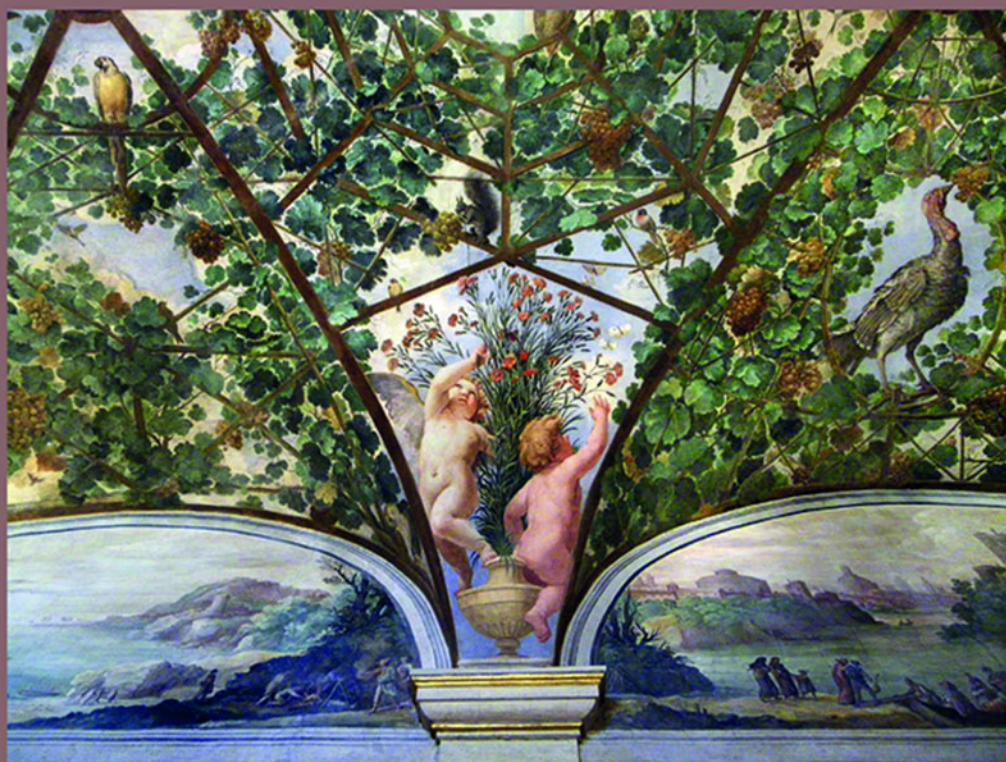


VISUAL CULTURE IN EARLY MODERNITY



Renaissance Porticoes and Painted Pergolas

Nature and Culture in Early Modern Italy



Natsumi Nonaka

An **Ashgate** Book

Renaissance Porticoes and Painted Pergolas

This book is the first study of the portico and its decorative program as a cultural phenomenon in Renaissance Italy. Focusing on a largely neglected group of porticoes decorated with painted pergolas that appeared in Rome and environs in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, it tells the story of how an element of the garden—the pergola—became a pictorial topos in portico decoration and evolved, hand in hand with its real cousin in the garden, into an object for cultural emulation among the educated patrons of early modern Rome. The liminality of both the portico and the pergola at the interface of architecture and garden is key to the interpretation of these architectural and painted forms, which rests on the intersecting frameworks of the classical tradition, natural history, and the cultural identity of the aristocracy. In the mediating space of the Renaissance portico, the illusionistic pergola created an art gallery, a natural history museum, and a virtual garden where one could engage in leisurely strolls, learned conversations, appreciation of art, and scientific investigation, as well as extensive travel across time and space. The book proposes the interpretation that the illusionistic pergola was an artistic formula for the early modern perception of nature.

Natsumi Nonaka received her Ph.D. in Architectural History from the University of Texas at Austin in 2012. Her specialization is art and architecture in early modern Italy. She taught architectural history at the University of Texas at Austin and is currently teaching art history at Montana State University.

Visual Culture in Early Modernity

Series Editor: Kelley Di Dio

A forum for the critical inquiry of the visual arts in the early modern world, *Visual Culture in Early Modernity* promotes new models of inquiry and new narratives of early modern art and its history. The range of topics covered in this series includes, but is not limited to, painting, sculpture and architecture as well as material objects, such as domestic furnishings, religious and/or ritual accessories, costume, scientific/medical apparatus, erotica, ephemera and printed matter.

Making and Moving Sculpture in Early Modern Italy

Edited by Kelley Helmstutler Di Dio

Food and Knowledge in Renaissance Italy

Bartolomeo Scappi's Paper Kitchens

Deborah L. Krohn

Visual Cultures of Foundling Care in Renaissance Italy

Diana Bullen Presciutti

Genre Imagery in Early Modern Northern Europe

New Perspectives

Edited by Arthur J. DiFuria

Material Bernini

Edited by Evonne Levy and Carolina Mangone

The Enduring Legacy of Venetian Renaissance Art

Edited by Andaleeb Badiee Banta

The Bible and the Printed Image in Early Modern England

Little Gidding and the Pursuit of Scriptural Harmony

Michael Gaudio

Prints in Translation, 1450–1750

Image, Materiality, Space

Edited by Suzanne Karr Schmidt and Edward H. Wouk

Imaging Stuart Family Politics

Dynastic Crisis and Continuity

Catriona Murray

Sebastiano del Piombo and the World of Spanish Rome

Piers Baker-Bates

Early Modern Merchants as Collectors

Edited by Christina M. Anderson

Visual Culture and Mathematics in the Early Modern Period

Edited by Ingrid Alexander-Skipnes

Renaissance Porticoes and Painted Pergolas

Nature and Culture in Early
Modern Italy

Natsumi Nonaka

First published 2017
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2017 Natsumi Nonaka

The right of Natsumi Nonaka to be identified as author of this work
has been asserted by her in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the
Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or
utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now
known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in
any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or
registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation
without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A catalog record for this title has been requested

ISBN: 978-1-4724-6053-0 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-315-22913-3 (ebk)

Typeset in Sabon
by Apex CoVantage, LLC

Contents

<i>Illustrations</i>	vi
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
Introduction	1
1 Mediating spaces: portico, loggia, and pergola	10
2 Classical tradition and vernacular culture: Villa Farnesina and the First Loggia of Leo X	44
3 Visual encyclopedia and trellised walkways: Medici Gardens and the Villa d'Este	73
4 Pictorial fiction and cultural identity: Villa Giulia and Villa Farnese	104
5 <i>Wunderkammer</i> and <i>trompe-l'œil</i> garden: Palazzo Altemps and the Loggia of Cardinal Borghese	130
6 Collecting nature: virtual flora and fauna	161
<i>Epilogue</i>	187
<i>Appendix</i>	198
<i>Bibliography</i>	200
<i>Index</i>	223

Illustrations

Photo credits belong to the author unless otherwise specified.

