

Ideological Spaces of the Garden Loggia in Villa Madama *

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1. Introduction

In this paper I will discuss the interior spaces of Villa Madama in Rome, with particular focus on the decorative program of the so-called Garden Loggia (fig. 1-III, IV, V). Villa Madama was planned by Raphael in the early sixteenth century for the leading members of the Medici family in Rome, Pope Leo X and Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, the future Pope Clement VII.¹ Commissioned by Giulio de' Medici, on behalf of the Pope, the construction of the villa probably started in the summer of 1518, and continued until 1527, when it was interrupted by the Sack of Rome. Raphael died in 1520, while the villa was still under construction, and Leo X died the next year. The interior of the villa was partially decorated by Raphael's pupils and collaborators, Giulio Romano, Giovanni da Udine, Baldassare Peruzzi and others. In the Garden Loggia, the vaults and walls were decorated with fresco paintings and stucco reliefs, representing a great variety of mythological and allegorical motifs. The execution of the decoration was undertaken in the early summer of 1520 and seems to have finished by 1525.

Previous studies on Villa Madama have generally recognized that this Loggia is an imaginative recreation of the sort of decoration used in ancient Roman palace interiors. Previous scholars, such as John Shearman and Christoph Luitpold Frommel, have already clarified the villa's original concept, based on several drawings and Raphael's description of the villa.² The realized building is only a part of a plan for an enormous suburban villa complex, including a theater, baths, a racecourse. This project was strongly influenced by ancient treatises on architecture and, especially, Pliny the Younger's text about his Laurentine villa.³ The architecture was planned to develop along an axis extending from the southeast to the northwest of the hillside, and the main entrance is located at the far left. The southeast building was intended for use in winter, while that on the northwestern side was for summer. The extant building corresponds to this northwestern part of the complex, intended for summer use. The building of the Loggia was undoubtedly influenced by ancient architectural theories and several ancient monuments seen in Rome, such as the Colosseum or Emperors' Baths. It also seems to be based on then existing classical architectural plans by Donato Bramante.⁴

As Nicole Dacos showed, the decorative scheme of this Loggia *all'antica* obviously belongs to the original development of a

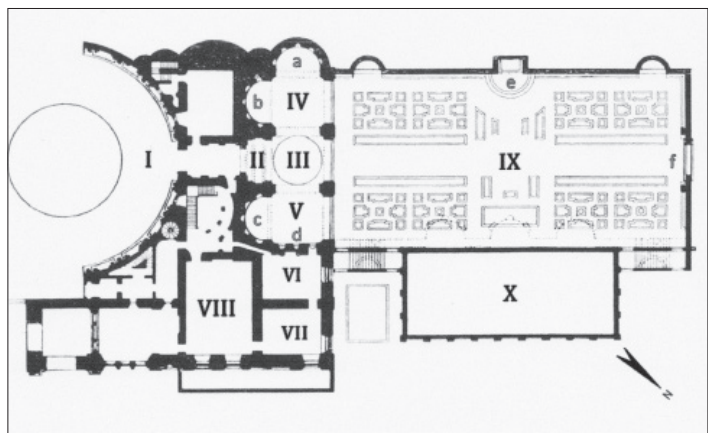


fig. 1 Actual Plan of Villa Madama.
I: Exedra / II: Atrium / III, IV, V: The Garden Loggia / VI, VII: Rooms / VIII: Sala di Giulio Romano / IX: Garden / X: Fishpond

scheme observed in an authentic ancient model, the vault of the Domus Aurea.⁵ Raphael had adopted the same model in the decoration of the Loggia of the Vatican Palaces.

Previous studies have not, however, given a full account of the messages which this Loggia's interior decorations and spaces were intended to convey to visitors. Two letters by Cardinal Giulio regarding the decorative plan, addressed to Mario Maffei and dated June 1520,⁶ are known today, but in these letters the Cardinal shows little interest in the selection of subject matter for the decoration. Even so, the decoration of the Loggia is not just an anthology of mythological scenes. This paper argues that each of the decorative schemes of the bays must have been based on an elaborate program that provided a sophisticated eulogy of the two Medici princes.

