METAMORPHOSES OF STRUCTURE IN
INTERIOR DECORATION OF THE PALAZZO DEL TE

A Thesis

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for the Degree Master of Arts

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENT</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF PLATES</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**CHAPTER ONE: Orientation to the Palazzo del Te**

Location ........................................................................ 1  
Dates of construction ............................................. 2  
Chronology of execution ............................................ 3  
Functions of rooms .................................................. 4  

**CHAPTER TWO: Architecturally Structural Decoration**

Sala delle Imprese .................................................. 6  
Sala delle Metamorfosi ............................................. 6  
Enterance Loggia ..................................................... 8  
Atrio delle Muse .................................................... 9  
Sala degli Stucchi .................................................. 10  

**CHAPTER THREE: Architectonic and Mimetic Decoration**

*  
Great Loggia ....................................................... 14  
Sala dei Venti ..................................................... 18  
**  
Loggia della Grotta ............................................... 20  
Sala di Cesare ..................................................... 23  
***  
Sala dei Cavalli .................................................. 26  
Grotta ................................................................. 38  

**CHAPTER FOUR: Illusionistic Decoration**

Sala d'Attilio Regolo ............................................. 43  
Sala delle Aquile .................................................. 46  
Sala del Sole ....................................................... 50  
**  
Sala di Psiche ..................................................... 52  
Sala dei Giganti ................................................... 59  

CONCLUSION ................................................................ 68  
APPENDIX .................................................................. 71  
NOTES ...................................................................... 73  
BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................ 81  
PLATES .................................................................... 87
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PLATES

Figure 1. Map of Mantua (Bertarelli, facing p. 148).

2. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, floor plan (Haupt, Renaissance, pl. 158).

3. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Imprese, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architektur, pls. 35-36).

4. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Metamorfosi, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architektur, pls. 35-36).

5. Athens, Erechtheum, ceiling (Robertson, figs. 548-49).

6. Rome, Arch of Titus, detail of vault (Vangenechten, pl. 27).

7. Rome, Arch of Septimus Severus, detail of vault, (Vangenechten, pl. 44).


10. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Entrance Loggia, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 155).


12. Rome, Basilica of Maxentius, vault, (Vangenechten, fig. 33).


15. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Atrio delle Muse, vault (Lukonskii, pl. LIII).

Figure 17. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, overall view (Brinton, facing p. 158).

18. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 306).

19. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

20. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 308).

21. Florence, Uffizi Catalogue No. 199, Giulio Romano, sketch for fig. 22 (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 320).

22. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, detail of lunette (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 307).


24. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, vault (Lukonskii pl. XLVIII).

25. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, plan. (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

26. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, detail of vault (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pl. 38).

27. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, wall plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pl. 42).

28. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 192).

29. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

30. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, vault and wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 193).


Figure 33. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Grotta, vault (Lukonskii, pl. LXXVII).

34. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Grotta, plan (Lukonskii, pl. 38).

35. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Grotta, wall (Lukonskii, pl. LXXIX).

36. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Grotta, "Birth (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 274.

37. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Cesare, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 325).

38. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Cesare, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

39. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Cesare, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 323).

40. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, ceiling (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 179).

41. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

42. Florence, Santo Spirito, detail sacristy vault, Il Cronaco (Simone del Pollaiolo), (Venturi, Vol. VIII, pt. 1, figs. 295 and 296).

43. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, overall view (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pl. 39).

44. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, wall with Horse (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 180).

45. Rome, Villa Farnesina, Sala delle Prospettive, wall, Peruzzi (d'Ancona, pl. 44).

46. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli (detail of fig. 44).

47. Pompeii, Villa dei Misteri, wall (Sandström, fig. 1).

48. Florence, St. Apollonia (formerly in the Villa Carducci, Legnaia), Castagno, "Famous Men and Women," detail (Salmi, pl. 54a).

49. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, wall frieze (detail of fig. 44).
Figure 50. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Imprese, wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 168).

51. Rome, Palazzo Venezia, Sala di Mappamonda, wall (Sandström, fig. 55).

52. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, Horse, wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 182).

53. Hans Holbein the Younger, detail of Drawing for House of the Dance (Ganz, fig. 42).


55. Hubert and Jan van Eyck, Ghent Altarpiece, Exterior; Ghent, St. Bavo's (Panofsky, pl. 145).

56. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, landscapes behind horses (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 182).

57. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Grotta, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 393).

58. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Grotta, wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 304).

59. Rome, Vatican, Logge, third bay, Raphael (Freedberg, High Renaissance, fig. 417).

60. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala d'Attilio Regolo, wall (Lukonskii, pl. LXXXI).

61. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala d'Attilio Regolo, octagon (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 289).

62. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala del Sole, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 169).

63. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala del Sole, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

64. Rome, Vatican, Chigi Chapel, detail of vault, Raphael (Freedberg, High Renaissance, fig. 386).

65. Parma, San Giovanni Evangelista, dome, Correggio (Gronau, pl. 60).
Figure 66. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Aquile, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 217).

67. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Aquile, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

68. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Aquile (detail of fig. 66).

69. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Salla delle Aquile, detail vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 219).

70. Rome, Vatican, Logge, first bay, Raphael (Alinari, 6426).

71. Rome, Villa Madama, apse, Peruzzi (Lukonskii, pl. XVII).

72. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, Camera degli Sposi, vault, Mantegna (Tietze-Conrat, pl. 79).


75. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, pl. 226).

76. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architectur, pls. 35-36).

77. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, vault, "Venus pointing to Psyche and Cupid" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 229).

78. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, vault, "Psyche Worshiped as a Goddess" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 230).

79. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, vault, "Psyche and her Father Consult the Oracle" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 231).

80. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, vault, "Wedding of Cupid and Psyche" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 253).

81. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall, "Throne of Polyphemus", (Lukonskii, pl. LXIV).

82. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall "Bath of Mars and Venus" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 259).
Figure 83. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall, "Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 255).

84. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, vault (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 347).

85. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, plan (Haupt, Palast-Architektur, pls. 35-36).

86. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti (detail of fig. 84).

87. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, south wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 343).

88. Rome, Vatican, Stanza d'Iliodoro, vault, Raphael (Freedberg, High Renaissance, fig. 205).

89. Cortemaggiore, Franciscan Church, choir vault, "Christ and the Angels" Pordenone (Fiocco, pl. 141).

90. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, wall, "Collapse of the Giants' Hall" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 337).

91. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, wall, "Giants Buried under Pelion and Ossa" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 338).

92. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, east wall (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 339).

93. Rome, Column of Marcus Aurelius (Nash, pl. 229).

94. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall, "Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche" (Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 254).

95. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, drawing of station points (Professor Cope).
INTRODUCTION

The subject of this paper is the organization of the interior decoration of the Palazzo del Te designed by Giulio Romano. It is intended to describe the differences between three kinds of mural organization found therein: 1) architecturally structural decoration; 2) painted architectonic decoration; 3) illusionistic decoration. The first two concepts are developed independently of one another, although contrasts and comparisons between the categories are introduced for clarity. The third concept is developed in relation to the two previous concepts, especially to develop a distinction between planar illusionism, developed largely in the High Renaissance, and spatial illusionism, developed largely in the sixteenth century.

It is hoped that the terms will be more clearly defined in the text, but preliminary definitions are necessary at the outset. By "architecturally structural" is meant decoration which performs an architectural function but is also decorative in nature. By "architectonic" is meant decoration which is two dimensional, painted, and usually an extension or extrapolation of the real architecture. The logic of architecture is followed in which consecutive members must be connected and superior members must be supported by lower members. By "illusionistic" is meant the change in configuration or appearance of a decorative or structural member by painting it; a three dimensional member can be made to look flat, a flat member to have solidity. By "mimetic" is meant painted decoration which imitates the form, texture, or plasticity of three-
dimensional architecture.

The previous studies of Giulio Romano generally have not considered the implications of the overall structure of the mural decoration of the Palazzo del Te. Biographical studies are abundant, for example, d'Arco\textsuperscript{1} and Vogel;\textsuperscript{2,3} there are also several descriptions of the Palazzo del Te, for example Bottani,\textsuperscript{4} Davari,\textsuperscript{5} and Berzuini.\textsuperscript{6} There are studies of Giulio's personal style, although they are largely interested in distinguishing Giulio's hand from Raphael's or the members of the Logge School, for example Dollmayr,\textsuperscript{7} Baumgart,\textsuperscript{8} Hartt,\textsuperscript{9} and Hess.\textsuperscript{10} Three of the previous studies have been invaluable for this paper: Hartt's monograph\textsuperscript{11} is the most recent on Giulio and is most valuable for the discussion of drawings and iconography, and his observations on the structure sources of the decoration were frequently the starting point for this analysis; Gombrich\textsuperscript{12} concisely defines Giulio's personality in terms of the concept of mannerism; and Dollmayr\textsuperscript{13} was a constant reference for the sources and iconography of Giulio's work.

Two goals are intended in the present paper: 1) to define Giulio's artistic personality in terms of his approach to the organization of the overall decorative program rather than by his handling of specific scenes; and 2) to distinguish between High Renaissance and Mannerist mural organization in order to more precisely define Mannerism in terms of its approach to the overall organization.
CHAPTER ONE
Orientation to the Palazzo del Te

The Palazzo del Te is located on the south-west edge of Mantua (fig. 1). The Palazzo can be called a country villa, or a combination of villa and palace like one Alberti described as a "villa close to the town" and which Alberti feels is superior to the country villa for very practical reasons:

The physicians advise us to dwell in the clearest and openest air that we can find; and there is no room to doubt but a country house seated upon an eminence, must of course be best: But then on the other hand, the master of the family, upon account of his private business, or the public affairs, may be obliged to be often in the city; for which purpose a house in town seems necessary: But then so as the former is convenient for business, so the latter is prejudicial to the health.  

Thus the villa close to town like the Palazzo del Te is a good compromise between the alternatives of a true country villa with its healthy environment and the accessibility of a town house.

The Palazzo del Te was built for Federigo Gonzaga, son of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este, and served as a place of entertainment close to Mantua. The Palazzo Ducale, begun circa 1395, in the center of Mantua was the traditional Gonzaga residence. The nature of the interior decoration indicates the Palazzo was more like the country house according to Alberti's definition. Alberti describes the difference between the decoration of the town and country house in these terms:
Between a house in town and a house in the country, there is this further difference . . . that the ornaments, for that in town ought to be much more grave than those for a house in the country, where all the gayest and most licentious embellishments are allowable.  

Indeed, the decoration of the Palazzo is both gay and licentious, thus adding to its intrinsic interest, as well as indicating that since it most clearly is not as grave as the decoration of the Palazzo Ducale, it hence must be a summer retreat. The greater freedom allowable in a country house made it easier to abandon the formality of the High Renaissance in favor of the new style gaining favor in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, the nature of which this paper will deal with.

The exact dates for the construction of the Palazzo are unknown, but it must have been finished by the winter of 1526 when Federigo refers to its decoration in a letter to Antonio Bonafini. The decoration was executed wholly in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, concurrent with the general break-up of the High Renaissance. Giulio did not decorate the whole Palazzo, only the main rooms which are in the north and east sides of the quadrangle (fig. 2); hence only these rooms will be discussed in the paper.

It is rather unusual that the Palazzo del Te was begun in the third decade of the sixteenth century when North Italy was in political chaos, and most of the decoration executed after the culmination of this chaos, the Sack of Rome in 1527. The way the Gonzaga retained their strength and affluence is an interesting story and is told in full by Brinton. Their power derived
largely from the military duties as Captains of the People which the family had retained since 1329. Francesco Gonzaga successfully supported Louis XII against Cesare Borgia in the first decade of the century. More power and wealth was attained for the family by Francesco's marriage to Isabella d'Este which included the territory of Ferrara, but the apex of the Gonzaga ascent came when Federigo allied himself with Charles V at his mother's behest, an alliance which was consummated by Federigo's victory over the French at Pavia in 1522. Among Federigo's other successes were his being made Captain of the Papal Armies in 1526, and his promotion to the rank of First Duke of Mantua in 1530 by Charles V during his first visit to Mantua. Thus it is reasonable that Federigo would have commissioned the lavish decoration of the Palazzo del Te during this period of affluence in spite of the general chaos in Italy.

The chronology of execution follows, by and large, the logic of the floor-plan. The earlier decoration is in the north-west corner. Hartt has divided the decoration into two campaigns: one from 1527–29, and one from 1530–35. Analysis of the floor-plan indicates the first campaign was the north wing from the Sala delle Metamorfosi to the Sala di Psiche; and along the east wing to and including the Sala delle Aquile. The second campaign includes the Great Loggia to the Sala dei Giganti, plus the rooms of the Casino della Grotta. This schema represents the logical sequence of events in preparation for the two most important events in Mantua at this time -- the visits of Charles V in 1530 and 1532. The only changes I might make in Hartt's dating
are arguments in the body of this paper regarding the possibilities that the Sala di Cesare was executed for the first visit of Charles V, and the Sala degli Stucchi redecorated for the second visit.

