THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THE CEILING DECORATIONS
BY PROSPERO FONTANA AND TADDEO ZUCCARO
IN THE CASINO OF THE VILLA GIULIA, ROME

by
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The Villa Giulia was erected between 1551 and 1555 as a suburban retreat for Pope Julius III. Designed by Vignola, Ammannati, and Vasari it was of great importance in the development of mannerist architecture. From contemporary descriptions it is known that the buildings were elaborately ornamented with frescoes and stuccoes. Few of these works survive but among those that do are the decorations of the ceilings of the north and south rooms on the ground floor of the Casino attributed by J. A. Gere to Prospero Fontana and Taddeo Zuccaro. The concern of this thesis is to uncover the subject matter of these ceiling decorations.

Each of the ceilings is divided into nine rectangles containing five large works in stucco and four fresco panels. These larger works are surrounded by frames filled with small fresco and stucco ornaments.

The subject matter of the major stuccoes has been identified as, in the north room: Fortuna seized by Virtue, the emblem of Julius, and the four classical virtues, Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Fortitude; and in the south room: Fortuna overcome by Virtue, and the three Christian virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity, and Religion.
The subject matter of the fresco panels has been impossible to determine. One panel in the north room is based on Philostratus' description of the River of Andros. One panel in the north room and one in the south are related in composition to two plaqettes by Guglielmo della Porta, but their subjects are not the same.

The subjects of some of the small stucco medallions have been identified, but those of the other minor decorations and grotesques have not. As the major panels are not identified it cannot be ascertained whether the minor decorations have any iconological significance. Much of the minor fresco work appears to be purely ornamental in keeping with the taste and custom of the times. The minor decoration of the south room is richer than that of the north room leading to the surmise that the artist had some freedom to improvise this part of the work.

Though the subjects of the panels have not been identified, they do fit contemporary ideas of the decoration appropriate for a villa of this type. The programme was probably devised by one of the scholars or poets of whom Julius was patron and may include parodies of classical myths.

The search for the iconographical and iconological significance of these works involved an examination of
both pictorial and textual sources. The pictorial sources included the photograph collections of the Warburg and Frick art reference libraries, and many books and periodicals containing reproductions of sixteenth century works. The textual sources included sixteenth century works on classical mythology, classical literature known in the sixteenth century, twentieth century works on mannerist iconography and iconology, and to a lesser extent works on sixteenth century literature. As most of this material proved irrelevant, it has been omitted from the bibliography.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION
Julius III, builder of the Villa Giulia, was born Giovan Maria del Ciocchi del Monte in Rome on September 10, 1487, of a family originally from Monte San Savino. After receiving a humanist education, he studied law in Perugia and Siena and then moved steadily upward in the church, from chamberlain to Julius II, and Governor of Rome, until he was created Cardinal by Paul III in 1536. An expert on canon law and a reformer, he was appointed one of Paul's representatives to the Council of Trent.

Vasari reports that when he met Julius outside Bologna on his way to the conclave Julius said that he was sure that he would be the next pope, a confidence that seems hard to justify looking back on his adequate but not brilliant career. His election to the papacy did take place on February 8, 1550, but only after the longest conclave in history when he was chosen to break the deadlock between the French candidate, the Cardinal of Ferrara, and the Imperial candidate, Cardinal Pole.

Once the tiara and the keys were his, Julius began to disclose the pagan, pleasure-loving, 'Renaissance' streak in his character. His election and its anniversaries were celebrated with festivities taking their motifs and decorations from the pagan classics and two of his medals bore the revealing mottoes *Hilaritas pontificia* and
Hilaritas publica. He patronized scholars, humanists, and poets, music and the theatre. He was a friend to Michelangelo whose Life Condivi dedicated to him. Though thoroughly infected with the building disease, the state of the papal coffers prevented his becoming one of the great building popes. Coolidge credits him, however, within the limited means at his disposal, of giving impetus to a new generation of mannerist architects. The principal outlet for his patronage, the one in which he took the greatest personal interest, was his villa on the Vigna Giulia.

The Villa Giulia was not the first architectural enterprise that Julius had planned. In 1548 and 1549 he had engaged Vasari on the design of a villa at Monte San Savino, where Cardinal Antonio del Monte had already built one palace. The new villa, to be modelled on the Villa Madama, was to be called Georgica after Virgil's Georgica, and its architecture was to incorporate the theories of Vitruvius and the De re rustica of Columella. After 1550 no more is heard of the Villa Georgica, and Julius' resources and energies seem all to have been directed to the Villa Giulia.

The original vigna on which the Villa Giulia was erected had been purchased by Cardinal Antonio del Monte
in 1530. At his death in 1533 he left the property to his two nephews Giovanni and Baldovino. By October 1550 Giovanni, now Julius III, was enlarging his inheritance until two years later he had acquired nearly all the adjoining estates from the city wall to the Milvian bridge almost a mile away including the lands between the Via Flaminia and the Tiber.\(^5\)

The Villa Giulia was to be a *villa suburbana*, a pleasure villa providing a day's retreat from the city in a rustic setting. Between 1551 and 1553 Julius had bought or was given 36,000 additional trees and plants for the grounds. From the landing stage on the Tiber to the Via Flaminia ran a grape arbour under which passed the visitors who arrived by the river route. The avenue to the Villa from the Via Flaminia started at the old public fountain restored by Julius, and ended in a semicircular piazza in front of the Casino. This avenue was lined with fruit trees.\(^6\)

How the rest of the estate was laid out is now conjectural. Bafile thinks that it was given over to orchards and vineyards and finds in its gardens the forerunner of the romantic English garden with its woods, hills and valleys. Boissard in 1597 writes of ancient herms being used as supports for grape vines\(^7\) so it must have retained something of its character of a *vigna*. 
According to Vasari, Julius appointed Vignola architect in 1550 for the Villa and the Aqua Virgo. Construction began in May 1551. Originally the Villa seems to have been designed as two separate structures, the Casino to the west and the Nymphaeum to the east. Bafile credits Vignola with the design of the main building and Ammannati and Vasari with the Nymphaeum. The work proceeded under the close supervision of the Pope, who, says Panvinio, neglected state affairs for the sake of the Villa. Julius proved such a capricious taskmaster, altering the building at his whim, that Vasari left his service in 1553.

In its ultimate form the Villa combined mannerist elements of surprise and bafflement with a proto-baroque, or perhaps antique, insistence on the long vista from Casino entrance to final enclosing wall. From the present day road alongside, the Villa's dimensions appear relatively modest, but viewed from the Casino entrance door, its varied spaces and structures have the effect of very much elongating its extent. The mannerist element lies in the concealment from that first view of the full complexity of the relationship among the structures. To the eye it looks a simple matter to traverse the whole from the first courtyard to the mediaeval **hortus conclusus** at the end; only at the
entrance to the Nymphaeum are its three levels revealed, and still concealed are the means of access to the subterranean fountain below and the garden beyond. The Villa's attractiveness lies partly in these devious, unforeseen, connections, and partly in the contrasts among spaces and structures— the large, once sculpture-filled forecourt, the multi-level Nymphaeum with its elegant curving stairways, and its second set of hidden winding stairs down to the coolness of the fountain, and then its termination in a small quiet garden.

Of the component buildings, the Nymphaeum, housing the Aqua Virgo, is the most interesting both architecturally and historically. A medal of Julius has on the reverse the Villa Giulia with above it the inscription Fons Virginis and below Villae Julia. Ferro explains it as showing the purity of the place unspotted by vice.

The Aqua Virgo was brought to Rome in 19 B.C. and according to Frontinus it was called the Aqua Virgo because a young maiden appeared to a party of soldiers seeking water and pointed out the springs to them, but Pliny says the name arose because the Virgo refused to mingle its waters with the nearby stream of Hercules. More prosaically it may have taken its name from the purity of its water. It was early associated with gardens. Frontinus mentions
that the arches of the Virgo began by the garden of Lucullus and Pliny complains that the cool Virgin waters had been diverted by the rich to supply their country seats and suburban villas to the detriment of public health.

The Aqua Virgo was the only water supply, apart from the Tiber and a few fountains, available to Rome during the Middle Ages. It had escaped destruction by the Goths because it ran underground part of the way, and it was repaired from time to time by the later popes. The Roman Baedeker of 1893 says that it is still the best aqueduct in Rome, and in the mid-sixteenth century, except for the one serving the Vatican, it was the only efficient aqueduct in Rome.

As no water was available in the area outside the Porta del Popolo where Julius' vigna was situated he had to draw from the nearest source which was the Aqua Virgo in the vicinity of the Piazza di Spagna. Vignola constructed for him a derivazione to carry water to the Villa, and the same derivazione supplied the fountain on the Via Flaminia, the old public fountain which Julius had restored.

Bafile says that the Nymphaeum fountain had to be placed below the ground because the water from the aqueduct arrived at the Villa at too low a level for a fountain at ground level. However, he also mentions ground level fountains
in the main court and the enclosure behind the Nymphaeum.

Originally a nymphaeum was a cave spring sacred to nymphs. Pliny in his Letters mentions nymphaea in connection with antique villas, and Steinberg says that to recreate a villa in the classical manner a nymphaeum was a necessity.\textsuperscript{16} Masson sees this semi-underground structure as a revival of the classical cryptoporticus.\textsuperscript{17} The fountain of the Villa Giulia may therefore have been placed underground as much for reasons of style as of hydraulic engineering.

Primarily the Villa was designed to offer the Pope a nearby suburban retreat from the pressures of Rome. Its secondary purposes may have been to serve as a setting for the theatrical productions of which Julius was so fond, as a setting for other festivities, or as a place to house his collection of classical sculpture.\textsuperscript{18}

Records of payment show that the Villa was used for entertaining. Dinners were held there and at least one \textit{fête champêtre}. One comedy was performed at the Villa Giulia, but the records are too confused to determine if other payments refer to plays shown at the Villa or elsewhere.\textsuperscript{19} That Julius' collection of antiques was housed there is amply confirmed in numerous accounts and records. Estimates of the number of antique statues in the Villa vary from
thirty to 300, some of which can be identified from drawings by Pirro Ligorio, and in addition, new works were commissioned.

Every part of the buildings was profusely adorned with frescoes and stuccoes, many of which have disappeared in the course of the centuries. Among the surviving decorations are those on the ceilings of the north and south rooms on the ground floor of the Casino. Each of these ceilings is divided into nine rectangles, the centre ones each containing two large stucco figures, and the four corner ones each having a large stucco oval with one figure. The four intervening rectangles are occupied by paintings in fresco, and the surround of the ovals in the corners is filled with grotesques in fresco. The nine divisions are separated by double stucco frames, and between the frames are small figures in stucco medallions and more grotesques in fresco. Finishing each ceiling is a heavy stucco frieze of intertwined plants and grotesques, into which, beneath each fresco panel, is inserted a small fresco scene.

Gere has attributed the work in the north room to Prospero Fontana, and the work in the south room to Taddeo Zuccaro, and these attributions will be taken as given by him. The object of this thesis will be to identify the subject matter represented in the major stuccoes and frescoes and the minor decorations adjoining them.
CHAPTER II

MAJOR FRESCOES
In the first fresco panel in the north room an old, bearded man reclines on a bed of grapes, holding in his left hand a thyrsus, his head crowned with a wreath of vine. Behind him is a screen of grape shoots and his right arm rests on an overturned jar from which pours down a river of wine. On the left bank of the river one figure leans over, lapping wine directly from the stream, his face half-submerged. Below him on the bank, a man sits and a woman reclines. On the other bank sits a man of the Silenus type supported on each side by two figures, one of whom might be male and the other female. Another man pours wine from a wineskin into his mouth. Another figure is eating grapes, while three women, maenads, are clashing cymbals. In the foreground a nude woman sitting on a cloth sack, dips wine from the river with a jug while offering a bowl of wine to, or being offered a bowl of wine by the man standing behind her. This man seems to have horns on his forehead but human feet.

This scene resembles two described in classical sources though it does not match either in exact detail. In the Dionysiaca, Nonnos relates how in India Bacchus changed a river into wine. One Indian drank and said "Here I see an image of the heavens: for that nectar of Olympus which they say is the drink of Zeus, the Naiads are pouring out
in natural streams on the earth." The other Indians drank too. One went in waist deep and drank from the hollow of his hands, one lay on the bank and drank with his mouth, one pressed his hands on the sandy bottom and drank. Others used shards for cups and great swarms drank from cups.¹

The second description, by Philostratus in the Imagines, is of the river of wine on the island of Andros created by an act of Dionysus. That river is incarnate; he lies on a couch of grape clusters and pours out a stream of wine. Thyrsi grow around him, and on his banks men crowned with ivy and byrony recline, dance and sing to their wives and children. At the river's mouth Tritons dip up the wine in sea shells, drink or blow out streams of wine, and dance. In the harbour lays the ship of Dionysus who leads a group of satyrs and bacchantes.²

Other classical sources also refer to rivers of wine though without the graphic detail of Nonnos and Philostratus. Pausanias mentions the river of wine at Andros which flowed from the sanctuary every other year during the festival of Dionysus, and Pliny describes the same spring in the temple of Bacchus on Andros which tastes of wine on January 5, the god's gift day. In another well known myth Midas traps a satyr by pouring wine into the river.
A Nonnos manuscript was in the library of the Medici at Florence and in 1551 one was in the Vatican and may have been known to the designer though the Dionysiaca was not printed till 1569 in Antwerp. Philostratus' Imagines was printed in 1503 and was the source of the Bacchanal of the Andrians by Titian in the studio of the Duke of Ferrara painted in 1519.

The treatment in the Villa Giulia follows. Philostratus in having the river lie on a group of grape clusters, while men and women recline and drink. There are no dancing figure on both banks. Though the maenad figures below the river god might be engaged in a dance, the dancing aspect is not emphasized as in Titian where the dancers are prominent and the river god subordinate. From Nonnos might come the man at the upper left lapping wine directly from the river.

This panel then may be based textually on Philostratus with a drawing from other sources, but it does not reflect the previous pictorial treatment by Titian. The Andros scene may have been chosen because as Philostratus says: "This river makes men rich, and powerful in the assembly, and helpful to their friends, and beautiful and, instead of short, four cubits tall; for when a man has drunk his fill of it he can assemble all these qualities and in his thought make them his own."
In the small panel opposite that of the river of wine, a statue in grey stone of a draped woman stands on the edge of a square basin of water. In her left hand she holds a wreath of flowers. Behind her is a clump of trees on a hillock and behind them the sky glows pink. At her left foot are two birds. On the left side of the panel stand two women draped in green and purple gazing at the statue. Below them another woman with yellow draperies sits on the corner of the basin, her legs immersed, while she too gazes at the statue.