2. Southwest Bay

The Loggia is composed of three bays. The central bay has a dome vault (fig. 3, fig. 1-III), while each of the side bays has a cross vault of symmetrical design. I will show that the decoration of the Southwest bay (fig. 5, fig. 1-IV) is dedicated to the glorification of Pope Leo X and that of the northeast bay (fig. 2, fig. 1-V) to the glorification of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici.

First, let us analyze the southwest bay.⁷ In deciphering its iconographical scheme, I think that the interpretation of the stucco medallion at the very top of the vault is crucial.⁸ In this medallion, the sea god Neptune is shown holding a shaft and striding forward (fig. 5). I would like to point out that this is a specific representation of Neptune in a famous episode from the first book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, commonly called 'Quos Ego,' in which the sea god calms the wild wind and the stormy sea.⁹

As plausibly explained by Michaela Marek, the figure of Neptune from 'Quos Ego' had political connotations based on the Florentine humanistic interpretation of Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹⁰ Marek points out that the 'Quos Ego' Neptune was frequently represented in the visual arts to praise the princes of Italian courts. One of the earliest examples is a famous drawing by Leonardo da Vinci (fig. 6), now in Windsor Castle, that was produced for Antonio Segni probably in praise of Pope Julius II. In fact, the Neptune of the southwest bay appears to have been inspired by Leonardo's drawing, and most probably can be interpreted as bearing the same allegorical meaning.

The Virgilian episode of 'Quos Ego' was given political meaning in the *Disputationes Camaldulenses* of Cristoforo Landino, mentor of Lorenzo il Magnifico.¹¹ In the *Aeneid*, the ships of Aeneas were threatened by a storm caused by an angry Juno. But thanks to the help of



fig. 2 Northeast Vault, Villa Madama (fig. 1-V)

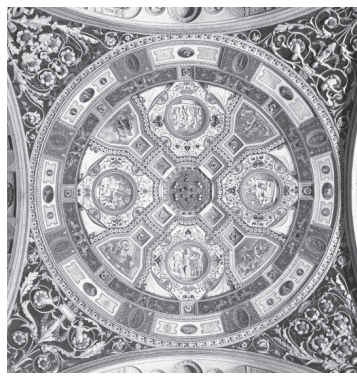


fig. 3 Central Vault, Villa Madama (fig. 1 - III)



fig. 4 Southwest Vault, Villa Madama (fig. 1-IV)



fig. 5 Neptune. Stucco Relief. The Southwest Vault, Villa Madama



fig. 6 Leonardo da Vinci, *Neptune and Sea Horses*. Black chalk on paper, 251 x 392 mm. Royal Library, Windsor Castel, inv. 12570



fig. 7 *Venus and Cupids*. Fresco. The Southwest Vault, Villa Madama



fig. 8 Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga ? (After), *Triumph of Venus*. Wool, silk, and gilt-metal-wrapped thread, 501 x 739 cm. Paris, Mobilier National

Neptune, who calmed the stormy sea, Aeneas and his colleagues were able to land in Carthage. Landino interprets Neptune in this scene as the “ratio superior (superior reason)” that intervenes to control the lesser, “ratio inferior,” removing the disturbance of an original orderly condition. Then, he compares the “ratio superior,” Neptune, to the sovereign who rules the State with rational judgment.¹² We can find several images of Neptune from the later sixteenth century that refer to the glorification of princes as good rulers, for example, Perino del Vaga’s decoration for the Palazzo Doria in Genoa, Giorgio Vasari’s painting in the Sala degli Elementi in Palazzo Vecchio, and Bartolomeo Ammanati’s sculpture in Piazza della Signoria.¹³ The Neptune in the Villa Madama precedes all these monumental works.

