

Clio in the Italian Garden

TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY STUDIES IN
HISTORICAL METHODS AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture XXXII



Clio in the Italian Garden
TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY STUDIES IN
HISTORICAL METHODS AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

MIRKA BENEŠ *and* MICHAEL G. LEE
Editors

©2011 Dumbarton Oaks
Trustees for Harvard University, Washington, D.C.
All rights reserved.
Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Clio in the Italian garden : twenty-first-century studies in historical methods
and theoretical perspectives / edited by Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee.

p. cm. — (Dumbarton Oaks colloquium on the history of landscape
architecture ; XXXII)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-88402-367-8 (pbk. : alk. paper)

1. Gardens, Italian—Congresses. 2. Gardens—Italy—History—Congresses.

I. Beneš, Mirka. II. Lee, Michael G.

SB457.85 C59 2011

712.0945—dc22

2010035588

Art Director: Kathleen Sparkes
Design and Composition: Melissa Tandysh
Managing Editor: Sara Taylor

Volume based on papers presented at the symposium “Recent Issues in Italian Garden
Studies” organized by the Garden and Landscape Studies program at Dumbarton Oaks.
The symposium was held on 19–20 October 2007.

www.doaks.org/publications

Contents

<i>Foreword</i>	vii
JOHN BEARDSLEY	
<i>Introduction</i>	
The Study of Italian Gardens: A Newly Expanding Field	1
MIRKA BENEŠ AND MICHAEL G. LEE	
PART I: HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ITALIAN GARDENS AND LANDSCAPES	
1 Methodological Changes in the Study of Italian Gardens from the 1970s to the 1990s: A Personal Itinerary	17
MIRKA BENEŠ	
2 “Grafting the Edelweiss on Cactus Plants”: The 1931 Italian Garden Exhibition and Its Legacy	55
RAFFAELLA FABIANI GIANNETTO	
PART II: THE NOTION OF TERRITORIAL SYSTEMS IN ITALIAN VILLA GARDENS	
3 Systems of Gardens in Italy: Princely Residences and Villas in Rome and Latium, Savoy Piedmont, Royal Bourbon Naples, and Bagheria, Sicily	81
MARCELLO FAGIOLO	
4 Residences of the Emergent Classes in Two Areas of Southern Italy	115
VINCENZO CAZZATO	

PART III: AGENTS OF LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMATION:
FROM MICROSTORIA TO POLICIES OF STEWARDSHIP

- 5 From the Italian Countryside to the Italianate Landscape:
Peasants as Gardeners and Foreign Observers in Italy, 1500–1850 145
MAURO AMBROSOLI
- 6 Gardens and Landscapes as “Open-Ended Works” between
Continuity and Transformation: Notes on the Role of Historical Studies 169
LIONELLA SCAZZOSI

PART IV: WAYS OF SEEING THE LANDSCAPE: RECONSTRUCTING
HORIZONS OF PERCEPTION AND THE IMAGINARY

- 7 The Imaginary of Generative Nature in Italian Mannerist Gardens 187
ANTONELLA PIETROGRANDE
- 8 Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function
of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas 203
DENIS RIBOUILLAULT
- Contributors* 233
- Bibliography* 237
- Index* 263

Foreword

THIS VOLUME PRESENTS THE PROCEEDINGS OF the thirty-second Dumbarton Oaks symposium in the history of landscape architecture, held in October 2007 and entitled “Recent Issues in Italian Garden Studies.” The symposium represented both the continuation of a tradition for which Dumbarton Oaks is deservedly celebrated—the sponsorship of advanced scholarship in the history of gardens and designed landscapes—and the capacity for innovation that is essential to the survival and growth of any institution. Organized by Michel Conan during his final year as director of the Garden and Landscape Studies program at Dumbarton Oaks, the symposium presented new directions in research on Italian gardens by an international group of scholars. The presentations have been edited for this publication by Mirka Beneš, an associate professor in the School of Architecture at the University of Texas at Austin and one of the participants in the symposium, and Michael G. Lee, a landscape historian who is currently a postdoctoral associate in Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks.

The commitment of Dumbarton Oaks to the study of Italian gardens has been particularly pronounced. In April 1971, the institution convened its first symposium in the history of landscape architecture. Broadly titled “The Italian Garden,” it focused on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century creations, particularly in Rome, Florence, and the Veneto, and resulted in a 1972 publication of the same name edited by David R. Coffin. Six years later, Dumbarton Oaks reprised the subject, this time with attention to Renaissance garden fountains; the publication, edited by Elisabeth Blair MacDougall and titled *Fons*

Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains, appeared in 1978. In the years since, Dumbarton Oaks symposia have addressed a remarkable range of topics, from theme parks to environmentalism, but Italian garden topics have continued to be featured on a regular basis. The proceedings of the twenty-first symposium, for instance, published in 1999 as *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, featured two texts on the historiography of Italian gardens, by David R. Coffin and Mirka Beneš. Essays on Italian subjects also appeared in the Dumbarton Oaks publications *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850* (2002); *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (2005); *Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation, and Cultural Change* (2007); *Gardens, City Life, and Culture: A World Tour* (2008); and *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency* (2008). Moreover, Italian garden scholars have been frequent fellows at the institution. This is all as it should be: Italianate traditions cast a long shadow over the gardens at Dumbarton Oaks. Their chief designer, Beatrix Farrand, was the niece of Edith Wharton, author of *Italian Villas and Their Gardens*. Farrand was partially educated on trips abroad, sometimes in the company of her aunt. A grand tour to Italy, Germany, England, and France in 1895 left particularly strong impressions on her; she visited some twenty Italian gardens, including the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, and the Boboli Gardens in Florence, on that trip.

In their excellent introduction to this volume, Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee make plain that while Dumbarton Oaks has been steadfast in its

attention to Italian gardens, the field has changed dramatically over the past generation. Studies in garden history and landscape architecture have become increasingly interdisciplinary, drawing on methods from the social sciences, literature, and philosophy, among other fields; at the same time, scholars are giving greater attention to gardens in their larger political, geographical, and productive contexts. Challenging the notion of uniform national or cultural traditions, historians are also sorting out regional and chronological variations and examining the changing intellectual conceptions of gardens and nature over time. These transformations are as evident in the study of Italian gardens at Dumbarton Oaks as they are in the field at large; a review of the essays on Italian subjects published by Dumbarton Oaks over the years reveals a steady widening of geographical, chronological, and social focus, as well as a proliferation of methodological approaches. Mapping these changes motivated Michel Conan to organize a symposium dedicated once again to Italian gardens in 2007.

For this volume, we have followed the structure that Michel Conan created for the symposium; we are grateful to him both for selecting the topic and for assembling a distinguished international group of scholars to examine it. The editors wish

to extend their personal thanks to him, to Shannon Leahy, former assistant to the director of Garden and Landscape Studies, and to all the other members of the staff of Dumbarton Oaks who worked tirelessly to bring the 2007 symposium to fruition. Jane Padelford, current assistant to the director of Garden and Landscape Studies, coordinated many of the practical matters required to assemble this volume. We are also grateful for the insights of the two anonymous reviewers of the manuscript; their careful attention to the task improved the volume immeasurably. Special thanks and gratitude are due to the publications staff at Dumbarton Oaks, especially Kathy Sparkes, publications manager, and Sara Taylor, art and archaeology editor. Finally, but most emphatically, we wish to thank the director of Dumbarton Oaks, Jan Ziolkowski, for his steadfast support of research in the humanities and the intellectual life of the institution, of which these symposium publications are among the most enduring parts.

John Beardsley
Director of Garden and Landscape Studies
Dumbarton Oaks Research Library
and Collection

Introduction

The Study of Italian Gardens: A Newly Expanding Field

MIRKA BENEŠ AND MICHAEL G. LEE

I

THIS VOLUME CONTAINS THE PAPERS PRESENTED in the symposium, “Recent Issues in Italian Garden Studies,” held at Dumbarton Oaks in October 2007. The symposium was organized by Michel Conan, who from 1998 to 2008 was director of Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks; we are very thankful to him for focusing on historical methodologies and theoretical perspectives and for advocating a current assessment of a time-honored field of study. As editors of the resultant volume, we inherited the structure he gave to the symposium, and are pleased to situate that structure intellectually in two broad fields: first, in the wide-ranging concerns he brought to a decade of symposia at Dumbarton Oaks, and second, in the larger perspectives of the field of studies on Italian gardens.¹

The 2007 meeting has a prehistory. In June 2005, Conan sent out a call for papers for a symposium, “Recent Issues in Italian Garden Studies: Sources, Methods, and Theoretical Perspectives,” to be jointly sponsored by Dumbarton Oaks and the Accademia delle Arti del Disegno and held in June 2006 in Florence, Italy.² Conan noted that, since

the first Dumbarton Oaks symposium devoted to the Italian garden in 1971, “a large body of research on Italian gardens has been developed by scholars working on both sides of the Atlantic. Many new directions of research have been put to the test, accepted versions of garden history have been revised, and many archives have been brought to life.” Working in conjunction with the noted Italian garden historians Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Luigi Zangheri, Conan sought to bring Italian, American, and French scholars together to discuss the key issues, advances, and methodological debates found in the research on Italian gardens during the previous ten years.³ At the same time, Tongiorgi Tomasi and Zangheri planned to prepare a new comprehensive bibliography of research on Italian gardens since 1980; the bibliography was published in 2008 on a CD-ROM, and was accompanied by a book of historiographical essays by Italian scholars.⁴ This bibliography and book constitute an extraordinary contribution and research tool for the field.

The Florence meeting did not occur as originally planned, but Conan organized a symposium with a smaller number of participants, namely the

Map of Italy.

Reprinted from Philipp Clüver, *Introductio in universam geographiam* (Guelferbyti, 1667). Rare Book Collection, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.



authors represented in this volume, in October 2007 at Dumbarton Oaks. The symposium was an international event, and the resultant publication—which is published by an American institution—showcases mostly European scholars (including seven Italians, one Frenchman, and one American), thus providing a window onto the new geography of scholarship on Italian gardens. Margherita Azzi Visentini was part of the original 2007 symposium. Regrettably, her excellent contribution could not be included here in time for the publishing deadline. The title of her presentation was “The Gardens of the Veneto and Friuli, Thirty Years of Studies: State of the Question, New Critical Perspectives, and New Methodological Approaches”; she plans to publish it in English in an Anglo-American venue so as to continue the kind of international bridging currently of interest for scholarship on Italian gardens, art, and architecture.

Italian gardens have been the subject of two prior symposia at Dumbarton Oaks: “The Italian Garden” (1971) and “*Fons Sapientiae*: Renaissance Garden Fountains” (1977).⁵ The speakers of the first symposium included the Briton Georgina Masson, the Italians Lionello Puppi and Eugenio Battisti, and the American Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, as well as the organizer, David R. Coffin, who at that time was one of the few specialists on Italian Renaissance gardens.⁶ Their methodologies were quite diverse, ranging from the iconographical approach of Erwin Panofsky to Marxism. Following the symposium, MacDougall was appointed the first director of the Studies in Landscape Architecture program. She later organized a second symposium on Italian gardens that focused on fountains—a topic that had received little previous attention. “*Fons Sapientiae*: Renaissance Garden Fountains” featured five

speakers (four Americans and one German) who used research methods drawn from several fields, including archaeology, literary criticism, and art history. MacDougall's collected essays on Italian gardens, fountains, and plants were published in *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1994). The other symposia held during her tenure (1972–88) covered mostly other historical periods and geographical areas.

MacDougall's successors, among them John Dixon Hunt (1988–91) and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn (1991–96), organized many symposia—but not on Italian gardens. They promoted interdisciplinary approaches to the study of gardens, and went beyond the study of garden typologies to consider topics debated in the social sciences and of contemporary social relevance, such as the vernacular, ideology, political engagement, memory, and identity.⁷ Hunt, a garden historian with a background in literature and criticism, advanced the study of Italian gardens through his own research and produced a number of key publications on the subject.⁸ Wolschke-Bulmahn, a German landscape architect and currently professor of garden history at Leibniz Universität Hannover, did not focus on Italian gardens in his personal research. However, his interest in methodological issues and the social dimensions of garden design led him to pursue projects that included this topic. In March 1996, he organized “Evolution and Perspectives of the Study of Garden History,” the first colloquium at Dumbarton Oaks to consider the historiography of gardens and designed landscapes.⁹ This colloquium, which included a discussion of Italian gardens, was followed by the 1997 symposium “Perspectives on Garden Histories,” which featured two historiographical assessments of Italian garden studies.¹⁰ In these years, as well, the directors welcomed noted scholars from Italy—for example, the historian of Veneto gardens Margherita Azzi Visentini of the Politecnico di Milano and the historian of botanical gardens and illustration Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi of the Università di Pisa—to conduct research at Dumbarton Oaks.

The subsequent director of Garden and Landscape Studies, Michel Conan, brought new perspectives that left a firm imprint on the expanding field

of Italian garden studies. As a French sociologist and a professor of sociology and urban and landscape studies in France before coming to Dumbarton Oaks, he had long focused his scholarship on the history of gardens, on their social and literary contexts, and, above all, on the theoretical approaches to their study. He had also been interested in the world of contemporary landscape architecture, and had published several studies on the French landscape architect Bernard Lassus, with whom he had also collaborated on research.¹¹ Based on this experience, and during his time as director, he was able to bring together at Dumbarton Oaks several worlds that had previously existed mostly separate from each other in garden studies. See, for example, the symposia acts he edited and published, including *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (1999), *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (2005), and *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency* (2008). He connected, quite concretely, the worlds of universities and architecture schools in France with those in Italy, Turkey, England, Germany, and the United States. He also amplified the methodological and historiographical direction in garden studies already started by Hunt and Wolschke-Bulmahn, and he really made that direction flourish. All of this came to bear on his selection of the topics and participants for the 2007 symposium on Italian gardens.

Conan's methodological models came from new interdisciplinary research that united the study of gardens with literary theory and the social sciences. His milieu consisted of scholars and practitioners (e.g., landscape architects), especially in France and Italy, where the study of gardens and landscapes was reconfigured as a new field in the late 1980s and early 1990s.¹² Geographers, philosophers, sociologists, art historians, architects, and literary critics began to join forces in considering the garden as both an object of historical study and a medium through which questions of contemporary societal interest could be discussed.¹³ During his tenure as director of Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, Conan collaborated (as he still does) on publications—many of them involving Italian gardens—with other scholars in Europe and the United States and with professional landscape architects and preservationists.¹⁴

Conan brought these interests to bear on the symposia he organized, and worked closely with symposia participants to develop and elaborate the common themes linking their papers. For example, his concept of “the social reception of gardens,” which was based on ideas about reception theory in literature and art,¹⁵ was woven into the themes of many of his symposia, including *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (2005) and *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency* (2008). A number of the concepts underlying his symposia derive from his own immersion in French philosophy and critical theory, whether phenomenology, literary theory—for example, Louis Marin’s use of Jacques Lacan’s notion of three “orders” (i.e., the real, the symbolic, and the imaginary) in *Le portrait du roi* (1981)—or the notion of agency in Lacan and others. These concepts provided stimuli and vehicles for the dialogue that Conan had with prospective symposia participants, attracting at times “like minds,” and this is evident in the acts of the symposia he organized, including this volume. It is seen, for example, in his selection of Antonella Pietrogrande and Denis Ribouillault as participants. Both of their essays, especially Ribouillault’s, are situated within this intellectual tradition of French theoretical approaches, leading us to title the section of this volume containing their essays “Ways of Seeing the Landscape: Reconstructing Horizons of Perception and the Imaginary.” Moreover, the contributions of many symposia participants (such as Lionella Scazzosi) reflect in specific ways the panorama of the new European theoretical approaches to landscape and gardens.

During Conan’s tenure at Dumbarton Oaks, from 1998 to 2008, single studies of Italian gardens were incorporated into broadly defined symposia and symposia volumes that considered gardens from many different countries and periods. For example, Lauro Magnani discussed the social background of Genoese villa gardens from the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries in *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850* (2002). In *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion* (2005), Margherita Azzi Visentini looked at the design and travelers’

perceptions of the Borromean island gardens on Lake Maggiore, while Tracy L. Ehrlich considered the social competition among papal and aristocratic families in Baroque Rome as expressed through villa garden design, as well as issues of social emulation, perception, and misunderstanding by later visitors to these gardens. Mauro Ambrosoli studied the conservation and diffusion of species diversity in Renaissance peasant gardens of northern Italy, a topic that stems from his research as a historian of Italian agrarian life and practices, in *Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation, and Cultural Change* (2007). And in *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency* (2008), Kathleen Christian considered poetical inscriptions and gatherings in early Renaissance sculpture gardens in Rome as repeated reenactments of an imagined connection to the world of ancient Rome and its culture by using the Renaissance’s own “concept of the imagination as a cultural construct.”¹⁶ Christian’s essay on Renaissance Rome was placed alongside studies of gardens in medieval and early modern Persia, Turkey, Japan, China, Russia, and Spain.

II

The essays in this volume are presented in four thematic groupings: Historiography of Italian Gardens and Landscapes, The Notion of Territorial Systems in Italian Villa Gardens, Agents of Landscape Transformation: From Microstoria to Policies of Stewardship, and Ways of Seeing the Landscape: Reconstructing Horizons of Perception and the Imaginary. Our organization largely reflects the one established by Conan for the symposium in 2007.

Historiography of Italian Gardens and Landscapes

The first two essays—“Methodological Changes in the Study of Italian Gardens from the 1970s to the 1990s: A Personal Itinerary” by Mirka Beneš and “‘Grafting the Edelweiss on Cactus Plants’: The 1931 Italian Garden Exhibition and Its Legacy” by Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto—sketch out some of the major issues that have emerged during the past decades in the historiography of Italian gardens. Working from complementary perspectives, they each propose that developments at the macrolevel of

historical study, such as the establishment of widely used analytic categories and periodizations, are best explained in relation to exemplary case studies.

Beneš approaches this task by focusing on an important strand of Italian garden scholarship since the 1970s: the convergence of traditional art historical methods with those derived from the social sciences. At the same time, she traces the emergence of the Italian garden as a distinct field of study from its origins as a branch of architectural history. Beneš shows that the past and present contours of the field have assumed their various shapes according to global and individual forces—from the profound, culture-wide shifts associated with the year 1968 to the particular intellectual trends that are more directly the result of pedagogical lineages, scholarly networks, and even individual biographies. The latter is underscored by Beneš's account of her own intellectual formation, which, when seen against this broader backdrop, shows how seemingly disparate factors can converge in the solution of specific problems, such as the development of a framework to explain the creation of Roman villa parks during the seventeenth century. The synthetic picture of the field that emerges from her analysis, then, is that of a layered accumulation of contributions whose research agendas are not always closely aligned.

In contrast, Fabiani Giannetto looks to one historical moment to draw lessons about the field as a whole. Taking as her point of departure the first Italian garden exhibition, held in Florence in 1931, she demonstrates how political-ideological imperatives that have impinged on the scholarly endeavors of one period—or even one event—can have lasting, distorting effects on subsequent scholarship. Her object of inquiry is no less than the category of the Italian garden, which for much of the twentieth century denoted primarily the Roman and Florentine villa gardens of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Such gardens were narrowly construed as quintessentially architectonic designs composed of terraces, axially arranged paths, evergreen vegetation, fountains, and sculptures. Fabiani Giannetto argues that this stereotype was constructed through the fascist appropriation of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship, which was produced primarily by Anglo-American and German expatriate historians whose celebration of the

Italian Renaissance stemmed from their own cultural agendas. After tracing this history, she casts a critical eye on the characterization of Italian gardens since World War II, and calls for a more comprehensive history that embraces broader temporal and geographic frames and formal types.

The Notion of Territorial Systems in Italian Villa Gardens

The next two essays explore the interpretive possibilities that are afforded by villa gardens that occur in clusters, and propose that we analyze these gardens as components of landscape “systems” rather than as isolated objects or units. Drawing upon methods that have been in development since the early 1970s, Marcello Fagiolo and Vincenzo Cazzato look comparatively at a series of representative situations, many of which occur in geographical areas of Italy that are underrepresented in the mainstream literature.

In “Systems of Gardens in Italy: Princely Residences and Villas in Rome and Latium, Savoy Piedmont, Royal Bourbon Naples, and Bagheria, Sicily,” Fagiolo explains his conceptualization of villa systems through “ideograms,” which map the physical, symbolic, and visual relations between villa properties and other points of interest. Radiating or crossing axes, usually drawn in plan view, trace the linkages between villas and historical and mythological sites, routes of movement (such as royal roads and hunting allées), and sight lines that frame views to built structures and topographical features. The resulting diagrams, although perhaps at first glance appearing to denote merely formal relationships, in fact show what Fagiolo refers to as “lines of force”—the vectors of social practices and territorial economies that shape the landscape but otherwise remain imperceptible. Fagiolo further demonstrates that regional variations in the territorial organization of villa systems in early modern Italy typically arose from a complex intersection of the symbolic requirements of court life and the economic realities of landscape management. This was particularly true of courts that favored hunting rituals, as their large-scale territorial configurations tended to reflect the exacting requirements of the chase rather than agricultural or pastoral patterns of land

use. Such regional specificity assumes added significance when Fagiolo situates Italy's villa systems within a pan-European context, where he notes concurrent territorial formations in France and Austria.

Vincenzo Cazzato takes a similar approach in "Residences of the Emergent Classes in Two Areas of Southern Italy," where he analyzes two major villa systems, one in the Salento region of Puglia and another along the "Golden Mile" between Naples and Torre del Greco. Whereas the latter—which was centered on a strong court culture—closely resembled the villa systems examined by Fagiolo, the villa system in the Salento region was formed in the absence of a centralizing political force. Cazzato traces how the Salento villa gardens drew upon local agricultural traditions and typologies, such as the *masseria* (farm compound), for their basic elements and formal vocabulary. He also shows how these ties to agriculture embedded the villa gardens within broader territorial systems. This dual link with agriculture, both typological and territorial, contributed significantly to the popular image of the Italian countryside as a "gardened" landscape—a major historiographical theme that is elaborated on by several contributors to this volume.

*Agents of Landscape Transformation:
From Microstoria to Policies of Stewardship*

Through the sheer force of multiplication, the notion of villa systems expands our traditional understanding of agency in the landscape and invites a reappraisal of design as a privileged category for understanding human alterations of landscape. Mauro Ambrosoli and Lionella Scazzosi push the field of inquiry even further with essays that deal with highly diffuse and jointly shared forms of agency: for Ambrosoli, a mode of landscape transformation distributed across multiple social strata and marked by both cooperation and conflict; and for Scazzosi, an accumulation of traces left behind by actors whose work spans centuries and must be evaluated anew by each succeeding generation. The issues raised by the authors have forced each of them to refine, and sometimes to reframe, their object of study and, by implication, the object of study for the field as a whole.

For Ambrosoli, this frame of reference is the agricultural landscape of Italy, which was collectively

designed and managed by both villa owners and peasant farmers. It was this cultural landscape, far more than formal gardens per se, that was admired and copied by European, and especially English, travelers during the early modern period. In "From the Italian Countryside to the Italianate Landscape: Peasants as Gardeners and Foreign Observers in Italy, 1500–1850," Ambrosoli reconstructs the evolution of the Italian countryside through a combination of methods, including a close reading of travel literature, an analysis of the representations of peasant labor in landscape painting, and an extensive use of archivally based microhistories of Italian agriculture. A significant result is that the essay not only expands the frame of analysis to admit a composite "gardened" landscape, viewed as a synthesis of aristocratic and peasant activities, but also subtly shifts the depiction of agency in the landscape by foregrounding largely anonymous, repetitive acts occurring over long periods of time rather than singular interventions of individual, well-known designers. This result could be seen as one example of the convergence of the formal and the social traced by Beneš.

Writing from a perspective deeply informed by the practical concerns of stewardship, Scazzosi recounts how conceptual developments in Italian garden historiography have become increasingly intertwined with the technical problems and policy decisions faced by administrators of historical sites. In "Gardens and Landscapes as 'Open-Ended Works' between Continuity and Transformation: Notes on the Role of Historical Studies," she revisits two concepts—"vegetal architectures" and "open-ended artifacts"—from her previous work to contextualize these notions in relation to the broader field of historic preservation and to ask whether they remain relevant for the management of historical gardens and landscapes today. Her analysis, which shows how conservation has gradually come to encompass an array of landscape situations (not just gardens) and to value the contributions of actors across broad stretches of time, underscores the degree to which these concepts parallel recent developments in other disciplinary branches of garden history. Most of Scazzosi's critical discussion is reserved for the complexities of open-ended artifacts, and she acknowledges that the term has sometimes been

abused to justify changes in historical landscapes that should be considered inappropriate. Following Alois Riegl, Scazzosi argues that the open-endedness of her approach does not mean openness to innovations of any kind but only those that preserve the existing character of a site and enhance its function as a vehicle of collective identity. She maintains that historical scholarship is one of the most effective tools for guiding decisions that will preserve this identity, as it both informs operational choices made by officials and technicians and shapes public opinion. The commitment to openness acknowledges that landscapes are dynamic and change over time, sometimes rapidly, and echoes Ambrosoli's emphasis on the *longue durée* of landscape transformation.

Ways of Seeing the Landscape: Reconstructing Horizons of Perception and the Imaginary

Antonella Pietrogrande and Denis Ribouillault address a central issue raised in both Ambrosoli's and Scazzosi's work by exploring how scholarship itself functions as an agent in the landscape. What roles did antiquarian scholarship play in the creation of Renaissance gardens and in the decisions regarding their conservation in the twenty-first century? How has this knowledge informed the perceptions of sophisticated audiences and conditioned how they see these gardens? This final section can also stand for the entire symposium and publication, as it effectively refocuses the broadened perspectives of current scholarship onto a few well-known Renaissance gardens, coming full circle, as it were, in dialogue with the state of the field as it stood in 1971.

In "The Imaginary of Generative Nature in Italian Mannerist Gardens," Pietrogrande seeks to uncover the motivations that led many creators of Renaissance and Mannerist villa gardens to include representations of pre-Olympian female deities in their decorative programs. Drawing upon studies in anthropology and the history of religion, she interprets this proliferation of images not only as a manifestation of the intellectual curiosity of antiquarian scholars but also as a more emotional desire to sacralize nature, to reawaken "the spirit of the place," and to experience imaginatively the generative capacity of nature. Focusing primarily on images of the Great Mother in the Villa d'Este at

Tivoli, Pietrogrande expands the scope of the major iconographical studies of this garden, such as those of David R. Coffin, by invoking Lacan's sense of the imaginary as a "horizon of perception," that is, as the unconscious emotional, intellectual, and behavioral structures shared by particular social cohorts that condition their expectations prior to any actual phenomenal experience (such as strolling in a garden). By reconstructing the sixteenth-century emotional and intellectual nexus associated with the Great Mother, Pietrogrande asks her audience to step inside the perceptual world that the garden's creators intended to conjure through the deity's image.

Like Pietrogrande, Ribouillault works within an intellectual framework that includes the notion of horizons of perception, but he more specifically links physical artifacts with habituated forms of visual perception—a strategy that he terms an "archaeology of the gaze." Analyzing the representational strategies and uses of painted garden views within the architectural structures of Renaissance villas, particularly those of the Medici villas surrounding Florence, the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, and the Palazzo Farnese at Caprarola, he proposes that these views be understood as ideal ways of seeing the gardens rather than as artifacts documenting their actual state. In "Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas," Ribouillault demonstrates that, in most cases, the images, with regard to both their content and their location, are in complex dialogue with the gardens and their surrounding territories. Whether their visual strategies juxtapose painted views of garden scenery against actual views through windows, distill the mental geography of a landscape into a three-dimensional self-referential environment, or visually supplant a garden's present reality with its projected state, such virtuosic displays reveal a cultural imagination fascinated by the liminal qualities of representation. Ribouillault grounds this perceptual analysis within the broader Renaissance culture of image-making, and shows that garden views functioned historically as didactic and mnemonic devices, closely connected with Renaissance understandings of memory and place. His synthetic approach proposes a model for future studies that

seeks to expand traditional iconographic methods with more recent cultural analyses of imagination, and in doing so highlights the unique possibilities that are offered to such endeavors by the field of garden studies.

III

The essays in this volume should be seen against the changing picture of scholarship today on Italian gardens. In terms of broad developments, we have seen over the last decade a growing diversity in the professional training of those writing on Italian gardens, an increasing collaboration among scholars (especially in Europe), a shift in interest from gardens to larger landscape systems, an expansion of methodologies, a change in the canon of exemplary Italian gardens, and a new interest in taking stock of it all through historiographical writing.

Behind these changes, we can see the impact of two driving forces, institutional and intellectual. At the institutional level in Europe, research on gardens and landscapes is increasingly done by large teams in targeted documentary campaigns and in research institutions, such as the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in France or the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR) in Italy. Their work is usually supported by grants from governmental institutions at the municipal, national, or European Union level, and is manifest in exhibitions, conferences, and other activities engaging the public, such as garden tours, agro-tourism, and preservation campaigns. Recent decades have seen a huge expansion of this kind of research. But while European scholars emphasize teamwork, their American colleagues tend to work as individuals. At the intellectual level on both sides of the Atlantic, an equally strong driving force has been the growing interest in interdisciplinarity.¹⁷ In Europe, the institutional model undoubtedly reinforces this interest, which is also rooted in deeper methodological shifts within intellectual life.

Italian and French researchers on Italian gardens became much more professionally diversified in the 1980s.¹⁸ Besides art historians, they include important philosophers (such as Rosario Assunto and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo), landscape architects, ecologists, and policymakers directly involved

in the preservation, restoration, and redesign of Italian gardens. This trend—which resulted in an expansion in the number of Italian publications on garden design—would continue in the 1990s and 2000s.¹⁹

The growth of collaboration across Europe can be seen in the recent volumes edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, Sabine Frommel, Monique Chatenet, and Francesco Ceccarelli and Gianni Venturi.²⁰ For example, Frommel is a German art and architectural historian who teaches at the École Pratique des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris) and conducts research in both Italy and France. Her recent edited books, *Villa Lante a Bagnaia* (2005) and *Bomarzo: Il sacro bosco* (2009), include essays by Italian, German, French, and English scholars. The other collaborative volumes just mentioned include the same range.

Both in the history of Italian gardens and in the public service of land stewardship and historic preservation, attention has shifted from the microunit of the individual garden to the macroscale of larger, often regional, landscape systems, as is discussed in this volume by Mirka Beneš, Marcello Fagiolo, Vincenzo Cazzato, Mauro Ambrosoli, and Lionella Scazzosi. From a garden historian's perspective, this shift may be motivated by a desire to interpret the meanings of the large parklands that appeared in early seventeenth-century Rome or the large-scale territorial organizations that were required for royal hunting rituals in Baroque Piedmont or Bourbon Naples. From the viewpoint of a historian of the Italian landscape, the “gardened” agrarian landscape of Italy forms a larger system of practices based on the maintenance of myriad properties. From the perspective of a historic preservationist, this shift is driven by the need to deal with the changing landscape around historical gardens during conditions of rapid urban expansion.

New scholarship on Italian gardens emerged in France in the late 1990s. Although it was partially influenced by the wealth of Italian research, it had its own theoretical frameworks deriving from André Chastel and his disciples, and from the major French contribution to philosophy and theory that began in the 1960s.²¹ Philosophers, geographers, and sociologists—including Alain Roger, Augustin Berque, Jean-Marc Besse, and Michel Conan—are interested

in theoretical topics involving landscape and vision, reception theory, philosophical concepts of the garden, and representation and the garden, specifically in landscape painting of the Italian Renaissance.²² At the same time, Italian scholars of gardens, such as Antonella Pietrogrande, turn in multidisciplinary ways to French and Italian anthropologists in order to forge new understandings of Renaissance gardens, such as the Villa d'Este at Tivoli.²³

Working more independently, the American art historians concerned with Italian gardens have introduced distinctive intellectual frameworks to the field.²⁴ For example, they have been interested in appropriating theoretical perspectives from literary theory, history, and geography to the study of gardens. The themes of geographical structures, representation, and landscape and vision have been repeatedly addressed in their writings.²⁵ Their work has been particularly strong in its extensive use of a new body of historical literature, namely the social, economic, and cultural history of the Italian medieval and early modern states, as well as regional studies.²⁶

The possibilities for study in the field of Italian gardens are much richer and larger today than they were several decades ago, not only in the thematic realm, but also in the geographical and chronological ones. The *Dumbarton Oaks* symposium of 1971 reflected a consensus that there existed, since the Renaissance, a unified stylistic and cultural concept—"the Italian garden," tied to a single ideal construct, likely represented by a Florentine or a Roman garden. Thirty-five years later, scholars on both sides of the Atlantic have come to view the material reality of gardens in Italy as a highly varied group of historical typologies grounded in the entire Italian peninsula. Nearly ten years ago, in "Italy is a Garden: The Idea of Italy and the Italian Garden" (2001), Claudia Lazzaro had already begun to question the construct of the Italian garden, arguing that Italy did not politically and physically exist as a unified country until 1861, before which it comprised several republics and states, each with its own agricultural landscapes, economies, and political structures. The issue of how the Italian garden came to be constructed in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries is taken up in several of the essays in this volume.