Plates

- 1 Villa Farnesina, Rome. Loggia, panel painting of the *Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*.
- 2 Villa Farnesina, Rome. Loggia, detail of the swags that form the pergola framework.
- 3 Palazzo Grimani at Santa Maria Formosa, Venice. Sala a Fogliami with bower of foliage.
- 4 Villa Medici, Rome. Garden pavilion, Stanza degli uccelli, ceiling and south wall.
- 5 Villa d'Este at Tivoli. Ground-level corridor, mosaic and stucco pergola.
- 6 Villa Giulia, Rome. Semicircular portico, center, jasmine pergola.
- 7 Villa Giulia, Rome. Semicircular portico, north end, jasmine pergola.
- 8 Villa Giulia, Rome. Semicircular portico, north arm, rose pergola.
- 9 Villa Giulia, Rome. Semicircular portico, north arm, vine pergola.
- 10 Villa Giulia, Rome. Semicircular portico, south arm, vine pergola, detail.
- 11 Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Fountain of Venus, painted bower on the vault.
- 12 Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Circular portico, ground-level, painted pergola, section 1 (above) and section 2 (below).
- 13 Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Circular portico, ground-level, painted pergola, section 4 (above) and section 10 (below).
- 14 Villa Farnese at Caprarola. *Piano nobile*, Corridor of the Tower.
- 15 Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, *piano nobile*, general view.
- 16 Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, ceiling between first and second bays from west.
- 17 Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, ceiling between second and third bays from west.
- 18 Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, west wall, lunette with Orsini bear and Altemps goat.
- 19 Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, north wall, lunette with putti and ostrich.
- 20 Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, north wall.
- 21 Loggia of Cardinal Borghese, Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini, Rome. Painted pergola, general view.

- 22 Loggia of Cardinal Borghese, Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini, Rome. Painted pergola, detail.
- 23 Villa Lante at Bagnaia. Palazzina Montalto, loggia.
- 24 Villa Lante at Bagnaia. Palazzina Montalto, loggia, detail of painted dome with netting and birds.

Figures

- 1.1 Cubiculum M, Villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1903, 03.14.13a–g. 13
- 1.2 Nile Mosaic from Palestrina, section 19, Berlin piece. Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, inv. Mos. 3. 18
- 1.3 Santa Costanza, annular vault of the ambulatory, section IX with vintage scene. 20
- 1.4 Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas. Giampietro Campana, *Di due sepolcri romani del secolo di Augusto scoperti fra la via Latina e l'Appia presso la tomba degli Scipioni*, Rome, 1840. 21
- 1.5 Francisco de Hollanda, cupola of Santa Costanza. Francisco de Hollanda, *Os desenhos das antiqualhas que vio Francisco d'Ollanda: pintor português*, Madrid, 1940. 22
- 1.6 Garden with a pergola. Pietro de' Crescenzi, *Libro della agricoltura*, Venice, 1495. © Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington, D.C. 24
- 1.7 Title page, Boccaccio, *Decamerone*, Venice, 1492. Wikimedia Commons PD-Art. 26
- 1.8 Poliphilus's encounter with the nymph at the pergola. Francesco Colonna, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice, 1499. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. 27
- 1.9 Jacopo de' Barbari, *Map of Venice*, ca. 1514, detail with the Giudecca. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. 29
- 1.10 Jacopo de' Barbari, *Map of Venice*, ca. 1514, detail with San Giorgio Maggiore. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin. 30
- 1.11 Casa dei Cavalieri di Rodi, Rome. Loggia with painted trees. 33
- 2.1 Villa Farnesina, Rome. Loggia, general view. 48
- 2.2 Villa Farnesina and Vigna Farnese, plan. Paul Letarouilly, *Edifices de Rome moderne*, Paris, 1868. 50
- 2.3 Andrea Mantegna, *Madonna della Vittoria*, 1496. Louvre inv. 369. Wikimedia Commons PD-Art. 51
- 2.4 Sant'Andrea in Mantua, Cappella Mantegna, 1507. Painted pergola on the vault by Correggio. Wikimedia Commons PD-Art. 52
- 2.5 Loggetta of Cardinal Bibbiena, Vatican. Ceiling and wall with animals and grotesques. Scala/Art Resource, NY. 55
- 2.6 First Loggia of Leo X, Vatican. Scala/Art Resource, NY. 58
- 2.7 First Loggia of Leo X, decorative scheme of the vaults. 59
- 2.8 First Loggia of Leo X, vault II. Photo © Musei Vaticani. 61

- 2.9 Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus, vault decoration.
Josef Wilpert (ed.), *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*.
Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903, pl. 61. 64
- 2.10 Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus, vault decoration.
Josef Wilpert (ed.), *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms*.
Freiburg im Breisgau, 1903, pl. 73. 65
- 2.11 Architectural ruins with draftsmen. Virgil Solis, *The little book of architecture ruins*, Nuremberg, 1550–1562, after Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, *Duodecim fragmenta structurae veteris commendata monumentis a Leonardo Theodorico*, Orléans, 1550. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 66
- 2.12 Pergola gallery at Montargis. Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau, *Les plus excellents bastiments de France*, Paris, 1576.
© Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Rare Book Collection, Washington, D.C. 67
- 3.1 Correggio, Refectory of the Abbess, Camera di San Paolo, Parma, 1519. Photo: Ghigo Roli. 74
- 3.2 Parmigianino, Stufetta of Diana and Actaeon, Rocca Sanvitale, Fontanellato, 1523–1524. Photo: Ghigo Roli. 75
- 3.3 Dosso Dossi and Battista Dossi, Sala delle Cariatidi, Villa Imperiale, Pesaro, 1529–1538. Photo: Antonio Quattrone. 76
- 3.4 Marco da Faenza, painted pergola at the foot of the stairs leading from the Room of Leo X to the Quarter of the Elements, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1550s. 78
- 3.5 Marco da Faenza, painted pergola at the top of the stairs leading from the Room of Leo X to the Quarter of the Elements, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1550s. 79
- 3.6 Marco da Faenza, painted pergola at the top of the stairs leading from the Room of Leo X to the Quarter of the Elements, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 1550s. 79
- 3.7 Grotto of Buontalenti, Boboli Gardens, Florence, 1574.
First Chamber, dome. 80
- 3.8 First Loggia of Gregory XIII, decorative scheme of the vaults. 83
- 3.9 First Loggia of Gregory XIII, vault IX. Photo © Musei Vaticani. 83
- 3.10 Baldassare Peruzzi, plan for an urban garden with a pergola, ca. 1527. Uffizi 580A. Polo Museale Regionale della Toscana – Gabinetto Fotografico. 85
- 3.11 Ambrogio Brambilla after Mario Cartaro, *The Belvedere Garden in the Vatican*, from Antonio Lafréry and Claudio Duchetti, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, engraving, 1579.
Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom. 86
- 3.12 Anton van den Wyngaerde, *Panorama of Rome*, ca. 1540. Detail with the Riario garden in Trastevere. Hermann Egger, *Römische Veduten*, II, Vienna, 1932, pl. 112. 87
- 3.13 Giovanni Colonna da Tivoli, plan of a pergola for the Ghinucci garden (1554). Vat.Lat.7721, 15r. © 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 89