Figures of Venus and playful Cupids are depicted in oval scenes around the figure of Neptune at the top of the vault. Three of these compositions are based on Philostratus’ *Imagines: Venus and Cupids* (fig. 7), *Daedalus making a Cow for Pasiphae*, and *Seven Cupids Playing with Swans*.¹⁴ The other scene is the *Eight Cupids Playing with a Ball*. Images of Venus, including *Venus Victorix* (Victorious Venus), are also found also in the stucco reliefs in the half-dome of the southeast exedra in this bay (fig. 1-IVb).¹⁵

The thematic combination of Venus and Neptune has previously been explained rather vaguely, citing the mythology of Venus born from the sea. On a more philosophical level, Claudia

Cieri Via noted that the thematic choice of Cupids and Venus may be related to the traditional topos of ‘Omnia vincit amor’.¹⁶ These opinions are plausible to some extent, but when the figure of Neptune is interpreted as an image of the ideal ruler, the surrounding figures of Venus and Cupids can be seen as representing the peaceful conditions enjoyed under the reign of Pope Leo X.

The Vasari painting in Palazzo Vecchio clearly shows that a triumphant Venus is an appropriate subject in this context. Moreover, it is widely known that playing cupids were a common subject at the court of Leo X, as exemplified by the series of tapestries *Giochi di putti* for the Sala di Costantino, which symbolically represents the Pope’s peaceful and prosperous reign.¹⁷ The tapestry of the so-called *Triumph of Venus*, designed by Giovanni da Udine and Perino del Vaga for Pope Leo, contains exactly the same iconography as the southwest vault (fig. 8).¹⁸ This composition presents the peaceful reign of Venus on a large ship, filled with Love, and the ‘Quos Ego’ Neptune is depicted in the center of the sea. These examples demonstrates that the combination of Venus’s triumph with Neptune’s rule of the sea was a common iconographical pattern in the papal court of Leo X. It belongs to the iconographic repertoire of the ideology of Pope Leo’s symbolic Golden Age. In fact, one of the fresco paintings on the vault clearly expresses this meaning (fig. 7). In this scene, apple trees in the garden of Venus symbolize the flourishing condition of the world under Medici rule since golden apples traditionally allude to the balls in the Medici coat-of-arms.¹⁹ Therefore, I conclude that the decorative complex of the southwest bay can be interpreted as an allegorical representation of the ideal reign of Pope Leo X.



fig. 9 Galatea. Stucco Relief. The Northeast Vault, Villa Madama

3. Northeast Bay

How, then, should we interpret the iconographical scheme on opposite side of Loggia, in the northeast bay (fig. 2, fig. 1-V)?²⁰ The allegorical meaning of the stucco medallion at the center of the vault is fundamentally important in this part of the villa as well. Here a Nereid is represented in the middle of the vault (fig. 9). Two of the four fresco paintings around it depict Achilles among the daughters of Lycomedes at Skyros, based on Statius’ *Achilleid*,²¹ while the remaining two represent *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus* from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*²² and the infant Bacchus and Satyrs from an unknown literary source.²³ Then, in the southeast exedra’s half dome vault, the stories of Galatea, Polyphemus and Acis (fig. 10, fig. 1-Vc), also from Ovid, are represented in numerous stucco reliefs. Moreover, a giant reclining figure of Polyphemus (fig. 15), depicted by Giulio Romano, appears in the lunette of the northeastern wall.

Previous studies have not agreed in their identification of the Nereid in the stucco medallion. Opinion has been divided between Amphitrite, wife of Neptune, and the sea nymph Galatea.²⁴ In my view, the figure must be Galatea. As I will show, the figure of Galatea is closely related to Giulio de’ Medici’s self-image and embodies his personal virtue.²⁵

In this respect, I should note that previous studies have not paid much attention to the thematic correlations between the decorative components in different sections of this bay. Galatea’s story is represented in the half dome of the southeast exedra (fig. 1-Vc) and, of special



fig. 10 *Story of Galatea, Polyphemus and Acis*. The Southeast Exedra in the Northeast Bay, Villa Madama (fig. 1-Vc)



fig.13 CANDOR ILLAESVS. Sala di Giulio Romano, Villa Madama (fig. 1-VIII)



fig. 11 *Polyphemus Combing His Hair*. Stucco Relief. The Southeast Exedra in the Northeast Bay, Villa Madama



fig. 12 *Polyphemus killing Acis*. Stucco Relief. The Southeast Exedra in the Northeast Bay, Villa Madama