On the right side is a horned man in the background and beside and in front of him another, bald, bearded older man offers to the statue a dish of fruit. In front of them a nude woman sits on the far right corner of the basin, her right leg in the water while she dries her left foot. In the foreground water pours out from the basin from the mouth of a satyr's head. To the left a woman, half nude, sits on the ground in the act of draping herself. To the left a naked baby crawls along the ground looking up. At the edge of the pool, made by the overflow from the basin, grow various flowers.

Tradition has it that this panel represents the offering of nymphs and pilgrims to Fonte Castilia. No classical text describes exactly the Castilian spring.
dedicated to the Muses on Mount Parnassus, but pictorial representations are common, and these usually show Apollo surrounded by the Muses, often with poets in the company, and the spring personified as a man or woman reclining with an urn in the background or foreground. The best argument for this being the Castilian spring is its being placed opposite the river of wine; the wine of Dionysus inspires men—as Philostratus says, makes a man four cubits tall—and the water of the Castilian spring similarly inspires the poet.

Were the birds at the foot of the statue more distinct they should identify it, but they are not recognizable as magpies, peacocks, hawks, geese, cuckoos, doves or swans, the birds given to the Muses, Juno, Ceres, Proserpina and Venus. There are no indications that this is any of the other fountains described in classical literature, Canathus, Juventa, or Acidalia, or the spring at the sanctuary of Ionides. Nor can the scene be associated with contemporary fountain subjects, the Fountain of Youth, the Fountain of Love, or the fountain of Francesco Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

Appropriate here would be a nymph to recall the Nymphaeum or the Aqua Virgo. The garden of the Colocci family at Rome near the arch of Claudius of the Aqua Virgo
had a fountain with a statue of a sleeping nymph. Pirro Ligorio says that the Romans dedicated to the Aqua Virgo a maiden with an eagle at her breast, but the birds here are not clearly eagles.

Caro's suggestions to Vasari for the Villa's decorations were a Bacchus, a Ceres, and a Fontánalia or group of fountain goddesses. This panel probably represents a fountain or water goddess, who should be identifiable by means of the birds at her feet, and was chosen to complement the river of wine opposite. The Villa was set in a vigna, and one of its notable features was the pure, cool water of the Aqua Virgo.

The first large panel in the north room depicts a rustic feast in a forest glade. At a round table with a white cloth sit eight figures, four men and four women. On the table are a tortoise or turtle, a porcupine or hedgehog, a handful of mushrooms, and fruits—grapes, and perhaps pears—and what might be a loaf of bread. From a branch above the table is suspended a mask. Two of the women at the table turn to a companion who has her arms around their shoulders. Immediately behind the table are three servitors, two women and a man carrying grapes, a basket of fruit, and a flowing jar of wine. In the distance among the trees and against a glowing sky are two figures,
one carrying a bundle of wood. On the right hand side of
the picture a horned waitress pours liquid from a jar into
the bowl held out by one of the women at the table. In
the right corner a woman lowers a small tub from which a
goat-footed and -tailed child drinks. At the left side a
fat man is supported on an ass by two youths. Behind him
a figure in a purple cloak pours liquid from a small jar
to a large bowl. In the left foreground a horned figure
pours liquid from a skin into a bowl from which a horned,
goat-footed man drinks, his left arm resting on a cluster
of grapes. The bowl is supported also by a goat-footed
and -tailed child. In the centre foreground a goat-footed,
-tailed child sits on the back of a crouched feline animal
and holds before the animal's open mouth a cluster of grapes.

The group at the left hand side, familiar from both
textual and pictorial sources, is Silenus riding on his ass.
The first figure to the left seated at the table, horned,
with goat feet and carrying a set of pipes is Pan. The
next two figures, a bearded man and a man with horns and
pointed animal ears, are unidentifiable except as a man and
a satyr. The central figure has one arm around a lynx, his
head is wreathed with ivy and he drinks from a bowl: this
must be Bacchus. Of the group of three women beside him
two wear wreaths of grain: one of them may be Ceres and
the other a follower of Ceres. Of the two remaining women at the table one wears a leafy wreath but they have no other attributes to identify them: Pomona, or Flora would be likely goddesses. The figures with goat's legs and horns are satyrs, and the animal on which the child satyr rides is the panther associated with Bacchus. The presence of grapes and wine mark this as a Bacchic festival. The two figures in the distance might be the youths who carried boughs at the Oschophoria, a vintage festival.  

The mask or oscillum suspended from the branch is associated with Bacchic festivals. Virgil says in the Georgics that at Bacchic festivals men wore masks of cork and hung amulets from the trees. In only one other Bacchic illustration is found such a mask, though the mask was an attribute of Melpomene, Muse of the theatre, whose patron Bacchus was.

The unusual combination of objects on the table, turtle, hedgehog, and mushrooms, must contribute to the meaning of the scene. The turtle on the table near Pan is associated with both Pan and Venus. It also stood for tardiness, and its flesh might cause pain or act as a purgative. The porcupine, able to discharge its quills when threatened, is associated with Mars. A hedgehog stands for the seizing of a favourable opportunity. The lore
gathered about the mushroom is large; it is produced by thunder, it is the sign of an extraordinary event, or a symbol of foolishness, but none of the meanings given to it seem relevant to this scene, and there seems to be no reason to place it before Bacchus on the table. The turtle, and the porcupine might stand for the absent gods Venus and Mars; Venus would be a congenial guest at a Bacchic feast, but Mars would have no place at this table.

The most common scenes with Bacchus are Bacchus and Ariadne, and general triumphs of Bacchus. Some of the characters here are those whom Dionysus made gods, Pan, Silenus and the satyrs. The closest textual parallel is Ovid's description in the Fasti of the feast where Pan attempts the seduction of Lotis which is the source of Bellini's Feast at Ferrara. Some of the same elements are present here, Silenus' ass which seems to be on the point of braying and Pan staring fixedly at someone, but so many details differ, e.g. no one lies on the grass, that it is certainly not an illustration of that episode.

An assemblage of demi-gods and rustic divinities, it could be the feast of Bacchus on March 17, the feast of Bacchus Apollo held every other year on Mount Parnassus, the Oschophoria, or it might be simply a rustic feast to celebrate the fertility of the earth, with Ceres and Bacchus as host
and hostess. A joint feast of Bacchus and Ceres is the Ambarvalia in late spring or early summer. Ceres and Bacchus are associated not only in "Venus grows cold without Ceres and Bacchus," but also in Virgil, "O ye most radiant lights of the firmament that guide through heaven the gliding year, O Liber and bounteous Ceres."

Bacchus' being god of music and the theatre, and his relationship to the Muses, might relate this panel to the neighbouring one, the so-called Castillian spring, if it is the Castilian spring.

This Bacchic feast bears some resemblance to one in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna discussed by Planiscig. In the Vienna scene Silenus supported by two satyrs enters on the left accompanied by two girls with tambourines and a youth with a double flute. To his left a satyr cooks a boar's head in a cauldron while in the foreground two satyrs crouch before a pot. Around an oval table sit fauns, nymphs, and satyrs. At the right a river god leans on his flowing urn. Behind him satyrs pour wine and in the background girls carry baskets of fruit on their heads. On the table is something resembling a porcupine or hedgehog. Though the general composition is similar to that of the Villa Giulia fresco, in the Vienna plaquette the ass has one hoof on the table, and Pan is opposite the ass with
three nude women between them. The minor figures differ considerably.

The Vienna plaquette is one of a series of sixteen, illustrating stories from Ovid, designed by Guglielmo della Porta and used by later artists. This scene says Phillips is based on a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4. 26-30, but Ovid describes a train of satyrs not a feast. Gramberg turns to another passage in the *Metamorphoses* 11. 94-96, the feast of Midas to welcome Silenus. Ovid's description of this feast is meager and mentions neither Pan nor Bacchus among the company. Apart from the resemblance in composition, the most interesting similarity between the plaquette and the fresco is the porcupine or hedgehog on the table, a curious presence for which none of the suggested texts accounts. If this animal is a hedgehog then the hedgehog in the meaning of seizing a favourable opportunity might refer to the Fortuna/Occasio of Julius' emblem, and the plaquette and the fresco might be related in subject.

Were it not for the mushrooms, turtle and hedgehog on the table this scene might be taken as one of the rustic banquets independent of any literary source or profound meaning that Bardon assigns to this period.

The fourth major panel in the north room depicts nine people seated at an oblong table supported on the
clouds in front of a golden sky. Behind the table three female servitors in green, orange and purple hold bowls or drinking vessels and at the head a boy pours liquid from a small jar into a flat goblet. On the table is a dish containing what may be leaves, grapes or fruit. At each side of the picture stand two women draped in green, white, red and yellow holding back a curtain to reveal the banqueters. To the left two putti hold up the cloud bank. Below the putti is a landscape with trees and a small hill.

The right hand corner of the panel is taken up with a large nude bearded man, his hair bound with heads of grain, who looks out of the picture to his left. Over and around his body play sixteen infants. One grasps his right foot, while four play around his right calf. Three more climb on his right thigh and arm and one sits on his right shoulder. Two sit beside his left knee. Four surround his left arm, and the sixteenth sits atop a cornucopia of fruit at the man's left trying on his head a basket of flowers or fruit. Above and behind the giant's head are two animal heads, one might be a crocodile, the other a seal or lynx.

Of the group sitting at the table, the one at the head is Jupiter who has an eagle at his foot. Beside him should sit Juno. The third figure is identifiable as Minerva because of the plumed helmet. The fourth figure is a bearded man.
In the Anderson photograph, the fifth figure looks as if he were a puffing man, Eolus. The sixth and seventh figures are white-bearded men with no discernible attributes. At the other side of the table is, first, a white-bearded old man and beside him Apollo, with his lyre and laurel wreath. None of these four bearded men have any attributes other than age, and they could be Chronos, Saturn, Pluto, Vulcan, Neptune, or Bacchus. If the animal head immediately behind Apollo's lyre is a lynx then the old man is Bacchus. Behind the table one of the three women servers should be Hebe. The young boy pouring wine for Jupiter is Ganymede.

The figure in the right hand corner is the river Nile, the source for which is the statue uncovered in Rome in 1513. This statue was a popular subject with many artists who restored the damaged parts to their own taste; Francesco de Hollanda gave him thirteen children, Taddeo Zuccaro eight. Sixteen children signify the optimum level of the Nile, and the cornucopia its abundance.

Philostratus describes the Nile, with children romping round and on him, and looking toward the divinity who regulates his flow. Here the Nile looks directly away from Jupiter, to the fountain goddess in the next panel, or to Bacchus in the opposite panel.
The connections between the gods and the Nile are numerous. The whole pantheon took refuge from the giants in Egypt, and both gods and men originated in Egypt. Jupiter and Bacchus have many associations with the Nile, both were worshipped on its banks, and Bacchus was begotten and nurtured in its vicinity; Bacchus, Minerva, Hercules, Mercury and Vulcan were children of the Nile. Classical texts abound with references to Jupiter, the gods and the Nile yet none describes the scene in this panel.

Diodorus says that during the inundation of the Nile valley, between the summer solstice and the autumnal equinox, the people feasted, but he does not mention any feasts of the gods. The feasts of the gods usually depicted in the Cinquecento were the wedding of Psyche and Cupid from Apuleus' *The golden ass*, the feast with Lotis in the *Fasti* of Ovid, and the wedding of Thetis and Peleus from Catullus. Councils of the gods were: the council summoned for the wedding of Mercury and Philology, from the *Iliad* the council on the Trojan war, and from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the council to punish evil-doers by a flood. One of Jupiter's concerns at this last council was to protect the rustic deities of the mountain glades. The opposite panel might refer to these innocents, and the Nile below to the rivers who aided in the flood that destroyed the wicked. Another council of the gods,
to which the river gods came, was summoned to deal with the rape of Prosperina. The Villa Giulia feast or council is unique in the proportion of women to men; of the nine figures at the table only two are women, Minerva and Juno. In no other feast of the gods do men outnumber women by four to one. The Villa Giulia panel perhaps comes closest to the council on the rape of Prosperina because of the number of old men, for river gods are usually old men.

Bardon connects this feast with Raphael's wedding of Cupid and Psyche in the Farnesina, and Venturi calls it a parodia of the Farnesina banquet. Venturi may be right.

These two feasting scenes by Fontana differ strongly in their casts, the Olympian and the rustic deities, and in their moods, the one group dominated by the Nile and the other by the wine drinkers. "For he who draws from it [Andros] may well disdain both Nile and Ister..." The Bacchic feast is complemented by the Andros scene, both being celebrations of wine. If the Olympian/Nile scene is meant to celebrate water then the goddess being worshipped in the other small panel must be a fountain or water goddess. In very general terms the frescoes honour the abundance of water and the abundance of the grape which the earth brings forth.
In the first panel of the south room three nude women with braided hair bathe in a stream or spring. The water is coming forth from the bank behind, on which grows an oak tree. One woman sits and faces the viewer in a *Venus pudica* attitude while the other two watch three women in the middle distance. The woman to the right holds a jar in her left hand. The women in the middle ground are heavily draped in mauve and red. The first of these women has a crescent on her forehead and she and one of her companions carry bundles of mauve and grey draperies.

The landscape behind is hilly and barren. In the sky, very faintly, are two dogs drawing a chariot. If there is a figure in the chariot it is indistinguishable.

The first figure in the middle ground is identified as Diana or Luna by the crescent on her head and the dogs in the sky. The catalogue of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale lists this scene as Diana fleeing from her bath because she has met one of her nymphs, Callisto, who has lost her chastity, and Venturi also identifies it as an episode in the Callisto story.³⁹

Ovid tells the story of Callisto twice; in the *Fasti* and in the *Metamorphoses*.⁴⁰ In the *Fasti* Callisto's pregnancy was discovered when she was invited to bathe by Diana after hunting. Diana dismissed her from her maidens
and her pool for she was defiling the waters. The same story is told in more detail in the *Metamorphoses*. Diana and her band after hunting:

... came to a cool grove through which a gently murmuring stream flowed over its smooth sands. The place delighted her and she dipped her feet into the water. Delighted too with this, she said to her companions: "Come, no one is near to see; let us disrobe and bathe us in the brook." The Arcadian blushed, and, while all the rest obeyed, she only sought excuses for delay. But her companions forced her to comply, and there her shame was openly confessed. As she stood terror-stricken, vainly striving to hide her state, Diana cried: "Begone! and pollute not our sacred pool"; and so expelled her from her company.41

There are many variations on the story of Callisto, sometimes she is changed to a bear by Jupiter, sometimes by Diana, sometimes by Juno,42 but these variants are irrelevant to this panel. Ovid's is the most detailed text of the actual discovery of the pregnancy; Callisto is disrobed by the other nymphs and stands before the angry Diana.

