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ORNAMENT AND THE THEORIES OF THE ARTS IN THE RENAISSANCE

Volume 2 / 2

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SECTION THREE

Introduction

In discussion of Alberti above, it was suggested that theatre provides a continuity between the recreation of retirement from civic activity and the enactment of life within the city, with the various activities of civic life organised with various degrees of ceremonial. In Rome, a city fulfilled by pilgrimage and triumph, this theatric continuity emerges with a particular character and we shall find that early Roman Humanists such as Pomponio Leto insist on the central role of theatre in the Roman *renovatio*. It is in Rome that we see the deployment of theatre as means of civic "recovery" brought together with the pastoral contemplation that takes place in *otium* - we shall attempt to consider why the "disclosure" of the topography takes on such importance in Rome, and how it is represented in a sequence of Roman villas, commencing with the Belvedere, which deal with the creation or "discovery" of a prospect that could synthesise city and nature. The emphasis on universality that we have noted in the mythology of Rome, the association with the universality of nature, and the physical discovery of antique Rome in nature, are thus central to the creation of settings for the recreative contemplation of *otium* in Rome, for which, as suggested, the *Hypnerotomachia* could provide a narrative; these settings for contemplative fulfilment are almost all in Rome, and were built for wealthy prelates whose ecclesiastical career represented theoretically the embracing of contemplative life.[1] The two threads with which we are working – the poetic discovery of the locus and theatre as essential to *imitatio* will come together in various ways, with varying emphasis, now to realisation in the civic sphere beyond the villa, now to reflections on the conditions of theatric representation, now to the setting in nature.

Such an argument has two objects, one of which will sadly have to remain unaccomplished – this concerns the relation of city and nature, or city and garden as it develops in Rome through the Renaissance, culminating with the urban project of Sixtus V, to which we already have referred. The scattered comments here on the city and the ways in which sixteenth century Roman gardens seem to anticipate a further realisation in the planning of the city (which results in "revealing" the city) thus await development at a point when a deeper understanding of the material and questions it

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[1] This is not to claim that Rome was devoid of commercial activity – papal banking was conducted in the area known as Banchi near the Piazza San Celso, which formed the route of access into the city from the Vatican. The principal route, the Via Papale, lead from the Vatican via the Ponte Sant'Angelo past the Capitol, the Palatine (*i.e.* along the Via Sacra) and the Colosseum to St John Lateran, the cathedral of Rome and papal residence until Nicholas V moved to the Vatican. This was the route taken in the *possesso*, the ceremony in which the pope claimed the bishopric of Rome, accepted obeisance from civic officials and rejected the scriptures of the Jews. It is worth recalling that one of the most famous papal bankers, Agostino Chigi, who financed Julius II, moves out of Banchi to build a *viridarium* (the Farnesina) on the Via della Lungara, close to the Vatican. The Farnesina, which we shall discuss in more detail below, was used for business but presents itself as a suburban *hortus* created for festive theatricals and banqueting – in place of the secondary role assigned to suburban retreats in Florentine literature, such as Bruni's *Laudatio* with its hierarchy of civic spaces culminating in the Signoria, Chigi ennobles his *negotium* by conducting it in a *hortus* whose decorations depict the villa as a sequence of theatric and ephemeral settings.

rises might be reached. The second object is more limited but may have some value in approaching the first; it consists in bringing the discussions above on the reflection of the cognitive processes of the soul, or the *nodo* of body and soul in the structure of artifice into nature as universal setting and model for human artifice. This link between emblematic structures of signification and the "discovery" of nature as setting comes with the *grottesche* and will lead us to look at the extent to which the *grottesche* become a way of conceiving the theatre of representation, or "theatre of nature" itself. All this leads us into Pirro Ligorio; the analogical density of Ligorio's work may seem removed from the understanding of villas as playful anticipations of urbanistic thought, yet Ligorio's great ambition throughout his work is to recover Rome, in all its settings and meanings and one should not forget that his archaeology is documented in the vast manuscripts of the *Libro dell'antichità* and in his cartography, in the 1553 and 1561 maps of ancient Rome. We need to look at Ligorio's works – cartography, encyclopaedia, architecture together, and the writings alert us to the poetic character of his attempts at the recovery of Rome, or the fact that one cannot divorce this poetic character from the project as a whole. Through poetics – through metaphor and analogy – one can perform the synthesis that is essential to the project, which can bring meanings together and to life. In this light we can understand why we find in Ligorio such a profound interest in the topos, and an insistence on disclosing an ensouling force (water) in *natura artificiosa* in the gardens he creates. Ligorio's works are essential to meditations on the *renovatio* of Rome since they present an exploration of the historicism that seeks to recover all historical meanings, brought to light and fulfilled in the Christian world. The central role of poetics in his work is also due to the fact that poetics is paradigmatic to the human work of making and inventing (finding) which discovers historic meanings; if this has been said repeatedly one must see how Ligorio's historicism, intent on explicating all historical meanings, works together with the attempt to "disclose" nature.

It is this poetic understanding of topographical disclosure which is affirmed in the remark made by the Estense Humanist Umberto Foglietta in 1569 that Ligorio had disposed the statues at the Villa D'Este according to a hidden theme, to personify subtly the nature of the Tiburtine ground.[2] Foglietta intimates that the object of recovery is the ground of antiquity itself, and so one finds the iconography at the Villa D'Este focused on issues of return or bringing to light, and a deepened exploration of mythological figures, such as the Sibyls or the Dea Natura in her various guises, in whom literary and archaeological meaning cannot be separated from the discovery of nature. The Villa D'Este is a peculiarly dense example, to which we shall return later, but it does show the way in which a topography "disclosed" through the placing of archaeological objects could become a poetic topos where images and arguments are found – if this allows us to extend the other meanings of the locus on which we have touched above into the "discovery" of nature as ground of antiquity, the movement through this topography could be represented, as noted, in the guise of a pilgrimage, and in this light we can see the special significance of the garden, where this kind of "journey" can be enacted.

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[2] Cited in David Coffin, *The Villa D'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton 1960, p.97.

In contrast to the Florence, where the garden remains in the suburbs, either removed from "civil fastidio" or a prospect from which one looks into the civic scene, in Rome the pilgrimage through antiquities depicted in gardens, whose statues commemorated the return of the gods to the city could become a way of reflecting on the ordering of the civic topography, presented as a triumphant restoration and fulfilment of the Christian *imperium*. We find an especially clear indication in this in the fact that the statues of the Statue Court in the Belvedere Court form the basis of the iconography of the triumph of Julius in the Carnival of 1513, and we shall look below in more detail at this carrying of the gods displayed in the *viridarium* into the civic triumph. If one turns to the topography of Rome itself even in the later sixteenth century, building was concentrated in the Campus Martius, with the *monti* scattered with antique ruins and the political centre of the city on the Capitol overlooking the remains of the Roman Forum,[3] surrounded by the vast green area enclosed by the Aurelian walls and divided into estates and *vigne* owned by curialists and the Roman nobility. The frescoes of the Salone Sisto in the Vatican Library which commemorate the urban project of Sixtus V show the *monti* traversed by the roads leading to the pilgrim churches and gates, and marked by the obelisks, one erected before St Peter's, and the other three marking out the route from the principal entrance to the city at Piazza del Popolo, along the Via Sistina to Santa Maria Maggiore and St John Lateran.[4] The organisation of the topography of pilgrimage accomplished by Sixtus V and his architect Domenico Fontana, along axes adorned with antique monuments which seemed to embody the mysterious wisdom of the ancients, each crowned with the cross (with statues of Peter and Paul on top of columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius) presents in a triumph of Christianity the culmination of papal urbanism as it had developed from the return of Martin V and the projects of Nicholas V – a series of urbanistic projects centred on the construction or improvement of ceremonial and pilgrimage routes.[5] The topography of Sixtus V, with its axial roads running past *vigne*

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[3] The prospect of the Roman Forum was particularly clear after more than two hundred houses and four churches in the Forum were demolished for the triumphal entry of Charles V in 1536, which progressed along the Via Appia through the Porta di San Sebastiano, along the Via Sacra with the triumphal arches of Constantine, Titus and Septimus Severus, around the Capitol and past Trajan's Column, to join the Via del Pellegrino via Palazzo Farnese and Banchi leading to St Peter's. Rabelais was in Rome during the preparations for the entry and noted in a letter to G.D. D'Estissac the summary character of the destruction of property, as well as the expenses incurred by the city impoverished after the events of 1527 for the triumphal celebration of the prince whose armies had sacked Rome.

[4] Sixtus required Romans, and members of the Curia, to make pilgrimages every year during prescribed periods and celebrate thirty masses, thus regenerating the spiritual life of the city; the network of streets linking the pilgrim churches was designed to accommodate the crowds in processions on these occasions. The engineering feat of transporting and erecting the obelisks was carried out by the papal architect Domenico Fontana, and is recounted by Michele Mercati, not to mention the setting of Tasso's *Il Conte*.

[5] We might here give a brief summary of principal papal interventions in Rome from the return from "Babylonian captivity" in Avignon to Sixtus V. The urban restoration of Rome is generally taken as starting with the return of Martin V to Rome in 1420, who brought the communal overseers of the streets under papal authority; under Nicholas V (1447-55) they became papal appointees, and under subsequent popes from Sixtus IV (1471-1484) to Sixtus V (1585-90) their powers and number grew while they were obliged to work increasingly closely with papal architects – both Sixtus IV and Sixtus V a century later focused on the strengthening of laws of expropriation of private property, and the priority of the circulation of pilgrims. It is with Nicholas V, who moves the papal residence from St John Lateran to the Vatican palace and evoked in a death bed speech to his cardinals the ecclesiastical

importance of architectural magnificence, which can display the authority of the Roman church and move those of weak faith (an obviously rhetorical conception of building) that the projects for *renovatio* start to take shape, with the planned creation of straight streets linking the Vatican to the Castel Sant'Angelo and the renovation of the area in front of Piazza San Celso (on the city side of the Ponte Sant'Angelo, at the junction of the Via Papale and Via dei Pellegrini,) after the disaster in 1450 when two hundred pilgrims in Rome for the Jubilee were drowned after a mule provoked panic on the bridge. Renovation resulted in the creation of a vista from the piazza over the bridge, adorned with commemorative chapels and gate houses, to the Castel Sant'Angelo which was further fortified, with a papal apartment added and surmounted by a great bronze statue of St Michael sheathing his sword (a recollection of the vision of Gregory the Great in 590 of the end of plague in Rome). The statue of the archangel associated with justice and divine wrath gave a clear image of the pope's spiritual authority, while the use of an imperial mausoleum as papal bastion announced the character of the his temporal rule. The Castel had previously been held by the Orsini family and its transformation signalled the projected (and accomplished) transformation of Rome with the re-establishment of the papacy from the site of feuding baronial clans to an *urbs* organised under progressive papal control. The area around the Ponte Sant'Angelo was also crucial in terms of relations between the commune and the papacy; it was the point of the communal *abitato* in the Campus Martius closest to the Vatican, the place where the pope passed from (or to) the papal *borgo* around St Peter's to the Via Papale, the route of the papal *possesso* after the coronation in St Peter's which led via the Capitol, the Roman Forum and Colosseum to St John Lateran, the cathedral of Rome, and was also an important commercial zone. Further pilgrim routes were constructed by Sixtus IV (Via Sistina, leading from Piazza del Popolo to Ponte Sant'Angelo and Ponte Sisto, to the west of Campo dei Fiori, south of the Vatican) and his nephew Julius II (widening of theVia della Lungara and the parallel Via Giulia in the Campus Martius). The projects of Sixtus IV and Julius II followed on the renovation of the Ponte Sant'Angelo in their concern with bridges as the embodiment of the relations between papacy and commune, and monumental vistas for pilgrims passing over water from the temporal to the holy city – the Via Giulia begins at the Ponte Sisto and was to terminate in the unexecuted Ponte Triumphale (where the present Ponte Principe Amadeo stands). If the creation of bridges was linked to the urbanistic ambitions suggested above, and a safety measure after the disaster of 1450, it was also an invocation of the ancient duty of the *pontifex*, a member of the Roman guild of priests as well as ruler of the city and *vicarious Christi*. The urban *renovatio* of Julius was also related to the creation, or encouragement of centres of *negotium* in Rome – a judicial centre in Via Giulia, with the Palazzo dei Tribunali and the commercial centre in Banchi where Julius founded the mint or Zecca. The projects of the two Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII, were by contrast centred on the area around Piazza del Popolo, the principal entrance to the city; Leo X gave attention to the construction of Via Leonina, the present Via di Ripetta, principally with a view to the creation of an immense triumphal approach to the uncompleted Palazzo Medici in Piazza Navona (now Palazzo Madama), a project which would have created a vast *insula* that transformed Piazza Navona into an approach, and at the back reached out towards the Sapienza and the Pantheon. The project which exists in drawings by Giuliano da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, should be studied in connection with the da Sangallo plans for a huge Medici palace in Via Laura in Florence, which would have engulfed a whole area of the city, on which we shall remark very briefly below; the successor and cousin of Leo X, Clement VII, employed Antonio da Sangallo the younger for a less pharaonic project, namely the construction of the *trivium* at Piazza del Popolo with the creation of the Via Clementia (today Via del Babuino) to echo the convergence of three streets on either side of the Ponte Sant'Angelo; the radiating streets of the trident were linked by Paul III with the Via Trinatatis (Via dei Condotti and Via della Fontanella di Borghese), looking towards the church of Sta Trinità dei Monti. Paul III creates another trident around the Ponte Sant'Angelo, with links to Via Giulia and Via Papale, best appreciated from Castel Sant'Angelo, and another grand vista with the construction of the Via dei Baullari from Via Papale to the huge Palazzo Farnese, a project probably inspired by the earlier plans for a vast Medici quarter between Piazza Navona and the Pantheon (Antonio Da Sangallo worked on both projects). The vista echoed the prospect from Via del Paradiso to Peruzzi's Palazzo Massimo delle Colonne, but where the second is playful and overtly theatrical (the curved façade of the palace appears initially to be straight and as one draws closer appears to "bend" with the viewer's lateral vision) the first, which entailed the destruction of five blocks, is of heavy grandeur, culminating in the vast bulk of the palace. The most important interventions of Paul III however concerned directly the *renovatio* of antique Rome,

and monasteries, marked out by symbolic structures that show pagan monuments absorbed into or "conquered" by the Christian *imperium* to be contemplated on the pilgrimage to Christian salvation, has affinities with garden design, as one can see in such contemporary gardens as the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, where the *catena* of water flowing through fountains at each terrace, which constitutes the central axis of the garden, is flanked by at each level by twinned buildings (*palazzine*, aviaries with colonnades). The Villa has been associated with a 1558 engraving of Ligorio's reconstruction of Varro's aviary[6] - the sequence of edifices in a topography structured by perspective also suggests a species of microcosmic urban project in which garden and city are synthesised. Villa Lante represents the culmination of the sixteenth century reflection on the relation of edifice to garden within a topography that is launched by the Belvedere Court; the Villa Lante fragments the enclosing arcade that suggests spectacle building, forum and palace, or palace-city in the Belvedere Court into a series of symmetrical structures in the landscape and makes explicit reference to the monuments of the Belvedere in such features as the diminishing height of the colonnaded structures as they climb the hillside or the Fountain of the Lights which has the form of the exedra of the upper court with its semicircular steps.

The Belvedere Court and the gardens that it inspires use perspective as the means of structuring objects within a topography. This presupposes that a builder or designer has some notion of the topography which is to be revealed by this structuring, in creating or representing a narrative to which perspective can bring visual ordering so that inter-relationships within the perspectival field can stand in some kind of meaningful and sequential relationship to one another. It is here that we turn to the *Hypnerotomachia* and emphasise that in the Roman context the romance could become a particularly suggestive depiction for the way that playful recreation, with its deliberate mingling of sacred and profane discourses, could provoke reflections or insights on the means of "recovering" or restructuring a historic-symbolic topography in *otium*. The romance is lascivious, pedantic and absurd – indeed ostentatiously so – but it also shows the sequence and consistency in the structuring of a narrative of visual progression that could emerge in, or through, play and licence. Polia, as her name suggests, is antiquity in its totality, and she is thus sought through the universal

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first the triumphal entry staged for Charles V in 1536, noted above, and secondly the restoration of the Capitol by Michelangelo, begun in 1538 with the removal of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius from the Lateran to the Capitol. There is little space here to discuss the Capitol, where the imperial iconography of equestrian statue and river gods (Tiber and Nile) and *Horsetamers* (planned for the summit of the ramp) are brought together by the oval pavement in the form of clipaeus with its radiating star, the palaces with the giant order, and the Palazzo dei Senatori elevated on a ramp that echoes the steep approach to the palace. In contrast with the earlier urbanistic projects *e.g.* Via dei Baullari, which work a fairly obvious scenographic basis – disclosure of an edifice or piazza at the end of a straight street or bridge, streets radiating from a piazza or edifice – the Capitol shows the iconography, scenography and topography united and demands the dynamic engagement of the spectator. Such engagement is also solicited in Porta Pia, designed by Michelangelo for Pius IV at the end of Via Pia, whose façade is turned in towards the city and turns the defensive features of a city gate (*e.g.* battlements) into capricious forms. The gate thus served to mark the stretching of the urban prospect through the *monti* beyond the *abitato* in Campus Martius and in this way forms a precedent for the projects of Sixtus V, whose Quirinal Palace lay on the Via Pia.

[6] Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton, 1979, p.348.

Venus (Venus physizoa) as Dea natura and Magna mater.[7] The association of Polia and Venus Physizoa, partly linked to the comic displacement of the sacred by the profane in the form of antiquity and *voluptas* as *suavitas impura*, should be considered in the light of the Virgilian analogy of Rome as Magna mater, which suggests the universality of the city and apprehension of Nature as the ground of antiquity, as well as the soul hidden in Nature. Amongst the figurations of *natura naturans* as goddess (Diana of Ephesus, Cybele) is the cosmic Venus who appears in sixteenth century gardens as *nympha loci* and archaeological object, imitated from the "Cleopatra" in the Vatican collections, whose setting was inspired by the Fountain of Venus, Mother of all things (*tokas pantōn*) in the *Hypnerotomachia*.[8] As we have asserted, this correspondence between the Magna Mater and Rome is fundamental to Ligorio's various attempts to "recover", as he would have seen it, architectural settings capable of accommodating and disclosing the totality of references and knowledge of Rome, constitutes a kind of universal learning (embodied in archaeology, cartography, encyclopaedism and architecture) which entails the disclosure of antiquity and of *natura generante*.

The historicism exemplified by Ligorio's project is summed up by du Bellay in the *Antiquités* 26 where he writes that "Rome fut tout le monde et tout le monde est Rome [...] Ainsi tout le monde on peut sur Rome compasser, / Puisque le plan de Rome est la carte du monde".[9] The universality and sanctity of Rome as city, which evokes comparison with Nature in its cosmic totality, implies a different model than the city state with its harmonious inter-relationships of *otium* and *negotium*, private and public, sacred and secular. In place of these spheres of civic life, Rome is approached, as we said, in triumph or in pilgrimage, as Christian Holy City and as universal city returned to glory on earth – a city which is holy on earth, and whose sanctity is utterly bound up with its historicity.[10] In this situation, *otium* is not only the recreation that responds to,

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[7] If we have remarked on the erotic nature of the *Hypnerotomachia* in terms of its playful character, the archaeological exploration of tombs and subterranean edifices is constantly allied with a descent into nature and into the body, culminating with the *unio* at the end of the first book. (Poliphilo makes such descents repeatedly – amongst the first antiquities he explores are a number of hollow statues, including the famous elephant, one of which is a colossus whose inner body parts are all labelled in Chaldean, Latin and Greek.) The earthly Venus resolutely invoked as the deity of the work has no transcendent aspect – her mysterious nature is that of the soul in nature, as in her epiphany in lovers' union, where she is revealed in a fountain at the tearing of the hymeneal veil.

[8] On the "Cleopatra", see below. A copy of the statue reappears in the court of the Villa D'Este.

[9] Spenser translates "For th'ancient plot of Rome displayed plain, / The map of all the wide world doth contain".

[10] These claims need to be explored with research into the development for urban *renovatio* from the return of the papacy from Avignon to the urbanism of Sixtus V, which remains beyond the argument here. The very barest material for this research includes pilgrim *mirabilia* literature, the Humanist works such as Flavio Biondo's *Roma triumphans*, as well as the use of classical sources, the activities of the antiquarians and academies, the development of cartography of Rome and the way that such material was employed in archaeological, architectural and urbanistic projects from the time of Nicholas V onwards. The lack of this research renders the arguments undeniably shaky, and they should be considered as no more than outlines that could be filled in the future - here we shall do more than note the special conditions of imitation and "recovery" that pertain to Rome, emphasising that one deals here only with the most superficial of arguments, or rather prolegomena.

and completes, the civic business of *negotium*,[11] but a highly elaborated contemplative retirement from the contemplative activities of ecclesiastical life - the evocation of *voluptas* in the settings of curial *otium* can present itself as the contemplative pleasure which has its end in divine love, and its playful figuration in the pursuit of antiquity and the quasi-amorous celebration of *natura generante* as the ground of antiquity.[12] The role of gardens in Rome and its environs as sites or figures for reflection on the city in its symbolic and archaeological meanings, becomes all the more pregnant in the light of the exploration of the various senses of topos in the course of the sixteenth century, and the perspectival structuring that provides the same conditions of visual disclosure in a portable painting, decorated room, piazza, urban vista and garden.

This crude characterisation of curial *otium* as contemplative recreation, in which gardens, with a symbolic topography articulated by the "discovery" of a sequence of antique fragments, could present themselves as playful fields for Roman *renovatio*, must be worked together with remarks on the development of the perspectival room. The Stanza della Segnatura will occupy a midpoint in these remarks, in which the perspectival room, with its location of a spectator in certain position within a certain place comes together with the triumph of Renaissance historicism, in which the learning of antiquity, the sacred discourse and making of the poets is realised as it is brought together with Christian revelation. The room is privileged as a place in which one can see the plenitude of "recovered" meaning in its wholeness – a place where all things can be brought together which is unique in its situation, although its structure of representation may be imitated. In its capacity to make a plenitude of arguments appear together in a single place, Raphael shows decorative painting as the vehicle *par excellence* for the depiction of the *renovatio* that sees antiquity returned and realised by providence – as we have argued that this providential recovery of antiquity leads into meditations on nature as universal setting, so one moves from the perspectival room into nature. This is signalled in the Stanza which opened onto the Belvedere court, and so onto a topography in the "recovery" of Rome is represented in a garden theatre which has the amplitude of a vast civic space.

One should also remark that the explicit acknowledgement of painting as a privileged means of representing the *renovatio* that celebrates the return and fulfilment of past meaning in the present age brings with it certain problems as more and more arguments are rendered in terms of visual depiction; these problems are explored by an intelligent mannerist painter such as Salviati, and in the *grottesche* which are an overt way of signalling the problems that can arise when the "totalising" representation of antiquity, its analogy in the "universal" depiction of nature and the apprehension of these by the senses and the mind come together – the *grottesche* are also engaged in the relation of the perspectival room to nature, as we shall argue. The sustained

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[11] One should recall here that by the time the *renovatio* in Rome comes to fruition in the early sixteenth century, Humanism is preoccupied by questions of stylistic *varietas* and encyclopaedic learning of the kind presented playfully in the *Hypnerotomachia*. As argued, late fifteenth century Humanists, such as Poliziano, seem more concerned with the ordering of the corpus of classical learning and correspondingly less attentive to questions of political life in the state.

[12] Again, one should remember the admonishments contained in Erasmus's *Convivium Religiosum* on the proper nature of Christian *otium*.

openness between the accumulated figurations of the decorated room and the garden, developed with great subtlety by Raphael, is elaborated by Ligorio, in whose works an inflated emphasis on the poetic skills is required to contemplate the theatre of images, resulting in the absorption of the spectator into the meditative play that seems to forget that its role is to provide didactic models for the practice of the virtues. Ligorio gives the possibility to draw together the threads of the larger argument – the role of music, and its relationship to the conjunction of body and soul in poesis; the relationship between generation in Nature and its imitation in poesis, and that between Nature and the abundance of human meanings, founded in memory. These elements come together in Ligorio's work with a meditation on the kind of structures of representation created by theatre, and by the *grottesche*, and behind his projects there seems to be a reflection on the relationship between the analogy of body and soul which we have seen to be so fundamental to Renaissance thinking on the arts and Christian, specifically Pauline reflections on body and soul – it is thus at this, late point that we open discussion to the Christian discourse that should have informed the argument from the beginning. The fundamental importance of these Pauline meditations to Ligorio's built works may be obscured by his desire to provide an exhaustive account of antiquity; we shall open the section with an overdue account of a work which provides a playful account of a such a desire, namely the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili

If the *Hypnerotomachia* derives from the tradition of the allegorical romance, whose antecedents lie in the *Cosmographia* of Bernardus Silvestris or the *Anticlaudianus* and *De planctu naturae* of Alain de Lille, as well as the *Roman de la Rose*, the *Amorosa Visione* or (descending still further) the *Golden Ass*, it makes the allegorical romance subject to history - history not as the chronicle of real actions in the past, but in terms of memory as a faculty of the *phantasia*. The *Hypnerotomachia* offers itself as a much extended reflection on play as *serio ludens*, in which every modality of theatre, spectacle and ritual is exploited in a work that simultaneously presents itself as *theatrum antiquitatis*, hieroglyph, *ars memoria*, initiatory or allegorical romance and sexual play.[13] At the core of this playful exploration of *concors discordia* is the theme of love, oldest and youngest of the gods, child of plenty and poverty, supreme god and deceiver, whose contradictory nature is signalled by the title itself - the strife of love in a dream.[14] If the most obvious level of this strife is in the protracted erotic description of the pains of love, conveyed in a vein of humorous hyperbole, its more profound aspect lies in the quest for Polia as the search for that which lies beyond the mosaic surface which characterises the linguistic texture of the work, the edifices it describes and the illustrations.[15] In approaching the work, one must constantly ask what the

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[13] The importance of this humorous character of the work, and its kinship with the comic tradition represented by Lucian in works such as the parody epic journey related *A True Story*, is underlined by the preface of the work , which talks of the "pleasant and novel qualities" of the romance. In *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, Wind remarked on the similarities between the title of the romance and the long-winded titles of the mock epics of Homer and Virgil. In terms of the *Hypnerotomachia*, one has to consider ways in which the oppositions of word and image, antiquity as recovery and loss, or *phantasia* as memory and illusion correspond to the coincidence of opposites in the theme of play itself as *serio ludens*. When looking at the continuum of hieroglyphs and playful mysteries in the *Hypnerotomachia* one should remember that they in turn are embodiments that reflect a larger preoccupation with the ludic aspects of *coincidentia oppositorum* which have their most profound manifestation in the cultivation of paradox and *insolubilia* in the mystical theology of Nicholas of Cusa, and descend into the figurative forms with which we are dealing. Throughout this spectrum of play, there is a consistent emphasis on invention (i.e. discovery) and on artifice, and what might be called a graduated emphasis on its physical setting - from near invisibility (or implicitness) in dialectical "games" of paradox to become an essential structure of articulation in staged spectacle and triumph. In keeping with our comments above on the coincidence of opposites which has its habitual embodiment in love, it comes as no surprise that in the triumph of love, the theme of *concors discordia* is played out in the names of the nymphs of the triumph and the binding of Polia and Poliphilo by desire and union

[14] In keeping with the theme of the habitual embodiment of love in the coincidence of opposites, it comes as no surprise that in the triumph of love, the theme of *concors discordia* is played out in the names of the nymphs of the triumph and the binding of Polia and Poliphilo by desire and union. On the meaning of the names of the nymphs in the *cortège* of Cupid, see the editions of Giovanni Pozzi and Lucia A. Ciapponi, Padua, 1980 (second edition), and of Marco Ariani and Mino Gabriele, Milan, 1988.

[15] The unique, invented language of the work combines a vernacular based on fifteenth century Treviso dialect with latinisms, Hellenisms and neologisms drawn from the author's encyclopaedic reading. Contrary to the author's intention to create a synthesis of Latin and *volgare* which combined certain grammatical features of the latter (*i.e.* lack of inflections) with the lexicon and morphology of the former, this linguistic aspect of the work became almost immediately the object of much scorn, from the note scrawled in the flyleaf of an early copy "It's a boring novel of sorts" to the injunction in *Il libro del cortegiano* III.lxx not to use "parole di Polifilo" when addressing court ladies. To make a

comprehensive study of the romance requires a philological competence in Neo-Latin and Renaissance Italian far beyond the scope of this argument, and the studies of the work are indeed scanty and of uneven quality, from the rigorous scholarship of the Pozzi and Ciapponi 1964 edition to interpretations which see in it a sequence of Jungian archetypes or the stages of the alchemical work. (An alchemical interpretation appeared at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in a commentary of Béroalde de Verville, to whom we shall refer later through the work of Neil Kenny in *The Palace of Secrets*.) Alongside the conflicts over interpretation are those concerning authorship - while the identity of Francesco Colonna as a monk in a Dominican monastery in Venice is generally accepted, there are those (Maurizio Calvesi) who claim the author to have been a member of the aristocratic Roman Colonna family whose palace at Palestrina occupies the sanctum of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, which Calvesi sees echoes in the edifices of the romance. More improbably still, Alberti has been suggested as the author of the work so contrary to Alberti's own thought on architecture and literary culture. Given the philological difficulties of the work, our comments will be general and theoretical, rather than going into detailed analysis of given passages. It may however be opportune to offer a breif summary of the work here: the narrator dreams that he is lost with a *selva oscura* - he falls asleep in the wood and has a dream within a dream, which constitutes the romance. This second dream starts with the narrator wandering through a landscape full of ruins in which he sees a huge pyramid (obelisk on base) topped by a weather vane which personifies Fortuna, holding a cornucopia. Contemplation of the pyramid provokes longing for Polia, and entering this structure through a gorgoneion, Poliphilo finds a statue of a rider-less horse onto whose back putti attempt to climb, dedicated to the "Deis ambiguis" while the base of the statue shows a relief of young men and women linked in a circle, with two faces, one laughing and the other weeping., inscribed "Tempus". Alongside this statue is a colossus lying on the ground - Poliphilo enters its body and find each part labelled in Latin, Greek and Chaldean - and the famous elephant bearing an obelisk later sculpted by Bernini. This is also is hollow and within it are tombs of a king and queen with inscriptions linked to alchemy while the on the outside of the statue is the first of the hieroglyphic inscriptions of the work. The courtyard of the building sends Poliphilo into long and garbled citations of Alberti and Vitruvius, which are rudely broken as he is pursued by a fearsome dragon through the cavernous halls of the palace, likened to the labyrinth of Porsenna. He emerges into a pastoral landscape, where he finds another much copied monument - the sleeping Venus (named mother of all - *tokadi panton*) from whose breasts flow streams of water. In a scene reminiscent of the *Nausica* episode of the *Odyssey*, Poliphilo is found by a group of nymphs, named after the senses, who take him to an octagonal bath house (baptistery) where he is cleansed and titillated. From here he is conveyed to the palace of Eleutherillida (*eleutheria*, liberality), which contains three rooms with tapestries dedicated to vigilance, resemblance and memory and a court depicting the planets and their influence on the soul. After a sumptuous banquet he Eleutherillida advises him that he must seek Polia through the guidance of Telesia (i.e. the final cause) who will manifest herself in the guise of another figure at a place of three gates, one of which Poliphilo must choose. She gives him two guides Logistika reason) and Thelemia (will) to guide him there - on the way he is shown round the gardens of Eleutherillida which contain a garden made of glass, one made of silk, a watery labyrinth and three sided obelisk which symbolises the trinity and the three phases of time. Arrived at the three gates, which bear inscriptions in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, and which refer to contemplative, political and voluptuous life (Ficino's three lives and the judgement of Paris), Poliphilo without hesitation selects the last to the dismay of Logistika. On entering, Poliphilo is in the realm of Venus, and the rest of Book One concerns his progressive initiation into the worship of Venus and union with Polia. Polia indeed appears to escort him after he has entered the gate of desire, but as she is not in her proper locus he fails to recognise her and is not convinced of her identity for many pages. The first ceremonies which the couple see are a series of triumphs to the loves of Jupiter, culminated with a chariot bearing the crater of Bacchus - this leads to further rituals to agrarian gods linked to Bacchus (Vertumnus and Pomona, Priapus) and then to the temple of Venus Physizoa, which represents the cosmos in its decoration and where sacrifices are held which consecrate Polia and Poliphilo to the goddess. From here the lovers await the ship of Cupid by a huge ruined monument (the Poliandrion) which bears the tombs of those who died for love, whose epitaphs Poliphilo examines attentively. In the ship of Cupid they are brought to the isle of Cytherea, whose plan suggests a mnemonic image which, like an encyclopaedia, contains every variety of plant in its concentric enclosures. Polia and Poliphilio are led to the core of the island as prisoners in the triumph of Cupid; at the centre of the

tessellations of language, narrative and figuration serve - if it is the recovery of antiquity through an inlay of allusions and imitations, this recovery is played out in terms of a love quest which affirms the superiority of will to reason and identifies *voluptas* with the possession of the *summum bonum* to which the final cause leads.[16] Thus the philological mosaic whose textual surface is the counterpart of the ornament which it describes both contains in itself its meaning and points beyond itself to a unity of meaning which it can only figure through its assemblage of parts. To make matters still more complex, the work sustains a constant play on the relationships between antiquity, memory and *phantasia*, in which antiquity is partly disclosed through memory and partly a creation of the *phantasia*, memory the means of recovering antiquity but dependent on the *phantasia* for its images, held in *loci* that take the form of buildings, while the *phantasia* is both the source of illusions and of the metaphorical combinations that allow us to create the symbols or hieroglyphs which disclose deeper unity of meaning beyond the composite surface of figuration. In short, if the *phantasia* is necessary to the recovery of the past (as dream or memory, thematised as erotic possession), its images are the source of metaphoric combinations and have to be held in *loci*, hence the need for architectural settings.

We have noted above that the *phantasia* in Aristotelian psychology (*De anima*, *On memory and recollection*, *On dreams*) was that faculty between the sense and the reason, which conveys sense impressions to higher faculties, so that they become subject to mental operations, such as judgement. It thus formed the necessary basis to knowledge, as well as memory and dreams. From Augustine on, the *phantasia* was recognised as having a combinatory, as well as reflective capacity, an attribute which strengthened its association with poetic creation through visions or dream images.[17] This combinatory capacity, linked with its capacity to link higher and lower things, leads to the claims that the *phantasia* could disclose unknown or absent things (Hugh of St Victor), which appear in Renaissance accounts, such that of Gianfrancesco Pico,

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isle is the temple of Venus in an amphitheatre. The final union of the lovers comes in the epiphany of Venus revealed at the heart of a fountain - after this culminating moment the lovers are taken to repose in the garden of Adonis, where a pergola surmounted by statue of Venus covers the tomb of Adonis. At this point Polia takes up her story, which forms Book Two of the work. The second book is set in fifteenth century Treviso and features the love of Poliphilo for Polia, which she, as a novice of Diana, rejects, spurning Poliphilo when he comes to beg for her love in her temple and falls as though dead, overcome by lust. Polia then dreams that she witnesses the brutal execution of young women, who have rejected love, by Cupid – terrified lest she suffer a similar fate she returns to the unconscious Poliphilo who revives in her arms; they embrace and are discovered by other votaries of Diana who drive them from the temple. Polia and Poliphilo then present and dedicate themselves to Venus and the narrative concludes as Poliphilo turns to kiss Polia – as he does she vanishes like a phantasm and he awakes from his dream. The work concludes with the epitaph of Polia, which speaks of her first as living while buried "sepulta vivis", and then teases the reader to discover her identity ("Quae nam inquies Polia?"). Polia is praised as the flower of all virtue, but a flower that cannot revive, despite the tears of Poliphilo, and the epitaph ends sadly with words that seem to confirm Polia as the lost spirit of antiquity: "Heu Poliphile desine. Flos sic exsiccatus, numquam reviviscit" (Alas, Poliphilo, enough. A flower so withered never revives again").

[16] The relationship between Poliphilo's choice to embrace the life of *voluptas* and the fact that he is directed to a figure named Telesia (*i.e.* the final cause) in his love quest, who manifests herself in the form of other figures, needs more attention.

[17] In this account, we are following the sources cited by David Summers in *Michelangelo and the Language of Art*, *op.cit.*

who states in *De imaginatione* that it can produce images "such as cannot be brought to light by nature".[18] It is in the *Divina Commedia* that we find the highest claims for the *alta phantasia* which in *Purgatorio* xvii.13-27 shifts Dante's attention from external objects to the image of the cross which appears to his inner, spiritual vision and in *Paradiso* xxxiii.142. It is not Dante's *alta phantasia* that concerns us here, so much as the combinatory faculty of which Vives says "prodigiously unrestrained and free, it can form, reform, link together and separate; it can blend together the most distant objects or keep apart the most intimately connected objects".[19] The *Hypnerotomachia* plays out the various meanings of the *phantasia* - as illusory dream whose promise fades to nothing, as faculty of memory and as source of poetic inventions, which arise from images, pass into a language which exhibits its fantastic historicity in the form of a chimeric philological mosaic and return to the visual in the form of the word-image pairing of text and illustrations. That is to say that as a way of recovering antiquity, the *phantasia* with its metaphoric combinations and disclosures of things "such as cannot be brought to light by nature", merges with the philological configuration of allusions, contextual and invented meanings - that figuration which materialises in the wrought ornament of the edifices in the narrative, which unfailingly arouses the wonder of the narrator. To repeat, if the images of the narrative must be placed in *loci* to be recovered, the description of this dream of the search for antiquity employs a language which attempts to re-present the variety of historical and figurative uses that constitute the background of philological meaning as a pattern or inlay – in a word, an *emblema.*

We have discussed above the meaning of the *emblema* as mosiac, silver and gold ornaments for vases, or an ornamental ring, and the passage that leads to Alciati from Erasmus's remarks on the insertion of the *Adagia* as the weaving of gold thread into purple cloth or the setting of a precious stone in a ring, or his comparison in *De copia* of archaic words to inlaid decorations (*emblemata*).[20] As noted, in the *Adagia*, Erasmus unfolds the meaning of this kind of verbal ornament as a patterning of contextual significance and similitude, and cautions against the fragmentary effect caused by the inept insertion of *adagia*, citing Quintilian's comparison of the abuse of *sententiae* to mosaic work. This static mosaic effect, which produces the opposite of flowing style discussed at length in *De copia*, is precisely a central target of criticism in the *Hypnerotomachia*, which despite the influence of its illustrations and iconography became a model of bad eclectic style.[21] One should be aware that, however indigestible, the "surface" of the *Hypnerotomachia* is just as much an enactment of its

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[18] Summers, *op. cit.*, p.113.

[19] *ibid.*

[20] *Opera Omnia*, I.vi, *op.cit.*, p.44.

[21] On the bad style of the *Hypnerotomachia*, see note above. It is perhaps for this reason that the work had such success in France, where it was translated by Jean Martin (1546, reprinted 1553 and 1561), and by Béroalde de Verville (1600), who interpreted it as an alchemical romance (on Béroalde de Verville, see above). On the later fortunes of the *Hypnerotomachia*, see Anthony Blunt, "The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* in Seventeenth Century France" *JWCI* 1, 1937 - Blunt remarks in particular on the enthusiam for the book amongst the *Précieux*, whose taste for devices was noted, and its influence on the design of the colonnade of the *bosquet* at Versailles, which bears close resemblance to the French sixteenth century engraving of the gardens of Queen Eleutherillide, not featured in the Aldus edition.

content as the seamless period of Ciceronian *elocutio* - the first book not only describes the emblematic figurations and inscriptions scrutinised by the insatiable narrator but is itself a kind of enormous emblem which plays with the relationship of visual and verbal, exploiting all the characteristics of metaphor discussed by Aristotle (*i.e.* foreign or unusual language, hyperbole, inventing of names, enigma, verbal pictorialism), and acting as a encyclopaedic precedent for the discussions of the *impresa* in the following century. If we have spoken of the idea that philological discussions conceive of the historical and contextual meanings of words as a pattern of significations which forms the background to the enactment of meaning on a particular occasion, the *Hypnerotomachia* explicates and elaborates on these significations in the form of metaphor and *emblema*, and I would suggest, demands to be read in these terms. What is so striking in the romance is, as noted, that the dense figural play which conflates the medium of narrative with its iconographic significance is constantly concretised into symbolic architecture for exploration by the concupiscent eyes of Poliphilo - the context of significance as pattern of variety and figures becomes literally that. In contrast to the two opposing camps of scholarship which insist that the work should be read philologically or allegorically, it seems that the two elements are so deeply interlaced that each reveals the other - all that we have said about the inflation of ornament so that the romance becomes an *emblema* is directed to the disclosure of correspondences which reveal the world in its manifold wholeness ruled by Venus Physizoa - cosmic, generative Venus sought through the love of Polia. In this sense metaphor as the finding of similitude in the dissimilar which has its basis in the copula becomes the embodiment of *concors discordia* as cosmic principle, amplified in all forms and at all levels.

The continuous presentation of the narrative through - or as - enigma, symbol, *emblema*, disclosed through a philological mosaic of ancient, invented, foreign and paradoxical language, means that every thing in the romance is subject to similar conditions of disclosure, thus leading to the reiterated discovery (in all senses) of epigraphs, hieroglyphs, symbolic vessels, fountains, obelisks, buildings and finally gardens.[22] If we have spoken of the importance of Erasmus and Alciati in the development of the hieroglyph into emblem, this development is heralded by the *Hypnerotomachia* - if we have noted the links between the topics and the hieroglyph in Erasmus and Alciati, in the *Hypnerotomachia* we find the topos in the sense of a place in which a thing is discovered, thus bringing us back to the importance of architectural settings in the work.[23] We have noted that these settings are in part memory places, in

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[22] All of these are basically constructed in a similar way - they exhibit rich ornament and a variety of precious materials, they possess some kind of metaphoric structure, they frequently entail verbal inscriptions in Latin or Greek, and they are also discussed in terms of their proportion or harmony of parts.

[23] The hieroglyphs in the *Hypnerotomachia* present one of its most straightforward instances of figurative language, in which each image is a pictogram, a plural being formed by a doubled image, and the whole is read off from left to right as though it were a Latin inscription. The images themselves in no way resemble to Egyptian signs, and appear similar to sacrificial objects and trophies from a fragment of Roman frieze from San Lorenzo fuori le mura, today in the Capitoline Museum. The hieroglyphs are thus a pictographic equivalent of the epigraph which appears beneath in Latin; they reduplicate the epigraph in sententious visual form rather than joining with it in the expression of a *concetto*, which neither element by itself could represent, as in later theories of the *impresa*. It should be noted that apart from the pictographic friezes, certain hieroglyphs are effectively *imprese*,

keeping with the relationship between the theme of the recovery of antiquity and the *fantasia* as source of memory - as places in which something is discovered, they are also settings for an action, generally conceived as a spectacle. If the spectacles and rituals which progressively absorb the narrative progression of Book One concern the initiation of the protagonist, they are also a correlative of the theme of discovery as mimesis - as the recovery of antiquity, as figuration, above all as play, *serio ludens* as enactment of *concors discordia*. The presentation of the narrative as a prolonged spectacle also has bearing on another matter - namely that the exhaustive (or exhausting) effort to transform all that is embedded in a situation into the explicit iconographic elaboration, tends to submerge the distinction between levels of engagement, as noted in the reiteration which characterises descriptions of buildings (i.e. contexts of "discovery") and the symbolic contents at their core. This lack of differentiation deprives the romance of narrative tension, and substitutes it with a something like Puttenham's description of the analogical disclosures of figured speech, "copious and pleasant amplifications and much varietie of sentences all running upon one point and to one intent". All this is activated, or takes on *energeia*, in spectacle, where the concretisation of figurative language into objects and *loci* comes to symbolic realisation in the rituals which dominate the narrative of Book One. The theatric presentation of discovery can compensate for the lack of differentiation between background and central focus in the sense that all things exist in continuity in the performance of as rite, and this leads to a further consequence – levels of engagement become fused with modes of spectacle, so that one moves from the theatric presentation of discovery to the theatric conditions of discovery.

This is especially conspicuous in the way that the progressive initiation of Poliphilo into the rites of Venus is matched by a change in his relationship to the architecture, from the uncomprehending explorer of antique ruins to voyeur to actor and finally protagonist in the triumphs and theatres where his initiation culminates. If rituals mark the points in the work at which the narrator stands within a certain place (bath house, banquet of Eleutherillida, temple of Venus Physizoa, amphitheatre of Venus), and reading is centred on epigraphs and hieroglyphs, movement becomes characterised as triumph, becoming more ostentatious as the book proceeds to its heart at the amphitheatre of Venus. Thus the triumph progresses from a gorgeous spectacle that passes before the eyes of the passive protagonist to become inextricable from the narrative movement itself - no longer a thing seen but a modality of seeing. This becomes explicit in the later part of Book One, where Poliphilo and Polia first watch a sequence of triumphs celebrating the loves of Jupiter, culminating with Semele and the crater of Dionysus, followed by the appearance of Vertumnus and Pomoma in their chariot to sacrifice at the altar of Priapus. After a ceremony of initiation in the temple of Venus Physizoa, the lovers are taken on the ship of Cupid to Cytherea where they bound as captors of Eros and move through the island to the amphitheatre at its centre, where they partake in the mysteries of Venus. It might also be noted that the first triumphs of the loves of Jupiter the meaning of the triumph is recounted in the depictions which adorn the triumphal car, and so explain the identity of the figure or object atop it; in the triumph of Cupid the meaning is principally enacted by the

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such as the hieroglyphs depicted in medallions on an obelisk in the passage where Poliphilo examines the lovers' tombs in the Poliandron.

nymphs as lively impersonations of a *concetto* figured through attribute and name, so that we pass from image to lively personification of the qualities of love.[24] The six triumphs in the first book of the *Hypnerotomachia*, depicted in a series of beautiful illustrations, are points in which the synthesis of iconography and antiquarianism is especially evident – the trophies and attributes celebrate the recovery of antiquity as well as commemorating the festivities of a god.[25] (Figure 1) The character of the triumph as a spectacular enactment of epideictic, in which the *copia* of things and people led in triumph becomes the praise or ornament of the triumphator was noted above - as a celebration of the act or art of showing itself, it implies a mutual engagement between what is shown and the spectator, and so illuminates the continuity between visualisation, the visual, display and enactment or personification. The showing of objects in the triumph leads them into a theatric situation, and thus one should consider the continuity between the vessels and images carried in a triumph and the epigraphic nature of emblems or hieroglyphs which can be deployed to give speech to mute objects in the editions of Horapollo and Alciati cited above. In the *Hypnerotomachia*, and in the sixteenth century descriptions of ephemeral decorations for triumphal entries into cities, the emblematic construction of objects and monuments and the triumph as a means of moving between them seem to require one another, and one might recall again Carburici's remark that showing is proper to whatever is a *figura*.[26] To reiterate, once the *emblema* becomes a way of conceiving of figuration, it can be scaled up and down throughout the continuum of representation, and its very composite character means that it can appear in any setting – literary, as in the romances of Spenser and Colonna, architectural, as in the *apparati* for civic entries, pictorial, or dramatic, as in the masques invented by Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones for the Jacobean and Caroline courts. If one is to work out this relationship between *figura*, emblematic figuration and triumph, one has to grasp the rhetorical and philological culture which underlies the *Hypnerotomachia* and the way that the triumph was understood by contemporary writers and artists engaged with issues of *imitatio*, such as Poliziano and Mantegna.

We shall have more to say later about Poliziano and Mantegna, but here we should come back to the point that in noting the emblematic character of the *Hypnerotomachia*, and the way that the progression of the plot turns into triumph, one starts to see that it gives a narrative extended in its entirety through the visual field. The topography traversed by Poliphilo in a journey that is at once archaeological expedition, erotic quest that parodies pilgrimage[27] and triumph is coherent, if fantastic;

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[24] Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse* (1605), with its procession of nymphs bearing an allegorical name and a "hieroglyph" is a late echo of the same erudite invention – on the iconography of the masque, see D.J. Gordon, "The Imagery of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blacknesse* and *Masque of Beautie*" *JWCI*, 6 1943.

[25] The appearance of the crater of Dionysus is significant here – not only is the god appropriate to the exotic and voluptuous character of the work, but is accredited with the invention of the triumph, as well as the origins of theatre.

[26] The culmination of this kind of thinking on representation in Tesauro's preoccupation with display in the metaphorical universe discovered through the *cannochiale aristotelico*.

[27] The work plays with parodies of Christian iconography: one conspicuous example is the garden of Adonis to which Poliphilo and Polia are taken after the erotic theophany of Venus, discussed in the first section. We saw that the garden is depicted as a carnal counterpart to the Marian *hortus conclusus*: at its heart lies a pergola above the tomb of Adonis, where a half naked Venus gives suck

the sequence of settings (temple with obelisk and forecourt, bath-house or baptistery, palace with gardens, spectacle ground for triumphs, circular temple, vast necropolis, garden with amphitheatre at its core, *hortus conclusus*) does provide a range of sacred and theatre buildings which stresses the continuity between the sacred and *otium* as occasions of contemplation. The *Hypnerotomachia* in this sense suggests a city from which the sphere of *negotium* has been removed, and contemplation rendered in a way that replaces the pilgrim's peregrinations to the sacred site with the eroticised quest for antiquity – the sacred thus becomes a carnal and a historical object.[28] As argued, Poliphilo's Polia is both sought amongst the ruins of antiquity and is antiquity – the distinction between Poliphilo's quest for her and the traditional goal of Christian pilgrimage is underlined in the exaggerated eroticism of the work. We have also discussed the precedent for this link between the antique *imperium* and the Dea Natura in Anchises's prophecy of the glory of Rome in *Aeneid* VI.756-853, where Rome, empress over the earth, her seven hills circled by battlements like the *corona turrita* of the Magna Mater, is likened to the "Berecyntian mother" borne in a chariot, crowned with towers and clasped by her countless children as she rides through Phrygia in triumph.[29] Berecyntia, the Magna Mater, goddess of the earth in its totality, as a *figura* for the triumph of Rome reappears with some frequency in sixteenth century meditations on Rome; du Bellay as noted employs it in the *Antiquités* 6, and Rome appears as Cybele in the triumph of the gods in the 1513 celebrations in the Capitoline theatre, followed by a chariot which constitutes a rebus of the name of Leo X (similar to the cars of Julius II in the 1513 Carnival), where one figure bears a medal with the inscription "Roma omnibus est una". As argued, the interest in delineating a historical ideal which can be "recovered" in human time and by human exertion in place of a symbolic relationship with a sacred *telos*, rendered comically in the erotic parody of pilgrimage, becomes in the Roman context an exploration of nature as the ground of antiquity, and the attempt to recover antiquity in its totality thus leads to speculation on universal nature. This kind of exploration reaches its culmination with Ligorio; here we might remark that if Poliphilo, who chooses unhesitatingly the path of voluptuous life, appears to parody the Platonic lover (as well as the Christian pilgrim), he might also be considered in comic relation to Hercules whose works provided an analogy for the philological labours that brought historical meanings to light from the darkness of "Hades". The *Hypnerotomachia*, a consciously comical product of the excesses of Northern Italian archaeological enthusiasm, could take on deeper implications in the Roman context, when applied to a city whose topography actually was discovered through pilgrimage, through triumph and through the exploration of vast and mysterious ruins.

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to Cupid. An illustration shows the figures in the garden in prayer before the statue, with one kissing the foot of Venus – on the sarcophagus of Adonis we see the inscription *impura suavitas* and two images that parody the *pietà*. This imagery recurs in the second book, where Polia laments over the body of Poliphilo, who lies as though lifeless, overcome by his lust for her; here the reference is the lament of the Magdalene over the body of Christ – as the Magdalene changes from prostitute to hermit, Polia in this episode renounces her role as novice of Diana to enter the service of Venus.

[28] One might recall here the role of tombs in the work; one might attempt to consider certain structures described in the work, such as the temple of Fortune or the island of Cytherea with its concentric plan in the light of contemporary understanding of Roman mausolea, in particular those of Hadrian and Augustus.

[29] See lines VI.781-787 above.

If the *Hypnerotomachia* recounts the "discovery" of a topography traversed as archaeological exploration, pilgrimage and triumph; the places where the narrator comes to rest are described as theatres that accommodate rituals of various kinds (sacred rite, visit to sanctuaries, purification of the body, feasting, watching triumphs, festive repose and so forth), and adorned in a manner that sets out their purpose. The movement between the progress through a topography in pilgrimage or triumph and the contemplation of spaces whose adornment points to their fulfilment in ritual in the *Hypnerotomachia* is very suggestive for understanding how contemplation within a place conceived as locus and progressive movement through a topography work together, all the more since the *Hypnerotomachia* conflates the disclosure of antiquity with that of *natura generante*. In the coming pages we shall consider the relationship between the arch, in particular the triumphal arch as the framing structure of perspectival decoration and the vista that it opens up as a prospect, which may be explored as a garden, where antiquities are disclosed in a place identified as a topos – we shall attempt to consider how the historicism exemplified by the arch with its historical ornament works with the situating, perspectival nature of the arch which fixes a spectator in a certain place. An architectural setting creates a context which is inhabited in a certain time and place; when we speak of illusionistic or painted architecture, perspective fixes the relation of spectator in a place, and movement through it while also generalising the notion of "the spectator", so the project becomes one of relating the concrete situation in a place structured by perspective to the historicism which can, in the Roman context, become related to the discovery of nature in its universality. One of the ends of the *renovatio* which sets up the recovery of Roman antiquity as an ideal to be accomplished triumphantly in history is the attempt to find and explicate the totality of historical meaning that can be discovered, and to see this meaning as fulfilled in the Christian world. The theme of the return of the golden age, cultivated in Medici propaganda, thus contains the idea of the recovery and fulfilment of a plenitude of meaning, and we have seen already how this plenitude of meaning may be conceived as it is woven into cosmological frameworks in the Mutabilitie Cantos or stratified in the layers of correspondence in Camillo's theatre. The element that we introduce in this section of the work is that of the physical setting, and the way that the conditions of disclosure in a certain place work together with the fulfilment of meaning discovered in historicist terms.

To repeat, if we regard the *Hypnerotomachia* as revealing the possibility for a sustained visual narrative concerning the recovery of antiquity and nature, we must add to these considerations perspective, as the instrument of the structuring that gives coherence and completion to the sequence of "events" within a visual field. This brings us back to the relation of triumph and perspective, which has been raised so often without resolution, and the need to draw together the comprehensive representation of drama structured in perspective, the display of totalising invention in the triumph and the relation of both to Nature, recalling the argument that poesis is fundamentally an imitation of the conjunction of form and matter in Nature. As we are looking in this section for visual meditations or responses to these questions, we shall be occupied with the framing of perspectival scenes by an arch loaded with ornament, which mediates the *storia* to the viewer. To reiterate, the arch frames a scene which asserts the comprehensive character of its representation, which vaunts the capacity to make

an artificial depiction of space appear in continuity with the visual field of the viewer – this may entail merely the placing of the viewer in relation to an image or may depict the continuity between the building where the viewer stands and that painted in the image, as in decorated architecture, or certain panel paintings, especially those designed for specific locations, such as the Giovanni Bellini *Sacra conversazione* in San Zaccaria, Venice. We might note the distinction between this kind of perspectival framing and the cut away buildings that appear in Giotto's works; in the first the building within the painting is a frame for a localised action while in the second the frame depicted in the wall of the space where viewer stands is supposedly dissolved into an arch or window from which views the activities portrayed in the *storia*; the distinction appears also in the shift from the *aediculae* or *luoghi deputati* of Medieval theatre and the scenographic designs for civic scenes, one of the earliest of these attributed to Bramante.

In the triumph, the *copia* of historicist references and allusions which are brought to the reading of the scene should be regarded as working alongside the iconography of universal situation, which in turn should be considered alongside the claims for comprehensive depiction in theatre, especially perspectival theatre. To this one must add that perspective, whose depictions Alberti likened to a view seen through a window (*De pictura*, I.xix), "dissolves" the wall into a painted frame, and the "continuity" of vision between the room where the viewer stands and the disclosed scene leads onto questions about the disclosure of Nature as the setting of the scene. We have noted above that the "universal" character of Rome as object and symbol of *renovatio* has an analogy in universal Nature – in Ligorio's exploration of this analogy in the mid-sixteenth century we shall see that the framing of nature by the arch has given way to a situation in which the framing arch itself has been multiplied in the manifold disclosures of grotesquework, which point to representation itself as process and transformation. There is also a further, preliminary point to be made regarding the relation of the arch surrounding a perspectival scene and triumph as display of ornament; we shall speak of the triumphal arch frequently in the coming pages, and should clarify here what we mean by this. We shall use the term triumphal arch very loosely, to describe an arrangement of openings, whether built, in relief or painted, which serve to frame a vista and support a rich display of ornament. We are looking in other words at the scenographic character of the arch, noted by Alberti, and affirmed in the affinities with the *frons scaenae* with its three openings, and the way that this scenographic character works with the ornament which it bears; when we treat of perspectival decorations surrounded by rich frames which create the illusion of standing within a richly decorated arch or arcaded space, we shall suggest that these spaces might be understood in terms of the relationship of perspective and ornament in the triumph. One might also signal here that the arrangement of principal arch with two smaller, lateral openings and attic passes from the free-standing Roman arch to become a way of articulating a wall, possibly through the *frons scaenae*, and is used for wall fountains and nymphaea as well as façades or painted decorations; given the ubiquity of this framing, one should ask what conditions of disclosure it confers upon what it surrounds.

We shall start to look at the relations between the ornament of the arch that forms the frame of rooms "dissolved" by the opening of a perspectival image and the philological reflection on ornament as illuminating the varied meanings which chart the richness of contextual significance; this rendering of the triumphal arch is especially conspicuous in the painters of late quattrocento Florence contemporary to Poliziano and in a northern Italian artist engaged with study of the antique such as Mantegna in the Camera picta. In looking at the ornament which appears on these quattrocento painted arches, one should recall the work of Donatello, who moves from the reiterated vegetal motifs that signal the disclosed harmony in the continuity of generation as part of the universal conditions that pertain to any act of mimesis to ornament inspired by the antique that takes the form of candelabra, trophy, *grottesche* and the vigorous putti.[30] Donatello, who works closely with Brunelleschi and gives some of the earliest renditions of perspectival recession in the base of the Orsanmichele St George and *Herod and Salome* panel in the font of the Baptistery at Siena, also gives serious attention to the fact that the re-appearance of human figures, liveliness and what would become known as grotesquework in revived classical ornament demands a rethinking of the relationship between principal *storia* and ornament. In certain of his works of relief sculpture, the principal image is a continuous frieze (pulpit of the Duomo in Prato, *cantoria* of the Duomo in Florence) which also has the character of a band of ornament, perhaps one reason for the Dionysian exaggeration of *energeia* in the figures. (Figure 2) Donatello's deployment of ornament should be seen in the light of the sculptor's understanding that antique forms cannot be revived unless they enter into the ritualistic and thus the spiritual life of a culture, rendered in his work primarily in terms of the *agon*. Few artists give so vivid a depiction of the terror and pity of acts of heroic struggle as Donatello, and these tragic and agonic elements are repeatedly situated in a ritualistic context figured by the Dionysian iconography of the ornament – the theatre masks imitated from the corners of antique sarcophagi, the ubiquitous putti depicted in orgiastic and sacrificial acts, such as frenzied dance (the pulpit and *cantoria* mentioned above), or crushing grapes (the base of the *Judith*, the San Lorenzo pulpits where they bear extinguished torches).[31] These Dionysian motifs are in keeping with the themes of contest and sacrifice that can link Christ as true vine with the theatric intensity surrounding the rites and iconography of the pagan gods; in works whose meaning also lies in their imitation of the antique, the iconography of the lively ornament also proclaims a festive, theatric context, or fulfilment for *imitatio*. Donatello, it would seem, places such emphasis on the sacrificial and Dionysian aspect of the *agon* as though to draw attention to the illumination of origins – historic as well as sacred – rendered through the re-enactment represented in festival, theatre and ornament – Dionysus, as we remember, was the originator of the triumph on his return from India. The intensity of Donatello's work points back to a point raised earlier in the argument, namely that the symbolic disclosure of the sacred as always present in

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[30] Vasari speaks of the "grotesque" ornament of the Cavalcanti Annunciation tabernacle in Santa Croce, Florence. This is not to claim that Donatello was the first to revive such ornament – without going into a history one might look at the contributions made by Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, or Nanni di Banco, and signal the combination of perspectival depictions in relief and classical ornament in Ghiberti's Baptistery doors. Our point is rather that Donatello seems to consider the implication of using lively figures in ornamental registers of a decoration.

[31] This Dionysian character appears also in small single figures such as the bronze statue of an exulting putto who tramples snakes in the Bargello which goes by a name that reflects the perplexity it arouses – *Atys-Amorino*.

ritual or festival may be considered in the light of the orientation or "recovery" of the same over the difference of time in a culture of *imitatio*.

To digress for a moment, we see how the relation of lively ornament and enactment in Donatello's work was perceived by reference to the *Florentine Picture Chronicle* (circa 1460) attributed to Maso Finiguerra, who shows the festival context to which Donatello's figures point. Many of Maso's drawings show a naïve combination of elements imitated from Donatello and his followers with gothic foliage ornament – often the relation the relation between figure and frame is that of casket, which reflects Maso's craft as a goldsmith, or niche elaborated into a fantastic cocoon,[32] but in certain pages we find a rare fusion of setting and figure, as in the depiction of Paris and Helen (drawing lvii). In this drawing, the gorgeously dressed lovers are depicted in a circular tempietto whose decoration is inspired by Donatello's architectural ornament, in the Cavalcanti tabernacle, Prato cathedral or the Florence *cantoria*, with its scaly columns and rich carved frieze, where putti sound musical instruments. The ornament of the building and the lovers' costume are united completely with one another and with the coherence of the image as a whole: the couple move in a stately circular motion, suggestive of a dance, to the music played by the putti in the frieze, and their movement describes the form of the tempietto itself. Here everything seems to be in harmony – the central figures and the putti who come to life in the frieze, the movement of the figures with the rhythm of the ornament, the circular space and the implied rhythm of the music – we might understand the space, movement and ornament as fused together in the sense that the *choros* was a dance and space for dance, or disclosed by the movement that took place within it. From a more rhetorical perspective, this union of place, movement, and rhythm provides the continuity from the setting to the progressive degrees of enactment – from the circular building to ornament as reiteration, to ornament as liveliness, to the living figures who complete the cycle with their circling movement. The drawing gives a glimpse of the fusion of setting, ornament and enactment, and discloses the continuity in the understanding of ornament as wholeness, rhythm and liveliness with mimesis as perfected and repeated cycle.

In other followers of Donatello in the later fifteenth century we find the ornament used by Donatello in somewhat tamed and schematic form, as candelabra, putti and delicate vegetal motifs, often exhibited in virtuoso tomb sculpture such as the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini executed by Desiderio da Settignano in Santa Croce. Of the artists influenced by Donatello, Mantegna is amongst those who looks profoundly at Donatello's *all'antica* ornament and the questions of how it operates as the mediating framework for perspectival representation, and as display of the archaeological studies that form the counterpart to researches into perspectival illusion. Like Donatello, Mantegna sees theatre as fundamental not only to perspective but to perspective in relation to the imitation of the antique; for Donatello this understanding takes the form of a deep engagement with Dionysian energies of terror, sacrifice and pathos, while Mantegna reflects on the festive or spectacular embodiment of historicism in the Camera picta, the *Triumph of Caesar* or the *Introduction of the Cult of Cybele to Rome*. The Camera picta, like a number of decorative schemes of the late fifteenth or

[32] See for example drawing lii depicting the *prisci theologi* Linus and Museaus.

very early sixteenth century, depicts the room as triumphal arch whose figurations constitute a mosaic - an *emblema* – of contextual allusion, and this structure of decoration leads us to Raphael's decorations in the Stanza della Segnatura. The decorations seem to represent the culmination of the triumphal arch as frame for the perspectival scene; in these frescoes which celebrate the triumph of Renaissance historicism the meditation on the relation between the contextualising ornament of the framing arch, the totality of the scene disclosed by it and opening of the arch and scene onto nature, becomes quite explicit. We shall argue that Raphael starts to break down the relationship of triumphal arch and perspectival *storia* – his interest in the development of grotesquework from an antique style decoration that adorns the framing arch into an ornament that can absorb and situate *storie* is a key to this process. In Raphael the dual disclosure of antiquity in its topography and nature that we noted in *Hypnerotomachia* becomes an object of reflection, and thus we find Raphael using the *grottesche* to consider how one attains a sustained openness between the room as theatre of contemplation and the setting in nature, revealed as it is traversed as a topography. To all this one must add an emphasis in Raphael's work on contemplation, and the mind's apprehension of things – again the *grottesche*, with their encyclopaedic figurations and their portrayal of transformation provide a rich vehicle of representation. The route to this material lies, as we said, through the reflection on the relation the arch with its framework of ornament and the perspective which it discloses, and we shall begin by looking at the relation between the cultivation of ornament of this kind and contemporary philological thought on *imitatio*.

Poliziano, Botticelli and Imitatio *in Late Quattrocento Florence*

By end of the fifteenth century, when the *Hypnerotomachia*, the paintings of Botticelli and Ghirlandaio and the writings of Poliziano are created, the political climate in Florence which inspired the emphasis on historical learning that we find in Bruni, for example, has much altered, and philology seems much less geared to practice, and more concerned with *imitatio* as establishing the correct framework for the designing of one's culture. The establishment of a "correct" form of *imitatio* does not merely entail stylistic choices, but the codification of a canon of texts which can furnish models but also references, and it is in this sense that one should understand Poliziano's encyclopaedic projects in the *Panepistemon* and the *Miscellanea* as a necessary counterpart to the concern with *imitatio*.[33] In other words, we should think of *imitatio* in terms of matter and invention, as well as style, and the establishing of a canon, which theoretically can be extended from literature to the other arts, creates an exhaustive source of arguments and style which gives coherence to invention in any subject. The philological study of the arts of language can thus elucidate the structure

[33] The *Panepistemon* was a lecture given by Poliziano in 1490, on the tenth anniversary of his appointment to the chair of Latin and Greek rhetoric in the Florence *studium*, in which he presented a hierarchy of the arts proper to the pursuit of the full programme of Humanist studies - the lecture, published in the 1498 *Opera*, thus provides the outline for an encyclopaedia that serves to propound his new classification of the arts. The *Miscellanea* are a collection of notes and paragraphs, similar to encyclopaedia entries, in which Poliziano recorded discoveries and curiosities revealed in the philological exploration of historical meaning. We should also remember that Poliziano, like Erasmus, supported the idea of eclectic, non-Ciceronian *imitatio* and defended this position in correspondence with the Ciceronian Paolo Cortesi.

of reference, argument and expression that can serve to unify cultural projects, this unity lying in the shared models and ends of such projects. In short, the "continuity" so to speak between a poem by Poliziano and a mythological painting by Botticelli does not only lie in the fact that the mythological subject of the latter may be derived from the former, but in the *imitatio* which provides a means for deploying the same classical references in literary and artistic form. As we suggested above, the progression from *imitatio* to encyclopaedism becomes necessary once philology is understood as the science which establishes the corpus of references and their ways of meaning that are taken to define a projected literary culture, in which letters provide the model for scholarly procedure in the other arts; one should emphasise here that Poliziano conceives of this corpus in elastic, non proscriptive terms, hence the eclectic approach to stylistic *imitatio* which he shares with Erasmus, and their common source, Quintilian. The attempt to explore classical literature in its entirety and chart encyclopaedically the usages, arguments and stylistic features which form the basis of *imitatio* should also considered in the light of the historicism which is celebrated triumphantly as flourishing under the personal guidance of Lorenzo de'Medici, as emblematised in his device of a laurel (*laurus* – poet's garland) putting forth new shoots with the motto *le tems revient*. The recovery of classical literature in the new golden age, the *renovatio medicea*, throws up the question of how this material is deployed in each given context of representation; if *imitatio* is celebrated as cultural project in which the arts can be united in Laurentian Florence, each intellectual reflection, or artistic depiction, takes place against a background of established references. In terms of our concern in these pages with the visual background formed by the ornament of architectural settings, it is interesting to see that the dense collage of literary references in a poem in the verse of Poliziano has a correspondence in the depiction of the background of a painted *storia* as a framework of ornament that we find in certain works by Botticelli – in each case theatre is fundamental to the relationship between the narrative and the construction of a mosaic of references which forms the background to the central scene.

Poliziano produced two major works which concern spectacle - the *fabula Orfeo*, performed for a Gonzaga wedding of 1480 and the *Stanze per la Giostra* for the 1475 tournament of Giuliano de'Medici, amongst the most lavish spectacles of Laurentian Florence, and a pendant for the 1469 joust of Lorenzo, commemorated by the Medici poet Pulci. *Orfeo*, with its alternation of *volgare* and Latin verses, its citation of the *Ars amatoria*, imitation of Virgil, Ovid, and Claudian and recreation of the dithyramb in *volgare* concerns the moving power of song, and is important in the history of the movement of music from the mathematical arts of the *quadrivium* to the discursive arts of the *trivium*. In this sense - despite lack of certainty as to its musical settings - it is one of the earliest attempts to represent the union of music and poetry that we have seen in its later form in Patrizi, Bardi and the Académie of Baïf. Broken off at the murder of Giuliano de'Medici in the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478, the *Stanze* commemorate a civic spectacle which they do not depict - the work as it remains constitutes an elaborate description of the artistic context of the joust of Giuliano de'Medici. The jousts of Giuliano and Lorenzo are the most prominent manifestations of the shifting Medici attitude towards spectacle, from lavish festivals, such as the Festa dei Magi, which entailed communal participation to entertainments modelled on

the court chivalry and commemorated in ostentatiously literary celebrations by poets in the Medici circle.[34]

The jousts, in which chivalric splendour was combined with Petrarchan and Neoplatonic themes form in effect a conspectus of the courtly culture cultivated by Lorenzo - in the standard for his joust, a lady weaves laurel garlands while beneath is the device of Lorenzo, the laurel branch which puts forth new leaves (the motto being *le temps revient*), so that the propagation of historicism triumphant through poetic topoi is intertwined with dynastic ambitions. The 1475 joust, still more splendid (Giuliano de'Medici appeared wearing jewels costing sixty thousand florins), presents itself as a more elaborate concoction of poetic and Ficinian references - the ensign which Giuliano carried into the tournament, painted by Botticelli (sometimes confused with *Pallas and the Centaur*, also replete with Medicean references[35]), depicted Pallas Athena, gazing at the sun, with Cupid bound to a laurel tree before her. The image combines a reference to the defeat of Cupid by Laura armed with the shield of Minerva in the *Triumphus Castiditatis* with a Ficinian depiction of Pallas, implacable enemy of

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[34] The Sassetti Chapel, decorated for the Medici agent by Ghirlandaio in 1483-86 exemplifies in a useful fashion the kind of shift that takes place in the Laurentian period, in which the kind of sumptuous civic pageantry favoured by his father, which appropriates traditional forms of festival as vessels for the transformation of political and representational structures, becomes more erudite and distanced from the communal participation in the production of pageants that characterises medieval religious festival throughout Europe. Insofar as we can tell – the evidence is far from clear – this kind of modulation of religious feast, sponsored by the various *arti* of the city, into a display of magnificence by a ruling family as *primus inter pares*, as in the Festa dei Magi, seems to take a different turn in the period of Lorenzo, and the extant depictions of triumphs and spectacles suggest an emphasis on the literary and allegorical triumph. Without going through the archives for the years of Piero and Lorenzo de'Medici, and basing a judgement solely on the most notable artistic and literary works which remain, I would suggest that in the Laurentian period the important shift is not so much from religious to secular spectacle (Lorenzo in any case writes a *sacra rappresentazione*) but towards a more literary and elitist conception of spectacle, and here the interest of Poliziano in spectacle and the revival of classical theatre is of central importance. (The two triumphs that Lorenzo helped to organise in 1490 and 1491 were on fairly well worn themes – a triumph of the seven planets, for which his verses remain, and a triumph of Paulus Aemilius, from Plutarch, celebrating the virtues of republican government.) Lorenzo does write *Canti carnavaleschi* and Machiavelli describes him going amongst the people at carnival, but the former may have been literary exercises, intended for a small Humanist circle, and Machiavelli's description speaks of the ambiguity surrounding Lorenzo's relations with the people, with the famous and mysterious characterisation of his ambiguous, "bifronte" nature. In all this, one should not underestimate the impact of the Pazzi conspiracy on spectacle in Laurentian Florence, as exhibited in the break off of Poliziano's *Stanze*. If we turn to the Sassetti chapel again for a moment, we notice that the prophecy in the altarpiece (prefigured by the image of Augustus and the Tiburtine Sibyl on the Ara coeli) takes the form of an epigraph on the sarcophagus of an augur, which will become the cradle of the infant Jesus, stating "Ense cadens solymo Pompei Fulvius augur numen ait quae contegit urna dabit"; the theme of *prisca theologia* is rendered in terms of philology, so that we pass from the festive, dramatic presentation of the Magi as the Persian and Chaldean sages to an epigraphic, archaeological figuration of pagan prophecy. We seem to have arrived at a similar moment to that represented in the *Hypnerotomachia*, albeit in playful and erotic terms – the revelations of *prisca theologia* are disclosed through the philological and antiquarian studies of Humanism, depicted in Poliphilo's twofold quest for antiquity and sacred-sexual *unio*.

[35] Pallas wears a robe patterned with the Medici *imprese* of interlinked diamond rings, emphasised in the cut diamond in her hair and in the axe which she holds. The painting hung in the Medici Palace in Via Larga, in the same room as the *Birth of Venus*.

profane love, gazing at the sun as symbol for contemplative life.[36] It is this standard of victory which is commemorated in the *Stanze* II, but commemorated in the context of a "fallace sonno" in which the Minervan *ninfa* ultimately reappears as fortune; in her inconstant changes of identity she embodies love, chastity, fortune and fame without however the promise of divine redemption which grounds Petrarch's *Triumphi.* As in the *Hypnerotomachia* we see the triumph linked to the dream-images of the *phantasia,* and to a reflection on temporality in which the ephemeral nature of the triumph provides an image for the loss of history and the fleeting nature of fortune; if the triumph celebrates the recovery of the antique (in the *Stanze* we might view this recovery as a triumph of *imitatio*) it simultaneously presents it in the form of an illusion, whether dream or theatre. The parallels with the *Hypnerotomachia* are obvious here, where the ruined temple and obelisk are sacred to Fortune, and the promises of Venus end in a dissolving dream image – in each case the beloved is no more than a delusive *larva* or phantasm glimpsed in a deceiving dream and created by a goddess who reveals herself not as love, but as fortune.[37]

While it would be interesting to deepen comparison between the *Stanze* and the *Hypnerotomachia,* contemporary works that each use a narrative that concerns the relationship of Venus and Fortune to reflect on *imitatio*, we will limit ourselves here to a few observations on Poliziano's procedure of imitation in the work. Ida Maïer remarks on Poliziano's use of *varietas* in the *Stanze* as a species of mosaic in which quotations from the classical authors studied and taught by Poliziano were fitted together to create a rich *opus tessellatum.*[38] In her discussion of the *varietas* Poliziano's style, Maïer inserts a citation from the *Profugiorum ab aerumna libri* of Alberti in which an eloquent speaker is likened to an inventor of mosaic flooring: "to adorn a floor and distinguish it from the other surfaces of the temple, he took little scraps of marble, porphyry and jaspar left over from the whole structure. Fitting them together in accordance with the colours and shapes he composed picture after picture, making the whole pavement splendid. This work gave as much pleasure as the greater ones of the rest of the building. The same has occurred amongst the *literati* - the intellects of Asia and especially the Greeks, over a long period, invented all the arts and disciplines. They constructed in their writings a sort of temple to Pallas".[39]

The analogy of mosaic in literary and visual arts of *imitatio* shall occupy us in a moment – before we move onto the visual manifestations, we should note that this strategy, which we find also in the variety and imitation of *Orfeo* is reflected in the content of the first book of the *Stanze*, which contains a lengthy ekphrasis of the palace of Venus, whose doors are adorned with metal relief panels depicting Venus, Cupid and the triumph of love – *emblemata*, in the original sense of the word. Quite apart from the glories of relief metalwork that Poliziano could see in his own day in

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[36] A detailed description of the standard is given by Patricia Ceccarelli, *op.cit.*

[37] We might recall in this regard that Poliphilo is instructed to seek out Telesia, *i.e.* the final cause, in his quest for Polia.

[38] Maïer gives a philological account of the *varietas docta* and *contaminatio* of Poliziano's style in *Ange Politien, La Formation d'un poète humaniste 1469-1480*, Geneva 1966.

[39] *Profugiorum ab aerumna libri*, Genoa, 1983, pp.81-83, following translation of Anthony Grafton in *Alberti Master Builder of the Renaissance*, p.163.

Florence, we can find precedents for this kind of ekphrasis of golden relief panels in classical texts such as Book Two of *Metamorphoses* with its description of the doors of the palace of Apollo, where the metal is described as flowing like the waters of creation which it depicts - the doors, which depict the world and all the gods could be taken as figure for the work as a whole, with its flux of transformations described through a rich and ornate language.

What we find in the *Stanze* is something akin to the kind of setting depicted in the *Calumny of Apelles* of Botticelli, in which the throne room of the king is depicted as luxuriously decorated antique interior statues and panels in relief adorning the piers between a series of arches that suggest affinities with a triumphal arch, or a triumphal arch turned inwards to form a room. (Figure 3) The figures depicted in the relief panels and statues have been identified by Stanley Meltzoff and are exemplars or symbols which locate the central scene, which is a depiction of an imagined scene by an antique painter (taken from Lucian's description of Apelles's painting of *Calumnia*, repeated by Alberti in *De pictura* III.liii), in a whole web of meanings - thus the interpretation of the painting becomes a subtle process of contextualisation in which the principal fable is read in terms of the accumulated contextual meanings of the background scenes, which both impinge on the central scene and influence one another.[40] The relief panels create the context for the interpretation of the scene, presented literally as a background of figuration, yet these meanings come together in the particular configuration, or occasion of the painting. Meltzoff suggests Poliziano as the inventor or advisor of these panels, a suggestion that seems perfectly probable in light of his influence on the iconography of Botticelli's other mythological paintings and his pre-eminence as the leading exponent of literary studies in Laurentian Florence. I would tentatively suggest that we can use the *Calumny* as a way of illuminating Poliziano's style of imitation in the *Stanze*, in which the central event to be commemorated by the poem (the triumph of Giuliano in his joust) has its setting in the ornate inlay of allusions and topoi from which the poem is wrought. We have already looked at this articulation of the "background" of meaning so to speak into a patterning of variety, allusion and metaphorical significance which is illuminated by a situation of *usus* that it shapes – here we see the recognition of historical and contextual meaning is oriented to the perfection of *imitatio* wrought from, or as, a mosaic (*emblema*) of philological meanings. We should note here also that Botticelli's pictorial rendition of this strategy of *imitatio* depicts it as an architectural setting – specifically, as a luxurious arcaded room which we have compared to a triumphal arch turned into a background of meaning. In this visualisation of a context of meaning discovered by philology, setting and display seem to come together, so that the exhibition of variety as a composite whole in the triumph is brought together with the philological discovery (invention) of the background of meaning in each situation as a pattern of contextual significance. What Botticelli displays quite explicitly in the arch in the *Calumny* is the triumph of *imitatio*, and we can see that the display of ornament which figures the contextual

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[40] Stanley Meltzoff, in *Botticelli, Signorelli and Savanarola – Poetic Theology from Boccaccio to Poliziano*, Florence, 1986, identifies the panels of the triumphal arches which comprise the palace room in Botticelli's *Calumny* as mythological and biblical themes, from the Bible, Lucian (*Calumnia* and *Zeuxis*), Philostratus, *Aeneid*, Livy and Boccaccio in *Decameron*, *Amorosa Visione*, *Teseida*, *Genealogia*, *Ninfale Fiesolano*, *Tratello in Laude de Dante*, *De mulieribis claris* and *De casibus virorum illustrium*.

meanings that should be brought to reading of the scene also aims to be encyclopaedic, with no part of the architectural background left bare or mute. For Poliziano and contemporary artists, *imitatio* was to provide a framework of mediation between a given reality and an ideal, represented by antiquity. Whatever is enacted within this framework will have the character of conscious artifice, thus Poliziano's interest in theatre, whether spectacle, musical *fabula* (*Orfeo*) or the revival of classical drama. This raises the possibility that the more successful and convincing such artifice becomes, the deeper the representation moves into theatre, and it is this condition of representation which Vives seems to offer as a parable in the *Fabula de homine*. Within this framework of mediation, the variety of ornament and the metaphorical accommodation or invention of new meanings becomes an essential element in each given situation of representation - it is thus that one can start to put together Humanist descriptions of the centrality of the ornaments of speech to *imitatio* with the elaboration of frames within contemporary decorative cycles – in particular, those using the framing arch as a necessary element of perspectival representation.

The arguments regarding the *emblema* as mosaic and collage of contextual meaning, with its composite structure played out through multiple conjunctions of word and image, have concerned us for some time; aside from the emblematic construction of the *Hypnerotomachia*, with its sequence of triumphs and ritual theatres, one should point to the need for an account of the relationships between Poliziano and Erasmus and kinds of influence which the two Humanists exercise upon the visual arts. In the last section we also saw how emblematic figurations were seen as raising the background of a room, with its everyday objects lying to hand for use and attention, from "muteness" and "irrationality" into speech, culminating with the display of such figurations in ephemeral or permanent cycles of decorations conceived as triumphs. The element which we attempt to explore here is the disposition of such figurations, discovered through philological studies, on an arch which acts as a framework for the central *storia*. The contextual figurations, which furnished variety and ornament, specifically metaphorical significance, are displayed on an arch with its inscriptions, images and statuary which establish the conditions for mediation between depiction and spectator, which characteristically forms the backdrop for the perspectival *storia* or its outer frame and which gives visual form to the historicist ideal of *renovatio*. In the *Calumny of Apelles*, the arch seems to present the totality of contextual meanings that could be brought to bear upon the central image; the triumphal arch adorned with metalwork panels appears also in other works of Botticelli, such as the *Lucrezia* panels, in the frescoes of Ghirlandaio in Santa Maria Novella, and in the architectural studies of Giuliano da Sangallo may have provided an inspiration for both contemporary painters.

We have glanced above the possible links between mosaic as *emblema* and as philological strategy of *imitatio*, taking Botticelli's *Calumny* as an illustration of this process. Once the philological preoccupations with contextual meaning are viewed in relation with the celebration of historical return in the triumph, and the exhaustive or totalising depiction claimed by triumph, theatre and the perspectival theatre, the iconography of the arch as mediating framework may seek to figure the implications of

"disclosing" the room as a place where a totalising structure of representation may come to embodiment. It could be said that the archaeological precision and the conscious theatrality which we find in the triumphal architectural settings of Mantegna, or later fifteenth century Florentine painters such as Botticelli in the *Calumny of Apelles*, Ghirlandaio in the choir of Santa Maria Novella and Filippino Lippi in the Strozzi Chapel of the same church, all suggest a culture of imitation redolent of Poliziano, erudite, philological and attentive to spectacle as a means of revivifying the antique. Of these painters it is Mantegna, amongst the early practitioners of *sotto in su* decoration, who plays particularly skilfully with the conditions of seeing in the perspectival theatre.[41] Before we move onto Mantegna there is a little more to be said concerning the relationship between the painted depictions of triumphal arches in Laurentian Florence, the theatric use of decorated arches within courts, and the extension of such courts into designs for vast palaces or huge civic spaces. Since this material forms a useful trajectory of the remarks above, and is helpful for later discussion of the Belvedere court, we shall give it a little space here.

It is a commonplace that the pattern of artistic patronage from Cosimo to Piero to Lorenzo de'Medici, shifts from public works to the collection of lavish artworks to an emphasis on intellectual pursuits with Lorenzo - to this one might add that those intellectual pursuits are concerned with establishing the basis of *imitatio* and the theoretical reflection that shape the arts.[42] We saw above that Lorenzo makes the poetic character of Ficino's philosophical *otium* quite explicit in his poetry, and in the era of Lorenzo the literary pursuits of *otium* become part of a propagation of *toscano* as the model for vernacular Italian, while theatre is used, amongst other things, as a vehicle for the classical learning in the fashion for the performance of antique comedies recited in Latin and Greek under the tuition of Poliziano. The recreations of *otium* in short become part of cultural programme, and the attitudes of Platonic or Petrarchan lover withdrawing from civic life to contemplative retreats assumed by the Magnifico in his poetry are a very conscious part of this designing. Lorenzo's interest in poetry in this light is the result of real literary gifts – but it is also an element in a political promotion of Florentine culture, identifiable as such, as the ideal and standard for the whole Italian world; this is epitomised in Lorenzo's ingenious *impresa* of the withered laurel which puts forth new leaves with the motto *il temps revient*, which uses the poetic topos on the return of spring as symbol for the lover's hopes to suggest that the cultural revival that occurs under Medici protection may be seen as the providential return of a golden age, as prophesied by Virgil.[43] There is need for further work on the relations between literary Humanists (principally Poliziano) and the visual culture

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[41] It is worth noting that Poliziano's *Orfeo*, a work which we have associated above with the *imitatio* adopted by Botticelli in the *Calumny* and might be considered alongside Mantegna's interest in the display and assimilation of antique ornaments in the perfecting of *imitatio* was performed for a Gonzaga wedding in the Ducal Palace at Mantua in 1480.