From the 1980s on, and especially in the 1990s, a broader geographical coverage developed in the study of Italian gardens. Here, again, both institutional and intellectual forces were responsible. Institutionally, Italian scholars and garden preservationists needed to deal with gardens and designed landscapes in every corner of their country.²⁷ Intellectually, following their colleagues in history and art history, garden historians expanded their focus from Florence and Rome to all of the Italian states.²⁸ This volume considers many of these regions, from the Po Valley in the north to the southern realms of Naples and Sicily.

This broader geographical inclusiveness is linked to a new historical periodization for Italian gardens that reaches far beyond the Renaissance. In contrast to even two decades ago, studies today investigate Italian gardens in diachronic ways, over the *longue durée*, leading to a revision of previous chronological delimitations of research. The study of Italian gardens is no longer limited to Renaissance and Baroque examples, but includes medieval and modern ones as well. Recent historical research on the Mediterranean world, its port cities, trade routes, political embassies, and migrations provides evidence of the impact of international exchanges on the conceptualization, design, and plant materials of gardens in a wide range of Mediterranean and adjacent regions—from Spain and Italy to Ottoman Turkey and Safavid Persia.²⁹ As a result, Italian gardens are now seen in a continuum of developments from late antiquity onward—for example, the gardens at the Villa Rufolo and other villas at Ravello south of Naples are reconstructed in their intermingled Byzantine, Islamic, and Italian contexts.³⁰

Partly because of this new literature, recent studies also upend the view that Italian Renaissance gardens were historically and formally derived solely from the great monuments of Roman antiquity, such as Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, or from surviving texts, such as Pliny the Younger's description of his two villas in central Italy. New research reveals that Italian ambassadors and travelers, such as Andrea Navagero at the Alhambra in Granada, Spain, in 1526, brought plant specimens, hydraulic knowledge, and concepts of palace gardens back to Italy. These elements became defining features of Italian

gardens such as the Villa Madama in Rome and the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, which were previously thought to be purely the result of the study of Roman antiquity on Italian soil.³¹ Additionally, scholars now consider the influence of Persian garden design on the conceptualization of the Villa d'Este at Tivoli and other Renaissance gardens in and near Rome.³² Thus, we see that the field of Italian garden history

is undergoing striking transformations, both quantitative and methodological. This volume is a reflexive and historiographical meditation on some of those transformations, and is part of the current desire of both historians and practitioners of landscape architecture to situate their work in today's rapidly changing fields of intellectual life and professional design practice.

Notes

1 Historiographical background to this introduction can be found in Mirka Beneš, "Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens," in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. Michel Conan, 37–76 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999); David R. Coffin, "The Study of the History of the Italian Garden until the First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium," in *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, ed. Michel Conan, 27–36 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999); Mirka Beneš, "Italian and French Gardens: A Century of Historical Study (1900–2000)," in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, eds. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 1–16 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Margherita Azzi Visentini, "Storia dei giardini: Osservazioni in margine al recente sviluppo di questa disciplina in Italia," in *Storia e storie di giardini: Fortune e storia del giardino italiano e verbanese nel mondo; Atti del Convegno, Verbania, sabato 31 agosto 2002*, eds. Leonardo Parachini and Carlo Alessandro Pisoni, 45–86 (Verbania: Alberti Libraio, Comune di Verbania, Magazzino Storico Verbanese, 2003); Mirka Beneš, "A Tribute to Two Historians of Landscape Architecture: David R. Coffin and Elisabeth B. MacDougall," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (June 2004): 248–54; Margherita Zalum, "La storia del giardino italiano: Lineamenti ed evoluzione di una giovane disciplina," in *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005*, eds. Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Luigi Zangheri, 1–14 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008); Luigi Zangheri, "Il restauro dei giardini storici in Italia dal 1980," in *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005*, eds. Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Luigi Zangheri, 135–59 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008); and Margherita Azzi Visentini, "Riflessioni intorno alla fortuna critica del giardino storico italiano negli Stati

Uniti negli ultimi trentacinque anni," in *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, eds. Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:31–46 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009). For bibliographies of the literature, see Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Luigi Zangheri, eds., *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008); and Uwe Schneider and Gert Gröning, eds., *Stolo: Bibliographische Findmittel zur Gartenkultur*, vol. 1, *Italien* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009).

2 The central concern—an assessment of recent developments in the field—was similar to that of the symposium on Mughal gardens. See James L. Wescoat Jr. and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, "Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects: A Perspective of Mughal Gardens," in *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, eds. James L. Wescoat Jr. and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, 5–29 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996).

3 Michel Conan, call for papers for the "Recent Issues in Italian Garden Studies: Sources, Methods, and Theoretical Perspectives" symposium, 14 June 2005, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. He specified that proposals for papers "should present new results brought by recent investigations, and place these results in a critical perspective." He called for each paper to include a discussion of new sources or methods, especially theoretical perspectives. The call for papers went out to a range of scholars, including the philosopher Massimo Venturi Ferriolo; the preservation scholar and theoretician Lionella Scazzosi; the historian of botany Alessandro Tosi; the historians of Genoese, Veneto, and Medici Tuscan gardens, Lauro Magnani, Margherita Azzi Visentini, and Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto, respectively;

the handful of American art historians who focus on Italian gardens, Claudia Lazzaro, Dianne Harris, Tracy L. Ehrlich, Mirka Beneš, and Kathleen W. Christian; and a new generation of French art historians who have very recently emerged with substantial studies on Italian gardens, namely Hervé Brunon and Denis Ribouillault.

4 Tongiorgi Tomasi and Zangheri, *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005*.

5 David R. Coffin, ed., *The Italian Garden* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1972); and Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, ed., *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1978).

6 For what follows on studies of Italian gardens at Dumbarton Oaks since the 1971 symposium and for the centers and figures in American scholarship, see the excellent new article by Azzi Visentini, “Riflessioni intorno alla fortuna critica del giardino storico italiano,” 33–42. Azzi Visentini notes that the 1971 symposium had an impact on scholarship in Italy—for example, through Lionello Puppi’s teaching at Padua—and that Dumbarton Oaks became a training ground for American scholars of Italian gardens. *Ibid.*, 38–40.

7 For a general overview of garden and landscape studies at Dumbarton Oaks from 1971 to 1996, see Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, *Twenty-Five Years of Studies in Landscape Architecture at Dumbarton Oaks: From Italian Gardens to Theme Parks* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996). Hunt’s first symposium, “Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods” (1989), opened the way to broad reflection on the field. John Dixon Hunt, ed., *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992); and John Dixon Hunt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds., *The Vernacular Garden* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993).

8 In a major collection of essays, Hunt brought together an international array of scholars to write on a wide range of topics, from literature to hydraulics, from social life to nineteenth-century Italian gardens. John Dixon Hunt, *The Italian Garden: Art, Design, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996). In effect, his publication both joined the widening of the canon for the Anglo-American scholarship of Italian gardens and reflected a growing reality, the emergence of a new body of impressive scholarship in Italy during the 1980s and 1990s. See Azzi Visentini, “Storia dei giardini,” on Italian scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s; and Azzi Visentini, “Riflessioni intorno alla fortuna critica del giardino storico italiano,” 38–39, on Hunt’s bridging of the Anglo-American and Italian worlds of scholarship.

9 Mirka Beneš, “Society, Culture, and Geography in European Garden History, 1950–1995: From Art History to Heritages of Marxism, the *Annales*, and Foucault” (paper

presented at the “Evolution and Perspectives of the Study of Garden History” colloquium, Dumbarton Oaks, 23 March 1996).

10 Coffin, “The Study of the History of the Italian Garden until the First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium”; and Beneš, “Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens.”

11 See Thierry Paquot, “Invité(s): Michel Conan,” in *Urbanisme: Villes-Sociétés-Cultures* 333 (November-December 2003), <http://www.urbanisme.fr/issue/contents.php?code=333>.

12 For the French renewal of landscape studies and the practice and theory of landscape architecture since the 1980s, which was centered on the École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage de Versailles (ENSP), see Pierre Donadieu, “Éléments pour une histoire de la recherche à l’École Nationale Supérieure du Paysage de Versailles (ENSP),” 26 June 2006, <http://www.projetsdepaysage.fr>. Conan’s role in the renewal at the ENSP is discussed here.

13 See, for example, Alessandro Tagliolini and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, eds., *Il giardino: Idea natura realtà* (Milan: Guerini, 1987); Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, *Nel grembo della vita: Le origini dell’idea di giardino* (Milan: Guerini, 1989); Rosario Assunto, *Retour au jardin: Essais pour une philosophie de la nature, 1976–1987* (Besançon: Les Éditions de l’Imprimeur, 2003); Domenico Luciani, “Ritrovare e reinventare i ‘giardini italiani’: L’aporia del restauro,” in *Storia e storie di giardini: Fortune e storia del giardino italiano e verbanese nel mondo; Atti del Convegno, Verbania, sabato 31 agosto 2002*, eds. Leonardo Parachini and Carlo Alessandro Pisoni, 35–43 (Verbania: Alberti Libraio, Comune di Verbania, Magazzino Storico Verbanese, 2003); and the bibliographies in Azzi Visentini, “Storia dei giardini”; and Hervé Brunon, “L’essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance,” *Studiolo: Revue d’histoire de l’art de l’Académie de France à Rome* 4 (2006): 261–90. For the parallel phenomenon in garden studies in France, see Brunon, “L’essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance”; and Brunon, “Questions et méthodes de l’histoire des jardins en France,” in *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, eds. Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:11–21 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009).

14 For example, Michel Conan, José Tito Rojo, and Luigi Zangheri, eds., *Histories of Garden Conservation: Case Studies and Critical Debates* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005).

15 Reception theory can be traced to a range of philosophers, literary theorists, and art historians from the 1960s on, for example, Hans Robert Jauss, Richard Wollheim, Michael Baxandall, and Wolfgang Kemp. See Hans Robert Jauss, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970); Wolfgang Kemp, *Der Anteil des Betrachters: Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zur Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Mäander, 1983); and Richard Wollheim, *Painting as an Art* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987). Conan frequently cites Jauss and

Maurice Merleau-Ponty in his introductions to symposium volumes from *Dumbarton Oaks*. See Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phénoménologie de la perception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1945). Other garden historians are also interested in the reception and perception, not necessarily social, of gardens by their viewers and users; see John Dixon Hunt, *The Afterlife of Gardens* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), for an analysis of literary theory and reception of gardens since the eighteenth century in England.

16 Kathleen W. Christian, "Landscapes of Ruin and the Imagination in the Antiquarian Gardens of Renaissance Rome," in *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency*, ed. Michel Conan (Washington, D.C.: *Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*, 2008), 122.

17 An assessment of the growing interdisciplinarity in studies of landscape architecture is given in Dianne Harris, "Landscape in Context," in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, eds. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 16–19.

18 For the diverse professional backgrounds of scholars and the rich range of their writings, see Azzi Visentini, "Storia dei giardini"; Brunon, "L'essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance"; Zalum, "La storia del giardino italiano"; Zangheri, "Il restauro dei giardini storici in Italia dal 1980"; and Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, eds., *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, 2 vols. (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009).

19 This new Italian literature on Italian gardens is exemplified by the *Giardini e paesaggio* series published by L. S. Olschki in Florence. The first volume (*Fitocronologia d'Italia*) was published by Federico Maniero in 2000. The series now counts twenty-five volumes with the publication of *Giardini storici* by Pelissetti and Scazzosi in 2009.

20 See, as examples, the excellent new collaborative works: Sabine Frommel, ed., *Villa Lante a Bagnaia* (Milan: Electa, 2005); Brunon, "L'essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance"; Gianni Venturi and Francesco Ceccarelli, eds., *Delizie in villa: Il giardino rinascimentale e i suoi committenti* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008); and Pelissetti and Scazzosi, *Giardini storici*. See also the edited volumes that contextualize gardens through analyses of a single theme, such as country life or hunting. Monique Chatenet, ed., *Maisons des champs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes des premières rencontres d'architecture européenne, Château de Maisons 10–13 juin 2003* (Paris: Picard, 2006); and Claude d'Anthenaise and Monique Chatenet, eds., *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Chambord, 1er et 2 octobre 2004* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2007). A model for such dialogues were the architectural history "colloques" that Jean Guillaume organized for many years at the Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance at Tours, France, and that included studies of villas and gardens. Jean Guillaume, ed., *Architecture, jardin,*

paysage: L'environnement du château et de la villa aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles (Paris: Picard, 1999).

21 For the emergence of the vibrant new field of French studies of gardens, see Beneš, "Italian and French Gardens"; Brunon, "L'essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance"; and Brunon, "Questions et méthodes de l'histoire des jardins en France." See the numerous publications of Monique Mosser, who was a leader of French scholarship on gardens for three decades. For background on the historical studies and theoretical works that have had a large impact on the new garden studies, see François Bédarida, ed., *L'histoire et le métier d'historien en France 1945–1995* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1995); and François Cusset, *French theory: Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze & Cie et les mutations de la vie intellectuelle aux États-Unis* (Paris: Découverte, 2003). See also Beneš, "Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens," 66–69; and Beneš, "Italian and French Gardens," 12–15.

22 Brunon, "L'essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance," 265–69; and Denis Ribouillault, "Toward an Archaeology of the Gaze: The Perception and Function of Garden Views in Italian Renaissance Villas," this volume.

23 Antonella Pietrogrande, "The Imaginary of Generative Nature in Italian Mannerist Gardens," this volume.

24 On these frameworks, see Beneš, "Methodological Changes in the Study of Italian Gardens from the 1970s to the 1990s: A Personal Itinerary," this volume. Besides those mentioned above, a few American art historians of the Italian Renaissance are now focusing on gardens: Katherine Bentz and Yvonne Elet on Renaissance Rome, and Christopher Pastore on the Renaissance Veneto.

25 See, for example, the effect of the work of Denis Cosgrove on Tracy L. Ehrlich, *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); and Dianne Harris, *The Nature of Authority: Villa Culture, Landscape, and Representation in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003). For recent theoretical works on the key topics just discussed, see Dianne Harris, "The Post-Modernization of Landscape: A Critical Historiography," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 434–43; Mirka Beneš, "Pastoralism in the Roman Baroque Villa and in Claude Lorrain: Myths and Realities of the Roman Campagna," in *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, eds. Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 88–113 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds., *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007).

26 This new historical work began in the 1970s and today is a flourishing field. For these developments, see Beneš, "Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens," 54, 59, and 65–66; and

Beneš, “Methodological Changes in the Study of Italian Gardens from the 1970s to the 1990s,” this volume. For examples of essays on villas and villa culture by social historians, see Irene Fosi, “Fra Siena e Roma: Famiglie, mercanti, pontefici fra Cinquecento e Seicento,” in *I giardini Chigi tra Siena e Roma: Dal Cinquecento agli inizi dell’Ottocento*, ed. Carla Benocci, 13–38 (Siena: Protagon, Fondazione Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 2005); and Michael Lingohr, “The Palace and Villa as Spaces of Patrician Self-Definition,” in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, eds. Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, 240–72 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

27 The need to restore and administer their country’s historical gardens has led scholars and preservationists to inventory, document, and analyze an astounding number and range of gardens, larger designed landscapes, garden ornaments such as fountains and grottoes, and designers. See Vincenzo Cazzato, ed., *Atlante del giardino italiano, 1750–1940: Dizionario biografico di architetti, giardinieri, botanici, committenti, letterati e altri protagonisti*, 2 vols. (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2009).

28 Among the many top-notch Italian publications that cover the peninsula, see Vincenzo Cazzato, Marcello Fagiolo, and Maria Adriana Giusti, eds., *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia*, vol. 1, *Toscana, Lazio, Italia meridionale e isole* (Milan: Electa, 2001) and vol. 2, *Italia settentrionale, Umbria e Marche* (Milan: Electa, 2002); and Cazzato, *Atlante del giardino italiano*. For examples of regional studies in English, see Margherita Azzi Visentini, “Islands of Delight: Shifting Perceptions of the Borromean Islands,” in *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, ed. Michel Conan, 245–89 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005); and Harris, *The Nature of Authority*. On the origins of the broadening in geographical scope, see Beneš, “Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens,” 51–53; and Azzi Visentini, “Storia dei giardini.” Gardens are notably prominent in the magisterial series, *Atlante tematico del Barocco in Italia*, started in 2003 and directed at the national level in Italy by Marcello Fagiolo. See Mario Bevilacqua and Maria Luisa Madonna, eds., *Stato pontificio e granducato di Toscana*, vol. 2 of *Il sistema delle residenze nobiliari*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome: De Luca, 2003).

29 David Abulafia, ed., *The Mediterranean in History* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003).

30 Forty years ago, art historian Eugenio Battisti was an exception: at the Dumbarton Oaks symposium of 1971, he discussed fifteenth-century gardens in many Italian regions and probed the exchange of ideas on gardens between the Italian peninsula and the larger Mediterranean world, including Islamic cultures. See Eugenio Battisti, “*Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis*,” in *The Italian Garden*, ed. David R. Coffin (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1972), 3–6, 10–13; and Eugenio Battisti, *Iconologia ed ecologia del giardino e del paesaggio*, ed. Giuseppa Saccaro Del Buffa (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004). In the symposium of 1977, George Hersey went outside the established canon by discussing early Renaissance Naples; see “Water-Works and Water-Play in Renaissance Naples,” in *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains*, ed. Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, 59–84 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1978).

31 Cammy Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V,” *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 79–102.

32 Many new publications and conferences are exploring the intercultural connections of the Mediterranean in terms of garden design. See Brothers, “The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra”; Gülru Necipoglu, “The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture,” in *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, ed. Attilio Petruccioli, 32–71 (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997); Luciani, “Ritrovare e reinventare i ‘giardini italiani’,” 38–40; Jill Caskey, *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Luigi Zangheri, Brunella Lorenzi, and Nausikaa M. Rahmati, *Il giardino islamico* (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2006); Howard Burns and Paul Davies, “Mediterranean Dialogues: Palladio and Sinan,” in *Palladio*, eds. Guido Beltrami and Howard Burns, 236–43 (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008); and Lisa Golombek, “From Timur to Tivoli: Reflections on *Il Giardino All’Italiana*,” in *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar’s Eightieth Birthday*, eds. Gülru Necipoglu and Julia Bailey, special issue, *Muqarnas* 25 (2008): 243–54. An example of this new interest was “East, West, North, South: A Broader Geography for the Culture of Gardens, 800–1700 AD,” a session chaired by Mirka Beneš and Cammy Brothers at the annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians in April 2008.

Residences of the Emergent Classes in Two Areas of Southern Italy

VINCENZO CAZZATO



SOUTHERN ITALY (THE *MEZZOGIORNO*)—WITH the Sicilian exceptions of Piana dei Colli near Palermo and the Bagheria area—presents two main clusters of villas in the form of systems. They were consolidated during the eighteenth century and show many points in common, albeit with certain differences. On the one hand are the residences of the Neapolitan area, where the court aristocracy, following the construction of the royal palace at Portici by Carlo di Borbone, formed a veritable “city of villas” between Mount Vesuvius and the sea. This cluster extends along the “Golden Mile” as it was called, above the stretch of the royal highway of the Calabrias that runs between Naples and Torre del Greco, now called the Via Nazionale. On the other hand are the residences of the Salento region in Puglia, which took shape in some of the most fertile portions of the territory in less stately forms and at the initiative of members of the emerging classes (fig. 4.1). This network was reshaped between the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries in the period of eclecticism.

Both systems are distributed across large territories and are characterized by a long, gradual, and coherent stratification of groups of villas, documented from the sixteenth to the eighteenth

centuries. In their disposition, a perfect harmony is established between art, architecture, and landscape; beauty, healthfulness, and fertility are its main attributes. For example, the first monograph dedicated to the royal villa of Portici, by Nicola Nocerino, praised the salubriousness of the site: “at the edge of the perfumed sea, gracefully placed in a slightly dominant location three miles from Naples, above the delightful slopes of Mount Vesuvius, crossed by a good mile of the Royal road (*Strada Regia*) straight, smooth, comfortable and spacious.” As noted in ancient times by Galen, Procopius, and Strabo, the site is healthy because it lies “between the sea and Mont Vesuvius, the former with its salts mostly evaporated on the waves of the sea, the latter with its fire and sulfur,” where “the climate is always and in every hour perfect all the year long. So you can come and live here in winter and in summer, in autumn and in spring time.” The beauty of the site is undeniable, and “to the purity and healthiness of the air you should add the delight and the beauty of the sight of a calm and pleasant sea, and that of the near and bright hills of the neighboring town of Naples and of all the homes, villas and mounts that crown our crater.”¹

FIGURE 4.1.
The kingdom
of Naples.

Reprinted from
Willem Janszoon
Blaeu and Joan
Blaeu, *Novus Atlas:
Das ist Abbildung
und Beschreibung
von allen Ländern
des Erdreichs*
(Amsterdam: Wm.
Blaeu, 1635).



Both systems of villas combined the function of agricultural production with *otium*.² An eighteenth-century Neapolitan chronicler affirmed that noble sites should signify their status and that villas should coexist harmoniously with the rustic residences of the farmer and with agricultural buildings “following the idea described by Columella.”³ Both the Bourbon residences and the Vesuvian villas adopted this concept, following the principles of classical treatises, but modified it in accordance with enlightened theories of agriculture and new agricultural techniques. In the Salento region, the spread of the country casino expressed the attitude of the emerging bourgeoisie that agriculture was not only the centerpiece of the kingdom’s economy but also the basis for transforming the countryside into a healthy retreat where one could pursue pleasures. Unlike the Vesuvian villas, which were expressions of the aristocratic and ruling classes of a country devoted to a sovereign, the Salento residences issued from

the economic power of noble families, landowners, merchants, and new professionals.

Vesuvian Villas

In 1959, the volume *Ville vesuviane del Settecento* was published with contributions by Roberto Pane and other scholars. “Few places in the world,” wrote Pane, “can boast of such a favorable climate as that chosen by the Neapolitan aristocracy in the eighteenth century for their summer residence, between the slopes of Vesuvius and the sea. The alignment of the avenues, in axis with the villas, seems to have been spontaneously suggested by the gentle slope of the land down to the beaches; and likewise also the arrangement of the trees, so that, above the green slopes, one could glimpse on one side Mount Vesuvius, and on the other an uninterrupted clear blue line on the horizon.”⁴ Already in this excerpt, one sees the emphasis placed on the landscape

value of these residences; this value was based on their spectacular views toward both the sea and the volcano (fig. 4.2).

Twenty-one years separated the *Ville vesuviane del Settecento* and the careful survey of these villas by Cesare de Seta, Leonardo di Mauro, and

Maria Perone. De Seta wrote that “the system of villas that have been built in the course of many centuries in the shadow of what Giacomo Leopardi termed the *sterminator Vesevo* is an example, neither unique nor rare, of historical, social, economic and productive continuity.”⁵ The uniqueness of this



FIGURE 4.2. Saverio Xavier della Gatta, *Naples, vue du port de Portici and Vue du Palais Royal de Portici, avec le Vésuve en éruption*, 1784, engravings.



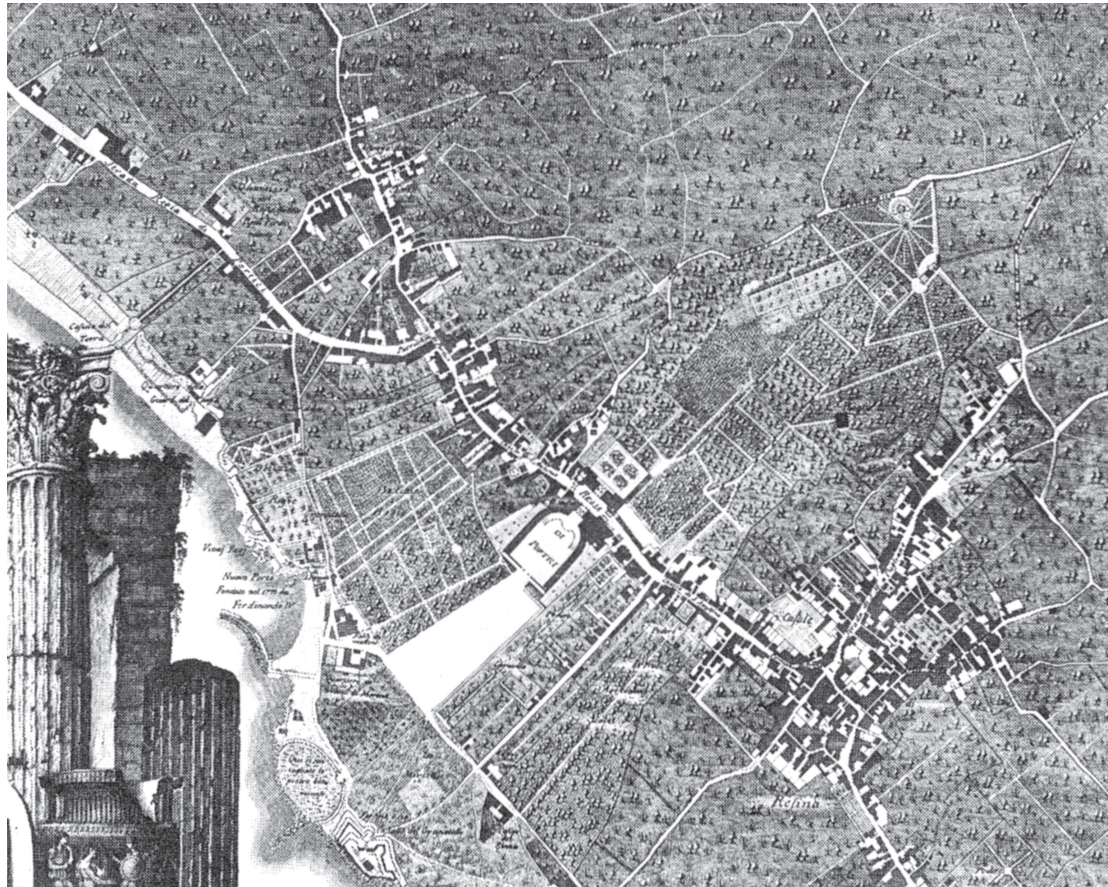
system, compared with other famous residential and productive clusters, lies in the nature of its patrons—mainly members of the aristocratic and ruling classes that were linked to the sovereign—and in its wholly unusual concentration—about one hundred and thirty villas in an extremely limited expanse of territory.⁶

This set of conditions, for which de Seta correctly uses the term “system,” stretched over a time span which, starting in the period of the viceroyalty—but stemming from a more ancient tradition—reached its peak around the middle of the eighteenth century. In fact, the second half of the sixteenth century saw, on the one hand, the building of new urban residences by the feudatories, and, on the other hand, the conquest of the Vesuvian area by the viceroy, nobles, and members of the upper hierarchies of the state through the construction of sumptuous houses in the vicinity of the areas chosen for the

summer residences of the court (i.e., in the plain to the east of the city overlooking Posillipo and the Riviera di Chiaia). But only in the first half of the eighteenth century—thanks to a positive economic situation brought about by the increase in prices of agricultural products, the growth of the population, and a succession of years of abundance (interrupted from 1759 to 1764 by five years of epidemics and famine)—did conditions foster the building of residences and villas on the Vesuvian slopes. During the same years, the policies of Carlo di Borbone opened the way for the creation of the “royal sites” (“siti reali”), public works, and productive commercial structures (fig. 4.3).⁷

Mount Vesuvius was the absolute protagonist of the region,⁸ and not just in terms of landscape. “It is quite clear,” wrote de Seta, “that the diversity and distribution of the settlements, their development or their crisis, the fortune of one center or area

FIGURE 4.3.
Giovanni Carafa,
Duke of Noja,
detail of the *Mappa
topografica della
città di Napoli e
de' suoi contorni*
(Naples, 1775).



compared with another, depend in the long term on the structure that is geographically and topographically dominant. But in this case the structure is not a class, or an economic or political system, or all three of these put together, but a volcano, namely the Vesuvius.⁹ Near the volcano, a terrifying instrument of destruction, was the sea and a lava terrain that was rich in vineyards and orchards. “These are essential elements for understanding the established relationship between nature and architecture,” wrote de Seta. “The unsettling charm of these villas is entirely in the skill with which the relationship between *artifice* and *nature* is achieved in them . . .”¹⁰ This relationship between the villas, the countryside, and Vesuvius is also—it might be added—that between hell and paradise, earth, water, air, and fire: that is, the hell and fire threatened by the active Vesuvius and the paradise of the villa landscapes, consisting of the earth of the fertile Vesuvian slopes and the balmy air and clear waters of the seaside.

According to Gerard Labrot, the nobility and the aristocracy vied with each other in seeking a direct, less rapacious relationship with nature. What makes these villas one of the great expressions of

the Enlightenment is the breadth of cultural knowledge utilized by patrons and artists and the degree to which they synthesized architecture and nature in the landscape.¹¹

The concentration of residences on the coastal side, where connections with the city, both by sea and by land, were more convenient, coincided with the decision of Carlo di Borbone to erect a royal palace at Portici in 1738 (figs. 4.4 and 4.5).¹² But there were, indeed, some villas completed before the royal palace, including the Villa d’Elboeuf and Villa Meola at Portici in 1711 and 1724, respectively; the Villa Pignatelli di Monteleone at Barra after 1728; the Villa Caravita at Portici in 1730; and the Villa San Gennariello at Torre del Greco around 1730. Together with the mild climate and the natural beauty of the site, it was the presence of the court as well as the granting of tax exemptions and other incentives to the entire “royal site” that fostered, above all from 1740 to 1770, the increase in the number of *casini di delizia* (villa palaces of delight).¹³ In the *Istoria generale del reame di Napoli* (1750), Placido Troyli observed that the residence at Portici was surrounded by “a hundred other villas of princes, gentlemen,

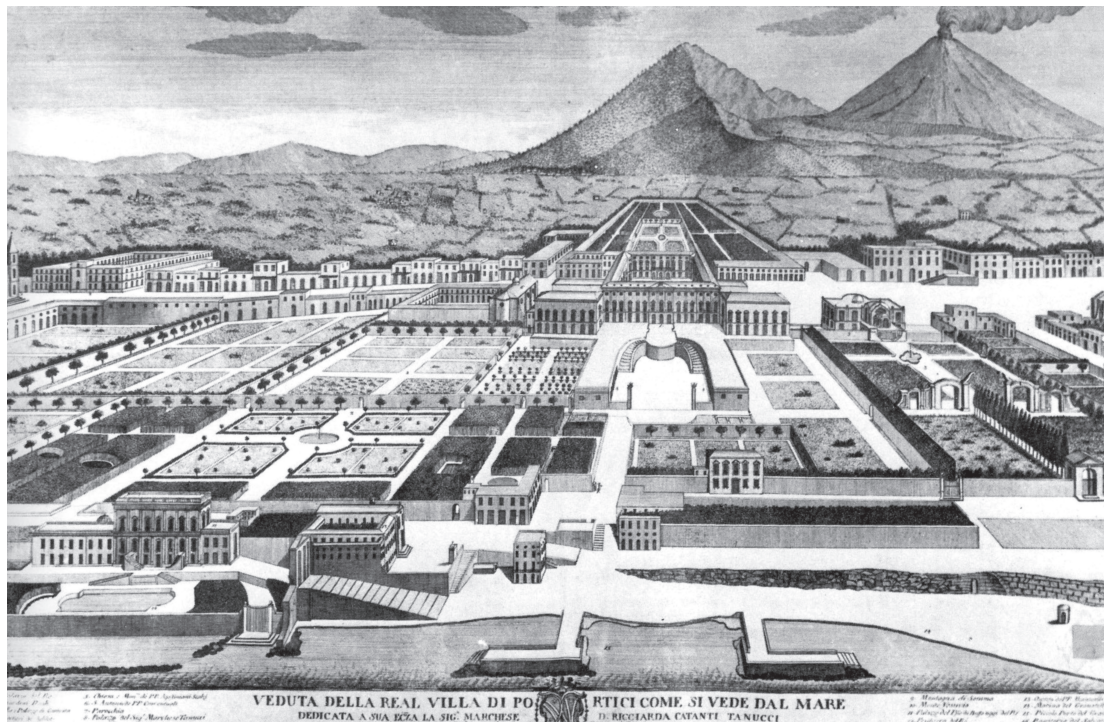


FIGURE 4.4. Giovanni Gravier, view of the royal palace of Portici, n.d., engraving.