3.14	Giovanni Colonna da Tivoli, details of a pergola for the Ghinucci garden (1554). Vat.Lat.7721, 15v. © 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.	90
3.15	Etienne Dupérac, <i>Villa d'Este at Tivoli</i> , 1573. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1941. 41.72.(3.64).	93
3.16	Girolamo Muziano, view of the garden at Villa d'Este at Tivoli, ca. 1568. Salone, Villa d'Este at Tivoli.	95
3.17	Villa d'Este at Tivoli, ground-level corridor, rustic fountain.	96
4.1	Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Map of Rome, 1561. Detail with the Villa Giulia, via Flaminia, the pergola, and the Tiber River. Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom.	105
4.2	Mario Cartaro, Map of Rome, 1575. Detail with the Tiber River, the pergola, the via Flaminia and the Fontana Pubblica, and the Villa Giulia. A. P. Frutaz, <i>Le piante di Roma</i> , Rome, 1962, vol. II, Cartaro Piccola, CXXV, tav. 237.	106
4.3	Villa Giulia, semicircular portico, view from south end.	107
4.4	Giovanni Battista Falda, The Nymphaeum at the Villa Giulia, after a sixteenth-century print by Hieronymus Cock. <i>Le fontane di Roma nelle piazze e luoghi pubblici della città: con li loro prospetti, come sono al presente, disegnatte et intagliate da Gio. Battista Falda; date in luce con direttione e cura da Gio. Giacomo de Rossi</i> , Roma, 1675–1691. American Academy in Rome, Arthur & Janet C. Ross Library.	110
4.5	Giuseppe Vasi, Villa Farnese at Caprarola, plan. Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom.	116
4.6	Painted view of the Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Villa Lante at Bagnaia, Palazzina Gambarà.	117
4.7	Painted view of the town of Caprarola and the approach to the Villa Farnese. Villa Farnese at Caprarola, vestibule.	118
4.8	Villa Farnese at Caprarola. Circular portico, ground level (below), <i>piano nobile</i> (above).	119
5.1	Master of the Die after Raphael and Giovanni da Udine. Three putti with ostrich before a garland. Engraving, published by Antonio Lafréry, ca. 1530–1540. Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund 1949.	135
5.2	Palazzo Altemps, Rome. Loggia, fountain at east end.	136
5.3	View of the interior of Palazzo Altemps, north-south longitudinal section (above), left side detail of section (below). Giovanni Battista Falda, <i>Nuovi disegni dell' architetture, e piante de palazzi di Roma de più celebri architetti</i> . Rome: Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, 1655. American Academy in Rome, Arthur & Janet C. Ross Library.	137
5.4	Quirinal Garden, ca. 1615. Reconstruction plan by Howard Hibbard. Reprinted with permission of the University of California Press Journals.	141
5.5	Room of the Winds at the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati. Giovanni Battista Falda, <i>Le fontane delle ville di Frascati nel Tuscolano con li loro prospetti</i> , 1691, pl. 7. American Academy in Rome, Arthur & Janet C. Ross Library.	142

x *Illustrations*

5.6	Casa Zuccari, Rome. Vestibule of Hercules, ceiling.	147
5.7	Casa Zuccari, Rome. Loggia of the garden, ceiling.	148
5.8	Villa Lante at Bagnaia. Palazzina Gambarà, loggia.	149
5.9	Palazzo Lancellotti, Rome. Sala della Pergola, 1621–1623. Courtesy of Patrizia Cavazzini.	151
5.10	<i>Villa Lante at Bagnaia</i> . Giacomo Lauro, <i>Antiquae Urbis Splendor</i> , Rome, 1612. Courtesy of Vincent J. Buonanno.	152
5.11	Horti Farnesiani on the Palatine, Grotta della pioggia, vault decoration. Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area Archeologica di Roma.	154
5.12	Alessandro Allori and workshop, <i>Women on a Terrace</i> , 1589. Loggetta, Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photo: Antonio Quattrone.	155
5.13	Giovanni Francesco Grimaldi, Stanza della Primavera, Villa Falconieri, Frascati, 1672. Soprintendenza per Belle Arti e Paesaggio per le province di Roma, Frosinone, Latina, Rieti, e Viterbo – Archivio Fotografico.	156
6.1	Pietro Andrea Mattioli, <i>Commentarii in sex libros Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei de materia medica</i> . Venice, 1565. Illustrations by Giorgio Liberale da Udine and Wolfgang Meyerpeck. Pages 244–245 showing citrus species. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Libraries and the Biodiversity Heritage Library.	163
6.2	Horti Farnesiani, plan. Giovanni Battista Falda, <i>Li giardini di Roma</i> , Rome, 1670. Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas at Austin.	165
6.3	Cardinal Pio's garden. Giovanni Battista Ferrari, <i>Hesperides</i> , Rome, 1646. Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute and the Biodiversity Heritage Library.	166
6.4	Museum of Ferrante Imperato in Naples. Ferrante Imperato, <i>Dell'istoria naturale</i> , Venice, 1672. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (85-B1669).	167
6.5	Museum of the Jesuit College in Rome. Giorgio de Sepi, <i>Romani Collegii Societatis Iesu Musaeum celeberrimum</i> , Amsterdam, 1678, frontispiece. Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (2983–889).	168
6.6	Giovanni Battista Ferrari, <i>De florum cultura libri IV</i> , Rome, 1633. Title page. Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute and the Biodiversity Heritage Library.	176
6.7	The metamorphosis of Limace and Bruno. Giovanni Battista Ferrari, <i>De florum cultura libri IV</i> , Rome, 1633. Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute and the Biodiversity Heritage Library.	177
6.8	The metamorphosis of Melissa. Giovanni Battista Ferrari, <i>De florum cultura libri IV</i> , Rome, 1633. Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute and the Biodiversity Heritage Library.	179
6.9	Arrangement of cut flowers in a classicizing vase. Giovanni Battista Ferrari, <i>De florum cultura libri IV</i> , Rome, 1633. Courtesy of the Getty Research Institute and the Biodiversity Heritage Library.	182
7.1	Beatrix Farrand, Wisteria Arbor. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.	189

