The architectural and fresco program of *la Crociera* at the Villa di Maser: creating a powerful liminal space and experience

Joan Macfarlane

Department of Art History and Communications Studies McGill University
Montréal, Quebec

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Arts in Art History

April, 2023

Abstract

This thesis examines the joint architectural and decorative program of *la Crociera* one of six rooms on the piano nobile of the Villa di Maser, designed by architect Andrea Palladio and decorated with frescoes by Paolo Veronese. Originally *la Crociera* stood on the border between the farm operations of the ground floor and the scholarly realm cultivated inside on the second floor by one of the owners and patrons, the patrician Daniele Barbaro. Re-constructing how this program choreographed a visitor's entry into the family's reception area, this essay demonstrates how the transition to the piano nobile and the dignity of Daniele Barbaro's life there, were heralded as following in the tradition of the early Roman, Pliny the Younger.

Résumé

Cette thèse examine le programme architectural et décoratif de *la Crociera*, l'une des six pièces du piano nobile de la Villa di Maser, conçue par l'architecte Andrea Palladio et décorée de fresques par Paolo Veronese. À l'origine, la *Crociera* se trouvait à la frontière entre les exploitations agricoles du rez-de-chaussée et le domaine savant du deuxième étage cultivé par le Patricien Danièle Barbaro, l'un des propriétaires et mécènes. Reconstituant la manière dont ce programme a chorégraphié la visite d'un invité dans l'aire de réception de la famille, cet essai démontre comment la transition vers le piano nobile et la dignité de la vie de Danièle Barbaro s'inscrivant dans la tradition des premiers Romains, Pline le Jeune.

Acknowledgements

I must start by thanking my supervisor, Professor Chriscinda Henry, for her patient coaching and advice on my approach to researching and writing this thesis. Certainly, her deep and wide expertise on the Early Modern Venetian world and on the related literature has been invaluable.

I also want to thank my friends and family who have encouraged and supported me as I explore this, my second career. I particularly want to thank my brother Craig, my niece Caitlin and my good friends Honora and Teresa. Whenever I was stuck or needed to bounce ideas, I was always able to turn to them.

Table of Contents

List of Images

Introduction

The Villa di Maser (c. 1555-1560) was designed and built by the architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), for the Venetian patricians Daniele (1514-1570) and Marc' Antonio Barbaro (fig. 1, 2). Located on their terraferma estate, the villa was expected to support the ongoing profitable management of their farm and provide a comfortable residence where the brothers, both erudite humanists and sophisticated patrons of the arts, could enjoy *otium,* an escape from the pressures of life in the city. When built: six rooms on the piano nobile of the villa were decorated with frescoes by Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), five rectangular rooms and one cross-shape room known as *la Crociera.* The frescoes that Veronese executed on the vault of *la Crociera* have been permanently lost. The ceiling of the cruciform chamber is now painted white but originally it was filled by the artist with a fictive pergola.[1] This thesis takes the joint architectural and decorative program of *la Crociera*, (fig. 3), including the lost illusory pergola, as its subject.

An examination of the program will reveal how the room was designed to function as a liminal space that underscored the significance of the transition being made as one moved from the world on the ground floor outside the villa to the interior space reserved for the family. Re-constructing how the program likely cued and orchestrated a person's movement through the cruciform room under the pergola will demonstrate how visitors were led to participate bodily in the transition, and to anticipate life on the piano nobile at the Villa di Maser as following in the tradition set by Pliny the Younger.

[1] Luciana Crosato Larcher, "Villa Emo a Fanzolo E Villa Barbaro a Maser," in *Da Bellini a Veronese: Temi Di Arte Veneta*, ed. Gennaro Toscano and Francesco Valcanover (Ist. Veneto di Scienze, 2004), 604.

Daniele and Marc' Antonio were members of a distinguished patrician family noted for producing Venetian statesmen and prominent churchmen. They were the sons of a senator, Francesco Barbaro (1484-1549), and great grandsons of a procurator of San Marco, Zaccaria Barbaro (1422/23-1492). In 1549, Daniele earned his first political appointment as Ambassador to the King of England for the Venetian Republic. However, accepting the position of Patriarch-elect of Acquileia in 1550, and a sinecure from the Church, he retired from political life and committed himself to a career in the church. As the sitting Patriarch at the time, Giovanni VI Grimani (1545-1574), would live four years longer than his appointed successor, the latter, Daniele, remained Patriarch in waiting for the remainder of his life. It was Marc' Antonio who chose to have a family and to pursue a career in Venetian politics. He joined the senate in 1559 and held a series of public positions until his death at the age of seventy-eight.[2]

Upon the death of their father in 1549 the brothers inherited the family property at Maser where they had Palladio build the *Villa di Maser*. Maser is located some forty-eight kilometres northwest of Venice; the Barbaro family had owned land there since at least the second half of the quattrocento. Marc' Antonio's political career would take him away from Venice and the Veneto for extended periods, nevertheless only his name has been found on tax declarations and business documents. It appears that it was Marc' Antonio, the younger brother, who managed the farming business and enjoyed all profits from Maser until he passed it on to his sons. Even before the villa was completed, once he accepted the position of Patriarch-elect, Daniele made Maser his home.[3] Nowhere in the literature does one find any mention of the elder brother's

[2] Deborah Howard, *Venice Disputed: Marc'antonio Barbaro and Venetian Architecture, 1550-1600* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 13-23; Tracy E. Cooper, "Daniele Barbaro and the Commemoration of a Pariarchal Dynasty," in *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, ed. Frédérique Lemerle, et al. (European Union: Brepolis, 2017), 63-64.
[3] Howard, *Venice Disputed, 28,52,53.*

involvement in agrarian matters. Within five years of acquiring the property, Daniele and Marc' Antonio started working with Palladio on construction of their new residence. Scholars assume that by 1560 Paolo Veronese (1528-1588) had started work on the frescoes that decorate six of the rooms on the piano nobile and Vittoria Alessandra had been engaged to design and create elements of the stucco decoration.[4] The frescoes that fill the walls and ceilings of the five rectangular shaped rooms adjoining *la Crociera,* which sits at the center of the villa, remain largely intact. Covered by plaster in the nineteenth century, some of Veronese's paintings at the villa have been damaged. To date, the literature on Veronese's work at the Villa di Maser has largely focused on iconographic analyses of the fresco programs of the five rooms that neighbor *la Crociera*. Discussion of the paintings in *la Crociera* tends to be piecemeal; the room's function as a liminal space has not been explored. Although the pergola is mentioned and its loss mourned by scholars, its significance to the decorative program is not addressed.[5]

This thesis argues that together, the architectural and decorative program of *la Crociera* were conceived and executed with the goal of fashioning a liminal space that would have been understood and experienced as such by sixteenth-century visitors. The room (fig. 3, 4), the sole passage between the front and back entrances of the piano nobile and through which every guest must cross when entering the public reception rooms, would have impressed upon the visitor the consciousness that they were leaving behind the workaday world of the farm, the world managed by Marc' Antonio, which occupied the ground floor of the villa and the courtyard in front of the two wings of the building, and entering the scholarly, humanist domain that was home to

[4] Howard, *Venice Disputed, 18,23-28,52,53.*
[5] Konrad Oberhuber, "Glie Affreschie di Paolo Veronese nella Villa Barbaro," *Bollettino del centro internazionale di studi di architettura "Andrea Palladio,"* X (1968):192; Luciana Larcher Crosato, "Considerazioni Sul Programma Iconografico Di Maser," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 26, no. 2 (1982):251.

Daniele. In support of this theory, chapter 1 explains how the architectural layout and ceiling decoration of *la Crociera* craft a border zone that physically separates the world on the ground floor of the estate from that of the five rectangular reception rooms on the piano nobile, thereby positioning the cruciform space to function as a liminal realm. Reviewing how the Villa di Maser differs in design from other Palladian villas will demonstrate the strong likelihood both Daniele and visitors to his home would have expected the cruciform chamber to function as a transitional area. An exploration of the literature favored by sixteenth-century Venetian humanists, of Patrician ambitions to emulate the Romans of antiquity, and of Republican attitudes towards *otium* will establish that when moving from the farmyard to the interior of a villa, when shifting from one type of *otium* to another, Venetians believed they crossed a type of moral boundary. It will also demonstrate that as a humanist, intellectual and Patrician, Daniele would have been very interested in establishing the dignity of his life at the Villa di Maser, in equating life on the piano nobile at the Villa di Maser with that recommended by Pliny the Younger (61-113AD) in his book *Epistulae* (99-109). Chapter two opens by walking through the literary and visual culture associated with pergolas in cinquecento Venice and Italy. This study affirms that the trellis and greenery painted on the ceiling by Veronese would have signaled to visitors of the period that the room served as a space of transition and as a *locus amoenus,* a pleasant place in nature ideally suited to scholarly thought and dialogue. Tracing how the architecture and frescoes choreographed a visitor's procession through the cross-shaped room, and their examination of the frescoes along the walls, will reveal how visitors were led to participate bodily in the transition between the outdoor and indoor worlds, and to read the clues informing them that on the piano nobile the realm relished by Pliny the Younger had been restored. It will also reveal how a visitor was incited to move and act as though walking in a real garden under a real

pergola, thereby making the illusory decoration of *la Crociera* seem real, and heightening the sense that Pliny the Younger's world was being reified.

Literature Review

This thesis builds on scholarly work in four different fields. The first field is the study of sixteenth-century Venetian ideals and goals for undertakings in the terrafirma, and the Palladian villas that resulted. James Ackerman's 1990 analysis, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses,* and Denis Cosgrove's book of 1993, *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*, remain invaluable to understanding humanist expectations for life on the Veneto. Also leveraged from this field is the scholarship of architectural historians Donata Battilotti, Howard Burns, and Guido Beltramini. Their studies of Palladio's villa designs, both in general and specifically at the Villa di Maser*,* shed light on the relationship between key design decisions and the goals of Venetian patrons.[6]

In terms of art historical studies of the frescoes at the Villa di Maser, Luciana Crosato Larcher has perhaps completed the most comprehensive analysis of Veronese's work.[7] Her studies along with those of Richard Cocke, and Inge Jackson Reist continue to form the backbone of twenty-first-century discussion of the frescoes at the Villa di Maser.[8] All three scholars direct most of their attention to the paintings in the rooms adjoining *la Crociera*. This thesis does not challenge the theories developed by Crosato Larcher, Reist or Cocke, but rather leverages their conclusions regarding the life cultivated by Daniele Barbaro in the fresco program he commissioned from

[6] The three scholars have collaborated as authors and editors on a number of publications about Palladio. Relied on heavily in this thesis are Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, eds., *Palladio*, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008); Guido Beltramini and Antonio Padoan, eds., *Andrea Palladio: The Complete Illustrated Works*, (New York: Universe, 2001); Donata Battilotti, Guido Beltramini, Edoardo Demo and Walter Panciera, *Il Cinquecento Storia dell'architettura nel Veneto* (Venezia: Marsilio, 2016).
[7] Crosato, "Considerazioni;" Luciana Larcher Crosato, "Postille Al Programma Iconografico Di Maser," ibid.45, no. 3 (2001).
[8] Richard Cocke, "Veronese and Daniele Barbaro: The Decoration of Villa Maser," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972); Inge Jackson Reist, "Divine Love and Veronese's Frescoes at the Villa Barbaro," *The Art Bulletin* 67, no. 4 (1985);.

Veronese. In *Venice Disputed: Marc'antonio Barbaro and Venetian Architecture, 1550-1600,* Deborah Howard examines the Villa di Maser within the context of the lives of Marc' Antonio and Daniele Barbaro. Her study provides valuable perspective on the brothers' choices and probable intentions at Maser. Analyzing the landscape images painted on the walls of cinquecento Roman villas and of the Villa di Maser, in *Rome En Ses Jardins: Paysage et Pouvoir Au XVIe Siècle,* art historian Denis Ribouilault explains the significance of key components in Veronese's program in *la Crociera*.

To illustrate the potential power of *la Crociera* as a liminal realm, this thesis draws on the work of anthropologists Arnold van Gennep, Victor Turner, and Alfred Gell, as well as the work of art historians Chriscinda Henry. In his seminal book of 1909, *The Rites of Passage*, still commonly cited today, van Gennep established the concept of liminality, as a phase in a rite of passage. Writing more recently Turner explores liminal phases in more detail in *The Forest of Symbols Aspects of Ndembu Ritural*. The work of both men contributes to understanding how *la Crociera* and its pergola decoration created a liminal space in the room. Gell's book, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, suggest techniques by which Veronese's frescoes would have engaged and compelled viewers to participate in a liminal process. Walking the reader through the decorative program at the Castello Del Buonconsiglio in her article, "Navigating the Palace Underworld: Recreational Space, Pleasure, and Release at the Castello Del Buonconsiglio, Trent," Henry provides evidence of frescoes being used to guide and cue a visitor's movement through, and between distinct areas of a building, in Northern Italy less than thirty years before Veronese decorated the Villa di Maser.

This thesis also relies heavily on studies by Claudia Lazzaro, Natsumi Nonaka, Jodi Cranston and Jill Pederson. Lazzaro, Nonaka and Cranston analyze textual and visual references to pergolas, real and imagined, created in Italy and Venice in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, in *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy, Renaissance Porticoes and Painted Pergolas: Nature and Culture in Early Modern Italy* and *Green Worlds of Renaissance Venice*, respectively. Their studies provide insight into how cinquecento visitors might have responded to the pergola painted on the ceiling of *la Crociera*. In her article "The Sala delle Asse as Locus Amoenus: Revisiting Leonardo Da Vinci's Arboreal Imagery in Milan's Castello Sforzesco," Pederson examines the illusionary arbor created inside the Castello and provides a precedent for fresco artistry being used to create a locus amoenus indoors in a noble setting.

Chapter 1. Betwixt and Between

Between Indoor and Outdoor worlds

The Villa di Maser is a unified building complex capable of accommodating the multiple dimensions of the Barbaro brothers' lives on the Venetian terraferma. A two-story rectangular block building anchors the center of the complex. Extending to either side is a *barchessa*, a long low farm building fronted by a portico, that ends in a dovecote. The ground floor of the edifice was dedicated to service buildings that supported both family life, such as the kitchen and laundry, and farm operations, such as stables and wine storage rooms. Tax declarations of 1566 indicate that the Maser estate was not yet being farmed by the Barbaro family. Some interest was earned from moneylending, but the bulk of their income was generated by property rentals which would have been paid with produce, likely grain, and wine. In the *cortivo*, or courtyard, framed by the southward facing building, crops would be delivered and possibly shipped out. Here too

grain might be threshed and dried before being stored in the attic that runs the length of the building complex.[9] The second floor of the structure, apart from the dovecotes, was dedicated to the domestic life of the family. The private apartments of the family were in the wings and the six public rooms decorated by Veronese were in the central block (fig.4).

Like other patrician brothers and families, Daniele and Marc' Antonio shared the private residence at Maser. They would have regarded time spent in the country, often referred to as *villeggiatura*, as an opportunity to escape from the politics and intensity of the city especially in summer. At the Villa di Maser the family would have hosted social events that included other elite members of Venetian society. While living at Maser Daniele completed the first edition of his *Commentary* on Vitruvius's (c.75-c.15 BC) *De architettura* in Italian in 1556, his revised and final edition of the *Commentary*, along with a Latin version, in 1567; his commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric, *Della Eloquenza*, also in 1567; and his *La pratica della Perspettiva* in 1568. The piano nobile at the Villa di Maser was thus the home of a dedicated scholar. On a day-to-day basis two very different universes coexisted at the *Villa di Maser*, one dominated by agro-industrial concerns filled the ground floor and yard of the villa and the other dominated by domestic and humanist academic affairs occupied the second floor, or *piano nobile.*

Physically *la Crociera* stands on the boundary between the two realms of the Villa di Maser. Two stairways provide entrée to the main floor at the Villa di Maser (fig.5). One from either side of the central block, they rise directly from the inside the *barchesse* (fig.6). Both lead to the

[9] Howard, *Venice Disputed, 52;* Howard Burns, "Villa Barbaro at Maser," in *Palladio*, ed. Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008), 116; Howard Burns, "Introduction," in *Andrea Palladio: The Complete Illustrated Works*, ed. Guido Beltramini and Antonio Padoan (New York: Universe, 2001), 6,7.

same spot, at the north end of *la Crociera*. From the cross-shaped room one can readily access the five adjoining rooms, to the north the *Sala dell'Olimpo*, the *Stanza del Cane* and the *Stanza della Lucerna*, and to the south the *Stanza di Bacco*, and the *Stanza del Tribunale d'Amore.* Notably, it is impossible to avoid the cruciform room when moving from the *cortivo* to the domestic space.

Today one must speculate on the appearance of the pergola that Veronese painted on the ceiling of *la Crociera.* After World War II, the frescoes at the Villa di Maser were the subject of an extended restoration program. As part of this project the plaster that had covered the frescoes of *la Crociera* were removed. Based on their work restorers concluded that nothing remained of the ceiling decoration painted by Veronese.[10] Today, the only surviving evidence of the ceiling frescoes' existence and form is found in Carlo Ridolfi's book of 1648, *Le Maraviglie dell'Arte*. Therein the author writes of Veronese, of his work at Maser and of *la Crociera*. According to Ridolfi the artist filled the vaulted ceiling of the room with garlands and leafy branches: **"**Nella sala fatta a crociera figurò le Muse…e ne'volti festoni, e rami di frondi."[11] Based on this text, Crosato-Larcher concludes that the pergola in the cruciform room would have resembled those still visible in the *Stanza di Bacco* and the *Stanza d'Amore Conjugale* (fig.8, 9, 10), the two reception rooms that line up to the southern edge of the central block.[12] Along the vaults of both arms of *la Crociera*, Veronese painted a blue sky seen through a tall, arching lattice over which grape vines, leaves and clusters of ripe fruit curled.

[10] Umberto Basso, *La Villa e il Tempietto dei Barbaro a Maser di Andrea Palladio* (Montebelluna: Tipolitografia G. Faggionato, 1987), 26-28.
[11] Carlo Ridolfi, *Le maraviglie dell'arte, overo, le vite de gl'illustri pittori veneti, e dello stato: oves sono raccolte le opere insigni, i costumi, & i ritratti loro. Con la narratione delle historie, delle favole, e delle moralità da quelli dipinte* (Venetia: Presso Gio. Battista Sgaua, 1648), 289.
[12] Crosato, "Villa Emo," 604.

The decoration of the rectangular rooms of the piano nobile allude to them being the site of Daniele's contemplative and academic work, they create settings that are different again from that of *la Crociera*. Each of the rectangular rooms frescoed by Veronese features an elaborate composition on the ceiling and on the walls above the line of the frieze. The *Sala dell'Olimpo* is perhaps the tour de force. Here, as in the other four rectangular chambers, mythological figures allegorically represent humanist, religious, and philosophical questions debated by humanists in the cinquecento (fig.11).[13] As explained by Crosato Larcher the painted images become a means for merging in concise terms humanist culture and moral precepts, Christian principles, Neoplatonism and Aristotelian teachings.[14] To this day no original documentation of the program has been found. Relying largely on iconographic analysis, in a series of articles several scholars have revealed how the programs in the five rooms represent the ideas expressed by Daniele in his writings. The contrasting simplicity of the ceiling paintings in *la Crociera* would have been, at the time, quite striking.

