

LANDSCAPE *ALL'ANTICA* AND TOPOGRAPHICAL ANACHRONISM IN ROMAN FRESCO PAINTING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY*

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I

A painting in the frieze of a room in the Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli in Rome shows the Piazza del Campidoglio, the heart of republican and imperial Rome (Fig. 1). Painted in the mid-sixteenth century, when the building was occupied by Marcantonio II Colonna and his wife Felice Orsini, it depicts the square with the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius at the centre of the oval picked out in the pavement, framed to the left by a portico and a ramp leading to the Franciscan convent of the Aracoeli.¹ Instead of the Palazzo Senatorio, however, the artist has painted a large pagan temple consisting of three monumental sanctuaries, each one housing an ancient Roman statue. Although immediately recognisable, the view is clearly fictional. The portico that appears in the view to the left was never built, but did form part of the first project for the renovation of the square, one of the key projects of Paul III Farnese's pontificate (1534–49).² The Pope intended to stress the continuity between imperial and Christian Rome at this site, as well as reinforce the idea that he was the Vicar of Christ on earth.³ As it turned out, the arcades of the portico were replaced by a continuous wall with a single central niche, as can be seen in several drawings and engravings made of the square in subsequent years before it was definitively transformed into the magnificent scenography that we still admire today.⁴

Although the renovation programme promoted by Paul III included a historical notice to that effect James Ackerman, who first published the fresco in his book on the architecture of Michelangelo in 1961, failed to recognise that the temple was

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1. On this palace, also known as Palazzo del Vaso, and the fresco cycle, which still awaits full analysis, see *Il complesso dei SS. Apostoli. Intervento di restauro*, ed. C. Arcieri, Rome 1992, and F. Nicolai, 'The artistic patronage of Marcantonio II Colonna', *Studi Romani*, 2007, forthcoming. The fresco was first published by J. S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2 vols, London 1961, I, fig. 38b, as being part of the decoration of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne. Ackerman

specifies that he 'knows of this painting through Wolfgang Lotz, who supplied the photograph', obviously with the wrong location. Ackerman's chapter 'The Capitoline Hill' has been reprinted in J. S. Ackerman, *Distance Points. Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture*, Cambridge and London 1991, pp. 385–416.

2. On this original project, see M. Brancia di Apricena, 'La committenza edilizia di Paolo III Farnese sul campidoglio', *Römischer Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, xxxii, 1997–98, 2002, pp. 409–78 (443–48, 456), who mentions the fresco p. 448, n. 145.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 443, nn. 127, 128.

4. *Ibid.*, figs 62, 63. See also L. Vertova, 'A Late Renaissance View of Rome', *The Burlington Magazine*, cxxxvii, 1108, 1995, pp. 445–51.



1. *The Capitoline Square with the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus*, Rome, Palazzo Colonna dei SS. Apostoli, c. 1552–53 (?), fresco (Galleria Colonna)

meant to evoke the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which had been located on this very site in ancient times.⁵ It is known that a statue of the Roman god was to be placed in the central niche of the double staircase designed by Michelangelo to access the Palazzo Senatorio, exactly where the painter had situated the statue in his fresco.⁶ The position of the statue would have made clear the link between the pagan god and the Pope, celebrated appropriately as a ‘new Jupiter’ in contemporary epigrams.⁷

The ancient topography of the hill was also a determining factor in the construction of the adjacent Torre Paolina under Paul III, a new residence located immediately next to the convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli, on the spot where the ancient temple of Jupiter Feretrius had once stood.⁸ The symbolic continuity

5. Ackerman (as in n. 1), p. 408.

6. Ibid., p. 406. On the sculptural programme of the Capitoline at the time of Paul III, see T. Buddensieg, ‘Zum Statuenprogramm im Kapitolsplan Pauls III’, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, xxxii, 1969, pp. 177–228 (200).

7. Brancia di Apricena (as in n. 2), p. 454. The pope was also identified on other occasions with Janus, Apollo, Hercules, Alexander the Great, or Hadrian. See L. Canova, ‘La celebrazione nelle arti del ponti-

ficato di Paolo III Farnese come nuova età dell’oro’, *Storia dell’arte*, xciii–xciv, 1998, pp. 217–34, and J. Kliemann, ‘Imperial Themes in Early Modern Papal Iconography’, in *Basiliak Eikon. Renaissance Representations of the Prince*, ed. R. Eriksen and M. Malmanger, Rome 2001, pp. 11–29 (14–15).

8. ‘... Arae coeli fratrum minorum beati Francisci ecclesiam in feretrij Iovis templi fundamentis extractam’; Matteo Silvaggi, *De tribus peregrinis*, Venice 1542, p. 304; Brancia di Apricena (as in n. 2), p. 442.

between the glories of ancient Rome and the new power of the Pope was thus made visible and legible, both within the fabric of the city and in its new monuments, erected on the foundations of ancient Roman buildings. The fresco in the Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli is therefore a composite portrait of the square, presenting not an objective depiction of the site's actual topography, but rather a network of symbolic associations played out between the visible reality and known history of the place that would have resonated with a learned sixteenth-century Roman.

The temple of Jupiter had indeed included three main shrines, each of which was dedicated to one of the Capitoline triad of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva.⁹ In the image however, the three baldachins seem to house different Roman divinities. The central one, in the shape of a herm, is easily recognisable as Terminus, the Roman god of boundaries, one of the three deities formerly worshipped on the site. Ancient writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus and later St Augustine, recall that the temple was built over pre-existing altars, and that three gods—Terminus, Juventas and Mars—had refused to be moved from their original location when the new temple was built.¹⁰ Juventas, the daughter of Jupiter and goddess of youth, is recognisable in the fresco by her raised arm holding a cup, identifying her as the cup-bearer for the gods and goddesses of Mount Olympus, whilst Mars, on the right, unsheathes his sword. The representation of these three deities within the fresco is therefore another learned allusion to the history of the place and the complex account of the temple's construction as narrated by ancient authors.

Ackerman misinterpreted the image because he failed to put it in its proper context, identifying the fresco as part of the decoration of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne. Furthermore, it is also unlikely that a representation of the Capitoline Square in a palace belonging to an aristocratic family would have been meant as a celebration of a papal project with religious overtones, as he suggested.¹¹ Its presence and meaning in a palace belonging to the Colonna family could be explained by the fact that the famous site was located a short distance away from the palace itself; it could also have alluded to the origins of the Colonna and the Orsini families, both of which claimed descent from ancient Romans.¹²

In fact, the fresco was most likely painted to celebrate the wedding of Marcantonio Colonna and Felice Orsini on 12 May 1552. Indeed, the coats of arms of these two most ancient of Roman families are represented together in the four corners of the room. Two other large scenes from the frieze, both taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, refer directly to this union: on the left side facing the window,

9. See E. Rodocanachi, *Le Capitole romain antique et moderne*, Paris 1905, p. 7.

10. The sanctuary of Juventas is only mentioned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Roman antiquities*, II.74 (2–5)), and St Augustine is the only author mentioning a sanctuary dedicated to Mars (*City of God*, IV.23); Rodocanachi (as in n. 9), p. 27. This shows that the Renaissance iconographer of the Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli consulted several sources for his reconstruction. See also S. B. Platner, T. Ashby, *A topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London 1929, p. 512.

11. Ackerman (as in n. 1), p. 408.

12. On the origins of the Colonna family, see M. Calvesi, 'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Nuovi riscontri e nuove evidenze documentarie per Francesco Colonna signore di Preneste', *Storia dell'arte*, LX, 1987, pp. 85–136 (85–91, 97–103). On the Orsini family, see Francesco Sansavino, *L'istoria di Casa Orsini*, Venice 1565, and for a specific example, G. Clarke, 'The Palazzo Orsini in Nola. A Renaissance Relationship with Antiquity', *Apollo*, CXXXIV, 413, 1996, pp. 44–50.

Latona and the Lycian Farmers alludes to fertility and maternity, while the *Metamorphosis of Alcyone* on the other side symbolises marital fidelity.¹³ Mars and Juventas, represented in the view, thus stood for the union between the martial character of Marcantonio Colonna and the desired fertility of the young Felice Orsini, a presage of a well-ordered and prosperous household placed, like the young city of Rome, under the protection of the god Terminus.¹⁴

There is another representation of the Capitoline Square, in the Sala delle Oche in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, that shows the square laid out according to this initial project (Fig. 2). The Aracoeli church is visible, as is the entrance to the Franciscan convent as it was before the construction of the new portico. Again, the view is populated by ancient Romans, who are this time watching a race on the main piazza. The painting, dated 1543 and attributed to Luzio Luzi, has been identified by historians as a representation of a project of 1536–38 (or possibly the early 1540s), and is part of a series of landscape views in the frieze of the Sala delle Oche illustrating Roman games in fanciful or recognisable sites, such as the Circus Maximus or the Markets of Trajan.¹⁵

The representation of the sixteenth-century square in a cycle devoted to Roman history and ancient monuments is probably an allusion to the ancient games formerly organised on the Capitoline Hill. The most ancient and famous of these were the *ludi Romani* or *ludi magni*, instituted, according to Livy, by Tarquinus in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.¹⁶ The organisation of the games was the responsibility of the *curule aediles*, magistrates also charged with the *cura urbis* (the maintenance of the streets of Rome, water supply, and public order). The reference to these ancient practices in the Sala delle Oche and the use of anachronism (the representation of scenes from Roman history in a Renaissance setting), were a clear allusion to one of the main functions of the *conservatori*, or officials of the commune during the Renaissance: the organisation of popular games and carnivals.¹⁷ The statutes of the commune of 1363 show that the *conservatori* considered themselves to be the direct descendants of the ancient *aediles*, who were responsible for

13. Ovid, *Metamorphosis*, XI.410–748; VI.313–81. A fresco opposite that of the Capitoline Square above the window may represent another part of the Capitoline Hill, the citadel known as the *Arx*, with the Auguraculum and the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. On the ceiling I have identified the following episodes from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*: four deeds of Hercules, the Fall of Icarus, Apollo and Daphne, the Triumph of Bacchus, and the Hunt of the Calydonian Boar. In the adjacent *salone*, full portraits of Roman emperors alternate with other scenes from Ovid: Lucretia, Apollo and Daphne, Narcissus, and the Rape of Europa.

14. Interpreting the refusal of Juventas and Terminus to be moved from the temple of Jupiter, Dionysius of Halicarnassus writes: 'From this circumstance the augurs concluded that no occasion would ever cause the removal of the boundaries of the Romans' city or impair its vigour [...]': Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman antiquities*, iii.69 (3–6) [Loeb

classical library, trans. E. Cary, E. Spelman, 1939]. On Marcantonio Colonna, see F. Petrucci, *ad vocem. Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, Rome 1982, pp. 371–83.