The appendix contains an arrangement of the rooms in an ascending order according to the complexity of the organization of the decoration based on the findings of the paper. The table suggests, as one might expect, that there is a correlation between date and the complexity of organization — the earliest decoration is less complexly organized than the latest.

Unfortunately only the rooms executed during the first campaign up to and including the Sala delle Aquile are well documented. The Great Loggia and the Sala dei Giganti are also adequately documented. Three rooms of the second campaign have no documents by which to date them: the Sala degli Stucchi, Sala di Cesare, and the whole Casino della Grotta.

There is little specific knowledge about the function of the rooms of the Palazzo. Hartt notes the Sala delle Aquile was most likely Federigo’s bedroom, the Sala di Psiche a dining chamber, and the Sala dei Giganti an ante-room to the tennis court. Hartt also observes that the Sala delle Imprese "is blackened (as is the next, the Sala delle Metamorfosi) through having been used as the custodes kitchen." It is possible that these rooms were kitchens in the sixteenth century. This is plausible in terms of the further possibility that the Sala dei Cavalli was perhaps the main dining room of the Palazzo. Although there is evidently no systematic correspondence between the decoration and the room’s function, there does seem to be some concern
for propriety. According to Vitruvius (VII, 4), a formal dining room (the Sala dei Cavalli) should be less ostentatiously decorated than a small one (the Sala di Psiche), which is in fact the case. And an area associated with recreation (the Casino della Grotta and Sala dei Giganti) should have different decoration than business rooms (Sala degli Stucchi, Sala di Cesare). So, even though the decoration does not follow precisely the function, there is a logic, which, as will be indicated in chapter three, was derived from Vitruvius and Alberti.
CHAPTER TWO
Architecturally Structural Decoration

This section shall deal with two kinds of structural decoration: one which is purely architectural in nature, and another which is derived largely from the first, although not identical with the architecture as the first is. The task will be to show how the second type, which does not necessarily try to imitate architecture, and which involves figural elements, is closely related to the first, which is a functional part of the architecture.

The coffer is purely architectural and at the same time decorative. It is a functional result (fig. 5) of the way the square openings between beams intersecting at right angles are covered with square frames set within each other, attached together by mouldings, and then closed with flat tops.\(^{30}\) The purest and most functional coffer is square, although octagonal coffers are found as well as combinations of several shapes. The recession of the coffer creates a chiaroscuro effect which makes the coffer plastic.

Giulio uses square coffers in the Sala delle Imprese (fig. 3) and Sala delle Metamorfosi (fig. 4). In both of these rooms the ceiling decoration is purely structural, for coffers fill the areas between the intersections of the four transverse and six longitudinal beams. The square coffer has its source in classical Greece, for example the ceiling of the Erechtheum, a drawing of which is shown in figure five. Giulio was very much interested in Roman antiquities\(^{31}\) and so would surely have been acquainted with the square coffers
on the arches of Titus (fig. 6) and Septimus Severus (fig. 7). The cap of
the Greek coffer usually had a star motif which developed into the rosette
popular in Imperial Roman and fifteenth century decoration.\textsuperscript{32} The motif of
the square coffer is found in the architectural representations in numerous
fifteenth century paintings of which Masaccio's Trinita fresco and Castagno's
"Last Supper" in the National Gallery in Edinburgh are representative.

The square coffer is also found consistently in the ceilings of fifteenth
century buildings. Brunelleschi's coffers in the Pazzi Chapel are rather far
from the antique models because they lack the plasticity of the earlier ones.
More representative of the antique coffer are ceilings by Michelozzo in the
Palazzo Medici, (fig. 8) and Giuliano da Sangallo in Sta. Maria Maggiore
(fig. 9). Several points about the coffers should be noted. In Michelozzo's
coffering (fig. 8) the cap is held to the frame by a bead-and-reel molding which
gives the coffer the effect of receding from the beams in three steps. Also
the beams in the Michelozzo seem to be riveted together by rosettes at the
intersections of the beams. Thus not only is the coffer a functional part of
the architecture, but the decorative motifs seem to serve functional roles.
Sangallo's coffering (fig. 9) is not as plastic as Michelozzo's but there is evi-
dence of a similar relation between the architecture and the decoration. The
beams are covered with an ornamental pattern which makes them seem more
decorative than Michelozzo's highly plastic ones. However, one still finds the
moldings and rosette rivets which emphasize the structural character of the
ceiling.
In both Michelozzo and Sangallo the relationship between the painting and architecture is very clear; the organization of the decoration is governed by the structural members. This is also true of the early and middle stages of Giulio's decoration, but as the decorative program matures, this relationship is not so easy to recognize. Since the coffer is an important motif in Giulio's architecture, the changes it undergoes as his decorative programs get more complex will be a theme of this paper, as will the topic of the relationship between the decoration and architecture. 33

Although the triumphal arches apply coffering to a barrel vault, the square coffer is most often associated with the horizontal ceiling. Vaulted ceilings are covered with other geometrical shapes, like the octagon. The Entrance Loggia (fig. 10) is covered with octagonal coffers which, superficially, give it the appearance of a honeycomb. The octagonal coffer here is structural and more decorative because the coffer is the supporting framework for the ceiling, and at the same time forms a pleasing pattern. The sense of structure is increased by the way coffers are supported by the entablature and pilasters. The octagonal coffer is found frequently in Imperial Roman Monuments. Giulio would have been familiar with the ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius (fig. 12), which has octagonal coffers, and the later mosaics of Sta. Costanza (fig. 14) in Rome of the fourth century. Giulio would also have been familiar with Pinturicchio's vault in the Galleria dei Busti (fig. 13) in the Villa Belvedere of the Vatican of the early 1490's. 34

What is significant is that the octagonal coffer is purely structural in that it
tends to depend on its own shape for the decorative effect, rather than painted decoration applied to it as in Sangallo's coffering.

The coffer motif can be made more interesting without the use of extensive figurative motifs, for example the Atrio delle Muse (fig. 15). Here is found a complex and ambiguous variation on the coffer motif which achieves its effect largely without the use of figurative elements found in variations on the coffer motif to be discussed in chapter three. The most significant feature is that the coffers are not organized on a grid (fig. 16). Rather, openings in the shape of a Greek cross have a conventional coffer inserted at the crossing. The coffer is light in value and plastic like the beams, and leaves four square openings, or pseudo-coffers, in the arms of the cross (fig. 16). The Greek crosses are supported by a system of borders which spring from and entablature supported by pilasters and two solid transverse ribs. Bordering the bays formed by the ribs are more pseudo-coffers in a rough "T" shape which are connected to either the ribs or the entablature. Hence the room is a mixture of structural and unstructural elements. The real coffers become unstructural because of the ambiguous relation between the coffer and the beams, on the one hand, and the much darker surrounding pseudo-coffers on the other hand. Consequently there are two levels of decoration: one is the system of coffers and pseudo-coffers and the other is the system of structural bands. The two levels are integrated by the system of borders which spring from the bands and entablature. Two features are distinctive of Giulio's decoration: the ingenius
change in a simple motif to give a new appearance, and the tendency to separate the structural and decorative systems.

The tendency for the coffer motif to lose its structural quality by a change in the relationship to the architecture can be observed in the Sala degli Stucchi. The vault of Sala degli Stucchi (fig. 18) combines a superficially pure coffer with figural decoration. The ceiling is divided into five rows of five coffers although the coffers themselves are not as pure as Sangallo's. Stucco reliefs, perhaps executed by Primaticcio, replace the rosette cap. More important than this is the fact that the patterned decoration has taken a more important role, and the more structural elements like the moldings play a less important role. The introduction of figurative elements has made necessary some kind frame for them which is the function of the patterned border around each stucco scene. It is also important to note that the size of the main structural bands has decreased in proportion to the stucco scenes and their frames. Thus they seem less structural, and the pattern on the main bands makes them also seem like frames for the scenes. In the simple coffer like Michelozzo's and Sangallo's the patterned decoration was integrated with the architecture, but in such a way that the architecture retained its structural appearance. In the Sala degli Stucchi the borders are so narrow they could hardly be beams, and besides, there are no wall supports to indicate there are beams to be supported. Consequently the introduction of figurative elements has created the need for frames for the scenes to supplement the borders formed by the structural members.
The Sala degli Stucchi is significant for its method of narrative as well as for the transformation of the coffer motif. The narrative begins in the north corner of the east wall and continues on two levels around the room. Dollmayr\textsuperscript{37} observes that the narrative and execution resemble that on the Column of Trajan. However the Column of Trajan is broken into episodes to a greater extent than the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which was modeled from the Column of Trajan and finished in 193 A.D. (fig. 93).\textsuperscript{38} The sense of continuous narrative found in the second column is characteristic of the friezes on the walls of the Sala degli Stucchi whose figures even bend around the corners. The nature of the column tends to make the narrative continuous by definition, so a more exact source can be found in the friezes of Roman temples, for example the "Lustrum" relief (fig. 23) from the Temple of Neptune now in the Antikensammlung in Munich. In it one finds the narrative developed longitudinally rather than wrapped around a column.

The Sala degli Stucchi, and next to it the Sala di Cesare (to be discussed in chapter three) are not dated by document. Consideration of both the organization and the iconography can help to arrive at a date. The iconography is a triumphal march, traditionally called the Triumph of Emperor Sigismund.\textsuperscript{39} Hartt observed in a drawing (fig. 21) for one of the lunettes (fig. 22) the words "CAROL" which he associates with Charles V. The figures in Roman attire might be meant to stand for the triumphal entry of Charles V into Mantua. Charles made two visits to Mantua -- one on his way back to
Germany after being crowned by Pope Clement VII in Bologna, arriving in Mantua in March of 1530, and a second special visit in November of 1532. The problem is to decide which of the two visits the Sala degli Stucchi commemorates.

It is known that four rooms were redecorated after the Emperor's visit because he didn't like them. The Sala degli Stucchi is conceptually and stylistically quite different from the rooms which surround it, but especially important is the fact that it is so different from the Sala di Cesare which was probably also executed in honor of Charles V. It is reasonable to assume that one of the reasons for this difference is that the rooms were decorated in different campaigns. Later it will be argued that the Sala di Cesare was executed for the first visit; here it is held that the Sala degli Stucchi was redecorated for the second visit. The motif of the room -- the triumphal march -- might be a result of Federigo's being impressed by the extent of Charles' entourage which he saw during the first visit, a motif which would be more likely executed after the first visit. Furthermore the room is definitely not hurriedly executed as were some of the rooms prepared for the first visit, according to the document, since it evidences meticulous craftsmanship and a highly unified overall design. Hence it should not be associated with the hurried decorations executed for the first visit, of which the Sala di Cesare is a good example.

One can also speculate that the Sala degli Stucchi might have been Primaticcio's swan song, begun after Charles' visit in March of 1530, and
finished before his own departure in the Winter or Spring of 1531.\textsuperscript{43}

The Sala degli Stucchi belongs to the category of early mature programs (see appendix), for one thing because of the singleness of idea behind it, but more important because the structural solidity is made less apparent by the elaboration of decorative pattern on both the borders and the coffers. The tendency to make the structural basis less apparent distinguishes Giulio from his predecessors, Pinturicchio and Raphael for example, and is characteristic of Giulio's approach to decoration.
CHAPTER THREE
Architectonic and Mimetic Decoration

The decoration of the set of rooms discussed in this chapter is distinguished from the structural decoration discussed in the previous chapter by not being a functional part of the architecture. This decoration takes two forms: it is either a painted extension of an individual architectural member or an imitation of architecture in paint. The chapter is divided into three parts: in the first part is discussed decoration which is an extension of the architecture of the room, or a magnification of a simplex structural motif; in the second part is discussed decoration whose structural basis has been influenced by the figurative elements; and in the third part is discussed decoration which is a painted imitation of real architecture.

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The observation made in regard to the Sala degli Stucchi, that when figurative decoration is imposed on the essentially architectural coffer the result tends to be unstructural, does not mean that every time figurative elements are introduced into an architectural motif the result will be unstructural. It does mean that such figurative elements (quadri riportati) must be accompanied by a frame or border of some kind. In the Great Loggia the frames of the quadri riportati are distinct from the borders which are exten-
sions of the architecture. In the Great Loggia there are two systems: one is the system of three dimensional bands which seem to perform an architectural function because they are extensions of the architecture, and the other is the system of painted decoration.