FIGURE 4.5.
Louis Chays,
view of the
royal palace of
Portici, ca. 1770,
engraving.



ministers, merchants, lawyers and other persons of good taste, which have been built here heedless of the expense, and with proper architecture.”¹⁴

Preexisting structures were enlarged, restructured, or rebuilt *ex novo* by some of the best architects, painters, and decorators following the tastes and requirements of a cultured class that moved to the site to live in leisure, to follow the sovereign, and to enjoy a climate and a tranquility that a city like Naples—with three hundred thousand inhabitants in the mid-eighteenth century—was no longer able to guarantee. The site was also well situated for exercising control over the surrounding countryside, which was particularly fertile.¹⁵ The lands, when not cultivated, were wooded, and hunting and fishing constituted one of the underlying reasons for the establishment of the royal palace of Portici and other residences.¹⁶

Among the architects who should be mentioned are Domenico Antonio Vaccaro with the Villa Maltese, Ferdinando Sanfelice with the Villa d’Elboeuf and the courtyard of the Villa Pignatelli di Monteleone, Luigi Vanvitelli with the Villa Campolieto at Ercolano (after 1762) and the Villa de Gregorio at Barra (1761),

Ferdinando Fuga with the Villa Favorita at Ercolano (until 1768) and the Villa Pignatelli di Monteleone (until 1766), and further, Mario Gioffredo, Michelangelo Giustiniani, Giovan Battista Nauclerio, Giuseppe Astarita, and Pompeo Schiantarelli.

The splitting up of many vast and much older properties in the area and the intensive exploitation of the resulting smaller parcels reduced their productive character, as much of the previously cultivated land was covered with pleasure gardens and ornamental plantings. Goethe, who was in Naples in 1787 (when a large number of the villas built with the intention of creating a small court around Portici were already in existence), described in his *Italienische Reise (Viaggio in Italia)* the Neapolitan landscape as one of “verdant hills, sweet pastures, fertile lands and pleasure gardens.”¹⁷

The highway from Naples to Portici carried out the function performed by the *navigli* (canals) in Lombardy or the river Brenta in the Veneto.¹⁸ “The mildness of the climate,” stated Giuseppe Maria Galanti, “the beauty of the situation and the sojourn of the court have made Portici the center of the vacations of Neapolitans. In October, particularly on

feast days, the road from Naples to Portici presents a continuous passage of carriages and persons on foot. All the luxury of Naples is transported here during that month.”¹⁹

The proliferation of villas is evident on a map made by the Duke of Noja that shows the Vesuvian area in 1775—nearly four decades after construction on the royal palace commenced.²⁰ See, for example, the area of Portici in figure 4.3. De Seta, di Mauro, and Perone described how “the villas do not appear scattered over the territory, but [are] spaced out and distributed in the agricultural area, according to an endless succession along the main highway and its main branches, becoming gradually denser as they approach the Royal palace, which acts in the same way as a pole of attraction in a magnetic field.”²¹ As

Canon Carlo Celano wrote: “Here start the dwellings, which without any interruption reach as far as Portici and are called by three names: San Giovanni a Teduccio, Pietrabilanca and Portici, which together resemble a magnificent and extremely beautiful city.”²² These words echo those of Annibale Caro, who, when writing to his friend Torquato Conti in 1563, hoped for the establishment of “a borough of villas from Poli to Rome.”²³

The road is, therefore, the backbone of this system. The royal residence of Portici itself is pierced by the “Strada delle Calabrie,” its courtyard acting as a palatine piazza (fig. 4.6). The villas directly overlook the road, with their grounds or the surrounding countryside at their backs. There are some cases in which the main building, like the backdrop to a

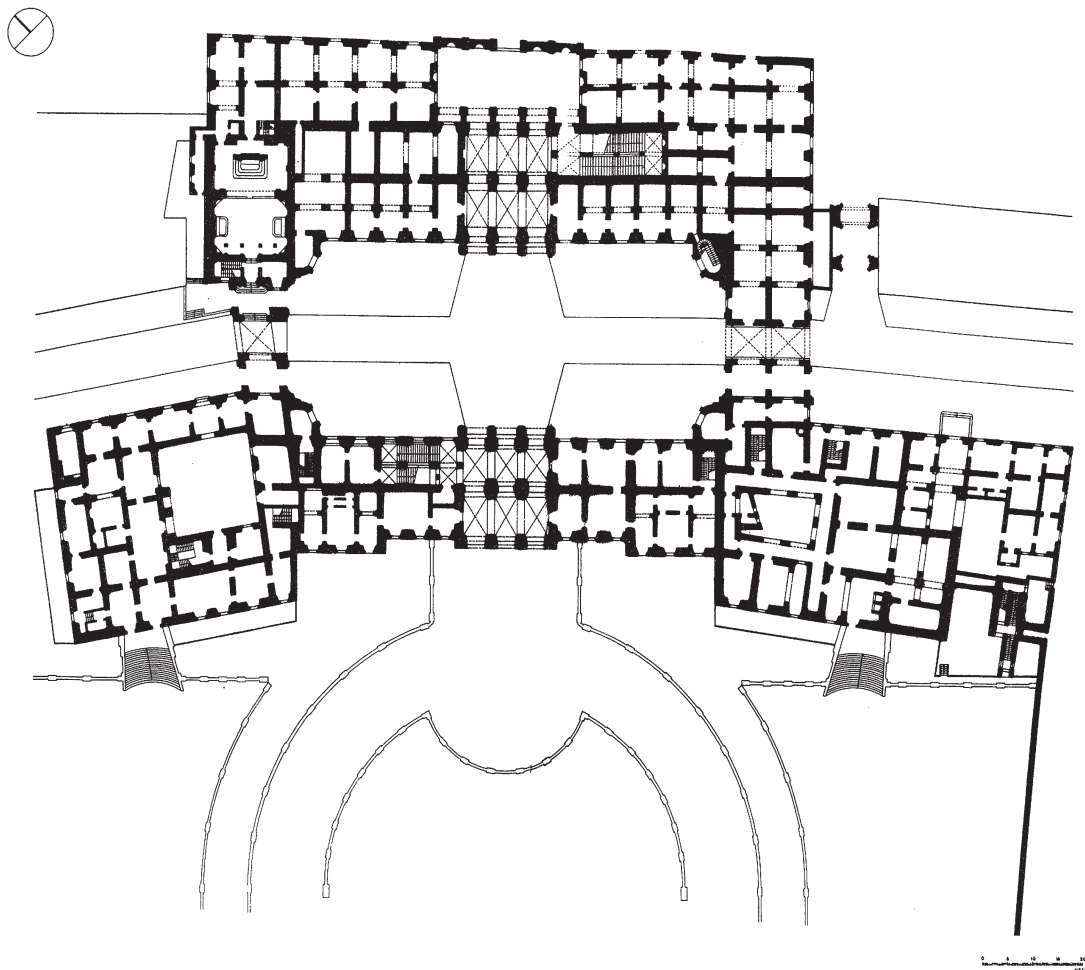


FIGURE 4.6.
Plan of the ground
floor of the royal
palace of Portici.
Private collection.



perspective, is simply announced by a portal—for example, in the Villa Prota at Torre del Greco, the drive starts from the monumental portal, which faces the road and consists of an arch flanked by two openwork balconies decorated with balustrades (an arrangement that is recalled in the loggia with a hanging arch in the foreground opening to a panorama of Vesuvius), and passes through the main building to continue toward the sea.²⁴

De Seta proposed an exhaustive and convincing classification of the Vesuvian villas. Villas were classified by their location (i.e., in the vicinity of Mount Vesuvius or the sea) and their function (i.e., agricultural or recreational). (Already in Roman times there was a distinction between rustic villas in the foothills and maritime villas along the coast.)²⁵ The first group includes villas in which a productive function prevailed—for example, villa-farms, in which owners resided during certain periods of the year to manage the farm. Often isolated, these villas were situated on the slopes of the volcano. The various parts of the villa were distributed around a large courtyard in direct communication with the vineyards and orchards: the owner's premises were more refined and occupied multiple floors, while service wings and dependencies were less distinguished architecturally and were confined to the lower floors. The chapel was usually located alongside the main entrance to the villa or beside the portal giving access to the drive, and was used by the entire neighborhood. Typical examples of villas in the center of flourishing, extensive properties are the Villa Bifulco at Terzigno (with millstone, presses, and equipment for distilling wine, as well as a spacious panoramic terrace at the rear overlooking the slopes of Mount Vesuvius), Villa Figliola at San Sebastiano al Vesuvio, Villa Tufarelli di Sotto at San Giorgio a Cremano, and Villa Rota at Cercola.

The second group includes villas that served as places of pleasure, either exclusively or in addition

FIGURE 4.7.
Giovanni Carafa, Duke of Noja, Villa Favorita at Ercolano, detail of the *Mappa topografica della città di Napoli e de' suoi contorni* (Naples, 1775).

to their productive functions. Because they resulted from the merger of the villa-farm with the city mansion, they combined the features of both structures. These villas are situated in the vicinity of the coastal area and form an unbroken chain along the “Golden Mile.” Only in rare cases are they located away from the road. De Seta makes a further distinction among these villas according to whether they are situated above or below the royal highway (fig. 4.7): “In the first case the facade overlooking the road faces the sea while the rear of the building looks beyond the garden toward the hill slopes; in the second case, the garden instead overlooks the sea and, therefore, the internal (private) facade of the building faces the sea while the public facade looks toward Vesuvius.”²⁶ Two etchings of the Villa Favorita at Ercolano made by Francesco Sicuro in 1775 are significant in this respect, as they present the villa as viewed from the road and from the sea (figs. 4.8 and 4.9).

The *salones* (main halls) on the *primi piani* of these recreational villas permit views toward the sea and Mount Vesuvius. Typically stretching through the bodies of the buildings, the halls can be of different configurations. In the Villa Favorita and the Villa Pignatelli di Montecalvo, they are oval shaped; in the Villa del Cardinale at Torre del Greco, rectangular; and in the Villa Campolieto, as designed by Gioffredo and Vanvitelli, the alignment runs through the building from the Serlian balcony facing onto the road to the longitudinal salone, to a dome-vaulted hall that is brightly illuminated from above, and finally to the terrace overlooking the colonnade of the “rotunda.”²⁷

The relationship of the villa building’s central axis with the garden or with the park—which in some cases (the Villa de Gregorio at Barra and the Villa Campolieto) is located at the side so as not to interrupt the relationship with the countryside—is often common to the great royal palace and the less courtly noble residence; in short, the motif of the axis, which at Caserta runs through the royal palace and seemingly extends to infinity, occurs also in the Vesuvian villas.²⁸

Because it was also an architectural design, the garden was the natural continuation of the buildings of the Vesuvian villa. As Attanasio wrote: “The splendid, compact little courtyards of the villas

help little to understand the spaces behind, and give no indication of the importance of the construction of the gardens; but when the portals are opened the effect is astonishing.”²⁹ The garden architecture consists of hemicycles, rotundas, exedras, arcades, and coffee pavilions; the layout is regular with rectangular planting beds surrounded by hedges, thickets of holm-oaks, kiosks, and basins at the crossings of the avenues.

In the eighteenth-century Vesuvian villas, a close relationship was established between the form of the building and its immediate context. The construction criteria of the villa buildings were also applied to the design of parterres, avenues, and gardens, which mediated between Italian and French models. These outdoor elements were laid out in the same manner as the residential buildings, as may be evinced from the alignments, the disposition of the avenues, the markings of the flower beds, and the positions of the fountains and other decorative elements.

Radial structures were not lacking, as evidenced by the villa built by Giacomo d’Aquino of the Caramanico family in 1755 at San Giorgio a Cremano, which contained the largest park after that of the royal palace at Portici. Analogies are seen between the radial pattern at San Giorgio a Cremano and that of the hermitage in the upper park of the royal palace at Portici. The resemblance is not confined to their internal arrangements, for the symmetrical axis in Villa d’Aquino can be ideally extended as far as Portici, connecting the center of the two “suns.”³⁰ One scholar considers that certain gardens are “veritable cultural and scientific manifestos, the sum of knowledge and expertise, in which spirituality and reason, magic and science, merge in a harmonious synthesis.”³¹

It was noted already in the eighteenth century that the three traditional garden typologies of the region—flower gardens, fruit gardens (with grapes and citrus, in particular), and ornamental gardens—blended into an organic composition in Neapolitan residences: “—And finally the crowning delight—” wrote Nocerino in 1787, “is the view of so many gardens, avenues, parterres, espaliers, made with majestic design, and skill, all well provided with all sorts of citrus and other fruits, botanical herbs and the rarest and loveliest of flowers.”³²

FIGURE 4.8.
 Francesco
 Sicuro, view
 of the Villa
 Favorita at
 Ercolano from
 the road, 1777,
 engraving.

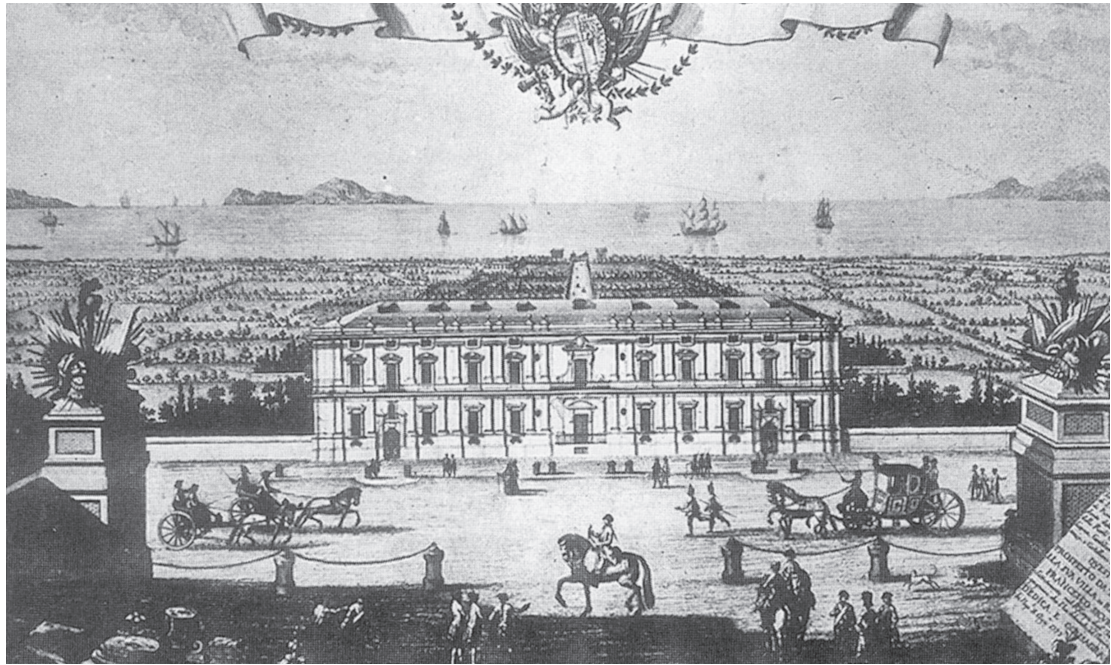
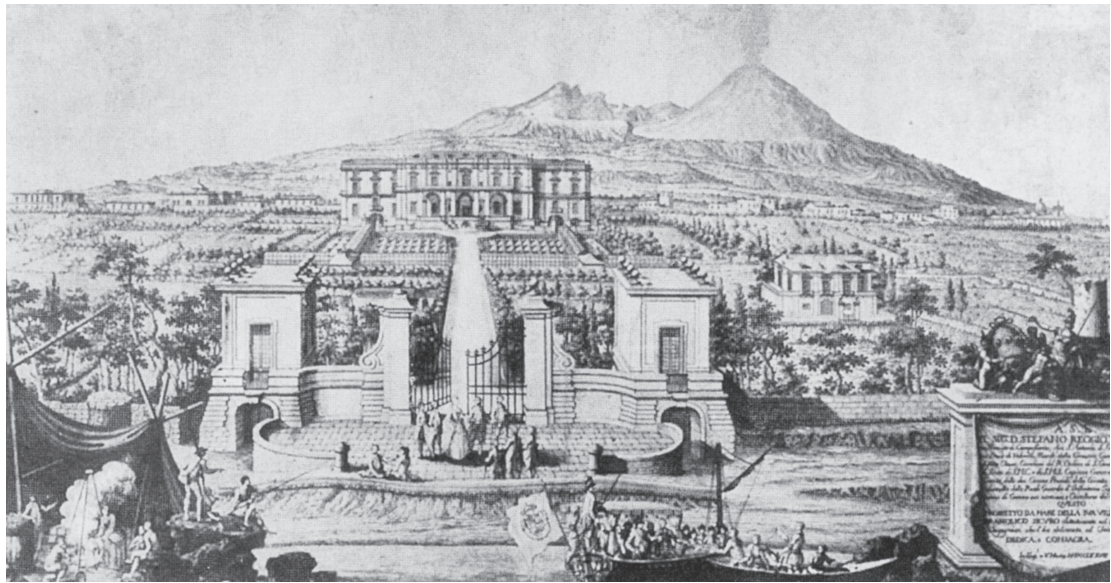


FIGURE 4.9.
 Francesco
 Sicuro, view
 of the Villa
 Favorita at
 Ercolano from
 the sea, 1777,
 engraving.



Terraces, open galleries, and balconies—as in the examples of the Villa Pignatelli di Monteleone and the Villa Signorini at Ercolano—had the function of making the surrounding spaces more readable from a higher level. As Filippo Barbera wrote: “The construction of viewpoints in the articulation of the designs of the villas did not have as its aim

just taking generic advantage of the natural landscape (Vesuvius and the gulf), but the actual enjoyment of the rich geometries of the gardens annexed to the villas.”³³

The compositional axis of the villa commenced at the portal and—by means of a complex sequence of spaces constituted by the hall, the vestibule,

and a loggia on the primo piano opening onto the landscape—crossed the courtyard, which is a spectacular prelude to the garden from which it is separated by an exedra that acts as a filter. This axis then continued either toward the sea (as at the Villa Favorita at Ercolano, the Villa Menna at Portici, the Villa Campolieto at Ercolano, and the Villa Prota at Torre del Greco) or in the direction of Mount Vesuvius (as at the Villa Ruggiero at Ercolano, the Villa de la Ville at Ercolano, the Villa del Cardinale at Torre del Greco, and the Villa Bifulco at Terzigno) (fig. 4.10).³⁴ Often the cultivated land was situated on the other side of the road and the axial alignment commenced at a portal in the center of an exedra (as at the Villa Meola at Portici, Villa del Cardinale at Torre del Greco, and Villa Pignatelli di Monteleone at Barra).

The hall, one of the elements that contributes most to an architecture of vision and permeable use, takes on complex forms. Although the main axis of the ellipse is perpendicular to the alignment of the architectural layout in the Villa Cerbone at San Giorgio a Cremano, it coincides with it in the Villa Pignatelli di Montecalvo at San Giorgio a Cremano. In the Villa Menna at Portici, the main hall is a sequence of three sectors differentiated by the decoration of the vaults, and in the Villa Ruggiero at Ercolano the central space has a lobate layout. In the Villa del Cardinale at Torre del Greco, one passes from a small hall to a vestibule whose size coincides with that of the courtyard, which is visible through the big arches of the double arcade. This arrangement enables the visitor, shortly after crossing the hall, to have a full view of the articulated, rich exedra in the background, which provides access to the garden.

In the Villa Campolieto at Ercolano (figs. 4.11–4.13), a deep entrance hall leads into a luminous vestibule; its luminosity is due to its proximity to the entrance that opens toward the sea and to the presence of a secondary cross alignment that, opening to the right onto the garden, provides light for the stairway on the left, whose position perpendicular to the main alignment recalls that of Caserta. After the entrance hall comes a portico with three functions: delimiting the courtyard, providing a covered walk, and supporting a terrace-belvedere with access from the *piano nobile*.

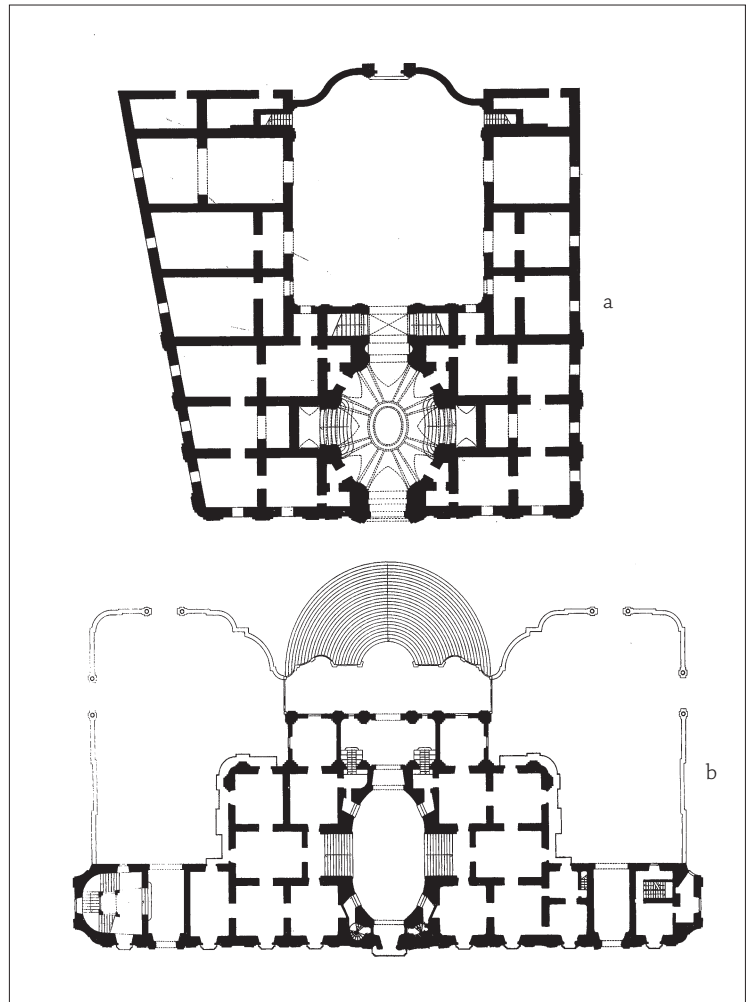


FIGURE 4.10. Ground-floor plans of (a) the Villa Pignatelli di Montecalvo at San Giorgio a Cremano and (b) the Villa Favorita at Ercolano. Note the sequence of spaces along the central axis of each plan.

Reproduced by permission from Cesare de Seta, Leonardo di Mauro, and Maria Perone, *Ville vesuviane* (Milan: Rusconi, 1980), 63 and 169.

The staircases are, therefore, positioned in such a way as not to interrupt the alignment of the composition and the view; they take on a great scenographic value, whether constituted by a single block arranged laterally with respect to the axis of symmetry (with access from the entrance hall, from the vestibule, or directly from the courtyard) or by two symmetrical flights with respect to the longitudinal axis of the layout.³⁵

FIGURE 4.11.
Exterior view
of the Villa
Campolieto
at Ercolano.

Photograph
by Vita Basile.



FIGURE 4.12.
Portico of the Villa Campolieto at Ercolano.
Photograph by Vita Basile.



FIGURE 4.13.
Staircase gallery of the Villa Campolieto at Ercolano.
Photograph by Vita Basile.

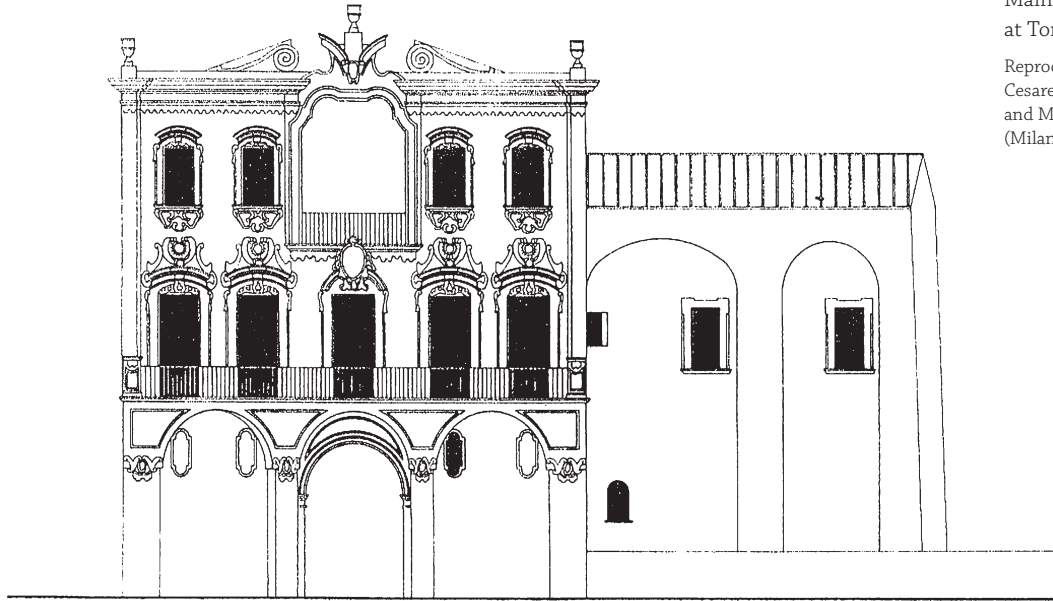


FIGURE 4.14.
Main elevation of the Villa Prota
at Torre del Greco.

Reproduced by permission from
Cesare de Seta, Leonardo di Mauro,
and Maria Perone, *Ville vesuviane*
(Milan: Rusconi, 1980), 348.

In the Villa Pignatelli di Montecalvo, the open stairway, which commences at the sides of the large arch leading into the courtyard from the hall, flanks the internal facade with its symmetrical flights and then turns to the side wings at right angles. The twin flights of stairs in the Villa Signorini at Ercolano are in a singular position—as in many Neapolitan palaces, they act as a backdrop to the courtyard. With their double central archway, whose back side also serves as the inner edge of the second courtyard, the stairs frame the opening to the garden and hence the sea. In the Villa Meola at Portici, the inner side of the courtyard contains two symmetrical stairways that act as a filter with respect to the park.

The three large arches in the Villa Bisignano at Barra, which frame a long avenue toward the countryside and Mount Vesuvius, also act as filters between the courtyard and the garden—as do the sinuous exedra of the Villa Pignatelli di Montecalvo at San Giorgio a Cremano, the openwork exedra that defines the limits of the courtyard in the Villa del Cardinale at Torre del Greco, the triumphal arch with three barrel vaults that separates the internal courtyard and the rear garden in the Villa Letizia at Barra, and the three archways (two arcuate and one

architraved) that open toward the sea in the Villa Renna (Consiglio) at Ercolano.

These examples suggest the themes of permeability, transparency, and tracery. These themes are also recurrent motifs in the fastigia of the Vesuvian villas. In addition to the large opening with the hanging arch at the Villa Prota (fig. 4.14), we may think of the fastigium with the statue of the Blessed Virgin in the Villa Salvatore at Torre del Greco or the fastigium in the Villa San Gennariello at Torre del Greco, which is mixtilinear with two round eyes and contains a niche with a bust of San Gennaro looking toward Mount Vesuvius.

Because of past ravages and more recent degradations, many villas have lost their original features. As a result, the relationship between their parts and the whole have been obscured, and—above all—one no longer perceives how individual villas once belonged to a system. But already in 1829 Giuseppe Maria Galanti wrote: “Around a devastating volcano, a prodigious population clothes, through its industriousness, with a lush vegetation places once charred and devastated, opulence erects palaces and delights, there where the danger of losing them seems imminent, and a happy indifference becomes more productive and effective than a wise foresight.”³⁶

Residences in the Salento

In the Salento in the south of Puglia, the typology of the villa—known in its various forms as villa, casino, and casina³⁷—led in the same years to the redesign of vast areas of the rural landscape through the formation of nuclei of suburban residences concentrated in specific parts of the territory, thereby giving rise to veritable systems.³⁸ The following section will analyze these different residential typologies; it is worthwhile to stress that in the Salento, as in the Neapolitan area, there were diversified typologies, ranging from the *masseria* (farm), of ancient origin and tradition, to the villa.

The Salentine *masseria*, a basic center for agricultural production and storage, was generally characterized by a turret-shaped building that served as the living quarters of the farmer, but it was also a lookout point and a defensive structure intended to protect inhabitants against the seaborne Saracen incursions (fig. 4.15). In the sixteenth century, the need for defense led to the creation of a system of coastal towers and fortified *masserias* in the Salento; this was a moment of profound transformation in

the rural environment (fig. 4.16). But in spite of the presence of fortification elements, these complexes already displayed certain architectural features typical of villas. Furthermore, the custom of living in villas, although impacted by defense requirements, manifested itself clearly in the course of the sixteenth century. Consider, for example, the residences of a number of humanists around Lecce, from the villa of Scipione Ammirato to the villas of Fulgenzio and Giovanni Camillo della Monica.

The *masseria* would characterize the region without interruption until the mid-eighteenth century. Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in fact, the landscape, marked by an economy based mainly on animal husbandry, did not evolve in any significant way due to demographic crises, labor shortages, famines, droughts, plagues, and price fluctuations. All economic and political interests were focused on the city, and it was not by chance that the explosion of the so-called Barocco Leccese was typically an urban phenomenon.

It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Turkish threat was over

FIGURE 4.15.
Masseria di
San Biagio at
Salve Lecce.

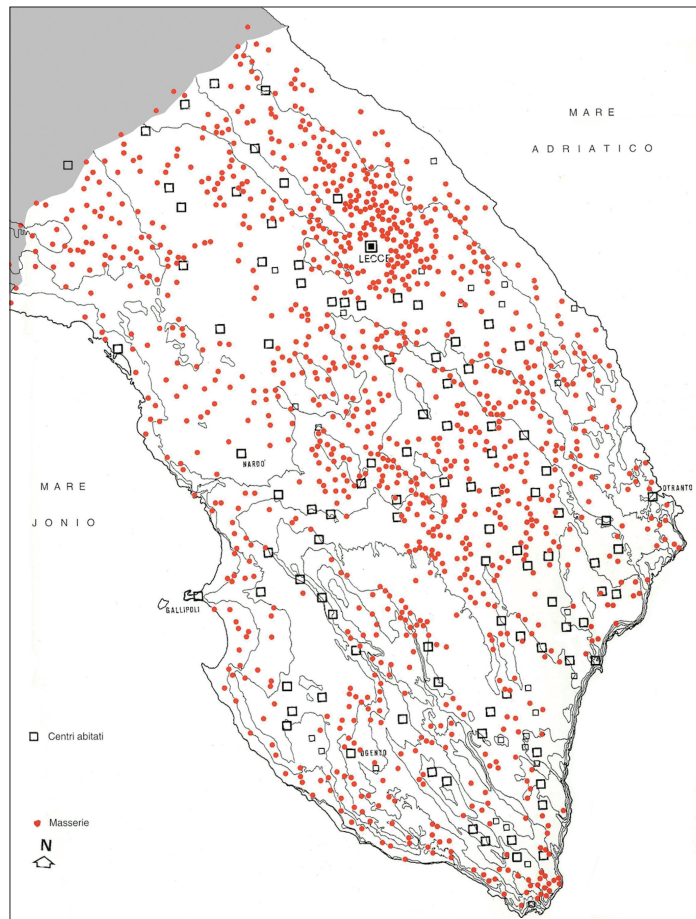
Photograph
by the author.



and brigandage had run its course, that casinos were built *ex novo* in the countryside and that the old structures of fortified masserias were enlarged and adapted to new functions. Many masserias assumed the dignity of villas as they were converted from fortified masserias to masseria-casinos or masseria-villas (i.e., places intended as holiday retreats or seasonal residences for noble landowning families, traders, and professional men). Among the many masserias transformed from defensive structures into magnificent residences—with the presence of those typical villa features, such as balconies and open galleries—are the Masseria Brusca in Nardò (fig. 4.17), the Masseria Torre Pinta in Galatina, and the Masseria Lo Spagnulo in Ostuni. On the higher part of the Cupa, the Villa Mellone incorporated “courtyards, houses and sheds” of an earlier farm complex called “Curti grandi,” and near its sheep pens were courtyards and enclosed gardens marked by avenues leading to a belvedere and a coffee pavilion.³⁹ The Villa Cerulli Bozzicorso and the Casino de Virgilis are also organized on the remains of a masseria.⁴⁰ And during the nineteenth century, it was not uncommon to find scenographic facades of villas masking earlier structures consisting of farm complexes.

The rural casino bore witness to a process of agrarian renewal that produced changes in the form and structure of rural buildings. This process marked the passage from a cereal-growing, pastoral economy to an economy based essentially on tree crops (e.g., olives, grapes, and almonds) and expressed the new relationship that was gradually established between landlords and peasant farmers in the second half of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth century. The crisis in olive production and the expansion of vineyards were to have a considerable impact on the typology of the casino complex. The presence of a vineyard, which was more complex to run than an olive grove, required the construction of a permanent dwelling for the peasant farmer and the proprietor.