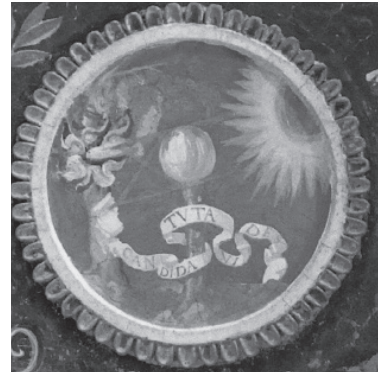


fig.14 CANDIDA TVTA VIDES. The Border of the Northeast Vault, Villa Madama

importance, the figure of Polyphemus, sleeping in the cave is depicted in the lunette of the northeast wall (fig. 1-Vd). I believe that the Galatea in the vault medallion and the Polyphemus in the lunette were intended to be closely correlated, both spatially and thematically. Here, we have an obvious precedent in the twin frescos, by Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo respectively, in the Villa Farnesina (fig. 17).²⁶ It is worth examining the allegorical meaning of their story.

The one-eyed and ill-favored giant, Polyphemus, fell in love with the beautiful Galatea. In order to gain her favor, he bathed, combed his hair (fig. 11),²⁷ and played music. But Galatea was in love with Acis and avoided Polyphemus. Furious with jealousy, Polyphemus killed Acis by crushing him with the rock of Mount Etna. As Galatea grieved for Acis, his dead body was transformed into a river (fig. 12).

The vernacular translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by Giovanni Bonsignori, published in 1497, gives a commentary on each story to clarify its allegorical meaning. According to Bonsignori's explanation, Galatea symbolizes divine whiteness (candidezza) or purity (pudicizia), while Polyphemus, who kills Acis and tries to destroy Galatea's purity, is associated with lust (libidine), and Acis embodies care (cura). It is very interesting to note that this allegorical interpretation of Galatea's story corresponds precisely to the concept of Giulio de' Medici's well-known impresa, which shows a crystal globe with the motto 'CANDOR ILLAESVS' (whiteness that cannot be harmed) (fig. 13). According to Paolo Giovio, this impresa, consisting of rays



fig.15 Giulio Romano, *Sleeping Polyphemus*, Lunette of the Northeast Wall in the Northeast Bay (fig. 1-Vd)



fig.16 Copy after Giulio Romano, *Sleeping Polyphemus*, pen and brown ink, greyish brown wash, 285 x 437 mm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques, inv. 3672



fig.17 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Polyphemus*. Raphael, *The Triumph of Galatea*. 1511-12, Fresco, Loggia of Galatea, Villa Farnesina, Rome

of the sun passing through a crystal globe and burning everything that is not entirely white, proclaims the unstained purity of Giulio's soul that can withstand any evil.²⁸ It is significant that the motto inscribed on the borders of the northeast vault expresses the same concept in different words, 'CANDIDA TVTA VIDES' (You shall see the protected whiteness) (fig. 14).²⁹ This clearly refers to Galatea (whiteness), being stared at by the jealous Polyphemus from below, but safely moving on the sea.

Giulio Romano's fresco painting of Polyphemus (fig. 15) is now in a very bad state of conservation.³⁰ Nevertheless, as a little-known drawing in the Louvre Museum (fig. 16) shows, its composition is probably little changed.³¹ In fact, the reclining giant in the cave, who looks up with a slightly open mouth, reminds the spectator of the story of Polyphemus blinded by Odysseus.³² Besides this literal reading of the scene, however, I think that there is another, witty allusion to his desperate love for Galatea. In this composition, there is no one attempting to blind his eye in the cave, and the fire on the altar seems to allude to the giant's ardent love for Galatea.³³ In fact, in the literary tradition of love poetry, Polyphemus's love was often compared with burning fire,³⁴ and in the *Metamorphoses*, Polyphemus says that his single eye had already been blinded due to his love for Galatea.³⁵ Therefore, the reclining Polyphemus may be interpreted as a defeated man, not defeated by Odysseus but by the power of Love that conquers all (*Omnia vincit amor*).³⁶ Therefore, we can infer that the reclining Polyphemus can be regarded as defeated lust, appropriately contrasted with Galatea, protected whiteness or purity. Their physical relationship in the space - Polyphemus looking up from the lunette at Galatea on the vault (fig.