Erwin Panofsky says that before Titian's *Diana and Callisto*, 1559, Callisto was always shown standing as in Ovid's text, and Diana was arguing with Callisto or bathing in the water.43 The Villa Giulia panel was painted before 1559, and if Panofsky is correct,44 none of the nude bathers can be Callisto for none is standing. None of the three nude figures seems to be in an advanced state of pregnancy,
nor do two of them appear to have disrobed the third, nor does the third appear to be the cause of any distress. If they are distressed it seems more likely to be at Diana's theft of their clothes.

In this panel the myth has been inverted. Diana retreats from Callisto which is not in accordance with Ovid's text, and she retreats with the draperies of the bathers which is very strange behaviour indeed on the part of the chaste Diana.

The Graces are the most common group of three nude women, and they bathed in the fountain of Acidalius sacred to Venus. There is no reference to Venus here, and no text connects Diana and the Graces.

The subject here is not Ovid's Diana and Callisto nor any of the widely illustrated Diana myths such as those in which Actaeon or Endymion appear. This panel probably represents either a new Diana myth of the sixteenth century or a parody of the Callisto myth.

The opposite panel has below five women in yellow, pink and white draperies. Above them is a child in a tree and a woman seated on a throne or chariot in the sky. The first woman at the left stands, holding in her right hand two arrows which she offers to the woman enthroned above. In her left hand she grasps a single arrow whose head points
to the child. Beside her another woman holds up a quiverful of arrows and gazes at the woman in the sky. In the right hand corner kneels a woman, a bow in her left hand and two arrows in her right, who looks at the child in the tree. Behind her stands a woman pointing the finger of her upraised hand at the boy, while the fifth woman behind her looks out at the viewer.

The boy in the tree is winged and his left foot and right arm are tied to branches of the tree. His left forefinger touches his mouth. Opposite him the draped woman sits in what may be a throne or a chariot. The arm rest is a sphinx figure and one wheel appears half cut off by the picture frame. The vehicle rests on the clouds. The figure is surrounded by an aureole. She looks down on the women below and gestures to the winged boy with her right hand.

The winged boy tied to the tree might be Harpocrates, god of silence, who was represented as a putti or youth with his hand or finger to his mouth, and who called for silence during religious observances. Pirro Ligorio discusses Harpocrates at length, illustrating six statuettes of him, and lists as possible attributes dragonwort, a stick like that of Hercule's, cock, owl, lighted torch, key, horn of Amalthea, poppy, bow and club, flowers, birds, whip,
square and rulers. None of these additional attributes are used in this panel, only the finger gesturing silence. Harpocrates is the god of conception, pregnant women and unborn children. His images are dedicated to Luna or to Juno Lucina.

There appears to be no instance of Harpocrates being bound to a tree. The small winged boy who is sometimes bound to a tree is Cupid. Here he has none of the other attributes commonly given to Amore or Cupid, blindfold, bow, arrows, torch or cocks. There is no illustration of Cupid with his finger to his lips.

The woman beside the boy has two attributes, the aureole behind her and the sphinx on her chariot. The sphinx can stand for knowledge, ignorance, or voluptuousness, but the only goddess with whom she is associated is Minerva. Having the head of a woman and the body of a lion, the sphinx signifies the two signs of the Zodiac, Virgo and Leo, between which the Nile rises. The sphinx was used, however, simply as a decorative element in furniture with no iconological significance.

The usual attribute of Luna is the crescent on her forehead. Lucina, goddess of childbirth, holds a key or torch, bow, arrows, and a garland of dittany. Venus, whose chariot is drawn by swans and doves may have apples,
roses or conch shell. None of these objects appear here. In association with Harpocrates, the figure would likely be Lucina, goddess of childbirth, with Cupid, Venus, goddess of love and generation, but Venus is Luna, and the aureole could equally well belong to either. The goddess gestures as if assigning responsibility to the child, whether her gesture means that the woman should blame the child for their misfortunes or appeal to him for an answer to their prayers depends on whether the child is Cupid or Harpocrates.

If the child were Cupid and the woman Venus then this would be some variation of the Punishment of Cupid. The women below with the bows, arrows and quivers would be the lovers taking vengeance. The story of the Punishment of Love appears in classical literature; Ausonias relates how Cupid went to the underworld and was hung up in a myrtle tree by his victims, Narcissus, Adonis, Hero, and the rest, who threatened him with the weapons that killed them. Venus scourged him with roses, and the lovers intervened. Petrarch used the same theme, other Renaissance poets worked variations on it, and it was a popular subject for cassoni paintings and graphic works.

The women here, except for the figure with her finger outstretched, do not appear to threaten, or even admonish, the child. They ought to be breaking the bows and arrows
rather than offering them to him as the one at the right does. The details are so much at variance with other representations and textual sources, that this scene is probably not the Punishment of Cupid.

If the child is Harpocrates another meaning could be read into it, though such meaning has no textual foundation. If any of the women looked pregnant they could be praying to Harpocrates and Lucina, god and goddess of childbirth, but none of them look pregnant, so they could be appealing to Venus, goddess of generation, and Harpocrates/Cupid, god of conception, to be made pregnant. Though the subject of pregnancy and childbirth would seem outside the range of Julius' interests, the Villa and the estate did belong to the del Monte family, and a prayer for the continuance of the family would be appropriate.

There seems to be no connection with the opposite Diana panel, unless the woman here is Venus and the three women bathing are the three Graces. Like that panel it might be a parody, a parody of the Punishment of Love.

The first large panel of the south room depicts nine women, draped in yellow, white, pink and purple, performing a dance in a forest clearing. They dance in a chain with joined hands and the ninth dancer moves under the arched arms of the first and second dancers as in some folk dances
or children's games. The third dancer has a crescent on her forehead and a hunting horn suspended from her girdle. In the foreground to the left a standing draped woman shakes a tambourine, beside her on the ground a sitting draped woman clashes the cymbals. At the left side two sitting draped women hold tambourines. In front of them lies a dog, only his head and leg showing, the rest of his body being cut off by the picture frame. In the front centre, at the feet of the third dancer, lie a bow, a quiver and a spear, all cut off half-way by damage to the plaster. Just beyond them are two light-coloured odd shaped objects. At the right emerging from the woods is a man with winged boots, a hat with wings, and carrying a caduceus in his right hand, a stretch of drapery fans out behind his back and over his left thigh. In the sky to the right a figure in a chariot, a halo around its head and a cloak billowing out behind it drives four white horses beneath an arch. In front of the horses glides a draped figure with outstretched arms.

The third dancer is Diana or Luna so identified by the crescent moon upon her forehead, the horn, and the bow, quiver and spear at her feet. The man to the right is Mercury as shown by the winged boots, hat, and caduceus. The chariot in the sky with the four horses is Apollo's.
The figure preceding the chariot should be the crepuscle of dawn or evening, but the crepuscle of evening is a winged infant dropping arrows, and that of morning a winged infant emptying a jar of dew.\textsuperscript{57}

Mercury had under his protection a multiplicity of things, peace treaties, trade, theft, wrestling schools, and many other activities. Sent by Jove to teach the art of speech, he was patron of the fine arts and leader of the Graces. A god of shepherds and spring, the Ides of May were sacred to him. He was the guide of souls and messenger of the gods for sports, meetings, marriages and pleasant affairs.\textsuperscript{58} In his role as messenger he accompanied Proserpina, Io, Bacchus, and Lara. The only message he delivered to Diana was on the occasion when Jove saw her nude and sent Mercury to her with her clothes.\textsuperscript{59}

Of groups of women he is usually associated with the Graces, and in at least one instance with the Muses, but the best known episode connecting Mercury with a group of women is his encounter with Herse and her sisters returning in procession from the festival of Pallas.\textsuperscript{60} In one new myth of the sixteenth century, used for a ballet performed at the French court, Mercury appears with the order of Jove that the warrior nymphs must fight Cupid, and in the course of their ensuing battle with Cupid the nymphs dance. This
episode appears to be the only association of Mercury with dancing nymphs. Bardon says that the fable is traditional, and the source of the tradition is unpublished, unfortunately, for this fable seems closer than any other text to the Villa Guilia panel if only its date and origin were known.61

Diana, Luna and Proserpina are all forms of one goddess, a goddess who at times is also Isis, Hecate, and Semele.62 As Luna she is a fertility goddess; the moon provides the humidity necessary for plants, and her rays foster their growth. The ancients clashed copper and iron pots during the moon's eclipse and cymbals became an attribute of Luna.

Diana was associated with woods and mountains, and often danced with her nymphs. She danced near the springs on Inopus, on the banks of the Eurotas, and in the hall of Apollo. Her worshippers danced the kordax and in Sparta the maidens danced to Caryatis Diana.

Apollo is the sun god and brother of Diana. Luna lives by his reflected light, and they both nourish growing things. He leads the dancing Muses.

Venturi calls the scene in the Villa Giulia a dance of Diana with her nymphs,63 but surely it illustrates a definite episode though there is no text that seems entirely
to fit the circumstances. It is not Mercury carrying robes to Diana for he is not carrying them, and she is clothed. It is not likely to be Mercury coming for Proserpina for the setting does not look like Hades, nor was Proserpina dancing at the time of her deliverance.

The composition bears some resemblance to another of the plaquettes of the Estenische collection in Vienna in which ten girls, alternately draped and nude, hold hands and dance in a ring in the woods. In the right foreground sit two girls, one playing a flute, the other a cythera. At the left one girl sits playing the cythera, and a second stands playing a tambourine. In the middle-ground a satyr spies on the scene from behind a tree. In the Villa Giulia scene there are only nine dancers, one of whom is Diana or Luna. The players are posed differently, three have tambourines and one cymbals, and Mercury replaces the satyr. The plaquette has no dog or bows and arrows. The general feeling and some of the figures especially Diana and the five dancers to her left are very similar. Berliner has identified the della Porta scene as story of the Apulian shepherd related in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 14. 517-526. The Villa Giulia scene cannot represent the Apulian shepherd because this tale mentions neither Mercury nor Diana.

The dancing figures of Taddeo's composition are based not on della Porta but on a work by Marc Antonio Raimondi,
Dance of infants and cupids after Raphael. Nine children dance; the two winged cupids are in the position of Diana and the figure to her left, and the other seven children are similar posed, the last one passing under the arms of the first two as in the Villa Giulia composition.

A later pictorial variation is found on the cover of a harpsichord in the Musée du Conservatoire de Musique de Paris. This version has eight women dancing in a circle, the fourth one passing under the arch made by two of her companions, one tambourine player, two dogs, and in the background a figure with upraised hands. The setting is again a forest glade. With its companion piece, a visit of Minerva to the Muses, it is meant to show that music is as noble as it is pure, a meaning that has no application in the Villa Giulia.

The Villa Giulia scene would fit the French ballet of the battle of nymphs and cupids, and it might be related to that ballet's unknown source. The mood is suited to the theme of Mercury delivering a challenge to a battle in which Love will defeat Chastity. The two neighbouring panels would be the defeated Diana retreating, and the triumphant Cupid accepting the surrender of arms from the vanquished nymphs. Unexplained, however, are the reasons why Diana carries away the draperies, and why Cupid is bound to the tree.
The last panel shows a group of eighteen women draped in white, red, purple and yellow, all but two of whom hold yellow jars, and eight winged boys, seven of whom are offering baskets of yellow fruits to the women. To the right stands a goat on his hind legs nibbling at a plant. The setting is again a wooded one. In the left middleground three standing women pour water from their jars into the jars of three seated women before them. Three women bearing jars ascend a hill. In the left foreground sits a woman, her right hand holding her jar, while her left elbow rests on its rim and her left hand supports her chin as she stares off into the distance, possibly at the goat. In the centre foreground a winged child dabbles his hands in a tiny stream. Beside him sit two women with jars poised horizontally, a stream of liquid pouring from the jar of the nearer one who looks out at the spectator. The farther one takes a piece of fruit from the basket held by one of the children whose companion's arm is round his shoulder. In the right corner another pair of women sit together, the right hand of one resting on her upturned jar, while the left arm of the other rests on the side of her horizontal jar from which liquid pours. Behind them a woman holding an upright jar in her right arm takes a piece of fruit from a basket held by five children and a
woman. Behind them again two women walk down the path
one with a jar in her arm, the other with her right arm
embracing the former’s shoulder.

The goat, Capricorn, is the sign of winter and
December, and he is associated with Saturn, Mars, Diana,
Venus, Bacchus, Mercury, Pan, Priapus, Faunus, Juno Lucina,
Apollo and Hercules. In emblems a standing browsing goat
stood for either unthankfulness or ambition. He also
signified the fecundity of man, luxury, childhood, and the
corruptible material from which Pan struggles to produce
temporal life.

Water jars belong to the Danaides, punished for
the murder of their husbands by being made to carry the
water of the Styx in leaky jars. At the marriage of Ceres
nymphs carried jars and poured water, and a number of
nymphs are associated with water—Naiades, Limiades,
Ephyriades.

Cupids are usually associated with Venus, though
they are also the sons of nymphs, or of Mercury and Diana,
to the latter of whom the care of young children was
given. The Villa Giulia panel has something of the mood
of the Cupid scene described by Philostratus with Cupids
gathering apples but the details differ too widely—none
chase rabbits, or wrestle or shoot arrows—and Philostratus
does not mention the presence of any adult women, but the
feeling of the Garden of Love is still present.  

The act of pouring water may mean trustworthiness, the giving of the Castilian waters to man, or the apportioning to each man his share of the sweet and bitter of life. Water itself may mean discord, and the vase may symbolize man's abandonment to his passions.

Fruit may refer to Charity, autumn, Ceres, or taste. Apples are the attribute of the three Graces, and the apples of Hesperides stand for Herculean virtues, restraint of anger, avarice and pleasure, justice, purity of reputation and hope of immortality. The pear and the apple belong to Venus, and the quince is the fruit of marriage. The goddess of flowers and fruit is Flora whose games take place at the end of April with dancing and drinking. Pomona is also a goddess of fruits whose gifts are given and need not be earned by toil as Ceres' must. When the moon is full, fruit is gathered in baskets, for Luna has made the fruit mature. In the labours of the months May and June were represented by the gathering of fruit.