The casino was the architectural expression of a particular type of reconciliatory relationship between owners, who resided primarily in urban areas, and the peasant farmers who lived in the country. The two-story building combined the worker’s house (along with the millstone, store, wine vault, and rooms for processing tobacco) on the



ground floor and the owner’s house (his temporary residence) on the upper floor without any explicit separation of the two social classes (fig. 4.18). Many casinos were referred to as villas, even when they were the result of radical transformations or extensions of more modest rural dwellings.

The process of agrarian renewal was particularly evident near a number of important urban centers and in places where the land was more fertile (an analogous situation can be found in Naples).⁴¹ This was where wealthy families built elegant country houses, which, in the eighteenth century, simultaneously bore witness to the dissemination of the Baroque taste in rural areas and marked the decline of this style. The most significant examples of these villa clusters are found around Lecce (in the area known as the Cupa), near Nardò (in the locality of Cenate), in the Presicce area,⁴² and in the Gallipoli hinterland.

FIGURE 4.16. Distribution of masserias (in red) in relation to population centers in the province of Lecce.

Reproduced by permission from Antonio Costantini, *Le masserie del Salento: Dalla masseria fortificata alla masseria-villa* (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 1994).

FIGURE 4.17.
Masseria Brusca
in Nardò.

Photograph by
Michele Onorato.



FIGURE 4.18.
Villa Spirito at
Sannicola. Note
the continuity
of treatment
between the
upper and
lower floors.

Photograph by
Michele Onorato.



The deep Cupa depression is an area of ancient population; its cultural patrimony includes prehistoric menhirs, the remains of two important Mes-sapic cities (Rudiae and Cavallino), traces of the Roman centuriation, medieval street patterns, masseria-type settlements, and Baroque rural dwellings. Fertile land, abundant water, pure air, busy thoroughfares, and the proximity of the regional capital of Terra d'Otranto have all had an appreciable influence on the building of so many residences by owners intent on transferring urban qualities to a rural setting.⁴³ The Cupa was the “Tivoli of the inhabitants of Lecce”—the profiles of the domes and bell towers of numerous inhabited centers surround this valley, while the fruit orchards “of light green color” are “interspersed between villas and farmhouses which stand out brightly in that ocean of greenery.” In the orchards—as we read in a nineteenth-century text—“Flora and Pomona, Bacchus and Minerva display oriental luxury” (fig. 4.19).⁴⁴

There were also reasons for constructing the summer-autumn residences in the area around

Nardò known as the Cenate (fig. 4.20). Among them were the healthy air, the nearby sea, the vegetation, and the “great plain with a hundred shades of green” in which were scattered vineyards and orchards with their fig, pear, peach, and apricot trees.⁴⁵ The etymology of the area’s name is uncertain, and perhaps derives from a type of grape (*acenata* or *cenata*) or the obligation of the *cenaticum*, the meal that the local populations had to guarantee for the Roman troops when they were stationed there. (The area was, in fact, crossed by the Via Sallentina, the continuation of the Via Appia.)⁴⁶

Villas were also concentrated in the hinterland of Gallipoli, the most dynamic center in the Salento region throughout the course of the eighteenth century. Its port was, in fact, the main outlet for the oil produced in the province. Because of the impossibility of expanding the urban center beyond its fortification walls and because the presence of a vast feudal estate reserved for civic use prevented the urban inhabitants from having immediate access to the countryside, the nobility and the wealthy bourgeoisie were forced to build an appreciable number of small residences around the centers of the hinterland.⁴⁷ One of these centers, Alezio (known as Villa Picciotti until 1873), has been described as “a lovely jewel set in a ring of emeralds”⁴⁸ and as a “wonderful water lily amidst the green that crowns it on all sides” (fig. 4.21).⁴⁹ If the Cupa was the “Tivoli of the inhabitants of Lecce,” then this was “the Schönbrunn of the inhabitants of Gallipoli” with its “white houses alternating with the greenery of its orchards, and its hundred villas, which are like voluptuous Naiads in that verdant ocean.”⁵⁰ As Bartolomeo Ravenna wrote in 1836: “The people of Gallipoli more than all others in the Province have been and are more attached to and passionate about spending the best months of the year in enjoying the country air, and they stand out for the magnificence of their spacious casinos” (fig. 4.22).⁵¹

The system of villas and casinos—as some of these residences were called—was linked not only to the introduction of complex crop practices, but also to a new interest in the pleasures of rural living, which involved many families of the landed nobility and the bourgeoisie in the mid-eighteenth century. A number of inscriptions offer an interpretative key to their understanding of *villeggiatura*: “Here one



FIGURE 4.19.
Villa Cerulli Bozzicorso at Lecce.
Photograph by Michele Onorato.



FIGURE 4.20.
Villa Vescovile at Cenate, near Nardò.
Photograph by Michele Onorato.

FIGURE 4.21.
Villa Prandico
at Alezio.

Photograph by
Michele Onorato.



FIGURE 4.22.
Villa Pasca-Raeli
at Sannicola.

Photograph by
Michele Onorato.





FIGURE 4.23.
Villa Ravenna
at Sannicola.
Photograph by
Michele Onorato.

lives honestly; here Pallas offers her gifts; here you will find peace, tranquility, fruits and health; 1770.” At the entrance to the Casino Mimmo, built in the latter half of the eighteenth century by the Tufo family, is the inscription “Open to the good / closed to the bad,” while above the arch of the entry portal to the Casino Lazzarello, probably built in 1725 by Ferdinando Sanfelice, it is possible to read: “Fui vil capanna e rustica pendice / or d’alte moli adorna e d’opre colte / Fatta son del piacer valle felice . . .” (“I was a humble hut and a rustic slope / Now adorned with tall structures and refined works / I became a happy valley of pleasure.”⁵²)

The spread of the phenomenon of country villas and casinos was aided also by the views of agriculturalists such as Giovanni Presta, philosophers and poets such as Tommaso Nicolò d’Aquino, and illustrious economists such as Giuseppe Palmieri.⁵³ As he celebrated the pleasures of country living, encouraged agricultural investment and modernization, and generally revived the myth of the country nobleman, Palmieri also insisted on the continuous presence of the owner to supervise agricultural production—a concept taken up again a few decades later by Vincenzo Corrado in “Sul ritiro in campagna: Dialogo fra un Dottor Partenopeo ed un Filosofo Salentino.”⁵⁴ Palmieri himself lived periodically in “his grand villa de’ Rocci” near Gallipoli,

“where he used to linger and where his greatest pleasure was that of roaming about his spacious garden, and enjoying those choice, abundant fruits, of seeing the olives being harvested on his lands: and at times, imitating the philosophers of yore, picking them with his own hands.”⁵⁵

The typological features of the gardens of the Salentine villas merit close examination and careful description. Portals and fences (figs. 4.23) announce and introduce the extrarurban residence; their triumphal arches, which can be compared to town gates, help to illustrate their patrons’ prestige. There are also significant portals at the garden entrances that are near to the residences.⁵⁶

The residences have simple symmetrical facades—particularly in the area of Presicce—a simplicity that is dictated by function but is also the result of a careful study of volume and form. Their front doors, in the center, lead to entrance halls that run through the houses to the gardener’s quarters (which included storerooms and sheds) and the enclosed gardens (fig. 4.24). The piani nobili often have alcove balconies, which sheltered the owner from the sun and enabled him to supervise the activity of the peasant farmers. Often the balconies run the entire length of the residence and become an external access corridor, but they occasionally remain broad terraces.

FIGURE 4.24.
Front elevations
of four casinos at
Presicce. Note the
central entryways
and balconies on the
primi piani.

Survey drawings by
Patrizia Bovinelli
and Luigi Nicolardi;
reproduced by permission
from Vincenzo Cazzato,
ed., *Paesaggi e sistemi di
ville nel Salento* (Galatina:
Mario Congedo, 2006).

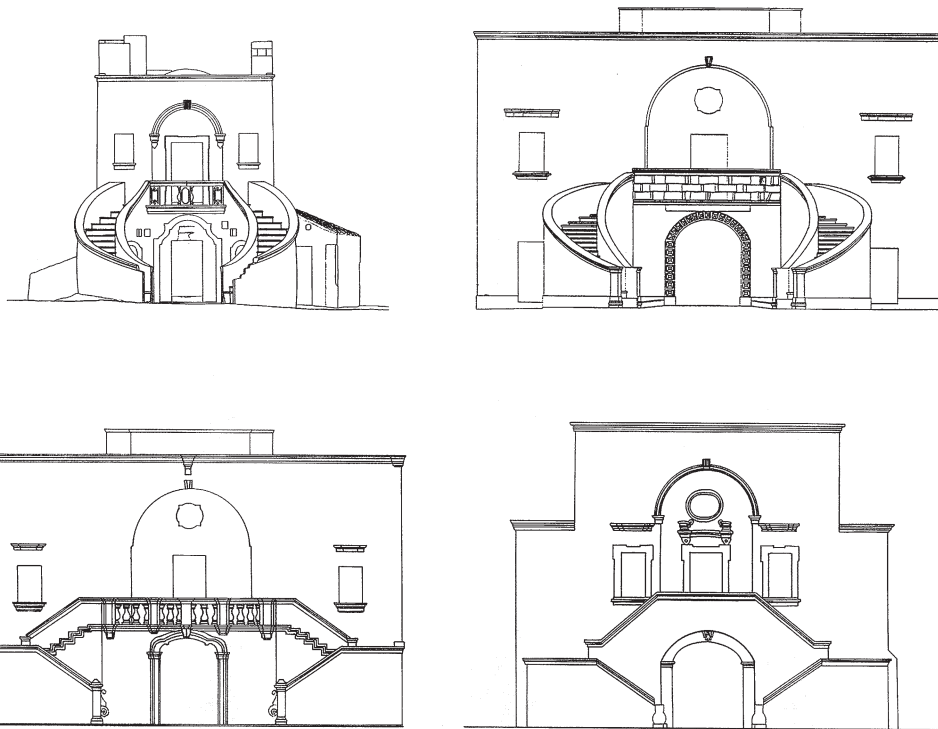


FIGURE 4.25.
Casino degli
Angeli at Presicce.

Photograph by
Michele Onorato.



In some residences, the scenographic element that most ennobled the main prospect was the pincer-shaped external stairway, whose twin ramps ran *a tenaglia* (pincer-shaped), or parallel to the facade, in clear reference to Neapolitan architecture of the first half of the eighteenth century. In small casinos, these stairways are out of scale to the building and its facade (fig. 4.25).⁵⁷

Most residences have a *salone* in their central core (fig. 4.26) with one or more windows opening onto the balconies overlooking the enclosed garden and onto the semicircular-shaped *piazzale* in front, where the chapel is also located. (Such chapels are also present in the Vesuvian villas; they served as the place where the owner's family, the peasants, and the gardener's family crossed paths, as well as a sign of the increased religiosity of the latter half of the eighteenth century.) The formal repertory of these residences draws extensively on urban architecture with their elaborate fastigia, polylobate windows, and elegant moldings.

Articulated in the garden are the scenographic perspectives of the avenues, which are covered by pergolas and flanked by columns or pilasters and

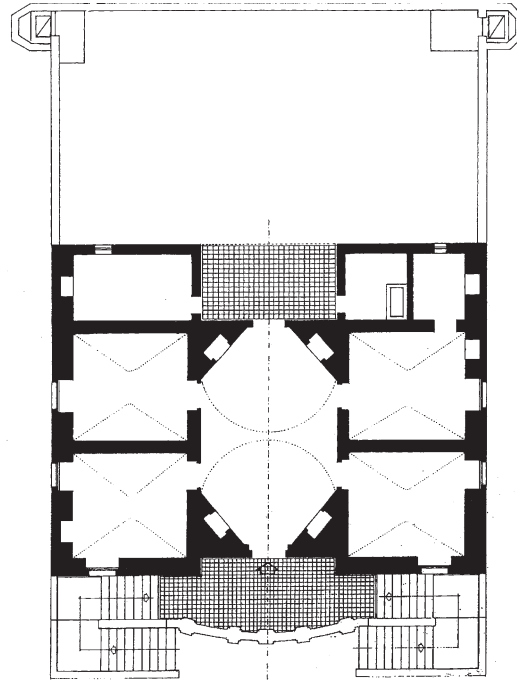
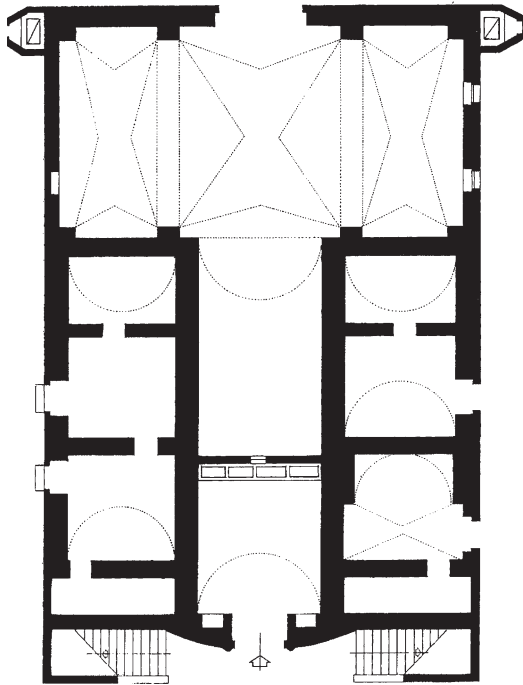


FIGURE 4.26. Plans of the ground floor and primo piano of the Casino Ceddhe at Presicce. Note the *salone* and balconies along the main axis.

Reproduced by permission from Antonio Costantini, *Le masserie del Salento: Dalla masseria fortificata alla masseria-villa* (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 1994).

which often end with an aedicule located in an alcove (fig. 4.27). Elegant stone seats are arranged along the avenues, or adjacent to the residence, flanking a portal, or terminating a view. Elaborate wells and cisterns (figs. 4.28 and 4.29) provide boldly innovative solutions to the problem of supplying water in a semi-arid climate. Ranging from canopy type to those with pergolas supported by columns, they are veritable hydraulic machines, with complex systems of stone ducts and channels leading off from them. The decorations on these wells frequently emphasize not only their functional character but also their strongly symbolic value.⁵⁸

Salentine gardens—like their counterparts in the Neapolitan region—are generally productive.⁵⁹ But there are exceptions: the Garden of Statues in the Masseria Brusca at Nardò is divided into four parts by two perpendicular lines, at the crossing of which are twelve statues.⁶⁰ Their arrangement into groups (i.e., three statues in each quarter circle) follows a logic, whereby statues of the continents are flanked by one female and one male bust: *America* by *Pomona* and *Vertumnus*; *Africa* by *Diana* and *Sylvanus*; *Asia* by *Ceres* and *Bacchus*; and *Europe* by



FIGURE 4.27. Pergola, Villa d'Ambrosio at Cenate, near Nardò.

Photograph by Michele Onorato.

FIGURE 4.28.
Well, Villa
d'Ambrosio at
Cenate, near
Nardò.

Photograph by
Michele Onorato.



Flora and *Faunus* (*Pan*). The male busts in the quarters on the left (*Vertumnus* and *Sylvanus*) are draped, while those in the quarters on the right (*Bacchus* and *Pan*) are naked or partly draped. The logic is reversed with the continents: *America* and *Africa*, on the left, are nude (or partly draped), while *Asia* and *Europe*, on the right, are wearing very elegant clothes (fig. 4.30).

While the busts represent divinities often found in gardens, the four continents are more unusual, as other quaternary groups (such as the elements or the seasons) are usually preferred. Certain divinities seem, however, to substitute for them in mimetic form. The seasons, for example, are evoked by flowers (and by *Flora* herself, who is often mistaken for Spring), by the ears of wheat forming a wreath crown for *Ceres* (Summer), by the grapes borne by *Bacchus* in his hand (Autumn), and by the old man in the guise of *Pan* (Winter). Agricultural themes are combined with pastoral ones: the figures of *Flora*, *Ceres*, *Pomona*, *Bacchus*, and *Vertumnus* are

linked to agriculture, while those of *Sylvanus*, *Pan*, and *Diana* are connected with mainly pastoral themes. Also evident is an effort to portray nature in its various manifestations, which partially coincide with the four sculptural groupings: flower gardens (*Flora*), fruit gardens (*Pomona*), vegetable gardens and farmland (*Vertumnus*, *Ceres*, and *Bacchus*), and woods and groves (*Pan*, *Sylvanus*, and *Diana*).

In the light of what is now known of the history and typology of Salentine villa systems, we may, in part, rectify what Cesare de Seta has written about the Vesuvian area:

This region has profoundly different cultural features from the countryside of the Mezzogiorno: where, . . . the *latifundium* (large landed estate) system is dominant, the landowner uses archaic farming methods, and sometimes gives the land over to a basely parasitic use. The profound crisis of the southern countryside is also caused by the fact that the owner has often

moved into the city . . . When instead the landlord remains on the farm—and this occurs with the long stays in the nearby Vesuvian villas—the management of the land is very different: favored, moreover, by the absolutely exceptional fertility compared with the bare stretches of the large estates in Puglia, with the steep Calabrian hills, with the parched, meager plains of the South.⁶¹

This statement may, in fact, be valid in general, but it is not an absolute truth. The situation encountered in the Neapolitan countryside is not unique but occurred, even if in a situation of crisis for southern Italian agriculture, in other peripheral areas of the Mezzogiorno. As we have seen, in the Salento, the typology of the villa led in those same years to the redesign of vast areas of the rural landscape.

We are dealing with the recurrence of a phenomenon that had already appeared during the sixteenth century, as in the Neapolitan region, where the Vesuvian area began to prosper during the viceroyalty of Don Pedro di Toledo. It was precisely at that time that sumptuous residences were built and



FIGURE 4.29.
Wells, Villa
Spirito at
Sannicola.
Photograph by
Michele Onorato.



FIGURE 4.30.
Garden of Statues
in the Masseria
Brusca at Nardò.
Photograph by
Michele Onorato.

an impressive agrarian transformation took hold with the birth of the masseria and the reclamation of territory through improved cultivation. It was also in this period that many Vesuvian towns became free communities or municipalities and enjoyed tax exemption if they were located within twelve miles of Naples.

A variety of situations were present in eighteenth-century Salento in analogous fashion to what took place in the vicinity of Naples, where many villas were the result of the enlargement and the restructuring of older buildings.

The systems of villas in the Salento in the eighteenth century had more than a few elements in common with those in the Vesuvian area. For example, both systems had similar productive functions and shared the same formal arrangements—the axial perspectives, the circulation sequences, the pincer-shaped or twin-ramped external stairways, the porticos, and the double-facing salons—but of more limited and less stately dimensions in the Salento. But, as we have emphasized, the phenomenon in the Salento was an expression of local economic and social conditions, which were different from those that gave rise to the Vesuvian villas, that were manifestations of the aristocratic and ruling classes of an entire state associated with the figure of the sovereign.

Finally, in both areas, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries generated a new, important system of eclectic villas, which superimposed itself on the preceding one. This new configuration was a testimony to a bourgeois society that wished to imitate the eighteenth-century aristocracy in their construction of pleasure residences, inventing thereby the modern fashion of the out-of-town holiday.⁶²

Conclusion

The methodological approach to these two areas of the Italian Mezzogiorno intentionally has not been of a monographic type dealing with single villas or groups of villas, nor has it intended to privilege specific aspects of architectural idioms and syntaxes. Rather it has aimed to analyze the villa as a signifying structure that reveals deep-seated and varied social and economic changes. From this standpoint, I have emphasized several points: first, systems of villas and

gardens were brought about by economic, social, and political phenomena; second, the relations between the villa residence and its context consisted not only of connections with the garden but also with the broader landscape; and third, villa systems in minor geopolitical contexts or in geographical areas hitherto deemed less interesting by historians (such as the Salento) should be identified, because they can play a defining role in the creation of a new methodology for analyzing Italian villa and garden culture, and Italian villa systems in particular.

The interpretation of landscape as a “system” should also be extended to other typologies of properties. In the case of the Salento, for instance, the structure of the territory was constituted by an infinite history of polycentric systems connecting the sea, the city, and the countryside—from the sacral network of menhirs and dolmens to the orthogonal network of the Roman centuriation, and, in more recent times, from the system of coastal towers (together forming a defense network and a method of communication) to the masserias.

Such an approach could be particularly significant in territories not yet completely ruined by ongoing urbanization (such as the Salento) and in areas where the number of historical residential buildings has been reduced through systematic demolition (such as the Vesuvian countryside). In both cases, the identification of systems, or of their fragments, can provide opportunities for reflecting on their future protection, restoration, and improvement. Past failures in understanding the system of villas in the Neapolitan area has resulted in far-reaching transformations—for example, the installation of railroads and the expansion of urban areas in the twentieth century caused the severing of the relationship between the elements of the system (i.e., Vesuvius, the villas, the parks, the gardens, and the sea). Villas frequently have been separated from their gardens, most of which are then used as market gardens or divided into plots for intensive building. Now decontextualized, few of their original elements can presently be identified. Only the more permanent features—such as boundary walls, gates and portals, scenic backdrops, belvederes, segments of paths and avenues, and fragments of green spaces—remain to give a partial sense of the villa systems that they once constituted.

Notes

1 Nicola Nocerino, *La real villa di Portici* (Naples: Presso I fratelli Raimondi, 1787), 46–53.

2 “If we must find a single English word for *otium* it would be seclusion, or serenity, or relaxation, but the ancients thought of it rather as an opportunity to engage, often intensely, in worthwhile physical and mental pursuits.” James S. Ackerman, *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses* (Princeton N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 37.

3 Donato Perillo, *Ragguaglio delle ville, e luoghi prescelti per uso delle caccie, pesche, e simili diporti da regnanti, ed altr’insigni personaggi* (Naples: Niccolò Naso, 1737), 5.

4 Roberto Pane, “Le ville e la strada costiera,” in *Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, eds. Roberto Pane et al., 1–18 (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959). In the same volume, see also Arnaldo Venditti, “La costa vesuviana da Napoli a Torre del Greco e la mappa del Duca di Noja,” 19–51; Giancarlo Alisio, “Le ville di Portici,” 127–91; Lucio Santoro “Il palazzo reale di Portici,” 193–235; and Paolo Di Monda, “Da Resina a Torre Annunziata,” 237–325.

5 Cesare de Seta, Leonardo di Mauro, and Maria Perone, *Ville vesuviane* (Milan: Rusconi, 1980), 11.

6 Among other studies on Vesuvian villas, see Pietro Lezzi, *Le ville vesuviane* (Salerno: Arti Grafiche Boccia, 1977); Vittorio Gleijese, *Ville e palazzi vesuviani* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1980); Pietro Lezzi and Paolo Romanello, *Le ville vesuviane* (Naples: Ente per le Ville Vesuviane, 1981); and Maria Perone, “Le ville vesuviane,” in *Napoli*, ed. Cesare de Seta, 182–94 (Rome: Laterza, 1981). On the permanence of this character during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Gaetano Amodio, *Ville vesuviane tra Ottocento e Novecento* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2002).

7 Michelangelo Schipa, *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Milan: Roma, 1923); and Giovanni Aliberti, “Economia e società da Carlo III ai Napoleonidi, 1734–1806,” *Storia di Napoli* 8 (1971): 77–164.

8 Giuseppe Imbò, *Il Vesuvio e la sua storia: caratteristiche, attività e danni* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1984). See also the exhibition catalogue *All’ombra del Vesuvio: Napoli nella veduta europea dal Quattrocento all’Ottocento* (Naples: Electa, 1990).

9 De Seta, di Mauro, and Perone, *Ville vesuviane*, 16–18.

10 *Ibid.*, 19.

11 Gerard Labrot, *Baroni in città: Residenze e comportamenti dell’aristocrazia napoletana, 1530–1734* (Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979); and Gerard Labrot, *Palazzi napoletani: Storie di nobili e cortigiani, 1520–1750* (Naples: Electa, 1993).

12 Nocerino, *La real villa di Portici*; Carlo Celano, *Notizie del bello dell’antico e del curioso della città di Napoli* (Naples: S. Palermo, 1792); Vincenzo Jori, *Portici e la sua storia* (Naples: Tipografia dei Comuni, 1882); N. del Pezzo, “Siti

Reali: Il Palazzo Reale di Portici,” *Napoli nobilissima* 5 (1896): 161–67 and 183–88; Giancarlo Alisio, “Una rilettura su inediti del Palazzo Reale di Portici,” *L’Architettura* 20 (1974): 262–67; and Giancarlo Alisio, *Siti reali dei Borboni: Aspetti dell’architettura napoletana del Settecento* (Rome: Officina, 1976). See also Maria Luisa Margiotta, ed., *Il Real Sito di Portici* (Naples: Paparo, 2008), and in particular the essays by Maria Luisa Margiotta (“Il Sito Reale e il suo parco,” 11–68) and Filippo Barbera (“I progetti della Reggia di Portici: Da Medrano a Canevari, da Vanvitelli a Fuga,” 69–103).

13 On eighteenth-century architecture in Naples, see Roberto Pane, *Architettura dell’età barocca in Napoli* (Naples: Editrice Politecnica, 1939); Renato de Fusco, “L’architettura della seconda metà del Settecento a Napoli,” *Storia di Napoli* 8 (1971): 410–12; Anthony Blunt, *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1975); Giuseppe Fiengo, *Documenti per la storia dell’architettura e dell’urbanistica napoletana del Settecento* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 1977); *Civiltà del Settecento a Napoli, 1734–1799*, 2 vols. (Florence: Centro-Di, 1980), especially the essays by Anthony Blunt (“Caratteri dell’architettura napoletana dal tardobarocco al classicismo,” 1:60–71), Giancarlo Alisio (“I Siti Reali,” 1:72–85), and Mario de Cunzio (“Le ville vesuviane,” 1:86–105); Cesare de Seta, ed., *Arti e civiltà del Settecento a Napoli* (Rome: Laterza, 1982); Gaetana Cantone, ed., *Barocco napoletano* (Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992); and Giuseppe Fiengo, ed., *Architettura napoletana del Settecento* (Naples: Franco Di Mauro, 1993).

14 Placido Troyli, *Istoria generale del reame di Napoli: ovvero, Stato antico e moderno delle regioni e luoghi che ‘l reame de Napoli compongono, una colle loro prime popolazioni, costumi, leggi, polizia, uomini illustri e monarchi* (Naples, 1747–54), vol. 4, part I.

15 Celeste Fidora Attanasio, *Ville vesuviane e siti reali* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998), 36–37. See also Celeste Fidora and Sergio Attanasio, *Ville e delizie vesuviane del ‘700: Passeggiata da Napoli a Torre del Greco* (Naples: Grimaldi, 2004).

16 Alisio, “Le ville di Portici,” 127–91.

17 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Viaggio in Italia*, trans. Aldo Oberdorfer (Florence: Vallecchi, 1955), 248.

18 Fidora Attanasio, *Ville vesuviane e siti reali*, 47.

19 Giuseppe Maria Galanti, *Napoli e contorni*, ed. Luigi Galanti (Naples: Borel e Comp, 1829), 319.

20 Venditti, “La costa vesuviana da Napoli a Torre del Greco e la mappa del Duca di Noja,” 19–51; and Mario Bevilacqua, “Tra Napoli, Roma e l’Europa: Alcune lettere di Giovanni Carafa duca di Noja,” *Napoli nobilissima* 34 (1995): 99–116.

21 De Seta, di Mauro, and Perone, *Ville vesuviane*, 24–25.

22 Celano, *Notizie del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli*, 7.

23 “un Borgo di ville da Poli a Roma.” Annibal Caro, *Delle lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro* (Padua: Giuseppe Comino, 1742), 2:350.

24 Mario de Cunzo, “Le ville vesuviane,” in *Civiltà del Settecento a Napoli, 1734–1799* (Florence: Centro-Di, 1980), 1:86–89.

25 De Seta, di Mauro, and Perone, *Ville vesuviane*, 25–29.

26 *Ibid.*, 27.

27 On Vanvitelli and Gioffredo, see Jörg Garms, *Disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli nelle collezioni pubbliche di Napoli e di Caserta* (Naples: AGEA, 1973); Arnaldo Venditti, *L'opera napoletana di Luigi Vanvitelli* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1974), 98–167; Giuseppe Fiengo, *Vanvitelli e Gioffredo nella villa Campolieto di Ercolano* (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1974); and Giuseppe Fiengo, *Gioffredo e Vanvitelli nei palazzi dei Casacalenda* (Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 1976), 3–57; Ciro Robotti, “L'opera di Gioffredo e Vanvitelli per il giardino di Villa Campolieto,” *Storia dell'arte* 35 (1979): 49–58; Cesare de Seta, ed., *Luigi Vanvitelli e la sua cerchia* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 2000); Benedetto Gravagnuolo, ed., *Mario Gioffredo* (Naples: Guida, 2002); and Alfonso Gambardella, ed., *Luigi Vanvitelli, 1700–2000* (San Nicola la Strada: Edizioni Saccone, 2005).

28 De Cunzo, “Le ville vesuviane,” 86–89.

29 Fidora Attanasio, *Ville vesuviane e siti reali*, 59–60.

30 Filippo Barbera, “Dalle ville nobiliari esoteriche al Palazzo Reale di Portici: Il simbolismo del sole e della luna nella Santa Coppia,” in *Architettura e massoneria: L'esoterismo della costruzione*, ed. Marcello Fagiolo, 238–43 (Rome: Gangemi, 2006); and Filippo Barbera, *Cultura e scienza nei giardini delle ville vesuviane* (Portici: Effegi, 2007), 183–84.

31 Barbera, *Cultura e scienza nei giardini delle ville vesuviane*, 183–84.

32 Nocerino, *La real villa di Portici*, 46–53.

33 Barbera, *Cultura e scienza nei giardini delle ville vesuviane*, 183–84.

34 De Cunzo, “Le ville vesuviane,” 86–89.

35 On the role of staircases in Neapolitan architecture, see Pane, *Architettura dell'età barocca in Napoli*, 182–95; Michele Capobianco, “Scale settecentesche a Napoli,” *L'Architettura* 84 (1962): 406; Alfonso Gambardella, *Note su Ferdinando Sanfelice architetto napoletano* (Naples: Istituto Editoriale del Mezzogiorno, 1970), 57–80; Alfonso Gambardella, *Ferdinando Sanfelice architetto* (Naples: Arti Grafiche Licenziato, 1974); Blunt, *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, 128–58; De Seta, di Mauro, and Perone, *Ville vesuviane*; Alastair Ward, *The Architecture of Ferdinando Sanfelice* (London: Garland, 1988); and Alfonso Gambardella, ed., *Ferdinando Sanfelice: Napoli e l'Europa* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2004).

36 Galanti, *Napoli e contorni*, 318. On problems of deterioration and conservation of Vesuvian villas, see Paolo Romanello, “Problematica della conservazione integrata delle ville vesuviane,” *Naples nobilissima* 26 (1987): 153; Urbano Cardarelli, Paolo Romanello, and Arnaldo Venditti, *Ville vesuviane: Progetto per un patrimonio settecentesco di urbanistica e di architettura* (Naples: Electa Napoli, 1988); Francesco La Regina, *Restauro, conservazione e valorizzazione delle ville vesuviane* (Naples: CUEN, 2004); and Emanuele Romeo, “Frammenti e memoria dei luoghi: Permanenze del sistema delle ville vesuviane,” in *Giardini, contesto, paesaggio: Sistemi di giardini e architetture vegetali nel paesaggio*, eds. Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 619–30 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005).

37 Antonio Costantini, *Guida alle ville del Salento: Del piacere di vivere in campagna: La villa, il giardino, la casina, il casino* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992), 12–41. Of great importance, by the same author, is *Le masserie del Salento: Dalla masseria fortificata alla masseria-villa* (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 1994), 283–370.

38 See Vincenzo Cazzato, ed., *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento* (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006), in particular “Sistemi di ville e di giardini nel Salento dal Barocco al Novecento,” 34–45. See also Vincenzo Cazzato, “Puglia giardino del Sud,” in *Parchi e giardini storici, parchi letterari: Conoscenza, tutela e valorizzazione; Atti del III Convegno (Primo Internazionale) “Paesaggi e giardini del Mediterraneo,”* (Pompeii: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Comitato Nazionale per lo Studio e la Conservazione dei Giardini Storici, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 1993), 2:81–94, especially the pages (88–90) devoted to systems of villas and gardens.

39 Antonio Costantini, “Ville, casini e casine nell'area della ‘Cupa’,” in *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, ed. Vincenzo Cazzato (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006), 157.

40 Costantini, *Le masserie del Salento*.

41 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, *Territorio, feudo e potere locale: Terra d'Otranto tra Medioevo ed età moderna* (Naples: Guida, 1988).