15) - corresponds with this allegorical meaning.

In this way, different sections of the bay's space are correlated with each other to form an ingenious ensemble extolling the virtue of Giulio de' Medici. I would also add that the purity of the stucco's whiteness, an important technical contribution of Giovanni da Udine,³⁷ plays an significant part in this allegorical scheme of the northeast bay.

4. Central Bay

The central bay's vault (fig. 3, fig. 1-III) is located between the two bays I have described. At the center of the dome is the Medici coat-of-arms crowned by a cardinal's hat. Around it, the *Four Seasons* in the guise of four deities are represented in stucco medallions. Four fresco paintings portray gods representing the *Four Elements: Fire, Water, Earth, and Wind*. Stucco figures of the eight planets and reclining figures of the eight muses are alternately placed along the lower circular border of the dome.³⁸

The allegorical figures of the Four Elements and Four Seasons clearly allude to the fundamental components of the world, based on the Pythagorean-Platonistic theoretical tradition.³⁹ Moreover, the concept of cyclical time, indicated symbolically by the figures of the Seasons, may refer to the Medici Family's traditional motto, *le temps revient*, the Golden Age returns.⁴⁰ Thus, the decorative scheme of the central bay presents a cosmological iconography and seems to symbolize the harmonious world under Medici rule. It thus synthesizes the ideological programs of the two flanking bays.

Conclusion

The principal message of the decorative program of the Garden Loggia, therefore, can be regarded as the glorification of the two Medici patrons. This conclusion is in itself not unexpected, but the way this program achieves its purpose is novel in two ways.

First, the Loggia's decorative scheme combines the ancient, 'capricious' decorative system of the grotesque and the medieval tradition of an allegorical, moralizing interpretation of Classical mythology. Second, the eulogistic message is conveyed by an elaborate network of numerous separate allegorical motifs, and is not readily understandable to untutored viewer. The decorated space speaks in an esoteric language, reserved only for those with an extensive humanist education. In these respects, the decorative scheme of the Garden Loggia is much different from that of the Vatican Stanze or the Villa Farnesina.

Construction of the Villa seems to have been suspended after the completion of the Loggia's interior decoration. However, some foreign guests were invited to the Villa before the Sack of Rome, as several documents testify: Baldassare Castiglione stayed there in June 1519,⁴¹ Federico Gonzaga in August 1522,⁴² and Isabella d'Este in May 1525.⁴³ The Mantuan ambassador, Francesco Gonzaga, reported that Isabella d'Este, during her visit, found the interior decoration and collection of antique sculptures in the Villa to be truly magnificent.⁴⁴ Although the entire utopian plan of the Villa was never realized, the partially completed structure and its interior spaces seem to have been highly attractive to both patrons and visitors. High-ranking visitors to the Villa who entered the Garden Loggia must have been greatly impressed by this brilliant manifestation of Roman classicist culture. Due to the Sack of Rome in 1527, this new decorative system did not attract immediate followers in Rome. However, the Villa Madama's decorative scheme became an important model in other places in Italy and Europe: for instance, the Palazzo Te in Mantua, designed by Giulio Romano, and the Galerie François I in Fontainebleau, designed

by Rosso Fiorentino.

The decoration of the Garden Loggia of Villa Madama, therefore, bears witness to the magnificence of the Medici family's patronage in Rome. At the same time, it was an important basis for the further development of sophisticated decoration in princely spaces.

