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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY
OF THE VILLA GIULIA

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Der Herausgeber

PREFACE

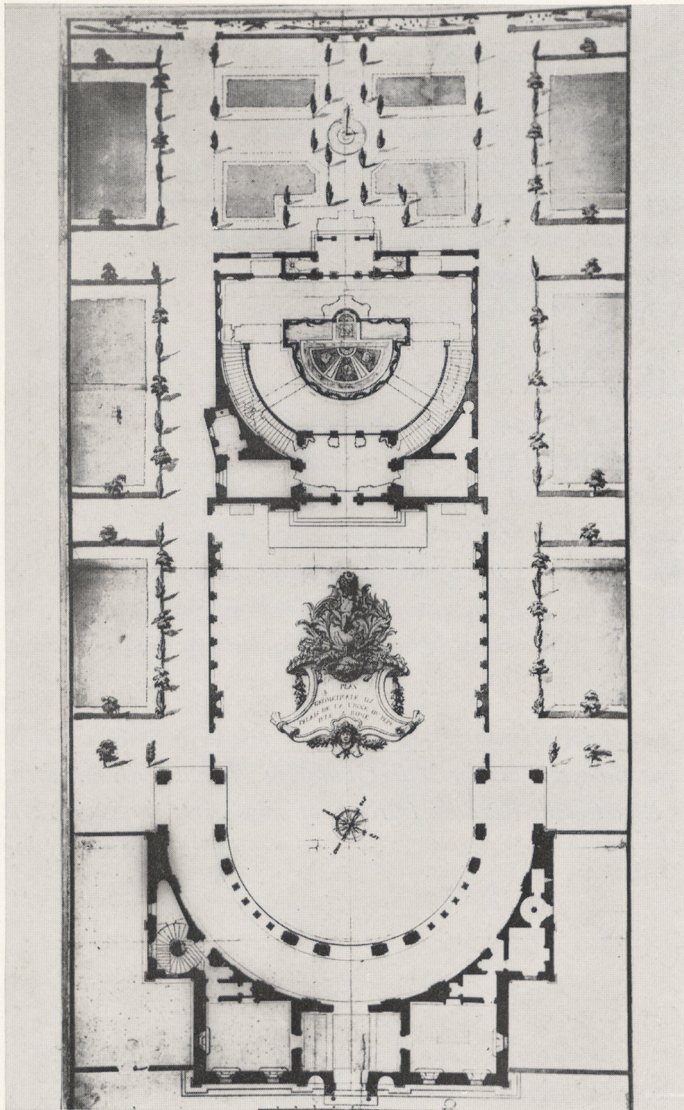
One of the most fascinating and frustrating architectural problems of the mid-sixteenth century is that of the Villa Giulia. Almost every student who has approached it has come to his own conclusions regarding what parts of the building are to be attributed to whom, what the order of construction was, how the original plans looked and in what manner they were altered, and even what architects were involved. The problem has been exacerbated by the failure of many authors to distinguish clearly between renovated and "restored" parts of the building complex and those left in much their original condition.

This rather confusing situation reduces the probability that the technical problems raised by the building can be solved by stylistic analysis; the divisions of architectural responsibility that have been proposed on such a basis cover a remarkably broad range. With certain obvious exceptions (such as the decorative details on the casino façade) stylistic attributions are apt to be mainly conjectural, especially if one remembers that all three of the major architects involved—Vignola, Vasari and Ammannati—were just beginning to form their personal styles. I shall try, on the

whole, to restrict my observations on style to a fairly crude but reliable level.

My attempt to establish more clearly what happened during the course of construction will center upon a set of drawings from the R.I.B.A. library, which has been published but not yet intensively analyzed. These I shall try to interpret and coordinate with the other available documents, such as the scattered building accounts that have been so painstakingly (if not always infallibly) collated and interpreted by John Coolidge; contemporary maps, descriptions and correspondence; and a number of plans and views of various dates, including a set of three detailed renderings from the Scholz scrapbook at the Metropolitan Museum, the discussion of which has been given as an appendix, since it does not clarify the course of building operations¹.

¹ I should like to thank Prof. Wolfgang Lotz who first introduced me to the R I B A (Royal Institute of British Architects, London) drawings, and who has invariably lent me what I can only describe as a mysteriously "helpful ear" whenever I have needed help, encouragement or advice.



1. Plan of the Villa Giulia. From a drawing of the first half of the 18th century in the Villa Giulia

I

Between 1551 and 1555 the Villa Giulia was built and decorated under the supervision of Vasari, Vignola and Ammannati (fig. 1, 2, 9, 10), but it was not quite finished in March 1555 when Pope Julius III. died. Ammannati remained for two months longer directing what still needed to be done², but his letter to Marco Bonavides of May 2, 1555 leaves unclear whether the second and third precincts were properly completed³.

2 L. Biagi, Di Bartolommeo Ammannati e di alcune sue opere, in: *L'Arte* XXVI (1923), 65–66. According to a claim made by Ammannati in 1561 he worked 34 months on the vigna, including two months after the death of the Pope. This confirms that he began working there in May 1552.

3 Balestra, *La Fontana Pubblica di Giulio III e il Palazzo di Pio IV sulla Via Flaminia*, Roma 1911, 65–75, publishes the full text of a

Baldovino del Monte, to whom the *vigna* had been willed during the Pope's lifetime, died in August of the following year and the property was sequestered immediately by the new Pope, Paul IV. The following years were filled with complex legal proceedings, during the course of which the Villa and its immediate surroundings remained almost the only part of the Del Monte estate left in Papal hands⁴.

The new Pope took little or no care of the Villa, and parts of the *vigna* were being let out to private individuals while it was still sequestered⁵. Under his successor, Pius IV (1559–1565), first the unused building materials, then more than one hundred antique statues were transported from the *vigna* to the Belvedere⁶. Nevertheless, he entertained at the Villa and kept it in good repair. He mended the Aqua Vergine, replaced some of the minor rooms flanking the loggia by a diagonally projecting chapel, incorporated the *fontana pubblica* into a palazzetto for his nephews, and may have finished whatever remained to be done.

The building was used thereafter for the reception and lodging of important visitors, mostly ambassadors and royalty. There are occasional records of repairs made in various parts of the building, but after about 1650 it was neglected increasingly and no longer used by the Pope. From about 1685 to 1735 it was rented out to private entrepreneurs, in 1744 used temporarily as a military field hospital by Austrian and Spanish troops. Then it was completely deserted⁷.

By 1769 the whole building was in a deplorable state of decay: "the woodwork was rotten, the ironwork filched, the aqueducts worn out; the walls were damaged by leaking water, the pavements by flames, the gilding and paint-

letter from Ammannati to his former patron in Mantua, Marco Benavides, with a descriptive itinerary of the vigna and villa. It is one of the key documents in the history of the Villa Giulia, and was first published in 1819 by Salvatore Betti in: *Giornale Arcadico di Scienze Lettere ed Arti*. It is also published in M. Baffie, *Villa Giulia: L'Architettura – Il Giardino*, Roma 1948, 31–32.

4 J. Coolidge, *The Villa Giulia. A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-sixteenth Century*. *Art Bulletin* XXV (1943), 177–225, distinguishes between "villa", the building complex proper, and "vigna", the entire property including all land and minor building as well as the villa. I shall follow this distinction.

As to the different colonnaded structures of the villa, I shall refer to "the semicircular portico" at the rear façade of the casino (Coolidge calls it "loggia"), "the loggia" of Ammannati (Coolidge: "loggia II"), and "the portichetto" (Coolidge: "loggia III").

5 R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, Roma 1902–1912, vol. III, 28.

6 Lanciani III, 29.

7 J. Hess, *Amaduzzi und Jenkins in Villa Giulia*, *English Miscellany* VI (1955), 179–180.



2. *View of the courtyard façade of the casino*

ing by smoke, the stucchi and ornaments by time.”⁸ Clement XIV began a careful restoration, but by his death in 1774 only the casino had been returned to good condition. When Pius VI resumed work on the loggia and nymphaeum courtyard in 1775, different principles of restoration were followed: damaged frescoes and stucco decoration were removed completely, the aviaries were walled up and converted into quarters for the truck gardeners who rented the surrounding property, and the upper story of the nymphaeum courtyard was radically simplified. At the same time, the few remaining antique sculptures were carried off to the new Vatican museum. When

work was completed in 1777 only two busts over the portichetto were left⁹.

Pius VI used his refurbished villa as an autumnal retreat, but afterwards it fell into greater disuse than before, being opened only sporadically to serve as a veterinary school, printer’s warehouse, powder store and barracks. Finally, following Letarouilly’s insistence that it be used once more, it was opened in 1889 as the Etruscan museum. The last extensive “restoration” took place in 1909–1911, when many of the temporary structures built in the nine-

8 G. Stern, *Piante, Elevazioni, profile e spaccati degli edifici della villa suburbana di Giulio III, etc.*, Roma 1784, 7.

9 Hess, *English Misc.*, 181–182.

The lateral passages from the portichetto into the third precinct were probably closed off at this time. The restoration is commemorated by an inscription over the entrance to the loggia.



3. Reverse of the ANNO III medal



4. Reverse of the undated medal. Engraving from Stern

teenth century were removed. There was no attempt, however, to recreate the original state of the building.

I have mentioned these later alterations in some detail because a number of authors have been led astray in their attributions by including such alterations in their analysis of the original structure. Thus, Giovanni Stern (who, of course, knew very well what had just been completed by Pius VI) tried to explain the chapel of Pius IV as a part of Julius III's subterranean bathing establishment¹⁰. Coolidge, in particular, falls into this error in his discussion of the nymphaeum; his conviction that the uppermost story could have been done only after Ammannati's departure is based largely upon the assumption that no disposition of the upper story other than the present one ever existed¹¹.

There are other, less avoidable, obstacles to a clear understanding of the Villa Giulia. Archaeological investigation is hindered in arriving at clear interpretations because any structural incoherency may give evidence not of a major revision in general plan but of one of the Pope's *capricci*. Julius III was notorious for his irresolution; every project he sponsored must have suffered from an uncomfortable aura of uncertainty¹².

10 Stern, 72.

11 Coolidge, 208, note 226. This conviction causes him to misdate the loggia and the portichetto and to interpret Uffizi Dis. A. 2758 r (reproduced in Bafile, Villa Giulia, 18, fig. 15) as an unexecuted project when it may well be a sketch from the finished structure.

12 L. von Pastor, *The History of the Popes, from the close of the Middle Ages*, St. Louis 1923, XII, 50, mentions this character trait in relation to political affairs. Vasari (ed. G. Milanesi, Firenze 1878-1881, VI, 478; VII, 694) complains bitterly that one couldn't show one's true worth in Julius III's artistic ventures. He includes as proof (VII, 228-232) part of a correspondence that reveals the Pope's indecision as to where he should erect a tomb commemorating his uncle and grandfather.

As Coolidge has pointed out¹³, vague terminology creates considerable difficulty in interpreting the building accounts. Not only were the terms "vigna" and "villa" used loosely, often interchangeably, in the sixteenth century, but the various structures on the property were not clearly distinguished from one another¹⁴. This means that the accounts are not always reliable guides for locating activity. Furthermore, the term "fontana" could refer to the *fontana pubblica* on the Via Flaminia, the *fonte bassa* in the nymphaeum court, or any one of numerous other fountains on the *vigna*: both the main courtyard and the rectangular third precinct, for example, contained large, well-known antique porphyry basins, one of which Ammannati calls "delle meravigliose cose che siano in Roma"¹⁵. I am inclined, however, to follow Coolidge in thinking that the term "La Fontana," or "la fontana della villa Julia," unqualified by further descriptive adjectives, refers to some part of the nymphaeum¹⁶.

Finally, our main sources of information are not always altogether satisfactory. Lanciani's narrow range of interest means that we learn about the actual construction of the building only as a fractured byproduct. And Vasari, who is our chief source for the division of architectural

13 Coolidge, 182, note 34, and 185, note 50.

14 K. Frey, *Der literarische Nachlaß Giorgio Vasaris*, München 1923, 349, asserts the contrary, but I don't see how this can be maintained if the extracts in Lanciani - "per la vigna", "per la fabbrica della vigna" - are at all typical. Possibly the building accounts proper, which are not Lanciani's major interest and have not yet been properly published, do distinguish more satisfactorily between "fabbrica / palazzo nuovo della vigna", "casa della vigna vecchia", etc., as he says.