Daniele had specific opinions about the function of frescoes which indicates that the contrast in approach between the cruciform and rectangular rooms would not have been accidental. In book VII, chapter V, Vitruvius writes about the appropriate subject matter for wall paintings, his text prompts the following response from Daniele in *Commentary on Vitruvius:*

> Painting is like anything else that men do: first they must have an intention and represent some effect to which the entire composition is aimed. As fables must be useful to men's lives and music must have its intentions, so too with painting[15]

[13] Crosato, "Considerazioni," 212; Reist, "Divine Love," 614,615. Francesco Trentini, "Le Machinationi Etiche di Daniele Barbaro negli Affreschi di Veronese a Maser." In *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, edited by Frédérique Lemerle, Vasco Zara, Pierre Caye and Laura Moretti (European Union: Brepolis, 2017), 308-327.
[14] Crosato, "Considerazioni," 212: "Il mezzo per esprimere in concetti succinti quella cultura umanistica fusa a regole morali, a principi cristiani, a teorie neoplatoniche e ad insegnamenti aristotelici che si sente pulsare dietro l'organico disegno iconografico di Maser."
[15] Daniel Barbaro and Pollio Vitruvius, Daniele Barbaro's Vitruvius of 1567, (Cham, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2019), 524.

Here, commenting on wall decoration, the patron of the frescoes at the Villa di Maser unmistakably asserts that the composition of fresco artworks should be devised with a purpose in mind and endorses Vitruvius' disdain for grotesques. Analyzing the frescoes in the apartments adjoining *la Crociera,* Crosato and Reist discern a deliberate delineation of complex ideas in paint and no grotesques and thereby confirm that Daniele's recommendations were exercised by Veronese. Their analysis provides proof of the belief, widely accepted among scholars, that Daniele had a major hand in defining the content of the frescoes at Maser.[16] Understanding Daniele's attitude towards decorative art and his collaboration with Veronese, one has to conclude that the divergent approaches to *la Crociera* and the adjoining rooms was considered. The patron and artist deliberately used fresco imagery to set the cruciform room apart from the rest of the rooms on the floor and thus reinforce its in-between status.

The paths of access to *la Crociera* draw attention to the transition being made when one approaches the piano nobile. The stairwells to the piano nobile of the Villa di Maser are enclosed (fig. 12). Serving only to connect the barchesse with the domestic apartments of the second floor they are short. Entering them, one immediately loses sight of the outdoor world. Walking up the single flight of steps one finds no decoration that might provide perspective on the indoor realm being approached. Stepping out of the constricted stairwell into *la Crociera* onto the northernmost point of the room one cannot fail to sense the space opening to either side. Facing southward from the landing, the only view of the outside world is limited to what can be seen through the tall door at the far end of the floor. The six wall sections that run from north to south in the cruciform room lack windows. Upon entering the room, all visual and perhaps even

[16] Reist, "Divine Love," 615; Cocke"Veronese," 226, 227; Larcher, "Considerazione," 211; Howard, *Venice Disputed,39.*

auditory or olfactory contact with the agrarian goings on at the ground level in the sixteenth century would have been extinguished. This approach and entrance to the domestic space creates a swift shift and sharp break between the workaday agrarian world that existed out of doors, and the domestic and social realm that was enjoyed inside the villa.

If a person turns to look northward as they arrive on the main floor, they see into the *Sala dell'Olimpo* and towards the doors on the northern wall of that room. Through the glass doorway the *Nymphaeum* (fig. 13), constructed by Palladio and decorated with stucco figures by Marc' Antonio Barbaro and Alessandro Vittoria, is visible. Because the Villa di Maser is set into the side of a hill, the *Nymphaeum* sits nestled between the villa and a wooded incline. As a result, the northward view to the outside world does not extend far beyond the *Nymphaeum.* Notably, there is no passageway connecting the *cortivo* at the front of the building and the closed garden behind it. It is a *hortus conclusus*, an enclosed, private garden space. Here too, any sign of the labour, dirt and noise of the farm is absent. By virtue of architecture a visitor is separated physically and mentally from the realm of the farm, when entering *la Crociera.*

Mediating between two physical realms and two states of being, active and contemplative, *la Crociera* is positioned to function as a liminal space. Writing about the rites of passage observed in different societies van Gennep explains that rites of passage "enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined."[17] Examples of such rites are those that surround the passage from single to married status, or from citizenship in one country to citizenship in another. The anthropologist explains that regardless of the type of transition and

[17] Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, trans. Gabrielle L. Caffee and Monika B. Vizedom (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 21.

of the specific rituals enacted, which may vary greatly over time and place, a rite of passage commonly encompasses three stages. In stage one, a person separates from their old state, in stage two they pass through a liminal phase, during which they are introduced to central qualities of the state they are approaching, and in stage three they are incorporated in the new state.[18] Someone enters a liminal space once they have broken with the old state, they remain there, in transition, until they are incorporated into the new state. As Turner puts it, in the liminal phase one is "betwixt and between."[19] If one considers the ground floor universe of the *cortivo* and the five public rooms of the piano nobile as two different states in which one experiences two different states of being, farmer and scholar, then one could say that ascending the stairs from the barchessa a visitor breaks with the departure state and completes stage one of a rite of passage. *La Crociera*, which sits between and distinct from the farm on the ground level and the rectangular rooms decorated for philosophical contemplation, appears ideally constituted to function as a liminal space between them.

The Loggia as Palladian Liminal Passage

Expecting that the Villa di Maser would both support a profitable agricultural operation and offer a noble family a comfortable refuge from city life, the Barbaro brothers were not unique among Venetian Patricians. Following the end of the war of the League of Cambrai, the Republic of Venice aggressively sought to enlarge the state's presence on the mainland in the Veneto, which extended east to Verona, as far north as the Dolomites and as far south as the Po River. Their expanded presence promised more than revenue growth, it would help protect the lagoon city from adversaries approaching overland, from interruptions to mainland trade routes that brought

[18] van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 21.
[19] Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols Aspects of Ndembu Ritural* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1967); Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Routledge, 2017), 93-110.

food in and moved trade goods out, and from possible interference in the Republic's management of the flow of water into the lagoon. Given these objectives the state actively fostered investment in terraferma lands with favorable land prices and the establishment of government agencies which oversaw the improvement of uncultivated lands.[20] The success of these programs is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that property taxes levied by the Republic on Veneto properties quadrupled in the cinquecento.[21] Just as revenue opportunities in the Veneto shifted economic attention to the region, so too did the prospect of *otium*, an escape from the intensity of the city, attract the interest of Patricians and their families. It is estimated that in the sixteenth century in the Veneto, at least two hundred and fifty-seven villas not solely dedicated to farming were built. Only twenty-two such residences were built in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, and eighty-four in the fifteenth. [22]

In most Palladian villas the border between the domestic and farming worlds was defined by an external stairwell and loggia. The architect of Maser is responsible for designing forty of the villas built on the Veneto in the sixteenth century. One of the qualities so admired in his work is his ability to address the somewhat conflicting economic and domestic needs of his patrician patrons in a single complex. While each site and patron imposed individual requirements on the architect, certain attributes of a Palladian villa are consistent.[23] In most villas one accesses the

[20] Denis E. Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy* (University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1993), *41-50;* Bruce Boucher and Andrea Palladio, *Andrea Palladio: The Architect in His Time*, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1998), 59-61.
[21] S. J. Woolf, "Venice and the Terraferma: Problems of the Change from Commercial to Landed Activities," in *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. Brian S. Pullan, Economic History. Ancient, Medieval and Early Modern (London: Routledge, 2006), 182.
[22] Emilio Sereni, *History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape*, History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 197,198.
[23] James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), *96-107, 6,7.*

piano nobile via external stairs and a loggia positioned on the front façade.[24] The Villa Badoer, designed in 1554 for the Venetian Nobleman Francesco Badoer (1512-1572), provides an example of this model (fig.14, 15, 16). Because the Villa Badoer was constructed on top of an older structure, the main building had to be raised above and remain disconnected, by a few yards, from the curving *barchesse* that stand to either side. As at the Villa di Maser, however, the ground floor and the attic of the main building as well as the barchesse support the operations of the farm and home. The central structure where the family lived and entertained was not far from the *cortivo*. Unlike the Villa di Maser, however, at the center of the second-floor façade of the Villa Badoer one finds a loggia fronted by ionic columns. To enter the piano nobile, one walks up the wide external staircase and through the space partially open to the out of doors. From the loggia one then walks directly into the *salone* or one of two side reception rooms.

The external stairs and loggias of Palladio's villas facilitated fluid movement between indoors and outdoors, preventing a sudden disconnect between the two worlds. In his book, *I quattro libri,* Palladio wrote about the function of loggias. He asserts that they "serve for many uses, as to walk, eat in, and other recreations." [25] "Not to be less than 10 feet wide" loggias were social spaces where people could gather for conversation and a meal.[26] As a roofed in space, with a wall formed by columns, a loggia provides access to fresh air and views onto the surrounding countryside while protecting diners from sun and rain. Socializing on the piano nobile one might move in, out and through the loggia multiple times. Not simply an entryway where one took off one's coat, they extended the domestic space of the piano nobile into the exterior world. Unlike

[24] Howard, *Venice Disputed, 33;* Howard Burns, "Introduction," in *Andrea Palladio: The Complete Illustrated Works*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Antonio Padoan (Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2001), 6.
[25] Andrea Palladio, Robert Tavernor, and Richard V. Schofield, *The Four Books on Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997), I.XXI.27.
[26] Palladio, *The Four Books, I.XXI.27.*

at the Villa di Maser where the connection with the out of doors is quickly cut off by the hidden stairwell, the façade entrance via external stairs and loggia prolongs or preserves the visitor's sensory connection with the outside world and the farmyard.

A loggia served to express a relationship between the two realms that is quite different from the relationship defined by the layout and decoration of *la Crociera.* Standing on the border between inside and outside worlds, façade loggias "blended indoors with outdoors," and as Nonaka describes it, served as "mediating spaces between two distinct worlds or states of being."[27] The loggia entrance gave definition to the relationship between the realm of the piano nobile and the out of doors. The Venetian scholar Lionel Puppi, commented on the frequent appearance of loggias on facades of the Veneto villas:

> the recurrence of the opening of a portico in the ground floor and of a loggia in the piano nobile - and note that we have to do not with a device used casually or as an end in itself, but with a deliberate functional reponse to the need to stabilize the channels of communication between the interior and the nautral setting.[28]

Suggesting that porticos and loggias functioned as a type of bridge between the interior and exterior worlds of the villa Puppi's text supports the idea of the loggia as mediator. His analysis emphasizes that deliberate thought was put into the creation of a conduit between the worlds. In their analyses both Nonaka and Puppi denote among villa patrons of the cinquecento a heightened sensitivity to the relationship between the different realms of the villa complex and to the significance of movement between these realms. In this environment, visitors to the Villa di

[27] Natsumi Nonaka, *Renaissance Porticoes and Painted Pergolas: Nature and Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2017), *7.*
[28] Lionello Puppi, "The Villa Garden of the Veneto from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century," in *The Italian Garden*, ed. Architecture Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape, and David R. Coffin (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1972), 89.

Maser would not have failed to notice the absence of a loggia and to be sensitive to the alternate relationship being established between inside and outside.

Studies of the Villa di Maser universally acknowledge the building's design breaks with Palladio's model for villas in the Veneto in multiple ways and that the unorthodoxies were made at the behest of Daniele and Marc' Antonio.[29] Constraints imposed by the location and by the desire to reuse an existing building could have driven some deviations at Maser, as they had done elsewhere. But analyzing the absence of a loggia and external stairwell at the Villa di Maser specifically, Howard identifies no physical constraint that precluded the inclusion of a loggia, it represents a design choice. She theorizes that the brothers might have been concerned that a loggia would interfere with views from the southern rooms of the piano nobile or would diminish the dramatic effect of the horizontal line of ochre stucco. [30] Palladio did the drawings for Daniele's *Commentary;* the two men had worked closely together for several years. Not long before the Villa di Maser was built the two men made a trip to Rome together, there they studied buildings from antiquity as well as some of the new *ville* being built there.[31] This thesis has no basis for arguing that the brothers eliminated the loggia solely for the sake of creating a liminal space that divorced the piano nobile from the *cortivo*. But given their knowledge of architecture and of Palladio's work, choosing to forgo a loggia they would have been conscious that they were breaking with a standard model. It also appears reasonable to suspect that, eschewing the loggia, the brothers would have been conscious of the need for a replacement liminal space and that they expected *la Crociera* would mediate the transition between indoors and outdoors.

[29] Burns, "Villa Barbaro at Maser," 158; Beltramini, "Villa Barbaro,"114-117; Howard, *Venice Disputed, 24-36.*
[30] Howard, *Venice Disputed, 35.*
[31] Howard, *Venice Disputed, 28.*

Emulating Ancient Rome on the Veneto

Building on the terrafirma Venetian humanists took inspiration from the example set by Imperial Rome. By the start of the cinquecento the lagoon city had taken over as the centre for humanist publishing in Italy. Newly edited by scholars, texts from antiquity, including treatises on farming and country life, were being republished with modern printing technologies. Access to these works fueled interest in the study of classical literature and philosophy among Venetian humanists, and the idealization of ancient Rome.[32] Daniele's translation and Commentary on Vitruvius illustrates this phenomenon. In his forward to a recent translation of the Patrician's book, Branko Mitrović points out that the length of the Daniele's writing, exceeds the length of the Vitruvius' original text, suggesting the thought and effort that the Patrician put into the work. Mitrović also asserts that the book is:

> not merely the most comprehensive Renaissance presentation of Vitruvius's views and exceptionally valuable document about the Renaissance reception of Roman (and Greek) scientific knowledge and technology. It is also a comprehensive statement of his own [Daniele Barbro's] views on architectural theory.[33]

According to Mitrović's, in the *Commentary* one finds evidence of the attention and respect accorded to the ideas of classical writers by both Daniele and the members of his elite circle. In book VI, chapter IX of his manuscript, Vitruvius writes about villas and agrarian buildings. Daniele's remarks on this section provide insight into Venetian ideas about villas built on farming estates:

> Vitruvius did not want to omit the consideration of the villa and other buildings that are built outside the city, because the treatment is no less necessary than those of other

[32] Deborah Howard, "Trionfalismo E Reticenza," in *Il Cinquecento Storia Dell'architettura Nel Veneto*, ed. Donata Battilotti, et al. (Venezia: Marsilio, 2016), 47; Oliver Logan, *Culture and Society in Venice, 1470-1790; the Renaissance and Its Heritage*, (New York: Scribner, 1972), 75.
[33] Branko Mitrović, "Foreword," in *Daniele Barbaro's Vitruvius of 1567* (Cham, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2019), xi, xii.

> buildings. From Columella, Varro, Cato and Palladius can be taken copious amounts of information appertaining to the villa[34]

If the *Commentary* provides insight into the attitudes of Daniele and his circle, then the recommendation that the reader learn about agrarian buildings from such figures as Cato and Palladius, the classical texts of early Romans, confirms that early Romans and their texts on rural living were looked to for guidance by Renaissance Venetians.

The book *Epistulae*, by Pliny the Younger is another classical text that provides perspective on villa life for ancient Romans, a perspective that contrasts with that of the authors cited by Daniele in his *Commentary on Vitruvius.* In his lifetime, Pliny the Younger published nine books under the title *Epistulae*. In them, the author shares letters that he wrote to more than one hundred individuals in which he addresses a wide range of topics. In multiple missives the Roman, who owned two luxury villas, describes his time at his country retreats. In works such as *De re rustica* (*On agriculture*) by Marcus Terrentius Varro (116-27 BC), and *De re rustica* (*On agriculture*) by Marcus Porcius Cato (95-46 BC), the authors focus on the practical and economic concerns of farming. Varro deals with agriculture in general, cattle and sheep breeding and small farm animals. Cato addresses wine and olive oil production for commercial trade, he provides recipes and sample sales contracts. The *otium* of Cato and Varro is characterized by simple living, physical labor and a concern with managing a profitable farm.[35] Pliny the Younger also had agrarian interests but when writing about his escapes to the country he makes little, if any, mention of the business or labor involved in farming. Instead, he describes in glowing terms the comforts and the non-farming diversions he enjoys when he retreats to his villa nestled in

[34] Pollio Vitruvius and Daniel Barbaro, *Daniele Barbaro's Vitruvius of 1567*, trans. Kim Williams (Cham, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2019), VI.ix, page 484.
[35] Ackerman, *The Villa,* 38,39.

nature. In a letter the Roman Senator Gaius Minicius Fundanus he writes of his villa just outside Rome:

> Once I am in my residence at Laurentum…reading or writing or just indulging in the physical relaxation on which the mind depends for its support...no hope, no fear agitates me: no gossip disturbs my mind. Conversation is confined to myself and my books.[36]

Reporting on the calm and quiet of his retreat, Pliny characterizes his villa as the ideal setting for pursuing his academic interests. The type of *otium* he pursues at Laurentum involves study and academics in a peaceful setting, rather than a simple lifestyle dedicated to working the land.

Even if not cited in *Commentary* on Vitruvius, *Epistulae* was widely read and popular in Venetian humanist circles. Reviewing the publication history of *Epistulae*, one finds nine editions being published in multiple European cities in the early sixteenth century. In Venice, they were published in the original Latin in 1500, 1508, 1510 and again in 1519. In 1548 they were translated into Italian by Ludovico Dolce for publication in a book that included letters by Francesco Petrarch (1304-1374) and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494). Being published four times in twenty years and then being released in the vernacular alongside the texts of other well-known and respected Italian humanists suggests that *Epistulae* was a popular book and accessible to a wide audience in the Serenissima, in the first half of the sixteenth century.