Jupiter was nourished by a she-goat on Mount Ida, and Bacchus was changed to a goat to protect him from Juno, and again when he fled to Egypt during the war with the giants. Pausanias describes the nurture of Jupiter, one nymph carries him, one has a torch and one a water pot and
goblet, and two others have water pots with water pouring from them. Apart from the water pots this description does not meet the Villa Giulia scene for none of the infants appears to be Jupiter. Bacchus was also cared for by nymphs, by the same nymphs who reared Jupiter on Mount Ida, or by the Muse on Nysa, or by water nymphs, sisters of his mother, or by daughters of the river Acheloo, and he was carried to them in the shape of a kid by Hermes. Thus the goat to the right might be Bacchus, and the women with the jars the water-nymphs, his nurses.

Venturi calls this panel a banquet of nymphs served by amorini in the open country. It is this, but it must have some more precise meaning to take into account the presence of the goat and the water carriers. Gere suggests that Vasari in referring to Parnassus was recollecting this panel as the Muses at the Castalian spring, but these women lack both the attributes of the Muses and their intellectual appearance. The women carrying water might allude to the Aqua Virgo and the goat, Capricorn, to Julius. There seems to be no text that describes the scene represented.

There is a contrast with the opposite panel; nymphs vigorously dancing oppose languid nymphs being waited upon by amorini. If the two Diana scenes are paired, then the banquet of the nymphs and the boy in the tree should have
something in common. If Diana and Mercury are taken as the parents of Cupid then some narrative may connect the panels. Though the exact meaning is not clear the general theme seems to be fertility—the goat stands for fecundity, the seed, or for Apollo, the sun, or for Priapus, god of orchards and gardens, the water and the nymphs for the nutrients of the seed, and the fruit and the children for the product of sun, seed and water. The two sets of panels might be opposed, Diana against Cupid, chastity against lasciviousness, or complementary, Luna assisting the fertility of the earth.

The same elements run through many of the eight panels. They are set mainly in wooded groves, they repeatedly include wine or water. These themes relate to the Villa Giulia site, it was wooded, it was a vigna, and it was served by the famous Aqua Virgo. The trees seem to be oaks, the tree of mountain, which might refer to the hilly grounds of the Villa Giulia or the name del Monte. The general motif seems to be one of the abundance of the earth which goes well with the vigna and the expansive personality of Julius III.

Some of the panels, most especially the ones in the south room of Diana dancing, and Diana carrying off the draperies, have a sense of movement making them seem like
illustrations of some narrative. Other panels, such as the Nile scene, in the north room, have a more static tone, as if they could be illustrations, or as if they could equally well be entirely artificial constructions, put together from instructions like Annibale Caro's design for Caprarola, with the intent of allegory.

Only one panel, the river of wine, in the north room, seems to follow any known classical text, that of Philostratus' Imagines. The very odd mixture of objects used in the other panels, mushrooms, hedgehog and turtle on a banquet table, goat and water carriers, the Nile and an unusual company of gods, make it seem probable that the artist was following a precise programme with a very precise meaning, for surely an artist left to his own devices would have followed a known text, or a previous pictorial example.

Though classical texts are not used the classical gods are, and in some panels--Diana retreating from Callisto instead of expelling her, the bound Cupid being worshipped rather than punished, the male Olympian gods assembled gloomily above the Nile without the full company of their goddesses--it seems as if a classical text, or an often used pictorial theme has been inverted or parodied.

The subject matter of these panels must have been closely linked to Julius, the del Monte family, or the vigna
for their themes were not copied although the Villa became a guest house for visitors to the papal court after Julius' death and its decorations were known. Some of the panels are visually attractive and had their subjects had a general application they might have entered into the pictorial repertory of mythological scenes.
CHAPTER III

MAJOR STUCCOES
The centre stucco of the south room represents a long-haired, draped woman kneeling on her left knee on a shell and holding aloft a sail with a spar attached. The sail floats behind her ending in a tassel. Above her stands another draped woman grasping the spar of the sail with her right hand while with her left she seizes the hair of the kneeling woman. Her right leg is raised and her right foot forces down the right thigh of the kneeling woman.

In the centre stucco of the north room a very lightly draped woman stands on a shell. She holds the spar of a sail in her left hand and the girdle of the draped woman behind her in her right hand. The woman behind her grasps her hair. The kneeling figure holding the sail whose long hair is seized by the woman behind is Occasio or Fortuna. Cartari describes Occasio as standing with winged feet on a wheel or ball, her long hair streaming over her forehead. Fortuna can be winged and seated on a ball or she can be in the sea holding a sail. Van Marle says that Fortuna was popularly depicted as a nude woman standing on a globe, a shell, or a dolphin and generally holding a wind-filled sail. The globe was used more often by the Germans while the Italians favoured the shell, and he also says that Fortuna on a shell or dolphin could convey the idea of vice or sin, but this
latter implication does not seem to pertain here.

Wittkower traces the development of the Greek god Kairos from Time as a series of propitious moments, in the Golden Age of Greece, to the Hellenistic age when Kairos became Kronos and the old Kairos became Eukaria a propitious moment in a lapse of time. Lysippus created a statue of this Time/Opportunity, with winged feet, head bald behind and hair flowing over her face, for a man had to seize her by the forelock; when she was past he had nothing to take hold of. Panofsky discusses the classic view of Chance or Fortune: human endeavour could be powerless against Chance; Chance could be overcome by skill, prudence and wisdom, i.e. Virtue; or Chance and merit could go hand in hand. A fourth view had it that Virtue leads and Fortune follows. This view Cicero set out in ad Familiares 10.3,2 "Omnia summa consecutus es virtute duce, comite fortuna." (All the most valued things you have achieved with Virtue as a guide and Fortune as a companion.)

Christianity and an omnipotent Christian God swept away the idea of Chance. Though the theory of free will required some role for Chance, the theologians denied this part to the pagan Fortuna.

During the Middle Ages the concept of one generalized Virtus gave way to particular virtues bestowed on those who
accepted Divine Grace. In the Renaissance the pagan Fortuna reappeared and with her the generalized Virtus revived too as Panofsky explains. The revival of Virtue and Fortune reopened the question of their relative powers, to which the answer this time was that the virtuous man could bend Fortune to his will. Occasio or Fortuna became a favourite motif of the emblem books with Fortuna automatically introducing the idea of Virtue. When in a Renaissance depiction a woman with flowing forelock balances on a globe, ball, or shell, she will certainly be Fortuna, and the woman accompanying her will be Virtue.

One of Julius' medals, undated, shows a nude woman, blindfolded, in the sea on a shell or fish, her veil floating over her head, while a draped woman behind her seizes her by the forelock and to the left a snake gazes into the mirror around whose handle he is wound. At the right side of the medal is inscribed the word KPATHOYMAI--I am overcome. Another of his medals, executed between 1534 and 1536, has Fortuna standing mid the waves on a sphere or shell holding with both hands a drapery which blows out in an arc behind her. Her companion, a draped woman standing on a block decorated with a snake and tortoise or snail, seizes Fortuna's hair with both hands.

In a fresco by Niccolo dell'Abbate, painted in Bologna to celebrate the election of Julius, a horse is placed on one
of the three del Monte mountains with children climbing onto his back, and some jumping and some falling to the ground while off to one side stands Virtue, and underneath is written "Dux virtus fortuna comes, mens conscia recti montibus is [sic] petri sancta ad fastigigia venit." (Courage his leader, fortune his companion, a mind conscious of right in these mountains soars up to the sacred heights of Peter.) The children playing around the horse are probably an unusual representation of the wheel of fortune. Andreas Masius reported that Julius liked to be respected, and looked upon as having achieved eminence from modest origins. It is, therefore, quite in harmony with Julius' view of himself, that he should repeat in the two principal rooms of the Villa Giulia his long used emblem of Virtue seizing Fortuna.

The four corners of each room contain another major stucco figure. In the north room these are: 1) a woman pouring liquid from one vessel to another, 2) a woman with a column and lion, 3) a woman with a mirror and caduceus, and 4) a woman in armour with a masklike shield, a long necked bird, and some unidentifiable object in her upraised hand, and in the south room: 1) a woman gazing aloft, with upraised hands, 2) a woman holding a chalice in one hand, while she pours liquid over the head of a kneeling child
beside her from a patera held in the other hand, 3) a woman holding a child, with two other children at her knees, and 4) a woman holding in each hand a tablet.

The woman pouring liquid from one vessel to another can be identified as Temperance. Out of forty-five figures identified as Temperance in pictorial sources twenty-six show her pouring liquid from one vessel to another.

Temperance could also have a bridle and sword, or spectacles, two keys and a castle, a clock, an hourglass, a spray of flowers, or a torch and a jug of water. The pouring of water from one vessel to another symbolized Sobriety, an accessory virtue of Temperance, and in Italy this was the attribute most often used.

The second of the figures is a lightly draped woman her right elbow leaning on a broken column while her left hand rests on the head of a lion. The column and the lion were both favourite attributes of Fortitude. Of forty-four examples identified as Fortitude, twenty-seven have a column or a lion or both. Both the lion and the column are associated with Samson whose first notable deed was the rending of a young lion, and whose last was the destruction of the house of the Philistines by the breaking of the pillars of the house. The lion was symbolic of courage in
classical literature and was associated with Hercules, a figure closely related to Samson. The Bible too links the lion with moral courage: "The wicked flee when no man pursueth; but the righteous are bold as a lion," Proverbs 28:1.

Vasari describes Fortitude as armed, with a lion at her feet, one hand on a sword while the other leans on a shield with the Medusa head, and Ripa's Fortezza has column, lion and arms. To St. Thomas, however, Fortitude may have a shield but no offensive arms for she must endure but not attack. Here the figure with column and lion, though unarmed, must without doubt be Fortitude.

The third medallion also contains a lightly clad woman holding in her right hand a looking glass and in her left a caduceus which may be attached to the glass to serve as a handle. Of forty-seven identified illustrations of Prudence thirty have a snake or a mirror as attribute, and some have both.

The snake was connected with Prudence both from Biblical sources, Matthew 10: 1: "Behold, I send you forth as a sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore as wise as serpents, and as harmless as doves," and from Egyptian sources--according to Caro the serpent meant prudence in worldly things.

The mirror, "speculum sine macula," was in the Middle Ages the attribute of the Virgin, and later became the
attribute of Truth, Prudence or Wisdom. The mediaeval Prudence in the poem by Francisco Imperial cited by Woodford is two faced and carries a mirror which stands for circumspection, one of the attributes given to Prudence by St. Thomas. The face looking forward is foresight and the face turned behind is memory. If the figure has only one face and a mirror, the mirror represents good judgment. Lomazzo associates the mirror of Venus used for self-examination with Prudence.

Though often a snake is wound around the arm of Prudence, a mirror combined with a caduceus handle seems to be unique. The caduceus itself stands for peace or good fortune and is usually associated with Mercury, a god noted for his wiliness or prudence.

The last of these figures, the woman in a helmet and jerkin, with a masklike shield, a long-necked bird to one side and an unidentified object in her upraised hand is the most unusual. Since the other figures are Temperance, Prudence and Fortitude, this one should be Justice.

Justice, however, is usually portrayed with a sword and a balance or very often both. Of sixty-three examples identified as Justice fifty-six show the sword or the balance or both. In Ripa the majority of the various forms of Giustitia have sword and balance. There is a Biblical
warrant for the use of the sword in Deuteronomy 32:41: "If I whet my glittering sword and mine hand take hold on judgment; I will render vengeance to mine enemies, and will reward them that hate me," and for the balances in Proverbs 11:1 "A false balance is an abomination to the Lord: a just weight is his delight." The scales of Justice were traditional in classical times. The long-necked bird could be a stork, a crane, or an ostrich. The crane stood for Vigilance, more particularly the crane with a stone in its upraised claw, and Vigilance was an attribute of Justice. The stork stood for piety as it did not desert its parents in their old age; Vasari gave Justice a sceptre with the stork above and the hippopotamus below. The ostrich too was associated with Justice. Giulio Romano gave his Justice in the Sala di Costantino, 1524, an ostrich and scales. Just as an ostrich ruminates its food, so Justice ruminates problems; and all its feathers being of equal length it is a symbol of equity. Here the long-necked bird resembles an ostrich rather more than a stork or a crane.

The object in the upraised hand of the figure may be the hilt of a sword with the blade cut off by the frame. Tuve mentions two aspects of Justice, Severitas and Liberalitas, symbolized by the sword being wielded and the sword descending from above. The sword is such orthodox attribute of Justice,
that this must surely be a sword descending from above.

The helmet appears to have a tassel on the front and behind two plumes; it should have three plumes standing for Faith, Hope, and Charity. The shield grasped in the right hand is a most curious one for it does not contain the traditional Medusa head with its snaky locks, but a grotesque mask with a snub nose and wide open mouth. The Medusa head shield was emblematic of wisdom as it turned men to stone and made silent those who did not know, but this head is quite unlike the usual Medusa head. It seems more like Vasari's description of the old and ugly mask produced by Divine Love trampling upon Vice.

The portrayal of Justice armed as to head but not as to chest is like the painting of Justice by Vasari in the Salon of the Palazzo del Vecchio where Justice is helmeted to show that her mind is not infected, and her breast is unarmed to show that it is free of passion and animosity.

In the south room the major stuccoes begin with the draped woman whose face is uplifted and whose arms are upraised and hands clasped in a gesture of prayer. This attitude is standard for Hope. Of nineteen identified examples of Hope eleven are characterized by the praying hands and hardly any other personification uses this gesture.
From the fifteenth century on says Tervarent Hope is represented with her hands raised to heaven. Upraised eyes and hands are everywhere used in the Bible to indicate prayer, and Ripa gives the eyes raised to heaven, the arms open, lifting from earth as characteristic of Sperenza, divina o certa.

The next figure is a draped woman holding aloft in her right hand a chalice, with wafer visible above the brim, and with her right hand pouring water over the head of a kneeling child whose hands are clasped in prayer. Of thirty-one figures identified as Faith twenty-three have a cross, and by far the greater number of these also hold a chalice. None of them has a small child.