[42] See the comments of Gombrich in "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art" in *Norm and Form*, London, 1996, and notes above on the apparent shift in attitudes towards public spectacle in Laurentian Florence.

[43] Gombrich, *op.cit.*, p.32 cites the relevant passage from Lorenzo's poetry: "... or nel loco alto e silvestre/Ove dolente e trista lei si truova/ d'oro è l'età, paradiso terrestre/ e quivi il primo secil si rinnova" ("now in that high and rugged place where you grieve and sorrow the age is golden, earthly paradise, and there that first age renews itself again").

expounded by Ghirlandaio and the older da Sangallo, and on the full Humanist background to Lorenzo's architectural patronage - his intervention in the projects for Poggio Reale and the palace for the King of Naples, designed with courts that could he used as theatres, his enthusiasm for *De re aedificatoria*, printed in 1485, with an introduction by Poliziano, dedicated to Lorenzo. It is also worth noting that Lorenzo's most substantial built architectural commission, the classicising villa at Poggio a Caiano, designed by Giuliano da Sangallo, was celebrated by Lorenzo in a poem, *Ambra*, which recounts the metamorphosis of the eponymous nymph, celebrated as the *genius loci* of the site; the poem is not I think merely the pastoral celebration of Lorenzo's villa life, but signals the idea that the site for a villa which represented an overt imitation of classical edifices should be conceived as a poetic, mythological topography, and so a place set out for *literae* and *imitatio*.[44] That is to say – projects for the revival and imitation of classical building which take shape under the aegis of Lorenzo's interest should not be studied exclusively in terms of architectural history but in terms of the larger culture of *imitatio* promulgated by figures such as Poliziano, which we noted above. This culture is not just concerned with the correct forms of stylistic revival but with the ways in which antiquity may be repossessed and re-inhabited, and so revivified in contemporary, Christian society; it also, as we suggested, seeks to delineate itself as an ideal which may be recognised as a model or standard.

We may turn back here to Poliziano's engagement with spectacle, which embraced the direction of classical drama performed in the original tongues, and note the links of these productions with contemporary architectural projects. It is obvious that the two should be related, since the ideal of *imitatio* with which we are working touches all the arts, and theatre, as the place where the arts visibly come together, provides the perfect setting - as well as its role in representing an idealised civic life. The Latin and Greek dramatic performances were accommodated in courts like that created by Giuliano da Sangallo in the palace of the Medici chancellor Bartolomeo Scala, constructed 1473-1480, with sides of three arches on piers surmounted by panels in relief by Bertoldo di Giovanni, depicting triumphs of the pagan gods; in appearance it is not dissimilar to the triumphal arches which appear in contemporary painting, such Ghirlandaio's Tournabuoni Chapel frescoes or Botticelli's *Lucretia* scenes or *Calumny*. In 1493 the courtyard formed the setting for a production of *Electra*, performed in Greek by Alessandra Scala. In function this court resembles those designed by Benedetto da Maiano and Lorenzo de'Medici for Poggio Reale in Naples (c.1485-1488), and for the plans by Giuliano da Sangallo for a palace for the

[44] In a place so conceived as a topos, we should recall the development elsewhere in the poetry of Lorenzo de'Medici, as in the *Comento* where place is associated with the lady or in *De summo bono* where the *locus amoenus* is the grove removed from *civil fastidio* where Platonic mysteries are expounded rhapsodically. In the second case, the emphasis on the exaltation of will over intellect might be viewed in the light of the Petrarchan place identified with love, as well as the obvious Phaedran allusions. Again, one might view in Ficino's effusions about Careggi something of the paganising of monastic retreat and the platonising of the Petrarchan grove, and see in his retirement in the pastoral setting removed from the city, something more associated with the solitude of the poet or hermit than with the *otium* of ancient philosophers, whose schools were in shady or delightful places (*umbratilis*) in the city. The academy in a city garden such as the Orti Oricellari is closer to the classical setting of contemplative *otium* than the retreat from "civil fastidio" in a pastoral scene.

king of Naples (1488), and for a vast Medici palace in Florence straddling Via Laura, and swallowing up a huge area of the city, including Scala's property.[45] (Figure 4) Such theatre courts, constructed with a sunken centre for performances or spectacles and tiers of seating on the steps on four sides, however employed in theatre or spectacle, also formed a ceremonial centre of the palace and all that the palace signifies in terms of the social role of its builder; this ceremonial importance would seem to be inseparable from this capacity to provide a setting for various activities, which are related through the setting they share and the conditions of display which it imposes. The court of Palazzo Scala, in which we see, for the first time in Florence, the imitation of a Roman spectacle building, is relatively modest – the da Sangallo Via Laura project commenced with a huge exedra, embraced a city street, and culminated in an enormous theatre court within a palace rising above extensive gardens.

The projected Via Laura project would have bordered on Piazza Santissima Annunziata, where the portico of the church (on which Michelozzo and Alberti work) and the Ospedale degli Innocenti of Brunelleschi (later mirrored with the construction of the facing Loggia dei Serviti) suggests the potential association of the public piazza with a large court with porticos. It is important to note that the portico ends to the north with an arch over Via Colonna, known in the Renaissance as Via Laura – thus the final arcade of the Ospedale stretches over a street, so that the street is "incorporated" into the building. The Via Laura project would thus have developed the piazza-cortile which "incorporates" streets from a public space with sacred and charitable foundations (Brunelleschi's Ospedale took its porticoed façade from earlier Florentine hospitals, like the nearby Ospedale di San Matteo), into an appropriation of civic spaces by a vast palace that realises Alberti's analogy of house and city in literal, tyrannical form. This transformation of civic spaces into the monumental approach to a palace finds an echo in a detail in the frescoes by Ghirlandaio depicting the life of the Virgin and the life of St John in the Tournabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella (1486-90); in the background of the *Presentation at the Temple*, where we look through a lavishly adorned arcade into a piazza in which one side is constituted by typical Florentine quattrocento palaces, and the other by a long building with two

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[45] This destruction of Scala's property is a puzzling aspect of the plan, since he was an important Medici ally. For comments, see Stefano Borsi, *Giuliano da Sangallo*, Rome 1985. The plan covers an enormous area, from the present day Via Capponi to Borgo Pinti, and from Via Colonna to the city walls. Borsi suggests that the plan was drawn up for Leo X, rather than Lorenzo, which seems to accord with Lorenzo's caution in civic self-presentation, with the monumental scale proper to a papal commission and with characteristics that seem more Roman, such as the role of gardens in the approach to the palace, rather than the enclosed gardens which seem to have been more typical of Florence. We referred in note 5 above to a parallel project, also by Giuliano da Sangallo design, executed for Leo X, for a Roman Medici palace in Piazza Navona, with a colonnade extending in front of the façade to create a species of peristyle before the palace which would have extended the length of the *Circo Agonale*, Piazza Navona; this was the nucleus of a project akin to that in Via Laura, which would have created a triumphal approach from the Via Leonina (today Via di Ripetta) - Via della Scrofa, the riverside prong of the trident at Piazza del Popolo) to Piazza Navona, extending down to the Sapienza and back towards the Pantheon. (Figure 5) The continuity between the two plans lies in the extension of the palace into public space, so the street or piazza becomes an approach or forecourt to a palace with overtly theatrical features. The projects are discussed in *Rafaello architetto*, ed. M. Tafuri, S. Ray and C. Frommel, Milan 1984 and in *Il potere e lo spazio: Firenze e la Toscana nell'Europa del Cinquecento*, Milan 1980.

storeys of arcades, whose arches and pilasters suggest a reference to the Colosseum.[46] (Figure 6) The two storeys of arches might denote an allusion to the forum as described by Vitruvius V.i and Alberti VIII.vi, with its double portico, or we might see it as a palace façade like those which appear in the perspective panel at Urbino, except that the building in the background of the *Presentation at the Temple* appears to continue the length of the piazza, interrupted only at the far right where we see a higher building and brick tower. We see here a great portico that suggests both forum and royal palace which stands in sharp contrast to the other palazzi and transforms the piazza before it from a public space adorned with imposing private buildings to something like a vast courtyard. What is signalled here, in short, is part of a reflection on the way in which a palace relates to the space before it, and the implications of transforming a piazza as public space into a court, which begins in Florence with the various Medici palace projects, starting with the San Lorenzo area.[47] It is also interesting to note that in plan and ornament, the architecture framing these scenes suggests that Ghirlandaio was conversant with researches into antique building, such as those documented in Giuliano da Sangallo's cahiers of designs of antique building and ornament, known as the Codex Barberiniano and the Taccuino Senese.[48] If we might see these Florentine projects as the forerunners to the creation of the Belvedere *cortile*, in which a court that presents itself as theatre is enclosed by arcades that suggest forum or Colosseum, they also represent the first steps towards the appropriation of the piazza in the name of continuity by Duke Cosimo I, who takes up residence in Palazzo della Signoria (henceforth Palazzo Vecchio) to "demonstrate" his interest in the maintenance of Florentine civic traditions,[49] and has the Uffizi constructed as governmental offices for Medici absolutist rule, entailing the creation of a space that passes itself off as theatrical. Not only do we find numerous depictions of the perspective down the portico to the great arch framing the river, but the most celebrated views of Piazza della Signoria used in mid-sixteenth century Florentine

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[46] The presentation of the virgin at the temple becomes as the sixteenth century progresses a theme which is particularly associated with the depiction of imposing architecture, culminating with the paintings of Titian and Tintoretto, with an early sixteenth depiction by Peruzzi; the subject requires that the temple is seen from the side (otherwise we would look at Mary's back) and thus necessitates a scenographic representation of a street which opens beyond the foreground.

[47] Carlo Pedretti dated Leonardo's projects for a large piazza before San Lorenzo, whose corner building would have been Michelozzo's palace, to 1515.

[48] The ornamentation of triumphal arches in the *Visitation*, *Zaccariah in the Temple* or the *Massacre of the Innocents* is reminiscent of da Sangallo's studies of triumphal arches in the Codex Barberiniano – one can see similar influence in Botticelli's *Calumny* or *Lucretia* cycle, and in the fantastic elaboration of such ornamentation in the Strozzi Chapel of Filippino Lippi, close by the Tournabuoni Chapel in Santa Maria Novella. Ghirlandaio's frescoes show the centrality of the triumphal arch motif by this time – even where a Roman triumphal arch does not appear, we find three bay loggie throughout the frescoes, at times, as in the *Dance of Salome*, with the monumentality and coffered vaulting and that suggests the great arches of the Basilica of Maxentius, studied by da Sangallo. This three arch form may appear also as an arcade, as in the *Betrothal of the Virgin*, or as the frontal and lateral arches of a structure with a Greek cross plan, used by da Sangallo in Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato, as in *Joachim driven from the Temple*, or *Zaccariah in the Temple*. These frescoes give also a particularly clear depiction of the development from the cut away buildings that appear in Giotto's works, *i.e.* the great fresco cycles of medieval Florentine church decoration into perspectival theatres and classicising urban scenes.

[49] As noted above, the relevant propaganda can be found in Vasari's *Ragionamento* on his decorations of the ducal apartments in Palazzo Vecchio.

theatre, such as that by Baldassare Lanci, are taken from the Uffizi.[50]

If the Ghirlandaio frescoes assert the aspirations of Florence to be viewed as ideal city, this ideal is not utopian, but strives for embodiment, indeed concretisation. Its privileged space of self-representation and self-elaboration is therefore theatre, not the non-place (utopia) of the ideal commonwealth. The Ghirlandaio frescoes in Santa Maria Novella thus attempt to depict a city that is simultaneously Jerusalem, contemporary Florence, and Florence as ideal city of the kind that appears in the famous panels now conserved in Urbino, Baltimore and Berlin – in particular that of Urbino, with its references to Florentine building.[51] The frescoes seem to aim to show how the ruling class moves round the spaces it wants to create for its idealised life,[52] and it is here that one come to the weakness in the decorations, their frequently imputed lifelessness and frigidity,[53] which lies in the failure to provide the convincing delineation of the theatre of representation which turns spectators of devotional scenes into participants who really seem to inhabit and possess the ideal surroundings in which they are placed – the "characterless" quality of the works lies in a lack of gesture and activity in the Florentine citizens who stand like a hesitant chorus in rows at the edge of the scenes. Ghirlandaio's object in the Santa Maria Novella frescoes, and in the Sassetti Chapel in Santa Trinita, is, it seems, to relate particular images of contemporary local reality with the sacred or miraculous events in a setting that depicts a model for the *renovatio* which will turn Florence into the ideal city – the frescoes however offer no convincing synthesis between the local, the ideal and the sacred.[54]

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[50] In speaking of the "prospects" created by the Uffizi, and the changes in the relations between public and official spaces linked to its construction, one should mention the corridor constructed by Vasari, which passed from the Uffizi over the shops of Ponte Vecchio through the buildings of the present Via Giucciardini, and the church of Sta Felicità to reach Palazzo Pitti. In the corridor the vistas of the city are not merely private theatres for the ruler to survey the city as scene, but points for surveillance.

[51] For example, the details of the more vernacular *palazzi*, the resemblance of the church in the background to Santa Maria delle Carceri of Giuliano da Sangallo in Prato, and the mysterious circular building in the centre, which seems to combine features of the Baptistery with references to Alberti's use of *opus reticulatum* in Palazzo Rucellai, Brunelleschi's use of the Corinthian order and the tabernacles of Michelozzo and Donatello in San Miniato and Santa Croce. On the extensive bibliography to these works, see Zorzi, *op.cit.* and Damisch, *The Origins of Perspective*, *op.cit.* Zorzi p.76 notes the hypothesis that the Urbino panel served as a model for the scene of Machiavelli's *Mandragola*, performed in Palazzo Medici in 1518 for the marriage of Lorenzo Duke of Urbino; the scene, it is claimed, reproduced the idealised appearance of the new piazza which was to rise in front of San Lorenzo, linking the church to the Palazzo Medici, as projected by Leonardo (Leonardo's projects for Via Larga are documented by Carlo Pedretti – for references see *Rafaello architetto*, *op.cit*). The hypothesis is confuted by the architecture of the panel, in particular the central building, which suggests a date in the later fifteenth century, but is nonetheless suggestive. While the high quality of the Urbino panel, its perspectival skill and its controlled representation of an ideal city, has been associated with Piero della Francesca and the influence of Alberti, the painting depicts buildings that seem to suggest the work of the older da Sangallo, whose work included designs for the erection of a monumental Medici quarter; consideration of the Urbino panel should include the architecture in Ghirlandaio's frescoes and the da Sangallo urban projects for the Medici, as well as the creation in this period of palace courtyards which could be used as theatres.

[52] Poliziano, Landino and Ficino are amongst the notable Florentines who appear in the frescoes.

[53] Ghirlandaio's frescoes have aroused the withering contempt of art historians from Berenson on for their "characterless" quality.

[54] In the Sassetti Chapel the images above the altar show the miraculous resurrection of a child by St Francis (an exemplar for the donor's loss of a son, and birth of another shortly afterwards, given the

The weakness in Ghirlandaio's frescoes lies in the inability to render a dramatically convincing fulfilment of settings by the figures that inhabit them and it shows just how essential a grasp of the theatric conditions of representation becomes to depictions of *imitatio*. The Santa Maria Novella frescoes depict enclosed courts like that in Palazzo Scala where classical theatre was performed in the original tongue extend into the vast piazza-cortile like that projected for the Medici by the da Sangallo; these theatre spaces are all urban, even when they enclose areas of garden like the Via Laura project, and the favoured architectural form in Ghirlandaio's frescoes, as in Botticelli's contemporary depictions of architectural settings, is the triumphal arch, richly adorned with panels of relief metalwork – *emblema*. (Figure 7) What we can garner from Florence for our purposes is this extension from the court used for theatre and adorned like a triumphal arch or *frons scaenae* into huge areas which seems to conflate court, piazza and classical forum or spectacle space; such spaces are depicted as settings for the performance of an idealised civic life. What we also see in the depictions of Ghirlandaio is the way that the generality of perspectival structuring seems to predominate over the references that localise the scene and proclaim Florence as the ideal city of Humanist historicism. This predominance of the perspectival theatre also moves the "universality" and "fulfilment" of meaning in *renovatio* towards generalisation. Since the early days of Florentine Humanism, when Bruni wrote the *Laudatio*, Florence was perceived as a city whose totality was perceived as a prospect – in the *Laudatio* there is the comparison of Florence in its *contado* to the concentric rings of a shield and in the *Dialogus ad Petrum Paulum Histrum* the interlocutors discuss the *literae*, the central element in *imitatio* in a suburban villa in Oltrarno which looks over the city, presented as an object of visual and intellectual contemplation, unified when considered at physical and speculative distance. The emphasis on the "dignity" of *negotium* in Florentine humanism means that the sphere of *otium* remains at distance from active life, as it did in the dialogues of Cicero, and Bruni gives a conscious recreation of recreation of Ciceronian *otium* in the *Dialogus*. Where Cicero had used the vast country estates of Roman patricians to stage reflections on the marriage of wisdom and eloquence, in Bruni the interlocutors look down on the city from the suburban loggia and discuss the *literae* which are both cornerstone and ornament of the new civic culture in formation. The sphere of *otium* is not in short brought into the city itself, nor is it utterly distant from it, but it has the character of a vantage point which allows us to gaze on the city as prospect, and one might recall Bruni's metaphor in the *Laudatio* of Florence arranged in a series of concentric rings with the villas at the circumference and the political core at the centre. The *Dialogus ad Petrum Paulum Histrum* thus allows us to see how the topography depicted by Bruni in the *Laudatio* functions – the suburban villa provides the physical and speculative vantage point from which to contemplate (in every sense) the city as a unified totality centred on its political core. Bruni envisages the reciprocity of the suburbs which provide a point for the contemplation of the city, and the centre of the city, encircled by its suburban areas, but in Ghirlandaio's frescoes this relationship of *otium* and *negotium* seems to have disappeared and we view the city as theatre from

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same name, Teodoro), and, beneath, the approval of Franciscan rule. Both scenes took place in Rome but are depicted in Florence, that of the child returned to life in the area of the church and that of the approval of Franciscan rule in Piazza della Signoria, with a classical loggia in foreground.

within the city itself, with the enclosed courts that grow from court to forecourt to vast piazza.[55]

One reason that the movement towards generalisation may become noticeable is that there is no grounding of the scenes that claim to be simultaneously Florence and an ideal model, and at this point the heroic work of Humanism – the work of discovering and disclosure by means of human making (poesis) – can lose impetus. This is to reiterate that the proclaimed attempt to "recover" one's culture, as the Humanists loved to speak of returning antiquity from Hades to the light, should be understood in relation to the obscurity or latency from which the Humanist by his labours heroically recovers the splendours of antiquity and returns with them in triumph. If the recovery of antiquity is conceived as a historicist *renovatio* in which antique learning in its totality is providentially fulfilled through Christian revelation, one has to consider how the ground from which antiquity returns is conceived - as the archaic time of origins from which antiquity arose, the decay into which it fell, the earth from which it returned materially into the light, or as underlying universal setting for the universality of the antique. We shuggested above that the complementary relationship between the recovery of classical literature through *imitatio* and the exploration of nature as "ground" of antiquity is set forth already in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, which concludes with a descent into a grotto where the sources of all rivers are revealed – as in the *Hypnerotomachia*, the discovery of antiquity culminates with the disclosure of *natura generante*. By the mid sixteenth century, this kind of universal conception of the ground leads to the interest in divinities and settings associated with

[55] This distance between the expansion of the palace court into larger and more public spaces in Florence and the garden or pastoral scene, which remains at the borders of the city, persists into the mid sixteenth century, as we find in the division at Palazzo Pitti between the ponderous palace and the hillside garden. Palazzo Pitti was enlarged by Ammannati who had worked on Roman villas such as Villa Giulia where the buildings and garden, the iconography and its "discovery" by means of perspective cannot be separated, and where we find a graceful play in the creation of spaces that open to the gaze while they are apparently blocked to physical access. Ammannati brings this play to the massive Florentine palace whose rugged ostentation he exaggerated by the use of rusticated orders throughout the court, and his arrangement of the passage from court to garden tends to stress the division, rather than the continuity between the court at the bottom of the hillside, as the court with its towering walls is blocked off from the gardens by a fourth wall, containing a grotto, which hides a double curved stairway up to the gardens. Standing in the court, the gardens are almost hidden from view, while from the piano nobile the vista of the hillside is visible but distanced by the great space of the courtyard. At Villa Giulia the gaze is drawn into spaces that we see no way to enter, and this play heightens the sense of surprise and dramatises the spectator's discovery of the building – such discovery concerns the disclosure of a sequence of topoi (grotto of the nymphs, secret garden with aviaries) that reveal the poetic nature of the garden. At Palazzo Pitti the disjunctive play between spaces discovered to vision and spaces that we enter works, as suggested to emphasise the division between palace and garden, and the engraving of Orazio Scarabelli which commemorates the famous naumachia in the court of the palace in 1589 shows the court covered by a velarium which obscures the Boboli gardens – one could almost be looking at an imagined monumental harbour. At Palazzo Pitti in short the court emphasises the civic character of the palace, rather than a progression into nature and the court as theatre scene is fulfilled by spectacles like the naumachia in which the court suggests the appearance of a great city – the garden however remains at a distance, to be negotiated from the piano nobile of the palace. The Boboli gardens were used in the seventeenth century for spectacles recorded by Callot, where tiers of seating were installed to create a garden theatre whose scene was formed by the great walls of the court and, far beyond, the distant prospect of the city. We shall discuss Villa Giulia at more length later in the argument.

the archaic and the chaotic – the gods of the grotto, in short, and villas compete to create the most dramatic representation of the poetic disclosure of light and word from the chthonic darkness of matter. To repeat, Nature conceived as matter and concealment may be envisaged in tensional terms as the obscuring ground from which the illuminating word has to be drawn forth; it is also regarded as universal setting and object of disclosure which underlies antiquity as universal, as context for figuration and as object of disclosure. Again, this is quite clear in the Roman context, where the recovery of antiquity entails quite literally the exploration of the topography of the city, and where gardens become key loci for conceiving, or figuring, the *renovatio* of the city. This engagement with the ground, and the particular meanings that arise from a place that lead to an intensified reflection on the disclosure of a topos is a means of avoiding the kind of generalisation of the perspectival theatre that we see in Ghirlandaio – that meditations on "universal nature" do eventually lead to the global idealisation of nature as such is evident from the so-called classical landscape painting that arises in Rome from the very end of the sixteenth century, and the synthesis of garden and architectural structures (to be read as a metaphor for an epitomised city) that appears at Villa Lante, Bagnaia, seems to signal the movement towards this kind of idealisation. We shall return to Villa Lante below, and to Rome as privileged site for the two-fold discovery of antiquity and its "ground", *natura generante*. Here we have a little more to say concerning the triumphal arch as mosaic of contextual meanings and celebration of historicism, and its development at the hands of Mantegna.

EMBLEMATIC AND PERSPECTIVAL ORDERING IN THE DECORATED ROOM

Perspective And Triumph in Mantegna

Mantegna takes us back to the erudite antiquarian culture of Northern Italy where the *Hypnerotomachia* was produced, and in his work archaeological significance, often depicted through epigraphs and hieroglyphs, is linked with the precise rendition of architectural detail and a constant meditation upon the conditions of framing raised by architecture. Mantegna's *chef d'oeuvre* is the Camera picta (or Camera degli sposi 1465-1474) in the Castel di San Giorgio, Mantua, where the depiction of court life as spectacle in which ceremonial, triumph and *imitatio* come together in a perspectival theatre which takes up the whole space of the room. (Figure 8) Like Donatello, who influenced him through his work in Padua, Mantegna is an artist highly skilled in perspectival representation, interested in recovering antique ornament and its relationship with the perspectival theatre. If Donatello's reliefs in Padua provide Mantegna with the model of perspectival scene framed by an ornate border with putti, festoons and antique motifs, such as Mantegna depicts in the San Zeno altarpiece (1457-60), he develops this scene in the Camera picta into an all-enclosing space, an ornate pavilion or loggia from which the spectator views the ceremonies of the Gonzaga court. Mantegna conflates Alberti's formula of perspective as a scene as though seen through a window with a kind of inverted theatre in which the spectator at the centre of the space looks "out" at the actors, who complete the conceit by gazing

down from the walls and peering back at the spectators from the *oculus*.[56] The decoration in a sense represents a sophisticated development of the lowest tier of the decorations at Palazzo Schifanoia, and, as at Schifanoia, both the figures in the frescoes and the spectators in the room are actors, as the frescoes which adorn the room attest the ceremonial nature of the activity which the room houses, and which fulfilled its meaning – intended originally as a bedroom, the room was used by Ludovico III Gonzaga as an audience chamber.[57]

We have noted above that in the Sala dei Mesi in Palazzo Schifanoia the procession from the gods in triumph through the stars to court festivals, while still organised in the hierarchical tiers of astrological chart, is disclosed to the spectator through a painted loggia; perspectival representation allows such decorations to appear as a continuum which stretches out from (or descends into) the room where the spectator is located in relation to the decorations. We saw above that Pellegrino Prisciano stressed the reciprocal nature of seeing in the theatre as "visorio", "nel quale [...] alcuno vedesse et potesse esser visto" and it is this reciprocity with which Mantegna plays in the Camera picta. In the Sala dei Mesi and the Camera picta, the walls of the room are "dissolved" in the creation of a "visorio" and what remains is the painted loggia or arch which forms the illusory architectural support of Renaissance decorated rooms. This arch is retained as a structure of mediation because it stresses the existence of the room where the spectator is placed and the special character of being in that place from which one can see the higher order disclosed. This disclosure manifests the continuity and reciprocity which prospective guaranteed on the basis of geometric demonstration and the special nature of this disclosure is emphasised through the ornament of the frame which both reveals and situates. The characterisation of the room as a place in which certain disclosures or discoveries - inventions – are made thus requires the illusory dissolution of room into frame, but this frame is essential to the relationship of the room as a stand point, a place in which we are present, and the representations of a higher or idealised world whose entry into human conditions is depicted in the decorations.[58] If one conceives of *imitatio* as a framework between an ideal (here, antiquity) and the present condition of things, one task of *imitatio* will be to provide representation of all the allusions and analogies necessary to establish a semantic relation between the viewer and the ideal, represented visually in the perspectival image. In the Camera picta, as in Botticelli's *Calumny*, this framework of *imitatio* of the antique takes the form of the arch filled with decorative

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[56] In contrast to the severity sometimes associated with the artist, Mantegna's scheme in the *Camera Picta* is extremely playful, most obvious in the oculus, where the design of putti bearing medallions in other parts of the vault is inverted into the image of putti standing precariously within the garlanded circle of the oculus.

[57] After the death of Ludovico III Gonzaga, the Camera picta was used as a storeroom for precious objects; in the following century Vasari was unable to visit it.

[58] One should remember here that the viewer is also generalised – the prince upon whom a theatre scene is centred occupies a central point of order and control that is impersonal in the sense that it can be recreated in any situation, irrespective of the particularities of the context. Having said this, perspective could be used to make statements about social organisation in certain cases – in the Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza (Palladio-Scamozzi 1580-86), created for an academy in a city of the Venetian republic, the perspectives are calculated so that the viewing point would be in the orchestra, in front of the seating of the *cavea*, thus avoiding the political implications of a single viewing point elevated over the others.

inserts, mosaic or *emblemata*, and this fashioning of the setting for the principal scene should be considered both as a necessary condition of mediation of the perspectival theatre and in relation to the philological attempt to chart the background of contextual and historical meaning against which individual acts of usage can stand.

The Camera picta draws the viewer's attention to the role of perspective in the creation of a playful reciprocity between the actions that take place within the room and the depicted rituals of court life, carefully represented so as to exhibit the *disinvoltura* later postulated by Castiglione. We saw the beginnings of this artless art in the Sala dei Mesi, in details such as the courtier perched on the ledge of the painted loggia, but the controlled and universalising artifice in the Camera picta, where both the painted figures and the beholders are simultaneously and reciprocally actors and spectators, calls for the artifice which permeates the whole representation to appear as naturalness. In this situation *sprezzatura* appears as a necessary requirement, not as an expressive goal, with all the contextual meanings, attributes and metaphors appearing on the framework that contains the artifice of artless continuity between a given situation and a depicted ideal. We thus find that the Camera picta is both a decoration "about" perspective, and a triumph. The triumph is both thematic (the return of Francesco Gonzaga, newly created cardinal, to Mantua from Rome, depicted in the background; the return of antiquity to the Italian court) and visual, in the way that the solid cube of the room is "etherealised" into an space which suggests the interior of an ephemeral *teatro*, and whose golden ceiling is painted to resemble mosaic, containing small mythological figures (Orpheus, Arion and Hercules) in the lunettes and medals of the first eight Roman emperors adorned by garlands born up by putti.[59]

In the Camera picta we see much of the content that is reiterated in perspectival rooms through the following century, with the areas of ornament that frame a central depiction featuring historical, biblical or mythological *exempla* and an allegorical structure that reiterates the virtues and the cosmic structure – elements, seasons, times and so forth, so that the totalising representation of perspective is framed within a universal structure depicted in the ornament. Mantegna in the Camera picta works very knowingly with *imitatio*, the theatric conditions of *imitatio* and the theatric conditions of perspective, dealing in visual terms with issues such as the appearance of *sprezzatura* as a product of the continuum of artifice some time before the discussions in Castiglione. In Mantegna we have an artist whose knowledge and study of the visual remains of antiquity presents a counterpart to the literary erudition of contemporary Humanists such as Poliziano;[60] like the philologists, Mantegna is exercised by the issue

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[59] Amongst the features that *Camera picta* shares with the ephemeral *teatri* one should include the inscription that hangs from an arch like the Latin epigraphs of the ephemeral arches. The illusion of impermanence is as much a part of content of the room as the references to fame and history, since it implies a parallel between the occasion figured in the decoration, and that which takes place within the room, which is "viewed" by the figures who peer down from the oculus. Another shared element with the theatrical display of the *Triumph of Caesar* is the use of gold curtains, such as "cover" two walls of the Camera picta.

[60] Mantegna's fame as an erudite exponent of *imitatio* in the visual arts was such that shepherd-poets compete to win a vase made by him in Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, a work which proclaims itself as a masterpiece of *imitatio* – the vase, depicting *putti* at play and a beautiful female satyr, wreathed with

of "recovering" antiquity and reflecting on how the material recovered can be assimilated, hence his interest in the triumph and in the structuring of material within the perspectival theatre.

Mantegna's engagement with the implications of *sotto in su* perspectival representation and his profoundly playful (or playfully profound) reflection on the relationship of the perspectival theatre and its framework of ornament gives a foundation for the consideration of the perspectival room we shall develop here. The aim is to trace the progressive problematisation of the illusory arch with its triumphal ornament as coherent framework of the perspectival *storia*, leading to the mid sixteenth century decorations that seem to play with the break down of the distinctions between perspectival scene, architectural frame and the figurations that form the ornament of that frame. Salviati is conspicuous here, as is the grotesquework that expands from an ornament restricted to certain areas (pilasters of the framing arch) to absorp the perspectival theatre into a vast and metamorphic image field. As noted, the most important figure here is Raphael, whose early involvement with the decorative schemes that entail the depiction of the room as triumphal arch disclosing a perspective comes to monumental form in the Stanza della Segnatura. The Stanza was the privileged viewing point for the Belvedere Cortile, so that the vast theatre court, culminating in exedra and garden, appeared as extension of the perspectival room; this relationship between the framing decorations of the perspectival room and the topography that opens out from it preoccupies Raphael in successive projects, and his interest in the *grottesche* is part of his response to the questions raised by this relationship. With the extension of the perspectival room into garden (*i.e.* nature and topography), the decoration of the room and the topography of the setting start to work together; if we can this as arising in the disclosure of the Belvedere Cortile from the Stanza della Segnatura, the Farnesina and Villa Madama present further, subtle elaborations. The synthesis of topography disclosed by the plan, iconographic articulation and ornament at Villa Madama is of such mastery that later sixteenth century projects seem to have attempted to explicate it, with recourse to complex mythological narratives and the overt dramatisation of the spectator's situation. The attempt that will most concern us is Ligorio's work at the Casino of Pius IV in the Vatican, where the articulation of the topography and the rich ornamentation developed from Raphael become the framework upon which Ligorio loads the speculations on emblematics and mnemonics that we considered in the previous section. The path from Raphael to Ligorio entails discussion of the development of the iconographic discovery of the topography in various sixteenth century villas and gardens, and then of the changes in the understanding of the *grottesche*, as they become increasingly associated with the energies of the *phantasia* and of *natura generante*. Ligorio seeks to unite topographical "disclosure" and ornament as Raphael had done, but between the two he places a framework of analogical complexities as dense as the theatre of Camillo; the result is that the whole field of representation in

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vines and with a handle in the form of a coiled serpent, stands as figure for the consummate artifice of the pastoral itself (*Arcadia* XI, l.35ff). The artist is celebrated as "[il] padoano Mantenga, artefice sovra tutti gli altri accorto e ingegnissimo" (Mantenga of Padua, artist skilled and ingenius beyind all others"). The vase described by Sannazaro has been traced to a design by Mantegna now in the Louvre – see the indications given by Francesco Erspamer in *Arcadia*, 1990, Milan, p.200.

the Casinoand the Villa D'Este is filled to repletion with the multiple structures and figurative strata that characterise the *grottesche*.

From the Camera picta to the Stanza della Segnatura

This is said by way of introduction to the material to which we shall come later, which shall entail some movement between various threads of the argument. When we turn to schemes which form a bridge between Mantegna's innovations and Raphael's work in the Vatican, we find schemes such as the Biblioteca Piccolomini in Siena Cathedal (Pinturicchio and helpers, including Raphael, 1502-8), where pilasters with *grottesche* candelabra and a vault with grotesquework frame the sequence of perspectival "windows" that show scenes from the life of Pius II, thus constituting one of the early *gesta* cycles that will become so important in the rival dynastic decorations of the Farnese and the Medici in the later sixteenth century. Still closer to the Sala della Segnatura is the Sala del Cambio in Perugia, decorated from around 1496 to 1500 by Perugino, which shows the planetary gods in triumph in an *all'antica* vault, with painted mosaic, medallions and *grottesche*, and beneath them, allegorical and exemplary figures which correspond to the gods.[61] (Figure 9) The scheme moves from Luna over the window to the street, to Mercury with Prudence and Justice and their exemplars (Numa Pomplilius, Socrates, Trajan, Furius Camillus, Fabius Maximus, Pittacus) to Mars with Fortitude and Temperence (Lucius Sincius, Leonides, Horatius Cocles, Publius Scipio, Pericles and Quintus Cincinnatus). (Figure 10) On the back wall, facing the street, is Jupiter with images of the Transfiguration and Nativity, facing Mars is Saturn with God the Father and the Prophets and Sibyls, Venus facing Mercury flies above the statue of Justice and Apollo is depicted in the centre of the vault. The 1377 register of the Cambio underlined its importance in the civil life of the republic - "Ars cambi quae est pars magna totius Rei publicae civitatis" - it controlled the exchange of money and could pronounce sentence in civil cases within its field, taking on the duties of a tribunal; the chamber decorated by Perugino was the Sala delle Udienze where cases where heard. The iconography of the chamber thus is centred on Justice, who appears under Mercury as moral virtue and under Venus, perhaps through the link of Venus with concord. Within this scheme, the classical world furnishes exemplars of moral virtue while the three images depicting Christian subjects, depicted beneath Jupiter, representing religion and Saturn representing contemplation, have been related to the theological virtues. The meaning of the scheme lies in the relation between the gods in triumph in the vault and the exemplary figures who illustrate the virtues associated with the gods; the weakness of the decorations lies in the fact that these static figures revealed through the arches of the vault constitute the visual equivalent of a list. The decoration thus hangs uneasily between unrealised perspectival room and a painting depicting an elaborate sculptural installation, like the

[61] The programme for the decorations was supplied by Perugian Humanist Francesco Maturanzio, inspired by the *Divinae Institutiones* of Lactantius and the *Factorum et dictorum mirabilium libri* of Valerius Maximus. For a brief appraisal of the cycle, see *Perugino Opera completa*, Vittoria Garibaldi, Florence 1999, pp.126-129, who notes the influence of the *grottesche* recently executed by Pinturicchio in the Cappella Basso delle Rovere in Sta. Maria del Popolo and in the palazzo of Giuliano della Rovere in Rome; Garibaldi also compares Perugino's decorations with the cycle of illustrious men painted by Ghirlandaio in Palazzo Vecchio 1481-85.

Tuscan quattrocento wall tombs where figures representing the virtues stand in niches beneath images of the Madonna within a monumental arch.[62] The Cambio is revealing both as a precedent for the Sala della Segnatura and for a retrospective glance of the Camera picta; its iconography strengthens our reading of the role of the triumphal ornament of the illusionistic arch of the Camera and reveals the degree to which the triumphal arch and the perspectival theatre are reciprocally fulfilling.

Raphael is thought to have aided Pinturicchio in the Piccolomini Library and Perugino in the Cambio, and the Sala della Segnatura clarifies the structure of the provincial Cambio and gives it monumental stamp learnt from association with Bramante, Florentine painting, and Michelangelo.[63] (Figure 11) The affinity of the structure of the Sala della Segnatura with the Borgia Apartments and the Cambio was noted by Gombrich, who discussed it in terms of Humanist epideictic, such as prolusions to lecture courses, in which each of the sciences is revealed in its relationship to the others so as to reveal the complete cycle of learning, the *encyclios paedeia*, or praised through the use of *amplificatio* and *sententiae* - the visual depiction of this kind of epideictic structure takes visual form, as we have argued, as triumph.[64] The structure of the celebrated decorations consists of the enthroned personifications of Philosophy, Poetry, Religion and Justice in medallions in the vault, explicated in the *School of Athens*, *Parnassus*, the *Disputà*, the *Approval of the Decretals by Gregory the Great* and *Justinian receiving the Pandects* (canon and civil law respectively) beneath the virtues. In each of the vault medallions the allegorical figure is accompanied by an inscription – *causarum cognitio* (Philosophy), *numine afflatur* (Poetry), *notitia divinarum rerum* (Religion) and *ius suum unicuique tribuit* (Justice). The medallions correspond to devices composed of figure and motto,[65] and are further illustrated by small rectangular images which contain an image appropriate to the allegorical figures: between Philosophy and Poetry is the *primum mobile*, or Astrology, with a celestial globe, between Philosophy and Justice the Judgement of Solomon, between Justice and Religion Adam, Eve and the serpent, between Religion and Poetry, Apollo and Marsyas. The painted mosaic vault, with its allegorical images depicted as figure and motto, presents in emblematic terms what is unfolded through argument and exemplar in the scenes depicted in the great arches below, closed off from the spectator at the base by the *basamenti*, which appear to cover the lower part of the pilasters of the triumphal arch that forms the frame of the decorations.[66] In the depictions of poetry, philosophy and religion, we seem to see the attempt to exemplify all the arguments that can be found within a matter – the images of philosophy and

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[62] See the tomb sculpture of Donatello, Jacopo della Quercia, Desiderio da Settignano, Mino da Fiesole, and the Rossellini.

[63] The room is thought to have been planned as the library of Julius II and became in the mid sixteenth century the *Segnatura Gratiae et Iustitiae*, the highest court of the Holy See – in "Raphael's *Stanza della Segnatura* and the Nature of its Symbolism" (*Symbolic Images*, London, 1972), Gombrich argues on the basis of the iconography that this was planned as its function from the beginning of the scheme of decoration.

[64] Gombrich, "Raphael's *Stanza della Segnatura* ..." in *op.cit.* The structure of the Stanza, with its emblematic figurations of the arts above the *copia* of exemplars which are unfolded or invented, also reappears in later sixteenth century *apparati* for triumphal entries, such the 1565 decorations invented by Borghini and executed by Vasari for the wedding of Joanna of Austria and Francesco de'Medici.

[65] In *Picta Poesis* (Rome 1960, p.34) Robert Clements discusses the image of Poetry in these terms.

[66] The *basamenti*, painted by Perino del Vaga, replaced the original wooden panelling.

religion depict a scene that is simultaneously *disputà* (in the sense of discussion, object of discussion) and triumph; this triumph is inseparable from the notion of concord, which has explicit figuration in the *Parnassus* with the celestial music of Apollo, in the *Justice* wall with the image of the civil and canonical lawgivers, between Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, exemplified by the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Timaeus* (also corresponding to the tomes of moral and natural philosophy held by Philosophy). Alongside this attempt to show the concord between the variety of discourses exemplified by the "children" so to speak of Philosophy, Poetry and Theology, there is the theme of the concord between the "sacred" discourses of theology, philosophy, law and poetry. The triumph structure in short does not merely entail the accumulation of exemplars for each argument, taken to represent (metonymically) the totality of discourses and meanings "contained" in that argument, but requires the accommodation and harmonising of tensions, which have their stylistic expression in notions of *varietas* and *antithesis* that stress the cultivation and reconciliation of opposing forces.[67]

In the intellectual background to this figuration of the concord of the arts we might see the kind of confluence traced in Part One between the *poetica theologica* espoused by Humanists, and the theme of the concord between and within the various "sacred" discourses, as promulgated by Ficino and Pico, brought together the display of triumphant historicism. Ingrid Rowland has traced the iconography of the Stanza to the *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis* of Egidio of Viterbo, the general of the Augustine order, who held great authority in the court of Julius II; for Egidio the reconciliation discovered between the pagan and Christian tradition signalled both God working though history, through prophets, sibyls, philosophers and Etruscan augurs in the ancient Tusculan tradition fabricated by his townsman Annio of Viterbo, and the return of a golden age, which would return as a natural cycle, in which the great deeds of the past could be repeated.[68] This providential return, brought about by divine love for humankind, is foretold by Virgil in the Fourth Eclogue, claimed to be based on the prophecies of the Cumaean Sibyl – the inscription which identifies poetry in the vault of the Stanza, *numine afflatur*, refers to the description of the *raptus* of the Cumaean Sibyl in *Aeneid* VI, 50, "adflata est numine". The four "sacred" arts are depicted as constituting a complete cycle, which is at once a Humanist substitute for the Medieval *summa* and, as manifestation of the triumphal temporality of *renovatio*, both historic and cyclical.[69] If the "return of the golden age" is a celebration of *virtù* and artifice, it is also, as noted, providential and in this sense the structure of human *scientia* "discloses" the room as an artificial embodiment of the four-fold structures that compose the cosmic order. Just as the elements and qualities which constitute the physical cosmos are held together in harmony by their mutual *philia*, so the concord must be established between and within the discourses by which the divine is revealed

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[67] One might here recall Alberti's discussions of *varietas* in *De pictura* 40, 42-43 and 56 – the discussions of *varietas* concern the depiction of movement, which entails both decorum (*i.e.* through characterisation) and the balancing of parts, and the myth of Zeuxis, which concerns the harmonisation of diversity into ideal unity.

[68] Ingrid Rowland, "Render unto Caesar what is Caeasar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 1986, 4, pp. 695-698.

[69] Compare here the visual illustration of the scholastic *summa* as hierarchical diagram like the *Triumph of Thomas Aquinas* in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.

in the human world, as we have seen the attempt to syncretise the varieties of revelation in Renaissance Neoplatonism, so as to arrive at the full unfolding of the means of salvation in the world. These discourses form a hierarchy, as do the elements, with religion, identified with the papacy and sacraments, as the highest discourse, yet the relationship between the arts is essentially complementary - poetry, proclaiming its numinous source, leads men up to the divine as law on the facing wall is handed down; the conflicts in pagan thought, embodied in the antithetical gestures of Plato holding *Timaeus* and Aristotle bearing the *Nichomachean Ethics*, achieves a higher resolution through the revelation of the Christian Trinity and the Eucharist. In the triumphs depicted in the Stanza, the inclusive depiction of arguments on a theme in the *Parnassus*, *School of Athens* and *Disputà* serves to amplify the theme of the harmony of the sacred discourses, and the figures in these representations are not just anonymous "children" of the themes above them, but characters whose excellence is such that they come to exemplify the notion of a golden age which is both historic and recurrent; it is indeed through the return of the golden age of classical antiquity in the light of Christian revelation that the full meaning of the sacred discourses disclosed to the pagans can be realised and understood.

The arts which reveal the divine are presented as a complete and harmonious structure; the concord of this structure is inseparable from its *varietà*, in which a perfected whole is figured in terms of the harmony that arises from the balanced antithesis of the parts. The human endeavour to achieve knowledge and imitation of the divine, which shapes the forms of human thought and order, exists as a concord of parts in relation to the simple unity of the divine to which it strives, and the structure of representation invites fairly obvious comparison with Raphael's style, as he himself seemed consciously to conceive it; in discussion of Castiglione above we invoked the myth of Zeuxis, to which Raphael alludes in a famous letter to Castiglione and raised the idea that the myth becomes both a model for *imitatio* and reflects the procedure of ascent to contemplation.[70] It is a commonplace that the *varietà* and *grazia*, the *sprezzatura* or *facilità* that arises from the extension of artifice to cover all things, as described in the *Cortegiano*, have their richest manifestation in the art of Raphael; in making such comparisons one must be attentive to the relationship between the stylistic structure of artifice which attempts to attain the illusion of naturalness and the structure of thought which is embodied or enacted. In terms of the rhetorical ideal of the fusion of argument and style, in which, as we remember, style is conceived as enacting or figuring argument, the Stanza della Segnatura is a consummate work, which represents both a graceful unity of style, arising from what Vasari calls universal judgement and then plays out this unity in terms of *varietas*, leading the beholder to reflect on the source of the unity that lies beyond the harmony of parts. In stressing the contemplative quality of the decorations, in short, we return to the notion that the ideal of *imitatio* exemplified by the myth of Zeuxis may serve as a stylistic embodiment for the reflection on the invention of the decoration. This reminds us that the Stanza is represented as a loggia through whose arches we see the famous images, and these

[70] It is interesting to note that in one of the lectures cited by Gombrich in relation to the invention of the Stanza, Giovanni Argyropoulos concludes a lecture on Aristotle's *Physics* with an exhortation to envisage physics as a maiden in whom all the ideas of the science are gathered as all beauties were gathered by Zeuxis in his Helen.

images relate to the personifications in the vault above as the amplifications of *copia* relate to the concentration of emblematic figuration – the amplification and condensation of arguments whose meaning remains beyond the *varietà* of the figuration are figured by triumph within the perspectival theatre and the emblematic images in the mosaic vault. On one hand, the perspectival theatre with its union of architecture and narrative, has come to full fruition in the celebration of historicism; on the other hand the very *grazia* which displays theatre and frame together as elements of a larger representation of *varietà* seems to signal the beginning of a process in which style is not just an enactment of argument but, considered as a whole, becomes a figure for a structure of thought, a process which might be said to culminate decades later, with an artist such as Salviati, or a theory such as Tasso's in the *Discorsi*, who elaborates the single idea of the myth of Zeuxis into the seven-fold ideas of Hermogenes.

Raphael seems to effect a semantic shift in the treatment of the relation of frame and scene: rather than the ornament of the frame figuring the context for the dramatic depiction in the perspective, Raphael treats the two as complementary modes of invention, exemplifications as we said of emblematic brevity and copious amplification. He is developing the structure of decorations used by Perugino in the Cambio, with the gods in medallions in the vaults above the exemplars of the virtues, but doing so in a way that explores more probingly the implications of the relationship of perspectival scene and framing arch, in which they work together as manifestations of the *varietà* which has its thematisation in the depictions of the concord of the arts. The reflections between the form of a depiction, the forms within a depiction and its subject matter interest Raphael from the early stages of his career, as evinced by his long interest in the *tondo*, and culminate with the relationship of plan, topography and ornament in Villa Madama; the reflection in short unfolds and deepens in the progression from portable painting to fresco, decorative cycle, architectural decoration, architecture and archaeological study. In the Stanza the triumphal arch and perspectival theatre showing the triumphant return and fulfilment of antiquity become full expression of Renaissance historicism, which entails the providential return of antique learning, its fulfilment through Christian revelation and its recovery through the human labours of invention and imitation which have their paradigmatic form in poesis.

In the Stanza the comprehensive invention of the triumph and perspective work together in the sense that the papal room is presented as the place upon which the *renovatio* is centred, the heart and the culmination of Humanist historicism. If the providential return and fulfilment of antiquity in the light of Christianity entails the depiction of the universal order through the concord of the human arts, part of the content of the Stanza della Segnatura was the vista of the Belvedere court, which was created on axis with the Stanza, with the horizon point in the centre of the exedra of the upper terrace. Thus one turns from the paintings each seen in perspective through a great arch to the Belvedere court, designed as a gigantic perspectival theatre – the continuity between the ideal triumph of culture and the ideal culture of triumph could not be more explicit, and it is significant that the Belvedere court is "discovered" beneath the fresco of Parnassus, thus emphasising the former, which culminated in garden and statue court, as *locus amoenus* – at the same time, the vast space enclosed

by the court suggests the beginning of meditations on a palace-city planned as a garden, or garden theatre. The image of Parnassus "rises" above the exedra of the Belvedere Cortile and the two Virgilian inscriptions in the *figura* of poetry and on the door of the *viridarium*, each referring to the sacred character of poetry, or poetic place shows the extent to which the visitor moving from the Stanza to arrive at the Statue Court could experience a progressive concretisation in the movement from painted Parnassus to architectural theatre to a real garden which proclaimed it self as poetic *locus*.[71] (In contrast to the upper level of the Belvedere, whose exedra was imitated repeatedly, the architectural surroundings of the Statue Court remained fairly simple, and all attention was directed to the statues and the garden setting – the *viridarium* with its trees - especially orange trees - and fountains.) Painted and built architecture, ideal scenes within the perspectival theatres of the frescoes and the entertainments of the papal court, are revealed in continuity, so that theatre, with its perspectival structuring that unfolds everything to the vision, becomes an embodiment of the thematic insistence on proportion and analogy in the Stanza. One hesitates to say that perspective has become here a symbolic form, but the reflection on measure that underlies the structuring of the setting and the theme of concord in the invention of the decorations should be seen as harmonious, and in this recognition of the analogical relationship between the setting or frame and what is disclosed within it we have perhaps the germ of Raphael's subsequent experiments with the *grottesche* and the room as frame in the Farnesina. This recognition brings with it the risk that the triumph of artifice which covers all things with its universal judgement, its *sprezzatura* and its *grazia* may submerge the layering of the setting, with its levels of participation and mediation; if this possibility is present as a tension in Castiglione we shall see it explored in very different terms in the *grottesche*. The theatre of representation that Raphael creates is studied and subtle; it demands contemplation, in all senses, and seems to shift focus from the implications of dramatic activity within the perspectival scene to a meditation on the continuum of artifice and the recognition that any structure of artifice must point to simple ideas in terms of *varietas* and complexity. In short, a decorative scheme which appears to be a supremely confident embodiment of the designing of an ideal culture also seems to shift the theatric requirement of that designing in the direction of contemplation. It is the artists taught by pupils of Raphael (in particular, Perino del Vaga) who will develop the *maniera* that presents affinities with the kind of intellectual project represented by Camillo, in the attempt to achieve a universal artistic style in which the display and synthesis of *varietà* is ultimately conceived in terms of the analogical layering of the *figura*.[72] In comparison with this effort to cultivate a style which claims universality through the simultaneous display of copious explication, "hieroglyphics" and the conflation of models, Raphael's own work retains a certain reticence; alongside the operations of synthesis that result in *grazia* and the reflections on the continuity of artifice there is profound sense in which

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[71] We noted that the inscription *numine adflatur* in the image of Poetry in the Stanza della Segnatura was derived from the description of Cumaean Sibyl in *Aeneid* VI.50, and the entrance to the garden court of the Belvedere bore another citation from the same source – *Procul este prophani*, the words used by the Sibyl at l.258 as the divinity approaches the grove where she and Aeneas are completing sacrificial rites. Noted by Hans Henrik Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm, 1970. In treatment of the statues and their interpretation, I am relying largely on the Brummer's study.

[72] We saw above that for certain theorists of the *impresa*, the *concetto* itself is a *figura*. We shall see this development in artistic terms more clearly when we look at Salviati.

analogy is still rooted in measure, and has not yet spun out into structures of correspondences.

Much has been ignored here, including the fact that the Stanza della Segnatura constituted only the central of three chambers which depicted scenes from the Bible and the early history of the Church. We shall look further on at the development of decoration within the perspectival room at the hands of Raphael's pupils and their students, with the progressive accretion of figurative registers that results in the multiplication, and hence the de-centralising of the perspectival theatre. Amongst the first steps in this process, which lies as a potential in the overt harmony of the Stanza della Segnatura, is the fourth of the Vatican Stanze, the Sala di Costantino, where the play between the scene and the ornament of the frame starts to create the illusion of the subversion of the solidity of the architectural body of the room. Two points emerge from the Stanza della Segnatura: the first concerns the development of decorative cycles from Raphael through his atelier to the mid-century artists like Salviati in whom one sees the issues of *copia* in invention, the role of emblematic representation and the questions of the mediating structures of the perspectival room brought to rich issue. The second concerns the fact that the Stanza della Segnatura was, as noted, a perspectival room in a second, important sense, in that the vista seen literally from the window was the Belvedere Court, as palace-theatre-garden unfolded from the viewing point in the Stanza to culminate in the garden of the upper terrace and the Statue Court beyond. (Figure 12) This second line takes us into the garden as extension of the perspectival room and the question of nature as the background of the room "opened" by perspective; it also dramatises the role of the spectator and so raises questions about the kind of activity required to fulfil these densely figured spaces, which seems to become increasingly contemplative in character. If the decorations of an artist such as Salviati seem to exploit the various meanings of topos and the structure of body and soul in emblematic figuration, the garden becomes a theatre of progressive disclosure, often drawing on pilgrimage as a prototype for contemplative journeying. In Ligorio, the relationships between contemplation in a locus and contemplation as movement through a locus are manifest in an interest in the relationship of room and garden, and the ways of achieving a sustained openness between the two, which leads to the richness of his meditation on the *grottesche*. In searching for ways of articulating this open relationship Ligorio, as we shall see, draws on the work of Raphael, most importantly at Villa Madama; the important point to note here is the movement from the demarcation of registers of decoration in the type of perspectival decoration exemplified by the Stanza della Segnatura to a situation in which the spectator's contemplative activity is itself dramatised, so that the locus in which one stands centred as a viewer and the progressive disclosure as one moves through a topography become reciprocally fulfilling. The kind of perspectival decoration that we have considered in the previous pages depicts a clear progression from the ornament of the painted frame, with its references to antiquity and its "mosaic" of contextualising figuration, to the scene depicted in the perspective to the situation of that scene in nature. In the sustained openness of room and garden that is sought in the Casino of Pius IV, the contextualising figurations appear in the "theatre" of representation itself, and the spectator is centred in this theatre as actor and contemplative, so that the ornament mediates to the spectator the nature of his or her own role within that space. The insistence upon the structure of body and soul in emblematics or the reflection of

psychological processes of apprehension in mid sixteenth century accounts of style should be viewed in terms of this contemplative activity of the spectator, as a way of mirroring and disclosing the nature of situation within a certain space. As noted, such disclosure may be progressive in terms of understanding and movement, and again the emphasis on ongoing transformation in the *grottesche* is relevant here; as we shall see, the *grottesche* become a way of sustaining the openness between locus and progression, the mind's structures of interpretation and nature apprehended as transformative energy, taking on importance as the decorated room opens up to the disclosure of the topography and creating a context of possibility for the situation of "hieroglyphic" figuration.

Here, as we move from the Stanza della Segnatura to the Belvedere Cortile, it seems important to emphasise that the privileged status of painting, and of architectural spaces that could be conceived like perspectival paintings, is deeply implicated in the temporality of *renovatio* that sees meaning returned and fulfilled in a particular place at a particular time. It is this assurance (or pretension) that allows for the continuity between images within a given room, the theatre ground or garden beyond that room and the city beyond these again – this continuity of temporal situation should be seen as working along with perspectival structuring, which assures the same outcome in every situation; once we have arrived at the mid sixteenth century we should add also the emblematic conception of the structure of figuration as body and soul. As we have insisted, these conditions must be balanced with the insistence on the unique character of each situation of representation – the outcome responds well to the character of the *locus* or topos, which is both particular and typified. The Belvedere court exemplifies much of this comment – it alludes to the continuity between room, court, theatre, piazza, city and garden, it presents itself as a *summa* of references to and associations with antiquity, it fulfilled as perspectival theatre and as poetic topos, it provides the basis for triumphs in Rome itself and – interesting for our argument – it shows traces of strong inspiration by the *Hypernotomachia*.

THEATRE AS TOPOS IN THE ROMAN *RENOVATIO*

The Belvedere Cortile and the Statue Court

We have stated that the *Hypnerotomachia* presents a prolonged narrative of the pursuit and discovery of antiquity in *loci*, in which the movement (pilgrimage or triumph) through these *loci* is represented as the discovery of a topography. One of the most striking features of the romance is the disappearance of what might be considered a primary element in a work so engrossed with architecture, *i.e.* the civic context. As a romance that recounts a dream vision, the work can be seen as released from the necessity to recount the settings of active life; as a work which was to have such influence upon the "discovery" of the topography through the planning of gardens, the *Hypnerotomachia* fragments the city into a sequence of ruins and symbolic remains that are fulfilled through the interpretation of epigraphs and hieroglyphs, and through triumph – besides their mnemonic function. Gombrich discussed the influence of the *Hypnerotomachia* on Bramante, as manifest in his project to carve a hieroglyphic

inscription along the wall of the Belvedere Court, and his purported interest in turning the axis of St Peter's from east-west to south-north so that the Vatican obelisk would stand in a forecourt before the church; Gombrich linked these projects with the Statue Court of the Belvedere, where the antique "Cleopatra" (now known as "Ariadne") was placed in an installation that recalled the fountain of Venus in the *Hypnerotomachia*, from whose breasts water flowed into a porphyry cistern.[73] If Julius II objected to Bramante's "Egyptian" projects, the Belvedere as built does embody a progression from the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican palace decorated as a sumptuous triumphal arch, to the terraces of the court designed as a vast spectacle ground to the overtly theatric exedra to the Statue Court, a *viridarium* where epigraphs, statues of the gods and fountains were displayed.

To this one should add that the statues of the statue court appear alongside Egyptian allusions (obelisk and hieroglyphs) in the Carnival of 1513, staged for a triumphal entry of the pope as new Julius Caesar[74], after his military campaigns in Emilia Romanga. This spectacle contains *in nuce* many of components of later sixteenth century triumphal entries, like those considered in the early part of the argument - we find emblematic figurations which exemplify a fairly recondite visual oratory alongside traditional popular spectacles, in this case a *correre allo anello* (*i.e.* a circus) in the "Agone" – Piazza Navona.[75] The allegorical procession of figures, which both depicted the cities subdued and charts the topography of the campaign, culminated in a "hieroglyph" celebrating Julius's glory and ended with an affirmation of his spiritual and political authority. The visual narrative of the triumph thus embraced a variety of "speaking images", from the insignia or inscriptions that identify cities or personifications of territory (Bologna is labelled "caussa mali tanti") to the configuration of images that formed an "emblem" of Julius in the cars with the obelisk and Apollo, containing references to the propagandistic use of Julius's art collection assembled in the Belvedere *viridarium*, where the Apollo Belvedere was placed near the so-called Cleopatra. The obelisk was inscribed with Latin, Greek and Hebrew epigraphs, the first reading *Iul. II Pont. Max. Liberatori et Scismatis Extinctori*, and featured also "hieroglyphs" – wheat ears, an ape, an oak, a sparrow, a palm, an eye and a stork – from the various meanings of these symbols, taken mainly from the *Hypnerotomachia* and Horapollo, one could construct a phrase or dedication in the

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[73] "Hyperotomachiana" in *Symbolic Images*, London, 1972.

[74] Julius II had coins minted in 1506 in which he celebrated himself with this title.

[75] The triumph was described by Battista Stabellini in a letter of 20 February 1513 to Isabella D'Este and an account by Jacopo Penni, who also mentions the processions of the various trades that follow between the triumphal cars. The sequence of cars took the form of a visual narrative which opened with *Italia vinta* and *Italia liberata*, then displayed the Apennines figured by a colossus (a prefiguration of the famous Giambologna *Apennino* at Pratolino?), the Emilian and Ligurian cities, the Po, the car of Julius II with an obelisk with hieroglyphs and inscriptions, the car of Apollo in the form of the Apollo Belvedere, which had entered Julius's collection when a cardinal. The last cars featured Aaron with sacrificial vestments, the Concilium Laterense, with the Catholic Kings of Spain, Hungary and England, the Emperor and Julius II, and finally Julius in effigy with the kings beneath him on the lower steps of the car. Julius's triumphs are recounted, less sympathetically, by Erasmus in *Julius exclusus* (1517), where Julius boasts of his worldly achievements to St Peter at the gates of paradise, who advises him to build another heaven for himself elsewhere.

manner of the hieroglyphic inscriptions deciphered as a rebus by Poliphilo.[76] The hieroglyphs are particularly close to those in the *Hypnerotomachia* where an eye and wheat sheaf appear alongside one another on an obelisk forming a dedication to Julius Caesar as governor of Egypt.[77] One should also recall that the Vatican obelisk, for which Bramante wished to move the tomb of St Peter, was believed to contain the ashes of Julius Caesar in the sphere at its summit, thus underlining the imperial iconography cultivated by Julius and referring to the "sacred mystery" inscribed in the hieroglyphs that underlies or justifies universal dominion. Such iconography centres also on the solar symbolism of the emperor, and thus the solar obelisk is followed in the triumph by figurations of Apollo vanquishing the hydra and shooting arrows from the temple at Delphi. Our understanding of these figures relies on awareness of the fact that the Apollo Belvedere formed part of Julius's sculpture collection and had pride of place in the statue court of the Belvedere – in Humanist poems praising Julius, the statue itself speaks, and the links with the Egypt, represented in the triumph by the obelisk, were provided by the proximity of the Cleopatra, and the fact that Augustus erected a temple to Apollo after the battle of Actium.[78] Thus the obelisk, presented alongside the Apollo, could inspire solar symbolism as well as associations between the pope's victories and the Egyptian campaigns of the Caesars, which Julius II imitates in bringing the Nile to the Tiber, the Cleopatra to the Belvedere gardens as *nympha loci*.[79] The iconographic meanings "discovered" through the juxtapositions of the antiquities brought together in the Statue Court of the Belevedere, are concretised and displayed in the triumph – but displayed in an emblematic form that owes much to the hieroglyphic rebus of the *Hypnerotomachia* and recalls Bramante's "Egyptian" projects – what Julius II refuted in a monumental building programme on a sacred site he accepted in the ephemeral civic triumph.[80] If the appearance of the iconography of

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[76] In Horapollo, the ape signifies a hated heir, the sparrow can signify divinity, the soul, or the wind, and the stork filial love (piety); the oak most probably refers to the della Rovere, and the palm to victory, while the wheat ears and eye appear in *Hypnerotomachia* I, and are deciphered as hieroglyphs of Julius (Caesar) and God. The ape (*simius* or *scimmia*) may have been intended as a near equivalent to the *scismatis* of the inscription; the general sense of the hieroglyphs seems in any case fairly clear in their references to divinity, Julius, the Della Rovere, and piety.

[77] *HP*, 1998 reprint, eds. M.Ariani and M.Gabriele, Milan, p.244. The tribute of Egypt to Caesar, which is without source in classical literature, is depicted in the decorations by Andrea del Sarto and Franciabigio in the Salone at Poggio a Caiano commissioned by Leo X in honour of his father; the pendant fresco, featuring the "Triumph of Cicero" (similarly without classical source) shows an obelisk with a statue of the Nile at its foot, and beside a triumphal column adorned with the prows f ships. The frescoes are symbolic depictions of Medici *gesta* – the return from exile and the gift of exotic beasts to Lorenzo, but represented in a visual form that appears to be inspired by the triumphal imagery of Julius.

[78] The material is treated in detail by Hans Henrik Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere*, Stockholm, 1970.

[79] We shall look at this material in more detail below.

[80] The degree of elaboration in Roman Humanist culture is evident if one compares the entry staged for Julius II in the early years of his pontificate in 1507, celebrating his conquest of Bologna, with the festivities at the carnival of 1513, organised to celebrate another triumphant return from Bologna, the *apparati* for the entry of Leo X in 1513, and the theatricals in which the activities of the Accademia Pomponiana find their culmination. In the 1507 entry, we find a triumphal car at the Castel Sant'Angelo whose form recalls the cars of Florentine *quattrocento sacre rappresentazioni*, with ten winged boys, each with a palm in hand, singing and turning on a moving wheel; as the Pope approaches and boys are silent and one, wearing a circle on his head in the form of an astronomical sphere decorated with oaks and palms, offers a palm to Julius, singing a "carmen heroicum".This spectacle ended ignominiously as the horses drawing the chariot, frightened by the salutes fired from

the Belvedere Court in the 1513 triumph alerts us to the influence of the *Hypnerotomachia*, one should recall that had Bramante's proposed re-alignment of St Peter's been carried out, the basilica and obelisk would have been almost in axis with the Belvedere Court, giving the following progression: obelisk in forecourt of temple-temple-palace-theatre ground culminating in circular exedra-garden. Without stretching the point, the progression bears some resemblance to the sequence of spaces narrated in the *Hypnerotomachia*, from the vast temple surmounted by obelisk with a forecourt where Poliphilo's quest begins, through a palace, antiquities, a topography of spectacle, to the amphitheatre of Venus and the Garden of Adonis where the first book ends. The writer of the *Hypnerotomachia*, we should emphasise, was no expert on architectural theory – architectural terminology, valued for its exotic character, is used in a confused and garbled way in the verbal mosaic of the narrative, but the notion of a topography "discovered" through a sequence of spaces visited in pilgrimage or triumph, whose antiquity is imbued with mystery that proclaims its "sacred" character and figured in epigraphs and hieroglyphs, exerts considerable influence.

In the Belvedere Court, as a palace-city, or palace-city planned as garden, or garden theatre, the vanished city of the *Hypnerotomachia* does in a sense reappear – in the form of a vast spectacle ground whose distinctive feature lies in the fact that it encloses a great section of the territory of the Vatican in an enormous internal space like a great court or room. The Belvedere also shows a synthesis of forms and associations (forum, circus, temple complex, suburban villa, triumphal arch, nymphaeum, perspectival theatre, hippodrome, naumachia, cryptoporticus) relates to the articulation of the topography as it rises from "public" spectacle ground to the more sequestered, contemplative garden.[81] The very notion of the villa or complex (Hadrian's Villa, Pliny's villas, Domus Aurea, Temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina) which contains a whole topography within itself, demands some kind of articulation between its various areas of *rappresentazione*; in the Belvedere Cortile this articulation is organised by perspective, as a scenographic progression which has a double culmination, in the exedra, where the semi-circular forms of the cavea are arranged so as to suggest a stage and steps, and in the Statue Court which was approached through the exedra.[82] Part of the theatric character of the Cortile lay in the fact that it was planned, and used for entertainments,[83] culminating with the joust of

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the Castel Sant'Angelo, dragged the chariot across the street, where it was abandoned. The account of the 1507, written by Paride de Grassi, is reproduced in Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento Roma 1450-1550*, Rome 1983, p.320ff.

[81] One should not consider the Statue Court as a secret garden – the famous spiral staircase of Bramante was designed to give access from outside the Vatican to the court and its statues.

[82] As Ackerman noted, the perspectival axis passes through a sequence of curved forms (fountains, the niche of the nymphaeum of the middle level) that draw the gaze in, culminating with the convex steps and concave "stage" of the exedra. Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City, 1954.

[83] The lower court was capable of hosting races, tournaments, *sbarre* or naumachia, spectacles which pertain to active life, but we have notices of entertainments associated with contemplation or the delights of the mind performed in the Belvedere, "ecloghe" and songs often performed during banquets of the kind which flourish in the same years in Chigi's *villa suburbana*, the Farnesina.

One should recall that the Belvedere Villa was used by Julius for the accommodation of distinguished visitors, or guest-hostages, like the young Federico Gonzaga. Amongst the entertainments recorded at the Belvedere, we find the eclogue, a partly pastoral, partly allegorical entertianment, which seems to have formed an intermediate form between the *prosopopoeia* of an

1565 that marked the completion of Ligorio's refurbishment of the Cortile; another part of this character lay in the varieties of association, which create a rich context that could underlie any given enactment in the Cortile itself – we have an illustration of this in the fresco in Castel Sant'Angelo by Perino del Vaga, which shows the Cortile as designed by Bramante with its lowest level flooded for a naumachia, in reference to the ancient topography of the Vatican as site of the circus and naumachia of Nero.[84] (Figures 13 and 14) This blend of topographical and formal associations continues in the Statue Court, where we move from the associations arising from the architectural setting to the statues as actors in a *locus* whose meanings as we saw unfold from the relationships "discovered" between the statues themselves. The Belvedere Cortile and the Statue Court in short appear together to constitute a *theatrum antiquitatis* whose meaning emerges on one hand through the reflection that discovers relations and correspondences, on the other through the perspectival character of the court, which discloses everything within an enclosed field as it is organised along a single axis.

If understanding of the Cortile is enriched through the knowledge that Tacitus spoke of the Domus Aurea as both city and villa, or Pliny's Tuscan villa had a cryptoporticus that ran alongside a hippodrome, and the Statue Court demanded intricate readings, the spaces for spectacle, in all their permutations and associations, are completed by the spaces of "discovery", in particular the garden-museum, inseparable from its locus, where the objects on display are portrayed as actors whose meaning must be disclosed by the spectator. In the gardens of the later sixteenth century inspired by the Belvedere, such as the Villa Giulia created as a Belvedere for Julius III after he transforms the upper court of the Belvedere into a palace, the iconographic garden-museum which "discloses" the topography and the perspectival theatre, organised along a central axis, are brought together. In the Belvedere itself, the arcaded courtyard theatre, which we saw appear in late quattrocento projects associated with Lorenzo de'Medici is extended to enclose a whole garden, and the perspectival scene mediated by the triumphal arch turned inside out and realised as a vast scenographic topography whose limiting walls have taken the form of reiterated triumphal arches. We saw something comparable in the pharaonic da Sangallo plan for the Medici palace in via Laura, which commenced with a huge exedra, embraced a city street, and culminated in an enormous theatre court within a palace rising above extensive gardens. The Belvedere in short both realises the kind of continuity between

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allegorical figure and a drama – Pietro Corsi, an opponent of Erasmus, wrote an "eglocommedia". We find the performance for the Imperial envoy, the Bishop of Gurk, in 1512, at which Apollo, the Muses, Orpheus and a Homeric personage, a "cieco dotto" who performs encomiastic verses in Latin to a lyre, join in singing the praises of the Pope, the Emperor and his envoy, described as an *ecloga* and a *commedia.* (The performance ended in a small ceremony where Julius and the Bishop crowned "Orpheus" and an actor who had declaimed verses praising the liberation with laurel wreaths as poets laureate.) Aside from their flexibility, the eclogues were of course suitable vehicles for invocation of golden age propaganda – they often depicted the return of the gods, their pastoral nature suggested the return of the earthly paradise as a cyclical event, like the labours of the months, and they were associated with Virgil's "prophecy" in the fourth *Eclogue*. On the entertainments for the Bishop of Gurk, see Cruciani, *op.cit.*, pp.351-362 and Coffin *Renaissance Rome*, p.83.

[84] Ackerman, *op. cit.*, p.129 notes that the small church besides St Anna dei Palafrenieri was known in the sixteenth century as St Pellegrino ad Naumachia, and that the naumachia of Nero is placed by Biondo in *De Roma Instaurata* in the *giardino segreto* or *vigna* before the Borgia apartments, *i.e.* where the lowest level of the Cortile now stands.

palace court and piazza, conceived as theatre settings and enclosed by arcades, which appears in da Sangallo plans and the paintings of Botticelli and Ghirlandaio from the final decades of the fifteenth century, and extends this to embrace the garden scene; Prisciano, we remember, had spoken of the three theatre scenes as depicting public buildings, private dwellings and landscape, and these scenes were echoed by his inclusion of the xystus or *ambulation*, with its loggia, grassy spaces and pleasant vistas seen th rough columns as a species of *spectacula*. In relation to the palace-city this garden scene suggests not only seclusion, but, as noted, the enclosure of a whole topography within an architectural complex, as accomplished in the vast imperial villas of Nero and Hadrian. The "garden scene" to which we have referred will thus comprise various elements – the traditional contemplative and poetic associations of the *locus amoenus* and *hortus conclusus* may come together with the "discovery" of the topography in its historical and political significance and the structuring of the perspectival theatre which orders and presents things as a totality to the vision, so that the "theatre of contemplation" in which the looking associated with theatre demands understanding through the recreative energies of thought. To all this one must add the graduation that conflates the progression from the lower courtyard theatre which recalls a civic space, piazza or forum, to the *giardino segreto* at the top with the ascent of the temple of Fortuna at Palestrina, whose uppermost sanctuary has the convex steps and concave wall of the exedra.[85] Temple, city, palace, topography and theatre are thus synthesised and presented to the eyes of the beholder who looks down from the window beneath the *Parnassus* in the Stanza della Segnatura; the comprehensive quality of the allusions suggests the Cortile as "theatre of Rome", providing a setting for varieties of spectacle, posing as revived *ludi*, and a source for much of the iconography for the display of Rome triumphant in Julian pageantry. As Bramante was supposedly prepared to move the tomb of St Peter to align St Peter's with the obelisk of Caesar, so such entertainments concern the kind of interweaving of political and sacred significance exemplified by the triumph, revived in the celebration of the return of the city to itself.[86]

One can in short dwell on three elements in the Belvedere – the articulation of the topography of the hillside centred on a perspectival axis, the fluidity of association which allows for various emphases on various occasions, founded in the flexibility of the theatre scene, and the culmination in a museum so arranged that the objects collected there "disclose" the place as topos reappear in later sixteenth century gardens. The perspectival organisation of the topography and the topos revealed through the iconography discovered in it work together as the viewer's movement through a site is clarified into a visual narrative which has the ordered, inevitable progression of a *mythos*.[87] The self-consciousness character of this progression is

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[85] In the late fifteenth century the temple was the palace of the Colonna family, thus giving rise to the confusion with the author of the *Hypnerotomachia*. One may, I think, safely say "confusion" given that the *Hypnerotomachia* is written a Northern Italian dialect unlikely to have been used by a Roman noble.

[86] Du Bellay plays with this topos in the *Antiquités* when he declares "Rome de Rome est le seul monument, / Et Rome Rome a vaincu seulement." (*Les Antiquités de Rome*, 3).

[87] In consideration of the relation between the coherent visual narrative created in perspectival gardens (or painted decorations) and comparable literary discussions, it should be recalled that the

illuminated by the allusiveness noted in the architectural references, which accommodate themselves to activities that are linked through, or as, varieties of spectacle. We have glanced at the deployment of the iconography of the garden in civic spectacle, and we come now to the see how meaning was created in the *viridarium* as topos – as we might imagine, such meaning has recourse to poetic topoi.

The statues in the court included the most celebrated rediscoveries of the day – the *Laocoon*, the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Venus Felix*, *Commodus* and *Hercules and Antaeus* were all there by 1510, *Cleopatra* (later renamed *Ariadne*) and the *Tiber* by 1512, the *Nile* by 1513. There was no preconceived programme, but a series of interpretations that built on one another and could modulate with a new pope – thus the theme of the garden as Hesperides is announced in the pontificate of Julius II, but elaborated for Leo X, whose family *stemma* suggests a further interpretation for the *mala aurea* or *mala medica* associated with the Hesperides and the apples of Venus.[88] The Hesperidean theme was linked in the garden to two statues in particular, as well as to the more general theme of the return of the golden age, suitable to the golden apples and paradise garden attained through heroic *virtù*. The statue of Commodus, attired as Hercules, with club and Hesperidean apples, stood at the entrance to the garden, over the Virgilian inscription "Procul este profani", the words uttered by the Cumaean Sibyl in *Aeneid* VI.258 as the divinity approaches the grove where she performs the rites that will allow Aeneas to descend into the underworld and hear the prophecy of the greatness of Rome – another passage referring to the ecstasy of the Cumaean Sibyl, "numine adflatur" (based on *Aeneid* VI.50) was used by Raphael as the motto of poetry in the Stanza della Segnatura, above the *Parnassus* and the perspective of the Belvedere Court. The garden is thus described by the epigraph as a sacred place, but also one to be won by virtue, whose fruits are the virtues, as the Hesperidean apples were interpreted by Suida. The theme, which is developed much further in the Villa D'Este, where Ligorio could draw on Gyraldi and Conti for his iconography, concerns the idea that Hercules with the apples was a *philosophus optimus*, and the apples symbolised the three virtues with which his soul was adorned – freedom from anger, from avarice and from lust.

The apples which represent the philosopher's heroic victory over vice are also a symbol of love, hence their association with Venus Felix, who holds out an apple – as *Hesperos* she is linked with the Hesperides and Servius said that the golden apples of the Hesperides were sacred to her, while Valeriano spoke of the apple of Venus Felix

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polemics over the primacy of *mythos* in poetics arise from the 1540s, with the appearance of the commentaries on Aristotle's *Poetics*, starting with Robortello.

[88] This Hesperidean theme may be part of the content of the *Primavera*, which certainly points to *renovatio medicea* as return of a golden age, figured in terms of Neoplatonic poetic theology through the plenitude of being as the procession of being into the world under the guidance of Venus. If the dark glade which grows bright through the ornaments of form corresponds to Ficino's description in *De amore* of the transformation of the world from chaos to cosmos through the procession of forms, it might also be read as a Hesperides, with the golden fruits as the *mala aurea* or *mala medica* and the half light of the sky glimpsed through the trees denoting the twilight of the classical paradise to the west. On the association of Venus with the Hesperides and the apples of the Hesperides, see text below.

as the *veri amoris fructus*, the symbol of true love. Thus we find that the *Antiquaria Urbis* (1513) of Andrea Fulvio, dedicated to Leo X, concludes a description of the Belvedere with Venus Felix offering the apple "Hesperidum servans pomaria sacra sororum/Sub Vaticano" – Venus Felix presides in the new Hesperides, holding out the apples associated with the virtues and with love.[89] Venus is present in the garden in another guise, which emphasises the notion of the place as poetic *locus*, in the reading we have mentioned above of the so-called Cleopatra as the *nympha loci* and as the sleeping Venus depicted in the *Hypnerotomachia*, from whose breasts water flows into a fountain cistern, who is uncovered by satyrs and invoked in a Greek epigraph above the fountain as mother of all things - *Pantōn toka*[*s*]. The Cleopatra was installed above a sarcophagus which served as a fountain, in a niche with a sculptured rocky landscape, the first of a kind which reappears throughout later Renaissance and Baroque wall fountains, and thus the dying queen is quite specifically associated with the earthly Venus Geneatrix, unveiled in her pastoral repose, and with the sensuous figure of the sleeping nymph who is guardian or spirit of the waters by which she slumbers. (Figure 15) The *nympharum domus* of *Aeneid* I.167, with its living rock and sweet waters ("Intus aquae dulces vivoque sedilia saxo/Nympharum domus"), reappears in compilations of inscriptions, like that recorded by Michael Fabricius Ferrarinus:

> Huius nympha loci, sacri custodita fontis
> Dormio, dum blandae sentio murmur aquae
> Parce meum, quisquis tangis cava marmora, somnum
> Rumpere, sive bibas sive lavere tace[90]

This *nympha loci* topos is developed in the Humanist encomiastic verses on the Belvedere, including a poem by Castiglione, which derive further significance from the parallel between the effigy of Cleopatra dead, carried in triumph by Augustus, and the return of a second Cleopatra to Rome, who sleeps eternally in marble to the *murmur blandae aquae* of the waters that the new Julius has brought to the Belvedere – a second Nile brought symbolically to a second Rome by a second Caesar. Thus in the poem attributed to Evangelista Maddaleni Fausto di Capodiferro the nymph's exhortation to be left sleeping by the visitor who comes to drink or bathe at the fountain is followed by the claim "Quantum me, vivam, Caesar mundi arbiter, arsit / Marmoream tantum Iulius alter amat".[91] The triumphal political iconography of Julius's *renovatio* entails a poetic re-insertion, and transformation, of the antique glories that "return" in triumph, in which a mighty queen is immortalised as she

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[89] ("offering the sacred apples of the Sisters of the Hesperides by the Vatican")It was the presence of *Venus Felix* in particular that infuriated Gianfrancesco Pico and provoked him to write *De Venere et Cupidine expellendis* – Brummer, *op. cit.*, p.228, observes that the *sententia* ("otia si tollis, perire Cupidinis arcus" "without idleness, Cupid's bow decays") used by Gianfrancesco Pico appears on a bank by the pool in Mantegna's *Minerva expelling the vices*, completed circa 1502 for the Studiolo of Isabella D'Este. Gombrich discusses Gianfrancesco Pico's poem in "Hypnerotomachiana", in *Symbolic Images*, London, 1972, pp.104-108.

[90] Quoted by Brummer, *op.cit.*, p.168 ("Nymph of this place, guardian of the sacred spring, I sleep to the gentle murmur of the water. You who come to drink or wash in the marble caves, be silent and forbear from breaking my sleep").

[91] Cited by Brummer, *op.cit.*, p.221 ("As Caesar, ruler of the world, burned for me when I lived, now that I am of marble another Julius loves me").

petrifies into a *nympha loci* and the geographical conquests of imperial Rome, epitomised in rivers, appear as the reclining statues of the river gods. The ancients displayed effigies of the territories and princes they had conquered and thus brought them to Rome; for the Renaissance the recovery of such effigies becomes a way of disclosing embedded historical meanings, so that the reappearance of iconography of conquest serves to discover a topography, hence Cleopatra takes on her renewed Roman identity as *nympha loci*. The historical greatness of a place, embodied in these ancient effigies of imperium, is in short recovered through a meditation on the nature of the locus, whose character resides in the memories or associations that "lie" within it, given voice by the statues that form a historicist version of the *entopioi theoi*. We have already seen this kind of meditation in Cicero, who seems eager to plot the links between associative meaning (how one can evoke and appropriate Greek culture for the Roman world) and ancestral meaning (the oak tree at Arpinum in *De legibus*, which prompts Cicero to evoke *Phaedrus*) – the Belvedere *viridarium* shows another stage of triumphal appropriation, which entails also the exploration of the "topographical" meaning in the *viridarium* which can then be carried into the public, civic sphere.

If theatre is fundamental to the renewal of antique forms, such renewal cannot be divorced from place, and thus the *viridarium* where antiquities are disclosed as the presiding spirits of a *locus* forms a counterpart to the great perspectival stage of the Belvedere Cortile, where we see for the first time in the Renaissance a grotto or nymphaeum enclosed in a triumphal arch. The interpretation of antique statues as the presiding figures of a *locus* not only concerns the discovery of historical or mythological significance which brings together place and object, or text, but also allows for celebration of the contemporary owner who has "restored" an object to its ancient meaning and enriched this meaning with the significance that arises from the new collocation of the statue. Here one really has to tie up the themes of locus and *renovatio*, in a way that allows us to perceive the continuity between the Stanza della Segnatura as a perspectival place where the triumph of Humanist historicism is depicted and the Statue Court which develops the "discovery" of the plenitude of meanings recovered from antiquity in a place conceived, in all senses, as a topos. If the room is a concrete place where arguments are figured so that the comprehensive character of the representation comes together with the particularity of the setting, the setting as nature presents us with the fundamental context of disclosure, in which things are quite literally brought to light from a background that is at once universal unfolding and concealment. We have spoken above of the notion of a "background" of meanings which correspond to the totality of contextual, historical significations that can be discovered by philology, and the role of the ornament, in particular, metaphor, in illuminating this background; this has been suggested alongside the ideas of *renovatio* which insist on the recovery of all historical meaning and its realisation in the providential return of a golden age, a historical moment in which history comes to fulfilment. Here one can return with more assurance to the notion of nature as analogy for the plenitude of historical significance, which it also, materially, "holds", and work it together with the idea of nature as universal background – thus conceived, nature may become the repository of historical meaning as well as the embodiment of the unfolding of the cosmos, and thus nature becomes the paradigmatic site of poetic disclosure, an insight that seems to haunt Sannazaro in the *Arcadia* and explains

Ligorio's insistence in depicting the labours of Hercules, as poetic hero of Humanism, brought to Christian fulfilment in a garden. The disclosure of nature as the most profound and universal exploration of the recovery of historical meaning in a culture of *imitatio* is recognised by Spenser, as we have seen in the Garden of Adonis and the deployment of a triumph which follows a pastoral eclogue in the Mutabilitie Cantos; here we are looking at the "scene of nature" approached through perspectival vistas, as extension of the decorated room and its capacity to contain together, in a single place, the totality of arguments recovered in the triumph of historicism. There is another refinement to be added here: the garden is essentially approached through movement, and thus brings the idea of discovery as process into play. This progression from discovery as a static prospect to discovery as movement seems to be explored at the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, as we shall argue; it also forms part of the context of the arguments on the *grottesche*, to which we shall come below. We shall come to these arguments through discussion of a sequence of villas, commencing with the Farnesina and Villa Madama, which also present rich reflections on the role of theatre in the realisation of poetic disclosure; before we approach them we need to give a little more detail about the role and aims of theatre in Rome in the early decades of the sixteenth century.