Ordinarily it is the ceiling which determines the structure of the walls since the walls must support the ceiling. In the Great Loggia both the structure and the decoration are determined by the six pairs of columns which form the arcade facing the fishponds (see plan, figure 2). The ceiling is barrel vaulted and decorated with transverse bands which correspond to the columns (figs. 24-25). The two central bands are supported by groups of four columns. The two end bands (fig. 27) are supported by two columns paired with two pilasters. Since there is an arcade on the facade, there is not a continuous entablature; rather each pair of columns supports its own entablature on which the bands actually rest. There are two pairs of bands on the longitudinal axis which echo the transverse bands in spacing and proportion. The intersection of these bands creates three bays along the center of the vault. One can observe that the coffer motif is still important. The three octagons (fig. 26) which illustrate Bathsheba at her bath, David and Uriah, and Bathsheba combing her hair, are articulated as though framed by the inner moldings of coffers within rectangular coffer-like spaces. This makes these pictures seem like quadri riportati. The interstices (fig. 24) on either side of the row of octagons are interesting variations on the coffer motif. Some are square, some rectangles; some have figures, others have
patterns. All are recessed by the frame-within-a-frame and have bead-and-reel mouldings.

The Great Loggia pushes the confusion between real architecture and architectonic decoration to an even greater extent than the Sala degli Stucchi. The ceiling around the painted scenes is also covered with painting, the net effect of which is to dematerialize the architecture and emphasize the plane of the vault. The most effective device is the application of a painted pattern to the solid architectural members. A maize motif (fig. 26) is applied to the transverse and horizontal bands. This motif seems to make the bands appear flat, appearing to be painted rather than three dimensional.

This same use of pattern defeats the recession of the very large coffer-like interstices of the second row (fig. 26). The same emphasis on the flat surface is achieved by the asterisk pattern which surrounds the octagons. The painting of architectural members like the bands and the coffers makes them seem less functional. The bands do not seem like architectural ribs and the coffers do not seem like ceiling coverings; instead they seem like easel paintings transferred to the ceiling. The decoration is based heavily on the architecture of the room, but the painting makes it seem less functional.

One of the sources for the tendency to base the decoration on the architecture of the room and to fill the ceiling with painted decoration is Pinturicchio. There is some correspondence to Pinturicchio's vault in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 31) and its model, the Volta Dorata, formerly in the Golden House of Nero which is preserved in a drawing by Francisco
d'Ollanda kept in the Escurial, Madrid (fig. 32). Pinturicchio's vault achieves the division into bays by the intersection of beams. As in the Great Loggia, there is a system of figural decoration imposed on the more architectonic grid system. Medallions of oval and arcular shapes are imposed directly on the beam in an unstructural way. The "Volta Dorata" is even more unstructural because the beams appear to be severed by the imposed figural areas.

Pinturicchio is also important as a source for the grotteschi which form a good part of the pattern decoration of the Great Loggia, the Loggia della Grotta, and other rooms. The study of the grottae on the Esquiline Hill apparently had begun by the early 1490's, for the dates of 1493, 1495, and 1496⁴⁶ are legible after the names of sightseers scribbled on the walls. Pinturicchio must have been one of the early visitors since the influence of the grottae is found in the Borgia Apartments executed in the first half of the 1490's.⁴⁷

In spite of the fact that there are multiple systems of organization, the Great Loggia has a very unified appearance, a unity established largely by the way the flat patterns work. Even though the octagons are not structurally connected to the architecture, the pattern which forms their background helps to unify them with the painted pattern on the ribs. However, the two systems -- the architecture and the decoration in the Great Loggia -- seem to have equal importance, in contrast to the Sala degli Stucchi where the structural aspect is subordinate to the decorative.
A similar lack of relationship between the structural border and the quadri riportati can be seen in the vault of the Sala dei Venti, the design of which is based on the octagonal coffer. The architecture of the ceiling offers a somewhat different problem because it has coved vaulting rather than barrel vaulting. The vault (fig. 28) is round only at the corners where the medallions and lunettes are, and is actually flat in the center. The interlocking octagons (fig. 29) are supported by lunettes which spring from consoles which in turn are supported by caryatid-like figures (fig. 30). The sides of the octagons form a skeletal latticework somewhat comparable in its shape to Buckminster Fuller's geodesic domes. Hence the ceiling has an inherent structural quality of coffering which is emphasized by the moldings of the octagons. The wall-supports of the ceiling seem less unstructural because the caryatid-like figures are simply attached to the wall rather than being supported by an entablature. Although the interlocking octagons form a structural shell, they do not correspond to the architectural structure of the room, and so it is highly structural in itself, but not in terms of the architecture. The stark white stucco which outlines the lozenges (fig. 28) gives the ceiling an incised effect which tends to make the members look flatter. The stucco outlines also function as frames for the lozenges. This differs from the Great Loggia where more conventional kinds of frames composed of bead-and-reel or egg-and-dart moldings are used. What the Great Loggia and the Sala dei Venti have in common is that in both the frames for the scenes are not painted extensions of the structural bordering system, but rather are independent. In the
Sala dei Venti the major structural members are the interlocking octagons, but these do not perform a framing function. In both rooms the system of frames of the *quadri riportati* are distinct from the major structural members.

The Sala dei Venti differs from the Great Loggia in the nature and extent of the narrative. The scenes in the lozenges and ovals carry a complex meaning based on the astrology of Firmicus Maternus, which describes in a general way the influence of the stars on man.\(^4^8\) Whereas the Great Loggia juxtaposed three fully developed scenes in the octagons to present the narrative about Bathsheba, the Sala dei Venti juxtaposes a great many individual scenes, each with complex symbolic references, to achieve a more complex narrative.

The way Giulio has modified the octagonal coffer motif is indicated by observation of some of the possible proto-types. The coffers of the Sala dei Venti are very close in design to those of the Entrance Loggia. (fig. 10). In both are found the motifs of the square coffer to separate the octagons and the incomplete octagon to form a transition between the entablature and the vaulting. There are also resemblances to Pinturicchio's vault in the Galleria dei Busti of the Villa Belvedere in the Vatican (fig. 13), executed in the early 1490's.\(^4^9\) Both Pinturicchio and Giulio in the Entrance Loggia maintain a more conventional coffer, unlike the intertwined octagons of the Sala dei Venti, although Pinturicchio makes his coffers slightly un-classical by stretching and compressing them.\(^5^0\) The way Giulio's coffers are intertwined makes them
less structural and more decorative. Schulz observes that this octagon pattern is found in the ambulatory mosaics of Sta. Costanza (fig. 14) which, he notes, were often copied, and which could have been the source for both Pinturicchio and Giulio. The octagon motif can also be found in the vault between the coves of the Sala di Galatea in the Farnesina by Peruzzi.

In concluding this discussion on structural decoration, three observations can be made. First, in Giulio's work the decoration does not need to be a functional part of the architecture, or to imitate architecture, as in the square coffered ceiling, to be structural. It can also set up its own structural system more or less independent of the architecture, as in the Sala dei Venti. Second, figural elements can be integrated into the real architecture, as in the Great Loggia, or can be unstructural parts of the architecture as in the Sala degli Stucchi. And third, that the object of this type of ceiling is a very subtle kind of illusion which Schulz describes as "the simulation, not of emphatically plastic forms, but of low relief patterns which will flow evenly with decorative continuity over the vault."  

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A greater integration of the quadri riportati with the painted extensions of the architecture can be found in the Loggia della Grotta. In the Great Loggia and the Sala dei Venti there were two systems of borders -- one
which was structural, and the other which formed the border of the painted scenes. But the Loggia della Grotta employs a different system, for the bands which are an extension of the architecture are the frames of the scenes. The Loggia della Grotta has a format similar to the Great Loggia and is like that room in that there are two systems of decoration: the system of four transverse ribs and two longitudinal ribs which are three dimensional architectural members, and the system of borders which enclose the painted scenes.53

The first system is like that of the Great Loggia in which the painted ribs are architectural members of the barrel vault. The transverse ribs (fig. 33) are supported by eight pilasters and an entablature. Unlike the Great Loggia, the entablature runs continuously around the room. There are no arches, eliminating the need for consoles and spandrels. As in the Great Loggia, the three dimensional ribs are dematerialized by patterned ornament. The Loggia della Grotta differs from the Great Loggia in the way the painted scenes are set apart from the ribs. In the Great Loggia the painted scenes are attached to the three dimensional ribs by conventional moldings (fig. 26). In the Loggia della Grotta (fig. 33) there are no such moldings, rather a different type of border consisting of a flat braided band and a wider band of grotteschi with medallions. The width and organization of this band act as a fabric matte for the scene. However, the similarity of pattern on the frames and ribs in the Loggia della Grotta decreases the distinction between the two. In the Great Loggia the abstract pattern on the ribs
contrasted to the execution of the frame itself since the latter was made to look like the inner molding on a coffer. The result for the Loggia della Grotta is the lack of distinction between the borders which are the main structural members and the frames of the *quadri riportati*, which results in the borders being read as frames of the *quadri riportati*. This double function is a particularly Mannerist device and will be observed in other rooms of the Palazzo del Te. The idea that the ceiling scenes are meant to imitate easel paintings is reinforced by one of the wall frescoes (fig. 35), where, although the frame is not an imitation molding, neither does it have the appearance of a window. Its width and the way it so clearly delineates the scene behind indicates it is the frame of a painting.

Framed scenes with more figures establish a clearer narrative because the individual episodes can contain more information. In both the Sala degli Stucchi and the Sala dei Venti the scenes were so fragmented by the need to keep within the coffer motif that the narrative was carried by individual figures rather than by the extended number found in the Loggia della Grotta. Thus the narrative is more extensive than the Great Loggia and more continuous than the Sala dei Venti where the meaning must be inferred from symbols which do not have a definite linear sequence. The exact iconography of the Loggia della Grotta has not been established; so it is impossible to be certain that a linear sequence is involved. However there might be a literary source which has yet to be discovered. The *quadri riportati* represent birth (fig. 36), sustenance, plowing, harvest, entertainment, sickness, death and
ascent into heaven. It seems clear that this is an allegory of life as Hartt indicates and so it is probable that there is a relationship between scenes which only will be clear upon discovery of the literary source. The juxtaposition of more complex scenes in the Loggia della Grotta makes it easier to carry an extended narrative; as a narrative technique it is more efficient than the juxtaposition of just three octagons as in the Great Loggia and much clearer, even without the literary source, than the fragmented narrative carried by the lozenges and ovals in the Sala dei Venti.

The decoration of the Loggia della Grotta is architectonic like the Great Loggia, but it has a structure which integrates the scenes into the system of painted extensions of the architecture. It encourages a more cogent narrative by using more complex scenes and juxtaposing related scenes to create a linear sequence. The painting does not use trompe l'oeil effects to try to convince the eye that the frames of the quadri riportati are real, but rather the fact that they are framed scenes is implied in the organization.

The frames of the quadri riportati in the Loggia della Grotta can be contrasted to the same motif in the Sala di Cesare.

The Sala di Cesare is like the Loggia della Grotta in that the major divisions of the ceiling are also the frames for the quadri riportati. However, the major ceiling divisions are not closely related to the architecture and so the overall organization is not as structural. Six standing figures and an elongated octagon are in a cruciform shape on a background of a repeated pattern (fig. 38). The standing figures with their bands and stucco volutes vaguely
support the octagon, although the effect of support is more visual than architectural. The frames of the quadri riportati are like those in the Great Loggia because the bead-and-reel moulding suggests the coffer, but without suggesting the coffer's sense of architectural structure.

The overall organization of the Sala di Cesare is quite distinct from any other room in the Palazzo because no where else is the subject matter emphasized by such exclusion of abstract or architectural motifs. The six figures and the octagon are quite alone; lacking are the systems of architeconic ribs and abstract vine motifs that are in the Great Loggia and the Loggia della Grotta. The quadri riportati are placed on a uniformly patterned ground and so there is no sense of movement across the surface of the ceiling, nor is there the visual interest created by the ingeniuous transformation of simple motifs as in the Atrio delle Muse.

The enigmatic organization is paralleled by the lack of documents to date the room. Since the organization is so unlike the other rooms a dating can be attempted through the iconography. Hartt observes that the decoration might refer to Charles V's visits of either 1530 or 1532. In conjunction with this visit it is important to note the document already mentioned in reference to the Sala degli Stucchi which indicated that some of the rooms around the Sala di Giganti were redecorated because they displeased the Emperor, one of which might have been the Sala degli Stucchi. The Sala di Cesare, on the other hand, looks as though it was executed in haste as a monument to the first visit.

The quadri riportati represent great generals. In the octagon is
"Caesar consigning to flames the letters found in the possession of the defeated Pompey;"57 some of the standing figures can be identified as Philip of Macedon, Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar (fig. 39). The reference, on a general level, could be to the fact that Charles V brought peace to Italy by defeating the French. More specifically, Charles V can be identified with the Caesars; in fact it was common to refer to the Emperor as "Caesar."58 Charles' march to Italy in 1530 to be crowned by the Pope even took the form of an Imperial Roman triumphal march,59 and his desire to unify the empire to its Imperial extent also relates him to the Caesars. The iconography thus indicates the room might have been a tribute from Federigo Gonzaga, who until this visit was personally unacquainted with the Emperor, to the general ideals of Charles V which were common knowledge. The Sala degli Stucchi seems to have been a more specific reference to Charles V, perhaps executed after Mantua had been impressed by the extent of Charles V's entourage, hence possibly done after the first visit. The fact that the organization of the Sala di Cesare is so elementary indicates that it might have been executed in haste for the first visit of Charles V in 1530.