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 7.2 | Boston Public Library, 1895. Vestibule with fictive pergola on the ceiling. | 190 |
| 7.3 | William Brantley van Ingen, vine pergola and allegory of L'Allegro/Mirth. Vault and lunette in the bay to the south of the staircase leading up to the gallery of the Rotunda, 1897. Jefferson Building, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. | 191 |
| 7.4 | William Brantley van Ingen, jasmine pergola and allegory of Il Penseroso/Thoughtfulness. Vault and lunette in the bay to the north of the staircase leading up to the gallery of the Rotunda, 1897. Jefferson Building, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. | 192 |
| 7.5 | Grace Lincoln Temple, interior decoration, 1901. Entrance vestibule from the Enid A. Haupt Garden. Smithsonian Castle, Washington, D.C. | 193 |
| 7.6 | Grace Lincoln Temple, ceiling decoration with illusionistic pergola, 1899. Entrance vestibule from the Enid A. Haupt Garden. Smithsonian Castle, Washington, D.C. | 194 |

Acknowledgements

This book is the fruit of many conversations over the years with friends and scholars who shared their insights and criticisms, offering their expertise and encouragement along the way. I would like to thank Anthony Alofsin, Richard Cleary, Christopher Long, Louis Waldman, and Jonathan Bober, who read early drafts. Katherine Rinne, Richard Etlin, Denis Ribouillault, and Francesco Passanti provided many invaluable comments. Dottoressa Giuseppina Cerulli Irelli and Michael O'Neill and Edward O'Neill provided support in Rome. I extend particular gratitude to Miroslava Benes and Rabun Taylor, who believed in the project from the very start and without whose dedicated support this book would not have seen its day.

My research started, took form, and reached completion during various sojourns in Rome. It was my own experience of loggias and porticoes with painted pergolas in the villas and palaces in Rome and environs that provided the cognitive and perceptual impetus of this study. Many research institutions and libraries in both the United States and Italy generously contributed to its making. Dumbarton Oaks provided a summer fellowship and two short-term residencies in Garden and Landscape Studies; the Lemmerman Foundation and the University of Texas at Austin School of Architecture granted awards that allowed me a critical residency in Rome during the earlier stages of this project. The American Academy in Rome; the Académie Française; the Archivio di Stato in Rome, Parma, and Naples; the Archivio Segreto Vaticano; the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; the Bibliotheca Hertziana; the British School at Rome; and the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin, greatly facilitated my research.

I am also grateful to the directors and *responsabili* in Italy who opened doors to sites and collections – to Antonio Paolucci, director of the Musei Vaticani, who facilitated access to the Vatican Loggias and approved a photographic campaign in the First Loggias of Leo X and of Gregory XIII, and to his staff at the Archivio Fotografico, especially Rosanna Di Pinto. The Polo Museale del Lazio and Enrico Ciavoni granted me permission to conduct investigations and photographic campaigns at the Villa Farnese at Caprarola and the Villa Lante at Bagnaia. Fernando Sereni of Germina Campus provided access to the Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini, specifically the Loggia of Cardinal Scipione Borghese.

Many institutions and individuals graciously provided photographs and granted permission to reproduce them in the book: Dumbarton Oaks, the Harry Ransom Center, the Getty Research Institute, the Soprintendenza Speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'Area Archeologica di Roma, the Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici, Artistici, e Etnoantropologici di Lazio, the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,

the Bibliotheca Hertziana, the Polo Museale Regionale della Toscana, the Smithsonian Libraries, the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vincent Buonanno, Patrizia Cavazzini, Ghigo Roli, and Antonio Quattrone. The Textbook and Academic Authors Association has generously supported my acquisition of images.

Finally, I wish to thank Erika Gaffney, former editor at Ashgate, and Isabella Vitti and Julia Michaelis at Routledge, for moving the project forward during a difficult time of transition.



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction

This book is the first study of the portico and its decorative program as a cultural phenomenon in Renaissance Italy. It tells the story of how an element of the garden – the pergola – became a common pictorial motif in portico decoration and evolved, hand in hand with its real cousin in the garden, into an object for cultural emulation among the educated patrons of early modern Rome. Three types of decoration are prevalent in portico spaces of this era: grotesques, landscapes and topographical imagery, and illusionistic pergolas. Grotesques consist of fanciful surface ornament inspired by antique painting and composed of small motifs including hybrid figures and vegetal and architectural elements. Landscape and topography, by contrast, tend to deemphasize surfaces, creating illusionistic viewsheds, sometimes on a large scale. The illusionistic pergolas – painted trelliswork covered with climbing plants and peopled with birds, small animals, and sometimes human or mythological figures such as putti or fauns – fall somewhere between these extremes in their treatment of surface and depth; they help delineate and articulate the vaults on which they appear but also create the illusion that the vaults of the portico are really open to the sky, bedecked with flowers and fruit, and inhabited by a wide variety of creatures.

While grotesques, landscapes, and topographies appear in a wide range of Renaissance contexts and are well known to scholars,¹ the illusionistic pergola as a subject in its own right remains largely unexamined. Yet it is a Renaissance cultural phenomenon of high significance, reflecting the practice of collecting horticultural and ornithological specimens and the geographical and intellectual expansion characteristic of the age. As this study demonstrates, the full-blown trend begins in Rome. Major villas and palaces in Rome and its environs incorporated a portico decorated with an illusionistic pergola. Examples appear in clusters marking three distinct periods: first, in the 1510s; second, from about 1550 to 1580; and third, between 1590 and 1620. After the third period, the illusionistic pergola persisted as a theme of portico decoration, but its primacy faded. Although its seeds seem to have blown in from northern Italy, as a fully developed cultural phenomenon the genre took root in Lazio, with important secondary manifestations in Tuscany, Emilia-Romagna, Veneto, and Lombardy. The central and northern Italian examples were confined to the sphere of the patronage of a single family, to non-recurrent sporadic manifestations, or to imitations of the trend in Rome. Thus the geographical focus of this book will be primarily on Rome and Lazio.

Most of these pictorial fictions were executed in fresco and a few in mosaic and painted stucco. The term “illusionistic pergola” is used to refer to the pictorial motif in its entirety in its architectural setting, with all its cultural connotations. Vaulting

2 *Introduction*

from the ornamented wall surface over the architectural interior, it constituted a nexus of complex interrelationships between architecture, the pictorial arts, garden culture, and nature. The multivalence of the design and concept of the illusionistic pergola is striking, and the form of portico decoration throws into relief the unique liminality of the pergola as symbol. The encasing portico or loggia was a fundamentally unstable, hybrid space, sharing the formal and phenomenological properties of several more thoroughly resolved architectural forms – the great hall, the corridor, and the colonnaded porch, among others. Its dominant visual field, the lateral view outward, lay athwart its axis of movement, generating an intentionally distractive effect. It embodied the edges of things, the line between confinement and expansion, inside and out, the self and the other, cultural certitudes and broad exploration. The image of the pergola painted or modeled on walls and vaults heightened this ambiguity by extending the illusion of openness, in which the architecture dematerializes to give way to a virtual garden with sky, birds, and vegetation.