We have suggested above that in place of the settings that form the background or even "body" for virtuous activity in civic life, Rome offered a vast topography of ruins. In this context the activity of the Humanist was not just prompted by the rhetorical and ethical insistence on the fulfilment of meaning within a concrete situation but the study of the antique itself becomes a kind of contemplative activity that discloses the multiplicity of dispersed and enigmatic meanings in which pagan antiquity has been fragmented, and sees in the restitution of pagan antiquity to the Christian world the fulfilment of its meaning. The studies to recover the archaeological and ritualistic fabric of ancient Rome, so that the ancient glories of *imperium* can be recovered, and their realisation in the Christian Holy City proclaimed, can thus offer a close parallel to the search for a form of sacred truth disclosed to the pagans, and the correspondences that will reveal the possibility of a synthesis between the various discourses of being and salvation. This becomes very clear in Ligorio, whose reflections on the recovery of antiquity in his manuscripts and the gardens he creates seem profoundly influenced by the search for a syncretism like that propounded by Ficinian Neoplatonism, passed through progressive stages of vulgarisation (poetic commentary, mythological manuals). It is clear also in the activities of Pomponius Leto, whose interests as antiquarian and academician offer an interesting precedent, and who illuminated the peculiar conditions of the *renovatio* in Rome.

Pomponius Leto and the Roman Academy

In his work on the Statue Court of the Belvedere, Hans Henrik Brummer draws a comparison with Sannazaro's *Arcadia* in discussion of the fountain installations of the Belvedere *viridarium* which revealed the classical imperial iconography as the

divinities and guardians of pastoral place.[92] We have argued that this poetic character, which allows us to conceive of the gods and heroes in a place that can be recreated or figured by artifice, is essential to the recovery of the relationship between historical record or archaeological finding, and the topography transformed and illuminated by such discoveries. Amongst the first of such attempt to recreate a topos, with epigraphic meanings brought to light in an archaeological setting that also possessed the qualities of a poetic place, was the *vigna* of Leto on the Quirinal. In this *vigna*, Leto displayed one of the earliest Roman collections of inscriptions in the garden of which also housed peacocks (*junoniae aves*), geese and domestic fowls wandering amongst them; in this setting, with its mixture of consciously mythological and modest farmyard elements Leto would at times hold celebrations for the Palilia, the ancient rites celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of Rome.[93]

Leto's *vigna*, fulfilled by little ceremonies, is reminiscent of Ficino at Careggi, but we notice immediately the difference – the *cultura* celebrated in the *vigna* that is part arcadian setting, part farm, shows itself rooted in the agricultural activities that point to the immemorial cultivation of the Roman earth (*i.e. cultura* as agriculture and culture). We can find references to husbandry and the nobility of agriculture in Humanist writers on *oeconomia*, such as Alberti, but in Rome the cultivation of the ground is inseparable from archaeological references and the progression from the tending of the *vigna* to the creation of more elaborate gardens, adorned with inscriptions and statues who reappear in civic triumphs, can be viewed as a re-enactment of the ancient history of Rome itself, *ab urbe condita*.

The activities of Pomponio Leto and his academy were thus characterised by a mingling of historical and sacred significance which put singular emphasis on the archaeological recovery of place through spectacle, ritual and theatre. Pomponius Leto was born in 1428 and came to Rome in 1450 to study with Lorenzo Valla, succeeding Valla at the Studium of Rome in 1465. It is at this time that he founds his *sodalitas litteraria*, closed by Paul II in 1468 under suspicion of conspiracy and re-opened in 1471. During the second period of the academy, Leto travelled extensively – in Poland and Russia in 1472-73 and in Germany 1479-83, dying in 1497. Leto's Roman career thus spans the period in which the projects for *renovatio* shape into a cultural design – from before the time of Alberti's appearance in Rome to the era of Riario, Tommaso Inghirami, Egidius of Viterbo and the eve of Bramante's arrival. As noted, the *Accademia Pomponiana* was distinguished by the emphasis which it placed on dramatic activity, combining the display of pedagogy and philological erudition that we find in Poliziano, with an attempt to model behaviour, name and dress upon the ancients.[94] Leto's academy thus presents an extensive cultivation of the kind of play we find in Mantegna's famous archaeological excursion on Lake Garda, where he and his friends dressed in antique costume and saluted one another with Roman titles, and accounts of Leto's activities underline the continuity between the festivals and

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[92] Hans Henrik Brummer, *op.cit.*

[93] Leto's *vigna* is discussed by Coffin, *op.cit.*

[94] Documents relating to Leto and his academy are collected in Cruciani,*Teatro nel rinascimento Roma 1450-1550*, *op.cit.*

symposia of the academy and the performance of drama – both were for Leto ways of reviving the city. Amongst Leto's most famed exploits was the revival of the celebration of the birthday of Rome, the *Palilia*,[95] a important event in the promulgation of a culture whose ritualistic structure is historical; the *Palilia* seem to have been celebrated in a manner that recalls Ficino's Careggi ceremonies on the birthday of Plato, with "sacred rites", an oration and an elegant banquet for the learned. This kind of structure, which embraces a range of spectacles and ostentatiously mingles antique revival and religious forms (at the *Palilia* of 1483 the "rites" were performed by the prefect of the Vatican library and six bishops were present), will reappear in full elaboration in the 1513 festivities staged in the ephemeral theatre on the Campidoglio. What distinguishes the activities of Leto and his disciples from the playful academic ceremonies of Mantegna or Ficino is the fact that revival of antique festivals and theatre in Rome leads very directly to the question of the revival of their setting – Leto's follower Marcantonio Sabellio speaks in his life of Leto of the staging of the *fabulae* of Plautus and Terence in "atriis pro theatro usus", and the centrality of theatre in architectural revival is a central concern in Sulpizio da Veroli's 1486 edition of Vitruvius, dedicated to Cardinal Riario, Michelangelo's first Roman patron.[96]

Riario, who was to build the Palazzo della Cancelleria, and appears behind Julius II in the *Mass at Bolsena* in the Stanza di Eliodoro, is praised by Sulpizio as the protector of the Pomponiani and organiser of the performance of Seneca's *Hippolytus*, directed by Sulpizio (who also wrote a prologue) and performed in April 1486, probably in relation with the *Palilia*, when the *Epidicum* of Plautus is performed on the Campidoglio.[97] *Hippolytus*, recited in Latin with music, was performed three times – in front of the Riario palace in Campo dei Fiori, in Castel Sant'Angelo for Innocent VIII and in the Casa Riario; the part of Phaedra was played by Tommaso Inghirami, known and admired by Erasmus, whose eloquence was so praised that he retained the name Fedra for the rest of his life.[98] Sulpizio describes these stages (*pulpitum*), which were five feet high, in keeping with Vitruvian requirements, and richly decorated – Sulpizio also speaks of a painted scene and a velarium, comparing Riario to Quintus Catulus in his use of the velarium and Claudius in his scene painting.[99] The commemoration of Riario's theatrical activities leads Sulpizio into an exortation to renew Rome through the building of a theatre which would translate the structure he has already erected into more permanent form. Such a venture would teach and delight the people, including the youths who act and sing in the performances, and would adorn the city, which lacks only a theatre and an aqueduct amongst its new or

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[95] The Palilia or Parilia, was originally feast of Pales, the tutelary god of flocks and shepherds, celebrated 21 April.

[96] On Riario, his patronage and circle, see Wind, *Pagan Mysteries*, *op.cit.*, pp.177-187. Wind p.183 mentions a dialogue by Sadoleto entitled *Phaedrus*, set in the Roman suburban villa of Jacopo Galli in which the role of Phaedrus was taken by Fedra Inghirami, who argues for the superiority of rhetoric over philosophy.

[97] The two performances are discussed in a letter from Alessandro Cortese to Francesco Baroni of April1486, cited in Cruciani, *op. cit.*, p.225.

[98] Inghirami was also responsible for the annotation of a codex with all of Plautus's twenty comedies.

[99] Curciani, *op.cit.*, pp.221-225.

renovated buildings.[100] The project for the construction of a theatre is contrasted with the rebuilding of the Studium on one hand and the erection of churches – theatre, with its rhetorical and didactic capacities, would seem to stand in relation to the university as oratory does to study, and Sulpizio remarks that the building of churches is proper to the end of life, that there are already many and God will reward you for building in any case. Theatre, like oratory moves, masters and strikes the mind through the eyes and ears "per oculos et aures blande in animos influens"[101] – the kind of language we have noted in the later discussions of emblems. What emerges clearly in Sulpizio's dedication is this united conception of the rhetorical efficacy of theatre, its importance in philological terms and its *renovatio* of the architectural fabric – as in the academy of Leto, there is emphatic continuity between the editing and performing of classical drama and the conscious enactment of antiquity in the imitation of the dress, gesture and speech of the ancients. Such activities come to fuller realisation as the architectural setting is constituted in a way that accommodates this movement between the varieties of spectacle, and amongst such settings the Farnesina and the Belvedere court are outstanding.

The efforts at a recovery of ancient Rome through dramatic evocation in the festivities of Leto's academy and Sulpizio's exhortations to erect theatre buildings point to two important themes in projects for the *renovatio* of Rome: that of commissioning architectural works in which Rome could rise anew and the "recovery" of existing settings and festivals so that they could be "restored" to their "proper" form – not their antique form, but the perfection of antiquity in returned to the Christian world. It is in this light that one should consider the enactment of *sacre rappresentazioni* of the Passion the Colosseum, first recorded in a performance of 1490 by the Compagnia del Gonfalone, whose play was published, "reducta in tragedia" in 1520.[102] Many of the areas used for popular entertainments, such as games, races and bull fights which took place at Carnival and on occasions of public festivity, such as the possession of the city by a new pope, were on the site of ancient spectacle buildings in the Campus Martius – Campo dei Fiori near the site of the Theatre of Pompey, and Piazza Navona (often called the *Agone* in sixteenth century documents) conserving the form of the underlying Stadium of Domitian.[103] The recovery of the ancient *ludi*, reshaped into triumphs of papal *renovatio* – that aspect of paganising festivity in Roman culture that so disturbed Erasmus - and the architectural projects of the papacy of Julius II and Leo X should be studied together, and studied against the background of the considerations of theatre or spectacle which we have signalled above.

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[100] Sulpizio lists the architectural projects of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII in his description of the adornment of the city.

[101] Cruciani, *op.cit.*, p.223 ("flowing into the mind genttly through the eyes and the ears").

[102] Roman theatres in France at Arles, Nîmes and Orange are known to have been similarly used for religious drama. The confraternity of the Gonfalone was founded in 1264-67 as a flagellant order, and had a new oratory built in via Giulia in 1544-57. The oratory is decorated with frescoes by Bertoja and Federico Zuccari depicting the Passion, and thus providing a permanent, pictorial version of the Colosseum Passion play; the latter was suppressed by Paul III in 1539 after Jews were killed in the rioting in the Ghetto incited by the savage tormenting of Christ in the Passion play.

[103] Testaccio was another area used for festivities – perhaps deriving from the important cult of Liber on the Aventine Hill, whose festival, the Liberalia, was celebrated on March 17.

The culmination of the activities of the Pomponiani could be seen in the temporary theatre erected on the Capitoline in 1513 for the performance of the *Poenulus* of Plautus in honour of the Roman citizenship bestowed on Lorenzo and Giuliano de'Medici (the Medici who appears in the *Cortegiano*), when Giuliano da Sangallo was present in the Medici retinue. The theatre provides the closest approach to the permanent theatre in which Sulpizio longed to see the completion and symbol of Roman *renovatio*; as a celebration of the "union" of Florence and Rome in the papacy of Leo X, it also shows the aspirations of the Pomponiani in confluence with the Florentine meditations on the theatre court as a locus for the delineation of the ideal city, and ideal culture of *imitatio*, that were noted above.

The 1513 Capitol Theatre

The ephemeral theatre constructed on the Capitol in 1513, we thus see the quattrocento Florentine theatre court brought to Rome, as a single setting accommodates a whole spectrum of spectacles – mass, oration, banquet, triumph and drama, staged on the sacred centre of ancient Rome, where magistrates and triumphant generals offered sacrifice, site of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the Aracoeli where the Tiburtine Sibyl prophecied the coming of Christ to Augustus.[104] In form, the theatre was rectangular, with the spectators seated on steps on three sides, the walls articulated by pilasters, and the scene a continuation of the decoration of the other three walls; construction seems to have been carried out by Pietro Rosselli, a close collaborator of Giuliano da Sangallo.[105] Within the theatre, mounted on columns in antique fashion, were the Capitoline wolf and the hand holding an orb, fragmented from an antique colossus. The interior and exterior walls echoed one another, and showed similarities with the decoration of the Bishop's Palace in Ostia and the façade of the Farnesina, both executed by Peruzzi, and suggest the reflections between the actor before a scene and the spectator within a space that are greatly deepened at the Farnesina, with its sequence of modulated theatre spaces. (Figure 16) The theatre turns the triumphal arch into a room which is simultaneously a piazza, or rather the interior of a building is simultaneously the ephemeral facade of a piazza, and the identical articulation of the inner walls and the façade should be understood in terms of this play on exterior and interior. The flexibility of this setting, which consists in its capacity to accommodate all kinds of spectacle, and so become a kind of universal setting, becomes all the more interesting when we turn to the festivities that it housed. The Capitol theatre in its form also shows certain affinities to the Laurentian theatre courts discussed above; in making the comparison it is useful to remember that the courts were *not* purpose built theatres, but that they permit a certain fluidity of associations, as the Capitol theatre similarly served as setting for a whole sequence of festivities.

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[104] If we wish to consider the Capitol theatre as a celebration of the Florentine Humanist theatre culture which evolves from the literary and architectural culture of Lorenzo, patron of Poliziano and Giuliano da Sangallo, one should recall that Leo X had been a pupil of Poliziano.

[105] A drawing of a reconstruction of the theatre was carried out by A. Bruschi and published in *Il teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513*, Fabrizio Cruciani, Milan 1968.

The entertainments are described in a number of accounts, one of which recounts the festivities in "tre triumphi" – the first of these "triumphs" is a description of the façade of the theatre, the second the interior of the theatre, decorated with images which narrate the relationship of Etruria and Rome, culminating with the adoption of the Latin language, Roman insignia and *ludi scaenici*, and this second "triumph" concludes with the description of the banquet.[106] The third triumph, which stretched over two days, was constituted by the most elaborate part of the festivities, in which a sequence of allegorical figures arrive in triumphal cars and recite speeches or eclogues. Throughout the festivities we should note the emphasis on *energeia* in the paintings, or in the liveliness of the dramatic performances, particularly in the triumphal pageant, where the speech of Rome is described as a "sacra e gentil prosopopea" - this emphasis on *energeia* should be considered in terms of the idea of antiquity brought back to life in the festivities.[107] This quality of liveliness enters into the description of the banquet – not only are the meats frequently presented in elaborate sculptures as though the animals were alive (a doe drinking at a stream, pergolas of jasmine with fowls, pies filled with living birds or rabbits *etc.*), but when the diners, who eat seated in the *scena*, watched by the audience in the *cavea*, start to throw their food around at the end of the meal, the authors of the *descrizioni* describe with delight how fowls, swine and game fly through the air as though living, in keeping with the *energeia* of the spectacle.[108]

It is after this scenic banquet, which lasted six hours, accompanied by music and an eclogue which insulted Julius II and praised Leo X ("ogniuno crepava per el riso" comments one author[109]) that the triumphal pageant commences. The triumph is initiated with the "sacra e gentil prosopopea" of Rome, whose salutation was returned by the Magnifico Giuliano with elegant verses – after her exit an *ecloga* is performed by two "villani" who complain of their misfortunes and vow to go to the Capitol where "ogni amaro rivolsero in dolcezza".[110] This resolution is embodied in music at the end of the eclogue, after which Rome appears as a topographical *figura* in the form of Monte Tarpeio, with Rome on his shoulders and the *Dio Capitolino* emerging, like the personification of the Apennines in the Carnival of 1513 – he also gives an encomiastic speech on the *renovatio* of Rome, in which "el campidoglio sorgerà de novo".[111] This topographical figure is followed by three nymphs, Justice, Strength and Temperence, or Rome, who give their emblems (scales and sword, helmet and shield) to Giuliano, to the sound of music – in his account, Palladio describes the third nymph as Rome, and says that she gives citizenship, so that the chief honour of the festivities is inserted into

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[106] The writer of the account, Notturno Napolitano, says that these images seem to make one see the "happy times" "Quando più lieta Roma triumphava" and swears that he seems to see Cicero brought back to life in the orator who performed the oration which preceded the banquet. Cited in Cruciani, *Il teatro rinascimentale*, *ed.cit.*, pp.421-423.

[107] The description of Rome comes from Notturno another author of a *descrizione*, Francesco Chiergati, speaks of the paintings of Rome and Etruria as "molto naturale, che pareano vive". Cruciani, *op.cit.*, pp.416 and 430.

[108] The most extensive account of the banquet and the behaviour of the banqueters comes in the description of Paolo Palladio, printed in Cruciani, *op.cit.*

[109] Chierati, Cruciani, *op.cit.*, p.417("everyone burst with laughter").

[110] Cruciani, *op.cit.*, p.430 ("all bitterness resolved in sweetness").

[111] Palladio, *Descrizione*, in *Il teatro del Campidoglio e le feste romane del 1513*, *ed. cit.*, p.45.

one of the spectacles.[112] Rome reappears next, in the guise of Berecyntia, with Cybele in a chariot pulled by two lions, in illustration of Anchises's analogy of Rome triumphant as Cybele – as suggested above the universal symbolism of the *Magna Mater* lends itself both to the theme and the structure of the triumph. As the chariot stops before Leo X, Rome is invoked in prophetic language: "presto vien for a delle tenebre, o Roma gloriosa et fruisce el desiderato cielo", and with these words Cybele strikes the globe which she carries, so that it splits open with a terrible sound and a beautiful girl, crowned and dressed in gold, emerges, surrounded by birds. At this point Florence enters on a lion (symbol of Florence and of Cybele-Berecyntia), and complains to Cybele that two great Florentines (the Medici honoured in the ceremony) have been taken from her by from Rome. This dispute is resolved as Cybele decrees that Rome and Florence are now the same, and the "confederatione" between the two is celebrated as the "coribanti" attendant on Cybele throw medals to the audience with images of Giuliano and Rome, or Mars, which seem to have been inscribed *C.P. – consenso publico*.[113] Palladio and Altieri close the entertainments of the first day at this point, with the concord of Florence and Rome – the final triumph, which precedes the production of Plautus, celebrates the union of Florence and Rome as incarnated in Leo X. Altieri and Palladio agree in their accounts in describing a car which is a species of hieroglyph of Leo, with Remus and Romulus suckling the wolf and a pelican wearing a yoke with the motto *Roma omnibus una est*. In this chariot is a figure impersonating Clarice Orsini, the Roman mother of Leo X, seated at the base of a laurel (*lauro*) hung with Leo's devices – golden yokes and *palle*, and diamond rings.[114] Palladio describes the *celeste Orsa* to the side of Clarice, probably as a rebus in homage to her name, and describes her as bearing "la spoglia della testa di uno dracone in capo", and holding a laurel branch, a lion and a golden *palla* in hand; behind her is a shield with a serpent, the rivers Tiber and Arno and many nymphs. The laurel with Medici devices and the figures held by Clarice in her hand, like a victory, are both visual references to Leo; the *celeste Orsa* and laurel signify his parents, and the combination of golden *palle* on the tree and the spoils of the dragon like an antique helmet on the head of Clarice suggest a reference to the garden of the Hesperides in golden age "renewed" by Leo – Palladio, concluding his account of the first day of triumphs, said that "quell dì fussero stati non nel Theatro ma nel paradiso terrestre", implying a reference to Rome under the *renovatio medicea* as a new Hesperides.[115] As with the triumphal cars of Julius II, the references to the Hesperides are explicated through the Belvedere *viridarium*, and once again the representation is overtly hieroglyphic, a *tableau vivant* which figures the name of the person praised, and speaks of his glory. The celebration of Leo in this car also takes dramatic form, as Clarice makes a speech in which Leo is heralded as the

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[112] Chierati describes the third nymph as Temperence and her emblem as a tree trunk with a diamond – suggest also of Medicean dynastic symbolism, with the diamond on the *stirps*.

[113] As always, the accounts disagree – Marcantonio Altieri describes the medals as distributed on the second day of the triumph, and the accounts do not all concur on what triumphs were presented on the first and second days of the spectacle.

[114] Chierati mistakes this figure for another personification of Rome, whom he describes as wearing an embroidered gown with laurel on her shoulders – a description that suggests the *ninfe* depicted in Laurentian painting and poetry.

[115] Palladio, *loc. cit.*, p.54. In keeping with the spoils of the dragon like a helmet worn by a female figure, one might remember that Athena is depicted with a dragon by Alciati in the *Emblemata*, symbolising the protection of maidens. In the present context, the Minervan imagery is suggested also by the "olive" from which Leo is born in Clarice's speech – Athena is the goddess of peace and wisdom that have arisen in Florence under Medici rule, and turned it into a new Hesperides.

new Apollo and new sun, in keeping with the kind of iconography cultivated both by Julius II and the Medici – Leo is said to be "nato apresso el lauro et la oliva", with reference to Lorenzo, and the theme of the union of glory, wisdom and peace, Apollo and Athena, Florence and Athens – or Florence as new Athens, daughter of ancient Rome and mother to the new Rome.

The river god Tiber prophecies that Leo will bring peace, thus expounding Clarice's words, and the nymphs of the Tiber and the Arno sing to one another, as we often read of statues "responding" to one another in the descriptions of later triumphal entries. This praise of Leo, rendered simultaneously through speech and image must be situated in terms of the references to Rome itself, as in the Pelican (a Christological symbol alongside the Roman wolf) bearing the medal "Roma omnibus una est". Rome has appeared in a number of guises throughout the triumphs – in her first appearance with flowers and flower bearing nymphs, perhaps with reference to Florence and the *ludi florales* which included theatrical and mimic performances, then as Berecyntia with Cybele, and as the *ninfa* who emerges from the globe of Cybele as the return of Rome is invoked; the variety of spectacles and triumphs all point to a single theme, Rome, and we might even see in the iconography of the triumphs references to the various Roman *ludi* – the *ludi Capitolini* and *agon Capitolinus*, the *ludi magni*, which included a procession to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, the *ludi scaenici* and the *ludi Megalenses* in honour of the *Magna Mater*. Rome is reborn under the auspices of the new Leo, the Florentine lion whose name is pregnant with solar symbolism and associations with Astraea who rises in Virgo, the constellation "born" from Leo; in him the old Humanist rhetoric of Rome reborn in Florence and the Medici propaganda of the renewal of the golden age finds its realisation as Florence becomes Rome. The festivities concern the triumph of Rome in the Leonine *renovatio*, and this triumph explicitly concerns the idea that Rome herself is universal - "Roma omnibus una est".

The iconography here is all rather obvious, and draws on the 1513 Carnival of Julius II which would have been fresh in the minds of the spectators, as well as the Virgilian analogy of Rome as Berecyntia and Cybele, the *Magna Mater*; it might also be tied in with Medici projects for the palace on the *Circo Agonale* itself, at Piazza Navona, which would have implanted a project of the scale of the Belvedere in the core of the communal *abitato*. Leaving aside speculation on the relationship between Belvedere, Medici palace and Capitoline theatre,[116] one might remark simply that in contrast to the spectacular topography of the Belvedere, extending from the sacred site of St Peter's to the *viridarium* where the sacred images of the pagans are held, the Capitol theatre is erected in the heart of antique Rome, and displays the meanings of Rome, fulfilled by the Leonine *renovatio*, in a setting that recalls the Laurentian theatre courts. In place of the interweaving of sacred, mythological and historical meanings in the Belvedere, we have something simpler and less allusive – a locus of spectacle, erected on an ancient site, and "disclosing" on the site the totality of references that

[116] It is however worth observing that if the Medici Roman palace projects find realisation with the extension of Palazzo Farnese under Paul III, it is the same pope who undertakes the *renovatio* of the Capitol, giving permanent form to what had been postulated in ephemeral guise by Leo X.

arise under the auspices of the *renovatio medicea*. The flexibility of the setting is such that it can accommodate spectacles of all kinds without distinction, so that a religious rite, a political ceremony and theatricals of various kinds exist in a relationship of mere continuity. Even given the festive character of the occasion, it seems that all has been flattened into spectacle here, validated by appeals to the universality of Rome as sacred and imperial city, and the engagement with the disclosure of a "ground" of meaning, or with a hierarchy of levels, appears to have been ignored. As we turn now to the Farnesina, which held spectacles like those staged on the Capitol on 1513, in which banquets concluded with surprise weddings that took the place of the expected theatricals,[117] we shall see how Peruzzi and Raphael create a space that can accommodate the continuum of festivities while articulating the experience of the actor-spectators, and alerting them to the nature of their situation with respect to artifice of *imitatio*, and to nature.

As we move from the 1513 festivities to the Farnesina, there is a last point we might note, almost by way of postscript. Litta Medri has noted that Giuliano de'Medici was presented the reigns of the "celestial chariot" by a figure representing Astraea in the 1513 festivities, a reference which I have not found in the accounts that I have read, and that a medal coined for Leo X on his election depicted the chariot of the sun rising to the heavens, thus celebrating the triumphant return of Medici government in an image that links the triumphing god with suggestions of a returning golden age. Medri reads the image in Ficinian terms, as a return to the divine source of love and intellect, and thus can identify the chariot of the sun god with the Phaedran chariot of the soul.[118] Her remarks come in the discussion of the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano, built by Lorenzo and completed by Leo X, who decorated it with frescoes celebrating his father, which veil the theme of dynastic encomium in the depiction of two fictitious Roman scenes of triumph which seem to owe much to the *Hypnerotomachia* and the iconography of the 1513 carnival of Julius II.[119] The theme of the Medici return appears in less overt form in the famous terracotta frieze of the façade, which interweaves the times of the Hesiodic cosmos with the cycle of the soul, accompanied by its genius, the labours of the months, bucolic themes which form the context for Virgil's prophecy of the return of the golden age in the fourth *Eclogue*, and culminate with the awakening of the sun and the guiding of his chariot by a figure linked with Astraea.[120] (Figure 17) The frieze, datable to the years 1489-92 or in the Leonine era, provides a particularly economic figuration of the interweaving of the propaganda of the *renovatio medicea*, based in Virgilian "prophecy", with the conflations of the cosmic temporality and the soul's cycle of emanation and return which seem to form the theme of the *Primavera* – the figure of Janus, claimed by Egidio of Viterbo to be

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[117] The banquet in question was held in 1519, on the Feast of St Augustine, Chigi's name day, in the Sala delle Colonne. The guests (including Leo X and twelve cardinals) were offered rare birds and fish from their region on silver plates with their *stemma*. The feast ended with the celebration of Chigi's marriage to Francesca Ordeaschi, Venetian of humble birth, which came in place of the eclogues and *intermedi* normally recited; the festive mingling of banquet, theatricals and religious ceremony is that we have seen in the 1513 festivities.

[118] Litta Medri, *Il mito di Lorenzo il Magnifico nelle decorazioni della Villa di Poggio a Caiano*, Florence, 1992, p.57.

[119] See note above on the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

[120] For detailed discussion of the frieze, see Medri, *op.cit.*

the ancient god of Etruria, who appears elsewhere in Leonine propoaganda concerning the union of Florence-Etruria and Rome (in the Villa Lante, for example), appears also. Brief allusion is made to these decorations of Poggio a Caiano to show the continuity between a spectacle in a triumph, a medal coined for it, an ornamental frieze, and a decorative cycle. If the Ficinian flavour of the imagery may be particularly Florentine, we have here the same continuum of reference that we find in the grandiose Roman projects; especially striking is way that the themes of triumph and *renovatio* may incorporate meditations on the soul's return to light and on the "discovery" of the antique topography. As we shall see, these themes will re-appear in larger architectural projects associated with the Leonine *renovatio medicea* – such projects are understood more richly in the light of the development of the "theatre of figuration" that takes place at the Farnesina in the work of Peruzzi and Raphael.

Theatre, perspective and the visual rendition of poetic thought in the Farnesina

We have seen in the Belvedere complex a project which asserts the continuity between a sequence of spaces by placing them in axis – perspectival room which thematises human ascent to the divine through the arts, vast perspectival theatre that extends the spectacle courts of the late fifteenth century into an immense arcaded palace stretching across the Vatican territory and modulating in character from city court to *viridarium*, and sculpture garden as quasi-pastoral *locus* where the political significance of the project is embodied in figures for poetic contemplation. With the Farnesina, built on a smaller and (considering Agostino Chigi's wealth) a more modest scale, we see the relationships of perspectival room, triumphal arch, room and court as theatre, loggia and garden brought into relationships are that both closer and more fluid. (Figure 18) Given the present state of the Farnesina, with the entrance moved to what was the back of the building, the two ground floor *loggie* closed in, the garden destroyed by the construction of the Lungotevere and the disappearance of the garden buildings which made up the complex (stable block, riverside loggia) now gone, these relationships must be reconstructed by study and conjecture.[121] The kind of openness and play with internal and external that we see in the surviving decorations of the palace was thus a feature of the whole complex, not the invention of individual rooms – Vasari as we saw famously remarked in his life of Peruzzi that the Farnesina seemed "born, not created". The Farnesina was built by 1511, the date of a commemorative poem by Egidio Galli, *De viridario Augustini Chigii*; a second poem, *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* by Blosius Palladio, dates from 1512. The fabric of the palace itself was the least of Chigi's expenditure, and the richness of the furniture in the villa, the rarity of the plants in the garden and the antique sculpture and inscriptions throughout

[121] In the event, the play between spectacular ephemera and decorated architecture at the Farnesina was confirmed by events which showed that the palace of the "new Augustus" was as fleeting in its glory as the entertainments it housed. Chigi died in 1520 without an heir and the villa was despoiled following his death and abandoned by 1526; the Sala delle Colonne still bears the graffiti of the German mercenaries who sacked Rome, and scratched "Babylon" over a vista of the city in Peruzzi's belvedere – playing into the illusion, in a sense. In the later sixteenth century it was bought by the Farnese, from whom it takes its present name, and who considered linking the *viridarium* to Palazzo Farnese by means of a bridge – a drawing by Michelangelo for the project survives.

the *viridarium* excited the notice of contemporaries.[122] The contemporary poems extol Chigi as an Augustus (playing on his name – the decorations of the Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace which he commissions from Raphael depict the Sybils, partly in allusion to the legend that the Tiburtine Sibyl prophecied the birth of Christ to Augustus), and Ingrid Rowland has seen in the choice of materials (peperino and terracotta) and modest scale of the Farnesina as a conscious imitation of the *domus* of Augustus as described by Suetonius.[123] The role of Augustus fits comfortably with the imperial propaganda of Julius II; Julius indeed adopted Agostino and his brother Sigismondo into the della Rovere family in 1509, thus giving Chigi the right to quarter his arms with those of Julius. Chigi as Augustus is not just benevolent and enlightened patron of artists – he is specifically rebuilder of Rome, to whom Vitruvius addresses *De architectura*, which provides the model for the Farnesina, with the peristyle entrance appropriate to the suburban villa (see *De arch.*, VI.v). Ingrid Rowland cites the verses of Girolamo Borgia in which "Augustus" Chigi is celebrated as the rebuilder of Rome ("Nam quod regificio sumptu tam ingentia Romae / Tecta novas"), and the gods, who have departed after its fall into barbarity, return to Chigi's palace:

> Barbaricis postquam furijs ruit inclyta Roma
> Excessere omnes urbe cadente dei.
> Ast ubi regales Augustus Chisius aedes
> Condidit, antiquum restituitque decus:
> Dique, deaque simul coelo ridiere: beatam
> Unam hanc certantes quisque fovere domum[124]

The return of the gods to Chigi's *viridarium* is celebrated in a number of ways, and seems to become almost the theme of the villa, the poetic and iconographic context for the spectacles which it housed, the dramatic entertainments, eclogues, *intermedi* and sybaritic banquets which made the Sienese banker famous for magnificence. It is important to note that these entertainments were held in all areas of the villa – in the Sala delle Colonne, in the riverside loggia whose fishpond was celebrated by Blosius Palladio and Galli as a grotto of the nymphs and the gods, and, famously, in the grandiose stables designed by Raphael which Chigi boasted were finer than the *salone* of Cardinal Riario.[125] In distinction to the dominating axis of the Belvedere, we see in

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[122] Two beds with inlay of ivory, gold and precious stones cost Chigi more than the land on which the villa was built.

[123] On the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria della Pace, and the *imitatio* of the Augustan *domus*, see Ingrid Rowland on Chigi's patronage, *op.cit.* p.694ff. Rowland notes that both the Chigi Chapels were in Augustinian Churches, just as she sees the syncretic Platonism behind the Stanza della Segnatura and the two Chigi Chapels as emanating from Egidio of Viterbo, the General of the Augustines.

[124] Cited in Rowland, *op.cit.*, pp.688-689 ("With what princely expense you renew the great houses of Rome" "After glorious Rome was ruined by the plundering barbarians all the gods left the falling city. But where Augustus Chigi built his regal dwelling and restored the ancient, fitting beauty, the gods and goddesses return from heaven, and each strives to favour this one blessed house").

[125] We have descriptions of several of Chigi's spectacular, almost legendary, banquets – that of April 1518, with the Pope and fourteen cardinals present, where the draperies were dropped at the end of the meal to reveal the Chigi's stables, finer than a palace, that of August 1518 in the pavilion by the Tiber, when the sumptuous silver and gold serving dishes were thrown into the river in a display of

the Farnesina the kind of subtle design that characterises so much of Peruzzi's work, in which meticulous study of antique buildings leads to inventive solutions (such as the curved façade and atrium of Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne) and the work is constantly informed by a profound sense of the relations between *imitatio* and theatre. In the complex the principal palace is to be understood in terms of its relations to the secondary buildings and the gardens, which seem to have formed three separate areas, with formal planting with statues and antiquities before the entrance façade (*i.e.* the Loggia di Psiche), a secret garden behind the south façade (the present day entrance) and a densely wooded grove in the garden that led from the Loggia di Galatea (originally open) to the portico by the Tiber. If the various gardens and loggie (including Peruzzi's illusionistic loggia in the Sala delle Colonne) were separate from one another, and not to be discovered along a perspectival axis, their continuity arose from their shared function and appearance, with loggia and porticos or triumphal arches on one or two stories. The famous stables consisted of two stories with arcades and pilasters, the riverside pavilion was a portico with loggia above and a grotto with fishpond served by the Tiber beneath, and the palace itself was entirely painted, so that each space between the pilasters that arise on two stories resembled a triumphal arch; the iconography of this exterior decoration, now lost, seems to have concerned the loves of the gods. On the entrance façade, the painted arcade becomes a real loggia, recessed between two protruding wings, and it was this space, which its resemblance to the courts designed by the Laurentian architects for the Neapolitan projects of the late fifteenth century, which Galli describes as a theatre scene in his poem.[126] As one passed into the palace through this loggia, one entered the Loggia di Psiche, decorated by Raphael to resemble a pergola and called by Serlio a place for triumphs, and by Vasari a poem – descriptions to which we shall return.

If Serlio saw the Loggia di Psiche as a place for triumphs, he identified the Sala delle Colonne with Peruzzi's famous stage sets, which he would codify into more famous form in the account of the three scenes at the end of the *Libro secondo*, on perspective, of his treatise. The Sala delle Colonne of Peruzzi, does not merely dissolve the walls of the room to create arches or "windows" through which we see perspectival scenes, but extends the Sala itself outwards, so that the room on each side ends in an illusory loggia which both contains and overlooks painted architecture.[127] (Figure 19) The notion of the ideal image framed by the triumphal arch is developed here into a slightly different proposition – the framing arch and the perspective it reveals is used to confirm the room itself as the centre of the perspectival theatre

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their owner's magnificence. (The dishes were actually caught in nets which Chigi had secretly placed beforehand in the Tiber.)

[126] "subito spaciosa videntur / Atria que ornatae circundant undique saedes. / Hic et prompta est positis modo / Scena Theatris / Fabula seu soccos seu sit sumptura Corthurnos" ("suddenly spacious halls are seen, with seats on every sides, and here a scene appears, set up as for theatre, where drama may be put on, whether comedy or tragedy"). Cited in C.Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, Rome-Tübingen, 1973, Vol.2, p.150.

[127] While the Sala delle Colonne influences a whole series of painted loggias in later sixteenth century decorations (Giardino Segreto at Palazzo Tè, sketched by Heemskerck, Salone of Villa D'Este, Palazzo Giustiani, Sala di Giove at Caprarola), these are much more similar to proscenium arches, and one rarely finds another scheme which develops the perspectival or topographical "extension" of the room in so radical a fashion.

whose confines are those of Rome itself, depicted through each of the loggie painted on the walls, as it would appear were the Sala truly a belvedere. Beholder and actor merge, and the framing arch acts not as a device of mediation but of identification. In this situation, the gods who recline in small niches and the frieze with its crowded sequence of mythological scenes become secondary details; the theatre space demands that the beholder enact a fitting part, while it seems that we see "only" an imagined dissolution of the walls of the room which reveals no Olympian realm but the "true" prospect of the city beyond. In this room the poetic meditation present in the Farnesina does not so much concern the evocation of mythological figures, but the penetration of a theatric understanding into the discovery of the Roman panorama itself. As we have seen, from the second part of the fifteenth century on, Humanists in Rome in the circle of Pomponius Leto associated the *renovatio* of the city with theatre – not merely in the sense of reviving classical drama for literary and pedagogical purposes, but as a central element in conceiving of a *renovatio* and how one learns to act or respond in relation to a culture of revival. The Farnesina really seems to engage these questions of acting at a point when antique art and architecture seems to be have been triumphantly recovered and equalled by the moderns – the kind of reflection which is figured in the meditation on the culture and process of *imitatio* in Raphael's *Galatea* in the loggia below. In Peruzzi's fictive belvedere the role of the perspective in "discovering" the city, and the degree to which the city must be "discovered" in terms of theatre - *i.e.* in literary, poetic terms as well as the perspectival structuring, emerges with an inescapable insistence; he seems to suggest to us that the topography of Rome which appears once the walls are "dissolved", can only be revealed or discovered in terms of all those elements that make up the culture of *imitatio* – archaeology, philology, literature, theatre, and so on. The walls of the Sala delle Colonne disappear only to reveal the density of thought and representation attendant on the project of "rediscovering" one's culture as an ideal design. This kind of dual representation, providing a setting for the lavish entertainments of the new "Augustus" and raising questions about the nature of enactment within a culture of *imitatio* triumphant, appears throughout the Farnesina, as though to constitute a continuous reflection which shifts in emphasis in each of three decorated loggie of the palace; if the Sala delle Colonne approaches these themes in terms of the *trompe d'oeil* belvedere and the nature of "Rome discovered", the Loggia di Psiche takes on the theatre paradigm in a different way, thematising the relationship of the *storia* of the perspectival room with the ephemeral structures used for banqueting and the kind of dramatic entertainments – often pastoral eclogues – performed at banquets.[128] If the Loggia di Psiche presents a counterpart to the Sala delle Colonne, substituting the painted architecture of Peruzzi's decorations with a cycle which contains only the actors of the *storia* and naturalistic wreaths of flowers and fruit, we should move from one to the other via the Loggia di Galatea, where Raphael and Peruzzi both work.

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[128] A letter of July 1512 from Stazio Gadio to Isabella D'Este praises a dinner for the wines and variety of fruit and speaks of "una rappresentatione pastorale recitata da alcuni putti e putte senesi, che molto ben dissero et fu bella materia" ("a pastoral recited by some Sienese children, who spoke very well and the material was charming"). Cited in Frommel, *op.cit.*, p.151 and Fabrizio Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento*, *op.cit.* p.362. A letter of 1510 from Alessandro Picenardi to Isabella D'Este, describing festivities for the wedding of Francesco Maria della Rovere and Eleonora Gonzaga (who would build the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro), mentions bullfights in the Belvedere Cortile and "una bella et dolce at amorevole commedia" peformed at the house of Chigi – the date however is too early for the completion of the Farnesina. Cited by Cruciani, *op. cit.*, p.345.

In this loggia, originally the garden loggia of the villa, the triumph of Chigi, depicted in Peruzzi's figuration of his birth chart in the vault and spandrels (completed 1512), is expressed in a style which seeks to imitate the precious artefacts of antiquity, the mosaics and the cameos collected with such avidity. In thus depicting Chigi's astrological natal chart as an elaborate *all'antica* jewel, with enamel and mosaic his birth is tied in with theme of the return of the great age foretold in antiquity, just as the chapel which he endowed in Santa Maria della Pace (which also contains Peruzzi's *Presentation of the Virgin*), decorated by Raphael, depicts the prophecies of the Sibyls related by Virgil.[129] The decorations at each register of the Loggia correspond to the descent from the planets, zodiac and constellations in the vault and spandrels, images of gods and metamorphoses by Sebastiano del Piombo associated with air in the lunettes, and Raphael's *Galatea* (the subject of his famous letter on the idea to Castiglione) on one of the wall panels; the scheme of figuration, from the heavenly bodies descending through the elements would have looked to completion in the grove and river beyond the loggia.[130] If this loggia, now changed beyond recognition by the closure of the loggia and the seventeenth century landscapes painted on the walls, was the most overtly "antique" part of the villa, as Elsa Gerlini notes, with *grottesche* on the pilasters, and the compartments of the vault painted to suggest an antique jewel, Raphael depicted the sky in the *Galatea* with veining, and sea as an immobile, reflective surface, as though both copied ancient marble. (Figure 20) Against this classicising background which points to the imitation of antique relief, Galatea flies over the waters, her movement derived from her flexed and graceful posture (perhaps an echo of Leonardo's *Leda* studies) and emphasised by the billowing of her draperies and flowing hair. The tension between models (antiquity, classical and contemporary Latin poetry such as Bembo and Poliziano), synthesis, and original, poetic creation really appears to be thematised in the harmonising of classical allusion and the vital grace of a lively figure – it seems appropriate that the work should have been the subject of Raphael's letter to Castiglione on *imitatio*, Zeuxis and the idea.[131]

The powerful synthesis and meditation on *imitatio* in Raphael's *Galatea*, which made it beloved of *letterati* such as Aretino, gives a sense of the kind of depth of poetic culture which is embodied in the Farnesina, to which sixteenth century commentators such as Serlio and Vasari paid tribute. This poetic culture does not just consist in mythological allusion, but in enactment, and reflection on various levels of enactment; in the Loggia di Psiche (completed 1518), which Vasari described as both painting and poem,[132] the gods who appear in the spandrels of the loggia and "enact" the scenes of the myth of Psyche are like actors in an eclogue or *intermedi* enacted in

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[129] In Chigi's burial chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rowland points to echoes of the Pantheon which continues the Augustan theme in the sense that the Hadrianic inscription commemorates Agrippa, Augustus's general.

[130] The astrology of the vault has provoked much iconographic interest, from Fritz Saxl on; detailed treatment is beyond the scope of the argument here, although a synopsis of the scheme may be found in Elsa Gherlini, *Villa Farnesina alla Lungara*, Rome 1988, pp.30-41.

[131] A brief summary of the possible artistic and literary sources for the *Galatea* is given by Giovanni Beccati in *The Complete Works of Raphael*, New York, 1969, pp.528-530.

[132] "pittura e poesia veramente bellissima", in Life of Raphael, Milanesi ed., vol.4, p.367.

the ephemeral pergola depicted in the decoration - at once the protagonists in the *storia* of a perspectival theatre and the actors in a spectacle that takes place in the "pergola" whose heavy festoons pay tribute to Chigi's lavish banquets and *hortus* rich in rare plants and fruits. (Figure 21) If Peruzzi had created a perspectival "theatre" in the Sala delle Colonne with the recessions of regular objects (*i.e.* architectural elements) which seems to extend the space of the room, Raphael in the Loggia di Psiche shows command of the other area of perspectival representation, namely foreshortening which makes bodies appear "alive" so that they seem to descend into the room. Apart from the conceit that one can depict scenes of apotheosis only by representing realistically the descent of the gods into the space where one stands, one can see the intricacy of allusions to feasting, spectacle and ephemeral architecture depicted within a loggia which adjoins a terrace set up for theatricals.[133] The Loggia di Psiche plays out the double illusion of the perspectival room, which "dissolves" the solid surfaces into openings and then peoples these opened spaces with mythological, historical or biblical scenes, and plays with the different implications of these two illusions. In "opening" the room, which is already a loggia, it is opened to nature; the perspectival depictions, with their disclosure of an ideal world, can depict the vertical movement between the divine and human realm, thematised in the legend of Psyche with her descent to Hades, her figuration of the trials of the soul on its journey to love, and her final apotheosis, depicted in the "tapestry" in the vault which returns our attention to the illusionistic pergola, so that the central image in the perspectival space opened up by rendering the room as pergola is represented as a covering. The frescoes thus celebrate the *storia* which allows us to see the soul rise to godlike state, with perspective as the privileged instrument of this depiction – the loggia was planned to have a decorative structure similar to that of the Loggia di Galatea, with the (executed) scenes of the gods in the vault and spandrels, and Psyche's trials in air, on earth and the infernal regions depicted in the lunettes and on the walls respectively.[134] If the alignment of the scenes of a *storia*, the hierarchy of the infernal, terrestrial and celestial realms, and the progress of the soul in the myth of Psyche shows a development of the *concetto* in the Loggia di Galatea, the Loggia di Psiche also displays its relationship with the Sala delle Colonne – where Peruzzi had transformed a room into a loggia, Raphael transforms a loggia into a pergola. The "unification" of the *storia* with the room is here inseparable from the attenuation of the architectural frame, so that it appears lighter and more ephemeral, like the structures which may have been erected in Chigi's gardens or a festive decoration for the *scena* before the loggia. Three elements have been skilfully brought together – *storia*, which recounts the ascent and apotheosis

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[133] This order is re-evoked by Giulio Romano in the Sala di Psiche in Palazzo Tè, which shows the banqueting scenes (conclusion of the myth and reflection of the activities enacted in the room) on the walls and Psyche's trials on the ceiling and lunettes, with the additional conceit that we see infernal scenes on the ceiling. Giulio makes an interesting development in the banqueting scenes – he maintains the continuity between banqueting, conviviality and spectacle, but paints both a banquet of the gods and of the satyrs, the latter a pastoral feast which recalls in spirit the kind of satyr scenes of Piero di Cosimo, and follows the notion of the "rude" satyric scene in Vitruvius and Serlio. In Palazzo Tè, the overtly erotic, indeed libidinous, character of the decorations also emphasises the theme of voluptuousness (Voluptas, the child of Cupid and Psyche, appears with them on their couch) and thus shows deliberately the continuity between the lascivious satyrs and the drunken and lustful gods. We find a similar juxtaposition of rustic and Olympian feasting in the frescoed decoration in the Villa Giulia.

[134] We saw above this structure of invention codified by Armenini in the *Precetti.* Serlio also praises the accommodation of the registers of the room to the iconography.

of the soul, theatre-spectacle and nature, and we might note that if the *putti* in the spandrels bear the attributes of the gods, which signify the pantheon, contemporary observers praised the variety of fruits and flowers in the festoons, which they saw as constituting an exhaustive botanical depiction that included rare species recently brought to Europe. Thus Vasari in his praise of the Loggia di Psiche insists on the encyclopaedic nature of the decorations, which he identifies both with the splendid assortment of vegetables in the garlands painted by Giovanni da Udine and with the putti who hold attributes of the various gods in the spandrels – he will repeat this praise of encyclopaedic depiction when he discusses the *grottesche* of Giovanni da Udine in the Vatican loggia. In the Loggia di Psiche, the *copia* of nature becomes a frame for a depiction of the gods, shown together in council and banquet as they bestow immortality on the soul – the myth of the ascent of the soul to love is figured against nature and the Pantheon of the gods, and we can see here the continuity with the Stanza della Segnatura, with the depiction of the concord disclosed between the arts by which the human rises to the divine. As in the *Galatea*, one can search out antique models and Hellenistic prototypes that have been synthesised in the creation of an idea expressed in terms of the fullness of representation structured by *varietà* which takes for its themes nature and the pagan gods, who are in turn figures for the explications of a higher unity. One might summarise the Loggia di Psiche by saying that one sees an effort to depict a totality through *varietà*, figured in terms of myth corresponding to human artifice (poetic making), and to nature, corresponding to creation; this relationship between myth and nature emerges also through the continuum which leads from painted *storia* to dramatic enactment to the place of that enactment in a festive pergola painted as though within a garden – the kind of dual illusion we spoke of above. All this is to express with clumsy words what is both evident and subtle for the beholder – what seems important is that the conflation of the perspectival theatre of apotheosis and the "garden scene", with the implications of *locus amoenus* we started to explore above, can lead to meditations on the relationship of nature and poetic representation, conceived as "theatres", and moving towards the sense of "theatre *of*" discussed above. In the decorations in the Loggia di Psiche, the distinction between lifelike scenes and ornamental motifs has given way to a complete illusion, with the naturalism of the festoons bringing together the fictive pergola and the figures of the *storia*, while the exhaustive, almost encyclopaedic detail of the festoons suggests that they refer to a "theatre of nature" as well as framing the perspectival theatre of the loggia. This transformation of the ornamental border into an exhaustive depiction that seems to point to an analogical relationship with the *storia* should be considered in relation to what Raphael does in the Vatican loggie, where everything is absorbed into ornament through the expansion of the *grottesche* to fill the whole space, leaving the biblical scenes of the *istorie* as vignettes in a great mass of ornament. In associating the festoons of the Loggia di Psiche with the theatre of nature we have overstated the case, but have done so to emphasise the relationship between these decorations and the *grottesche* which develop at the hands of Raphael from the decoration of the *all'antica* triumphal arch of Perugino's Cambio or Pinturicchio's Piccolomini Library to a kind of ornament that discloses the energies and *copia* of nature as well as the imitation of antiquity, so that visual framing becomes a figure for the constant framing of all thought played out in the theatre of representation with regard to antiquity and nature.

In the Farnesina, a palace "so full of grace that it seemed born, not built", we find an imitation of antiquity which develops the theatric conditions of imitation as they encompass the continuity between various kinds of settings, various levels of permanence and the various arts. What distinguishes the Farnesina from the previous developments of the palace as *imitatio* of the antique in Laurentian Florence, attentive to the relationships between classical architecture and classical drama, is the fact that Chigi's villa shows the extent to which theatre, with its significations and associations, could be rendered in visual terms capable of holding or embodying in themselves the literary content. When Vasari extols the Loggia di Psiche as a poem, or Serlio more predictably praises the villa as a theatre and place for triumphs, we see the degree to which visual form and visual setting can absorb poetic content, a capacity which makes it clear why the discussion of symbolic images as a body-soul pairing becomes so energetic from the second third of the Cinquecento on. To this embodiment of literary meaning by visual forms, one must add the fact that once the visual decoration of a space is conceived in terms of a theatre of figuration, the possibilities for one art to imitate another are as endless as the ingenuity of artifice. One result of this in painters of Raphael's atelier or strongly influenced by it is the exaggerated cultivation of *varietà* in which the framing, revealing form of the triumphal arch is deliberately put into play with the multiplicity of elements shown, which cover and encroach on one another – the "tapestries" covering the open "pergola" will be imitated many times in later sixteenth century decoration.

If the Farnesina may strike us at first glance as a theatre of illusionistic and naturalistic representation, the apparent *facilità* of the decoration gives way on closer scrutiny to a meditation on the ends and implications of such representation. In such a scheme, the human form becomes the basis of figuration, as both chief work of nature and protagonist of *storia*. This prominence of the human form and the athleticism of the some of the nudes shows the influence by Michelangelo on Raphael, on which Vasari remarks in his account of the Farnesina, although the sublime theme of God's creation and man's fall in the Sistine Chapel has changed to a sanguine festivity that celebrates the apotheosis of the soul, which joins the ranks of the immortals as it feasts with the gods – a theme appropriate for Chigi's dinner parties, and to his marriage to Francesca Ordeaschi.[135] The Farnesina thus points to its realisation through theatre and spectacle – it becomes something like a permanent version of the 1513 Capitol theatre, and it also shows that the visual decorations are capable of absorbing the content of the dramatic entertainments, their *energeia* not inferior to that of the actors in the eclogues and triumphs they accommodated. In the 1513 theatre we saw the appearance of *inclita Roma* as the Great Mother, and we might view the attempt to represent all of nature's fruits in the festoons of the "pergola" that frame the gods of the Loggia di Psiche as a development of the same triumphal imagery, which progresses beyond the archaeological evocations of Mantegna to the theme of situation in nature. The emergence of the question of situation in nature, and disclosure of nature also gathers importance as the visual setting absorbs more poetic content and shows itself the equal of literary *imitatio* (Raphael's *Galatea* as a *figura* for *imitatio*); we see this in the

[135] On Chigi's marriage ceremony as the surprise entertainment of one of his banquets, see above. Chigi's marriage to the lowly born Venetian is likewise represented in the decorations by Sodoma in the bedroom of the Farnesina, which features Alexander the Great and Roxanna.

twofold scheme of the Loggia di Psiche, with its planned dual representation of the world order through which the soul progresses and the situating, framing arch as "theatre of nature". In attempting to chart the development of the theatre of representation capable of figuring all that can be seen and conceived, including the "discovery" of its own situation in nature, we shall make an artificial division, treating the development of painted decoration and the architectural articulation of the setting separately. In each case the Vatican complex of Stanza della Segnatura-Belvedere Cortile-Statue Court and the exploration of scenic settings in the Farnesina are of fundamental importance, and we shall treat the decorated room and the villa separately only to bring them back together as we reach Ligorio. In terms of the architectural settings with which we shall deal first, the Belvedere Cortile and the Farnesina provide two distinct treatments – the first privileging the central perspectival axis along which, or around which the iconographical elements are arranged in sequence, the second establishing relationships between a variety of elements which cannot be seen together at once, so that the spectator has to recreate the topography in its totality through process and reflection. The most grandiose attempt to deepen, synthesise and outmatch these two models comes with the unfinished villa complex planned on the slopes of Monte Mario for Cardinal Giulio de'Medici by Raphael in the last years of his life, and known as Villa Madama, a project which was also Leo X's response to the Belvedere Cortile - a recreation of an ancient villa complex in its entirety, inspired by textual as well as archaeological study, rather than a garden-spectacle ground that linked existing structures. In passing to Villa Madama, there is however a final point to note about the Farnesina, and its rendering of nature in terms of a scene of artifice.

In discussion of the Farnesina, we have concentrated on the palace itself, and mentioned the other buildings (now vanished) that constituted the villa only in passing. As noted these buildings were used for banqueting and thus played an important a role in the scenic fulfilment of the complex – one should also remember that the accounts of Blosius Palladio and Egidio Galli give considerable attention to the gardens and Galli calls the villa a *viridarium*. Both writers pay some attention to the "antrum", the grotto with a fishpond fed by the Tiber which constituted the lower level of the banqueting loggia, which they praise as the cave of Tiber where the nymphs sport, a suburban equivalent of the grotto of the river gods in *Georgics* IV. Galli speaks of the artifice of this grotto beneath the loggia ("antrum / Arte laboratum") and calls it a place happier than heaven ("Caelo faelicius antrum"), saying that the gods wish to lay down their cares there when they descend from heaven ("Dii / Esse locum voluere / graves ubi ponere curas / Interdum ex liquido venientes aethere possent").[136] If it is not difficult to find literary sources for the encomiastic description of Chigi's fishpond as seat of the nymphs, it is important that the grotto forms part of the artifice of the villa as a whole, which as we have seen entailed the conceit, expressed in verbal descriptions as well as the decorations and the scenic expectation of the villa, that the gods had returned to Rome to take up residence in the *domus Chigiana*. The grotto beneath the loggia used for dining is another element, or rather another setting, in the theatre of artifice; it is not characterised as a place of chaos or dark mystery, as the Mannerist grotto will be, but it shows how the comprehensive character of scenic representation in the villa entails the "discovery" of the cavern as nymphaeum.

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[136] Galli, *De viridario Augustini Chigii*, in Frommel, *op.cit.*, p.150 ("a cave refined by art").

The poetic articulation of the topography at Villa Madama

The grotto beneath the scenic dining loggia at the Farnesina contains a germ which was to be developed by Raphael in Villa Madama into a grand reflection on the iconographic "discovery" of the topography of a villa.[137] The building as it stands comprises less than half of the project as detailed in a letter from Raphael addressed probably to Castiglione and in two plans, Uffizi 273 A and 314 A, by Gianfrancesco da Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. (Figure 22) The villa as projected forms the most ambitious scheme for the recreation of an antique villa, as described by the younger Pliny and marked the culmination of Raphael's architectural studies – the influence of Bramante, the commissioned translation of Vitruvius, the *descriptio* of ancient Rome in his role as superintendent of archaeology under Leo X. Raphael's description of his project discusses a complex which climbs up the slopes of Monte Mario, and whose elements were all planned around the circular courtyard, which he calls a *horaculo*,[138] with atrium, enclosed garden with portico and *diaeta* in a circular tower to the South-East (the principal entrance front), loggia with apsidal recesses, hall with hemispheric dome and hippodrome below to the main façade, to the North-West, the only extant part of the villa, the "bellissima lhoggia" with its xystus and fishpond terraced down the hillside and the nymphaeum and theatre to the back, carved out of the hillside. (Figures 23 and 24) The description concludes with an account of the cryptoporticus on the lower level of the villa, with a fountain in a niche, leading to baths. The villa, sited close to Ponte Milvio, and thus to the approach to Rome by Porta Flaminia, leading both to the Vatican and Piazza del Popolo, was intended not so much as summer residence for the Medici court but as a place just beyond the city where distinguished visitors could be accommodated, entertained and prepared for

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[137] Another nymphaeum which may constitute a possible source of inspiration or comparison for the Villa Madama, is the Colonna Nymphaeum at Gennazano (dated 1508-1511), attributed to Bramante or his circle, and discussed by Coffin (*Villa...Renaissance Rome*, *op.cit.*, pp.243-245). The Nymphaeum consisted of a great loggia with apses at each end, three arches overlooking a valley to the northeast and an apse apparently recessed into the hillside to the southwest. To the southeast and northwest were two pendant square chambers, the former containing a fireplace and the latter forming the entrance; at the northwest corner of the nymphaeum was an octagonal with a sunken central basin, corner niches with benches, covered with a dome and oculus, which Coffin conjectures was designed to resemble a *frigidarium* and to serve as a grandiose version of Chigi's suburban grotto. The resemblance of the loggia to that created at Villa Madama, and the similarity of its situation to the hillside site, overlooking a stream that could be dammed to form a small lake (again an imitation of antiquity – Coffin notes Tacitus's description in the *Annals* xiv. 220 of the artificial lakes created in this way by Nero at Subiaco), are striking, as are the associations of the Belvedere with naumachia. The nymphaeum uses its hillside situation to work with the contrasts between light and darkness, heat and cold in the linking of grotto, loggia and baths; while the associations seem to be evoked in terms of physical contrasts of light, temperature and orientation to the hillside and the sun, the framework is in place for subsequent iconographic elaboration. Since the Gennazano nymphaeum is not well documented, we shall not go into further detail here, leaving it as a point which might be developed at a later date.

[138] The term *horaculo* means an oracle and the innermost part of a sanctuary. In his commentary on Raphael's letter in *Villa Madama. A memoir relating to Raphael's project* (London 1993), Guy Dewez judges the term *horaculo* "senseless" in this context, and suggests a reading of *orbiculus*, a disk.

ceremonial entry into Rome via Ponte Milvio and Piazza del Popolo.[139] Raphael pays considerable attention to its orientation to Rome; while the principal entrance faced the road from Prati and the Vatican, Raphael envisaged the creation of a drive to run straight from the centre of the façade and its entrance down to Ponte Milvio (and so to Porta Flaminia), and a cutting through the hilltop which would have joined the semi-circular ramps enclosing the theatre to the Rome-Viterbo road – the drive leading to Ponte Milvio and the Viterbo road emerging from the summit of the theatre would have made a straight line through the villa ("dalla strada de Monte Mario a quella de Ponte Molle vi è una strada diritta a corda et passa per mezo la villa apunto").[140] The four portals of the circular court, which lead to different areas of the villa (entrance and enclosed garden and *diaeta* opposite summer loggia and terraced gardens, grand loggia and domed hall overlooking Ponte Milvio and Rome opposite the nymphaeum and theatre built into the hillside), thus also mark the topography of the villa in relation to Viterbo, Rome and the Vatican. Rather than a single organisational axis, we thus find different elements drawn together into relation by the great circular court which recalls the Pantheon with its four doorways, and alternation of columns and columnated window tabernacles, and is echoed in the other circular and semi-circular forms throughout the villa – the round towers containing *diaeta* and chapel, the semi-circular theatre and niches in the loggie, fountains and xystus, the domed roof of the great hall and the circular fountains planned for the enclosed garden and the loggia of the xystus. Used for the reception of important visitors, the villa was given over to the varieties of *spectacula* and diversion which we saw in Alberti and Prisciano – racing, theatre, bathing, dining by the fishpond and conversation by the fountain niches of the xystus loggia and the nymphaeum before the theatre, as well as in the *diaeta* of the South-East tower, of which Raphael says "Sarà veramente questo loco piacevolissimo a starvi d'inverno a ragionare con gentilhomini".[141] The villa gives an especially clear picture of the continuity between spectacle or theatre as a performance viewed by spectators and the degree of conscious ceremony in the polite activities for which the villa provides a sequence of settings that are carefully inter-related to echo one another, so as to carry the spectacular motifs of triumphal arch – *frons scaenae* and circular or semi-circular forms through a series of contexts differentiated through their topography. The villa thus provides a full realisation of Prisciano's sequence of *spectacula*, with the xystus, close by the great loggia or summer *diaeta* a place for conversation rather than an athelete's track. The scenic or spectacular settings of the Belvedere Cortile and the Farnesina have become objects of the archaeological investigation that attempts to clarify the nature of the theatre, the *cryptoporticus*, the *diaeta* and so on, and relationships between these forms are realised by their role as setting for the continuum of ceremony that embraces active, contemplative and recreative pursuits, and turns them all into varieties of scene. It is thus not merely fortuitous that Castiglione is the probable addressee of Raphael's description, since the spectrum of activities and settings delineated recalls the portrait of courtly otium with its continuum of virtuous diversions in the *Cortegiano*.[142] The *Cortegiano* portrays a

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[139] The Villa in fact still fulfils this function today: it is used by the Italian State as a place for receiving and entertaining foreign guests on diplomatic and state visits.

[140] Raphael, letter, in Demez *op. cit.*, p.28.

[141] *op. cit.*, p.24 ("In this place it will be most pleasant to converse with gentlemen in winter").

[142] In this connection, one might consider whether the variety of typologies (fortress, palace, villa, theatre) and the exploitation of the topography of the site at Villa Madama may have a remote ancestor in the Palazzo Ducale, Urbino, where Raphael grew up and the *Cortegiano* takes place,

continuum of artifice which seeks *sprezzatura* as a universal requirement, yet attempts to situate this universal artifice within the cosmic hierarchy that is disclosed through *grazia*; it is through the attainment of *grazia* that one indeed may pass from universal artifice to the universal order. Raphael seems to attempt something comparable at Villa Madama, in that the perfecting of *imitatio* and artifice, of which the great circular court provides the strongest statement, is played out against an iconographic "disclosure" of the topographical situation. Thus the various places for conversing, dining, bathing and watching spectacles all refer in some way to the ascent from enclosing darkness to light, from the baths, reached by a cryptoporticus with fountain, as cavernous grottoes beneath the villa and the hillside, to the loggie whose character alters according to their orientation to the site – at the front of the villa, a lofty balcony lifted above the surrounding countryside, to the xystus side a fountain room at once airy and spacious, and a cool grotto recessed into the hill itself. What draws together the various parts of the complex is this shared orientation, and, secondly, their convergence on the central circular courtyard with its connotations of temple and amphitheatre (the latter described by Alberti as two theatres joined together). This is to say that the repeated references to the ascent from darkness to light which deepen the topography of the site into an embodiment or analogy for the universal background cannot be separated from the theatric conditions of the culture of *imitatio* to which the villa is a gigantic monument. Given that the villa is a Medici commission, we might also recall the iconography of the frieze at Poggio a Caiano, replicated in the commemorative medal for the ascent of Leo X, in which the *renovatio medicea*, with its propaganda of the cyclical return of the golden age, was conflated with the Ficinian meditations on the cyclical journey of the soul and its re-ascent to divine light; the triumphal chariot of the returning god or hero becomes in a word conflated with the Phaedran chariot of the soul.[143]

This is not to suggest that Villa Madama is a gigantic architectural hieroglyph, of the kind Ligorio would attempt to create later in the century – such a suggestion would be insulting to Raphael's subtle and reflective art. The very absence of recourse to didactic allegory is indeed one feature that distinguishes Villa Madama from later sixteenth century villas that attempt the iconographic articulation of the topography through the invention of dense mythological programmes that attempt to explicate and thematise all the potential implications of the movement from chaos to light. Raphael however adds another level of refinement to the relationship of the circle (as architectural form appropriate to theatre and sacred buildings, and as symbol) and the vertical ascent from the darkness and concealment of the hillside to the luminous belvedere. Not only are we asked to reflect on the relationship of circle and vertical ascent, but we find the play on the progression from darkness to light in parts within the larger whole. This is evident in the extant sections of the building, in the great loggia or summer *diaeta* and the adjoining terraced garden, xystus and fishpond. We

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which is simultaneously *rocca* and Humanist civic palace. Castiglione describes the palace as a city, as though to denote its incorporation of all virtuous activities, and thus their settings; this variety has a species of epitome in the West Front, with its twin defensive towers linked at each level of the palace by an arch commanding a prospect over the territory whose form suggests both triumphal arch, and loggia.

[143] Cf. also the Medici *impresa* of diamond ring used greatly by Leo X, with its symbolism of perfected cycle and eternity (circle and diamond).

saw above that Raphael envisaged the xystus loggia as a fountain room, with semi-circular benches around the niche recessed into the hillside, an arrangement repeated in the nymphaeum of the circular court from which one rose into the theatre. While these plans were not carried out, the loggia retains the character of a grotto, with its sequence of niches for statues echoed in the three great recesses, one sunken into the hillside, its decoration and its arches giving onto the xystus.[144] (Figure 25) One could draw analogies between the kind of grotto-belvedere conflation that appears in the great loggia and the meditations on chaos and *kosmos* that we saw above in Porphyry's exegesis of the Homeric Cave of the Nymphs, dark through material embodiment (symbolised through cave and waters) and lovely through the ornaments of form, or Ficino's account of the generation of the worlds that make up the great universal order, each one passing from chaos to *kosmos*, and generating the lower world as it contemplates the higher; one could move deeper into Neoplatonic dialectic and consider the reflections on the whole that lies within the part, and its accommodation within the larger ontological order which is both cyclical and hierarchical. In adducing such material, which may or may not have been known to Raphael, one gives no more than a point of comparison in the literary culture for something whose contemplative character is totally founded on vision; we are emphatically not searching for "sources" for a programme of invention, since it is a distinctive characteristic of the Villa that its decoration, such as it exists, does not privilege such a programme.[145] We saw Raphael in the *Galatea* giving a demonstration of the power of painting to produce as complete and successful a display of poetic *imitatio* as a literary work;[146] one might suggest that in Villa Madama he does something comparable in terms of architecture, in such a way that the richness of metaphorical significance in the Villa is played out in terms of the relation of plan, form and topography, and this metaphoric meaning is further rooted in the theatric character of the settings. (This is not to ignore that just as the Villa was the fruit of Raphael's study of antique architecture, so the capacity to recognise the significance and relationship of its settings depends on a understanding of their

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[144] Raphael described it as "una dietha da la stagione estiva molto delectevole perché non harà mai sole, et l'acque et c'è la verdura la fa bella" Dewez, *op.cit.*, p.27 ("a delightful summer *diaeta* because the sun never enters and the water and verdure make it pleasant"). See also the remarks above on the loggia at the Colonna Nymphaeum at Gennazano. Another possible precedent lies in another Medici villa, that built by Michelozzo for Cosimo de'Medici at Fiesole on a steep hillside, with terraced gardens and a large three arch loggia overlooking the upper garden terrace. Movement between the levels of the garden entailed entering the villa, so that house and garden are woven together, and the villa is almost devoid of stylistic features except for the garden front, which seems to suggest another formal entrance.

[145] This is not to say that there is no recognisable iconography in the decoration, but that the identifiable figures do not constitute a narrative or allegory which provides a key to the meaning of the space. This is confirmed by the surviving letter of Giulio de'Medici to Mario Maffei da Volterra, who had a role in directing the decorative work of Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine after the death of Raphael; Giulio de'Medici specifies that that he wants the "storie e fabule" to be "varie et scelte", and neither extended ("distese") and obscure narratives, nor religious in subject ("le cose del Testamento vecchio bastion alla loggia di Nostro Signore"). Ovid is suggested as a source for the images, but without any further specifications – the decorations in short were not to be of a kind that required iconographic study, and the main requirement was *varietà*. The letter is cited in Alessandro Zuccari, *Raffaello e le dimore del rinascimento*, Florence 1986, p.23.

[146] It is interesting to note that Galatea reappears amongst the identifiable figures in the *grottesche* of the vault, appearing in the cameo like relief in the centre of the left vault on entering; in the lunette of the wall beneath is Giulio's Romano's large fresco of Polyphemus sprawling, which jars with the rich yet controlled refinement of the other ornament.

connotations, and Raphael seems to imply this kind of understanding in his letter probably addressed to Castiglione.) If there is any plausibility to the suggestion that Raphael has moved so deeply into a poetic understanding of visual forms that he can dispense with the *dramatis personae* of allegorical decoration and elaborate the metaphoric character of the work at the level of the plan and its disclosure of the topography, it may explain his interest in the *grottesche* as form of ornament that extends from peripheral zones to cover whole spaces, and that presents an artistic analogy to nature's energies of growth and transformation.

At first glance, the *grottesche* ornament of the loggia, carried out by Giulio Romano and Giovanni da Udine probably in accordance with Raphael's plans, proclaims itself as the recovery of antique ornament to perfect Bramante's recovery of antique structures of which Raphael had spoken in the famous letter on Roman architecture that he wrote with Castiglione to Leo X.[147] In contrast to the sensation of riotous metamorphosis that can arise from grotesquework of the later sixteenth century, however, the ornament here is at once opulent and highly controlled (excluding the *Polyphemus* of Giulio Romano), and Serlio says of it "l'ordine di questa loggia è bellissimo, il cielo de la quale è variato concordamente [...] tutte le cose sono proportionate a le proprie".[148] This impression of the continuity of space and decoration may lie partly in the use of ornamental compartments that repeat the shapes fundamental to the plan of the villa itself, notably the Greek cross with a circle at its centre which alternates with the "inverted" form of a square with the quadrants of a circle placed at each corner to produce a cross with curved sides. (Figure 26) If at Villa Madama the poetic significance has penetrated into the relation of plan and topography, the decoration becomes a reiteration of this significance; this does not mean that the ornament is superfluous – on the contrary it signals the presence of ornament at every level, so that the surface decoration becomes the outward display of concerns that run throughout. We should also see a certain hierarchy between these levels – the intellectual conception expressed through the relations of mathematical forms at the level of the plan appears in the full embodiment of form and colour for the eyes in the ornament. Here the situation of the loggia, leading from the central court to the xystus at the top of the terraced gardens and the metamorphic character of the *grottesche*, leading to their association with nature, starts to acquire relevance. The passage from the *cortile* to the loggia commences with a vestibule with coffered vault; as we move towards this loggia the decoration becomes richer and more delicate, but remains in white stucco – as we pass into the loggia proper one moves into a luminous space where the ornament takes on brilliant chromatism, and from this space one moves into the open air and light at the uppermost level of the garden – images from

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[147] "a dì nostri l'architectura sia molto svegliata et veduta assai proxima alla maniera delli antichi, come si vede per molte belle opere di Bramante, niente di meno li ornamenti non sono di materia tanto preziosa, come li antichi, che con infinita spesa par che mettessero ad effetto ciò che imaginarno e che solo el lor volere rompesse ogni difficultate". Printed in V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti nelle testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo*, Vatican City, 1936, p.85. Raphael notes in the same letter that the just as a painter must have knowledge of architecture so that he can execute measured and proportionate ornament, so the architect must have mastery of perspective so that he can form an image of the building complete with its ornaments "immagina tutti l'edificio fornito con li suoi ornamenti" (*op.cit.*, p.91).

[148] *Regole generali*, Terzo Libro, Venice, 1540, cited in Golzio, *op.cit.*

the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, before the loggia was glazed, show just how open this space was, and continuity with the garden was stressed by the fact that sculpture was displayed in both spaces.[149] In short, as we move towards nature, things take on richer colour, culminating in the xystus, with the loggia like a great triumphal arch before it, and representing something like an artificial equivalent to nature – both lovely in its perfected unfolding and order of forms, and a grotto or fountain room embedded in the dense, dark matter of the hillside. The topography of the garden itself is of course articulated, with the xystus above almost a *giardino pensile*, adorned with statues and fountains and the fishpond below with its dark grottoes recessed in the wall whose three great arches echo the loggia above.[150] The *grottesche* correspond perfectly to this meditation on nature, figuring the fullness of order that characterises the unfolding of the world as *kosmos* and its grounding in the obscurity and concealment of matter, just as Ficino had postulated the presence of chaos at each level in the illumination of *kosmos*. Again, we do not find that Raphael recourses to mythography to search out the attributes of the *Magna Mater* or Diana of Ephesus in order to deepen this reflection; we are asked to move from vision to contemplation without a literary programme precisely because the visual order has achieved mastery of poetic meaning.

We spoke at the Farnesina of a "theatre of nature" which starts to engage with the implications of situation in nature as the triumphal arch dissolves the walls of a room into an attenuated ornamental framework for perspectival depictions. The "theatre of nature" in the Loggia di Psiche is literally that, a transformation of the triumphal arch into a pergola that suggests a scene for banquets or eclogues; in Villa Madama one moves deeper into the question of situation in nature, with a loggia which both frames nature and depicts nature as order through poetic artifice. Rather than the framing of a vista by those things which we should bring to our reading of it, we have a doubling in which the ornament depicts in its colours the themes that have their fundamental exploration in the plan and its "disclosure" of the topography, as remarked above, so that the relation between ornament and plan seems to reflect that between nature in its outer aspect and the underlying question of situation with respect to nature. Thus instead of a central point of focus mediated by a nexus of contextual meanings, we find a structure of analogies, something noted already in the handling of invention and structure in the Stanza della Segnatura. To reiterate, this structure, as it appears at Villa Madama, draws an analogy between the world in its perfection and totality, and that discovered through the ornaments of poetic artifice; the decoration, with its colours and lights, is however no more than the outer surface of a meditation that entails the deeper discovery of the situation in nature itself. Theatre is still central here, but the emphasis appears to shift from drama or enactment to contemplation as more is embodied in the primary body of the architecture – we see this in the fact that Raphael names the garden a xystus, thus endowing a *viridarium* with the associations of philosophic recreation that find a whole sequence of settings in the villa, according to

[149] See for example the sketch by Marten van Heemskerck.

[150] The three great niches of the fishpond are recessed into the back wall and joined by an ambulatory which passes through the piers of the arches of the niches, so that the pond lies to one side and the cavernous recesses of the niches, which contain smaller fountains niches, to the other.

season.[151] This predominance of contemplative recreation in the theatric villa setting has its conclusion in the Vatican Casina; here one might suggest that the imitation of Raphael in Roman and Florentine Mannerist art of the mid *cinquecento* is based not merely on the synthetic ornate style transmitted through Raphael's pupils (in particular, Perino del Vaga), but the dense detail of Mannerist decorative painting betrays an attempt to explicate, iconographically and rhetorically, all that is implicit in the analogical structure of representation perfected by Raphael. This explication reaches its point of repletion with Ligorio's efforts to set forth multiple iconographic narratives and multiple archaeological associations in order to arrive at the full figuration of artifice as *kosmos*, which entails the full disclosure of its analogy to nature and setting in nature. More than any work of mid century Mannerism, the Vatican Casino begs to be considered in relation to Raphael's decorated architecture, as to display the effects of the exhaustive literary commentary to all that Raphael can divulge in the analogical structure that permits us to rise from vision to contemplation.

[151] See Raphael's remarks above on the winter *diaeta* as a place in which to "ragionare con gentilhomini".

Raphael's use of the grottesche

In the engagement with nature as setting that we see emerging here as the "theatre of representation" entails a "theatre of nature" Raphael's deployment of the *grottesche* will concern us further. Again, the line of inquiry runs from Raphael to Ligorio, with whom the *grottesche* become fundamental, I believe, to conceiving of the field of representation in its entirety, rather than fantastic or licentious ornamental aberrations. If one reads through the accounts of the *grottesche* in art theory of the later cinquecento, written by figures such as Barbaro, Armenini or Paleotti, they are linked with the grotto from which they took their name, with the condemnation of Vitruvius against irrational and chimeric forms extended into an iconographic interpretation of these "monstrous" ornaments as the forms proper to the chthonic and infernal gods, associated with the subterranean darkness of the cavern or *grotta*.[1] This iconographic reading of the *grottesche* does not however seem to have been so prominent in Raphael's day, when the *grottesche* are considered as the forms of antique painting, and antique ornament recently recovered and brought to light. It is therefore necessary to understand how the *grottesche* operate as ornamental forms, before considering the iconographical associations that appear in art theory after the mid century, *i.e.* after the Council of Trent and the subsequent re-assessment of antique imagery. In the loggia of Villa Madama, the *grottesche* appear in a space that is both belvedere and grotto, which concerns the full perfection of the return of antiquity from darkness into light and offers itself as an artificial counterpart to nature in its beauty and perfection of ordering, and its materiality. The *grottesche* are thus linked to the grotto, but not identified with it, nor is the force of nature yet seen as residing in the darkness of the chthonic – nature as disclosed in the Villa is both the concealment of the hillside in which the Villa is partly embedded and the sunlit xystus with its groves and fountains. For an age that saw the exploration of the Domus Aurea, the rising of the great loggia from the dark rock into the light would have been a particularly strong image for the triumph of *renovatio* and the return of ancient culture from "Hades", as Humanists liked to put it – and the presence of the *grottesche* in such a space should remind us of the two-fold nature of the "discovery" of the topography – in terms of antiquity and in terms of nature.[2]

We have spoken of Raphael's deployment of the *grottesche* in Villa Madama as the outer ornament of a reflection on the iconographic disclosure of the topography that is embodied in plan and form. The success with which site, plan, form and ornament are brought together marks the culmination of Raphael's achievement, but if we look at his earlier handling of the *grottesche* we can see that the concern with topographical disclosure is present, even in projects that are purely decorative and do

[1] See for example the denunciation of Paleotti in *Discorso intorno ale imagini sacre e profane* (Bologna 1582) – the relevant sections are reprinted in *SAC* III.

[2] We shall see this "discovery" thematised at the Villa Lante on the Janiculum, which is a tribute to Raphael and Villa Madama; a painting formerly in the Salone shows the discovery of the tomb of Numa Pompilius and the Sibylline books with the Villa Lante rising up in the background. We discuss the Villa Lante in more detail below.

not give the opportunity for the grand synthesis at Villa Madama. We have an example of this in his earliest *essai* in the *grottesche* ornament, in the Loggetta of Bibbiena; in order to understand the importance of Raphael's work here, it is useful to reflect on the previous deployment of such ornament.

If Raphael is heralded as the artist responsible for revivifying the *grottesche*, one should recall that the Domus Aurea was explored by many artists before Raphael and his students, and there are numerous depictions of "grotesque" ornament prior to Raphael – as we saw above, Vasari uses the term of the *all'antica* decoration in Donatello's Cavalcanti Tabernacle in Santa Croce. The decorations appears in painting in such works as Pinturicchio's decorations Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome or the Biblioteca Piccolomini, Siena, as well as in artists fascinated with archaeology such as Filippino Lippi or Mantegna. In sculpture, this decoration would seem to pass, very crudely speaking, from Donatello to Desiderio da Settignano in works such as the tomb of Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce, and from the delicate refining of Donatello's ornament in mid century Tuscan sculpture this highly ornate sculptural decoration, with fine vegetal motifs and mythological creatures imitated from the antique, appears all over Italy; in Rome we find it in important churches such as Santa Maria del Popolo or Santa sopra Minerva. As this ornament passes into painting, it appears most often on the candelabra adorning the pilasters that frame the perspectival image, which are depicted as polychrome relief – generally white or gold ornament on an deep blue background, also suggestive of enamel work.[3] Another element in this ornament is the use of fantastic capitals, so that it carries associations of license from the *quattrocento* on, but despite the capricious invention that could appear in such decoration, its role as framing ornament seems fairly clear – an artist such as Filippino Lippi, who attempts to merge the ornament of the frame and that within the perspective image can be seen to be pushing his representational model towards collapse, which entails the collapse of the distinctions between the arts. The bizarre character of Filippino Lippi's works signals the difficulties in developing the relation of ornament and perspectival image, and shows that such a development cannot be effected by the accumulation of decorative and archaeological motifs.

The culmination of this framework of *all'antica* ornament comes in the Stanza della Segnatura itself, where the pilasters of the great arches that open up the perspectival scenes appear alongside the *quattrocento* style grotesquework in the vault of decorated by Sodoma and conserved by Raphael, who (according to Vasari) accommodated his personifications and exemplars of Poetry, Philosophy, Justice and Religion to the existing figurations. The argument here is that in the recovery of the *grottesche* Raphael sees a way of moving beyond the static visual ordering that we find in late fifteenth century artists such as Pinturicchio and Perugino, where the perspectival image appears as a window opened in a wall and framed by an arch that figures the iconographic and antique motifs that visualise the context of the *storia* and guide the spectator to a proper response.[4]

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[3] Again, it should be emphasised that we are not attempting a history of grotesque ornament here, and refer the reader to the work of Nicole Dacos *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des Grotesques a la Renaissance*, London 1969 for a more detailed account.

[4] In this account I am neglecting Signorelli's unique decorations in the cathedral of Orvieto.

Raphael's development of *grottesche* ornament derives in part from a deeper understanding of *imitatio*, and from the capacity to develop the "disclosure" of the setting so that iconography and topography reveal one another – we must also signal the influence of Michelangelo in the Sistine Chapel, where human figures appear in the subsidiary areas of a scheme which we might associate with ornament, imitated as we saw by Raphael in the Loggia di Psiche at the Farnesina, where Vasari noted the influence of Michelangelo was particularly strong. The *ignudi* of the Sistine Chapel might be read as deriving from the victories or geni who appear in the framing areas of the triumphal arch, as well as a development of Donatello's richly expressive use of putti in the ornament of his sculpture. What is so striking in the Sistine Chapel is the absence of traditional ornamental motifs, replaced by the continuum from architecture (painted ribs of vault, apertures, thrones) to architectural ornament (medallions and sculpted putti on thrones) to ornamental figures (*ignudi*) to the massive forms of the prophets and sibyls and the biblical scenes. The *ignudi* do carry a heavy garland, like the putti revived in quattrocento sculpture, but otherwise the vegetal motifs and candelabra that form so essential a part of ornament have been abandoned. Michaelangelo does something similar in a sense in the Medici Chapel, where the *ignudi* are placed beneath the enthroned figures, and the quattrocento Tuscan wall tomb, with its ornate antique style sarcophagus within an aedicula or baldachin, expands to form a new articulation of the whole lower part of the wall; had the tombs for the Magnifici (the elder Lorenzo and Giuliano) been completed, this articulation would have encircled three of the four walls of the chapel. We see in short the movement from the *quattrocento* Tuscan tomb as arch inserted into wall of church to a monument which turns the whole articulation of wall into ornament. For Vasari, the Medici Chapel is the exemplification of the *terza maniera* of his age, in which antiquity (specifically Vitruvius) and "common usage" can finally be superseded by an order which is ornament – as Varchi's *lezione* on the sonnet about the figure of Night in the Medici Chapel reveals, this order reflects or enacts, artificially, the conjunction of form and matter. Vasari sees this "new order of ornaments" continued in the "resolute grace" of the vestibule of the Laurentian library; the evolution beyond antique style ornament does not only imply the abandonment of classical motifs in favour of the lively grace of the human form, but the development of an architectural articulation in which the whole wall can be conceived sculpturally, as a rhythm of recessed and protruding elements, in which the niche or tabernacle that suggests a frame for statues has prominent place. In the vestibule of the Biblioteca Laurenziana one finds a wall so treated that the relationship between frame and framed seems to have been undone; in place of an articulation which creates the illusion that we look out on scenes opened up for us, the vestibule, like a façade turned inwards, resolutely shows us itself. For Michelangelo the continuity of the architectural framework and the human figure, which it is the elevated task of sculpture to depict, lies in the fact that architectural members derive from human members, hence the architect can do nothing without a good understanding of the figure and anatomy.[5] Anatomy here does not merely imply measurement and proportion, but the study of the *moti* by which inner states become physical movements, thus the new order of ornament invented by Michelangelo is exemplified by, for example, such forms as the *linea serpentinata*, which is an both expressive line of movement that can depict the embodiment of the

[5] Michelangelo, *Lettere*, p.554, cited in Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, Harmondsworth, 1986, p.37.

passions through the *moti*, and an ornament. This is obviously a hopelessly inadequate account of Michelangelo, and we should emphasise that our object here is not Michelangelo himself so much as the way that this new understanding of ornament based on the *grazia* of the human form and its *moti*, comes together with the culture of *imitatio* and its full theatric and philological conditions.