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Notes

- 1 For Villa Madama, see P. Foster, "Raphael on Villa Madama: The Text of a Lost Letter," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, IX, 1967/68, pp. 308-12; R. Lefevre, *Villa Madama*, Rome, 1973; C.L. Frommel, "Die architektonische Planung der Villa Madama," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XV, 1975, pp. 59-87; J. Shearman, "A Functional Interpretation of Villa Madama," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XX, 1983, pp. 315-27; C. Napoleone, *Villa Madama: Il sogno di Raffaello*, Turin, 2007.
- 2 See note 1.
- 3 Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, II, 10.
- 4 Bramante's Nymphaeum at Gennazzano, for example. D. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton, 1979, p. 245-57; C.L. Frommel, "Villa Madama," in "Villa Madama," in C.L. Frommel, S. Ray and M. Tafuri (eds.), *Raffaello Architetto*, Milan, 1984, p. 312.
- 5 N. Dacos, "Da Giorgione a Raffaello," in N. Dacos and C. Furlan, *Giovanni da Udine: 1487-1561*, Udine, 1987, p. 111.
- 6 Forli, Biblioteca comunale, Raccolta Piancastelli, *Autografi*, Giulio de' Medici, Nos. 1-2, quoted in J. Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources (1483-1602)*, 2 vols., New Haven - London, 2003, pp. 599-601, 603-05.
- 7 For additional information about each subject of the decoration of the southwest bay, see Lefevre, *Villa Madama*, cit., pp. 254-56.
- 8 About the author's interpretation on the iconography of the Southwest bay, see also "Neptune in Villa Madama as the Allegory of Good Ruler," *Aspects of Problems in Western Art History*, vol. 10, 2013, pp. 19-26.
- 9 "Euram ad se Zephyrumque vocar, dehinc talia fatur: / Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri? / iam calum terramque meo sine numine, venti, / mescere et tantas andetis tollere moles? quos ego --! sed motos praestat componere fluctus: / post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis." Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 132-35.
- 10 M. Marek, *Ekphrasis und Herrscherallegorie: Antike Bildbeschreibungen bei Tizian und Leonardo*, Worms, 1985, p. 92 et seq.
- 11 C. Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, ed. by P. Lohe, Florence, 1980; Marek, *Ekphrasis und Herrscherallegorie*, cit., pp. 86-92.
- 12 "Quo in loco si vitae civilis cupiditas sit Iuno, commode Aeolum inferiorem, Neptunum vero superiorem hominis rationem interpretabimur. Non igitur mirum, si ab honorum ac imperii ardentissima cupiditate ratio illa inferior flectitur." "summum tamen imperium superiori rationi reservatur. Haec igitur ratio, quam nunc Neptuni nomine significat poeta, cum omnia perturbationibus rapi vexarique videat, caput e summa unda veluti ex specula effert." "Verum quemadmodum in bene instituta re publica supremus quidam magistratus creatur, cuius arbitrio, etsi omnia gerantur, alii tamen assunt minores magistratus, quibus singulis singula committantur, [...]" Landino - Lohe, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, cit., pp. 161, 165, 169. Virgil himself compares the sea waves with the mob. Virgil, *Aeneid*, I, 148-56.
- 13 Marek, *Ekphrasis und Herrscherallegorie*, cit., p. 92 et seq.
- 14 Elder Philostratus, *Imagines*, I, 6, 9, 16; R. Foerster, "Philostrats Gemälde in der Renaissance," *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXV, 1904, pp. 15-48.
- 15 For the author's opinion on these images of Venus and Cupids, and the thematic combination of Venus and Neptune, see also "The Kingdom of Venus and Cupids: The Allegory of the Reign of the Pope Leo X in the Decoration of Villa