15 Balestra, 74.

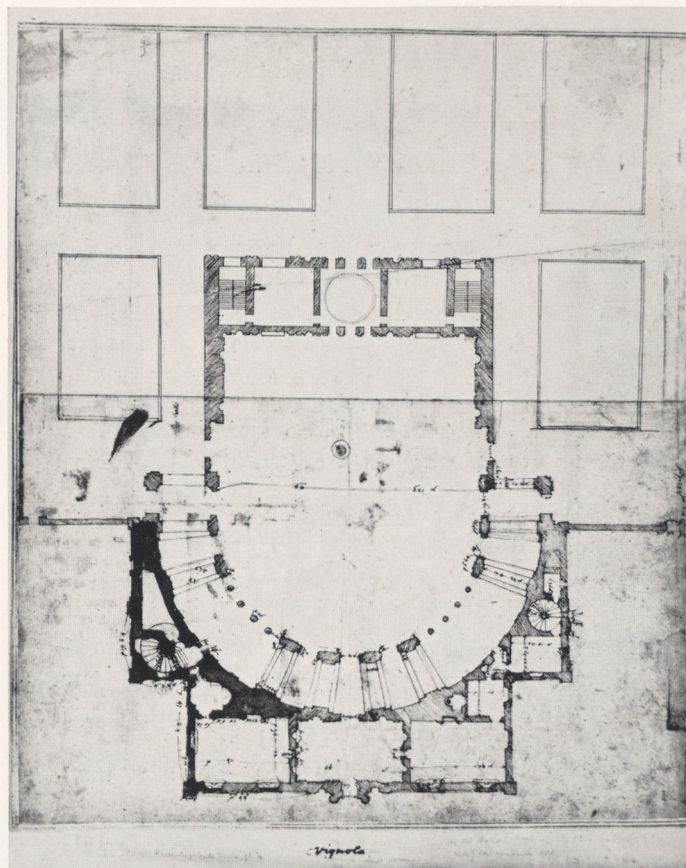
16 Coolidge, 186, note 61.

responsibility, is not as clear as we might like him to be¹⁷. Though a picture of who did what can be pieced together from his remarks in a manner that avoids outright contradiction, he certainly seems to lack directness. As early as 1868 Letarouilly pointed out Vasari's conspicuous avoidance of naming those who worked on the building after the death of Julius III, especially his reluctance to mention Pirro Ligorio, whom he seemed to have disliked intensely¹⁸. All Ligorio's work for Pius IV—the casino in the Vatican gardens, the hemicycle and *Niccione* in the Belvedere courtyard of the Vatican, the *Palazzetto* on the Via Flaminia, the work as first architect of St. Peter's—is dismissed by Vasari with the brief statement that Pius IV, "*che dilettandosi assai di fabricare, si serviva nelle cose d'architettura di Pirro Ligorio . . .*"¹⁹ A recent author has pointed out the similarity between the interior façade of the Villa Giulia and Ligorio's slightly later works and suggested that he was called upon as an advisor in an early stage of planning²⁰. For any clues towards a solution of this problem we must look elsewhere than in Vasari.

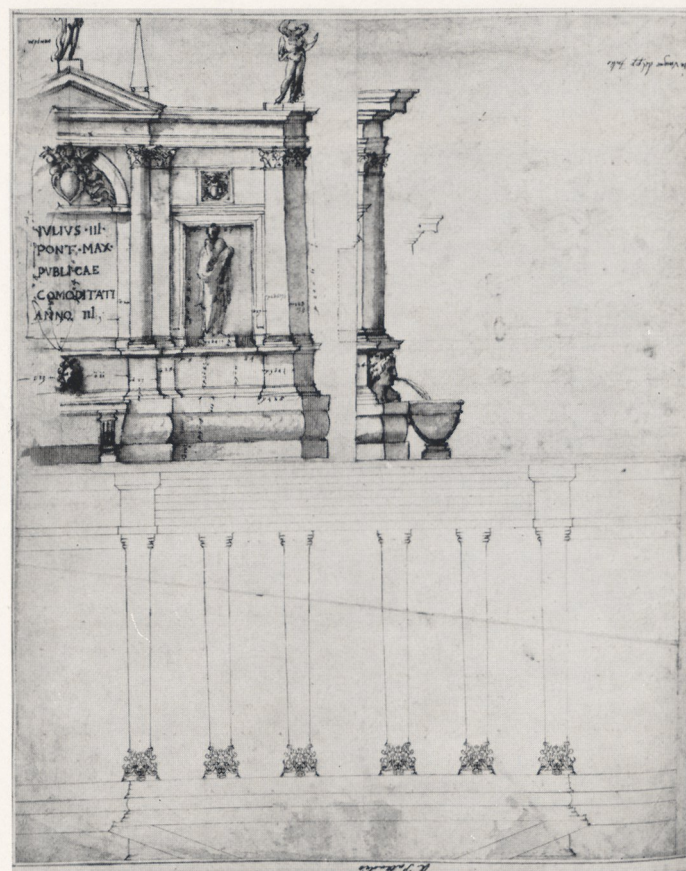
II

Among the major problems raised by the Villa Giulia are those concerning the history of its construction: what were the original plans for it like? how were they modified during the course of construction? what other overall programs succeeded them? did the new structure incorporate parts of older buildings or was it completely new? In particular, were casino and nymphaeum conceived of simultaneously and, if so, were they designed as independent units or unified in a larger architectural plan?

Unfortunately, literary sources provide no clue to solving these questions, and visual documents were long con-



5. R.I.B.A. drawing, 8/3r.



6. R.I.B.A. drawing, 8/3v.

17 The most important passages referring to the Villa Giulia are: VII, 81–82, 106–107, 694–696. Coolidge has put most of them together in one place on pp. 191–192.

The general picture Vasari gives is this: Vasari was responsible for taking down the Pope's ideas, the sketches then being shown to Michelangelo for comment; these formed the basis for most of the work done afterwards by others. Vignola was hired to do the engineering on the Aqua Vergine and worked on the casino as well. Ammannati helped Vasari in designing the fonte bassa and built the loggia above it.

18 P. Letarouilly, *Édifices de Rome Moderne*, etc., Paris 1868, 421, n. 1.

19 Vasari, VII, 35.

20 J. Hess, *Contributo alla Storia di Villa Giulia*, – an address delivered 29. January 1953 to the Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. A resumé by Prof. Redig de Campos was published in the *Rendiconti (Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia)*, XXVII (1953), 154–155.

finned to some medals coined by the Pope in honour of his new villa. These, of course, did not provide a very satisfactory or detailed record and gave no hint of the very earliest projects.

In 1952 Mario Bafile published in *Palladio*²¹ a set of drawings from the Burlington-Devonshire collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, but he made little attempt to analyze them intensively. These are, however, the only known drawings which are undoubtedly contemporary with the construction of the Villa Giulia and they provide a great deal of new information about the history of its construction.

There are four mounted sheets, two of which are double. They are done mostly in sepia pen and sepia wash with red chalk on those parts depicting the elevations. Each sheet has been labelled "*Vingne del pp Julio*" in what looks like a contemporary hand; this was probably added by whoever came into possession of the drawings after they had left their original owner, as the label would clearly have been superfluous on several of them in their original circumstances. (The spelling of *vigna* suggests a French owner.)

The plans fall into two groups, one pair containing rough sketches mainly of the casino and loggia, the other containing detailed and very finished representations of the nymphaeum court and *fonte bassa*. They are obviously made for different purposes and probably at different times—though possibly by the same hand. All are measured in *palmi* and *onci*.

The key drawing of the first pair of sheets, 8/3r (fig. 5)²²—the most fruitful one in the entire set—is a plan showing what appears to be the casino much as it now stands but completed by an abbreviated courtyard whose far end is closed by a two-story structure. The verso (fig. 6) is occupied partly by an elevation of the *fontana pubblica*, partly by an unrelated outline elevation of a hexastyle Corinthian portico, done in a different hand. A number of

details on the second sheet, 8/4 (fig. 7, 8), are clarifications or alterations of parts of the plan on the first one. They are coded, which indicates that the two sheets are close to contemporaneous and form part of a set.

At first sight the plan appears to be a primitive project for the entire building complex. This is Bafile's conclusion. Noting that the casino is measured and seems to agree, except in minor details, with the building as executed, while the far end of the courtyard is drawn in without measurements, he concludes that the casino is presented as a survey of work completed (with a few alternative variants such as doors and fireplaces) while the rest is a preliminary study project for continuing.

He dates the sheet from early 1552: as *terminus post quem* he uses the beginning of Anno III (February 1552), the date inscribed on the plaque in the center of the sketch of the public fountain; as *terminus ante quem* he takes Easter 1552 (17 April), when Ammannati presented a "modello della fontana" to the Pope²³. This he assumes (probably correctly) to have been for the nymphaeum and/or *fonte bassa*. As the Pope was so pleased that work on the fountain began the following month, he takes for granted that all plans postdating Easter would have included the new proposal. This dating is approximately correct, though the reasons for it are unsound.

Bafile's contention that the fountain on 8/3 verso was sketched from life doesn't withstand close examination. It is based on the concentration of measurements on the lower portions of the sketch; but this could just as easily mean that the fountain was unfinished as that the artist was unable to reach and measure its top.

There is more definite evidence that such was the case. The depiction of the upper profiles is identical in style to that used on 8/4 to indicate what were undoubtedly unfinished portions of the casino. Furthermore, the statues on the sketch correspond neither to those recorded on plate I of Egger's *Römische Veduten* nor to the description in Ammannati's letter of 1555²⁴. These were put on only around January 1553²⁵. This alone would indicate that the fountain couldn't have been finished in the early part of

21 M. Bafile, *I Disegni di Villa Giulia nella Collezione Burlington-Devonshire*, *Palladio I-II* (1952), 54-64.

22 The drawings each have two numbers: a RIBA number and a Grant Keith catalogue number. The latter is consistently two higher. Thus, RIBA 8/1 = G. K. 8/3. I shall use the G. K. numbers in order to conform with Bafile's usage. He presents the drawings as follows:

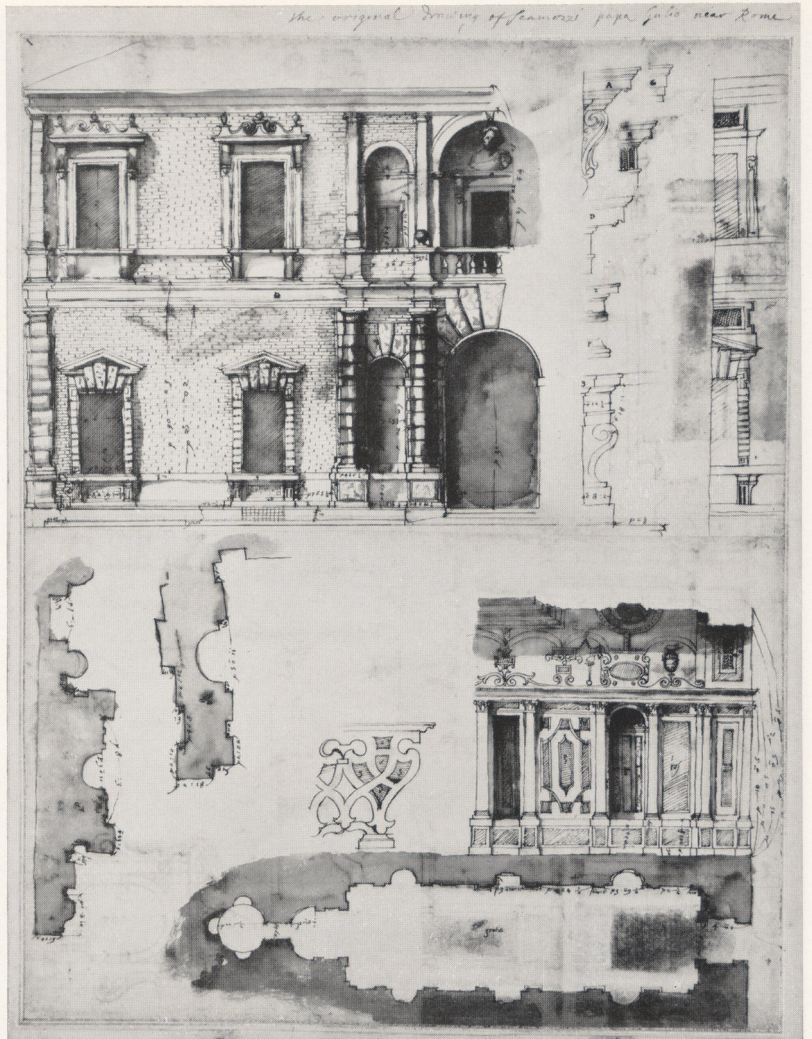
8/3 recto: pp. 56-57; figs. 1 and 2
 8/3 verso: p. 58 ; fig. 5
 8/4 recto: pp. 59-60; fig. 6
 8/4 verso: p. 61 ; figs. 7 and 8
 8/5 recto: p. 62 ; fig. 9
 8/5 verso: p. 62 ; fig. 10
 8/6 recto: pp. 62-63; fig. 11
 8/6 verso: p. 63 ; fig. 12.