How does one reconcile Michelangelo's "new order of ornament" with the perfection of the imitation of antiquity in the atelier of Raphael? With Michelangelo the centring of the human form becomes the cornerstone in a conception of art in which the arts are united in their expression of a single order that unites all things in its *grazia*, and I would suggest that Raphael reflects on this conception and infuses it into the art of *imitatio*, resulting in such works as the composite whole of the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. In the context of a conception of ornament in terms of *moti*, one should remember that if the *grottesche* do not possess the affective character of ornament as conceived in Michelangelo's art (which thus shows itself closer in spirit to the rhetorical tradition than more overtly "antique" style), they do however show the *energeia* which is essential both to action and to metaphor can penetrate down into the vegetal motifs, where it manifests itself as metamorphic life. One should recall that the antique ornament discovered principally in the Domus Aurea was both painting and the stucco decoration whose technique is rediscovered, according to Vasari, by Giovanni da Udine, so that the liveliness of the vegetal forms can seem to arise from the wall itself, an illusion which has its most extreme development in the decorations by Rosso in the Gallery of François I at Fontainebleau. In art theory of the later part of the century, we shall see that this metaphoric character of the *grottesche*, their capacity to enliven and their embodiment of metaphoric transformation, is linked with the reflections on the metaphoric character of the *impresa* and hieroglyph, and are taken as a sign that the metaphoric understanding of representation has penetrated through the whole continuum of figuration. We will come to these treatments later – as noted above, we need to anchor an account of the *grottesche* in Raphael's deployment of them. In speaking of Michelangelo's work as the full unfolding of a perfected order in which order and ornament are identified, one should remember what we have argued above about the relation between the ornaments of the triumphal arch of the perspectival room and the study of ornament in Renaissance rhetoric as a means of disclosing the *varietas* of contextual meanings. The capacity of the *grottesche* to figure all things that are, or can be thought, fits in with the expansion of contextual meanings into a visual encyclopaedia – one however in which ordering is inseparable from transformation, and shows the *moti* enliven everything, down to the vegetal soul. To the "encyclopaedic" character of the figurations, which is noted by sixteenth century writers on the *grottesche*, and their depiction of the ensoulment that rises up from plant life in terms of a literalisation of rhetorical criteria of "lively ornament", we should add a further point. We have suggested that Michelangelo replaces the distinction between frame and perspective with a visual order that emphasises the continuity between the two, or rather the progression towards a higher degree of articulation whose lower and upper limits may be defined, Platonically, as matter and logos rising to mind. The *grottesche* may appear very remote from the "resolute grace" of Michelangelo's work, but as they develop (via imitation of the Domus Aurea) from the framing decoration of the vault and pilasters of the triumphal arch to invade whole wall spaces, and to constitute a background for other decorations, we

seem to move from notions of ornament as contextualisation to depiction of the conditions of situation in each representation, figured through an artifice that aims to imitate universal nature through the *energeia* that distinguishes metaphor and the *phantasia* that underlies its disclosures.

There are thus a number of threads to be elaborated here: the relationship of grotesquework to the theatric character of the perspectival room, with its triumphal arch framework, the kind of invention which is implied by *grottesche* decoration and its relation to the philological invention discussed earlier, in particular to triumph, are but two. To these one needs to add those matters which form a basis for the later discussions of metaphor and symbolic figuration – the notion of the progressive development of the soul in Aristotelian psychology, as it rises through vegetal to animal to human levels, and the *energeia* that penetrates through all figuration, and ensouls even the background continuity of ornament. In referring to the framework of the triumphal arch, one should also remember the discussion above of the triumph as a structure of ordering and note the continuity between the triumph and the *grottesche*, most obvious in the affinity of the trophy and the candelabra. If the triumph is a display of all that can be invented (discovered) in a given theme, in the *grottesche* this invention is depicted in the course of its metaphoric transformations, for which the generative capacity of nature forms a constant background and analogy. If the display of the context that underlies a certain argument can be linked with the ornament of the triumphal arch, in the *grottesche* the arch itself, as the frame of the perspectival theatre, appears again as an element in a configuration of calligraphic lines – it does not lose its perspectival nature, but is released from its situating character and its opening of a vista that reveals nature as its background to become a motif which floats against the surface of the wall. It is this matter of framing and background that is absolutely fundamental to the *grottesche*, and it seems that they put into question not only the mediating function of the frame, but the matter of what lies behind it – the "chimeric" figurations should be seen as consequent on this exploration, as much as capricious forms of license or "aberrations". Considered in this light, the *grottesche* represent a development of the "dissolution" of the wall in perspectival representation; as suggested above, the perspectival function of the frame is not ignored or relinquished but the implications of "revealing" a scene of nature start to address human processes of *ingegno* and artifice.

Many of the negative assessments of the *grottesche*, such as that in Barbaro's commentary to Vitruvius, take their authority from the Vitruvian criticism of the indecorous departure from naturalism in the "monstrous" style of ornament which follows on the scenographic decoration whose evolution is traced in *De architectura*, VII.v. This account concerns the progressive articulation of the wall, which begins with the illusionistic reproduction of simple architectural features, such as the revetment and cornice, develops into more elaborate configurations with columns or balconies, which serve to deepen the wall into a niche or dissolve it into an arch or frame through which we see a scene of some kind – in spaces with large or open wall space, such as exedrae, a theatre scene ("patentibus autem locis, uti exedris, propter amplitudinem parietum scenarum frontes tragico more, aut comico, seu satyrico designarent"), in ambulatories with long walls, landscapes and gardens and in other places, mythological scenes. To recapitulate, the derided chimeras or *insomni*

represent a further evolution, or deformation of such decoration in that they seem to be a meditation on the relationship between the elements of abstract or vegetal ornamentation, architectural frame and the framed, perspectival scene, which proclaims its theatric character so overtly. The slender frames of the *grottesche*, which attenuate vegetal ornament into calligraphic lines, often depict shallow niches and *tempietti* – not only has the framing arch of the perspectival image entered into the image field, but it has been released from the background which gave the illusion of naturalism, so to speak. So in place of the depiction of a civic scene or landscape (to put it very crudely, the tragic or comic and satiric-pastoral scenes) the *grottesche* appear against a blank wall, often a white wall.

We find that Raphael, always so sensitive to the relations between form, ornament and topography, exploits the implications of this white background in his earliest *essai* in *all'antica* grotesquework, in the Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena (1516), which translates the antique *cryptoporticus* into a luminous loggia. (Figure 27) In the Loggetta, the white background of the *grottesche* has its counterpart in the dazzling brightness of the space itself, as though the light that floods the room had consumed the enclosing wall, leaving only the slender and attenuated forms suspended across a bright void. The Loggetta thus depicts the background of figuration as though it resembled a field of light in which the delicate figurations sway - the preponderance of winged, flying creatures in the *grottesche* (birds, butterflies, chimeras) emphasises this quality of suspension and the proliferation of frames so that the search for an organising central frame constantly moves from one area of framing to another, as well as rendering the vaults as a pergola. Apart from these winged creatures, the figurations which hang like a veil over the blank surface of the wall show also architecture, theatre masks, trophies, putti, fantastic creatures and vegetal ornament together, where we would expect to find a vista onto nature, thus throwing up the question of whether nature itself may be another scene or veil. This question takes us into the analogy between natural and human invention, in which the iconographic significance of the *grottesche* is founded, and the "monstrous" or "wondrous" forms as depictions of the metamorphic energies which *natura generante* shares with the *phantasia*, source of metaphoric conjunctions – the discussions of Lomazzo, Ligorio, *et al.*, to which we shall come when we look at Ligorio. If we pursue here with the argument that a better understanding of the *grottesche* lies in the question of how one reads the background, we must return to the point that the *grottesche* were considered in relation to the theatric character of the perspectival scene, glimpsed through a framing arch and ornament.

We noted that Vitruvius remarks with disapproval on the evolution of the *grottesche* from the scenographic decoration that has been classified as "second style" Roman painting, and we have noted that the *grottesche* first re-appear in the Renaissance as ornament of the pilasters of the arch that frames a perspectival scene, as in Mantegna's Camera Picta. As the sixteenth century progresses, grotesque work encroaches more and more on the picture space until the perspectival image becomes a miniaturised to a vignette, hung amongst the swarming *grottesche*, which are full of

theatre imagery, such as masks.[6] We have spoken of the presence of theatre in perspectival representations of various kinds – paintings, architectural settings which form a stage for the spectacles of ceremonial life, and claimed that theatre has a paradigmatic status in the triumphant culture of *imitatio*. To reiterate, in this perspectival *mise en scène*, we find an image (painted or real) disclosed in such a way that it appears to be in continuity with our axis of vision, and this vision is generally framed by an arch, often richly adorned, which serves to establish the conditions of mediation that underlie the "discovery", as Serlio says, of the continuity of the space where we stand with that beyond the arch. This second space is generally disclosed as more beautiful, more ordered, and theatre again is a crucial way of participating in it; the question to which we are working here is the kind of participation or imitation which is represented when the *grottesche* invade the background, replacing the illusion of an ideal world in continuity with our present state, with an ornament which at once depicts the artificial disclosure of the metamorphic energies of nature, and erases the realistic recession into nature, replacing it with a field of pure colour or luminous white. As one packs more and more into the theatre of representation, nature ceases to be a background and instead becomes an object of analogy, imitated by the mind's processes of invention and the *phantasia*. There is no longer a scene which is represented in the *grottesche* but references to multiple scenes, in decorative schemes which stretch over whole vaults and replace the kind of totalising representation we have associated with triumph as the display of invention from a topos or topic with a different kind of all-encompassing figuration.[7] In such figuration, any point becomes a starting place for a totalising scheme which attempts to thematise all things within the theatre of representation, render all things as objects, and analogies for metaphoric, poetic invention – in this regard I would argue that the *grottesche*, far from cancelling the theatre as paradigm of representation, creates a field for the depiction of multiple, potentially innumerable theatres. There is a further point thrown up by the *grottesche* in a peculiarly striking form, namely that the effort to bring all things into the "theatre" of poetic invention, with its metaphoric structure of correspondence and discovery, reveals what remains beyond as a void. If the *coincidentia oppositorum* is held out in the Renaissance as a goal of Neoplatonic dialectic, and can be seen in relation to a great deal of thinking on *concors discordia* (the definition of music, Lomazzo' discussions on proportion and *grazia* in visual art), this conception has few clearer or more vertiginous exemplifications than the ornament of the *grottesche*, which disclose themselves equally and simultaneously as a play on the very limits of disintegration into chaos, and metaphoric transmutation of all things into sameness before a field of light.

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[6] One has a sense of the shrinking of the *storia* at the end of the sixteenth century in the third book of the *Precetti* of Armenini, who often speaks of the *storia* as it appears in a frieze.

[7] This totalising representation in the *grottesche* can also be rendered in terms of a reiterated repertoire of motifs which "stand for" all encompassing figuration. The Zuccari often construct grotesquework in this schematic way, with repeated elements (gods and temples, masks, foliage with chimera, devices and so forth) which can be reassembled and varied according to the *concetto* of the decorations, so that a "universaling" structure of figuration can be modulated to a given situation of representation. Taddeo Zuccaro's fine grotesquework in the apartments of the seasons at Caprarola is a good exemplification of this kind of grotesquework – at its most banal, this decoration can be standardised into the kind of iconographic wallpaper that one finds throughout the palazzi of minor centres in Lazio. (One should be careful to remember that the early decorative work of Federico Zuccaro at Vatican Casina, probably under the guidance of Ligorio, is a more lavish *all'antica* style and also closer to Rosso's decorations at Fontainebleau.)

This kind of awareness is developed only in figures such as Ligorio, who explores the full implications of the *grottesche*, and recognises the the tension which arises as they figure the relationship of continuity and metamorphosis, depicted in ornament's mimesis of nature and its regenerative temporality, played out in terms of metaphor, reiteration and rhythm. To reiterate, it is not sufficient to consider the *grottesche* as "chaotic" forms, found in the chaotic setting of the *grotta*, in relation to the progressive emancipation of the idea from its carcass in matter; the continuum of figuration requires at every point some kind of embodiment, and, as we saw in part one, the translation of *concordia discors* into *meraviglia* as a representational requirement in the later sixteenth century means that the most extreme depictions of these contrasts may become privileged "disclosures" of the coincidence of contraries. Quite apart from the degree to which the *grottesche* and the *grotta* become sites for the *coincidentia oppositorum* which resolves with Ligorio into the dyadic pairings word-image, body-soul, ungenerated idea-generated nature, one has to consider how they are disposed within schemes of figuration, and their appearance in a kind of architecture in which the issues of framing and the background of framing start to take on central importance – such meditations are not explicitly depicted in Raphael's *grottesche*, but are understood more in terms of the relations set up within a given context. We have seen Raphael's topographical deployment of the *grottesche* in the Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena and Villa Madama, where the ancient grotto or *cryptoporticus* is lifted up into the light – we need now to consider his remaining and influential work with the *grottesche*, in the second storey of the Vatican Loggie. (Figure 28)

Such relations concern also tensional relationships to other artists and their work, and thus both the Vatican Loggie and Villa Madama should be understood with reference to Bramante's work in the Belvedere courtyard; the latter as an answering recreation of the antique villa, designed for the Medici, already associated with a number of colossal palace projects (Poggio Reale, projected Medici palaces in Florence and Rome). The Loggie, designed by Bramante, which now form one side of the court of San Damaso, were formerly the façade of the Vatican Palace turned out towards Rome, and overlooking a garden; Ackerman notes the confusion in sixteenth century descriptions between the palace Loggie and the lower part of the Belvedere Cortile, both of which are noted for their *triplice porticus*, so not only did the palace Loggie have a similar form to the porticos of the Cortile, but both led to, or looked onto a garden. In terms of Raphael's famous letter to Leo X, the recovery of antique ornament in the Loggie brings to perfection Bramante's recovery of antique architecture, while the culmination of the Belvedere Cortile in the Statue Court shows antique art arranged and displayed in a setting so as to create a whole series of allusions which played on the poetic, inventive and geographic meanings of locus. This link between *imitatio* and topography in the recreation of ancient architecture in its form and ornament is developed much further in Villa Madama, where it becomes the theme and core of the projected complex – the Loggie are still working much more with the perspectival view framed through a window which formed the organising structure of the Belvedere Cortile and the Stanze. These framing windows in the Loggie are of two kinds – those formed by the portico itself, which overlooked a garden and were reflected in the blind arches of the opposite wall, depicting a casement with a vista of a garden, and those formed by the apertures in the vault,

which show biblical scenes framed by illusionistic architecture in the style of Peruzzi and *grottesche*. (Figure 29) The biblical scenes commence with creation and culminate with the life of Jesus, with Joseph as prefiguration of Christ in the seventh, central arch of thirteen and the decoration the vaults one and thirteen, two and twelve, three and eleven *etc.* is balanced (not quite identical), so that the *varietà* of the scheme is contained within a cycle which is concentric, with creation and redemption at the circumference. Within this cycle of ornament, the *grottesche* of the vault alternate with architectural perspectives, in the form of a colonnade and façade with pilasters, an ordering that could be read as a reference to the evolution of the *grottesche* from scenic decoration. In the perspectives in vaults three, five, nine and eleven the biblical images are depicted as *quadri riportati*, behind which the architecture continues – the relationship of perspectival *storia* and its architectural frame has been inverted so that the image blocks the perspective frame that runs behind it. We see here the play of elements, with each frame blocked by another, that will become characteristic of the decorations carried out by Raphael's pupils in the Sala di Costantino, for example, and is taken to its extreme point by Salviati. Rather than mediating the scene to the viewer, the architectural frame becomes a backdrop behind the scene, equivalent to a decorative background. Raphael plays with the relationship of painting and frame in the Loggie – sometimes the image appears to be before the frame, sometimes the frame protrudes over the image, suggesting that it is behind, sometimes (vaults six and eight) the *grottesche* suggests a *velarium* stretched over the corner compartments of the vault. The background to the biblical scenes is nature, revealed through scenic architecture, or the *grottesche* as figuration of the artifice and *ingegno* that forms the equivalent of nature in human terms.

What we see on the vaults of the Loggie is only an element in the overall scheme, which entails the raising of the antique cryptoporticus from its subterranean darkness into the loggia of a palace which partakes of the character of triumphal arch, gallery and belvedere, with its views over the garden beneath and panorama of Rome beyond.[8] If we consider the Loggie in relation to the development of the perspectival room framed as triumphal arch, they show this perspective-triumphal arch-ornament configuration concentrated in its tightest compass. In this *architettura pensile* with views of nature on each side (real and painted) framed by a sequence of arches that appear to open to the sky, the suspended *tempietti* and pavilions of the *grottesche* mirror in a sense the Loggie themselves, hanging between nature and scripture; understanding of the whole scheme requires us to see the relations between the mediation of the ornament and the topography of the loggia.

Within this pendant framework, all things, all variety, that human artifice can imitate find their depiction, and it was this aspect which struck sixteenth century commentators such as Vasari and Armenini who extol the Loggie as the exemplar of *varietà universale* or hold it as an *essempio universale* which depicts all that one could seek to depict - one should recall that the decorations on the pilasters, now faded, originally showed *all'antica* stucco ornaments framed in shield, circle,

[8] Again, the Loggie cannot be divorced from the sequence of spaces that it adjoins – the Stanze as most monumental realisation of perspectival room as triumphal arch, the topographical-theatric themes of the Belvedere Cortile and the exploration of *topos* in the Statue Court which constituted the first devised iconographic garden of the Renaissance.

rectangle and lozenge and painted vignettes, arising from scrolls and candelabra of *grottesche* and alongside the heavy festoons of fruit that Giovanni da Udine paints also in the loggia of the Farnesina, also praised by Vasari for their comprehensive character.[9] The pilasters in short would have shown human artifice and invention rising out of nature's *copia* and variety, and climbing up to the biblical scenes on the vault; if the *grottesche* of Raphael and his atelier are not yet the "hieroglyphic" figurations contemplated by Ligorio and Lomazzo, they do in a sense prefigure the later word-image configurations in that they depict quite literally an ascent from nature to logos. As we have insisted, this pictured ascent is inseparable from the topographic orientation of the Loggie themselves, with their openings overlooking a garden and "revealing" the heavens; the *grottesche*, with their rendering of the energies of generation and metamorphosis which have origins in nature, and their accommodation of all representations provide the ideal field and medium for this exploration. The *grottesche* thus simultaneously point to nature as universal background, and provide a figurative continuum for the rise from nature to God, which entails the display of all things created and imitated through human artifice (notably, imitation of nature and imitation of antiquity), alongside the metamorphic and generative powers reflected in human *phantasia*, invention and *energeia*. The grotesque work of the Loggie seems to attest to the inventive and metaphoric capacities, which enable the ascent from earth to heaven; suspended between the two, the Loggie are a *figura* for human artifice, with its *imitatio* and invention, its order represented through *varietà* and ornament.

One might view in short Raphael's ability to deploy the *grottesche* in such a way that the decoration is inseparable from the topographical awareness of the room or building as a development of his capacity to accommodate decoration to space, as when Serlio praises his capability to "far elezzione di cose che siano al proposito del luogo e che si conveghino in tal soggetto, come sariano più tosto cose celesti, aeree e volatili, che cose terrene".[10] With the *grottesche* we shift from the stratified depiction of images proper to the registers of decoration to an ornament that seems to manifest the continuity or universality of artifice, in a form that suggests the lively soul that rises up from vegetative life, animating and connecting all things. If the *grottesche* painted by Giovanni da Udine in the Loggie are extolled by Vasari and Armenini as superior to the antique decoration that they imitated, they also point to another way of conceiving invention, nature, and the relation between them. We have repeatedly claimed that the triumphal arch provides a frame of ornament that helps to locate and contextualise the scene which is framed, in such a way that the scene is situated in

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[9] Armenini (*Veri precetti* III) echoes Vasari, who says of the Vatican Logge that Giovanni da Udine "ha saputo fare la natura [...] di tutte le maniere biade, legume, e frutti che ha [...] in tutti i tempi prodotti la terra [...] che dirò delle varie sorti di frutti e di fiori che in tutte le parti del mondo sa produrre la natura, tutte le stagioni dell'anno?" (he was able to represenent Nature [...] with all the corn and fruits that the earth yields in all the seasons [...] what shall I say of the varied fruit and flowers that Nature produces, in all parts of the world, in each season of the year") cited in *SAC* III, pp.2583-4. The pilasters of the Loggie were engraved by Giovanni Volpato, in a project initiated in 1760 and concluded only in 1777. For reproductions and discussion of the eighteenth century engravings, see Nicole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello*, Rome, 1977. Dacos suggests that Giovanni da Udine's heavy festoons, which are much imitated by mid sixteenth century artists like Salviati, were inspired by the artists of Northern Italy, such as Mantegna, where Giovanni had his first artistic formation.

[10] Serlio, *Regole*, in *SAC* III, p.2626.

terms of the *copia* of meanings that explicate historical, mythological or biblical exemplars, and then the cosmic iconography of planets, elements, times and references to Christian redemption. One of the distinctive qualities of the *grottesche* is the way that this reiterated cosmic and redemptive iconography is itself located within a network of figuration that draws generative vegetal forms, often suggestive of a vine, into close similarity to candelabra that appear like attenuated trophies. Thus we have three models for the totalising representations contained in the *grottesche* – nature, the human mind whose inventive and poetic capacities are fed by the *phantasia*, and the triumph, with its copious display of arguments "contained" within a subject. I would suggest that as the *grottesche* come to fill out the background space against which *storie* appear, often reduced to vignettes (when we are to read the *storia* as an opening in the space, the *grottesche* may be painted with fan like folds or pleats that suggest a *velarium* [11]) we find the contextualising figurations placed within a field which refers to nature as process, but, more importantly, to the human mind as its outer and inner senses apprehend the world, and transform it into the images on which thought is based. The ambiguity of the background to the *grottesche*, which was discussed above, refers to the mind's processes of apprehension and seems to play with the possibility of a descent into a morass of unlikeness whose conclusion would be the formlessness of chaos, or, alternatively, the generative energies figured by the mind in its reflection of nature shown in a process of transformation that leads up to light, and the disintegration of matter in light. We have seen how the decorations of the Vatican Loggie chart an ascent from nature to scripture – more frequently we find a juxtaposition in place of this progression, which emphasises the contrast between the chaotic nature of the metamorphic forms and their delicate suspension against a light ground – a contrast which disappears if we consider them as insubstantial chimeras, a reading which again leads one back to their depiction of the energies of the *phantasia*. Armenini, who sees the *grottesche* as mediating between various registers of figuration, *e.g.* painting and sculpture or relief, associates them with the chance marks or stains on a white wall where the eye stops and delights in reading forms into the random shapes; Armenini emphasises that the "diverse fantasie e nuove forme di cose stravaganti [...] si creano da sé nell'intelletto nostro".[12] If the *grottesche* seem to show the poetic capability to depict the world in its totality as we have seen it held out in Renaissance literary theory, they do so in a way that insists on the processes of the inner senses and the role of the *phantasia* in the invention of metaphor, which we have noted in the discussion of emblematic figuration above. In their *copia* of depiction, the drive to form figures almost suggests some kind of divulgatory energy, but as one gazes at these fields of play, which simultaneously cultivate an artifice of chaos and expunge the materiality of the background of forms, one comes back to the question of a setting for an artifice that displays the triumph of the mind's absorption of its objects. This brings us back in a sense to the observations about the topographical "disclosure" in Raphael's *grottesche* decorations, and the question of how one treats the "scene of nature" once the *grottesche* have entered into the representational theatre. It is with this in mind that we shall move to a number of villa projects which lie between Raphael and Ligorio, in which topographical

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[11] See for example the *grottesche* in the Sala di Aurora at Caprarola and its "spiritual" pendant, the Sala dei Sogni, where the "pleats" in the *grottesche* in the corners of the vault transform into the chains of an elaborate ornament, whose "jewel" is the oval image in the pendentives – this transformation of one visual form into another, in which both readings are simultaneously possible, is characteristic of the *grottesche*.

[12] *De' veri precetti della pittura*, 1587, reprinted in *SAC* III, p.2698.

"discovery" becomes a prominent theme. Before moving to these projects, it is important to look more carefully at the development of decoration from the atelier of Raphael to the mid century; the artists that we consider often will be Raphael's pupils, or the mid-century painters who often studied with them, and we shall see the reflections of the more intelligent practioners of the mid-century *maniera* are fundamental to the elaborations of topographical disclosure which we shall find in Ligorio.

Decorative Painting and Theoretical Reflections after Raphael

After the Sack of Rome we find the dispersion of the artists from the city, and the work of Raphael's pupils outside Rome as they attempted, individually, to develop after the break-up of the atelier. Giulio Romano settles in 1524 in Mantua where he brings Raphael's decorative style to Northern Italy and transforms it to his brand of spectacular *bizzarie*; Perino del Vaga creates a species of synthetic derivative style which he deploys first in the Palazzo Doria, Genoa, and then returns with this to Rome, where it will become the formative influence the most important of the next generation of painters, such as Salviati, Taddeo Zuccari or slightly younger artists such as Pellegrino Tibaldi. In this necessarily selective and brief treatment we shall miss out works such as Palazzo Tè, where the *imitatio* and *varietà* learnt by Giulio Romano from years in Raphael's atelier as his chief artistic heir lose the contemplative accomplishment of Raphael's work for a complex but finally vacuous display of ornate style. This is not to discount the inventiveness or influence of Palazzo Tè, but to suggest that it will not help in the search for a deepened sense of the significance of ornament in the Renaissance, and may perhaps move notions of *facilità* away from the seriousness of Castiglione and Raphael towards a more superficial notion of stylistic effect - the type of cosmetic ordering for which Giulio Romano had a true gift. This cosmetic quality stems from the virtuoso development of the continuum of artifice or theatre of artifice into a play of illusion between the arts, in which the universe of painted artifice is elaborated through ever more ingenious structures of imitation, and imitations of imitation.

We have an early instance of this in Giulio's decorations in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican, executed between 1520-24, with both the vault and walls painted with covering tapestries, and those parts of the walls not covered by tapestries painted as though hollowed out by niches containing images of the popes flanked by allegorical figures of the virtues. (Figure 30) Giulio draws on Raphael's placing of two painted tapestries over the aperture of the painted pergola in the Loggia di Psiche of the Farnesina to resolve the problem of difficult foreshortenings, so that the image revealed by the frame is a covering. In the Sala di Constantino, the wall itself only appears at the level of the frieze and the *basamenti*, painted to resemble alternating panels of bronze low relief and *all'antica* altars with caryatids and swags framing Papal *imprese*; the continuity of the frieze and *basamenti* creates a tension with the upper part of the wall, with the niches carved into the wall flanked by pedestals and figures that obtrude from it, with the tapestries in between covering a wall that remains entirely hidden by the decoration. The Sala, whose crowded composition and deposition herald Mannerist "grand style" in its least digestible aspect, as we see it reiterated in the Sala Paolina in the Castel Sant'Angelo and the large scale works of

Vasari, brings together the variety of figurations that will be reiterated in later, mid century schemes: *storie*, portraits, *imprese*, heraldic bearings, allegorical figures, epigraphs, painted architecture and tapestries. In the Sala di Costantino Giulio Romano turns the revealing arch framed by iconography and ornament into the contrary situation, with a series of superimposed elements which threaten to block or screen each other off – the wall tapestries, for example, are shown curling back on themselves, so that we understand that their full extension would cover the neighbouring figures. From this time on, the framework of ornament in frescoed decoration borrows conspicuously from other arts, such as the borders of manuscripts, or tapestries, and this multiplication of possibilities is aided by the growing printing industry which allows for the realisation of a design originally executed in one medium to be carried into another.[13]

In the synthetic grand style propagated by Perino del Vaga and the artists influenced by him we might therefore distinguish two elements – painting presented as a collage or repository of elements from the masters, in which the dominant influences of Michelangelo and Raphael's Roman manner may appear alongside references to Correggio, Parmigianino or Pontormo, for example, these references synthesised together by the *disegno* founded on *giudicio universale* postulated by Vasari.[14] Such works seem to offer a point of comparison to the model of style ennunicated in Hermogenes's *Ideas* and their later elaboration as the basis of grand style by writers such as Tasso, in which the perfecting of decorum and *ethos* in each individual element is then subsumed into the *decoro generale* of grand style with its requirements of *varietà* and rich ornament. In this kind of stylistic synthesis which seeks to exploit the achievements of the great Renaissance masters into a composite style, lavish ornamentation (not just decorative detail but the employment of visual "figures" such as *linea serpentinata*) is necessary in proclaiming the unity of disparate elements as a harmonious or "universal" *disegno*. Secondly, there is relation between the central *storia* and the frame, a relationship that becomes more fluid as the figures such as Giulio Romano and Perino del Vaga interpret Raphael's understanding of the theatre of artifice in terms of illusionistic play between the various visual arts. By the time we reach the Sala di Costantino or the Sala Paolina it would seem that the kind of philological model with which we started to consider the (painted) architectural framework of the perspectival room has been submerged by the mass of figurations that tend to overlay, rather than reveal one another; rather than a progression of disclosures, centred on the *storia*, the room becomes the locus for the figuration of a *concetto*, which takes place through the accretion of decorative insertions – *emblemata*, in the strict sense. Once the play of artifice has eroded the distinct relationship of frame and perspective, and emphasised the overlay of elements, we start to move away from the notion of the perspective as an opening in the solid walls of the room and the decorated room becomes a gallery where all the figurations apposite to a given theme within a given place are brought together. At this point we

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[13] On the role of prints in the dessimination of ornament in the sixteenth century, see Maurice Howard and Michael Snodin, *Ornament A Social History*, London 1996. The work pays some attention to the role of various artists, such as the French Vitruvian, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, in the engraving of designs of *grottesche*.

[14] By the mid century, the defining qualities of the various masters have become the subject of *paragone* debates such as those over the relative merits of *disegno* and *colore* conducted in works like Dolce's *L'Aretino*, Venice, 1557.

might recall again the remarks above about the movement from theatre as a structure of visual organisation for the depiction of a *storia* to the notion of the "theatre *of*" which concerns the amassing, ordering and display of all the (visual) arguments that a subject "contains". It is at this point that we can appreciate how the original meaning of *emblema* as inlay or insert comes together with the composite figuration whose structure, as we have seen, is rendered in terms of the process of apprehension based on Aristotelian psychology – the room whose decorations are presented as layers of insets and accretions depicts its *concetto* in terms of variety and ornament which the viewer must bring to synthesis and ultimately to unity. The very layered character of the decorations, which forms the antithesis of the opening onto nature, and situation in nature, means that such operations of synthesis stress the totality of human artifice and reflect back the processes of human thought; it is fitting that the vaults and marginal areas of such decorations are often taken up with *grottesche*. Again, in schemes which embody such variety of figuration the clarity of reading associated with the perspectival *storia* may give way to structures of ordering which are fundamentally logical, so that the relations between various elements within a scheme may be determined by attribute, conjunction, opposition, effect and so forth, urging a logical, or topical reading upon the spectator.[15] Our concern is not this logical analysis in itself, but the way that ways of reading associated with verbal argument and visual organisation structured by perspective come together to create decorations which advertise themselves as theatres *of*, and the way that the ornament cultivated in such spaces relates to the coming to knowledge of the spectator.

In part two, we attempted to demonstrate the influence of Camillo and his theatre upon literary, and thus artistic invention, whether indirect or direct, as in Serlio, and argue for the importance of Camillo's project in approaching programmes devised for entire palaces decorated as the embodiment of a *concetto* in which the arguments were articulated according to the divisions of the building. The decorations at Palazzo Vecchio or Caprarola become something like a concrete embodiment of mnemonic *loci* and *imagines* in a great epideictic oration on the Medici or Farnese, as though the visual theatre, the verbal arguments and the mind's process of apprehending them had been brought together. In Vasari's decorations for the Medici in Palazzo Vecchio, for example, the *concetto* of the scheme, with Olympians above and corresponding Medici below, requires that the spectator has access to two stories of the building, and can remember the details of a room while exploring its "twin" above or below – here the capacity of the rooms to function as mnemonic *loci* is in fact crucial to the spectator's understanding of the decorations.[16] (Figure 31) What is fundamental about this kind of visual representation is that it attempts to synthesise the representational

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[15] The *reductio ad absurdum* of the logical invention and reading of visual argument comes in Arcimboldo's rebus paintings, which were appreciated by contemporaries as a witty development of visual argument, or visual pun into logical jokes. Lomazzo in the *Idea* cites the madrigals by Giovanni Filippo Gherardini and Gregorio Comanini, occasioned by Arcimboldo's *Flora* painting, which represents both flowers in their variety and Flora as both personification and *concetto universale* of flowers, both Flora and *fiori* "fanno i fiori Flora, e Flora i fiori" (*SAC* III p.2959). The high standing of Arcimboldo in his own time highlight just how habituated late Renaissance viewers were to the reading of visual representation in logical terms.

[16] In regard to the use of real places for mnemonic exercise, Julian Kliemann notes in *Gesta Dipinte* that in his *Arte in oratoria* (1546) Francesco Sansovino used the the Loggia of the Campanile of San Marco designed by his father Jacopo as an exemplar of artificial memory – presumably as an ideal mnemonic locus.

possibilities of the perspectival theatre with a process of reading the visual sign that we have seen as emblematic or hieroglyphic – that is, using both logical strategies of signification and laying claim to an intuitive or esoteric meaning.

We noted above that the room as emblem, or gallery of emblems may take on various forms – one may have the virtual embodiment of an emblem in a room, as in Parmigianino's enigmatic *stufetta* at Fontanellato near Parma, which features an inscription in the form of an epigraph to Diana, frescos based on the myth of Actaeon, with puzzling transformations of the iconography and a motto in the form of a mirror like an occulus in the ceiling with the injunction to regard the end – *respicit finem.*[17] Less subtle are Vasari's decorations for the Farnese in the Sala dei Cento Giorni (1546)[18] in the Palazzo della Cancelleria, where Julian Kliemann has noted that the decorations not only demand to be read rhetorically, but act as a "macchina per generare orazioni".[19] (Figure 32) The decorations show Paul III receiving tributes from other states, rewarding the virtuous (*i.e. literari* of the Papal court, amongst whom we see Michaelangelo), rebuilding St Peter's and creating universal peace through the Treaty of Nice (1538) between Charles V and François I; while Paul III is easily recognizable, he is not explicitly mentioned in the numerous inscriptions in the frescoes which either refer to the deeds of emperors depicted in busts or contain *sententiae* which the spectator must relate to the *storia*, the allegorical figures and the imperial busts. The architectural articulation of the frescoes combines the motif of the triumphal arch-loggia of alternating openings and niches with a striking scenographic motif, which shows the semi-circular stairs of Bramante's exedra in the Belvedere Court descending into the space of the room itself. This motif is given emphasis on the side of the chamber where the wall is interrupted by windows, which shows the Belvedere style stairs lead up to a large semi-circular colonnade adorned with statues of female allegorical personifications. Thus alongside the reading proposed I think correctly by Kliemann, in which visual and verbal figurations come together as in an *impresa* in praise of Paul III, one must consider the overtly theatric rendering of the illusory architecture of the room, which turns the depictions of the Papal *gesta* into a sequence of staged scenes that take place in the heroic and ennobled realm to which the spectator could, it seems, ascend by means of the painted stairs. However hastily executed, the decorations of the Sala dei Centi Giorni are useful in their depiction of the way that the perspectival theatre works together with the attempt to portray the successive triumphs that constitute the "praise" of Paul III, and it bears striking similarity to the accounts of the decorations designed by Vasari for the triumphal entry of Joanna of Austria into Florence in 1565, in which the dual function of the triumphal arch as perspectival frame and emblematic support is used to disclose the city as ideal topography of virtues. Kliemann also notes a fluidity of reading in the historical and iconographic framework of the frescoes, where the *sententia* that forms the inscription of one image can serve to illuminate others or a line from Virgil about one emperor is fixed to the portrait of another; the spectator is asked to read the

[17] On Fontanellato, see note in part two above

[18] So called from the time taken by Vasari to decorate it – a fact that appears quite clearly from the quality of the painting.

[19] *Gesta dipinte*, p.51.

decorations as a complex whole, articulated by cross-references as well as overt propagandist imagery.[20]

The perspectival theatres in the Sala dei Cento Giorni, with their concave stairways in imitation of the Belvedere exedra, are so crowded into the space of the room that they lose any illusionistic quality, and become instead like a sequence of tapestries depicting scenes within an exedra – Vasari's paintings do in fact imitate the illusionistic "tapestry" of the Sala di Costantino depicting the Baptism of Constantine and quote from Raphael's celebrated cartoons for the tapestries of the life of St Peter, in particular *Peter curing the Cripple*. This degree to which the perspectival room is undermined as the arts imitate one another and the perspectival scenes becomes an element in the room as complex figuration of a *concetto* becomes a point of inspiration for Salviati, praised by Vasari as the finest painter of his generation and possibly the most talented exponent of the ornate synthetic style associated with Perino del Vaga above.[21] Salviati was also a painter admired and linked with the *letterati* – illustrator of Camillo's theatre, friend of Annibale Caro who spoke of him as "così poeta come pittore" and the only artist praised by Tasso.[22] He thus forms a useful point at which to consider the relationships between figuration and invention, and his decorative schemes, which take reflections on the progression of frames to their extreme point, present a culmination of the *maniera* which should be put together with the speculation that we saw embodied in the *grottesche*. We have already mentioned a number of elements– *grottesche*, the synthetic style that announces its harmony in terms of ornament, the play between the perspective which dissolves the wall and the superimposed images that depict the room as gallery, the structures of meaning that ask the spectator to read across diverse elements or registers of figuration that create a network of signification. There is another elaboration of the frame to be worked in, linked to the remark above concerning the dissemination of motifs and *grottesche* through prints.

In the break-up of Raphael's atelier and the artistic diaspora that follows on the Sack of Rome, we find the painters of the Roman school returning to provincial centres or drawn in some cases to France by the promise of lucrative work. Vasari and Cellini are eloquent on the fortunes of Italian artists employed at the court of François I;[23] here we are concerned with one case only, namely the decorations of Rosso innthe Galerie of François I at Fontainebleau (circa 1535-37), disseminated in Italy through

[20] Kliemann notes that the images do not so much document the precise activities of Paul III as give credibility to the *topos* of universal peacemaker – the inscriptions are thus essentially sententious, not explanatory. The fluidity discussed by Kliemann manifests itself in such details as a tag from Virgil referring to Augustus and the greatness of Rome which appears over an image of Alexander the Great, thus creating a network of allusions in which Augustus's admiration for Alexander is drawn together with the *renovatio* of Rome by a new Alexander (Alessandro Farnese, *i.e.* Paul III and his nephew, the cardinal who had commissioned the decorations).

[21] Salviati's death in 1563 and that of Taddeo Zuccari in 1562 are lamented by Vasari as the loss of the most talented artists of his generation.

[22] Tasso's praise of Salviati, in which he is compared conventionally to Apelles, comes in *Rinaldo* Canto 7. Caro's remarks are cited in *Salviati e la bella maniera*, Rome, 1991, p.25.

[23] Apart from Rosso, Primataccio and Serlio, who settled in France, Vignola, Cellini and Salviati were amongst those who worked there for a longer or shorter period – Vasari also claims that Andrea del Sarto went to work at the French court but returned secretly to Florence with embezzled funds.

the prints of Fantuzzi (circa 1543) and the tapestry designs which had influenced Italy by 1541-2. (Figure 33) In these decorations the stucco work, revived by Raphael and his atelier (in particular, Giovanni da Udine) through the study of Roman decoration (notably the Domus Aurea) grows out of the miniature and delicate *all'antica* forms to take on the form of three dimensional recreations of tapestry borders and *ignudi* which dwarf the image that they frame. Rosso's stucco and fresco decorations in the Gallery of François I should be considered in relation both to the revival of *grottesche* and stucco by Raphael and his circle, and to Michelangelo's use of the *ignudo* and his treatment of the wall as a whole as ornament, on which we touched above. In the elements assembled by Rosso in the Gallery of François I, the individual elements are all recognisable – putti, festoons, *ignudi*, and small images in stucco often placed beneath the central fresco relating episodes, *storie* or allegorical scenes which enrich the significance of the principal image, and, as noted above, serve to explicate the full significance of a certain image within a certain context. In keeping with our remarks above on the penetration of textual forms of reading, we find a play between thematic, formal and narrative similitudes, the embracing and confusing of themes and motifs in decorations that require attentive examination and the possibility to exercise the memory.[24] What is striking in these "conceited" decorations is the use of stucco that seems to grow out from the wall into scrolls of strap work, which then evolve into putti, caryatids, *ignudi*, garlands, masks and scenes in relief. These elements which emerge from the wall protrude over the painted parts of the decoration, so that the sense of the wall as a background for a central image is almost inverted, and results in a multiplication of frames in which there is often a degree of play between elements which seem simultaneously to frame one another. The realisation of the entire wall as a surface to be articulated in short unites with notion of "lively" ornament embodied by the framing *ignudi* or putti so that the wall itself seems to take on life, depicted in the emerging scrolls of stucco and their evolution into garlands, animals and human forms. In this "living" wall, the frame threatens to be simultaneously everywhere and nowhere, and thus the mediating function of the frame, so clearly delineated in a work such as the Piccolimini Library in Siena, or indeed in the Sistine Chapel itself, seems to become engrossed by a potentially endless series of possible associations and connections which can be discovered within the framework of mediation itself. This leads to a situation in which the central scene can be merely inserted into the framework of ornament, and thus it is no accident that Rosso's decorations had such success when they were engraved and supplied models for the cartouche, which may used in any context – adapted to another decorative scheme, used as a frontispiece, miniaturised as an ornament in a printed book, or as a surround for an *impresa*, or transformed into designs for a triumphal car, a casket, a fountain or a fireplace.[25] In the engravings of Antonio Fantuzzi we find that the framework of Rosso's decorations is often carefully reproduced while the painted *storia* is often replaced by a generic landscape scene such as we might associate with the background of a painting or the scene for a pastoral, so that the engravings of the decorations as cartouches often tend to empty them of narrative content. This means that the lively

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[24] On Fontainebleau, see *Révue de l'art*, 1972, *L'école de Fontainebleau*, Paris 1972 and Henri Zerner, *L'Art de la Renaissance en France*, Paris 1996. In response to the iconographic problems posed by the decorations, Zerner recalls that the gallery was shown to important visitors by the king, who therefore seemed to possess the key to its meaning – Margarite, the sister of François, spoke of Fontainebleau without the king as a "book in Hebrew" (Zerner, *op.cit.*, p.84).

[25] When looking through drawings of *ornati* by mid sixteenth century artists such as Vasari, it can often be extremely difficult to make out the designation of object figured.

representation passes onto the frame itself, conceived not as a surface covered over with affixed images, but as a substance from which things emerge and ascend into figuration.[26]

The influence of Rosso's work in Fontainbleau on Italian decorative painting appears from the 1540s, when we find Perino del Vaga in Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne (designed by Peruzzi) or the Camera del Perseo and the Camera di Psiche in the Castel Sant'Angelo placing framed *storie* in the frieze, framed by painted caryatids or *ignudi*. These heavy friezes, which take the form of a continuous cartouche, will appear repeatedly in the decorations of the mid-century artists – the Zuccari, Daniele da Volterra, Pellegrino Tibaldi,[27] and by the mid-century one can frequently formulate the decoration of the Mannerist *sala* as consisting of walls to be covered by tapestries (on occasion maps), or painted in a way that resembles tapestries, frieze with the cartouche ornament framed by "sculptural" figures and a vault swarming with grotesquework. In such schemes the illusionistic architecture no longer serves to dissolve the wall, but may tend to accentuate its own fictive character, as we noted in the Sala dei Cento Giorni. This happens even when the decorations that are overtly topographical, as in the Salone of the Villa D'Este, painted to resemble a loggia in the manner of the Peruzzi's Sala delle Colonne, where the images of the gardens which the Salone overlooks are disclosed between Solomonic columns that recall Raphael's cartoon for the tapestry of the *Healing of the Cripple*, and seem to form a shallow stage before the backdrop of the topographical scene.[28] It is easy to criticise the synthetic style later reviled as *maniera* painting, in which the attempt to synthesise the great achievements of Raphael and Michelangelo, and unite disparate elements in one *disegno* generates that dual quality of multiplicity and monotony, or endless inventiveness and repetition, which can result in the paradox of a characterless manner that Gérard Labrot sees as the distinctive quality of the decorations at Caprarola.[29] The mass of iconographic and stylistic allusion and analogy in Caprarola appears so dense that it threatens to become simultaneously all-encompassing and self-enclosed, a development which is embodied by Vignola, as we saw.

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[26] One might contrast Rosso's work with that of the other Italian artist engaged in the decorations of Fontainebleau, Primataccio. Primataccio worked for Giulio Romano in the Sala degli Stucchi in Palazzo Tè before going to France, and the contrast between his work and that of Rosso might serve to emphasise the remark that we see in Giulio Romano a gift for a variety of decorative style that is "merely" decorative; in the chamber decorated for Madame D'Estampes, the king's mistress, Primataccio frames oval painted panels with heavy stucco decorations of festoons and elongated female figures. While the decorations are superficially harmonious with Rosso's work in the Gallery, they do not exhibit the same play of formal, thematic and semantic elements, and seem to represent a way of stabilising Rosso's innovations into rich decorative style.

[27] On the decorative works of these artists, see Catherine Dumont, *Francesco Salviati au Palais Sacchetti de Rome*, Geneva, 1973.

[28] One might recall here the use of *sipario* or stage curtain painted with a hunting scene before a distant prospect of Florence by Federico Zuccari for the production of the *Cofanaria* in 1565. Closer to the appearance of the Salone at Tivoli the frescos of the court of the Secret Garden at Palazzo Tè, recorded in a sketch attributed to Marten van Heemskerck (Berlin, Staatliche Museen), depicted a loggia with Solomonic columns.

[29] Labrot, *op. cit.*, p.49.

This provokes the question of the end that such decorations do serve beyond the obvious display of magnificence, proper to the projects of princes and wealthy cardinals, or the celebration of dynastic glory which forms the core of the cycles in Palazzo Vecchio and Caprarola. The argument here is broadly that they should be understood in the light of a reflection of, or on, a Humanist enterprise to articulate a structure of artifice capable of giving complete representation of human situation in the world, in its historic and cosmic conditions; as both conditions and representative means are elaborated, this structure generates progressively denser patterns of analogy, as we see in Camillo's theatre and its eventual translation into idea of artistic representation with Lomazzo. As we come to Ligorio at the end of the work, we shall see the multiplicity of associations gather around a central analogy which we have already noted, namely the relation of body and soul which becomes so fundamental to thinking on metaphor, and which becomes, in Ligorio, quite explicitly a figure by means of which the relation of word and nature may be discovered. For the moment we need to give more attention to the kind of disclosure made by the *sala* of the mid-sixteenth century, with its "all-encompassing" interplay of stucco, monochrome and polychrome painting, the frieze enlarged to contain small paintings, *quadri riportati*, views of architectural perspectives in the manner of Peruzzi, heavy swags of flowers or fruit, strap work and cartouche type frames, allegorical figures and framing *ignudi*, often in monstrous of chimeric forms. It is missing the point to criticise this style for monotony or ornamental excess – the very aim of the promulgation of a "universal" style is to create a *maniera* which can depict all things and raise them to a lofty grandeur of expression, which may also contain playful elements, since "ingenious" style can be both sententiously solemn and "witty", and ornament is essential to the accommodation and elevation of all elements to form a harmonious and complete whole. It is the ornament that appears in the frieze, derived from Rosso, the *grottesche* and the transition from the dissolution of the wall by perspective to the layers of covering that interest us here, with their tendency to replace the perspectival disclosure of nature as setting with a reflection on the relationship of human artifice to nature.

To turn for a moment to contemporary theoretical reflections, if Lomazzo represents one conclusion of Mannerist art theory, preoccupied with the diversity of artistic style, and determined to divulge the chains of influence that lead from each manifestation of artifice to reveal the universal order, the other large scale work which can be read as a retrospective speculation on the art of the later cinquecento, is the *Idea de' pittori, scultori e architetti* (1607) of Federico Zuccari, a notable practioner of the Mannerist synthetic style we are discussing. The work, discussed as the culmination of Renaissance Aristotelian thinking on the arts by Panofsky in *Idea* (English edition 1968) David Summers in *The Judgment of Sense* (1987), posits *disegno* as perception (apprehension of things without their matter), conception, and as making, whether divine creation or human artifice. Zuccari thus sees *disegno* as stretching from the innate divine ideas to sensorial impressions, and from sensual apprehension to the artifice of making; the particular breadth of his conception of *disegno* lies in this development of the analogy of divine creation and human making (*poesis*) to include the perceptive and cognitive processes. We have referred to Zuccari in reference to the Aristotelian derivation of much emblem theory, but the relationship of *disegno* to perceptual and cognitive process is also pregnant in the context of the *grottesche*, or the universal style that should seek, like Zeuxis, to gather

together exemplary qualities and synthesise them in the perfect *maniera* as the completion and ornament of art. If we consider *disegno* in this way, one might view the *grottesche* as figuring the constant activity of the *phantasia* in apprehending, linking and transforming images, as the basis of operations of intellect, just as consideration of the *grottesche* in terms of the soul in Aristotelian psychology might see them as figurations of the vegetative soul as the base of other life. If the human mind internalises its objects, it can be said both to dematerialise them and to enliven them as they become forms of cogitation – the expunging of the background in the *grottesche* and the "animation" of the background which rises into form in Rosso's Fontainebleau decorations can be accorded with such ideas, and be seen as counterparts to one another, or as two responses to the similar problem.[30]

If there is any validity in approaching the art of the mid decades of the sixteenth century in these terms, we might point to a shift in preoccupations from a conception of *imitatio* as directed to a definite object (nature, antiquity) to a speculation on *imitatio* as process in relation to its proclaimed end. In such a situation the structure of artifice, or the process or reflection that it encapsulates may be as important as the finished object – for Vasari, for example, the heights of human artifice have been attained with Michelangelo and the artist should seek to perfect the process of creation so that study, exercise, processes of understanding, criteria of *imitatio* and the artist's progression to the idea become part of the unified, harmonious process to which Zuccari will appeal in his universaling conception of *disegno*. Such reflection on the process by which one attains an ideal may lead to academicism and Vasari and Zuccari were of course academicians (Zuccari was president of the Accademia di San Luca in Rome); on the other hand, it can provoke artistic speculations which bring the preoccupation with process into artistic creations themselves. The ongoing metamorphoses depicted in the *grottesche*, and the question of the movement of these forms expunged from their background, which sway before a blank space, is one obvious example of a depiction of process, and of the understanding in process – the surging frames of Rosso's Fontainebleau decorations is another. Here we shall look at just one further case, namely Salviati, before making our way towards Ligorio, a process that will necessitate a return to the iconographic "disclosure" of the topography; the topographic movement from darkness to light should remind us here that the preoccupation with the psychological processes and logical structures by which things become objects of knowledge must be set against the vertical order of ascent illuminated by Christian revelation, Neoplatonic cosmology and its derivative magical and hermetic discourses.

Salviati

Salviati lies in our path to Ligorio as an artist who explores the multiplicity of frames which develops out of the analogical structure of invention and figuration – we might recall here that he was the artist who illustrated Camillo's *Idea del theatro* and

[30] Again, if the *grottesche*, like Rosso's decorations, become a field of play in which the implications of framing are elaborated, the artificial grottoes which start to appear contemporary to Rosso's decorations explore the ascent of forms from the ensouling force sunk in the depths of matter. It is worth noting that amongst Primataccio's projects at Fontainebleau was a grotto in the Jardin de Pins which constituted an exploration of rude and chaotic forms (gigantic telamons) much influenced by Primataccio's master Giulio Romano.

probably the built theatre itself.[31] It is also Salviati, the only artist praised by Tasso, who gives the most felicitous depiction of what we might call a Mannerist grand style, or epic style, in which noble deeds and triumphs are pictured in a scheme of representation that cultivates ornament and *varietà*. If Tasso as we recall discusses epic in the *Discorsi* through the analogy of world held together by *concors discordia* and considers the idea of beauty synthesised from variety in the myth of Zeuxis as unfolded into the seven ideas of Hermogenes, Salviati in his decorative cycles in Palazzo Vecchio, Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo Sacchetti, Rome, could be read as the embodiment of these theories. Salviati also seems to be the artist who illustrates Vasari's remarks about the *maniera* of art perfected in the third and modern age, with its movement and grace, its ornate order and its *varietà* – in his *Vita* he calls Salviati "abondante e copiossimo nell'invenzione di tutte le cose e universale in tutte le parti della pittura" and praises him repeatedly for his *grazia*. If Salviati seems to embody the ideal of painting set forth by Vasari, he also shows the tensions that appear in appeals to the composite, the synthetic, which we started to note above; if he cultivated the universal style formulated (almost formulaic) by the 1540s with success, he also does so in way that owes as much to Rosso at Fontainebleau as to Perino del Vaga.[32] Thus, when looking at Salviati's decorative cycles, one is immediately struck by the way in which the quest for *varietà* undermines the unity of the decorations, and sets up discrepancies or conflicts that disrupt the illusion of the room as loggia or triumphal arch which is created in certain areas and subverted in others. The remarks on Salviati really use him to illustrate what was suggested above on the attempt to synthesise the "theatre" of perspectival representation with emblematic readings of visual depictions, on the play between the "opening" of perspective and the illusion of decorations as coverings, "disclosing" the room as gallery rather than as loggia and a preoccupation with rendering the process of reading or understanding represented by visual ordering. The fluidity and complexity of ordering created through the interplay of different elements at different levels, demonstrated by Rosso in Fontainebleau, is brought back into painting by Salviati, in the display of the comprehensive artifice proper to the painter, as to the poet – one should remember that Salviati also excelled as a designer of tapestries and of *ornati*, producing drawings of objects in which we find vases and dishes transformed into a mass of ornamental forms which merge and metamorphose into one another.[33] Unlike Vasari, who has to recourse to the epigraphs associated with ephemeral *apparati* to sustain the play of allusions in the Sala dei Cento Giorni, Salviati renders everything in visual terms and his art is in a sense a meditation on the capacity of art to depict everything and transform it, through the very processes of depiction and ordering. In discussion of his designs for tapestries depicting the seasons (the winter design shows Raphael's Chigi Chapel as an antique shrine at whose fire a personification of winter warms his hands) Salviati himself said "Io chiamerei inventione il figurare le quattro stagioni dell'anno non con figure degli Dei, come fecero gli antichi, ma secondo gli accidenti che ciascuna stagione potra seco".[34] Thus Salviati's copious invention, his capacity to adorn and vary, is founded on logical analysis, but the acknowledgement

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[31] On Salviati's role and importance, see Catherine Dumont, *op. cit.* Of the work for Camillo's theatre, recorded by Vasari, nothing remains, although a painting of the three fates in Palazzo Pitti has been linked with the same subject in the memory theatre.

[32] Vasari speaks of Salviati's contacts with France – amongst which are his illustrations for Camillo's books divulging his memory theatre, made for François I.

[33] For reprodutions of these drawings, see *La bella maniera.*

[34] Cited in *La bella maniera, op.cit.*, p.74.

of the role of logical invention is always in play with the relationships of likeness, opposition *etc.* founded on visual aspect, and Salviati's skill in such play, alert to relationships and transformations at different levels, and between different levels, makes it obvious why he should have been selected by Camillo as the illustrator of his theatre. A thorough and intelligent reading of Salviati, attentive to the levels of allusion and the interplay of logical and formal elements would do much to illuminate our understanding of Italian intellectual and artistic culture of the mid decades of the cinquecento; here we shall do no more than use him to illustrate some points made above.

Salviati's large decorative cycles were executed for the Medici in the Sala di Udienza in Palazzo Vecchio (1543-45), for the Farnese in Palazzo Farnese, Rome (post 1553), and for Cardinal Ricci in Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti (1552-4) – the first two are triumphal decorations in praise of Cosimo de'Medici and Paul III, while the last depicts a gallery replete with paintings and treasures.[35] In each cycle the rich gathering of stylistic, iconographic and formal detail is brought into play with levels of framing so that interpretation of the frescoes requires constant rethinking and revision. In the Palazzo Farnese, for example, our understanding of the decorations depends on the capacity to spot the visual citations, such as the imitation of the Michelangelo's Medici Chapel in the framework of three niches and the figure of the legendary family hero Ranuccio, the founder of the *stirps* shown as a trunk by his side, which is a playful imitation of the Giuliano de'Medici. These visual citations work alongside literary allusions – the relationship between Ranuccio and the "tapestry" of Venus and Vulcan above depends on our capacity to recall that Venus commands Vulcan to make arms for Aeneas, who thus becomes part of the identity of the figure beneath, as well as his competitive relationship with the Giuliano de'Medici in the Medici Chapel. These levels of citation, which we might seek to distinguish, are collapsed by the fact that the tip of the lance held by Ranuccio is held by a putto in the tapestry above, depicting the making of arms by Vulcan for Venus; as the putto somersaults out of the tapestry frame, pushing the lance to Ranuccio, we start to doubt which parts of the decoration we are to read as having depth – the overtly two dimensional tapestry appears to have greater depth than the statuesque figure beneath it, enthroned in an apse. (On the corresponding tapestry, commemorating Paul III, and suggesting contemplative life in response to active life with Ranuccio, the papal tiara is borne down to Paul III by two allegorical figures.) The effect would not be so disconcerting were it not that Salviati has set up different frames which suggest various levels of depth, and then seems to work against all expectations of verisimilitude – something similar happens in the scene to the right of Ranuccio, which suggests a battle scene in the distance, yet from which figures spill out on the ledge in the foreground. It is not the juxtapositions between the figures themselves that is so puzzling, but the fact that the supports on which they appear seems at odds with the relationships between the figures. Here Salviati is doing something that is very pertinent to the *grottesche*, namely he is opening up a disjunction between the figures and their background, creating an elaborate configuration of supports and then showing figures almost in the act of detatching themselves from these supports. Salviati's work at certain points seems to show us how the *grottesche* might appear if

[35] For practical reasons it has proved difficult to obtain images of the decorations in Palazzo Farnese and Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti, the first the French Embassy in Rome, the second owned privately – Dumont *op.cit.* provides ample illustration of the decorations.

their background had not been expunged; the various backgrounds and registers appear to point to the diversity of sources and levels of meaning that must be brought together in the invention of a dynastic triumph, in which historic events, myth, supernatural or divine intervention, allegorical representations, personifications of providential order and visual displays of epideictic ornament appear within a single narrative of praise. All that is accommodated emphasises its depiction through human artifice – we do not see the gods in heaven but a tapestry showing the gods on heaven, the Farnese *stirps* is embodied by way of Michelangelo's monument to Giuliano de'Medici. Salviati's decorations might help to view the *grottesche* as a liberation of forms from their context into the playful combinations and re-ordering of the *phantasia* – his works seem to stand either as the accumulation of images on which the mind works through the processes of judgement that underlie *imitatio*, or as the product created by artifice through judgement and *imitatio*. All this suggests a certain circularity in the processes of apprehension, judgement, imitation and creation, in which the idea of unity (or the unity of the idea) remains beyond the striving of human artifice. Salviati's decorations do have a unifying thread, provided by their rhetorical occasion, but the artist puts considerable demands on the spectator to discover how the interpretative movement towards unity balances with the obtrusive diversity in the visual order.

We have glanced at this in Palazzo Farnese, in the tension between the potential separation of the figures from their various supports and the need for these varied backgrounds that indicate diverse registers of reading. In the decorations in the Sala di Udienza and Palazzo Sacchetti, Salviati works chiefly with the illusion of the decorations of a room as openings or coverings, in Palazzo Sacchetti playing the two off against one another. His decorations in Palazzo Sacchetti, perhaps his finest cycle, superficially present a continuous theme – the story of David – with small secondary images, perhaps intentionally humorous, showing the device of the patron, Cardinal Ricci, a hedgehog (*riccio*) who is showered with goods by Ops and Fortune, and presented to Apollo in his temple. On closer inspection, we find that the iconographic continuity is disrupted by a number of images not tied overtly into the scheme (*Kairos*, a sleeping youth figuring *Sleep*), but principally by the painted architecture, which shows a rich colonnade with irregular intercolumniation around three sides of the room with a void behind, which is omitted on the fourth wall; the images which comprise the decorations are shown as paintings in rich frames or tapestries, which are either suspended from the colonnade like trophies or hang in the void. The *concetto* of the painted room as a gallery containing vases, treasures, tapestries and paintings that hide the wall is literally superimposed on the room as loggia which dissolves the wall, and the two, contradictory illusions are themselves disrupted, leaving images hanging in darkness. Here Salviati takes the interpenetration of various registers in the Palazzo Farnese frescoes and renders it as superimposition of frames; what remains behind is a black void, a more absolute display of blankness than anything one finds in the *grottesche*. In the studied disruption of the conditions of framing and the inclusion of an absolute blankness or darkness within the room, the decorations of Palazzo Sacchetti push beyond the *horror vacui* that we find even in the *grottesche*; as such the experiment remains brilliant but unique, and it is hard to think of another decorative scheme that could be said to build on Palazzo Sachetti, or how one could advance on such an exploration.

Salviati's remaining scheme, the earliest of the three, in the Sala di Udienza in Palazzo Vecchio, was carried out circa 1543-45, *i.e.* before Vasari's work in the palace, and in it the influence of Rosso's decoration on Italian art appears most strongly. (Figures 34 and 35) It is dedicated to the triumph of the Roman republican hero Furius Camillus, whose deeds are described by Livy and Plutarch, and who is depicted in triumph on the east wall, which contains a door into the Sala dei Gigli, the Council chamber of the former Florentine Republic. The celebration of the republican hero Camillus unfolds alongside repeated images of occasion (*kairos*), in reference to the successful political opportunism of Cosimo I, and these two threads concerning political success seem to be continuously related, rather than interwoven or identified, in contrast with the encomiastic structure of Vasari's later decorations. What is distinctive in the scheme is not just the density of figuration but the fact that each wall is varied so that the illusion of a coherent architectural space with symmetrical articulation, through which we look upon heroic deeds, seems to be lost. Thus two walls are "opened" like a loggia with fluted Corinthian pilasters to show *storie* of Furius Camillus; of these the east wall contains painted niches and statues at each end of the wall, which are absent in the south wall, adjoining the chapel. On the remaining two walls, which contain windows recessed in arches, the decoration simulates that of a triumphal arch, with figures in niches, *ignudi* bearing heavy garlands, and the *storie* of Furius Camillus depicted in elaborate cartouches. The passage of the depiction of Furius Camillus from images revealed through great apertures on the south and east walls to ornamental vignettes on the north and west sides of the room is just the beginning of complexities in a decorative scheme which places such emphasis on organisation, framing and the relation between different elements and yet appears to offer no transparent link between disposition and iconography. Even on the walls which have a similar (not identical) disposition, we find that images placed at equivalent points do not belong obviously to the same level of iconography, whereas the same image (*e.g.* time and occasion, or as occasion) may reappear in various guises throughout the scheme. Thus we seem to see a fluidity which allows the central *storia* (exploits of Camillus) to appear as a perspectival scene, a vignette in a cartouche, a relief depicted as though in a shield or medal, while the iconographic framework which figures the significance of the scene as it is to be read seems to put the various levels of meaning in play with the various registers of decoration. The result may create confusion in the spectator, but that is not to say that the scheme is confused, and one might consider Salviati's varied repetition of certain elements *e.g.* the iconography of occasion, or of Diana in the frescos (as Hecate on the north wall and goddess of the hunt on the west wall), in connection with the repetition of the same image in various places in Camillo's theatre. Thus we find statues of Time seizing Occasion flanking the two central *storie* of Camillus, which depict the *virtù* of the hero, while iconography of Occasion appears on the adjacent wall in an image of Fortune (from Lucian, Vasari asserts), whose pendants are Phanes and Hecate (Apollo and Diana in "hieroglyphic" guise), and the emphasis on the place of Fortune in the cosmic order. Time as Occasion, with the attributes of prudence and temperance re-appears on the west wall, which has been interpreted as constituting a praise of Cosimo I, with the figures of Mars and Diana references to war and hunting.[36] In this reading the reappearance of similar, or slightly modified images, in different places

[36] The identity of the figures is given by Ettore Allegri and Alessandro Cocchi in *Palazzo Medici e i Medici*, Florence 1980.

would correspond to the various aspects of our understanding of Occasion, for example, as it appears in the context of heroic action, the moral virtues and the cosmos; if the outcome of virtue and the seizing of occasion is peace, who burns arms in the centre of the east wall, each appearance requires a varied decorative disposition since it demands a varied ordering and understanding. This looks like the philological insistence on contextual meaning, but here it has taken on a slightly different form – in his discussion of the decorations Vasari remarked on their "hieroglyphic" character, obvious in the depictions of the sun and moon (Phanes and Hecate), and an oval in painted bronze relief (*i.e.* an *emblema*) repeated in the *basamenti* of the room shows the Arno as river god before a sphinx,[37] - it has been suggested that Pierio Valeriano, author of the *Hieroglyphica* and in the service of the Medici, may have been consulted about the inventions.[38]

As noted, the philological exploration of contextual meaning in Valeriano becomes an encyclopaedic project that charts all the possible symbolic significances of all created things – while these meanings are discovered through the study of classical literature and through the analysis of the qualities of each thing, each animal or stone discussed by Valeriano is presented as a seat of arguments where we may find the means of figuring qualities and ideas. What is so interesting is that Salviati seems to depict the movement from epideictic invention to emblematic invention in process, hence the cultivation of discontinuity in the depiction of the setting or iconography alongside the "bellezza continuata in ogni minima cosa, che mostrasse tutto quell'ordine con più ornamento" which is perhaps the distinctive feature of Salviati's decorative cycles.[39] It is also interesting to note that the image of the sphinx above the Arno may refer to contemporary discussions of Etruscan by Florentine scholars such as Giambullari and Gelli in the 1540s, attempting to argue that Etruscan was the basis of Tuscan and also an Egyptian language, thus promulgating the origins of Tuscan in sacred, hieroglyphic speech, distinct from Latin[40] - if such claims can be seen to continue the fantastic Etruscology of Annio di Viterbo, this reference to Florence as a repositary of Egyptian wisdom might also read a reference here to Florence as mother of the arts, and to the "hieroglyphic" nature of figurative painting.[41] Salviati's image opens up the need for a larger study of the links between the "hieroglyphic" images and intellectual circles in mid-century Florence, tracing the links between figures such as Valeriano and Gelli and the nascent academies in literature and arts of design – in Cellini's design for the seal of the Accademia del disegno we find a sequence of "hieroglyphs" beneath letters of the alphabet, under an image of Diana of Ephesus, serpents and chimeras; if Cellini speaks of the source of *disegno* in nature, nature is figured by a hieroglphic image. The relationship of the hieroglyphs to the formulation of a Florentine tradition propagated in the academies does not concern us here except to note that it gives coherence to the Florentine setting and meaning of the decorations – what is important is the open reference to a

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[37] Vasari, in his Life of Salviati, also mentions a *desco da parto* for Piero di Marcone in which figures with festoons representing the ages of life surrounded ovals with the Sun and Moon, with the temple of Athena at Sais between them.

[38] Melinda Schlitt, *Francesco Salviati and the Rhetoric of Style*, Ann Arbor 1991, p.136.

[39] Vasari, *Vite*, Proemio alla terza parte, Milanesi ed., rep. Florence 1973, vol. IV, p.9.

[40] Noted by Melinda Schlitt, *op.cit.*, p.209.

[41] One could recall here the associations developed by Lomazzo between proportion and the passage in Aesclepius concerning the Egyptians' animation of their statues – the theme of sculpture as a magical ensouling certainly plays a part in Cellini's account of his casting of the *Perseus*.

hieroglyphic, emblematic reading which implies new ways of ordering and understanding the diversity of figuration. The centrality of *kairos* in Salviati's work here and in Palazzo Sacchetti is interesting since *kairos*, as we observed in discussion of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, points to the coherence of elements and background that is actualised, as it were, through fitting action in the proper time and place. In Salviati, as we have seen, *kairos*, associated with the virtue that leads to political success and peace demands to be read as an element within a hieroglyphic configuration, while also pointing to the Humanist, philological origins of this kind of emblematic reading. The coherence of elements in response to a specific situation of praxis thus enters into confluence with the notion of encyclopaedic figuration, capable of providing images that can depict anything predicated of a substance, which furthermore assert their access to an analogical structure of meaning that culminates in the idea of the intuitive apprehension of intelligibles. The encyclopaedism of a figure such as Valeriano should be viewed in relation to our remarks above on the "universal style" and its tensions, as represented by Salviati; as suggested, Salviati's *maniera*, which at one level seems to fulfil Vasari's evocation of the perfected art of his age, also depicts the relationship between such a style and the mind's apprehension of its objects, and the shift from the decorated room as a dissolution of enclosing walls to an emphasis on the room as enclosed space – gallery or studiolo in which the mind seeks to illuminate its understanding of the world through reflecting on and perfecting its own structures of ordering and artifice.

In Camillo we remember that style exists in analogy with the other levels of the memory theatre; in Salviati it seems that the display of *maniera* should be approached in similar fashion, as an embodiment or perhaps *figura* of the relation of the idea, or *concetto* to the structure of its embodiment. Thus Salviati can be read as an emblematic artist, in the sense that his deployment of *maniera* is a way of thinking through the relations of thought image to its structure of embodiment, which, as Vasari clarifies, takes us through *giudizio universale* and the intricate levels of the question of the relation of unity and variety. In this light, we can see that Shearman's identification of Salviati as an exponent of the Mannerist style concerned solely with style, and Vasari's observations on the hieroglyphic nature of the decorations in the Sala di Udienza are both to the point – Salviati's decorations are indeed about *maniera*, but *maniera* is itself a figure for the structures of thought which underlie the possibility of artistic representation itself. We say here "a figure" rather than an outcome, to suggest that in Salviati, the artist chosen by Camillo to illustrate his theatre, we see the fusion of the thinking on the word-image relations which explicate the metaphorical structure of the *impresa* with the structure of imitation described by Vasari so that style in its entirety becomes a *figura*. Thus it is not so much a case of identifying the iconographical detail, as recognising the way in which figuration as a whole is part of a structure of metaphor in which all artistic representation participates; the more refined the *maniera* of the artist, the more "figurative" the representation. Salviati may give us a clue to this in his repeated image of the adoration of a sphinx above the Arno – the point is that the iconography, which is always problematic in Salviati's decorative cycles, is no more than an indication of the larger complexities embodied in the relations of *figura*, *maniera* and *varietà*. If we wish to think of Salviati's decorations as playing out a *concetto* or idea whose unity may remain transcendent in relation to the concert of its embodying elements, we should be careful not to interpret such a *concetto* in exclusively iconographical terms

– it may be the *concetto* of Vasari's theory, which develops from the artist's *giudizio universale*, as well as the idea which is only understood as it is played out in metaphorical relations. If we read style as a figure for the fundamentally metaphoric process by which the image becomes idea, the iconographic confusion which arises from the reappearance of the same or slightly modified personification in different places in Salviati's decorations can be somewhat cleared, in that we are not to read it as an iconographic diagram but see it as part of a patterning whose metaphorical nature requires the discovery of concord, or unity in the various or the contrasting.

To reiterate, we have already recalled that Tasso in the *Discorsi* speaks of the one idea of Zeuxis or Fracastoro synthesised from variety as elaborated into the seven ideas of Hermogenes, and this description of the variety of the ideas of style, which are each the product of variety synthesised through study, seemed to accord with Salviati's art, and with Vasari's theories of a *maniera* which is varied and ornate, and whose every image derives from the *concetto* founded on universal judgement. Again, it has been noted that Vasari's account of *maniera* can be related to the idea of decorum propounded by Tasso and Minturno, which consists in the most ornate, inclusive and elevated representation of all things, all qualities. Just as the seven ideas of Hermogenes give a full account of stylistic possibilities, without presenting the unification of these possibilities, so Salviati gives an elevated and copious elaboration of *varietà* without performing the synthesis that would lead into unity. This refutation of an easy synthesis can be approached in two ways – firstly, one could view the *varietà* so conspicuous in Salviati's painting not in the sense of disparate parts or disunity, but as a rich nexus whose relations point towards a unity which must be discovered by the spectator, who may gradually disclose the allusions and relations between the parts, which stand in relation to the work like a *concetto* in relation to a *figura*. Secondly, the encyclopaedism that appears through Salviati's emblematic references and density of detail may herald the ambition to explicate the multiplicity of things in their fullness, or may attempt to signal, hieroglyphically, a universal structure of analogies, but the effect of such unfolding of variety is to take us further from the unity to which things point once conceived in their universal wholeness. This is a situation attendant on all metaphorical and hieroglyphic figuration, but Salviati really seems to develop it in relation to the larger understanding of artistic figuration in relation to its objects; the search for the idea itself entails the cultivation of diversity at each level of representation.

What we see in Salviati thus seems to be both a rich understanding of the thought promulgated in contemporary poetics and the transformation of this thought into visual terms - one could say that it is in consideration of Salviati that one could explicate the speculative background to Vasari's account of *disegno*. Here we have a situation very different from the cliché of the unlettered and untalented Mannerist decorator who mindlessly carries out the instructions of a sycophantic court *letterato* which are themselves no more than a warmed over gallimaufry copied from the manuals.[42] In Salviati the neat division into invention and figuration, in which the latter becomes a mere vehicle of the former, starts to transform into a speculation on

[42] See for example the remarks of Seznec, *op. cit.*, on the relations of Vasari and Cosimo Bartoli or Taddeo Zuccari and Annibale Caro.

maniera itself, which we have related to Valeriano, Tasso and Camillo. As we have tried to argue, Salviati seems quite deliberately to work against the notion of an iconographic scheme depicted within a coherent painted architectural setting which would give a hierarchy of frames, and thus an orientation of reading. Salviati's work goes far beyond the decorations of his contemporaries Vasari and Zuccari, or of the painters of the former generation, such as Perino del Vaga; in many ways it seems to remain a unique experiment, and I can think of no other sixteenth century scheme which creates and subverts the architectural articulation of the decorated room in the way that we see in Palazzo Sacchetti. To sum up the remarks here, in his deliberate subversions of the architectural setting fundamental to perspectival decorations, Salviati draws attention to the disparity between the artifice of the painted room and the reality which it imitates as a "theatre *of*". In the peculiarity of his iconography, which often seems to refuse a neat programme, and is not given semantic orientation by the hierarchy of frames in the painted architecture, we seem to see a similar refusal to instrumentalise the decorated room as a vehicle for pictorial arguments, invented by a humanist *letterato* and merely illustrated by the artist. Salviati uses his technical mastery to remind us constantly that the painter, like the poet, can depict all things created or imagined; like the more reflective poetic theorists of his age, he does not see this mimetic capacity as a mere vehicle for didacticism or reproduction, but discerns a profoundly metaphoric relationship between processes of imitation and idealisation in art and *maniera* and the relations between the apprehension of the appearances of things and of their substantial reality.[43] As in the *impresa*, the unity to which the embodying elements point remains transcendent, and can only be *figured* – in insisting on Salviati's possession of *grazia*, Vasari suggests this upwards impulse in the *copia* and *varietà* of his style. Alongside this profoundly metaphoric conception of figuration, we might recall Vasari's celebration of the modern age of art as one in which order reveals itself with more ornament – as we move into a situation in which it becomes possible to consider figuration as a whole as metaphor, elevated as a whole by stylistic notions such as *decoro generale*, so we move away from the hierarchy of *storia* and surrounding ornament, towards a breakdown of the distinction between these elements. As discussed, Salviati uses the triumph overtly as the proper mode of the grand style, with its portrayal of order through, and as, ornament, but he does so while undermining the illusion of the room as a coherent triumphal arch which we have discussed as fundamental to the relationship of perspective and ornament. We have spoken of the affinities of Salviati's work with the *grottesche* (and Salviati's own grotesquework, as in the *scrittoio* of Eleonora of Toledo in Palazzo Vecchio, or Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, exhibits particular grace and liveliness), and

[43] We might regard this reflection as shaping those parts of the decoration which were considered to be "merely" decorative, such as garlands and festoons, which are exaggerated fantastically by Salviati and form a distinctive feature of his work. By the mid sixteenth century festoons have developed from the delicate garlands of antique sculpture into heavy swags, a development can be traced from Mantegna's use of the pergola as frame to Giovanni da Udine, a Northern Italian artist who becomes a pupil of Raphael and executes much of the ornamentation in Raphael's decorative cycles – in particular, the *grottesche* in the Vatican Logge and Villa Madama and the Loggia di Psiche. Salviati loves to exaggerate the fronds and roots of the plants he paints – we seem to see the fruits drooping and crushed under the weight of the great swags that display the earth's riches, yet the shoots that emerge from the plants show their capacity for growth and regeneration. The peculiar appearance of Salviati's vegetal swags – overripe yet blanched seems to suggest fruits which pass from the full perfection of maturity to the deformation essential to Nature's cycles of change and re-growth. Salviati in other words both depicts the full abundance of the harvest in its ripe perfection and intimates the larger natural cycles which incorporate decay and change; in this double depiction of Nature's *copia* and its cycles of transformation, the garlands have affinities with the *grottesche*.

suggested that his decorations point to similar preoccupations with framing, background and the question of how the "universal style" with its *bellezza continuata* corresponds to the mind's apprehension and conception of its objects. In order to deepen these considerations, we need to recall our earlier discussions of the *grottesche* and see how we can work them in with the movement from the dissolving of the solid room by perspective to the depiction of the room as a locus for speculation on and exhibition of human artifice.

Ligorio on the grottesche

We have considered Salviati as an exponent of high style, concerned with the painter's idea, and the relationship between the metaphoric character of this idea and its expression through the *varietà* proper to a grand manner; these together create a style where the very density of figuration suggests a play with the mind's ordering and configuration of its objects; it might even be possible to see in the decorations in Palazzo Ricci-Sacchetti an ironic reflection on the room as mnemonic locus whose objects have become displaced from their evenly spaced places and the yawning void behind the colonnade on one wall of the room shows a blankness that might suggest, amongst other things, forgetting.[44] If Salviati's work points to an intense preoccupation with the figuration of the mind's speculation, at the other end of the iconographic continuum, we find the grotto with its "stalactites" and emergent, chthonic forms that depict the growth of stone itself, or from it, as narrated in the genesis of life from rocks (the "bones" of the Great Mother) in the humid earth in *Metamorphoses* I.381-415. As suggested above, the grotto shares the structure of other emblematically conceived decorations which are repeated throughout the iconographic continuum, and its relationship to other decorations lies in the exploitation of a building (or building and gardens) as a vessel of progressive iconographic disclosure, which we noted in Raphael. So within the building – in particular, the villa, which embodies an iconographic progression, we find a sequence of places whose decorative ordering reflects that of the processes of the mind and its imitation of nature, with the grotto as the place deepest in the artifice of nature, the "theatre" of *natura generante* which depicts the originary conjunction of body and soul, and thus can be aligned with the decorations which speculate on this conjunction and artificial rendering through metaphor.[45] It might be argued that what links the artifice of the originary conjunction of nature to the figuration of the mind's ordering in its attmpt to apprehend its objects, are the *grottesche*, often used in spaces between outer and inner, such as loggie, or between various registers of decoration, or in vaults where they suggest a nexus of figuration against the light, as noted in discussion of Raphael's work in the Vatican. If the *grottesche* seem to depict the mind's energies of transformation and discovery of likeness, they are also associated with *natura generante*, and in this light could be viewed as representative of the attempt to locate these energies within the theatre of artifice, or to re-ground this theatre with respect to nature. This insistence on a re-grounding, which develops Raphael's topographical sensitivity to the *grottesche* in iconographical terms, appears in the postulated "derivation" of the *grottesche* from the grotto, and the interest in the articulation of

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[44] The decorations in fact feature a lolling figure symbolising sleep.

[45] Touching the matter of the grotto as "theatre", it would be interesting to trace the dramatic history of the grotto as locus in Medieval and earlier Renaissance theatre – the grotto before which the Muses dance in Mantegna's *Parnassus*, for example, may be a classicised version of the earlier theatre cavern or hell mouth.

the grotto in Mannerist villas. The *grottesche* provide a degree of mediation in that they represent an overt attempt to show *natura naturans* as conceived and figured by the imaginative and inventive faculties, depicting metamorphosis as a process of ongoing conjunction and this attempt is documented in the writings that treat sympathetically of them. We shall bring speculations of the metaphoric character of the *figura* to a conclusion, and move towards the extension of decoration into the "garden scene" with a look at the most interesting of these treatments, Pirro Ligorio's discussion in his entry on grottoes in the *Libro dell'antichità*.

Before we examine Ligorio's discussion, it is well to recall some of the remarks in the first section of the argument on poesis as the revealing of the first conjunction of form and matter, soul and body, in Nature. Nature's creative act is desribed in terms that consciously reflect Aristotelian ideas of *techne* in *Il Disegno* of Antonio Francesco Doni (1549), where the four interlocutors are a painter, a sculptor, Art and Nature, and Nature calls her creations *figure*, "un altro disegno e pittura" which she brings from potential to act as she creates in the material most apt to receive the "influsso" of the form.[46] Nature's account of her *disegno* might remind us of the Michelangelo's famous meditation on the sculptor's *concetto* and Varchi's Aristotelian exposition of it in his *Lezione sopra un sonetto di Michelangelo* – what the grotto supposedly "discovers" is the process of Nature's *disegno*, and we might recall that similarity between the *natura artificiosa* of the grotto and the "emergence" of form from matter where it lies in potential in the *non finito* was attested by the placing of Michelangelo's unfinished *Slaves* as telemons in the first chamber of the Grotta Grande in the Boboli gardens. If Nature's *disegno* has its counterpart in the artist's creation, that creation attains its *concetto* via the inner senses, in particular the *phantasia*, with its capacity to create and combine images. Doni speaks of the *grottesche* as "animalacci fantastici" created "nella fantasia e nella imaginativa, nel caos del [...] cervello", imitated by Giovan Battista Armenini in his account of the *grottesche* opens with an identification with the "diverse fantasie e nuove forme di cose stravaganti [che] si creano da sé nell'intelletto nostro", and concludes with an account of an archaeological descent into the *grotte* where he sees an antique painting which depicts Diana of Ephesus "la Dea della Natura con quelle tante poppe".[47] The fascination with Nature's conjunctive act underlies the interest in the poetic character of the *grottesche*, which is so marked in the treatments of Armenini, Lomazzo and Ligorio, as when Lomazzo declares that the *grottesche* require an invention that is in some way inspired "nell'invenzione delle grottesche più che in ogn'altra vi ocorre un certo furore et una natural bizzaria, della quale essendone privi, quei tai con tutta l'arte loro non fecero nulla".[48]

In discussion of Lomazzo in the first section, it was observed that he insists on the metaphoric character of the *grottesche*, which he likens to "enimmi o cifere, o

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[46] *SAC* I, p. 584.

[47] *SAC* I, p.572 and III, pp.2698-2701 ("phantastic little creatures, [created in] the *phantasia* and the imagination, in the chaos of the brain" "varied phantasies and new forms of strange things which are created from nothing in our intellect" "the many breasted *Dea natura*").

[48] *op.cit.*, p.2695 ("in the invention of the *grottesche*, more than in any other thing, a certain *furor* and a gift for whimsicality are necessary; those without these capacities can achieve nothing, for all their skill").

figure egizzie, dimandate ieroglifici, per signifare alcun concetto o pensiero sotto altre figure, come noi usiamo negli emblemi e nelle imprese".[49] The *grottesche* are thus allied both with language (*i.e.* pictographic, symbolic language) and with nature – one should note that Daniele Barbaro, who enforces Vitruvius's condemnation of the "monstra" in his commentary of 1556, calling the *grottesche* "the dream of painting", likens them to sophistry in the arts of speech.[50] The opprobrium surrounding the *grottesche* is similar to that surrounding poetry with its mixture of falsehood and verisimilitude, the mixture that Patrizi proclaimed as the basis of poetic *maraviglia*, but we might also see the *grottesche* as figuring the incapacity to arrive at a full and direct representation of things, whether in the world or the mind, on one hand, and on the other depicting the continuous conjunction of form and matter in Nature through an ongoing metamorphic evolution, *i.e.* a depiction of metaphor as process. We saw in the Garden of Adonis that form is made perpetual through the constancy of transformation, and the *grottesche* may depict a similar process – as such, they would show the "eterne mutabilitie" of generated form and, simultaneously, depict human attempts to represent it through metaphor; we might also recall that the transformation embodied by Adonis "rises" from a grotto, and that the conjunctions of form and matter, and being and becoming are unfolded through a number of settings which the garden presents almost as concentric; the very heart of the garden, where the conjunction between goddess and mortal takes place is underpinned by a dark cave or grotto which echoes the larger Chaos that furnishes all things with matter. It also worth observing that the very formlessness of the cave beneath Venus and Adonis, or the "wide womb" of Chaos, which defy direct representation in their otherness, mean that the meaning of the Garden cannot be exhausted; this replenishing quality must be seen as working alongside the encyclopaedic quality that we have noted in the *grottesche*, in accounts of poetic artifice and in the garden as topos. This relationship between formlessness and universality is especially pertinent to the *grottesche*, which can be seen as figuring all forms, and the flight from form; associated with the darkness of the grotto, they appear against a background of colour, often a white wall or vault suggestive of intense light. Speculation about the meeting of opposites in the *grottesche*, however, should not be divorced from their meditation on conjunction and it is this which preoccupies Ligorio is his treatment.