It is possibly texts written in the cinquecento that demonstrate most powerfully the likely influence of *Epistulae* on Daniele and his peers. Around the same time that the Venetian noble presence on the mainland expanded, a particular genre of literature, essays or letters reporting on the pleasures of villa life, grew in popularity among northern Italians. Ackerman attributes the

[36] Younger, *Letters, I.9.4,5.*

phenomenon to the example set by classical texts, in particular Pliny the Younger's letters and Horace's poems. In his book the architectural historian discusses four examples of such literary works. Giuseppe Falcone's *La nuova vaga et dilettevole villa* (Brescia, 1559), Agostino Gallo's *Le dieci giornate della vera agricoltura, e piaceri della villa* (Brescia, 1564), Alberto Lollio's *lettera…nella quale…egli celebra la villa e lauda molto l'agricoltura*…(Venice, 1544), and Bartolomeo Taegio's (1520-1573) *La villa: dialogo di M. Bartolomeo Taegio* (Mila, 1559). Noting that the four texts are examples, that others of this style are available for review, he underlines the popularity of the genre. The architectural historian's assessment of the sample is that they were

> not intended primarily as basic agronomical treatises in the tradition of Cato, Varro and Columella, but rather as reinforcement to the particular style of life being lived in the country…the pre-eminent response to country life in writers of the period is one of delight in the sights and sounds of the natural environment – not the agricultural landscape.[37]

Not concentrating on the practicalities of farming, but on the delectations offered by proximity to nature, the letters echo thoughts expressed in *Epistulae* and mimic Pliny the younger's predilection for literary encomiums. In the letters of Leonardo Giustiniani (1388-1446), and Andrea Calmo (1510-1571), and in the fictional work, *I diporti* (1552), by Girolamo Parabasco (1524-1557) one finds Venetians writing about the natural beauty, the calm and the enjoyable diversions that can be found on the island of Murano, away from the hustle and bustle of the city. Although not writing about the villas of terraferma, the writings of the three men also echo the themes found in Pliny the Younger's letters and further affirm the likelihood that the early

[37] Ackerman, *The Villa* 108

Roman's panegyrics about country living were well known. [38] They also affirm that *Epistulae*, like other classical texts, was informing Venetian ideals for villeggiatura.

La Crociera as Moral Boundary

While offering instruction on how best to spend one's time in the country, classical writers stress the moral risks of *otium*. In a series of articles, Brian Vickers surveys the texts of the ancient writers studied by humanists. Vickers discusses the attitudes expressed therein towards *otium* and reveals a persistent ambivalence about its morality. For early Romans a retreat to the countryside implied an abandonment of one's civic duties. Inactivity, it was feared, would lead to other vices, to lust, greed and excess. *Otium* could be justified if the withdrawal from urban life was used productively and to good ends [39] In Cato's text, which was cited in Daniele's *Commentary* on Vitruvius, one justification is illuminated. Cato was a Roman statesman, orator, and writer, known for his opposition to self-indulgence and luxury. Writing about the time he dedicates to farming he extols the simplicity and hard work. Not only does his book provide advice on agrarian practices it also identifies plain living and farming labor as vindication for the time he spends away from public life.[40] According to Ackerman the Roman Republican's text makes farming, an "occupation worthy of a gentleman and even, in contrast to urban occupations, capable of promoting moral betterment."[41] Making farming respectable, Cato made agrarian ventures on the Veneto palatable to noble Venetians.[42]

[38] Susannah Rutherglen, "Painting at the Threshold: Pictures for Doors in Renaissance Venice," *The Art Bulletin* 98, no. 4 (2016): 454; Chriscinda Henry, *Playful Pictures Art, Leisure, and Entertainment in the Venetian Renaissance Home* (University Park Pensylvania: The Pensylvania State University Press, 2022) 34.
[39] Brian Vickers, "Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: The Ambivalence of Otium," *Renaissance Studies* 4, no. 1 (1990), 1-35.
[40]Vickers, "Leisure," no. 1, 6.
[41] Ackerman, *The Villa, 93.*
[42] Ackerman, *The Villa,* 96.

In *De officiis* (44 BC), Cicero (106-43 BC) argued that o*tium* resulting in actions for the common good, is equally correct morally. When forced out of politics, the statesman, scholar, and philosopher defended his retirement to the country by pointing to the scholarly work he produced there. He

> justified his inactivity in public life by the fruits of his *otium*, the series of works in philosophy and rhetoric which kept his name famous long after the infighting of Roman politics disappeared into dust and footnotes. [43]

At least twenty-eight editions of the *De officiis* were published in Venice between 1500 and 1550. It seems safe to assume that humanist Patrician's were well acquainted with Cicero's retirement to the country and his text which had established the morality of the *otium* favored by Pliny the Younger.

Moving from the barchesse to the piano nobile of his villa a Renaissance humanist faced a moral risk. Understanding the texts studied by Venetian humanists, one realizes that the probity of the agrarian endeavours taking place in the shade of Venetian villa *barchesse* would not have been questioned. One suspects, however, that the virtue of the leisure activities enjoyed in the luxury of villa interiors might have been ambiguous. Leaving the *cortivo* and entering the piano nobile of a Venetian villa in the cinquecento, one was leaving behind a realm of clear-cut rectitude and approaching one whose honour might be questioned. Given the importance placed on the emulating the classical world, one recognizes why Daniele, and his peers would have been anxious to compare life inside their villas to that described in *Epistulae.*

[43]Vickers, "Leisure," nol 1, 6-10.

For multiple reasons Daniele would have been particularly motivated to characterize the *otium* he enjoyed at Maser as moral and following in the tradition of Pliny the Younger. Not only was he the descendent of distinguished politicians and church leaders, but he could also point to multiple notable scholars in his family tree. His great-great grandfather, Francesco Barbaro (1390-1454), a procurator of San Marco, wrote the treatise on wifedom, *De re uxoria* (1416), and his great uncle, a Bishop of Verona and Patriarch of Acquileia, was the noted classical and Aristotelian scholar, Ermalao Barbaro (1453/4-1493). In his own day Ermalao reportedly spent quite a bit of time at Maser. Researching the Patriarch-elect one finds the list of his own intellectual accomplishments, interests, and network impressive. At the University of Padua he studied Aristotle, Philosophy, Astronomy, and Mathematics. Not long after graduating Daniele published *Exquisitae in Porphirium commentationes* (1542), a commentary on Porphyry's *Isagoge,* and, under a pseudonym, *Predica de'sogni (1542),* and he had edited two books by his uncle *Ermalao Barbaro (1544 and 1545).* While still in Padua, Daniele co-founded the *Accademia degli Infiammati* along with Leone Orsini (1512-1564), the son of a Cardinal who would eventually become a bishop and Ugolino Martelli (1519-1592), a Florentine aristocrat, humanist and botanist. Italian academies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought together men of the arts and sciences for the purpose of study and discussion.[44] The *Infammati* met in the private garden of Alvise Cornaro, in the Odeo. Built by Giovanni Maria Galconetto (1468-1535) in 1530, the Odea was designed to recall a villa from antiquity.[45] Seeking to restore the universe

[44] Vasilij Pavlovič Zubov, "De La Vie E De L'activité Scientifique De Daniele Barbaro," in *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, VéNitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, ed. Frédérique Lemerle, et al. (European Union: Brepolis, 2017), 502,503; Lionello Puppi, " IO Protagonisti del CIrcolo Culturale. In *Alvise Cornaro e il Suo Tempo: Comune di Padova, Assessorato Ai Beni Culturali, Loggia E Odeo Cornaro, Sala Del Palazzo Della Ragione* (Padova: Comune di Padova, 1980), 302.
[45] W. Wolters, "La decorazione interna dell Loggia e dell'Odeo Cornaro," in *Alvise Cornaro E Il Suo Tempo,* ed. Lionello Puppi (Padova: Comune di Padova, 1980),72.

described by Pliny the Younger at the Villa di Maser was completely in line with Daniele's family and personal history.

Moving to Maser full time and choosing to dedicate himself to the *vita contemplativa,* a life of scholarly contemplation, Daniele made a controversial decision. He completely stepped away from the *vita active,* the patrician political life. The value of one over the other was a point of debate and tension in the Republic of the sixteenth century. Among Venetian patricians, many of whom were avid scholars, the competing demands of their studies and political life were commonly discussed. Others who had fully retreated from public life had earned the disapprobation of their Patrician contemporaries.[46] Even though expansion onto the terraferma was encouraged, Daniele's decision to prioritize a *vita contemplative* would not have had the approval of the staunch Republicans who considered participation in public life an essential aspect of good citizenship. Girolamo Priuli's (1486-1567) journal provides insight into the attitudes of conservative Patricians in the sixteenth century. Writing in the first decade of the century, when investment on the Veneto was still only slowly growing, Priuli decries the youths who favor life on the mainland over life on the lagoon. [47] As discussed by Henry, in his diaries the Venetian

> laments the patrician and cittadino youths who ignored their traditional training in navigation, international commerce, and government affairs in order to linger on the mainland, enjoy the recreational pleasures of villa life, and "practice with farmers," to the point where he claims they had "indeed…become peasants."[48]

[46] Logan, *Culture and Society,* 48-67.
[47] Henry, *Playful Pictures*, 66, 67; Jonathan Unglaub, "The Concert Champêtre and the Poetics of Dispossession," in *Pastoral and the Humanities Arcadia Re-inscribed,* ed. Mathilde Skoie and Sonia Bjørnstad Velázquez (Exeter, UK:Bristol Phoenix Press, 2006), 134.
[48] Henry, *Playful Pictures*, 67

Evidence that Daniele's absence from Venice was noted in elite Venetian circles is found in a letter written by Giulia da Ponte da Spilimbergo to Daniele which was published by Lodovico Dolce in 1557. In her missive da Ponte suggests that, enthralled by the beauty of his garden and fountain, the Patriarch-elect has forgotten Venice.[49] No other correspondence between da Ponte and Daniele has been found, the details behind their relationship are obscure. However, da Ponte was the daughter of a wealthy Venetian merchant, she is thought to have been well educated, musical and intellectual. Scholars report that Daniele was among the art connoisseurs who admired her daughter Irene's drawing talent, and that Titian provided the young woman with instruction.[50] It seems likely, that da Ponte and Daniele were connected through Venetian social, artistic and humanist networks.[51] Coming from her, the accusation that he has abandoned the Republic in favor of his country retreat, could be evidence that Daniele's absence was being discussed in elite circles and that his life in the country was under scrutiny. In this environment Daniele would have been motivated to manage perception of his life in the terraferma.

Ackerman suggests another reason why Daniele would want to underline the morality of the *otium* he enjoyed at Maser. Over the course of the cinquecento, the spirit of villa ideology became more

> hedonistic or materialistic…later Renaissance writers represent villa life only as a restorative relief from the evils, restrictions and responsibility of the city and a chance to hunt, play games and perform a little healthy and productive work. They seem not to seek opportunities for self-improvement.[52]

[49] Deborah Howard, "Daniele Barbaro and Two Ladies Named Giulia," in *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, ed. Frédérique Lemerle, et al. (European Union: Brepolis, 2017), 17n2: "sono desideroso di intender qual nuova occasione la tenga suffattamente occupato l'animo che Ella si abbia in tutto scordato di Vinetia et di chi vi si trova; che se ben V.S. riceve dolce et dilettevole diporto dai suoi ameni giardini e da quella sua bella e divina fonte."
[50] Anne Jacobson Schutte, "Irene Di Spilimbergo: The Image of a Creative Woman in Late Renaissance Italy" *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1991): 53; Elsje van Kessel, *The Lives of Paintings: Presence, Agency and Likeness in Venetian Art of the Sixteenth Century* (Leiden: De Gruyter; Leiden University Press, 2017), 136.
[51] Howard, "Daniele Barbaro," 18-24.
[52] Ackerman, *The Villa, 108.*

Based on Ackerman's comments one suspects that adherence to the model set by the ancients waned over time. Given his genuine dedication to his work, and probable concern about Republican scrutiny of his lifestyle, one can imagine that Daniele would have wanted to clearly distinguish the nature of the *otium* he cultivated at Maser from that of his more epicurean contemporaries, as much as he wanted to differentiate life inside the piano nobile from that outside on the ground floor. Distinctive in its shape and decoration, and strategically located in the villa complex, *la Crociera* as liminal space, offered Daniele a powerful tool for delineating the nobility of his life on the terraferma and asserting that it was in keeping with the model set by Pliny the Younger.

Chapter 2: The Power of the Pergola

Stepping onto the piano nobile and looking south the pergola of *la Crociera,* a twelve-meter-long wooden trellis draped with green boughs and grape clusters would have dominated one's line of sight. Writing about the depiction of grapes vines in the *Stanza di Bacco* and the *Stanza dell'Amore Conjugale*, Crosato submits that the motif acknowledges the fertile, natural environment surrounding the villa.[53] Writing about other elite, rural leisure settings, Henry explains that the appearance of Bacchus and references to wine and grapes in frescoes signal the hospitality function of the room.[54] Both interpretations seem appropriate to the fruit laden greenery thought to have originally decorated the vault of *la Crociera*. But, painted on such a large scale one senses that the pergola, as much as the grapes had meaning.

[53] Crosato, "Villa Emo," 604
[54] Henry, "Navigating," 53.

Pergolas in sixteenth-century Venice

For sixteenth-century scholars of classical texts, the pergola on the ceiling of *la Crociera* could have been recognized as one more reference to antiquity. In book XIV of the *Naturalis Historia* (after 77 CE) the author, Pliny the Elder (23/24 –79 CE), writes of the fruit trees to be found in Italy. He reports on the wonder of a fruit vine:

> In Campania the vines…climbing with wanton arms in a series of knots among their branches, rise level with their tops, soaring aloft… they never stop growing; and I have before now seen entire country houses and mansions encircled by the shoots and clinging tendrils of a single vine… worthy of record also by Valerianus Cornelius is that a single vine in the colonnades of Livia at Rome protects the open walks with its shady trellises, while at the same time it produces 12 amphorae of juice yearly. [55]

In this passage, the author emphasizes how the grape vines coil and encircle structures and provide protection to walkways. He admires the plant for its fertility. All three qualities appear to be illustrated in the lush greenery and clusters of ripe grapes painted on the ceiling in the *Stanza di Bacca* (fig.10). Although he does not cite Pliny the Elder in the section on villas in *Commentary* on Vitruvius, Daniele mentions the classical writer more than twenty-five times in his book. Drawing comparisons between Vitruvius' text and numerous books in Pliny the Elder's encyclopedia, the Patrician proves his detailed knowledge of *Naturalis Historia*. Daniele's familiarity with the book could be attributed to the influence of his uncle Ermalao Barbaro's thorough and influential commentary on *Naturalis Historia*, which was first published in 1492, and then reprinted multiple times in the early sixteenth century. That the classical text would be well known to most visitors to the Villa di Maser seems undisputable given the popularity of the vernacular translation of the Latin text by Cristoforo Landino (1424-1498). First published in 1476, the Italian version was reprinted in Venice six times between 1481and 1543. The last two

[55] Pliny the Elder and H. Rackham, *Natural History*, Loeb Classical Library ; 330, 352-353, 370-371, 392-394, 418-419 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), XIV.11

editions were printed in a small format that was easily carried around and referenced. Even if not deemed an authority on villa life by Daniele, Pliny the Elder was a respected and widely read classical writer.[56]

Seeing the pergola of *la Crociera* many of Daniele's humanist friends might also have been reminded of Pliny the Younger's *Epistulae*. In one of his letters the author specifically extols the pleasure of walking barefoot on shady paths, which, according to some translators, are protected by grape vines.[57] He further reveals that in the dining pergola of his Tuscan villa one could find a couch "shaded by a vine which is supported by four slender pillars of Carystian marble."[58] Painting a pergola over which grape leaves and vines hang, and resting it on Corinthian columns, Veronese creates an image that clearly recalls Roman antiquity and villa life, and thus affirms the nobility of life on the piano nobile at the Villa di Maser.

Texts written in the Renaissance also provide clues as to the various functions, real or perceived, of pergolas in cinquecento Italian and Venetian society. As the support for grape vines and other climbing vegetation, trellises had long served practical purposes in farming contexts. By the fourteenth century however, a bowered frame was no longer a strictly utilitarian assembly. They were also being installed in pleasure gardens as a type of architectural structure.[59] Giovanni Boccaccio's book, *The Decameron* (1353) provides literary evidence of this development. The book tells the story of ten young, noble Florentines who flee the plague afflicting their city and

[56] Sarah Blake McHam, *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History (*New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 149.
[57] Nonaka, *Renaissance Porticoes, 16*.
[58] Pliny the Younger, *Pliny the Younger Complete Letters*, trans. P.G. Walsh (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), V.6.117.
[59] Nonaka, *Renaissance Porticoe, 23-26.*

take refuge in the country. At one point, the author describes the garden in which the group has gathered on day three of the sojourn:

> it was surrounded and intersected by a great many broad paths, each one straight as an arrow and covered over by trellised vines that gave every promise of producing grapes in abundance that year…the sides of these paths were virtually hemmed in by bushes of red and white roses and jasmine, so that one could walk along any of them in the delicious fragrant shade and be protected from the sun.[60]

Here, Boccaccio describes a pergola as a central feature of a carefully tended garden. In addition to supporting grape production, it also enables young nobles to comfortably stroll and appreciate the beauties of nature.

The illustration from the 1492 luxury edition of Boccaccio's book published in Venice portrays a pergola as a type of passageway that gives access to a garden in which tale telling and literary discussion can be enjoyed to the accompaniment of music. According to the story of *The Decameron*, having retreated to the country the group decides that each day they will gather to share stories and literary conversation. The centre panel of the woodcut from the title page for day one of *The Decameron* (fig.17) appears to depict one of their daily story-telling sessions. In the lower half of the composition the main characters, identified by name, sit in a semi-circle in an enclosed garden. Behind the group an arched pergola cuts through the garden wall. It appears to form the corridor through which the group accessed their sanctuary in the country, the realm where they enjoy thoughtful discussion. Through the archway one can see a city in the distance, presumably Florence, and above the garden wall on the left, the Florentine Church of Santa Maria Novella is pictured. This is the church was where the group took refuge before heading to

[60] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. Guido Waldman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 169.

the countryside.[61] Depicting the city and the Church outside the wall, the composition draws attention to how far the group have come. It emphasizes the pergola's role as passageway between urban and rural worlds, and the garden as a site of safety and protection from the cares and dangers of the city. During the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries Boccaccio's book enjoyed its greatest success. In Venice proper it was republished multiple times starting in 1471. At least two luxury editions of *The Decameron* were released in Venice, one in 1492 and another in 1516. The two editions in lavish format suggest the book's popularity in wealthy literary circles of the late quattrocento and early cinquecento. They also are an indication that the target audience was female as well as male, and not strictly scholarly.[62] Given this popularity, the luxury edition's portrayal of pergolas in text and in illustration can be seen as providing perspective into widely held sixteenth-century Venetian ideas about the assemblies and their function in garden settings.

The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1499) provides additional insight into cultural perception of pergolas in the sixteenth century. The unusual book, and antiquarian dream romance, was written by the Venetian monk Francesco Colonna (1432/1433-1527) and published in Venice by the humanist publisher Aldus Manutius. Two woodcuts portray the moment when the main character, Poliphilo, meets, falls in love with and marries the beautiful Nymph, Polia. In the first image (fig. 18), the pair approach each other from opposite ends of a pergola. In the next they are shown leaving the pergola together, hand in hand (fig. 19). Under the arched assembly the two fall in love, and according to Nonaka their passage through the tunnel structure evokes

[61] Chriscinda Henry, "*Playful Pictures,"* 50.
[62] Henry, *Playful Pictures*, 49, 50; Rhiannon Daniels, *Boccaccio and the Book Production and Reading in 1340-1520* (London: Routledge, 2009), 105-127.

the ritual of marriage. The pergola is treated as a liminal realm in a rite of passage, or unification, and the background to love.[63] Even if cinquecento Venetians were not familiar with such terms as *liminal* and *rite of passage*, in visual imagery of the time the garden structure is imbued with the ability to act as site of emotional or spiritual transformation.