23 Ammannati "fece il modello della fontana di Papa Julio III de monti per pasqua di resuretio 1552 et piaque al papa ditto modello. . ." - L. Biagi, *L'Arte XXVI* (1923), 65.

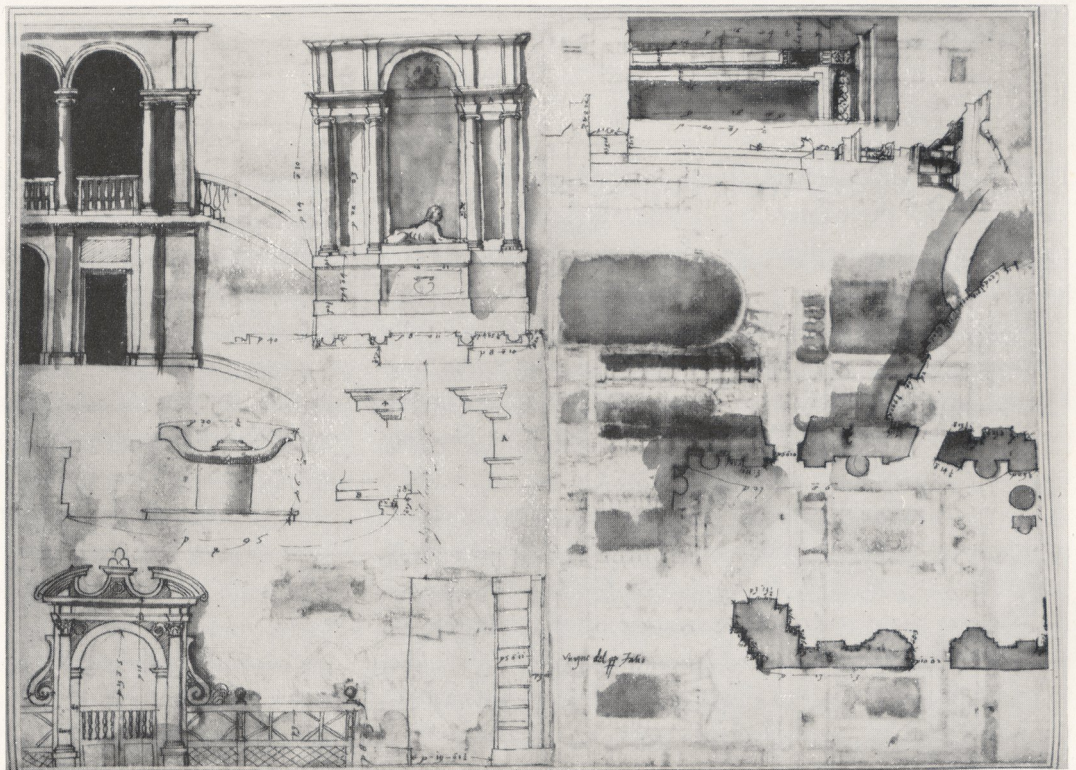
24 H. Egger (*Römische Veduten*, *Handzeichnungen aus dem XV.-XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1931-32), whose sketch is not altogether satisfactory because it was done hastily by an inferior draughtsman, shows a figure with a spear as the right-hand acroteria. 8/3 does not - nor does its figure resemble either the Roma or the Minerva that Ammannati mentions.

25 Lanciani III, 21, mentions a payment to Ludovico da Urbino for preparing a head destined for the fontana pubblica.

7. R.I.B.A. drawing,
8/4r.



8. R.I.B.A. drawing,
8/4v.





9. View of the façade of the casino

1552—but it doesn't help establish when, exactly, before January 1553 the sketch was made. This can be determined more closely only by careful examination of the project on 8/3 recto.

Bafile is mistaken in assuming that this project precedes the idea of building a nymphaeum in something like its present form—an assertion that would imply the definite existence of a planning stage with a casino but no nymphaeum.

I have mentioned that 8/3 is the only sheet in the entire set that contains a disparate rendering: the verso is clearly pasted together from a sheet relating, like the rest, to the Del Monte *vigna* and from a second sheet showing an unrelated Corinthian portico. The elevation of the public fountain backs the half of the plan that depicts the casino; the portico backs the project for the courtyard and closing pavilion.

If one examines the recto with this suspicious circumstance in mind, it soon becomes apparent that the pavilion project has been attached to the plan of the casino in place of something else that originally was there: a measurement beginning at the tip of the right-hand courtyard wall and originally extending further has been cut off; there are similar breaks in a measurement extending down the center of the courtyard and in a wall at the extreme left margin of the sheet; the ends of the rectangles that indicate garden parterres have been filled in by hand on the casino sheet in order to complete the more mechanically drawn parterre pattern on the pavilion sheet.

If this, then, is a revision of an earlier project, what did that look like? Several circumstances suggest that it was very much like what now stands: the dimensions of the broken-off central measurement (in what looks like a



10. View of the loggia from the nymphaeum

different hand from that on the rest of the plan) remain visible on the casino half of the sheet; they are p 221, significantly close to the length of the present courtyard—p 218²⁶. Also, among the details of 8/4 verso (fig. 8) which are coded to the main sheet is one of the loggia between the courtyard and the nymphaeum. (It lacks, of course, a corresponding sign on the main sheet.)

An elevation of the loggia as seen from the nymphaeum is included on the upper left half of 8/4 verso together with elevations of a sphinx motif and a fountain (possibly from the third precinct). 8/4 recto contains elevations of the grotto opening on the third precinct, and of the casino itself. There are also measured plan studies of the wall by the central entrance to the casino, of the end of the casino

portico, of the courtyard side wall, and of the grotto already mentioned.

This mixture of details suggests that casino, nymphaeum court, and third precinct were in similar stages of planning, though not necessarily of execution, at the time the original sheet was drawn—possibly before May in connection with the designing of the nymphaeum model submitted by Ammannati on Easter 1552.

How far the whole had actually been executed at the time of the revised project, the present 8/3 recto, is unclear. The very existence of what appears to be a counterproposal to Ammannati's building project suggests a date scarcely much later than May for the younger half of the sheet, unless work were carried on very slowly indeed afterwards. (The reverse seems to have been the case.)

On the other hand, the very existence of such a counterproposal suggests a previously slow and uncertain prog-

26 Unless otherwise noted, my standard "present-day measurement" in *palmi and onci* is from Giovanni Stern.

ress on the project. The reduced payments made to Baronino for heavy construction—he received less in 1552 than in either 1551 or 1553—further bear this out²⁷. A feature on the older half of 8/3r also points towards this conclusion and suggests the problem facing the architects.

The semicircular portico of the casino looks at first glance as though it is identical to that visible today, though it is obviously not drawn to scale—the last bay appears not significantly wider than its neighbour although it is clearly marked p 19 o 1 (p 19 o 4 1/2 in fact; and the adjacent bay p 8 o 8 1/2). The four central piers are drawn approximately equidistant and only the central bay is marked—p 12! This is a remarkable deviation from the actual disposition (p 20 o 6 1/2 for the central bay, p 8 o 8 1/2 for the side bays), especially if one considers how closely the measurements of the rooms—and even that of the central exit into the portico—are to those actually executed.

If one calculates the circumference of the portico according to the measurements on 8/3r and compares the result with one derived from Stern²⁸, the two figures are reasonably close to one another: about p 259 o 6 on 8/3r, p 242 o 7 on Stern (which shows the diameter of the semicircle p 2 o 4 1/2 smaller).

All this suggests that although the general shape and size of the building had been decided upon and the front part of the casino was well in hand²⁹, the articulation of the rear façade remained an unsolved stylistic problem and was left practically untouched³⁰. This would explain

27 The slow advance in early 1552 may well have had external causes as well as the purely artistic ones about to be discussed. Although the Papacy was short on funds throughout Julius III's reign, things were particularly bad at just this juncture. The war over Parma (22 May 1551 to 10 May 1552) reduced the Papacy to such pitiful straits that the Pope had to pledge not only his valuables and jewels but even his official rings (Pastor XIII, 134–136).

28 This is possible by making two assumptions: that Stern's piers (which are, for some reason, unmarked) are about the same size as is recorded in later metric measurements; that all the unmarked interspaces between piers on 8/3r are p 12.

29 The elevation on 8/4r is measured (fully as far as the dividing cornice) and agrees, except for the corner pilasters (which are shown with alternating long and short bosses instead of with bosses of equal length) with the building as executed (fig. 9) until one reaches the upper portions.

30 It is true that 8/4r shows a partly measured elevation and profile of the central window; but it also shows (unmeasured) the design of the cornice, which the elevation of the front shows to be unfinished.

The upper order of the façade is shown as Ionic rather than Corinthian as it is today, another indication that construction had not yet reached this level. This unexecuted solution was designed to fit the logic of the façade with its plain lower order. The order eventually adopted fits the logic of the rear façade and the rest of the building complex instead. This is another sug-

far better than his own extravagant hypothesis—that a semicircular portico was literally carved out of a formerly rectangular building³¹—why the engineer Lojacono found “*tutta la composizione dell'essedra posteriore . . . applicata ad una struttura precedente rettangolare.*”³²

It suggests, too, why the projects of 8/3r may have been suggested. The disparity between the rapid progress being made on the front part of the building, which was at least one story high, and the standstill on the rear must have been approaching a stage where something had to be done. But the need for a plan for the rear would have affected more than just the casino; the semicircular portico was to become part of a larger architectural composition and any change in its design and articulation would have had to be accompanied by a harmonious and appropriate adjustment of the rest. The various proposals put forth at the time surely included suggestions for the entire court as well as for the casino façade. One of these was probably 8/3 recto as it now exists, another may have been its (more expensive) predecessor.

Some of these must have been suggested by the artists working on the Villa, others doubtless gave shape to the ideas of the Pope. Jacob Hess believes that Pirro Ligorio was consulted and that his design was that finally adopted³³. That the two halves of 8/3 do not seem to be by different hands suggests that it is an attempt to visualize someone else's idea—a *capriccio* of the Pope, a suggestion by another artist—rather than the presentation of an original plan. Neither the style nor the measurements seem to provide sufficient evidence for establishing the author.

As corroboration for my suggestion that an agreeable solution for the entire rear part of the villa complex was reached probably sometime between April and June of 1552, I should like to adduce the medals issued by the Pope in honor of his villa and its fountain. Unfortunately, just those authors who have relied heavily upon these medals in their arguments seem to have been most confused about them. Both Coolidge³⁴ and Bafile³⁵ assume

gestion that the lower part of the façade preceded the resolution of the rest, and that the decision to follow the solution for the rear led to an illogical conjunction of Tuscan and Corinthian orders on the front.