We looked above at the idea of a style conceived as a figuration for the mind's own process of apprehending its arguments. If the *grottesche* can be viewed as a manifestion of such a conception of figuration there is a difference, spotted and expounded with some skill by Ligorio, when he says that they resemble the discontinuities in human thought ("assimigliano alli interrotti desiderii negli pensieri

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[49] Cited in *SAC* III, p.2694 ("enigmas or ciphers, or Egyptian figures called hieroglyphs, which signify a *concetto* or thought with other figures, as we do in emblems and metaphors").

[50] "picturae somnium recte nominare possimus. Simile quid in dicendi arte vel loquendi peritia videre solemus [...] sophista vero monstra parit et huiusmodi, qualia nobis phantasia solet afferre, cum sensus a somno opprimuntur. Quam vero commendandus sit sophista, dicant ii qui discrimen inter verum at falsum, inter verum et verisimile ponere possunt" ("we can accurately call them the dream of painting. As we are used to see in the art or skill of speaking [...] the sophist brings forth monsters like the *phantasia* which brings [images] to us when the senses are overwhelmed by sleep. Let those who can judge between the true and the false, between the true and the verisimilar say whether the sophist to be praised") *SAC* III, pp.2634-2635.

umani"[51]) – the *grottesche* do not just represent all that can be seen, thought, and transformed by the *phantasia* as it discovers similarities, but the limitations of the mind in its confrontation with reality, for lack of a better term. For Ligorio, the chimeric nature of the *grottesche* takes on special importance, in that it depicts the fluctuations and misapprehensions of human thought ("fragibili e deboli nostri fundamenti dell'azione"), and so signals the completion of the continuum of artifice, capable of incorporating the representation of human vacillation and misunderstanding in its attempt to ascend to meaning and sameness ("intendere cose perfette con le imperfette").[52] The "deboli legami", the mixing of "cose false e vane" and "cose morali e [...] imitate dalla natura" are thus not improper, but fundamental to the meaning of the *grottesche*, and their representation of the nature of things in terms of the fluctuating energies and grasp of human thought, with its wavering precision and its insatiable appetite for new forms and arguments that reflect its own extent and elasticity:

> [le grottesche] sono fatte per recare stupore et maraviglia, per così, ai miseri mortali, per significare quanto sia possibile la gravidanza e pienezza dell'intelletto, e le sue imaginazioni, che fan l'uomo erudito e dotto nelle scienze, e per sadisfare, e per mostrare l'accidenti, per accomodare la insaziabilità delli varii e strani concetti cavati da tante varietà che sono nelle cose create.[53]

At a formal level, the accommodation of all that is brought together by the "deboli legami" creates a "sinfonia, se bene pareno assinfoniche" – a statement that seems to bring us to *concordia discors* as Ligorio says that the *grottesche* "concorreno alla concordanza".[54] For Ligorio, the *sinfonia assinfonica* of the *grottesche* disclose two levels of metamorphosis: at the level of things as they exist, and, more importantly, at the level of human apprehension of them: "è da credere che fussero rappresentate per ragionare della natura di quelli [*i.e.* things represented] nelle umane affetti, tutte poste intra vaghi festoni et di legamenti di cose deboli e variante, come per mostrare nel figurato le cose morali, le cose certe, le false, le vere, la incertitudine et la antevedute, le imaginazioni delle cose future, le cose stabili, le paurose, le timide, le dubbie vaccinanti, le vane, le piacevoli, et iraconde e le lusinghevoli".[55] Ligorio notes that what exists as perfect understanding in God is experienced by the human *ingegno* in terms of contraries – the *grottesche* do not merely represent such contraries, but discover the concord that can hold them together, thus his description of them as creating a "sinfonia, anche se pareno assinfoniche".

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[51] *SAC* III, p.2666. Ligorio's text on the *grottesche* from the manuscripts now in Turin is also printed in Nicole Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des Grotesques a la Renaissance*.
[52] *op. cit.*, p.2676.
[53] *SAC* III, p.2671 ("The grotesques are made to bring astonishment and wonder to wretched mortals, in this way to show as far as possible the fecundity and fullness of the intellect, and its imagings, which make man erudite and learned in knowledge, to satify, to show accidental properties, to accommodate the insatiable desire for varied and strange *concetti* drawn from great variety that lies in created things").
[54] *op.cit.*, p.2670 ("a symphony, even if they appear discordant" "they move together to concord").
[55] *op.cit.*, p.2668 ("it is to be believed that they were depicted to discorse on the nature of things in regard to the human affections, placed in pleasing festoons or linked by weak and changing things, as though to show figuratively moral things, certain things, the false, the true, the uncertain, the foreseen, the imagined forms of things to be, stable things, the fearful, the timid, the vacillating doubts, things vain, pleasing, angering and flattering").

This may derive ultimately from Pico, and Ligorio names Proteus as a figure for this discovery of *sinfonia* in variety and discord, as Pico had used him in the *Oratio* in discussion of man's chameleon like movement through the created world. Where Pico's concern is the human ascent to the divine, Ligorio's interest here lies in the metaphoric or artificial processes of transformation which figure those of *natura naturans*, and he associates Proteus with the invention of theatrical transformation (theatre machines, automata, mime, disguise *etc.*),[56] as well as with Pythagorean metempsychosis, the *amicizia* underlying *concors discordia* that manifests itself as friendship between men and as *materia prima* in the created world: "Proteo non è altro che figura delle tutte che si disputano della materia prima tra filosofici stoici e peripatetici".[57] Ligorio distinguishes three identities for Proteus – the embodiment of multiplicity multiplied, in a sense – he separates the prophetic marine god, shepherd of the phocine flocks of Neptune, the king of Memphis who preached on friendship and the likeness of human affairs to the sea, and the architect who invented stage machines, clocks, and automata amongst other "wondrous" mechanisms – *i.e.* an engineer in the Renaissance sense.[58] The varied associations of Proteus, with human *ingegno* in the discovery of similitudes by artifice, moral and physical allegories, suggests that Proteus corresponds to something like the levels of reading proclaimed by figures such as Bocchi in their emblems, with physical, moral, philological and theological meanings; as an embodiment of single essence in a multitude of forms, Proteus, figure for the unceasing nature of fluctuation and transformation evoked by Ligorio with reference to the "flussi e reflussi" of the ocean, can divulge the concord between these levels and the *sinfonia* of the "le cause alte e profonde, per dare ad intenere le cose perfette con le imperfette e le vere e le imaginative, gli concetti che ingrandiscono le cognizioni delle cause delle cose".[59]

Such divulgation is instantly compared with the hieroglyphs ("ad uso di lettere ieroglifiche"), and Ligorio insists that Proteus is a figure, a *poetica scorza* or *velo* for the philosophical content he symbolises, and this poetic veil leads by its nature to multiple levels of interpretation "[dà] materia alla dichiarazione di tre sensi poetichi, con la fisica naturalmente, con la mistica e con la m[i]tologica".[60] The *poetica scorza* of figurative language serves to disclose the analogical structure of meaning, and this structure can lead us from the reflection of imperfect human understanding in the *grottesche* to their expression of *concors discordia* in their capacity to accommodate

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[56] "Proteo, il filosofo, trovò, per recare maraviglia e dilettare al vulgo, le trasmutazioni, gli mimi, i pantomimi, i saltatori, gli istrioni, le trasfigurazioni delle maschere, gli intermessi, le musiche e cori nelli teatri, nelli publici spettacoli" *op.cit.*, p.2671 ("Proteus, the philosopher, to provoke wonder and delight the populace, invented transmutations, mimes, pantomimes, and brought acrobats, actors, the transformations of masques, *intermedi*, music and choirs into theatres in public spectacles").

[57] *op.cit.*, p.2677 ("Proteus is nothing other than the figure of all that the stoic and peripatetic philosophers discussed concerning *prima materia*").

[58] The discussion of the identities of Proteus occurs in the *Libro dell'antiquità*, Archivio dello Stato, Turin, a.II.10. J.23, vol.45.

[59] *op.cit.*, p.2675 ("high and profound causes, to understand perfect things with imperfect things and true and imagined things, the *concetti* which bring one to greater understanding of the causes of things").

[60] *op.cit.*, p.2677 ("gives material to the ennunciation of the three levels of poetic meaning, with the physical, naturally, the mystical and the mythological").

all inventions. To be more precise, *concors discordia* is a way of representing the human mind itself, which can arrive at its fullness of understanding only by embracing instability, transformation and the mixing of real and imagined things in the *phantasia*. Thus the philosophical, hieroglyphic character of the *grottesche* is inseparable from their depiction of the travails of human understanding, whose *concors discordia* is illuminated by means of analogy with the transformations of *prima materia*, disclosed through the *sensi poetichi*. To sum up, *concors discordia* as it is revealed through the *sinfonia assinfonica* of the *grottesche* shows the illumination and concealing or fluctuation of meaning that characterises the hieroglyphic sign, the veils of the "poetica scorza", the apprehension of *prima materia* and the human understanding itself. These might also recall the levels of transformation in *materia prima*, rhetoric, hieroglyphics and the soul's process of understanding which Camillo places in correspondence in his theatre; if Ligorio ends the speculative section of his essay on the *grottesche* with an analogy between alchemists who ruin the things of nature and the contemporary painters who have misunderstood and ruined the beauty of antique decoration, alchemy and the *grottesche* as discussed by Ligorio do share an important feature – they both conceive of nature in terms of transformation, and create correspondences between this process in nature and other human levels of artifice, knowledge and the soul.

In their metamorphic forms, the *grottesche* insist on metaphor as the way of expressing visually *concors discordia*, founded in temporal unfolding in the blending of being and becoming, while in their accommodation of fluctuation and disjunction in the continuum of representation, the *grottesche* show the realisation of *concors discordia* brought to a full degree. Ligorio, as we saw, contrasts the *grottesche* as figurations for the imperfect human understanding, conceived in terms of contraries, with the perfect understanding that lies in God alone, and his reflections really point to the issue of human knowledge in relation to the divine – in this light the admiration that he expresses for Raphael's decorations in the Vatican Logge is not just for the variety and harmony of the *grottesche*, but the fact that they represent the relation of human invention to divine revelation.[61] For Ligorio, the *grottesche* seem fundamental to the unfolding of human inventions that we have discussed above in relation to the display of the triumph, for example, and we shall see that the meditations on the *grottesche* seem crucial to the relationship between pagan and Christian meaning, or between divine and human understanding of the created world in Ligorio's built works at the Casino of Pius IV or the Villa D'Este.[62] We shall suggest that at the the Villa D'Este in particular the *grottesche* should not be considered solely in terms of iconographic narratives of derivation, but of structure, so that the multiple levels of disclosure of the topography becomes something like a counterpart of the multiple frames of the *grottesche*.

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[61] In the essay on the *grottesche* Ligorio praises the Logge as showing "figure di cose morali", like ancient painting.

[62] It is also interesting to note that Cardinal Paleotti's unsympathetic account of the grotesques in the *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (1582), was connected with Ligorio, whom Paleotti consulted for information on the *grottesche* before writing against them. (Ligorio's three letters to Paleotti are preserved in the Isolani Archive in Bologna.) Paleotti sees in the *grottesche* the monstrous and unstable chimeras of the infernal gods of the pagans, whose meaning is in every sense grounded in the horror of the subterranean places where they are found, and from which they "arise" – like Ligorio, he is concerned with their relationship with Christian images, although with profoundly different conclusions.

In order to trace through the way that Ligorio's rich understanding of the *grottesche* is crucial to his exploration of topos in its various senses, we need to go back to the question of topographical "disclosure" in the villa which we left at the end of discussion of Raphael's deployment of the *grottesche*. It is therefore useful to collect our ideas here on the locus: it can refer to argument, image and place, it can bear the meaning of recognised literary commonplace or theme (topos), it is a "place" in mnemonic technique, a source of arguments in dialectical and rhetorical invention and a physical place. We have looked in this argument at the extent to which physical place tends to be "disclosed" in the Renaissance through historical, literary meanings, so that the locus is a place in which we find certain images and arguments – what is so interesting in figures such as Ligorio is the extent to which locus as place is concretised as the embodiment of the meanings it "contains". Our treatment of Ligorio will examine the way in which he seems to attempt the development of the speculation on the decoration within a room (or sequence of rooms) as the perspectival scene comes into conflation with emblematic conceptions of figuration over a whole topography. In the following pages we shall lead up to Ligorio through consideration of some of the projects that follow on Raphael's work, culminating with works associated with Vignola, contemporary or even slightly later than Ligorio's villas – it is these works which give a clear sense of the structure of topographical disclosure that Ligorio elaborates to such degree in both the Vatican Casino and the Villa D'Este.

TOPOGRAPHY AND ICONOGRAPHY IN VILLAS FROM RAPHAEL TO LIGORIO

The Villa Lante on the Janiculum

The first stage in charting the development from Raphael's work to the representational theatre of the mid sixteenth century is to look at the projects which constitute effectively a reading of Villa Madama, and so illuminate the way that it was understood by contemporary artists, and refashioned by them. We shall glance at two projects here – the Villa Lante on the Janiculum, created by Giulio Romano for Baldassare Turini, the nuncio of Clement VII between 1519-1525, and the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro, remodelled and extended from 1523 by Genga for Francesco Maria della Rovere and Eleonora Gonzaga. Villa Lante shows Giulio Romano at his closest to Raphael, before he turned his virtuosity as a decorator into a search and creation of *stupore* in his Mantuan works. The villa, modest by comparison with the immense Papal commissions, occupies a site on steep hillside and its decoration is distinguished by four elements – the physical topography, the archaeological and the mythological topography of the Janiculum site in the context of the *renovatio medicea*, the relationship between Turini and the Medici pope, and the imitation of Raphael, whose executor Turini had been. The villa is in a sense a *homage* to Raphael and the smaller chambers contain decorations that celebrate Raphael as "poetic" painter – in one we find medallions with images of Raphael's famous female portraits, in the adjoining room corresponding medallions depict three poets and Raphael. This poetic character deepens as we move into the beautiful loggia where the villa "discloses" its topography; on entering the loggia we literally face a wall of light, framed by a graceful triumphal arch, and the decoration of the loggia consists entirely

of delicate white stucco reliefs, with even the vegetal ornament that spans the sections of the vault like a pergola left uncoloured. The loggia at Villa Lante confirms our suggestions on the topographical deployment of the *grottesche* by Raphael, and here we see the *grottesche*, with their antique depictions (gods and scenes of sacrifice) and their vegetal motifs in a room whose walls seem to be dissolved by light, raised up from nature and turning into incandescence. The dazzling attenuation of forms as they are brought into the brilliant light should be seen as the culmination of a progression through the villa, a progression whose kinship with the approach to the great summer loggia in Villa Madama is instantly apparent, hardly surprising given that Giulio was decorating the loggia in the years that Villa Lante was built. We may recall that in Villa Madama we enter from the circular court into a passage that begins as Doric vestibule, then modulates to *grottesche* in white stucco, then opens into full chromatic ornament in the loggia with its huge arches open to the xystus. This sequence inspires the sequence of spaces at Villa Lante – once again the building is entered through a hall with a coffered barrel vault, and from this one progresses to the Salone, where the devices of Leo X, Clement VII and Turini appear alongside *storie* relating to the mythology of the Janiculum and related busts. This Salone, decorated with Medici devices, is the place in which the historical and political meanings of the villa as representation of the pretensions of Turini and his relation with the Medici are displayed. The paintings concerning the Janiculum (now in Palazzo Zuccari-Biblioteca Hertziana) represent the meeting of Saturn and Janus on the Janiculum, the finding of the tomb of Numa Pompilius and the Sibylline books (with Villa Lante in the background), and the flight and liberation of the Roman hostage Cloelia from the Etruscan king Lars Porsenna, through which the warring Etruscan and Roman forces were brought to peace. These scenes accord with the iconography we have already seen in other Leonine decorations – Saturn signifies the return of the golden age, Janus was identified by Egidio of Viterbo as the founder of Etruscan religion and compared with St Peter as founder of the Roman church, the *pontifex maximus* Numa Pompilius was the institutor of ancient Roman religion whose prophets were the Sibyls and the legend of Cloelia refers to the union of Etruria and Rome, renewed in the union of Rome and Florence under the Medici popes. In contrast with Villa Madama, where we progress into richer colour and ornament as we arrive in a space open to nature, in Villa Lante the progression is from the conscious imitation of antique building in the vestibule and the assertion of the poetic character of Raphael's art to the depiction of the disclosure of the significance of the topography, literally brought to light like Numa Pomphilius's tomb and renewed through the new union of Etruria and Rome, which entails the union of ancient Italic wisdom or religion both with the ancient Roman republic and the Roman church. From this celebration of the union of Italic-Etruscan and Roman culture on the hill of Janus by the *mons Vaticanus*, which results in the return of the golden age brought first by Saturn to the Janiculum, we move into the loggia, the room melted into light which overlooks Rome itself – as we saw in Villa Madama and the frieze at Poggio a Caiano, ideas of return to a golden age through the *renovatio medicea* (here the recovery of Rome through the reunion of Rome and Etruria) appear to be brought together with references to the soul's ascent to light on its cyclical procession through the world. This *rapprochement* of the theme of the historical and mythological "discovery" of the topography and its iconographic articulation in terms of the ascent into light is quite explicit in the painting that shows the discovery of the tomb of Numa Pompilius and the Sibylline books with the Villa Lante rising above the ancient sarcophagi unearthed in the foreground. The image suggests that the villa is the place in which

the sibylline prophecies, fulfilled in the Christian *renovatio* of Rome, are returned to the light; it thus gives a topographical rendering of the Ficinian theme of the ascent into light as the end of *renovatio* itself. If the villa is conspicuous as an appraisal of Raphael's work (presented, as we noted, in poetic terms), it is amongst the earlier attempts to work together the disclosure of the topography in its historical, archaeological or mythological significance with the passage from darkness into light that characterise so many later sixteenth century villa projects – the Villa Giulia with its celebration of the *acqua vergine*, the Horti Farnesiani climbing up the Palatine Hill, but above all the Villa d'Este where Tiburtine archaeology, the legendary genealogy of the Estensi, and allusions to the topographies of the Temple of Fortuna at Palestrina and the Belvedere Cortile are interwoven into a vast speculation on the significance of classical culture, conceived as an encyclopaedic totality, for the illumination of the soul's conditions of being and its journey through life.

Villa Imperiale, Pesaro

Before we go on to consider the villas associated with Vignola and Ligorio in the mid century, it worth pausing to consider another work in which the self-consciousness of a theatre of representation that we have seen in the large scale Roman works treated above takes the form of a reflection and understanding of these projects, namely the sixteenth century quarters at the Villa Imperiale at Pesaro, constructed between 1530-36.[63] The work was created by Genga, an architect like Peruzzi famous for his theatre scenography – his designs for the production of Bibbiena's *La Calandaria*, performed in Urbino in 1513 under the direction of Castiglione, are the first documented scenic perspective and Serlio praises Genga's stagecraft in the creation of refined and metamorphic pastoral scenes his account of theatre at the end of the *Libro Secondo*. The Renaissance quarters of the Villa, built as place of *otium* by Eleonora Gonzaga (daughter of Isabella D'Este, and praised as we saw by Castiglione in *Il libro del cortegiano*) in celebration of the return of her husband, Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, from the wars, presents itself as a suburban villa and development of the civic palace at Urbino, showing how the culture expounded by figures such as Castiglione, Bembo and Bibbiena is taken from Urbino to Rome, and returns back to the Marches in grandiose and triumphal form – the Villa Imperiale was indeed highly praised by Bembo, who saw in it the finest work of contemporary building and composed a number of epigraphs concerning it, one of which forms the inscription of the cinquecento *addizione*.[64] The epigraph speaks of the villa built by love by Eleonora for her husband returning from the wars, of military exertion enriched by peaceful repose – the reference to the "higher praise and richer rewards" of *negotium* tempered by *otium* can be seen as referring also to the two styles of speech which Bembo distinguished in the *Prose della vulgar lingua – gravità* and *dolcezza*. The

[63] The sixteenth century quarters constituted an addition to the existing villa, built by the Sforza in the 1450s, in similar style to the quattrocento villas or manors built for the Medici by Michelozzo.

[64] The inscription reads *Fr. Mariae duci metaurensi a bellis redeunti Leonora uxor animi eius causa villam aedificavit pro sole pro pulvere pro vigiliis pro laboribus ut militare negotium requiete interposita clariorem laudem fructusque uberiores pariat* "For Francesco Maria Duke of Metauro returning from the wars his wife Eleonora built this villa according to her wishes in reward for heat, dust, vigils and labours, so that military business, when mixed with repose, might bring forth higher praise and richer rewards". The inscription is cited in Walter Fontana, *Scoperte e studi sul Genga pittore*, Urbino 1981, and Bembo's praise of the villa, in a letter to Eleonora, is printed in Orietta Rossi-Pinelli, "La Villa Imperiale di Pesaro come spazio scenico per la corte urbinate" in *Bollettino del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio*, XVI, 1974.

Villa is as rich a reflection on the theatric conditions of *imitatio* as the Farnesina, except that here the points of imitation are not so much antiquity as the Roman works of Bramante, Peruzzi and Raphael, filtered back into the theatre culture of Urbino itself, which had played so important a part in the formation of leading Humanists of High Renaissance Rome. The inscription itself, which presents the themes of the exercise of warfare and the fruits of repose in terms of wifely devotion and martial vigour (*gravità* and *dolcezza*) suggests the themes of love and war that featured in the *intermedi* composed by Castiglione for the Urbino court at the 1513 performance of the *Calandaria*, while the pastoral and triumphal themes in the chambers redecorated by Genga for Eleonora are reflected by similar elements in the theatricals staged by Genga himself, such as the costumes and masks he designed for the Carnival of 1527, described by a contemporary writer as "antichità guerriera e arcadiana insieme".[65] The close relationships between the contemporary staged theatricals, the density of associations arising from a sophisticated culture of *imitatio* and the ceremony of the unfolding of court life are best appreciated if one turns to the villa itself, and the self-conscious play between the interweaving of citations and elements of surprise or novelty that characterises its settings.

This is evident both in the architecture of the cinquecento addition to the Villa and the suite of rooms redecorated within the earlier Villa Sforza, where Genga directed artists including Bronzino and the brothers Dossi – the more famous Dosso Dossi, court painter of Alfonso D'Este, was celebrated for the paintings on poetic themes which offer the richest visual counterpart to the important literary culture of Ferrara in the age of Ariosto, exemplified by the painting now in the Villa Borghese of a sumptuously robed *maga* conjuring in a circle, thought to depict Ariosto's Alcina.[66] The architectural addition consists of a great façade and a court from one side of which terraced gardens rise up along the slopes of Mount Accio. Genga draws on the monumental courtyard rising over a hill at the Belvedere and the element of surprise disclosure and transformation of forms at Villa Madama – one might see Genga's design as reflection on Villa Madama in a topography that recalls the Belvedere. If the Belvedere had enclosed the topography of a whole hillside organised along a central perspectival axis and Raphael disposed a villa over a site in such a way that the relations between the various parts of the complex and their relations to the topography emerge clearly only on reflection, Genga concentrates the complexities of Raphael's scheme to produce a design at once monumental and slightly baffling whose *varietà* appears in its full subtlety only through reflection, and which constitutes, I would suggest, an architecture much closer to the contemplative character of Raphael's work than the developments of his pupils, such as the sophisticated but superficial formal play of Palazzo Tè. The classicism constantly

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[65] Cited in *Genga architetto aspetti dell cultura urbinate del primo 500*, A. Pinelli, O. Rossi, Rome, 1975. The *intermedi* featured Jason's taking of the golden fleece, followed by three triumphs of the gods – Venus and Amor with lighted torches, Neptune and Juno. At the end of the *intermedi* an *amorino* appeared to explain the significance of the spectacles – the scene with Jason, which depicts the warriors sprung from dragon's teeth, who dance a "fiera moresca" – what Patrizi would have classified as a species of pyrrhic dance, signifies war, while the three triumphs show Venus who enflames all things with love, both the elements of the world (Neptune, Juno) and humans drawn from the discord of war, to "unire il mondo di concordia" (Castiglione in letter to Canossa, cited in *Genga architetto*, p.213).

[66] On the decorations of the Villa Imperiale, see Sabine Eiche, "Prologue to the Villa Imperiale Frescoes", in *Notizie da Palazzo Albani* 21, 1991.

deepened and recreated by innovation as the mind thinks its way through the nature and conditions of *imitatio* that we find in both Raphael and the provincial Genga should perhaps not surprise us, since the important link between the two men is Castiglione. If the full extent of Castiglione's influence on the visual arts (as opposed to artistic theory, where the question is that of influence of one textual idea on another) can be elusive to assess, one can see in Genga how the continuum of artifice which touches all things requires a constant, unceasing meditation on the conditions of embodiment and situation that modulate with each circumstance - in response one finds the creation of a context which appears capable of accommodating variety yet which is continually touched by refashioning and whose recreations or *artificiosa spontaneità* arouse us from the general background of assumptions to surprise, and so engagement.

Genga's surprises, in truth, range from the subtle deformation of expectations to large scale effects, such as the fact that the massive façade, instantly evocative of Villa Madama, has no entrance and the villa can only be entered from the earlier Villa Sforza and by means of the corridor that linked Genga's interventions with the older fabric. Entry into the villa is thus not entry through the great façade to the interior of the building but entry from apartments into the courtyard built by Genga whose terraces rise up the hill; in other words, the villa can only be entered as an internal space approached from other interiors. The theatre court that interested late fifteenth and early sixteenth century architects has been taken a stage further, in the breaking of movement between the great façade and the court that lies to the other side, so that the outer façade becomes something like an enormous *frons scaenae*, suggestive of a Roman ruin with its five great apses or a fortress with its lack of openings, and also reminiscent of the Ponte Milvio façade and terraced gardens of Villa Madama. This disjunction between expectation and movement appears also within the court of the villa, which originally contained a sequence of grottoes with rustic decoration – if the walls of the court have the triumphal arch articulation that we might expect in the theatre court, it transforms the model of the Belvedere cortile by the fact that the terraced gardens which rise up the hillside appear to be blocked off from the court beneath them, rather than rising out of it in a continuous ascent articulated by arches or fountains. (Figures 36 and 37) Rather than a point from which one regards a perspective, or a scene from which a vista rises up, the court plays with ideas of enclosure and the blocking of lines of sight and movement – this play seems to be the corollary of the blocking of access into the villa, and perhaps a reflection on the disclosure of a topography by enclosing it within an architectural frame that has its most monumental expression in the Belvedere. The grandiose villa with its massive façade and its terraces climbing over a topography, refers to the search for a form that could embody the dreams of controlling a territory and revealing it transformed through dominion into a beautiful and ordered garden, a second earthly paradise which signals the return and perfection of the ancient *imperium*. Genga takes this form, which embodied ambitions at real variance with the waning fortunes of the Urbino court, and handles it in a way that creates something monumental, singular and richly allusive, while simultaneously revealing the degree of fragility and self-enclosure that underlies the cultural projects of a court that seek realisation in theatre.

It is one of the further interests of Villa Imperiale that it develops the theme of repose at a distance from *negotium* in a way that lays particular emphasis on the pastoral, and the "scene of nature" as a setting for the reconciliation of love and war, where the "higher praise and richer rewards" of Eleonora's inscription can be enjoyed. If we have noted that the façade of the villa was without an entrance, and the visitor was required to pass through the earlier villa to reach Genga's fabric, there was an alterative means of arriving at the villa, namely from the wood on Mount Accio, from which one descended to the walkways of the terraced gardens and into the courtyard, which would have seemed almost sunken. The hill and its wood which enclose the villa, to the point that the court is submerged in respect to its gardens, constitute the vista which finds its correspondence in the frescoes of the chambers decorated under Genga's direction. If the vista of wooded hill descending into gardens is suggestive of a satiric or pastoral entertainment, it is exactly this imagery that Genga adopts in the interior decorations.

These decorations depict the varieties of illusionistic architecture in relation to the landscape which it frames, from loggia or sala with niches and balconies in the style of Peruzzi (Sala del Giuramento, Sala Grande, Sala della Calumnia) to belvedere (Sala dei Semibusti, Sala delle forze di Ercole) to pergola (Sala degli Amorini) to the Sala delle Cariatidi, where we see the poetic "origins" of the room as loggia framing the pastoral scene in the Daphne like caryatids who grow out of the landscape, and from whose heads emerge the foliage that creates the "pergola" of the vault. The ceilings of these rooms decorated by order of Eleonora Gonzaga all show the military victories or honours of Francesco Maria della Rovere in a celebration of the kind that will become more dominant as the century progresses, in cycles dedicated to dynastic glory such as we find in the Sala dei Fasti Farnesi at Caprarola. If these images appear in the ceiling, with implications of apotheosis, the rooms as framework for this encomiastic image present themselves as garden or belvedere in a manner that directly recalls the Farnesina, with shift of emphasis from the Roman suburban villa to the provincial palace in the *bosco*. Thus the rooms show garden vistas with pergolas and walls of verdure, or fictive architectural frames that open onto landscapes disclosed by putti drawing back overtly theatrical curtains (thus giving doubled emphasis to the theatric character of perspectival disclosure), but most unusual is a room which develops these architectural decorations into mythological images in a way similar to Raphael's development of Peruzzi's Sala delle Colonne in the Farnesina. This room, decorated by the Dossi, is known as the Sala delle Cariatide and shows Daphne-like figures against a pastoral background as their arms change into the branches which form the leafy vault of the room. From the pergola in the vault hang the attributes of the gods, like those carried by the putti in the Loggia di Psiche, while the frescoes depict a profusion of symbolic plants (palm, olive, laurel, myrtle) which combine with the oak of the della Rovere. Just as we have seen Genga in the architecture of the villa attempting to take the ideas in contemporary Roman projects one step further, so the Sala delle Cariatide appears to develop on the Loggia di Psiche in the sense that there is no differentiation between the Caryatids which form the architectural frame and landscape which is both before and behind them. The Caryatids are thus at once the mediating structure through which we see a *storia* and the protagonists of this *storia* – one might suggest that the conditions of framing which pertain to the creation of the scene have in fact become the *storia*. If this depiction of the conflation of frame and *fabula* which suggests the potential loss of mimetic distance is in keeping with the

attention to conditions of theatric representation in the villa as a whole, the Sala brings us back to the question concerning the relation of the conditions of framing and nature as background once a continuum of artifice has been asserted. In this regard one might observe that the Caryatids as a frame which exhibits life and *energeia*, and as depiction of metamorphosis are close to the *grottesche*, with the distinction that the decoration as scene of a *fabula* has not been multiplied into the self-generating frames of grotesquework. It also seems characteristic of the refinement of the villa that the conflation of framing and *fabula* in the Sala delle Cariatide which shows the framing figures as the protagonists of metamorphosis is answered in the architecture by the occlusion of the expected axes of sight and movement, and the stimulation of the beholder to engage with the conditions of their situation in the building.

Orietta Rossi-Pinelli said of the villa that it was not so much a support for court life as a complicated *macchina teatrale* which could articulate times of action and stimulate emotional states, furnishing elements for meditation, irony, diversion and repose.[67] This reflective dimension in the architecture and decoration, and the dynamism of its recreative play, constitute the link with Raphael, but we might also remember that Genga, who seems to have designed the first perspectival scene, praised by Castiglione in his account of *La calandaria*, is also noted by Serlio for his pastoral and satiric sets, the *scena satirica*.[68] The *scena satirica*, whose architecture is initially identified with the archetypal primitive dwelling, the rustic cabin, is then discussed in terms of costly artifice that reflects both the liberality of the patron of the spectacle and the invention of the architect,[69] as a pastoral scene whose landscape suggests the mannerist grotto with its "sassi copiosi di diverse conche marine, di lumache...di tronchi di coralli di più colori, di madre perle, e di granchi marini [...] con tanta diversità di cose belle".[70] This scene, introduced as the rude abode of "gente rustica" or of "tutti coloro che licentiosamente vivono, e senza rispetto [...] gli uomini vitiosi e mal viventi"[71] transpires to be inhabited by mythological creatures "Io non dirò de' Satiri, delle Ninfe, delle Sirene, e diversi monstri, ò animali strani, fatti con tal artificio, che acconci sopra gli huomini e fanciulli, secondo la grandezza loro, e quelli andando, e mouendosi con la sua natura, rappresentavano essi animali vivi".[72]

In this sphere of representation, lit by its own sun and moon, its trees and flowers of silk "ancora più lodate che le naturali",[73] the mutual definition of the theatrical-urban perspective gives way to a more metamorphic conception of imitation, in which "animali strani" appear to move alongside human figures (whether depicted or real) in

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[67] Rossi-Pinelli, in *Bollettino internazionale*..., p.224.

[68] Serlio, Venice 1584 [*op cit*] 51v. One might note here Serlio's confusion regarding the term *satirico* which he comes to identify with the pastoral satyr, rather than with the Greek *saturos*, the Latin *satira*, or the contemporary, Aretine *satira*.

[69] Serlio acclaims Genga's spectacles for the Duke of Urbino as reflecting the Duke's munificence, his "sprezzare l'avaritia".

[70] Serlio, *ibid* ("stones in abundance - many sea shells, snails [...] stems of coral of varied colours, mother of pearl, sea crabs [...] with such diversity of lovely things").

[71] *op cit* 51r ("those who live licentiously or wihout respect [...] vicious and ill-living men").

[72] *op cit* 51v ("satyrs, nymphs, sirens, various monsters or strange animals, created with artifice, costumes for man or boys according to their size; as they walk and move they represent living creatures").

[73] *op cit* 51v ("more praised the natural").

a mode which suggests a spectacle of animated *grottesche*. The fauna of "diversi monstri ò strani animali" are not confined to the license of the satyr scene, but burst upon the scenographic grandeur of the civic scene with its spacious courts amd triumphal arches in Serlio's descriptions of the *intermedi*: "Talhor si vede strani animali, entro de'quali son huomini, e fanciulli, attegiando, saltando, e correndo cosi bene, che non è senza maraviglia de riguardanti".[74] The description of the *apparato* of pastoral spectacles with which Serlio concludes his account of the *scena satirica*, replete with marine exotica, suggests an affinity with the grotto – we should however see the metamorphic dynamism associated with pastoral spectacles as invading the civic scenes as they become the scenes of *intermedi*, and it is precisely this kind of contamination of genres that we seem to see in the Villa Imperiale, where the classical palace as place for the figuration of triumphs accommodates grottos and pastoral images, and the very project of creating a celebration of glory at a mimetic distance from *negotium militare* provokes questions about the scene of nature in which these recreative celebrations are staged.

The 1513 Urbino production of *La calandaria* does not only feature the first documented perspectival scene, but one of the earliest deployments of lavish *intermedi* to constitute a narrative which was "continuata, e separata dalla Commedia" in the style that culminates with the 1589 spectacles.[75] The della Rovere court of Urbino in the early decades of the sixteenth century, which has its most permanent monument in the Villa Imperiale can help to illuminate the development of the *ecloghe* so popular in the Papal court of Julius II and Leo X into the *intermedi* as part of a more elaborate dramatic entertainment. In the reflections between the metamorphic prodigies of Genga's *scena satirica* and the decorations and setting created at Villa Imperiale we can also see the appearance of the *meraviglia* of the grotto, so preparing us for the convergence of the reflections on the *grottesche*, and grotto as key point in the iconographic "discovery" of the topography. In this regard we might glance again at the court that Genga creates in the Villa Imperiale, sunken beneath the terraced gardens, and note that the exaggerated sense of enclosure, with its deliberate deformation of the vista revealed in the Belvedere cortile, in which the arches so reminiscent of the built fragment of the façade of Villa Madama become nymphaea, develops the theatre-court into a grotto-court in keeping with Genga's inventions for the *scena satirica*. As noted above, the apses of the arches in the court were grottos with rustic decoration; the important point is that this grotto-court, submerged beneath the gardens and the vista from the apartments of the piano nobile is not a cavernous recess into whose darkness we peer, but a central space within the palace, a scene for the formalised enactment of court life as well the spectacles it could have housed, where Genga's "Satiri, Ninfe, Sirene, e diversi monstri, ò animali strani" would have found their proper scene.

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[74] *op cit* 48r ("At times one sees strange creatures, amongst whom are men and boys, who carry themselves, jump, and run so well that the spectators look on in wonder").

[75] Castglione, letter to Canossa, cited in Pinelli, *Genga architetto*, *op. cit.*, p.213. On the *intermedi* on the theme of Jason (war), Venus and the gods of the elements (embodiments of cosmis *philia*), see note above. As we saw, the three triumphs show Venus who enflames all things with love, both the elements of the world (Neptune, Juno) and humans drawn from the discord of war, to "unire il mondo di concordia" (*ibid*).

If the grotto has become by the late sixteenth century, as at Pratolino, a theatre of wonders in which the occult forces of nature are disclosed by human ingenuity, this theatric character should be seen as evolving in part from the *scena satirica* and its accommodation within the court-theatre – an obvious example is Palazzo Pitti as remodelled by Ammanati, where the ground floor of the palace to the Boboli side consists of a grotto (much exploited in the spectacles performed within the cortile) whose roof, surmounted by a fountain, constitutes the beginning of the gardens.[76] In terms of the history of musical theatre, the *intermedi* with its triumphs and *meraviglie* comes together with the *scena satirica* in the attempt to set a *rappresentazione pastorale* entirely to music which generates the first operas. In terms of the decoration of architectural spaces the pastoral repose of *otium* at a mimetic distance from civic life means that the recreative play accommodated by the villa interweaves reflections on the triumph of political glory with a meditation on situation in nature, leading to the relationships between triumph, *grottesche* and the grotto that we started to adumbrate above.

The Villa Giulia

In the context of Genga's activity as scenographer and architect for the Urbino court, the grotto with its depiction of the soul's *energeia* stirring in the chthonic depths of nature should be read in terms of a theatric paradigm. The grotto as theatre has a beautiful development in the Villa Giulia, which merits some attention in itself and as a forerunner to the Vatican Casino; the villa also develops the elements of surprise occlusion and disclosure that we saw at Villa Imperiale. The villa was built for Julius III from 1550-55, by Vignola, Vasari and Ammanati, and supervised by Michaelangelo – Taddeo Zuccari was among the painters who worked on the decorations. It was Julius III who transformed the Belvedere Cortile by creating a palace in the upper court above the single storey wall and exedra, thus altering the perspectival effect and theatric character of the court as a whole. The Villa Giulia, in the meadows beside the Via Flaminia beyond the city gates, was thus a new *villa suburbana* which took over the role of the Belvedere when the latter was used for papal apartments, and it followed the typology which we have seen in the Belvedere Cortile, the Farnesina and Villa Madama in the sense that it provided a deliberately theatric setting for entertainments which took on a spectacular character just by unfolding within the villa. The villa presents itself as a distillation of the relations of *frons scaenae*, theatre auditorium, portico, loggia and nymphaeum-grotto; if it returns to the axial plan of the Belvedere court, it also develops this plan into horizontal and vertical axes that unfold simultaneously. The villa is today despoiled of the antiques and stucco ornament that decorated it, and are recorded in sixteenth and seventeenth drawings.[77] (Figure 38) Contemporary descriptions also dwelt on the planting of the second, nymphaeum court, and the birds in aviaries that recur in other works by or associated with Vignola – the Horti Farnesiani and Villa Lante at Bagnaia.

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[76] At Palazzo Pitti the sunken court theatre has its counterpart in the "anfiteatro di verzura" constructed between 1630-37 by Giulio Parigi, which looks onto the garden façade of Palazzo Pitti and the panorama of Florence behind as its scene. The spectacles performed in the *anfitheatro* were recorded by Jacques Callot – for remarks and bibliography see L.Zorzi, *op.cit.*

[77] Amongst the antiquities housed in the Villa was the huge porphyry basin now in the Pio Clementino museum in the Vatican.

The villa is comprised of three courts: the first of these is formed at one end by the semi-circular portico of the villa, which has painted decoration identical to that of the first Vatican loggia, executed by Giovanni da Udine, featuring panels of *all'antica* grotesquework, each depicting a classical divinity in a tempietto, and a vault decorated with a pergola with various plants (vines, jasmine, roses, myrtle, orange flowers), birds and putti. (Figures 39 and 40) Thus the portico presents itself as the first Vatican loggia bent into a semi-circle which makes obvious allusion to the antique theatre. This allusion becomes still more evident at the other end of the first court, which takes the form of a *frons scaenae*, with a screening wall divided into two stories, the lower articulated by columns and the upper by herms – the effect was probably not dissimilar to that of the Farnesina, which had *grisaille* decoration in the panels between the pilasters of the façade, and the reconstructions of the Capitoline theatre of 1513. (Figures 41 and 42) The panels between these columns were originally decorated with stucco *grottesche*, of which two panels remain, and in the centre of the wall was an open archway, with steps in front forming a "stage". Passing through this arch, one moves from the loggia-theatre of the first court to the second, and here the horizontal axis and semi-circular form remain, but are enriched by the opening of a vertical orientation –curving stairs lead down to a lower level, which descends further into a nymphaeum – a semi-circular sunken grotto with a fountain niche surrounded by caryatids as *nymphae loci*.[78] (Figures 43 and 44) The nymphaeum is not just a niche, but a whole sunken level with the architectural features of a courtyard, including doorways at each end of the straight wall, through which the waters of the grotto (the Acqua Vergine, restored by Julius III) flow into a hidden and mysterious palace-cave. The nymphaeum is not the only courtyard revealed to the gaze, and closed to access, that baffles the viewer in this part of the villa. As one passes through the archway of the *frons scaenae* wall, one finds oneself in a small loggia, from which the semi-circular stairs descend, and the gaze is drawn unexpectedly down to the nymphaeum. At the same level as this loggia, one sees a corresponding loggia in the opposite wall, behind the nymphaeum, and a leafy garden beyond, with a fountain, which originally contained aviaries. There is however no obvious means of entrance to this garden, and the axis, as we noted, at this point plumbs into vertical orientation. The access to this final garden court was concealed within the recessed room in the back wall of the second courtyard, entered through a triumphal arch which is repeated in the serliana of the loggia above;[79] this wall was originally richly decorated, with grotesquework on the pilasters, niches with victories and caryatids and two river gods in grottoes with cisterns beneath. The ascent to the final garden with its trees and fountain, elevated above the other parts of the villa, thus entailed a journey into the cavernous room recessed into the wall and up a spiral staircase. Seen in plan, it is instantly obvious that the first courtyard, which begins with the rectangular vestibule of the villa, progresses through semi-circular colonnade and culminates in the screening wall and triumphal arch-loggia is repeated in the second court, which begins in the arch-loggia, descends via a semi-circular stairway and culminates in the serliana of the walled garden.(Figure 45) As one progresses through the villa this repetition is only gradually revealed as a continuity or completion played out against the variation and dramatic surprise as horizontal movement is transformed into vertical orientation, and the means of movement

[78] The fine carving of these figures seems to be the work of Ammannati, who studied with Sansovino in Venice.

[79] In the commemorative medal shows the first loggia and serliana rising up behind the villa façade, with its rusticated portal, in form of a sequence of triumphal arches.

mysteriously concealed, forcing the spectator to reflect on the disjunction between the opening and obstruction of a vista. The villa, with its overtly theatric character, thus forces the viewer to reflect on the character of engagement with the building – as spectator and as actor, moving through it. In this sense it presents an elegant and succinct epitome of the threads which run through the development of the villa-theatre, in Peruzzi, Bramante and Raphael – the extension of an architectural garden-theatre over a topography, the relation of actor and spectator in the scene created, the differentiation of the topography in iconographic terms which have become quite explicit in Villa Giulia, situated on the slopes of a valley close by the Tiber, with its grotto nymphs, subterranean architecture, river gods and aviary.

We are lucky to possess an account of the villa by Ammannati, in a letter of May 1555 to Marcantonio Benavides, Ammannati's patron in Bologna, in which the relations between topography, perspectival theatre and iconography are clarified.[80] Ammannati starts by linking the villa to the other buildings in the area – Vignola's oval church of Sant'Andrea in Via Flaminia, from which one passes through a laurel grove to the fountain at the end of Via di Villa Giulia, enlarged by Ligorio to form the so-called Palazzina di Pio IV. At this point Ammannati speaks of a piazzetta with three loggie with marble columns, paintings and stucco (one of these presumably the fountain), confirmed by Cartaro's map of Rome of 1575, and Ammannati describes a pergola leading down to a landing stage at the Tiber on one side, and a path leading up to the villa (the modern Via di Villa Giulia) on the other. The suburban villa thus used fragmentary structures to mark out the relationship of the villa to its setting, and we might thus consider the villa as approached from the river, as Julius III entered it, in a sequence river-pergola-piazzetta with loggie and fountain-villa, rising from nature to *natura artificiosa* to the fountain buildings in the piazzetta to the villa as a more monumental structure, still, however, "dedicated" to a fountain. As in the old da Sangallo plans for the Florence Medici palace in Via Laura, a busy road is absorbed into the approach to the villa – here the Via Flaminia which culminated in the principal entrance to Rome at Piazza del Popolo. The principal incoming road into Rome is thus given a further dimension of meaning as it stands at the junction of the prospect leading to the Papal villa and the path leading to the Tiber, and the fountain placed at this point constitutes one of the early uses of a scenic fountain at the intersection of streets in an urbanistic spectacle of the kind that has its later form in Borromini's Quattro Fontane.

The villa thus approached is described by Ammannati as a theatre "il viale [*i.e.* of the first court], per farne comparazione, fa il proscenico, ed il semicircolo del palazzo fa teatro; e quest'altra [*i.e.* the screen which forms the arch into the second court] ch'io Vi descriverò fa scena".[81] This comparison culminates in the description of the grotto of the second court, which Ammannati praises as the most richly adorned part of the villa: "le figure assai più belle e in maggior copia, rendono maraviglia e vaghezza a chi le vede insieme con l'ornamento e risalti assai più che in alcuna altra parte, per essere questo il luogo principale e di quivi vedersi il tutto; e ben si può dire

[80] The letter is printed in Giacomo Balestra, *La Fontana pubblica di Giulio III*, Rome, 1911.
[81] Balestra, *op.cit.*, p.69 ("the path, to draw a comparison, forms a proscenium, and the semicircle of the palazzo forms a theatre; and this other which I shall descrive to you forms the scene").

che questo sia il punto della prospettiva".[82] The explicit identification of perspectival horizon and the iconographic orientation becomes all the richer in the knowledge that the statues and stucco decorations reiterated the pantheon of the Belvedere *viridarium*, with the *nymphae loci* alongside reference to the Roman emporers, Venus, Hercules with the golden apples and Comodus as Hercules.[83] In this way the poetic exploration of topos in the statue court of the Belvedere, with its iconography of the *nympha loci* is conflated with the perspectival theatre of the Cortile itself, resulting in the development of the framing arch into triumphal arch, loggia, *frons scaenae*, nymphaeum, grotto. Thus in place of the epigraphic character of the Belvedere *viridarium*, the topographical theme of the *nympha loci*, for example, finds its celebration as a level of the architectural representation, and the capacity to create subtle, yet highly dramatic relationships between the "theatres" at each level of the architecture is the distinguishing characteristic of the villa.

In contrast to the monumental spectacle ground of the Belvedere court and the conscious diversification of scenic spaces at the Farnesina, the Villa Giulia was a place of retirement on hot summer evenings, and the surviving painted decoration celebrates the papal *vigna* as a place of banqueting and merry making, with frescoes in the *sala* to the left of the entrance depicting the banquet of the gods (with a river god represented like the Belvedere *Nilus* and a female figure holding back a curtain) facing an image of a satyr banquet in a pastoral setting, with large *personae* hanging in the trees perhaps alluding to the ancient festival of Liber, the Liberalia, when masks were hung on trees and crude songs sung.[84] (Figure 46) While Julius seems to have had some enthusiasm for New Comedy (the *Menaechmi*, *Aulularia* and *Eunuch* were all performed before him, as was Ariosto's *Cassaria*) the theatric character described by Ammannati seems to lie with the beholder whose progress through the villa constitutes the "narrative", the theme of this narrative being the exploration of the locus *amoenus* of the *acqua vergine*. Ammanati says of the topography that "col palazzo si è voluto obbedire ad una bella ed amena valle" and speaks of the *acqua vergine* as figured in the decoration of the screen wall that separates first and second courts, where a nymph flees Hercules, "chiamasi quest'acqua vergine, perchè correndo col fiume Ercole, non si mescola mai con lui".[85] The dual identity of Hercules as river and hero, which appears also at the Villa D'Este, shows again the identification of iconography and topography for which the villa provides a sequence of carefully articulated settings in which seeing becomes acting – the act, that is, of disclosure of the layers of meaning embodied at each point of topical elaboration on the perspectival vista. If the Villa Giulia moves away from the experiments with manifold inter-relationships at Villa Madama, on which Villa Imperiale draws, back to the central axis of the Belvedere Cortile, this very emphasis allows for a visible thematic concentration which constantly focuses the gaze, from the first theatre court where the curved colonnades draw the viewer's lateral vision towards the central

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[82] *op.cit.*, p.74 ("the figures are much finer and more copious, and make a show of wonder and beauty for the spectator who sees them together with the ornament, and this part is more eye-catching than any other, since it is the principal place and there all is seen; one can well say that is the point of the perspective") .

[83] *op.cit.*, pp.70-71.

[84] The Liberalia is described by Virgil, *Georgics* II, 385ff. The rustic and bawdy associations of the feast seem to accord with Pastor's portrait (or caricature) of Julius III, with his "peasant habits", enthusiasm for bullfights and predeliction for enormous onions specially supplied from Gaeta.

[85] Balestra, *op.cit.*, pp.67 and 70.

court, so that nothing within the field of vision falls beyond the court as scene. From this enclosing of the field of vision within the court, the gaze is concentrated, as we have seen, drawn through the narrow aperture of the ornate *frons scaenae* of the screen wall and into the sudden opening of a vertical axis in the nymphaeum court. Even deprived of its aviaries, its rich ornament and the planting selected to give further emphasis to the various levels of articulation, the Villa Giulia retains a real quality of visual excitement through the dramatisation of the act of perception signalled by Ammannati. This excitement is generated by the sustained tension between the taut relation of semi-circle and path which urges the spectator forward through the villa, and the points of reflection at the opening of a vertical dimension that inspire meditation on the nature of movement and progression.

In this dramatisation of the spectator's relationship with the sequence of spaces at Villa Giulia, the beholder is ennobled as protagonist, and if the gaze becomes the contemplative activity that discloses meaning, the physical presence and movement of the spectator, which are so engaged by the setting, may also become part, or culmination, of the larger process of embodiment in the theatre of representation. The self-consciousness of this dramatisation of the contemplative activity of the spectator is particularly striking at Villa Giulia, but one should perhaps bring it to bear on the other gardens associated with Vignola, such as the Horti Farnesiani and the Villa Lante, in which one finds a similar treatment of the perspectival disclosure of the topography as iconographic continuum. One should also consider how this apparent opening of a reflective dimension in the spectator's perception of a prospect, so that their awareness of their act of disclosing becomes, as we have said, dramatised, relates to the other areas of artistic thought in the late Renaissance in which the structure of representation is discussed as reflection of processes of thought – notably, emblematics. If we have spoken above of the conflation of the perspectival theatre with emblematic figuration, it would seem that in each case one starts to see an emphasis on the activity of the spectator. By the time we arrive at Vignola, the play with the frustration and disclosure of meaning in emblematics seems to have a counterpart in the sophisticated articulation of the topography – in place of the synthesis of topography, plan, form and ornament which Raphael seems to attempt in Villa Madama, we seem to have a structure of analogies, with each level of disclosure corresponding to the others, according to its place in the iconographic continuum that stretches from matter to mind.

The Horti Farnesiani on the Palatine

We noted above that the iconographic disclosure of the topography through perspective which we saw at Villa Giulia appears in other gardens associated with Vignola, such as the Horti Farnesiani created on the Palatine Hill by Vignola and Giacomo del Duca for Alessandro Farnese, the builder of Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola.[86] The gardens, created over a long period from the1565 to 1580, remodelled in the first part of the next century by Girolamo Rainaldi, and largely destroyed in late nineteenth century excavations, occupied a site itself loaded with archaeological significance, and thus present a further meditation on the perspectival topographies of the Villa Giulia and the Belvedere, in which the disclosure of the

[86] On the Horti Farnesiani, see *Gli orti Farnesiani sul Palatino*, Ecole Française de Rome, 1990.

topos in play with the iconographic and axial progression of the gardens. (Figure 47) In the Horti Farnesiani the sunken semi-circular sculpture court was instantly visible on entrance through a two-storey arch with caryatids or herms above and a rustic order below, but this lower level could only be reached by means of a triumphal arch-nymphaeum beyond with a grotto recessed into the hill, again containing statues and busts. Thus the vertical progression revealed on entering the garden – grotto below and terraces rising above, culminating in the hilltop aviaries, can only be made by means of the central nymphaeum, the Ninfeo della Pioggia, which means penetrating into the hillside itself – from the Grotta the higher levels were reached by a flight of stairs, leading to a terrace, from which another flight of steps between two balconies above the lateral arches of the Grotta which led to the level of the penultimate terrace. The architecture at this level was most elaborate – here there was a grotto in a great niche with aviaries to either side, above walls lavishly decorated with stucco or rustic mosaic. To either side of the aviaries extended a screening wall, its panels richly decorated, and between this wall and the aviaries a final stairway leads on each side to the summit of the hill, behind the aviaries, with trees and formal planting. The Horti thus articulated the topography of the hill in a similar way to the exploration of the valley site of the Villa Giulia, with its core in the grotto and spring disclosed in the centre of the complex, between theatre and enclosed garden. While the Horti contain a sequence of garden buildings, in the form of fountain rooms or sunken courts, there is no habitation in the complex, possibly in recognition of the sacred character of Palatine as site of the mythic first settlement of Evander, the hill where Romulus and Remus were suckled by the she-wolf in the Lupercal cave and found by the shepherd Faustulus, the site of the new city desired by Romulus and determined by augury, the area enclosed by *Roma quadrata*, and the hill of the imperial villas (*palatia*). The site is linked both with the ancient founding of the city and with its ritual character – Evander instituted the Lupercalia on the Palatine, and established the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima in the Forum Boarium at the foot of the hill, it is associated with Pales, the god of flocks and shepherds, and with the auspices that confirmed the supremacy of Romulus – the panorama at the top also centres the gardens on the ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius. If the structures of the garden are aligned through their shared axes, their fundamental coherence comes from their situation in a topography whose physical features cannot be separated from its accrued historical and mythological meanings. In the Belvedere Cortile, the elements which rise up the hill along the perspectival axis are related to a continuous, enclosing portico; by the time we reach the Horti Farnesiani the enclosing portico has given way to an alignment of iconography and perspective which is literally rooted in the very ground of the site - in contemporary accounts of the antiquities of Rome the Horti were included amongst ancient remains because of the antiques collected there, and the archaeological importance of their site. In the Villa Giulia Ammanti makes it clear that theatre is a precondition for the progression from a grotto of the nymphs, like the Homeric cave of Porphyry's commentary, at once dark with the waters of matter and beautiful with form, to a paradise garden with aviaries, suggesting light and the soul, as ascension or flight and in their relation to augury. In the Horti Farnesiani everything can be read in terms of the archaeology of the sacred site - the enclosure can be understood in terms of *Roma quadrata*, the entrance arch on the via Sacra in relation to the triumphal arches of antiquity, as well as the ephemeral *apparati* in the Forum, used for triumphal entries,[87] and the aviaries in relation to the twelve birds who appear on the

[87] One such entry was made by Charles V in 1536.

Palatine in omen of Romulus's supremacy. The significance of the site continues to be evoked in the late seventeenth century, when the Arcadian Academy had an oval theatre there, in memory of Evander and his group of Arcadians.[88]

If it is difficult to reconstruct the Horti with great precision, the sequence of the structures seems clear – the lowest sculpture court, sunken beneath the level of the entrance, would seem to correspond to the Lupercal, the cave where Romulus and Remus were suckled, and where the sacrificial rites of the Lupercalia were celebrated to secure fertility for fields and women. This sunken court cannot be approached directly, but by means of the Ninfeo della Pioggia, where the reference to rain is surely linked to the fertility rites of the Lupercal, celebrated in the rainy month of February, to which it gave its name.[89] The grotto may also be indentified with the thunderstorm that marks the apotheosis of Romulus, who disappears from the earth enveloped by a cloud, and with Tiber, who appears as *deus loci* in *Aeneid* VIII 31, prophecies to Aeneas the greatness of the city founded on the Palatine (36-65), whose roofs will reach to the sky (99-100), and calms his tide so that Aeneas may join Evander on the Palatine.[90] The sequence of structures on the Horti Farnesiani thus charts the rise of Rome and her founder, from Lupercal cave to augury of greatness and apothesosis, and from the *res inopes* of Evander's settlement to the roofs of the Palatine, hill of the emporers, raised to heaven. Nature appears on the hill in the sacred, numinous guise that it takes on in the *Aeneid*, associated with rituals of purification, fertility and expiation at the Lupercal, with augury and with apotheosis in the aviaries and Ninfeo della Pioggia. As we might expect, these meanings are interwoven with the celebration of the Farnese who could not unjustly identify themselves with the revival of Rome after the Sack of 1527 – this *renovatio farnesiana* was exemplified by the recommencing of work on St Peter's, the building of the gigantic Palazzo Farnese as a new imperial *domus*, of Il Gesù, commemorating the re-invigoration of the church, and the replanning of the Capitol by Michelangelo. The Horti Farnesiani were originally planned to house a great villa, a direct recuperation of the imperial palace – while this project was not realised, the gardens should also be considered in relation to the Campidoglio, the ancient political and religious centre of the city, with the Horti on the Palatine representing myths of founding and apotheosis in relation to the seat of law and religion of the triumphant *urbs* on the Capitol, at the end of the via Sacra. Thus the Horti recover the ancient meanings of the site and bring them to light and form – these meanings and forms are to be understood in relation to the other recoveries of meaning accomplished by the Farnese, so that the origins and prophecies of Roman greatness linked with the Palatine can be seen fulfilled (through architectural restoration and through Christian meaning, fully realised in Paul III Farnese) in the panoramic views from gardens on its summit, starting with the Campidoglio on the next hill.

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[88] The academy of Arcadia was founded in 1690 as a continuation of the Accademia Reale of Christina of Sweden (est. 1680), and devoted itself to the purification of the Italian language. Goethe was admitted as a "distinguished shepherd" in 1786.

[89] The thongs with which the Luperci struck all those they met as they ran through Roma Quadrata during the Lupercalia, in order to render them fertile, were known as *februa*, or means of purification, from which the time of the festival (*februarius*) took its name; the act of running was believed to be a symbolic purification of the land.

[90] "rara domorum/ tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo/ Aequavit; tum inopes Evandrus habebat" ("a few roofs they see, which now Rome in her might how reaches up to heaven; then Evander had a poor domain").

The Horti Farnesiani was obviously not the only Roman sixteenth century garden to occupy an archaeological site - the Horti Bellaiani were created in the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian with a palazzina built on the Roman exedra, the gardens of Angelo Colocci on the Pincio, the ancient *collis hortulorm*, were described as a *renovatio* of the Horti Sallustiani, the Villa Mattei extended over the Celian Hill, while gardens like that of Cardinal Cesi in the Borgo, recorded in a painting by Van Cleeve now in Prague, depicts antiquities scattered through a seemingly uncultivated *hortus*.[91] What is distinctive about the Horti Farnesiani is the fact that all the rich associations of the topography seem to be concentrated in the progression from sunken court to aviaries and upper gardens, rather than being disclosed in statues and fountains dispersed through a more loosely organised topography (or apparently loosely organised topography); this axial organisation, with its unexpected descents and "discoveries", would seem to effect a stratification of the archaeological and mythic meanings as they are invoked at various levels. Such stratification runs in hand with the continuity that reveals each topos as a stage in a larger structure, and synthesises the various themes noted above, which are indeed well-worn by this point in the sixteenth century – the acent from time of origins to time as the perfection of *renovatio*, from origins to apotheosis, from pagan grotto to paradisiacal Christian gardens, with a grotto dedicated to *natura artificiosa*, the Ninfeo della Pioggia, half way between the sunken darkness of the grotto and the light of the upper gardens and aviaries.

The Villa Lante, Bagnaia

This type of axial garden, articulated by scenic arches or grottos which penetrate into the ground where they are built, and present this descent as necessary to the movement up into light, disclosing the iconography of a topography while they dramatise the self-consciousness of the spectator into contemplative activity, would seem to have its sixteenth century culmination in another work linked to Vignola, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia (under construction circa 1573-80), which influenced the gardens at Caprarola (completed 1586), probably designed by Giacomo del Duca who worked with Vignola on the Horti Farnesiani. We mentioned the Villa Lante above, and noted that the elements of the Belvedere Cortile make their re-appearance: the fountains in the centre of the terraces flanked by stairways like ramps, a circular, terraced fountain which miniaturises the exedra of the Belvedere Cortile, the progression from the twin palazzine (two stories plus belvedere) to the two storey structure - cryptoporticus with aviaries above (called "hypoporticus" in a 1612 map of Jacobus Laurus in the *Antiqua Urbis Splendor*), to a one storey portico to the sides of

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[91] For details and illustrations of these gardens, see Isa Belli Barsali, "I Giardini di statue antiche nella Roma del '500", in *Orti Farnesiani ed. cit.* The Maffei deserve a further note here – they took their full name (Mattei di Giove) from the Latium *feudo* Giove, which took its name from a temple of Jupiter, and built a castle in a neighbouring property, at Rocca Sinibalda, in the form of an eagle, designed by Peruzzi. A persistent theme in the Mattei use of the iconography of Jupiter as eagle appears to be the rape of Ganymede, which appears in the gardens on the Celian at Villa Celimontana, in frecoes in the Mattei palaces and in their most famous commission, the beautiful Fontana della Tartaruga sculpted by Taddeo Landini for the piazza outside the Palazzo Mattei di Giove in the Ghetto. On use of the myth of Ganymede by the Mattei as a way of consolidating their prestige through the archaeological and mythological "discovery" of their properties, see Anne Kristine Togstad, *La Fontana delle Tartarughe Form, commission and iconography*, dissertation, University of Oslo 2002.

the Fountain of the Giants.[92] (Figure 48) At the highest level of the garden the Fountain of the Dolphins was housed in a verdant triumphal arch with more aviaries, twin pavilions dedicated to the Muses and between them a grotto – the Fountain of the Deluge. Before the twin palazzine is a formal garden with fishponds divided into four parts, each containing sculptures of ships, with a circular fountain in the centre; the frescoes in the principal palazzina by the garden entrance show the central fountain as surrounded by a high wall, pierced by arches through which people enter and promenade on an upper level, around the basin and jet. (Figure 49) The fountains terraced up the hillside make repeated references to theatre – that which imitates the form of the Belvedere exedra, often called the Fountain of the Lights, is named *Fons Caviae* (*cavea*) on the 1612 map, while the subsequent terrace has a long stone table (*Fons trapezii sive tabulae* on the 1612 map), with channels for water, probably used for the spectacular activity of outdoor dining, so theatre and banqueting are here represented in terms of fountains. The garden is a particularly complete fulfilment of the three conditions stated by Claudio Tolomei in a letter 1549 for garden architecture – *spettacolo*, *artifizio* and *varietà dei modi dell'acqua*,[93] these elements coming to near-identification in such devices as the *catena* of water that coincides with the perspectival axis, the cavea and table fountains, or the verdant arch which contains the Fountain of the Dolphin at the upper terrace of the garden.

In the maps of the villa, the diminution of the porticos from three to one levels on ascending terraces is very clearly marked, and a reference to the Belvedere unavoidable. It was remarked above that in contrast to the Belvedere court, these structures neither enclose the space nor are they central to it, but, as at the Horti Farnesiani, have been displaced by the progression of fountains to the role of flanking pavilions, or cryptoportici sunk into the hillside. If these structures in one sense frame the fountains, they are also inserted within the perspectival-iconographical axis signalled by the central fountains, not structures that mediate it to the viewer. One sees plainly here how the mediating role which we assigned earlier to the arch has been lost and the viewer moves within a realm of theatre where mimetic distance has disappeared, in which the roles of contemplator and actor have interfused. In the gardens we have discussed so far, the vertical axis is articulated so as to become the vessel of an iconographic progression. The iconography at the Villa Lante is rather more laconic; it refers to the progression from nature to art as one descends from the Grotto of the Deluge at the summit of the garden to the formal garden with its "seas" and central island, to poetic disclosure in the Fountain of Pegasus and the loggie to the Muses flanking the Grotto of the Deluge, and the imitation of the process of generation as the sun penetrates the moist earth at the Fountain of the Lights.[94] River

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[92] Another map of the Villa, now in the Bibliothèque Nazionale, Paris, of 1596, is reproduced in Coffin, *Renaissance Rome*.

[93] Cited in *Orti Farnesiani*, *op.cit.*, p.4.

[94] The Fountain of Pegasus, which draws on the Oval Fountain at Villa D'Este, shows the unleashing of the Pierian spring, with Muses as herms arranged within an enclosing semi-circular wall, suggestive of a theatre *cavea*. The Muses are shown in contemplation and response to Pegasus's act – jets of water fall from them onto the figure of Pegasus, as though they formed a chorus around him. The fountain gives a particularly dramatic rendition of the contrast between the darkness of the rock and waters, and the jet of water which soars into the light, and this moment of disclosure is played out as theatre, against the constant chorus of the Muses as a background – literally – to the revelatory opening of the rock; the scene also evokes the opening passage of the *Theogony* where Hesiod invokes the Muses in their circling dance to inspire him with the tale of the genesis of the gods from the darkness of chaos.

gods, Venus as Ops, the fertility of the land, and the stone banqueting table with a water channel through its centre all amplify the theme of the fruitfulness of the earth, and the fountains figuring poetic disclosure emphasise the role of *poesis* in the creation of the *natura artificiosa*. One can point to the reversal of the ascent from chaos to formality and habitation as though to emphasis that the poetic disclosure epitomised by the Pegasus Fountain at the entrance to the garden is the highest source which flows finally into the seas of the world represented in the formal garden. (Figure 50) With the exception of the Pegasus Fountain outside the garden walls, the garden however does not really engage with the dramatic disclosure of the grotto such as we find at the Villa Giulia or Villa D'Este; on the contrary one might already note a degree of idealisation which appears in the very success of *natura artificiosa* in the garden - the notion of a theatre of nature here is no longer an object of discovery but a *sine qua non* of the representational character of the garden. The garden presents itself as the culminating synthesis of the iconographic topographies of sixteenth century garden design, and it also hints at the progression beyond this material.

The fusion of the actor and contemplator within this space is another consequence of this idealisation. We are dealing here with something slightly different from the iconographic dramatisation of the specator's role on the progress through the garden; one of the distinctive features of the Villa Lante is the fact that the movement along the axis of the garden consists in the following the water *catena* which flows from the Fountain of the Deluge to the Fountain of the Lights and emerges finally in the formal gardens. This dynamic character of the spectator's contemplative action, as one progresses through the garden, is signalled by the movement and liveliness of the water *catena*, as though the perspectival axis itself had been animated into the vital lymph or soul of nature. This animation of the perspectival axis means that each point one is aware of one's relation to the *catena* as the centre and vital force of the garden, and as the visual axis. If we look back to the comparison between Villa Lante and the Belvedere Court, in each case a central perspectival axis holds all things together, yet there is a fundamental difference: where the perspective of the Belvedere Court was aligned with the Papal Stanze, in the Vatican palace above, at Bagnaia it is movement through the topography by the spectator which is important, not a single view fixed from an overlooking point. It is here that one might start to have an inkling of the new direction to which the garden points, with its perfection of *natura artificiosa*: not so much to the archaeological disclosures which can illuminate our relationship to a ground of meaning, as to the idealisation of the civic topography.[95] In this sense the

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The twin loggie at the summit of the garden Laurus names *Mansiones Musarum*, as though to suggest the *aediculae* of theatre. The generation of living creatures from moist earth fecundated by light is described by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* I.ll.422-429, and appears in such figurative forms as the ship of Apollo discussed by Cartari; we shall discuss the passage and the ship of the sun at more length in the context of the Casino of Pius IV.

[95] One might note that what the resemblance of the garden to an urban topography seems to be exaggerated in the 1612 Laurus map (which thus postdates the urban projects of Sixtus V), with the Fountain of the Lanterns or *Fons Caviae* oversized to resemble an amphitheatre. One might make a contrast with the gardens at Pratolino, where the Utens lunette shows paths cut like streets through the woods, all branching off from the principal avenue which led up to the palazzo, but some of these paths appear to lead to no particular destination, and seem to suggest the garden as a realm of nature, whose edifices are not pavilions or aviaries but grottos where hydraulic "wonders" disclose the laws hidden in nature. Despite the praise it occasioned and the influence of certain of its elements, Pratolino seems to have remained unique in its attempt to use *natura artificiosa* to create a realm of nature and the artificial disclosure of its laws, in which the axial paths of perspectival gardens are submerged in a

Villa Lante represents the culmination of the use of the garden in Rome as a way of exploring or clarifying the character of the topography; rather than a placing of iconographic objects along a perspectival chessboard with its controlled and controlling viewpoint, we find an exploration of movement through a topography in which the axis, the structures that cement inter-relationships and the iconography that solicits the spectator's engagement have all been brought to synthesis through the "union" of art and nature.

Shortly after the creation of Villa Lante the great urbanistic project of Sixtus V (1585-90) was carried out, with the use of obelisks to mark the junctions of the streets planned across Rome, designed to create axes that would link the seven pilgrim churches, the principal gates, the principal Roman monuments, the Capitol and the papal palace at the Quirinal. If the relations between gardens and projects for the *renovatio* of the Roman topography which we have merely signalled above find an important point in the *natura artificiosa* at the Villa Lante, the Villa also exerted considerable influence on other gardens such as those of the palazzina at Caprarola, designed probably by Giacomo del Duca, and were modified by Girloamo Rainaldi in the following century (both men the worked also on the Horti Farnesiani). A fresco in the palazzina of circa 1586 shows the upper gardens in their early state, with a plan very similar to the gardens we have considered above, associated with Vignola and deriving from the Belvedere Court – ramps link a series of terraces with fountains. As remodelled in the next century, the gardens combine features of Bagnaia with a rustic reprisal of the entrance to the palace itself, exhibit ostentatiously theatrical features – masks, terraces laid out in low steps and semi-circular portals in the creation of a space in which the character of *natura artificiosa* has shifted fundamentally. (Figure 51) In the upper gardens at Caprarola, the iconography of the Mannerist garden has been absorped into a vista that starts to open beyond the enclosure of the "theatre of nature", most evident in the herms of rustic figures, bearing baskets, fruits or musical instruments spaced evenly along the low walls of the palazzina garden, whose form suggests that they are both *genii* of the garden (as herms), and of the boundary which they mark, like the god Terminus, and in the ornate semi-circular stone gateway, with a central and two lateral paths again reminiscent of a stage, at the end of the uppermost terrace of the garden. The sensation of unease in the upper gardens may arise from the fact the theatre within has been emptied, so that the herms, figures of the satyr scene, seem to be both actors and spectators. Their strongly characterised faces, which suggests that they may have been portraits, is in contrast with the frozen stillness of the stone and the empty spaces between them, through which we perceive the trees of the park beyond the enclosure of the garden-theatre. This empty theatre which seems to emphasise anticipation of its fulfilment to the point where one might declare that anticipation was its theme, culminates in the upper garden, with its overtly theatrical stepped levels and curved gateway. One senses that the synthesis of the garden-theatre with the prospect of a landscape whose enclosures are continuously pushed back has started here, but is still in its first stirrings, so that the wood beyond

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wood – the use of labyrinthine pathways which take the spectator deeper into the hylic darkness of the woods is distinct to the looser topography of the *sacro bosco* at Bomarzo, created by Fulvio Orsini in memory of his wife, Giulia Farnese, where the monstrous sculptures are interspersed or labelled with inscriptions bearing sententious exhortations to the visitor. The *meraviglie* of Bomarzo are thus scattered through a topography in which one wanders, seemingly without sequence; thus deprived of narrative structure the "stupore" of the sculptures threatens to become merely repetitive.

the garden walls is still experienced as difference; the replete emptiness of the garden may derive from this denial of completion within the garden, while what lies beyond it has not yet been brought into continuity as an extension of the vista. The upper gardens at Caprarola do not just show a point of passage between the iconographic gardens of the later sixteenth century and the synthesis that allows for the identification of the garden-theatre with the extension of an idealised landscape; they also show that the absorption of the mediating structures throws open a new relation to otherness, in which it reveals itself as difference, appearing at the points where a void seems to open up in the theatre of representation that the Mannerist accommodation of opposition is proving powerless to contain. The emptiness that appears at the margins of the enchanted realm of reiteration at Caprarola seems in short to herald the need for the transformation of the representational theatre at the moment when its analogical structure starts to decline into a repetitive self-reference. Caprarola thus points beyond our concerns here, and leaving these sketchy considerations, we should return now to the mid-sixteenth century and the attempt to bring some further reflection to discussions of the relation between the iconographic articulation of the axial garden and the *grottesche*, treated as modality of representation, rather than mode of decoration. This brings us finally to Ligorio, in whose works the *grottesche* as means of conceiving and structuring the topography and iconography of the theatre of figuration come to richest expression.

LIGORIO AND THE EMBODIMENT OF POETIC SPECULATION

Introductory remarks

Pirro Ligorio (c.1513-1583) was born into a noble Neapolitan family and came to Rome to pursue an artistic career, where his early works include frescoes in San Giovanni Decollato (decorated 1538-53), where Salviati also worked;[96] he also established a reputation as an authority on antiquities. His most fruitful period of activity fell in the 1550's to the mid 1560's, when he was appointed as archaeologist to Ippolito D'Este (1550), designer of the Villa D'Este (c.1550-1572), and Architect of the Vatican Palace by his fellow Neapolitan Paul IV (Giovanni Pietro Caraffa), for whom he designed the palazzina in the Vatican *bosco* that he would enlarge for Pius IV, known as the Casino of Pius IV, Gian Angelo Medici (1559-63). The pontificate of Pius IV was the period of Ligorio's ascendancy, with his appointment as architect of St Peter's, and his completion of the Belvedere Cortile, in which the strong scenographic conception of Bramante is dissipated in the creation of an ornate theatre of antiquity, replete with statuary and archaeological detail.[97] Ligorio's hour of glory ended with the election of Pius V, whose ascetic piety did not favour the antiquarian refinement exemplified in Ligorio's work and resulted in the removal of the latter from employment at the Papal court in 1567. Ligorio returned to the service of the Estensi, and in1568 left Rome for a position as antiquarian for Alfonso II D'Este which he occupied until his death. In the 1560's Ligorio had composed a ten volume manuscript on Roman antiquities, which he sold to Alessandro Farnese before his

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[96] Vasari in his life of Salviati also asserts that Ligorio undermined Salviati in the decoration of the Sala Regia in the Vatican, taking advantage of the Florentine's delays and his difficult character to have him ousted and replaced by a team of inferior painters. What ever the truth of Vasari's account, it does suggest that Ligorio was familiar with Salviati's work.

[97] For Ligorio's work in the Belvedere cortile, see Ackerman, *The Belvedere Cortile*, *ed.cit.*

departure from Rome, and in his years in Ferrara he compiled a much longer encyclopaedia, the *Libro dell'antiquità* which is now in the State Archives, Turin preserved in two redactions, a nine volume work that discusses various visual remains of antiquity (*e.g.* coins, inscriptions, effigies) and an eighteen volume dictionary, arranged in alphabetical order.[98]

In the treatment of Ligorio here we shall use the discussions in the Turin and Naples manuscripts as the basis of interpretation of Ligorio's peculiarly dense programmes in the Villa D'Este and the Vatican Casino; given the state of scholarship on Ligorio and the enormity of the manuscripts these interpretations can only be prolegomena to prolegomena. It should also be emphasised that we are looking here more at the mythography, than the archaeology of the writings, partly since the accuracy or otherwise of Ligorio's archaeology is still a matter of debate.[99] It is also useful to reflect on the nature and genealogy of Ligorio's project; amongst the antecedents is Raphael's discussion of the surveying and documentation of the Roman remains, as proposed in the letter written with Castiglione to Leo X. Raphael's project reappears in more ambitious form in Claudio Tolomei's letter to Count Agostino de' Landi of November 1542, which recounts the project by the Accademia dei Virtuosi (Tolomei's "Vitruvian Academy") to make a comprehensive study of Roman buildings and antiquities, the latter encompassing tombs, sculptures, inscriptions, instruments, machines, medals, paintings and reliefs – what Ligorio sought to accomplish, single handed, in his encyclopaedia.[100] Ligorio's studies thus point to the belief that it is possible to give an exhaustive account of antiquity – not just a totality of references but also a totality of meanings. We have touched repeatedly on the analogy between Rome ("recovered" as universal city) and the *Dea natura*, and this analogy is certainly fundamental to Ligorio's project, and pertinent to the *grottesche* as antique painting and artificial representation of the energies of *natura naturans* – throughout his work he praises antique art as closer to natura generante". This notion, it was suggested, saw antiquity brought to fulfilment in the Christian age, and this providential realisation of human history could be viewed alongside the perfect and

[98] The collocations of the Turin mss are a.III.3.J.1 – a.III.15.J.13 and a.II.1.J.14- a.II.5.J.18. The ten volume ms. now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Naples (XIII B1-10) is devoted to Greek and Roman coins and medals, images of the pagan gods, inscriptions on statues, dress, weights, measures, vases and ships, rivers and fountains, epitaphs and funeral customs. Fourteen volumes of the eighteen volume alphabetical dictionary were copied for Christina of Sweden in the seventeenth century and are now in the Vatican (Vat. Lat. Ottoboni 3371 and Vat. Lat. Barberini 5085), and there exist two further, shorter manuscripts: one volume in Paris, Bibliothèque National, contains books on the history of the world from Saturn to Romulus, the gates and *viae* of Rome, altars and sacrifices to the pagan gods and temples in Rome and other cities. A further volume is in Oxford, treating of temples on the hills of Rome, *vici* round the forum, Roman edifices and their builders, obelisks and things Egyptian, Naples and its environs and marbles. The state of studies of Ligorio's encyclopaedic writings, for years deplorable, has recently improved and there is now a centre for the study of Ligorio attached to the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome and devoted to the publication of the encyclopaedia. Amongst recent study, one might signal the work of Marcello Fagiolo, Robert Gaston, Maria Luisa Madonna and Jeanette Wagenheim, and copies of the manuscripts have been made as part of the census of antique works known to the Renaissance, conducted by the Warburg Institute; if it is easier than in the past to consult the manuscripts, the Herculean task of editing and indexing them still awaits completion.

[99] One reason for the neglect of Ligorio's work on Roman antiquities was the reputation that he acquired in the seventeenth and eighteenth century as a forger of archaeological evidence. The charge has been by no means cleared but it seems that some of Ligorio's reconstructions have been demonstrated to be accurate.

[100] Tolomei's account is published in *SAC* III, pp.3037-3048.

full ordering of creation. The world in its complete order as an ideal for the exhaustive recovery of antiquity interests Ligorio, as we see in the insistence with which mythological meanings are unfolded and multiplied, and then enfolded into the dyadic relationship that underlies his vision of mythography, cosmography and the *nodo* of body and soul – the solar intellect and the energies of *natura generante* which reflect one another through music.

As one turns to the writings themselves, even a very partial survey shows that Ligorio is very much engaged with the poetic meaning of the knowledge he records, so that project for a total knowledge of antiquity leads him to reflect on the form that such knowledge should have in order to be assimilated in a way that is philologically and morally useful – the inventory of the alphabetical dictionary speaks of things "degni di memoria". Ligorio's response brings us back to the first part of the work, for he insists on music as the paradigm for the harmony that underlies all things: the created universe and the generation of things in time, the human body, the human arts and the memory which holds the works of the past, as when Ligorio speaks of the lyre as an attribute of Mnemosyne "la consonantia dell'Intelletto che molte cose comprende perche participa della consonantia della celeste armonia".[101] For Ligorio, music is defined most simply as "ogni opera ben concordante",[102] and it is this concord that he attempts to disclose in the manuscripts which he writes and the villas which he builds, represented allegorically by the pagan gods who are "hieroglyphs" for the physical cosmos and historically through time, knowledge and memory. In this light we should note that Ligorio asserts the identity of the Greek and Egyptian gods ("gli Dij dell'Aegyptij erano conforme a quelli de Greci, et haveano il medesimo significare"[103]) and asserts that he has attempted to provide a comprehensive encyclopaedia of antique images which can adorn buildings with figured *concetti* that function like the "sacred signs" of the Egyptians:

> Et questo havemo raccolto insieme per che non si vadino cercando altrove quell che si può sapere, in un solo luogo, havendo io raccolto da molti et diversi auttori, et da et da altre opere antiche, che sono in marmi, et intagli di pietre et pietre preciose et di monete, ove le imprese et i fatti dell' antichi si prescorgono, piene de infiniti bei pensieri, le quali adoperate da alcuni sani intelletti possano se non altro recare una certa commodità et honesta pittura da ornare i palazzi et le ville, et esprimer le loro pensier che aducano gli humani intelletti a discriverli con figure delle cose come verbigratia usarono gli Aegittij che nelle loro sacre lettere inseganavano tutte le cose passate, et le presente, et le future.[104]

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[101] Vatican Ottoboni 3371, f.162 ("the consonance of the Intellect which holds together many things because it participates in the consonance of celestial harmony").
[102] Vatican Ottoboni 3371, f.181 ("every concordant work").
[103] Naples XIII B3, f.35 (the gods of the Egyptians were like those of the Greeks and had the same significance").
[104] ("Having studied many diverse authors and antique works in marble, carving, precious stones, coins which show the *imprese* and the things of antiquity, I gathered them together in this collection so that this knowledge is brought together in one place and there is no need to look elsewhere. These things are full of fine thoughts, and when used by those of sound intellect can (if nothing more) have some usefulness in providing suitable images for the ornament of palaces and villas; [with such images] they

Thus Ligorio weds the speculation on embodiment of *harmonia universalis* that we saw in the first part of the argument with the philological exploration of contextual meaning as it transforms into hieroglyphic guise in the work of Valeriano and the attempt to create structures at once encyclopaedic and analogical, rooted in the "discovery" of the loci within a topography as dense and as metamorphic as a vault of grotesquework.

We have seen that music operated as a paradigm for other encyclopaedic projects, like the academy of Baïf, but Ligorio is not so much working with the ascent of the soul through a cycle of learning as with the exploration of meanings of archaeology in their "totality" so that a human historical time, and the generated time of nature are to be disclosed in their concord. Memory is crucial to Ligorio's project, and in the disclosure of a place where a historical meaning is rooted as a mnemonic locus, we can move from the specificity of situated meaning to perceive the *concordia* denoted by Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses. If the awareness of place as the seat of memory can illuminate the concord that embraces all specific meanings, this throws up two points. Firstly, memory exists in the mind and thus Ligorio's constructions at the Casino and the Villa D'Este are conceived in emblematic terms, as figures for the conjunction of body and soul, and the soul's processes of understanding, as intimated by the hieroglyphic conception of antique images in the passage quoted above. This relation of body and soul is essential to any reflection on Ligorio's engagement with transformation, such as his fascination with fountains as figures and enactments of metamorphosis. Secondly, the rooting of memory in place is also a rooting in nature and we can see why Ligorio works at the Casino and the Villa D'Este with garden rooms or theatres which attempt to reveal nature as place (poetic and mnemonic locus) and *natura generante*. Ligorio's writings are filled with pronouncements on the superiority of antique art which followed nature, calling it "più simile alla bellezza e qualità de la natura generante",[105] and stating that it could thus arrive at the depiction of the "concordia delle correspondenze", in which "la proprietà delle cose si mostrano".[106] Nature is the manifestation of "l'ammirabile sinfonia [con la quale Dio] ha composte le sue opere",[107] the paradigm for the completeness and perfect order which disclosure of historical meaning in its totality aims to reflect, and it is perceived through the movement of seasonal renewal and the cycle of generation that brings things to "work their perfection by fate" as Spenser said - this *concordia* of nature is conceived as visible order for the eyes and enacted through time. We might note here two principal tendencies in Ligorio's attitude to figuration – firstly the imitation of *concordia* which invokes memory as the force that discloses the harmony of the times of history ("historia memoria [...] la quale concorda i tempi insieme"[108])

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can express their thoughts in a way that leads the human intellect to describe them with the figures of things, like the Egyptians, who with their writing taught all things past, present anf future"), Naples XIII B3 f.38-f.39. The passage is cited by M.L.Madonna and M.Fagiolo, "La Casina di Pio IV in Vaticano: Pirro Ligorio e l'architettura come geroglifico", *Storia dell'Arte*, 1972, 15-16.