Even if portraying fictional worlds, the pictures in the sixteenth-century publications provide confirmation of the existence and appearance of actual pergolas in the lagoon city. Writing about the depictions of gardens in the *Decameron* and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili,* John Dixon Hunt explains that since the books were published in Venice, the unknown artists were likely Venetians. He reminds the reader that sixteenth-century illustrators probably did not "entertain notions of historical accuracy…visual narratives would be the more believable when they were couched in contemporary (i.e., Venetian) forms."[64] While the illustrations from the cinquecento publications may be inspired by the fictional story in the text, the artists would have based their portrayals of gardens and pergolas on natural settings and structures that they and their audience would have been familiar with. Even if Boccaccio's text always made references to the presence of pergolas in gardens, the pergola pictured in the 1495 edition was crafted by a fifteenth century artist and is therefore probably a fair representation of what gardens and garden fixtures looked like in the Republic of the early sixteenth century.[65] The arched lattice work visible in all the illustrations, and the marble pedestals in *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* confirm that the pergola Veronese is believed to have painted in the vaults of *la Crociera* would have resonated with Daniele's Venetian acquaintances.

[63] Nonaka, *Renaissance Porticoes, 27.*
[64] Hunt, Venetian, 50.
[65] Hunt, Venetian, 50-53.

Jacopo de' Barbari's (1460/1470 – before 1516) wood cut *View of Venice* created in 1500 (fig.19 and 20), confirms the presence of real pergolas in real lagoon gardens. By the start of the fifteenth century Venetian patricians were building villas on the islands of Giudecca and Murano, also known as *ville suburbane*. Located on the periphery of the city neither Giudecca nor Murano supported large scale farms, but they were easily accessed. With space enough for gardens they provided an opportunity for an escape from the strictures of public and political life in the city.[66] The appearance and organization of these *ville suburbane* is perhaps documented in de' Barbari's *View of Venice.* Notably pergolas can be seen in almost every villa garden depicted, affirming that they were a common fixture. Additionally, in several of the gardens, couples are portrayed walking in and around the structures inferring that they were enjoyed as shaded places to walk.[67] Writing about the architecture of the *ville suburbane*, Richard Goy reports that many of the

> builders were men of exceptional intellectual ability, and Murano's gardens rapidly became meeting places for writers, philosophers and humanists, who made the island an important centre of academic and intellectual life.[68]

As Cranston puts it, the gardens were "established intellectual gathering places."[69] It would seem, that in sixteenth-century Venice, pergolas were a common garden fixture that helped facilitate an escape to a *locus amoenus* as portrayed in the text and visual imagery of the 1492 edition of the *Decameron.*

---

[66] Norbert Huse and Wolfgang Wolters, *The Art of Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1460-1590* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 115.
[67] Jodi Cranston, *Green Worlds of renaissance Venice*, (University Park, PA:Penn State University Press, 2021), 31;Nonaka, *Renaissance Porticoes, 23-26.*
[68] Richard J. Goy, *Venetian Vernacular Architecture: Traditional Housing in the Venetian Lagoon (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 205.
[69] Cranston, *Green Worlds,* 31.

Pergolas in Sixteenth-Century Italian Country Life

Depictions of villa life created in the late sixteenth century provide evidence that pergolas remained popular settings for enjoying nature and leisure activities, as Venetians built new and bigger country homes in territories beyond the lagoon. The Flemish artist Lodewijk Toeput (1550-1605), known in Italy as Ludovico Pozzoserrato, is thought to have moved to Venice around 1573. After training under Tintoretto (1518-1594), the artist relocated to the terraferma city of Treviso, in 1582. There, working primarily as a landscape painter, he lived and worked until his death. Writing about his late paintings, architectural historian Martina Frank describes the artist as "una sorta di cronista della tipicità della cultura della villa veneta, cosi come essa è venuta a definirsi alla fine del Cinquecento."[70] It is believed that in his paintings the artist loosely and imaginatively portrayed the society and setting within which he lived and worked. His images provide modern art historians with an idealized picture of villa life on the Veneto in the late sixteenth century. Scanning through Toeput's oeuvre, villa gardens and the social gatherings therein are a common theme. Verdant structures such as pergolas, arbors and loggias abound, commonly serving as the settings for the leisure activities of the elite figures depicted. This is exemplified in the 1590 painting, *Banquet in the Park* (fig. 21). As described in the title, the image depicts a banquet in process, the setting is an expansive, well-manicured garden. At the center of the canvas a group has gathered around a table sheltered under the high arch of a pergola. As in the woodcut from the *Decameron* members of the party play instruments; the revelers have gathered under the arbored structure to enjoy music and perhaps poetry. Based on Toeput's images, one might conclude that in the almost one hundred years since the publication

[70] Martina Frank, "Lodewijk Toeput E Le Tipicità Del Giardino Veneto," in *Le Due Muse : Scritti D'arte, Collezionismo E Letteratura in Onore Di Ranieri Varese*, ed. Francesca Cappelletti Ranieri Varese (Ancona, Italia: Il lavoro editoriale, 2012), 253.

of Boccaccio's book, the popularity of pergolas as a component of a pleasure garden, a gathering spot for *otium,* had not waned.

Insight into the formal qualities of Italian villa gardens and the actual pergolas built within them is gained from etchings and paintings created in the second half of the sixteenth century. From the literature on Venetian villa life, one learns that little documentation on cinquecento Italian garden designs has been found. Palladio never published a garden design.[71] In his book, *Tutte l'opera d'architettura et prospettiva (1537-1547)*, Sebastiano Serlio (1475- c.1554) produced designs for planting beds, but the architect did not depict how the individual plots were to be assembled into a garden or park.[72] In the second half of the century however, one finds the newly built Roman villas, and the private parks surrounding them being captured in painting and etchings. The fresco on the wall of the garden pavilion of the Villa Medici in Rome (1576) by Jacopo Zucchi (c.1541- 1590), portrays the Villa Medici (1576), designed by Bartolomeo Amannati for Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici (fig. 23). The 1573 etching of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, (fig. 24, 25) by Etienne DuPérac (ca. 1535–1604), depicts the villa and garden designed and built by Pirro Ligorio (1512-1583) for the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1509-1472). Scholars generally agree that these images are not accurate depictions of the properties. Rather, they depict the villas as planned. The images should be read as designs.[73] As plans for the country homes of wealthy Roman Cardinals, once can look at them to provide a sense of what a cinquecento Italians considered ideal in a villa garden. In both, one discerns characteristics that

[71] Howard Burns, "Gardens." In *Palladio*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008), 136
[72] Claudia Lazzaro, and Ralph Lieberman, *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 4,5.
[73] Ribouillault, "Toward," 207,208; R. W. Lightbown, "Nicolas Audebert and the Villa D'este." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964):168, Lazzaro, The Italian Renaissance Garden," 219.

Claudia Lazzara describes as common to Italian villa gardens of the period, such as the orderly subdivision of the green space into square plots of equal size and the straight and carefully aligned borders that surround and separate the quadrants. According to Lazzaro it was not unusual for these paths to be covered by pergolas. As seen in the etching and the fresco, the structures were often built over the two paths crossing at a central point of a garden and thus take on a cruciform shape.[74] The imaginary pergola created by Veronese resembles the assemblies described by Lazzaro and anticipated in the images by DuPérac and Zucchi. The cross shape of the *la Crociera*, its barrel vault and the lattice work and vines painted on the ceiling, together, construct in the interior space, an illusory green assembly typically found in manicured villa gardens, not villa farms. For cinquecento visitors to the piano nobile, just the sight of the pergola decoration would have overtly and undoubtedly alienated the cruciform room from the agrarian world of the ground floor and characterized the room as a *locus amoenus*.

Just as Veronese was wrapping up his work at the Villa di Maser, Giovanni Battista Zelotti (1526-1578), Veronese's collaborator at the Villa Soranza (1551), decorated the Villa Emo (c. 1561), another villa designed and built by Palladio for a Venetian Patrician (fig. 26, 27). In this slightly later project, Zelotti painted a pergola on the barrel vault of a corridor leading from the loggia into the *salone* (fig.*28).* The painted wooden trellis fills the archway and rests on marble walls. Here too, vine leaves climb, and grape clusters hang, over the structure. The image echoes the painting thought to have originally filled the ceiling of *la Crociera*. Arriving at the Villa Emo one can approach the *salone* on the piano noble via three possible routes from the loggia. The shortest and most direct route is through the small vestibule and under the illusory grape vine. As

[74] Lazzaro, The Italian Renaissance Garden," 30.

at Maser, the pergola at the Villa Emo spans a space where visitors transition from outside to the inside. The decoration at Emo further confirms the perception of the arbored assembly as a liminal space and that frescoes were understood to be a tool for characterizing the nature of an indoor space.

At the Villa Emo, however, the length of the vestibule is approximately four meters long, quite a bit shorter than the cruciform room at Maser. The walk under the bower painted by Zelotti is brief; if deep in conversation one could easily walk into the *salone* without even noticing the fresco decoration overhead. Anyone arriving on the piano nobile at the Villa di Maser, however, could not fail to notice the twelve meters of wooden lattice on the barrel-vaulted ceiling. *La Crociera* would have looked like a tunnel and have offered an immersive experience. Imagining and comparing the pergolas fashioned by Zelotti and Veronese, one recognizes the more powerful impression the latter would have made on a visitor**.**

Facilitating the illusory experience of entering a pleasure garden, within an interior domestic space, Veronese builds on strategies employed to great effect elsewhere. In 1498, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) frescoed a mulberry arbour on the walls and ceiling of the *Salla delle Asse* (c. 1498), at the Castello Sforzesco (fig. 29, 30). In the sixteenth century, like pergolas, arbors were used to subdivide pleasure gardens and to delineate the borders of different natural realms.[75] In the *Salla delle Asse* the artist depicted sixteen trees standing along all four walls of the room, their branches stretch, arch, and intertwine over the vault. As at the Villa di Maser when the pergola still covered the ceiling, a cinquecento visitor standing in the *Sala delle Asse* would

[75] Lazzaro, The Italian Renaissance Garden," 30; Nonaka, "Verdant Architecture," 132-133.

experience the illusion of being immersed below the shelter of a structure common to pleasure gardens. Writing about the room and its decoration, Jill Pederson indicates that the room, located deep within the Castello Sforzesco, was not a passageway but a retreat. It would have only been accessed by invited guests. The author theorizes that it too was designed to recall Pliny the Younger's Laurentum home, to be a *locus amoenus* where people could gather under the fictive arbor for literary discussion and theatrical productions.[76] In the fresco program "Leonardo demonstrated an understanding of the power of the constructed landscape to bring forth a desired or imagined setting."[77] Within the domestic spaces of the Castello, the artist fabricated a fictive structure that visitors would recognize as an element of a peaceful garden retreat and as a setting where humanists could gather for intellectual dialogue. Reading through biographies on Veronese one finds no indication of him visiting Milan or studying Leonardo's work. That being said, one does learn that the artist from Verona worked and studied in Verona, Mantua and Padua. In those cities large scale trompe l'oeil frescoes, that create fictional settings, were ubiquitous.[78] There, Veronese would have worked and studied with a several artists and patrons involved in such projects. In these environments one imagines that Leonardo's work at the *Castello Sforzesco* would have been discussed and Veronese could have learned about the impressive, fictive arbor created within the domestic sphere of the Duke of Milan. He might thus have learned strategies for creating indoors an immersive and illusory outdoor realm which might be used to characterize a space and direct behavior.

[76] Jill Pederson, "The Sala delle Asse as Locus Amoenus: Revisiting Leonardo Da Vinci's Arboreal Imagery in Milan's Castello Sforzesco," In *Green worlds in early modern Italy: art and the verdant earth,* edited by Karen Hope Goodchild, April Oettinger and Leopoldine van Hogendorp Prosperetti (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019), 92-95.
[77] Pederson, "The Sala delle Asse," 103.
[78] Inge Jackson-Reist, "The Classical Tradition: Mythology and Allegory." In *Paolo Veronese: A Master and His Workshop in Renaissance Venice*, edited by Virginia Brilliant and Frederick Ilchman (London, England: Scala, 2012), 106-109.

Activating the transition

The physical layout and wall fresco program of *la Crociera* would have encouraged visitors to walk forward into the room and under the pergola, and thus participate bodily in the passage from the *cortivo* to the piano nobile and Nymphaeum. As mentioned, from the northernmost point of *la Crociera* (fig. 3), the floor, approximately three metres wide stretches southward twelve meters. Painted on the three wall sections, on both sides of the room, six fictive balcony openings look out onto imagined rural settings. Visibly running the length of the wall from north to south, across the frescoed balconies, are low balustrades and horizon lines that effectively line up with the actual ones seen through the actual window at the far end of the floor. With this detail the artist creates two continuous horizonal lines, at times real and at times artificial, which extend along all three sides of the room. Mimicking the course formed by the line of the frieze, which is entirely real, the line of the balustrade and horizon emphasize the length and sweep of the room. The continuous and parallel lines pull a visitor into the space. This effect would only have been intensified by a pergola, its rounded arch extending along the twelve-meter-long barrel vault. When first completed, *la Crociera* would have resembled a tunnel, it would have enticed visitors to step into it, and to process through it.

Blurring the line between reality and illusion the frescoed architectural features further draw the viewer to step into the room. Discussing his theory of the agency of art, anthropologist Gell suggests a mechanism by which Veronese's trompe l'oeil frescoes might contribute to inciting a visitor to penetrate *la Crociera.* Gell wrote at length about the ways people interact with art objects, arguing that an art object can exert agency over people. As though animate, they can trigger actions or emotional responses in people. Gell works through several theories about how agency is sparked. One of his theories is that when people see complex patterns, they

instinctively try to decipher the pattern, they attempt to break it down and understand its components. Until they fully understand the pattern and its construction, they can become locked in dialogue with the object; they fall into a type of "mind trap."[79] Although he focuses on abstract designs to explain this concept, Gell asserts that the process is not restricted to decorative objects. It can be triggered by representational works of art that engage the viewer cognitively.[80] Blending existing and false architecture elements to construct a seemingly unified space in *la Crociera,* Veronese creates an image that challenges the beholder in the intellectual exercise of distinguishing the real components from the fictitious ones. The artist creates what Gell might have termed a "cognitive teaser."[81] Encouraging the beholder to examine the room's decoration in more detail, to break down the composition, the artist could have lured them to move into and through the room.

Stepping forward under the lattice work and grape vines, they also stepped between the first two of the six balcony openings that line *la Crociera* and gained a clear view of the panoramas visible through the fictive openings on the northeast and northwest walls. The perspective provided in both views is apt to that of a second-floor window in a villa that sits on a hill. On the left wall, (fig. 31) the artist portrayed in the distance a town that can be approached by a bridge. As depicted, the scene would not be out of place in the Veneto of the sixteenth century. However, no such river or town was visible from the piano nobile of the Villa di Maser. The painting provides a reminder of the urban world that has been left behind. Looking to the west one looks onto an open countryside devoid of manmade structures (fig. 32). While not a

[79] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford ;: Clarendon Press, 1998), 80.
[80] Gell, *Art and Agency*, 73-95.
[81] Gell, *Art and Agency*, 85.

depiction of the property immediately surrounding the villa the image is also representative of the surrounding geographic region. In the images the artist continues to blur the line between reality and fiction and encourages the viewer to take a second look.

In both paintings, the features of the landscape quickly blur as they extend into the picture plane and thus suggest the great expanse of the land depicted. A river winding up the centre of each painting towards the horizon line draws the viewer's eye to the distant, indistinct shapes at the centre of the painting, the beholder is thus lured to physically approach the frescoes and attempt to discern what is pictured in the distance. Even as the pergola and the real and illusory architecture draw the beholder deeper into the room, the wall paintings invite a visitor to look and to move from side to side. The beholder cannot fail to examine the images and to be reminded that while the setting for *la Crociera* is the rural world of the terrafirma, it is far from the *cortivo* and the world of Cato.

Joining the Muses in the East-West Axis

Even as one looks out through the fictive balconies to the east and to the west, one can't help noticing the two women who stand further into *la Crociera*, one on either side of the room (fig.3). Positioned where the two axes of the cruciform room meet, they are on a wall that faces northward. Neither of them is behind a balustrade. They break the architectural lines of the room, and they provide the first clue that the room is not rectangular in shape. *La Crociera* sits at the centre of a rectangular floor, its cruciform shape is created by the rooms and stairs that occupy the interior corners of the floor. Approaching the building and the piano nobile from outside, this layout is not obvious. The women inform the first-time visitor of the existence of the east west axis and naturally pique their curiosity about the space the women occupy, an area just out of

view. They stir the beholder to keep processing southward and to keep exploring the realm of the piano nobile.

Approaching the women, the lateral axis opens to the right and to the left and the two wall sections facing north come into view. Instead of balconies and landscapes, one finds that on each wall Veronese painted two women, each holds a musical instrument and stands on a plinth (fig. 33,34). Each couple frames an illusory open doorway, the actual floor appears to extend into an imagined room. On the southwest side a young girl is pictured peering around the door and into *la Crociera,* as though hesitant to enter. On the southeast wall a young page walks through the open door with intent. Four more women with instruments appear on the northeast and northwest walls. They stand beside real doors (fig. 35, 36). None of the ten figures are identified with inscriptions. The musicians are dressed appropriately for ancient Rome while the girl and the page are dressed for sixteenth-century Italy, the past and the present are merged. Even though historians have not been able to name either the girl or the page, neither character would have been out of place in a cinquecento villa setting. One wonders whether, at first glance, a first-time visitor would have mistaken the young man or the girl for real people? Is the artist, again teasing the viewer and inviting them to distinguish reality from fiction? [82]

Ridolfi writes of the musicians "nella sala fatta a crociera figurò le Muse con loro stromenti…In alcune porte finte ritrasse paggi, e staffieri," he clearly identifies them as Muses.[83] Appearing to be in motion, as though ready to start playing their instruments, the figures certainly encourage music making. They intimate a pastime appropriate to the room. Modern scholars report that

[82] Gell, *Art and Agency*, 85.
[83] Ridolfi, *Le Maraviglie Dell'arte*, 289.

music was a very popular leisure activity in the city of Venice. [84] Given this it is likely that music was a regular element of *villeggiatura.* Certainly, *Banquet in the Park*, and the woodcut from Boccaccio depict musicmaking as an activity appropriate to a pergola.