31 P. Lojacono, *Le fasi costruttive di Villa Giulia, L'Urbe XV* (1952), Sept.–Oct., 20.

32 Lojacono, 15.

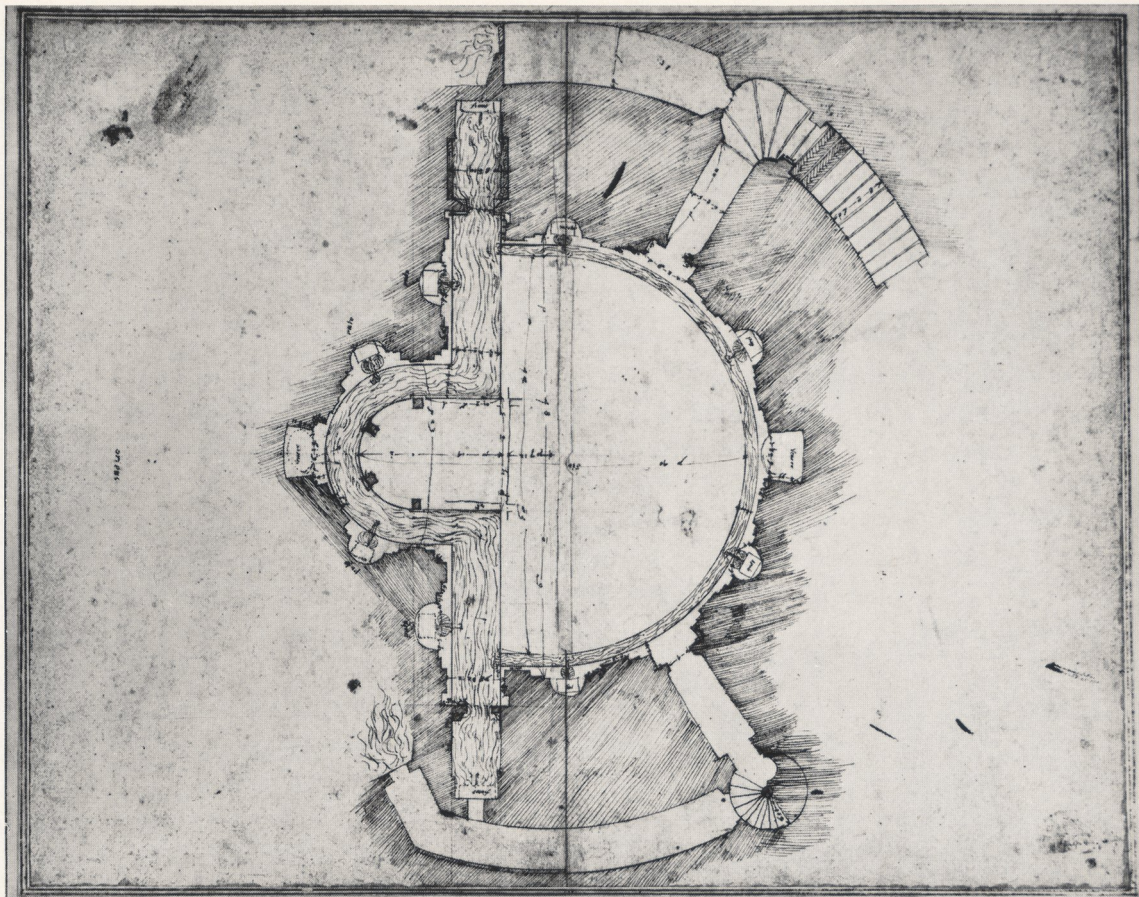
33 Hess, *Rendiconti*, 155.

Certainly the style of the façade with its column and architrave portico and its lavish use of large blank areas for sculptural panels is closer to that of Ligorio than to Vignola's.

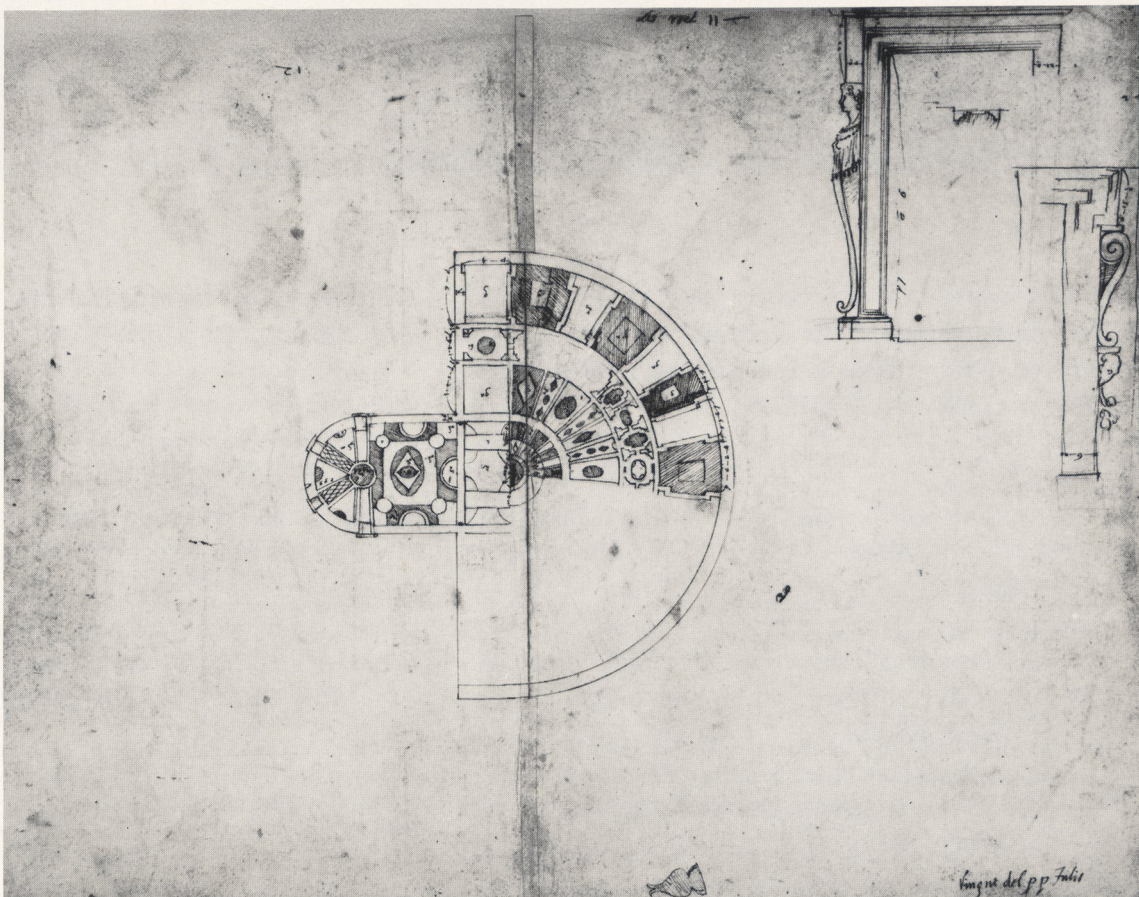
34 Coolidge, 185, note 52.

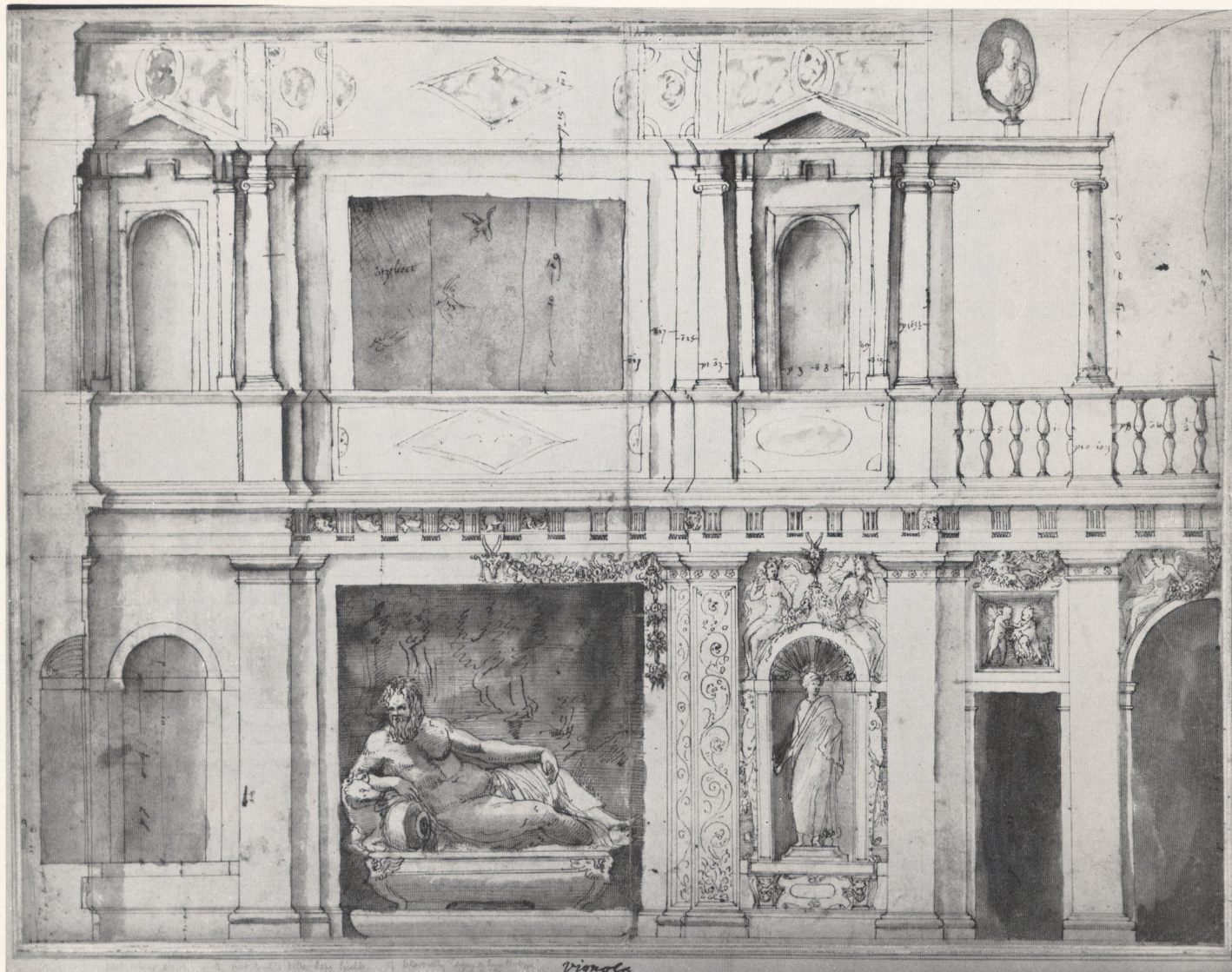
35 Bafile, *Villa Giulia*, 11.

11. R.I.B. A. drawing,
8/5r.



12. R.I.B. A. drawing,
8/5v.





13. R.I.B.A. drawing, 8/6r.

that there were but two medals, while in fact there were at least four (one of which is a minor variant)³⁶; both assume, on what grounds I cannot ascertain, that the first medal was coined in 1553; Bafle claims that the second

36 The Pope faces towards the right on all the medals, which are described below:

1.) An undated medal showing on the obverse the Pope bareheaded with the legend *IVLIVS. III. PONT. MAX.*; on the reverse a depiction of the Villa with the legend *FONS. VIRGINIS—VILLAE. IVLIAE*. Stern (pl. XXX) reproduces this medal which he saw in Cardinal Zelada's collection. The only other record of it is in Letarouilly (pl. 221), which I suspect is a copy of the older engraving.

2.) A medal showing on the obverse the Pope in his tiara with the legend *IVLIVS. III. PONT. MAX. A III*; on the reverse a second version of the Villa with the legend *FONS. VIRGINIS VILLAE. IVLIAE*. It is reproduced twice in Bafle's monograph, though from the text I gather that he mistakenly believes he is reproducing the following coin; he dates whichever one he is really talking about 1554. Armand (*Les Medailleurs Italiens des*

medal was coined in 1554³⁷, while Coolidge seems to feel that both date from 1553³⁸.