[105] ("more similar to the beauty and qualità of *natura generante*"), *Trattato di alcune cose appartenente alla nobilità dell'antiche arti* ...published in *SAC* II, p.1470. The treatise was discussed by David Coffin in "Pirro Logorio on the Nobility of the Arts", *JWCI*, 27, 1964. The treatise is collected with the Turin mss, J.a.II.16.xxix, ff.1-30.

[106] *op.cit.*, pp.1456-57 ("the concord of correspondences [in which] the propriety of things is shown") .

[107] ("the admirable symphony with which God has composed his works") *ibid.*

[108] "Historic memory, which brings the times into concord", Naples XIII B3, p.529.

exemplified by the Muses themselves, who affirm the concord of human artifice and history with the returning time of Nature. Secondly, the concord of Nature, art's object of imitation, may be figured in a way that shows the order underlying the transience and instability of human thoughts and fortune – in this case the wavering and metamorphic forms point not to Nature as given but as process of transformation which clothes itself with the forms of all things and can best be disclosed through the veils of poetic figuration which point to their own occulted and metamorphic character. This second situation is represented by the *grottesche* of which Ligorio is the most penetrating theoretical exponent, and part of the discussion of Ligorio will consider how and why he uses the visual field of grotesquework as a way of mediating on the whole scene of representation.

We have spoken above of Ligorio's works at the Villa D'Este and the Casino of Pio IV, as constituting a development in the speculation on the relation of *grottesche*, architectural frame and topography which commences with Raphael in the Vatican Loggie and Villa Madama for which Ligorio has the greatest admiration. The full variety of nature and things invented by human art displayed in the decoration of the Vatican Loggie, are "discovered" by Ligorio who invents (sometimes in all senses) multiple meanings drawn from each mythological figure as a topos. This leaves one with the task of accommodating the *copia* of meanings in a comprehensive structure of interpretation, in which various threads of interpretation must be woven together into the kind of patterning of meaning that we have been discussing at length or each level metamorphoses into the next. In Ligorio's *Libro dell'antiquità*, the discovery of the philological and archaeological significance of the mythological and historical figures and sites of antiquity generates a plethora of readings through which Ligorio attempts to create a web of references which can signify all things, in which the ongoing discovery of new meanings, and the multiplication of identities is counterbalanced by the continuous insistence on *concordia*, hence Ligorio's constant references to music, exemplified by the concord of light, or mind, and *natura generante*. One of the attractive qualities in Ligorio's work is the fact that this rooting of the exploration of figuration in locus, with its notions of containment and discovery, is in play with the question of the distinction between background and centre that we discussed in consideration of the *grottesche*, in which the mediating frameworks are absorbed into the theatre of representation itself – it is no coincidence that Ligorio offers in his writings the most speculative account of the *grottesche*. In our account of emblematic theory, we talked of the structure of figuration which reflected the soul and its process of cognition, and of the explication of a nexus of meanings in the emblem which it "inherits" from the encyclopaedic philology of works such as the *Adagia*; we later observed that the figuration of this kind of nexus may create a web of conjunctions in which all things play out the primary conjunction of body and soul. Ligorio works with these conditions of meaning, using the *grottesche* not merely as a mode of decoration but a speculative vehicle, pursuing the reflections between a structure of figuration and a structure of interpretation, and meditating on the ends of the "disclosure" of the classical world in which he, as an antiquarian, is engaged, especially in regard to its setting in nature.

To reiterate, with Ligorio we can bring together the paradigmatic continuum of music with the contextual nexus revealed by philological reading and the analogical

structure that can be disclosed by artificial memory in sixteenth century thought. To this we should add the arguments that have brought us to Ligorio, namely the relationship between the illusion of the perspectival room that opens onto nature and the *grottesche* that seem to concern a more speculative figuration. We have suggested above that the *grottesche* represent a shift from the scenic character of perspectival depiction to a situation of representation closer to the "theatre *of*" which points to the exhaustive representation of all arguments contained within a subject, which, again, has its paradigm in nature. Ligorio's attempt at an (emblematic) representation in which the encyclopaedic display of antique figuration imitates, and thus discloses, the "concordia della correspondenze" of nature is close to the visual field that appears in the *grottesche* – the difference seems to lie in the movement between revealed harmony and divulgation as process; it for this reason that Ligorio's characterisation of the *grottesche* as "sinfoniche" is so intersting. We might more precisely say that Ligorio discerns the affinities between the memory theatre whose coherence lies in its imitation or disclosure of generated time as concord and the *grottesche* as the image of the mind's apprehension of its objects, with figures in tempietti (loci) connected by "legami" that represent both the vegetative soul and the metaphoric conunctions of the *phantasia*.[109] We might glance back to Camillo here, to whom Ligorio refers in his manuscripts[110] - Ligorio is as oceanic in his structure of divulgation as Camillo is schematic, but the conviction that the order which underlies the world in its multiplicity can be revealed through a sequence of metaphoric transformations, which are founded or held in places, is significant in light of Ligorio's tendency to heap up analogical meanings that can be discovered, and "animated" in a topos. One should be careful not to stretch the comparison – Ligorio does not seek to impose a closed structure, and pursues universality through the inexhaustible wealth of variety, but Camillo seems to me fundamental for Ligorio's understanding of the "discovery" of the topos, which is for him fundamentally the archaeological or mythological, and its mnemonic and emblematic associations. Ligorio's dense layering of meaning, with figures that symbolise the mind and cognition presented alongside the disclosure of the correspondence between generated nature and celestial harmony "alta e profonda musica". As with Camillo, the discovery of correspondences implies a process of transformation or illumination; we shall argue that while Ligorio builds up references in the architectural setting, to indicate the richness of associations which we should bring to the Casino as theatre, circus, naumachia, Parnassus, grotto and so on, with each architectural form conceived as a locus, which contains various arguments and conditions, it seems that an understanding of the relationship of transformation and analogy in the *figura* is essential to move towards the core of Ligorio's *concetto*. To return to the relationship between the memory theatre and grotesquework, the difference lies between the achievement of an encyclopaedic cycle which can reflect

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[109] Madonna and Fagiolo in their article on the Casino (*op.cit.*, p.267), cite the *Theatrum Apollonis* (1581) designed by G.B.Rinaldi and engraved by Cartaro which shows Apollo with his attributes, followers and myths, with a city and circus at the base and a pastoral setting with Pegasus at the top. In the middle is the temple of Jupiter, centre of all things, while the various attributes and followers appear in tempietti or groves, the later associated with metamorphosis (Daphne and Cyprissus) – the muses appear seated in a semi-circle at a convivium. The visual ordering of this mnemonic image with the plethora of figurations held in slender architectural loci, is suggestive of a field of *grottesche* – this is not to identify the two, but to note the continuity between the organisation of mnemonic images of this kind, grotesquework, and the structure of the Villa D'Este, for example.

[110] See for example Naples XIII B9 (on rivers) where Ligorio discusses Camillo's iconographic representation of the river Po. I am grateful to Robert Gaston, who is preparing the edition and commentary on this volume of the *Libro dell'antiquità*, for this reference.

concord and the acknowledgement of vacillating and transitory nature of human knowledge and attainment. With much simplification it could be said that the Casino and the Villa D'Este correspond to these two situations, or emphases; in the Casino the meditation on Apollo and *natura generante* brings together the exploration of historic meaning and nature in the creation of a poetic locus which is one of the finest embodiments of the Renaissance meditations on the poet's creation of a cosmos through ornament. This perfectly cyclical and self-contained reflection develops in different terms at the Villa D'Este, where the unfolding of meanings and the "discovery"of the Tiburtine ground engages with chaos, both as the ground of the first poetic disclosure, and as the confusion that arises from the unfolding of multiplicity and the transformation of meanings, depicted in the thundering violence of the waters. At the Casino, the waters are described by Ligorio as the lymph, the vital life force of nature which together with the fecundating light of the intellectual sun, creates the world, emblematised in the Casino as Parnassus where the Muses dance with Apollo. At the Villa D'Este, the waters which aroused the wonder of contemporary visitors have the aspect of a deluge – both a reference to the multiplicity of meanings with which the world is inundated, and the suggestion that multiplicity may itself be submerged in a rising flood. This eschatological potential of the waters of the Villa D'Este, played out through the references to prophecy, death and rebirth in water and the Tiburtine landscape itself, with its caves of tartaro and cascades, might be related to a question which was raised above in discussion of the *grottesche*, concerning the fact that the figuration of all things that can be conceived, and the fluctuations of the mind that conceives them, appears against a blank background. The flood which is both the destruction of all things by chaos and the clearing of human meaning in preparation for spiritual rebirth may a way of signalling the end of the tension in the *grottesche* between figurative repletion and the blankness against which it appears – in this light it is significant that Ligorio uses the *grottesche* alongside biblical subjects, as in the interior of the Vatican Casino, and that Ligorio corresponded with Paleotti, who wished to be informed on the *grottesche*, although the latter's condemnation of grotesques was far from Ligorio's meditations.[111]

We shall attempt to consider the Vatican Casino and the Villa D'Este together, the first concerned with the cycles of diurnal and seasonal time as they unfold to the "alta e profonda musica" of Apollo and the Muses, the Graces and the Hours, and second concerned with the progression of things towards their end – Hercules's journey to repose after labours and apotheosis, the metamorphoses of the Tiburtine Sibyl which culminate with the prophecy of the coming of Christ, the eschatological themes at which we have hinted above and the orientation of the Hesperidean garden to the west, to Rome and the setting sun. As we look into the iconography of the gardens, we shall see how they work with Venus, as *natura generante* and *nympha loci*, with the celestial and chthonic associations of Parnassus, Mnemosyne, the Muses and the Hours, figures at the core of Ligorio's speculations, associated with the unfolding of Venus as *natura generante* and the procession of Apollo as heavenly light and music, and as diurnal cycle. Before we start to look at this iconography, there is one document that we should adduce, which enables us to note the way that the understanding of the garden as topos could be stratified out into multiple levels;

[111] Ligorio's three letters to Paleotti, of 1581, are now in the Archivio Isolana, Bologna.

this document, *Discorso delle maravigliose opere di Pratolino* of Francesco de'Vieri (1586) concerns the great rival garden to the Villa D'Este.

De'Vieri's description, invaluable for any study of mannerist gardens, opens with an endorsement of "disorderly order", as we might expect, linking "rozzezza delle parole con la bellezza, e maravigliosa de'concetti" with the works of Pratolino and the affirmation that "la gratia delle cose molto più si conosce quando gl'è vicino il suo contrario".[112] This declaration of aesthetic delight in contrast is shown to have an origin in the declaration of beauty as *concors discordia* that recalls Pico's *Comento*: "ogni perfettione di quaggiù, e ogni bellezza ha havuto principio, ò vero origine dal suo contrario".[113] It is worth noting that De'Vieri also wrote a treatise on love, appended to the discourse on Pratolino; the discussion of Pratolino elaborates the notion of *coincidentia oppositorum* through no less than twelve levels of meaning, with the garden as exemplum of beauty and earthly perfection, *perfettione di quaggiù* "in commune, ogni luogo pieno, e adorno di cose buone, e belle si può indifferentamente dire paradiso, giardino, e prato, ò vero pratolino".[114] This use of the garden as locus is founded in Aristotelian psychology of the soul which rises through all levels of creation: "la moltitudine delle cose, che participano della bontà, e della bellezza, o gratia sono animate di anima vegetrice solamente come le piante, ò humana come gl'uomini, ò intellettuale come gl'angeli".[115] With this continuity for the beauty that manifests itself at each level as *concors discordia* established, De'Vieri proceeds to his twelve levels. The first is that of the divine essence and intelligible species, the second the empyrean and the angelic hierarchies according to the pseudo Dionysius, the third the visible heavens, the fourth the elementary world, the fifth Eden as interpreted by Pico, "la mirandola Fenice" in the *Heptalus*, the sixth the garden of plants made by man, the seventh the garden as *natura artificiosa*, with statues, gods, fountains and the ubiquitous wetting games, the eighth a person of great grace and beauty, the poet's lady,[116] the ninth the mind of acute *ingegno*, like that of artists of all kinds, the tenth the men of prudence and active intelligence, the eleventh the contemplative intelligence, exemplified by theologians and philosophers, and the last the "ragionamento" on all the preceding levels of meaning. De'Vieri in short descends through divine creation to the perfect locus of creation in Eden and returns up - the sequence of ensoulment as we move up from the earthly paradise suggests the faculties of the soul bestowed by the planets in Porphyry and Macrobius, from lunar

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[112] *Discorsi di M.Francesco de'Vieri* [...] *delle maravigliose opere di Pratolino*, Florence 1586, p.7 ("the roughness of words with the beauty and wonder of the *concetti* [...] the grace of things is much better known when its contrary is near").

[113] *Ibid* ("every earthly perfection and beauty has its principal or origin in its contrary").

[114] *op.cit.*, p.12 ("in common, every place filled and adorned with good and lovely things can be called a paradise, or garden or meadow or little meadow").

[115] *Ibid* ("the multitude of things, which participate in goodness and beauty and grace are animated by the vegetal soul alone, like plants, or human like man or intellectual like angels").

[116] Cf. Lorenzo de'Medici in the *Comento* where the lover speaks of paradise as the place where the lady has been, and then as the beauty and virtues of the lady herself, working with a Petrarchan rendering of the topos of the beloved as *hortus conclusus* in the Canticle. As the topos develops, it becomes more dynamic, with the lady extolled as the virtue that can make the earth germinate, the birds sing and the trees bear leaf "grandi effetti [di] far germinare la terra, cantar li augelli e vestire li arbori di frondi" – the lady has passed from *hortus conclusus* to Venus as *natura generante*, and transformation from passivity to activity that mirrors the transformation of love from the lover to beloved ("Amore non è altro che una trasformazione dello amante alla cosa amata") (*Comento*, *Opere*, Bari, 1913, p.119 and 112).

physikon to saturnine *theoretikon*. What de'Vieri's model points to is the notion of embodiment which pertains at each level of conception, from divine essence to nature and back up through the human soul and its levels of activity; at every point embodiment presupposes an idea of *concors discordia*, and the Aristotelian soul, rising from vegetal life into higher articulation, is synthesised with the reflection of the macrocosm in the microcosm.

The density of the garden topos as described by de'Vieri must in short be conceived in terms of the harmony that exists at every level, and unites these levels. We shall see that Ligorio at the Casino works similarly through a progression of levels, held together through music, and creates a in the hierarchy of analogies which rises from *natura naturans* to scripture we might also find something that corresponds to the four levels of biblical exegesis or the four types of emblem distinguished by Bocchi – the physical, philological, moral, and metaphysical or theological. Between the higher and lower there is the continuum of mediation embodied by figures associated with procession, mimesis and human art – the Hours, Graces and Muses that we have been considering above – but what Ligorio calls the *concordia delle correspondenze* is such that each level mirrors the others in the "alta e profonda musica", and so the unfolding of levels of mediation is in play with the juxtaposition, or superimposition of the "alto" and "profondo". We have spoken of this structure in discussion above of the relationship of emblematic figuration and perspective in decorative schemes – with Ligorio it goes deeper, into the architectural setting itself. Before we move to the Casino, there are some preliminary remarks to be made on the iconographic continuum with which Ligorio is working; it should be constantly emphasized that we give only the crudest outlines for working with Ligorio, and way that music, memory and the *grottesche* seem to come together in his work.

We have used de'Vieri here in order to illustrate the kind of thinking with which Ligorio is working – we can do still better by turning to Ligorio's own pronouncements, as they appear in his manuscript encyclopaedia on antiquities. For Ligorio, the concord that lies in creation ("l'ammirabile sinfonia [con la quale Dio] ha composte le sue opere"[117]) is the object of artistic imitation, and it was in this that antique art excelled, which teaches us "che la proprietà delle cose si mostrano, obligate alla concordia delle correspondenze".[118] This *concordia delle correspondenze* is Ligorio's great achievement in the Vatican Casino, and one can trace its iconographic structure through the meditations on music. In a beautiful passage, Ligorio describes music thus:

> [...] il creatore [...] il quale sendo optimo et perfetto opefice,
> in tutte le sue cose create co(n) symphonia et correspondenza
> di cose più perfette, che si sono in lui riconosciute dalla
> delettatione delle Muse Maestre delle arti liberali: et (in)
> tutte le sue alte et profonde et arcane cose, vi ha posta una
> perfetta consonantia, con essa ha create le stelle nei celi che

[117] *Trattato* in *SAC* II, p.1456-57 ("the admirable symphony with which God has composed his works").
[118] *ibid.*

> hanno tanta consonanza et melodia che nulla cosa di fatica
> sentono, et perciò perpetuamente scorreno per il loro ordini
> obedienti all'alta potenza ch'è tutta consolatoria Musica,
> tutta optima e tutta perfetta. Così pariamente come per un altro
> modo di Musica, ha composti tutti i corpi che si muovano,
> dell'huomo et dell'animale. Così similmente le piante col tempo
> datogli con lo humore et con la forma ogni spetie obedisce alla
> Menistra natura a guisa di uno Citharedo o Musico muove la
> sua consonantia, così esse cose mosse dall'alto, et profondo Musico,
> vengono a perficere da tempo da tempo variando mostrano la essentia
> loro et la consonantia et dilettatione del suo signore ch'è tutto musico
> et aeterna sostanza, et causa delle cause d'ogni sua Harmonia et
> creatione et aedificatore universale.[119]

In the notion of "alta e profonda musica" we have the levels with which Ligorio works at the Vatican Casino – the "alte e profonde e arcane cose" whose *correspondenze* are explicated in the Muses and learning or poesis, the world order and the vital force of growth in plants which come to accomplish themselves in time in obedience to the harmony moved like a lyre by Nature. This animistic conception is emphasised by Ligorio in his discussion of Isis (the Eygptian goddess who "corresponds" to Diana or Venus amongst the Greeks and Dea Syria amongst the

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[119] ("the creator, an excellent and perfect artificer, has created all with symphony and correspondence of the most perfect things, as is recognised through the delight of the Muses who govern the liberal arts: and he has placed a perfect consonance through all the heights and depths and hidden things of the universe. With this the stars [move] effortlessly in heaven with such consonance and melody, turning in their courses in obedience to the high power which is all Music, all solace, all excellent and perfect. Thus, with another mode of music, he created all moving bodies, human and animal. Thus all species of plants with the time, the humour and the form they are given, in the same way obey the ministry of Music which like a Player on the Lyre moves all consonance, and so these things, moved by a high and profound Musician, come to perfection through their becoming in time and so show their essence, their consonance and the delight of their lord who is all music and eternal substance, cause of all his Harmony and creation, and universal creator ".) Turin mss, copy in Vatican Barberini Lat.5085 f.273. My initial understanding of the "alto, e profondo Musico" was that Ligorio referred to music, rather than the divine "musician" who is its creator, as he uses "musico" for music later in the passage, and I have thus spoken frequently of "alta e profonda musica" in the course of the discussion of Ligorio's project; I would defend this reading with reference to Ligorio's meditations on his manuscripts where he returns constantly to the theme of the duality of celestial and chthonic music, often associated with the celebration of duality of a male solar divinity and female Nature goddess.
On the subject of the music which rises from the depths of Nature, we might recall that the notion of the "music of the grotto" so to speak, which Ligorio brings to such rich development, is current from the time of Sannazaro, whose poetic refinement is comparable to that of Ligorio in the Vatican Casino. Closer to the period of Ligorio's own works, a letter of 1538 by Annibale Caro to Giovanni Guidiccioni (*Lettere Familiare* XIII, in *Opere* Turin 1974 p.613) describes the grotto in the garden of Giovanni Gaddi makes an analogy between the acoustic qualities of water in the darkness of the grotto and the *contrabasso* in a musical ensemble "tuono [...] continuate e grave, e più lontano che quei fuori, a guisa di contrabasso s'unisce con essi e risponde loro con la medesima proporzione che lo sveglione a la cornamusa" ("a grave and continuous sound, more distant than those without, like a contrabas unites with them and responds to them in the same proportion that the horn bears to the pipes"). Caro evokes the deep, continuous sound of the water as a background, which seems distant and quasi inarticulate, yet enters into concord with the higher sounds heard without the grotto, as though to represent the grotto as figure for the constant, yet distant presence of *natura naturans* as source and background, apparent as it exists in harmony with more differentiated levels – the kind of project which we shall see in Ligorio, loaded with mythological narratives.

"asiatichi") where he adduces Iamblichus on behalf of Neoplatonic cosmology "Laonde per questa ammirabile natura, finsero, infinite intelligenze, infiniti amori, infiniti spiriti, secondo Iamblico, secondo l'oppenione platonica".[120] If Ligorio calls Nature music ("Maistra Natura, ch'è tutta musica"[121]), or *citharedo*, he also speaks of *natura generante* as Venus:

> che flussivamente trapassa in tutte le parti del cielo ne la terra [...] gli effetti di questa Natura et di tutte le Iddee et potentie celesti, et terrene inferne, che insieme confluiscono et convergono ad alimentare continuamente la machina mundiale per generare le spetie de le sue grandi et marvigliose cose degne dell'opere di Dio Omnipotente".[122]

In this evocation of *Venus genetrix* as a flowing force that carries celestial ideas into the earth, again one sees the generative cycles of nature as a manifestation of celestial harmony in the earth. We shall see a little further ahead how Ligorio develops the theme of water as the vital lymph of nature, with the fount of the Muses and with baptism in his conception of the Casino as lymphaeum – nymphaeum – musaeum – Mosaeum. In Ligorio constant preoccupation with the relationship of celstial harmony and the generative energies of nature, embodied in the relationship of Apollo and Diana, whose dyadic relationship reappears in Isis and Osiris, or Attis and Cybele,[123] we see that the pagan gods are for Ligorio principally physical allegories by means of which we can disclose the concord between the created world, and the human intellect, body and artifice. This concord is not only figured in the dyadic relations which unfold from the divinities of sun and generative nature, but is also considered and as apprehended and reflected by the human mind, hence the importance of memory and her daughters, the Muses, who symbolise the continuum of mediation - as such, their place in the "alta e profonda musica" is emphasised.

In his entry on the Muses and "Pierius", their birthplace, Ligorio states "Erano i fonti dela Celeste Harmonia; et come un fiume unite et chiare si sentivano et si

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[120] ("As for this wondrous nature, they imagined infinite intelligences, infinite loves, infinite spirits according to Iamblichus and Platonic doctrine") Turin mss, cited by Fagiolo and Madonna, *op.cit.* p.246.

[121] Barberini, *ibid.*

[122] ("a flowing force that passes through all the heavens into the earth [...] the effects of this Nature and all the Goddesses and the heavenly, earthly and infernal powers that flow together and converge to nourish continuously the body the world in its order, and to generate the species and the wonderful things worthy of the work of almighty God"), *Libro dell'antichità*, Turin, Ms. a II.14.J.27. Cited in Marcello Fagiolo "Il significato dell'acqua e la dialettica del giardino. Pirro Ligorio e la "filosofia" della villa cinquecentesca" in *Natura e Artificio*, ed Marcello Fagiolo, 1979, p178. Cf. copy of Turin mss, Vatican Ottoboni 3371, f.40 "Venere la quale nella natura generante è proposta per la movitione del germogliare et accrescere i semi" ("Venus who in *natura naturans* stands for the movement of germination which makes seeds grow").

[123] The third volume of the Naples manuscript, devoted to mythology, opens with a description of Latona as a figure for eternity, holding the sun and moon in her hands (Naples XIII B3, p.3). Vat. Ottoboni 3371, f.149 and f.154 makes these analogies to show the identical cosmology underlying the Greek, Egyptian and Syrian pantheons.

vedevano per che per volontà di Iove, a guisa d'uno consonante cielo crescevano harmonicamente la Musica".[124] We see again here how the invocation of celestial harmony seems to throw up, almost instantly, a reference to the kind of language associated with *Natura generante* – if the "profondo musico" of generative nature, in which all things accomplish themselves, discloses time as mimesis, the Muses represent a continuum of mimesis which leads from the depths of the earth to Apollo, described by Ligorio as creating the world with his harmony "Apolline colla sua armonia, fabricato havesse il mondo".[125] This gives us something like the diagram in Gafurius's *Harmonia musicae* discussed in section one, with the Muses linked by a serpent, a visual correspondence for Ligorio's *fiume*, whose tricipite head, symbol of the three parts of time, rests on Thalia – the little squashed muse who lies deaf in the earth, bringing things to their generation in nocturnal silence, has become in Ligorio the great *Dea natura*, identified as Venus, as Diana and as Cybele, the *magna mater* – she embraces all goddesses of nature as Macrobius had seen all gods as aspects of the sun god. Ligorio could find disucussions of this syncretic goddess in Lucian's *De Syria Dea*, whose multiple identities correspond to her nature.[126] If her relationship with Apollo is mediated through the figures that represent ternary unfolding, such as the Graces, Hours or Muses, her identity itself is multiple or discerned in terms of multiplicity; we are here not so much concerned with Ligorio's structure of procession as with how these patterns of explication are embodied in settings. It is this that will preoccupy us in our discussion of the Casino – to sum up these preliminary remarks, we might say that Ligorio gives emphasis to the Muses as figures born to memory, who exemplify music in their display of the embodiment of the concord of the human arts, whose products, attributes, sacred places and instruments occupy so much of his work. The relationship between the Muses, the arts and memory, and the dyad of solar intellectual concord and nature's generative embodiment of *harmonia universalis* is represented through hieroglyphic figurations exemplified by the *grottesche* and the exploration of antiquities as they are found in, or refer to places, which leads to a philological emphasis on configurations of situated meaning as well as giving further emphasis to the constant presence of nature in the process of disclosing significance. This engagement with the reciprocity of *natura generante* and celestial intellect concerns in short the exploration of the topos in which arguments are discovered, which in turn entails a "disclosure" of the *profondo musico* as it arises in a given place; as we shall see, this emphasis on the discovery of music leads to a focus on the temporality that it embodies, giving the various "orientations" of temporality in the Villa D'Este and the Vatican Casino.

The Casino of Pius IV

As mentioned above, the Casino of Pius IV was a re-modelling of the palazzina built as a retreat for the Caraffa Pope Paul IV, on the hillside of the *bosco* behind St

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[124] *Libro dell'antichità*, Turin,"Pierius", cited in Maria Luisa Madonna, "Il Genius Loci di Villa D'Este. Miti e misteri nel sistema di Pirro Ligorio" in *Natura e Artificio*, p199 ("They were the sources of celestial harmony; and like a river clear and united they sounded and appeared, because at the will of Jupiter they made Music grow like the harmony of the heavens" I am reading "crescevano" as "facevano crescere" – otherwise one would need to insert a preposition with "la Musica" to make sense of the passage, *e.g.* "like the sky in its heavenly concord they grew up in harmony [with] Music").

[125] *Libro dell'antichità*, Turin, a.II.10.J.23, "Apollo".

[126] Ligorio refers to Lucian's work on the Dea Syria in his discussion of Cybele in Ottoboni 3371, f.149, and in Naples XIII B7, published partially by C. Mitchell and E. Mandowsky, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, London 1963, p.5.

Peter's, away from the Vatican palace and the Belvedere; while the palazzina determined the site, axis and form, the reconstruction under Pius IV saw the transformation of this summer house into an elaborate complex in which the iconographic themes determined both the decoration and the forms of the architecture itself.[127] (Figure 52) The iconography of the Casino can be examined, with the aid of Ligorio's manuscript writings, in particular from the third volume of the shorter encyclopaedia now in Naples that treats of mythology, and is thought to have been written in the 1560s *i.e.* shortly after the completion of the Casino, which is indeed mentioned in the volume.[128] In a rich reading of the iconography of the building, Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna spoke of "architecture as hieroglyph", and the iconographic significance should be seen as an outer guideline to the structure of meaning in the work, which seems to entail a conception of artistic invention in which the notion of *figura* has penetrated the whole work, right down into the architectural setting.[129] In discussing the villa, we shall move from the exterior, encrusted with stucco reliefs to the interior, where Christian iconography reveals another level of meaning that transforms our initial understanding of the mythologies and physical allegories of the exterior. The progression through levels of iconographic meaning is thus embodied in the progression through the site – in this villa for a new Medici Humanist pope, Ligorio provides a condensed, emblematic version of Raphael's work at Villa Madama. In place of Raphael's subtle exploration of the "disclosure" of the topography at each level, Ligorio gives us an exhaustive iconographic figuration and dense analogical play – in stating the influence of Villa Madama, we might also recall that the Medici – in particular, Leo X, seem interested in displaying the conflation of Ficinian iconography of the soul's return to light with the propaganda of the return of the golden age in the *renovatio medicea*. In commissioning a hillside villa whose topography is "discovered" as the vessel of an iconographic ascent linked to themes of *renovatio*, Pius IV was asserting his identity as a Medici pope, and proclaiming (symbolic) lineage with the Florentine family with which he was in fact unrelated.[130]

The Casino consists of a richly decorated oval courtyard, with the two corresponding porticos of the palazzina and loggia and two gates in the form of triumphal arches, with lavish mosaic in the antique style and stucco decorations

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[127] Close inspection of the entablature on the façade of the *palazzina* reveals a lapidary palimpsest, with traces of an inscription bearing the name of Paul IV, partially covered by that of his successor. (The remains of the older inscription are noted by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna in the "La Casina di Pio IV in Vaticano – Pirro Ligorio e l'architettura come geroglifico" *Storia dell'arte* 1972, 15/16.

[128] Ligorio refers to the "edificio fabbricato da papa Pio quarto" in the "boschetto" of the Vatican in a description of a statue of Mnemosyne in one of the entrances, with a lyre upon her head and veiled hands in Naples XIII B3, f.531.

[129] Fagiolo and Madonna, *op.cit.* On the Casina, see also W. Friedlaender, *Das Kasino Pius des Vierten*, Leipzig, 1912, Graham Smith, "The Stucco Decoration of the Casino of Pius IV" in *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte* 1974 and *The Casino of Pius IV* Princeton, 1977.

[130] Pius IV, Gian Angelo Medici, was a Milanese of modest origin, who had studied medicine and jusrisprudence. Only in 1549, on election as cardinal, did he procure the right to use the *stemma* of the Florentine Medici which is emblazoned throughout the Casina, sometimes rendered as a visual pun – the figure of Fame in the upper level of the *palazzina* blows a trumpet from which *palle* issue forth, and the spheres in the pavement of the court probably allude to the device.

showing aquatic scenes.[131] (Figures 53-58) From these arches one descends the hillside to a grotto and fish pond, which forms the back wall of the loggia; the fishpond is a kind of miniature ocean, into which the waters that surround the villa seem to flow. The complex lies behind the Belvedere, on an northeast-southwest axis, with the loggia to the northeast and the palazzina to the southwest; this orientation seems to underlie certain elements in the iconography, as we shall see. To summarise the main elements of this iconography, we find on the façade of the palazzina reliefs of Apollo with Aegle flanked by the Hours, while the upper stories show two Pans with rustic instruments and above are statues and reliefs of Fame and Victory, with an urn between. (Figure 59) On the reliefs that decorate the facing loggia are Apollo in dance with the Muses, with a female figure with urn and theatre mask (*persona*) above the legend *Pierius* in the centre of the loggia, and two flanking female figures named *Veritas* and *Mosin - Elemosina* – charity - or *Mnemosina*. In the pediment above we see Aurora in her chariot, encircled by the zodiac, with Flora and Pomona to each side, while on the pediment of the loggia is an antique statue of *Hygieia* or *Salus* with cup and serpent – a reference to the *salus publica* brought by Pius IV, which also puns on the name Medici. (Figure 60) On the sides of the loggia are reliefs showing Aurora and Tithonus to the southeast and the infant Jupiter and Amalthea to the northwest. (Figure 61) The lateral arches, surmounted by further antique statues, contain small figures of children or genii representing the seasons; as we pass through these and descend into the lower grotto on the other, Vatican side of the loggia, we find a nymphaeum with three niches, with the statue of a seated goddess in the centre, who wears the *corona turrita* associated with Cybele or Diana of Ephesus, while statues on each side of Pudicizia and Gioventù stand in niches which figure the Hours and the Graces. (Figure 62) Early prints of the Casino show Pans like caryatids flanking these statues, while the wall which surrounds the oval court encloses the upper level of the villa like a sanctuary.[132] The Casino was furthermore adorned with no less than fifty antiques, mostly statues, and many from Villa Giulia, as recorded in an inventory of 1566, prior to their removal.

To an observer approaching the Casino from St Peter's or the Belvedere, the first impression was one of a fountain house whose first façade displayed the iconography proper to the rustic *bosco* – Pan caryatids and Cybele, with an airy loggia above. The enclosure of the villa within its high walls corresponds to the *corona turrita* of Cybele, and brings us back to the analogies between Rome and Berecyntia; if we recall that for Ligorio Cybele is one aspect of Diana as Dea natura, the city of Cybele

[131] The *palazzina* with its portico, its portico with apses at each end and the façade that rises without orders may have been inspired by Peruzzi's Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne; also suggestive is a plan by Peruzzi for the Villa Trivulzio, discussed by Coffin, *op.cit.*, which features a rectangular casino whose north and narrow ends are surrounded by a continuous portico and whose south elevation has a loggia that opens onto an oval garden, surrounded by an oval alley enclosed with evenly spaced trees and four exedrae – Pliny's description of an oval enclosure encircled by trees which opens out from the south facing part of his Tuscan villa may have been an inspiration. One might also recall Vignola's predilection for oval plans, as at S. Andrea in Via Flaminia (1554), close by Villa Giulia and S. Anna dei Palafrenieri in the Vatican (begun 1572-3), in a site associated with the naumachia of Nero; in note 84 above we cited Ackerman's remark that a small church besides S.Anna was known in the sixteenth century as San Pellegrino ad Naumachia

[132] See for example an engraving by Claudio Duchetti of the Belvedere and Vatican Gardens of 1579, reproduced in Coffin, *op.cit.*, p.82. The Pan herms on the grotto were removed in 1824, and the pilasters are now faced with mosaic.

is also a sanctuary of Diana, who appears in effigy as Ephesan Diana in mosaic of Diana of Ephesus in the portico of the palazzina – from the grotto side of the Casino, the back wall of the portico, beyond the loggia, would have been the most enclosed and distant point visible.[133] (Figure 63) The first approach to the Casino would have disclosed it as a temple of the *Dea Natura* in the sacred woods of the Vatican, a reference to the ancient city of Rome, rising from its hills and walls like the *corona turrita*, and a sanctuary to Diana, the *Diva nemorense* like that at Nemi, with its lake and temple which Ligorio depicted in a cartoon for a tapestry for the Villa D'Este, now in the Pierpoint Morgan Library – Ligorio also speaks of Cybele as arriving in Rome by ship, solemnised in the temple of the Isola Tiberina.[134] The first, outer iconography of the Casino, as we see it in a pastoral setting, thus concerns nature and the female deities who symbolise nature, and carry associations with cities or buildings as enclosed sanctuaries – the sacred character of the complex and its site is evoked in terms of nature. The cosmic nature of the iconography is emphasised by the Dea Natura (Cybele and Diana) as mother of the gods and the earth and by the pans who signify *to pan*, the *forma del mondo*, or body of the world in its created totality.[135]

The lateral niches of the grotto contain the inscription "Pius IV Pontifex Maximus Lymphaeum Hoc Condidit Antiquisque Statuis Exornavit". (Figure 64) In his manuscript encyclopaedia Ligorio discusses the lymphaeum as a place dedicated to the fountains "Lympheo Lymphaeum i luoghi dedicati alle Lymphe presidenti delli Fonti",[136] thus using lymphaeum and *lymphe* where we might expect to find nymphaeum and nymph. We shall look later at the reasons for this conflation of lymphaeum and nymphaeum – here we should just note the meaning of *lymphe* is clarified in Ligorio's treatise on the nobility of the arts, published by David Coffin,

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[133] In the alphabetical dictionary, Ligorio enters into a long discussion of Cybele under the heading "Minotaurani", a people of Phrygia, in the course of which he calls her the "Matre metropoli", and identifies her with Trivia Diana (Juno in heaven, Diana on earth, Hecate or Persephone in the depths). The mother of the gods and the earth is both unfolded in her various aspects and coupled with her male counterpart – Apollo and Diana amongst the Greeks, Isis and Osiris (or Serapis) amongst the Egyptians, Cybele and Attis (or Mithras) amongst the "Asiatichi". Venus and Adonis, who appear in the vault of the loggia of the Casina, form another analogy for the goddess of *natura generante* mourning the consort who symbolises the sun. The passage in transcribed in Vat. Ottoboni 3371, ff.149-154.

[134] The tapestry was one of a series representing the life of Hippolytus, killed for his chaste refusal of his stepmother's advances and revived by Diana, whose priest he becomes. The mythology of Hippolytus at the Villa D'Este, to which the epigrams on the garden allude, was based probably on the fact that his namesake, Ippolito D'Este, was a cardinal similarly dedicated to chastity – we shall look further at the epigrams and the Hippolytus theme below. Nemi was famous for the temple to Diana and for the ship sunk in the lake or "specolo di Diana" which Alberti attempted to raise. Ligorio describes the "Nave nemorense" in his account of ceremonial ships – it was richly adorned with paintings, marble, contained a number of sumptuous dwellings and had a fountain in its centre (Vat. Ottoboni 3371, f.80). The ship of Diana would seem to enter into the references in the Casina to ships, and ships as buildings, or buildings on water, or containing it, such the naumachia. The arrival of Cybele (conflated with Berecyntia or Isis) in Rome by ship is related by Ligorio, along with the legend that the ship comes to a standstill at the mouth of the river Almone and could be moved only when harnessed to the girdle of the patrician virgin Claudia (Ottoboni 3371, ff.152-153). The reference to the Isola Tiberina with the temple-ship of Cybele-Berecyntia-Isis comes in the discussion of ships, Barberini 5085, ff.106-107 – in keeping with the iconography of the Casina, the Isola Tiberina was also held to be the site of a temple to Aesculapius.

[135] See Naples XIII B3, f.440.

[136] Vatican, Ottoboni Lat. 3371, f.187.

where he speaks of the nourishing waters which circulate through all generated life, the "acque di fonti [...] alimenti e l'anima della sostanza di tutte le piante".[137] These waters are in particular associated with Venus as Dea natura or *natura generante* "che flussivamente trapassa in tutte le parti del cielo ne la terra" and creates the confluence of the vital streams and forces that bring all things to fruition – the evocation of cosmic nature in the grotto of the Casino, its "outermost" level, concerns water as the soul of vegetative life. The fountain where we see the circulation of this vital lymph, is proper to the iconography of the temple of Dea natura, namely the enclosed complex of buildings that may be an epitome of the city on the *corona turrita*, a reference to Rome through the ship-island-temple of the Isola Tiberina, or a sanctuary like that to Diana at Nemi, with its lake and its ceremonial ship, echoed in the Casino with its encircling waters and central fountain.

As we ascend to enter this complex through gates which resemble miniature triumphal arches, which contain marine scenes and mosaic, the notion of sanctuary with a lake in front or an edifice like a ceremonial ship is inverted, for the cortile of the Casino echoes the ancient naumachia such as Ligorio drew it in his designs of ancient coins and his 1561 map of ancient Rome – from a building encircled by waters we move to a reference to the oval lake of the naumachia, with its ring of buildings – a palace, a portico and two lateral arches, just as we have at the Casino.[138] (Figure 65) If the Vatican *bosco* is a sacred grove, it is also the site of the Naumachia of Nero – one should recall that this was part of the significance of the Belvedere court, as commemorated in the fresco by Perino del Vaga in Castel Sant'Angelo that depicts the cortile as an antique edifice, with its lower court flooded for a spectacular sea battle. Ligorio does not place the Naumachia of Nero on the site of the Belvedere (where he locates the villa of L. Rustius), but the shift in the iconography is plain – from the grove of *Dea Natura*, with its sequestered temple and waters, we move into the sphere of the *ludi* – the games and drama in praise of the gods that marked out the sacred calendar of ancient Rome. (Figure 66) If the oval court with gates and portico recalls the naumachia, the oval form is also reminiscent of the circus, whose cosmic symbolism was discussed by Ligorio in his short treatise on the antiquities of Rome, the *Libro di M.Pyrrho Ligorio Napolitano delle Antichità di Roma* (1553), where he states: "scrive Tertulliano [...] che il Circo principalmente è dedicato al Sole: il tempio del quale era nel mezzo d'esso: in cima del cui Timpano si vedeva risplendere la sua immagine [...] et dicono, che cotale spettacolo s'hebbe prima da Circe figliuola del Sole".[139] The portico of the palazzina, which has the form of a circus, contains a frieze

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[137] ("spring waters [...] food and soul of the substance of all plants") *Trattato di alcune cose appartenente alla nobilità dell'antiche arti*. Cited in *SAC* II, p.1429.

[138] Smith, 1977, reproduces the relevant details from the 1561 map – the naumachia in Trastevere, that of Augustus and the drawings of Greek coins.

[139] *Libro di M.Pyrrho Ligorio Napolitano delle Antichità di Roma*, Venice 1553, 12r ("Tertullian writes [...] that the Circus is dedicated principally to the Sun: whose temple was in its centre: at the top of the tympanum the image of the Sun shone out [...] and it is said that this spectacle was first held by Circe, the daughter of the Sun"). (The passage also evokes the image of the sun placed by Alberti in the pediment of Sta Maria Novella in Florence, before which chariot races were held – the sun was also the symbol of the quarter of Santa Maria Novella.) The instauration of the games is associated with the ancient Italic peoples "La Toscana adunque tra gli altri suoi antichi riti ordinò etiandio sotto nome di religione i Ludi [...] Da principio i giuochi furono intitolati sacri, & Funebri, cioè à gli Dij delle nationi, & à i morti" *op.cit.* 10v, 11r ("Tuscany amongst its other ancient rites ordered the Games in the name of religion [...] From their origin the games were held sacred and funeral, that is to the pagan gods and in honour of the dead"). The details of the solar symbolism are expanded in the description of the circus

showing putti racing chariots, and these references to the *ludi* and their planetary symbolism bring us to the iconography of Apollo who appears on the façades of the loggia and the palazzina, first with the Muses and then with the Hours and their mother, Aegle. In the first case, he appears as *musagetes* who leads the Muses in their chorus, while in the second case, splendour is denoted by Aegle while the Hours refer to the cyclical course of sun – Ligorio describes Aegle as Aglaia, the splendour of the sun, thus emphasising the notion of procession.[140] Thus the sun's cycles, dramatized in the circus appears with the Hours, Aegle and Aurora, encircled by the zodiac, in the pediment of the loggia, above the Muses whose chorus suggests another reference to the games as well as the arts and poetic inspiration. The games and chorus which celebrate the gods also signal the mimetic representation and temporality in play, exemplified by the Muses whose sacred places are fountains, grottoes, and academies.[141] From the *bosco* of *Dea natura* we rise, via mimetic strata, to the grove of the Muses on Parnassus or Pierius, where they follow Apollo, "sole pastorale del symphonico governo" – the solar character of the grove (*lucus*) is further expounded in its "derivation" from *lucere*, to shine.[142]

This movement from the *nemus* of Diana to the *lucus* of Apollo and the grove of the Muses has its counterpart in the meanings of the waters which are both the streams of *Dea natura* to the fount of the Muses. We have seen that the inscription "Pius IV Pontifex Maximus Lymphaeum Hoc Condidit Antiquisque Statuis

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of Augustus, where twelve doors symbolise the twelve signs of the zodiac, the four colours worn by the charioteers the four seaons "per mostrare in cotal modo l'anno tutto intiero scorrente per li dodici segni. Il che fu fatto, per rappresentare con l'accommodata sembianza de gli spettacoli le operationi della Natura [...] Ogni corso finisce in sette Mete, [*i.e.* sette giri intorno alle mete] à similitudine della settimana, che in se ritorna. Et hanno esse Mete secondo i decani del Zodiaco tre sommità, intorno alle quali scorrono velocemente le quadrighe à guisa del Sole. Le ruote significano i confini del Levante, e del Ponente. Il ruscelletto dell'acqua rassomiglia il mare: e pero i Delphini vi vanno per entro notando. L'altezza de gli Obelischi dinota quella del Cielo. Il maggiore è dedicato al Sole. il minore allla Luna: ne' quali con segni Chaldei, quasi come con lettere, si dimostrano le cose sacre degli antichi [...] la qualità di questo giouco sia tale, che si spedisca in XXIIII corsi: appresentandosi con tale numero le ore del giorno, e della notte.", *op.cit.* 15r-16r ("to show in this way the cycle of the whole year through the twelve signs. This was done to show the operations of Nature through the form of the spectacle [...] Each lap finishes in seven *metae* like the week which turns back on itself. These *metae* have three summits after the decans of the zodiac, and the quadrigas turn around them like the sun. The wheels signify the limits of east and west. The little stream of water resembles the sea: and so the Dolphins [depicted] swim around in it. The height of the Obelisks denotes the height of the heavens. The greater is dedicated to the sun, the lesser to the moon: in which the sacred things of the ancients are shown with Chaldean signs, like letters [...] the race entails twenty four laps, the number of hours of the day and night"). Like Barbaro in the commentary on Vitruvius, Ligorio speaks of the chariots and their riders as symbolising the turning of the planets and of the seasons: "Il carro da quattro cavalli era del Sole; & quello da due era del la Luna [...] Gli aurighi (guidatori) da prima furon due, l'uno vestito di bianco, e l'altro di rosato. Il bianco per la neve, eper lo candore della Luna, era dell'inverno. Il rosato per lo rossore del Sole era del'estate; Altri vogliono, che il rosato fusse scaro à Marte, il qual secondo Macrobio, è il medesimo che il Sole: si come il bianco à Zephiro, Il Pratino cioè il Verde alla Madre Terra, ò vero alla Primavera, Il Turchino al Cielo, al Mare, e all'Autunno" (12v-13r) ("the four horse chariot symbolised the sun and two horse chariot, the moon [...] there were initially two charioteers in the auriga, one dressed in white and the other in red. The white for snow, and the light of the Moon stood for winter, the red for the glow of the Sun stood for summer; others think that the red was sacred to Mars who according to Macrobius is none other than the Sun: just as white [stands] for Zephyrus, *pratino* that is green for Mother Earth or the Spring, Turquoise for the Sky, the Sea and Autumn").

[140] "Hegle, cio è il splendore et bellezza della luce" Naples XIII B3, f.608.

[141] Vat. Ottoboni 3371, f.187.

[142] Ottoboni 3371 f.185. The *lucus-lucere* etymology is cited by Madonna and Fagiolo *op.cit.* p.249.

Exornavit" appears in the niches that flank the central statue of Cybele in the grotto of the Casino, and is explicitly connected with the "Lymphaeum", the place of the vital soul of *natura generante*: "Musaeo Musaeum luogo dedicato alle Muse [...] Come Lympheo Lymphaeum i luoghi dedicati alle Lymphe presidenti delli Fonti".[143] Ligorio again brings together lymph, nymph and Muses in the remark "Nymphas ancora è nome dell'antica Dea de fonti, quasi lympharum [...] onde Nymphe dicono le gratie et le Muse come Nymphai".[144] Thus we see a whole spectrum of meanings fan out, from "lymphe" as the soul of vegetative life to lymphaeum as an equivalent to the nymphaeum as grotto dedicated to the nymphs, to the "Musaeo", dedicated to the Muses, who are likewise nymphs. The dyadic relationship between the grotto where the vital force of nature arises and circulates and the refined court of the sun whose form suggests the cyclical journey of the planet and the *choros* where Apollo dances with the Muses is explicated in the progression from lymphaeum to nymphaeum to musaeum, but the progression is better understood as a circle, like the cycle of the sun, the completion of the "alta e profonda musica", or as a constant meeting of fecundating light and generative waters from which life is produced. The creation of life from the sun and moisture, described by Ovid in terms of *concors discordia*,[145] is figured in such "hieroglyphs" as Cartari's ship of Apollo which represents the movement that takes place in a moist body when generation occurs, which appears in Ligorio's account of the ship of Isis.[146] From the references at the Casino to the *nave nemorense* of Diana we move to the ship of the sun as a symbol for the generation in which nature shows her music and measure, like the dance of the Muses, or to the ship of Isis, which Ligorio says was placed in effigy at the centre of the Roman circus, and he associates the ship of Isis with the Isola Tiberina,where Aesculapius also had his temple – as at the Casino, the temple-ship of Dea natura is also solar circus and place of Apollonic medicine.[147]

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[143] ("Musaeo or Musaeum a place dedicated to the Muses [...] like Lymphaeo or Lymphaeum the places deicated to the Lymphe, guardians of fountains") Vat. Ottoboni, f.187. The interweaving of solar and chthonic iconography in the "antro e tempio delle Muse" also touches on the circus: In the *Libro di M.Pyrrho Ligorio Napolitano delle Antichità di Roma* Ligorio claims that at Circus Maximus the solar symbolism is underpinned - literally - by a subterranean altar to Consus, ancient god of harvest and an image of Venus, surely in the guise of germinating force of nature: "Era nel medesimo Circo il Tempio di Dio Conso fabricato sotto terra, la dove Romolo lo consacrò [...] L'ara di Conso era posta sotto terra preso alle prime Mete [...] Presso à questo altare era la imagine della Dea Murcia, che è Venere stessa" *op. cit.* 9r,12v ("In the same Circus Maximus the temple of the god Consus was built underground, where Romulus consecrated it [...] the altar of Consus was placed under the first *metae* [...] close to this altar was the image of the Murcian goddess, who is Venus herself").

[144] Vat. Barberini Lat. 5085, f.60 ("Nymphas is the name of the ancient goddess of fountains, *lympharum* [...] therefore the Graces and Muses are called Nymphs like *Nymphai*").

[145] *Metamorphoses* I.ll.432-3.

[146] Cartari, *op.cit.*, p.57, Ligorio Barberini Lat. 5085, f.107. Cartari speaks of the ship as carried on a crocodile, symbol for the moisture from which Apollo draws out melancholy with the sun's tempered heat. For a more poetic rendition, see Spenser's rewriting of the myth of Danae in *Faerie Queene* III.vi in the account of Chrysogonee who is impregnated by the rays of the sun that "fructifide" her womb after her body was "mollifide" by bathing. Spenser explains: "reason teacheth that the fruitfull seades/ Of all things liuing, through impression/ Of the sunbeames and in moyst complexion,/ Doe life conceiue and quickned are by kind:/ So after *Nilus* invndation,/ Infinite shapes of creatures men do fynd,/ Informed on the mud, on which the Sunne hath shynd" (III.vi.8). Chrysogonee gives birth to twin girls, Belphoebe and Amoretta, who are fostered by Diana and Venus; Amoretta is taken by Venus to the Garden of Adonis, which occasions the description of the garden, which (like the Casina) has Venus and Adonis at its heart. The metaphor of the generation of creatures from the Nilotic mud is also from *Metamorphoses* I.ll.422-429 – we shall return to it in discussion of the tartaro caverns of Tivoli at the Villa D'Este.

[147] Barberini 5085, ff.106-107.

One can adduce further references for the physical allegory; the circus-grotto of the Casino, with its running waters, its dedication as Lymphaeum, *i.e.* to the springs associated with the nymphs, and its two gates might also be considered in terms of the kind of allegorical setting described by Porphyry in his exegesis of the Homeric Cave of the Nymphs in *Odyssey* XIII, where the cave with its two doors and its waters, is taken as a figure for the cosmos where souls descend into generation and re-ascend by the tropics of Cancer and Capricorn. We might note in this regard that the literary academy which has been associated with the Casino, the *Convivium Noctium Vaticanarum*, took for its *impresa* "un Capricorno il quale è la porta del cielo per onde gli uomini salgano a Dio [...] con un motto che dice "Monstrat iter".[148] One of the side reliefs on the Loggia shows Jupiter suckled by the goat Amalthea, whose horn is the *cornu copiae*; in his manuscript entry on "Amaltheia" Ligorio identified the cornucopia of Amalthea with the capricorn, used by Augustus as a symbol for the peace and plenty of his rule;[149] an image for the plenitude of *renovatio* (Pius IV as new Augustus) works together with the allegorical figure for the procession and return of being in the world, as it passes into the cave of the nymphs, a symbol for the world both lovely through the ornaments of form and dark through the "waters" of matter.

In keeping with this emphasis on the conjunction of water and sun in generation, we find the "alta e profonda musica" interwoven at every level: the iconography of *Dea natura* appears in the reliefs of Pan and Silvanus with rustic instruments alongside the images of Apollo and the Hours on the solar palazzina, so that we see the "alta e profonda musica", the tibia of Cybele and the syrinx of Pan which correspond to the lyre of Apollo.[150] Similarly, the *concors discordia* of the "alta e profonda musica" is reiterated in the portico and the loggia, the two mirroring garden rooms in the complex, which each have the form of a circus,[151] and both rooms contain fountains like those planned for the loggia at Villa Madama, denoting them as grottoes. In the portico of the palazzina the character of grotto is further emphasised by the fact that the walls are entirely covered in shell mosaic, and the central image is

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[148] ("A Capricorn which is the gate of heaven from which men rise up to God [...] with a motto which says *monstrat iter*"). Cited in Madonna and Fagiolo, 1974, p.273. The writer of this description was fortuitously named Amalteo. The idea that the meetings of the academy, founded in 1562 by the young Carlo Borromeo, the poet's nephew, prior to his devotion to ecclesiastical activities, took place in the Casina is attractive but unfounded. By 1563 the "Convivium" was already preoccupied with theological concerns – on the history of the academy, see Luigi Berra, *L'accademia delle Notti Vaticane fondata da S.Carlo Borrromeo*, Rome 1915. Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit.* p.254 cite Sperone Speroni's verses in celebration of the academy.

[149] Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit.* p.273. One should also note that Ligorio says that the Corybanti, followers of Cybele, sing and dance outside the cave where Rhea hid the infant Jupiter – thus the "profondo musico" enters into the image of Amalthea, the cornucopia, Capricron, the return of the golden age and Jupiter as symbol of the whole order of things, associated also with religion (Ottoboni 3371, f.185).

[150] The music of the nature goddess is described in Ottoboni 3371 f.149 and f.182. The syrinx with its seven reeds is an image for the seven spheres: "la fistula delle sette canne [...] ci dimostra l'armonia celeste, la quale ha sette suoni e sette voci differenti, così come sono i cieli che le fanno", Cartari, *Imagini de i Dei de gli Antichi*, 1556, rep.1996, p.119 ("the syrinx with its seven reeds symbolises celestial harmony, which has seven sounds and different voices like the heavens which create it").

[151] As noted, the portico of the *palazzina* is decorated with a freize showing a circus with putti racing chariots.

of Diana of Ephesus, so *Dea Natura* appears recessed beneath the images of Apollo and Aegle on the facade, who hold the lyre and the gorgoneion, symbol of Minervan prudence, intellectual splendour, and *natura generante* in its chthonic aspect.[152] In the loggia, we find a sequence of images depicting the death of Adonis, conventional symbol for the sinking of the sun in winter, and thus the "death" and waning of the sun is figured, appropriately, in the dark and enclosed space of the loggia, whose façade, with its depiction of dancing figures between three *aediculae*, bears some resemblance to an antique sarcophagus. The dual reference to the grotto and solar court are however concentrated on the Muses, in the play on lymphaeum-musaeum, the fountains as Castalian spring and waters of generation, and in Ligorio's discussion of Parnassus, where the Muses had their temple and their cave: "Memoria [...] madre delle Muse [...] ha l'Urna versante acqua, ad imitatione del fonte sacrato alle sue figliole in Castalia, ove era la chorea dele Muse istesse col suo antro e suo tempio".[153] We shall come to the role of Mnemosyne below – here we should note again that this conflation of solar temple and grotto or cave already had been thematised in a work such as Villa Madama, with a sequence of spaces of notably spectacular character (theatre, monumental loggia, circular court) deployed on a hillside topography that is disclosed as both grotto and belvedere, and Ligorio seems to follow Raphael's design and expound its mythological possibilities.[154]

The "temple" and "cave" of the Muses might be considered alongside Ligorio's own description of the "Antro del giorno" where he says "Nella parte alta dell'antro del Giorno scorre il carro del Sole, per mezzo del celeste circolo detto zodiaco, resplende et allumina ogni parte scoperta e atta a recevere lume. Il carro viene guidato da tre figliuole et di Egle chiamata Hirene, Eunomia et Dice [...] et dopo il carro del sole è il velo della notte tutto coperto di stele [...] et davante al carro va Egle con le di, che con urna sparge la ruggiata sopra l'Antro, pieno di selve, di campi et di diversi edificij, sopra la quale Pan si aggira con la sua syringa. L'Antro poi in fronte et attorno, è tutto pieno di porte, per le quali si vedono le arti, la fatica, l'otio [...] La Verità va anche attorno dipinto".[155] The elements listed by Ligorio here correspond so

[152] Ligorio writes of the gorgoneion of Aegle "Hegle [...] havea il scudo rotondo per che essa per tutto si diffonde et ha nel mezzo il volto di Medusa, come quel scudo sia tanto fulgente per la sua bellezza che percuota nella vista dei riguardanti in maniera che nisuno con visiva vista il puo penetrare, se non con lo intelletto che vede et comprende ogni cosa, et scudo a guisa di specchio porta in mano rivolto in contra de i riguardanti", Naples XIII B3, f.608 ("Aegle had the circular shield because she shines on all things and the shield has in its centre the face of the Medusa, for the shield is so shining in its beauty, striking the eyes so that no-one can penetrate it with physical vision, but with the intellect that sees and understands all things; this shield she carries turned against beholders").

[153] ("Memory [...] mother of the Muses [...] has an urn flowing with water in imitation of the spring scared to her daughters in Castalia, where there was the chorus of the Muses with their cave and their temple"). Cited in Smith, 1974, p.132. See also Naples XIII B3, f.47, "le Gratie haveano l'antro con le Muse in Helicone consacrato" ("The Graces had a sacred cave with the Muses on Helicon"). On the subject of the relation of games and the Muses, we might also note the Thespian games held in honour of the Muses, mentioned by Ligorio in Ottoboni 3371, f.182.

[154] In speaking of the relations between the Apollonian grove and the grotto, one should also remember that Mount Parnassus, where the Muses dance with the Apollo, was also the seat of the Delphic temple and Pythian oracle.

[155] *Libro dell'antichità* Naples XIII B3 p.370 ("In the upper part of the cave of Day the chariot of the Sun travels through the heavenly circle or zodiac, shining and illuminating every part that is uncovered and capable of receiving light. The chariot is guided by Aegle and the three maidens called Eirene, Eunomia and Dikē [...] after the chariot of the sun is the veil of night covered with stars [...] and before the chariot goes Aegle with the goddesses, sprinkling dew from an urn over the Cave, full of

closely to the Casino that one suspects that it is indeed an *antro del giorno*, with the Hours and Aegle with the urn in front of the chariot of the sun, and Pan with the syrinx – another symbol for the universal concord in nature – above the buildings and woods that suggest an epitome of the whole world. We should recall that Ligorio frequently speaks of the Hours as opening and closing the gates of the sky, which seem to have a correspondence in the gates of the Casino, adorned with figures symbolising the seasons. The "antro del giorno", presented by Ligorio as an antique painting which he has seen, is not just a figure for the physical allegories of day and night, fecundating light and *natura generante* with its celestial, terrestrial and infernal potencies but also suggests a mnemonic image, with its references to the arts and implied representation of the world, compressed into cities, woods and fields. It is here that we can move from the Casino as representation of the world into the matter of how the world is apprehended and reflected by the human mind – Ligorio's capacity to give a poetic rendering of natural philosophy and work simultaneously with poetics in the sense of a meditation on the capacity of artistic representation to reflect its content, distinguishes his physical allegories from the kind of elaborate iconography of cosmic processes that we find in Leone Ebreo, for example. This is most obvious in the constant invocations of music as "ogni cosa ben concordante", which brings together celestial harmony, natural generation and the human arts. If the Casino is not just a model of the cosmos, but of the mind's apprehension and figuration of the universal order, this leads us back to the figure with urn and theatre mask who appears above the inscription *Pierius* in the centre of the loggia, denoting the birthplace of the Muses in Thessaly – Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses. (Figure 67)

Thus we move from the cortile of the Casino as naumachia, circus, chorus, musaeum-lymphaeum, Parnassus, *antro del giorno* and Pierius, the locus of memory by means of which the reflection of heavenly *consonantia* in the dance of the Muses can be embodied in human art. We saw that Ligorio gives Mnemosyne the lyre and the urn as attributes – the later signifying the Castalian spring "ove era la chorea delle Muse istesse col suo Antro e suo Tempio". The theatre mask is identified by Graham Smith with "il doppio senso piano et mistico" of poetry,[156] but we might remember that in the brief discussion of artificial memory in *De oratore* II, Cicero uses the term *personae* to designate the memory images – in the same Naples manuscript Ligorio emphatically defines Pierius, and Helicon as the mind itself, and the Muses as thoughts and knowledge which "inhabit" it: "gli epositori Greci dichiarono Pieria esser habitacolo dell'intelletto stesso [...] ne' quali van ballando le Muse cio è le cognitioni".[157] Thus the Casino starts to become a representation of the mind and its contents, with memory at their centre and it is at this point that one can start to deal with the complex as locus and *figura* – *i.e.* in terms of the treatment of thought, knowledge and recollection in spatial, visual and metaphoric terms. Here we might start to see that the references to the reiterative temporality of mimesis, as represented in the chorus, the circus and the various theatre settings to which the complex makes reference – naumachia, triumphal arch, the frames of the allegorical figures on the

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woods, fields and various buildings, above which Pan turns with his syrinx. The Cave is full of doors, before and behind, through which one sees the arts, effort, leisure [...] Truth is also painted there").

[156] *ibid.* ("double meaning, plain and mystical").

[157] Naples XIII B3, f.50 ("the Greek expositors declared that Pieria was the dwelling place of the intellect itself [...] where the Muses dance, that is the knowledge of things").

loggia, which suggest theatre *aediculae* as well as the motifs of ancient sarcophagi – suggest not only the *musica universalis* of the cyclical journey of the sun and the rhythms of nature but the *concordia* of the three times in memory. The remarks on the Lymphaeum are made in discussion of the "Musaeo", and Ligorio goes on in this passage to speak of the Academy of Hadrian's Villa, where the *musaea* were circular in form to represent the consonance of times past, present and future as they are brought together in memory and the intellect ("quali tempij erano rotondi per rappresentare la memoria delle cose che consonano et a guisa de cieli si rivolgano" "[questi tempi erano] consonantamente conciliati et rappresentati nell'intelletto").[158] In this invocation of the consonance of time past, present and future in the memory, compared to the consonance of the heavens, we start to see the thread that draws together the vegetative soul of the lymph, the human arts represented by the Muses, Mnemosyne and the Hours, "i tre tempi che non mancano la consonantia". The Hours are the figures who tie together the iconographical levels at the Casino in terms of temporality; before we move onto the ordering that they figure, there is a little more to be said about Ligorio's treatment of the relationship of locus and image.

We have referred to the associations which adhere to various settings – what forms the basis of decorum in architecture and the codification of these relationships in Humanist attempts to create a typology of architectural representation. For Ligorio, who is working with sources like Pausanias in his writings and conducting archaeological excavations, such associations are of paramount importance, since mythological figures are evoked through the places with which they are associated, so that it is impossible to disassociate a figure from a place, and topos and *mythos* can serve to disclose each other - architectural settings are read as the scenes for certain mythological beings, or narratives, while these beings and narratives cannot be conceived without the evocation of their proper setting. This means that rather than the locus existing as a pre-condition for the appearance of the *imagines*, there is a species of reciprocity between the two, as though the discovery of one revealed the other. In this reciprocity of mythography and topography that Ligorio seems to effect, representation is set forth as both theatre and emblematic – theatre in the sense that we are required to envisage the re-enactment of a certain mythos in a certain place, emblematic in the sense that one is required to discover the *concetto* to which the embodying elements in a scheme point. Bringing these two together we have the kind of contemplative play characteristic of the reading of *imprese* and devices, which is actualised against allusions to the reiterative temporality of mimesis (theatre, chorus, circus) as imitation of the *concordia delle correspondenze* of regenerative nature and celestial harmony.

One might recast this by saying that for Ligorio the paradigm of music, which can link the heavens, generative nature, history and the arts, serves also to assert the continuity between things and their settings: amongst the meanings of the Muses, Ligorio notes that "Musa si chiama ogni luogo bene consonante et proportionato,

[158] Ottoboni, f.187 ("these temples were circular to represent the memory of things which are consonant and return like the heavens" "[these temples were] harmoniously accommodated and represented in the intellect").

come era la patria et l'albergo delle Muse, per essere piena d'arti ragionevoli".[159] We should note that in the entry on music in the alphabetical dictionary, Ligorio speaks of music as concord both for the ears and eyes, "[signifa] la Musica dell'arte piu eccellente, che ha in se consonantia, et ragione da fare nella opera effetto da innamorare gli occhi ad invaghirsi di quella et da muovere animo alla volonta et dilettatione della veduta opera".[160] This point is most obvious in the theatre in the same discussion, and Ligorio conceives the theatre as an embodiment of harmony, since the levels laid out for the placing of sounding vessels constitute a visualisation of musical ratios.[161] It could be said that Ligorio uses music as number, proportion and *consonantia* to work through the continuum of mediation from the celestial spheres to the Muses to their loci (theatre is one) into nature which in any case always reflected the celestial music. Again, one is instantly struck by the circularity of this progression and it is this circularity which seems to be thematised at the Casino, to the point that iconography, setting and nature almost become analogies for one another. If we have spoken above of a "theatre *of*", at the Casino theatre itself seems to be a part of the content, as much as a means or context for the depiction and arrangement of that content. As we have argued, even more than theatre as topos, it is the thinking on music that determines the coherence of everything – concord in visual bodies, in generation, in the heavens, in universal order as grasped and reflected by human thought and the human arts, and in human, narrative time, memory and history. Again, it is through the universality of music, which regards both body and soul, that we pass from memory as place (specifically theatre) and the ordering of place to memory as the mother of arts to the concord of three times.[162] If this shows how body and soul are held together in concord, it is also to underline that the good ordering of music is good order with regard to temporality. It is here that we can pass at last to the figures who appear throughout the Casino, and bring together many of its levels, the Hours.

We have seen that the Hours appear on the façade as pendants to Apollo and Aegle; they also are depicted alongside Cybele in the grotto, and in the interior of the building, to which we shall turn below. To reiterate the meanings of the Hours, Ligorio identifies them with the Graces and the Muses, with the seasons, with the cycle of the sun and with justice or order, as signalled in their names (Justice-Dikē, Peace-Eirēnē and Good Law-Eunomia). The Graces are linked with the *symphonia* of two tones and a semitone (*i.e.* the diatonic tetrachord) associated with the lyre of Apollo as symbol for heavenly harmony, "Significarono le Tre Gratie, la Lyra trovata da Apollo, primo inventore di Musica, per lo quale egli si prende tenendo la lyra in

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[159] Ottoboni 3371, f.187 ("Muse signifies every harmonious and proportioned place, as was the homeland and dwelling place of the Muses, because it was filled with rational arts").

[160] Ottoboni 3371, f.182 ("Music signifies the most excellent art, which possesses consonance; by its nature it can create that effect which arouses love for a work in the eyes of the beholder and moves the mind to wish for and delight in the work that is seen"). The claims are familiar from the "poetic theology of love" of the quattrocento Platonists, in particular Pico's identification of beauty with harmony.

[161] "Il theatro compost[o] per le mesure correspondenti [...] per utile et per dilettare a chiunche godeva di tali edificij come diletta la Musica bene consonante" ("the theatre [is] designed in correspondence with musical measure for practical reasons, and for the pleasure of anyone who enjoys such buildings as one delights in the harmony of music") Ottoboni 3371, f.185.

[162] We shall look below at the iconography of the harmony of the body, *i.e.* health, whose centrality is denoted by the statue of Hygieia on the summit of the loggia.

mano misticamente la Celeste Musica ... [gli antichi] stimavano grandemente il numero del tre ternario per le tre Gratie et le tre Muse prime, che Symphonia simplice dicevano: et la formarano per due toni e per uno Hemitonio".[163] Such interpretations of the Graces as the two tones and semitone at the basis of all music, and of their ternary procession into the Muses (Gafurius's eight notes and the "silent music" of Thalia), modulate in discussion of the Hours into the three times of past, present and future "sempre sono preste et veloci nè si fermano: ma con continuato modo scorrono et chiamate Hirene, Eunomie, et Dice: che sono i tre tempi che non mancano della consonantia".[164] If the Hours in their dance show time led in cycles ("L'una con l'altra danzando, demostrano menare il tempo in giro"),[165] they also represent the turning of the seasons and thus are linked with Venus as *natura generante*, who clothes herself in the forms:

> [Le Grazie] furono spogliate et poste nude nei Fonti
> con Venere e con gli Amori, con le frugie et con lo Myrto,
> per che Venere, che è la natura generante, delle veste di
> esse si volle ornare, et mentre si lavavano l'amori le portò
> via le veste et rimasero nude, per che sono chiare et si
> spogliano per aiutare altrui senza suco alcuno, et per che
> sono le virginali speranze hanno le corone de fiori talvolta
> [...] et sono dette Carpophore portafrutti. Come le chiamò
> Chrestodoro poeta orchomenio. Il quale nel suo poema le
> accompagnò con Mercurio, con le rose et il Mytro in mano,
> et alla destra di Apolline, coronate di Vite, di frutti, et di
> spiche di grano, per che goverano et dispensano secondo le
> stagioni, et le chiamò Hore dispensatrici et guardiane
> de la Madre di Mortali.[166]

The seasonal attributes of the Hours as "dispensatrici dei beni" or "dispensatrici del tempo" (roses, wheatear, fruits) correspond also to the three-fold division of *natura generante* into Proserpina (flowers and the subterranean force of growth), Demeter (corn and maturation) and Luna (moisture):

> significarono Proserpina esser i fiori, Cerere i frutti:
> la Luna la humidità che si muove et nutrisce [...]

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[163] "The three Graces signified the lyre discovered by Apollo, first inventor of music, and thus Apollo holding the lyre symbolises celestial music ... [the ancients] greatly esteemed the number three as ternary for the three Graces and the first three Muses, calling it simple symphony, and this they formed from two tones and a semitone" (Ottoboni 3371 f.183).

[164] "always ready and quick they never stop but turn in constant movement and they are called Eirēnē, Eunomia and Dikē, the three times not lacking in concord" Ottoboni 3371, f.185.

[165] Naples XIII B3 f.44.

[166] ("[The Graces] were undressed and stand nude in fountains with Venus and the Cupids, with fruits and myrtle, because Venus, who is generative nature, wanted to adorn herself with their garments, and while they bathed the Cupids she took away their clothes and they remained nude, because their intentions are clear and they divest themselves to aid others without any help and because they are virgin hopes they wear sometimes garlands of flowers [...] they are called also *Carpophore*, fruit bearers. They are so named by the poet Chrestodorus of Orchomenus, who in his poem makes them the companions of Mercury, with roses and myrtle in hand, at the right of Apollo, crowned with vines, fruit and and ears of wheat, because they govern and dispense according to the seasons; he calls them the Hours, bestowers and guardians of the Mother of mortals") Ottoboni 3371, f.160.

> la parte infernale che in se riceve quel che di lei esce chiamasi Proserpina [e] Cerere [si chiama] dalli tre effetti, dal fiorisce, dal fare il frutto et dall'augmentare la virtù sua in maturare i frutti [...] queste sono tre Dei chiamate stagioni. Presso dell'Aegyptij et Greci come dice Diodoro, sono tre sorelle, presedj del Giove cio è del cielo chiamate Hirene, Dice et Eunomia.[167]

As figures who represent the division of time into the returning season, the Hours appear around the neck of *Dea natura* and with the chariot of the sun – as companions of Apollo they stand at the gates of the sky with Aurora in the east and the daughters of Ocean in the west. One should also remember their role in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite translated by Poliziano in the *Stanze* (not to mention Botticelli's depiction of the passage), which speaks of Venus Anadyomene adorned as a goddess by the Hours as she steps ashore from the sea.[168] If one puts together Ligorio's assertion of Venus as *natura generante* adorning herself herself with the clothes of the Graces and the Hours with the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, we see the Hours as adorning with forms Venus as heavenly emanation of angelic intellect as she descends to earth and as the subterranean energy which discloses itself through the forms and rhythms of nature, Gafurius's Thalia. The Hours in short not only link the unfolding of beauty and the cycle of benefits that can serve as a figure for the procession and return of being, represented by the Graces, with the cyclical temporality of represented by the sun and *natura generante* (the content of the *Primavera*, in a sense, where Venus is heavily robed), but they appear at each end of the continuum of representation at the points where the emanation of transcendent intellect and the underlying potential of matter take on form and body. What makes Ligorio so rich is the insistence on the "alta e profonda musica" which explores the reciprocity of matter's taking of form and the intellect's structures of embodiment – the remarks above on music suggest that the *concordia delle correspondenze* at any point allows us to discover the larger order of the whole. The name of the Hours means time in the sense of fitting season or moment, and thus does not merely point to time as returning, but to the good order enacted by the cycle of the seasons, in which things come to their fulfilment "con le Hore si muovano tutti et arrivano all'augmento et al fine et al nuovo accresimento"[169] while the names of the Hours remind us that they stand for an order in which the ethical and the physical cannot be separated.[170] Ligorio thus seems to conflate the Homeric Hymn with the passage above on *natura generante* when he returns to the theme of Venus dressed in the clothes of the Graces and says "Natura generante [...] si dee ornare delle cose giuste e dell'oneste et delle pacifiche secondo la buona

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[167] "Proserpina signified flowers, Ceres fruit and Luna the moisture that spreads and nourishes [...] the infernal part which takes into itself that which rises from it is called Proserpina, and Ceres [symbolises] the three effects of flowering, the making and the ripening of fruit which matures with the increase of her virtue [...] these are the three goddesses called seasons. As Diodorus says, the Egyptians and the Greeks represented them as three sisters, who govern Jupiter or heaven, named Eirēnē, Dikē and Eunomia" (Naples XIII B3 f.41).

[168] Cf. the analogy of the dance of the Graces and the seasonal cycle in the *Primavera*. Philostratus in the *Imagines* speaks of the "lovely dance" of the Hours who dance their way through the year.

[169] ("With the Hours all things shift and attain increase and ending and new growth") Naples, XIII B3 f.187.

[170] One might remember the iconography of dance which appears in Giotto's image of Justice in the Arena chapel in Padua, and forms a figure for civic concord in the Palazzo Publico, Siena.

legge".[171] In keeping with the iconography of the Casino as lymphaeum and Parnassus, with a vase figured at the uppermost level of the palazzina, Ligorio speaks also of the Hours as having "tre Urne, overo tre tazze, con le quali portano l'acque [...] dal suo padre e le versano qua giù in terra, et empieno le tre urne dalle Grazie di donde versano per li beni et sostanze de mortali".[172]

To resume, both the Graces and the Hours concern the bestowal of good upon mortals, and are associated with past, present and future and with good as the seasons with their fruits, but the Hours point to this cyclical procession of goods into the world in terms of timeliness and justice. We may recall that in the diagram in Gafurius, the three Graces stand on one side of Apollo, balanced by a vase with six flowers on the other side; Wind identified the three Graces with the Muses Thalia, Melpomene and Urania who correspond to the subterranean regions, the sun in centre of heaven and the celestial sphere, and the Graces Thalia-*Viriditas*, Euphrosyne-*Splendor* and Aglaia-*Laetitia*.[173] One can reflect for a moment on the disinction between the Hours, the Graces and the Muses who are a "ternary explication" of them - the Muses are identified with human learning and the human faculties in their entirety, "replenished" by the variety of interpretations and knowledge "discovered" by Ligorio in his encylopaedic researches. In musical terms this accumulation of knowledge could be regarded in correspondence to the unfolding of proportions conceived as a replenishing of all possible intervals so that no space was left in the construction of the world soul, as filling out the "intervals" so to speak. In all this one should recall that if the Muses depict the gradations of the conjunction of body and soul, they are also linked with the progression through the levels of apprehension and understanding, a point on which Ligorio plays in the Casino – he dwells on the conjunction of body and soul with the remark "nella forma dele Muse [si figurarano] come due cose corporee et intellettuali, ò dela mente e del spirituale concetto che governa, et muove il tutto sotto il cielo, et sotto le cose inferiori, consosciute dall'arte humana".[174] In Ligorio's textual and visual speculations, we might see the convergence of the *nodo* of body and soul in emblematics, the elaboration of a nexus of philological meanings and the correspondences sketched out in part one between Muses, notes, planets, faculties and so forth. As the figures from whom the Muses are "unfolded", the Hours represent a more archaic order in which order and ornament are linked together with the division of time as justice, and they are considered as the children of Apollo and Aegle, or of Jupiter and Themis – justice, right or equity; if Ligorio mentions Hesiod in his discussions of the Hore in the Naples manuscript, one might also refer to Anaximander's fragment on existing things which "give justice and reparation to one another for their injustice according to the order (*taxis*) of time".[175] The significance of the Hours becomes still richer as Ligorio speaks of

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[171] ("Generative nature must adorn herself with things that are just, honest and peaceful according to good law") Naples XIII B3 f.42.

[172] ("[the Hours have] three urns or cups in which they carry water from their father and pour it below here on earth and they fill the urns from the Graces from whence they pour the goods and substances of mortals") Naples XIII B3 f.41.

[173] Wind, *op.cit.* pp.265-69. In the diagram in Gafurius, the remaining Muses are arranged in two groups of three.

[174] ("in the image of the Muses two things are figured, things corporeal and intellectual, that is of the mind and the spiritual idea that governs and moves all things under heaven, and those still beneath, known by human art") Turin, a.II.J.23.44.

[175] Simplicius, *Commentary on the Physics*, 24.13.

Themis wearing the *corona turrita* of Cybele, to represent "la Natura et providentia et giustizia de Iddio",[176] and speaks of the Hours as sisters of the Fates, who determine the "concordia" of human life and its timely season: "[Le Parche] sono tutte tre la symphonia dell'essenza delli fati nella humana vita, che dal principio della nativita [...] al fine della solutione, sempre girano et volano et muoveno le corde della vitale essentia, et come un modulato instrumento concorreno, ò nella melodia, ò in la violenza del moto troncano la corda che la vita s'attine nella sua consonantia della corporale composizione, et della risonantia et nel moto".[177] The full ordinance of generated time is brought together as Themis sits with the Hours on one hand and the Fates on the other:

> in taglio havemo veduta [Themis] che ha dala destra, le Hore, ciò è la giustizia la pace et la legge, a sinistra sono l'altre figliole, ciò è le tre Parche [...] et essa Themide interpreta Giustizia: denonante che, tutte le cose che sono in la terra et nel cielo tutte sono create e governate dalla divina mente secondo il buon ordine dela pace, dela Aequita et dela legge, è cosi caminano, tutte le cose che nascono sono dalle parche giudate, in tre cose, in prencipio, in stato et in morte: con che si governano tutte le cose di natura et solo l'anime et colui che l'ha create rimangono eterne et quella eternità che possiede l'infinito et giustamente muove il finito il presente et il futuro, viene detta Themi [...] et la dicono figliola del cielo et della terra [e] ella fù giustissima vaticinatrice.[178]

The ancient order embodied by the Hours and unfolded by them as ornament thus concerns the embodiment of justice and order in time; we have seen that from this order the Muses, representatives of the human arts, are explicated. Ligorio also brings together Muses, Graces and Hours through Mnemosyne, as when he describes "La Dea Mnemosine che si trova tra le Gratie la quale è Madre delle Muse [...] sta bene presso di loro significante le cose ricordevoli Themis madre delle Hore come sedono di sopra: le quali [vanno] in compagnia di Mnemosine".[179] If Mnemosyne is generally

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[176] ("the Nature and providence and justice of God") Naples XIII B3, f.292.

[177] ("The three Fates are the symphony of human fate in its essence, who from birth to death always turn and whirl and move the strings of human essence, and like a modulated instrument they strive together in melody, or with violent movement they snap the string of human life which holds together the composition of the body, its resonance and movement in consonance") Ottoboni 3371 f.185.

[178] Ligorio notes that Themis is the goddess invoked by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the flood, who orders them to throw the bones of their great mother (*i.e.* the earth) behind them to repopulate the earth. ("We have seen an engraved image with Themis, with the Hours, that is, justice peace and law, on her right and on the left her other three daughters, the Fates [...] and this Themis signifies Justice, denoting that all things on earth and in heaven are created and governed by the divine mind according to the good order of peace, Equity and law, and so they go through life. All things that are born are governed by the Fates, in three things, in their beginning, their being and their death, and all things in nature are ruled thus, and only the soul and he who created it remain eternal; this eternity which possesses the infinite and justly moves that which is finite, the past, present and future, is known as Themis [...] called daughter of earth and heaven, she was also a most just prophetess") Naples XIII B3, f.292.

[179] ("The goddess Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses, is found with the Graces [...] Themis, mother of the Hours who sit above and accompany Mnemosyne, stands close by, signifying things worthy of memory") Naples XIII B3 f.45.

taken as the intellectual faculty of memory, as mother of learning, Ligorio uses the link with the Graces to point to memory as the rememberance of gifts received, and these gifts of the Graces are the fruits of Nature that proceed into the world as time is divided as the enactment of order and justice through becoming. We thus move through the levels of human mimesis (theatre settings, Muses) to memory to the gifts of nature and the heavenly consonance as the unfolding of justice, and we have seen that Ligorio insists on music as the continuity between these levels. This good order is figured also in Hygieia, daughter of Aesclepius, son of Apollo, whose effigy stands on top of the pediment of the loggia, and we might note that when Ligorio speaks of the "consonantia et la musica del corpo humano, significata per la cythera istrumento di Apollo Medico et padre di Aesculapio", he draws analogies between the rhythm of the pulse and the change of the seasons.[180]

The references to health bring us towards the role of Pius IV, by name and profession *medicus*, as announced in the inscriptions of the Casino (Pius IV Medices Mediolanen. Pont.Max.) and as pope responsible for the spiritual and physical health of those he governs – the first a question of pastoral care, the second linked to the waters of the city, as implied by the title of *pontifex* and the pope's responsibility for the water supply of Rome. The civic dimension of the health, justice, peace and good law is also asserted through the gorgon masks on the walls of loggia and palazzina, symbols of Minervan prudence which is also linked with the Muses, whose presence in the temple of Minerva medica is noted by Ligorio and through the pavement, divided into four sections like a shield with spheres in each of its sections, another Mediciean reference.[181] Madonna and Fagiolo relate the the oval design of the pavement of the Capitol as *mons salutis*, and discuss the pavement as a *clipaeus* emblazoned with a design that refers to Pius IV, or the crossing of the cardo and decumanus at the core of the ancient city, the point where augurs stood at the foundation of the city to make astronomical observation and draw auspices; a reference to the four rivers of paradise may be appropriate in the light of the Christian meaning of the building, to which we shall turn shortly.[182] As we pass into the interior of the Casino, the papal and Christian meaning is asserted as the inner spirit in relation to the exterior as a mythological *involucrum* and figuration of physical meaning, and we find the waters of the Parnassian lymphaeum revealed as the founts of spiritual life, administered through the sacrament of baptism. We have attempted to show that Ligorio takes us through levels of icongraphic meaning, rather than offering a synthesis as a given, and that these levels are linked through music. In moving beyond the "alta e profonda musica" of the created universe to the order explicated by the Hours and the Graces, we arrive at a point where justice, good order, grace and the harmonious division of time as music are inseparable; the Casino, and Ligorio's writings offer the possibility that this ordering can be grasped through music which is medicine, learning and contemplation which turns the soul to God: "la musica

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[180] The passage is quoted in Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit*, p.276.

[181] "[i medici] con essa Musica guarirono delle infermità et perciò tenivano le Muse nel tempio di Aesculapio et in quello di Minerva medica" ("doctors healed illnesses with music and therefore they kept Muses in the temple of Aesculapius and that of Minerva medica"), Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit.*, p.276.

[182] Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit.*p.277. The authors note an optical effect when one stands at the centre of the court – through the circular holes pierced in the shells in the pediment of the arches one sees the inscriptions in the centre of the vault of the arches (Pius. Medi. Medio.Pont.Max.), thus giving the appearance of a plaque.

adunque [...] a gli uomini sacri et religiosi veine attribuita et massimamente ai sagi come consonante ale loro ragioni per contemplar la debita quiete verso iddio et verso la requita volgono i loro fini".[183] If the union of justice and grace is figured mythologically in the urn that decorates the upper storey of the façade,[184] it is to be understood ultimately in terms of Christian grace, and thus the temporality of cosmic and civic concord embodied by the Hours is realised in terms of the theme of the return of the golden age, and the *perficere*, the accomplishment of antiquity in the Christian *renovatio*. The task in hand is to see how we progress from the cosmos in which the just arrangement unfolded through time as music descends into memory, human art and human mimesis to the Christian content, and here we shall find that the *grottesche* take on importance.