* * *

The principal objectives of this book are threefold. First, it documents the development of the pergola, a simple garden structure, into an artistic motif in the Western tradition, tracing its origins in Roman antiquity (where it was already adopted into the fictive realm), observing its cultural significance in the high Middle Ages, and recognizing its reemergence as a sophisticated topos in the Renaissance. Second, it seeks to define the iconographical properties of the motif in its illusionistic guise – how it functioned as a bearer of symbolism, as a cognitive tool to stimulate the mind, and as an engine of delight. Third, it aims to understand how this motif operated within space – as an intensifier of spatial liminality, as an amplifier of the dynamics of illusionism, and as a bearer of meaning by virtue of its encompassing form. Liminality and knowledge are the key themes that recur throughout this study. The illusionistic pergola borrowed the garden pergola's ambiguity, its middling state between inside and outside, solidity and permeability. Pictorially, the permeability is rendered by glimpses through the tracery of treillage and verdure to the sky above. Symbolically, the illusionistic pergola weaves together the human world of artifice with the natural world of spontaneous growth. Sometimes the iconography commemorated a special occasion in the life of its sponsor – a liminal event such as a marriage or a signal achievement. This practice may have borrowed from older traditions in which certain judicial and governmental proceedings – audiences with important persons, the issuing of decrees, court hearings – were conducted under a canopy or in the shade of a bower of arboreal foliage.

Geographically, the illusionistic pergola wavers between “here” and “there,” namely domestic and foreign, by intermixing species of familiar plants and animals with recently imported ones. Culturally, it wavers between the native or familiar and the new or exotic. Hackneyed mythological themes borrowed from well-known Roman traditions were combined with up-to-date woodworking styles, tectonically implausible wooden frameworks, or fashionable cut-flower arrangements. The genre could assume a didactic function, especially as a visual encyclopedia of flora and fauna; indeed, some of the finest examples of this tendency predate the diffusion of printed illustrated encyclopedias. It taught by consolidating what was already learned and introduced the unfamiliar, often like a hidden-objects game, infrequently and unpredictably.

The portico's elongated gallery-like form encouraged a museum-style attentiveness similar to the specimen galleries of early men of science.

In the Renaissance, knowledge had another dimension besides the intellectual; it was understood as an instrument of political and social power. Thus the ability to control it was of utmost importance to powerful patrons. The illusionistic pergola was one of the most important devices by which a particular class of knowledge – natural history – was advertised among the elite and thus appropriated into the aggregate of their political and cultural potency. The study and collecting of natural history, alongside art and scientific culture, were among the most popular aristocratic pursuits. The Farnese, the Barberini, and the Borghese among other aristocratic families collected plant species, including the fashionable and expensive bulb species. These were planted in the Horti Farnesiani on the Palatine, the Barberini garden on the Quirinal, and the Villa Borghese. The species grown in these aristocratic gardens naturally made their appearance in the illusionistic pergolas they commissioned, often in nearby loggias, or in the botanical and horticultural treatises published under their patronage. This suggested that the patron, by controlling the knowledge of botany, horticulture, and natural history writ large, also exercised a certain degree of control not just over producing or owning the depicted species, but also – and perhaps more importantly – over the means of knowledge production.

Just as we might recognize the weaving together of nature and the manmade in the structure of a garden pergola, we can perceive that the fictive, painted pergola is a symbolic means by which man can control nature and turn it to his advantage, training its tendrils upon his social and political frameworks. It suggested superior knowledge and skill, high mobility, and a degree of control, real or supposed, over the geographic regions from which the species originated. New World species such as the turkey and maize laid cultural (if not political) claim to the territories represented by those species by papal families who sought to demonstrate the expansion of Christianity beyond Europe. Domestic species naturally represented the land over which the powerful families ruled, for land was a major tool of power and control. The possession of land was an effective strategy for consolidating power, and every mode of representing it in a positive and productive light was exploited. The frequent combination of illusionistic pergolas with views of the landscape strengthened this association.² The huge array of species in the painted pergola at the Villa Farnesina can be considered a hegemonic equivalent of the Sala del Mappamondo at the Villa Farnese at Caprarola – the great hall representing the map of the known world – and the representation of geographic territories sponsored by the Medici and the popes.³ Cartography is also related to the visual art of natural history, as maps from this period had an encyclopedic dimension and often included, in addition to the geographic and topographic features, the flora or fauna that typically represented the region. The earliest known maps in an architectural setting in the Renaissance were connected to foreign exploration and reflect a profound interest in topography as a kind of cultural appropriation.⁴ Maps were the focus of interest for rulers not only as visual aids to conducting business and exploration but also as impressive decorative schemes for the interior with an aesthetic of their own.⁵ Thus the illusionistic pergola, considered within the context of the cultural identity of the leaders of society in the age of early globalization, starts to acquire a truly international dimension.

The three frameworks I employ for interpreting the illusionistic pergolas can themselves be seen as cultural embodiments of the duality of local and global, or

4 *Introduction*

confinement and expansion. The first is the classical tradition. From the fifteenth century onwards, the study and emulation of classical antiquity was considered an essential part of the culture of both aristocratic patrons and professionals. The study of the antique was an important component of the education of artists and designers. Antiquity served as one of the most significant sources of inspiration for painters, both in terms of motifs and subject. Proponents of the illusionistic pergola, Mantegna, Raphael, and Giovanni da Udine among them, studied ancient Roman painting and sculpture from original sources surviving from antiquity and introduced Roman-inspired forms and motifs in their painted works. From Brunelleschi to Borromini, architects conducted on-site investigation of ancient architecture as part of their formal training. Giuliano da Sangallo, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Vignola, whose names are connected to the architecture of the major sites of the illusionistic pergolas, made measured drawings of ancient monuments in Rome before they embarked on their careers. The documentation of Rome's antiquarian legacy and the reconstruction of its monuments formed a graphic tradition in its own right, for which Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Francisco de Hollanda, Maarten van Heemskerck, Pirro Ligorio, and Etienne Dupérac, among many others, made significant contributions. This tradition, from which the bird's-eye view of landscapes may have developed, also intersected with mapmaking in its manner of visualizing topography.

The second framework is natural history. The sixteenth century was a dynamic period in which the geographic expansion of the known world to the east and west resulted in the redrawing of political, economic, and cultural boundaries. This led to an expansion of knowledge and the consequent establishment of new academic disciplines. We see the emergence of new professionals – the naturalist, the scientist, the mathematician, and the cartographer – equipped with highly specialized knowledge, informed not only by texts transmitted from antiquity but also by the direct observation of the physical world. Patronage continued to provide stable employment and prestige, but recognition in princely courts was not necessarily a prerequisite for the establishment of the new professions. Spheres of professional activity other than the patronage system emerged in the sixteenth century. In the cultural centers of northern and central Italy – Milan, Venice, Florence, and Bologna – appeared professionals who studied botany as their primary occupation, among them Luca Ghini and Andrea Cesalpino, first and second directors of the Botanical Gardens of Pisa. Long collected and harvested for their medicinal properties, plants now became the focus of more general scientific study, and new flora from the East and the New World made their way into plant taxonomy.