As early as the fourth century BC, the term *musaeum*, or home of the muses, was being used to describe places of learning. Writing about the history of the term Louis Cellauro reports that from ancient times "both the musaeum and the villa were understood as places of intellectual activity, of contemplation, poetry and literary pursuits inspired by the muses."[85] It is believed that this concept of the muse, as inspiration for scholarly thought, is the reason for their depiction in the *studioli*, or private studies, built by erudite northern Italians such as Federico da Montefeltro (1422-1482) and Leonello d'Este (1407-1450). By the end of the quattrocento, it was not unusual for muses to be depicted playing instruments an allusion to their association with the liberal arts. [86] The concept of the muse as inspiration for intellectual thought in the setting of a country villa is also established by Pliny the Younger. Again, when recounting the pleasures of study at Laurentum, he writes: "the sea and shore, my true and private maison des Muses, how many thoughts do you inspire, and how many do you dictate!"[87] Here, the early Roman specifically situates the home of the muses in the country. As much as they might have encouraged music making, for humanist visitors to the Villa Maser the muses painted by

[84] Patricia Fortini Brown, *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004),124; Vasco Zara, "'Udire Secondo Le Idee". Daniele Barbaro E La Musica Degli Affetti.," in *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Venitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, ed. Frédérique Lemerle, et al. (European Union: Brepolis, 2017), 352,353.
[85] Louis Cellauro, "In Search of a Setting for Learning in Roman Antiquity: Renaissance Surveys of Varro's Garden Musaeum at Casinum," *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 2 (2015), 212-219.
[86] Liana De Girolami Cheney, "Vasari's Pictorial Musing on the Muse: The Chamber of Apollo of the Casa Vasari," *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993), 151, 153; Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino : An Iconographic Investigation* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 67-70.
[87] Younger, *Letters*, I.9.8,9.

Veronese would also have reaffirmed the expectation that the piano nobile at the Villa di Maser was a site of intellectual pursuits in the tradition of Pliny the Younger.

Neither the muses, nor the page, nor the young girl invite the beholder to linger in their midst. All ten figures are in motion. The women hold their instruments as through ready to play, their bodies sway and turn in different directions. Their gazes turn upward, downward, to the right and to the left, few look in the same direction. Everyone, including the page and the girl, looks at something or someone. What they look at and who they are playing for is not clear. The visitor would be justified in feeling ignored and unwelcome, and the urge to walk on.

Evoking Laurentum:

Looking southward two more balconies open onto rural scenes on both the east (fig.37, 38) and the west sides (fig. 39, 40). An imagined hunting dog stands on the eastern terrace licking his paw (fig. 37). Just like the muses he ignores the viewer. Hunting was another popular villa pastime. Similar to the page pictured entering *la Crociera*, the dog, even if fictional, is not out of place. Would a first-time visitor have mistaken him for real, for just a moment? Continuing to play with the visitor's perception of reality the artist repeatedly summons the beholder to continue walking.

In the four landscape images on the southernmost walls a path or road, rather than a river, threads upwards, towards the horizon. The figures who walk or sit along the route are distant. To understand what they are doing the beholder must approach the wall frescoes. As in earlier paintings, the landscape scenes are imagined. Some structures such as a water mill, would have been native to the Veneto of the cinquecento but not visible from the piano nobile at the Villa di

Maser. In none of the frescoes are references made to the activities, equipment, or structures likely to be found in the yard of working farm. In all four views at the southern end of the room one finds ruins from antiquity. Not only are such landmarks foreign to the area around Maser, but some of them, such as the crumbling Colosseum (fig. 37) reference well-known relics that could be found in Rome.[88] The human figures of the paintings appear in isolated groups of two or three on a road or pathway. Some are seated, some walk, and others ride or lead a horse with a loaded cart. No one appears to be in a rush. The antique structures, roofless, open to the elements and left to deteriorate, hint at a gentle, quiet world. Any sense of the fast pace and noise of a city are non-existent. The settings visible through the balcony windows present a contrived world that blends reality and fiction. But invariably they describe the environs of the piano nobile as peaceful and slow, as a *locus amoenus*.

Referencing the villa world in *Epistulae,* the landscape frescoes compare the *otium* practiced on the piano nobile with that of Pliny the Younger. In a number of dispatches Pliny the Younger recounts the layout and luxury of his villas and reports on the views he has onto the surrounding countryside. He emphasizes the pleasure he takes from these outlooks. This is illustrated in an excerpt from a lengthy description of Laurentum:

> a quite handsome dining room, which runs out onto the shore…it has folding doors, or windows as big as the doors….and so from both sides and the front it looks out onto the equivalent of three seas. To the rear, it looks back towards the inner hall, one colonnade, the courtyard, and the other colonnade, and then the entrance hall, woods and distant mountains.[89]

[88] Howard, *Venice Disputed*, 37.
[89] Younger, *Letters, II.17.3,4,5.*.

The expansive prospects painted on the walls of *la Crociera* recall the views of Laurentum where "no hope, no fear" agitates the Roman.[90] In his letter to the Senator Gaius Minicius Fundanus, the early Roman explains that in order to pursue his, the Senator's studies, the Senator should abandon the "city din, the pointless bustle, [and] the quite foolish toils," the type of world that is pictured as distant from *la Crociera,* in the wall frescoes. Building an illusionary setting of peace and calm in the country, as recommended by Pliny the Younger, the frescoes characterize the piano nobile as a space suited to scholarly pursuits, to the types of gatherings enjoyed in the gardens of Murano and Giudecca. The decorative program, in conjunction with the layout of the floor, overwhelmingly moves the guest deeper onto the floor of the piano nobile and orient them as to the nature of the world being entered.

A similar effect, activated by architecture and decoration can be found at the Castello del Buonconsiglio in Trento, by Dossi Dossi (1489-15423) and Girolamo Romanino (1485-1566). In the Trento palace two distinct domains were housed. Located on the ground floor are the private recreational spaces that hosted such courtly leisure activities as dining, drinking, and music-making. On the floor above are the Prince-Bishop's public rooms, the site of official business and ceremony. Both floors are elaborately decorated, but thematically the imagery makes clear the different types of activities that went on in each of the two realms. The stairways and landings connecting the two floors form a liminal space at the Castello. In this confined area of transition, the imagery is "dominated by nature and her uncontrollable forces, especially the pleasures and pains of the body and the indulgence of the senses, whether in violence, sexuality or intoxication."[91] There is no illusionary pergola at the Castello, and mood of the frescoes is

[90] Younger, *Letters, I.9.7.*
[91] Chriscinda Henry, "Navigating," 42.

quite different from that of *la Crociera*. Regardless, as Henry's analysis demonstrates, the decoration in the stairwell foreshadows the types of diversions portrayed in the imagery of the ground floor which depict pursuits of "hunting and falconry…low-life prodigality, ritualistic violence, and sexual misconduct and aberration."[92] As at Maser, the images in the liminal space provide clues about the realm being approached.

Also, as at Maser, decoration guides and animates the viewer's progression through the stairwell at Trent. As explained by Henry, encountered in the cramped stairwell the graphic imagery incites tension in the viewer, and urges them on. Oscillating between images "of a lighter more naturalistic mode of representation and a darker, more chaotic one," the landing and staircase are charged "as liminal spaces of continuous motion and transition."[93] In the conclusion to his book van Gennep writes:

> it seems important to me that the passage from one social position to another is identified with a territorial passage, such as the entrance into a village or a house, the movement from one room to another.[94]

The author suggests that if a liminal process or ritual involves movement through a portal, or across a spatial divide then the transformation is sensed more powerfully. When going through a change in mental state or condition, a transformation that does not manifest itself corporeally, the physical act of walking across or between territories attests physically to the change. Obviously, the artists at Castello and at Maser never read van Gennep. Regardless, facilitating a visitor's movement through a liminal area with deliberation, they contributed to making the liminal process in the stairway at the Castello and in *la Crociera* at the Villa di Maser more impactful.

---

[92] Chriscinda Henry, "Navigating," 49.
[93] Henry, "Navigating," 47
[94] van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*, 192.

Fostering an Illusion

Ribouillault confirms that landscape paintings overtly referencing antiquity were not unusual in the decoration of sixteenth century villas on the terraferma. The images were part of the system of analogy by which Venetians legitimized their new dominance in the Veneto and are found in a number of villas from the same period.[95] An example, by Zelotti, can still be seen at the Villa Godi (1537-1542), another Palladian Villa built for the Godi brothers, Gerolamo, Pietro and Marc' Antonio (fig. 41). Through a heavy trompe l'oeil window frame the artist pictured an expansive landscape in which a city of classical architecture is visible in the distance. The dress of the two figures who walk and talk in the foreground confirms that the setting is antiquity. Separated from the city by a river, they appear to be enjoying a rural setting. This landscape by Zelotti illustrates that the allusions to the villeggiatura of the ancient past found at Maser were not unusual. Veronese's visual references to early Rome would be readily recognized as such by members of Daniele's social and scholarly circle and read as asserting that the type of *otium* practiced on the piano nobile at the Villa di Maser followed in the traditions of ancient Rome.

Even if both Zelotti and Veronese recall the villa life of antiquity in their landscape paintings, the artists took distinctly different approaches to the theme. While a sixteenth-century viewer would easily appreciate that the ancient world is being quoted in the painting at the Villa Godi (fig.41), any sense of their being able to enter or participate in the rural scene is forestalled. There are no visual cues, such as balconies that extend into the scene and invite the viewer to move closer. Nor are there any references to the Veneto, or to renaissance Italy. Unlike the landscapes at the Villa di Maser, Zelotti's landscape may depict an ideal world, but it is not an accessible world.

[95] Denis Ribouillault, *Rome En Ses Jardins: Paysage et Pouvoir Au XVIe Siècle* (CTHS, 2013), 127-129.

Writing about the vistas on the walls of *la Crociera* specifically, Cosgrove comments on the out-of-context Roman ruins pictured alongside farm buildings native to the Veneto of the cinquecento. He concludes that:

> this is a composite landscape which combines different times and places, the world of the ancient Roman villa along the Tyrrhenea coast [location of Laurentum] and that of the Venetian terraferma in the 1550's…the two worlds intersect, the ancient world has been restored within the actuality of the modern and a form of perfection of agricultural utopia, has been achieved[96]

Building on Cosgrove's reading one might argue that the composite landscapes assert the restoration of Laurentum within the villa as well as outside of it, and that an intellectual utopia has been being fashioned on the piano nobile. The landscapes of *la Crociera* promised that on the piano nobile the guest would experience an intellectual utopia, not just think about it.

Directing a visitor forward and then side to side in exploration, under the lattice work and vine leaves, Veronese incited people to physically participate in the illusion of Laurentum. In late 1576, or early 1577, Nicolas Audebert (1556-1598) visited the Villa d'Este. In his journal the young Frenchman describes in detail the routes he follows when walking through the garden at Tivoli, including his passage through the cruciform pergola depicted in DuPérac's etching. In this entry he provides an indication of how cinquecento Venetians might have experienced pergolas in their gardens. Of his walk under the cruciform trellis, he describes the high trellis and recalls looking to the left and the right to look at the planting beds which lay outside the shelter of the pergola, and which would have been visible through the windows cut into its walls.[97] The

[96] Cosgrove, *The Palladian Landscape, 109.*

[97] R. W. Lightbown, "Nicolas Audebert and the Villa D'este." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 188 : "Continuant ceste allee on entre dessoubz une fort haulte treille contenant la largeur de l'allee, et est couuerte de lierre: croysee d'une aultre pareille treille qui passe au trauers, au milieu…A coste de ces treilles y a de part et aultre quelques petites grottes et fontaines au long de l'allee. A main droicte sont les deux jardins de fleurs et compartiments don Jay parlé, & a gaulche sont deus *Jardins de Simples* rares & estrangers."

progression described by the young man resembles that which the artist could have instigated in sixteenth century visitors to *la Crociera.* In choreographing a visitor's passage under the fictive pergola, the artist did not only lead them to act out a transition he also led them to move in a manner that could have recalled their own real-life experiences in pergolas. He thereby led them to participate in the illusion that the room covered by an actual trellis and grape vines. Making the fictive pergola seem genuine the artist could well have been trying to make the world imagined in the landscape images, the possibility of Laurentum being restored, appear equally authentic.

That a serious scholar such as Daniele, would dedicate so much effort to making a chimera real, to enable an illusionary experience in which truth and fiction are merged, is not out of the question. This phenomenon can be seen in the garden built for the humanist and art patron Cardinal Ippolito d'Este (1509-1572) at the Villa d'Este. The designer, Ligorio, had personally explored and excavated Hadrian's villa (120 AD) at Tivoli. He is thought to have based the garden that he built at the Villa d'Este on his firsthand observation of the ancient model. The many canals and fountains of the garden depicted by DuPérac, were inspired by the example set in the antique villa.[98] Installing multiple pieces of antique sculpture unearthed during his archaeological project Ligorio literally merged old with new. Despite the physical manifestation of the past in the garden, the present day was not obscured. Because the property sits high on a hill, many grand allées built by Ligorio lead to belvederes with spectacular views that look out over the real surrounding areas.[99] Writing of the garden Ribouillault emphasizes that "when moving through the garden visitors were transported through wide spaces and times, and were

[98] David R. Coffin, *The Villa D'este at Tivoli* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960), 96,97
[99] Ribouillault, "Toward," 220.

asked to take part, as on a theater stage in a narrative in which they implicitly became actors."[100] Merging reality and fiction on the paths of the Cardinal's garden, Ligorio deliberately facilitated the imagined experience of antiquity being restored. One has to wonder if Daniele and Veronese were attempting to accomplish the same in *la Crociera*.

At Tivoli, a visitor's movement and views of the garden and surrounding countryside were anticipated and managed. Audebert's journal reports on his walks throughout the garden, not just under the pergola. Ribouillault observes that the young man:

> conceived his itinerary of the garden in terms of an alternation of movement and pauses for "viewing," …his movement in the garden was controlled by set "views" …his steps and gazes were channeled through the allées…led to objects that merited his consideration and demanded his static attention: a statue, a fountain, a belvedere, or a window that was the architectonic equivalent of the painted view.[101]

Throughout the garden, the Frenchman's perambulations and gaze are deliberately guided along specific routes, by rows of trees, hedges, and architecture. Discussing this orchestration of a visitor's itinerary at Tivoli, Isabella Barisi highlights how it leads the sightseer from one extreme end of the garden to another. How it directs them along circuits that do not respect the orderly and geometrical layout of the garden as depicted in DuPérac's image. She asserts that a visitor would be "continually disoriented by the multiple viewpoints, attracted by the endless play of water, beguiled by surprises and sheer lucidity and intrigued by an infinity of sensations, sounds, scents, colours, light effects."[102] This disorientation explains, perhaps, the fact that in several Renaissance texts celebrating villa views the authors conflate the painted landscapes, found

[100] Ribouillault, "Toward," 214
[101] Denis Ribouillault. "Toward an Archeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas." In *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-First-Century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Mirka Beneš, Michael G. Lee and Dumbarton Oaks (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011),220.
[102] Isabella Barisi, "The Design of the Garden and its Botanic Architecture," in *Villa d'Este*, ed. Isabella Barisi et al., trans. Richard Bates et al. (Italy: de Luca Editori d'Arte, 2003),65.

inside villas, with the real views, offered out of doors.[103] If Ligorio deliberately moved people from point to point in the garden at Tivoli, with the intention of confusing their sense of the real landscape with an illusionary one, could Veronese have been trying to do the same on a smaller scale at the Villa di Maser?

According to German art historian Carl Lamb, the choreography of a garden visit with a "system of points of view in which various artistic elements become visible unexpectedly from a close perspective,"[104] was first implemented on a grand scale at the Villa d'Este.[105] Veronese painted *la Crociera* more than ten years prior to the completion of Tivoli. But it is very possible that Veronese knew about Ligorio's plan and had been asked to build on it. When Daniele and Palladio visited Rome in 1554, planning and work on the garden at the Villa d'Este had begun. As Daniele's *Commentary* on Vitruvius of both 1556 and 1567 were dedicated to Cardinal Ippolito, it seems highly probable that the Patrician would have taken a keen interest in the Cardinal's plans for the Villa d'Este. As Palladio reportedly visited the worksite at Tivoli with Ligorio, it is conceivable that both Palladio and Daniele were informed about the elaborate plans for the garden well before Veronese started painting at Maser.[106] It is also conceivable that Daniele, wanting to impress upon his guests that he was restoring the world of Pliny the Younger on the piano nobile, might well have asked to Veronese to experiment with Ligorio's stratagems.

[103] Ribouillault, "Toward," 220, 221.
[104] Ribouillault, "Toward," 231, note 86
[105] Ribouillault, "Toward," 231, note 86
[106] Vasco Zara, "'Udire Secondo Le Idee," 362.

Conclusion

Given *la Crociera*'s location in the villa complex at Maser, and the sensitivity to transitional spaces demonstrated in the loggias of other Venetian villas and in the decoration of the Castello Del Buonconsiglio, it is not surprising that the program of the cruciform room was designed to facilitate a transition between the realms outside and inside the villa. That Daniele, in this liminal space, would want to describe the world on the piano nobile as peaceful and calm, as an ideal setting for scholarly work and literary dialogue in the tradition of Pliny the Younger, lines up perfectly with his personal lifestyle as well as the expectations of his Patrician and humanist peers. What is striking about the architectural and fresco program of *la Crociera* is the intensity with which the artist drives this liminal process. Taking advantage of the lack of a grand external staircase and loggia, and the lack of windows that look out onto the cortivo, Veronese's wall frescoes firmly shut out the farm world. Creating an immersive pergola on the barrel vaulted ceiling, and leading visitors to walk into *la Crociera* to find a series of clues alluding to a world reminiscent of Laurentum, the artist overwhelmed the visitor with a picture of life on the piano nobile. Understanding van Gennep's observations regarding the rites of passage, one recognizes that the program of *la Crociera* would have nurtured an impactful moment of transition for visitors in the sixteenth century.

Examining the landscape image from the Villa Godi, the reference to antiquity is clear. Similarly, Zelotti's pergola in the vault over the vestibule of the Villa Emo can be seen to cite the pergola of *Epistulae*. But, unlike at the Villa di Maser, neither the image at the Villa Godi nor at the Villa Emo appears to merge with the room they decorate in the same manner as do the pergola and the wall frescoes in *la Crociera*. As Cosgrove might say, neither of the images at

Fanzolo or Malinverni suggest that the world of Pliny the Younger has been restored at the villas. Perhaps, in *la Crociera*, Daniele and Veronese were not simply informing a guest that they were moving to a domain where the traditions of early Rome were respected. Perhaps, instead, patron and artist were also endeavoring, just as Ligorio and the Cardinal d'Este were attempting to do in Tivoli, to inspire in their guests the illusion that on the piano nobile ancient Rome had been reestablished.

Images

Figure 3 Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), the Villa di Maser (1560), Maser, Italy.