- Madama,” *Journal of the Faculty of Fine Arts, Tokyo University of the Arts*, VIII, 2012, pp. 5-15 (Japanese text with English summary).
- 16 C. Cieri Via, “Villa Madama: una residenza “solare” per i Medici a Roma,” in S. Colonna (ed.), *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento: atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Rome, 2004, pp. 349-73.
- 17 N. Dacos, “Tommaso Vincidor: un élève de Rahaël aux pays-bas,” in *Études dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger*, Bruxelles - Rome, 1980, pp. 61-99; R. Quednau, in *Raffaello in Vaticano*, Exh. Cat., Milan, 1984, pp. 357-58.
- 18 For this series of tapestries, see N. Forti Grazzini, *Gli Arazzi*, Exh. Cat., Rome, 1994, pp. 378-91; T.P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, Exh. Cat., New Haven - London, 2002, pp. 225-29; J. Vittet - M. Savignac, *La collection de tapisseries de Louis XIV*, Dijon, 2007, pp. 1469-53, 260-71; A. Brejon de Lavergnée, *L'Éclat de la Renaissance italienne: Tissages d'après Raphaël. Giovanni da Udine, Jules Romain, Dossier de l'art*, n. 1, Paris, 2011.
- 19 The allusion of apples to the Medici coat-of-arms and the Golden Age, see H. Bredekamp, *Sandro Botticelli. La Primavera: Florenz als Garten der Venus*, Frankfurt am Mein, 1988.
- 20 For the general information on the decoration of the northeast bay, see Lefevre, *Villa Madama*, cit., pp. 256-57.
- 21 Statius, *Achilleid*, I. 689-880.
- 22 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV. 274-388.
- 23 L. Bloch in Hofmann, *Raffaël als Architekt*, cit., pp. 52-3; Cieri Via, “Villa Madama,” cit., p. 355 et seq. For the preparatory drawings for each fresco painting, see Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi*, cit., n. 58c 1-4, pp. 101-04; D. Cordellier and B. Py (eds.), *Raffaello e i suoi*, Exh. Cat., Rome, p. 335.
- 24 Bloch, in Hofmann, *Raffaël als Architekt*, cit., p. 52 (Galatea); R. Lefevre, *Villa Madama*, cit., p. 254 (Amphitorite or Galatea?); Napoleone, *Villa Madama*, cit., p. 46 (Amphitorite); Cieri Via, “Villa Madama,” cit., pp. 354-55 (Amphitorite).
- 25 For the author’s interpretation of the northeast bay decoration, see “I rilievi in stucco della storia di Polifemo, Galatea e Aci a Villa Madama: La relazione tra Galatea e l’impresa di Giulio de’ Medici,” *Mediterraneus. Annual Report of the Collegium Medditerranistrum*, XXXIV, 2011, pp. 25-46 (Japanese text with Italian summary).
- 26 For *Galatea and Polyphemus* in Agostino Chigi’s Villa, see C. Thoenes, “Zu Raffaels Galatea,” in L. Grisebach and K. Renger (eds.), *Festschrift für Otto Simson zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt am Main, 1977, pp. 220-72; “Galatea: Tentativi di Avvicinamento,” in C.L. Frommel and M. Winner (eds.), *Raffaello a Roma: il convegno del 1983*, Rome, 1986, pp. 59-73.
- 27 In this scene, Polyphemus holds an enormous comb to run through his hair, which previous studies did not pay much attention. However, the use of the word ‘comb’ is only found in the vernacular translation of *Metamorphoses* (‘li pettini grandi’). In the original Latin text ‘rastris’ (lastra) is used which translates into rake. Therefore, we can consider that the venacular version was referenced by the artists in this case. P. Ovidii Nasonis, *Metamorphosis*, Venice, 1492, Lib. XIII. p. 15; Ovidio, *Metamorphoseos vulgare*, Venice, 1497, XIII, Cap. XLVIII.
- 28 P. Giovio, *Dialogo delle imprese militari e amorose* [Lyon, 1574], ed. by M.L. Doglio, Rome, 1978, pp. 66-67.
- 29 Giulio de’ Medici’s motto ‘CANDIDA TVTA VIDES’ seems to be used only in the northeast bay in Villa Madama. In the vault of Sala di Giulio Romano, instead, ‘CANDOR ILLAESVS’ is exhibited.
- 30 Giulio Romano’s Polyphemus before the restoration, see Bloch, in Hofmann, *Raffaël als Architekt*, cit., pp. 54-57; W.E. Greenwood, *The Villa Madama Rome*, New York, 1926, pl. VI, A; F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, New York, 1981 (1st ed., 1958), pp. 61-62, fig. 113.
- 31 Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 3672. The general information of this drawing, see Museum’s online database: <http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr/detail/oeuvres/71/100886-Polypheme-endormi-visite-par-des-faunes>. The author’s article about the Giulio’s Polyphemus: “Giulio Romano’s Polyphemus in the Villa Madama: The Iconographic Interpretation Based on a Drawing in the Musée du Louvre,” *Bijyutsushi (Journal of the Japan Art History Society)*, Vol. 170, 2011, pp. 179-95 (Japanese Text with English Summary). The satyr who measures the Giant’s thumb with a stick is based on the ekphrasis of the panel painting of Cyclops by Timanthes, that Pliny the Younger narrated in the *Natural History*, XXXV. xxxvi. 74; Marek, *Ekphrasis und Herrscherallegorie*, cit., p. 20, n. 107. Leon Battista Alberti has mentioned Timanthes’ painting in his treatise: L.B. Alberti, *Della Pittura*, [1436] ed. by L. Mallè, Florence, 1950, p. 50.
- 32 Euripides, *Cyclops*; Homer, *Odyssey*, IX. 371-406.
- 33 The depiction of the fire on the altar and the satyrs seem to be inspired by the bacchanal iconography represented in the roman sarcophagus relief. P.P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, 2nd ed., London, 2010, no. 85iv, pp. 133-34.
- 34 Theocritus, *Idyll*, XI. 50-54.
- 35 “O Galatea, vedi ch’io ardo de smesurato amore, tanto ch’io vedo portare nel mio petto fuoco del monte Etna, e per tutto questo già niente te movi!” Bonsignori, *Ovidio Metamorphoseos Vulgare*, cit., Libro XIII, Cap. XLIX, p. 605.