Before moving into the inner content, one should make a few final comments concerning – in particular – the role of the Hours, to whom Ligorio gives such prominence. The Hours contain in themselves a range of meanings – physical, mythological, political but they are particularly cherished by Ligorio as they provide an iconographic means of disclosing levels of order through the arrangement of figuration, *i.e.* the good ordering of ornament. We might preface these comments by evoking again the progression of settings at the Casino, rooted in the topography of the "mountain" rising out of waters to create the primary division of dark sea and solar hilltop – from this division Ligorio draws forth the dyad of Apollo and Diana, mind and body, while insisting on their constant conjugation and music as the conjugating force – the conjunction can be presented in many ways, as we have seen, as reciprocity ("alta e profonda musica"), as the meeting of contraries, as in the temple-cave of the Muses, or in the constant insistence on the presence of one in the other, as in the "antro del sole". We have seen how the Hours are present in the unfolding of *natura generante* and the procession of the sun – if they present the relation between the two in terms of concord, they are more importantly embodiments of the divison that creates order – the division from which music and concord arise.[185] The Hours thus open a reflection on ornament and time, and for Ligorio this entails a reflection on how cosmic temporality is represented through the human experience of time, memory and history – thus we noted the sustained attention to the relations of universal music and Mnemosyne. It is through this division that the whole becomes manifest and again music is a way of representing the cyclical unfolding of the whole in time, so that division is not expressed in terms of fragmentation or arithmetical sequence, but reveals the filling of all intervals. To bring this back to the sphere of figuration, the Hours, associated with Venus and beauty, represent this division essential to the unfolding of the whole in terms of ornament, as in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite. Thus the temporal division that makes the whole manifest and which is identified with natural regeneration and with ethical ordering is represented

[183] ("Music, thus, is attributed to sacred and religious men and above all to the wise as harmonious with their methods of contemplating due quiet as they turn to their end in God and in repose".) Turin, *Libro dell'antichità,* a.II.J.23, vol.44, f.396.

[184] Smith places great emphasis on this urn in his reading of the Casina – while he seems to me correct in identifying it with the vases of the Hours and the Graces in Ligorio's writings, the notion of the benefits poured down on mortals must be held together with the theme of temporality and order embodied in the Graces and the Hours.

[185] See Naples XIII B3, f.44, where the Hours are associated with the three divisions of the year, with the three part divison of the chariot of the sun, and the division of time in hours.

mimetically in terms of visual rhythm and perfect arrangement in the dance of the Hours.[186]

This is to say that the appearance of order through division is rendered mimetically through ornament, and this in a sense brings us back to theatre. If we suggested above that the Casino contains references to theatre as content as well as exemplifiying theatre as "situation", we might clarify this by saying that Ligorio attempts to work simultaneously with mimetic arrangement and embodiment, with mimetic temporality, rendered through measured division, as the means by which the whole becomes apparent in its justice and rightness, with the "theatre *of*" topos and its encyclopaedic or mnemonic structure and with theatre as archaeological reference in a synthetic work of *imitatio*. Ligorio is in short attempting to depict the metaphoric openness in which order, justice, good arrangement and ornament are continuous alongside the philological structure that seeks to discover and configure a *copia* of meanings, and appealing to music as *harmonia universalis* that unfolds at all levels as a way of demonstrating the continuity of the two. The problem with this harmonisation of an ancient metaphoric structure with a philological, historicist speculation on figuration so that the second seems to be the explication of the first is that one can fall into circles of analogy, with each thing playing out the same situation.[187] Ligorio uses each myth as an enactment of the same situation – of division into body and soul and into the "harmonious" parts of time. The appearance of good order through temporal division understood as music, and figured by the Hours, from whom subsequent human ordering (the Muses) is unfolded, leaves however the issue of becoming. If becoming is neglected, accounts of the representation of the procession of the whole become reiterated narratives of circularity, with likeness giving onto likeness, and this situation appears as a potential at the Casino with the analogous narratives and repeated cycles of mimesis. As a counterpart to the situation of mimesis embodied by the Hours, Ligorio does address the relation of form and matter in terms of becoming, and the "concordia" that can be revealed by change; he does so as we have seen in discussion of the *grottesche* which form the interior decoration of the Casino.

The Interior of the Casino

In considering the significance of the *grottesche* deployed at the Casino, one might start by noting two things – firstly that the stucco decoration on the exterior of the loggia, palazzina and arches is composed in a way that is redolent of painted grotesquework, with their figures in perspectival *tempietti* or *aediculae* framed by vegetal ornament – this was signalled at the iconographic level, in the image of the

[186] One might see a reference to this in the *Imagines* of Philostratus, which speaks of the "lovely dance of the Hours" who "dance" their way through the year.

[187] One could note in this regard that Ligorio's mythography seems to aim to interweave an accumulation of myths, which no particular sense of the area of things or activities "governed" by the gods, with the catalogue of attributes and deeds that define a god, as produced by contemporaries like Cartari. Rather than codifying a pantheon, in which each deity is differentiated by occupation, Ligorio tends to gather material and interpret it as playing out the same situation – the disclosure of music or concord. It is important to note that mythographers from Boccaccio on do however observe a sequence which responds to the temporality embodied in a god – in Cartari, for example, we start with gods who figure chaos, origins or archaic time, or the instauration of temporal division, followed by deities that symbolise the sun, the earth, its waters and the world in its wholeness.

Muses dancing with Apollo reappears in the *grottesche* of the galleria of the palazzina, where they are shown also with another *musagetes*, Hercules, whose club Melpomene holds on the façade of the loggia.[188] The Casino in short exploits fully the continuity between the painted *grottesche*, mosaic grotesques and stucco to the stucco sculpture, probably in an attempt to develop the synthesis of relief and painted decoration in the Vatican Logge and Villa Madama - Ligorio goes a stage further in the mosaic decoration, rustic on the grotto sides of the Loggia, more refined in the triumphal arches and most delicate in the portico, where it is constituted of of subtley coloured shells.[189] This suggests that Ligorio is attempting to create a visual environment in which the grotesquework that for him constitutes the proper imitation of antique art becomes the dominant, or exclusive mode of decoration, which is executed in a rustic or delicate manner according to its appearance at different levels of the Casino. A second point follows the remark above on Ligorio's accretion of speculative figuration, since this situation would seem to be rendered in the *grottesche* in terms of the multiplication of frames so that the reading of a vault turns into a process in which each each element is resituated each framed image (or group of images) is perceived as a framing configuration. This emphasis on reading of process and movement, in keeping with the content of the grotesques with their flying and metamorphic creatures, also corresponds to their visual enactment of the movement of human thought, discussed by Ligorio in his essay on the *grottesche*. We recall that in this essay Ligorio linked the *grottesche* with the *sensi poetichi* (*la fisica, la mitologica e la mistica*) as they represented the disclosure of *materia prima* through the forms it takes on, the *poetica scorza* of hieroglyphic figuration and the meaning of these hieroglyphs, which depict the transitory and imperfect nature of human life and understanding, in contrast with divine sapience, which is communicated to nature in the perfection of her work. The *grottesche* portray the "interotti desideri" and the travails that are the human lot, yet through their link with *materia prima*, founded in the imitation of nature (*i.e.* the antique imitation of nature) they can disclose the order that underlies the seemingly chaotic or fragmentary – it is the very teeming multiplicity and the attenuated lines or tendrils of the *grottesche* that are fundamental to their capacity to reveal the harmony which is illustrated by analogy with the *materia prima* "fanno una sinfonia, anche se parono assinfoniche". Proteus, often an allegory for the evil passions, is for Ligorio a figure for the prudent and moral man who governs the changeable, and as personification of *materia prima* represents the substance that can be perceived through the form it takes on, like the veils of the *poetica scorza* – like metaphor, it manifests itself through the *legami*. Ligorio uses the

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[188] Ligorio often speaks of Hercules as musagetes in the course of his writings; a typical reference is that cited by Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit.*, p.256 "Et Hercole dalle istesse sorelle chiamato Duce della caeleste Lyra et della symphonia principe acciò che purgasse gli luoghi delle Muse et dall'Helicone at dal Parnasso cacciò la Discordia, che le Muse disturbava, et vi pose la Tranquillità et la Pace" ("Hercules also is called leader of the heavenly Lyre and prince of harmony by the Muses, because he purified the places where they are found, chasing Discord, disturber of the Muses, from Helicon and Parnassus and setting up tranquillity and peace there").

[189] The combination of stucco and painting appears also in work by Raphael's pupils, in Villa Lante and Palazzo Tè (Giulio Romano) or Palazzo Doria in Genoa (Perino del Vaga). We remarked above on the influence of Rosso's Fontainebleau decorations on the cartouche and as time progresses, stucco appears only to give emphasis to the principal frames in a vault, or in the corners, or disappears, as one finds in the *grottesche* in the manner of the later work of the Zuccari which appear in minor centres throughout Lazio. Grotesquework executed in mosaic appears in Villa Madama in the fountain niche of the xystus, famous for the fountain in the form of an elephant's head spurting water from its proboscis – a portrait of Leo X's beloved pet Annone, a gift from the king of Portugal.

grottesche to argue for the privileged position of metaphor in representing nature, while also claiming that the disclosure of *materia prima* through the hieroglyphic images and their *deboli legami* serves to illuminate the kind of order that the imperfect human understanding can attain – human knowledge in short can glimpse harmony in the midst of its vacillations if it turns to the revelation of nature in terms of metaphor. This means that if the *grottesche* attempt to imitate in the rhythms and metamorphosis of *natura naturans* they also possess a certain propriety in the context of sacred representation, since they depict the gulf between human and divine understanding and thus show the human attempt to imitate the perfection embodied in the works of Nature, the "ministra" of God with the concomitant limitations. Ligorio thus describes the figurations of the *grottesche*, using the analogy of the monstrous herds governed by Proteus:

> Non sono altro che le gran cose figurate, i gran contrarii, le difficultà delli governi, le mistiche et inegualità, le difficili di conoscere questa natura di tante cose chiare, di tanti animi occulti, tanta abondanza di desiderii, di concetti intellettuali, che gli savii uomini le rimettono doppo i loro discorsi ragionevoli totalmente alla divina mente de Iddio, perché le umane intelligenze non arrivano all'altezza dell'optima mente del suo creator, ch'è tutto ammirabile, tutto miracoloso, tutto santo et arcano [...] che [ha fatto] tutte le cose che veggiamo, che all'uomo sono tutte stupore [...] che solamente è intesa dal suo motore, e lui [Dio] sa veramente e perfettamente dipingere le sue cose, che l'uomo cerca imitarle coll'ingegno, che non può né darle quello appuntino, né nell'ente né nel figurato, quella perfezzione nell'anima nelli spiriti et i sensi, e quella invenzione che la natura, sua ministra, le [cose] allatta e partorisce, con quel vero governo che non manca in la creazione e formazione, avendo ogni cosa posta nei semi.[190]

As exemplars of hieroglyphic figuration and embodiments of the order that can be disclosed in the fluctuation of human life once the transformations of *materia prima* are perceived by means of the *scorza poetica*, the *grottesche* in short display the nature and conditions of human understanding and representation in its attempt to glimpse the universal order unfolded by nature. We have looked so far at

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[190] *SAC* III, p.2678 ("They are nothing else than the figures of great things, great contraries, the difficulties of governing, mystical things, unequal things, the difficulties in knowing the nature of all these things that are clear, minds that are hidden, abundance of desires and of intellectual ideas. Therefore wise men, when their reasoned arguments are concluded, leave these things totally in the mind of God, because human minds do not reach the height of the excellent mind of their creator, who is all admirable, all miraculous, all holy and secret [...] that made all the things that we see, which are so marvellous to man [...] This mind is understood only by its moving force which knows it and paints these things perfectly, so that man attempts to imitate them with his skill, but cannot achieve that special quality in the substance and its figure, that perfection in the soul, spirit and senses, or that invention which Nature, the minister of God, generates and nurtures in things, with the true government which is present in their creation and formation, for she has planted the seeds of all things".)

representations of the human understanding in emblematic images, with their structure of body and soul and their mnemonic deployment, and seen that one level of meaning in the Casino is that of memory theatre, given the prominence of Mnemosyne and Ligorio's identification of Parnassus as the mind; here we see such figuration used to emphasise the human relation to God, and depict all that humans bring to their understanding of God, displayed in the proliferation of contextualising frames in the vault of grotesquework.

In this light, we might recapitulate the progress through Casino, from the sequestered temple of nature in a sacred grove through gates like triumphal arches decorated with marine scenes which reveal a cortile that immediately recalls a naumachia and then reveals itself to be an Apollonian court, circus, chorus, musaeum and memory theatre, a places of the arts which can imitate the concord of the cosmos. This court leads into the portico in which, as in the facing loggia, the "physical" and "mystical" aspects of the *sensi poetichi* appear together; the dark interior of the loggia shows the mythical "death" of the sun in winter as a counterpart to the images of the sun ascendant on the gleaming façade, with the crossing of the Red Sea depicted on the vault. The portico is at once circus with herms representing the planetary gods, a grotto-shrine to Dea Natura, whose ministration of the earth and its vital waters has its sacred counterpart in the scenes of creation and the fall in the vault, and Moses striking the rock and the gathering of manna in the apses – the river gods which flank images of Adam, Eve, Cain and Abel in the lowest register of the vault suggest the four rivers of Paradise while two bear the attributes of Tiber and Nile. (Figure 68) The mingling of the rivers of Paradise with the topographic river gods of antiquity may be in part a reference to the Belvedere, where the river gods of the statue court were the Nile, Tigris and Tiber; after the removal of the *Cleopatra* from the Statue Court in circa 1550, the statue was placed in a grotto within a fountain room, decorated with grotesques, marine scenes and biblical scenes concerning water – the four rivers of paradise, the Navicella, the crossing of the Red Sea, the baptism of Christ, Christ with the woman of Samaria. All these scenes appear in the Casino, and Michelangelo had proposed a statue of Moses striking the rock, prior ot the installation of the *Cleopatra* – the Fountain Room at the Belvedere in short created a precedent for the fusion of nymphaeum and "Moseum", and we recall the *Cleopatra* was celebrated as *nympha loci* and as image of Venus genetrix, who renders the earth fertile through the life-giving waters that are depicted emanating from her body. In discussion of the Fountain Room of the Belvedere, Brummer notes that the decoration of the room affirms the primacy of the Pope in regard to the administration of baptism, and makes particular reference to the seventh session of the Council of Trent in 1547, when fourteen canons were formulated in reply to the Protestants and the heresy that original sin remained after baptism; canons two and three affirm the necessity of water and the primacy of the Roman church.[191]

The preoccupation with baptism in the Casino becomes more marked as one moves from the portico of the palazzina into the first and second chambers, decorated by Barocci and assistants; in the first the principal scenes are a *Holy Family with St John*, *Christ baptized by St John*, the *Navicella*, *Christ and the Samaritan Woman*

[191] Brummer, *op.cit.* p.260.

with its corresponding image, *Christ and the Adultress*, while the second room has two emblematic scenes which depict figures climbing towards springs. (Figures 69-71) Graham Smith (1977) has discussed the scriptural iconography in these chambers and the minor rooms above: following the depictions of Moses in the loggia and portico, the first chamber shows scenes from the Gospels, and the second, the story of Joseph with further minor images of Moses, images of the church fathers and a central Annunciation image. A third chamber, with incomplete decoration, has a vault divided into fourteen compartments with niches for the Apostles and two personifications. The vault of the stairwell, decorated by Santi di Tito, depicts the seasons in the corner of the coves with the bow and quiver of Diana under the winter seasons and Apollo, with tripod and lyre under the warm seasons – between these medallions are images that depict the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt.20:1-16) with each image showing one of the villas of Pius IV, namely, the Belvedere, the Casino, at a site on the Via Flaminia selected for a palazzina and at a papal *vigna* on the Quirinal – the topographical depiction of parable serves to underline claims for papal primacy as *vicarius Christi*. Of the upper rooms, the bright *galleria* to the front of the *palazzina*, decorated by Federico Zuccaro, combines delicate *grottesche* painted against a gold and ochre ground showing the Muses with their two leaders, Apollo and Hercules, and features painted and stucco *tempietti*. These *all'antica* features combine with a central image of the *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* and vignettes which again contain many references to baptism and water: *Peter kneeling before Christ after the Miraculous Draft of Fishes*, *Christ and Peter walking on the Water*, *Christ calming the Storm*, *John the Baptist in the Wilderness*, *Jonah and the Whale*, *The Flood*, as well as *David restraining Abishai from killing Saul*, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, and *The Penitence of St Jerome*. A final upper room, again decorated by Zuccaro is dedicated entirely to religious themes, notably the last Supper and Passion and moves away from the antique style of the other chambers to a heavier decorative disposition, with a simplification of the multiple frames of the *grottesche* into a hierarchy of borders and a rich stucco cartouche surrounding the central scene – while the decoration imitates certain elements in other rooms of the Casino, it is closer to the work of the Zuccari at Caprarola.

The most striking rooms are the first and second chambers, in which particularly dense *grottesche* frame biblical images. We have insisted on the solar character of the cortile of the Casino in relation to the lower grotto, the way that the portico and loggia, at once "inner" and "outer" spaces mix Christian and mythological imagery references to Apollo and Diana-*natura generante* – as one enters the chambers of the Casino, the dark chambers with high coved vaults swarming with decoration give a strong sense of enclosure as though the rooms which seem almost sunken in the hillside are the repositaries of "mysteries". It is here that we return to Ligorio's conception of the *grottesche* and the levels and conditions of meaning that they could divulge, as well as the idea that they are "appropriate" to the revelation of sacred, Christian themes. The first room, the largest in the Casino, mingles references to baptism (baptism of Christ by John the Baptist, Christ and the Samaritan woman) which establishes the New Law and the Church, bequeathed by Christ to Peter (Christ and the woman taken in adultery, the *Navicella*) with allegorical references to the physical universe in subsidiary images in the frieze (the four elements signalled by the attributes of the relevant gods). The most striking combination of physical and sacred

iconography appears in the corners of the coves, where four thrones bear shields inscribed "Pius IV Pontifex Optimus Maximus"- the throne refers to the seat of Peter, the throne of Solomon, the *sedes sapientiae* and Smith mentions the *sellisternium*, the Roman ceremony in which empty thrones were held ready for gods and deified emperors, and to the Etimasia, the throne prepared for the second coming of Christ.[192] (Figure 72) If the placing of the shield bearing the name of Pius IV in the empty throne is a reference to Pius's vicarious occupation of the Throne of Christ on earth, above the throne we see again Diana of Ephesus, crowned with the *corona turrita* – her appearance on the back of the throne signals God's dominion of the world He has created and reminds us that Ligorio spoke of Nature as the "ministra" of God, to whom He has given "nodrimento e governo mondano".[193] The theme of the room is not especially recondite, consisting in the celebration of the pope, whose name (Gian Angelo Medici) appears throughout the Casino with allusions to John the Baptist, angels and the Medici *stemma*, which also (as noted above) allows for puns on medicine, in terms of the health achieved through good civic and spiritual government. This health, embodied in the antique statue of Hygieia at the top of the loggia, is signalled by the frecoes of the virtues and rewards of good government beside the thrones and in the bands of decoration that run across the vault of the first room; the iconography of good government is inseparable from allusions to the harmony of the created world and the New Law of Christ which has tempered justice with mercy and regenerated the world with the waters of grace.

The theme continues in the second room, where the central image of the vault is an *Annunciation* framed by the evangelists and scenes of the life of Joseph as *typus Christi*, with the Church Fathers in tiny medallions below – the principal decorations in the corners of the coves of the vault show stucco groups of three female figures on a tripod in each corner – probably the Hours, in a corner for each season, with secondary reference to the Muses and Graces. In the centre of the coves are emblematic images, one of Fortune and Penitence, and three (one now almost illegible) linked to water; one shows a figure who has ascended a rocky slope down which waters flow, crowned by figure with an urn – the other shows two figures with springs, one bringing joy to those who drink at it, the other mortal pain. Again Christian imagery joins with moral images that depict virtue crowned and waters of life and death, and with the Hours as figures who can contain the cycles of symbolism we discussed in the exterior stucco decoration – the harmony and just ordering of the world, reflected in the human arts is created and fulfilled by God and Christ's redemption - and by the primacy of the Roman Church in the administration of the sacraments, as affirmed by the canons on baptism contained in the *Catechism of the Council of Trent*. In discussion of the Fountain Room created for the *Cleopatra* in the Belvedere, we noted the relevance of Tridentine discussions of baptism, and these are again relevant in the context of the Casino, decorated in the years (1561-63) in which Pius convened the third major session of the Council; the fifth and third canons of the catechism affirmed the necessity of the sacrament of baptism and upheld the doctrine of the Roman Church concerning baptism. The emblematic image of the waters of life and death may be a direct reference to the canons, and the *Navicella* shows the establishment of Christ's Church on earth upon Peter with the church portrayed as

[192] Smith, 1977, pp.81-82.
[193] On *grottesche*, *SAC* III, p.2678.

ship. Such theological assertions of papal primacy in the administration of the Church and the holiness of its doctrine on the sacraments should be seen alongside the iconography of the physical cosmos, whose waters are the means of redemption. Aside from the possibility of topical references to the Tridentine canons, the baptismal iconography should be seen in terms of the relation between the meditations on body and soul which we have traced through Renaissance preoccupations with the possibilities of hieroglyphic figuration and meditations on body and soul in Paul. The typological movement from scenes of Moses and the Red Sea or striking the rock to scenes of the baptism of Christ which derives from I Corinthians 10 should thus be considered as they work alongside the *grottesche*, and the presence of the Hours as figures for the good order of the created cosmos. We have seen that Ligorio's "hieroglyphic" decoration exploits not only images but spaces and the progress through them, and the dark of vaults the interior of the Casino, entered from the court with its fountains could be read as an embodiment of Paul in Romans 6 and Colossians 2 that on baptism we go into the tomb with Christ, imitating His death and resurrection.

In returning back to the court of the Casino from the interior, the iconography of the "alta e profonda musica" in the heavens and on earth embodied by Apollo and Diana of Ephesus is transformed by the sacred content of the vaults within, and the cortile is revealed as a Christian Parnassus under the pastoral care of the pope, in which the lymph of nature has its spiritual form in the founts of spiritual grace that water the soul, the baptismal waters of the spirit of John 3:5 – Ligorio writes that "Li santi Apostoli furono [...] initiati nel fonte dell'aeterno Fiume [...] che una delle sue gocciole è maggiore di sostanza et di grandezza che non sono tutti l'oceani che tutta la terra circundano".[194] The classical naumachia is revealed as the Christian *navicella*, the fourfold division of the court suggests the four rivers of paradise, and one realises that in plan the Casino has the form of a cross, while the statue of Hygieia with serpent points to the ascent from *salus* to salvation "Salus pubblica presso de noi christiani non è altro che Iddio Salvatore: et presso i gentili è la figliola di Asculapius".[195] The Hours enter into this opening of Christian iconography in their identification with justice, peace, good order and the Graces, and as "dispensatrici del tempo" – in this light Smith has seen the vase that appears at the top level of the palazzina as the urn of the Hours, whose grace is ultimately Christian grace, bestowed through baptism.[196] The dispensation of grace and good comes together with the temporality of returning season, and just season embodied by the Hours in the notion of return as *renovatio* – the Medici symbolism cultivated by Pius IV in advertising his

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[194] John 3:5 "unless one is born again of water and of the Holy Spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God". ("The holy Apostles were [...] initiated in the font of the eternal River [...] one drop of which is of greater substance and size than all the oceans that surround the earth") *Libro dell'antichità*, cited in Madonna and Fagiolo, *op.cit.*, p.244. Madonna and Fagiolo also refer to the symbolism of the navicella as ecclesia, citing Rosellino's references to Noah's Ark in the project for the reconstruction of St Peter's, or the medals of Nicholas V. Ligorio mentions the navicella of St Peter in his discussion of sacred ships (Barberini 5085, f.112) – placing the ship as ecclesia alongside descriptions of ships that are, or contain cities, as Madonna and Fagiolo note.

[195] ("*Salus publica* for us Christians is none other than God our Saviour: and for the pagans is the daughter of Aesculapius") Naples XIII B3, f.286. The serpent of Hygieia can be interpreted as reference to the rod of Moses, transformed into a serpent, taken typologically as a prefiguration of the cross.

[196] Smith, 1977, pp.57-63.

connection with the Florentine dynasty includes the notion of the return of the golden age, the *renovatio medicea* and one should not overlook the Virgilian themes in this, which would have been dear to Pius IV, who allegedly knew large tracts of classical poetry by heart; the return of the "virgin and the age of Saturn" at the birth of a sacred child of the fourth eclogue which shall sees both the triumph of Rome and the flowering of the earth into a paradise under the pastoral care of an Augustus.[197] The *virgo* of the Fourth Eclogue, Astraea, is identified with Justice or Dikē, bringing us back to the Hours, and is assimilated by Fagiolo and Madonna to Aurora who rises on the loggia, signalling the coming of an age in which the pagan and Christian world will be reconciled and the meanings of the former fulfilled as the earthly paradise is renewed.[198] All this enables us to see why the invocation of cosmic nature in its beauty and ornament and the insistence on its cyclical rhythms, its "alta e profonda musica", is fundamental to the representation of the return of golden age, but in this crude discussion of what, in general terms, the interior Casino seems to mean, we have not given much attention to the matter of how it means, and here we must turn back to the fact that the Christian images are mediated by elaborate grotesquework.

We have suggested that the stucco decoration of the exterior corresponds to the grotesquework rendered in mosaic and paint in other areas of the Casino, and seen that the three *sensi poetichi* – physical, mythological, mystical - that Ligorio ascribes to the *grottesche* do seem to form the meaning of the Casino as lymphaeum-musaeum-Mosaeum where the streams of *natura generante* that nourish the vegetal world are united with the spiritual waters of Christian grace and baptism, a "Mosaeum" depicting the biblical sage who knew all wisdom in correspondence to the Muses as embodiments of all the knowledge of the pagan world and a "musaeum" where the learning of antiquity is fulfilled as the dance of the Muses is seen as "unfolding" that of the Graces and the Hours, with whom the *renovatio*, the restoration of justice, peace and good order takes place in fitting season. As we have argued, the fulfilment of the learning of antiquity in the return of the golden age of justice, peace and plenty has a metaphor in the renewal of the earthly paradise, but we have also pointed to a further dimension in the Casino, in terms of its emblematic and mnemonic character which points to the viewer's apprehension of a work whose structure and themes reflect the nature of the human understanding itself. This was a theme of Ligorio's discussion of the *grottesche*, with its emphasis on the *deboli legami* as images for the vacillations in human thought and desire. Read in the light of Ligorio's discussion, the abundant *grottesche* that surround the biblical images of the Casino are "hieroglyphs" for the efforts with which the human intellect and will attempt to penetrate the divine mysteries embodied in Nature, the "ministra" of God. We saw in the discussion of *grottesche* that Ligorio carried the "hieroglyphic" method of Valeriano, which accumulates multiple meanings extracted from antique sources, into the reading of each miniature animal or chimera in a field of grotequework, so that each putto, vase and candelabra may have a whole of range of potential meanings which in turn act upon those of the neighbouring objects, leading to a nexus of immense interpretative complexity as one moves through a whole vault of grotesquework. This interpretive structure is regarded as dense and unstable, insofar

[197] *Fourth Ecloghe* and *Aeneid* VI, ll.791-795, where Anchises prophecies that Augustus will be the man who restores the *aurea saecula* to Rome - the lines follow immediately on the analogy of Rome and Bercyntia.
[198] "La Casina [...] geroglifico", p.239.

as it shows "i fragibili e deboli nostri fundamenti nelle nostre azzioni", or "le cose interotte, rappresentate per la simiglevole vita umana all'interrompimenti soggetta, che [...] si diletta nelle cose fantastiche e insaziabili nella mente, dell'animo, de concetti e de interventi".[199] Insofar as these images show "la gravidanza e pienezza dell'intelletto, e le sue imaginazioni [...] e [...] mostrare l'accidenti, per accomodare la insaziabilità delli vari e strani concetti cavati da tante varietà che sono nelle cose create", the "deboli legami" can reveal the *consonanzia* of "le cose coperte dalla poetica scorza".[200] The accumulation and conjunction of meanings can reveal, albeit imperfectly, something of the structure and coherence of Nature if the *grottesche* are constructed as they were in antiquity, in a way that respected the *sinfonia* of the created world – if these "hieroglyphic" images are figures of human thought, the stability of the structure of meaning will depend on that of the visual structure of ordering. This structure will retain the character of a *poetica scorza*, however, with images that refer back to the instability and imperfection of the human intellect – one might point to such a sign in the theatre masks and urn that reappear in the grotesques to each side of the *Baptism* and *Navicella* in the first room of the Casino, which can be interpreted as a reference to the iconography of Muses-Pierius-Mnemosyne on the loggia, where an urn and a mask are the attributes of Mnemosyne, while the mask as *larva* signals the human pursuit of illusions or "insogni". The image of masks and urns together, which appear fairly frequently in grotesquework, might be read as a "hieroglyph" for Pierius or Parnassus and as an emblem for the imperfection of human desires and knowledge – this imperfection suggested also by the multiple frames and the unfinished or metamorphic forms of the *grottesche*. As argued above, these imperfect forms suggest a reference to the imperfection of human knowledge which forms the context of sacred images; yet this metamorphic content also points to a progression of understanding towards an object whose substance is revealed through its transformations, as reflected in the *scorza poetica* whose veils of metaphor are not to be penetrated, but acculumated. In all this one must retain a sense of the hierarchy of meaning – the *copia* of human knowledge and history can take on order and harmony if it can reflect nature, and thus the *grottesche* become a key way of arranging the plethora of fragmentary or disguised or half meanings so that one seems to see them evolve into significance as their conjunction imitates the metamorphic process of the ordering of *natura generante*. The perfect ordering of nature is understood as process, animated by the energies that can be grasped only through their transformations, and the end of these transformations lies in the revelation of divine spirit which turns the lymph of nature into the founts of grace.

The Casino can in short be read as a mediatation on poetic representation, and the cosmos figured through the ornament of art is a place of redemption, an earthly paradise renewed through Christian grace under the auspicious rule of the Medici pope as both vicar of Christ and new Augustus.[201] In the Casino, the emphasis falls on

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[199] *SAC* III, pp.2675 and 2671.

[200] *op.cit.* pp.2671 and 2677.

[201] On Pius's building activity as an aspect of his Augustan activity is commemorated in an epigram cited by Smith: "Marmoream me fecit, eram cum terrea, Caesar/ Aurea sub Quarto sum modo facta Pio" ("I was of earth, and Caesar Augustus made me marble/ Now under Pius IV I am made of gold"), Smith 1977, p.108. The reference to Roma aurea also suggests the theme of *renovatio*-golden age, brought to perfection in the Christian age.

harmony and the metaphoric disclosure of harmony – the unfolding and containment of multiplicity is depicted through the order of ornament and music, even in the interior which seems to stress the disparity between human ordering that seeks to imitate nature's containment of variety and the simple and perfect knowledge of God. Art's theatre of nature at the Casino is harmonious partly because it is so enclosed – the levels of speculation are woven together through the insistence on cyclicity as the chorus of human learning (the Muses) unfolds the "first three notes" of the Graces and the Hours, the "three times which ceaselessly return" while the whole of creation is conceived as music, in which the unfolding of becoming corresponds to the returning motion of the celestial bodies. This perfect order is the object of human art, which seeks to imitate the *concordia delle correspondenze* that can be figured by the "sinfonia" disclosed in the teeming multiplicity of grotesquework or dramatised by chorus or circus – the *grottesche* are in short not only an attempt to reflect the order deep in *natura naturans* but the mimetic character of the regenerative rhythms of nature themselves, figured by the dance of the Hours. The Casino, in which the theatric settings and the *grottesche* work together to accommodate the levels of meaning woven into the speculation on cyclical, mimetic temporality, is understood ultimately in Christian terms as a celebration of the perfection of divine creation, and the Roman church as the source that administers the baptismal waters of redemptive grace.

In this light, the notion of cyclical return comes together with fitting season (again the meaning of the Hours) in a late attempt to show the realisation of the antique world in the Christian age. The renewal of the earthly paradise depicted at the Casino seems to avoid questions of the loss or deformation attendant on transformation, with the restoration of antiquity in the light of Christian redemption portrayed chiefly in terms of the flowering of meaning, and the representation of the cycles of the physical world concentrated on the course of the sun and the life-giving forces of nature. The darkness of night and the decay of generated life, essential to the the *concors discordia* which binds the cosmos, are not absent at the Casino, but they are evoked in a manner that displays their relationship with the *senso mistico*, in the "tomb like" interiors where the death of the sun (Venus and Adonis) or the metamorphoses of the *grottesche* appear alongside baptismal iconography that concerns the death of the old self through the waters of the spirit.[202] The *grottesche* presage the role of becoming in this process which is thematised at Villa D'Este; at the Casino they are held in balance with the Hours are figures for the cycle of becoming and the division that produces order. The change and loss which is attendant on the death and birth into spiritual meaning is explored by Ligorio at the Villa D'Este, where disruptive and chaotic elements of metamorphosis, represented by the *grottesche*, arise as we go deeper into the question of the discovery and display of the antique world in the light of Christian redemption, prophecied by the Sibyls.

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[202] On the theme of the decay of generated life, we might recall the images on the side of the loggia of the Casino, that on the left showing Jupiter suckling Amaltheia with the Corybantes and that on the right showing Tithonus (?), with Aurora leaving her aged lover in a bed like a cradle, a lyre in his hand presaging his metamorphosis into a cicada. The cicada recalls Socrates's myth of the men who wasted away because of their love for the song of the Muses, and were rewarded by transformation into the cicada that sings at midday without food or drink (*Phaedrus* 258e-259d); it also brings the image of Tithonus and Aurora back into the solar world of the Muses on the loggia, with its "alto e profondo musico" (Apollonian lyre and Corybantes).

The sequestered repose of the private paradise in the Casino, drawing all speculation into the enclosed cycle of the court changes at the Villa D'Este into the exploration of a topography of oceanic waters, labyrinthine paths and arduous ascent whose exemplary figure is Hercules; the music of creation is not represented by the chorus of the Muses but by the Sibyl as chthonic embodiment of Apollonian music and prophecy. quote paul on seed.

To conclude the remarks on the Casino, it should be stressed that we have given no more than a crude description of the figuring of the veil of the poetic *involucrum*, and the layering of references that attempts to articulate a repositary of historical learning as an analogical structure in which each level enacts the *symphonia* of universal music and the conjunction of body and soul. The density of the layering emerges fully in the second room of the Casino, where the Hours appear alongside Christian iconography, emblematic images concerning the typology of water and the *grottesche*, and here we might again take up the comments concerning the relation of body and soul and the division from which order and time appear. As repeatedly argued, the good order figured by the Hours concerns the appearance of the universal order in terms of generation, which is to say birth, growth and decay; that of the *grottesche* concerns the discovery of a larger order of concord through the transformations of generated being, as the *prima materia* passes through generated forms. The *grottesche*, in Ligorio's discussion, concern the ensouling force that is latent in nature, which is described in accounts of the subterranean or "infernal" potency of *natura generante* as Proserpina, Hecate or Stygian Juno. The Hours point to embodiment as a condition of order as it appears through measured division – the measured, harmonious relationship of body and soul in generated being is an aspect of this order and the various meditations on the conjunction of body and soul might be considered in terms of the temporal order of generation, as when Ligorio speaks of the *grottesche* as representing emblematically ("hieroglyphically") the discovery of concord through the mutability of becoming. These meditations on the conjunction of soul and body in the temporal order of generation in the Hours, representatives of the natural and pagan world, and the *grottesche* which figure the imperfect nature of the human knowledge in relation to the truth of Christian revelation, should be considered in relation to the baptismal imagery and the analogy between the rebirth of the body as spiritual through baptism and the world which is filled with the fullness of Christ (Ephesians 1).

At the Casino, it seems, the Christian references concentrate on the establishment of Christ's Church on earth, which also fulfils the the mythological figuration of justice and grace and transfigures the lymph of Nature into the waters of the spirit. The depiction of a paradise on earth at the Casino must contain references to the death of the sinful world and self which must take place if the world is to be renewed by the waters of grace. We have seen in the metamorphoses of the *grottesche* a reference to the necessity of this process, and noted the way that the hieroglyphic character of the Casino concerns the use of places, not just images, in its figuration. One should try to work this together with a further Pauline reference, namely to the meditations in I Corinthians 3 and 6 to the body as temple to the spirit; if the pagan exterior and Christian interior of the Casino resembles an emblem with outer, poetic *integumentum* and inner "mystical" content, we might also see the "antro e tempio" as a figure for

the Christian who has been buried with Christ in baptism and lives again as His temple. These speculations cannot be separated from the *senso fisico*, as Paul speaks of the seed which dies in the earth before it is raised as a metaphor for the raising of the spiritual body in the resurrection after baptism. In the Casino the physical, mythological and spiritual levels of the *sensi poetici* are worked together in a way exemplified by the Hours, with their graceful measure and constant regeneration of good order; even the progress through the building is cyclical, with entry through the physical-mythological universe represented in the court to the spiritual centre within, and return out again to the court to see the world fulfilled by Christian grace.[203] At the Villa D'Este, Ligorio tries to bring together the physical and mythological allegories and the spiritual content in a different way, and we shall argue that the *grottesche* become fundamental for the structure of meaning in play, as well as its visual figuration.

Villa D'Este

In contrast to the Vatican Casino, which emphasises the concentration of the field of representation, the Villa D'Este insists on its vastness, and the fact that emblematic disclosure is only a partial disclosure; the great field of meanings that arises between elements that seem to refer to all aspects of Humanist learning remains half-disclosed, partly because these elements require to be understood through nature, and the darkness of its material veils. (Figure 73) The Villa represents the deepest exploration of the "theatre of nature" of which we started to speak above; for Ligorio at the Villa D'Este it seems that the apparent absorption of everything into the image-field described in his treatise on the *grottesche* leads to the need to explore the character of that field, and so move into a deeper search to disclose nature as background. Ligorio's search resulted in some of the most memorable and dramatic achievements in Renaissance garden art, as exemplified by the great surge of water from darkness into light at the Fountain of the Dragon, or the Water Organ which seems to have rendered the idea of sibylline prophecy through the semi inchoate music which floated above the great roar of water cascades of the Fountian of the Flood. (Figure 74) Again, the important question at the Villa D'Este is to consider *how*, as much as *what* the iconography meant, partly because the programme remains so open to conjecture, partly because it is no more than an outline of deeper issues of the structure of meaning which Ligorio seems to have wished to put in play.[204]

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[203] The entrace to the Casino today, on the level of the upper floor from the back of the building, is the result of later modifications.

[204] We shall not attempt to give an account of the dense iconography here, which merits a long and detailed study. Such accounts can be found in D. Coffin, *The Villa D'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton 1960, R.B.Lightbown, "Nicholas Audebert and the Villa D'Este", *JWCI* 27, 1964, M. Fagiolo, *Natura e artificio*, Rome, 1979, M.L. Madonna, "Il Genius Loci di Villa D'Este..." in *Natura e artificio*, *ed.cit.*, and D. Dernie, *The Villa D'Este at Tivoli*, London 1996. A serious problem in attempting reconstructions of the villa is constituted by the discrepancies in late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century documentation, and thus the absence of a reliable contemporary scheme. Before the garden had reached completion, Ligorio had left Rome to work an antiquarian for the court of Ferrara, and embody his iconographic speculations in the immense work on antiquities, and Ippolito D'Este had died; while the famous descriptions of Montaigne and Audebert in the 1580s show the principal features (Water Organ, Oval Fountain, Dragon Fountain and Rometta) in place, the significance of the secondary fountains and unbuilt features such as the Fountain Neptune remains more problematic. Given the intricacies of Ligorio's mythography, in which all the potential streams of significance enter into confluence, I am reluctant to venture on interpretation of such a vast scheme

As suggested, the relationship between the Casino and the Villa D'Este is most obvious at the level of orientation, with the Casino, looking to Rome in the east, with Aurora in the east, rising above the chorus of Apollo and the Muses, while the Villa D'Este, looking to Rome in the west, is linked with ocean and the *agon* of Hercules as allegories for the soul's journey through life and struggle to apotheosis, enacted in the movement westwards towards the sunset, and upwards, and southwards, to villa with its ancient monastic core and its *salone* depicting Hercules feasting with the gods. We have seen the importance of the Hours, who figure the identity of measured division (hence music), just order and ornament at the Casino – at the Villa D'Este, concerned with generative nature in its chthonic aspects, the Hours are companions of the daughters of Ocean, or associated with the nymphs of the Hesperides, in a physical reading of the Hesperidean myth which sees the dragon as the horizon, and the nature of the waters.[205] We shall argue that the Villa D'Este deals with the time of becoming in a way that disrupts the harmonious cycles of generation at the Casino and turns from the contemplation of the world made manifest and adorned with good order to speculate on the origins and ends of becoming in the "alta e profonda musica" and the destruction entailed in the transformations of becoming. As noted above, the fact that the gardens were never brought to completion and uncertainty regarding the iconography, especially in the upper part of the garden (*i.e.* the statues within the nymphaea above the axis of the Cento Fontane) renders all interpretation shaky; prior to the attempt to discuss the iconography, one should however set forth the basic conditions of visual disclosure.

The conflation of poetic topos and perspectival theatre that was raised earlier has its most extensive development in the Villa D'Este, where the iconographic "disclosure" of the topography of the Tiburtine Hesperides is mapped out against a vertical axis reminiscent of the Belvedere court and the Temple of Fortuna of Palestrina, marked by a series of triumphal arches which rise from the grotto of the Dragon Fountain, carved out of the rock, and culminate with the loggia of the salone of the villa. (Figure 75) In this most extensive and elaborate of all surviving Renaissance gardens, many of the elements we noted above come together: the movement through a topography whose iconographic meanings are both "discovered" by Humanist invention and by the archaeology of the Tiburtine site itself, the creation of a setting, or series of settings, for a collection of antique sculpture, presented as a poetic locus, the iconographic structure which ascends from the grotto to the belvedere, associated with contemplation and the soul – at the highest level of the building was the cortile, formerly a monastic cloister, adorned with a replica of the Belvedere *Cleopatra* in her grotto, with the hallowed repose of the *nympha loci* an

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without a surer sense of the iconographic identity of each element – for this reason, I will make very generalised remarks on the villa, referring the reader to the essays above.

[205] "Dicono che le nymphe [the Hesperides] siano le Hore figliuole del Sole et di Egle cioè dela luce et le poma essere le stelle et il Dracone lo orizzonte, et la natura dell'acque" ("They say that the nymphs of the Hesperides are the Hours daughters of Sun and Aegle, that is of light the apples are the stars and the Dragon the horizon, and the nature of the waters"), Turin, a.II.J.23, vol.44. In relation to the Hours and their seasonal attributes, we might note that Flora and Pomona appear at both the Casina and the Villa D'Este; at the former they flank Aurora and the chariot of the sun, in keeping with the hours as "dispensatrici dei beni", while at the Villa D'Este two grottos are dedicated to them, at each end of the axis of the Cento Fontane, above the Dragon Fountain.

image for contemplative *quies*. (Figure 76) In a famous remark cited above, Uberto Foglietta, a Genoese historian in the entourage of Ippolito D'Este spoke of a "hidden theme, not wanting in gentility, to personify subtly the nature of the Tiburtine ground".[206] In the Villa D'Este this "hidden theme", concerned with the disclosure of the locus, is figured in an iconography that spreads over a whole landscape and embraces nothing less than the theme of human situation in the world and human progress through life to salvation.

If we have spoken above about the way that the iconographic articulation of perspectival axes in gardens associated with Vignola turned the spectator into protagonist engaged in exploring a topography and reflecting upon his or her activity in so doing, the Villa D'Este serves to illuminate the contemplative activity of this engaged spectator. The very density of the iconography, which emphasises multiple relationships between the statues and fountains, forces the spectator constantly into decisions, judgements and interpretations for which the choice of Hercules, Cicero's figure for the moral consistency of decorum, provided a moral emblem. The "moral" decisions which Ligorio reveals for the spectator, however stand at a remove from praxis, and address the beholder's capacity to perceive similtiudes, make acute judgements, reconcile contraries and so discover order and structures of meaning – the work of *ingenium*, in a word. The progress through the garden, with its multiple pathways and figurations, its various themes which are announced, developed and cross over or parallel one another, also suggest the romance themes of wandering or *errance* in the world, judgement and salvation; at variance with the teleological structure of the epic, where each action serves to lead the hero to a destined end, in romance the digressive, dilatory character of wandering is fundamental to the emergence of order and meaning – as we have seen in the *Mutabilitie Cantos*, where dilation is finally revealed as *dilatio*, the procession of all being prior to the Second Coming. If one sees the multiple threads of romance narration, which present an allegory of being in the world as a narrative analogy for the progress through the Villa D'Este, the accommodation of variety in romance should be considered alongside the inflation of the analogical structure in Camillo's theatre or the plethora of meanings discovered by philological interpretation.[207] In order to give an account of the garden, no matter how imperfect, one must however commence with a statement of the dominant themes.

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[206] Cited in David Coffin, *The Villa D'Este at Tivoli*, Princeton 1960, p.97. Coffin p.336 notes that Foglietta wrote the first published account of the Villa, in the form of a long Latin description dedicated to Flavio Orsini, written in 1569 and printed ten years later as the *Vberti Folietae opera subsiciva opuscula varia*, Rome 1579. Foglietta was part of an informal academy, later known as the "Accademia degli Agevoli" which included Archbishop Bandini-Piccolomini, nephew of Pius III, Muret, Scipione Gonzaga, the philosopher Flaminio Nobili and Antonio del Re. The discussions were, it seems, focused on Tiburtine topography and history, and Del Re was later to publish the *Antichità tiburtine* (1611).

[207] In speaking of the interweaving of various threads of meaning concretised in the labyrinthine paths of the garden, one should remember the metaphors of emplotment in romance as tapestry, or as wandering forest path - see Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* XIII.81 "Di molte fila esser bisogno parme/ a condur la gran tela ch'io lavoro" ("Many threads, it seems to me, are needed, to bring to completion the great web that I am working").

The most obvious element in the vast programme is depicted in the vertical ascent to the villa, which privileges Hercules's defeat of the dragon in the garden of the Hesperides, a myth suitable to the theme of *virtù* and its rewards (the golden apples of Ippolito D'Este's *impresa*), and that of the paradise garden, a Hesperides looking towards Rome in the sunset. At every point in the journey up the hill to the villa, the spectator is confronted by iconographic axes which transverse the garden; the two great horizontal axes, one culminating in the Water Organ, and the other running from the Pegasus and Fountain of Tivoli along the Line of a Hundred Fountains to the Rometta, referred, very crudely speaking, respectively to the progression from nature as chaotic tumult (the unbuilt Neptune fountain) to disclosed harmony (the Water Organ, which contained the statue of Ephesian Diana) and from poetic, oracular disclosure (Pegasus and the Tiburtine Sibyl) to history (Rometta). (Figures 77- 81) As at Villa Madama, or the nearby Villa Adriana, where Ligorio's excavations resulted in the first plans (published by Francesco Contini in 1751) as well as the removal of statues to adorn the new Estense *theatrum mundi*, each section of this iconography-topography has its own articulation and progression, and each mythological protagonist or theme enters into various relationships and meanings at various levels. Levels of meaning have become literally that, and, as in a vault of grotesquework, one is forced repeatedly to shift the sense of framing or context as new levels of relationship between the parts of the garden are disclosed. The expectation of a unified axis rising from sunken grotto to belvedere-cloister which is presented to the viewer on entering the garden[208] thus gives way to a labyrinthine journey, entailing diversified meditations on nature and human art; the iconography of the garden is so varied, and the inter-relationships relationships so multifarious that it can barely be resolved in the spectator's mind by contemplation – a structure so complex that it seems even to defy resolution into the simplicity of an idea. We return again to the notion that we are dealing with an imitation, not of the phenomenal appearance of things, but of their order in the world, and the nature of apprehension by the human soul, as we saw Ligorio discuss the *grottesche*, in which the movement from seeing to inner vision entails the discovery the *sensi poetichi* by way of the unstable conjunctions of the *phantasia*. At the Casino, we saw how Ligorio worked together the mimetic cycles exemplified by theatre with the disclosure of the cosmos as "alta e profonda musica" and the metaphoric discovery of harmonious order that reflects Nature in the variety of the *grottesche*. At the Villa D'Este we move deeper into the exploration of the topos, as the ground that contains the archaeological artefacts that embody historic meaning and as the locus where one seeks to disclose Nature as universal background. The first step in this exploration is an account of the iconography, which shall concern us in the coming pages; in noting the dramas played out through fountains and the traversing of water, we might recall that the fountain is obviously a congenial way of representing the *loci* or *sedes* in which one discovers meaning, with *copia* of water flowing from its seat and rising through various levels of transformation as it passes through the garden; it is also a type of emblem which holds its matter, and presents itself literally as a lively play of its embodying elements.

As stated, there are in the garden, very roughly speaking, two principal movements which one might try to work together – a cyclical movement from west to

[208] That is, on entering from the end furthest from the villa at Porta Romana, not, as today, through the villa itself.

east, returning to the west, and a vertical movement, north to south, up the hill to the villa and its ancient cloister. Crudely speaking, the southwards, vertical ascent is centred on Hercules, who appears immortalised in his feast with the gods in the vault of the Salone of the villa, and is articulated by a sequence of triumphal arches that recall the Belvedere Court and the Temple of Fortune at Palestrina.[209] The cyclical movement, which begins and returns to the west, commences with the (unbuilt) Neptune Fountain, and first culminates in the east with the Water Organ, with its statue of Ephesian Diana as *natura generante* above the Fountain of the Flood, where music was revealed in the chaotic materiality of the waters of the deep.[210] Moving up from the Water Organ and *Dea Natura* is the Fountain of Tivoli, or Oval Fountain, dedicated to poetry, prophecy and the Tiburtine site – Ino-Albunea, the Tiburtine Sibyl, who prophecied the coming of Christ to Augustus, sits in her grotto above a fountain whose niches were dedicated to the Muses, while above her head Pegasus, born from the blood of the Gorgon, unleashes the Pierian spring from the dark rock. In his *Trattato di alcune cose appartenente alla nobiltà dell'antiche arti*, published in *SAC* II, Ligorio discusses a fountain which has certain features of the Oval Fountain at Tivoli, although it is a Parnassus without the added dimension of meaning that comes from the Tiburtine Sibyl, who occupies the place of Mnemosyne in the scheme, a point to which we shall return. In this account Ligorio also notes that Pegasus was born from the blood of the Medusa, thus emphasising the chthonic character associated with the unleashing of the spring of poetry. In the court before the Oval Fountain, there are grottos to Bacchus and Venus, deities associated with moisture, regeneration through transformation, and friendly to Ino-Albunea; she is the nurse of Dionysus, with whom she is also connected through her death and resurrection, while Venus saves her and transforms her into a marine deity before she comes to the Italic shore as sibyl.[211] The topography at this point also recalls that of Parnassus, which contained both the grove of the nymphs and the chthonic cave of the Pythian priestess; from this originating place of inspired speech a line of a hundred fountains, once decorated with images of the *Metamorphoses*, lead the waters of Tivoli, the Anio and the Ercolo, to the Rometta, conceived as an epitome of ancient Rome, with the Apennines and Tiber, the two gates of San Paulo and Porta Flaminia and each hill distinguished by its famous buildings, as recorded by Ligorio in his maps of 1553 and 1561. (Figure 82) The Rometta also featured a miniature Tivoli, with cascade of the Anio, the so-called temple of Vesta and the temple of the Sibyls; it was described as a "scena ò Teatro semiovato" by Del Re in his 1611 description and the Venturini engravings of 1685 show visitors walking around the "buildings".[212] One could also see in the Rometta as epitome a mnemonic image which contains references to the whole of Rome in a number of designated *loci*, presented in the form of a theatre dominated by an armed, Minervan figure; here we should also remember that the

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[209] The painted decoration combines two elements from Raphael – a balcony with columns in steep perspective, like those in the vaults of the Vatican Logge and a tapestry showing the feast of the gods, clearly inspired by the Loggia di Psiche in the Farnesina.

[210] The mechanism and sound produced by the Water Organ are discussed by Audebert and the anonymous sixteenth century description published by Coffin, and by Dernie, *op.cit.*

[211] The Grotto of Venus, in a leafy *locus amoenus* has been contrasted with the Grotto of Diana, on the western side of the garden and reached by a more arduous climb, as the choice between pleasure and virtue in the Choice of Hercules – this seems to me only one level of the meaning of Venus in the gardens, associated also with *natura generante* and the apples of the Hesperides. On the eastern ridge, before the Water Organ, a fountain to Venus Cloacina appears to have been planned, suggesting the purification of the waters of the garden and the role of Venus in this purification.

[212] Coffin, *op.cit.*, pp.24-27.

Tiburtine sibyl, facing the Rometta, takes the place of Mnemosyne on Parnassus. David Coffin has suggested that the Rometta may have been used for theatricals, composed perhaps by the Estense Humanist Marc Antoine Muret, who devised the epigrams for the gardens which link the labours of Hercules with the chastity of Hippolytus, to whom the garden is jointly dedicated, and speak of Hippolytus as possessor of the golden apples of the Hesperides "Nec labor Alciden fregit, nec blanda voluptas/ unquam animum casti molliti Hippolyti" "Aurea sopito rapuit quae mala Dracone/ Alcides, eadem nunc tenet Hippolytus./ Qui memor accepti, quos hic conservat hortos,/ Auctori voluit muneris esse sacros".[213] Muret's epigraphs thus speak of the garden as dedicated to the active virtue of Hercules and the contemplative virtue of Hippolytus by the Christian Hippolytus who holds as his emblem the golden apples that signify the soul's victory over vice in a second Hesperides.

The Rometta also marks the end of the westward cycle, with the waters of Tiber (and the Anio) flowing to the sea in the west – this cycle thus begins with the west in the darkness and chaos of the sea, moves east towards the rising sun and the disclosure of music in the watery depths, continues to the east with the Tiburtine sibyl, originally Ino, the nurse of Dionysus and sister of Semele, then transformed into a water divinity (Leucothea), who finally becomes Albunea, the Tiburtine Sibyl and Mater Matuta, goddess of the dawn. The prophecies and oracular verses of Albunea lead to Rome, the sea and the setting sun; this occidental orientation, so emphatically depicted in the fresco of the gardens in the Salotto of the villa, represents the great link with the other principal theme of Hercules, the Hesperides, and Hippolytus. The Hesperides is the great paradise of the west, on the edge of Ocean, and the nymphs of the Hesperides are the daughters of Night and Darkness, or Erebus; the gardens reverse the normal expectations about orientation to east and west by the fact that the eastern side of the garden, presented as a recreation of the Tiburtine topography, is constituted by a steep ridge, whose fountains, linked with prophecy all have the form of dark grottos, and the movement towards the sun is a journey towards sunset and night. The westwards cycle can be taken as the journey of Ino-Leucothea-Albunea, plunging into destruction in the sea, saved by Venus (*natura generante*) to re-appear as sibyl and goddess of dawn, her oracular verses taken to the Capitol with the other sibylline books; it also suggests a natural cycle, rising from the chaos of the sea to form, culminating in the city and civic, Minervan *artes* (symbolised in the Fountain of the Owl and the Fountain of the Emperors as well as the Minervan statue in the Rometta) to return to the west, darkness and the ocean. Against this cycle the heroic *agon* of Hercules progresses towards the sun, up the slopes of the hill; as Coffin remarks, the Herculean theme invites Christian interpretation (as in the statue of Hercules in triumph above the Dragon Fountain), as well as references to the choice

[213] Cited in Coffin, *op.cit.*, p.78 ("Labour did not crush Hercules, nor the lure of pleasure soften the mind of chaste Hippolytus" "Hippolytus now holds these golden apples which Hercules took from the sleeping dragon. Mindful of what he has received, he wishes the gardens where he keeps them to be sacred to the author of the gift."). I have been unable to find the two final lines in Latin of Muret's first epigraph on Hercules and Hippolytus; the final lines in translation read "enflamed with love for both virtues, Hippolytus dedicates these gardens to Hercules and Hippolytus".

of Hercules evidenced by the two grottos of Venus and Diana, the latter at one end of the so-called walk of the Cardinal (*i.e.* Hippolytus).[214]

The theme of Diana and Hippolytus is at the most obvious level a celebration of the virtue of restraint and temperance in complement to the active virtue of Hercules and an encomiastic elaboration on Ippolito D'Este's name, since the Este vaunted descent from Hercules. If Tivoli, with its grottos and cascades (including the river Ercolo), had temples to the Sibyls and Hercules,[215] Hippolytus under the name Virbius presided over the sanctuary to Diana at Lake Nemi, near Ariccia. Hippolytus, son of the Amazon Hippolyta, was murdered by will of his father Theseus at the instigation of his step-mother Phaedra, whose advances he had refused; like Ino-Albunea his death is associated with the sea (Poseidon sends a monster or bull from the sea to terrify the horses driving his chariot), he is resurrected by divine will (Diana aided by Aesculapius) and comes to second life (Virbius, *vir bis*, a man twice) as a sacred, sacerdotal figure.[216] Water is associated with death, whether by inundation or by the natural cycle that leads from chaos through life to death; as element of transformation it may symbolise regeneration into spiritual life, whether as the sibylline grotto, the sacred lake of Nemi, or the waters of baptism linked to the new Christian Hippolytus, Cardinal D'Este, and these meanings are summarised in biblical terms in the two adjoining chambers of the villa dedicated to the Flood of Noah and to Moses. These transformations form the context for the heroic activity of Hercules, whose *agon* in the Hesperides is the last of his labours, according to Ligorio,[217] and whose reward is the virtue of the soul represented by the golden apples and apotheosis in a setting which is both Christian (ex-monastery and Cardinal's residence) and a temple to the Tiburtine Sibyl, no less splendid than the temple to Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina.[218]

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[214] The anonymous sixteenth century description describes the grotto of Venus as a place of voluptuous pleasure and the grotto of Diana as a place of chastity. Minerva appears in the Grotto of Diana, linking the theme of chastity with the meditation on the civic *artes* in the Rometta and Fountain of the Owls below the Grotto.

[215] According to Dernie, the villa was aligned with no less than three temples to Hercules, amongst other famous antique Tiburtine sites (such as the villas of Augustus and Quintillius Varro), two of which were the temple to Hercules Saxanus and Hercules Victor. The Second Tiburtine Room in the villa shows Hercules Saxanus – returning with the cattle of Geryon, Hercules is forced to battle with Albio and Borgio, but is aided by Jupiter who rains stones on his adversaries. Madonna, *op.cit.*, p.207 also relates that Ino-Leucothea and her son Melicertes-Palemon are saved by Hercules Saxanus from attack by the Bacchantes of the Aventine hill.

[216] As noted above, designs for a series of tapestries depicting Hippolytus-Virbius were made by Ligorio and are preserved today in the Pierpoint Morgan Library; they are reproduced and discussed by Coffin, *op.cit.*, and Ligorio remarked that they could serve as images for local memory (cited in Lina Bolzani, *op.cit.*, *Giovan Battista Della Porta...*). The theme of chastity is emphasied on the Cardinal's walk on the upper terrace of the garden, from the Grotto of Diana in the west to the fountain of Hygieia and Aesculapius which contains a fountain of Arethusa, identified as one of the Hesperides and a nymph who was changed into a fountain by Artemis in order to escape the river-god Alpheus.

[217] Turin, a.II.J.23, vol.44.

[218] In vol. xxii of the Turin manuscripts on antiquity, Ligorio says of the oracle of the Tiburtine Sibyl "Questo oracolo non fu meno famoso che quello de la Fortuna Primigenia, ch'era in Preneste" (This oracle was no less famous than that of Fortuna Primigenia which was at Palestrina"). Cited in Madonna, *op.cit.*, p.220.

We have already seen some of the symbolism of the apples of the Hesperides in discussion of the Statue Court of the Belvedere; as well as the association with Venus, Giraldi and Valeriano spoke of them as the virtues of freedom from anger, from lust and from avarice. Ligorio runs through the meanings in his discussion of Hercules in the Turin manuscripts, where he speaks of Hercules with club and the golden apples as philosopher "la mazza ponderosa, è la philosophia che decide tutte le cose. Li pomi Hesperidi sono le tre perturbationi che perturbano l'animo li quali vitij Hercole li sottopone et vinse".[219] Ligorio also presents Hercules as the liberator of the nymphs of the Hesperides, whom he also calls Pleiades or "Athlantidi", and the song and dance with which they accompany their liberator links them with the Muses who are led by Hercules as well as Apollo.[220] If the Atlantidi or nymphs of the Hesperides are linked with the Muses, Ligorio as we have seen also identifies them with the Hours: "Dicono che le nymphe [the Hesperides] siano le Hore figliuole del Sole et di Egle cioè dela luce et le poma essere le stelle et il Dracone lo orizzonte, et la natura dell'acque.[221] The dragon as waters and horizon is thus linked with the darkness of the west, while the nymphs represent the cyclical returning light (as well as the stars, as Pleiades or Hyades), and it should be emphasised that for Ligorio Hesperides signifies both garden and the nymphs. In discussion of the Hesperidean themes of the Belvedere *viridarium* we noted a drawing by Ligorio of a square *cippus* dedicated to Hercules, which shows the hero picking the Hesperidean apples while a nymph, in the posture of the Belvedere *Cleopatra*, sleeps beneath the tree.[222] The Hesperides in short is paradisiacal garden, is *nympha loci* or *nymphae loci* and a species of *imago mundi* - an allegory for the cyclical rising and sinking of the sun into the waters at the horizon – the *senso fisico* emphasises the orientation to the occident. One might note that the daughters of Atlas were both the Hesperides, or Pleiades, and the Hyades, the nymphs who supplied moisture to the earth and were also nurses to Dionysus, like Ino-Leucothea – the nine nymphs who encircle her fountain as Tiburtine Sibyl, in the semi-circular screen behind the great chalice whose waters rush into the oval pool, should be considered in this light. In correspondence, and at the foot of the Water Organ, above the Fountain of the Deluge, it seems that there were nine grottos dedicated to the Sibyls, thus bringing them into correspondence with the Muses.

If we compare the Herculean-Hesperidean iconography at the Villa D'Este with the treatment of the same material in the Belvedere *viridarium*, we find an emphasis on the *senso fisico* of the western garden surrounded by the ocean symbolised by the dragon itself[223] – the Hesperides is not just deployed as an image for a classical Eden

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[219] Turin, a.II.J.23, vol.44 ("the heavy club is philosophy which determines all things. The apples of the Hesperides are the three perturbations which disurb the mind which Hercules subdued and overcame".) Further in the same manuscript entry, Ligorio writes of "[i] tre affetti che deturbano l'animo i quali Hercole con la sua fatica e pacienza et philosophia vinse" ("the three affects that disturb the soul which Hercules overcame with his effort and patience and philosophy").

[220] Turin, *op. cit.* "Gli antichi sculpirono Hercole accompagnato colle Athlantidi, che con diverse istrumenti musicali dimostranti di suonare et cantare, et glorificare il loro Duce et Liberatore et conservatore dela loro pudicitia [...] Esso [Hercules] poi con meritevole modo le fece sue seguaci et compagne, et che relucono tra le stelle [...] le menò seco, et queste cantando et suonando". l'accompagnano sempre.

[221] See note 205 above.

[222] The drawing is reproduced by Mitchell and Mandowsky in their publication of Naples XIII B7 in *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*.

[223] "Alcuni affermano che 'l guardiano era figura deli flutti del mare, sendo il giardino circondato da travagliosi impiti di vorticose onde in isola, e li flutti sendo tortuose et di molte testature, i poeti lo

or golden age topos, but used as a figure for the cyclical setting of the sun which sinks into darkness in the ocean. This physical allegory continues in the treatment of the Muses and Hours, distinct from that which we saw at the Casino – as we have seen, the Hours are not the companions of Aurora and Apollo but the Hesperides in the West, the Muses become the "Athlantidi", nymphs of moisture and ocean, who accompany Hercules with song and dance, or the Sibyls whose Parnassus is Tivoli where the chthonic aspect of Apollonian prophecy and poetry is revealed, and the Sibyl amidst the thunderous cascades takes the place of Mnemosyne in repose. To reiterate, the western part of the gardens looking towards sunset is conceived as a great field of light, while the east is a dark ridge hollowed by grottos in which the Apollonian forces (the rising sun, poetry, music, prophecy) manifest themselves in terms of darkness and chaos. This deliberate rooting of the forces linked with light and illumination in darkness, and insistence that the ascent to light is oriented to the west, must be considered in terms of the themes of rebirth and resurrection – at the level of nature we have the Hesperidean nymphs as the Hours, and the return of the light from the waters, at the level of *mythos* we have Ino-Albunea and Hippolytus-Virbius, at the spiritual level we have the Christian themes of salvation from the universal flood, figured in the rainbows created by fountains over the Fishponds, and baptism, with the death of the body into spiritual life. To all this we should add the famous prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl, who foretold the coming of Christ to Augustus, and Maria Luisa Madonna notes that Boissard in the *De divinatione et magicis Praestegiis* presents the Sibyl's prophecy as a jeremiad against the iniquities of Rome and its certain fall, appropriate to the presentation of Rome against the setting sun.[224]

We have only given the most hasty sketch of the dense iconography of the villa here, but it is already obvious that Ligorio is working with broad moral and cosmological themes (the long westwards path to the end of life, and ascent to the end of life's labours, natural cycles of regeneration as allegory for mythological metamorphosis and spiritual rebirth) which are elaborated, dilated, intertwined and reiterated at various levels of meaning through the movement from darkness to light which is both vertical and cyclical, from east to west. As in Camillo's theatre, Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* and the contemporary manuals of mythography on which Ligorio based much of his own research, one should not look for a single meaning or even a single theme, but multiple identities "contained" in a single mythological figure, which may contradict one another and certainly suggest varying levels of profundity. Ligorio is unusual in attempting to build the kind of the speculative structure that his contemporaries left in the form of handbooks, and attempting to build it in a way that opens the question of nature as background and situation. We have seen above that Ligorio has a particular awareness of the absorption of all things into the continuum of artifice, where they become objects of the imperfect human

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finsero Dracone con cento capi, dela cui oppenione di flutti è Plinio tra gli altri" ("Some authors affirm that the guardian [of the Hesperides] is a figure for the tides of the sea, since the garden is an island surrounded by turbulent and eddying waves, and since these floods are perilous and tower up in peaks like the heads of a monster, Pliny and others said that the poets depicted them by a Dragon with a hundred heads") Turin, a.II.J.23, vol.44.

[224] Cited in Madonna, *op.cit.*, p.210. Dernie, *op.cit.* p.54 also recalls that the Tiburtine Sibyl is identified by Augustine with the Cumaean Sibyl, who foretold "nine suns" and "nine generations" ending with the Final Judgement.

understanding, which creates "veils" of meaning and moves through stratified levels or contradictions in order to arrive at the *concordia* which can become a figure for simple essence. As we move from the perspectival room as an opening onto nature as universal background and source of reason – *i.e.* the kind of formulation we find in Alberti – to the room as theatre of human artifice, increasingly linked with the mnemonic and encyclopaedic associations of emblematics, we have noted a preoccupation with how nature is apprehended by the mind – in particular, how the transformations of becoming ar apprehended. It is this need to which Ligorio's engagement with the chthonic in the Villa D'Este seems to respond, in full awareness that the theatre of figuration can turn any setting into an element in a larger field.

At the Villa D'Este we find a vast, dense image field which which we have likened to a vault of *grottesche* in its multiplication of frames, its gods and heroes within their arches and its miniaturised edifices, its use of metamorphosis, rendered through water, as an explicit means of linking elements - the various journeys dramatised in the garden are enacted in a topography which is simultaneously the Tiburtine ground and a great theatre of the earth's waters, which are both vessels of transformation and themselves transformed as they turn into music and light (for example, rain fell in delicate showers causing rainbows to form over the Fishponds). These elements which challenge the understanding to penetrate their *poetica scorza* and illuminate its own processes in disclosing their meaning, also call for an engagement with nature and return constantly to the question of what and where nature is. Ligorio is subtle enough to recognise that any attempt to figure nature directly will lead to the creation of another veil, another *scorza*, leading to the kind of build-up of interpretations that we find in De'Vieri's multiplication of the traditional four levels of biblical exegesis into twelve. This leaves two possibilities, and it seems that Ligorio embraces both – in keeping with the *grottesche* as a way of thinking about figuration, we find the multiplication of veils, or multiple metaphoric disclosures, in the idea that encyclopaedic accumulation can lead to *concordia* as figure, if not direct disclosure, of simple essence. Secondly, there is the attempt to force nature into revelation, to push back into the chaos of the flood or the dark rock and make it erupt with energy in the moment that inchoate matter takes on form and speech, as dramatised in the Dragon Fountian at the base of the ascent marked out by the vertical sequence of triumphal arches or the Water Organ. Thus the Tiburtine territory, with its natural grottos of tartaro, where the rock likened by Alberti to travertine foam seems to rise into forms of bodies has its analogy in the prophetic utterance of the Tiburtine sibyl, represented at Tivoli as music mingled with the waters of the flood. Lafreri in the Dupérac map of 1573 spoke of the grottos made by the force of the Anio cascades:

> il corso del fiume Aniene furiosamente cascando dalli monti nel Latio, ha fatto dentro le vene delle pietre concavità et grotte stupende, quale per succession di tempo, et per sua natura ha generato tartari di diverse forme, tal che in molti luoghi si vedono congelati, che pareno figure umane, et talvolta animali, frutti et infinite altre cose, stupende.[225]

[225] ("the river Anio, cascading with furious torrents from the mountains of Latium, has made extraordinary hollows and grottos inside the veins of the rock, and these in the course of time and nature have generated tartaro in various shapes, congealed forms that sometimes have the semblance of

Such a description recalls Doni's remarks on in *Il Disegno* on Nature drawing in matter, and the *grottesche* as chimeras and "animalacci fantastici" read into clouds or created in the chaos of the mind – the half formed shapes which Nature has drawn in matter in the Tiburtine grottos reveal the formative power in the depths of nature, imitated in the veils of poetry by the phantastic images of the *grottesche*. While the music that emerges through the roar of the flood at Tivoli is, topographically speaking, the prophecy of the Tiburtine Sibyl, the figure who stood in the centre of the Water Organ, enclosed by a circular screen, was Diana of Ephesus, the *Dea Natura*, so that we might see Ino-Albunea, nurse of Dionysus, water goddess saved by Venus, Mater Matuta and Sibyl as a personification of the *Dea Natura* in her various associations, most of them bearing on the theme of water as element of fecundity, chaos and death, transformation and rebirth. In creating a personification one creates a *scorza poetica*, a concealing veil used to illuminate, yet in this case the object of illumination is by its nature darkness and concealedness. Here we come back to a question raised by Ligorio's speculation in the essay on the *grottesche*, where he speaks of Proteus as a figure for *prima materia*, the very essence of nature that underlies the forms – or veils - that it adopts. Thus the question arises of disclosing the essence of Nature itself, the energies that lie in it at its most material level, prior to the clothing of forms and words.

The most obvious aspect of this attempt to disclose Nature lies in the revelation of its living energies in the sound, light, impetus and hydraulic mechanisms of the fountains. This manipulation of Nature by art so as to discover the latent energies of the former appears in Ligorio's discussion in the *Trattato* of a fountain identified by David Coffin with the *meta sudans* which appears in Duperac's engraving of 1573 of the Villa D'Este. Ligorio speaks of "una meta rotonda, ma fatta a gradi, et in cima della meta era una palla di nube, la quale pioveva tutta da zampilli e gocciole d'acqua che, undeggiante da grado a grado, saltavano le onde e s'increspavano come ridenti; talché con alcuni bollori che accompagnavano tutta la forma, pareva che veramente ch'ogni cosa fremesse per qualche occulto segreto [...] Pertanto porgevano tutte le cose insieme grandissimo ornamento di gioconda vista. Le qual cose non erano fatte a caso, né difformi, anzi tutte concordi insieme si vedevano essere di alto significato".[226] The *meta sudans*, a structure associated with the circus and its planetary symbolism, here becomes a means of creating artificially rain, while the rainbows were created by jets that played over the Fish ponds where the *metae* stood – the depiction of the rainfall and atmospheric effects takes place in the axis that stretches from Neptune to the Dea Natura-Tiburtine Sibyl in the heart of water organ, so that we see the ocean replenished by the endless generation of waters from the heavens and the biblical promise of the renewal of the earth after the deluge. The laughing waters of the spectacular *metae* are appropriate to a place of pleasure but the

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human figures, sometimes animals, fruits and an infinity of other incredible things"), Madonna, *op.cit.*, p.203.

[226] *Trattato*, *op. cit.* pp.1428-29 ("a round, stepped *meta*, and at its summit was a ball of cloud which rained little jets and drops of water which rolled down the steps, and fell into the waves, shuddering on the surface of the water as though breaking into laughter; so that with the bubbling of the body of water, it seemed that every thing trembled due to some hidden secret [...] These things together thus gave great ornament and pleasure to the gaze. They were not made by chance nor were they random, but in concord together, they showed that they possessed a profound meaning").

waters that bubble and seethe because of an *occulto segreto* point to the overwhelming character of Nature's energies in the garden.

We have seen that Ligorio views the imitation of Nature as the great accomplishment of antique art, and this is one reason why he devotes such energy to elaborating the physical allegories of mythological figures and gods, searching out in the textual and archaeological corpus of antiquity a poetic structure that can reflect in its concord and fullness the perfection of the cosmos. We have seen his discussion of this structure in the treatise on the *grottesche* and in the cyclical spaces and iconography of the Casino, and have spoken at the Casino of the renewal of a golden age in the pontificate of Pius IV as *vicarius Christi* and Augustan prince. The Villa D'Este, like the Casino, works with notions of an earthly paradise renewed, but Ligorio emphasises the Hesperides as occidental garden, on the edge of Ocean – in Greek mythology, the nymphs of the Hesperides are the daughters of Night and Erebus, darkness and the underground region that forms a passage to Hades. The steep climb and maze like paths of the garden make it clear that it is not a locus of contemplative repose like the Casino, but a place of toil, *agon* or *errance* enacted before a topography of flood, torrent and cavernous grottos populated by the gods and nymphs associated with *natura naturans* where Apollonian harmony has become the *musico profondo* of the Sibyl who dies and metamorphoses in water and substitutes Mnemosyne, repositary of classical learning, with the mysterious prophecies that foretell the destruction of Rome. Again, we have argued that the recovery of antiquity has a figure in the depiction of the perfect order of creation, the two brought together in the topos of the golden age in which antique learning returns and makes the world flower once more, now in the light of Christian revelation. This throws up the question of how we read the unfolding of antique meanings at the Villa D'Este; it should be emphasised that we have only given the most cursory glance at the iconography and an attempt to give a fuller reading of each of the figures in the garden, and their inter-relationships, in terms of Ligorio's own writings would full up many pages. The mythical protagonists of the garden – the Sibyl and Hercules – have links with the Tiburtine site, with its ancient history of conflict with Rome, as well as pointing to the life of labour and transformation, while the Tiburtine landscape also seems to show nature in process. The surging waters and forms that seem to rise to life in the grottos do not suggest the earthly paradise but Nature in violent transformation, and the unfolding of antique culture takes place against this storm and deluge – with this in mind we should go back for a moment to the remark above that the garden resembles a field of grotesquework with its plethora of figures in their arches, linked by the *legami* of the waters in configurations that shift and regroup as we move through the garden. We have so far concentrated on Ligorio's claims for the *sinfonia* in the *assinfoniche* that can be revealed by the *scorza poetica*, but he also speaks of the multiplicity of images, figures for the multitude of thoughts and desires, confused and troubled like the waters of the sea ("come sono appunto l'onde del mare, delli flussi e reflussi dell'oceani trasportate e sbattute"[227]) which "si profondano nell'abisso del mare della vita".[228] We have often reiterated Ligorio's claim that the disordered *copia* of *grottesche* becomes harmonious as it grasps the essence of Nature

[227] *SAC* III, p.2677 ("like the waves of the sea, the tides of the ocean carried forth and blown about").
[228] *op.cit.* p.2680 ("which drown in the abyss of the sea of life"). Ligorio also refers at p.2681 to "la circuizione dell'acque turbate e che inundano la umana vita" ("the circulation of the troubled waters which inondate human life").

in the transformations of the *prima materia* and this can be worked in smoothly in the Casino, which thematises creation as *alta e profonda musica* – when Nature itself is disclosed in terms of the flux and turbulence of the ocean, the *grottesche* must be seen as figures for this instability whose essence lies in change. One moves into a different emphasis of meaning of the *grottesche* here, in which they are not so much metaphors for the disclosure of harmonious order in the manifold as figures that display the collapse of accumulated variety into disorder, or point to order as latent or potential in chaos – for chaos as absolute otherness is beyond representation.

We have noted that in relation to the Casino, the Villa D'Este represents a focus on the mimesis of becoming, origins, and endings. We are still in the world of generation represented through mimesis (human artifice and narrative) but the emphasis now falls on the undifferentiated nature of what lies as potential or latency before the separation of creation, and the transformation or destruction that attends each creative act of separation. At the Casino, Ligorio presented the Hours as figures who embodied the division essential to the appearance of the universe as cosmos, in all senses – in this regard we tried to suggest that what they embodied in terms of temporality should be considered alongside the distinction of body and soul so that they are conjoined in generated life, as imitated in human art. The profound meditation on ornament at the Casino stems from this insight, which places together the *nodo* (distinction-conjunction) of form and matter, earth and heaven, word and image, body and soul, with the just order that appears through the division that creates time, and the cyclical regenerative temporality as imitated in mimesis. At the Villa D'Este, in place of the division and conjunction of order as played out through temporal cycles, or the relationship of body and soul, we find the attempt to show the appearance of body and soul as they arise from the undifferentiated latency of chaos, like the tartaro figures formed in the Tiburtine caves. Things thus depicted in the process of becoming reveal the body and soul undetatched from the life-giving potency of chaos or *prima materia*, and the Villa D'Este attempts, it seems, an unusually full depiction of this process; thus the becoming of the body and soul is not restricted to the depictions of chthonic figures in grottos, emerging from stone and water like the rocks thrown by Deucalion and Pyrrha after the flood in Ovid, but enters into all levels of the garden, and concerns the dissolution, as well as the creation of body and soul.[229] What is played out with respect to the "musico profondo" of *natura naturans* and the relation of *prima materia* to body and soul may be played out at higher levels – we spoke above of the delicate, attenuated forms of the *grottesche* which sway against a brilliant white ground as forms whose material background seemed to have been disintegrated in the light. In keeping with what is apparently an abiding theme at the Villa D'Este, dissolution pertains to the end and fulfilment of things, and thus we might consider the various levels at which the theme of becoming and ending are enacted in the garden.

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[229] In the 1580's at the *Grotta Grande* of the Boboli Gardens, Buontalenti would depict the deluge of *Metamorphoses* I.163-433, with figures in imitation tufa emerging from the walls as Deucalion and Pyrrha repopulate the world by tossing stones ("the bones of their great mother") on the damp earth, at the command of Themis, as Ligorio notes. In ll.416-433 Ovid describes the generation of animals after the deluge, born from the *concors discordia* of moisture and heat (ll.432-433 "cumque sit ignis aquae pugnax, vapor umidus omnes/ res creat, et discors concordia fetibus apta est"), using the topos of the generation of creatures from Nilotic mud and speaks of the half-formed creatures whose body is partly living, partly rude earth ("eodem in corpore saepe/ altera pars vivit, rudis est pars altera tellus", ll.428-429).

At the most obvious level, there is the representation of origins of becoming, in the Tiburtine caves of *tartaro* recreated in the grottos, whose name recalls the classical Hades, or the ocean where Ino perishes, and the sun sinks to the west. If the sun's descent may seem like a "death", it is also a fecundation and we should remember that the ocean is held as a source of all life, and Ligorio's identification of the Hours with the Hesperides as they follow the sun into the ocean reminds us of the cyclical character of the sun's descent. The ocean and its waters are both origins and of life, hexemeral symbols for the fullness of creation, and destructive flood essential to the regeneration of the world from moisture and heat which reveals the movement of *prima materia*. This is all quite explicitly depicted in the *senso fisico* of the Villa d'Este, especially in the the lower part of the gardens, up to the Dragon Fountain, as dedicated to Nature, with the rainbows above the Fish ponds that form part of the axis of Neptune recalling Jupiter's call on Iris and Neptune to aid him in the destruction of mankind in *Metamorphoses* I.270-275 and the Dragon as guardian of the Hesperides associated by Ligorio with the oceanic waters that quench light; the original presence of Jupiter Tonans behind the Dragon Fountain would have depicted Jupiter's rule over the world that he wills to destroy. In Ovid, the earth regenerates after the deluge giving rise to the living stones whose rise into form from a body of earth and water is depicted in the tufa or tartaro, but from the physical regeneration of the world we rise to the spiritual regeneration of mythological figures – from the vegetal to the intellectual soul, with the regeneration of Ino in the sea as the divinity Leucothea and her ascent to prophetic vision as Sibyl. The axis of Neptune thus culminates with the water organ, disclosing the *alta e profonda musica*, figured in the images of Apollo and Diana, and the soul in Nature, represented topographically in the Tiburtine Sibyl. At the eastern end of the axis of Neptune the presence of the Sibyl would have revealed the ocean as the element of her death, metamorphosis and regeneration, so the floods start to take on sacred significance which is depicted also in the rainbows of the Fishponds. The myth of the Tiburtine Sibyl progresses at the next level, where she appears enthroned in the place of Mnemosyne on a mount that represents Tivoli and Parnassus, where Deucalion and Pyrrha took refuge from the flood, and from here we move to Rome in the land of the west (Hesperia), above the Dragon Fountain; the route is lined with Cento Fontane that represented scenes from the *Metamorphoses*, which relate all things from the creation of the cosmos to the apotheosis of Caesar and lead to Rome, where human government and artifice are celebrated (Fountain of Emperors and Fountain of the Owls – the owl a symbol for Minervan *technē*) – the suggestion that the Rometta is in part a memory theatre is strengthened by the place of Albunea as Mnemosyne. The Sibyl is not a figure for memory but for prophecy, concerning the birth of Christ and the end of Rome – in the axis that stretches from the Oval fountain to the Rometta we see a movement from prophecy and poetry as first disclosure of the things that had been hidden, as Scaliger said, to the Rometta representing history and memory; the two are mediated by the Hundred Fountains with the metamorphoses that recount the passage from cosmogony through *mythos* to history, and unfold human art in its variety.

Thus one progresses along the line of the Cento Fontane from prophecy to find the object of prophecy presented in terms of memory and history; the axis seems to concern ways of perceiving time (origins and prophecy, mythic narrative, history

preserved through the arts and memory) – at each point we experience the time of becoming in different ways. We spoke above of the Muses as an explication of the order embodied by the Hours or Graces in terms of human art – at the Villa D'Este we should try to work together the references to human learning in the topography of becoming, in this way moving from *natura naturans* to myths of origin to human artifice. We should recall from discussion of Salutati above that Hercules, as exemplar of active virtue, could also be taken as a figure for the heroic labours of the philologist, who works to disclose the horizons of historic meaning and bring to light the meanings of the ancient world. Alongside the struggle of Hercules as figure for Humanist studies, as hero who chooses the stony path of virtue and as *typus Christi* who appeared in the clearing above the Dragon Fountain,[230] the plenitude of waters in the garden may be read as a portrayal for the *copia* of human learning or artifice, whose imperfect nature Ligorio discusses in elation to the *grottesche*. The task set at the Villa D'Este is to work together this regeneration through destruction with the progress of Hercules as exemplar for ethical life, *typus Christi*, and figure for the Humanist's untiring devotion to disclose the plenitude of meanings in the world in relation to the final end and resting place with God.