15. For the dating of the view, see Brancia di Apricena (as in n. 2), p. 448, and Ackerman (as in n. 1), p. 414. On the Pauline rooms at the Palazzo dei Conservatori, see D. Murphy-Livingston, 'The fresco decoration of the Pauline rooms in the Palazzo dei Conservatori', Ph.D thesis, Boston University 1993; C. Pietrangeli, 'La sala delle Oche', *Capitolium*, xxxix, 1964, pp. 620–25; idem, 'La Sala delle Aquile', *Capitolium*, xxxxi, 1966, pp. 90–95.

16. Titus Livius, *Ab Urbe Condita*, II.36; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman antiquities*, VII.71–73; Murphy-Livingston (as in n. 15), pp. 101 ff.; S. Facchini, *I luoghi dello Sport nella Roma antica e moderna*, Rome 1990, p. 183.

17. Murphy-Livingston (as in n. 15), pp. 109–18.



2. Luzzo Luzi, *The Capitoline Square with a Roman Race*, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala delle Oche, 1543, fresco (Musei Capitolini)

the *cura ludorum solemnium*. Furthermore, the representation of games in the Sala delle Oche, which present the *conservatori* as the prestigious heirs to the magistrates of the Roman Republic, must be understood as a claim to this ancestral role at a time when papal power was considerably eroding the prerogatives of the commune: several popes had understood the propagandistic power of popular festivals and intervened drastically in their organisation, to the detriment of the commune.¹⁸ Already under Paul II's reign (1464–71), the games that had been held at Testaccio were transferred to next to the pope's residence, the Palazzo Venezia. Similarly, Paul III had the carnival moved to St Peter's square on several occasions during his pontificate (1534–49).¹⁹ In 1545, the carnival sponsored by the Farnese family was even more overtly political, with a procession celebrating the victories of Charles V against the Turks in the manner of an ancient triumph.²⁰ Although an *impresa* of Paul III is present, albeit discreetly, in the frieze of the Sala delle Oche, the representation of Roman games in their palace allowed the *conservatori* to reassert their ancestral rights and their connections to republican, rather than to

18. On the complicated relationship between the commune and the popes regarding Roman festivals, see B. Mitchell, 'The S.P.Q.R. in Two Roman Festivals of the Early and Mid-Cinquecento', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, IX, 4, 1978, pp. 94–102.

19. *Ludus Carnelevarii. Il carnevale a Roma dal Secolo XII al secolo XVI*, ed. B. Premoli, Rome 1981, p.

XI. The best source is V. Forcella, *Tornei e giostre. Ingressi trionfali e feste carnevalesche in Roma sotto Paolo III. 1534–1549*, Rome 1885, p. 24.

20. See C. Pericoli Ridolfini, 'I giuochi di Testaccio in due dipinti del Museo di Roma', *Bollettino dei Musei comunali di Roma*, XXIII, 1977, pp. 46–63 (56).



3. Michiel Gast (?), *The Arch of Constantine*, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala delle Aquile, 1543, fresco (Musei Capitolini)

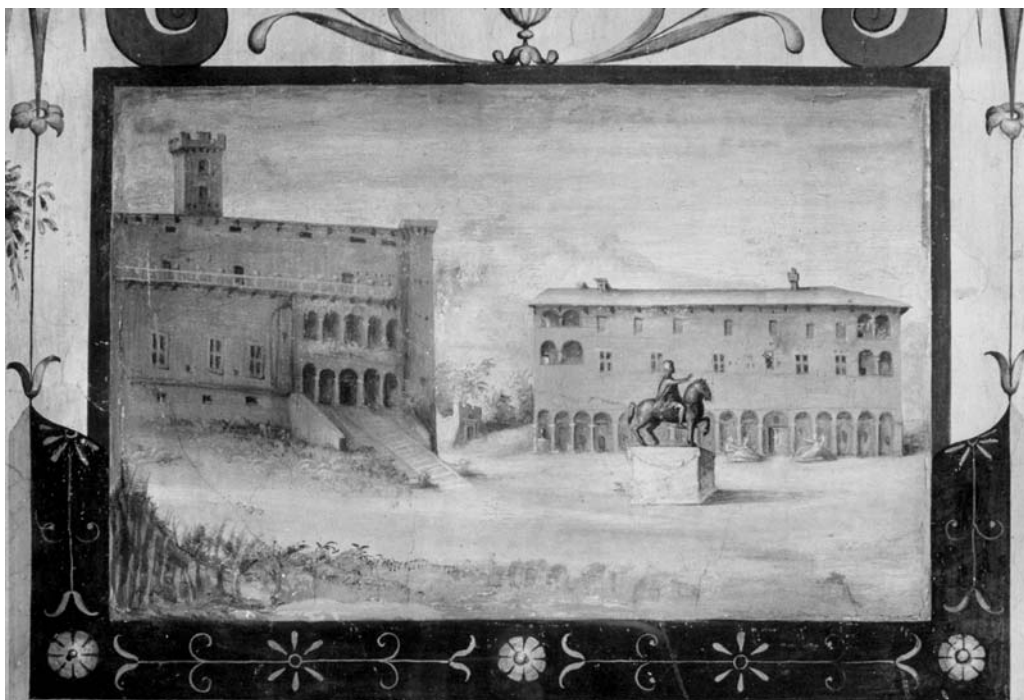
imperial Rome. On the ceiling, the symbol of the commune of Rome ‘S.P.Q.R.’ established this lineage clearly. On this occasion, the insertion of the pope’s *impresa* within the frieze may have constituted a way for him to be associated with the prestige of the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* rather than to indicate where the true power in Rome lay.²¹

In the frieze of the adjacent room, the Sala delle Aquile, *all’antica* landscape views and medallions showing virtuous Roman women also had a special significance for the *conservatori*. Attributed to the Flemish painter Michiel Gast and also dated around 1543, the views all show ancient Roman monuments—such as the Colosseum, the Forum, and the Arch of Constantine (Fig. 3)—with the exception of one which shows the Capitoline Square as it must have looked in the late 1530s (Fig. 4).²² The representation of virtuous women of republican Rome, the Rome of *virtus romana*, was yet another subtle way of celebrating republican values, while

21. See A. Morrogh, ‘The palace of the Roman people: Michelangelo at the Palazzo dei Conservatori’, *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, xxix, 1994, pp. 129–86 (135), and R. Ago, ‘Hegemony over the social scene and zealous popes (1676–1700)’, in *Court and politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, Cambridge 2002, pp. 229–46 (231). The Farnese *impresa* in the frieze represents three lilies topped by a rainbow with the Greek inscription ‘DIKES KRINON’ (‘lily of justice’), standing for purity and divine justice. See M.

Pastoureau, ‘L’emblématique Farnèse’, in *Le Palais Farnèse*, 2 vols in 3 pts, Rome 1981, I, 2, pp. 432–55 (445–48).

22. N. Dacos, *Roma quanta fuit ou l’invention du paysage de ruines*, Paris 2004, p. 94. On the theme of *virtus romana*, see R. Guerrini, ‘Dal testo all’immagine. La “pittura di storia” nel Rinascimento’, in *Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana*, 3 vols, Turin 1984–86, II (1985), pp. 45–93.



4. Michiel Gast (?), *The Capitoline Square*, Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, Sala delle Aquile, 1543, fresco (Musei Capitolini)

the Roman monuments brought to mind another crucial responsibility of the *conservatori*, the preservation of ancient monuments, a role that was also increasingly endangered by the ever-growing involvement of the pope in the affairs of the city. This role had been assigned to the *conservatori* by the popes as early as the fourteenth century. In 1363, the statutes of the *Camera communale* forbade anyone from destroying ‘aliquod antiquum edificium’, an order that was stressed again in 1462 by Pius II and by Sixtus IV in 1476.²³ As for Paul III, soon after his election to the pontificate in 1534, he appointed Latino Giovenale Manetti, *conservator* in 1536, 1546 and 1549, as the *commissario delle antichità*.²⁴

The *conservatori* considered Roman antiquities as the property and patrimony of Roman citizens. As Michele Franceschini has shown, the protection of ancient monuments against destruction and spoliation was ideologically motivated by their conscious construction of *romanitas*. In reality however, and whatever the statutes said, popes and cardinals held power in this regard and had little concern for ancient remains when they needed building materials for new churches and

23. M. Franceschini, ‘La magistratura capitolina e la tutela delle antichità di Roma nel XVI secolo’, *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, CIX, 1986, pp. 141–50, and idem, ‘Le magistrature capitoline tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento: il tema della romanitas nell’ideologia e nella committenza municipale’, *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma*, III, 1989, pp. 65–73. For a more extensive account, see P.

Pecchiai, *Roma nel Cinquecento*, Bologna 1948, pp. 209–66.

24. L. von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del medio evo*, 17 vols, Rome 1958–64, v, pp. 711–13. On Manetti and the protection of ancient monuments under Paul III, see R. T. Ridley, ‘To Protect the Monuments: the Papal Antiquarian (1534–1870)’, *Xenia antiqua*, 1, 1992, pp. 117–54.

palaces.²⁵ This is true even for Pius II or Sixtus IV, both known humanists. Rodolfo Lanciani writes that 'the construction of the Loggia della Benedizione at St. Peter under the pontificate of Pius II caused more damage to the ancient monuments of Rome than a barbarous invasion'.²⁶ In a decree of 1471, Sixtus IV authorised his architects to excavate wherever they wanted to collect building materials for the Vatican palace library.²⁷ Although more decrees were drawn up to punish those who plundered Roman antiquities under the pontificate of Paul III, an edict of 22 July 1540 allowed the deputies of the *Fabbrica di San Pietro* to 'dig up or excavate' from the Roman forum and the via Sacra any building material they needed.²⁸

The rights accorded by the pontiffs to the commune were therefore essentially symbolic. In the same way in which they intervened in the organisation of games and festivals, the popes had long ago seized the opportunity to exploit Rome's ancient past both practically and ideologically by appropriating crucial areas and monuments in the city.²⁹ Paul III's projects for the Campidoglio fitted in with this kind of political strategy; as Charles Stinger explains, by transforming the Capitoline, associated with the municipal liberties of Rome's citizens, into a scenographic expression of the myth of the imperial *renovatio*, the popes eroded its role as the active centre of civic life and as the site of actual political power.³⁰ The fresco of the Campidoglio in the Sala delle Aquile was therefore intended to boost both the claim of the *conservatori* to their somewhat fragile role as guardian's of the city's ancient monuments and their refusal to see them fall into the hands of 'foreigners and half-barbarians corrupting the ancient origin of Roman blood', a virulent attack on non-Roman popes and the Curia.³¹

The views of the Capitoline in the Palazzo dei Conservatori could also have functioned as a reminder of the commune's crucial role, both financial and ideological, in the remodelling of the square in its early phase. Charles Burroughs maintains that the Capitoline remodelling 'followed, at least at first, a program imbued with civic, indeed broadly republican values'.³² It is likely that the views document this first project, possibly drawn up as early as 1534, which included

25. R. Lanciani, *The destruction of ancient Rome*, New York 1901, pp. 228–52.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 209, and R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, 4 vols, Rome 1902–12, I, p. 75. In 1515, Leo X ordered Raphael to do the same, while paradoxically urging him to draw a plan of the ancient city. V. Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti*, Vatican 1936, pp. 38–39; R. Lanciani (as above), I, p. 166.