The third framework is the social identity of the patrons. The commissioning of villas, palaces, and artworks continued to be the province of the aristocracy, but the world of knowledge was not theirs alone. Antiquarian culture and classicism, as a pedigree of authenticity, functioned as an effective tool for establishing and enhancing social status. In a similar way, the culture of natural history became an important tool for social advancement. In this period collecting became increasingly varied, both in the objects collected and in the social class of the collectors. A wide range of items from antiquities to natural history specimens – not only paintings, sculptures, coins, and gems, but also printed books, plants, animals, birds, and stone specimens among others – became objects of interest to the collectors; the displays of the collected objects also grew more varied. Collecting was not only a matter of assembling objects of interest; visibility and accessibility of the collection were equally important. The

activity was no longer confined to monarchs, aristocrats, and the princes of the Church; merchants, scholars, and artists also engaged in it. Collecting and study promoted a lively interaction between the members of the cultured class and played an important role in shaping the identity of the cultured individual.

Barriers of the old worldview started to break down as geographic exploration and the direct observation of nature created the need for a new paradigm in order to understand the changing world. The classical tradition and antiquarian culture on the one hand and natural history and science on the other became the two seemingly conflicting approaches by means of which to negotiate the transition to a modernized perception of the universe. Antiquity had handed down an accepted canon, which the newly emerging discipline of natural history used as a kind of mediator for recognition. Curious blends of myth and science entered the discourse of the early modern treatises of natural history, which sought to incorporate new and sometimes disorienting scientific knowledge by means of mythological metaphor or allegory into a culturally acceptable worldview.

* * *

Seeking an appropriate manner in which to decorate the porticoes and loggias of villas and palaces, artists of this era found the pergola to be the perfect vehicle, both formally and discursively, to merge the comfortable verities of classicism (the pergola was known, after all, from Roman visual prototypes) and the brave new world of scientific knowledge, especially in the botanical realm. Although examined in some detail or mentioned in passing in studies dedicated to a site or a building, this genre has not yet received systematic treatment from a broad cultural perspective. One exception is Eva Börsch-Supan's *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotive im Innenraum: Eine ikonographische Untersuchung* (1967), a chronological survey of garden and landscape depictions and nature motifs in interiors from antiquity through the eighteenth century. This book – and particularly a ten-page section in the chapter on Renaissance and Mannerism dedicated to the “illusionistische Pergola” – became the starting point of my investigation and has provided the foundation on which my argument is built.⁶ Alongside Börsch-Supan's work, Philippe Morel's study of the painted pergola at the Villa Medici in Rome, “Un teatro di natura,” in volume three of *La Villa Médicis* (1991b), provided a line of inquiry and a perspective of cinquecento painted pergolas to build on and to develop further. Composed of a survey of cinquecento and early seicento painted pergolas and an iconographical analysis and interpretation of the depicted botanical, ornithological, and zoological species in the Villa Medici pergola, Morel's chapter is particularly inspiring for characterizing the frameworks of antiquarianism and scientific culture as the background of the emergence of the genre, discussing the decoration of the pergola within the cultural context of early modern Rome and Tuscany. Carla Benocci's *La pergola d'uva e il vino* (2014) provides a broad thematic perspective on the vine pergola, particularly as it connects to wine culture. Its documentation of known sites with representations of vine pergolas has enriched my thinking on the topic.

Other works have been thought provoking in various ways. Maria Adriana Giusti's chapter “Illusione del giardino” in the edited volume by Marcello Fagiolo and Giusti *Lo Specchio del Paradiso: L'immagine del giardino dall'Antico al Novecento* (1996)⁷ identifies issues such as the origins of the genre in classical antiquity, the transitional

6 Introduction

space between indoors and outdoors, and the fusion of architecture and nature. Angela Negro's *Il giardino dipinto del Cardinal Borghese* (1996) identifies the sixteenth-century tradition of painted pergolas (*pergola* or *pergolato*)⁸ and situates the Loggia del Pergolato (Loggia of Cardinal Borghese) in the Borghese estate on the Quirinal in Rome within it. Several works document and analyze individual examples, for instance, Patrizia Cavazzini's *Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari* (1998) on the painted pergola in the Sala della pergola and Isabella Dalla Ragione's *Tenendo inanzi frutta* (2009) on the painted pergolas in the loggias at the Palazzo Vitelli a Sant'Egidio in Città di Castello and Castello Bufalini in San Giustino in Umbria. Works focusing on real pergolas include David Coffin's *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (1991) and Katherine Swift and Paul Edward's *Pergolas, Arbours and Arches* (2001). Coffin's book has a section documenting pergolas from the tenth to the sixteenth century in Rome.⁹ Swift and Edward's work consists of a guidebook to England's historic gardens with surviving pergolas and arbors and a practical manual for making such garden furnishings, accompanied by a set of essays by garden historians delineating the historical continuity of the pergola from antiquity through the modern period. A unique approach to Renaissance pergolas is proposed in Alain Gruber (ed.), *History of Decorative Arts: Renaissance and Mannerism* (1994). In his chapter on knotwork, Gruber insightfully includes examples of painted trelliswork featuring this artful interlacing style, emphasizing ephemeral structures that were set up for processional or theatrical purposes but that are known only through their representation in the pictorial arts.¹⁰ Denis Ribouillault's *Rome en ses jardins* (2013a), dealing with the representation of landscapes in sixteenth-century Rome, makes a significant advance in emphasizing the dialogue between painted and real landscapes.¹¹ The question of the view and viewing is also taken into consideration, as well as the popularity of these landscape depictions in loggias.

By virtue of their quantity, quality, and content, as well as their importance in the ornamentation of architecture, the illusionistic pergolas deserve careful study, interpretation, and contextualization. The contributions of the aforementioned works have paved the way for a systematic study providing both iconographical analysis and cultural context. The subject requires an interdisciplinary approach at the intersection of architecture, pictorial representation, garden culture, and natural history. Vernacular culture, artisanal tradition, and ephemeral architecture, which have often eluded the attention of traditional art history scholarship, also come into play. In this study, the illusionistic pergola is interpreted not just as a style in interior decoration or a revival of an antique genre; it is treated more broadly within the society and culture of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Rome as a cultural phenomenon among the educated class and a vehicle for the expression of their cultural identity.