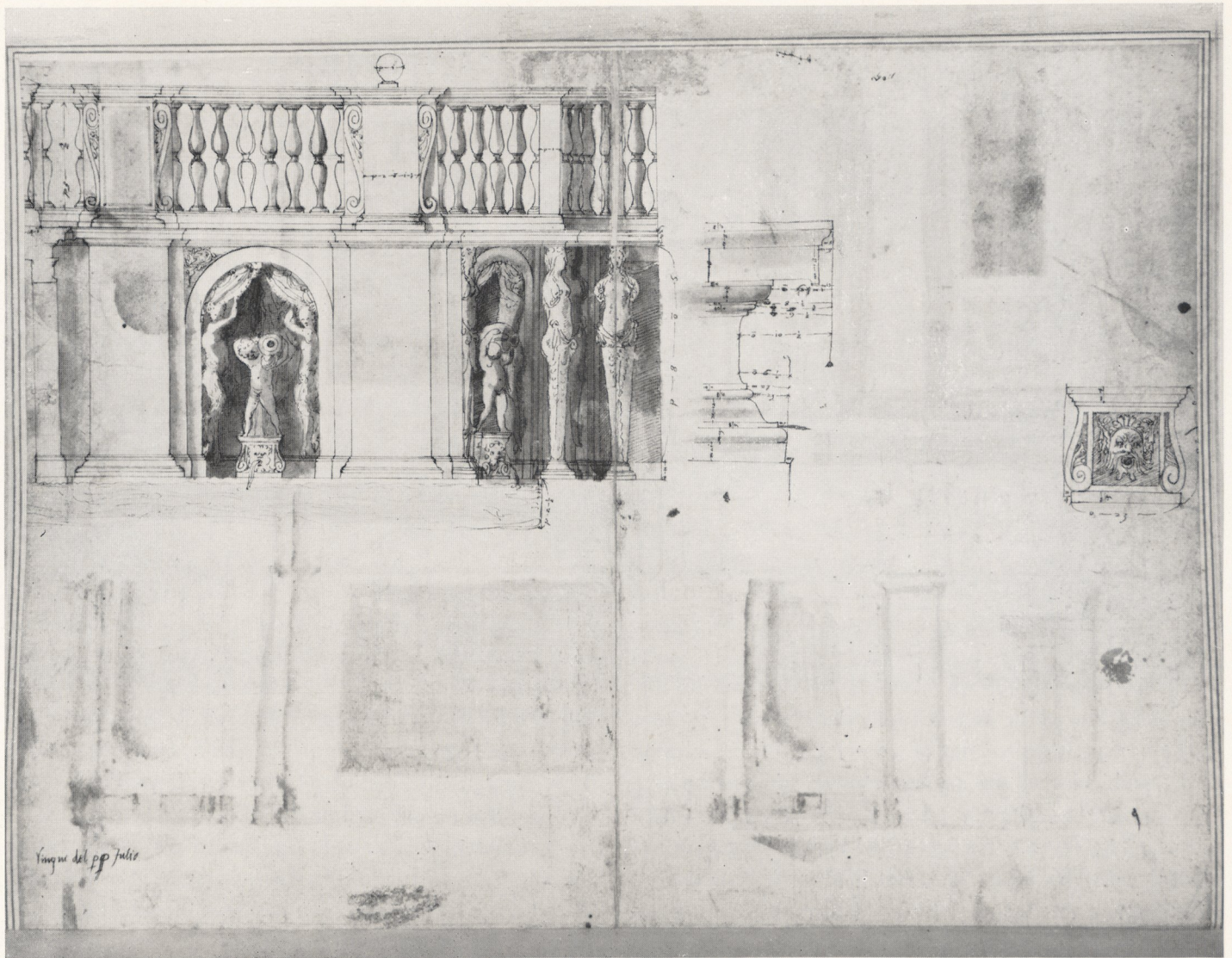
XVe et XVIe Siècles, Paris 1887) III, 76, no. H, says that there is an example in Parma. (This entry was misread by Coolidge, note 52, who thought that it referred to the undated medal.)

3.) A medal showing on the obverse the Pope bareheaded with the legend *IVLIVS. III. PONT. MAX. ANN. IIII*; on the reverse the same version of the Villa as on the preceding medal with the same legend. This is the coin most frequently mentioned in numismatic literature. It is reproduced in *Tresor Numismatique* (ed. P. Delaroche, Paris 1839, v. 8, pl. IX no. 9) and in Frey, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, facing p. 628. Armand III (259, no. K) mentions examples in Vienna and in Bologna.

4.) A variation of the third medal with the legend *FONS. VIRGO—VILLAE. IVLIAE* on the reverse instead of *FONS. VIRGINIS—VILLAE. IVLIAE*. This was found several years ago in Frankfurt by Patrignani.

37 Bafle, *Villa Giulia*, 11. He probably follows Frey—whose work depicts a different medal!

38 Coolidge, 185.



14. R.I.B.A. drawing, 8/6v.

An author who considers the medals alone, however, unprejudiced by pet theories about the chronology of the Villa's construction, concludes that the original medal has all of the characteristics of a foundation medal and probably dates from 1552³⁹. Letarouilly says approximately the same about the undated medal (which he knew to be different from the two, better known, dated ones)⁴⁰. Certainly the dates on the two dated medals—*anno III* and *anno IIII*—suggest 1552 and 1553 more strongly than 1553 and 1554. And there are differences between them and the undated medal, if it can be relied upon, which suggest that it may precede them.

39 J. Cousins, *Architectural Representations on Italian Medals of the Renaissance, from 1450 to 1521*, N. Y. U. Master's Thesis (Oct. 1956), 10 (note 9), 182, and 289 (note 4).

40 Letarouilly, 470.

The Stern-Letarouilly medal (fig. 4) is easily distinguished from the others because it shows the two set-back wings of the casino in full; the dated medals (fig. 3) show them partially obscured by the *avant-corps* so that only the very edges of the windows are discernible. There are structural differences as well: the dated medals show the rusticated voussoirs of the ground-floor windows and Vignola's pediment-crowns over those of the *piano nobile*, while the undated one has simple triangular pediments over the windows of both stories; the undated medal shows prominent roofs over the curved walls of the nymphaeum court and the central sections of both courtyard closing walls; its curved walls are clearly lower than the structures they adjoin; and the central section of the wall at the end of the main courtyard almost seems to lack side continuations. The dated medals indicate more clearly these side sections (though they are still represented

as lower than the central section, perhaps to allow a view of the rear) and show the far end of the curved walls at the same height as the nymphaeum screen-wall. There are acroteria above the side sections of the main courtyard closing wall and, apparently, along the outer edge of the rectangular enclosure that surrounds the loggia (with its associated rooms) and the nymphaeum court⁴¹.

In each of these cases the undated medal is farther from what now stands than the dated ones, and, if it actually existed, it is probable that it preceded them. This would almost certainly place it in 1552 and most likely not too much later than the project of 8/3r—around the middle of the year. The second medal, dated Anno III, probably was coined in the latter part of the year, or possibly in very early 1553; it may incorporate changes involved in the second (October) model for the fountain⁴².

The plan on 8/3r yields information on yet a further complexity in the construction of the Villa. One cannot help but be struck by the fact that part of the casino is rendered by shaded outlines, part by solidly filled outlines.

The latter occur in that part of the Villa where Lojacono found the most significant structural anomalies: the forcible insertion of the large curved staircase, the entrance to the basement carved out of prior foundations, a lesion in the architrave of the portico caused, apparently, by a joint in the underlying foundation⁴³. Some of these strongly suggest that this part of the building incorporates parts of an older structure⁴⁴, but 8/3r itself provides no clear support for this supposition. Not only does it post-date the stage of construction where we would expect to see indications of remnants of a preceding structure, but some of the inked-in outlines could not have belonged

to such a building. (It is more than doubtful, for example, that an earlier building would also have had a concave interior façade—especially one of exactly the same curvature.)

Beneath the dark wash are visible the remains of a window drawn in earlier and a corner analogous to that of the room in the corresponding corner of the other wing (which may, however, be a construction line?)⁴⁵. The narrow tip of the casino has been completed carefully with a shaded outline in the manner of the rest of the plan, as though rough masonry were to be covered with a surface corresponding to that on the rest of the building. The passageway between the front rooms and the large spiral stairway is drawn in in free-hand and does not correspond to what was built: it represents a single room with a niche and a passageway opening directly onto the major staircase; in fact there are three areas—a rectangular room, a bathroom, and a sort of a vestibule with a niche. The pattern of the lowest stairs seems drawn in as an afterthought and had to be distorted in order to squeeze it into the open area. The “arm” linking the newel to the exterior wall (at a place, it should be noted, corresponding exactly to the position of the wall in the other wing) is not represented on any of the well-known plans of the Villa; apparently it exists, however, pierced by a door which is not represented on 8/3r⁴⁶.

In contrast, alterations in the shaded area of the casino are minor, not structural in the same sense. For example, the entrance to the bathroom has been blocked off, apparently as an experiment; a fireplace has been added to balance that indicated in the solidly colored area (the correction of an oversight?); some doors have been enlarged; the sharp triangular conclusion of the room in the tip of the building has been filled in in the same manner as is that opposite it.

The solidly filled area seems, thus, to represent a part of the casino in which major structural changes were in progress or planned. In every case where the finished building differs from the darkened area it resembles more closely the shaded half of the plan. This, together with the coincidences between the two sides already mentioned above,

41 Both views show domes above the set-back wings, mezzanine windows above the ground-floor windows on the *avant-corps*, a full set of acroteria around the nymphaeum court, and a rather large portichetto, none of which were executed.

There is some reason to doubt the existence of the undated medal. The sole record of it is in Stern, whose engraving was probably copied by Letarouilly largely because it was unique; many of the differences between it and the dated medals (such as the complete visibility of the side wings) suggest an eighteenth-century regularization and clarification. Apparently all of the 101 known medals of Julius III—who was so eager a medal-striker that he even coined three large “prepapal” medals while still in relatively modest positions—bear an indication of the Papal year. See A. Patrignani, *Il Corpus delle medaglie Pontificie*, I, in: *Bolletino del Circolo Numismatico Napoletano*, Naples 1950, 78.

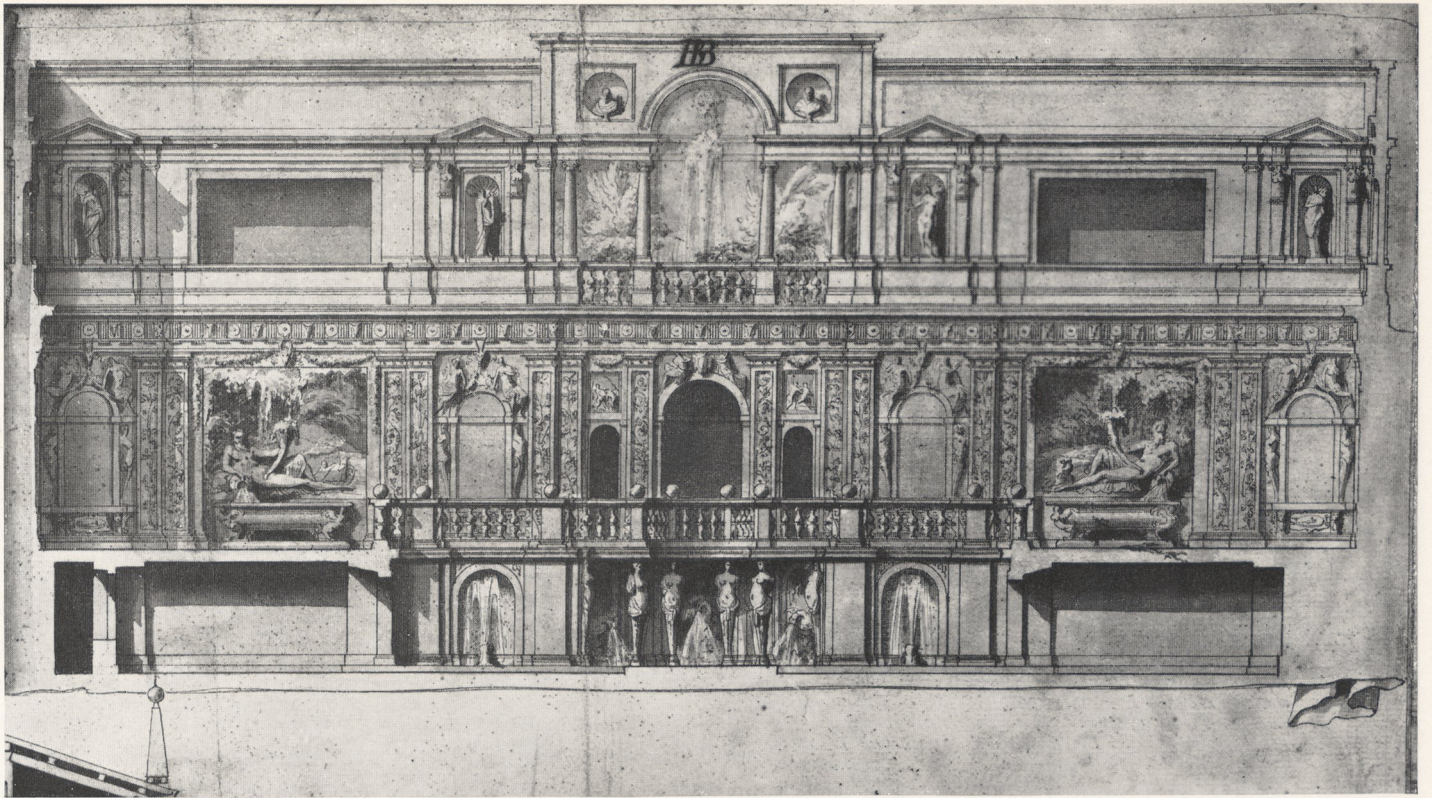
42 Payments recorded by Lanciani III, 17; Frey, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, 355.