28. Edict of 22 July 1540, see Lanciani (as in n. 25), pp. 191–92. The text in Lanciani (as in n. 27, II, pp. 184–85) says 'anywhere that is public or ecclesiastical [land] within or outside the city' rather than specifying locations, though Lanciani puts it under the heading of the Forum and Via Sacra. See also G. Cantino Wataghin, 'Archeologia e "archeologie"'. Il rapporto con l'antico fra mito, arte et ricerca', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols, Turin 1984–86, I, pp. 171–217 (197).

29. On the question of the ideological use of Roman antiquities and the legitimization of papal power, see M. Miglio, 'Roma dopo Avignone. La rinascita politica dell'Antico', in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols, Turin 1984–86, I, pp. 75–111.

30. C. L. Stinger, 'The Campidoglio as the Locus of *Renovatio Imperii* in Renaissance Rome', in *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250–1500*, ed. C. M. Rosenberg, London 1990, pp. 135–56 (139–40).

31. 'huomini forastieri et mezzo barbari diradando l'antica stirpe del sangue romano' (Pompeo Colonna); see P. Giovinetti, 'La vita del Cardinal Colonna', in *Vite di Leone X et d'Adriano Sesto Sommi Pontefici, et di Cardinal Pompeo Colonna*, Vinegia 1557, p. 147; Franceschini (as in n. 23), p. 72.

32. C. Burroughs, 'Michelangelo at the Campidoglio: Artistic Identity, Patronage, and Manufacture', *Artibus et Historiae*, XIV, 28, 1993, pp. 85–111 (90–91).

only the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the statue in the centre of the square, and the supporting wall beneath the church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli (Figs 2, 4).³³ The views show that the 'Monte di terra che era nella piazza del Campidoglio', a mound of earth in the middle of the square, had been flattened and the piazza levelled by the *conservatori*.³⁴ A document of 1537 also states that one third of the revenues accrued from the Capitoline courts will be spent on the embellishment of the piazza and the Palazzo dei Conservatori.³⁵ Moreover, on 22 March 1539, the city council decided that another 320 scudi would be spent on the setting of the equestrian statue according to the design of Michelangelo and on the construction of a supporting wall on the piazza.³⁶ This not only fits with the content of the paintings, each showing one side of the piazza and therefore strictly complementing each other, but also with the dating of the views to around 1536–39.³⁷

In support of this hypothesis it should also be noted that the view in the Sala delle Aquile was subtly manipulated to allow the viewer to see the equestrian bronze statue, the main door of the Palazzo dei Conservatori framed by the monumental statues of the river gods, and the inside of the courtyard, where the first collection of ancient statuary was being assembled by the *conservatori*, a view that is impossible in reality (Fig. 4);³⁸ the same manipulation occurred in Francisco d'Ollanda's view of the statue of Marcus Aurelius with Michelangelo's projected base.³⁹ The fresco in the Sala delle Aquile, therefore, documented less Paul III's project of imperial *renovatio* than the function of the square as a site of civic glory, and the palace as a museum of ancient sculpture under the rightful supervision of the *conservatori*, the real heirs and guardians of Rome's ancient past.⁴⁰

II

The views of the Piazza del Campidoglio at the Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli and the Palazzo dei Conservatori are telling examples of how the history of places was visualised in the mid-sixteenth century. The images' status was a complex one.

33. Brancia di Apricena (as in n. 2, p. 456) thinks that this project may be dated as early as 1534, immediately after Paul III's accession to the throne of St Peter.

34. Brancia di Apricena (as in note 2), p. 444 (ASC, Cred. VI, t. 61, c. 26r.), Appendice doc. I.

35. P. Pecchiai, *Il Campidoglio nel Cinquecento*, Rome 1950, p. 36; Burroughs (as in n. 32), p. 89, n. 28.

36. '...sancitum fuit quod supradicta pecuniarum summa erogetur partim circa reformationem statue Marciantonij in platea Capitolij existentis secundum iudicium domini Michelangelij sculptoris et partim circa muros fiendos in dicta platea Capitolij'; Archivio Storico Capitolino, Cred. I, t. XVII, c. 58v. Decree of the 20 March 1539. See Brancia di Apricena (as in n. 2), p. 445.

37. The absence of the equestrian statue in the view of the Sala delle Oche does not mean that it had not been installed already at the time the view was

made. It is likely that it has not been represented for pictorial reasons, as it would have obstructed the foreground where the race takes place; see Ackerman (as in n. 1), p. 414.

38. See A. Mura Sommella, 'Il monumento di Marco Aurelio in Campidoglio e la trasformazione del Palazzo Senatorio alla metà del Cinquecento', in *Marco Aurelio. Storia di un monumento e del suo restauro*, Milan 1989, pp. 177–94 (182).

39. Ackerman (as in n. 1), fig. 13.10, pp. 396–97, 413–14.

40. The theme of antique statuary is also developed in the frieze of the adjacent Sala del Trono; see C. Pietrangeli, 'La sala del Trono', *Capitolium*, xxxvii, 1962, pp. 868–76. On the Palazzo dei Conservatori as a museum, see M. E. Tittoni, 'La formazione delle collezioni capitoline di antichità fra cultura e politica', in *Il Campidoglio all'epoca di Raffaello*, Milan 1984, pp. 23–36.

The figures within these paintings were clearly subordinated to the *place* and not the other way around, as one would generally expect during the Renaissance. Here, the *place* is the main subject of the image. The *locus*, in a strict understanding of Albertian principles, is the *historia*.⁴¹

This specific type of topographical image, which appeared in the decoration of Italian villas and palaces from the end of the fifteenth century, has never been the object of a proper study. Scholars have generally used such images as documents—when they offer some topographical information—or attempted to determine their authorship, without necessarily exploring their more subtle meanings.⁴² One author, characteristically, contended that such frescoes ‘served almost exclusively a decorative purpose [...] as if they were part ornament and part wall-paper’.⁴³

Although this reductive statement may indeed hold true for some landscape frescoes of sixteenth-century Rome, elaborate images such as the ones seen at the Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli and the Palazzo dei Conservatori were not uncommon at the time.⁴⁴ They are fundamentally different from other better-known topographical images, such as Marten van Heemskerck’s drawings or Etienne Dupérac’s engravings of contemporary Roman sites, which provide accurate topographical and spatial information on specific sites or projected designs. Instead, many topographical landscapes *all’antica* in fresco paintings relied on anachronism as their main principle, juxtaposing in a single image—or series of images—elements belonging to different periods, therefore making the representation of space an image of time.⁴⁵ Rather than aspiring to the status of ontological representation—an objective ‘truth’ associated with topographical depiction in the sixteenth century—these images display ‘reality’ as conditioned by its human point of view, that is, activated by the properties of a layered memory.⁴⁶ This way, painting becomes a form of knowledge, an interpretation of reality based on rhetorical and propagandistic necessity.⁴⁷ Thanks to the ‘rhetorical’ scheme of figurative

41. Leon Battista Alberti, *De pictura*, I.19; II.33; II.40. See also A. Grafton, ‘*Historia* and *Istoria*: Alberti’s Terminology in Context’, *I Tatti Studies*, VIII, 1999, pp. 37–68.

42. See L. H. Monssen, ‘An enigma: Matteo da Siena Painter and Cosmographer? Some considerations on his artistic identity and his fresco “all’antica” in Rome’, *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia*, VII, 1989, pp. 209–313; Dacos (as in n. 22); and idem, ‘Entre les ruines et les *vedute*. Les paysages de Lambert van Noort et de Cornelis Loots’, in *Archivi dello sguardo. Origini e momento della pittura di paesaggio in Italia*, ed. F. Cappelletti, Florence 2006, pp. 41–73.

43. Monssen (as in n. 42), pp. 209–10.

44. Many villas in the Roman Campagna have similar frescoes *all’antica* dedicated to the history of the place, such as the Villa d’Este at Tivoli, the Palazzo del Drago at Bolsena, or the Palazzo Colonna-Barberini at Palestrina. On these and other fresco

cycles, see my doctoral thesis, ‘Paysage et Pouvoir. Les décors topographiques à Rome et dans le Latium au XVIème siècle’, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne 2006, and Monssen (as in n. 42).

45. R. Arnheim, ‘Space as an image of time’, in *To the Rescue of Art*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and Oxford 1992, pp. 35–44 (pp. 37–39).

46. On the question of ‘truthfulness’ in topographical representation during the Renaissance, see L. Nuti, ‘The perspective plan in the Sixteenth century. The invention of a representational language’, *The Art Bulletin*, LXXVI, 1994, pp. 105–128 (107–09); C. Swan, ‘*Ad vivum, naer het leven*, from the life: defining a mode of representation’, *Word & Image*, XI, 4, 1995, pp. 353–72.

47. G. Danbolt, ‘Visual Images of Papal Power: The Legitimation of Papal Power in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries’, in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. A. Ellenius, Oxford 1998, pp. 147–71.

anachronism, the paintings reveal the historical meaning of the monument and site they depict.⁴⁸ This process of ‘trans-figuration’ of architecture and landscape in painting is similar to that we can observe for the genre of historical or mythological portraiture, when a living person is represented as a god or historical hero. Peter Burke explained that this connection was much more than a metaphor:

The connection, or ‘correspondence’, was stronger than that, as it was the case of the correspondence between a king and a father, or the state and the human body, or the microcosm and the macrocosm. They were seen as parts of the same *organism*. [In this portrait of a king as Hercules, the] ruler was in some important sense of the term ‘identified’ with Hercules, as if the aura of the demigod rubbed off on him. This is not a very precise language but then it is impossible to be precise about a process of this kind, which works at an unconscious rather than at a conscious level.⁴⁹

This ‘organic analogy’ is exactly what was activated within the landscape *all’antica* genre.⁵⁰ The non-linear conception of time that analogical thinking implies and the importance of the ideological project behind the use of anachronism in Renaissance art thus forces us to question the very use of the term ‘anachronism’—itself an anachronistic concept derived from a post-modern perspective—and speak instead of a ‘synchronism’ between ancient and Renaissance cultures, because it was not just the memory of the past, but also its operative actuality that were effectively re-activated within the present of the re-presentation.⁵¹

However, Renaissance art theorists, such as Ludovico Dolce or Giovanni Andrea Gilio, strongly discouraged artists from the use of anachronisms in their paintings and warned them against the most common mistakes. They sought to implement the rule of *decorum*, guaranteeing, among other things, not only the appropriateness but also the historicity of the landscape or architectural settings.⁵² In practice, the fact remains that topographical anachronisms were widely applied

48. Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*, Cambridge 1998, p. 44. See her discussion of the Roman Academy as ‘a society for creative anachronism’, pp. 7–41.