The standard Faith holds cross or the chalice or both, though there are occasional variations: Ambrogio Lorenzetti gives her a mirror, and Lomazzo describes her with her hands raised like Hope and a dog beside her. Vasari is the only person to connect water with Faith which he does twice. In the Ragionamenti he gives to Faith the water of Baptism, and in his Vite he describes a Faith holding a cross in her left hand who baptizes a boy in a shell full of water. This latter presentation is closer to this figure than any depicted elsewhere, but the chalice, wafer, and about-to-be-baptized child are unique to the Villa and are repeated in the north room.
The third figure is a draped woman with a child clinging to her knee, another standing at her left side and a baby whom she holds in her right arm. Of twenty-nine pictorial examples identified as Charity twelve have one or more children with them. Though other figures, such as Venus, may also have children, in the context of the two rooms of the Villa Giulia this figure is certainly Charity, the third of the Christian virtues.

Freyhan has traced the evolution of Charity from a woman performing an act of mercy to illustrate *amor proximi* in thirteenth century France, and a woman with a torch standing for *amor dei* in thirteenth century Italy. Contemporaneously in Italy Venus was given a torch and the ideas of sacred and profane love fused. Next appeared Caritas with a child who was performing the act of giving—*amor proximi*, then the suckling motif was introduced. For a time Charity had both child and flame, but gradually the child replaced all earlier attributes, and by 1550 Charity is normally the woman surrounded by children that we have here.32

The fourth figure is heavily draped with veiled head and in each hand she holds a tablet. Her right hand holds the tablet through a layer of drapery, but her left hand appears to hold the tablet in its naked flesh.
There was no standard figure to make a complementary fourth for Faith, Hope and Charity, though in earlier centuries *Humilitas*, the virtue from which all others sprang, was used to make an eighth for the seven virtues. Religion, Theology, *Pietas* or *Ecclesia* would have been suitable to make a quartet of the trio of theological virtues, yet none of them was ever consistently used, nor had any of them a standard personification. There are several examples of Religion, Theology, *Pietas* and Philosophy, holding books or tablets. Here the two tablets might be the tables of the Ten Commandments, or less likely, the Old and New Testaments; the Old and New Testaments are usually represented by books. The figure might be the Old Testament identified by the tables of the Commandments and her veiled head: II Corinthians 3:44: "But their minds were blinded: for unto this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of the old testament; which vail is done away in Christ," and contrasted with the spiritual gifts, Faith, Hope, and Charity of the New Testament. The veiled head might also have some reference to *Humilitas*.

In the *Stanza della Segnatura*, between Justice in the vault, and the two panels illustrating the codification of secular and church law, Raphael places in the lunette Prudence accompanied by Faith, Temperance by Hope, and
Fortitude by Charity. These three cardinal virtues are
said by Plato to have their source in the power of the
soul which is Justice. To complete the theological
virtues another with the same transcendence as Justice
would be needed—Religion or Theology. The fourth figure
here may be Religion as the Christian equivalent of the
pagan Justice. The Ten Commandments, the tables of the
law, would allude both to the roots of the Christian
religion and to Justice. Vasari gives Justice tables,
papers and books and he gives books to Religion as well.
Religion being also a Roman virtue, she would be an
appropriate figure to link the Christian virtues of the
south room with the pagan virtues of the north room. This
figure is probably Religion.

The major stuccoes in the north room represent the
four natural virtues, those in the south room the three
theological virtues and Religion. Central in both rooms
is Julius' emblem of Virtue seizing Fortuna. The seven
virtues and Religion may be the components of the Virtue
of the emblem.

In the north room surrounded by the natural virtues
the figures of Virtue and Fortuna are both upright as they
are in Julius' medals. In the south room amid the theolo-
gical virtues, Virtue has forced Fortuna to her knees.
This more certain victory of Virtue in a Christian setting
seems entirely appropriate and perhaps signifies Julius' recognition of the assistance of those same Christian virtues in achieving his ultimate office.
CHAPTER IV

MINOR FRESCOES AND STUCCOES
The borders and backgrounds dividing the chief stucco works and the large fresco panels are filled with small stucco medallions, tiny fresco scenes and a variety of decorative grotesques. Circular medallions are placed at the bottom of each principal border surrounding the panels in both north and south rooms, and in the south room each of these borders contains as well, in the middle, an oval medallion with two figures.

In the first round medallion of the north room a draped woman, seated, holds a palm leaf or plume, behind her are three arrows or spears, a shield and a sack. She is surrounded by other objects which are not altogether clear but which might be a helmet and cuirass. No figure in Ripa exactly matches this one. His Clemency is a woman trampling on a pile of arms, an olive branch in her right hand, her left arm leaning on an olive tree from which the fasces hang, and his seventh Beatitudine has at her feet a pile of broken arms and armor and holds an olive branch. The palm leaf is an attribute of Peace, who is often represented sitting on a pile of arms. This figure is probably Peace.

The figure in the second medallion is a woman, seated (all the figures are seated, presumably to fit into the circular form), draped below the waist, a trumpet in each hand, the one in her left hand to her mouth. Fame is
represented as a running figure blowing a trumpet. Maenads have two trumpets. Here because of the round form it would be difficult to represent a running figure, and though she has two trumpets rather than one, the figure is probably Fame.

The next figure is a draped woman seated on what may be a bench, her hands upraised. Ripa describes five figures with upraised hands, Paura, Preghiera a dio, who also has a flame issuing from her mouth, Providenza whose joined hands are directed to a star, Sapienza vera who looks to a light above the earth, and Sperenza divina o certa with upraised eyes. The second Beatitudine has joined hands and a dagger in her chest. Because the next two figures may be Charity and Faith this figure is probably Hope.

The fourth medallion depicts a draped woman holding one child, while one child climbs on her back and a third, older, child stands beside him. Children are an attribute of several personifications including Elemosina, Pieta, and Securitas, and also of the goddesses Diana Lucifera, and Ops. A woman surrounded by children is most likely to be Charity, however.

In the next medallion, a draped female figure, an aureole behind her head, holds in her right hand a chalice
and wafer and in her left a shell or patera from which she is about to pour liquid over the head of the child sitting at her right. The chalice is an attribute of Faith or Theology. Piety can have a cup and a child. This figure taken in conjunction with the two preceding ones is Faith, a repetition of the most unusual Faith of the south room.

The sixth medallion contains a lightly draped woman, winged, holding a palm leaf, or plume, in her right hand and a wreath, probably of laurel in her left. Several of Ripa's figures have a palm and garland of laurel. Felicità eterna is a youth wearing a laurel crown, a palm in his left hand, a flame in his right and his eyes raised on high, and Gloria is a woman holding a garland and palm in her right hand, a sphere with the signs of the zodiac in her left. Peace has a garland of palms and holds a laurel crown and an olive branch; Vittoria is a flying woman with a laurel or olive garland in her right hand and a palm in her left. At her feet is an eagle with a palm. Cartari's Victory is a winged maiden with a laurel or olive crown and a palm branch. This figure is probably Victory.

In the seventh medallion sits a nude figure, back to the viewer, helmeted, a cloak over the left shoulder and what may be a spear in the right hand. It is not altogether certain whether this is a man or a woman, but since the hips
appear to be slightly emphasized it is more likely a woman. In Cartari Apollo, Mars and Minerva carry spears. At the Villa d'Este Constantia is helmeted and leans on her staff. Vasari's Sicurta is helmeted and leans on a spear. This figure may be Constantia or Sicurta.

The last figure is a semi-nude woman, helmeted, a sword in her left hand, a shield with a mask or gorgon head by her right side. Ripa represents Guerra as an armed woman, a sword in her right hand and a shield with a wolf's head in her left, Ragione as helmeted with a flaming crest and a spear in her right hand, and in her left an olive branch from which hangs a Medusa head shield, and the fourth Beatitudine as having balance and sword. Cartari's Minerva is armed, with spear and shield of crystal. This figure might be Justice, who may also have sword and shield, but is more likely Reason, for Justice is already represented in a major stucco in the same room.

The medallions in the north room are interspersed with major stuccoes and frescoes as follows: Peace, fountain goddess fresco, Fame, Justice stucco, Hope, Bacchic fresco, Charity, Prudence stucco, Faith, Andros fresco, Victory, Fortitude stucco, Constantia (or Sicurta), Feast of gods fresco, Reason, Temperance stucco.

It is difficult to see any meaningful relationship between the medallions and the adjacent frescoes or stuccoes.
Temperance might produce Reason and Peace or vice versa, but in the next corner Prudence seems unlikely to be either the cause or the effect of Charity and Faith. Similarly it is hard to work out any necessary connection between Hope, Charity and a Bacchic feast, unless it is that Bacchus is Jesus, the true vine; or Faith, the River of Andros and Victory, unless wine is the blood of the victorious Christ—interpretations which seem highly forced.

The first small medallion in the south room shows a nude woman with what may be a basket of flowers, and a garland on her head. The nearest figure described by Ripa is Gusto, who holds a basket of fruit and a peach. Other figures associated with flowers are Spring, Flora, Zephyr and Aurora.

The second medallion here is similar to the second in the north room. A winged woman holds two trumpets, one of which she sounds. This again would be Fame.

The third medallion represents a sitting nude man who pats the dog at his right side. On his left side sprouts a tree or a bush. The dog is an attribute of Fedelta, Invidia, Loyalty, Memoria, Miseria, and Odorata. All except the last of these are women. In mythology Mars, Aesculapus, Lar, Cephalus, Silvanus, Pan, Icarius, and Orion, all had dogs.
A nude woman sits in the fourth medallion holding up what may be a ball or a piece of fruit in her right hand. Her left hand grasps the right hand of the small boy standing in front of her who reaches for the object she is holding with his left hand. Philostratus the Younger, describes a picture of Venus showing Cupid a gold ball with which she is bribing him to fetch Medea. He clings to her dress begging her to keep her promise. This pair are likely Venus and Cupid.

The next medallion shows a lightly draped woman with a peacock beside her. The peacock is the attribute of Juno. Ripa gives Superbia a peacock and a mirror. This figure has no mirror and is likely Juno.

The half draped woman in the sixth medallion holds a sheaf of grain and has a garland of grain. A small child is seated to the right. Ripa's Abondanza, Conservation, Summer (Ceres), Peace, and Sostanza have grain as an attribute and Fecondita has a cornucopia and a child.

The seventh medallion shows a draped woman holding a cornucopia of fruit in her right hand and what may be a ball or a piece of fruit in her left hand. The cornucopia plus grain is an attribute of Abondanza terrestre, plus sickle, of Agricoltura, plus a child, of Fecondita, with caduceus Felicitas Publica, with sceptre Providenza, or with
a pomegranate and a crow Concordia in the antique style. Cartari gives Providence a sphere and a cornucopia and Concord a cup and a cornucopia. A couple of Roman coins show Concord with a patera and a cornucopia. Pomona is the goddess of fruit. In the Villa d'Este Veritas has a cornucopia of fruit and a purse.

The last of the small round medallions has a nude woman with a bow in her left hand and her right hand at her breast as if she is preparing to shoot an arrow. Diana is the woman most commonly provided with a bow and arrow.

While in the north room most of the figures seemed to be personifications in the south room some may be mythological figures and others personifications. Tentatively the medallions in the South room might be identified as Flora, Fame, Unidentified, Venus, Juno, Ceres, Pomona, and Diana. As in the north room they seem to have no close connection with the stucco figures of Faith, Hope, Charity and Religion, or the fresco scenes, none of which I could identify either. The small medallions of the north room use the more conventional subjects which is consistent with the more restrained mood of that room.

In addition to these small round medallions each frame in the south room contains, half-way up, an oval medallion with two or more standing figures.
The first of these oval medallions, above the Flora figure, contains a nude youth, holding in his right hand a piece of drapery which goes behind him to cover his left shoulder and upper arm. It is not clear whether his left arm is around the draped woman who appears in profile stepping toward him.

The next medallion over Fame shows a nude man, a club in his right hand and his left hand resting on the chin of the nude woman beside him who holds his left elbow. A man with a club ought to be Hercules. It is harder to place his companion for he was associated with many women. An antique relief in Naples with Hercules and a woman is identified as Hercules and Omphale. He has club and lion-skin and she is semi-draped. According to the myth however Omphale should have the club and Hercules her drapery and wool carder. If it were Hercules and one of the Hesperides, she should be holding apples and behind her should be the snake entwined tree. It may be simply Hercules and an anonymous nymph similar to the antique representations shown in Furtwängler and Vollenwieder.

In the third medallion a draped woman carries a boar's head on a tray. Beside her stands a nude youth holding a spear. The boar's head appears in the Meleager-Atalanta myth, when Meleager gives the pelt and head of the boar to Atalanta.
There is no other instance of a boar's head changing hands. But here the myth is reversed for Atalanta, if it is she, seems to be offering the head to Meleager rather than taking it from him. If this scene were definitely Meleager and Atalanta, the figure with the dog in the round medallion below might be Cephalus. It would be fitting to pair two episodes of the hunt which ended tragically.

Next comes the medallion in which a bearded man is seated bound to a tree on which hang two pipes. Beside him stands a half nude man holding a lyre in his left hand. This is undoubtedly an illustration of the Apollo-Marsyas myth. Pictorial versions of the myth abound, the meanings are equally abundant.  

The scene can symbolize the victory of reason over passion, divine ecstasy achieved by divine torture, or the punishment of the presumption of a fool for challenging his better.

In the fifth oval a lightly draped woman with knotted hair touches with her left hand the chest of her companion, a man in buskin, leggings and helmet whose left hand rests on her breast. A man in armour is likely to be Mars. Seznec describes the classical motif of Venus and Mars as a young man nude, his left hand on the breast and his right hand on the neck of the girl beside him whose hair is knotted.
at the back of her head. This medallion I take to represent Mars and Venus.

The next medallion shows a nude man holding in his right hand what may be drapery or reins. He is kissing a nude woman whose back is to the viewer. Her left arm embraces him. She holds what may be a piece of drapery in her right hand. I cannot identify them.

The seventh medallion has a nude woman standing, her right hand to her breast, a child clutching her knee. A nude man his back to the viewer, holds an unidentified object in his upraised right hand and another unidentified object in his left hand. The man's pose is a threatening one and the child shows fear. These three might be Venus, Mars, and Cupid, but the man is unarmed and seems too clumsy for Mars, and a preceding medallion represents Venus and Mars. It might also be Venus, Vulcan, and Cupid, with Vulcan holding the instruments of the forge.

In the last medallion a nude man holds a bowl. A woman draped to the knee holds in her right hand what may be a cluster of grapes and in her left hand what may be a bowl. The man has human feet, but his ears may be pointed. If his ears are pointed he might be a faun or satyr with a nymph in some Bacchic scene.