36 Virgil, *Eclogue*, X. 69.

37 Vasari mentioned that Giovanni da Udine had rediscovered the pure white stucco technique *all'antica*: G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* [1568], ed. by P. Della Pergola, L. Grassi and G. Previtali, Novara, 1967, VI, p. 398.

38 Lefevre, *Villa Madama*, cit., p. 253.

39 Bloch, in Hofmann, *Raffael als Architekt*, cit., p. 49.

40 J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel*, London, 1972, p. 89; Cieri Via, "Villa Madama," cit., pp. 354, 359.

41 Florence, Archivio di Stato, Acquisti e Doni 358, fol. 108r; quoted in Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, cit., 1519/36, p. 455.

42 Florence, Archivio di Stato. Carte di Urbino, Classe. I, Divisione Guardaroba Mediceo, filza 132, fol. 66r., quoted in Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 1522/7, p. 726.

43 Mantua, Archivio di Stato, Archivio Gonzaga 869, fols. 268r-v., quoted in Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources* cit., 1525/1, p. 792.

44 "Non heri l'altro la prefeta Madama [Isabella], invitata dal cavallere Franceschino de N. S.re, andò ad cena alla vegna de S. Santità dove è un principio de un bellissimo alloggiamento, cum qualche stantie finite, sumptuose e magnifice al possibile, fatte nel tempo che era cardinale. Il locho è delectevole, e de gran piacere, e de bellissimo sito quanto essere possa." *Ibid.*

The Sources of the Illustrations

C. C. Bambach(ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci: Master Draftsman*, Exh. Cat., New York - London, 2003 (fig. 6) / T. P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, Exh. Cat., New Haven - London, 2002 (fig. 8) / W. E. Greenwood, *The Villa Madama Rome*, New York, 1928 (fig. 1) (modified by the author) / G. Malafarina, *La Villa Farnesina a Roma*, Modena, 2003 (fig. 17) / C. Napoleone, *Villa Madama: Il sogno di Raffaello*, Turin, 2007 (figs. 2, 3, 4, 7, 13) / Bibliotheca Hertziana (figs. 11, 12) / Louvre Museum (fig. 16) / Photo by the author (figs. 5, 9, 10, 14, 15)