49. P. Burke, ‘The Demise of Royal Mythologies’, in *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*, ed. A. Ellenius, Oxford 1998, pp. 245–54 (247–48).

50. On the principle of ‘organic analogy’, see M. Foucault, *Les mots et les choses*, Paris 1966, pp. 32–40.

51. ‘The term anachronism began to come into use in Latin, Italian, French and English only in the 17th century [...]. It was related to “synchronism”, the attempt to translate from one chronological system to another. To speak of the sense of anachronism of Valla, Mantegna or Erasmus is therefore, literally speaking, anachronistic.’; P. Burke, ‘The Renaissance sense of anachronism’, in *Die Renaissance als erste Aufklärung*, ed. E. Rudolph, Tübingen 1998, pp. 17–35 (32).

52. ‘Se vuol fare un paese, vi potrà fingere monti, colli, valli ... fiumi ... città ... Averta pero a non ci far cose sconvenevoli al luogo; come se dipingessi la

Moscovia, ... et altri paesi settentrionali freddissimi, farli pieni di aranci, di cederi [...]’ (‘If you wish to paint a landscape, you can create for it mountains, valleys ... rivers ... cities ... But avoid including in it things that are inappropriate for the location; for example, if you were painting Moscow ... or other very cold northern landscapes, (avoid) filling them with orange trees or cedars’); Giovanni Andrea Gilio, ‘Dialogo nel quale si ragiona degli errori e degli abusi de’ pittori circo l’istoria’ (Camerino 1564), in *Trattati d’arte del Cinquecento*, ed. P. Barocchi, 3 vols, Bari 1960–62, II (1961), p. 19. In 1557, Ludovico Dolce wrote: ‘deve imaginarsi il pittore i siti e gli edifici simili alla qualità dè paesi, in guisa che non attribuisca ad uno quello che è proprio dell’altro’ (‘the painter must imagine for himself places and buildings similar in type to those of the (relevant) localities, in such a way that he does not attribute to one what is appropriate to another’); Ludovico Dolce, ‘Dialogo della Pittura intitolato l’Aretino’ (Venice 1557), *ibid.*, I, p. 167.

in painting during the sixteenth century, especially in the decoration of monuments that had been or claimed to have been built on ancient sites and whose architecture was inspired by classical antiquity. As such, they were not thought of as mere 'mistakes', but functioned, as in the Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli and the Palazzo dei Conservatori, as rhetorical signs, or 'symptoms' of a complex system of historical analogies.

Modern monuments built on top of old ones proliferated in Renaissance Rome. The re-use of ancient ruins for new buildings often had both a practical and ideological purpose: as foundations were laid for new buildings, the historical prestige of the ancient site was transferred to the new owners, eager to stress the antiquity of their lineage to boost their aristocratic pedigrees. Already during the Middle Ages, the oldest baronial families of Rome, such as the Orsini or the Colonna, had transformed ancient ruins into fortified castles and through such military occupation of ancient topography claimed power over the city.⁵³ The same principle, although now essentially symbolic, applied in the sixteenth century, when the first villas *all'antica* were built.⁵⁴

The first well-known examples of topographical anachronism in fresco painting derive from this growing interest in the ancient history of places and were created by artists in Raphael's circle in the 1520s. In the Villa Lante on the Janiculum Hill, a fresco painted by Polidoro da Caravaggio around 1524–25 shows the villa still under construction, in the background of the scene of *The Discovery of the tomb of Numa Pompilius*, which referenced the ancient history of the site (Fig. 5). The painting and the rest of the cycle, with the story of Clelia and *The Meeting of Janus and Saturn on the Janiculum*, thus exposed the historical importance of the *locus*.⁵⁵ Furthermore, an inscription in the loggia made an explicit reference to the ancient villa of Julius Martialis which, according to antiquarian scholars, once stood on this spot, overlooking the city.⁵⁶ Both villas, the modern and the ancient, appear on Pirro Ligorio's map of Rome of 1552.⁵⁷

53. See E. Rodocanachi, *Les monuments de Rome après la chute de l'Empire*, Rome 1914, p. 28; Lanciani (as in n. 25), pp. 198–201; J. J. Gloton, 'Transformation et réemploi des monuments du passé dans la Rome du 16^{ème} siècle. Les monuments antiques', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, LXXIV, 1962, pp. 705–58; P. Fancelli, 'Demolizioni e "restauri" di antichità nel Cinquecento romano', in *Roma e l'antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento*, ed. M. Fagiolo, Rome 1985, pp. 357–403.

54. See F. E. Keller, 'Ricostruire l'antico. Ville rinascimentali su ville antiche', in *Janiculum-Gianicolo. Storia, topografia, monumenti, leggende dall'antichità al Rinascimento*, ed. E. M. Steinby, Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, XVI, Rome 1996, pp. 111–18, and idem, 'Une villa de la Renaissance sur le site d'une villa antique', in *La Villa Médicis*, ed. A. Chastel and P. Morel, 3 vols, Rome 1989–91, II (1991), pp. 64–77.

55. H. Lilius, *Villa Lante al Gianicolo. L'architettura e la decorazione pittorica*, Rome 1981, pp. 135–62, 251–

63; D. R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton 1979, pp. 257–65. Beside its flattering character for the patron Baldassare Turini, a *datario* of Pope Leo X, the programme of the room held a deeper political meaning aimed at celebrating the Medicean pope. The Janiculum, where Numa Pompilius, the first *Pontifex Maximus*, was buried, was presented as the centre of ancient Etruria, an allusion to the new alliance between Rome and Florence and the new Golden Age of Rome brought about by the Medici.

56. 'HINC TOTAM LICET AESTIMARE ROMAM': Martial, *Epigrammata*, iv.64. See J. F. O'Gorman, 'The Villa Lante in Rome. Some Drawings and Some Observations', *Burlington Magazine*, CXIII, 1971, pp. 133–38.

57. Pirro Ligorio names it 'VILLA B. DE PESCHIE', from the owner Baldassare Turrini da Pescia, and locates the villa close to Martial's gardens, 'HORT. MARTALA/MICUS' on the map; see E. Mandowsky, C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman antiquities*, London 1963, pl. 73.



5. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *The Discovery of Numa Pompilius's Sarcophagus on the Janiculum*, Rome, Villa Lante, now in Palazzo Zuccari, Biblioteca Hertziana, 1524–25, detached fresco (Bibliotheca Hertziana)



6. Giulio Romano and workshop, *Villa Madama Under Construction*, detail of the *Battle of Constantine*, Vatican Palace, Sala di Costantino, 1519–21, fresco (Musei Vaticani)

It is likely that the idea for a ‘portrait’ of the villa came from the architect of the villa himself, Giulio Romano, since two other such details were inserted in decorative schemes executed in the same period for which he was mainly responsible. In the large and topographically exact landscape of the *Battle of Constantine at the Milvian Bridge* in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican Palace (1519–20), a view of the Villa Madama, built by Raphael for Pope Leo X’s nephew, Cardinal Giulio de’ Medici, is represented under construction (Fig. 6). Here again, the anachronism was meant to reveal the programme of the villa, conceived as an

antique *villa suburbana*. It also served to stress the historical importance of the site it occupied, in sight of Rome and the Milvian Bridge, where Constantine, the first Christian emperor, guided by the miraculous cross, triumphed over his pagan enemies.⁵⁸ A few years later, in the autumn of 1527, amidst a frieze of landscapes *all'antica* and scenes taken from Ovid in the Camera di Ovidio at the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, a view of Giulio's building, again shown under construction, was included.⁵⁹

Despite their striking similarities in terms of function and significance, Giulio Romano's villa 'portrait' in the Villa Lante is different from the works in the Palazzo dei Conservatori and Palazzo dei Santissimi Apostoli previously discussed. Just as in the Sala di Costantino, the monument is clearly subordinated to the main narrative and the human figures, whose poses are inspired by classical statues and the reliefs of Trajan's Column.⁶⁰ Yet, the landscape now played a crucial role within the fresco at the Villa Lante in terms of its emotional impact. This can be explained by the importance of the *locus* itself within the narrative, the historical and mythological *genius loci* of the Janiculum.⁶¹ In the three other frescoes of the Villa Lante cycle, the evocation of other Roman monuments, the River Tiber, and the snowy top of Mount Soratte, betrays a desire for geographical accuracy that was rare at this time. It thus seems that the increasing importance of antiquarian studies, including Raphael's pioneering work on the remains of ancient Rome, and their ideological use by architects, painters and patrons, is a crucial factor in explaining the formal development of landscape painting in Rome during the sixteenth century.

III

It is also likely that the importance of the *locus* within the narrative, observed in the examples examined so far, derived from a stricter adherence to Vitruvius's advice on wall decoration in *De architectura*, a point made clear by Ernst Gombrich.⁶² The juxtaposition of pure landscape views with scenes from Ovid, observed both in the Sala di Ovidio at the Palazzo del Te and at the Palazzo dei

58. See R. Quednau, *Die Sala di Costantino im Vatikanischen Palast. Zur Dekoration der beiden Medici-Päpste Leo X. und Clemens VII.*, Hildesheim and New York 1979, pp. 351–52. On Villa Madama and the ancient history of the site, see now Yvonne Elet, 'The decorations of Villa Madama in Rome and the rediscovery of stucco decoration after the antique in Renaissance Italy', Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Fine Arts, New York 2007.

59. On the Sala di Ovidio, see E. Verheyen, 'Correggio's Amori di Giove', this *Journal*, xxix, 1966, pp. 160–92 (176, n. 84); idem, 'Die Sala di Ovidio im Palazzo del Te. Bemerkungen zu unbekanntes Landschaftsbildern Giulio Romanos', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, xii, 1969, pp. 161–70.

60. Lilius (as in n. 55), pp. 158–60; Quednau (as in n. 58), pp. 352–56. On the *all'antica* style of

Giulio Romano's *Battle of Constantine*, see also E. H. Gombrich, 'The style *all'antica*: Imitation and Assimilation', in *Norm and Form. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, London 1966, pp. 122–28 (124–28).

61. A. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, Rome 1969, pp. 69–75.

62. E. H. Gombrich, 'The Renaissance Theory of Art and the Rise of Landscape', in *Norm and Form* (as in n. 60), pp. 107–21. Later studies have confirmed Gombrich's hypothesis that the development of landscape painting during the Renaissance was largely due to the influence of ancient writers: Pliny the Elder, who mentions the landscape specialist Studius or Ludius (*Historia Naturalis*, xxxv.116–17), and Vitruvius. See Hervé Brunon, 'L'essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance', *Studiolo*, iv, 2006, pp. 261–90 (274).