Only one of the oval medallions can be identified with certainty, the Apollo-Marsyas one, and, if the round and oval
stuccoes are related Apollo and Marsyas might stand for reason over passion. Fame might have a link with Hercules--by choosing virtue he achieved fame. Atalanta and Meleager might be related to Cephalus.

There seems to be no link between Venus and Mars, and Juno. In the other cases the identity of the figures in either the oval or the circular medallion is so uncertain that it is fruitless to try to connect them or to try to connect them with the stuccoes of the virtues or the fresco panels. Meleager and Atalanta might be related to Diana dancing in the next panel for she sent the boar to Calydon. But there seems to be no connection with Apollo and Marsyas on the other side of the panel, nor any connection among Hercules and his companion, Meleager and Atalanta, and Faith who stands between them.

The upper corner of the frames in which these medallions are placed are finished in the south room with another set of small oval stuccoes. In the north room a small fresco figure is set in an arc over each of the Virtues.

In the north room above Temperance a white bearded man reclines on an island. At his feet a child holds a cornucopia. Reeds grow in the background. The man may hold an urn and there may be a swan in front of the island.
In general pose this looks like a river god. Numerous rivers are portrayed with a cornucopia—the Arno, the Bisenzio, the Euphrates, the Meduna, the Nile, the Ombrone, the Peneo, the Po, the Tiber and the Tigrus; the cornucopia seems to show the fertility caused by rivers rather than being the attribute of any particular one. The Po is the only river which includes a swan among its attributes. The Bisenzio is portrayed with a nymph and a putto.

Over Justice is a nude female whose drapery floats behind and around her shoulders. She appears to be sitting in a cloud. Jupiter in the form of a cloud seduced Io, and in the form of smoke seduced Egina. Jupiter made an image of Juno from a cloud and this image Ixion seduced. Diana changed Arethusa to a cloud to thwart the attentions of Alpheus. Here the cloud appears to be embracing the woman so it is likely that this is Jupiter and Io, or Jupiter and Egina.

In the third corner, over Prudence, a nude man sits upon an island. His right arm appears to encircle a basket of flowers or fruit. In his left hand is an unidentified object. Behind him is a small clump of bushes. I cannot identify this figure.

The last of these small fresco figures, over Fortitude, is a naked human figure with a large open winged bird behind
him and clouds at his feet. An eagle carrying off a boy represents the Rape of Ganymede. Jupiter in the form of an eagle carried Hercules to Juno, but Hercules was a baby. The Ganymede episode pictured here symbolizes the mortal soul being enraptured by the divine.

In the south room, in the first of the small stucco medallions, a winged child presents a bow to, or receives one from, a draped woman reclining on the earth. She holds an unidentified object in her left hand and her left arm appears to rest on a sack. A cupid and a woman is likely to be Venus and Cupid, but Venus would probably be nude. The bow is an attribute of Diana, and though she sometimes was Cupid's mother she was not often portrayed with him. While rivers are sometimes women—the Ombrone, the Meduna— at this period the female river seems to have been rare. Simply because a figure reclines it is not necessarily a river god, the oval form used here imposes a reclining position.

The second medallion shows a nude man his right arm resting on a flowing vase, his right hand holding a cornucopia. At his feet is a small tree. That this is a river god is shown by the urn, further than that I cannot identify him.

In the third medallion a nude man reclines and holds a flowing jar in both hands. At his feet is a small tree
and behind him a clump of reeds. He is a river god.
Beyond that I cannot identify him.

The last medallion depicts a reclining nude man.
At his feet is a large bird which I take for an eagle.
He does not seem to hold an urn. A man with an eagle
at his feet is usually Jupiter. If the bird were a hawk,
however, this could be Apollo.  

Of these eight small figures four seem definitely
to be river gods. The iconography of river gods, with two
or three exceptions—the Tiber with the twins and wolf,
the Arno with a lion, the Nile with his infants,—never
seems to have been established firmly. The typical river
god is a bearded old man with an urn. Cartari's general­
ized river gods are long-haired bearded men leaning on a
flowing jar and crowned with reeds, who may also have horns
and carry a rudder. At this period the four most often
used components were reclining man, cornucopia, flowing urn,
and reeds. Other elements in the scene more often indicate
the river represented, rather than the attributes of the
river establishing the locale.

In addition to these medallions both rooms include
a variety of other minor stucco or fresco ornament. In the
north room, around the Fortuna in the centre, putti in
stucco play on swags of fruit, and then comes another
frescoed border where small figures battle dragons with clubs, or trap with reins. Long-necked birds in a reedy background. The theme of pygmies battling cranes is well known in classical mythology and was used in antiquity in Pompeian wall paintings. In the corners of the main borders over Justice and Fortitude are grape arbours on one of which a putto swings, a repetition of the motif in the arcade of the Casino. Within the borders surrounding the Virtues are vases, scrolls, leaves, rams, creatures partly human with butterfly or angel wings, temples, figures in tiny medallions, satyrs chained back to back, cornucopia, many-breasted Diana, baskets of fruit and so on.

On the lower edge are inserted tiny frescoes where marine creatures, half-monster, half-man play and battle. In the quarters around the Virtues are placed flowers, swags, birds, putti and grotesques. Along the lowest border at the cove is a leafy scroll of stucco in which putti clamber and in which are inserted fresco oblongs with a design of long necked birds.

In the south room the border of the Fortuna stucco in the centre also has putti playing on swags of fruit and then a narrow edging of lion masks and rosettes painted on small circles. In the next border marine monsters, dolphins,
hippocamps, tritons, men, women and children play and battle among the reeds. Dolphins were connected with persons born under Capricorn, Julius' adopted sign. Tritons and other sea monsters are often referred to in classical literature, and abundantly described by Cartari. They were also known from classical relief sculpture and by the sixteenth century were used as decoration, or to symbolize salvation of the soul. Hippocampi guided by cupids are interpreted by Ligorio as love governing the cruelty of nature. In spite of this being a papal villa, these motifs seem more likely to be used for their decorative effect rather than their moral message, or at most to harmonize with a general effect of fertility like the decorations described by Polifilo in the gallery of Venus in the temple of the sun.

The borders surrounding the Virtues contain a multitude of ornament, satyrs chained back to back, a motif from the Domus Aurea, flowers, Minerva-like figures with helmet and spear, vases, tiny medallions with figures, monsters with wings and animal feet, putti, and shells, cherub heads in stucco. Into the flowers and grotesques of the lower border are inserted eight stucco scenes, six of monstrous marine battles similar to those above, one of a battle of lapiths and centaurs, and one of a lion hunt.
Around each of the Virtues is a border of masks and shells or masks and lions' heads, and in the rest of the quarters are birds, tiny medallions with figures, butterflies, swags of fringed cloth, winged figures, lutes and lyres, griffons, semi-human monsters, vases and lions. Some of these elements do have meaning, a lion is courage, cruelty, and clemency among other things, and the butterfly the soul, but again they give the impression of being used primarily and randomly for ornament.

The lowest border on the cove consists of a putti, leaf and mask edging in stucco within which nude men and draped women support scrolls containing small frescoes of cupids with swags and garlands of fruit and flowers, cupids making fire, carrying a pork carcass, sheafs of grain and baskets, and roasting meat on a spit, cupids carrying grapes to a hogshead, and cupids bringing in a basket of fruit from which they make swags. Picard discusses the Bacchic sacrifice of a pig as symbolic of purification by catharsis, but here there is not the metal cauldron that he finds necessary to the theme. Bacchanals of children, such as these, were popular in the sixteenth century and probably have no more significance than appears on the surface—a playful treatment of the harvest from an abundant earth.

Antique motifs used in ornamental work were taken from sarcophagi and such architecture as triumphal arches
even before the discovery of the Domus Aurea at the end of the fifteenth century. Indeed classical frescoes may have been known before that discovery; Sterling says that more such works may have been seen in the fourteenth than in the two succeeding centuries. By the end of the Quattrocento an inclination toward grotesque ornament already existed, with classical elements from sarcophagi and architecture being combined with grotesque elements in Gothic. The motifs from the Domus Aurea reinforced and enriched the bent, and the rediscovery of the technique of stucco by Giovanni da Udine expanded the possibilities of this type of decorative work.

In the classical ornament like that of the Domus Aurea there appears to have been no iconological meaning anciently, an idea difficult for some sixteenth century antiquarians to accept, and Pirro Ligorio tried to establish a symbolism for grotesques. Absence of meaning supposedly gave to the artist freedom to improvise, freedom from the restrictions of a programme. Upon reading a programme like that of Annibale Caro's for Caprarola, however, which goes into great detail for even minor parts of the work, one wonders exactly how much freedom was in fact left to the artist.

A comparison of the minor decorations in the north and south rooms of the Villa Giulia reveals great differences
in quantity and quality. The south room has more decoration, for example around the Virtues is a frieze of masks and shells, while there are only marginal lines around them in the north room, and the cove border contains the varied putti scenes, whereas the north cove ornament has only stylized birds. The stucco ornament is far more abundant: there are oval medallions of river gods, and pairs of mythological figures in the borders and marine battles in the bottom margins. In the quarters with the Virtues the decorative frescoes are richer, more inventive and better executed than in the north room.

If one mind were responsible for the programme for the two ceilings it is odd that Fame should have been used for medallions in both north and south rooms, and that the theological virtues, especially the most unusual representation of Faith, should have been used as major stuccoes in the south room and minor stuccoes in the north room. From one mind might also be expected a more exact parallelism in the placement of the minor decorations, for instance small stucco ovals would have been used in the principal borders in the same way in both rooms.

The differences between the minor decorations in the two rooms lead to the belief that either the artists themselves had some responsibility for this part of the work, or that
two different scholars supplied programmes. The greater richness of the minor decoration in the south room could indicate that the scholar in charge of that room gave the more detailed instructions, or, that the minor decorations were left to the artists, Fontana and Zucaro, and that the more abundant ornament of the south room is evidence of Zucaro's more energetic and fertile imagination.
CHAPTER V

THE MEANING OF THE DECORATIONS
Though the large stuccoes containing Julius' imprese and the theological and cardinal virtues, and a few of the minor decorations can be identified, the other decorations and the large fresco panels of the north and south rooms of the Casino remain enigmas. We do not know what the original purpose of these rooms was, but we do know that each of them was furnished with a large marble table indicating that they may have been some sort of reception rooms, and if they were reception rooms then their decoration should have been important and meaningful.

The only information we have concerning the frescoes comes from Vasari who states that Taddeo Zuccaro:

... nelle prime camere del palazzo, fece di colori nel mezzo della volta alcune storie, e particolarmente il monte Parnaso; e nel cortile del medesimo fece due storie di chiaroscuro, de'fatti delle Sabine, che mettono in mezzo la porta di mischio principale che entra nella loggia, dove si scende alla fonte dell'acqua vergine.  

In theory a plan of decoration might have been based on some biographical detail in the life of Julius, the history of the del Monte family, the prior history of the site or its contemporary uses, or the purposes for which the Villa was built, or on some of the quartet themes, the seasons, the ages of man, and so on, or on a cycle of mythological narrative.
The personal astrological chart of Julius might be referred to in the decoration of the south room in the fourth panel of which are represented Capricorn and the water carriers, the two houses of Saturn, and in the other panels, Venus, Luna, Mercury and Apollo. Saturn is cold like his houses, and brings death. If the banquet of the nymphs stands for death it must be some version of the Elysian fields. The opposite panel contains Luna and Apollo, the Sun, who bring life. Mercury, the Sun, and the Moon are respectively the fifth, sixth and seventh planets. Julius took Capricorn as the sign of his birth, but the other constellations and planets seem to have no significance for him. The north room has no astrological references.

In the north room, the scene of the gods over the Nile might be either a feast or a council of the gods. If it were a council then it might have some connection with Julius being a delegate to the Council of Trent. This line of thought does not seem to be carried out in the other panels. The theological virtues are the only references to Julius as Pope and any Christian might have used those.

Nor is any clear connection with mountains to be found. The site of the Bacchic feast could be Mount Parnassus where every other year a festival of Bacchus took place. A feast
of the gods should take place on Mount Olympus; here it is taking place in the sky over the Nile. In the south room the locale might or might not be mountainous, and no particular mountains seem to be referred to.

The del Monte family was not a distinguished one, though it was supposedly of Etruscan origin, a source of pride to Julius. The scenes of the Sabines might have Etruscan references, but there are none evident in these ceilings.

The site of the Villa does have an historical significance. It is the place where the feast of Anna Perenna described in Ovid's *Fasti*, 3. 523-542, was celebrated, but this fact was unknown in 1550 for the inscription locating it here was not rediscovered until the eighteenth century. The main features of the *vigna* in Julius' time were its hilliness, its vineyards, its woods, like Olympus and Parnassus it was covered with trees, the neighbouring Tiber, and the *Aqua Virgo* transported by Julius from the Trevi fountain. Most of the panels have trees in the background. The River of Andros and the Bacchic feast are connected with vineyards. Rivers and waters certainly are prominent—the Nile and the fountain goddess, and the water-carrying nymphs—but none of them illustrates any particular myth or metamorphoses concerning water.

Three uses, in addition to being a suburban retreat, have been suggested for the Villa: a setting for festivities,
a setting for plays, and a place to house a collection of antiquities. The scenes of feasting in the north room might indicate that it was a banqueting hall and that themes were chosen to match its use. The young women raising the curtain in the Nile scene have a theatrical air, and Bacchus was the god of music and theatre. Julius' collection of statues included such a wide variety of subjects that any repetition of the same figures in the ceilings is scarcely significant. The air of classical mythology permeates the whole from major panels to minor medallions even if there seems to be no textual basis for it.

Since each room has four frescoes each room or both rooms together would have lent themselves to themes based on a series of four--the seasons, the times of day, the elements, the ages of man, the ages of civilization, the humours, the winds, the parts of the world.

The seasons had already been used twice in the Nymphaeum and once in the upper storey of the Casino, but that would not preclude the same theme being chosen again. A Bacchic festival might be used for autumn, and the feast over the Nile might refer to winter, January being the month of feasting, or the Bacchic scene might be the Ambarvalia of the spring and the Nile scene the late summer,
but the Andrian and the fountain goddess panels do not seem suitable for spring or summer. In the south room, however, the Diana and Mercury panel might be spring since Mercury is a god of Spring, leaving the panel of Capricorn, who normally presides over January, and the nymphs for summer. The four smaller panels do not fit into such a scheme. In the south room Luna and Mercury might represent Night, Venus Evening, Luna retreating Dawn, but there is no argument for Day's being represented by the nymphs and the goat.