Quadri riportati, as Giulio uses them, can either work closely with the real architecture, as in the Loggia della Grotta, or can be quite independent of the real architecture as in the Sala di Cesare. But in neither the Loggia della Grotta nor the Sala di Cesare do the quadri riportati really imitate the plastic quality of real picture frames. Throughout they retain a sense of flatness and of being painted decoration which perform the same function as picture
frames, but do not have the physical presence of real picture frames as do Anibale Carracci's seventy-five years later in the Galleria Farnese. In terms of the relation to the architecture, the frames of the quadri riportati can be either quite separate, as in the Great Loggia, or quite close as in the Loggia della Grotta.

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The desire to integrate the painted decoration with the architecture is most fully realized in the Sala dei Cavalli. The decoration of this room is mimetic because its forms imitate solid architecture in paint. One of the main problems involved in the concept of mimesis is to distinguish between the different kinds of imitation. The argument will treat first the organization of the ceiling, and then the walls, in order to distinguish the different levels of organization of each. At the outset it should be noted that the decoration of the Sala dei Cavalli is similar in two respects to the simple architectural types discussed in the first section of this chapter: the organization of the wall decoration is dependent on the architectural structure of the ceiling; and the ceiling is a complex variation on the square coffer motif. Important is the use of different levels of organization in the decorative program, in which the levels are more obvious than in the Great Loggia or Loggia della Grotta.

Three levels of organization are found in the ceiling -- one level is
the system of architecturally structural beams, another is the system of coffers, and a third level is the painted decoration. The beams (fig. 40) are solid, three dimensional architectural members. Contrasting to the longitudinal beams are the five transverse beams and two outside longitudinal ones, all of which are unusual because they cross in a scissor-like way; thus the ceiling is framed by pairs of interlaced beams. The scissor-like intersection on one hand, and the way the longitudinal beams are woven through the transverse ones as thread on a warp on the other hand, gives the ceiling an overall flat, textile-like quality.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of the ceiling of the Sala dei Cavalli is the conflict between the plastic, architectural members and the flat, decorative ones. This ambiguity is emphasized by some of the pictorial elements. The flat braid pattern is carefully shaded on both edges to give a rounded effect. 61

A similar conflict between plastic and flat decorative elements can be seen in the coffers. The coffers are remarkable because they are magnified in size. They are like antique coffers, though, in the way considerable plasticity is created by the chiaroscuro effect of the recession of the cap. The plasticity contrasts to the flat meander pattern which constitutes the border for each coffer. The interior of the coffers are different from those previously encountered in the Palazzo del Te in that the caps of alternating coffers have been replaced by the Gonzaga symbol of Olympus. The introduction of figurative elements to the coffer has an antique precedent, for
example, in the Arch of Titus (fig. 6). One can also find the introduction of figurative elements in the work of one of Brunelleschi's successors, Il Cronaco (Simone del Pollaiuolo), who introduced medallions with scenes from the Bible and mythology (fig. 42) to the coifers in the vault of the vestibule of the sacristy of Santo Spirito which was begun in 1496. 62

The tendency for the different decorative systems to come in conflict is characteristic of the mature decoration of the Palazzo del Te. This contrasts to the decoration of the middle period (see Appendix) such as the Great Loggia. In the Great Loggia, although the effect of the patterned decoration was to dematerialize the structural members, there is an overall unity between the structural and decorative systems. In the Sala dei Cavalli one is considerably more aware of the conflict and ambiguity of the two systems. The primary difference between the Sala dei Cavalli and the Great Loggia is that in the Great Loggia one does not find the exaggerated use of the unexpected. The ceiling of the Sala dei Cavalli starts from the premise of simple architectural structure, but in the end the sense of structure is partly concealed by the proliferation of decoration. The dematerialization of the real architecture by painting is one way to solve the problem of the relation between the two.

The dematerialization of architectural structure found in the ceiling contrasts considerably to the rendering of the walls. The wall frescoes of the Sala dei Cavalli (figs. 43, 44, 46, 49) are not directly comparable to any others in the Palazzo del Te, although they are indirectly comparable to
the rooms with architecturally structural decoration because the frescoes represent architecturally structural motifs. The Sala dei Cavalli is comparable conceptually to the Sala degli Stucchi and the Atrio delle Muse where the decoration deviated slightly from the architectural structure, but was still highly structural.

The walls of the Sala dei Cavalli are organized on two levels -- one level is the quadratura, and the second is the painted decoration superimposed on the quadratura, that is, the horses, landscapes, and simulated reliefs of the labors of Hercules.

The first level, the quadratura, is organized around both the architectural structure of the ceiling and the real windows. Thirty six painted Corinthian pilasters (figs. 43 - 44) correspond to the beams in the ceiling. The beams appear to rest on a painted entablature which is in turn supported by the pilasters. The painted pilasters define the wall surface which is the real boundary of the room by the way the pilasters are painted so their front surface delineates the real boundaries of the room. All of the decoration is not bound to this single plane for the horses are slightly in front of it and the niche figures slightly behind it, but the picture space as a whole is very shallow, consisting of three planes: the recessed niches, the wall plane, and the horses in front of the wall plane. The painted architecture does not create the illusion that the real space of the room is extended beyond the wall as in Paruzzi's Sala delle Prospettive of the Farnesina (fig. 45). The real boundaries of the room are maintained, only their format is changed. The painted archi-
tecture reinforces the real architecture rather than dematerializes it.

The illusion of plasticity in the pilasters (fig. 44) is achieved by the use of single point perspective. This is not unusual in itself, but the use of perspective to establish the viewer’s point of view is worth noting. The horizontal station point is in the center of the room as can be deduced by tracing the vanishing point of the pilasters to a point behind the horse (Hartt, fig. 180). The bases of the left and right pairs of columns recede toward the center of the wall, while the pilasters at the front and back of the horse are seen head on. The vertical viewpoint is below the grisaille niche figures, just above eye level. This is ascertained by following the vanishing point of the second pilaster from the right and the second pilaster from the left to a point in the middle of the door below the horse (fig. 44). This is significant because the ability to take the viewer into consideration through perspective and foreshortening is an important aspect of illusionism and will be a significant topic in the discussion of the rooms with extensive illusionistic programs. The niche figures (fig. 46) must be considered part of the first level of painting since they are conceived to imitate three dimensional marble sculpture designed as part of the architecture. The rendering gives these statues, which represent Jupiter, Juno, Venus, and Minerva, a unity with the marble of the painted architecture, but they appear to be behind the wall plane.

Sources for the Sala dei Cavalli can be found in antiquity as well as
in the Renaissance. Giulio might have been familiar with the antique approach from the commentary of Vitruvius. Vitruvius specified what he felt proper and improper decoration. He feels the decoration should fit the function of the room:

In winter dining rooms, neither paintings on grand subjects nor delicacy of decoration in the cornice work of the vaultings is a serviceable kind of design, because they are spoiled by the smoke from the fire and constant soot from the lamps.\(64\)

The decoration of the Sala di Psiche, the Sala delle Aquile and the Sala di Giganti are much grander than the Sala dei Cavalli, and hence it is unlikely they would be formal dining rooms according to Vitruvius' logic. It is reasonable that the more sober and tasteful decoration of the Sala dei Cavalli indicates that it is a formal dining room, as indicated in chapter one. More specifically pertinent to the decoration of the Sala dei Cavalli are Vitruvius' specifications for the correct motifs which should adorn a room:

For the other apartments, that is, those intended to be used in Spring, Autumn, and Summer, as well as for atriums and peristyles, the ancients required realistic pictures of real things. A picture is, in fact, a representation of a thing which really exists or which can exist: for example, a man, a house, a ship, or anything else from whose actual structure copies resembling it can be taken... Afterwards they made such progress as to represent the forms of buildings, and of columns, and projecting and overhanging ornaments...\(65\)\(\) My italics

Again, Giulio seems quite close in his design to that deemed proper by Vitruvius. The wall of the Villa dei Misteri, Pompeii (fig. 48) and the wall in
"Livia's House on the Palatine in Rome are examples from antiquity which illustrate precisely what Vitruvius meant. This does not mean to say that Giulio worked directly from Vitruvius' directions, but rather from Vitruvius' examples and the antique models themselves. Vitruvius did not like the mode of decoration popular in his own epoch (the first century B.C.):

But those subjects which were copied from actual realities are scorned in these days of bad taste. We now have fresco paintings of monstrosities, rather than truthful representations of definite things. For instance, reeds are put in place of columns, fluted appendages with only leaves and volutes, instead of pediments, candelabra supporting representations of shrines, and on top of their pediments numerous tender stalks and volutes growing up from the roots and having human figures senselessly seated upon them... Such things do not exist and cannot exist and never have existed. Hence, it is the new taste that has caused bad judges of poor art to prevail over true artistic excellence. For how is it possible that a reed should really support a roof, or a candelabrum a pediment with its ornaments, or that such a slender, flexible thing as a stalk should support a figure perched on it, or that roots and stalks should produce now flowers, and now half-length figures... The fact is that figures which are unlike reality ought not to be approved, and even if they are technically fine, this is no reason why they should off hand be judged to be correct, if their subject is lacking in the principles of reality carried out with no violations.

Vitruvius could be speaking of antique grotteschi of the sort which form an important motif in the Sala dei Cavalli (fig. 49), and also in the Sala delle Imprese (fig. 50), Loggia delle Grotta (fig. 35), and the Sala delle Aquile (fig. 69). Giulio followed antique models and Vitruvius' examples, but not
necessarily his decorative principles. 67

One finds the tradition of the figure in a niche between columns and pilasters maintained in medieval Italian art, for example the Sacello Marmoria at Capua of the twelfth century. 68 But the specific motif of painted pilasters and niche figures is most actively revived in the fifteenth century. Alberti, who depended heavily on Vitruvius 69 wrote:

Upon side walls no sort of painting shows handsomer than the representations of columns in architecture. 70

Painted architecture with niche-figures can be found in Castagno's famous men and women formerly in the Villa Carducci, Legnaia, and now in S. Apollonia, Florence, of circa 1450 (fig. 48). 71 Castagno's wall is pertinent because there is a confusion of the relation of the figures to the structure; the figures seem painted on the wall, but the feet overlapping the frame give the impression the figures are three-dimensional. A more extensive system of quadratura than Giulio's Sala dei Cavalli is found in the Sala di Mappamondo of the Palazzo Venezia, Rome, by an unknown artist of the second half of the fifteenth century (fig. 51). It has a painted double-colonnade of Corinthian columns. In both the Castagno and the Sala di Mappamondo, the problem is to distinguish between a series of parallel planes in a shallow space. There are also indications of this kind of treatment in rooms of the Palazzo del Te other than the Sala dei Cavalli. In the Sala delle Imprese (fig. 50) can be found painted caryatids which stand on consoles drawn in perspective. The problem is thus posed of the relation between the planes and
the relation between the decoration and the architecture since the caryatids look like a part of the wall painting and the consoles seem to protrude from the wall.

One can see that the basic premise of the painted decoration in the Sala dei Cavalli is highly structural in an architectural way, but it differs from the kind of architectural structure found in a coffered ceiling. The coffered ceiling is architecturally structural because it is a part of the real architecture. The frescoes of the Sala dei Cavalli follow the logic of real architecture, but their existence is only a painted illusion. It is the aspect of mimesis which distinguishes the walls from the decoration thus far considered. The vault of the Great Loggia and the ceiling of the Loggia della Grotta contrast to the Sala dei Cavalli in this respect. Rather than emphasizing the reality of the architectural structure, the decoration attempts to conceal it. The Sala dei Cavalli and its opposites both contain illusion: the one tries to create physical structure where it does not exist, and the other tries to dematerialize physical structure.

The second level of decoration in the Sala dei Cavalli reinforces the illusionistic aspect, but contrasts to the architecturally structural aspect of the decoration. The second level is composed of those aspects such as the horses, putti, and painted reliefs of the labors of Hercules which seem to be relief panels inserted into the architecture. The horses (fig. 52) are executed with a striking degree of reality, with bridles, as though they were
done from live models in the Gonzaga stable. It is clear one is a dark gray, two are chestnut and three are dapple-gray (fig. 43). One of the important distinctions is that the two systems seem to represent different levels of reality. The architecture represents the tradition of classical architecture in a tangible way. The horses, because of their naturalism, seem to represent a flesh-and-blood reality. There is an obvious dichotomy between the painted architecture and the superimposed decoration. In terms of structure, the horses make no sense. There is no transition between the pilasters which define the plane of the wall, and the horses which are in front of the wall plane standing on a cornice above the dado. The way the horses are placed in front of the wall plane makes them appear to be partly in the space of the viewer, which as illusionism is more impressive than the illusion of architecture which matches the real boundary of the room. In terms of architectural and pictorial structure, the horses are definitely unstructural. They do not have a believable space in which to exist, nor do they relate directly to the painting which surrounds them. They are, therefore, in stark contrast to the painted architecture.