Santissimi Apostoli, was common in the Renaissance and directly recalled Vitruvius's famous passage:

[The ancients then proceeded in such a way] ... that they decorated walkways, on account of their lengthy spaces, with a variety of *topia* ['varietatibus topiorum'], producing pictures [derived] from certain features of places ['a certis locorum proprietatibus']. In such paintings, there will be pictured harbours, promontories, seashores, rivers, fountains, straits, shrines, groves, mountains, flocks, shepherds. In some there may also be represented in grisaille certain likenesses of the gods or mythological episodes ...⁶³

Here, it must be stressed that Vitruvius's passage refers explicitly to landscape as the representation of 'place'. Although the words in Latin most closely related to Vitruvius's *topia* are concerned with gardening (e.g., Pliny's *opus topiarium*),⁶⁴ the concept of *topia* as 'landscape(s)' in this important passage can usefully be examined more closely. The passage 'a certis locorum proprietatibus' is extremely important in this context, since *topia* are thereby defined as images of landscape consisting of certain features (*certae proprietates*) of places (*loci*, for which the Greek is *topoi*). Although Vitruvius's features appear concrete on one level—examples given include rivers, mountains, sheep and shepherds—the Vitruvian definition translates an ancient Stoic formula, as Pierre Grimal has explained. For the Stoics and for theorists of Roman painting, the art of landscape was less a representation of particular objects, than of what made them particular; thus, landscape painters, gardeners or stage designers producing *topia*, images of landscapes, were encouraged to aim not at representing specific places, but rather at the elements and features typical of places. John Moffit has also suggested that Vitruvius's *topia* 'represent a variation on *topos*, *topoi*, perhaps joined to *operarum* and probably as also related to *topica* as in the mnemonic *topoi* of "places" (cf. Aristotle, *Topica*, 163b, 24–30; as amplified by Cicero, *De oratore*; Quintilian, *De Instituto oratoria*, etc.).⁶⁵ Historians of Roman painting have recently identified Vitruvius's *topia* with panoramic views linked to a Hellenistic cartographic tradition, in which territorial painted maps—or, according to the Ptolemaic definition *chorographia*—are of central importance. Such an example of panoramic view, the mosaic of the Nile at Palestrina, will be discussed below (Fig. 10).⁶⁶

63. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, VII.5, 2: 'autem locis, uti exhedris, propter amplitudines parietum scaenarum frontes tragico more aut comico seu satyrico designarent, ambulationibus vero propter spatial longitudinis varietatibus topiorum ornarent a certis locorum proprietatibus imagines experimentes; pinguntur enim portus, promunturia, litora, flumina, fonte, euripi, fana, luci, montes, pecora, pastores. Nonnulli locis item signorum melographiam habentes deorum simulacra seu fabularum dispositas explications, non minus troianas pugnas seu Ulixis errationes per topia, ceteraque, quae sunt eorum similibus rationibus ad rerum natura procreate.' I am indebted to Joseph Spooner for the translation of this passage into English.

64. Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, XVI.140.

65. P. Grimal, *Les jardins romains*, edn Paris 1984, pp. 88–98 (92, n. 3); J. F. Moffit, 'The Palestrina mosaic with a "Nile scene": Philostratus and Ekphrasis; Ptolemy and chorographia', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LX, 1997, pp. 227–47 (239–40, n. 25). See more recently, P. Cottini, 'Le origini. Rilettura delle fonti e ipotesi interpretative', in *Topiaria. Architetture e sculture vegetali nel giardino occidentale dall'antichità a oggi*, ed. M. Azzi Visentini, Treviso 2004, pp. 1–15.

66. For the importance of the Ptolemaic notion of chorography (the description of regions / *chōrai*) and topography (description of places / *topoi*) for the development of ancient landscape art known as *topia* or *topiara opera*, see the recent proposals of A. Rouveret,

I would thus argue that 'topo-graphical' landscape art (or *chorographia*, as it was still known in the Renaissance) should be understood as the representation of *topoi*, an art that applied to gardens, painted landscapes, and theatre sets. Many gardens of the Italian Renaissance, such as the gardens of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli (with its geographical symbolism) or the *grotticina* of Boboli in Florence (probably inspired by the famous *Amaltheion* invoked by Cicero), were conceived around this ancient notion, as representations of either real (*topographia/chorographia*) or imaginary (*topothesia*) places.⁶⁷

That this conception was clearly understood during the Renaissance is made quite clear in theoretical writings. In his *Considerazioni sulla Pittura* (1620), Giulio Mancini writes on landscape painting:

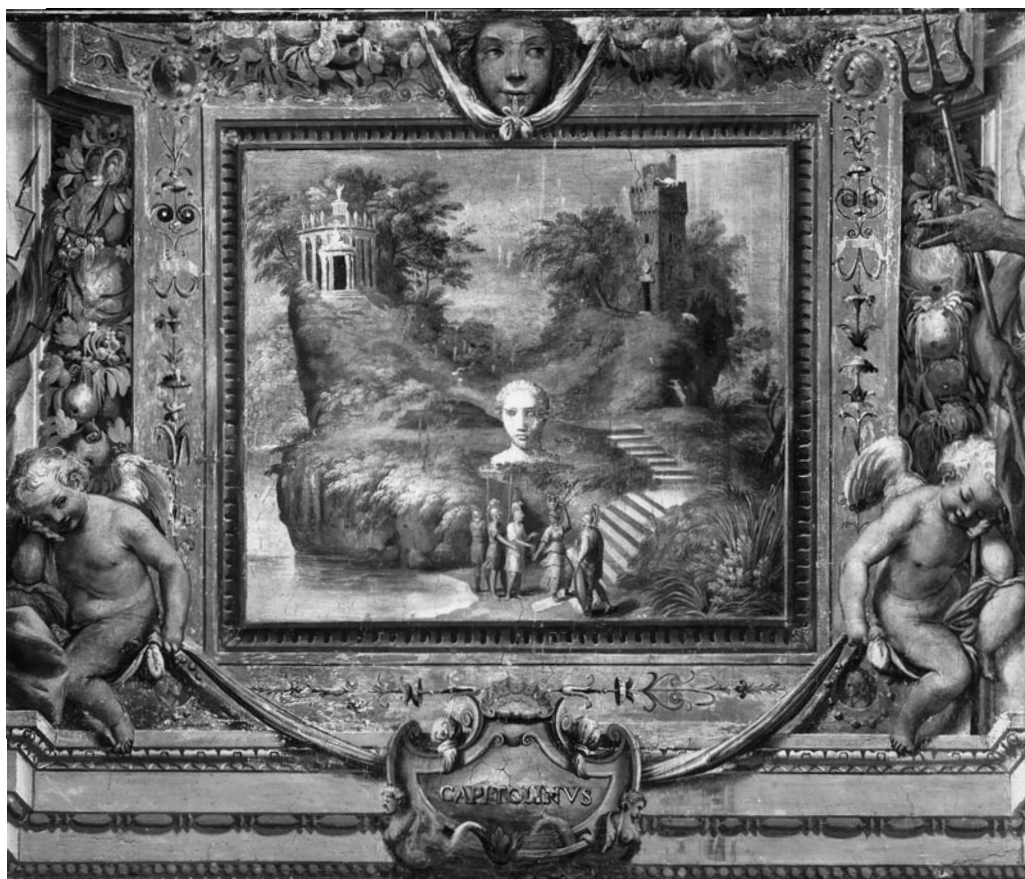
One needs to consider the setting, i.e., the place where the action and story took place, such as, for example, the fall of Simon Magus, which happened near the theatre of Marcellus [...]. He should represent this setting in painting in such a way that it can be recognized immediately via some distinctive characteristics and, if there is no such characteristic, it is permitted to expand the setting or modify the period. For example, to fully describe the fall of Simon Magus, which happened in the place mentioned, outside the theatre, if there is no other specific feature, it will be allowed, in order to recognize Rome, to expand the setting and place Trajan's Column in it, although it cannot be seen from there in reality. Additionally, a modification of the period [is allowed in this case], because this column was erected more than a hundred years after the event took place. Many talented men have taken such licence to make their settings recognisable.⁶⁸

'Pictos ediscere mundos. Perception et imaginaire du paysage dans la peinture hellénistique et romaine', *Ktéma. Civilisations de l'Orient, de la Grèce et de Rome antiques*, XXIX, 2004, pp. 325-44, and E. La Rocca, 'Lo spazio negato. Il paesaggio nella cultura artistica greca e romana', in *La pittura di paesaggio in Italia. Il Seicento*, ed. L. Trezzani, Milan 2004, pp. 19-73 (27-29). According to Ptolemy (*Geography*, I.A.1 (1-5)), whose definition was then adopted by Renaissance topographers, chorography is concerned with the representation of a region and its elements and requires the skills of the painter, whilst geography is concerned with the representation of the world and necessitates the knowledge of mathematics; see F. Lestringant, 'Chorographie et paysage à la Renaissance', in *Le paysage à la Renaissance*, ed. Y. Giraud, Fribourg 1988, pp. 9-26, and J. Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barbari's view of Venice: Map making, city views and moralized cartography before the year 1500', *The Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, pp. 425-74 (442).

67. The idea of an influence of the ancient *ars topiaria* on Renaissance landscape painting had already been formulated by P. Francastel, *La Figure et le Lieu. L'ordre visuel du Quattrocento*, Paris 1967, pp. 299-305 (302-03). The distinction between *topographia*, *chorographia* and *topothesia* can be found in Servius's commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid*, where the description of real places ('rei verae descriptio') is contrasted with that of imaginary places ('id est fictus secundum

poeticam licentiam locus'): Servius, *Ad Aeneidem*, 1.159. The same distinction is made in Lactantius Placidus, *Thebaid*, II.32. On these concepts and a commentary on the above mentioned texts, see La Rocca (as in n. 66), pp. 30-34; Grimal (as in n. 65), pp. 304-05 and H. Lavagne, *Operosa Antra. Recherches sur la grotte à Rome de Sylla à Hadrien*, Rome 1988, p. 5. On the relationship between landscape painting and garden and geographical symbolism at the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, see my article, 'Le Salone de la Villa d'Este à Tivoli: un théâtre des jardins et du territoire', *Studiolo*, III, 2005, pp. 65-94. On the *grotticina* of Boboli, see H. Brunon, 'Ut poesis hortus: l'imaginaire littéraire dans les jardins italiens du XVI^e siècle', in *Poétique de la maison. La Chambre romanesque, le Festin théâtral, le Jardin littéraire*, ed. H. Levillain, Paris 2005, pp. 155-75 (160-62).