42 Patrizia Bovinelli and Luigi Nicolardi, “I casini nel territorio di Presicce: Storia e proposte di restauro conservativo,” in *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, ed. Vincenzo Cazzato, 234–49 (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006).

43 Antonio Costantini, *Architettura e paesaggio rurale nell'area della Cupa* (Galatina: Salentina, 1997); and Costantini, “Ville, casini e casine nell'area della ‘Cupa’.”

44 Cosimo de Giorgi, *La provincia di Lecce: Bozzetti di viaggio*, 2 vols. (Lecce: Spaccante Editore, 1882–88), 1:42 and 226–27.

45 *Ibid.*, 1:242.

46 Mario Mennonna, *Guida di Nardò: Arte, storia, centro antico* (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2001), 103–22.

47 Antonio Costantini and Michele Paone, *Guida di Gallipoli: La città, il territorio, l'ambiente* (Galatina: Congedo

Editore, 1992), 116–26. See also Elio Pindinelli, “Ville e casini dell’entroterra gallipolino,” in *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, ed. Vincenzo Cazzato, 210–21 (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006).

48 De Giorgi, *La provincia di Lecce*, 1:60.

49 *Ibid.*, 2:237.

50 *Ibid.*, 1:51.

51 Bartolomeo Ravenna, *Memorie storiche della città di Gallipoli* (Naples: R. Miranda, 1836), 85.

52 Vincenzo Cazzato and Andrea Mantovano, *Paradisi dell’eclittismo: Ville e villeggiature nel Salento* (Cavallino di Lecce: Capone, 1992), 242. See also Mario Cazzato, “Matino: Immagine di una comunità nel XVIII secolo,” in *Matino: Natura ed arte; Una comunità meridionale nel ‘700*, ed. Giuseppe Schivano (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992).

53 Aldo Vallone, ed., *Illuministi e riformatori salentini: Giuseppe Palmieri, astore, milizia e altri minori* (Lecce: Milella, 1984), 100.

54 Vincenzo Corrado, “Sul ritiro in campagna: Dialogo fra un Dottor Partenopeo ed un Filosofo Salentino,” in *Scuola di generale agricoltura, e pastorizia adattata alle varie Province del Regno di Napoli ed insieme il trattato delle api e dei filugelli*, ed. Vincenzo Corrado, 146–56 (Naples: Presso Vincenzo Orsino, 1804). On Vincenzo Corrado, see Vincenzo Cazzato and Andrea Mantovano, “La ‘Fisiologia degli agrumi e il giardino tardo barocco in Terra d’Otranto,” in *Il giardino delle Esperidi: Gli agrumi nella storia, nella letteratura e nell’arte*, eds. Alessandro Tagliolini and Margherita Azzi Visentini, 245–68 (Florence: Edifir, 1996).

55 Francesco Saverio Salfi, “Sul Marchese Giuseppe Palmieri,” nineteenth century, ms. XX, 57, folio F, recto and verso, Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples.

56 Vincenzo Cazzato and Andrea Mantovano, “Giardini di mura e giardini murati nel Salento,” in *Il giardino e*

le mura: Ai confini tra natura e storia, eds. Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Giorgio Galletti, and Maria Adriana Giusti, 235–50 (Florence: Edifir, 1997). See also Simonetta Politano, “Portali e recinti di ville nelle campagne salentine,” in *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, ed. Vincenzo Cazzato, 262–73 (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006).

57 Costantini, *Le masserie del Salento*, 309 and 363.

58 On the wells of Salento, see Vincenzo Cazzato, “Il Salento, le acque e il pozzo del chiostro,” in *Il tempio di Tancredi: Il monastero dei Santi Niccolò e Cataldo in Lecce*, eds. Bruno Pellegrino and Benedetto Vetere, 133–44 (Milan: Silvana, 1996); Patrizia Congedo, “Censimento di pozzi e cisterne del territorio neretino,” in *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, ed. Vincenzo Cazzato, 286–93 (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006); and Ugo Gelli, “Portali, pozzi, cisterne: Esperienze di rilievo architettonico,” in *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, ed. Vincenzo Cazzato, 274–85 (Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006).

59 Cazzato and Mantovano, “La ‘Fisiologia degli agrumi’ e il giardino tardo barocco in Terra d’Otranto,” 246–68. See also Vincenzo Cazzato and Andrea Mantovano, “Giardino ed economia agraria negli scritti di Francesco Milizia e della ‘scuola’ pugliese,” in *Francesco Milizia e la cultura del Settecento*, eds. Mariella Basile and Grazia Distaso, 21–28 (Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2002).

60 Vincenzo Cazzato, “Il giardino di Statue della Masseria Brusca a Nardò, teatro del mondo e degli dei,” in *Interventi sulla ‘Questione Meridionale’*, ed. Francesco Abbate, 335–40 (Rome: Donzelli, 2005).

61 De Seta, di Mauro, and Perone, *Ville vesuviane*, 20–21.

62 Cazzato and Mantovano, *Paradisi dell’eclittismo*; and Andrea Mantovano, “Il bazaar degli stili: Ville e giardini nella Puglia di fine Ottocento,” in *Ville e giardini fra Ottocento e Novecento: Studi e proposte*, ed. Alberta Campitelli (Rome: Edizioni Joyce, 1996), 121.

Contributors

Mauro Ambrosoli

Mauro Ambrosoli is professor of modern history at the Università di Udine; he taught at the Università di Torino from 1976 to 1994. His research focuses on agricultural development in early modern Europe. Inspired by the “green revolution” of the 1970s, he began with studies of early agricultural books, seed exchanges, and the connections between botany and agriculture. Following several years of research in Italy, France, and England, Ambrosoli received a visiting fellowship at Magdalen College, Oxford (1987–88), where he delivered the Waynflete Lectures on the subject of fodder grasses in European agriculture from 1350 to 1850. These lectures were published in 1992 as *Scienziati, contadini e proprietari: Botanica e agricoltura nell'Europa occidentale 1350–1850*; this book was translated into English as *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850* in 1997. In addition to studying horticultural innovations in early modern Europe, Ambrosoli also works on the history of textiles and institutions. His most recent research is on the role of the garden as a seed bed of development.

Mirka Beneš

Mirka Beneš is associate professor of landscape architecture in the School of Architecture at the University of Texas at Austin. She first trained as a painter, and then received her B.A. from Princeton University and her PhD in the history of art from Yale University. From 1988 to 2005, she taught the history of landscape architecture at the Graduate School of Design of Harvard University. Her

teaching interests range from Mediterranean antiquity to Islamic gardens, and from Baroque Rome to contemporary landscape architecture. Her scholarship and publications focus on the city of Rome and its countryside in the early modern period (1500–1700), in particular the design of its villas, gardens, and parks, which are studied in the contexts of their social-geographical structures, agrarian landscapes, Rome’s artistic and architectural culture, and its urban and suburban development. She is coeditor, with Dianne Harris, of *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France* (2001). She also publishes on the seventeenth-century landscape painter Claude Lorrain, on modernism in landscape architecture, and on issues of historiography and methodology. Beneš has been a fellow of Dumbarton Oaks, and twice a fellow of the American Academy in Rome.

Vincenzo Cazzato

Vincenzo Cazzato is professor of the history of modern architecture and garden art at the Università di Lecce. From 1981 to 2001, he was the coordinating senior architect in the research office of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. Since 1989, he has coordinated the Centro di Studi sul Barocco di Lecce, and has served as a research lecturer at the Centro di Studi sulla Cultura e l’Immagine di Roma. He has participated in the compilation of a thematic atlas of Baroque noble residences, villas, and gardens in central and southern Italy. He has been the scientific coordinator of the Comitato Nazionale per lo Studio e la Conservazione dei Giardini Storici since its establishment in 1982. As scientific head

of the *Quaderni* series, he has directed the series *Architettura e città* and *Studi e documenti*, as well as the series *Natura e artificio* with Marcello Fagiolo. Winner of the Grinzane Cavour-Giardini Botanic Hanbury Award in 1999 with *La memoria, il tempo, la storia nel giardino italiano fra '800 e '900* and in 2005 with *Ville e giardini italiani: I disegni di architetti e paesaggisti dell'American Academy in Rome*, he has just coordinated and published a national project with more than one thousand biographies of landscape architects and gardeners, *Atlante del giardino italiano, 1750–1940* (2009).

Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto

Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto is assistant professor of landscape architecture at the University of Pennsylvania. Before that, she taught in the landscape architecture programs at the University of Maryland and Ohio State University. She has lectured at the Studienkurs des Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florence, the Sixth International Conference for Word and Image Studies in Hamburg, the New School University in New York, the University of Pennsylvania, and Dumbarton Oaks. She trained as an architect at the University of Palermo before earning a PhD in architecture and a MLA in landscape architecture from the University of Pennsylvania. After receiving her doctorate, she held a postdoctoral fellowship in Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks, where she worked toward the completion of her book *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design* (2008).

Marcello Fagiolo

Marcello Fagiolo is professor of architectural history at the Università di Roma “La Sapienza.” He received his *laurea* degree in art history at the Università di Roma in 1963. He created, directed, or co-directed the journals of architectural history *Psicon* (Florence, 1974–77), *QUASAR* (Florence, 1989–93), and *Palladio* (1988–); and he is the director of various publication series, including the *Atlante del Barocco in Italia* (planned with thirty regional and ten thematic volumes) and series on architecture and gardens with the publishers Officina Editrice (Rome), Gangemi

(Rome), and Electa Napoli (Naples). Since 1980, he has been the head of the Corsi Internazionali di Alta Cultura dell'Accademia dei Lincei. He created and currently directs the Centro di Studi sulla Cultura e l'Immagine di Roma, as well as the Centri di Studi sul Barocco of Siracusa, Lecce, and Foligno. He is vice president of the Istituto Zorzi per le Arti dello Spettacolo (Florence). Among his leadership responsibilities in the organization of scholarly initiatives in Italy, he has served as a consultant to the Ministero per i Beni Culturali, the scientific secretary of the Comitato Nazionale per Bernini and the Comitato Nazionale per Raffaello, the coordinator of the Comitato Nazionale per Sisto V, and the president of the Comitato Nazionale per Pirro Ligorio and of the Comitato Nazionale per Roma e la nascita del Barocco. He is also the president of the Comitato Nazionale per lo Studio e la Conservazione dei Parchi e dei Giardini Storici and the secretary for the *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Pirro Ligorio* (planned in forty volumes).

Michael G. Lee

Michael G. Lee is a postdoctoral associate in Garden and Landscape Studies at Dumbarton Oaks. His research focuses on ideological constructions of nature at the intersection of philosophy, literature, and landscape design. He is the author of *The German “Mittelweg”: Garden Theory and Philosophy in the Time of Kant* (2007), which examines the structural affinities between German Enlightenment garden design and topographical metaphors in Kantian philosophy. His most recent projects include a study of bureaucratic vision and landscape planning in nineteenth-century Prussia and an analysis of landscape and gender in Weimar modernism. He has lectured at Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, the Stiftung Fürst-Pückler-Park Bad Muskau, and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Trained as a landscape architect and historian, Lee received a BSLA from Texas A&M University and a MLA and PhD in landscape architecture from Harvard University. He has taught at the Harvard Graduate School of Design, the Rhode Island School of Design, and Connecticut College.

Antonella Pietrogrande

Antonella Pietrogrande is coordinator of curriculum for the “Gruppo Giardino Storico dell’Università di Padova,” for which she plans and organizes an annual interdisciplinary course on garden and landscape culture in the Dipartimento di Biologia-Orto Botanico. She took her first degree in literary studies from the Università di Padova, and a second degree in drama, arts, and music from the Università di Bologna. Since the early 1990s, she has published widely on garden and landscape history, in particular on the Veneto region, with much of her research focusing on the relationships among gardens, theater, and literature. She has participated in numerous conferences both in Italy and abroad, and has taught courses in architectural history at the Politecnico di Milano with Margherita Azzi Visentini. Some of her most recent work will appear in the Veneto section of the *Atlante del Barocco in Italia*, directed by Marcello Fagiolo and supported by the Accademia dei Lincei of Rome.

Denis Ribouillault

Denis Ribouillault is a pensionnaire at the Académie de France à Rome. Prior to his residency in Rome, he was a Florence J. Gould Fellow at the Villa i Tatti in Florence (2008–9) and a lecturer in early modern art at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London (2006–8). Before these appointments, he taught sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian art at the Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, where he received a PhD in 2006 with a dissertation on topographical landscape cycles in sixteenth-century Rome and Latium. Ribouillault’s research addresses the function and meaning of landscape painting in Renaissance and early modern Italy. He has published several articles

on the villas of Rome and the Roman countryside (including those at Tivoli and Bagnaia) and has completed a book on landscape fresco decoration in sixteenth-century Rome, *Paysage et pouvoir: Les décors topographiques à Rome et dans le Latium au XVIe siècle*. He has benefited from the support of several institutions during the course of his research, including the Dutch Institute for Art History in Florence, the École Française de Rome, the Académie de France à Rome, Dumbarton Oaks, and the Warburg Institute in London.

Lionella Scazzosi

Lionella Scazzosi is an architect who holds a PhD in historic preservation. She is currently associate professor at the Politecnico di Milano in the areas of architectural restoration and the preservation and management of historical gardens and landscapes. Since 1998, she has been a consultant to the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali on Italian landscape policies and conservation rules. She has also served as the permanent Italian representative at the Council of Europe since 2002, as an expert at the Council of Europe for the application of the European Landscape Convention since 2005, and as a member of the ICOMOS-IFLA International Committee on Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes since 2006. She is the scientific director of the Centro per la Ricerca e Documentazione Internazionale per il Paesaggio (PaRID) at the Politecnico di Milano, and also serves as a scientific director for several national and international research projects focused on garden and landscape preservation. Her field work includes the restoration of the Botanical Garden of Brera-Milan and the Renaissance gardens of the Vertemate Franchi Palace in Piuro.

Bibliography

- Abulafia, David, ed. *The Mediterranean in History*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003.
- Accati, Elena et al. *Il restauro del giardino storico: Metodologie per la conoscenza e strumenti operativi per gli interventi di conservazione*. Vernasca (Piacenza): Flor TECNICA, 2002.
- Acidini Luchinat, Cristina. "I giardini dei Medici: Origini, sviluppi, trasformazioni; L'architettura, il verde, le statue, le fontane." In *Giardini medicei: Giardini di palazzo e di villa nella Firenze del Quattrocento*, edited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat, 46–59. Milan: F. Motta, 1996.
- . "Il modello del giardino fiorentino del Quattrocento nella mostra del 1931." In *Giardini medicei: Giardini di palazzo e di villa nella Firenze del Quattrocento*, edited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat, 138–45. Milan: F. Motta, 1996.
- . "Alle origini del 'ritratto di giardino'." In *Giardini regali: Fascino e immagini del verde nelle grandi dinastie; Dai Medici agli Asburgo*, edited by Monica Amari, 159–64. Milan: Electa, 1998.
- Acidini Luchinat, Cristina, ed. *Giardini medicei: Giardini di palazzo e di villa nella Firenze del Quattrocento*. Milan: F. Motta, 1996.
- Ackerman, James S. *The Cortile del Belvedere*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1954.
- . "Art History and the Problems of Criticism." In *The Visual Arts Today*, edited by Gyorgy Kepes, 257–67. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1960.
- . *Palladio's Villas*. Locust Valley, N.Y.: Published for the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, by J. J. Augustin, 1967.
- . Review of *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, by David R. Coffin. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39 (1980): 242–43.
- . *The Villa: Form and Ideology of Country Houses*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- . "Style." Chap. 1 in *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991.
- . *Interviews with Art Historians, 1991–2002*. Malibu, Calif.: Getty Research Institute, 1994.
- . "Richard Krautheimer, 6 July 1897–1 November 1994." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 148, no. 2 (June 2004): 229–34.
- Ady, Mrs. Julia Mary Cartwright. *Italian Gardens of the Renaissance, and Other Studies*. London: Smith, Elder, 1914.
- Ago, Renata. "Gli storici italiani e le fortune dell'antropologia: Il dibattito sulla storia sociale in Italia." In *Orientamenti marxisti e studi antropologici italiani: Problemi e dibattiti*, edited by Renata Ago et al., 223–29. Milan: F. Angeli, 1980.
- . *Carriere e clientele nella Roma barocca*. Rome: Laterza, 1990.
- . *Economia barocca: Mercato e istituzioni nella Roma del Seicento*. Rome: Donzelli, 1998.
- . *Il gusto delle cose: Una storia degli oggetti nella Roma del Seicento*. Rome: Donzelli, 2006.
- Alberti, Leandro. *Descrizione di tutta Italia*. Venice: Ludovico degli Avanzi, 1568.
- Alberti, Leon Battista. *Opere volgari*. Edited by Cecil Grayson. 3 vols. Bari: G. Laterza, 1960–73.
- Alessi, Andrea. "La decorazione pittorica della Palazzina Gambara a Bagnaia." *Biblioteca e società* 21, no. 1–2 (2002): 21–30.
- . "La palazzina Gambara: Gli architetti e i pittori." In *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*, edited by Sabine Frommel, 110–21. Milan: Electa, 2005.
- Aliberti, Giovanni. "Economia e società da Carlo III ai Napoleonidi, 1734–1806." *Storia di Napoli* 8 (1971): 77–164.
- Alisio, Giancarlo. "Le ville di Portici." In *Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, edited by Roberto Pane et al., 127–91. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959.
- . "Una rilettura su inediti del Palazzo Reale di Portici." *L'Architettura* 20 (1974): 262–67.

- . *Siti reali dei Borboni: Aspetti dell'architettura napoletana del Settecento*. Rome: Officina, 1976.
- . *All'ombra del Vesuvio: Napoli nella veduta europea dal Quattrocento all'Ottocento*. Naples: Electa, 1990.
- Alpers, Svetlana. "Is Art History?" *Daedalus* 106, no. 3 (Summer 1977): 1–13.
- Alpers, Svetlana, ed. "Art or Society: Must We Choose?" Special issue, *Representations* 12 (Fall 1985).
- Ambrosoli, Mauro. *John Symonds: Agricoltura e politica in Corsica e in Italia (1765–1770)*. Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi, 1974.
- . *Scienziati, contadini e proprietari: Botanica e agricoltura nell'Europa occidentale, 1350–1850*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1992.
- . *The Wild and the Sown: Botany and Agriculture in Western Europe, 1350–1850*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- . "Agronomi e società tra Italia ed Europa: Realizzazioni e contraddizioni da Pier de' Crescenzi a Filippo Re." *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Bologna, 31 maggio–1 giugno 2007*. Special issue, *Schede umanistiche* 21, no. 1–2 (2007).
- . "Conservation and Diffusion of Species Diversity in Northern Italy: Peasant Gardens of the Renaissance and After." In *Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation, and Cultural Change*, edited by Michel Conan and W. John Kress, 177–98. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- . "The Political Context for the Agricultural Activities of the Hartlib Circle." In *Samuel Hartlib: An International Correspondence*, edited by Scott Mandelbrote, 180–96. Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- Amodio, Gaetano. *Ville vesuviane tra Ottocento e Novecento*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2002.
- Andrews, Malcolm. *Landscape and Western Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- Añón, Carmen, José Luis Sancho, and José Martínez Millán, eds. *Jardín y naturaleza en el reinado de Felipe II*. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Conme. Centenarios Felipe II–Carlos V, 1998.
- Anthénaise, Claude d', and Monique Chatenet, eds. *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Chambord, 1er et 2 octobre 2004*. Arles: Actes Sud, 2007.
- Assunto, Rosario. "Fuga dal giardino e ritrovamento del giardino (con alcune varianti intorno ai consigli del serpente)." In *Il giardino: Idea natura realtà*, edited by Alessandro Tagliolini and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, 17–44. Milan: Guerini, 1987.
- . *Ontologia e teleologia del giardino*. Milan: Guerini, 1994.
- . *Il paesaggio e l'estetica*. 2 vols. 1973. Reprint, Palermo: Novecento, 1994.
- . *Retour au jardin: Essais pour une philosophie de la nature, 1976–1987*. Besançon: Les Éditions de l'Imprimeur, 2003.
- Aymard, Maurice. "Les Annales et l'Italie." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen âge* 93, no. 1 (1981): 401–17.
- Azzi Visentini, Margherita. *La villa in Italia: Quattrocento e Cinquecento*. Milan: Electa, 1995.
- . "Storia dei giardini: Osservazioni in margine al recente sviluppo di questa disciplina in Italia." In *Storia e storie di giardini: Fortune e storia del giardino italiano e verbanese nel mondo; Atti del Convegno, Verbania, sabato 31 agosto 2002*, edited by Leonardo Parachini and Carlo Alessandro Pisoni, 45–86. Verbania: Alberti Libraio, Comune di Verbania, Magazzino Storico Verbanese, 2003.
- . "Islands of Delight: Shifting Perceptions of the Borromean Islands." In *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, edited by Michel Conan, 245–89. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005.
- . "Alle origini dell'architettura del paesaggio: Considerazioni in margine al rapporto tra gli edifici, i giardini e il sito nelle ville laziali del Cinquecento." In *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*, edited by Sabine Frommel, 190–205. Milan: Electa, 2005.
- . "Riflessioni intorno alla fortuna critica del giardino storico italiano negli Stati Uniti negli ultimi trentacinque anni." In *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:31–46. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Azzi Visentini, Margherita, ed. *L'arte dei giardini: Scritti teorici e pratici dal XIV al XIX secolo*. 2 vols. Milan: Il Polifilo, 1999.
- Bagatti Valsecchi, Pier Fausto, and Andreas Kipar, eds. *Il giardino paesaggistico tra Settecento e Ottocento in Italia e in Germania: Villa Vigoni e l'opera di Giuseppe Balzaretto*. Milan: Guerini, 1996.
- Baglione, Giovanni. *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII sino à tutto quello d'Urbano Ottavo*. Rome: M. Manelfi, 1649.
- Baldan Zenoni-Politeo, Giuliana, and Antonella Pietrogrande. *Il giardino e la memoria del mondo*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2002.
- Barbanera, Marcello. *L'archeologia degli italiani: Storia, metodi e orientamenti dell'archeologia classica in Italia*. Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1998.
- Barbera, Filippo. "Dalle ville nobiliari esoteriche al Palazzo Reale di Portici: Il simbolismo del sole e della luna nella Santa Coppia." In *Architettura e massoneria: L'esoterismo*

- della costruzione, edited by Marcello Fagiolo, 238–43. Rome: Gangemi, 2006.
- . *Cultura e scienza nei giardini delle ville vesuviane*. Portici: Effegi, 2007.
- . “I progetti della Reggia di Portici: Da Medrano a Canevari, da Vanvitelli a Fuga.” In *Il Real Sito di Portici*, edited by Maria Luisa Margiotta, 69–103. Naples: Paparo, 2008.
- Barisi, Isabella. “Il disegno del giardino e l’architettura vegetale.” In *Villa d’Este*, edited by Isabella Barisi, Marcello Fagiolo, and Maria Luisa Madonna, 55–81. Rome: De Luca, 2003.
- Barisi, Isabella, Marcello Fagiolo, and Maria Luisa Madonna. *Villa d’Este*. Rome: De Luca, 2003.
- Barrell, John. *The Dark Side of the Landscape: The Rural Poor in English Painting, 1730–1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.
- Bastogi, Nadia. “La villa Ferdinanda di Artimino.” In *Fasto di corte: La decorazione murale nelle residenze dei Medici e dei Lorena*. Vol. I, *Da Ferdinando I alle Reggenti, 1587–1628*, edited by Mina Gregori, 45–65. Florence: Edifir, 2005.
- . “Magnificenza, decoro morale e celebrazione dinastica nei cicli di affreschi per il Granduca Ferdinando I: Il caso della villa di Artimino.” *Fontes* 7, no. 13–16 (2004–5 [2007]): 53–82.
- Battisti, Eugenio. “*Natura Artificiosa to Natura Artificialis*.” In *The Italian Garden*, edited by David R. Coffin, 1–36. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1972.
- . “The Role of Semiology in the Visual Arts.” In *A Semiotic Landscape: Proceedings of the First Congress of the International Association for Semiotic Studies*, edited by Seymour Chatman, Umberto Eco, and Jean-Marie Klinkenberg, 744–48. The Hague: Mouton, 1979.
- . *L’antirinascimento*. 1962. Reprint, 2 vols. Milan: Garzanti, 1989.
- . *Iconologia ed ecologia del giardino e del paesaggio*. Edited by Giuseppa Saccaro Del Buffa. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004.
- Baumer, Franz. *La grande madre: Scenari da un mondo mitico*. Translated by Giuseppina Quattrocchi. Genoa: ECIG, 1995.
- Baxandall, Michael. *Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition, 1350–1450*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- . *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Beal, Mary. *A Study of Richard Symonds: His Italian Notebooks and their Relevance to Seventeenth-Century Painting Techniques*. New York: Garland, 1984.
- Bédarida, François, ed. *L’histoire et le métier d’historien en France 1945–1995*. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l’Homme, 1995.
- Belli Barsali, Isa. *Ville di Roma*. 1970. Reprint, Milan: Rusconi, 1983.
- Belli Barsali, Isa, and Maria Grazia Branchetti. *Ville della campagna romana*. Milan: SISAR, 1975.
- Benedetti, Sandro. *Giacomo del Duca e l’architettura del Cinquecento*. Rome: Officina, 1973.
- Beneš, Mirka. “Villa Pamphilj (1630–1670): Family, Land, and Gardens in Papal Rome.” PhD diss., Yale University, 1989.
- . “Landowning and the Villa in the Social Geography of the Roman Territory: The Location and Landscapes of the Villa Pamphilj, 1645–70.” In *Form, Modernism, and History: Essays in Honor of Eduard F. Sekler*, edited by Alexander von Hoffmann, 187–209. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Graduate School of Design, 1996.
- . “The Social Significance of Transforming the Landscape of the Villa Borghese, 1606–1630: Territory, Trees, and Agriculture in the Design of the First Roman Baroque Park.” In *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, edited by Attilio Petruccioli, 1–31. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
- . “Recent Developments and Perspectives in the Historiography of Italian Gardens.” In *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, 37–76. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999.
- . “Italian and French Gardens: A Century of Historical Study (1900–2000).” In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . “Pastoralism in the Roman Baroque Villa and in Claude Lorrain: Myths and Realities of the Roman Campagna.” In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 88–113. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . “A Tribute to Two Historians of Landscape Architecture: David R. Coffin and Elisabeth B. MacDougall.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 63, no. 2 (June 2004): 248–54.
- . “Claude Lorrain’s Pendant Landscapes of 1646–50 for Camillo Pamphilj, Nephew of Pope Innocent X: Classicism, Architecture, and Gardens as Contexts for the Artist’s Roman Patronage.” *Storia dell’arte* 112 (2005): 37–90.
- Beneš, Mirka, and Dianne Harris, eds. *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Benocci, Carla. *La villa della famiglia Doria Pamphilj a Roma*. Milan: Electa, 1988.

- . *Villa Doria Pamphilj*. Rome: Editalia, 1996.
- . *Villa Il Vascello*. Rome: Erasmo, 2003.
- Benocci, Carla, ed. *I giardini Chigi tra Siena e Roma: Dal Cinquecento agli inizi dell'Ottocento*. Siena: Protagon, Fondazione Monte dei Paschi di Siena, 2005.
- Benocci, Carla, and F. Catalli. *Villa Doria Pamphilj*. Rome: Comune di Roma, 2005.
- Bentmann, Reinhard, and Michael Müller. *Die Villa als Herrschafts-architektur: Versuch einer kunst- und sozialgeschichtlichen Analyse*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970.
- . *The Villa as Hegemonic Architecture*. Translated by Tim Spence and David Craven. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1992.
- Berengo, Marino. *Nobili e mercanti nella Lucca del Cinquecento*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1965.
- Berger, John. *Ways of Seeing*. London: British Broadcasting Corporation, and New York: Penguin Books, 1972.
- Bergmann, Bettina. "Painted Perspectives of a Villa Visit." In *Roman Art in the Private Sphere: New Perspectives on the Architecture and Decor of the Domus, Villa, and Insula*, edited by Elaine K. Gazda, 49–70. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991.
- . "Exploring the Grove: Pastoral Space on Roman Walls." In *The Pastoral Landscape*, edited by John Dixon Hunt, 21–46. Studies in the History of Art 36. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1992.
- . "Playing with Boundaries: Painted Architecture in Roman Interiors." In *The Built Surface*. Vol. 1, *Architecture and the Visual Arts from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, edited by Christy Anderson, 15–46. Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2002.
- Berque, Augustin. "La demeure des choses: Jardin, écoumène, espace virtuel." In *Le jardin planétaire*, edited by Claude Eveno and Gilles Clément, 155–63. Châteauevallon: Aube, 1997.
- Besse, Jean-Marc. "Représenter la ville ou la simuler? Réflexions autour d'une vue d'Amsterdam au XVIe siècle." *Ligeia: Dossiers sur l'art* 19–20 (1996–97): 43–55.
- . *Face au monde: Atlas, jardins, géoramas*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2003.
- Bevilacqua, Mario. "Tra Napoli, Roma e l'Europa: Alcune lettere di Giovanni Carafa duca di Noja." *Napoli nobilissima* 34 (1995): 99–116.
- Bevilacqua, Mario, and Maria Luisa Madonna, eds. *Stato pontificio e granducato di Toscana*. Vol. 2 of *Il sistema delle residenze nobiliari*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo. Rome: De Luca, 2003.
- Bhatt, Ritu. "The Significance of the Aesthetic in Postmodern Architectural Theory." *Journal of Architectural Education* 53 (May 2000): 229–38.
- Biagioli, Giulianna. *Il modello del proprietario imprenditore nella Toscana dell'Ottocento—Bettino Ricasoli: Il patri-monio, le fattorie*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2000.
- Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Blunt, Anthony. *Neapolitan Baroque and Rococo Architecture*. London: A. Zwemmer, 1975.
- Boccone, Paolo. *Museo di piante rare della Sicilia, Malta, Corsica, Italia, Piemonte, e Germania dedicato ad alcuni nobili patritii veneti protettori della botanica e delle buone lettere*. Venice: Zuccato, 1697. Reprint, with introduction and notes by Francesco M. Raimondo, Christiane Garnero Morena, and Pietro Mazzola. Palermo: Ed. Grifo, 1996.
- Bonadonna Russo, Maria Teresa. "Renato Lefevre." *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 127 (2004): 293–99.
- Bonelli Conenna, Lucia, Attilio Brilli, and Giuseppe Cantelli. *Il paesaggio toscano: Storia e rappresentazione*. Milan: Silvana, 2004.
- Borchardt, Rudolf. *Città italiane*. Milan: Adelphi, 1989.
- Borea, Evelina. "La scomparsa di Paola della Pergola: La signora della Galleria Borghese." *Il giornale dell'arte* 11, no. 108 (1993): 3.
- Boriani, Maurizio, and Lionella Scazzosi, eds. *Natura e architettura: La conservazione del patrimonio paesistico*. Milan: Clup, 1987.
- Bosio, Gherardo. "Invito alla visita delle Ville Medicee a proposito della mostra fiorentina del giardino." *Domus* 39 (March 1931): 56–58.
- Botero, Giovanni. *The Reason of State, and The Greatness of Cities*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956.
- Boudon, Françoise. "Images de jardins au XVIème siècle: Les plus excellents bastiments de France." In *Histoire des jardins de la Renaissance à nos jours*, edited by Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot, 96–98. Paris: Flammarion, 1991.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. "Champs intellectuel et projet créateur." 1966. Reprinted in *Anthologie des sociologues français contemporains*, edited by Jean Duvignaud. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970.
- . "Champs du pouvoir, champs intellectuel et habitus de classe." *Scolies* 1 (1971): 7–26.
- . "The Genesis of the Concepts of *Habitus* and of *Field*." *Sociocriticism* 2 (December 1985): 11–25.
- Bousquet-Bressolier, Catherine, ed. *Le paysage des cartes: Genèse d'une codification; Actes de la 3^e journée d'études du Musée des Plans-Reliefs, Paris, Hôtel des Invalides, 19 novembre 1998*. Paris: Le Musée, 1999.
- Bovinelli, Patrizia, and Luigi Nicolardi. "I casini nel territorio di Presicce: Storia e proposte di restauro conservativo." In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 234–49. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.