The horse as a motif is not absent from Italian art, but a specific case of incongruous juxtaposition like this does not exist. Analysis of the possible proto-types does not make them any more comprehensible. Hartt observes that the idea of the horse portrait was found in the grotteschi of the first bay of the Vatican Logge. A saddled and bridled horse standing
behind a doric pillar is found in a drawing for the House of the Dance by Hans Holbein the Younger (fig. 54). Holbein's horse does not have the prominence of Giulio's horses which is partly what gives his their distinction. One can also cite the precedent of fifteenth century equestrian portraits, both painted and three-dimensional, which frequently have strong profiles like Giulio's beasts, for example Castagno's Niccola da Tolentina (fig. 54) of 1456 and Uccello's Giovanni Acuto. Giulio's horses differ from the equestrian monuments because he perversely raises the riderless horse to a monumental position.

There might be a logic to the juxtaposition of the horses and architecture which transcends the logic of architectural structure. One is reminded of Panofsky's analysis of reality and symbol in Flemish art. Giulio's paradox might derive from the same logic as Jan Van Eyck's in the juxtaposition of the grisaille Saints and donors in the Ghent Altarpiece (fig. 55). The painted architecture and grisaille sculpture could stand for the general concept of antiquity, while the horses stand for the more contemporary and mundane reality of the Gonzaga love for raising horses. The two modes of rendering the architecture and horses would serve to emphasize the distinction between a reference to the idea of antiquity and a reference to present day reality, e.g. Federigo or Francesco Gonzaga symbolized by their prized horses.

There are details of the second level of decoration which are equally
as enigmatic in their relation to the overall organization as the horses.

The sphere of reality to which the landscapes behind the horses belong is not clear. These could be painted windows to go along with the painted architecture, or they could be framed easel paintings. It seems logical to interpret them as painted windows complementing the painted architecture. They are distinguished from the real windows by being only one third as tall. However, the landscape itself (fig. 56) does not seem natural, but rather as one would see it through a telescope. The evidence weighing most heavily in favor of the window interpretation is the shadow cast by the legs of one horse (Fig. 52). The shadow on the frame caused by the front legs would be a result of the light entering from the windows on the opposite wall. The shadow is not continued into the landscape area indicating transparency. It is characteristic of the perversity of Giulio that this light, which also casts shadows in the niches at the ends of the room, comes from the north windows rather than from the south.77

The unclassical attitudes, and a rendering unlike the imitation marble in the walls and the grisaille sculpture makes them seem more on the level of the horses than the painted architecture. They could represent the decoration on the real wall of the room rather than decoration on the painted architecture.

There is more of a dichotomy between the two levels of decoration in the Sala dei Cavalli than in any other room of the Palazzo. Both levels are mimetic, but one is highly structural in an architectural sense, and the
other unstructural. There has been no attempt to integrate the two systems in terms of architectural structure as in the Great Loggia and Loggia della Grotta. This failure to integrate two systems of decoration is an important statement opposing the concept of synthesis characteristic of the High Renaissance.

The quadratura of the Grotta contrasts with that in the Sala dei Cavalli in that the basic premise of the rendering of the forms has changed as well as the nature of the mimesis. But there are important similarities to the Sala dei Cavalli in the relationship between the "painted" architectural structure and the non-architectural decoration, and in aspects of the illusionism.

One distinction is that the Sala dei Cavalli is simple, clear and straightforward in respect to the format, which Vitruvius considered proper for formal rooms, while the Grotta is unclear. The sense of order in the Sala dei Cavalli is the first impression; the sense of an overly full decorative program is the first impression of the Grotta. Close examination of the Sala dei Cavalli reveals conflict within the order, and conversely, close analysis the Grotta reveals a stronger system of organization than the first impression. The pilasters protrude from the wall because of the shell incrustations and support a similarly encrusted entablature, and hence are closer to being architecturally structural than the pilaster's in the Sala dei Cavalli. The walls have painted apses between the shell - encrusted pilasters and are architecturally structural. The sense for architectural structure
continues to the entablature and the balustrade (fig. 57) which it supports. The pilasters, entablature, and balustrade imitate architectural members, although the medium out of which they are formed, encrusted shells, is hardly conventional. The perspective of the balustrade is such that the station point is in the room below. This is similar to the way the viewer was taken into consideration in the perspective of the Sala dei Cavalli.

There are elements of ambiguity in the vault of the Grotta resulting from the different system being applied in the vault than the walls. The structural ribs of the vault (fig. 57) are formed from intertwined plant forms. The ribs have the position and function of architectural members, but because of their lack of definition seem less structural than the shell-encrusted pilasters. Hence the ribs of the ceiling are ambiguous because they lie between being structural and decorative. There is also ambiguity created by alternating in the space between the ribs, first a relief balustrade and window, then a painted conch apse (fig. 57). The fact that these alternate creates confusion over whether the entablature supports a balustrade (like that found in the Palazzo Costabili, Ferrara by Sodoma) or a solid area with apses. Perhaps the most important proto-type for this kind of balustrade is the third bay of the Vatican Logge by Raphael (fig. 59), however, Raphael's balustrade has a clear relationship between the quadratura and the architecture.

The attitude toward rendering reality in the Grotta can be discussed in terms of the possible sources. There are considerable similarities to
Hellenistic and Roman grotto-nymphaea. The nymphaeum is, according to Greek tradition, the center of the cult of the nymphs, usually situated in a natural grotta with living-spring water.\(^{79}\) The tradition of the nymphaea changed in Roman times to be closely bound to the landscape of a villa. By Augustan times it had become a conventional garden area with ornamental and recreational functions as well as with religious connotations.\(^{80}\) Giulio's Grotta conforms to the Imperial Roman tradition in its garden setting and so the motivation for separating it from the main Palazzo is founded on precedent, as well as the desire for privacy. The grotto-nymphaeas seem to have been traditionally constructed with encrustations of shells judging by the one found in 1895 in Nero's Golden House.\(^{81}\) The use of shells to give the "painted" architecture its three dimensional form would not be totally a result of the desire to achieve a solid architectural member, or to create the illusion of real architecture, but rather a result of Giulio's copying an antique model. Perhaps the shells also retained for the sixteenth century the symbolic reference to the cult of the sea-nymphs which it had in Roman times.

It is possible that Giulio got his inspiration from literary sources rather than a specific monument. Dollmayr observes that Giulio based some decorative programs on ancient Greek and Roman Poets, particularly in the Sala di Psiche and Sala dei Venti. Among others, he finds relationships to passages in Homer, Ovid, Apuleius, and Diodorus.\(^{82}\) One is not surprised to find a striking similarity between passages by antique poets and Giulio's
Grotta. For example in Ovid there is this iconic passage referring to a
Grotta: "Ancient and spared by the axe through many years, there stands
a grove; you could believe a deity indwelt the place. A sacred spring is in
its midst, and a cave with overhanging rock, and from every side comes the
sweet complaint of birds." 83

One does not necessarily need to go to antiquity for a source for
the Grotta, but can find it in Renaissance grottae known to Giulio. Vasari
gives this description of the process of building a grotta at the Villa Madama
around 1515-1620 in his writing on technique:

"While the stucco is fresh they insert in bands and
compartments, knobs or basses, cockleshells,
seasnails, tortoise shells, shells some large and
small, some showing the outside, some the reverse." 84

Since Giulio worked at the Villa Madama around 1520 85 he would have been
familiar with its motifs. It is interesting to note that the fresco program at
the Villa Madama was also based on Ovid, who, therefore, might have been
the source for both grottos.

The decoration of the Sala dei Cavalli and the Grotta both have a com-
mon source in antiquity and both have a similar conflict of two decorative sys-
tems. The use of multiple decorative systems, often in conflict, will be seen
to be one of the most characteristic features of Giulio's decoration in the
Palazzo del Te. Perhaps the major differences emerge not so much a result
of Giulio's artistic personality, as from differences in tradition governing
rooms of specific function: a formal reception room like the Sala dei Cavalli
must have different decoration than a garden building.

Two points can be made which distinguish the purely structural from the architectonic and mimetic kinds of decoration. One is that the introduction of figurative elements affects the nature and organization of structural borders by creating the need for a system of frames for the quadri riportati. Another point is that with quadri riportati or quadratura decoration there is an added necessity to make the perspective of the representation fit the location of the decoration, that is, the station point of the perspective should coincide with the viewer's position. The use of perspective to make the representation fit its location is essential to the concept of illusionism and will be discussed in the following chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR
Illusionistic Decoration

The concept of illusionism in this chapter differs from the simpler kinds of illusions found in the Atrio delle Muse, Great Loggia, and Sala dei Venti where the existence of two decorative systems created a sense of movement across and a slight sense of depth to the surface of the wall or ceiling. This kind of illusion was tied more or less closely to the architectural structure, or architectonic extrapolations in paint of the architecture in the form of borders and other linear networks. On the other hand, the nature of the illusionism which this chapter discusses involves considerable movement into or out of the picture space, and a considerable change in the relation of the frame to the decoration, and hence a change in the relation of the decoration to the architecture. One technical aspect, above all others, is intrinsic to this: the application of artificial perspective with the viewer as station point.

This chapter is divided into two parts. The first part treats illusionism where it is combined with quadri riportati, and the second part treats developed illusionism where the framework is transcended or abandoned completely.

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First it is interesting to examine the Sala d'Attilio Regolo where
quadri riportati are combined with di sotto in su and a more Baroque sense of space. The quadri riportati are unique in that the majority of the scenes are not rectangular. The four corners (fig. 60) are pentagonal and the central panel is octagonal. The frames are painted with a continuous vine pattern. Each scene has its own frame which gives it a sense of individuality. The narrative is more effective because there is the opportunity for direction and emphasis. In the Loggia della Grotta neither direction nor emphasis was possible because of the equality of the structure. In the Sala degli Stucchi direction was attained by the use of continuous narrative but emphasis was impossible because of the uniform format. In the Sala d'Attilio Regolo the viewer is directed around the lower scenes and then to the octagon which has the "Virtues of a Prince" (fig. 61). The ceiling contains two levels of allegory; one level is in the spandrels and rectangles. It contains historical examples of stoic acts -- Attilus Regulus in the nail-studded barrel, the ordeal by fire of Quintus Cincinnatus, Seleucus condemning his son, and others which serve as allegories of the stoic virtues of Federigo Gonzaga. The second level is physically higher and contains the apotheosis of Federigo as the virtuous prince. Thus the organization emphasizes the meaning.

The quadri riportati have a structural system quite similar to the Sala di Cesare, in that the central area is supported from the center of the four walls rather than from the corners. Here, however, the architectural structure is more believable. The vault decoration dictates where the supports should go. Four pairs of painted pilasters support three dimensional
 consoles on which there is an entablature for each pair of consoles. Although these three dimensional entablatures do not continue around the room, there is an illusion of a continuous entablature because the frames double as the entablature between the pilasters. The way in which the frames can be read as the entablature is very similar to the kind of illusion found in the Loggia della Grotta and is another example of the principle of double function often found in Mannerist art.

One also finds architecturally unstructural elements in the otherwise structural framework of the vault decoration. The spandrels in the corners can be oddly shaped because the ceiling framework is supported in the center, but the lack of support in the corners means the frame is not totally integrated with the architectural structure. The juxtaposition of structural and unstructural systems becomes increasingly frequent in the rooms executed during the second campaign of decoration.

The aspect of the Sala d'Attilio Regolo which makes it an important transition to the discussion on illusionistic painting concerns the perspective of the octagon (fig. 61) in which the viewer almost becomes the station point of the perspective. The di sotto in su does not totally achieve the effect of being designed for its site. In order to be believable the station point should coincide with the viewer which is not the case here. The foreshortening would be correct if the octagon were placed vertically on the wall above the viewer's head, but in fact, the scene is in the center of the ceiling and hence should be rendered as though seen directly from below. Although the di
sotto in su is not seen from directly below, the illusion does make sense. The figure representing Federigo Gonzaga should be at the opposite end of the octagon when the viewer stands at one end of the room so there is an oblique angle (instead of a right angle) between the plane of the ceiling and the viewer.

The di sotto in su form of representation as well as the Baroque sense of recession of space relate the Sala d'Attilio Regolo to Correggio's cupola in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista, executed between 1520 and 1525. The most obvious point of comparison is the di sotto in su point of view. Correggio's point of view is believable because the station point is the viewer on the floor below so the cupola is conceived in terms of perspective to be located above the viewer's head. The Baroque sense of space in the Sala d'Attilio Regolo is created by the clouds which recede diagonally to the right (fig. 61). In both Correggio and Giulio there is a lack of relation between the clouds and the architecture and a lack of structural rigidity. The clouds are not connected to the architecture, but rather gradually fade away as they approach their borders. The clouds perform a space-creating function by their diagonal recession. The di sotto in su form of representation, the unstructural clouds, and the diagonally recession of space of the octagon of the Sala d'Attilio Regolo tend to give it a more proto-Baroque quality and indicate a close relationship to Correggio.