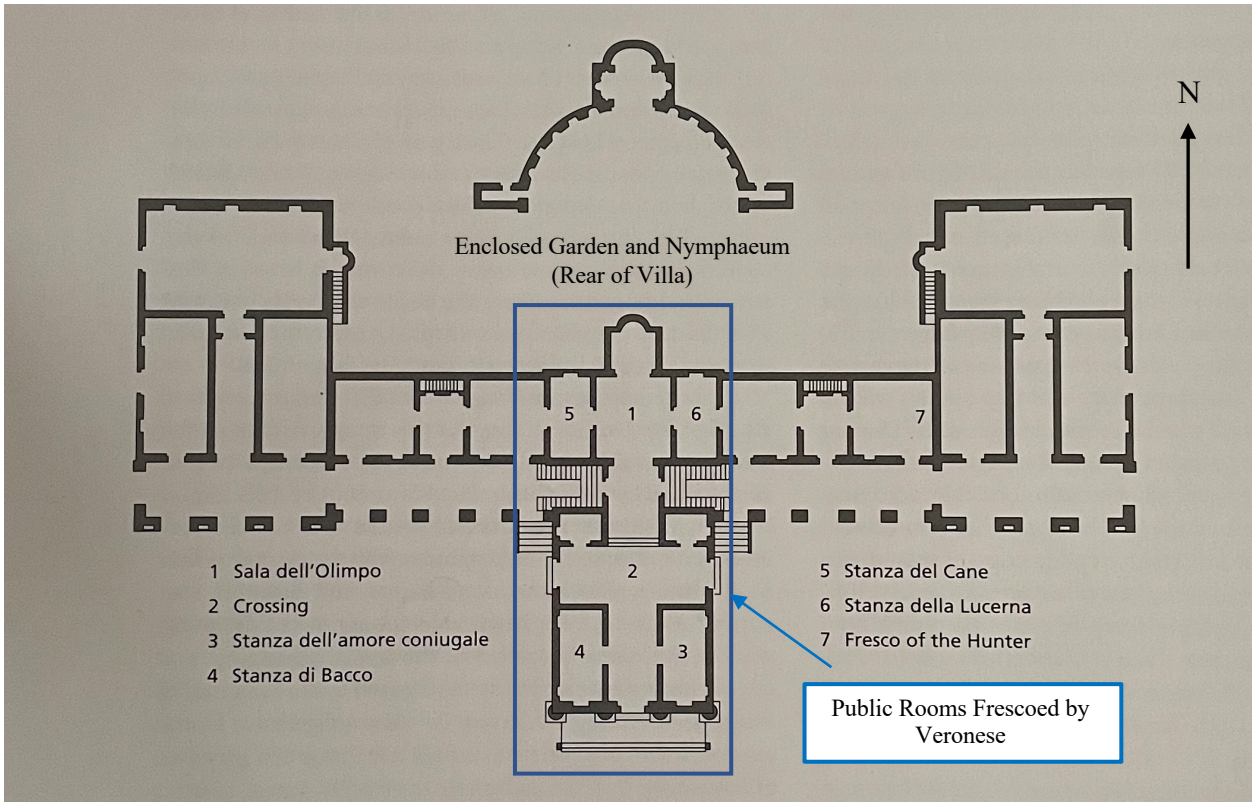

Figure 4: Floor plan of the piano nobile, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

Figure 3: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *la Crociera* (1560), standing at northernmost point and facing south, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

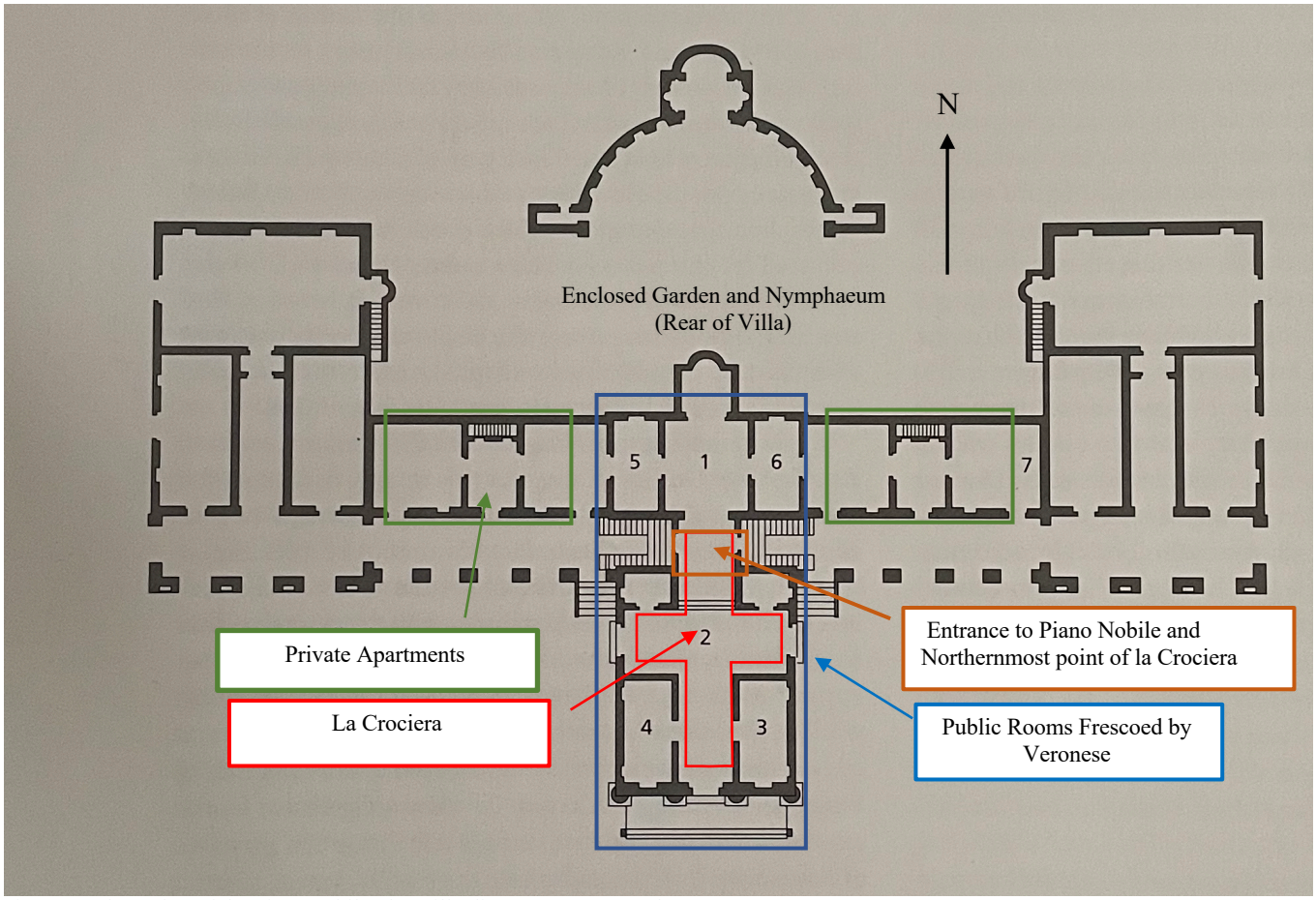

Figure 4: Floor plan of the piano nobile, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

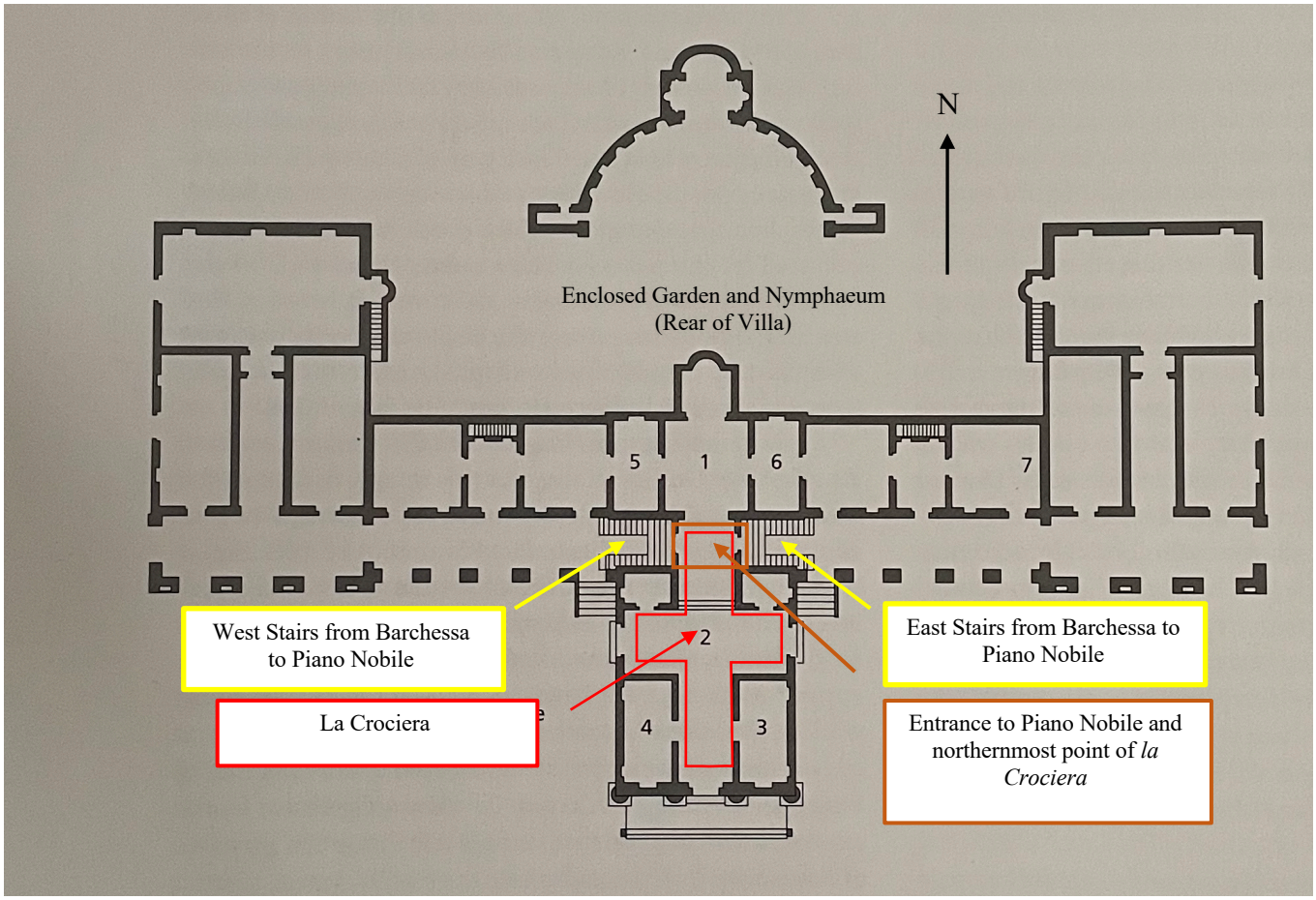

Figure 5: Floor plan of piano nobile, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy

Figure 6: Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), the Villa di Maser (1560), Maser, Italy.

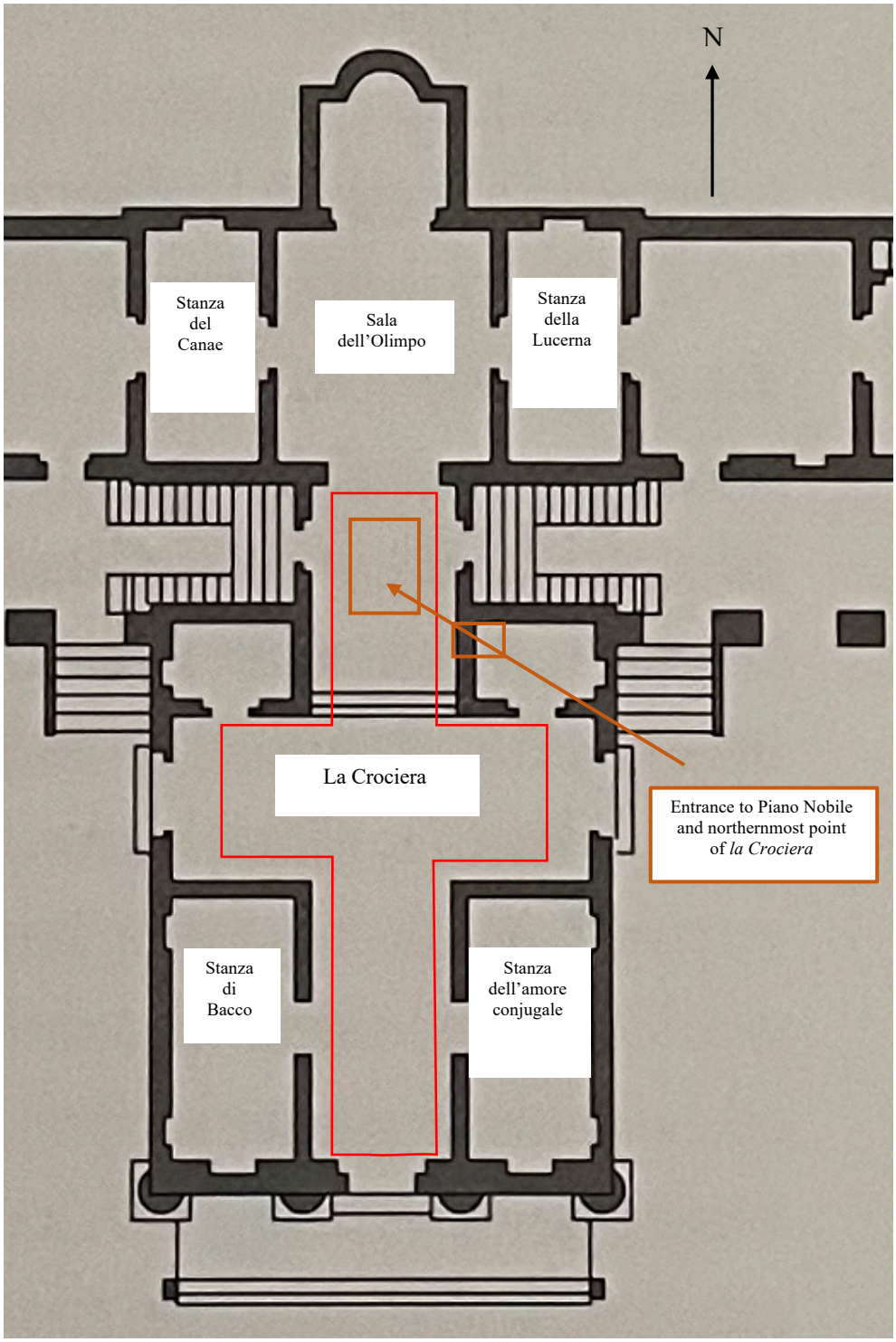

Figure 7: Floor plan of piano nobile, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy

Figure 8: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), Section of Ceiling *Stanza di Bacco* (1560),
the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

Figure 9: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), Section of Ceiling, *Stanza dell'Amore Conjugale,* (1560), the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

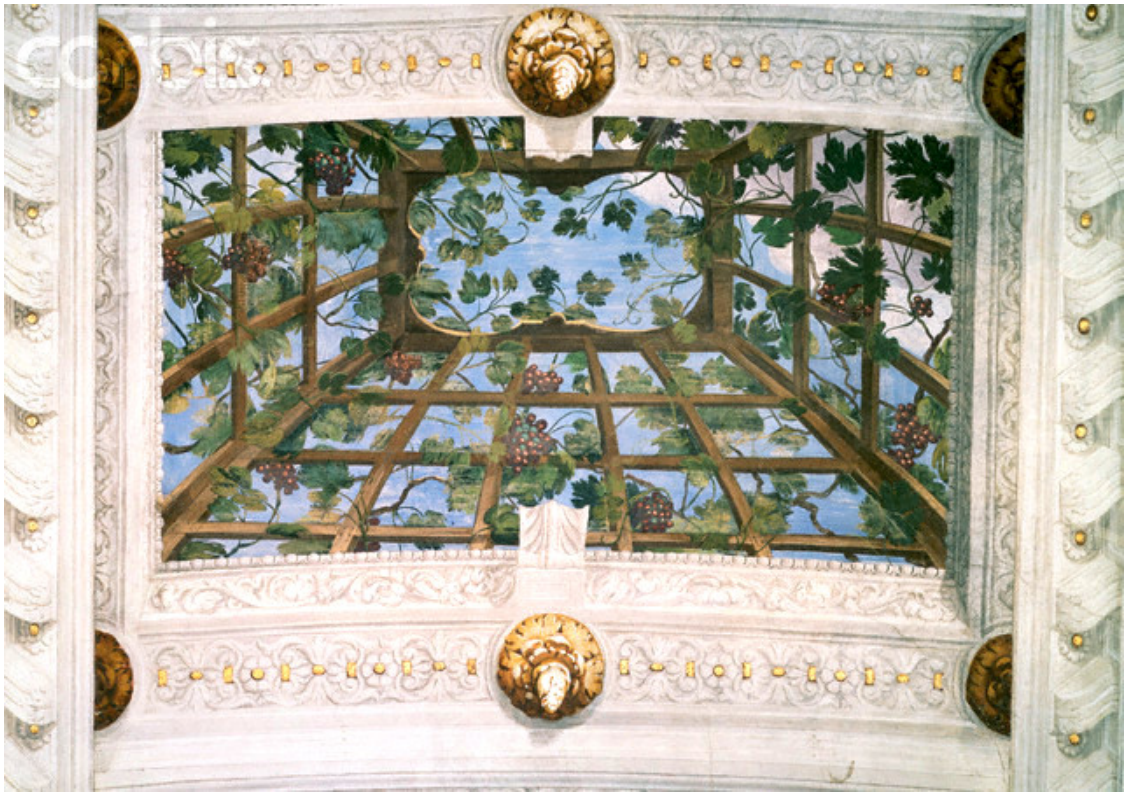

Figure 10: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588*), Grape Trellis* (1560), ceiling of *Stanza di Bacco,* the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

Figure 11: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), ceiling *Sala dell'Olimpo* (1560), the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

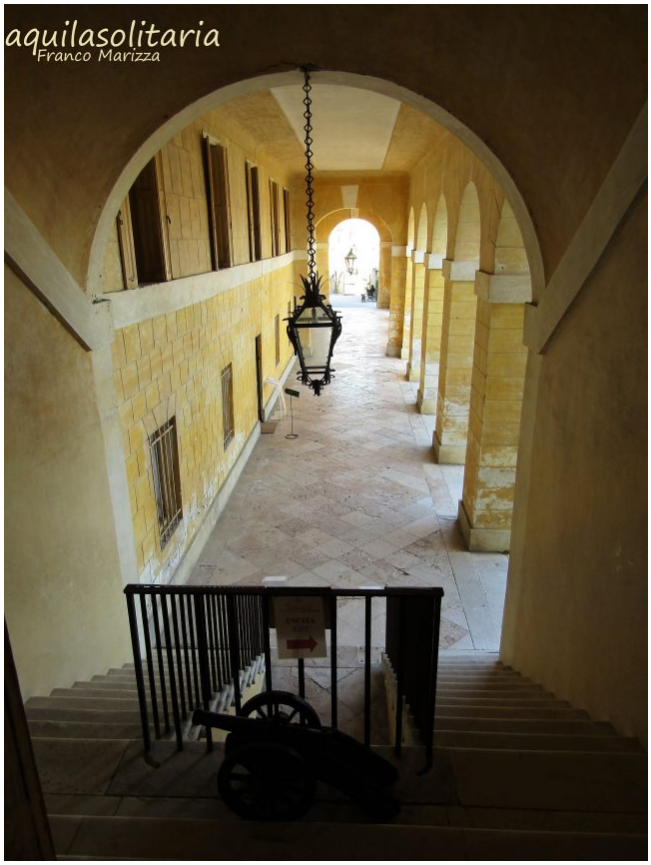

Figure 12: East stairwell from barchessa to piano nobile, looking down from *la Crociera*, the Villa di Maser (1560), Maser, Italy.