The materials examined in this study are the depictions of pergolas in fresco, mosaic, and stucco, as well as the archival sources and ancient and early modern texts that provide supporting evidence. Besides the introduction and the epilogue, the study is composed of six thematic chapters discussing the evolution of the illusionistic pergola in parallel with its real counterpart in the garden.

Chapter 1, "Mediating Spaces: Portico, Loggia, and Pergola," is dedicated to the function and meaning of portico spaces – the architectural setting of the illusionistic pergolas. The pergola is classified within the broader category of verdant architecture, which shares the ephemerality of outdoor theater and festival architecture, and thus belongs to that other great tradition of architecture which complemented the solid, surviving built structures. The chapter examines the spatial characteristics of these

semi-interior spaces and their social and cultural functions, contextualizing them within the classical, medieval, and early Renaissance traditions. It emphasizes the spatial ambiguity shared by porticoes, loggias, and pergolas, which blended indoors with outdoors and served as mediating spaces between two distinct worlds or states of being, “inside” and “outside.”

Chapter 2, “Classical Tradition and Vernacular Culture: Villa Farnesina and the First Loggia of Leo X,” examines the first period of the efflorescence of the illusionistic pergolas (1517–1520). The patrons of this first wave were the popes and the cardinals in the papal entourage. Giovanni da Udine, who trained in northern Italy as a specialist of nature motifs and grotesques and joined Raphael’s workshop, is credited as the first artist to use the illusionistic pergola as portico decoration on a large scale. Located within the city of Rome, the painted pergolas from the first period had a strong connection to antiquity in terms of their spatial articulation and depicted motifs of nature. Two thematic strands are visible in Giovanni’s work: the temporary festoon bower, associated with special occasions; and the semi-permanent pergola, covered with typical plants trained on a trellis such as vine and citrus species, conveying less temporal and often more casual connotations. The first appeared in the quattrocento in the art of northern Italy and was brought to Rome by Andrea Mantegna; the second, which came to dominate the genre, seems to have been Giovanni’s own invention, inspired by antique prototypes. Real pergolas – simple, unadorned garden trellises whose forms had been passed down unchanged from the Middle Ages – came to be seen as aesthetically pleasing objects to be appreciated in their own right and were used as models for their painted counterparts.

Chapter 3, “Visual Encyclopedia and Trellised Walkways: Medici Gardens and the Villa d’Este,” focuses on the period after 1520 through the second period (1550–1580). It examines examples of the illusionistic pergolas in northern Italy, including those commissioned by the Medici. These latter examples were three-dimensional pictorial encyclopedias of botany, ornithology, and zoology; the idea was subsequently brought to Rome via the family’s networks. The chapter highlights the importance of real pergolas, which became a central component of villa gardens from this period and developed a sophisticated design rich with meaning. At the Villa d’Este at Tivoli, the elaborate cruciform carpentry pergola accommodated fountains and aviaries; it was probably conceived to form a pendant to the mosaic pergola on the vault of the ground-level corridor in the villa building, which recreated an ancient Roman *cryptoporticus*.

The second period of the efflorescence of the illusionistic pergolas (1550–1580) is the subject of Chapter 4, “Pictorial Fiction and Cultural Identity: Villa Giulia and Villa Farnese.” Examining the finest examples of the type in the papal and aristocratic villas outside Rome, the chapter highlights a common strategy of Renaissance villa designers to create real and fictive versions of pergolas within reach of each other spatially and semantically, thereby generating a conversation between the two. The Villa Giulia’s monumental carpentry pergola, serving as the ceremonial approach from the landing point on the Tiber, anticipated the semicircular portico of the villa proper, which displayed a painted pergola on its annular barrel vault. A third, real pergola covered the loggia beyond the semicircular sunken nymphaeum. The kinship between the real and fictive pergolas was not revealed by direct lines of vision but was made clear only through the kinetic process of movement and discovery. Of all the sixteenth-century villas, the Villa Farnese at Caprarola featured the largest number of pergolas and

8 Introduction

related structures, in both real and painted forms. The painted example on the vault of the portico of the circular courtyard and the painted bower on the piano nobile resonated with verdant architecture in the villa's garden, which accommodated several pergolas and bowers.

Chapter 5, “*Wunderkammer* and *Trompe-l'œil* Garden: Palazzo Altamps and the Loggia of Cardinal Borghese,” examines two masterworks of the third period of efflorescence (1590–1620). The examples from this phase belong to city palaces and were commissioned mostly by papal and aristocratic patrons but also by the professional class. The decoration is brought to a highly sophisticated level of perfection, becoming a *Wunderkammer* of botanical and ornithological specimens. It also brings into dialogue, even confrontation, the culturally familiar and the foreign. It often merges the familiar with the exotic, introducing foreign species recently discovered or cultivated. The decoration is not confined to the ceiling but starts to invade the walls, thus transforming the entire portico into an exuberant *trompe-l'œil* garden. It becomes part of the tradition of the architectural illusionism of *trompe-l'œil* and *quadratura*; the depicted pergola framework becomes more elaborate, reflecting the carved woodwork tradition and the art and craft of treillage. The decorated porticoes reach the height of their character as occasional spaces.

Chapter 6, “Collecting Nature: Virtual Flora and Fauna,” shows how the illusionistic pergola reflected the burgeoning scientific interest in the collecting of flora and fauna. The newly introduced horticultural specimens, including exotic species from the Orient and the Americas, often seem to have been rushed into the repertory of the illusionistic pergola even before they were included in plant books and horticultural treatises. The precise representation of flora and fauna in the painted pergolas leads to the intersection between natural history as an academic discipline and the visual arts. Herbals and illustrated natural history books such as Giovanni Battista Ferrari's *Flora* (1633) (on the cultivation of flowers) and *Hesperides* (1646) (on the cultivation of citrus species), Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Ornithologiae* (1599) and *Dendrologiae* (1668), and Giovanni Pietro Olina's *Uccelliera* (1622) are examined in connection with the culture of collecting, the scientific study of plants and animals, and the emerging profession of the botanist and the natural historian. The chapter emphasizes the habit of mixing myth and science in the natural history discourse of the time, a tendency that extends to the representation of flora and fauna in the illusionistic pergolas.

The epilogue reassesses the genre in both form and concept and anchors it within the broader context of the rise of modern science, early modern globalization and cultural exchange, and the representation of nature. It concludes by looking forward to the revival of the pergola around the turn of the twentieth century on both sides of the Atlantic.

Notes

- 1 On grotesques, see Dacos 1969 and Morel 1997; on landscapes see Ribouillault 2013a; on topographical and cartographical depictions see Fiorani 2005 and Rosen 2015.
- 2 On the representation of the villas and gardens and the views of family estates within the villa, see Coffin 1998.
- 3 On painted maps in the Renaissance, see Almagià 1952, vol. III, Schultz 1990, and Fiorani 2005. On the Guardaroba of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence and the Galleria delle Carte Geografiche at the Vatican, see Fiorani 2005 and Rosen 2015. Giovanni Antonio Vanosino da Varese painted the maps in the Sala del Mappamondo at the Villa Farnese at Caprarola

(1574) and the Terza Loggia or the Loggia della Cosmografia (Gregory XIII wing) at the Vatican (1580s).