Another room with quadri riportati and a perspectively foreshortened sfondato is the Sala delle Aquile. It is distinct from the Sala d'Attilio Regolo
in that the borders which form the structural geometry are distinct from the frames of the quadri riportati. Four levels of organization are found: the quasi-architectonic framework; the stucco eagles; the apse-scenes; and the perspectively foreshortened octagon.

The framework is not integrated with the architectural structure, but is in itself a structural organism. The ceiling geometry is supported by eight harpies (fig. 66) crouching on consoles from which the ribs are sprung. There is no pretense that the ribs are solid architectural members. The eagles, perhaps executed by Primaticcio, contrast to the ribs because they are three dimensional figures. The eagles can be compared to the horses in the Sala dei Cavalli both because as objects they are more real, and also because they are Federigo's symbols. While decorative and symbolic, the eagles also have a functional role as the transition between the corner and the vault, similar to the corner paintings in the Sala d'Attilio Regolo. The painted apses (figs. 66, 69) contrast to the eagles, since in the first place they are painted, and in the second place, because they are divided into six compartments which put the pictorial elements on a much smaller scale than the eagles, although each apse covers as much area as the eagles. The painted apses are very similar to those in Peruzzi's Villa Madama (fig. 71) and his Choir vault of S. Onofrio, Rome.

The Sala delle Aquile is distinctive in that there is more competition between the levels of organization. Other rooms such as the Atrio delle Muse and Great Loggia which applied multiple levels of organization achieved
a sense of unity between the systems. The bordering systems, except for the main foliated border which reads as a ground, do not unify the disparate pictorial elements, but rather add to the complexity of the whole. The borders of the octagon, apses, and eagles are all different. The frame of the octagon (fig. 68) is bulky in contrast to the others, and while the others apply the familiar bead-and-reel molding, it applies a rosette-and-acanthus of magnified size. The frames in the apses (fig. 69) are equally unusual. The outside border of the apse is out of proportion to those on the inside, although they tend to relate to the frame on the octagon. The frames of the inside scenes of the apses are a very fine bead-and-reel, but they do not connect these scenes to the outer frame, and hence the scenes do not look like the moldings on coffers as Peruzzi's do in the Villa Madama (fig. 71). The result is that there is no strong unifying force to reconcile the conflicts in scale, media, and point of view in the Sala delle Aquile.

The perspective of the illusionistic octagon, which depicts the fall of Phaeton, is similar to that in the Sala d'Attilio Regolo. Phaeton should also be at the opposite end of the octagon than the viewer when he stands at one end of the room, and so the station point is again at an oblique angle to the scene.

In certain respects the fall of Phaeton is also like Correggio in its crowded composition and space which permits Phaeton to float in mid-air (fig. 68). The clouds give the scene a painterly quality and there is a diagonal recession of the space. Phaeton himself is shown parallel to the
picture plane, as if about to fall into the space of the room. Phaeton is below his chariot and team, but his body is lying parallel to the vault, unlike Giulio's later work in the Choir of the Duomo in Mantua, for which Giulio did the cartoons, where the Virgin ascends directly upward on a cloud. The way Phaeton lies parallel to the ceiling plane can be compared most directly to Raphael's "Creation of the World" in the first bay of the Vatican Logge where Christ floats parallel to the ceiling surface (fig. 70). The way Phaeton moves longitudinally across the surface is also like the "Chariots of the Sun and Moon" in the Sala del Sole. The "Fall of Phaeton" is related to the Renaissance in the way the composition has a central axis running from Jupiter, through the Chariot, to Phaeton. However, taking into account the nature of the Illusionism and certain aspects of the execution of the scene, Giulio appears to be closer to Correggio than other possible sources.

Some vault paintings can be found in Rome which strongly resemble the Sala delle Aquile and indicate that there are Roman sources for it. One can cite the vault of the room in the Catacomb of Sts. Pietro and Marcellino of about the fourth century (fig. 73), where the overall shape is similar to the Sala delle Aquile (fig. 67). The general impression of the catacomb ceiling is its flatness, but one must consider the attempt to organize figures in an architectonic framework as a primitive illusionism. Giulio was certain to have known Pinturicchio's choir vault in S. Maria del Popolo, in Rome completed in 1510 (fig. 74). Both the choir vault and the Sala delle Aquile have a diamond shaped format. Giulio has made apses out of the medallions,
and the eagles correspond to Pinturicchio's church fathers. Pinturicchio does not use perspective foreshortening, although there is the illusion that the church fathers are set in more plastic structural framework than the interior scenes. What Giulio has most in common with Pinturicchio is the overall clarity of organization and sharp distinction between parts which Correggio does not have.

The Sala delle Aquile is related to Correggio and Raphael in the execution of the octagon, but the organization of the levels of decoration other than the octagon evidence the lack of a structural relationship between the parts characteristic of the break-up of the High Renaissance.

The Sala del Sole, executed in 1527, is Giulio's first attempt at full disotto in su without quadri riportati. It is more consistent in terms of the logic of single point perspective than the Sala d'Attilio Regolo and the Sala delle Aquile. The "Chariots of the Sun and Moon" (fig. 62) are depicted as though they are seen directly from below and so seem specifically designed for their sit. The station point of the perspective is the viewer who stands on the floor directly below the buttocks of the lead driver, a point which also indicates Giulio's perversity. Even though the figures are seen directly from below, there is neither the feeling that the figures are suspended in space, nor that the space recedes indefinitely. The moon does not seem far behind the lead chariot, and the chariots seem to move longitudinally across the picture plane as though on a glass floor.

The way the figures seem to be supported by an implied architecture
at either end of the scene and the longitudinal inclination of the horses and chariots are High Renaissance characteristics. The use of an implied architectural support for a figure seen di sotto in su is found in the figure of Christ in Raphael's fresco in the vault of the Chigi Chapel in the Vatican (fig. 64). It is significant that in the "Chariots of the Sun and Moon" structural borders or frames are not found, so that the architecture is only implied.

Another important prototype, more remote in time, but actually located in Mantua, is Mantegna's fresco of the girls and putti who look down from the balustrade painted in the illusionistic cupola of the Camera degli Sposi in the Palazzo Ducale (fig. 72) finished in 1474. Two points relate the two: one is the di sotto in su form of representation and the other is the idea of using quadratura to support the figures. However, Mantegna clearly paints in the quadratura while in Raphael and Giulio its presence is implicit. Lacking is Correggio's concern for space which recedes indefinitely. The support for the chariots and horses comes from the implied presence of architecture at either ends of the quadrangle, not from a system of clouds which both create space and provide structural support for the figures as in Correggio's ceiling. Thus, although Giulio does not make the existence of the quadratura as clear as Mantegna does, he seems at this point more closely related to Mantegna than Correggio.

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The more developed type of illusionism is characterized by the major
unifying elements being within the pictures rather than in the frames or other borders. The Sala di Psiche has some quadri riportati, but they function quite differently than those in the Loggia della Grotta. The Sala dei Giganti is perhaps the culmination of Giulio's illusionistic decoration in that all quadratura and quadri riportati are abandoned.

The Sala di Psiche is unusual in that the coved vaulting of the ceiling influences but does not govern the walls. The vault is similar to that of the Sala dei Venti, in that it is derived directly from the octagonal coffer motif and is, therefore, an inherently structural organism, but it is relatively unrelated to the architectural structure of the walls. As in the Sala dei Cavalli, the coffers have been magnified and are now several times larger than a normal octagonal coffer like one found in the Entrance Loggia. One is reminded of the octagonal coffers in Pinturicchio's vault of the Galleria dei Busti of the Villa Belvedere of the Vatican (fig. 13).

The coffers are sprung from twelve three dimensional acanthus consoles between each of the coves. The octagons are riveted together by ordinary square coffers at the intersections. The octagons are bordered by an egg-and-dart molding which gives them their coffer-like quality. The molding is darker than the light vine pattern which articulates the supporting framework. Imposed upon the center of the ceiling is a giant square coffer which is the central sfondato which acts as both cupola to the vault in one sense, and cap to the coffer in another sense. Up to this point, the octagonal coffers are much like those in the Sala dei Venti, but it is the nature of the pictorial
representations which changes the impact of the ceiling.

The scenes in the octagons are different from the previous quadri riportati in three important ways: the representations seem to move beyond the boundary of the frames; there is a uniform system to the di sotto in su foreshortening; and there is an ascending hierarchy of narrative.

In regards to the first point, one can observe that in the quadri riportati previously examined in the Loggia della Grotta or in the Sala d'Attilio Regolo, the scenes were composed for the format within which they were contained so the scenes appeared self-contained and complete. However, one interpretation of the ceiling of the Sala di Psiche is that the bordering system (figs. 75, 76) forms a lattice on the vault beyond which the scenes appear to be physically occurring, scenes which represent episodes in the courtship and marriage of Cupid and Psyche.

What is important is why the scenes can be read as taking place beyond the octagonal lattice. We see only fragments of scenes, especially in the outside circle of octagons: in "Venus Pointing to Cupid and Psyche" (fig. 77) part of the chariot is cut off, as well as the doves wing and part of the swan; in "Psyche Worshipped" (fig. 78) the whole front row of figures are cut off; in "Psyche and her Father" (fig. 79) we see only part of the stairs, Psyche's foot is cut off, and the rearmost figure is cut off at the waist; and so on through the whole outside circle of octagons. A curious paradox exists because of this. The moulding on the octagon should delineate both the picture plane and the extent of the narrative; however, it does not. Space exists behind
the frames and the narrative is not limited by the boundary of the frames; the frames are no longer picture frames but transparent windows through which is seen a unified space.

Part of the reason this paradox exists is that the scenes are foreshortened with the station point on the floor below. It can be established that the station point is on the moving perimeter of a square the size of the outside border of the large square central coffer projected on the floor (fig. 95). Thus, cutting parts of the figures by the frame makes them seem to be seen from a steeper angle as well as to be definitely behind the picture plane. The ceiling is a teur di force of di sotto in su because those parts of the wall which are not at right angles to the viewer are not rendered directly from below, but from a steep oblique angle as in the octagons, while those areas at right angles to the viewer like the spandrels of the coves, the bisected octagons, and the central sfondato are seen as though from directly below.

The station point of the sfondato is on the floor immediately below the brightest spot (behind Jupiter). There is a crescendo of foreshortening which culminates in the "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche" in the central sfondato (fig. 80). Not only does Giulio's ceiling become more foreshortened toward the center, but it also becomes more ethereal. The eight outer octagons all have some ground or architecture, while the Three Graces (fig. 75) and the central area are located in a cloud-filled atmosphere. The structure of the "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche" in the sfondato reinforces the iconography. One has witnessed an acceleration of the narrative from the courtship in
the outer octagons until finally Cupid and Psyche stand facing each other across the void. The meaning of the narrative gets increasingly more abstract towards the center of the ceiling, and this is parallel to the increasing steepness of the perspective. The hands of Cupid and Psyche, rather than their bodies, meet in the center of the void and thus become the major point of interest rather than the individuals themselves. The hands, which are symbolic of the act of marriage, are the subject and become an allegory of Federigo's own marriage. Only by such steep foreshortening could the actual figures of Cupid and Psyche become lost in the clouds thus de-emphasizing the two lovers.

Analysis of the structure of the sfondo itself provides a contrast to the Sala del Sole and Sala delle Aquile, as well as shedding light on the Correggio vs. Mantegna problem. One finds Cupid and Psyche on Olympus, the home of the Gods and a Gonzaga symbol, in the form of a cloud bank. The cloud is an architectonic mass which supports the wedding party so none float in space. The cloud is supported by the inside edge of the large coffer, a support which could hardly bear the towering Olympus. The desire to create an architectonic structure in the cumulus clouds again points to Mantegna's influence. But Mantegna's (and Giulio's) usual clarity is absent. The figures tend to melt and dissolve into one another and into the cloud itself like Correggio's figures are prone to do. Here the ceiling recedes into the vault like Correggio's Parma Dome (fig. 65), but absent is Correggio's painterliness. Even though Giulio's composition is crowded, it maintains a strong sense for
outline. The figures also retain Mantegna's solidity.\textsuperscript{102} One is prone to hypothesize at this point that Giulio is still relatively uninfluenced by Correggio and that the deviation from Mantegna are due to Giulio's latent proto-Baroque spirit.