- Brandi, Cesare. *Teoria del restauro*. 1963. Reprint, Turin: G. Einaudi, 1977.
- Branduini, Paola, and Franco Sangiorgi. "L'accesso a Milano dal Parco Agricolo Sud: Riconoscibilità e qualificazione del paesaggio rurale." In *Oltre il giardino: Le architetture vegetali e il paesaggio*, edited by Gabriella Guerci, Laura Sabrina Pelissetti, and Lionella Scazzosi, 87–101. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2003.
- Brassai, K. "La Villa Palagonia: Une curiosité du baroque sicilien." *Gazette des beaux-arts* (1962): 351–64.
- Braudel, Fernand. *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*. 1949. Reprint, Paris: A. Colin, 1966.
- . *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Translated by Sián Reynolds. 2 vols. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.
- Brayer, Marie-Ange, ed. *Cartographiques: Actes du colloque de l'Académie de France à Rome, 19–20 mai 1995*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996.
- Bredenkamp, Horst. *Vicino Orsini und der Heilige Wald von Bomarzo: Ein Fürst als Künstler und Anarchist*. 2 vols. Worms: Werner, 1985.
- . *Vicino Orsini e il bosco sacro di Bomarzo: Un principe artista ed anarchico*. Translated by Franco Pignatti. Rome: Edizioni dell'Elefante, 1989.
- Briffaud, Serge. "De l' 'invention' du paysage: Pour une lecture critique des discours contemporains sur l'émergence d'une sensibilité paysagère en Europe." *Compar(a)ison: An International Journal of Comparative Literature* 2 (1998): 35–55.
- Brilli, Attilio. *Il viaggio in Italia: Storia di una grande tradizione culturale*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006.
- Brinckmann, Albert E. *Baukunst des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in den romanischen Ländern*. Berlin-Neubabelsberg: Athenaion, 1919.
- . *Plastik und Raum als Grundformen künstlerischer Gestaltung*. Munich: R. Piper, 1922.
- . *Platz und Monument als künstlerisches Formproblem*. Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1923.
- Brothers, Cammy. "The Renaissance Reception of the Alhambra: The Letters of Andrea Navagero and the Palace of Charles V." *Muqarnas* 11 (1994): 79–102.
- Brown, Horatio. "Inglese e scozzesi all'Università di Padova dall'anno 1618 sino al 1765." In *Monografie storiche sullo studio di Padova*, 137–213. Venice: Ferrari, 1922.
- Brown, Jonathan, and John H. Elliott. *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Browne, Thomas. *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall; or, A Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urnes Lately Found in Norfolk; Together with The Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincunciall, Lozenge, or Net-work Plantations of the Ancients, Artificially, Mystically Considered; With Sundry Observations*. London: Printed for Hen. Brome, 1658.
- . *The Works of Sir Thomas Browne*. Edited by Geoffrey Keynes. 6 vols. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1928.
- Brugnoli, Andrea, and Gian Maria Varanini, eds. *Olivi e olio nel medioevo italiano*. Bologna: CLUEB, 2005.
- Brunon, Hervé. "Les mouvements de l'âme: Émotions et poétique du jardin maniériste." In *Felipe II: El rey íntimo; Jardín y naturaleza en el siglo XVI*, edited by Carmen Añón Feliú, 103–36. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 1998.
- . "Les promenades du roi." In *Le jardin, notre double; Sagesse et déraison*, edited by Hervé Brunon, 157–82. Paris: Éditions Autrement, 1999.
- . "De l'image à l'imaginaire: Notes sur la figuration du jardin sous le règne de Louis XIV." *XVIIe siècle* 209 (2000): 671–86.
- . "Pratolino: Art des jardins et imaginaire de la nature dans l'Italie de la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle." Doctoral thesis, Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2001.
- . "Dalle 'fiere non rapaci' ai 'fruttiferi e pomati arbori': Villa Lante a Bagnaia e l'evoluzione del parco nel Rinascimento." In *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*, edited by Sabine Frommel, 31–43. Milan: Electa, 2005.
- . "Documents ou monuments? Les textes littéraires dans la panoplie méthodologique des histoires du paysage." In *Le paysage dans la littérature italienne: De Dante à nos jours*, edited by Giuseppe Sangirardi, 17–28. Dijon: Éditions Universitaires de Dijon, 2006.
- . "L'essor artistique et la fabrique culturelle du paysage à la Renaissance." *Studiolo: Revue d'histoire de l'art de l'Académie de France à Rome* 4 (2006): 261–90.
- . "La chasse et l'organisation du paysage dans la Toscane des Médicis." In *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Chambord, 1er et 2 octobre 2004*, edited by Claude d'Anthenaise and Monique Chatenet, 219–46. Arles: Actes Sud, 2007.
- . "Articuler pratiques et représentations paysagères en histoire de l'art: Recherches récentes sur l'Italie à la Renaissance." In *Paysage et environnement: De la reconstitution du passé aux modèles prospectifs*, edited by Didier Galop, 461–69. Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2008.
- . "Questions et méthodes de l'histoire des jardins en France." In *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 11–21. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Brunon, Hervé, and Monique Mosser. "Ripensare i limiti del giardino." In *Per un giardino della terra*, edited by Antonella Pietrogrande, 9–30. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2006.

- Bruschi, Arnaldo. *Bramante architetto*. Bari: Laterza, 1969.
- Büchel, Daniel, and Volker Reinhardt, eds. *Die Kreise der Nepoten: Neue Forschungen zu alten und neuen Eliten Roms in der frühen Neuzeit*. Bern: P. Lang, 2001.
- Burckhardt, Jacob. *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens*. Basel: Schweighauser'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1855.
- . *The Civilisation of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*. Translated by S. G. C. Middlemore. London: C. Kegan Paul, 1878.
- . *The Cicerone: An Art Guide to Painting in Italy for the Use of Travelers and Students*. Translated by Mrs. A. H. Clough. New York: Scribner, 1908.
- Burguière, André. *L'école des annales: Une histoire intellectuelle*. Paris: O. Jacob, 2006.
- Buridant, Jérôme. "La forêt et la chasse au XVIe siècle." In *Chasses princières dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes du colloque de Chambord, 1er et 2 octobre 2004*, edited by Claude d'Anthénaise and Monique Chatenet, 159–74. Arles: Actes Sud, 2007.
- Burke, Peter. *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- . *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School, 1929–89*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990.
- Burns, Howard, and Paul Davies. "Mediterranean dialogues: Palladio and Sinan." In *Palladio*, edited by Guido Beltramini and Howard Burns, 236–43. London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2008.
- Busato, Davide. *Metamorfosi di un litorale: Origine e sviluppo dell'isola di Sant'Erasmo nella Laguna di Venezia*. Venice: Marsilio, 2006.
- Butters, Suzanne B. "Ferdinand et le jardin du Pincio." In *La Villa Médicis*, edited by André Chastel. Vol. 2, *Études*, edited by Glenn M. Andres et al., 350–411. Rome: Académie de France à Rome, École Française de Rome, 1991.
- . "Pressed Labor and Pratolino: Social Imagery and Social Reality at a Medici Garden." In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 61–87. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Calame, Claude. "Gardens of Love and Meadows of the Beyond: Ritual Encounters with the Gods and Poetical Performances in Ancient Greece." In *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*, edited by Michel Conan, 43–56. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- Campitelli, Alberta. *Villa Borghese: Da giardino del principe a parco dei romani*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2003.
- Campitelli, Alberta, ed. *Villa Borghese: I principi, le arti, la città dal Settecento all'Ottocento*. Milan: Skira, 2003.
- . *Verdi delizie: Le ville, i giardini, i parchi storici del Comune di Roma*. Rome: De Luca, 2005.
- . *Villa Borghese: Storia e gestione*. Milan: Skira Editore, 2005.
- Canestrini, Francesco, Francesca Furia, and Maria Rosaria Iacono, eds. *Il governo dei giardini e dei parchi storici: Restauro, manutenzione, gestione*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2001.
- Cantone, Gaetana, ed. *Barocco napoletano*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1992.
- Cantone, Rosalba. "I giardini della Villa Farnese di Caprarola: Loro evoluzione, fortuna critica e prospettive di recupero." In *Vignola e i Farnese*, edited by Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Maurizio Ricci, and Richard J. Tuttle, 118–43. Milan: Electa, 2003.
- Capobianco, Michele. "Scale settecentesche a Napoli." *L'Architettura* 84 (1962): 401–17; 86 (1962): 549–60; 88 (1963): 695–706.
- Capodiferro, Alessandra, and Cornelia Lauf, eds. *Georgina Masson (1912–1980): Selections from the Photographic Archive*. Milan: Charta, 2003.
- Carbonara, Giovanni, ed. *Trattato di restauro architettonico*. 4 vols. Turin: UTET, 1996.
- Carboneri, Nino. *Ascanio Vitozzi: Un architetto tra Manierismo e Barocco*. Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1966.
- Cardarelli, Urbano, Paolo Romanello, and Arnaldo Venditti. *Ville vesuviane: Progetto per un patrimonio settecentesco di urbanistica e di architettura*. Naples: Electa Napoli, 1988.
- Caro, Annibal. *Delle lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro*. 2 vols. Padua: Giuseppe Comino, 1742.
- . *Lettere familiari*. Edited by Aulo Greco. 3 vols. Florence: Le Monnier, 1957–61.
- Carozzi, Pier Angelo. Introduction to *I miti della donna-giardino. Da Iside alla Sulamita*, by Uberto Pestalozza, edited by Pier Angelo Carozzi, 5–12. Milan: Edizioni Medusa, 2001.
- "Carta dei giardini storici (1981, Firenze)." In *Giardini, contesto, paesaggio: Sistemi di giardini e architetture vegetali nel paesaggio*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:419–21. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005.
- Casey, Edward S. *Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- Caskey, Jill. *Art and Patronage in the Medieval Mediterranean: Merchant Culture in the Region of Amalfi*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Cassarino, Enrica. *La villa medicea di Artimino*. Florence: Becocci-Scala, 1990.
- Castellamonte, Amedeo di. *Venaria reale, palazzo di piacere, et di caccia: Ideato dall'Altezza reale di Carlo Emanuel II, duca di Savoia, Re di Cipro*. Turin: B. Zapatta, 1674.

- Castelli, Patrizia. "L'antro delle Ninfe." In *Artifici d'acque e giardini: La cultura delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia e in Europa*, edited by Isabella Lapi Ballerini and Litta Maria Medri, 153–63. Florence: Centro Di, 1999.
- Castelnuovo, Enrico. "Per una storia sociale dell'arte." *Paragone* 27, no. 313 (March 1976): 3–30; 27, no. 314 (January 1977): 3–34.
- . *Il ciclo dei Mesi di Torre Aquila a Trento*. Trento: Museo Provinciale d'Arte, 1987.
- Cato, Ercole. *Oratione fatta dal cavaliere Hercole Cato nelle essequie dell'illustriss. & reverendiss. sig. D. Hippolito d'Este card. di Ferrara, celebrate nella città di Tivoli*. Ferrara: Per Vittorio Baldini, stampator ducale, 1587.
- Cavazzini, Patrizia. *Palazzo Lancellotti ai Coronari: Cantiere d'Agostino Tassi*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1998.
- . "Towards the Pure Landscape." In *The Genius of Rome, 1592–1623*, edited by Beverly Louise Brown, 208–47. London: Royal Academy of Arts, and New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001.
- Cazzani, Alberta, ed. *Giardini d'agrumi: Limoni, cedri e aranci nel paesaggio agrario italiano*. Brescia: Grafo, 1999.
- Cazzato, Mario. "Matino: Immagine di una comunità nel XVIII secolo." In *Matino: Natura ed arte; Una comunità meridionale nel '700*, edited by Giuseppe Schivano. Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992.
- Cazzato, Vincenzo. "I giardini del desiderio: La Mostra del Giardino Italiano (Firenze 1931)." In *Il giardino romantico*, edited by Alessandro Vezzosi, 80–91. Florence: Alinea, 1986.
- . "Firenze 1931: La consacrazione del 'primato italiano' nell'arte dei giardini." In *Il giardino: Idea natura realtà*, edited by Alessandro Tagliolini and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, 77–108. Milan: Guerini, 1987.
- . "Puglia giardino del Sud." In *Parchi e giardini storici, parchi letterari: Conoscenza, tutela e valorizzazione; Atti del III Convegno (Primo Internazionale) "Paesaggi e giardini del Mediterraneo"*, 2:81–94. Pompei: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Comitato Nazionale per lo Studio e la Conservazione dei Giardini Storici, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 1993.
- . "Il Salento, le acque e il pozzo del chiostro." In *Il tempio di Tancredi: Il monastero dei Santi Niccolò e Cataldo in Lecce*, edited by Bruno Pellegrino and Benedetto Vetere, 133–44. Milan: Silvana, 1996.
- . *Ville e giardini italiani: I disegni di architetti e paesaggisti dell'American Academy in Rome*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2004.
- . "Il giardino di Statue della Masseria Brusca a Nardò, teatro del mondo e degli dei." In *Interventi sulla 'Questione Meridionale'*, edited by Francesco Abbate, 335–40. Rome: Donzelli, 2005.
- . "Sistemi di ville e di giardini nel Salento dal Barocco al Novecento." In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 34–45. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- Cazzato, Vincenzo, ed. *Tutela dei giardini storici: Bilanci e prospettive*. Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Studi, 1989.
- . *Parchi e giardini storici: Conoscenza, tutela e valorizzazione*. Roma: Leonardo-DeLuca, 1991.
- . *La memoria, il tempo, la storia nel giardino italiano fra '800 e '900*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1999.
- . *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- . *Atlante del giardino italiano, 1750–1940: Dizionario biografico di architetti, giardinieri, botanici, committenti, letterati e altri protagonisti*. 2 vols. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2009.
- Cazzato, Vincenzo, Marcello Fagiolo, and Maria Adriana Giusti. *Teatri di verzura: La scena del giardino dal barocco al Novecento*. Florence: Edifir, 1993.
- Cazzato, Vincenzo, Marcello Fagiolo, and Maria Adriana Giusti, eds. *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia*. Vol. 1, *Toscana, Lazio, Italia meridionale e isole*. Milan: Electa, 2001.
- . *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia*. Vol. 2, *Italia settentrionale, Umbria e Marche*. Milan: Electa, 2002.
- Cazzato, Vincenzo, and Marina Fresa, eds. *I nostri giardini: Tutela, conservazione, valorizzazione gestione*. Rome: Gangemi, 2005.
- Cazzato, Vincenzo, and Andrea Mantovano. *Paradisi dell'eclettismo: Ville e villeggiature nel Salento*. Cavallino di Lecce: Capone, 1992.
- . "La 'Fisiologia degli agrumi' e il giardino tardo Barocco in Terra d'Otranto." In *Il giardino delle Esperidi: Gli agrumi nella storia, nella letteratura e nell'arte*, edited by Alessandro Tagliolini and Margherita Azzi Visentini, 245–68. Florence: Edifir, 1995.
- . "Giardini di mura e giardini murati nel Salento." In *Il giardino e le mura: Ai confini tra natura e storia*, edited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Giorgio Galletti, and Maria Adriana Giusti, 235–50. Florence: Edifir, 1997.
- . "Giardino ed economia agraria negli scritti di Francesco Milizia e della 'scuola' pugliese." In *Francesco Milizia e la cultura del Settecento*, edited by Mariella Basile and Grazia Distaso, 211–28. Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2002.
- Cazzola, Franco. "Lo sviluppo storico delle bonifiche idrauliche." In *Un po di terra: Guida all'ambiente della bassa pianura padana e alla sua storia*, edited by Carlo Ferrari and Lucio Gambi, 487–515. Reggio Emilia: Diabasis, 2000.

- Ceccarelli, Francesco, and Marco Folin, eds. *Delizie estensi: Architetture di ville nel Rinascimento italiano ed europeo*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Celano, Carlo. *Notizie del bello dell'antico e del curioso della città di Napoli*. Naples: S. Palermo, 1792.
- Charlton, D. G. *New Images of the Natural in France: A Study in European Cultural History, 1750–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Chastel, André. *Arte e umanesimo a Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1964.
- . “Les jardins et les fleurs.” *Revue de l'art* 51 (1981): 42–50.
- Chastel, André, ed. *La Villa Médicis*. 3 vols. Rome: Académie de France à Rome, École Française de Rome, 1989–91.
- Chatenet, Monique, ed. *Maisons des champs dans l'Europe de la Renaissance: Actes des premières Rencontres d'architecture européenne, Château de Maisons 10–13 juin 2003*. Paris: Picard, 2006.
- Chiacchella, Rita. *Regionalismo e fedeltà locali: L'Umbria tra Cinque e Settecento*. Florence: Nerbini, 2004.
- Chiarelli, Renzo. *I Tiepolo a Villa Valmarana*. Florence: Sadea/Sansoni, 1965.
- Chorley, Patrick. *Oil, Silk, and Enlightenment: Economic Problems in XVIIIth-Century Naples*. Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1965.
- Christian, Kathleen W. “Landscapes of Ruin and the Imagination in the Antiquarian Gardens of Renaissance Rome.” In *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency*, edited by Michel Conan, 117–37. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008.
- Ciacci, Margherita. “Non tutti i giardini di delizie sono uguali.” In *I giardini delle regine: Il mito di Firenze nell'ambiente preraffaellita e nella cultura americana fra Ottocento e Novecento*, edited by Margherita Ciacci and Grazia Gobbi Sica, 12–39. Florence: Sillabe, 2004.
- Ciarallo, Annamaria. *Flora pompeiana antica: Guida all'orto botanico*. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2007.
- Cieri Via, Claudia. “Alle origini della pittura di paesaggio.” *Semestrare di studi e ricerche di geografia* 2 (1993): 39–58.
- Ciriaco, Salvatore. *Building on Water: Venice, Holland, and the Construction of the European Landscape in Early Modern Times*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2007.
- Civiltà del Settecento a Napoli, 1734–1799*. 2 vols. Florence: Centro-Di, 1980.
- Clarici, Paolo Bartolomeo. *Istoria e coltura delle piante: Che sono pe' fiore più ragguardevoli, e più distinte per ornare un giardino in tutto il tempo dell'anno con un copioso trattato degli agrumi*. Venice: Andrea Poletti, 1726.
- Clark, Stuart, ed. *The Annales School*. 4 vols. London and New York: Routledge, 1999.
- Coffin, David R. *The Villa d'Este at Tivoli*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.
- . “Some Aspects of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia.” In *Arte in Europa: Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, 569–75. Milan: Tipografia Artipo, 1966.
- . *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979.
- . “The ‘Lex Hortorum’ and Access to Gardens of Latium during the Renaissance.” *Journal of Garden History* 2 (1982): 201–32.
- . *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . “The Self-Image of the Roman Villa during the Renaissance.” *Architectura: Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Baukunst* 28 (1998): 181–203.
- . “The Study of the History of the Italian Garden until the First Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium.” In *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, 27–36. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999.
- Coffin, David R., ed. *The Italian Garden*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1972.
- Comba, Rinaldo, and Stefano A. Benedetto, eds. *Torino, le sue montagne, le sue campagne: Rapporti, metamorfosi, tradizioni produttive, identità (1350–1840)*. Turin: Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, 2002.
- Comoli Mandracci, Vera. *Torino*. Rome: Laterza, 1983.
- . “La capitale per uno Stato: Torino e il Piemonte sabauda.” In *Centri e periferie del barocco: Corso internazionale di alta cultura*, edited by Gaetana Cantone and Marcello Fagiolo, 233–53. Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1992.
- Compte rendu du premier colloque international sur la conservation et la restauration des jardins historiques, Fontainebleau, France, 13–18 septembre 1971*. Paris: Conseil International des Monuments et des Sites, 1973.
- Conan, Michel. Introduction to *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, 1–16. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999.
- . “Landscape Metaphors and Metamorphosis of Time.” In *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, edited by Michel Conan, 287–317. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2003. Translated as “Métaphore paysagère et métamorphose du temps,” in *Essais de poésie des jardins*, 271–302 (Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004).
- . *Essais de poésie des jardins*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004.
- . “Jardins et métaphysiques de l'eau.” In *Essais de poésie des jardins*, 3–14. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004.

- Originally published as "Ogrody i Metafizyka Wod," in *Ogród, forma, symbol, marzenie*, edited by Malgorzata Szafrńska, 213–21 (Warsaw: Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, 1998).
- . "New Horizons of Baroque Garden Cultures." In *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, edited by Michel Conan, 1–36. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005.
- . "Introduction: The Cultural Agency of Gardens and Landscapes." In *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*, edited by Michel Conan, 3–14. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- . "Introduction: In Defiance of the Institutional Art World." In *Contemporary Garden Aesthetics, Creations and Interpretations*, edited by Michel Conan, 3–15. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- . "The Significance of Bodily Engagement with Nature." In *Performance and Appropriation: Profane Rituals in Gardens and Landscapes*, edited by Michel Conan, 3–16. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- . "Methods and Perspectives for the Study of Gardens and their Reception." In *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency*, edited by Michel Conan, 3–17. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008.
- Conan, Michel, ed. *Perspectives on Garden Histories*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999.
- . *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005.
- . *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- Conan, Michel, José Tito Rojo, and Luigi Zangheri, eds. *Histories of Garden Conservation: Case-Studies and Critical Debates*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005.
- Conan, Michel, and Chen Wangheng. "City Gardens, Intercommunication and Culture." In *Gardens, City Life, and Culture: A World Tour*, edited by Michel Conan and Chen Wangheng, 3–13. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2008.
- Congedo, Patrizia. "Censimento di pozzi e cisterne del territorio neretino." In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 286–93. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- Connors, Joseph. "The Casa dei Filippini in Rome." PhD diss., Harvard University, 1978.
- . *Borromini and the Roman Oratory: Style and Society*. New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1980.
- . "Alliance and Enmity in Roman Baroque Urbanism." *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 25 (1989): 207–94.
- . "Ars Tornandi: Baroque Architecture and the Lathe." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 53 (1990): 217–36.
- . "Virtuoso Architecture in Cassiano's Rome." In *Cassiano Dal Pozzo's Paper Museum*, edited by Ian Jenkins et al., 2:23–40. Milan: Olivetti, 1992.
- . "Comment interpréter un édifice? Le cas de Saint-Yves-de-la-Sapience." In *Méthodes en histoire de l'architecture*, edited by Sabine Frommel, 97–108. Paris: Monum, 2002.
- Coolidge, John. "The Villa Giulia: A Study of Central Italian Architecture in the Mid-Sixteenth Century." *The Art Bulletin* 25 (1943): 177–225.
- Corazzol, Gigi. *Fitti e livelli a grano: Un aspetto del credito rurale nel Veneto del '500*. Milan: Franco Angeli, 1979.
- Corrado, Vincenzo, ed. *Scuola di generale agricoltura e pastorizia adattata alle varie Province del Regno di Napoli ed insieme il trattato delle api e dei filugelli*. 2 vols. Naples: Presso Vincenzo Orsino, 1804.
- Cosgrove, Denis. *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*. London: Croom Helm, 1984.
- . "Prospect, Perspective and the Evolution of the Landscape Idea." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, n.s., 10 (1985): 45–62.
- . *The Palladian Landscape: Geographical Change and Its Cultural Representations in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993.
- Cosgrove, Denis, and Stephen Daniels, eds. *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design, and Use of Past Environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- Costantini, Antonio. *Guida alle ville del Salento: Del piacere di vivere in campagna: La villa, il giardino, la casina, il casino*. Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992.
- . *Le masserie del Salento: Dalla masseria fortificata alla masseria-villa*. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 1994.
- . "Ville, casini e 'casine' nell'area della Cupa." In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 138–69. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- Costantini, Antonio, ed. *Architettura e paesaggio rurale nell'area della Cupa*. Galatina: Salentina, 1997.
- Costantini, Antonio, and Michele Paone. *Guida di Gallipoli: La città, il territorio, l'ambiente*. Galatina: Congedo Editore, 1992.
- Coste, Jean. "I casali della Campagna di Roma all'inizio del Seicento." *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 92 (1969): 41–115.

- . “La topographie médiévale de la campagne romaine et l’histoire socio-économique: Pistes de recherche.” *Mélanges de École Française de Rome: Moyen âge, temps modernes* 88, no. 2 (1976): 621–75.
- . “Description et délimitation de l’espace rural dans la campagne romaine.” In *Sources of Social History: Private Acts of the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Paolo Brezzi and Egmont Lee, 185–200. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1984.
- Council of Europe. *European Landscape Convention*. European Treaty Series no. 176, 20 October 2000.
- . *Guidelines for the Implementation of the European Landscape Convention*. Recommendation CM/Rec(2008)3, 6 February 2008.
- Court, Benoît de. *Hortorum libri triginta*. Lugduni (Lyon): Joannes Tornaesius, 1560.
- Croce, Benedetto. *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza*. Bari: G. Laterza & Figli, 1917.
- . *Storia dell’età barocca in Italia: Pensiero, poesia e letteratura, vita morale*. Edited by Giuseppe Galasso. Milan: Adelphi Edizioni, 1993.
- Culatti, Marcella. *Villa Montalto Negroni: Fortuna iconografica di un luogo perduto di Roma*. Venice: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2009.
- Curtius, Ernst Robert. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. 1948. Reprint, translated by Willard R. Trask. Princeton, N.J.: Bollingen Series, 1953.
- . *Letteratura europea e medio evo latino*. 1948. Reprint, edited by Roberto Antonelli, and translated by Anna Luzzato and Mercurio Candela. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1992.
- Cusset, François. *French theory: Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze & Cie et les mutations de la vie intellectuelle aux États-Unis*. Paris: Découverte, 2003. Translated by Jeff Fort, Josephine Berganza, and Marlon Jones as *French Theory: How Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze & Co. Transformed Intellectual Life in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).
- Dacos, Nicole. *Roma quanta fuit, ou, L’invention du paysage des ruines*. Paris: Somogy, and Brussels: Musée de la Maison d’Erasmus, 2004.
- Dami, Luigi. “L’arte italiana dei giardini.” *Rivista mensile del Touring Club Italiano* (August 1914): 553–59.
- . *Il giardino italiano*. Milan: Bestetti and Tumminelli, 1924. Translated by L. Scopoli as *The Italian Garden* (New York: Brentano’s, 1925).
- D’Amico, John F., and Kathleen Weil-Garris. “The Renaissance Cardinal’s Ideal Palace: A Chapter from Paolo Cortesi’s *De Cardinalatu*.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 35 (1980): 45–123.
- Dandele, Thomas James. *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Daniels, Stephen. “Marxism, Culture, and the Duplicity of Landscape.” In *New Models in Geography*, edited by Richard Peet and Nigel Thrift, 196–220. London and Boston: Unwin-Hyman, 1989.
- . *Humphry Repton: Landscape Gardening and the Geography of Georgian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Darnton, Robert. “Two Paths through the Social History of Ideas.” In *The Darnton Debate: Books and Revolution in the Eighteenth Century*, edited by Haydn T. Mason, 251–96. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 1998.
- . “‘What Is the History of Books?’ Revisited.” *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 3 (November 2007): 495–508.
- Darragon, Eric. “Le studiolo du Cardinal Ferdinand à la Villa Médicis.” *Revue de l’art* 19 (1973): 63–77.
- De Cunzio, Mario. “Le ville vesuviane.” In *Civiltà del Settecento a Napoli, 1734–1799*, 186–89. Florence: Centro-Di, 1980.
- De Fusco, Renato. “L’architettura della seconda metà del Settecento a Napoli.” *Storia di Napoli* 8 (1971): 369–449.
- De Giorgi, Cosimo. *La provincia di Lecce: Bozzetti di viaggio*. 2 vols. Lecce: Spacciante, 1882–88.
- Deinhard, Hanna. “Reflections on Art History and Sociology of Art.” *Art Journal* 35, no. 1 (Fall 1975): 29–32.
- Della Pergola, Paola. *Villa Borghese*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 1962.
- Del Pezzo, Nicola. “Siti Reali: Il Palazzo Reale di Portici.” *Napoli nobilissima* 5 (1896): 161–67 and 183–88.
- Del Re, Antonio. *Dell’antichità tiburtine: Capitolo V*. Rome: Appresso Giacomo Mascardi, 1611.
- Delumeau, Jean. *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1957–59.
- Dernie, David. *The Villa d’Este at Tivoli*. London: Academy Editions, 1996.
- Derosas, Renzo, ed. *Villa: Siti e contesti*. Treviso: Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche, 2006.
- De Sanctio, Gabriello. *Stato della popolazione del Regno delle due Sicilie messo a confronto tra gli anni 1823 e 1843*. Naples, 1844.
- Deseine, François-Jacques. *Rome moderne, première ville de l’Europe, avec toutes ses magnificences et ses delices*. Leiden: P. Vander Aa, 1713.
- De Seta, Cesare, ed. *Arti e civiltà del Settecento a Napoli*. Rome: Laterza, 1982.
- . *Il paesaggio*. Vol. 5 of *Storia d’Italia: Annali*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1982.
- . *Luigi Vanvitelli e la sua cerchia*. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2000.
- De Seta, Cesare, Leonardo di Mauro, and Maria Perone. *Ville vesuviane*. Milan: Rusconi, 1980.