43 Lojacono, 15–16.

44 Hess, *Rendiconti*, 154, expresses the opinion that parts of Sansovino's building were incorporated into the Villa Giulia.

45 Analysis of this part of the building is difficult because the drawing is not done to scale; the windows, for example, are in the wrong relationship to the rooms.

46 This detail appears only in a set of modern plans drawn up around 1948 by Mancini and Sanmarco. Copies of these were kindly sent to me by the Bibliotheca Hertziana through the good offices of Prof. Wolfgang Lotz and Dr. Hildegard Giess, whom I should like to thank for their help in obtaining these and other materials from Italy.



15. Elevation of the pre-1775 nymphaeum rear wall. From a drawing of the first half of the 18th century in the Villa Giulia

suggests that the Villa was started on a symmetrical plan, that 8/3r incorporates suggestions—most important of which was that of the large spiral staircase—for making it more impressive, but that these were not carried out in as ambitious a form as was at first proposed. The large staircase was inserted into the building with as few other changes as possible.

The second pair of sheets, those showing details of the nymphaeum, are probably of later date, and their execution is different in kind from that of the rough sketches we have examined thus far. 8/5r (fig. 11) is a careful rendering of the plan at the level of the *fonte bassa*, which shows the water conduits, the underground passages and rooms, and even labels the niches according to the statues they contain. The verso (fig. 12) contains only two doorframes (one flanked by caryatids, from the end of the running stream; one with a scroll and sheep's head, from the entrance to the passage from above) and a detailed pres-

entation of the central pavement pattern, complete even to the labelling of the color of the stones.

8/6r (fig. 13) is an elaborate and carefully rendered record of the elevation of the nymphaeum closing wall. Apparently it records work done, for it depicts even the stucco decoration up to the level of the first cornice but is more broadly treated above, where the architectural elements are more freely rendered and the decorative stucco panels are merely indicated. The verso (fig. 14) is an equally specific elevation of the *fonte bassa*, supplemented by a detail of one of the bases beneath the *putti* and a minutely measured profile of the base and cornice of one of the piers.

The inclusion of stucco-work and of what is clearly a portrait of one of the river-gods still reclining in the nymphaeum court today makes late 1552 or early 1553 a *terminus post quem* for these drawings: the river-gods were in progress at that time, and payments for stucco-work

“*per la fontana della villa*” are concentrated between August 1552 and February 1553⁴⁷.

One cannot exclude the possibility that the drawings were done quite a bit later than this time, as there is no cause to believe that work on the nymphaeum continued as rapidly as it seems to have been started. It may even have been neglected for a while: sculpture is next recorded for the fountain in September–December 1554⁴⁸, and Ammannati’s May 1555 description strongly suggests that the upper parts were not in a condition worthy of description. But I do not think it necessary to hypothesize a later revision of the entire rear wall of the nymphaeum court in order to explain the delay⁴⁹ (and, incidentally, to postpone the *terminus post quem* of the RIBA nymphaeum designs).

Archaeological investigation has uncovered at least two important *pentimenti* in the nymphaeum area to which neither the medals nor the RIBA drawings provide a clue. The first is Stefani’s discovery in the mid-thirties of the remains of two octagonal kiosks that once housed the spiral staircases leading from the nymphaeum court to the third precinct⁵⁰. Their finish is extremely crude and roughly executed as though they had been superseded before there was a chance to finish them properly⁵¹. These kiosks imply the existence of underground grottoes from a fairly early stage of planning but cast no light on the state of the *fonte bassa* and very little on the design of the nymphaeum court⁵². They seem compatible with what one can surmise about the original design of 8/3r and could well date from the same period or slightly later.

The second discovery was made in 1949 by Lojacono, who found the remains of a semicircular basin and a double

set of outlets beneath the pavement of the *fonte bassa*. The 1948 measurements revealed that the *fonte bassa* and the nymphaeum court have slightly diverging axes. These facts suggested to Lojacono that the *fonte bassa* was constructed after the upper floor, perhaps to get greater water pressure than had previously been available⁵³.

III

With the—unfortunately all too meagre—framework provided by the documented facts (only in part published) and the conclusions formed after examining the RIBA drawings, we are now in a position to attempt a reconstruction of what happened at the Villa Giulia during the pontificate of Julius III.

Obviously the Pope intended from the beginning to make full use of his *vigna* and to improve it (for the benefit of his own family) with Papal funds. The nature of the tasks taken up right at the start—conduits for the Aqua Vergine and the extension of the *vigna* towards the river and elsewhere—suggests that he had given a good deal of thought to the improvement of his property before he got the chance to realize his dreams. The desire to finish the grandiose plans of former times may well have lingered in his mind since almost the time he inherited the property, and he may well have developed definite ideas of his own for the replacement or alteration of the building that had been designed for his uncle by Sansovino.

During 1550, while Vignola worked on the conduits for the Aqua Vergine and Ammannati concentrated on the Del Monte monument in San Pietro in Montorio, Vasari recorded the Pope’s ideas and referred them to Michelangelo for commentary. Probably they included designs for both the casino and the fountain, though how closely the two were to be unified architecturally is unclear.

The period of tentative suggestions and planning came to a close around the middle of 1551, when the first heavy labor is recorded⁵⁴.

Work on the casino proceeded rapidly at first, but no design for its rear façade, and, consequently, for the treatment and disposition of most of the other portions behind

47 K. Frey, Studien zu Michelangelo Buonarroti... III, Jahrb. der kgl. preuß. Kunstsammlungen XXX (1909), Beiheft, 162.—A. Bertolotti, Artisti Veneti a Roma, Venezia 1885, 25.

48 Lanciani III, 22.

49 Coolidge, 188, is forced to do just this solely because he relies upon the Stern-Letarouilly medal as an accurate representation of the 1552 project. I think it is a mistake to do this; the medals probably exaggerate the size of the portichetto for the sake of clarity. And if one insists on taking them literally, the open part of the portichetto is *wider* than the distance between the kiosks he pictures hidden on either side of it; they would have protruded slightly into it, surely an unacceptable arrangement.

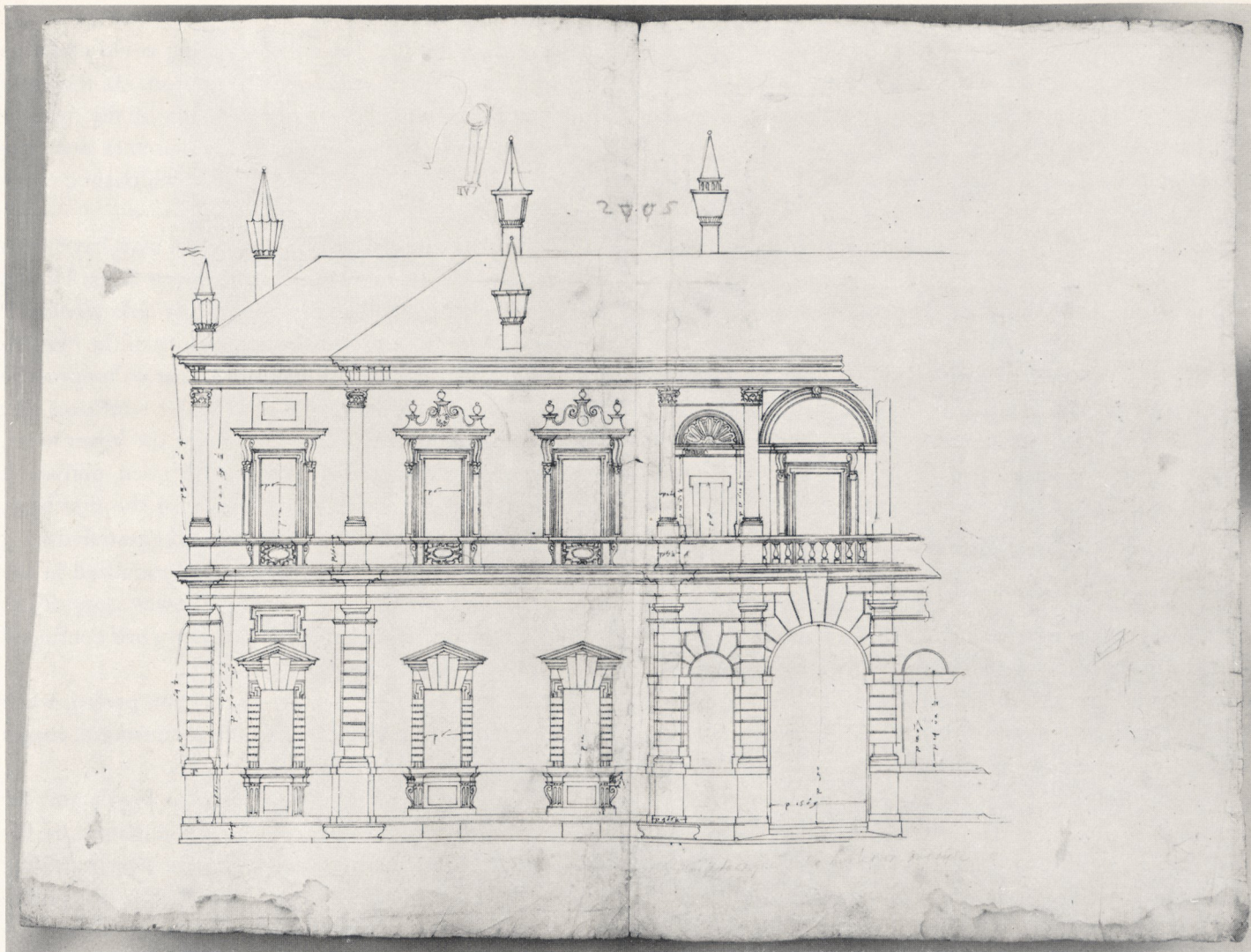
50 E. Stefani, Villa Giulia: la primitiva sistemazione architettonica della facciata retrostante al Ninfeo, Bolletino d’Arte XXX (1936), 187–188.

51 Bafle, Villa Giulia 35, n. 39.

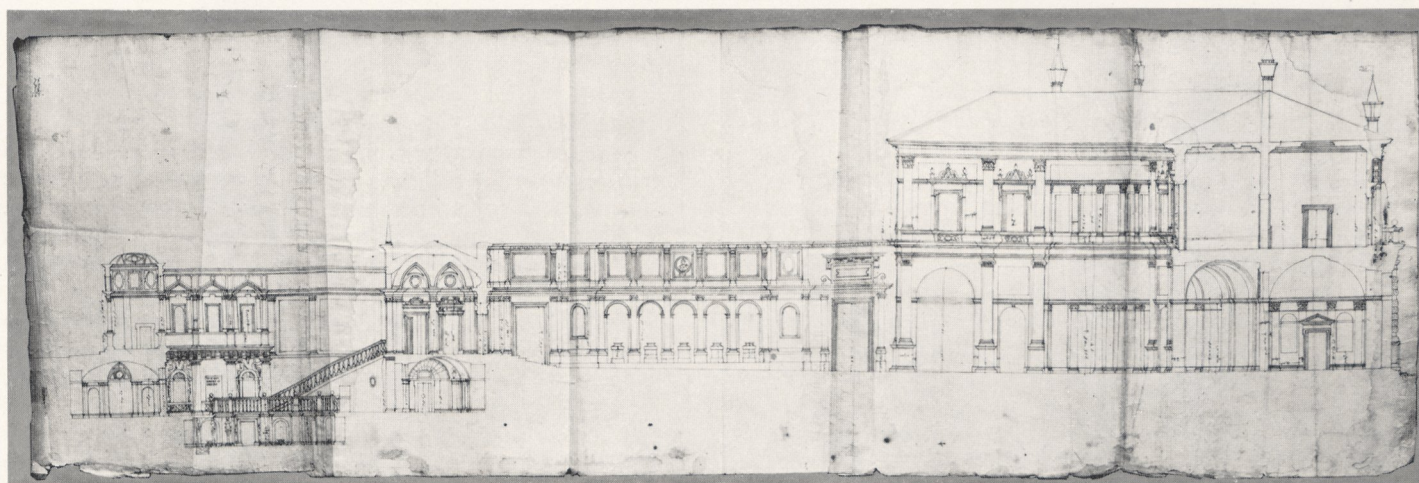
52 Coolidge, 186–187, insists that these were meant to be freestanding: why else should they have been designed with such a finished shape, he asks, if they were meant to be hidden by a screening wall? But there is no reason to exclude their being designed to be seen from the garden. Indeed, 8/3r shows just such a garden façade articulated by pilasters, niches, and a loggia. Stefani’s reconstruction is not impossible.