A similar de-emphasis of the familiar architectonic elements takes place on the walls. There is a surface articulation which has vestiges of architectonic support with spatially receding elements, but which creates the same confusion between the picture plane and the receding space as the octagons. Extending downward from the consoles which support the coves are two garland borders, one at each side of the console (fig. 83). At right angles to these are another pair of garlands which move longitudinally along the surface so they nominally support the consoles. Thus a flimsy post-and-lintel composed of a flat, non-structural garland is given a quasi-structural role. These garlands become entangles in shrubs and never visibly reach the ground. The garlands also act as a border to the frieze which runs at the height of the capitals. A paradox like that of the octagons is established: on one hand the garland can be read as a "pilaster" extending from the console, and on the other hand it can be read as a border for the scenes between the consoles. Both readings tend to emphasize the wall surface and contradict the recession into space as the molding on the octagon did. At the same time, the wall is articulated as a flat surface and as a pocket of space. This anamoly is especially clear in the way the garlands are on the surface in front of the banquet table, yet the banquet table emerges
in front of the garlands.

The desire for an architectonic structure is expressed by the quasi-architectonic supports given the consoles. The elephant and dromedary on the opposite wall seem to support the consoles (fig. 94). The same phenomenon can be observed in the rock-hewn throne of Polyphemus (fig. 82). The painted stonework of the throne which is like the rustication on the exterior of the Palazzo del Te, extends upward to the consoles and longitudinally to form a continuity with the entablature of the two windows on either side. A similar support of the console by a rock-pile is seen in the high edge of the "Bath of Venus and Mars" (fig. 82), and the high bluff in the background of the right edge of the "Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche" (fig. 83).

It is clear that although Giulio cannot get away from vestiges of architecturally structural elements, they are no longer the basis for the room organization as in previous programs. Instead it appears that synthetic perspective is the basis of organization. It was noted that a uniform progression of di sotto in su negated the quadri riportati in the vault. Giulio uses perspective to negate the surface emphasizing tendency of the garland border. The perspective of the walls is not as logical as the ceiling, but it does create a wall penetration. The vertical station point is at a height mid-way up the wall and in the center of the room. One way the plane is negated is by a complicated system of overlapping objects which help to define the planes,
and at times even confuse the logic. The plane of the wall is defined by the consoles and garland border. The banquet table is in an ambiguous position (fig. 83). Because of the single point perspective the table seems to recede into the picture space and hence should be behind the plane created by the garlands and borders; however, the table overlaps the garland, an extension of the console which forms a pseudo-pilaster. Hence there is ambiguity over whether the table projects beyond the plane defined by the consoles and garlands, or is behind it.

Because the walls have been virtually painted away and because there are few limitations imposed by the architecture, an extension of the narrative to true mural proportions has taken place. The wedding feast takes up the two windowless walls. The narrative is extended longitudinally and the single long episode is itself a combination of various pictorial elements, including the rather uncongruous landscapes in the background. In terms of development of the narrative, Hartt makes a distinction between the realm of the walls and that of the ceiling; he feels the walls represent the coarser orgiastic aspects of the myth, while the ceiling represents the more tightly organized and spiritual aspects. In fact, Hartt feels that, as one ascends from the floor to the central sfondato, one moves from the literal, to the moral, to the allegorical, to the analogical levels of meaning. The strange juxtapositions such as that of the "Bath of Venus and Adonis" to the Marriage Feast, and incongruities as in the perspective, emphasize the disorder of the orgy and create a unity of form and iconography.
In both the ceiling and the walls, the use of illusionism changes the expected configuration. In the ceiling, perspectival foreshortening destroys the usual quadri riportati by the sense of live space which exists beyond the frame. And on the wall, the aerial perspective and single point perspective negate the emphasis on the plane generated by the consoles and the garland borders. The devices of perspective and motifs which emphasize the plane are combined with a frustrated sense of architectural structure to create a series of paradoxes, paradoxes which exist as a result of subtle mutations of the architecturally structural systems observed in the first two chapters. It is the introduction of a-structural and paradoxical passages which signify Giulio's shift from the High Renaissance to a new ideal. The Sala d'Attilio Regolo retained the High Renaissance solution to unity by the binding force of the symmetry and structural geometry of the quadri riportati. The Sala di Psyche openly contradicts both the principle of decoration which follows the real architectural structure of a room and the principle which permits an independent architectonic structure in favor of an organization based on synthetic perspective. The approach to narrative is most significantly altered. No longer does the episode have to be complete -- it can be fragmentary, as in the octagons, or panoramic yet not continuous, as on the walls.

The tendency to establish the rudiments of architectonic structure then to destroy it reaches its apex in the Sala dei Giganti where Giulio builds a complex architectural framework only to partially destroy it, similar to
the way he built frames then destroyed their quadri riportati character in the Sala di Psiche. The Sala dei Giganti has two physically separate parts as in the Sala di Psiche -- the level of the walls and that of the ceiling. Even though the ceiling paintings in the Sala di Psiche were handled di sotto in su, only the factor of an increasing abstraction of meaning gave them a reason to be physically above the scenes on the walls. In the Sala dei Giganti there is a distinct hierarchy which dictates what should be on the vaults and what on the walls: the vault represents Olympus, home of the Gods, and the walls the home of the Giants. To distinguish between the two realms, they are designed with different architectural structures.

The ceiling is the most architecturally structural, albeit an architecture of fantasy. Olympus\textsuperscript{104} (fig. 84) is rendered as a cloud bank capped by a colonnaded tempio. The sense of structure begins at the lowest level of the cloud bank where the elliptical bank of clouds acts as an entablature to support the superior legions of gods and goddesses. The lowermost part of the cloud, i.e. the one which forms the circumference of the illustration (fig. 84), functions as an entablature because it is in the physical location of a conventional entablature. The ellipse is not an unusual shape for it is quite similar to the Eliodorus ceiling (fig. 88). The entablature-cloud also serves the function of concealing the transition from the wall to vault. This is especially evident by the way the cloud bank drops suddenly in the corners to cover the spandrels. As will be clear later, the cloud-entablature is supported by structural members emerging from the landscape below. The structure of
the cloud-bank becomes rather vague through the central part of the vault, but re-emerges as illusionistic painted architecture in the tempietto (fig. 86) which caps the vault. The tempietto is close to the High Renaissance in style because of its resemblance to the tempietto of Bramante. The tempietto also bears resemblance to Mantegna's cupola in the Camera degli Sposi, which, although not colonnaded, has the same cylindrical shape. Hartt notes its resemblance to San Pietro in Montorio and the stairway of the Belvedere. The tempietto is not really quadratura like that found in the Sala dei Cavalli, or like Raphael's in the Vatican Logge (fig. 59) because it is not an extension of the real architecture; it could hardly be an extension of the fantastic cloud-bank.

The ceiling of the Sala dei Giganti is like the central sfondato of the Sala di Psiche to the extent they both use clouds as the form of Olympus. The Sala dei Giganti also uses a di sotto in su form of representation which becomes more foreshortened towards the center of the vault. But in terms of illusionism, the Sala dei Giganti is more advanced because it completely paints away the architecture. Instead of paying lip-service to the more traditional architectonic structure, the concept of borders and frames is abandoned in favor of a new kind of architectonic structure imaginatively created from piles of rocks and clouds. The Sala di Psiche achieved a sense of unity through disunity -- disunity created by tricks of perspective. But in an architectural sense, the Sala di Psiche developed little connection between the
upper and lower spheres. Conversely, in the Sala dei Giganti there is a
unity of architectural structure as will be seen in the discussion of the walls,
but also a unity created by the physical interplay of the two spheres. For
example, Jupiter prepares to hurl a thunderbolt (fig. 86) from his upper
realm at the giants on the opposite wall. Such a feat indicates that the figures
are not confined to the wall, but are actively pursuing their deeds through
the real space of the room.

As far as sources are concerned, this ceiling seems to be closer
to Mantegna than Correggio. For one thing the figures are firmly planted
on the clouds, unlike Correggio. The handling lacks his painterly touch.
The figures themselves have the hardness of Mantegna and the crisp out-
line of Raphael. In spite of it, the kind of illusionism found in Jupiter
hurling his thunderbolt across the room is unlike Mantegna's, Raphael's,
or the Romans'. One can compare it to the way Pordenone's Christ at
Cortemaggiore executed about 1530 (fig. 89). Even though the Sala
dei Giganti is much quieter, it has in common with Pordenone the illusion
of painted figures interacting with the real space of the room by overlap-
ping the quadratura.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Sala dei Giganti is the
interaction between the structure of the upper and lower spheres, as well
as the combat between the gods and the giants. What makes the relation
between the upper and lower spheres unique is that while the giants are
being punished for trying to storm Olympus by the destruction of their
home, the sphere of Olympus is structurally dependent on the lower sphere for its support. Logically, when the lower sphere collapses the upper sphere should too. The answer to this paradox is that enough structure has been retained in the lower sphere so that only part of the environment collapses. Certain interpretations have indicated that the whole environment collapses,\(^{107}\) and that it collapses into the room giving the viewer the feeling of being crushed.\(^{108}\) Close examination shows that in the "Collapse of the Giant's Hall" (fig. 90), the frontmost columns collapse backward and the rear columns remain standing to support the clouds of the sphere above, although even there the arch is beginning to collapse. Even the giants have a certain structural function in that they act as herculean caryatids to support a pile of rocks on which the cloud-entablature rests (fig. 91). To a very slight extent even the real architecture is painted to perform a function within the new system. The door jamb on the west wall\(^{109}\) supports a boulder on which one of the caryatid-giants rests. And the window jambs of the east wall (fig. 92) seem to have painted stone lintels. The lower sphere also can be ascribed a sense of architectural structure in the way the painted rusticated stonework, again similar to the exterior of the Palazzo del Te, is built so it delineates the plane of the real wall, an observation which holds for each wall. One can compare this with the painted architecture of the Sala dei Cavalli where the painted architecture also defined the limits of the real architecture.
Giulio has changed the nature of the enframements to the extent that they are hardly recognizable as borders or frames of *quadri riportati*, but they function to extend the narrative as borders and frames do. The way the rusticated architecture defines the wall surface is quite similar to the way the garland border defined the wall surface in the Sala di Psiche. Consequently there is a similar conflict between the wall surface and the *dive into space* which the rustication enframes as in the "Giants Buried under Pellion and Ossa" (fig. 91). The structure which the giants support is pierced by an opening through which one can see the real subject, the buried Giants. The giants in the foreground, who are formidable figures, really serve as architecturally structural members, while the gist of the narrative is carried by a scene within a scene. The way these scenes recede far into the distance by the use of aerial perspective is quite like the landscapes on the edges of the walls of the Sala di Psiche. On the south wall a similar arch is formed by the pile of rubble and dying giants, (Hartt, fig. 340) through which is seen a giant struck by lightening in the distance. The effect is truly as though looking through a window. The consequence of this manipulation of structure is quite similar to the Sala di Psiche. First, the walls are divided into two levels of space. One level is very close to the surface, penetrating only slightly into the picture space, and is composed of painted rusticated architecture which has a structural function as far as the painting above is concerned, and the second level is the space which recedes into the distance, seen through the window-like frames
of rusticated stone. It is a purely pictorial space without any structural or architectonic significance. It serves to hold vignettes of narrative comparable to the coffer-like areas of the Great Loggia or the painted reliefs of the Labors of Hercules in the Sala dei Cavalli, which are parenthetical to, but do not significantly advance, the overall narrative.

In terms of method, an entirely new approach to the narrative is found in the Sala dei Giganti. Hartt calls it the "cycloramic" method which describes the way simultaneous events unfold on all sides of the viewer. The subject is the assault of the Giants on Olympus and the process of their defeat. The moment is the final collapse of their domain and so each scene represents the same point in time, unlike the Sala di Psiche which created something like a uniform environment, but paradoxically introduced sequential events. A similar approach was found in the Sala degli Stucchi where the narrative was continuous, even bending around the corners, but there simultaneous events did not seem to be represented. Since the narrative is not episodic in the Sala dei Giganti, there is no need for a strict division of scenes, and so conventional borders and frames are unnecessary. However it is to be noted that the idea of the frame is retained in the stone arches which support the realm above, and frame distant landscapes.

Giulio's major achievement in the Sala dei Giganti has been to recast the nature of realism which Vitruvius said was the proper decora-
tion for a formal room. Both Vitruvius and Alberti suggested that the real-
istic representation of architecture was highly desirable. Giulio has created
a subtle architectural framework for the narrative which is distinctly sub-
ordinate to the narrative itself. One point about this architectural sub-
structure is that it is not (except perhaps for the tempietto) the static archi-
itecture of the High Renaissance as represented in the Sala dei Cavalli,
rather a rendering or architecture in the process of being destroyed. The
giants hall is not shown after or before it is destroyed, but while the columns
and entablatures are falling. Even Vasari noted this realism:

"... let no one ever think to see a work of the brush
more horrible and terrifying or more natural than this one;
and whoever enters into that room ... cannot but fear
that everything will fall upon him. {My italics}"

Giulio has gone beyond realism to the super-real and thus verges on the
fantastic. One of the factors which keeps the room from being totally fan-
tastic and hence out of line with the approach to decoration discussed in the
rooms in the first two chapters is that elements of architectural and archi-
tectonic structure are incorporated. The clouds function as entablature
and spandrels, while being the structural support for the Gods. The tem-
pietto contrasts with the clouds because it imitates real architecture. How-
ever, the imposition of one system on the other is characteristic of Giulio.
On the walls, the supportive attitudes of the foremost giants gives them a pilaster-like function. And the penetrations of the wall are like framed windows. The Sala dei Giganti represents the metamorphosis from static, purely structural decoration to purely structural decoration in flux.
CONCLUSION

The nature of change this paper has considered is that from architecturally structural decoration, a purely static phenomenon, to architectonic decoration with the illusion of movement across the surface and slightly into space, and finally to decoration which loses its connection with real architecture yet which is endowed with architectonic structure and which emerges as a result of purely pictorial means—a kind of structure which expresses movement into and out of space as well as across the surface of the wall or ceiling. In other words, there is a difference between the formalistic kind of structure which results from the physical linking of real architecture and painted decoration, and the kind of structure which results when the real architecture is painted away and is replaced by a pictorial system with its own inherent structural system, which in itself can be architectonic.