Figure 13: Andrea Palladio (*1508-1580*), Marc' Antonio Barbaro (*1518-1595*), Alessandro Vittoria (1525-1608) *Garden Nymphaeum* (c. 1560), the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

Figure 14: Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), the Villa Badoer (1556), Fratta Polesine, Italy

Figure 15: Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), the Villa Badoer (1556), Fratta Polesine, Italy

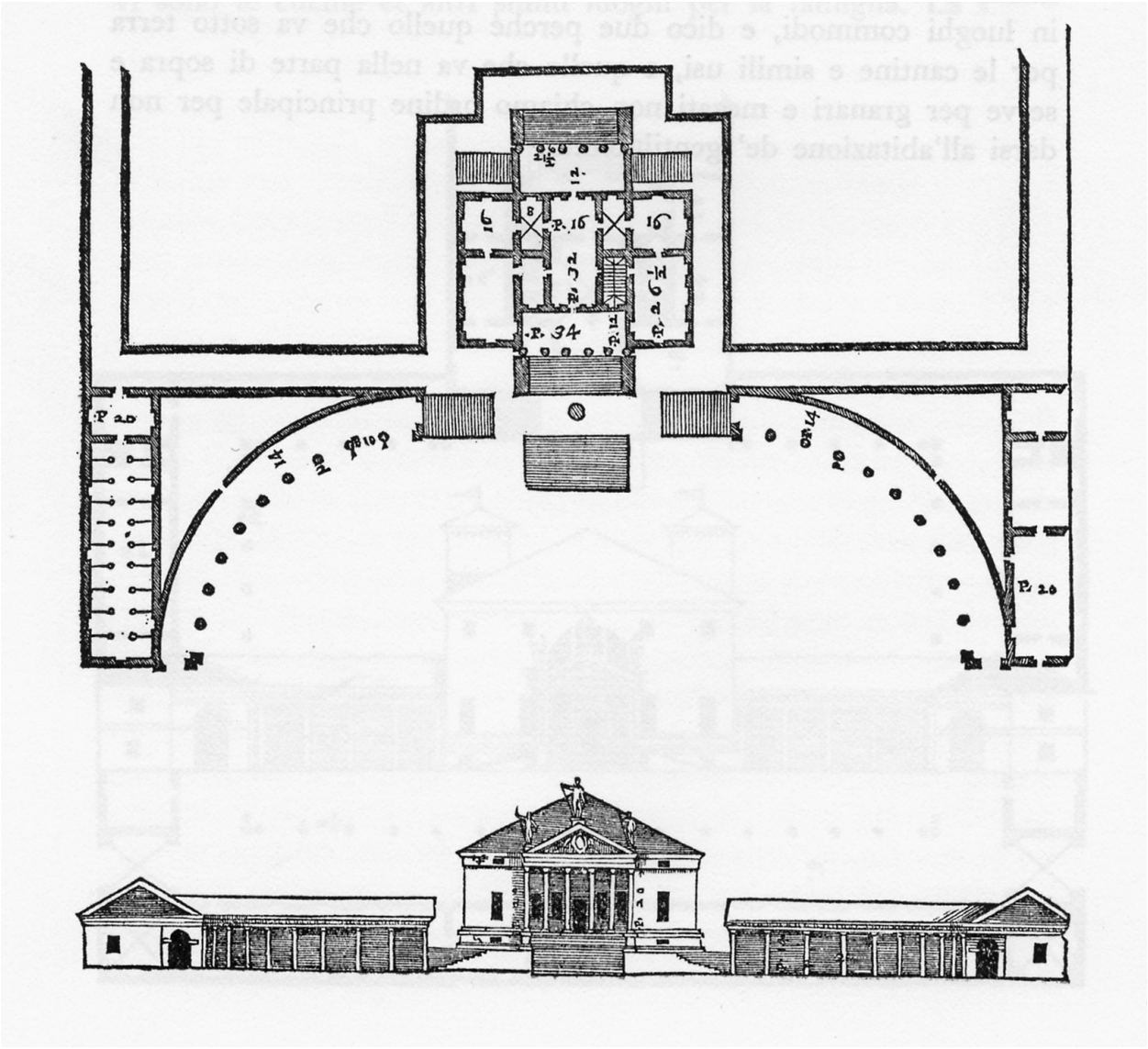

Figure 16: Andrea Palladio (1508-1580), floor plan of the Villa Badoer (1556), Fratta Polesine, Italy

Figure 17: *Title Page Day 1* (1492), woodcut from *The Decameron*, Giovanni Boccaccio, Venice, Italy

Figure 18: *Poliphilo encounters nymph,* woodcut from Francesco Colonna*, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499)*,* Royal Collection Trust, England

Figure 19: *Poliphilo and Nymph Exit Pergola,* woodcut from Francesco Colonna*, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499)*,* Royal Collection Trust, England

Figure 20: Jacopo de' Barbari (1460/1470 - before 1516), *View of Venice* (1500), woodcut on paper, 1340x2808 mm, Museo Correr, Venice.

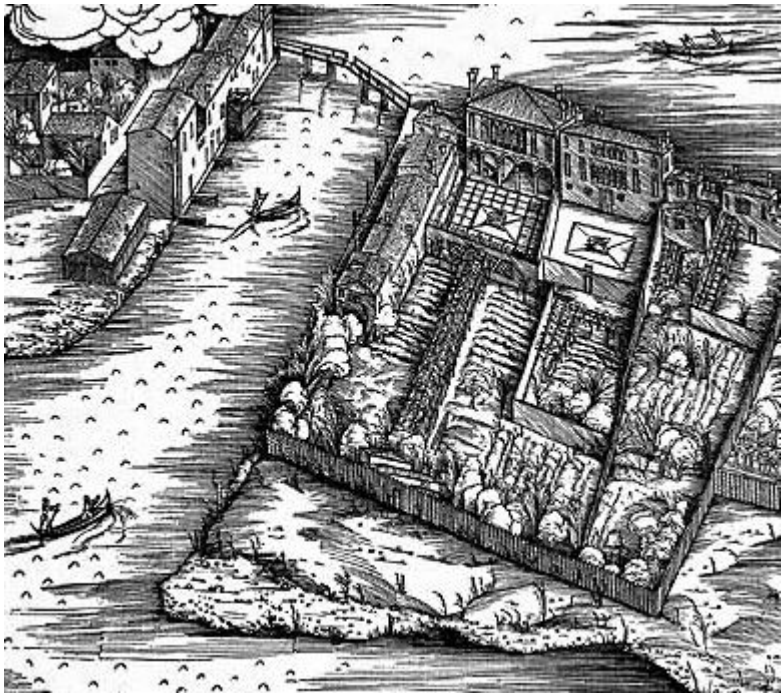

Figure 21: Jacopo de' Barbari (1460/1470 - before 1516), Villas on the Giudecca, detail from *View of Venice* (1500), woodcut on paper, 1340x2808 mm, Museo Correr, Venice.

Figure 22: Lodewijk Toeput (1550-1605), *Banquet in the Park* (c.1590), 220 by 301.5 cm, oil on canvas, Kunsthistoriches Museum, Vienna.

Figure 23: Jacopo Zucchi (c.1541- .1590), project for the gardens of the Villa Medici (1576), fresco in the garden pavilion of the Villa Medici, Rome.

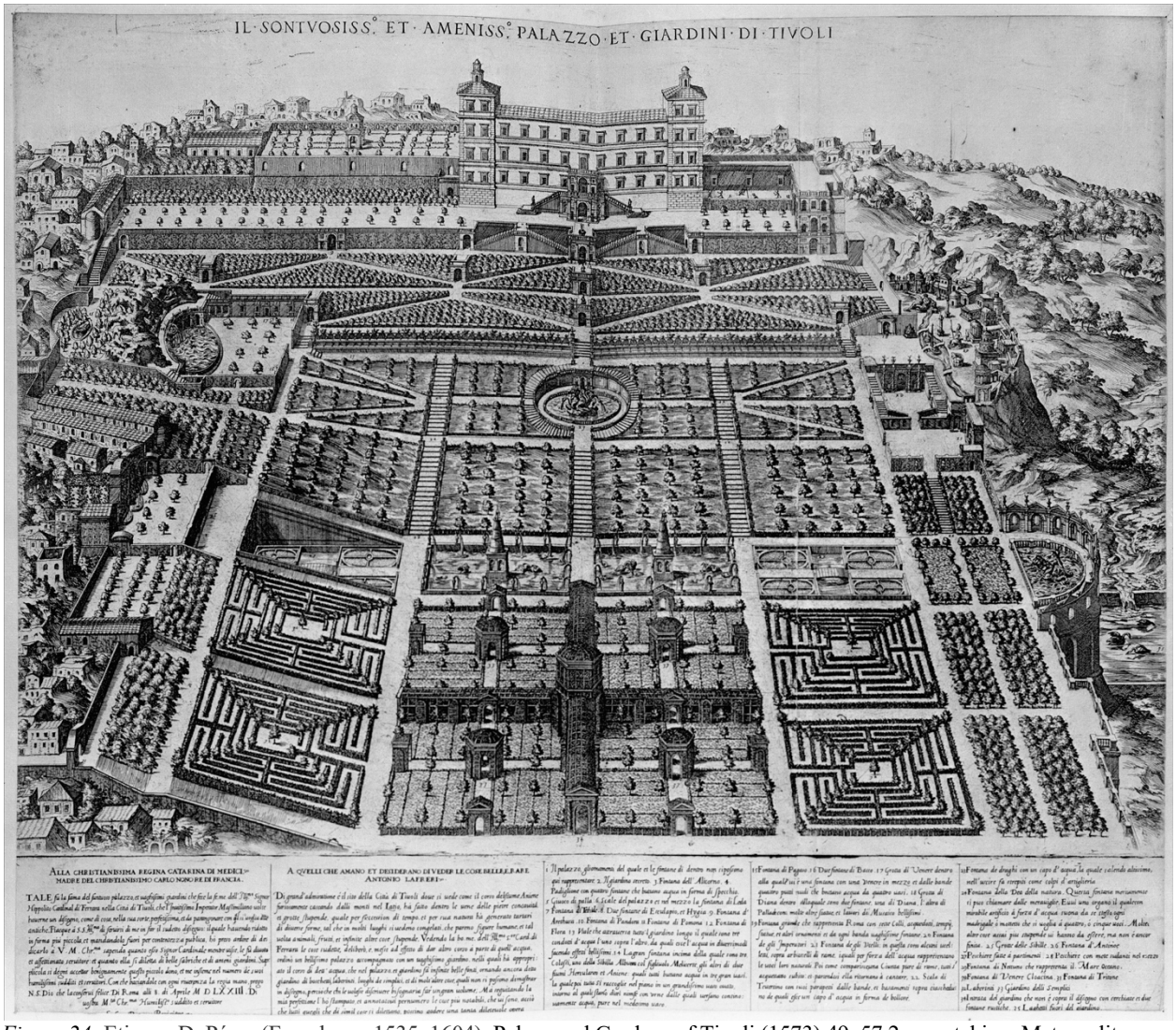

Figure 24: Etienne DuPérac (French, ca. 1535–1604), Palace and Gardens of Tivoli (1573),49x57.2 cm, etching, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

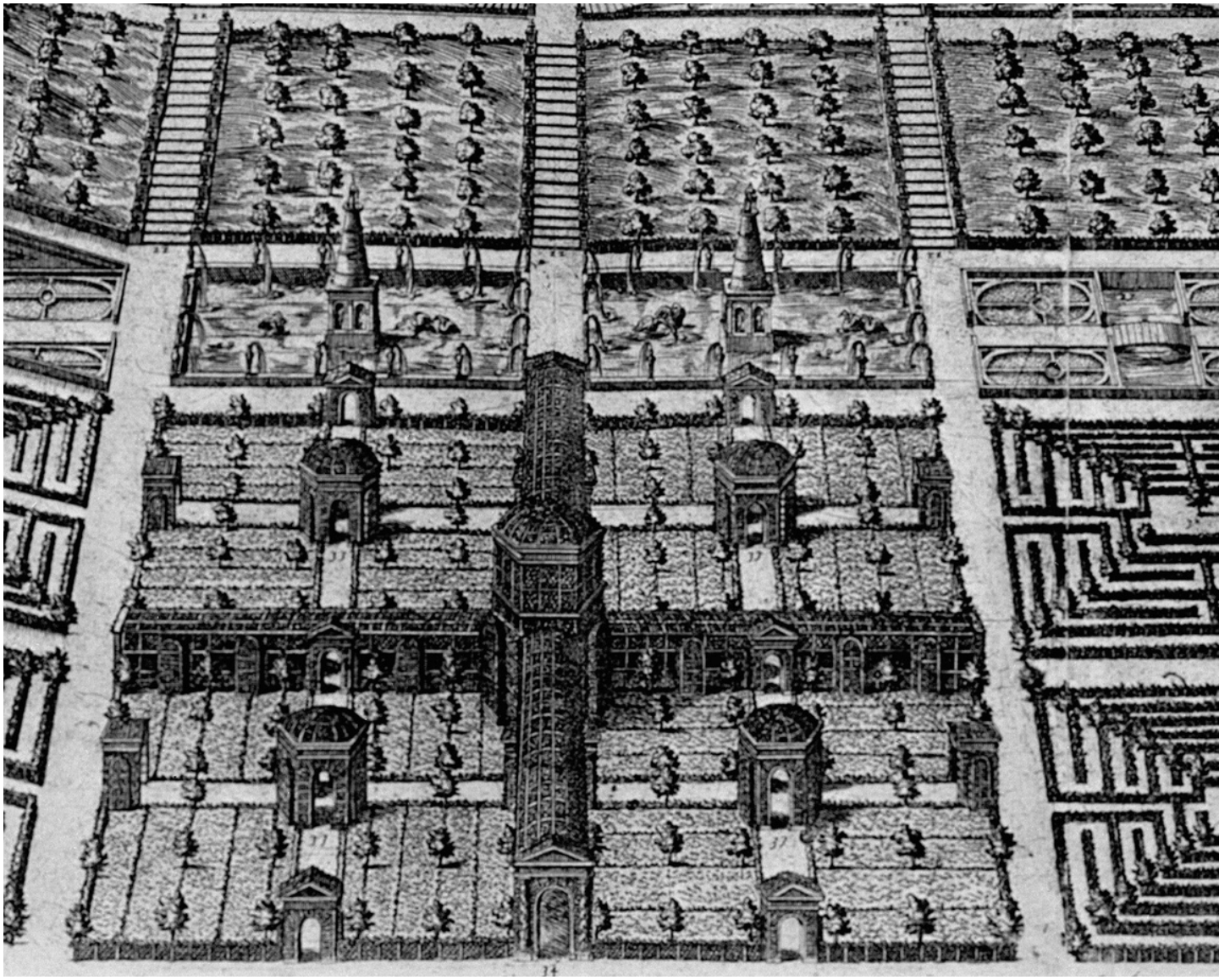

Figure 25: Etienne DuPérac (ca. 1535–1604), Palace and Gardens of Tivoli (1573),49x57.2 cm, etching, Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Figure 26 Andrea Palladio (*1508-1580*), the Villa Emo, Fanzolo, Italy

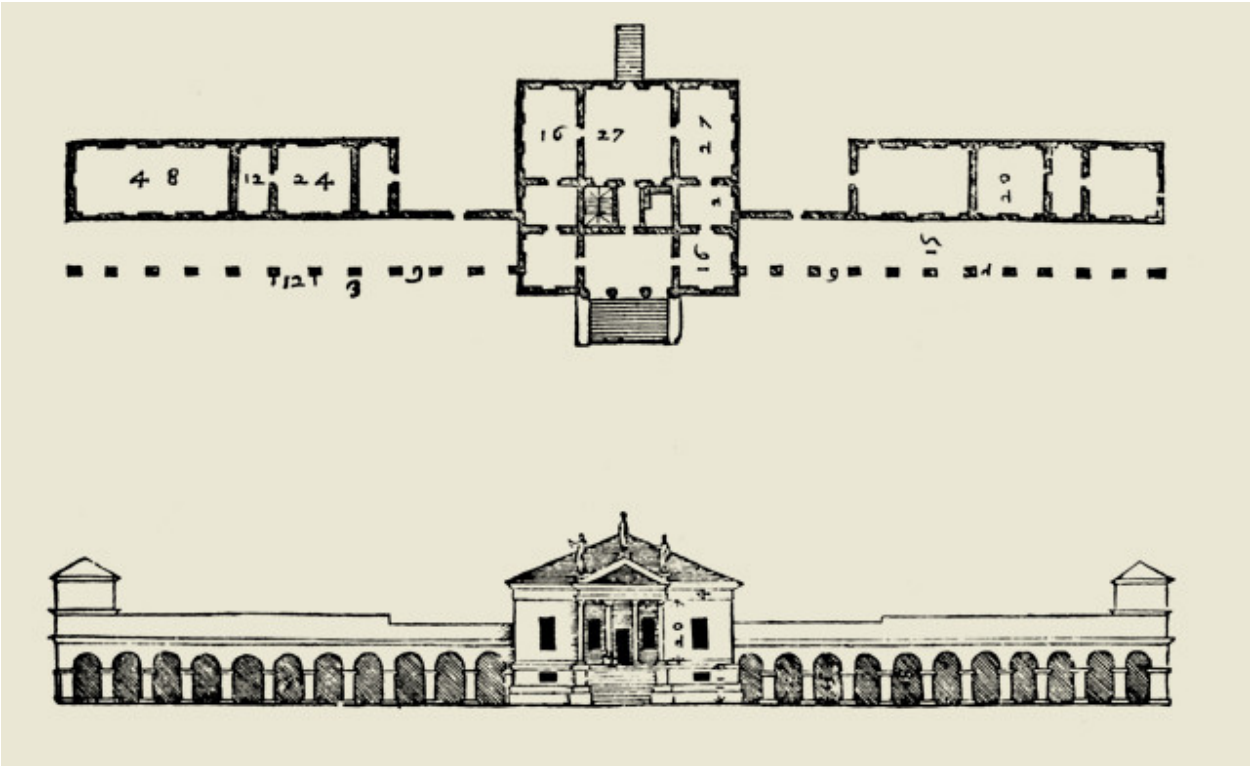

Figure 27: Andrea Palladio (*1508-1580*), the Villa Emo from *I quattro Libri dell'architettura (c. 1570).*

Figure 28: Giovanni Battista Zelotti (1526-1578), Pergola Fresco, the Villa Emo, Fanzolo, Italy.

Figure 29: Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), *Sala delle Asse (1498),* Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Figure 30: Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), *Sala delle Asse (1498),* Castello Sforzesco, Milan.