68. 'Si deve considerare il sito scenico, cioè il luogo dove fu quella tal attione et historia, come per esempio la caduta di Simon Mago che fu appresso il teatro di Marcello [...] Questo sito deve in pittura talmente rappresentare che subito sia riconosciuto per qualche particolarità contrassegnata, e, se non vi fosse, è lecito d'ampliar il sito et ancor mutar il tempo, come per esempio, per descrivere bene la caduta di Simon Mago che fu nel luogo detto dove, fuor del teatro, non vi è cosa più particolare, sarà lecito, per far conoscere Roma, d'ampliar questo sito e porvi la colonna Traiana, ancorchè non sia potuta esser vista, anzi



7. Michiel Gast (?), *The Capitoline Hill*, Rome, Villa Giulia, Sala dei Sette Colli, 1553, fresco (Alinari)

In this passage, Mancini literally translates Vitruvius's Stoic concept of landscape as a juxtaposition of *topoi*: his expression 'qualche particolarità' ('some distinctive characteristics'), echoes the 'ab certis locorum proprietat[es]' ('certain features of places') of Vitruvius. For Mancini, the use of topographical anachronism is permitted: not only can the setting be modified ('ampliar il sito'), but the period too—Mancini uses the phrases 'mutar il tempo' and 'posporre il tempo'—since it enables the viewer to 'recognise' (*riconoscere*) the site better.⁶⁹

A particularly good example of this paradigm can be found at the Villa Giulia in Rome. In the Sala dei Sette Colli, the frieze is composed of eight large landscapes, seven representing the seven hills of ancient Rome, and the eighth depicting

posporre il tempo, poiche questa colonna fu eretta dopo quest'attione più di cento anni. Questa tal licenza per far riconoscer i lor siti l'han presa molti valent' huomini.'; Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura* (1620), Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Fonti e documenti inediti per la storia dell'arte, I, ed. L. Salerno, Rome 1956–57, pp. 118–19. For a discussion on anachronism in painting in 17th-century art theory, see E.

Hémin, *Ut Pictura Theatrum. Théâtre et peinture de la Renaissance italienne au classicisme français*, Geneva 2003, pp. 364–68.

69. It should be noted that this 'pleasure of recognition', essential to aesthetic pleasure according to Aristotle, was already determining in the appreciation of the ancient *topia*: Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1448b.10; *Rhetoric*, I.1371.b4; Rouveret (as in n. 66), p. 340.



8. Michiel Gast (?), *The Fountain of Julius III on the via Flaminia with the Villa Giulia*, Rome, Villa Giulia, Sala dei Sette Colli, 1553, fresco (Alinari)

the Villa Giulia and the new fountain of the Acqua Vergine that Pope Julius III had built around 1553 (Figs 7–8).⁷⁰ The ideological significance of the Villa Giulia cycle is essentially based on the last part of the Pope's name, *Monte*, meaning hill or mountain in Italian. The prologue to a comedy composed for his coronation in February 1550 explains that the seven hills of Rome were transformed into seven *monti*, and that Giulio del Monte became their brother and Lord.⁷¹ In the Sala dei Colli, the eighth hill is associated with Monte Parioli, next to which the new Villa Giulia was constructed. The Villa Giulia was thus presented, as the Capitoline was for Paul III, as the *locus* of a *renovatio imperii*, having equalled and surpassed the marvels of ancient Rome.

The Villa Giulia landscapes did not constitute realistic archaeological reconstructions of the seven ancient hills, but rather juxtaposed the topographical, linguistic and historical *topoi* associated with each place within a single image, with little consideration for anachronisms or spatial incoherence. For example, the monumental bust visible in the view of the Capitoline Hill (Fig. 7) is an allusion to

70. On this cycle, see A. Campitelli, 'Fregio raffigurante vedute di Roma. Sala dei Sette Colli', in *Oltre Raffaello. Aspetti della cultura figurativa del Cinquecento romano*, Rome 1984, pp. 200–05. Nicole Dacos attributes the landscapes to Michiel Gast; Dacos (as in n. 22), pp. 94–96.

71. See Francesco Cancellieri, *Storia de' Solenni Possessi de' Sommi pontefici dopo la loro coronazione dalla basilica vaticana alla lateranense*, Rome 1802, pp. 502–04.



9. Onofrio Panvinio, *Anteiquae Urbis Imago*, 1565, detail of the ancient Campo Marzio: Villa Giulia is visible in the lower right corner, between two hills (private collection, photograph by the author)

the bust of Constantine II, transported to the Campidoglio during the pontificate of Innocent VIII at the end of the Quattrocento. Two edifices behind it evoke the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus and the Tarpeian Rock. The goats (*capre* in Italian) are an allusion to both the name of Pope Julius III del Monte and to the medieval name given to the hill, Monte Caprino.⁷² In the foreground, the representation of the myth of Tarpeia (the daughter of Spurius Tarpeius, commander of the fortress, who had let the Sabine soldiers enter the protected grounds), is yet another reference to both the ancient history of the place and its name, Monte Tarpeio.⁷³

This compositional technique is essentially cartographic—the use of the term ‘chrono-topical’ preferred by critics of Renaissance literature is perhaps better suited⁷⁴—although the different *topoi*, such as monuments or historical scenes, are represented in perspective, and not as abstract signs. Historiated medieval *mappae-mundi*, as well as late medieval and early modern maps of Rome, such as the *Antiquae urbis Romae simulachrum* of Fabio Calvo (1527), were drawn according to this principle, and were without doubt inspired by Vitruvius’s and Ptolemy’s mode of narrative topographical representation.⁷⁵ A very similar disposition had indeed been

72. Campitelli (as in n. 70), p. 203.

73. Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita*, I.11 (5–7).

74. On the concept of ‘chronotope’ see M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination. Four Essays*, ed. M.

Holquist, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist, Austin 1981.

75. On the influence of the ancient mode of narrative topographical representation on medieval *mappae-*

adopted in some ancient landscape representations, such as the famous mosaic of the Nile at Palestrina mentioned above (late second century BC), which, as Claudia La Malfa has shown, was already known during the Renaissance through a manuscript dated to 1477–1507, and could have influenced the production of landscape painting in Rome earlier than has been previously thought (Fig. 10).⁷⁶

As in the landscapes of Villa Giulia or pre-scientific maps, the space in the Palestrina mosaic is constructed from an arbitrary distribution of *loci* or *topoi* associated with a place, an idea, or a specific event, very much like the relation between *loci* and *imagines* in the *ars memoriae*. These are represented in different perspectives and cannot be perceived as a unified whole but only sequentially, a schema directly inspired by geographic and cartographic conventions of the time.⁷⁷ The survival of this ancient mode of chorographic representation in late antique and medieval art may also be considered as having affected Renaissance artists and map-makers.⁷⁸ This type of spatial construction can be observed in famous medieval examples of topographical representation, such as the view of Rome in the representation of *Ytalia* by Cimabue at Assisi (1288–90), or the landscapes in *Good Government* and *Bad Government* in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (1338–40), both functioning as a kind of social, economic and political inventory of the town and its territory.⁷⁹ In all these examples, the composition of the maps or paintings, despite their apparent naturalism, corresponds to an encyclopaedic and mnemonic visual system of knowledge that cannot be separated from the production of an ideological discourse, and whose roots can be traced to the ancient 'art of memory'.⁸⁰

The parallels between cartographic and artistic discourse are also evident in the context discussed if we consider two maps of ancient Rome published some years later, in which the Villa Giulia is represented among the monuments of ancient Rome: the map of *Roma antica* by Bernardo Gamucci published in Venice in 1565, and Onofrio Panvinio's *Antequae Urbis Imago*, published in Rome in the

mundi, see especially Moffit (as in n. 65), pp. 236–40. On the *antiquae Urbis Romae* of Fabio Calvo and the reconstruction of ancient topography from ancient sources during the Renaissance, see P. J. Jacks, 'The *Simulacrum* of Fabio Calvo: A view of Roman Architecture all'antica in 1527', *The Art Bulletin*, LXXII, 1990, pp. 453–81 (459–80).

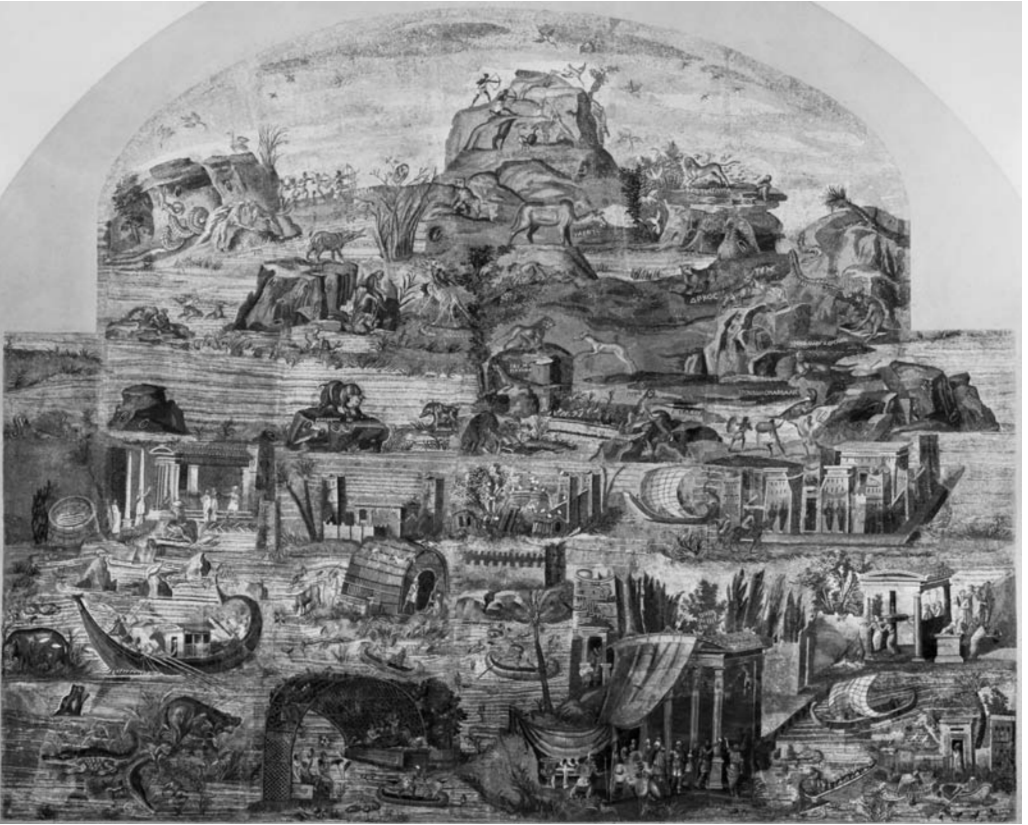
76. C. La Malfa, 'Reassessing the Renaissance of the Palestrina Nile Mosaic', this *Journal*, LXVI, 2003, pp. 267–71. Maurizio Calvesi supposed that the knowledge of the mosaic influenced Pinturicchio's landscape decoration of the Villa Belvedere at the Vatican for Pope Innocent VIII, dated 1487–89; M. Calvesi, 'Il mito dell'Egitto nel Rinascimento', *Art e Dossier*, xxiv, May 1988, p. 31 (cited in Brunon (as in n. 62), p. 269).

77. On the links between the Nile mosaic at Palestrina and ancient geographical knowledge, see Moffit (as in n. 65); La Rocca (as in n. 66), pp. 24–25; and Rouveret (as in n. 66), pp. 333–37.