53 Lojacono, 19–21. None of this evidence seems decisive to me: it would indeed be surprising if independent structures on two levels had truly identical axes and the deviation is not a very great one; the fact that presumably older outlets are deeper than the newer ones suggests more that an older disposition of the fountain was replaced by a new design than that the fountain was newly excavated.

54 H. Willich, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Straßburg 1906, 58.—Lanciani III, 18.



16. Scholz Scrapbook: half-elevation of the casino façade



17. Scholz Scrapbook: longitudinal section of the villa complex

the casino, proved fully acceptable. During the first half of 1552 the problem of how to treat this façade—the semi-circular shape itself had already been determined—became acute; indecision on the point put a further brake on the construction of the entire project, which was already embarrassed by a lack of funds. Probably the Aqua Vergine was nearing the immediate neighborhood, and the shaping of the fountain had also become a pressing architectural problem.

Undoubtedly several projects were proposed, discussed, and considered during the second quarter of the year, and the threat of outside advisors, notably of Pirro Ligorio, may have spurred Vasari to call upon Ammannati's aid in creating a definitive plan for the entire building complex.

On Easter Sunday, two days after the arrival of the joyful news that peace had been concluded, Ammannati presented the Pope with a model that may have been for the *fonte bassa*, for the nymphaeum court as a whole, or possibly for the screen-wall at its end, as he had designed something not dissimilar only four years earlier⁵⁵. It probably formed part of an overall design by Vasari, which included a main courtyard, a sunken nymphaeum court with two grottoes, and a loggia connecting the two. The original version of RIBA drawing 8/3r probably recorded this.

Though work on this plan began almost at once, in May⁵⁶, the Pope may still have been unsatisfied. RIBA 8/3r in its present form might reflect a briefly considered alternative, suggested before work had advanced irreversibly. More likely it is contemporaneous with the designing of the Vasari-Ammannati project.

Numerous purchases of columns during the second half of 1552⁵⁷ suggest the acceptance of a definitive design for

the rear façade of the casino with the consequent erection of the portico, so that the entire building could continue further from a single level of construction. At the same time work progressed on the lower parts of the nymphaeum: the stucco-work began in late summer and was probably completed early the next year, at which time sculptural decoration had begun⁵⁸.

The fountain model made in October may have been just a more elaborate revision of the *fonte bassa*, but its conjunction with another for the "*loggia della fontana*"⁵⁹ suggests more strongly that the upper story of the nymphaeum court was under consideration. That columns were turned in connection with the new model reinforces this view; no columns are involved in any of the lower areas. Possibly the entire upper story was redesigned, perhaps it was simply being considered as a unit for the first time, following various ephemeral projects suggested during the summer—one of which may be memorialized in the remnants of the kiosks. Evidently the lower story of the nymphaeum was not changed, for stucco-work continued there without interruption.

The Anno III medal probably records this period, when a single architectural complex of casino, courtyard, loggia and nymphaeum court was finally certain.

Work continued rapidly in 1553 on the loggia and the casino; the courtyard walls and upper portions of the nymphaeum court were possibly executed slowly or only after some delay. In January the *fontana pubblica* was practically completed⁶⁰, by April the loggia was ready for decoration⁶¹, and in November heavy construction on the casino must have been approaching its end⁶². Vignola may have started his continuous direct work on the villa complex at the beginning of this year – but much of the basic disposition was completed by then, and Vasari is surely

55 A two-story garden fountain, now destroyed, for the Palazzo Gualdo in Vicenza. It was 36 feet high and featured an oval grotto, aviaries and a sculpture-decorated loggia full of water tricks and accessible by means of two stairways. It is described by E. Vodoz, *Studien zum architektonischen Werk des Bartolommeo Ammannati*, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthist. Instituts in Florenz VI* (1941), 15.

Vodoz, Biagi and Venturi are surely mistaken in thinking that this model was for the *fontana pubblica*, though it was probably begun at about the same time; not only was the nymphaeum one of the outstanding problems of the moment, but the word "fontana" alone is not likely to have been applied to a secondary structure.

56 According to the sworn testimony of Paolo Pianetti accompanying Ammannati's Nov. 1560 claim against the Del Monte estate: cf. L. Biagi, *L'Arte XXVI* (1923), 65.

57 Lanciani II, 45, 109–110, 132; III, 18.

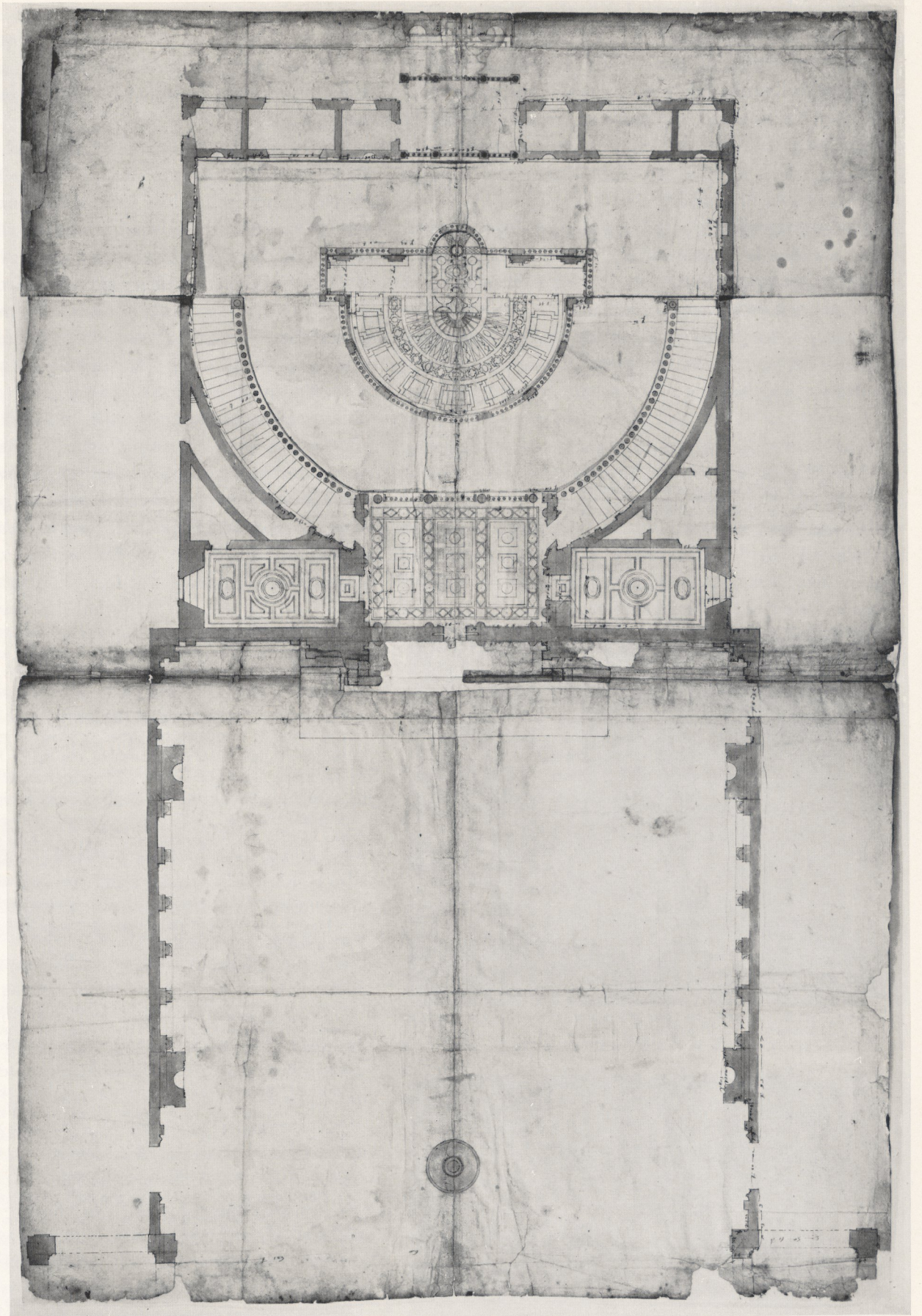
58 Frey, *Studien zu Michelangelo Buonarroti...*, 162.

59 Lanciani III, 17; Frey, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, 355.

60 cf. note 25.

61 Vasari is commissioned to do cartoons for a fresco for „la loggia che è sopra la fonte di detta vigna“ (Vasari VII, 695), which he describes in a letter to Bernardo Minerbetti, Bishop of Arezzo, as “fatta qui di più superbi mischi et marmi, dico colonne et pavimenti, porte et pareti, che a nostri di si sia lavorata havendola giudicate degna delle mie fatiche“ (Frey, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, letter CLXXXIII, of early April 1553). Though there is no record of his having actually painted the frescoes and his autobiography suggests that he left for Arezzo without doing so, Frey (p. 356) believes that he did them.

62 The Pope wills his vigna “cum domibus fontibus et aliis membris et pertinentiis“ to his brother Baldovino; the villa itself is described as “pro maiori parte facta“. Cf. Frey, *Literarischer Nachlaß*, 353.



18. Scholz Scrapbook: plan of the main courtyard and nymphaeum at ground level

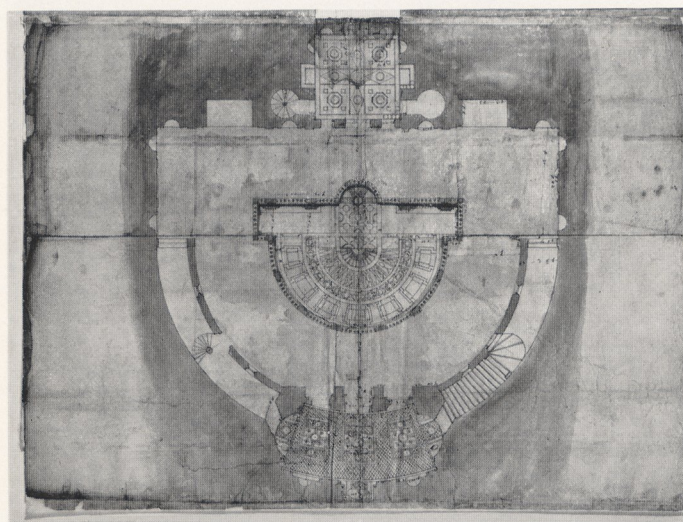
quite truthful in describing his job in the casino as one of completion and decoration⁶³.

Vasari, who had long resented the Pope's intervention and capricious vacillation, not to mention the uncertainty of his own position and its meagre recompense, in the fall of 1553 prepared and completed his escape to the more promising court in Florence. Ammannati and Vignola were left behind to complete the Villa.

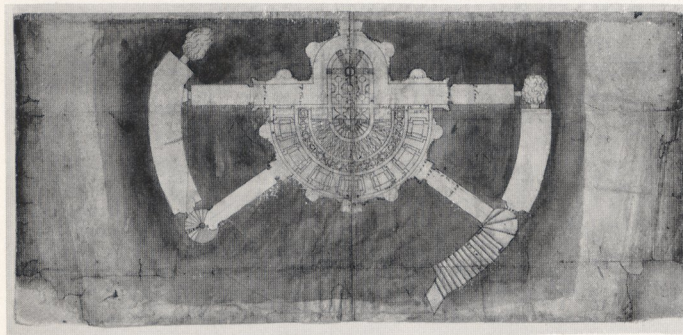
Thenceforth, work on the vigna probably consisted largely of filling in the gaps in the construction program. The courtyard walls and the rest of the nymphaeum court were the major projects to be finished, but the loggia behind the *fontana pubblica* and many of the secondary buildings were surely also completed during this time. A few notices on the repair of ancient sculptures⁶⁴ have

63 Vasari VII, 694. How large a part Vignola played in suggesting the original disposition and how much he contributed to shaping later parts of the complex is not presently ascertainable. I do not mean to imply that he played only the rôle of architectural handyman.

64 Lanciani III, 22.



19. Scholz Scrapbook: plan of nymphaeum court



20. Scholz Scrapbook: plan of the fonte bassa

suggested that the courtyard walls were being decorated in the last quarter of 1554⁶⁵, but the painting of frescoes, the carving and gilding of ceilings, much stucco-work and endless sculptural odds and ends surely continued almost without pause.

All this activity was cut short in March 1555 when the Pope died. Vignola was dropped immediately from the payroll; Ammannati, in a less regular position, remained until May, evidently finishing off what could not be left in an unprotected condition.