With the other quartet themes there is no possibility of associating more than one panel in the set. Nor are the panels related to the Virtues beside them.

Schubring has identified the textual sources of cassoni paintings of the fifteenth century, Ovid, Homer, Virgil, Livy, the Gesta romanorum, Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, as well as contemporary poets, and states that the subject of the Quattrocento cassoni became the subject of Cinquecento frescoes. Of all sources Ovid was most popular.

Neither ceiling seems to present any sequence from a known classical myth. The panel of Diana retreating, and the boy in the tree at first glance look like Callisto, and the Punishment of Cupid, but a closer examination reveals that they cannot be illustrations of any accepted versions
of these episodes. In both ceilings there is an element of contrast—the feast of the Olympian gods with the rustic deities, the chaste and energetic Diana with the languorous nymphs.

Both classical and Renaissance mythographers gave interpretations to mythological figures that made them fitting inhabitants of suburban, pseudo-rural villas. Bacchus stood for the element of moisture and as such became the final cause. According to Boccaccio, Luna, mistress of woods and mountains, gave by her humidity fecundity to plants and caused them to grow. Her nymphs were water, humidity. Venus, said Giraldi, was the goddess of generation, from whom all things arose. To Conti the nymphs were the part of seed or water by means of which generation took place.

The use of Bacchus, Venus, and Luna may indicate that the fresco scenes are a secular allegory of fertility, but I cannot reconstruct it. Any Christian allegory with Bacchus as Christ and Diana as Mary, Ecclesia, or the Trinity, seems out of keeping with their tone. Nor in spite of the Villa's being built by a Pope was it meant for retention as a papal property. Ownership was legally transferred to Baldovino del Monte in 1553, and from the beginning it was a del Monte, not a papal estate, therefore
religious allegory would not be necessary or even appropriate.

The question of subject matter in Mannerist painting has led to much discussion in which most historians are agreed that Mannerist works tend to have some erudite or allegorical significance. As Freedberg puts it:

... Not only from sympathy, but by the patron's and the critic's injunction, the development of contemporary literature of symbol, metaphor, and allegory was incorporated into the already complex visual matter of Maniera art. Compounded with this visual matter, the masking and the multiplicity of meaning given in a literary program have produced, in some Maniera pictures, the most difficult rebuses in the history of art. ... But in Maniera narratives the meaning of the story is so indirectly given, so much accompanied by indirect allusion, and so complicated by the multiple senses of an allegory that it may defeat our comprehension even at what should be the apparent level. ... 12

With this view Briganti and Coffin concur. 13

Of twentieth century scholars very few see Mannerist works as being readable at their face value without layers of allusive subject matter. One of the few is Battisti, who sees, with the rise of comedy in the sixteenth century, the multiplication of works with erotic or profane subjects and no allegorical significance. 14

In the Cinquecento the use of symbols and myths had become chaotic. 15 The literature of the period created new gods and new myths and devised new myths for the old gods.
Into old myths were read many levels of meaning and new allegories were made of them beyond the mediaeval Ovid Moralisé or the Neo-Platonism of the fifteenth century. Mannerist scholars deliberately wove complexity into art to display their own erudition and devised esoteric works whose meaning would be intelligible only to a small circle of literati. From Giraldi's bibliography it can be seen that the greater part of classical literature was already available to scholars. With Giraldi, 1548, and Conti, 1567 the content of classical mythology was organized into single treatises. With Cartari, 1556, and Ripa, 1593, physical descriptions of gods and personifications were set forth. For religious works the Counter-Reformation began a trend to realism and clarity; in post-Mannerist secular works meanings and presentations also seem to become more straightforward. Perhaps this trend to the intelligible in secular works was assisted by the publications of Giraldi and Conti, Cartari and Ripa, which gave to artists and scholars of the later sixteenth century encyclopaedic manuals from which to select suitable myths with their interpretations and standard descriptions of mythological figures and personifications. Only Giraldi's work would have been available to the programmers of the Villa Giulia.
Though not speaking specifically of the Villa Giulia Burckhardt comments on Taddeo and Frederico Zuccaro that "in their allegories, unfathomable, because worked out on a literary plan, they become comically pitiful." Rouchette too finds Taddeo's work unfathomable, "La peinture devient un rébus. (celle de Taddeo Zuccaro avec les inventions de A. Caro). On voit comment l'invention est passée du concept au concetti." Even so soon as a decade after the Villa Giulia's completion the meaning must have been lost for Gilio, in 1564, takes the decoration of the Villa as an example of the poetical variety painted at the caprice of the artist, and a twentieth century historian, Briganti, writes:

Non può sfuggire la gran parte di responsabilità che, nei riguardi dei nuovi orientamenti, tocca a Taddeo Zuccari. Già nel sesto decennio del Cinquecento egli dipingeva nelle sale a pianterreno della villa di Papa Giulio quelle scene mitologiche in cui una pittura povera e impersonale anima appena la vita decorativa delle figure dei fauni e delle ninfe che si inseriscono, per così dire, con parità di importanza tra gli stucchi, le grottesche, il ricco e pesante aggettare delle cornici.... Alla decorazione, di gusto tutto raffaellesco, si accompagna una continua e fiduciosa citazione dell'antico in un'atmosfera colta e eletta di umanesimo alla Giulio Romano non priva di accorgimenti esornativi vasariani, quali avrebbe potuto immaginare ad esempio un Cristofaro Gherardi. Si capisce però che una strada come quella, che si abbandonava con tanta partecipazione ai trascorsi della pittura decorativa, rimpolpata appena da blandi suggerimenti letterari, era una strada pericolosa che si sarebbe perduta ben presto fra la selva regolare ed
anonima dei fregi e delle grottesche, su per i soffitti, gli scaloni e le facciate, se Taddeo Zuccari stesso non v'avesse posto riparo. Quelle opere giovanili, infatti, restano alquanto isolate nello sviluppo delle esperienze del pittore....

Yet the eight principal panels convey more than amiable literary suggestions. Venturi calls the Feast of the gods a *parodia* of the Wedding of Psyche in the Farnesina. It is not clear whether Venturi refers to style or content, but certainly some of the other panels also seem to be parodies—the scene of Diana and the bathers might well be a parody of the Callisto myth, the Harpocrates scene of the Punishment of Cupid, and the Luna and Mercury scene of the Apulian shepherd. The frescoes of both north and south rooms represent more than figures in a landscape, and there must be some meaning to the hedgehog, turtle, and mushrooms on the table in the rustic feast or to the banquet of gloomy gods above the Nile.

Even though the subjects of the frescoes are obscure they are appropriate to such a villa according to the theory of decoration. Vitruvius in writing of stage decorations mentioned the use of trees, caves, mountains and rural images for satyric plays. Alberti said that for pleasure houses scenes from rustic life were fitting, and that pictures of landscapes, fishing, hunting and country sports delighted the mind, while pictures of springs, cascades and streams of water helped those with fevers. Lomazzo, in 1584,
elaborated further on subjects suitable for gardens and pleasure houses: fables of love, metamorphoses of gods, nymphs with trees and water, Diana bathing with her nymphs, the Graces bathing, Ceres and her nymphs, feasts, dances and seasons, months and triumphs. The frescoes of the two rooms meet the spirit of these instructions.

The decoration chosen for the ceilings of the Casino suited classical and Renaissance theory of decoration, the site of the building, a wooded tract of land with a vineyard and a famous fountain, its use as a resting place for a collection of antique sculpture, and the half-pagan mentality of the Pope who built it. Beyond this general suitability—a Bacchic feast for a vineyard, scenes of Luna and her nymphs for moisture and fecundity, embellished with grotesques and stuccoes with classical motifs—though only one of the fresco panels is based on a classical text, the mood of Ovid is pervasive.

The decorations of the rest of the villa, as we know them today, reveal a repetition of themes, relationship among themes, but no consistent plan. The upper rooms of the Casino are decorated with frescoes of landscapes, including a cycle of the four seasons, allegories of the arts and sciences, and scenes with mythological figures.
Within the loggia are placed the gods and goddesses of the cycle of the year and on its ceiling a vine-covered trellis with cupids, birds and satyrs, and in the centre Helios in a four-horse chariot. On the end wall of the first courtyard one panel has Virtue seizing Fortune while below a satyr disrobes a sleeping nymph, and in another panel two women, said to be Justice and Peace, are about to embrace above a Bacchus attended by two winged putti. On the ceiling of the small room in the Nymphaeum a stucco of four Roman soldiers meeting two women is said to represent Xerxes meeting the mother and widow of Darius, or Coriolanus supplicated by his wife and mother, or the discovery of the Aqua Virgo. The reason for representing Darius is not apparent. The Senate rewarded the women who met Coriolanus by building for them a temple to Fortune. Ammannati describes this as the discovery of the Aqua Virgo after Frontinus, but it does not follow the text. And finally in the Nymphaeum the opposite room contains a ceiling fresco with Jupiter, Juno, Venus, Apollo, and Mercury, Apollo and Diana, the signs of the Zodiac and the four seasons represented by the triumphs of Vulcan, Flora, Apollo and Ceres, and Bacchus and Ariadne.

Now vanished are the Sabine scenes mentioned by Vasari, and the Charity and Religion, Hercules and the
Virgin of the Aqua Virgo, and the four elements—earth with Eve and her sons, water with Venus and sea gods, air with Juno and the winds, and fire with men sacrificing—all on the end wall of the first courtyard and described by Ammannati. A print of 1582 by Paolo Graziani shows four landscapes on the upper storey of the Nymphaeum.

The theme of the year and the seasons are repeated in the upper storey of the Casino, the loggia, and the ceiling of the Nymphaeum. Virtue seizing Fortune appears twice in the Casino stuccoes and again on the wall of the courtyard. Charity and Religion are on the same wall and also in the Casino. Appearing only once are the allegorical figures of the arts and sciences, a commonplace of the time. More unusual and possibly influenced by classical tophia are the scenes of the Seven Hills of Rome and the Villa Giulia.

The decoration thus includes recurrent themes, the year and the seasons, highly appropriate to a suburban villa, and other single themes appropriate to the classical idea of a rural villa as taken from the Romans, to the antiques collected there, and to the bent of Julius' mind. A survey of the whole of the decoration gives the same sense of improvisation and impulse that is evidenced in the building itself.

A well thought out programme of decoration might have been expected for the Villa was Julius' main preoccupation
during the five years of his papacy, and presumably he would be interested in its decoration as well as its architecture. It is, therefore, surprising to find Ieronimo Soperchio, an intimate of Julius, applying to Annibal Caro, a follower of the Farnese, for help in devising a motto for Julius, a motto which was probably for the Villa.\(^{29}\) It was to Caro, too, that Vasari is said to have turned for the conception of his designs for the Villa, designs that were never used.\(^{30}\) Certainly the custom was in the sixteenth century for a scholar to present the artist with a verbal programme of the subject matter to be executed in an important work. The repetitions and the miscellany of themes in the various parts of the Villa make it seem probable that many minds were working independently of one another.

Even the north and south rooms of the Casino differ in spirit in both major frescoes and in minor decorations. The feasts of the north room have a static quality, an air of the set piece, while the south room scenes have a feeling of movement and narrative as if some new metamorphosis were being acted out. In neither room do the minor decorations seem to be closely related to either the major frescoes or the major stuccoes and both the quality and quantity of minor ornament in the south room surpasses that of the north.
room. Two minds as well as two brushes seem to have been at work. Given Julius' fickleness in his treatment of architects and artists it is quite possible that two different scholars should have been entrusted to supply the ideas for the north and south rooms. It is unlikely that it was left to the artist to choose the subjects of the major frescoes and stuccoes. The amount of liberty the artist had to devise the minor decoration must be conjectural, but the richer ornament of the south room I take as an indication that Zuccaro, who was to become the more eminent of the two artists, had some freedom.

The object of this thesis was to identify and interpret the subject matter of the works by Fontana and Zuccaro in the north and south rooms of the Casino. Of the fresco panels one is based on Philostratus' River of Andros. The ten major stuccoes represent Justice, Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, Faith, Hope, Charity and Religion, and the emblem of Virtue and Fortuna, used twice. Of the twenty-eight minor stuccoes sixteen represent Peace, Fame, Hope, Charity, Faith, Victory, Constance, Reason, Flora, Fame, Venus, Juno, Ceres, Pomona, Diana, and Apollo and Marsyas. The other minor decorations include river gods, Ganymede, pygmies and cranes, marine battles with dolphins and tritons, lapiths and centaurs, a lion hunt, and bacchanals of children. The
subject matter of the rest of the decoration I cannot identify.

The major fresco panels do not seem to be allegorical and only one of them can be related to a classical text. They might illustrate a new mythological cycle, possibly based on one of the works dedicated to Julius, or they might be parodies of old myths. Since the subjects do not reappear elsewhere in panel paintings or in other fresco cycles, their meaning must be linked closely to the Villa.

Of the major stuccoes the two central one represent Julius' own emblem, Virtue overcoming Fortune. In addition to being suitable quartets for the two sets of corners, the Roman and Christian virtues may amplify the Virtue of the emblem.

The minor decorations do not seem to be related in subject to either major frescoes or major stuccoes, and a comparison of their quality and quantity leads to the conclusion that some responsibility for them was left with the artists.

Having been unable to identify the larger part of the subject matter I cannot interpret its iconological significance. The whole of the decoration, however, has the air of being well adapted to the nature and uses of the Villa, and the personality and tastes of its builder, Julius III.
Notes: Chapter I


3John Coolidge, "The Villa Giulia: a study of central Italian architecture in the mid-sixteenth century," Art bulletin, XXV (September, 1943), 177-78.

4Giorgio Vasari, Il carteggio, edito e accompagnato di commento critico dal Carlo Frey (Munich: Casa Editrice Georg Müller, 1923), p. 226. This villa was also to have a fountain and an aviary: Giorgio Vasari, Der literarische Nachlass Giorgio Vasaris, herausgegeben und mit kritischen Apparate versehen von Karl Frey (Munich: Georg Müller, 1923), I, 225.


Notes: Chapter I (cont'd)

9. The components of Pliny's Laurentian villa were put together to give a similar effect: Pliny Letters and Panegyricus, Loeb classical library (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), I, 133.