78. See for example the influence of late antique manuscripts on Fabio Calvo's *simulacrum*; P. N. Pagliara, 'La Roma antica di Fabio Calvo: note sulla cultura antiquaria e architettonica', *Psicon*, VIII–IX, 3, 1976, pp. 65–87.

79. On Cimabue's *Ytalia* at Assisi, see M. Andaloro, 'Ancora una volta sull'Ytalia di Cimabue', *Arte Medievale*, II, 1985, pp. 84–177. On Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes, see for example R. Starn, L. Partridge, *Arts of power. Three halls of state in Italy, 1300–1600*, Berkeley, Oxford 1992, pp. 56–57.

80. On the encyclopaedic concept of landscape, see W. Cahn, 'Medieval Landscape and the Encyclopaedic Tradition', *Yale French Studies*, LXXX, 1991, pp. 11–24. On the relation between topographical images and the ancient art of memory, see G. Mangani, 'Da icone a emblemi. Cartografia morale delle città (secoli XIV–XVI)', in *Tra oriente e occidente. Città e iconografia dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. C. de Seta, Naples 2004, pp. 10–21.



10. Mosaic of the Nile, Palestrina, Palazzo Barberini-Colonna, 2nd century BC (Scala)

same year (Fig. 9).⁸¹ Like the Villa Lante in Pirro Ligorio's map of Rome, the Villa Giulia—entirely conceived as a classical villa—was worthy of being compared with the monuments of ancient Rome, in the same way that Giulio Romano's *concetti* were accurately defined by Pietro Aretino as 'anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi', or that Bramante's monuments had been inserted, some years earlier, into Sebastiano Serlio's treatise on 'ancient buildings'.⁸²

IV

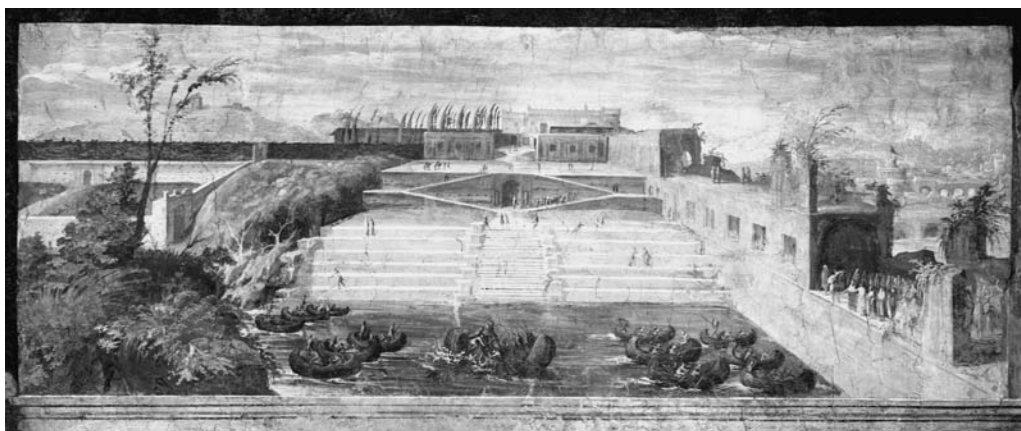
Although the literature on topographical anachronism is still relatively thin, despite some recent and stimulating debate on that topic, one work of art embodying all of the characteristics described above has been the subject of a particularly famous study.⁸³ In 1951, James Ackerman published a fragment of a fresco representing the

81. See P. A. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols, Rome 1962, I, p. 64, with II, pl. XVIII, no. 33; and I, pp. 65–66, with II, pl. XX, no. 35.

82. P. Aretino, *Lettere*, ed. P. Procaccioli, 2 vols, Milan 1990, I, p. 489. Sebastiano Serlio mentioned Bramante's buildings in his treatises on orders (1537)

and on ancient architecture (1540), including the Cortile del Belvedere and the Tempietto in Book III of his treatise on ancient Rome; S. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura*, Venice 1619, pp. 64v, 11v, 118r and 139r.

83. On Renaissance anachronism, see A. Nagel, C. S. Wood, 'Toward a new model of Renaissance



11. Cornelisz Loots (?), *The Cortile del Belvedere with an ancient 'Naumachia'*, originally in Rome, Torre Paolina (destroyed), now in Castel Sant'Angelo, Sala dei Festoni, c. 1537–47, detached fresco with tempera (Scala)

Cortile del Belvedere, which, detached from its original context, seemed to him an *unicum* in the history of Renaissance art (Fig. 11).⁸⁴ The fragment has recently been reattributed to Cornelisz Loots and, thanks to new archival findings, proven to be part of the lost decoration of Paul III's Torre Paolina on the Capitoline Hill.⁸⁵ The view shows the large complex as a ruin with overgrown vegetation. A comparison with a known drawing of the Cortile by Giovanni Antonio Dosio attests to the topographical precision of the view, whose main subject is clearly the *locus* and the architecture. The figures visible on the right and the immediate foreground are minuscule compared to the grandiose scale of Bramante's building.

However, the scene taking place in the foreground, a sort of nautical joust on a lake, and the assembly to the right overlooking the scene from an elevated position, reveal the real significance of the painting. The explanation lies in one of the first archaeological guides to Rome, the *Roma instaurata* of Biondo Flavio (c. 1446–48). It was known that an artificial lake for the staging of mock naval battles, known in ancient Rome as *naumachiae*, had been built in the Vatican valley, a short distance from the foot of Mons Aureus (Montorio) and the Porta Perusa.⁸⁶ In short, the painter represented the ancient Vatican lake on the spot where it had supposedly existed (now at the bottom of Bramante's Cortile), revealing the history of the place by merging within the same image its past and its present.

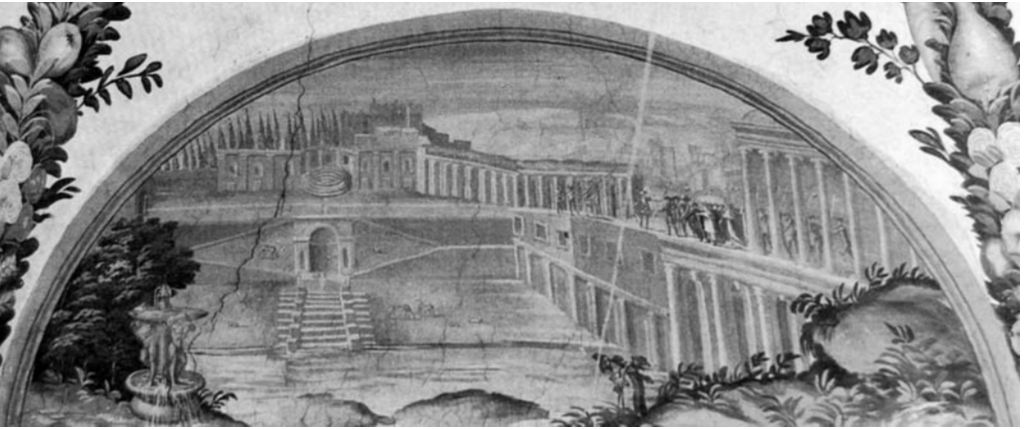
The anachronism, conceived as a rhetorical scheme, unites in a sort of meta-physical vision of history the *antiqui* and the *moderni*. Contrary to what Ackerman thought, the group of figures observing the *naumachia* from their elevated platform

anachronism' (and responses by C. Dempsey, M. Cole, and C. Farago), *The Art Bulletin*, LXXXVII, 2005, 3, pp. 403–32; Burke (as in n. 51); Hénin (as in n. 68), pp. 364–68; and R. Bentmann, M. Müller, *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*, trans. T. Spence and D. Craven, New Jersey and London 1990, pp. 37–49, 85–89.

84. J. S. Ackerman, 'The Belvedere as a classical villa', this *Journal*, XIV, 1951, pp. 70–91 (78). See also

F. Testa, 'ut ad veterum illa admiranda aedificia accedere videatur. Il Cortile del Belvedere e la retorica politica del potere pontificio sotto Giulio II', in *Donato Bramante. Ricerche, proposte, riletture*, ed. Francesco Paolo di Teodoro, Urbino 2001, pp. 229–66.

85. For the attribution, see Dacos (as in n. 42), pp. 55–56; for the documents, see V. Cafà, 'Il Cortile del Belvedere con naumachia', in *Andrea Palladio e la*



12. *The Cortile del Belvedere as Nero's villa at Subiaco*, Subiaco, Rocca Colonna, Sala dei Banchetti, c. 1558–59, fresco (Sara Segatori)

to the right is not an imperial audience, but rather a papal one: cardinals in their red robes, and among them maybe the pope himself, are clearly visible.⁸⁷ What the fresco is thus visualising is the layered 'memory' of the vision of the place as it was conceived, understood and promoted by the papal audience and by contemporaries.⁸⁸ In close agreement with the recent proposals of Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood on the concept of Renaissance anachronism, I would even venture to propose that the Cortile was considered an ancient building, not just a modern building built according to ancient forms and principles;⁸⁹ the fact that it had been represented as a ruin shows the extent to which it was assimilated with ancient Roman ruins. Claudia Lazzaro noted, for example, that 'the Belvedere Court was meant to be a re-creation of an ancient Roman villa and embodied that idea so strongly that even the converse was true—for its contemporaries the Roman villa was assumed to look like the Belvedere Court'.⁹⁰

A confirmation of this analogical conception of historical artefacts—so puzzling for the modern viewer—is offered in an intriguing fresco cycle at the Rocca Abbaziale at Subiaco, painted around 1556–57 for the abbot Francesco Colonna. Here, two landscapes in the lunettes of the main salone show a reconstruction of the ancient site of Subiaco, with three artificial lakes that Emperor Nero had built, and where he also had a magnificent villa.⁹¹ A third fresco (Fig. 12) was obviously

villa Veneta da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa, ed. G. Beltrami and H. Burns, Venice 2005, pp. 236–38 (cat. no. 32).

86. Biondo Flavio, *De Roma Instaurata*, Venice 1510, §§ 63–64; Ackerman (as in n. 84), p. 82, n. 1.

87. C. L. Frommel, 'Giulio II, Bramante e il Cortile del Belvedere', in *L'Europa e l'arte italiana*, ed. M. Seidel, Venice 2000, pp. 211–19 (215).

88. On the perception of Bramante's Cortile as an ancient monument, see C. L. Frommel, 'I tre progetti bramanteschi per il cortile del Belvedere', in *Il Cortile delle Statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*, ed.

M. Winner, B. Andreae and C. Pietrangeli, Mainz am Rhein 1998, pp. 17–65.

89. 'One might *know* that [artefacts] were fabricated in the present or in the recent past but at the same time value them and use them *as if* they were very old things. This was not a matter of self-delusion or indolence but a function of an entire way of thinking about the historicity of artifacts repeatedly misunderstood by the modern discipline of art history': Nagel, Wood (as in n. 83) p. 405.

