Vatican Museums (Museo Pio Clementino, inv. 632) in 1772 as a «head of Elagabalus», see RAEDER 1983, p. 168, n. III.76; FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1985, p. 119, cat. 99, n. 17; SPINOLA 1999, pp. 90-91, n. 47; CALANDRA 2002, p. 66, n. 17.

³¹ Extensive new evidence for the post-Hadrianic phases of Hadrian's Villa is now emerging from the latest excavations at the so-called Macchiozzo, see DE ANGELIS *et alii* 2025a; 2025b; 2025c.

³² On imperial residences in Italy during the Severan period, see GRÜNER 2013; SCHÖPE 2014, pp. 252-258 with further references.

³³ HA *Alex.* 26.9-10. On Severan-period interventions in the praetorium at Baiae, see GRÜNER 2013, pp. 272-274; CAPUTO 2015; GALOCCHIO 2023 with further references.

³⁴ HALFMANN 1986, pp. 230-232; DIETMAR 2004, pp. 177-179.

³⁵ GIUBILEI 1995, p. 112, n. 23. On the excavations carried out by Giuseppe Fede more broadly, see PARIBENI 1994, pp. 28-29.

³⁶ Tivoli, Villa Adriana, Antiquarium, inv. 2220, see RAEDER 1983, p. 82, n. I.72; FITTSCHEN - ZANKER 1983, p. 28, cat. 28, n. 39; CALANDRA 2002, p. 6, n. 12.

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