11. Giovanni Ferro, Teatro d'imprese (Venice: G. Sarzina, 1623), II, 188.

12. Julius may have inclined to the Frontinus version if one of the stucco reliefs in the Nymphaeum depicting two women meeting a group of soldiers does illustrate the discovery of the Aqua Virgo. That this is the subject of the relief is questionable for according to the text the soldiers were guided by only one maiden.


15. E. M. Winslow says in his A libation to the gods: the story of the Roman aqueducts (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1963) pp. 55-57, that by 1550 only a small part of the original Roman construction was left.

Notes: Chapter I (cont'd)


Notes: Chapter II

1Nonnos Dionysiaca, Loeb classical library (London, 1940), I, 501-03.


5Information from the catalogue of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale received from Graham Smith.

6Neither Dr. W. E. Godfrey nor Miss V. M. Humphreys, ornithologists with the Zoology Division, National Museum of Natural Sciences, Ottawa, were able to identify these birds.


10Here the pipes have eight reeds. Pan's pipes should have seven reeds to stand for the harmony of the seven planets says Vicenzo Cartari, Imagini delli dei de gl'antichi, Nachdruck der Ausgabe Venedig, 1647, Instrumentaria Artium, Band I (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1963), p. 74.
Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)


14Cartari, Imagini, pp. 73, 279.


16Giovanni Pierio Valeriano [Bolzani], Hieroglyphica, sive De sacres Aegyptiorum, aliarumque gentium litteris (Basel: Per Thomam Guarinum, 1567), p. 61.

17There would be a river god present if this were the meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne on Naxos according to Guy de Tervarent, Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450-1600: dictionnaire d'un langage perdu, Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance, XXIX (Geneva: Librairie E. Droz, 1958), col. 217.


19Ovid Fasti, Loeb classical library (London, 1951), pp. 31-33.


Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)


27 Werner Gramberg, "Vier Zeichnungen des Guglielmo della Porta zu seiner Serie mythologischer Reliefs," Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen, XIII (1968), 90, says that the plaquettes were designed but not used for the Farnese table now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. No one has suggested that they might have been designed for the tables in the ground floor rooms of the Casino of the Villa Giulia mentioned by Bartolomeo Ammannati. "Lettera dell' architetto Bartolomeo Ammannati a Messer Marco Mantova Bonavides in Padova Roma 2 maggio 1555," in Mario Bafile, Villa Giulia, l'architettura--il giardino, Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Opere d'arte, fascicolo XIV (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1948), p. 31.

Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)

29 In the Anderson photograph ten people sit at the table; yet another bearded old man sits beside Apollo.


31 Imagines, p. 21.


33 Diodorus Siculus Diodorus of Sicily, Loeb classical library (London, 1946), I, 125.

34 Bardon, Le festin des dieux, p. 8.


38 Philostratus Imagines, p. 97.
Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)

39 Information received from Graham Smith; Venturi, La pittura, V, 852.

40 Fasti, pp. 69-71; Metamorphoses, I, 89-95.

41 Ovid Metamorphoses, I, 93.

42 Reinholdus Franz, "De Callistus fabula," Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie, XII (1890), 235-365, passim.


44 Paul Schubring, Cassoni, 2 vermehrte Auflage (Leipzig: Verlag von Karl W. Hiersemann, 1923), II, Pl. CLXXXVI, 892, a Venetian work of 1450, has Callisto being disrobed while she reclines on the ground.


48 de Tervarent, Attributs, col. 363; Cartari, Imagini, p. 190.
Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)

49 Comanini, Figino in Barocchi, Trattati d'arte, III, 372.

50 Cartari, Imagini, pp. 59-60.


54 [Natale Conti], Mythologie, ou Explication de fables, oeuvre d'eminente doctrine, & d'agreable lecture, cy devant traduitte par I. de Montlyard (Paris: Chez Pierre Chevalier et Samuel Thiboust, 1627), pp. 240-41; Cartari, Imagini, p. 54.

55 Cartari, Imagini, p. 166.

56 Ibid., p. 51.


58 Iris brought news of pestilence, war or disaster says Cartari, Imagini, p. 166.

59 Valeriano [Bolzani], Hieroglyphica, p. 433.
Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)

60Aby Warburg, La Rinascita del paganesimo antico, Il Pensiero storico, 49 (Florence: "La Nuova Italia" Editrice, 1966), p. 50; Ovid Metamorphoses, I, 111.


62Cartari, Imagini, pp. 64-68.

63La pittura, V, 852.

64Planiscig, Skulpturen und Plastiken, p. 189.

65Berliner, "Plakettenfolge," pp. 134-35, finds the source of seven of the plaquettes in the Metamorphoses and dates them 1550. Gramberg, "Guglielmo della Porta," pp. 40-41, dates them between 1552 and 1555, when della Porta was working in the Villa Giulia, and notes the resemblance of Fontana's Bacchic feast to the Bacchanal of the plaquettes without deciding which work came first. Zuccaro's composition for the dance of Diana comes from Raimondi's Dance of infants and cupids as illustrated by Henri Delaborde, Marc-Antoine Raimondi: étude historique et critique suivie d'un catalogue raisonné des oeuvres du maître, Bibliothèque internationale de l'art (Paris: Librairie de l'art, 1888), p. 83. It seems more likely that della Porta altered the compositions of both Fontana and Zuccaro to his needs than that they followed della Porta and Zuccaro removed his modifications of Raimondi. The sequence would then be Villa Giulia frescoes before della Porta plaquettes. That della Porta could so easily adapt the frescoes to Ovidian episodes would be a happy coincidence unless the themes of the two series of works were related, the frescoes perhaps being burlesques of Ovid.
Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)


68 Mandowsky, Pirro Ligorio's Roman antiquities, p. 113.

69 Cartari, Imagini, p. 261; [Conti], Mythologie p. 383; Diodorus Siculus Diodorus of Sicily, III, 295.

70 Philostratus Imagines, pp. 21-29.


73 de Tervarent, Attributs, col. 196.

74 Ibid., cols. 312-13.

75 Ibid., cols. 309, 311, 104.

76 Ovid Fasti, p. 275.

Notes: Chapter II (cont'd)

78 Cartari, Imagini, p. 63.


81 Venturi, La pittura, V, 852.

Notes: Chapter III


3The Greek anthology, Loeb classical library (London, 1918), V, 325.


6Panofsky, The iconography of Correggio's Camera di San Paolo, pp. 62-64.

7Wittkower, "Chance, time and virtue," Pls. 50 cd, 51 a, 51 c, 53 b.


9G. F. Hill, "Notes on Italian medals--XVIII," Burlington magazine, XXV (September, 1914), 341, Pl. II, F.
Notes: Chapter III (cont'd)


12 Archer Woodford, "Mediaeval iconography of the virtues; a poetic portraiture," Speculum, XXVIII (July, 1953), 523.


15 Annibal Caro, Lettere familiari, edizione critica con introduzione e note di Aulo Greco (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1957), I, 74.

16 Heinrich Schwarz, "The mirror in art," Art quarterly, XV (1952), 98, 104-05.


19 Iconologia, p. 107-09.

Notes: Chapter III (cont'd)


25 Vasari, Ragionamenti, p. 10.

26 Ibid., p. 35.

27 Ibid., p. 10.


29 Iconologia, p. 263.

30 van Marle, Allégories, p. 64; Ripa, Iconologia, pp. 80-81; Howard Hibbard, "A representation of Fides," Art bulletin, XXXIX (March, 1957), 137; Lomazzo, Trattato, p. 660.

31 Vasari, Ragionamenti, p. 36; Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1881), VI, 234.
Notes: Chapter III (cont'd)


33 Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the virtues and vices, p. 34.


Notes:  Chapter IV

1Cesare Ripa, Iconologia; overa, Descrittion dell'imagini universali cavate dall'antichita et da altri luoghi (Rome: Per gli heredi di Gio. Gigliotti, 1593), pp. 43, 34.


3Ripa, Iconologia, pp. 197, 220, 223, 246, 263.

4Ibid., p. 30. Ripa's eight Beatitudes, pp. 29-30, would have made a fitting octet for the eight medallions, but only the second, fourth, sixth and seventh of them bear any resemblance to the subjects here.


6Ripa, Iconologia, pp. 80-81.

Notes:  Chapter IV (cont'd)

8 Ripa, Iconologia, pp. 83, 110.

9 Ibid., pp. 191, 295.


11 Coffin, Villa d'Este, p. 162.

12 Giorgio Vasari, Lo zibaldone, a cura di Alessandro del Vita, R. Istituto d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Opere inedite o rare di storia dell'arte (Rome: 1938), pp. 80-81.

13 Iconologia, pp. 117, 233, 32.

14 Imagini, p. 188.

15 Iconologia, p. 117.


17 Ripa, Iconologia, pp. 82, 144, 147, 166, 169, 182.


20 Iconologia, p. 266.
Notes: Chapter IV (cont'd)

21 Ibid., pp. 2, 47, 70, 190, 267, 79.

22 Ibid., pp. 2, 7, 79, 84, 223, 44.

23 Imagini, pp. 7, 169.

24 Breglia, Roman Imperial coins, pp. 6, 79.

25 Coffin, Villa d'Este, p. 163.


28 Mandowsky, Pirro Ligorio's Roman antiquities, p. 83, Pl. 32b.


Notes: Chapter IV (cont'd)


33 Frederick Hartt, Giulio Romano (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), II, Fig. 162.


36 Cartari, Imagini, p. 33.


38 Imagini, pp. 143, 314.

39 Of sixty-seven descriptions of thirty rivers assembled from fifteen texts by Ovid, Vasari, Cartari and others, sixty-three describe the river as male, eighteen give him a cornucopia, twelve give him a water jar, and eight reeds. The same river may be described in widely different ways, for example in Vasari's Ragionamenti on p. 141 the Bisenzio is a man with a cornucopia of fruit and herbs whose hair is being dressed by a nympha and a putto, and on p. 132 the same river is an old woman with a water jar.
Notes: Chapter IV (cont'd)

40 Ingvar Bergstrom, Revival of antique illusionistic wall-painting in Renaissance art, Acta universitatis Gothoburgensis, Göteborgs universitets årsskrift, LXIII, 1957, 1 (Gothenburg: 1957), pp. 5 and 25, says that Renaissance artists may have known and used all styles of antique fresco painting.


42 Imagini, pp. 129-140.


44 Mandowsky, Pirro Ligorio's Roman antiquities, p. 111.


46 Nicole Dacos, La découvrette de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance, Studies of the Warburg Institute, Vol. 31 (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1969), p. 37. Lyres were also used in the Domus Aurea: p. 12.

47 Masks may accompany mundane things, or laughter, and the lion's head may indicate debauchery according to Ripa, Iconologia, pp. 50, 241, 54. Only laughter seems relevant in this context.

Notes: Chapter IV (cont'd)


52 Dacos, La découverte de la Domus Aurea, pp. 57, 116.

53 Dacos, La découverte de la Domus Aurea, pp. 131, 162-45; David R. Coffin, "Pirro Ligorio and decoration of the late sixteenth century at Ferrara," Art bulletin, XXXVII (1955), 183-84.

54 Dacos, La découverte de la Domus Aurea, p. 117.
Notes: Chapter V

1 Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori, con nuove annotazione commenti di Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1881), VII, 82.


3 The gods retreated to the Nile in the war with the giants, and the Council of Trent was unsuccessful in stemming Protestantism, but "allusive correlation" should be flattering say Dora Panofsky and Erwin Panofsky, "The iconography of the Galerie François Ier at Fontainebleau," Gazette des beaux-arts, VIe période, LII (1958), 114-15.

4 In the festivities at Bologna for Julius' election mountains and hills were among the themes used says Sylvie Béguin, "A lost fresco of Niccolo dell' Abbate at Bologna in honour of Julius III," Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Journal, XVIII (1955), 118.


Notes: Chapter V (cont'd)

9Giovanni Boccaccio, *La geneologia de gli dei de gentili*, tradotta per M. Giuseppe Betussi (Venice: Appresso Giovan. Antonio Bertano, 1574), pp. 64, 84.


11[Natale Conti], *Mythologie, ou Explication de fables, oeuvre d'eminente doctrine, & d'agreable lecture, cy devant traduitte par I. de Montlyard* (Paris; Chez Pierre Chevalier et Samuel Thiboust, 1627), pp. 1064-65.


15Ibid., p. 196.

16Ripa's *Iconologia* appeared in 1593; though it could not have had a direct influence on the Villa Giulia it incorporated usages that were current in the sixteenth century as Erna Mandowsky, "Ricerche intorno all'Iconologia di Cesare Ripa," *Bibliofilia*, XLI (1939), 11-124, 204-235, passim. shows. Barbara Elizabeth Carman, "A study of Natalis Comes' theory of mythology and of its influence in England together with an English translation of Book I of the Mythologia and of the introductions to the other books," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1966), I, 17-20, dates the first edition of the *Mythologia* 1567, but it may also have contained current ideas.

Notes: Chapter V (cont'd)


25 Information on the other decorations received from Graham Smith, photographs, and personal observation.

Notes: Chapter V (cont'd)


28 Bafile, Villa Giulia, p. 17, fig. 14.

29 Annibale Caro, Lettere familiari, edizione critica con introduzione e note di Aulo Greco (Florence: Felice Le Monnier, 1956), II, 99-100.

30 Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, Mostra di disegni del Vasari e della sua cerchia, catalogo a cura di Paola Barocchi (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1964), pp. 24-25, figs. 10-12.


Gombrich, E. H. "Renaissance artistic theory and the development of landscape painting." Gazette des beaux-arts, 6e période, XLI (1953), 335-60.


Hill, G. F. "Notes on Italian medals--XVIII." Burlington magazine, XXV (1914), 335-41.


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Ragionamenti. 2. ed. Arezzo: Per Michele Bellotti Stampat., 1762.

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PLATE I. North room, by Prospero Fontana (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)
PLATE III. River of wine fresco
PLATE IV. Fountain goddess fresco
PLATE V. Bacchic feast fresco
PLATE VI. Feast of gods with river Nile fresco
PLATE VII. South room, by Taddeo Zuccaro (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)
PLATE VIII. South room (Anderson)
PLATE IX. Diana and the bathers fresco
PLATE X. Harpocrates and worshippers fresco
PLATE XI. Diana and the dancers fresco (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)
PLATE XII. Diana and the dancers fresco (Anderson)
PLATE XIII. Banquet of nymphs with amorini fresco (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale)
PLATE XIV. Banquet of nymphs with amorini fresco (Anderson)
PLATE XV. Charity stucco