One important point about Giulio’s artistic personality emerges from this definition of change in the organization of the murals. That is, Giulio never loses the sense for the architectonic basis of organization. At times the organization is purely structural and even identical with the real architecture, as in the coffered ceiling. However even when the architectural forms are painted away, as in the walls of the Sala di Psichi and in the entire Sala dei Giganti, the sense for architectonic structure is present, if only nominally so in the Sala di Psichi, as an important underlying motif in the
Sala dei Giganti.

Analysis of the relation between the architecture and decoration can help to arrive at a distinction between the organization of High Renaissance and Mannerist murals. The organization of framework which is identical to, an extrapolation of, or an imitation of real architecture is the High Renaissance approach because of the way it emphasizes the plane and achieves maximum clarity of organization. On the other hand, as the architectonic elements are dissolved and the organization becomes more dependent on pictorial elements, or illusionism, the mural is more mannerist. The illusion that architectonic elements have been dissolved or destroyed seems to distinguish the mannerist from High Renaissance tendencies in Giulio. However, if it is the Baroque which reunites architecturally structural and architectonic decoration with illusionism, then it must also be observed that Giulio has elements of the proto-Baroque, for Giulio never completely abandons the High Renaissance sense for structure -- only submerges it.
APPENDIX

Hartt divides the execution of the decoration of the Palazzo del Te into two campaigns: 1527-29 and 1530-35. This takes into account the fact of the halt in work caused by Charles V's first visit in 1530, but does not really consider the redecoration for his second visit in 1532. Hartt's dating of the undocumented rooms is according to the premise that the decoration began in the north-west corner and proceeded to the south-east corner, first east and then south according to the floor plan (Fig. 2); thus his dating is relative to the documented rooms which surround the one in question. The following is a new system based on the principles of organization delineated in the body of this paper:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proposed Sequence and the dates to which they are Documented</th>
<th>Hartt's Sequence</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sala delle Metamorfosi</td>
<td>Entrance Loggia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sala delle Imprese</td>
<td>Atrio delle Muse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance Loggia</td>
<td>Sala del Sole</td>
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<tr>
<td>Atrio delle Muse</td>
<td>Sala delle Imprese</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sala di Cesare</td>
<td>Sala delle Metamorfosi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sala dei Sole</td>
<td>Sala dei Cavalli</td>
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<tr>
<td>Great Loggia</td>
<td>Sala dei Venti</td>
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<td>Sala dei Venti</td>
<td>Sala delle Aquile</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sala dei Cavalli</td>
<td>Sala di Psiche</td>
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<tr>
<td>Casino della Grotta (Loggia, Loggetta, Grotta Sala d'Attilio Regolo)</td>
<td>Casino della Grotta</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sala degli Stucchi</td>
<td>Sala degli' Stucchi</td>
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<td>Sala delle Aquile</td>
<td>Great Loggia</td>
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<td>Sala di Psiche</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sala dei Giganti</td>
<td>Sala dei Giganti</td>
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| Summer-Fall, 1527                                          | Summer, 1528              |
| Summer-Fall, 1527                                          | Summer, 1528              |
| Summer-Fall, 1527                                          | Summer, 1528              |
| Summer-Fall, 1527                                          | Summer, 1528              |
| Fall, 1527-Spring, 1528                                    | Summer, 1532-Winter, 1533 |
| Spring, 1527-Spring, 1528                                  | Spring, 1528              |
| Spring, 1527-Spring, 1528                                  | Spring, 1531              |
| Spring, 1527-Spring, 1528                                  | Fall, 1527-Spring, 1528   |
| Spring, 1527-Spring, 1528                                  | Fall, 1527-Spring, 1528   |
NOTES

1 Carlo d'Arco, Storie della vita e delle opere di Giulio Pippi Romano, Mantua, 1848.


4 Giovanni Bottani, Descrizione storica delle piture del regioeducale Palazzo del Te, Mantua, 1783.


6 Dante Berzuini, Guida descritta del Palazzo del Te in Mantova, Mantua, 1927.


11 Frederick Hartt, Giulio Romano, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1958, two vols. (see pp. 331-339 for an extensive bibliography).


13 Hermann Dollmayr, "Giulio Romano und das classische Alterthum"
Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses zu Wien, XXII, 1901, pp. 179-220


16 Alberti, (IX, ii) p. 188.


19 Brinton, p. 40.

20 Ibid., p. 118.

21 Ibid., p. 123.

22 Ibid., p. 139.


24 Ibid., pp. 310-329, lists 247 documents covering the years 1514 to 1547, the numbers of which are referred to in these notes.

25 Ibid., p. 120.

26 Ibid., p. 157.

27 Ibid.


31 Dollmayr, "Giulio Romano," p. 179, and Hartt, Giulio Romano, pp. 5-6, 68, 81, emphasize the tremendous impact of Roman antiquities on Giulio.


33 Franzep, Württemburger, "Die manieristische deckenmalerei in Mitteleitalien," Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte, IV, 1940, pp. 64-65, discusses the interaction between painting and architecture in reference to the Sistine Chapel and the Farnesina.


35 Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 108, comes close to the concept of planar illusionism expressed in Schulz, p. 44-45, when he describes the Atrio delle Muse as having a "vivid and unstable pattern."

36 Ibid., p. 148 (see p. 20, n. 52).

37 Dollmayr, "Giulio Romano," p. 190, also cited by Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 148.


40 Brinton, p. 157.

41 Ibid., p. 161.

42 Ibid., p. 158.

43 Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 318, doc. 112, January 21, 1531.

44 Buehlmann, p. 1. In line with this, Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 127, n. 25, observes that the ceilings were generally executed first, and hence the organization of the wall would follow the ceiling.

45 Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 151.
46. Weege, *Das goldene Haus des Nero*, Berlin, 1913, pp. 14 ff., cited in Schulz, "Pinturicchio," p. 47, n. 34. Schulz also notes that since the grottae were only partially uncovered it was quite a difficult task to crawl through them seeing by torch-light, and thus it would have taken a good deal of determination and interest to go through them.

47. Schulz, p. 47.


50. Ibid.

51. Ibid., p. 46, Note 30.

52. Ibid., p. 44.


56. Ibid., p. 151.

57. Ibid.

58. Brinton, p. 131.


60. Sandström, p. 41-60, discusses the different kinds of imitation.

61. I am indebted to Prof. Cope for this observation.


68 Venturi, III, 1904, fig. 504.


70 Alberti, (IX, iv) p. 192.


74 Venturi, VII, pt. 1, 1911, fig. 187.


77 I am indebted to Prof. Cope for this observation.


80 Ibid., pp. 81-2.


85 Hartt, Giulio Romano, pp. 58-62.


87 Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 142.

88 Christoforo Sorte, "Osservazioni nella Pittura," Trattati d'Arte del Cinquecento, P. Barocchi, ed., Bari, Laterza and Figli, 1960, pp. 298-39, indicates that Giulio had a unique method of composing the ceiling murals using mirror and grid. This might be the reason his foreshortening was so advanced in comparison to other central Italian painters.


90 Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 124.

91 Ibid., p. 123.
92Ibid., p. 126.

93Ibid., p. 124.

94Ibid., p. 124, feels Phaeton has plunged into the room space.

95Ibid., fig. 429.


97Schulz, Pinturicchio, p. 50.


99Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 109, feels Correggio's influence is felt in the Sala del Sole.

100Ibid., pp. 136-7.

101Ibid., pp. 138-40.

102Ibid., p. 129.

103Ibid., p. 136.

104Ibid., p. 155.

105Ibid.


107Hartt, Giulio Romano, p. 154.


109Hartt, Giulio Romano, fig. 338.
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MANTOVA
Scale di 1:15000

1. Mantua, Italy.
Sala di Palazzo
Sala del Cavali
Atrio delle Muse
Sala del Sole
Sala delle Imprese
Sala delle Metamorfosi
Entrance Loggia

Sala degli Stucchi Cesare
Sala dei Venti Aquila
Sala della Grotta
Casino della Grotta

(South wing not decorated by G. R.)

S. Palazzo del Re, floor plan.
3. Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Imprese, plan of vault.

4. Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Metamorfosi, plan of vault.

5. Athens, Erechtheum, drawing of coffers.

S. Florence, Palazzo Medici, detail of ceiling, Michelozzo.
10. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Entrance Loggia, vault.

11. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Entrance Loggia, plan of vault.
12. Rome, Basilica of Maxentius, vault.

15. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Atrio delle Muse, vault.

17. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, view to corner.
18. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, vault.

19. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, Plan of vault.
20. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, wall.
21. Florence, Uffizi Cat. #199, sketch for fig. 22.

22. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala degli Stucchi, detail of lunette.

23. Rome, Temple of Neptune, "Lustrum" Relief, now in Antikensammlung, Munich.
24. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, vault.

25. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, plan of vault.
26. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, detail of vault.
27. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Great Loggia, wall plan.
28. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, vault.

29. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, plan of vault.
30. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Venti, wall and vault.

33. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Crotta, vault.

34. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Casino della Grotta plan.
35. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Grotta, Wall.

36. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Loggia della Grotta, "Birth."
37. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Cesare, octagon.

38. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Cesare, plan of vault.

39. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Cesare, vault.
40. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, ceiling.

41. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli plan of ceiling.
42. Florence, Santo Spirito, details sacristy vault, Il Cronaco (Simone del Pollaiolo).

43. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, overall view.
44. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, wall.

45. Rome, Villa Farnesina, Sala delle Prospettive, wall, Peruzzi.
46. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, detail fig. 44.
47. Pompeii, Villa dei Misteri, wall.

49. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, wall frieze, detail fig. 44.

50. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Imprese, wall.
51. Rome, Palazzo Venezia, Sala di Mappamond, wall.
52. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, wall.

53. Hans Holbein the Younger, detail of drawing for house of the Dance.

55. Hubert and Jan van Eyck, Ghent Altarpiece, exterior, "Sts. and Donors."
56. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Cavalli, landscape.
57. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Grotta, vault.

58. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Grotta, wall.

60. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala d'Attilio Regolo, wall.
61. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala d'Attilio Regolo, octagon, (distortion in photograph).

62. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala del Sole, Chariots of the Sun and Moon.

63. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala del Sole, plan of vault.
64. Rome, Vatican, Chigi Chapel, detail of vault, Raphael.
65. Parma, San Giovanni Evangelista, John, Correggio.
66. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Aquile, vault.

67. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Aquile, plan of vault.

68. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala delle Aquile, Fall of Phaeton, detail of fig. 66 (distortion in photograph; in correct viewing position for perspective).
69. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala della Aquile, apse.

70. Rome, Vatican, Logge, first bay, Raphael.

72. Mantua, Palazzo Ducale, Camera degli Sposi, vault, Mantegna.

74. Rome, Sta. Maria del Popolo, choir vault, Pinturicchio.
75. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, vault.

76. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, plan of vault.
77. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, "Venus Pointing to Psyche and Cupid."

78. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, "Psyche Worshipped as a Goddess."
79. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, "Psyche and Her Father."

80. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, "Wedding of Cupid and Psyche."
81. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, Polyphemus.
82. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall, "Bath of Mars and Venus."

83. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall, "Marriage Feast of Cupid and Psyche."
84. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, vault.

85. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, plan of vault.
86. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, Jupiter and Tempietto, detail of fig. 85.

87. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, south wall.

89. Cortemaggiore, Franciscan Church, Choir vault, cupola, Christ and the Angels.
90. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, wall, "Collapse of the Giants Hall."

91. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, "Giants Buried Under Pellion and Ossa."
92. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala dei Giganti, east wall.
93. Rome, Column of Marcus Aurelius.

94. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, wall, "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche."
95. Mantua, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psiche, drawing of station points.

X = Station point for "Marriage of Cupid and Psyche" in sfondo.

--- = Direction of viewing spandrils and lunettes.

- - - = Movement around room necessary to see lunettes and spandrils from the proper points.