- De Simone, Margherita. *Ville palermitane del XVII e XVIII secolo*. Genoa: Vitali e Ghianda, 1968.
- . *Ville palermitane: Dal XVI al XVIII secolo*. Palermo: SIAI Edizione d'Arte Nuovo Sud, 1974.
- Desnoyers, Gérard. *La Villa d'Este à Tivoli, ou, Le songe d'Hippolyte: Un rêve d'immortalité héliaque*. Paris: Myrobolan, 2002.
- Dezzi Bardeschi, Marco. "La carta dei giardini storici otto anni dopo." In *Tutela dei giardini storici: Bilanci e prospettive*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 195–205. Rome: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Ufficio Studi, 1989.
- Di Gaddo, Beata. *Villa Borghese: Il giardino e le architetture*. Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1985.
- Di Monda, Paolo. "Da Resina a Torre Annunziata." In *Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, edited by Roberto Pane et al., 237–325. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959.
- Dolcetta, Bruno, ed. *Paesaggio veneto*. Milan: A. Pizzi, 1984.
- Donadieu, Pierre, Hansjörg Küster, and Raffaele Milani, eds. *La cultura del paesaggio in Europa tra storia, arte e natura: Manuale di teoria e pratica*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.
- Donattini, Massimo, ed. *L'Italia dell'inquisitore: Storia e geografia dell'Italia del Cinquecento nella 'Descrittione' di Leandro Alberti*. Bologna: Bononia University Press, 2007.
- D'Onofrio, Cesare. *Le fontane di Roma: Con documenti e disegni inediti*. Rome: Staderini, 1957.
- . *La Villa Aldobrandini a Frascati*. Rome: Staderini, 1963.
- . *Roma nel Seicento*. Florence: Vallecchi, 1969.
- . *Il Tevere e Roma*. Rome: U. Bozzi, 1970.
- Dubbini, Renzo. *Geography of the Gaze: Urban and Rural Vision in Early Modern Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Duvignaud, Jean. *Anthologie des sociologues français contemporains*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970.
- Eagleton, Terry. "Base and Superstructure in Raymond Williams." In *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Terry Eagleton, 165–75. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989.
- Eagleton, Terry, ed. *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989.
- Eco, Umberto. *Opera aperta: Forme e indeterminazione nelle poetiche contemporanee*. Milan: Bompiani, 1962.
- . *I limiti dell'interpretazione*. Milan: Bompiani, 1990.
- Ehrlich, Tracy L. *Landscape and Identity in Early Modern Rome: Villa Culture at Frascati in the Borghese Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- . "Pastoral Landscape and Social Politics in Baroque Rome." In *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, edited by Michel Conan, 131–81. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2005.
- Eisler, Colin. "Kunstgeschichte American Style: A Study in Migration." In *The Intellectual Migration: Europe and America 1930–1960*, edited by Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, 544–629. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Eliade, Mircea. *La nascita mistica: Riti e simboli d'iniziazione*. Brescia: Morcelliana, 1974.
- Elsner, Jaś. "The Viewer in the Roman Landscape." *Apollo* 60 (1999): 13–17.
- Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893*. Santa Monica, Calif.: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994.
- Ermioni Pani, Letizia. "Il contributo della Società Romana di Storia Patria allo studio della topografia di Roma e del Lazio nel medioevo." *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 130 (2007 [2008]): 123–37.
- Espace français: Vision et aménagement, XVIe–XIXe siècle*. Paris: Archives Nationales, 1987.
- Esposito, Daniela. "Vigneti e orti entro le mura: Utilizzo del suolo e strutture insediative." In *Roma: Le trasformazioni urbane nel Quattrocento*, edited by Giorgio Simoncini, 2:205–28. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2004.
- Etlin, Richard A. *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991.
- Eustis, Elizabeth S. "The Garden Print as Propaganda, 1573–1683." In *European Pleasure Gardens: Rare Books and Prints of Historic Landscape Design from the Elizabeth K. Reilly Collection*, edited by Elizabeth S. Eustis, 41–51. Bronx, N.Y.: New York Botanical Garden, 2003.
- Evelyn, John. *Pomona; or, An Appendix Concerning Fruit-Trees, in Relation to Cider, the Making and Several Ways of Ordering It*. London: J. Martyn and J. Allestry, 1664.
- . *The Diary of John Evelyn*, edited by Esmond de Beer, vol. 2, *Kalendarium, 1620–1649*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- . *Elysium Britannicum; or, The Royal Gardens*. Edited by John E. Ingram. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.
- Everett, Nigel. *The Tory View of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994.
- Fabiani Giannetto, Raffaella. *Medici Gardens: From Making to Design*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.
- Fagiolo, Marcello. *Funzioni simboli valori della Reggia di Caserta*. Rome: Dell'Arco, 1963.
- . "Villa Aldobrandina Tuscolana." *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 62–66 (1964): 61–92.
- . "L'universo della luce nell'idea di architettura del Vittone." In *Bernardo Vittone e la disputa fra classicismo e barocco nel Settecento: Atti del Convegno internazionale*

- promosso dall'Accademia delle scienze di Torino nella ricorrenza del secondo centenario della morte di B. Vittone, 21–24 settembre 1970, 2: 117–74. Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1972.
- . “La Roma di Sisto V: Le matrici del policentrismo.” *Psicon* 8–9 (1976): 25–40.
- . “Il significato dell’acqua e la dialettica del giardino: Pirro Ligorio e la ‘Filosofia’ della villa cinquecentesca.” In *Il giardino storico italiano: Problemi di indagine, fonti letterarie e storiche; Atti del convegno di studi, Siena–San Quirico d’Orcia, 6–8 ottobre 1978*, edited by Giovanna Ragionieri, 198–210. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1981.
- . Introduction to *Tracce di memoria: Arte e cultura a Genzano di Roma*, by Mariano Apa. Genzano di Roma: Comune di Genzano, 1982.
- . “Le due anime nelle ville della Tuscia.” In *Il giardino d’Europa: Pratolino come modello nella cultura europea*, edited by Alessandro Vezzosi, 68–81. Milan: Mazzotta, 1986.
- . Introduction to *Lazio delle delizie: Le dimore della nobiltà, teatro del lusso e dell’illusione*, edited by Marco Fabio Apolloni et al., 15–22. Milan: Franco Maria Ricci, 1988.
- . “Il piano di L’Enfant per Washington.” *Gran bazaar* (October–November 1988): 30–34.
- . “Gli assi segreti delle ville nel sistema sacrale del Latium vetus.” In *Atti del Convegno “Il giardino storico nel Lazio”: Indirizzi per la conservazione e il restauro*, 16–26. Rome: Associazione Dimore Storiche Italiane, 1990.
- . “Ricordo di Eugenio Battisti: Il cavaliere dell’Antirinascimento.” *Quaderni di storia dell’architettura e restauro* 3 (1990): 101–2.
- . *Roma delle delizie: I teatri dell’acqua, grotte, ninfei, fontane*. Milan: Franco Maria Ricci, 1990.
- . “Struttura e significato di Villa Lante a Bagnaia.” In *Ville e parchi storici: Storia, conservazione e tutela*, edited by Alberta Campitelli, 219–30. Rome: Argos, 1994.
- . “La rinascita della villa e del teatro nell’età dell’umanesimo.” In *Lo specchio del paradiso: Giardino e teatro dall’antico al Novecento*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo, Maria Adriana Giusti, and Vincenzo Cazzato, 22–41. Cinisello Balsamo (Milan): Silvana, 1997.
- . “Washington: O simbolismo maçónico da nova capital dos Estados Unidos.” In *Lisboa iluminista e o seu tempo*, 239–66. Lisbon: Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa, 1997.
- . “Los nuevos palacios reales entre Versailles y Caserta: Modelos borbónicos para una idea de palacio real-ciudad-parque.” In *Real sitio de La Granja de San Ildefonso, retrato y escena del rey*, edited by Delfin Rodríguez, Helena Pérez Gallardo, and Mercedes Simal López, 51–69. Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional, 2000.
- . “Da Villa Madama a Villa Giulia e al Gianicolo: Gli assi della memoria storica.” In *Roma: Il verde e la città; Giardini e spazi verdi nella costruzione della forma urbana*, edited by Roberto Cassetti and Marcello Fagiolo, 2:31–47. Rome: Gangemi, 2002.
- . “Grotte, ninfei, teatri delle acque: I modelli romani.” In *Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia: Italia settentrionale, Umbria e Marche*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, Marcello Fagiolo, and Maria Adriana Giusti, 16–35. Milan: Electa, 2002.
- . “Sistemi di ville in Italia: Roma e il Lazio, il Piemonte Sabauda, i Siti Reali borbonici, le ville di Bagheria.” In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 14–33. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- . *Vignola: L’architettura dei principi*. Rome: Gangemi, 2007.
- . “Battisti, il giardino delle idee.” In *Eugenio Battisti: Storia, critica, progetto nella continuità della ricerca*, edited by Antonio Piva and Pierfranco Galliani, 33–39. Rome: Gangemi, 2009.
- Fagiolo, Marcello, ed. *La città effimera e l’universo artificiale del giardino*. Rome: Officina, 1980.
- . *Natura e artificio: L’ordine rustico, le fontane, gli automi nella cultura del Manierismo europeo*. Rome: Officina, 1981.
- . *Il sistema delle residenze nobiliari*. Vol. 1, *Italia settentrionale*. Atlante tematico del barocco in Italia. Rome: De Luca, 2009.
- Fagiolo, Marcello, and Vincenzo Cazzato, eds. *Architettura e massoneria: L’esoterismo della costruzione*. Rome: Gangemi, 2007.
- Fagiolo, Marcello, and Maria Adriana Giusti. “La stella e la rosa: Analisi della Villa Buonvisi-Santini a Camigliano.” In *Il giardino delle muse: Arti e artigiani nel barocco europeo*, edited by Maria Adriana Giusti and Alessandro Tagliolini, 199–254. Florence: Edifir, 1995.
- Fagiolo, Marcello, and Maria Adriana Giusti, eds. *Lo specchio del paradiso: L’immagine del giardino dall’antico al Novecento*. Cinisello Balsamo (Milan): Silvana, 1996.
- Fagiolo, Marcello, Maria Adriana Giusti, and Vincenzo Cazzato, eds. *Lo specchio del paradiso: Giardino e teatro dall’antico al Novecento*. Cinisello Balsamo (Milan): Silvana, 1997.
- Fagiolo, Marcello, and Maria Luisa Madonna. “La Casina di Pio IV in Vaticano: Pirro Ligorio e l’architettura come geroglifico.” *Storia dell’arte* 15–16 (1972): 237–81.
- . “Siria: La ristrutturazione del territorio; Una realpolitik feudale.” In *San Leucio: Archeologia, storia, progetto*, 205–9. Milan: Il Formichiere, 1977.
- Fagioli Zeni Buchicchio, Fabiano Tiziano. “Tommaso Ghinucci.” In *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 53:781–83. Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1999.

- Falk, Tilman. "Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom." *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 13 (1971): 102–78.
- Farhat, Georges, ed. *André Le Nôtre, fragments d'un paysage culturel: Institutions, arts, sciences & techniques*. Sceaux: Musée de l'Île-de-France, Domaine de Sceaux, 2006.
- Fariello, Francesco. *Arte dei giardini*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1956.
- . *Architettura dei giardini*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1967.
- Farneti, Fauzia. "La legislazione medicea sulle bandite, la caccia e la pesca." In *La legislazione medicea sull'ambiente*, edited by Giovanni Cascio Pratilli and Luigi Zangheri, 95–117. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1988.
- Farrell, Joseph. *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Ferrara, Fernando. "Raymond Williams and the Italian Left." In *Raymond Williams: Critical Perspectives*, edited by Terry Eagleton, 95–107. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1989.
- Ferri, Rolando. "Una 'passeggiata per l'Italia': L'anonima Ambulatio gregoriana." In *La galleria delle carte geografiche in Vaticano/The Gallery of Maps in the Vatican*, edited by Lucio Gambi and Antonio Pinelli, 73–82. Modena: F. C. Panini, 1994.
- Fidora Attanasio, Celeste. *Ville vesuviane e siti reali*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998.
- Fidora, Celeste, and Sergio Attanasio. *Ville e delizie vesuviane del '700: Passeggiata da Napoli a Torre del Greco*. Naples: Grimaldi, 2004.
- Fiengo, Giuseppe. *Vanvitelli e Giffredo nella villa Campolieto di Ercolano*. Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1974.
- . *Giffredo e Vanvitelli nei palazzi dei Casacalenda*. Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 1976.
- . *Documenti per la storia dell'architettura e dell'urbanistica napoletana del Settecento*. Naples: Editoriale Scientifica, 1977.
- Fiengo, Giuseppe, ed. *Architettura napoletana del Settecento*. Naples: Franco Di Mauro, 1993.
- Fiorani, Camillo. *Giardini d'Italia: Arte, carattere e storia del giardino italiano*. Rome: Edizioni Mediterranee, 1960.
- Fiorani, Francesca. *The Marvel of Maps: Art, Cartography and Politics in Renaissance Italy*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005.
- "The Florence Charter 1982—Charter for Historic Gardens and Landscapes (1981, Firenze, ICOMOS-IFLA)." In *Giardini, contesto, paesaggio: Sistemi di giardini e architetture vegetali nel paesaggio*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelisetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:423–26. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005.
- Foglietta, Uberto (Uberti Folietae). *Tyburinum Hippolyti Estii*. 1569. Vol. 1 of *Antiche descrizioni della Villa d'Este a Tivoli*, translated by Franco Sciaretta. Tivoli: Tiburis Artistica, 2003.
- Folin, Marco. "Borso a Schifanoia: Il Salone dei Mesi come *speculum principis*." In *Il Palazzo Schifanoia a Ferrara*, edited by Salvatore Settis and Walter Cupperi, 9–38. Modena: F. C. Panini, 2007.
- Fondazione Lelio e Lisli Basso-ISSOCO. *L'ambiente nella storia d'Italia: Studi e immagini*. Venice: Cataloghi Marsilio, 1989.
- Forni, Gaetano, and Arnaldo Marcone, eds. *Storia dell'agricoltura italiana*. Vol. 1, bk. 2, *L'età antica: Italia romana*. Florence: Polistampa, 2002.
- Forster, Kurt W. "Metaphors of Rule: Political Ideology and History in the Portraits of Cosimo I de' Medici." *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 15, no. 1 (1971): 65–104.
- . "Back to the Farm: Vernacular Architecture and the Development of the Renaissance Villa." *Architectura* 1 (1974): 1–12.
- Foucault, Michel. *Le parole e le cose: Un archeologia delle scienze umane*. 1966. Reprint, translated by Emilio Panaitescu. Milan: Rizzoli, 1978.
- . *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications, 1972.
- Franchetti Pardo, Vittorio. "Le ville medicee nel contado fiorentino (sec. XV–XVI): Ideologia di un investimento patrimoniale." *Storia della città* 6 (1978): 42–57.
- Franchetti Pardo, Vittorio, and Giovanna Casali. *I Medici nel contado fiorentino: Ville e possedimenti agricoli tra Quattrocento e Cinquecento*. Florence: Cooperativa Editrice Universitaria, 1978.
- Franck, Carl Ludwig. *Die Barockvillen in Frascati, ihre Gestaltung aus den landschaftlichen Gegebenheiten*. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1956.
- . *The Villas of Frascati, 1550–1750*. New York: Transatlantic Arts, 1966.
- Frangenberg, Thomas. "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century." *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): 41–64.
- Freedberg, David, and Jan de Vries, eds. *Art in History/History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*. Santa Monica, Calif.: The Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1991.
- Frommel, Christoph Luitpold. *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis Architektonisches Frühwerk*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961.
- . *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*. 3 vols. Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1973.
- . "Papal Policy: The Planning of Rome during the Renaissance." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 39–65. Reprinted in *Art and History: Images*

- and *Their Meanings*, edited by Robert I. Rotberg and Theodore K. Rabb, 39–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- . “Villa Lante e Tommaso Ghinucci.” In *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*, edited by Sabine Frommel, 79–93. Milan: Electa, 2005.
- Frommel, Sabine, ed. *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*. Milan: Electa, 2005.
- . *Bomarzo: Il sacro bosco*. Milan: Electa Architettura, 2009.
- Fusaro, Maria. *Uva passa: Una guerra commerciale tra Venezia e l’Inghilterra (1540–1640)*. Venice: Il Cardo, 1996.
- Galanti, Giuseppe Maria. *Napoli e contorni*. Edited by Luigi Galanti. Naples: Borel e Comp, 1829.
- Galpine, John Kingston. *The Georgian Garden: An Eighteenth-Century Nurseryman’s Catalogue*. Edited by John Harvey. Stanbridge, Wimborne, Dorset: Dovecote Press, 1983.
- Gambardella, Alfonso. *Note su Ferdinando Sanfelice architetto napoletano*. Naples: Istituto Editoriale del Mezzogiorno, 1970.
- . *Ferdinando Sanfelice architetto*. Naples: Arti Grafiche Licenziato, 1974.
- Gambardella, Alfonso, ed. *Ferdinando Sanfelice: Napoli e l’Europa*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2004.
- . *Luigi Vanvitelli, 1700–2000*. San Nicola la Strada (Caserta): Edizioni Saccone, 2005.
- Gantner, Joseph. “Erinnerungen an Heinrich Wölfflin und Benedetto Croce.” *Jahrbuch für Aesthetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 3 (1955–57): 129–52.
- García Tapia, Nicolás. *Ingeniería y arquitectura en el Renacimiento español*. Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Valladolid, 1990.
- Gargano, Maurizio. “Villas, jardins et fontaines de Rome: Les gravures de Giovanni Battista Falda.” In *Histoire des jardins: De la Renaissance à nos jours*, edited by Monique Mosser and Georges Teyssot, 162–64. Paris: Flammarion, 1991.
- Garms, Jörg. *Disegni di Luigi Vanvitelli nelle collezioni pubbliche di Napoli e di Caserta*. Naples: AGEA, 1973.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, 1973.
- . *A Life of Learning: Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 1999*. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 1999.
- Gelli, Ugo. “Portali, pozzi, cisterne: Esperienze di rilievo architettonico.” In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 274–85. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- Gimbutas, Marija. *The Language of the Goddess: Unearthing the Hidden Symbols of Western Civilization*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989.
- . “La ‘Venere mostruosa’ della preistoria: Creatrice divina.” In *I nomi della Dea: Il femminile nella divinità*, edited by Joseph Campbell, Riane Esler, Marija Gimbutas, and Charles Musès, 28–44. Rome: Astrolabio Ubaldini, 1992.
- Ginzburg, Carlo. “A proposito della raccolta dei saggi storici di Marc Bloch.” *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 6, no. 1 (1965): 335–53.
- . *I benandanti: Ricerche sulla stregoneria e sui culti agrari tra Cinquecento e Seicento*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1966.
- Giusti, Maria Adriana. “La veduta documento e le serie ‘catastali’.” In *Lo specchio del paradiso: L’immagine del giardino dall’antico al Novecento*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Adriana Giusti, 44–57. Cinisello Balsamo (Milan): Silvana, 1996.
- . *Restauro dei giardini: Teorie e storia*. Florence: Alinea, 2004.
- Glejjeses, Vittorio. *Ville e palazzi vesuviani*. Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1980.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Viaggio in Italia*. Translated by Aldo Oberdorfer. Florence: Vallecchi, 1955.
- Golombek, Lisa. “From Timur to Tivoli: Reflections on *Il Giardino all’Italiana*.” In *Frontiers of Islamic Art and Architecture: Essays in Celebration of Oleg Grabar’s Eightieth Birthday*, edited by Gülru Necipoglu and Julia Bailey, 243–54. Special issue, *Muqarnas* 25 (2008).
- Goodchild, Peter H. “John Evelyn, John Beale and Blackberry Hill.” *Garden History* 19 (1991): 105–37.
- Gothein, Marie Luise Schroeter. *Storia dell’arte dei giardini*. 2 vols. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2006.
- Gouesbier, Yvan. *La maison de sable: Histoire et politique en Italie, de Benedetto Croce à Renzo de Felice*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2007.
- Gradi, Adriano. “Il paesaggio agrario-forestale toscano nel XV secolo e sue trasformazioni.” In *L’arte al potere: Universi simbolici e reali nelle terre di Firenze al tempo di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, edited by Domenico A. Conci, Vittorio Dini, and Francesco Magnelli. Bologna: Editrice Compositori, 1992.
- Gravagnuolo, Benedetto, ed. *Mario Gioffredo*. Naples: Guida, 2002.
- Grieco, Allen J., Michael Rocke, and Fiorella Gioffredi Superbi, eds. *The Italian Renaissance in the Twentieth Century: Acts of an International Conference, Florence, Villa I Tatti, June 9–11, 1999*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2002.
- Grimal, Pierre. *Les jardins romains*. 3rd ed. Paris: Fayard, 1984.
- Griseri, Andreina. “Urbanistica, cartografia e antico regime nel Piemonte sabauda.” *Storia della città* 12–13 (1979): 19–38.

- Gritella, Gianfranco. *Rivoli: Genesis di una residenza sabauda*. Modena: Panini, 1986.
- . *Stupinigi: Dal progetto di Juvarra alle premesse neo-classiche*. Modena: Panini, 1987.
- . *Juvarra: L'architettura*. Modena: Panini, 1992.
- Guerci, Gabriella, Laura Sabrina Pelissetti, and Lionella Scazzosi, eds. *Oltre il giardino: Le architetture vegetali e il paesaggio*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2003.
- Guerrieri Borsoi, Maria Barbara. *Villa Belpoggio a Frascati: Storia della villa dei Vestri, Cesi, Borromeo, Visconti, Pallavicini, Sciarrà dal XVI al XX secolo*. Rome: Gangemi, 1997.
- . *Villa Sora a Frascati*. Rome: Gangemi, 2000.
- . "I Contugi e Francesco da Volterra: Il palazzo romano all'Aracoeli e la villa tuscolana." *Palladio* 40 (2007): 103–16.
- . *Villa Rufina Falconieri: La rinascita di Frascati e la più antica dimora tuscolana*. Rome: Gangemi, 2008.
- Guillaume, Jean, ed. *Architecture, jardin, paysage: L'environnement du château et de la villa aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*. Paris: Picard, 1999.
- Günther, Hubertus. "Urbanistica del Rinascimento a Roma." In *D'une ville à l'autre: Structures matérielles et organisations de l'espace dans les villes européennes, XIII^e–XVI^e siècles*, edited by Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, 382–406. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1989.
- Hadot, Pierre. *Le voile d'Isis: Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de nature*. Paris: Gallimard, 2004. Translated by Davide Tarizzo as *Il velo di Iside: Storia dell'idea di natura* (Turin: G. Einaudi, 2006).
- Hajós, Geza. "Three Dangers to the Theory and Practice of Historic Garden Preservation in the Last Twenty-Five Years (in German-Speaking Countries)." In *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:207–26. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Halpern, Linda Cabe. "The Use of Paintings in Garden History." In *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, edited by John Dixon Hunt, 183–202. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992.
- Harris, Dianne. "The Post-Modernization of Landscape: A Critical Historiography." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (September 1999): 434–43.
- . "Landscape and Representation: The Printed View and Marc'Antonio dal Re's *Ville di Delizie*." In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 178–206. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . *The Nature of Authority: Villa Culture, Landscape, and Representation in Eighteenth-Century Lombardy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003.
- Harris, Dianne, and D. Fairchild Ruggles, eds. *Sites Unseen: Landscape and Vision*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2007.
- Harris, Francis, and Michael Hunter, eds. *John Evelyn and His Milieu*. London: British Library, 2003.
- Harris, John. *The Artist and the Country House: A History of Country House and Garden View Painting in Britain, 1540–1870*. London: Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1979.
- Hartlib, Samuel. *Samuel Hartlib, His Legacy of Husbandry*. London, 1655.
- Harvey, David. Afterword to *The Production of Space*, by Henri Lefebvre, 425–34. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991.
- Harwood, Edward, Tom Williamson, Michael Leslie, and John Dixon Hunt. "Whither Garden History?" *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 27, no. 2 (April–June 2007): 91–112.
- Haskell, Francis. *Patrons and Painters: A Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963.
- Heikamp, Detlef. "I viaggi di Federico Zuccaro." Pts. 1 and 2. *Paragone* 9, no. 105 (1958): 40–63; 9, no. 107 (1958): 41–58.
- Heilmann, Christoph H. "Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Villa Borghese in Rom." *Münchener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 15 (1973): 97–158.
- Henderson, John. *The Roman Book of Gardening*. London and New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Hersey, G. L. "Carlo di Borbone a Napoli e a Caserta." In *Storia dell'arte italiana*, vol. 12, 215–64. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1983.
- Hibbard, Howard. "Palazzo Borghese Studies, 1. The Garden and its Fountains." *The Burlington Magazine* 100, no. 663 (June 1958): 204–12, 215.
- . "Scipione Borghese's Garden Palace on the Quirinal." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23, no. 4 (December 1964): 163–92.
- . *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture, 1580–1630*. London: Zwemmer, 1971.
- Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Hoskins, William George. *The Making of the English Landscape*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1955.
- Hunt, John Dixon. "Curiosities to Adorn Cabinets and Gardens." In *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe*, edited by Oliver Impey and Arthur MacGregor, 193–203. Oxford: Clarendon Press, and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

- . *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden in the English Imagination, 1600–1750*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- . “The Garden as Cultural Object.” In *Denatured Visions: Landscape and Culture in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Stuart Wrede and William Howard Adams, 19–32. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1991.
- . “Approaches (New and Old) to Garden History.” In *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan, 77–90. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1999.
- . *Greater Perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.
- . *The Picturesque Garden in Europe*. London: Thames and Hudson, 2002.
- . *The Afterlife of Gardens*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- Hunt, John Dixon, ed. *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1992.
- . *The Italian Garden: Art, Design, and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Hunt, John Dixon, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds. *The Vernacular Garden*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1993.
- Imbò, Giuseppe. *Il Vesuvio e la sua storia: caratteristiche, attività e danni*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1984.
- Ingamells, John. *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Italy, Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione. *Carta del Restauro 1972*. Circular no. 117, 6 April 1972.
- Italy, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali. *La relazione paesaggistica: Finalità e contenuti*. Rome: Gangemi, 2006.
- Italy, Presidente della Repubblica. *Codice dei beni culturali e del paesaggio, ai sensi dell'articolo 10 della legge 6 luglio 2002, n. 137*. Decreto Legislativo 42, 22 January 2004.
- Jacques, David. *Georgian Gardens: The Reign of Nature*. London: B. T. Batsford, 1983.
- Jardins et sites historiques*. Madrid: Doce Calles, 1993.
- Jashemski, Wilhelmina Mary Feemster. *The Gardens of Pompeii: Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius*. 2 vols. New Rochelle, N.Y.: A. D. Caratzas, 1979–93.
- Jauss, Hans Robert. *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970. Translated by Claude Maillard as *Pour une esthétique de la réception* (Paris: Gallimard, 1978) and by Timothy Bahti as *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).
- Jong, Erik A. de, Erika Schmidt, and Brigitt Sigel, eds. *Der Garten—Ein Ort des Wandels: Perspektiven für die Denkmalpflege*. Zurich: Vdf. Hochschulverlag AG an der ETH Zürich, 2006.
- Jori, Vincenzo. *Portici e la sua storia*. Naples: Tipografia dei Comuni, 1882.
- Kemp, Wolfgang. *Der Anteil des Betrachters: Rezeptionsästhetische Studien zur Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Munich: Mäander, 1983.
- Koller, Alexander. “Giovan Francesco Gambara (1533–1587): Profilo di un cardinale.” In *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*, edited by Sabine Frommel, 23–29. Milan: Electa, 2005.
- Krautheimer, Richard. “Introduction to an ‘Iconography of Medieval Architecture.’” *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 5 (1942): 1–33. Reprinted in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Arts*. New York: New York University Press, 1969.
- Krautheimer, Richard, ed. *Redefinitions of Style*. Special issue, *College Art Journal* 17, no. 2 (Winter 1958).
- Kristeller, Paul O. *La tradizione classica nel pensiero del Rinascimento*. 1955. Reprint, Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1987.
- Kultermann, Udo. *Geschichte der Kunstgeschichte: Der Weg einer Wissenschaft*. Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1990. Translated as *Storia della storia dell'arte* (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1997).
- Labrot, Gerard. *Baroni in città: Residenze e comportamenti dell'aristocrazia napoletana, 1530–1734*. Naples: Società Editrice Napoletana, 1979.
- . *Palazzi napoletani: Storie di nobili e cortigiani, 1520–1750*. Naples: Electa, 1993.
- Lamb, Carl. *Die Villa d'Este in Tivoli*. Munich: Prestel, 1966.
- La Monica, Giuseppe. *Sicilia misterica: Fondazioni e restauri di monumenti tra Rinascimento e Barocco*. Palermo: S. F. Flaccovio, 1982.
- Langdale, Allan. “Aspects of the Critical Reception and Intellectual History of Baxandall’s Concept of the Period Eye.” In *About Michael Baxandall*, edited by Adrian Rifkin, 17–35. Oxford and Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1999.
- Lanman, Susan Warren. “Meaning and Change in the Walled Kitchen Gardens of Nineteenth-Century Britain.” In *Performance and Appropriation: Profane Rituals in Gardens and Landscapes*, edited by Michel Conan, 79–92. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007.
- Lapi Ballerini, Isabella. “Niccolò Tribolo e la Grotta degli Animali a Castello.” In *Artifici d'acque e giardini: La cultura delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia e in Europa*, edited by Isabella Lapi Ballerini and Litta Maria Medri, 268–83. Florence: Centro Di, 1999.
- La Quintinie, Jean de. *Instruction pour les jardins fruitiers et potagers, avec un traité des orangers, suivy de quelques*

- reflexions sur l'agriculture*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Amsterdam: H. Desbordes, 1692.
- . *The Compleat Gard'ner; or, Directions for Cultivating and Right Ordering of Fruit-Gardens, and Kitchen-Gardens. Now Compendiously Abridg'd, and Made of More Use, with Improvements, by George London and Henry Wise*. London, 1704.
- La Regina, Francesco. *Restauro, conservazione e valorizzazione delle ville vesuviane*. Naples: CUEN, 2004.
- La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de. *A Frenchman's Year in Suffolk: French Impressions of Suffolk Life in 1784*. Edited and translated by Norman Scarfe. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1988.
- Lasansky, D. Medina. *The Renaissance Perfected: Architecture, Spectacle, and Tourism in Fascist Italy*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004.
- Lazzaro, Claudia. "The Villa Lante at Bagnaia." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1974.
- . "The Villa Lante at Bagnaia: An Allegory of Art and Nature." *The Art Bulletin* 40, no. 4 (December 1977): 553–60.
- . *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.
- . "The Sixteenth-Century Central Italian Villa and the Cultural Landscape." In *Architecture, jardin, paysage: L'environnement du château et de la villa aux XVe et XVIe siècles*, edited by Jean Guillaume, 29–44. Paris: Picard, 1999.
- . "Italy is a Garden: The Idea of Italy and the Italian Garden Tradition." In *Villas and Gardens in Early Modern Italy and France*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Dianne Harris, 29–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- . "Representing the Social and Cultural Experience of Italian Gardens in Prints." In *The Changing Garden: Four Centuries of European and American Art*, edited by Betsy G. Fryberger, 29–39. Berkeley, Calif.: Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts at Stanford University, 2003.
- . "Politicizing a National Garden Tradition: The Italianness of the Italian Garden." In *Donatello among the Blackshirts: History and Modernity in the Visual Culture of Fascist Italy*, edited by Claudia Lazzaro and Roger J. Crum, 157–69. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Leach, Andrew. *Manfredo Tafuri: Choosing History*. Ghent, Belgium: A&S Books, 2007.
- Lee, Vernon. "Old Italian Gardens." In *In Praise of Old Gardens*. Portland, Maine: Thomas B. Mosher, 1912.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith. Oxford and Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1991.
- Lefevre, Renato. "Il patrimonio cinquecentesco dei Medici nel Lazio e in Abruzzo." *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 98 (1975): 95–133.
- Le Goff, Jacques. "Documento / monumento." In *Enciclopedia* 5:38–48. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1977–.
- . "Les Annales et l'histoire de l'Italie médiévale." *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Moyen âge* 93, no. 1 (1981): 349–60.
- . *Storia e memoria*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1982.
- Le Goff, Jacques, Roger Chartier, and Jacques Revel, eds. *La Nouvelle Histoire*. Paris: Retz, 1978.
- Lensi Orlandi Cardini, Giulio Cesare. *Le ville di Firenze*. 2 vols. Florence: Vallecchi, 1954.
- Leonardo, da Vinci. *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*. Edited by Jean Paul Richter. 2 vols. 1883. Reprint, London: Phaidon, 1970.
- Levine, Neil. "Introduction" and "Vincent Scully: A Biographical Sketch." In *Modern Architecture and Other Essays*, edited by Vincent Scully, 8–11 and 12–33. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962.
- Lezzi, Pietro. *Le ville vesuviane*. Salerno: Arti Grafiche Boccia, 1977.
- Lezzi, Pietro, and Paolo Romenello. *Le ville vesuviane*. Naples: Ente per le Ville Vesuviane, 1981.
- Lightbown, Ronald. "Nicolas Audebert and the Villa d'Este." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964): 164–91.
- Ligorio, Pirro. *Libro dell'antica città di Tivoli e di alcune famose ville*. Edited by Alessandra Ten. Rome: De Luca, 2005.
- Lillie, Amanda. *Florentine Villas in the Fifteenth Century: An Architectural and Social History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Lingohr, Michael. "The Palace and Villa as Spaces of Patrician Self-Definition." In *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, edited by Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti, 240–72. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Lohmeyer, Karl. *Palagonisches Barock: Das Haus der Laune des "Prinzen von Palagonia"*. Berlin: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1942.
- Luchterhandt, Manfred. "Im Reich der Venus: Zu Peruzzis 'Sala delle Prospettive' in der Farnesina." *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 31 (1996): 207–43.
- Luciani, Domenico. "Ritrovare e reinventare i 'giardini italiani': L'aporia del restauro." In *Storia e storie di giardini: Fortune e storia del giardino italiano e verbanese nel mondo*;

- Atti del Convegno, Verbania, sabato 31 agosto 2002*, edited by Leonardo Parachini and Carlo Alessandro Pisoni, 35–43. Verbania: Alberti Libraio, Comune di Verbania, Magazzino Storico Verbanese, 2003.
- Luengo Añon, Ana, and Coro Millares. “El Real Sitio de Aranjuez.” In *Jardín y naturaleza en el reinado de Felipe II*, edited by Carmen Añon, José Luis Sancho, and José Martínez Millán, 461–95. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Conme. Centenarios Felipe II–Carlos V, 1998.
- Lupo, Salvatore. *Il giardino degli aranci: Il mondo degli agrumi nella storia del Mezzogiorno*. Venice: Marsilio, 1990.
- MacDougall, Elisabeth Blair. “The Villa Mattei and the Development of the Roman Garden Style.” PhD diss., Harvard University, 1970.
- . “*Ars Hortulorum*: Sixteenth-Century Garden Iconography and Literary Theory in Italy.” In *The Italian Garden*, edited by David R. Coffin, 37–59. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1972. Reprinted in *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, 89–111. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994.
- . “A Paradise of Plants: Exotica, Rarities, and Botanical Fantasies.” In *The Age of the Marvelous*, edited by Joy Kenseth, 145–57. Hanover, N.H.: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, 1991.
- . “Imitation and Invention: Language and Decoration in Roman Renaissance Gardens.” In *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, edited by Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, 113–26. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994.
- MacDougall, Elisabeth Blair, ed. *Fons Sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1978.
- . *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers: Studies in Italian Gardens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1994.
- MacDougall, Elisabeth Blair, and Richard Ettinghausen, eds. *The Islamic Garden*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1976.
- Macera, Mirella. “Il restauro dei giardini della Venaria Reale.” In *Oltre il giardino: Le architetture vegetali e il paesaggio*, edited by Gabriella Guerri, Laura Pelissetti, and Lionella Scazzosi, 201–5. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2003.
- Madonna, Maria Luisa. “Il genius loci di Villa d’Este: Miti e misteri nel sistema di Pirro Ligorio.” In *Natura e artificio: L’ordine rustico, le fontane, gli automi nella cultura del manierismo europeo*, edited by Marcello Fagiolo, 190–226. Rome: Officina, 1981.
- . “Pirro Ligorio e Villa d’Este: La scena di Roma e il mistero della Sibilla.” In *Il giardino storico italiano: Problemi di indagine, fonti letterarie e storiche; Atti del Convegno di Studi, Siena–San Quirico d’Orcia, 6–8 ottobre 1978*, edited by Giovanna Ragionieri, 173–96. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1981.
- Maire-Vigueur, Jean-Claude. “Les grands domaines de la Campagne Romaine dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle.” Thèse d’état, Université Paris I Sorbonne, 1974.
- Mandelbrote, Giles. “John Evelyn and His Books.” In *John Evelyn and His Milieu*, edited by Francis Harris and Michael Hunter, 71–94. London: The British Library, 2003.
- Mangani, Giorgio. “Da icone a emblemi: Cartografia morale delle città (secoli XIV–XVI).” In *Tra oriente e occidente: Città e iconografia dal XV al XIX secolo*, edited by Cesare de Seta, 10–21. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2004.
- . *Cartografia morale: Geografia, persuasione, identità*. Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 2006.
- Magnani, Lauro. “The Rise and Fall of Gardens in the Republic of Genoa, 1528–1850.” In *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*, edited by Michel Conan, 43–76. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002.
- Mantovano, Andrea. “Il bazaar degli stili: Ville e giardini nella Puglia di fine Ottocento.” In *Ville e giardini fra Ottocento e Novecento: Studi e proposte*, edited by Alberta Campitelli, 121–25. Rome: Edizioni Joyce, 1996.
- Marconi, Momolina. “Il santuario di Hera alla foce del Sele.” *Rendiconti (Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere: Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche)* 72 (1938–39): 441–58.
- Margiotta, Maria Luisa. “Il Sito Reale e il suo parco.” In *Il Real Sito di Portici*, edited by Maria Luisa Margiotta, 11–68. Naples: Paparo, 2008.
- Margiotta, Maria Luisa, ed. *Il Real Sito di Portici*. Naples: Paparo, 2008.
- Mariage, Thierry. *L’univers de Le Nôtre*. Brussels: P. Mardaga, 1990. Translated by Graham Larkin as *The World of André Le Nôtre* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999).
- Marin, Louis. *Le portrait du roi*. Paris: Les Éditions du Minuit, 1981. Translated by Martha M. Houle as *Portrait of the King* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1988).
- Marshall, David R. “‘Farò la villeggiatura sopra la tela’: Cardinal Patrizi and Adriaen Manglard’s ‘Vedute’ of the Villa Patrizi.” *The Burlington Magazine* 144, no. 1193 (2002): 497–501.
- Masson, Georgina. *Italian Gardens*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1961.