90. C. Lazzaro-Bruno, 'The Villa Lante a Bagnaia', 2 vols, Ph.D thesis, Princeton University 1974, I, p. 85.

based on the view from the Torre Paolina representing the Cortile del Belvedere. However, slight modifications indicate that the view had a different meaning from the original analysed by Ackerman. Instead of the *naumachia* in the foreground, does and stags are seen grazing at the bottom of the vast court. The assembly gathered on a platform above them is now accompanied by a group of archers, posted between the columns, who are about to kill the peaceful animals. In this instance, the monument does not represent the Cortile del Belvedere any more—although it still does paradoxically—but rather Nero's villa at Subiaco, situated in a region then famous for the abundance of game, and where great hunting parties and banquets were organised for the pleasure of the emperor.⁹²

V

The desire for a complete *imitatio - aemulatio* of ancient Roman culture, motivated as we have seen mainly by ideological reasons, also included an 'assimilation' of the style of ancient Roman painters. In other words, in all the examples mentioned so far, the vocabulary used to reveal the historical significance of the scenes was itself historical.⁹³ The expression 'anticamente moderni e modernamente antichi' used by Aretino to describe Giulio Romano's painting and architecture *all'antica* could apply very well to the variety of styles observed in these examples, often profoundly reminiscent of the impressionistic *maniera compendiarica* that contemporaries could observe in the fragments of Nero's *Domus Aurea*.⁹⁴ Rather than looking for precise models though, what is interesting is to note that ancient art was not merely imitated 'on the surface', but that its governing principles and laws carefully observed and 'assimilated' by Renaissance artists and architects were put into practice. The Renaissance artist thus favoured *inventio all'antica* rather than mere *imitatio*.⁹⁵ We have seen for instance that, in some examples mostly concerned with topographical depiction, the Renaissance conception of landscape was intrinsically close to that of ancient Roman landscape, known as *ars topiaria*, an art of representing the characteristics of specific places.

91. Tacitus, *Annales*, xiv.22; Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, iii.309. See M. Minasi, *I Colonna nella rocca di Subiaco. La decorazione cinquecentesca*, Rome 1996, pp. 176–79. Like the *Simulachrum* of Fabio Calvo, the reconstruction of the ancient topography of the site was essentially based on the use of ancient coins; see Ribouillault (as in n. 44), pp. 199–206.

92. The practice of killing animals trapped in an enclosed space is well documented during the Renaissance; see *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, ed. C. d'Anthenaise and M. Chatenet, Paris 2007, pp. 82–85. The fresco also alludes to the ancient practice of hunting as a form of entertainment in Roman amphitheatres called *venatio*, which often took place in the Circus Maximus. Such a hunt is represented in the frieze of the Sala delle Ocche at the Palazzo dei Conservatori.

93. See especially Ackerman (as in n. 84), pp. 78–79. On the stylistic influence of ancient Roman frescoes on Renaissance painting, see I. Bergström, *Revival of Antique Illusionistic Wall-Painting in Renaissance Art*, Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, Göteborg 1957, p. 27; Richard Turner, 'Two Landscapes in Renaissance Rome', *The Art Bulletin*, xxxiii, 1961, pp. 275–87 (283); J. Schulz, 'Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity', this *Journal*, xxv, 1962, pp. 35–55; N. Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, London 1969, pp. 53–54, 100–13; B. Davidson, 'The Landscapes of the Vatican Logge from the Reign of Pope Julius III', *The Art Bulletin*, lxiv, 1983, pp. 587–602 (598); Monssen (as in n. 42); Dacos (as in n. 22), pp. 36, 193–94.

94. Dacos (as in n. 22), p. 36.

95. Gombrich (as in n. 60).

Thus, the inherent contradictions observed in Renaissance landscape painting between the visually realistic and conceptual qualities may well be explained within this proposed framework. Commenting on the realistic quality of some Northern landscape paintings, Ernst Gombrich concluded that ‘if these examples show anything, they show how long and how arduous is the way between perception and representation. Sixteenth-century landscapes, after all, are not “views” but largely accumulations of individual features; they are conceptual rather than visual.’⁹⁶ Nevertheless, the principles of illusionistic painting and the mastery of the art of perspective make this fundamental remark difficult to grasp in most Renaissance paintings. Pliny’s and Vitruvius’s encyclopaedic and chorographic notion of landscape as a juxtaposition of *topoi* is only rarely perceptible under the veil of naturalistic imitation of the world systematically associated with the Renaissance. In other words, the obsessive consideration of the invention of perspective has prevented most modern critics of Renaissance art from seeing that the non-linear representation of time also implicated a discontinuity in the representation of space. With the efforts of Renaissance landscape painters to unify the diversity of elements (Vitruvius’s *a certis locorum proprietat[es]*) in their paintings within a conceivable and realistic space, we have lost the sense of the artificiality and conceptual nature of their inventions, falling into the trap of the myth of pure *mimesis*. As Nagel and Wood write, following Georges Didi-Huberman’s recent discussion on anachronism:

...in imposing a mimetic function on the image, the Renaissance introduced a ‘tyranny of the visible’, suppressing an indexical conception of the image that prevailed in the Middle Ages. In contrast to the Renaissance rhetoric of mastery, adequation, and intelligibility, the medieval image [...] presents an opacity, a disruption of the coded operations of the sign, a disjunctive openness by which the image is opened to a dizzying series of figurative associations well beyond the logic of ‘simple reason’. It is an understanding of the image better served by the Freudian concepts of the symptom and dreamwork, than by the procedures of iconology developed by the Kantian inheritors of Renaissance humanism, in particular Panofsky.⁹⁷

That this conception of the image is essentially true for the landscape paintings *all’antica* that we have examined can be made even more explicit if we compare Sigmund Freud’s description of contemporary Rome with our sixteenth-century anachronistic landscapes. In discussing the problem of conservation or retention of psychic impressions in his *Civilisation and Its Discontents*, Sigmund Freud described a mnemonic vision of the Roman cityscape. For him, ‘in mental life, nothing that has once taken shape can be lost, [...] everything is somehow preserved and can be retrieved under the right circumstances’. Rome is a living illustration of this concept:

96. Gombrich (as in n. 62), p. 116.

97. Nagel, Wood (as in n. 83), p. 411. See G. Didi-Huberman, *Devant le temps. Histoire de l’art et*

anachronisme des images, Paris 2000, and *L’image survivante. Histoire de l’art et temps des fantômes selon Aby Warburg*, Paris 2002.

Now, let us make the fantastic assumption that Rome is not a place where people live, but a psychological entity with a similarly long, rich past, in which nothing that ever took shape has passed away and in which all previous phases of development exist beside the most recent. For Rome this would mean that on the Palatine hill the imperial palaces and the Septizonium of Septimius Severus still rose to their original height, that the castle of San Angelo still bore on its battlements the fine statues that adorned it until the Gothic siege. Moreover, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus would once more stand on the site of the Palazzo Caffarelli, without there being any need to dismantle the latter structure, and indeed the temple would be seen not only in its later form, which it assumed during the imperial age, but also in its earliest, when it still had Etruscan elements and was decorated with terracotta antefixes. [...] And the observer would perhaps need only to shift his gaze or his position in order to see the one or the other.⁹⁸

The kind of vision that Freud describes here had been translated in painting long before, in the landscapes *all'antica* discussed in this paper. Freud, of course, ignored this when he concluded that:

It is clearly pointless to spin out this fantasy any further: the result would be unimaginable, indeed absurd. If we wish to represent a historical sequence in spatial terms, we can do so only by juxtaposition in space, for the same space cannot accommodate two different things. Our attempt to do otherwise seems like an idle game; its sole justification is to show how far we are from being able to illustrate the peculiarities of mental life by visual means.⁹⁹

Anachronistic topographical landscapes of the sixteenth century can thus be understood as 'symptoms' of a 'way of seeing' affected by the human psyche and by memory, a memory powerfully oriented towards a specific perception/construction of the past necessary to legitimate political and ideological claims in the present. This was passed to the Renaissance mainly through ancient literature and especially Virgil's *Aeneid* and through the myth of the foundation of Rome. The history of Rome and Virgil's *Aeneid* is unsurprisingly the theme of many fresco cycles in the sixteenth century and, in the seventeenth century, the main theme of Claude Lorrain's late landscapes.¹⁰⁰ As recent research has shown, the latter were mostly commissioned by powerful aristocratic families, eager to legitimate their recently acquired position and the ancestry of their roots within the ancient Roman territory, whose interests in archaeology and ancient wall painting are now well documented.¹⁰¹

98. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, trans. D. McLintock, London 2002 (1st edn 1930), p. 7.

99. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.

100. On 16th-century fresco cycles based on Virgil's *Aeneid*, see Jan de Jong, "Per seguir virtute e conoscenza": de omzwingingen van Aeneas in de italiaanse wandschilderkunst', *Incontri*, III, 1988, pp. 123–36, and *Virgilio nell'arte e nella cultura europea* (exhibition catalogue, Rome, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, 1981), ed. M. Fagiolo, Rome 1981, pp. 120–75.

101. See H. Langdon, 'Claude, Apollo and the Muses'; L. Beaven, 'Cardinal Camillo Massimo and Claude Lorrain: landscape and the construction of identity in Seicento Roma'; M. Beneš, 'Claude Lorrain's pendant landscapes of 1646–50 for Camillo Pamphilj, nephew of Pope Innocent X: classicism, architecture, and garden as context for the artist's Roman patronage', *Storia dell'arte*, CXII, 2005, pp. 7–22, 23–36, 37–90 respectively.

Although the use of topographical anachronism continued to prevail in the seventeenth century, a new awareness of the definition of space and time seems to have appeared during the Counter-Reformation. Painters and topographers were asked by art theorists such as Giovanni Andrea Gilio or Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti to create images that were as truthful and historically correct as possible, and to separate reality from invention.¹⁰² However, in fresco decoration with a strong ideological agenda, the use of topographical anachronism continued to prevail. In the early 1580s, the conflation of the Rome of Pope Gregory XIII and the paleochristian Rome in Matthijs Bril's landscapes in the Tower of the Winds at the Vatican is a perfect example. In this instance, early Christian landscape replaced the landscape of ancient Rome as a historical model for contemporary society, but the structure of syncretism remained wholly effective as a means of playing with the boundaries of time and space.¹⁰³

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102. Gabriele Paleotti, 'Discorso intorno alle Immagine Sacre e Profane' (1582), *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento*, 2 vols, ed. P. Barocchi, Bari 1960–62, II, pp. 117–509 (367–68), 'Delle pitture non verosimili'; G. Ricci, 'Verare la città (La città e il suo doppio)', in *L'immagine delle città italiane dal XV al XIX secolo*, ed. C. De Seta, Rome 1998, pp. 67–71.

103. N. Courtright, 'The transformation of Ancient Landscape through the Ideology of Christian Reform in Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, LVIII, 1995, pp. 526–41.