We have seen that at the Villa D'Este the life-giving force of the waters is attendant on the destruction of former states, a process which one can refer to the making and destruction of things within the physical world, the cosmos in its entirety or the figures who are resurrected such as Hippolytus and Ino-Albunea, and in pulling together the meanings woven through the garden we must bring together the *senso fisico* and *senso mitologico* with the *senso mistico* which seems to regard Pauline meditations on baptism and the relation of body and soul. We might start by recalling that Hercules moves southwards and moves up the steep hillside and that Ligorio talks of the taking of the apples of the Hesperides as the last labour of Hercules, *i.e.* that which is followed by journey to repose, contemplation and finally apotheosis. From the very fact that the Hesperidean iconography appears half way up the garden, and is associated with the west, ocean and nightfall, we may understand that it represents the mid point in the drama of the garden, and that we must regard the three *sensi* as working together; Hercules as *typus Christi* redeems the apple of Eden in the Hesperides, and through his action all creation is redeemed – this redemption concerns the regeneration of the conjunction of body and soul, which takes place through the death-giving and resurrecting waters of baptism. If the meaning of the garden falls into place when considered in terms of Pauline eschatology, we must recall that this meaning is played out in terms of the analogies between the regeneration of nature and of the human spirit – the relation of body and soul within the human being has its macrocosmic counterpart in the relation of Nature and divine logos. In Ligorio's garden, these two are constantly mediated by the *sensi poetici*, the metaphoric rendering of all human knowledge and arts so that they are seen as

[230] Coffin, *The Villa D'Este*, notes that he anonymous Parisian manuscript he published spoke of three statues of Hercules, one colossus in the niche behind the Dragon Fountain, one above, in a niche at the midpoint of the line of Hundred Fountains, decorated with the labours of Hercules and showing a reclining Hercules *senex*, and third above the fountains, as described above, depicting Hercules with club and a child, probably Telephus. There is some doubt as to when the statue of Hercules behind the Dragon Fountain appeared in this setting – it is recorded by Dupérac (1573) but not in contemporary descriptions – Dernie *op.cit.* notes that Del Re (1611), who was involved with the Accademia degli Agevoli, describes a statue of Jupiter in this location.

unfolding the conjunctions of form and matter, and the analogies between physical and spiritual meaning – the process which Ligorio sees as exemplified by the *grottesche*. Thus we can start to develop the suggestion that the figuration of meaning which Ligorio sees as embodied by the *grottesche* is fundamental to the way he conceives the Villa D'Este; not only does the network of statues in *tempietti* linked by the metamorphoses of water and vegetation show affinities with a vault of grotesquework but the *grottesche* can depict both the metamorphoses that represent the imperfection of human knowledge and the *dilatio* in which all becoming and all human meaning is unfolded, so that the *nodo* of body and soul is transformed through the raising of the spiritual body. In contrast to the Casino, which privileges cyclical structures of meaning, at the Villa D'Este the unfolding and transformation of the whole order appears in tension with the dramatic *agon* of Hercules, whose heroic labours disclosed the realm of human action, descending to Hades and holding up the sky. As we arrive in the Salotto, we find the garden, viewed from the summit of easern ridge (*i.e.* looking west, towards the sunset) painted on the walls of the room, depicted like the scene of a shallow stage behind Solomonic columns and Hercules in feast with the gods on the vault – in the coves of the vault, whose decorative disposition echoes the second room of the Casino, we find scenes of sacrifice to Apollo, Diana, Ceres and Bacchus, paired gods in the corners (Minerva and Marcury, Ceres and Bacchus, Jupiter and Juno, Venus and Mars) and *grottesche*.[231] (Figure 83) The Salotto suggests that we read the garden as a theatre of the world in relation to the apotheosis depicted in the soffitt, so pointing to the relation of dramatic, narrative time in relation to the time of becoming and to the dramatisation of the role of the spectator, asked to make choices that re-enact the paradigmatic Choice of Hercules, who rises up through the garden to the Feast of the gods-monastery, overcoming in the final stages of ascent the Fountain of Pandora pouring down ills on the world and leaving only the theological virtue of hope.[232]

From the resting place of the Salotto the plan of the garden would have become clear, with the eastern ridge rising on the right, with fountains associated with Venus and the western borders on the left, with the great horizon beyond, and iconography associated with Minerva. Despite the forking pathways in the upper part of the garden, the path of Hercules, *typus Christi* and exemplar of ethical life, is not the twofold *poteron* between virtue and vice but lies between wisdom, or intellect, and love or will; we might remember that Bocchi shows the two goddesses together crowning Silenus in one of *Symbolicae quaestiones*. As we have insisted, this dramatic *agon* takes place against an evocation of the cyclical regeneration of nature and the myth of the Sibyl who is also a figure for poetry, or poetic theology – in her death through water and resurrection into sacred life, she is a figure for Christian mystery, as a figure for *prisca theologia* she both embodies the *alto e profondo musica* of Nature (in particular at the Water Organ), and the prophetic word bursting forth from the chthonic darkness. If we have spoken of the role of poetry in mediating the *senso fisico* and *senso mistico*, the Sibyl, enthroned on the Tiburtine Parnassus,

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[231] Coffin, *Renaissance Rome*, notes that the D'Este garden on the Quirinal was one of the images on the rear wall of the Salotto, to the left. Facing the image of the Villa d'Este was a fountain depicting the Temple of the Sybils at Tivoli, executed in rustic mosaic.

[232] Ligorio discusses Pandora in the treatise on the grotesques, since the ills she unleashes may be figured by the chimeric and monstrous forms – ills which had provoked divine wrath and the destruction of the human race in the flood.

represents the claims for poetry as first, sacred disclosure that both depicts the originary conjunction of form and matter in Nature and reveals the divine word on earth. The path of the Sibyl, which is cyclical like Nature, is therefore interwoven with the ascent of Hercules, and participates both in the "lower" and "upper" gardens below and above the Dragon fountain. The relationship between the vertical ascent and the cycle has appeared before, and is one of the themes embodied at the Casino; if previously we have considered the relationship of cycle and ascent in terms of the Neoplatonic cycle of emanation, at the Villa D'Este it seems to point to the fulfilment of Nature with the coming of Christ, as when Paul says in Romans 8 that the whole of creation longs to be set free, and from the beginning groans in the act of giving birth, as we too groan for our bodies to be set free.

We ascend, in short, through levels of regeneration, and the analogical disclosures of the *senso fisico*, *mitologico* and *mistico* correspond to Nature, art and religion and to the conjunction of body and soul in Nature, art and the human being. Natural regeneration is not merely an analogy for spiritual redemption, but the former is transformed by the latter, and for this reason we have adduced the *grottesche* which figure the simultaneous presence of analogy and transmutation. As Rosalie Colie said of the *Faerie Queene*, the Villa D'Este is concerned with analogy patterned every way; while we have only given a superficial glance at some of the exstant parts of the garden, we might use it as the basis of some concluding reflections. If we saw the *senso fisico* privileged in the mythological figurations of the Casino, with the relationships of the Hours and the Muses used to draw together Nature and the arts (and so antiquity), part of the narrative of regeneration through destruction at the Villa D'Este seems to concern ancient Rome and its fall, prophesied by the Tiburtine Sibyl according to Ligorio.[233] The rise and resurrection of the body is that of Rome whose destruction associated with the classical deluge, is also the baptism which raises it as a spiritual body – in this sense the duality of prophecy and memory in the Oval Fountain-Rometta axis makes perfect sense. The revival of the body from death by the waters of the spirit thus pertains to the human soul, to Nature, and to history and topography; we should also see all the historical, mythological and archaeological meanings associated with Rome renewed and transformed spiritually in this process; the rooting of these meanings in the Tiburtine site itself shows how the regeneration of Nature and that of historical meaning go together, just as the renewal of the body and soul is evoked in terms of the longing of creation for fulfilment in Christ. The interweaving of these levels of understanding of the garden is represented overtly in the decoration of the villa, in which rooms dedicated to Hercules and Tiburtine topography and mythology (Ino-Albunea) lead into a room dedicated to Noah, and to Moses; in the chapel on the piano nobile the Sibyls reappear alongside the prophets. As in the Casino the pagan iconography without becomes an outer figuration for ideas whose highest and most "mysterious" level of meaning is spiritual, and the antique form should not only be understood as a poetic *involucrum* but in terms of the transformation and perfection of all things as they pass into spiritual meaning, represented through waters in each case. The hieroglyphic conception of the play of body and soul in signification, or the dream of an intuitive sign that held its own essence looks to its fulfilment in the spiritual body or the Pauline affirmation that the

[233] Cited by Dernie, *op.cit.*, p.55 in the entry "Amalthea" in the *Libro dell'antichità*.

Christian may become a letter of Christ, written not with ink but with the spirit of living God (II Corinthians 3).

This transformation into spiritual meaning beyond the metaphoric body takes us up to the limits of the present work as signalled in the introduction. An arbitrary ending might be drawn at this point, in which we do no more than note the few points which may have been superficially treated in the course of the foregoing arguments. In the third section, we have worked towards a reading of the "hieroglyphic" ornament of the *grottesche*, as both emblematic and lively ornament, or depiction of the ensouling character of metaphor which discloses the presence of the *prima material* rising up into the vegetal soul. The dual nature in the *grottesche* of emblematic and metaphoric was noted by Lomazzo, as we saw in the first part of the argument, as they are central both to the capacity to figure all things that can exist or can be conceived, and to the status of all figures as metaphor and hieroglyph; in the third section we have tried to consider the situation of such figures in the topos, in the various senses that we have unfolded from the term by the later sixteenth century. We have hinted at the progression in Ligorio from the conjunction of body and soul founded in the union of likeness and unlikeness of *harmonia universalis* to an understanding of body and soul redeemed by Christian grace, as in Paul's invocation of the Christian as a letter written with the spirit of God in human hearts. This movement seems to be thematised in the deepening of meaning from the harmony and ornament of the cosmos to the disclosure of spiritual waters at the Casino, and the progression into spiritual meaning in the transformations and speculations on the conjunctions of form and matter at the Villa D'Este. While signalling the movement into spiritual understanding, Ligorio as we argued always keeps Nature in sight as a paradigm for the transformations and conjunctions of poesis, which is in turn the means of depicting the transformations of the soul; thus the transformation of the human being into living, spiritual word could be seen as a *telos* which is augured emblematically in figuration and in the *dilatio* of figuration before its end.

It could be said that the attempted investigation of the understanding of ornament in the Renaissance entails, bluntly speaking, a lengthy elaboration of the nature of metaphor; the order of the whole revealed by ornament is, as metaphor, an order of things in metamorphosis, and this understanding seems to underlie the masque of *dilatio* enacted in the Mutabilitie Cantos, or the duality of explication and transformation at the Villa D'Este. To bring this to a close, it cannot be emphasied sufficiently that this is no more a rough and preliminary handling of the problem. The arguments as they stand should be viewed as no more than drafts, working chiefly from a philological perspective, concerning some of the issues that need to be explored; as Renaissance emblematics worked upwards from grammatical and philological reading to more "universal" and "divine" levels of meaning, a philosophical and theological writing of the argument should be seen as a necessary, further stage of evolution in the work.

APPENDICES

Appendix One: Discussions of *concettismo* in Tesauro and Grácian

The following remarks are a continuation of the discussions in Part 2.3, presented in an appendix since they fall beyond the chronological framework of the main arguments of the work.

For theorists of *concettismo* such as Tesauro and Gracián, the *concetto* is the expression of *ingegno* (*ingenium*), the gift of spotting similitudes, characterised by its speed and flashing insights.[1] Despite the "innate", individual nature of the operations of *ingegno* (celebrated by Tesauro and Gracián in their efforts to create an "art" of acuity), and Tesauro's declarations that the similitudes discovered by *argutezza* correspond to the structure of the universe which is not only analogical but "witty", the *ingegno* also has its roots in the internal senses, even if the discussions of *concettismo*, with their taxonomies of enigma and hyperbole seem far removed from the concerns of Aristotelian psychology. In *The Judgment of Sense*, Summers notes Avicenna's characterisation of *ingenium* as "the point of contact between material and agent intellect", which discovers middle terms, and "perceives what is right by a kind of illumination".[2] Avicenna accounted for the variation in *ingenium* between different people in terms of degrees of subtlety (*subtilitas*) in the "corporeal substrate of intelligence", the highest degree being the *intellectus sanctus*, so that the visions of a prophet represent the activity of the *phantasia* as entirely spiritual.[3] This relationship between *subtilitas* and *ingenium* persists in the discussions of *concettismo* - Gracián says that concettism is distinguished from rhetoric by the "lymph of subtlety".[4] If the *ingegno* which creates *concetti* is linked to the *phantasia* in the sense that it creates *ex nihilo*, its capacity to select and combine is linked for the Tesauro and Gracián more with judgement and prudence; the latter indeed wrote a complementary treatise entitled *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia* (1648) which deals with judgement in ethical and practical questions as *Agudeza* treats of judgement in rhetorical ones. Gracián sets out the relation of judgement and *ingegno* in the opening pages of his work - where judgement contents itself with truth pure and simple (*i.e.* with adequation), *ingegno* seeks out beauty, just as architecture would be of little worth if it achieved only *stabilitas*, without providing a support for ornament.[5] For Gracián, beauty lies in variety, not simple form, and is characteristically expressed through proportion and analogy - what beauty is for the eyes and harmony for the ears, the *concetto* is for the intellect. Thus combination and co-ordination of elements becomes the basis of the arts - just as each intentional faculty of the soul uses some form of artifice to combine the objects it perceives, so that from proportion in visual forms arises beauty, from sounds,

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[1] Pellegrino discusses *ingegno* in his treatise, but in the sense of the talent of the individual poet, and opposes it to *arte*: "[...] tutto l'Ingegno del Poeta non [è] d'altronde che dalla Natura [...] siccome la favola negle Epici e Tragici Poemi è tutta dall'Ingegno del Poeta, così nei lirici i Concetti, che danno proporzione alla favola sono dallo ingegno cioè dalla Natura del Poeta [...] convien che l'arte ceda all'ingegno ed alla natura e la locuzione quasi materia ceda ai concetti che sono anima e forma di un componimento" (*ed. cit.*, pp. 79-80). Pellegrino's dialogue is thus concerned to affirm the superiority of the *concetto* over *locuzione*, which is the province of art, rather than to establish an art of *ingegno*.

[2] *ed. cit.*, p.99.

[3] Paraphrasing Summers, *ibid.*

[4] *Agudeza*, ., p.92.

[5] *op. cit.*, p36.

harmony, and from taste, culinary pleasure, the intellect also structures its activities in similar fashion, by connection of terms in dialectic and composition of ornaments in rhetoric. Thus the *artificio concettoso*, elevated above rhetoric for its *arguzia*, consists in a concord or harmonious correlation between several things known or knowable. The *concetto* itself Gracián defines as "an intellectual act which expresses the correspondence that can be established between objects [...] this correspondence is common to all *concetti* and includes every ingenious artifice".[6] With Gracián's definition of the *concetto*, which he expands in the course of the work to include varieties of subtle and ingenious similitude ("simple similitude" is not ingenious but merely rhetorical), the metaphorical structure of the *impresa* is complete, and if Gracián concentrates on verbal *acutezze*, his work helps to situate the treatise of Tesauro, in which the links between *ingegno*, the *concetto*, the *impresa* and metaphor are elaborated into a unified theory of the arts, founded on metaphor and the *parlar figurato* which has its exemplary expression in the device.

For the writers on *concettismo*, the activity of *ingegno* is not just to conceive or combine images, but it becomes a way of seeing, so that Tesauro calls his treatise *Il cannochiale aristotelico*, the spyglass of Aristotle, in which the *Rhetoric*, with its discussion of metaphor, becomes the instrument for discovering the *concetti* from which the world was fabricated, or better, the world as *concetto*.[7] Tesauro and Grácian note that the capacity to find middle terms is shared both by metaphor and the syllogism, and Tesauro makes a distinction between the dialectical syllogism and the enthymeme as expanded conceit or *enthymema urbana*, whose end is "witty" rather than ratiocinative.[8] With Tesauro, the discussions of *concettismo*, with their underlying Aristotelian psychology and the analogical-topical structures of Camillo and Patrizi, founded on the rhetorical simplification of Aristotelian logic, are brought together in an encyclopaedic work that identifies the correspondences disclosed by *ingegno* with a topics of metaphor that can reveal all varieties of metaphor, and therefore all things, since all things either are metaphor or are disclosed by metaphor. In a famous line, Tesauro says that metaphor seems to make one see in a single word a theatre full of wonders ("vedere in un vocablo solo, un pien teatro di meraviglie") – the sort of claim which makes one think of Camillo and Patrizi.[9] The created world, all things in nature, madness and monstrosities included, imitation, all the visual, dramatic and literary arts and imitation itself, are all expressions of metaphor, "mother" of *argutezza*, and great exemplification of *ingegno*. Tesauro discusses two qualities of the *ingegno*, *perspicacia* and *versabilità*. The first concerns the analysis and definition of things *i.e.* predication, and Tesauro describes it thus:

> penetra le più lontane e minute circostanze di ogni soggetto (sostanza, materia, forma, accidente, proprietà, cagioni, effetti, fini, simpatie, il

[6] *op. cit.*, p.37. My translation from the Italian translation.
[7] This is in a sense already implied in the activity of the *phantasia* (its root in *phaos*, light) which brings things things to light.
[8] Tesauro may been influenced by Quintilian's perception that the enthymene can be ratiocinative or sententious. On Tesauro's "enthymema urbanum", see J.A. Mazzeo, "Metaphysical Poetry and the Poetic of Correspondences", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 1953, p.226.
[9] *Il Cannochiale Aristotelico*, Turin, 1670, p.267.

> simile, il contrario, l'uguale, superiore, inferiore, insegne, nomi propri e equivoci[10]

In these categories we recognise the four predicables of Aristotle's *Topica* and the *loci argumentorum* listed by Cicero in his *Topica* and *De inventione*. The second quality of *ingegno*, *versabilità* is linked with metaphor, and discussed as follows:

> raffronta tutte queste circonstanze infra loro e col soggetto: le annoda o divide, le cresce o minuisce, deduce l'una dall'altra, accenna l'una per l'altra [...] e questa è la metafora, madre delle poesie, de'simboli, e delle imprese. E quegli è più ingegnoso, che può conoscere e accoppiar circostanze lontane[11]

In linking logical predication and metaphor as two parts of a single process of analysis and combination, Tesauro seems to reduce to its essential form the "pien teatro di meraviglie" whose correspondences Camillo spent most of his life attempting to discover. Despite the topical framework and the possibility that Hermogenes's *Ideas* are still lurking faintly in the background, given Tesauro's emphasis on speed alongside greatness and clarity, there is a crucial difference between the two. In Camillo's theatre, as in all representations of Platonic theories of knowledge, a vertical structure of progressive disclosure is essential to the disclosure and (re)ascent to a transcendent origin. It is this interweaving of "horizontal" analogies and "vertical" ascent, imitated by Patrizi in his topics of *meraviglia*, that gives to Camillo's theatre its peculiarly dense synthesis. Such a structure is not obvious in Tesauro, whose spyglass indifferently roams the universal order and the works of artifice, seeking only the correspondences which all reiterate the same message that all things are in correspondence, because all are metaphorically related. The disclosures of *ingenium*, which for Humanists such as Bruni signalled the unique quality of each context of signification, are in Tesauro universalised, and in this regard it is notable that he turns frequently to the emblem or *impresa* ("metafora dipinta"), and their verbal equivalents, such as epigrams, as especially ingenious varieties of metaphor. He speaks of them as

> due piacevolissime arti, simbolica e lapidaria, che comprendono tutte le argutezze di parole e figure: quelle negli epigrammi, epitaffi, elogi, e in ogni genere d'iscrizioni argute: queste nelle imprese, emblemi, riversi, e in ogni genere di simbolo arguto.[12]

I will suggest here that one reason, amongst many, for Tesauro's liking for "lapidary and symbolic arts" is that their structure of representation, once grasped, can be scaled up to

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[10] *Cannochiale,* ed. Enzo Raimondi, *Trattisti e Narratori del Seicento*, 1960, rep. Einaudi 1978, p.26.
[11] *ibid.*
[12] *op. cit.*, p.14

monumental measure (Tesauro provides many examples of "ingenious" architecture[13]), or embodied in the most intimate or ephemeral of forms, enacted in dramatic spectacles, ballets, games or masques, in keeping with Tesauro's stipulation that one can represent with words, objects or lively actions ("attioni animate").[14] It should be emphasised that the capacity to conceive of all creation, and artifice (exemplified by poetic representation through words, images and actions) as metaphoric is founded on the postulation of a topics of metaphor, and Tesauro should properly be read topically. We seem to see in Tesauro the culmination of Camillo's topics of the figures – if the structure of correspondences is no longer explicit, the confidence in the capacity to create an encyclopaedic account which can disclose the structural identity of all artifice and nature has reached its furthest point of expansion. What arises with particular clarity in Tesauro is the conception of the three-fold nature of metaphoric representation as verbal, visual and dramatic, and it is this which we attempted to trace from the discussions which gradually evolved the visual character of the rhetorical figures and *sententiae* into the word-image structures that had their analogy, or culmination in the living enactment of dramatic mimesis.

[13] Tesauro says that architects are called engineers because of the *argutezza* of their *ingegnose opere* – such *argutezza* consists in bizarre ornament as "metafore di pietro [che fanno] parlar i marmi", or in colossal projects which exemplify hyperbole, such as the Colossus of Rhodes or the Dinocrates plan to transform Mt Athos in to a vast effigy of Alexander the Great, holding a city in the palm of his hand.
[14] Turin ed., p.611.

APPENDIX TWO - ILLUSTRATIONS

SECTION ONE

Figure 1. 1589 *Intermedi* Harmony of the Spheres

Figure 2. 1589 *intermedi* - Necessity and the Fates

Figure 3. 1589 *Intermedi* Celestial Siren

Figure 4. 1589 *Intermedi* The gods and their signs

Figure 5. 1589 *Intermedi* Apollo and the Serpent

Figure 6. 1589 *Intermedi* Delian couple

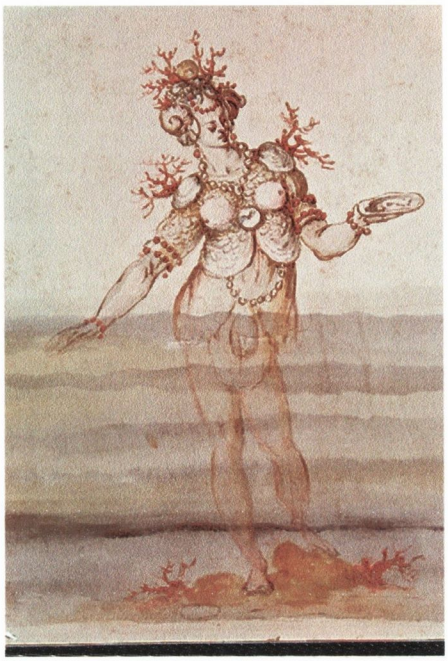

Figure 7. 1589 *Intermedi* Marine Triumph

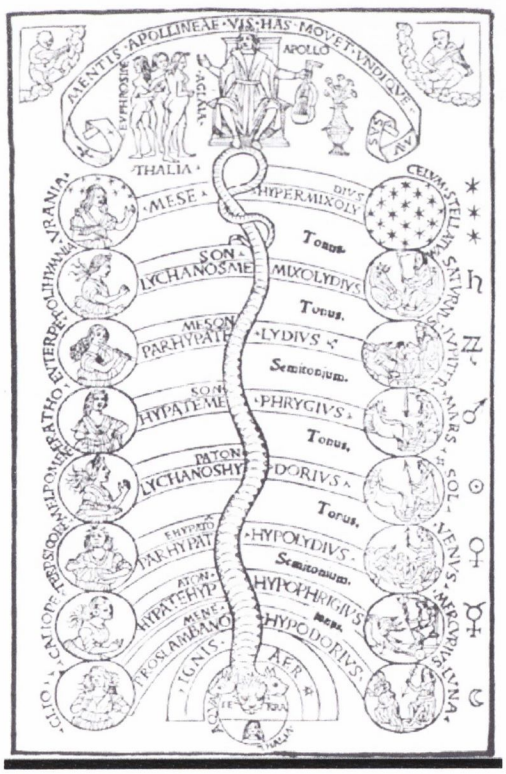

Figure 8. Giullaume de Signerre, engraving from Gafurius, *Practica musice*, 1496

Figure 9. Botticelli, Primavera, Uffizi

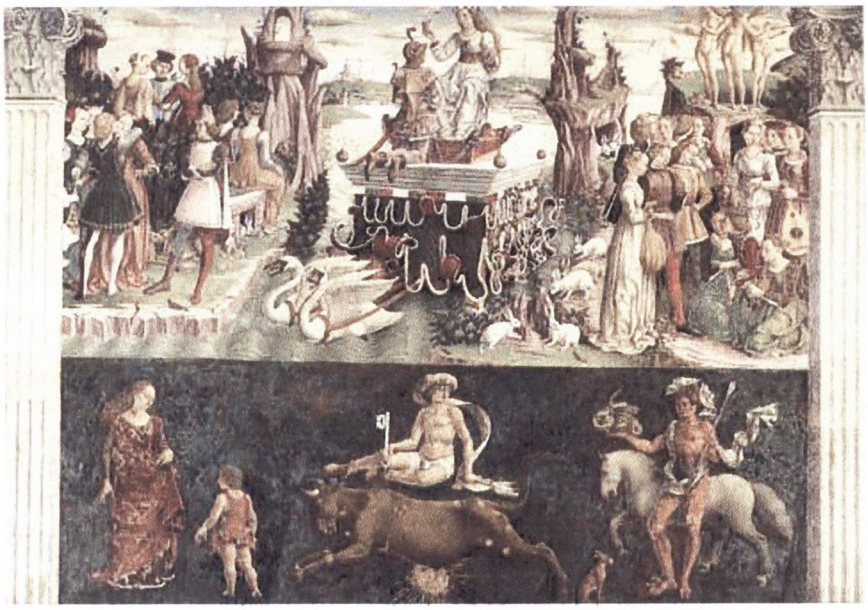

Figure 10. Sala dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia, month of April

Figure 11. Month of April, lower register, with Borso D'Este in audience

Figure 12. Month of August with Cybele in triumph and decans below

Figure 13. Baldini, Triumph of Mercury (British Museum)

Figure 14. Mantegna, Triumph of Caesar: Ensign bearers and triumphal chariot

Figure 1. Lorenzetti, the Effects of Good Government, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena

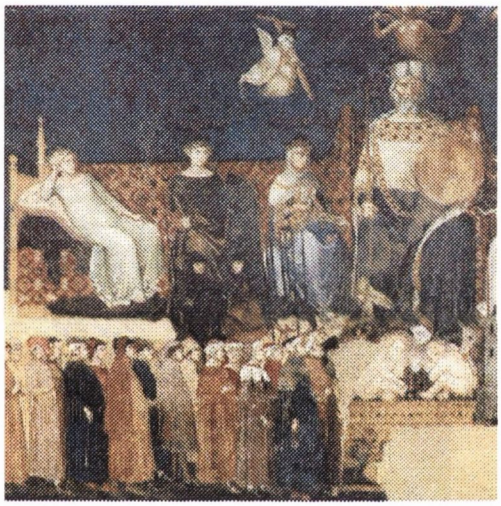

Figure 2. Siena, Palazzo Pubblico: *The Virtues of Good Governmen*

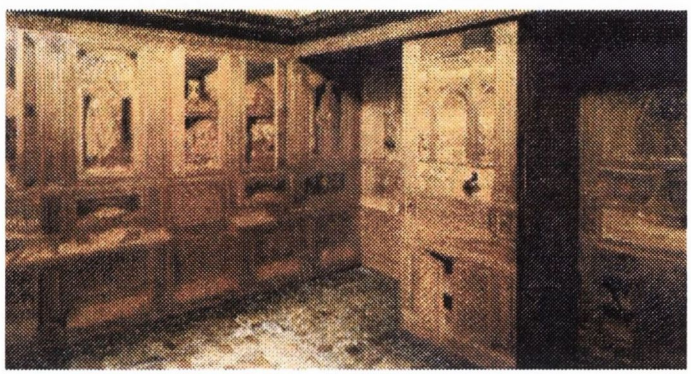

Figure 3. Urbino, Palazzo Ducale, Studiolo

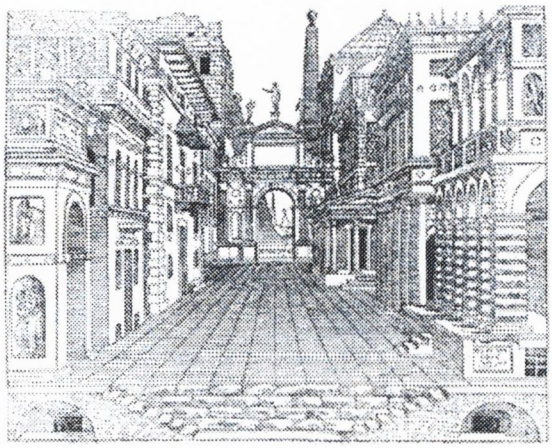

Figure 4. Serlio, Tragic scene, 1554

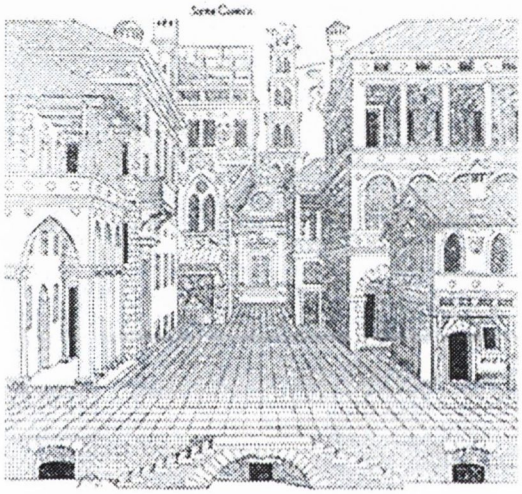

Figure 5. Serlio, Comic scene, 1554

Figure 6. Peruzzi (attrib.) scenographic drawing, Uff

Figure 7. Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo of Francesco de'Medici

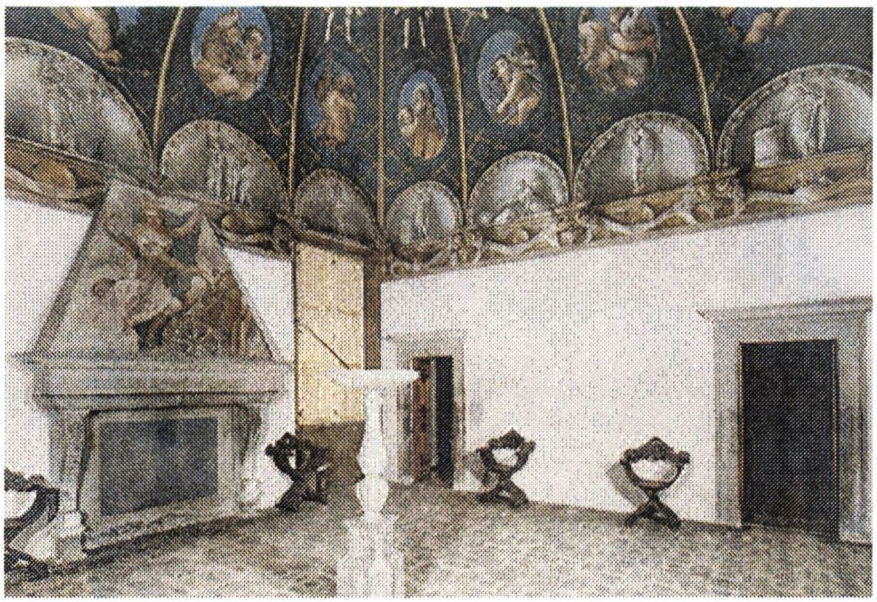

Figure 8. Correggio, Camera di San Paolo, Parma

Figure 9. Parmigianino, Rocca Sanvitale, Fontanellato, Actaeon as huntress

Figure 10. Rocca Sanvitale, Fontanellato, Rending of Actaeon beneath portrait of Paola Gonzaga and child

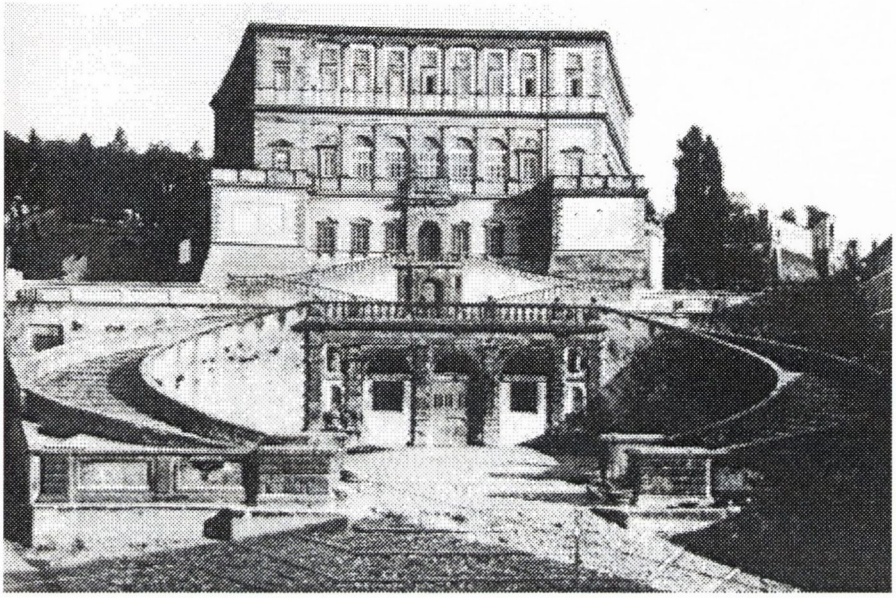

Figure 11. Caprarola: approach

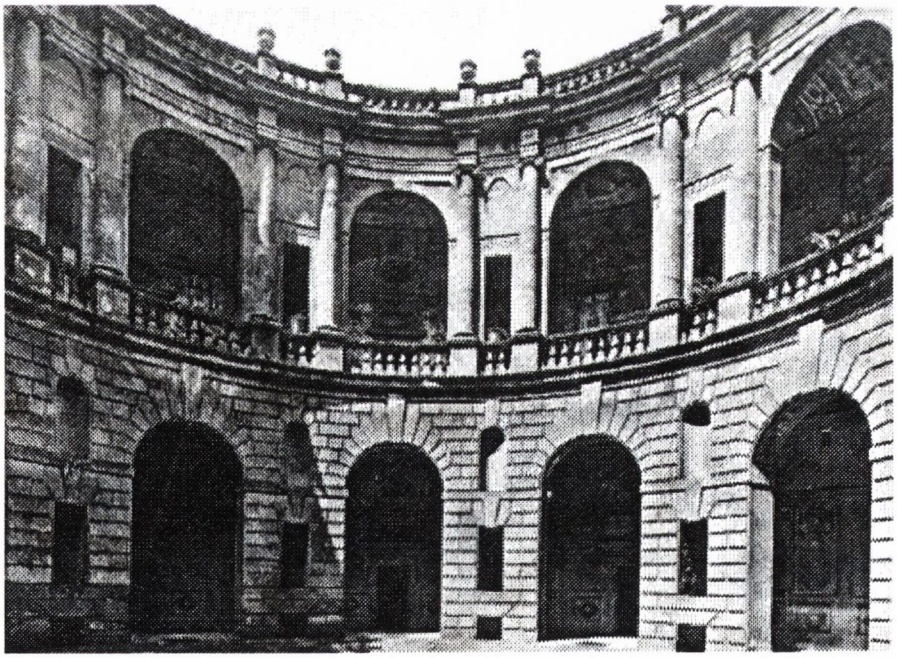

Figure 12. Caprarola: court

Figure 13. Caprarola: staircase

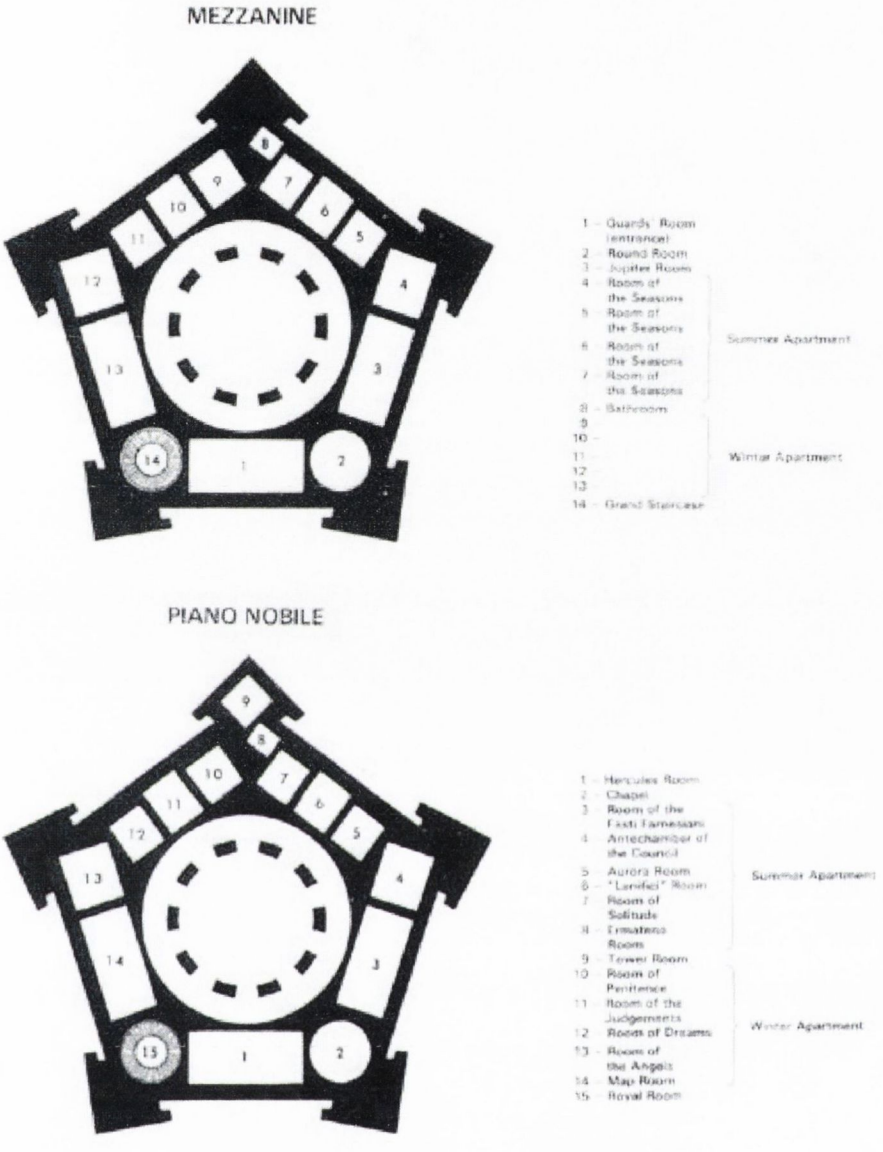

Figure 14. Caprarola, plan from Recupero

Figure 15. Caprarola, Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani

Figure 16. Caprarola, Sala del Mappamundi

Figure 17. Caprarola: Sala di Aurora

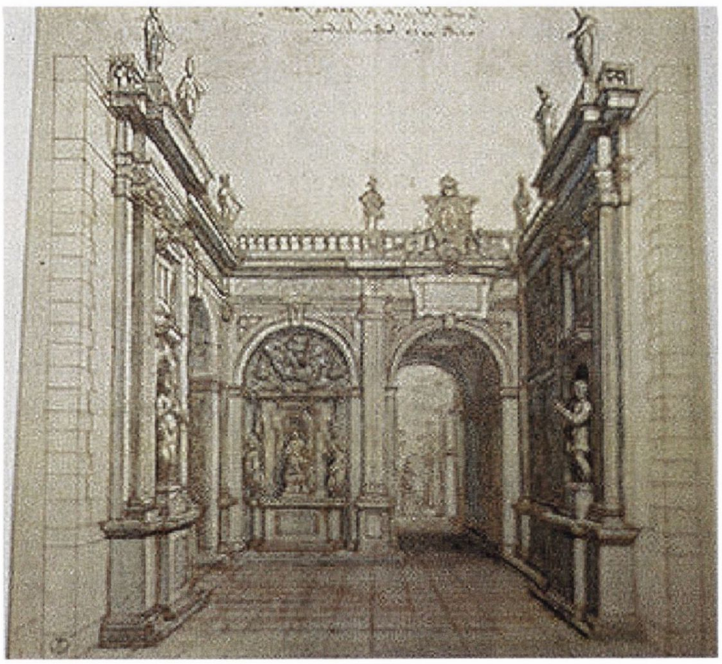

Figure 18. Florence: *apparato* for triumphal entry of 1600

Figure 1. *Hypnerotomachia* Triumph of Cupid

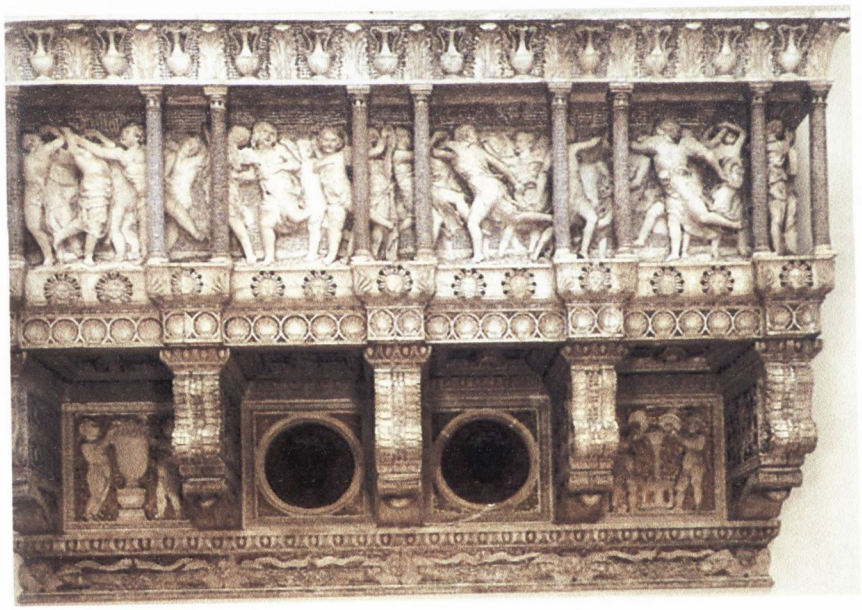

Figure 2. Donatello, Cantoria of the Duomo of Florence

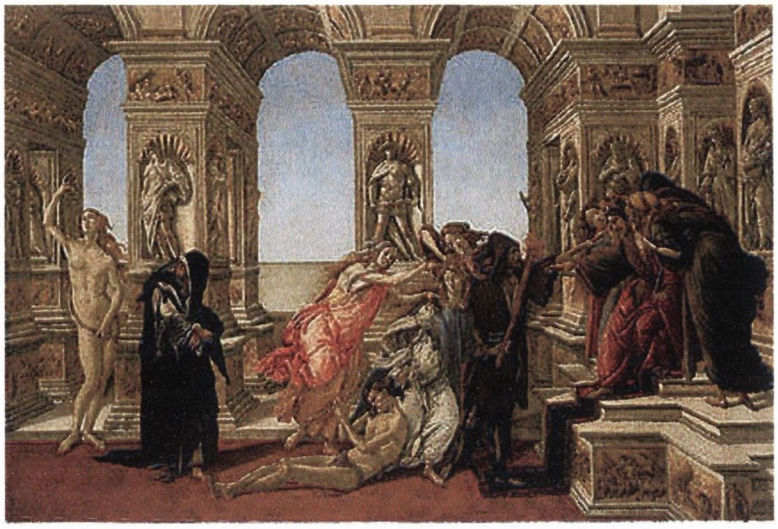

Figure 3. Botticelli, Calumny of Apelles, Uffizi

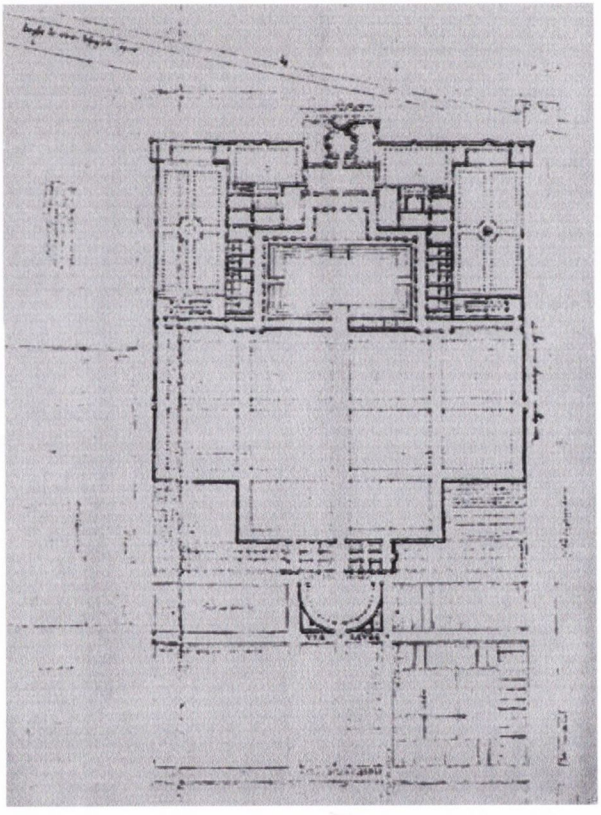

Figure 4. Antonio and Giuliano da Sangallo, plan for Medicean palace in Via Laura, Uffizi

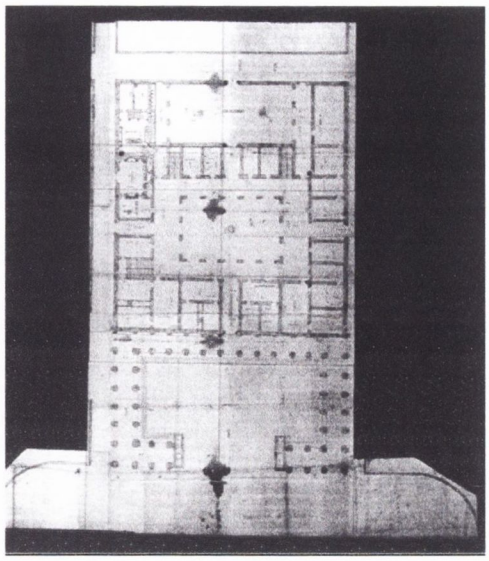

Figure 5. Giuliano da Sangallo, plan for Medicean palace in Piazza Navona, Uffizi

Figure 6. Ghirlandaio, Santa Maria Novella, Florence: Presentation of the Virgin

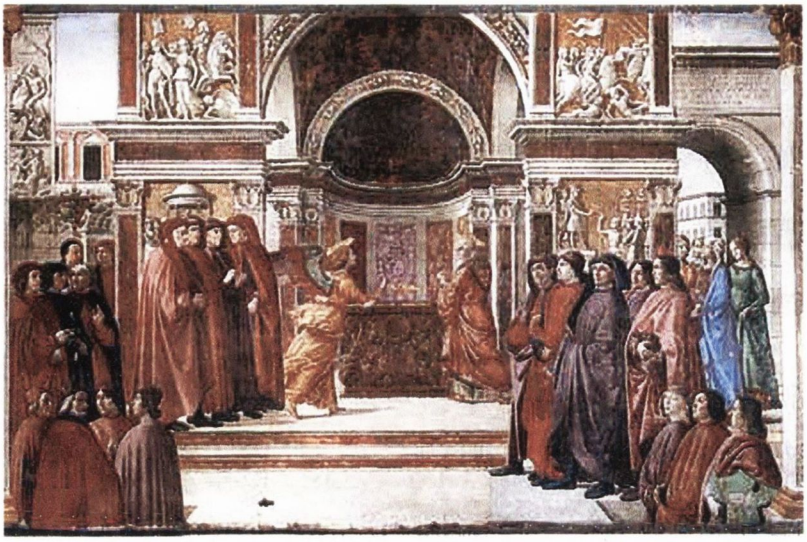

Figure 7. Ghirlandaio, Santa Maria Novella: Zaccariah in the Temple

Figure 8. Mantegna: Camera picta, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua

Figure 9. Perugino: Cambio, Perugia

Figure 10. Perugino, Sala del Cambio, exemplars of Fortitude and Temperance

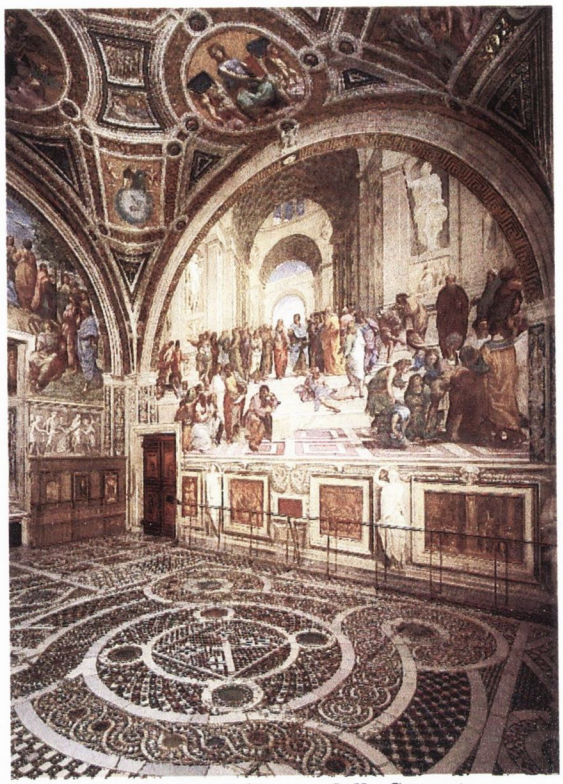

Figure 11. Raphael, Stanza della Segnatura

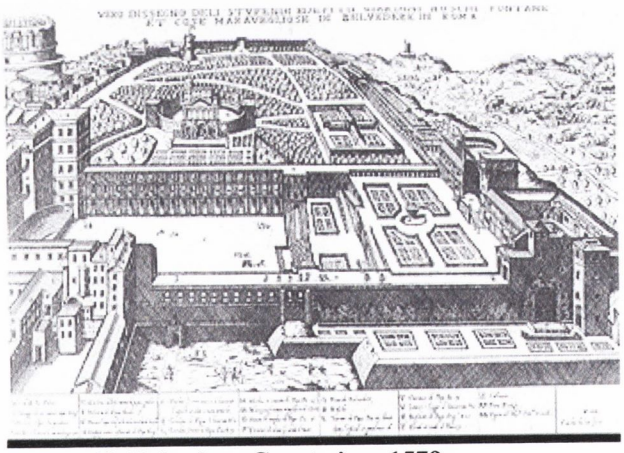

Figure 12. Belvedere Court circa 1579

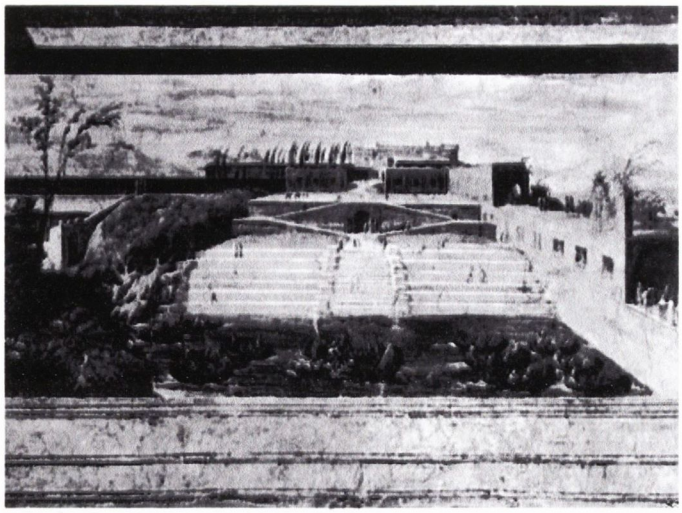

Figure 13. Perino del Vaga, Castel Sant'Angelo: Belvedere Court seen as antique naumachia

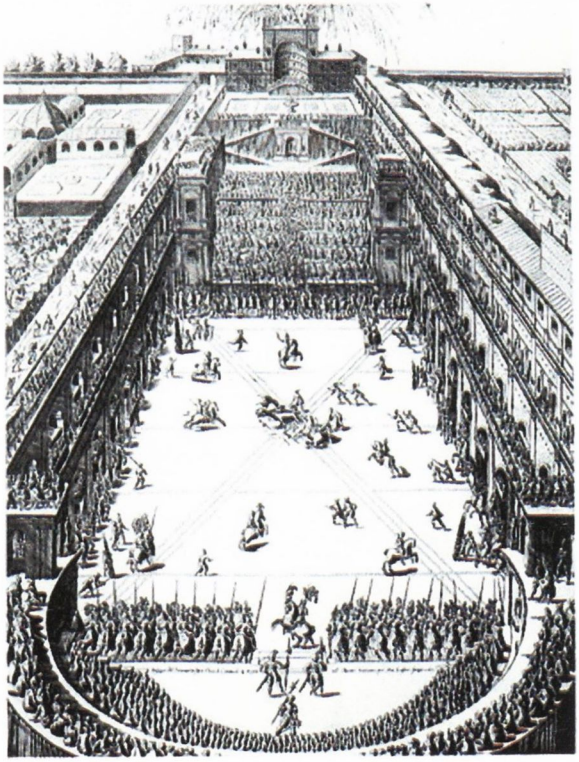

Figure 14. Belvedere at 1565 Tournament, after decorations of Ligorio

Figure 15. "Cleopatra" as installed in the Statue Court, Belvedere, as drawn by Francisco da Holanda, Escorial

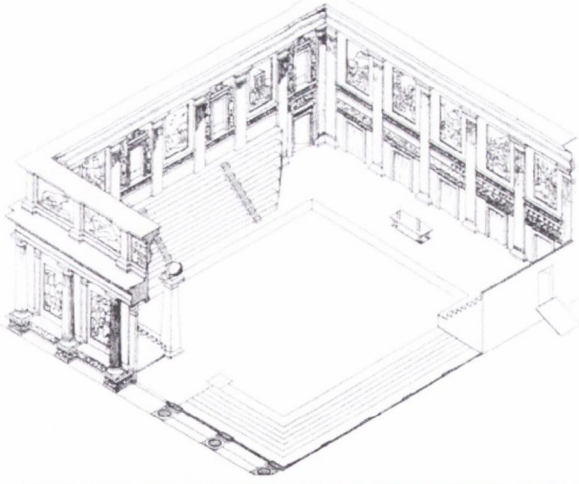

Figure 16. Capitoline Theatre of 1513, as reconstructed by A. Bruschi

Figure 17. Terracotta frieze, Poggio a Caiano

Figure 18. Peruzzi: Villa Farnesina, Rome

Figure 19. Farnesina: Peruzzi, Sala delle Colonne

Figure 20. Farnesina, Loggia di Galatea: Raphael, Galatea

Figure 21. Farnesina: Raphael, Loggia di Psiche

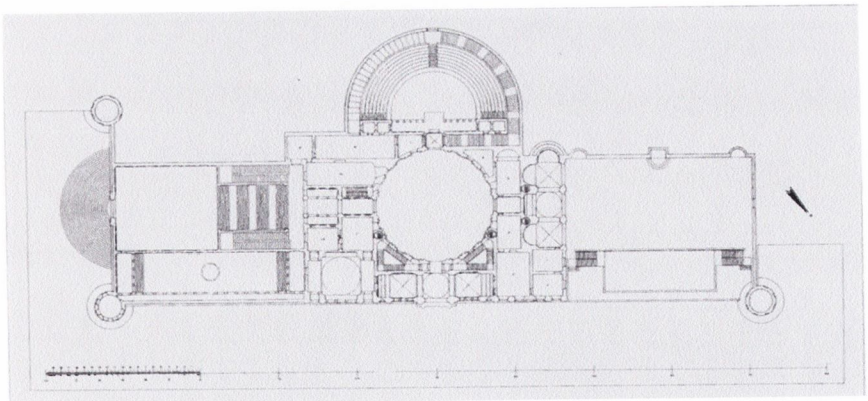

Figure 22. Raphael, Villa Madama, Rome, reconstruction of plan by G. Dewez, based principally on plan of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Uffizi 314 A

Figure 23. Villa Madama, court

Figure 24. Raphael, Villa Madama: Pescheria

Figure 25. Villa Madama: Loggia, vault

Figure 26. Loggia, Villa Madama, detail of vault

Figure 27. Raphael, Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena, Vatican

Figure 28. Raphael: Loggie, Vatican

Figure 29. Vatican Loggie, detail of vault

Figure 30. Giulio Romano, Sala di Costantino, Vatican Palace

Figure 31. Vasari, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala dei quattro elementi

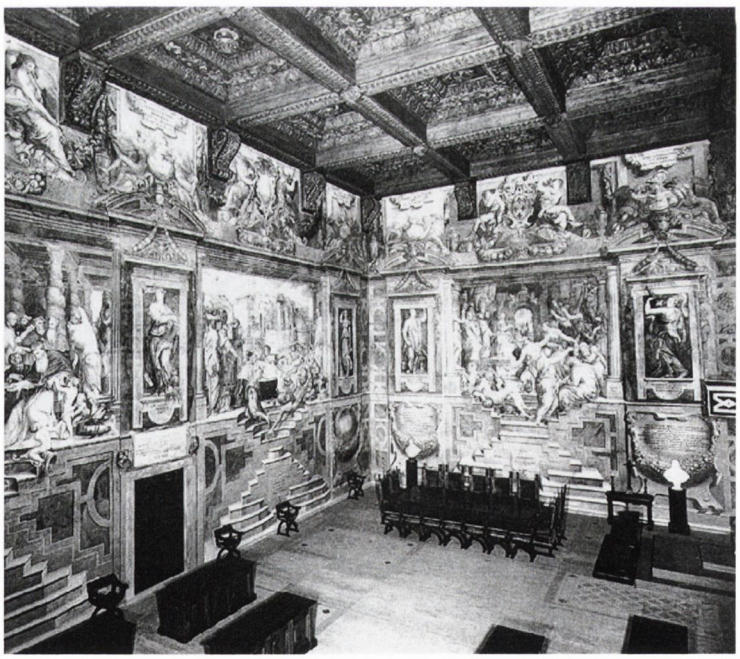

Figure 32. Vasari, Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome

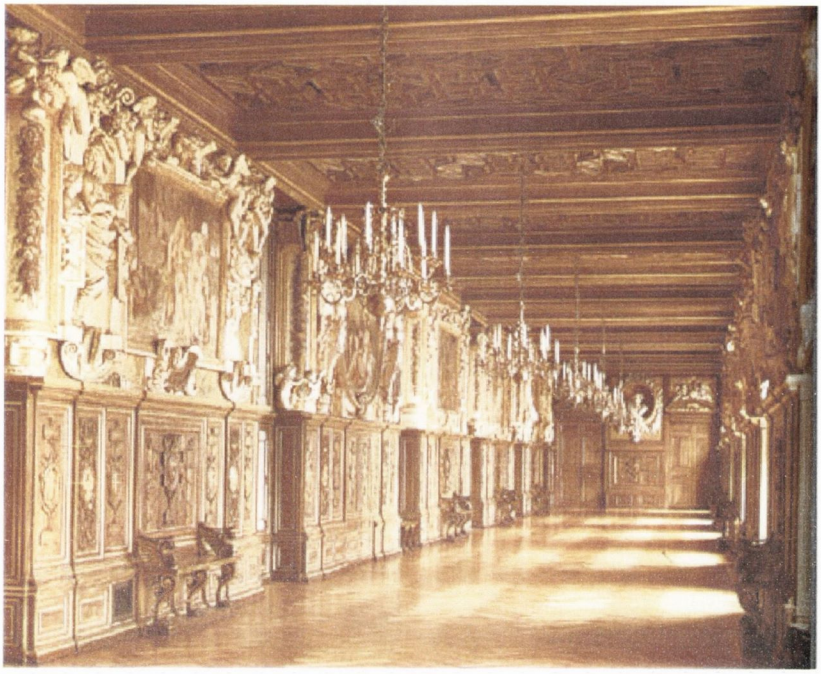

Figure 33. Rosso Fiorentino, Galerie de Francois I, Fontainebleau

Figure 34. Salviati, Sala di Udienza, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, Peace burning arms

Figure 35. Salviati, Sala di Udienza, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, Triumph of Furius Camillus

Figure 36. Girolamo Genga, Villa Imperiale, Pesaro, court

Figure 37. Girolamo Genga, Villa Imperiale, Pesaro, terraced gardens

Figure 38. Vignola, Vasari, Ammannati, Villa Giulia, Rome, garden facade and portico

Figure 39. Villa Giulia, decoration of portico

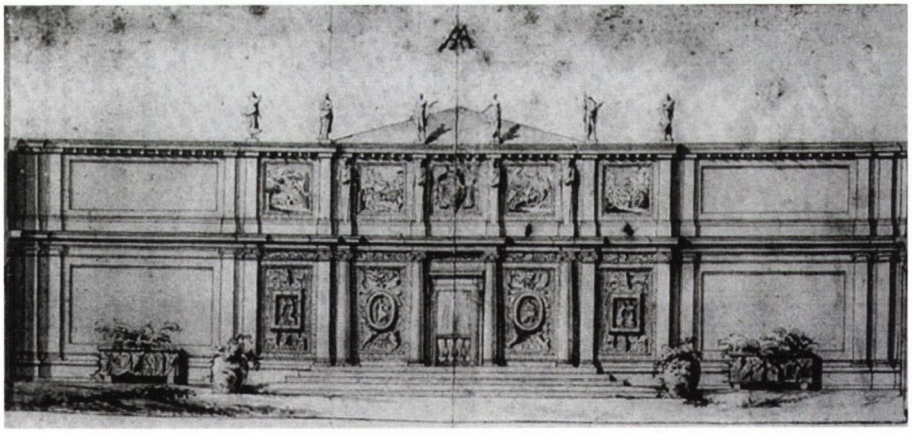

Figure 40. Villa Giulia, drawing wall, first courtyard, attributed to Oppenordt, circa 1600 (Museum of Villa Giulia)

Figure 41. Villa Giulia, screen wall, end of first courtyard

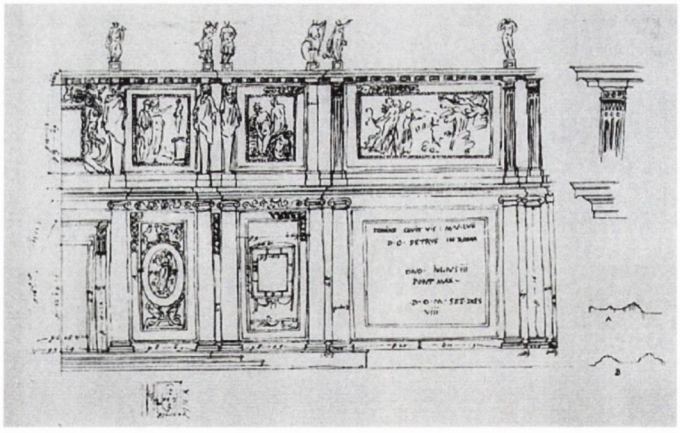

Figure 42. drawing of first courtyard, anon. French sixteenth century

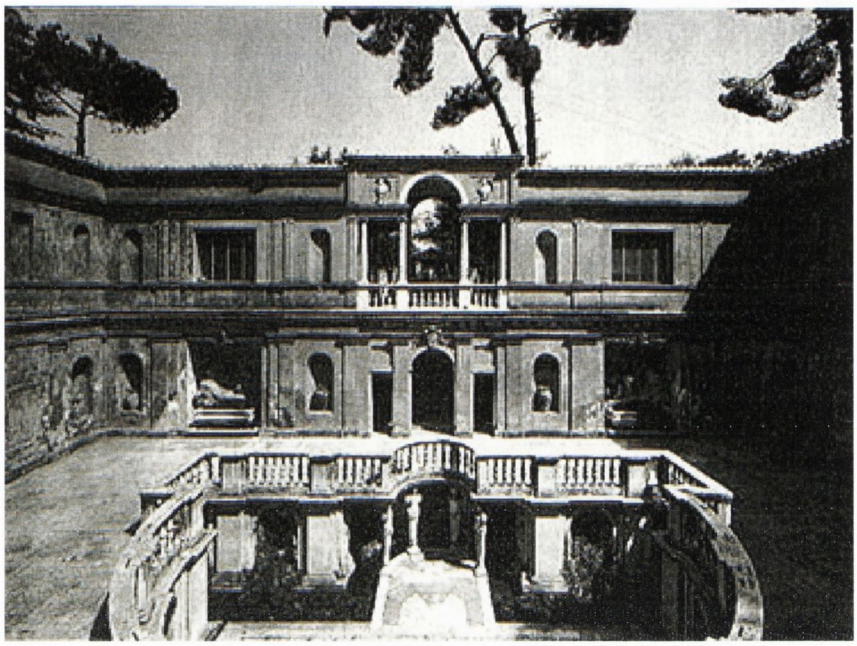

Figure 43. Villa Giulia, Second court with Nymphaeum

Figure 44. Villa Giulia, grotto of nymphaeum, detail

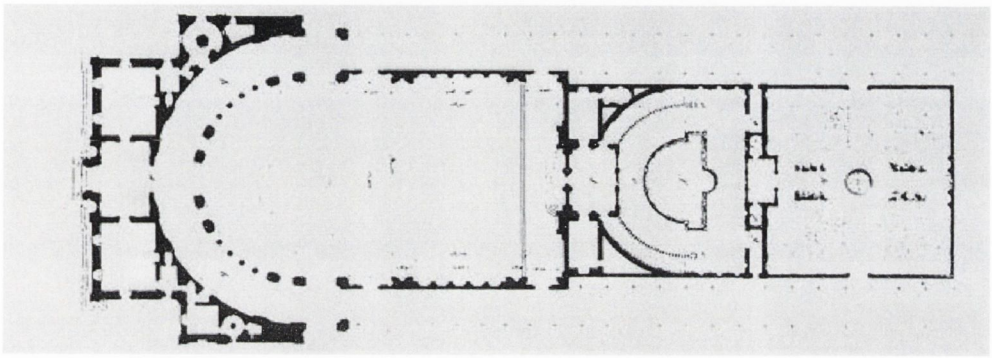

Figure 45. Villa Giulia, plan

Figure 46. Villa Giulia, interior, first room, with Banquet scene with satyrs, Taddeo Zuccari

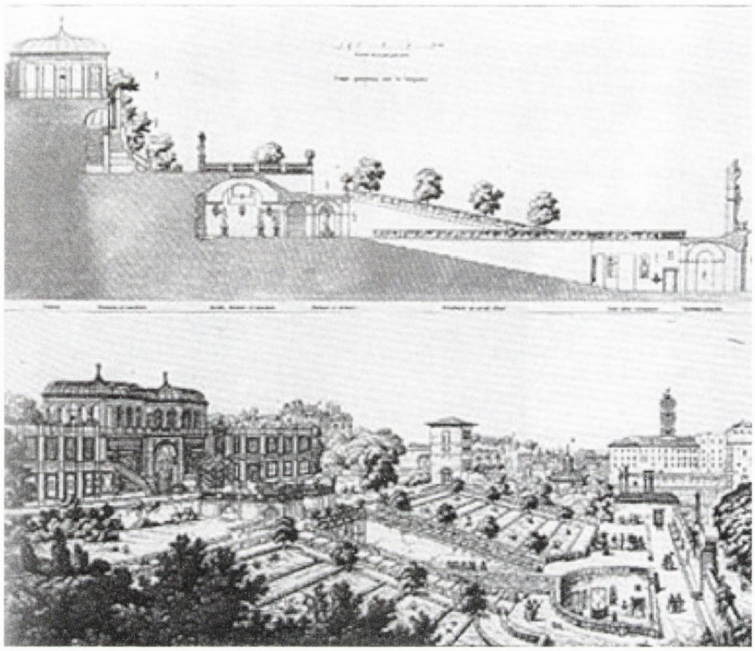

Figure 47. Vignola and Giacomo del Duca, Horti Farnesiani, Palatine, drawn by Letarouilly

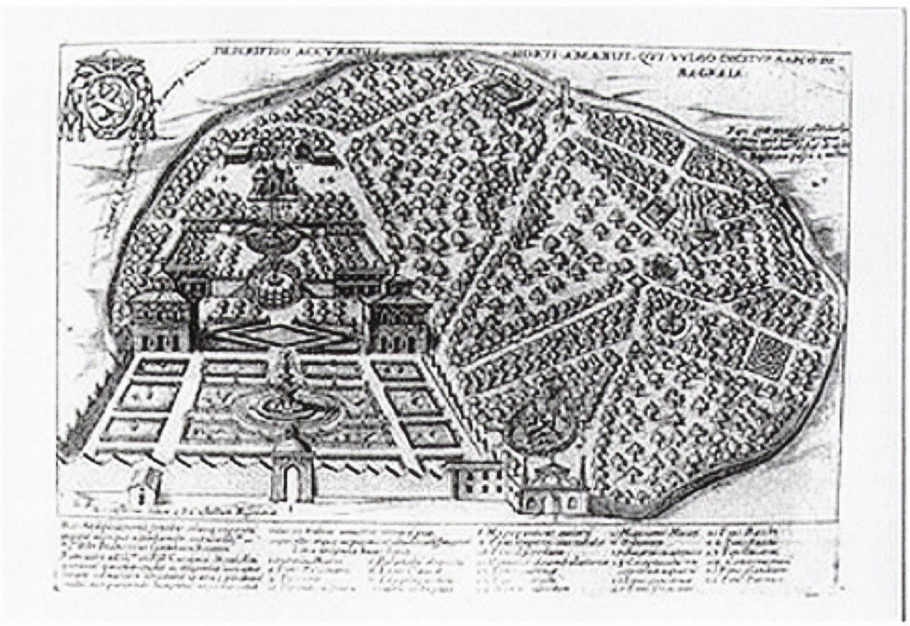

Figure 48. Jacopus Laurus, 1612 map of Villa Lante, Bagnaia

Figure 49. Villa Lante, Bagnaia, lower garden

Figure 50. Villa Lante, Bagnaia, Pegasus garden

Figure 51. Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, approach to gardens of palazzina

Figure 52. Vatican, Casino of Pius IV, seen from Map Gallery, Vatican

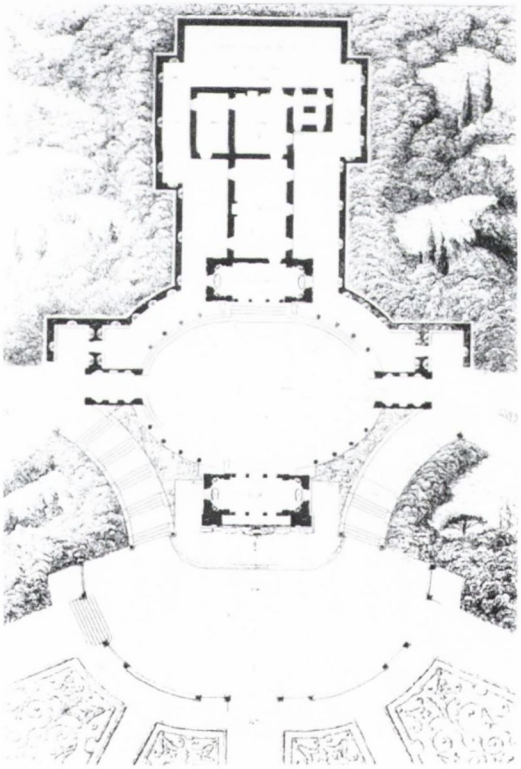

Figure 53. Casino of Pius IV, plan from Letarouilly

Figure 54. Casino, loggia and oval court

Figure 55. Casino, facade of palazzina

Figure 56. Casino, gate

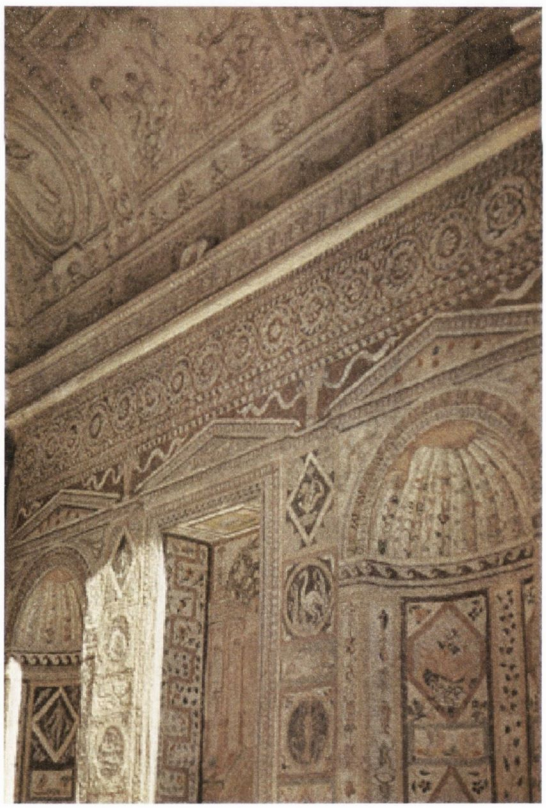

Figure 57. Casino, mosaic decoration, of gate

Figure 58. Casino, stucco decoration, vault of gate

Figure 59. Casino, detail of palazzina facade, Pan and river god

Figure 60. Casino, pediment of loggia, with Aurora, Apollo and Muses

Figure 61. Casino, side of loggia with Aurora and Tithonus (?)

Figure 62. Casino, grotto with statue of Dea natura

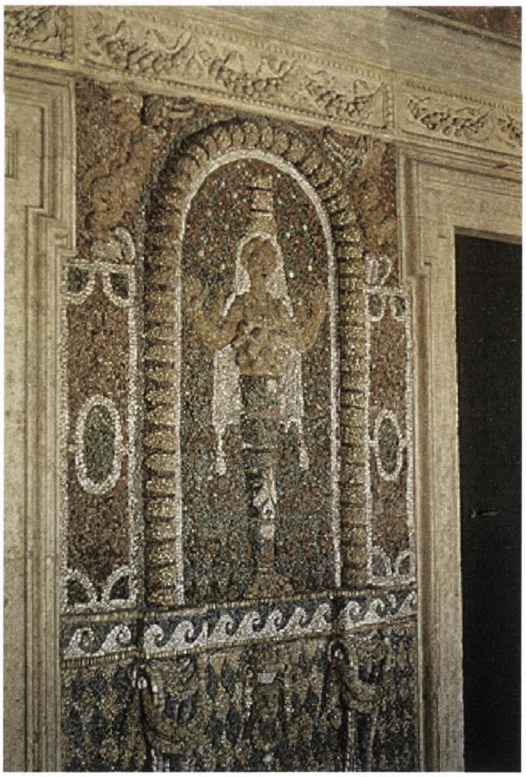

Figure 63. Casino, portico with Diana of Ephesus in mosaic

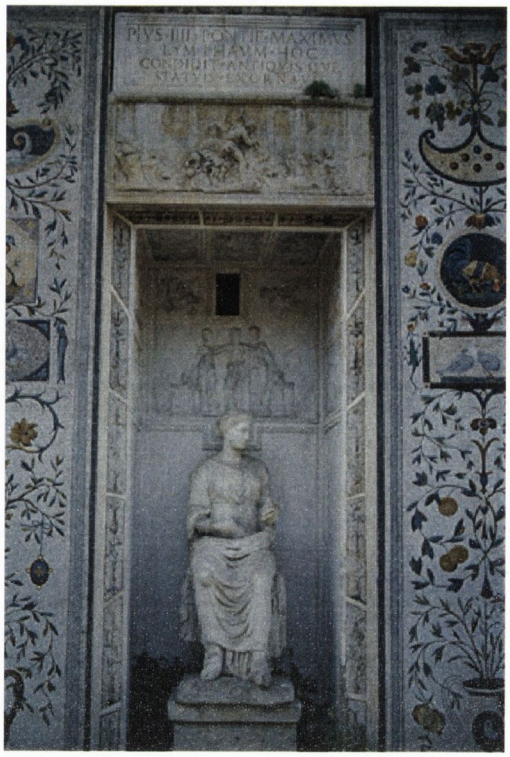

Figure 64. Casino, grotto with inscription celebrating Casino as "Lymphaeum"

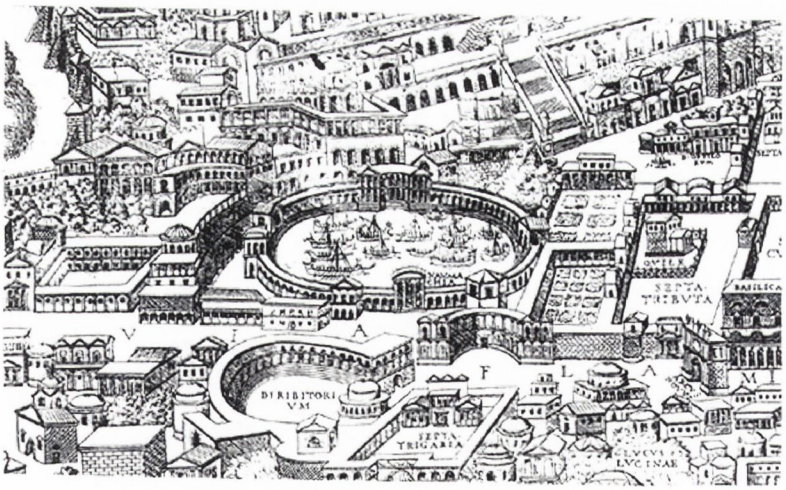

Figure 65. Ligorio, map of ancient Rome, 1561, naumachia of Augustus

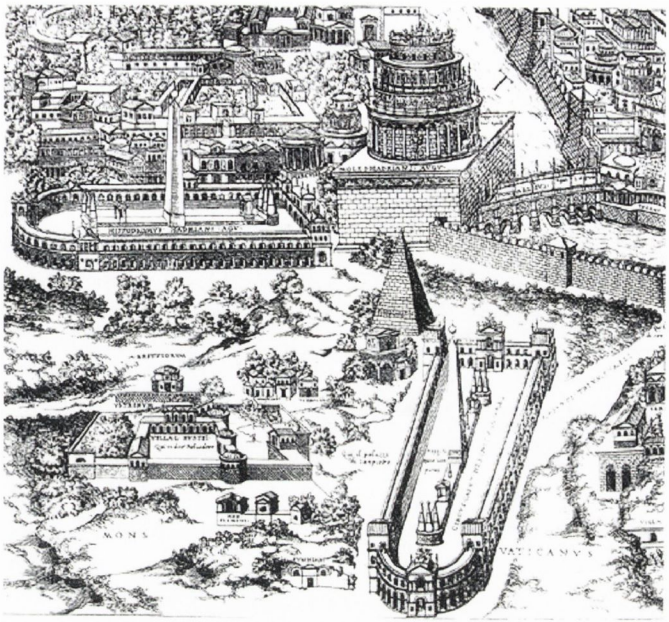

Figure 66. Ligorio, map of ancient Rome, 1561, Mons Vaticanus and site of Casino

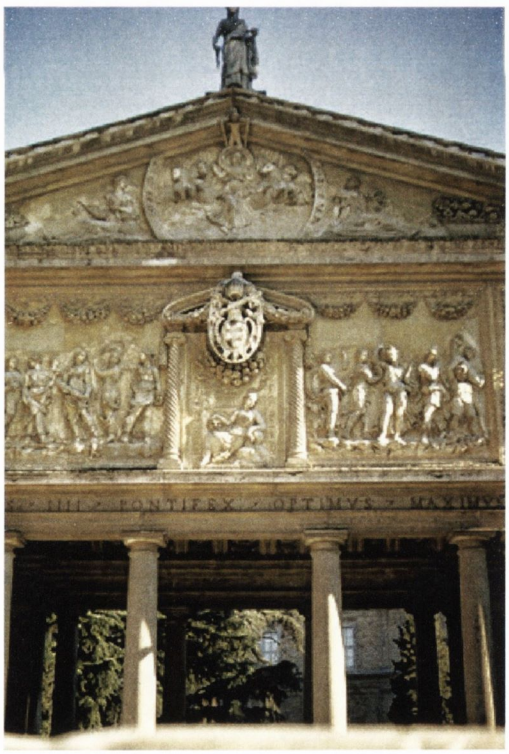

Figure 67. Casino, detail of loggia with figure of Mnemosyne

Figure 68. Casino, portico, detail of decoration

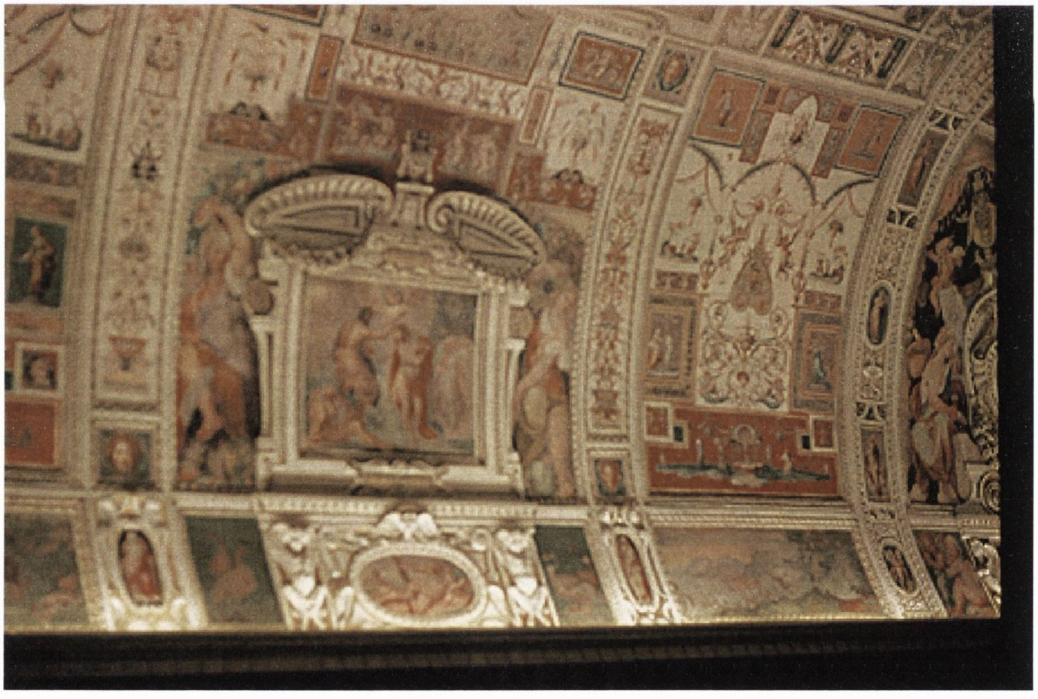

Figure 69. Casino, first room, vault with baptism of Christ by St John

Figure 70. Casino, first room, vault with Navicella

Figure 71. Casino, second room, vault

Figure 72. Casino, first room, vault with stemma of Pius IV, thrones and virtues

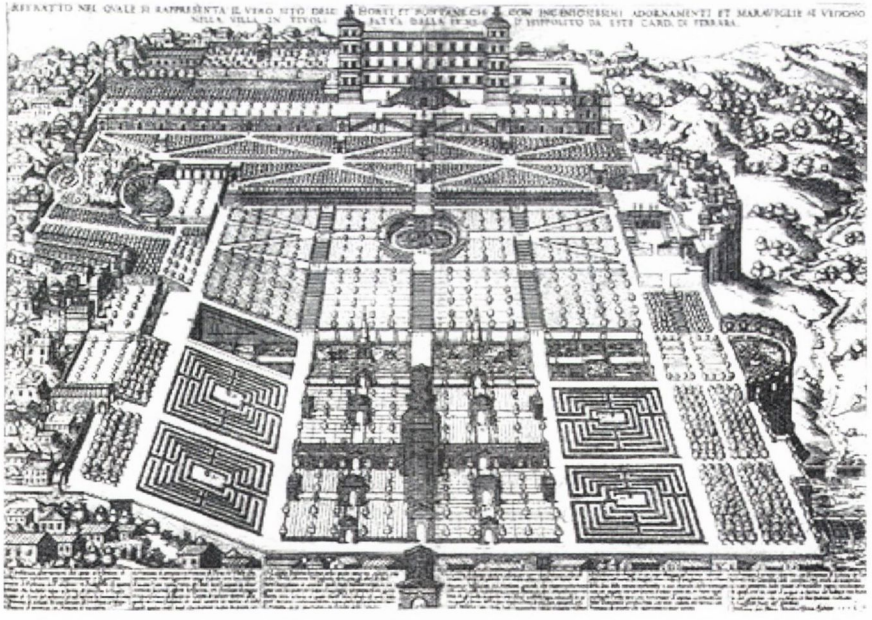

Figure 73. Villa D'Este, Tivoli, Dupérac map, 1573

Figure 74. Villa D'Este, Dragon Fountain

Figure 75. Villa D'Este, vertical axis of garden as seen from Porta Romana

Figure 76. Villa D'Este, court, Fountian of nympha loci or Venus

Figure 77. Villa d'Este, axis of Fisponds and Water Organ

Figure 78. Villa D'Este, Water Organ

Figure 79. Villa D'Este, Dea natura -Ephesian Diana, formerly housed in the Water Organ

Figure 80. Villa d'Este, Oval Fountain or Fountain of Tivoli with statue of Tiburtine Sibyl

Figure 81. Villa D'Este, Rometta

Figure 82. Villa D'Este, Rometta as engraved by Venturini, 1685

Figure 83. Villa D'Este, Salotto, depiction of garden in 1568 (Muziano and workshop)

APPENDIX THREE

Table Showing Contents of 1589 *Intermedi*

Intermedio 1	Harmony, Fate, the gods and sirens (Myth of Er, *Republic* Book X)
Intermedio 2	Contest of the Muses and Pierides
Intermedio 3	Combat of Apollo and the dragon
Intermedio 4	Maga with spirits prophesies golden age: Inferno
Intermedio 5	Amphitrite and nymphs: Arion
Intermedio 6	Gods bestow harmony and rhythm on humankind (Plato, *Laws* II)

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