Figure 31: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Landscape with Town on River* (1560), southeast wall la Crociera, Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 32: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Landscape* (1560), Northwest wall, *la Crociera*, Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 33: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Muses* (1560), southwest wall of east-west arm, *la Crociera*, the Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 34: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), Muses (1560), southeast wall of east-west arm, *la Crociera*, the Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 35: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Muses* (1560), Northeast wall of east-west arm, *la Crociera*, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy

Figure 36: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), Man in Doorway (1560), northwest wall of east-west arm, *la Crociera*, the Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 37: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Landscape with Ruins and Seated figures* (1560), southeast wall, *la Crociera*, the Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 38: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Landscape with Riders on Road* (1560), southeast wall, la Crociera, the Villa di Maser, Maser, Italy.

Figure 39: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Landscape with Cart on Road* (1560), Southwest wall, *la Crociera*, Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 40: Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), *Landscape with Ruins and Seated figures* (1560), southeast wall, of la Crociera, Villa di Maser, Maser

Figure 41: Giovanni Battista Zelotti (1526-1578), landscape in the stanza delle arti (c.1557), the Villa Godi, Malinverni, Italy

Bibliography

Ackerman, James S. *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Barbaro, Daniel, and Pollio Vitruvius. *Daniele Barbaro's Vitruvius of 1567*. Translated and edited by Kim Williams. Cham, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2019.

Barbieri, Giuseppe. Andrea Palladio e la Cultura Veneta del Rinascimento. Roma: Il Veltro, 1983.

Barisi, Isabella. "The Design of the Garden and its Botanic Architecture." In *Villa d'Este*, edited by Isabella Barisi, Marchllo Fagnolo, Maria Luisa Madonna, translated by Richard Bates, Lucinda Byatt, Anita Weston, 55-82. Italy: de Luca Editori d'Arte, 2003.

Battilotti, Donata. "Villa Barbaro a Maser: Un Difficile Cantiere." Storia dell'arte / dir. da Giulio Carlo Argan. 53 (1985): 33-59.

Basso, Umberto. *La Villa e il Tempietto dei Barbaro a Maser di Andrea Palladio.* Montebelluna: Tipolitografia G. Faggionato, 1976.

Beltramini, Guido. "Villa Barbaro." In *Andrea Palladio: The Complete Illustrated Works*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Antonio Padoan, 158-65. Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2001.

Blason, Mirella. "La vita di Alvise Cornaro." In *Alvise Cornaro E Il Suo Tempo* edited by Lionello Puppi, 18-26. Padova: Comune di Padova, 1980.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Decameron.* Edited by Jonathan Usher. Translated by Guido Waldman. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Bolard, Laurent. "Peinture, Économie, Société en Italie au XVie Siècle: L'exemple des Fresques des Villas Vénitiennes." *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 44, no. 1 (1997): 5-18.

Boucher, Bruce, and Andrea Palladio. *Andrea Palladio: The Architect in His Time.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1998.

Burns, Howard. "Designing a Villa." In *Palladio*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, 100-107. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008.

_____. "Gardens." In *Palladio*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, 136-145. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008.

_____. "Introduction." In *Andrea Palladio: The Complete Illustrated Works*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Antonio Padoan, 3-9. Venice: Marsilio Editori, 2001.

_____. "Villa Barbaro at Maser."In *Palladio*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, 114-29. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008.

Cellauro, Louis. "Daniele Barbaro and Vitruvius: The Architectural Theory of a Renaissance Humanist and Patron." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 72 (2004): 293-329.

_____. "In Search of a Setting for Learning in Roman Antiquity: Renaissance Surveys of Varro's Garden Musaeum at Casinum." *Renaissance Studies* 29, no. 2 (2015): 204-26.

Cheles, Luciano. *The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Investigation.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986.

Cheney, Liana De Girolami. "Vasari's Pictorial Musing on the Muse: The Chamber of Apollo of the Casa Vasari." *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993): 135-76.

Cocke, Richard. *Paolo Veronese: Piety and Display in an Age of Religious Reform*. London: Taylor and Francis, 2017. doi:10.4324/9781315209135. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315209135

_____. "Veronese and Daniele Barbaro: The Decoration of Villa Maser." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972): 226-46.

Coffin, David R. *The Villa D'este at Tivoli.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.

Comito, Terry. The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance. Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1979.

Condie, Jenny, and Alex Ramsay. The Gardens of Venice and the Veneto. London: Frances Lincoln, 2013.

Cooper, Tracy E. "Daniele Barbaro and the Commemoration of a Pariarchal Dynasty." In *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, edited by Frédérique Lemerle, Vasco Zara, Pierre Caye and Laura Moretti, 59-69. European Union: Brepolis, 2017.

Cosgrove, Denis. "Power and Place in the Venetian Territories." In *The power of place: bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations,* edited by John A. Agnew

_____. "Spectacle and Society: Landscape as Theater in Pre-Modern and Post-Modern Cities." In *Vision, Culture and Landscape: Working Papers from the Berkeley Symposium on Cultural Landscape Interpretation,* edited by Paul Groth, 221-239. Berkeley: Dept. of Landscape Architecture, University of California, Berkeley, 1990.

_____. *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. University Park, Pa.: Penn State University Press, 1993.

Cozzi, Gaetano. "Ambiente veneziano, ambiente Veneto. Governanti e governati nel dominio di qua dal mincio nei secoli XV-XVIII." In *Il Seicento* volume 4/II of *Storia della cultura veneta*, edited by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastre Stocchi, pp. 495-532. Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1976.

Cranston, Jodi. *Green Worlds of Renaissance Venice*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021. doi:10.1515/9780271084039. https://www.degruyter.com/isbn/9780271084039

Crosato, Luciana Larcher. "Considerazioni Sul Programma Iconografico Di Maser." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 26, no. 2 (1982): 211-56.

_____. *Gli Affreschi nelle Ville Venete del Cinquecento.* Treviso: Libreria editrice Canova, 1962.

_____. "Postille Al Programma Iconografico Di Maser." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 45, no. 3 (2001): 495-502.

_____. "Villa Emo a Fanzolo e Villa Barbaro a Maser." In *Da Bellini a Veronese: Temi Di Arte Veneta*, edited by Gennaro Toscano and Francesco Valcanover, 589-628, Venezia: Instituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004.

Daniels, Rhiannon. *Boccaccio and the Book Production and Reading in 1340-1520.* London: Routledge, 2009. https://doi-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/10.4324/9781315096209.

Elder, Pliny the. *Natural History.* Translated by H. Rackham. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938. https://www-loebclassics-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/view/LCL330/1938/volume.xml

Fletcher, Rachel. "Palladio's Villa Emo:The Golden Proportion Hypothesis Defended." *Nexus Network Journal: Architecture and Mathematics* 3, no. 2 (2001): 105-12.

Fortini Brown, Patricia. *Private Lives in Renaissance Venice: Art, Architecture, and the Family.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Frank, Martina. "Lodewijk Toeput e le Tipicità del Giardino Veneto." In *Le Due Muse: Scritti d'arte, Collezionismo e Letteratura in Onore Di Ranieri Varese*, edited by Francesca Cappelletti Ranieri Varese, 253-61. Ancona, Italia: Il lavoro editoriale, 2012.

Freedman, Luba. *The Classical Pastoral in the Visual Arts.* New York: P. Lang, 1989.

Gell, Alfred. *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Gennep, Arnold van. *The Rites of Passage.* Translated by Gabrielle L. Caffee and Monika B. Vizedom. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960.

Goy, Richard J.. *Venetian Vernacular Architecture: Traditional Housing in the Venetian Lagoon.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Henry, Chriscinda. "Navigating the Palace Underworld: Recreational Space, Pleasure, and Release at the Castello Del Buonconsiglio, Trent." In *Early Modern Spaces in Motion: Design, Experience and Rhetoric*, edited by Skelton Kimberley, 33-58. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021. https://muse-jhu-edu.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/book/80844.

_____. *Playful Pictures Art, Leisure, and Entertainment in the Venetian Renaissance Home.* University Park Pensylvania: The Pensylvania State University Press, 2022.

Holberton, Paul. Palladio's Villas: Life in the Renaissance Countryside. London: Murray, 1990.

Horváth, Ágnes, Bjørn Thomassen, and Harald Wydra. Breaking Boundaries : Varieties of Liminality. New York: Berghahn Books, 2015.

Howard, Deborah. "Daniele Barbaro and Two Ladies Named Giulia." In *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, edited by Frédérique Lemerle, Vasco Zara, Pierre Caye and Laura Moretti, 17-30. European Union: Brepolis, 2017.

———. "Trionfalismo E Reticenza." In *Il Cinquecento Storia dell'architettura nel Veneto*, edited by Donata Battilotti, Guido Beltramini, Edoardo Demo and Walter Panciera, 39-67. Venezia: Marsilio, 2016.

_____. *Venice Disputed: Marc'antonio Barbaro and Venetian Architecture, 1550-1600.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011.

Hunt, John Dixon. *The Italian Garden: Art, Design, and Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

_____ . *The Venetian City Garden: Place, Typology, and Perception.* Basel: Birkhäuser, 2009.

Huse, Norbert, and Wolfgang Wolters. *The Art of Renaissance Venice: Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, 1460-1590.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Jacobs, Lynn F. *Thresholds and Boundaries: Liminality in Netherlandish Art (1385-1530).* London: Routledge, 2018. https://www-taylorfrancis-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315107998/thresholds-boundaries-lynn-jacobs

Karmon, David. *Architecture and the Senses in the Italian Renaissance: The Varieties of Architectural Experience.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. https://www-

cambridge-org.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/core/books/architecture-and-the-senses-in-the-italian-renaissance/F92421DFE29D333CBC4B929E17D608C7

Kessel, Elsje van. *The Lives of Paintings : Presence, Agency and Likeness in Venetian Art of the Sixteenth Century*. Leiden: De Gruyter; Leiden University Press, 2017. http://www.degruyter.com/doc/cover/9783110495775.jpg.

Kolb, Carolyn, and Melissa Beck. "The Sculptures on the Nymphaeum Hemicycle of the Villa Barbaro at Maser." *Artibus et Historiae* 18, no. 35 (1997): 15-40.

Lazzaro, Claudia, and Ralph Lieberman. *The Italian Renaissance Garden: From the Conventions of Planting, Design, and Ornament to the Grand Gardens of Sixteenth-Century Central Italy.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Lightbown, R. W. "Nicolas Audebert and the Villa D'este." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 164-90.

Logan, Oliver. Culture and Society in Venice, 1470-1790. New York: Scribner, 1972.

McHam, Sarah Blake. *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.

Mitrović, Branko. "Foreword." In Daniele Barbaro's Vitruvius of 1567, translated and edited by Kim Williams, xi-xxxviii. Cham, Switzerland: Birkhäuser, 2019.

Mometto, Piergiovanni. "La Vita in Villa." In *Il Settecento* volume 5/I of *Storia della cultura veneta*, edited by Girolamo Arnaldi and Manlio Pastre Stocchi, pp. 607 – 629. Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1976.

Molmenti, Pompeo. *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della repubblica*, 1880. 4 Edizione interamente rifattaed. Bergamo: publisher not identified, 1905.

Muraro, Michelangelo. "Delizie di Marca: Villa Barbaro a Maser; Palladio e Veronese a Maser." *FMR. Edizione italiana / Dir.: Marilena Ferrari. Edizione Italiana* 13, no. 104 (1994): 32-44.

Nonaka, Natsumi. *Renaissance Porticoes and Painted Pergolas: Nature and Culture in Early Modern Italy*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2017. https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/e/9781315229133

_____. "Verdant Architecture and Tripartite Chorography: Toeput and the Italian Villa Tradition." In *Green worlds in early modern Italy: art and the verdant earth,* edited by Karen Hope Goodchild, April Oettinger and Leopoldine van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 131-152. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9789048535866/type/BOOK

Oberhuber, Konrad. "Glie Affreschie di Paolo Veronese nella Villa Barbaro." *Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura "Andrea Palladio"* X (1968): 188-202.

Palladio, Andrea. *The Four Books on Architecture.* Translated by Robert Tavernor, and Richard V. Schofield. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1997.

Paoletti, Ermolao. *Il fiore di Venezia: Ossia, i quadri, i monumenti, le vedute ed i costui veneziani.* 4 vols. Venice: Tommaso Fontana, 1837–40.

Pederson, Jill. "The Sala delle Asse as Locus Amoenus: Revisiting Leonardo Da Vinci's Arboreal Imagery in Milan's Castello Sforzesco." In *Green worlds in early modern Italy: art and the verdant earth,* edited by Karen Hope Goodchild, April Oettinger and Leopoldine van Hogendorp Prosperetti, 89-108. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2019. https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9789048535866/type/BOOK

Puppi, Lionello. "I Protagonisti del Circolo Culturale." In *Alvise Cornaro E Il Suo Tempo* edited by Lionello Puppi, Padova: Comune di Padova, 1980.

_____. "Il Melodramma Nel Giardino." In *Venezia e il Melodramma Nel Seicento*, edited by Maria Teresa Muraro and Gianfranco Folena. Firenze: Leo S. Olschki, 1976.

_____. "The Villa Garden of the Veneto from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century." In *The Italian Garden*, edited by David R. Coffin and Dumbarton Oaks, 83-114. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1972.

Reist, Inge Jackson. "Divine Love and Veronese's Frescoes at the Villa Barbaro." *The Art Bulletin* 67, no. 4 (1985): 614-35.

_____. "The Classical Tradition: Mythology and Allegory." In *Paolo Veronese : A Master and His Workshop in Renaissance Venice*, edited by Virginia Brilliant and Frederick Ilchman, 105-19. London, England: Scala, 2012.

Ribouillault, Denis. ""Espace, Lieu, Paysage :" La Représentation du Paysage dans les Décors Italiens de la Renaissance." *Ligeia* 73-76 (2007): 34-45. https://www.cairn.info/revue-ligeia-2007-1-page-33.htm

_____. "Garden Architecture. From Representation to Transfiguration." *Le Visiteur.* 25 (2020): 1990208.

_____. *Rome En Ses Jardins: Paysage et Pouvoir Au XVIe Siècle*. CTHS, 2013. http://hdl.handle.net/1866/24959.

_____."Toward an Archeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas." In *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-First-Century*

Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives, edited by Mirka Beneš, Michael G. Lee and Dumbarton Oaks, 203-32. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2011.

Ridolfi, Carlo. *Le maraviglie dell'arte, ouero, le vite de gl'illvstri pittori veneti, e dello stato : oues sono raccolte le opere insigni, i costumi, & i ritratti loro. Con la narratione delle historie, delle fauole, e delle moralità da quelli dipinte*. In Venetia: Presso Gio. Battista Sgaua, 1648. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/api/volumes/oclc/2153595.html.

Rosand, David. "Giorgione, Venice and the Pastoral Vision." In *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape*, edited by Robert Cafritz, Lawrence Gowing and David Rosand, 1-82. Washington, D.C. New York: Phillips Collection in association with the National Gallery of Art, 1988.

Rutherglen, Susannah. "Painting at the Threshold: Pictures for Doors in Renaissance Venice." *The Art Bulletin* 98, no. 4 (2016): 438-65.

Schutte, Anne Jacobson. "Irene Di Spilimbergo: The Image of a Creative Woman in Late Renaissance Italy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (1991): 42-61.

Serlio, Sebastiano, and Giovanni Domenico Scamozzi. *Tutte L'opere D'architettura, et Prospetiua* di nuouo ristampate, & con ogni diligenza corrette. In Venetia: Appresso Giacomo de' Franceschi, 1619. https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100236964

Sereni, Emilio. *History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Skelton, Kimberly. "Introduction." In *Early Modern Spaces in Motion: Design, Experience and Rhetoric,* edited by Skelton Kimberley, 13-31: Amsterdam University Press, 2021. https://www-degruyter-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/document/doi/10.1515/9789048544592/html#contents

Tafuri, Manfredo. "Committenza e Tipologia nelle Ville Palladiane." *Bollettino del Centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio* (1969): 120-36.

Terry-Fritsch, Allie. *Somaesthetic Experience and the Viewer in Medicean Florence: Renaissance Art and Political Persuasion, 1459-1580*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020. https://www.degruyter.com/isbn/9789048544240

Trentini, Francesco. "Le Machinationi Etiche di Daniele Barbaro negli Affreschi di Veronese a Maser." In *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, edited by Frédérique Lemerle, Vasco Zara, Pierre Caye and Laura Moretti, 308-27. European Union: Brepolis, 2017.

Turner, Victor. *The Forest of Symbols Aspects of Ndembu Ritural.* Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1967.

_____. *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*. Routledge, 2017. https://www-taylorfrancis-com.proxy3.library.mcgill.ca/books/mono/10.4324/9781315134666/ritual-process-victor-turner-roger-abrahams-alfred-harris.

Unglaub, Jonathan. "The Concert Champêtre and the Poetics of Dispossession." In *Pastoral and the Humanities Arcadia Re-inscribed,* edited by Mathilde Skoie and Sonia Bjørnstad Velázquez, 126-146. Exeter, UK:Bristol Phoenix Press, 2006.

_____. "The "Concert Champêtre": The Crises of History and the Limits of Pastoral." Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics, 5, 1(Spring-Summer 1997), 46-91, 93-96. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20163656.

Vickers, Brian. "Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: The Ambivalence of Otium." *Renaissance Studies* 4, no. 1 (1990): 1-37.

_____. "Leisure and Idleness in the Renaissance: The Ambivalence of Otium." *Renaissance Studies* 4, no. 2 (1990): 107-154.

Visentini, Maria, "Gardens in Villas of the Veneto," In *The Italian Garden: Art, Design, and Culture*, edited by John Dixon Hunt. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Wolf, Reinhart, The Villas of the Veneto, New York, 1988.

Wolters, W. "La decorazione interna dell Loggia e dell'Odeo Cornaro." In *Alvise Cornaro E Il Suo Tempo* edited by Lionello Puppi, 72-79. Padova: Comune di Padova, 1980.

Woolf, S. J.. "Venice and the Terra Firma: Problems of the Change from Commercial to Landed Activities." In *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Brian S. Pullan, 175-203. London: Routledge, 2006.

Younger, Pliny the. *Pliny the Younger Complete Letters.* Translated by P.G. Walsh. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Zara, Vasco. ""Udire Secondo Le Idee." Daniele Barbaro e la Musica degli Affetti.". In *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, edited by Frédérique Lemerle, Vasco Zara, Pierre Caye and Laura Moretti, 341-72. European Union: Brepolis, 2017.

Zorzi, G.G.. *Le Opere Pubbliche e i Palzzi Privati di Andrea Palladio.* Venezia: N. Pozza, 1965.

Zubov, Vasilij Pavlovič. "De La Vie e de l'Activité Scientifique de Daniele Barbaro." Translated by Eugene Priadko Pierre Caye. In *Daniele Barbaro, 1514-1570, Vénitien, Patricien, Humaniste*, edited by Frédérique Lemerle, Vasco Zara, Pierre Caye and Laura Moretti, 492-521. European Union: Brepolis, 2017.