This probably consisted primarily of the upper story and attic of the nymphaeum court. The portichetto⁶⁶ and the aviaries⁶⁷ were completed in a rough form as were the pilasters and aediculae around the niches in a rough approximation of the disposition depicted on 8/6r, but neither the fine stucco decoration originally intended nor its statuary complement were completed. This, I think, is the interpretation that must be given to Ammannati's lament that "*l'ornamento non è finito perchè andava con grandissima spesa, e tempo e morte ne hanno interrote questi ed altri disegni belli ed onorevoli . . .*"⁶⁹

65 Coolidge, 189–190. This may be the correct interpretation of the destination of the groups, but it is not the only one possible. Both the Cock and Lafreri engravings of the loggia side of the nymphaeum court show a group of Venus and a second figure in the large central niche of the fonte bassa. The second figure can only be Cupid in the later version; it might be an adult figure in the earlier one. Both of the major fonte bassa niches contained figures of Venus, according to 8/5r.

66 As the loggia was almost ready for decoration in April 1553, Vasari's reference (VII, 694) to Ammannati's remaining to make the "*loggia che è sopra la fonte*" can refer only to the portichetto.

Coolidge, 185–186, errs in asserting that Vasari's frescoes were to be for the semicircular portico because his theory that the third story of the nymphaeum (and consequently the portichetto) was not done by Ammannati demands that the loggia be unfinished when Vasari left.

67 Though Ammannati's letter to Bonavides switches abruptly from a full and colorful description of the grottoes and the fonte bassa to the brief statement that one finds oneself in a third precinct upon leaving, he refers to the two aviaries one sees upon leaving the nymphaeum and describes them (Balestra, 74). They must, therefore, have been structurally complete, if not properly finished. Vodoz, 26, confuses them with the kiosks themselves.

68 Pre-1775-drawings, such as the plans in the Villa Giulia (fig. 15) and the Scholz-scrapbook-drawings (see Appendix) can leave no doubt that the upper story was completed further than Coolidge (who judged by the 18th century "restoration") thought.

Another proof that the upper part of the nymphaeum court actually was carried out in a fairly complex form is that the Lafrery engraving retains the complex aedicula form although it corrects numerous errors of the Hieronymus Cock original after which it was made.

69 Balestra, 74. The cupolas above the side wings of the casino may have been among the casualties; their presence on both of the dated medals suggests that they were intended all along.

APPENDIX

The Scholz Scrapbook Drawings

In 1949 the Metropolitan Museum acquired from Janos and Mrs. Anne Bigelow Scholz what were clearly the dismembered remnants of a large scrapbook full of sixteenth century architectural drawings. These include whole and partial elevations, sections and plans, decorative details, and numerous profiles of mouldings, columns, cornices, etc. Most of the drawings are of Florentine and Roman buildings, each is marked in the measurement locally used. The provenance of the whole set is unclear.

The drawings are done in several hands. Some are clearly done by Italians, but a large number contain explanations and notes in French or faulty Italian, and this fact, together with the presence of a few drawings from French buildings, has suggested that the scrapbook belonged to a Frenchman travelling through Italy.

Apparently the entire set was done sometime between about 1555 and 1575, but as not all of the subjects have as yet been identified, a more exact determination of its limiting dates (and hence of the probable owner of the scrapbook) will depend upon an intensive study.

Among the most complete and elaborate drawings in this set are three of the Villa Giulia—a half-elevation of the façade (49. 92. 58), a longitudinal section (49. 92. 51), and a plan designed with flaps that fold back to reveal the successive layers of the nymphaeum court (49. 92. 73). The last must originally have included the casino, but that end has been lost and only the main courtyard, loggia and nymphaeum remain. All of the drawings are minutely executed in sepia pen (with sepia wash on the plan) with measurements added (rather hastily?) in *palmi* and *onci*. The façade elevation (fig. 16) need not detain us for long. It is drawn in outline and corresponds closely to the building as it stands today, except for the numerous whimsical pennant-topped chimneys, which must have been simplified and reduced in number during the restorations of 1769–1774. (Identical chimneys are depicted on the corresponding engraving from Lafrery's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* and on the drawings in the Villa Giulia.) The measurements record only the largest features and are incomplete, more being given below than for the upper story. Most of the horizontal distances are left out, presumably because they were once included on the plan.

The longitudinal section (fig. 17) is also drawn in outline and records several decorative details in addition to the more sober architectural membering. The measurements, like those on the façade elevation, are more complete in the lower parts, where the pedestals of columns, statues and pilasters are carefully marked. It, too, is largely lacking in horizontal measurements. The nymphaeum court elevations are more incomplete than any of the others.

It depicts the chimneys as on the façade elevation, the portichetto covered by an open-work pergola, and the upper story of the nymphaeum court with its pre-1775 niches and aediculae. The entrances to the *fonte bassa* include both types sketched on RIBA sheet 8/5r, which confirms Bafile's tentative identification of the scroll and sheep's-head type⁷⁰; these two drawings are the only remaining record of this door-frame, which has long been destroyed.

The most interesting difference between this drawing and the building as it now stands is in the linkage of the casino with the side walls of the main courtyard. All other records show the present arrangement⁷¹, in which the attic of the side wall is abruptly discontinued over the simple connecting portal while its dividing cornice runs right into the building. This has always been felt as a clumsy juncture, probable evidence of a change in plan or in architect.

The Metropolitan drawing shows instead the attic continuing as far as the building and serving as background for an enormous fanciful panel above the cornice of the door. Even this way it remains a clumsy juncture, particularly disturbing because the dividing cornice of the side walls does not correspond to any feature of the main façade; and their upper cornice, though it is at the same level as the dividing cornice of the casino, is uncomfortably narrower and less important.

The solution shown on this longitudinal section looks like a makeshift, and I suspect it may be an invention of the draughtsman. The top-heavy decoration over the portal is out of character with everything else on the wall—or,

70 Bafile, Palladio I/II (1952), 62.

71 The attic pierced by two windows that one sees in Bafile's monograph, tav. VII and in Vodoz, fig. 9 is the result of poor reproduction; actually it belongs to the secondary building at the rear (whose door is visible through the arch at the end of the casino).

for that matter, in the building. The only comparable features are the slightly less elaborate cartouches over the loggia doors. The general character of their supporting scrolls, their strapwork, and their frames within frames is strongly reminiscent of contemporary French decoration.

The remaining portion of the plan (figs. 18–20)—possibly the casino was also once represented on more than one level—represents the floors in outline and the walls in wash. The pavements of the loggia, its flanking rooms, the *fonte bassa*, and both grottoes are recorded lovingly in the most painstaking detail. (That of the *fonte bassa* accords perfectly with RIBA drawing 8/5v, whereas all engravings show a reduced version—which is not surprising if one considers the complexity of the pattern.) The measurements seem fairly complete, except for those inside the minor rooms.

The triangular areas between the curved nymphaeum walls and the rooms flanking the loggia are shown in their original disposition, before the erection of the chapel of Pius IV. On the left is a passageway leading from the top of the curved stairs to the gardens outside, the remainder of the space being filled with an annex to the main room. (The same passageway is indicated roughly on RIBA drawing 8/4v.) To the right is a roughly square room with two smaller annexes, none of which have windows; a blind door on the exterior, at the top of the curved stairs, balances the real door opposite⁷².

Exactly the same disposition of rooms (but reversed, owing to the engraving process) appears on the plan published in the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*. Both plans also have in common—and in contrast to all other known representations—a strangely shaped opening between the main courtyard and the loggia. This feature, a sort of slot set in the middle of the sides of the door and running parallel to the surface of the wall, looks as though it is supposed to be more significant than the space between the two doorframes. (I do not know what its function could have been.)

Several items suggest that these drawings were not made entirely from first-hand measurements made at the Villa Giulia, though the draughtsman may have gone there to record some of the measurements and decorative features. Among several minor deviations from the building, I mention in particular that the drawing shows $\frac{1}{2}$ columns instead of $\frac{3}{4}$ columns in the loggia⁷³. At least one discrep-

72 Both real and blind door are shown on early views of the nymphaeum (Hieronymus Cock; *Speculum*), but not on the later ones. Probably both were removed in connection with the introduction of the chapel.

73 This is a ticklish point; no detail of the entire plan is harder to pin down. The modern plan drawn up around 1948, the *Spe-*

ancy between the elevation and the plan suggests that they come from different sources: the casino pilaster immediately adjoining the abutment of the courtyard side wall is represented in the elevation but left out in the plan⁷⁴.

Several times I have pointed out similarities between the Scholz drawings and the Lafrery engravings, similarities not shared by other depictions. The drawings also show, where comparison is possible, an exact correspondence of measurements with the RIBA drawings. This is most remarkable in the area of the junction between casino and courtyard walls, where the two sets of drawings agree with each other but not with the actual measurements as recorded by Stern: diameter of courtyard p 123 in Scholz and 8/3r, actually p 121 o 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; width of portico end p 19 o 5 in Scholz and 8/3r, actually p 23 o 2 $\frac{1}{2}$.

The Lafrery engraving, too, has one remarkable deviation from the building as executed, which no one seems to have tried to explain; this is the fact that it shows a completely symmetrical casino with two small staircases instead of one large and one small staircase. I have shown in my main argument that such was probably the original plan of the casino.

These facts suggest that both the drawings in the Scholz scrapbook and the Lafrery engravings are derived ultimately from common or related sources which included sketches made during the construction of the Villa Giulia. It is quite possible that such a body of preparatory drawings was accessible in Rome in the decades following the papacy of Julius III and that the four RIBA sheets once formed a small portion of this.

It would be useful if one could prove some more direct connection between the *Speculum* prints and the Metropolitan drawings, as this would help to date the latter⁷⁵ but we must rely in this task on something more concrete than wishful thinking.

culum, the plan in the Villa Giulia all show $\frac{1}{2}$ columns. Stern, Letarouilly and 8/4v all show $\frac{3}{4}$ columns. I am inclined to accept the latter version, as both Stern and Letarouilly were dedicated and careful workers.

74 This omission is also visible on the *Speculum* plan. All other plans include the pilaster except for RIBA drawing 8/3r—though it is included in the detail at the lower right of 8/4v.

75 The *Speculum* prints postdate the Hieronymus Cock engravings from which the two views of the nymphaeum are copied. Vodoz reproduces the latter, figs. 6 and 7, and dates them approximately 1560. The plan and elevation are probably supplementary to the views; they do not seem the sort of items likely to sell by themselves. I would guess that they postdate 1563, the year in which Lafrery gained full control of his establishment and after which he began selling his prints in sets as well as individually (See Chr. Huelsen, *Das Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* des Antonio Lafreri, in: *Collectanea varia doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki* . . ., München 1921, 121–139).

The fact that the chapel of Pius IV (1559–1565) does not appear on the plan is not significant if the drawings were made, at least in part, from earlier ones. The plan, therefore, is not particularly helpful.

The longitudinal section, on the other hand, shows more signs of first-hand observation. In particular, I should like to point to the fact that the bases of the statues in the main courtyard are clearly depicted and measured. The statues, however, are missing, as are two of the three busts that once adorned the attic. (The oval niche for the bust at the left has been left out accidentally.) In the nymphaeum court the niches on the lower floor are likewise empty, though their stucco surrounds are depicted. This suggests that the drawings postdate at least the first spoliation of the Villa.

Lanciani says that the removal of antique statuary from the *vigna* began shortly after August 1560, when a marble sawing machine and various columns, capitals and marbles

left over from the building campaign were taken to the Belvedere⁷⁶. By 12 August 1564 over a hundred and sixty trips had been made between the two sites with the express purpose of transferring antique statues. This figure will not sound exaggerated if one realizes that an inventory made in 1555 describes around three hundred marbles displayed in the area of the present-day Villa building alone⁷⁷.

We may conclude tentatively from this that the Metropolitan drawings date from this period or later.

⁷⁶ Lanciani III, 29.

⁷⁷ Hess, *English Misc.* VI (1955), 189–190. A more exact dating might be possible if one had access to the *codex Amaduzzi 49* in the Bibl. Comunale at Savignano, a 245-page history of the Villa Giulia written in the late 18th century by Abbate Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi. This history, discovered by Jacob Hess, devotes four chapters to the description of the statuary. It is just possible that some new information on its dispersion is included, though Dr. Hess hints (p. 186) that the book is largely lacking in the sort of precise information that a modern art-historian needs.

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