- 4 Almagià lists, as one of the earliest examples of such maps, the *carte geographiche* in the Sala del Scudo (before 1342) and the *mappamondo* (1479) by Venetian cosmographer Antonio Leonardi both in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice and the Sala del Mappamondo at the Palazzo Venezia commissioned by Paolo II from Venetian cosmographer Girolamo Bellavista.
- 5 On the meaning and use of maps in the sixteenth century, see Kagan 1989; Maier 2015; Schulz 1990; Woodward 2007.
- 6 Börsch-Supan 1967, 251–260.
- 7 Fagiolo and Giusti 1996, 30–41.
- 8 Negro 1996, 51.
- 9 Coffin 1991, 178–181.
- 10 Gruber 1994, 78.
- 11 Ribouillault 2013a, 257–299.

1 Mediating spaces

Portico, loggia, and pergola

The central architectural focus of this study is porticoes – loggias, porches, and colonnaded spaces in the sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century villas and palaces in Rome and Lazio. Porticoes were an essential component of the architecture of aristocratic villas and city palaces and exemplified a renewed sensibility towards nature. Partially open and serving as mediating spaces between indoors and outdoors, they reflect the impulse to draw nature into the interior. Their ambivalence goes far beyond the blurring of physical boundaries; they served as loci of entertainment and display and thus of concentrated iconographies that blend two distinctive worlds of meaning, those of the inside and the outside. Inspired by the physical proximity to the outdoors, their decorative program has particularly favored the representation of nature. The decorated environment of porticated spaces resonated with the ephemeral spaces of verdant architecture in the garden – pergolas, arbors, bowers, and pavilions made of less permanent materials such as wood and vegetation – and of temporary structures constructed for particular occasions or events – festooned trellises and canopies of hung tapestries in the outdoors. It is no coincidence that the illusionistic pergolas accompanied these tectonic semi-interior spaces.

The architectural setting of the illusionistic pergolas, porticoes, and loggias will be the subject of this chapter. Etymology and usage, ambiguity between inside and outside, intersection between architecture and garden, the tectonic and the organic, various cultural traditions (classical, medieval, and early Renaissance), aristocratic identity, and the ideology of views and visibility will be discussed to achieve a broad understanding of these in-between spaces.

Lexicographical review: portico, loggia, pergola

Examination of terminology reveals an interesting intersection between the architectonic feature, portico/loggia, and the garden structure, pergola. Surprisingly our three key words – *portico*, *loggia*, and *pergola* – show a considerable overlap in their etymology. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines the portico as “a colonnade, arcade, porch” and describes it as “a covered ambulatory consisting of a roof and columns at regular intervals.” It defines the loggia as “a gallery or arcade having one or more sides open to the air.” One definition emphasizes movement within a tectonic space, while the other emphasizes exposure to the outdoors, openness, and spatial ambiguity. Interestingly, the word *portico* even had an obsolete usage that meant “a pergola in the garden.”

The etymology of the word *loggia* is strong evidence for the vegetal origin of architecture and persuasive of the interchangeability of architecture with verdant structures.

In early modern times, the word seems to have been used almost exclusively in reference to architecture in Italy, as it is so specified in French dictionaries.¹ Yet its origins are not in classical Latin but in medieval German. It is putatively derived from *laubia*, a Latinized form of the Germanic word *Laubja*,² meaning bower, arbor, or pergola; this in turn comes from the German *Laub* meaning foliage. Variants of *laubia* are many, some most likely reflecting local dialects (*laupia*, *lobia*, *lovial*, *logia*, *logea*, *loga*, *loja*, *lotgia*, *loza*, *lobium*, *logium*, *lovium*). We may surmise that the space created by the shade of the foliage or bower, in the manner of a natural baldachin, came to be used as a dignified setting for certain social activities or events and later developed into a more properly defined architectonic space.

The word *loggia* further reveals an interesting intersection between the feature it defines and the pergola. Salvatore Battaglia's *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (1986) gives the primary meaning of the word as "building or part of a building open to the exterior by means of colonnades or arcades."³ The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (1729–1738) defines it as "an open structure supported by columns or pillars."⁴ The loggias of interest to this study formed parts of private residences, many built in Rome in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. But the early instances of the *laubia*, the presumed ancestor of the *loggia*, deserve scrutiny. The word is recorded in judicial documents from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, and civic loggias in northern Italy are considered to have developed from the *laubia*.⁵ Although the word is of Germanic origin, real instances of the *laubia* have almost always been found in Italy. The word is used in the *placita*, or proceedings of the court hearings dating from the Carolingian and Ottonian periods (A.D. 774–1100). These documents often included the location and the description of the *laubiae* where such court hearings took place, which the emperor or his representative and the imperial judge attended. The descriptions in these documents show that a number of *laubiae* were not buildings in the proper sense, but rustic or makeshift structures such as arbors or pergolas; some were even described as *laubia frascata* (arborescent *laubia*) as opposed to *laubia edificata* (built *laubia*).⁶ The rustic origins of the *loggia* can also be observed lexicographically; *loggia* was in fact interchangeable with *pergola*. In early botanical treatises, both terms referred to structures in a garden or a rustic setting covered with climbing plants.⁷ The dictionary of the Accademia della Crusca lists *pergula* among the equivalent words to *loggia* in Latin; and in Salvatore Battaglia's Italian dictionary, the sixth meaning of *loggia* is listed as "pergola or rustic portico."

Leon Battista Alberti does not use the word *laubia* in his *De re aedificatoria* (1485), preferring instead classical Latin terms related to gardens such as *porticus*, *ambulatio*, and *gestatio*. *Ambulatio* and *gestatio* were originally words used in the context of the ancient Roman villa and garden. In Lewis and Short's Oxford Latin Dictionary, *ambulatio* is defined as a promenade or a place for walking usually near the dwelling, covered or uncovered, whereas *gestatio* is a promenade, a place for taking air. The difference appears to lie in the degree of proximity to the house and the emphasis on walking. *Porticus* is distinctly different from the two prior; it is defined as "a walk covered by a roof supported on columns, a colonnade, arcade, gallery, porch, portico." In the first Italian edition of Alberti's treatise (1546), *ambulatio*, *gestatio*, and *porticus* are not translated literally; the translator seems to have found only two corresponding words, *portico* and *loggia*, with equivalent meaning and thus was unable to distinguish between the original three Latin words.⁸ Authors writing in Italian had no scruples