- Matteini, Milena. *Pietro Porcinai, architetto del giardino e del paesaggio*. Milan: Electa, 1991.
- Mauro, Eliana. *Le ville a Palermo*. Palermo: U. La Rosa, 1992.
- Mennonna, Mario. *Guida di Nardò: Arte, storia, centro antico*. Galatina: Congedo Editore, 2001.
- Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *Phénoménologie de la perception*. Paris: Gallimard, 1945.
- Michels, Karen. *Transplantierte Kunstwissenschaft: Deutschsprachige Kunstgeschichte in amerikanischen Exil*. Berlin: Akademie, 1999.
- Mignani, Daniela. *Le ville medicee di Giusto Utens*. Florence: Arnaud, 1982.
- Millon, Henry A. *A Life of Learning: Charles Homer Haskins Lecture for 2002*. New York: American Council of Learned Societies, 2002.
- Mitchell, W. J. T. "Nature for Sale: Gombrich and the Rise of Landscape." In *The Consumption of Culture, 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text*, edited by Ann Bermingham and John Brewer, 103–18. London: Routledge, 1995.
- . Preface to *Landscape and Power*, edited by W. J. T. Mitchell, vii–xii. 2nd ed. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Mollet, André. *Le jardin de plaisir*. Stockholm: Chez Henry Kayser, 1651.
- Montaigne, Michel de. *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie, par la Suisse & l'Allemagne, en 1580 & 1581*. Rome and Paris: Chez Le Jay, 1774.
- . *The Complete Works: Essays, Travel Journal, Letters*. Translated by Donald M. Frame. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1958.
- Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat. *Voyages*. Paris: Arléa, 2003.
- Moos, Stanislaus von. *Turm und Bollwerk: Beiträge zu einer politischen Ikonographie der italienischen Renaissancearchitektur*. Zurich: Atlantis, 1974.
- Morel, Philippe. "Le Parnasse astrologique: Les décors peints pour le cardinal Ferdinand de Médicis." In *La Villa Médicis*, edited by André Chastel and Philippe Morel. Vol. 3, *Le Parnasse astrologique*, by Philippe Morel, 45–88. Rome: Académie de France à Rome, Ecole Française de Rome, 1991.
- Moryson, Fynes. *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson Gent: First in the Latin Tongue, and Then Translated by Him into English; Containing his Ten Yeeres Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turky, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland*. London: John Beale, 1617.
- Mosser, Monique. "Hortésie cartographique: De l'écriture classique des parcs à la française à la calligraphie poétique des jardins anglo-chinois." In *Le paysage des cartes: Genèse d'une codification; Actes de la 3^e journée d'études du Musée des Plans-Reliefs, Paris, Hôtel des Invalides, 19 novembre 1998*, edited by Catherine Bousquet-Bressolier, 99–119. Paris: Le Musée, 1999.
- Mostra del Giardino Italiano: Catalogo*. 2nd ed. Florence: Palazzo Vecchio, 1931.
- Motte, André. *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique: De la religion à la philosophie*. Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1973.
- Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale (MIAR). "L'architettura razionale italiana, 1931." *La casa bella* 40 (April 1931): 69–82.
- Mukerji, Chandra. "The Political Mobilization of Nature in Seventeenth-Century French Formal Gardens." *Theory and Society* 23–25 (1994): 651–77.
- . *Territorial Ambitions and the Gardens of Versailles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Muraro, Michelangelo. "Civiltà delle ville venete." In *Arte in Europa: Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, 533–43. Milan: Tipografia Artipo, 1966.
- . "Feudo e ville venete." *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura 'Andrea Palladio'* 20 (1978): 203–23.
- Natilj, Mattia. *Cenno storico e compendiosa descrizione della Villa di Bagnaia com'era avanti al 1820*. Rome: Sinimberg, 1864.
- Necipoglu, Gülru. "The Suburban Landscape of Sixteenth-Century Istanbul as a Mirror of Classical Ottoman Garden Culture." In *Gardens in the Time of the Great Muslim Empires: Theory and Design*, edited by Attilio Petruccioli, 32–71. Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997.
- Neil, Erik H. "Architects and Architecture in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Palermo: New Documents." *Annali di architettura* 7 (1995): 159–76.
- Neubauer, Erika. "The Garden Architecture of Cecil Pinsent, 1884–1964." *Journal of Garden History* 3, no. 1 (1983): 35–48.
- Nichols, Rose Standish. *Italian Pleasure Gardens*. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1931.
- Nocerino, Nicola. *La real villa di Portici*. Naples: Presso I Fratelli Raimondi, 1787.
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian. *Genius loci: Paesaggio, ambiente, architettura*. Milan: Electa, 1979.
- Nussdorfer, Laurie. "City Politics in Baroque Rome, 1623–1644." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1985.
- . *Civic Politics in the Rome of Urban VIII*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- . "The Politics of Space in Early Modern Rome." *The Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 161–86.

- Nuti, Lucia. "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language." *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 105–28.
- . "I 'teatrî' di città e l'Italia del secolo XVII." In *Cartographiques: Actes du colloque de l'Académie de France à Rome, 19–20 mai 1995*, edited by Marie-Ange Brayer, 105–23. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1996.
- Ogden, Henry V. S., and Margaret S. Ogden. *English Taste in Landscape in the Seventeenth Century*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1955.
- Ogetti, Ugo, ed. *I palazzi e le ville che non sono più del re*. Milan: Fratelli Treves, 1921.
- O'Malley, Therese, and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds. *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998.
- Ortelius, Abraham. *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Antwerp, 1581.
- Pagano, Giuseppe. "I 'materiali' nella nuova architettura." *La casa bella* 41 (May 1931): 10–14.
- Pagano de Divitiis, Gigliola. *English Merchants in Seventeenth-Century Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Paleotti, Gabriele. *Discorso intorno alle imagine sacre e profane*. Bologna, 1582. Reprinted in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento, fra manierismo e Controriforma*, edited by Paola Barocchi, 117–509. Bari: G. Laterza, 1960–62.
- Pane, Roberto. *Architettura dell'età barocca in Napoli*. Naples: Editrice Politecnica, 1939.
- . "Le ville e la strada costiera." In *Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, edited by Roberto Pane et al., 1–18. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959.
- . "Civiltà del Settecento a Napoli." *Napoli nobilissima*, 3rd ser., 19 (1980): 83–98.
- Panofsky, Erwin. "Three Decades of Art History in the United States: Impressions of a Transplanted European." In *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, 321–46. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955.
- . *Meaning in the Visual Arts*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1955. Translated by Bernard and Marthe Teyssèdre as *L'oeuvre d'art et ses significations: Essais sur les "arts visuels"* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969).
- . *Perspective as Symbolic Form*. 1924–25. Reprint, translated by Christopher S. Wood. New York: Zone Books, 1991.
- Panzini, Franco. *Progettare la natura: Architettura del paesaggio e dei giardini dalle origini all'epoca contemporanea*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 2005.
- Parchi e giardini storici: Conoscenza, tutela e valorizzazione*. Rome: Leonardo-De Luca, 1991.
- Parchi e giardini storici, parchi letterari: Conoscenza, tutela e valorizzazione; Atti del III Convegno (primo internazionale)* "paesaggi e giardini del Mediterraneo" Pompei, 4–5–6 giugno 1993. 3 vols. Pompeii: Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Comitato Nazionale per lo Studio e la Conservazione dei Giardini Storici, Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei, 1993.
- Pareyson, Luigi. *Estetica: Teoria della formatività*. Milan: Bompiani, 1988.
- Passini, Luciano. *Caprarola: Il paese e la sua storia*. Rome: Manfredi, 2002.
- . "Le vedute di paesaggi nel Palazzo Farnese di Caprarola." *Biblioteca e società* 26, no. 1–2 (2007): 36–42.
- Pastore, Christopher J. "Expanding Antiquity: Andrea Navagero and Villa Culture in the Cinquecento Veneto." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2003.
- Patroni, Giovanni. *Commenti mediterranei all'Odissea di Omero*. Milan: C. Marzorati, 1950.
- Pechère, René. "Memorandum sur la naissance et les origines de l'IFLA et du Comité International des Jardins et des Sites Historiques ICOMOS-IFLA." In *Jardins et sites historiques*, 259–61. Madrid: Doce Calles, 1993.
- Pelissetti, Laura Sabrina, and Lionella Scazzosi, eds. *Giardini, contesto, paesaggio: Sistemi di giardini e architettura vegetali nel paesaggio*. 2 vols. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005.
- . *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*. 2 vols. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Perillo, Donato. *Ragguaglio delle ville, e luoghi prescelti per uso delle caccie, pesche, e simili diporti da regnanti, ed altr'insigni personaggi*. Naples: Niccolò Naso, 1737.
- Perone, Maria. "Le ville vesuviane." In *Napoli*, edited by Cesare de Seta, 182–94. Rome: Laterza, 1981.
- Pestalozza, Uberto. "Lêto phytia e le Ekdissya." *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere: Classe di lettere, scienze morali e storiche* 24 (1938): 273–93.
- . *Pagine di religione mediterranea*. 2 vols. Milan: G. Principato, 1942–45.
- . *Eterno femminile mediterraneo*. 1954. Reprint, Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1996.
- . *Nuovi saggi di religione mediterranea*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1964.
- . *I miti della donna-giardino: Da Iside alla Sulamita*. Edited by Pier Angelo Carozzi. Milan: Edizioni Medusa, 2001.
- Pietrogrande, Antonella. "Echi mediterranei nei giardini italiani." In *Attraverso giardini: Lezioni di storia, arte, botanica*, edited by Giuliana Baldan Zenoni Politeo, 123–38. Milan: Guerini, 1995.
- . "La presenza di Roma antica nei giardini all'italiana." In *Attraverso giardini: Lezioni di storia, arte, botanica*, edited by Giuliana Baldan Zenoni Politeo, 139–54. Milan: Guerini, 1995.

- . *I giardini di Reitia: Storia e tipologie dei giardini del Parco dei Colli Euganei*. Este: Grafica Atesina, 1998.
- . “Una spelonca di dolci acque amena’: Grotte e ninfeo tra Umanesimo e Manierismo.” In *Artifici d’acque e giardini: La cultura delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia e in Europa*, edited by Isabella Lapi Ballerini and Litta Maria Medri, 180–85. Florence: Centro Di, 1999.
- Pietrogrande, Antonella, ed. *Per un giardino della terra*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2006.
- Pietrosanti, Susanna. *Le cacce dei Medici*. Florence: Vallecchi, 1992.
- Pindemonte, Ippolito. *Su i giardini inglesi e sul merito in cio dell’Italia*. Verona: Dalla Tipografia Mainardi, 1817.
- Pindinelli, Elio. “Ville e casini dell’entroterra gallipolino.” In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 210–21. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- Piva, Antonio, and Pierfranco Galliani, eds. *Eugenio Battisti: Storia, critica, progetto nella continuità della ricerca*. Rome: Gangemi, 2009.
- Platt, Charles A. *Italian Gardens*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1894.
- Pliny, the Elder. *Natural History*. 10 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961–67.
- Politano, Simonetta. “Portali e recinti di ville nelle campagne salentine.” In *Paesaggi e sistemi di ville nel Salento*, edited by Vincenzo Cazzato, 262–73. Galatina: Mario Congedo, 2006.
- Poliziano, Angelo. *Stanze cominciate per la giostra del Magnifico Giuliano de Medici*. 1475–79. Reprint, edited by Vincenzo Pernicone. Turin: Loescher-Chiantore, 1954.
- Poni, Carlo. *Gli aratri e l’economia agraria nel bolognese dal XVII al XIX secolo*. Bologna: Zanichelli, 1963.
- . *Fossi e cavedagne benedicon le campagne*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1982.
- Pozzana, Mariachiara. “Il giardino del Trebbio.” In *Giardini medicei: Giardini di palazzo e di villa nella Firenze del Quattrocento*, edited by Cristina Acidini Luchinat, 148–52. Florence: F. Editore, 1996.
- Pozzana, Mariachiara, ed. *I giardini del XX secolo: L’opera di Pietro Porcinai*. Florence: Alinea, 1998.
- Puppi, Lionello. “The Villa Garden of the Veneto from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century.” In *The Italian Garden*, edited by David R. Coffin, 81–114. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1972.
- . “L’ambiente, il paesaggio e il territorio.” In *Materiali e problemi: Ricerche spaziali e tecnologiche*, pt. 1, vol. 4 of *Storia dell’arte italiana*, edited by Giovanni Previtali, 44–99. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1980.
- . “Il principe e i mostri.” In *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, edited by Guido Beltramini, Adriano Ghisetti Giavarina, and Paola Marini, 385–99. Vicenza: Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, 2000.
- Quaini, Massimo. “Per una archeologia dello sguardo topografico.” *Casabella* 575–76 (1991): 13–17.
- Quast, Matthias. *Die Villa Montalto in Rom: Entstehung und Gestalt im Cinquecento*. Munich: Tuduv, 1991.
- . “La villa di Artimino del Buontalenti: Rilettura tipologico-stilistica.” In *Kunst des Cinquecento in der Toskana*, edited by Monika Cämmerer, 365–71. Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1992.
- . “Die Medici-Villen als Spiegel frühabsolutistischer Herrschaft. Beobachtungen zur Instrumentalisierung der Villenarchitektur unter Grossherzog Ferdinand I. (1587–1609).” In *Gedenkschrift für Richard Harprath*, edited by Wolfgang Liebenwein and Anchise Tempestini, 375–85. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1998.
- Quazza, Guido. *La decadenza italiana nella storia europea: Saggi sul Sei-Settecento*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1971.
- Quennell, Peter, ed. *Edward Lear in Southern Italy: Journals of a Landscape Painter in Southern Calabria and the Kingdom of Naples*. London: W. Kimber, 1964.
- Ragonieri, Giovanna, ed. *Il giardino storico italiano: Problemi di indagine, fonti letterarie e storiche*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1981.
- Ranaldi, Antonella. *Pirro Ligorio e l’interpretazione delle ville antiche*. Rome: Quasar, 2001.
- Ravenna, Bartolomeo. *Memorie storiche della città di Gallipoli*. Naples: R. Miranda, 1836.
- Raymond, John. *An Itinerary Contayning a Voyage, Made through Italy, in the yeare 1646, and 1647*. London: Printed for Humphrey Moseley, 1648.
- Regione Lombardia. *Criteri per la tutela, la conservazione e l’uso delle architetture vegetali*. Milan: Regione Lombardia, 1987.
- Reinhard, Wolfgang. “Papa Pius: Prolegomena zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Papsttums.” In *Von Konstanz nach Trient: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirche von den Reformkonzilien bis zum Tridentinum; Festgabe für August Franzen*, edited by Remigius Bäumer, 261–99. Munich: F. Schöningh, 1972.
- . “Ämterlaufbahn und Familienstatus. Der Aufstieg des Hauses Borghese 1537–1621.” *Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 53 (1974): 328–427.
- . *Papstfinanz und Nepotismus unter Paul V (1605–1621): Studien und Quellen zur Struktur und zu quantitativen Aspekten des päpstlichen Herrschaftsystems*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1974.
- . “Nepotismus. Der Funktionswandel einer papstgeschichtlichen Konstanten.” *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 86 (1975): 145–85.

- . “Herkunft und Karriere der Päpste, 1417–1963: Beiträge zu einer historischen Soziologie der römischen Kurie.” *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 38 (1976): 87–108.
- . *Freunde und Kreaturen: ‘Verflechtung’ als Konzept zur Erforschung historischer Führungsgruppen; Römische Oligarchie um 1600*. Munich: Ernst Vögel, 1979.
- Reinhardt, Volker. *Kardinal Scipione Borghese (1605–1633): Vermögen, Finanzen und sozialer Aufstieg eines Papstnepoten*. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1984.
- Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*. Vol. 4, *Storia moderna*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1955.
- Ribouillault, Denis. “Le salone de la villa d’Este à Tivoli: Un théâtre des jardins et du territoire.” *Studiolo: Revue d’histoire de l’art de l’Académie de France à Rome* 3 (2005): 65–94.
- . “Paysage et pouvoir: Les décors topographiques à Rome et dans le Latium au XVIe siècle.” 3 vols. Doctoral thesis, Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2006.
- . “Landscape *all’antica* and Topographical Anachronism in Roman Fresco Painting of the Sixteenth Century.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 71 (2008): 21–37.
- . “Paesaggio dipinto, paesaggio reale: Notes sur une fenêtre de la Villa d’Este à Tivoli.” In *Delizie in villa: Il giardino rinascimentale e i suoi committenti*, edited by Gianni Venturi and Francesco Ceccarelli, 269–87. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.
- . “Le ville dipinte del cardinale Ippolito d’Este a Tivoli: L’architettura di fronte all’antico, la tradizione ferrarese, e un nuovo documento su Belriguardo.” In *Delizie estensi: Architetture di villa nel rinascimento italiano ed europeo*, edited by Francesco Ceccarelli and Marco Folin, 341–71. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Richeome, Louis. *La peinture spirituelle ou l’art d’aimer en toutes ses œuvres*. Lyon: P. Rigaud, 1611.
- Riegl, Alois. *Moderne Denkmalkultur: Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung*. 1903. Reprinted in *Scritti sulla tutela e il restauro*, edited by Giuseppe La Monica, and translated by Maria Annunziata Lima and Laura Bica. Palermo: La Palma, 1982.
- Rieusset-Lemarié, Isabelle. “Des palais de mémoire aux paysages virtuels: Le rôle du parcours dans les paysages urbains imaginaires.” In *Les enjeux du paysage*, edited by Michel Colot, 249–65. Brussels: Ousia, 1997.
- Robertson, John. *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680–1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Robotti, Ciro. “L’opera di Giffredo e Vanvitelli per il giardino di Villa Campolieto.” *Storia dell’arte* 35 (1979): 49–58.
- Roccia, Rosanna, ed. *Theatrum sabaudiae*. Turin: Archivio Storico della Città di Torino, 2000. Originally published as *Theatrum statuum regia celsitudinis sabaudia ducis* (Amsterdam: Apud Haeredes Ioannis Blaeu, 1682).
- Roggero Bardelli, Costanza, Maria Grazia Vinardi, and Vittorio Defabiani. *Ville Sabaude*. Milan: Rusconi, 1990.
- Romanello, Paolo. “Problematica della conservazione integrata delle ville vesuviane.” *Naples nobilissima* 26 (1987): 153.
- Romanello, Paolo, and Cinzia Parrotta, eds. *Le ville vesuviane*. Naples: Provincia di Napoli, 1991.
- Romano, Giovanni. *Studi sul paesaggio*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1978.
- Romeo, Emanuele. “Frammenti e memoria dei luoghi: Permanenze del sistema delle ville vesuviane.” In *Giardini, contesto, paesaggio: Sistemi di giardini e architetture vegetali nel paesaggio*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 619–30. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005.
- Romitti, Ines, ed. *Alessandro Tagliolini paesaggista, scultore e storico del giardino*. Florence: Alinea Editrice, 2001.
- Rosa, Salvatore. *Lettere*. Edited by Gian Giotto Borrelli. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003.
- Rosina, Alessandro, Mirto Etoni, and Francesco Bilari. “La popolazione di Chioggia nel Seicento.” In *La popolazione italiana nel Seicento: Relazioni presentate al convegno di Firenze, 28–30 novembre 1996*, 607–42. Bologna: CLUEB, 1999.
- Rotberg, Robert I., and Theodore K. Rabb, eds. *Art and History: Images and Their Meanings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. Originally published in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986).
- Ruggles, D. Fairchild. *Gardens, Landscape, and Vision in the Palaces of Islamic Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.
- Rupprecht, Bernhard. “Villa: Zur Geschichte eines Ideals.” In *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen: Studien zum Bild eines Ideals*, edited by Hermann Bauer, 210–50. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1966.
- . “L’iconologia nella villa veneta.” *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura ‘Andrea Palladio’* 10 (1968): 229–240.
- Salerno, Luigi, Luigi Spezzaferro, and Manfredo Tafuri. *Via Giulia: Una utopia urbanistica del 500*. Rome: A. Staderini, 1973.
- Salnove, Robert de. *La venerie royale*. Paris: Favre, Chez Antoine de Sommerville, 1655.
- Saltini, Antonio, and Maria Sframeli. *L’agricoltura e il paesaggio italiano nella pittura dal Trecento all’ Ottocento*. Florence: Octavo, 1995.

- Salvemini, Biagio. *L'innovazione precaria: Spazi, mercati e società nel Mezzogiorno tra Sette e Ottocento*. Rome: Meridiana, 1995.
- Sancho, José Luis, "Plano del Real Sitio de Aranjuez al final del reinado de Felipe II." In *Jardín y naturaleza en el reinado de Felipe II*, edited by Carmen Afion, José Luis Sancho, and José Martínez Millán, 497–503. Madrid: Sociedad Estatal Conme. Centenarios Felipe II–Carlos V, 1998.
- Sansa, Renato. *Loro verde: I boschi nello stato pontificio tra XVIII e XIX secolo*. Bologna: CLUEB, 2003.
- Santoro, Lucio. "Il palazzo reale di Portici." In *Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, edited by Roberto Pane et al., 193–235. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959.
- Saslow, James M. *The Medici Wedding of 1589: Florentine Festival as Theatrum Mundi*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Scaduto, Rosario. "Il trionfo del principe: L'arco della Santissima Trinità a villa Palagonia in Bagheria." In *Storia e restauro di architetture siciliane*, edited by Salvatore Boscarino and Maria Giuffrè, 71–80. Rome: Bonsignori, 1996.
- Scaringella, Andrea. *Il progetto "La Venaria Reale": Cronache, protagonisti e retroscena di una storia irripetibile*. Turin: Ananke, 2007.
- Scazzosi, Lionella. *Il giardino opera aperta: La conservazione delle architetture vegetali*. Florence: Alinea, 1993.
- . "Giardini, contesto, paesaggio." In *Giardini, contesto, paesaggio: Sistemi di giardini e architetture vegetali nel paesaggio*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 13–15. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2005.
- . "Il paesaggio opera aperta: Conservare/trasformare." In *La cultura del paesaggio in Europa tra storia, arte e natura: Manuale di teoria e pratica*, edited by Pierre Donadieu, Hansjörg Küster, and Raffaele Milani, 72–97. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.
- . "Giardini e paesaggi 'opera aperta': I limiti delle trasformazioni." In *Giardini storici: A 25 anni dalle Carte di Firenze; Esperienze e prospettive*, edited by Laura Sabrina Pelissetti and Lionella Scazzosi, 1:131–57. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2009.
- Scazzosi, Lionella, ed. *Leggere il paesaggio: Confronti internazionali/Reading the Landscape: International Comparisons*. Rome: Gangemi, 2002.
- Schiavo, Armando. *Villa Doria Pamphilj*. Milan: Alfieri and Lacroix, 1942.
- . *Villa Ludovisi e Palazzo Margherita*. Rome: Editrice Roma Amor, on behalf of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro, 1981.
- Schipa, Michelangelo. *Il regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo di Borbone*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. Milan: Roma, 1923.
- Schneider, Uwe, and Gert Gröning, eds. *Stolo: Bibliographische Findmittel zur Gartenkultur*. Vol. 1, *Italien*. Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2009.
- Schwager, Klaus. "Kardinal Pietro Aldobrandinis Villa di Belvedere in Frascati." *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 9–10 (1961–62): 291–382.
- Scott, Geoffrey. *The Architecture of Humanism: A Study in the History of Taste*. 1914. Reprint, New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.
- Scotti, Aurora. *Ascanio Vitozzi: Ingegnere ducale a Torino*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1969.
- Scully, Vincent J. *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods: Greek Sacred Architecture*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- . *Architecture: The Natural and the Manmade*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991.
- . *Modern Architecture and Other Essays*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Sella, Domenico. *Crisis and Continuity: The Economy of Spanish Lombardy in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Sereni, Emilio. *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*. Bari: Laterza, 1961. Translated by R. Burr Litchfield as *History of the Italian Agricultural Landscape* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).
- Sette, Maria Piera, ed. *Gustavo Giovannoni: Riflessioni agli albori del XXI secolo*. Rome: Bonsignori, 2005.
- Settis, Salvatore. *Futuro del "classico."* Turin: G. Einaudi, 2004.
- Shearman, John. "A Functional Interpretation of Villa Madama." *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983): 313–27.
- Silk, Mark. "The Hot History Department: Princeton's Influential Faculty." *New York Times Magazine*, 19 April 1987.
- Simoncini, Giorgio. "Gustavo Giovannoni, Vincenzo Fasolo e la concezione integrale della storia dell'architettura." In *Principi e metodi della storia dell'architettura e l'eredità della "Scuola Romana"*, edited by Flavia Colonna and Stefania Costantini, 63–72. Rome: Centro Stampa Ateneo, 1994.
- Sitwell, George. *On the Making of Gardens*. 1909. Reprint, with a foreword by John Dixon Hunt. Boston: David R. Godine, 2003.
- Smith, Graham. *The Casino of Pius IV*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1977.
- Sohm, Philip L. *Pittoresco: Marco Boschini, His Critics, and Their Critique of Painterly Brushwork in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

- Sombart, Werner. *Die römische Campagna*. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1888. Translated as *La campagna romana: Studio economico-sociale* (Turin: Loescher, 1891).
- Sonnino, Eugenio, ed. *Popolazione e società a Roma dal Medioevo all'età contemporanea*. Rome: Il Calamo, 1998.
- Stefaniak, Regina. "Correggios's Camera di San Paolo: An Archaeology of the Gaze." *Art History* 16, no. 2 (1993): 203–38.
- Steinberg, Ronald M. "The Iconography of the Teatro dell'Acqua at the Villa Aldobrandini." *The Art Bulletin* 47 (1963): 453–63.
- Stollhans, Cynthia. "Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio: A New Look at Religious Landscapes in Renaissance Rome." *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 23 (1992): 509–25.
- Stoye, John Walter. *English Travellers Abroad 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics*. Rev. ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Strabo. *The Geography of Strabo*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960–69.
- Strong, Roy C. *Splendour at Court: Renaissance Spectacle and the Theatre of Power*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1973.
- . *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650*. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 1984.
- . *The Artist and the Garden*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Stubbs, Mayling. "John Beale, Philosophical Gardener of Herefordshire. Part I. Prelude to the Royal Society (1608–1663)." *Annals of Science* 39, no. 5 (September 1982): 463–89.
- Swan, Claudia. "Ad vivum, naer het leven, From the Life: Defining a Mode of Representation." *Word and Image* 11 (1995): 353–72.
- Symonds, John. *Remarks upon an Essay, Intituled, The History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity, Applied to the Present Contest between Great Britain and her American Colonies*. London: Printed by J. Nichols, and sold by T. Payne, 1778.
- Szafranska, Malgorzata. "Comment le roi visitait ses jardins: Louis XIV au sujet de Versailles." *Biuletyn historii sztuki* 59, nos. 1–2 (1997): 112–22.
- . "Place, Time and Movement: A New Look at Renaissance Gardens." *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 26, no. 3 (2006): 194–208.
- Tafuri, Manfredo. *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*. Bari: Laterza, 1968.
- . "Via Giulia: Storia di una struttura urbana." In *Via Giulia: Una utopia urbanistica del 500*, edited by Luigi Salerno, Luigi Spezzaferro, and Manfredo Tafuri, 65–152. Rome: A. Staderini, 1973.
- . *Materiali per il corso di storia dell'architettura II.a A. 1978/79 (Francesco Borromini)*. Venice: CLUVA Libreria Editrice and Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, Dipartimento di Analisi Critica e Storica, 1979.
- . "Roma instaurata': Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo '500." In *Raffaello Architetto*, edited by Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Stefano Ray, and Manfredo Tafuri, 59–106. Milan: Electa, 1984.
- . *Ricerca del Rinascimento: Principi, città, architetti*. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1992.
- . "History as Project: An Interview with Manfredo Tafuri." By Luisa Passerini. *Architecture New York (ANY)* 25–26 (2000): 10–70.
- Tagliolini, Alessandro. *I giardini di Roma: Folclore, poesia e storia della città attraverso l'evoluzione delle 'isole verdi,' la riscoperta di una rinascimentale bellezza in un'ideale sintesi tra natura e arte*. Rome: Newton Compton, 1980.
- . "Girolamo Fiorentuola ed il giardino nelle fonti della metà del '500." In *Il giardino storico italiano: Problemi di indagine, fonti letterarie e storiche; Atti del convegno di studi, Siena–San Quirico d'Orcia, 6–8 ottobre 1978*, edited by Giovanna Ragionieri, 295–308. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1981.
- . *Storia del giardino italiano: Gli artisti, l'invenzione, le forme, dall'antichità al XIX secolo*. Florence: La Casa Usher, 1988. Reprint, Rome: Ponte alle Grazie, 1994.
- Tagliolini, Alessandro, ed. *Il giardino italiano dell'Ottocento nelle immagini, nella letteratura, nelle memorie*. Milan: Guerini, 1990.
- Tagliolini, Alessandro, and Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, eds. *Il giardino: Idea natura realtà*. Milan: Guerini, 1987.
- Tantillo Mignosi, Almamaria, ed. *Villa e paese: Dimore nobili del Tuscolo e di Marino*. Rome: De Luca, 1980.
- Tarchiani, Nello. "La Mostra del Giardino Italiano in Palazzo Vecchio a Firenze." *Domus* 38 (1931): 15–17.
- Tedesco, Natale. *L'immagine espressa, Villa Palagonia: Tra norma ed eccezione*. Siracusa: Ediprint, 1986.
- Testa, Fausto. *Spazio e allegoria nel giardino manierista: Problemi di estetica*. Florence: Nuova Italia, 1991.
- Thirsk, Joan. *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500–1760*. London and New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2006.
- Tino, Pietro. *Campania felice? Territorio e agricolture prima della grande trasformazione*. Catanzaro: Meridiana Libri, 1997.
- Tinti, Mario. "La Mostra del Giardino Italiano." *La casa bella* 41 (May 1931): 37–40 and 67.
- Tongiorgi Tomasi, Lucia, and Luigi Zangheri, eds. *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.

- Toscano, Bruno. "Una nota su paesaggio dipinto e paesaggio reale (rileggendo la prima annata di *Paragone*)." *Paragone* 42 (1991): 20–34.
- Toubert, Pierre. *Les structures du Latium médiéval: Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IXe siècle à la fin du XIIe siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: École Française de Rome, 1973.
- Trezzani, Ludovica, ed. *La pittura di paesaggio in Italia: Con saggi d'introduzione dall'antichità al Rinascimento; Il Seicento*. Milan: Electa, 2004.
- Troyli, Placido. *Istoria generale del reame di Napoli: ovvero, Stato antico e moderno delle regioni e luoghi che l' reame de Napoli compongono, una colle loro prime popolazioni, costumi, leggi, polizia, uomini illustri e monarchi*. 5 vols. Naples, 1747–54.
- Turner, James. "Landscape and the 'Art Prospective' in England, 1584–1660." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979): 290–93.
- Turner, Richard. *The Vision of Landscape in Renaissance Italy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Vallone, Aldo, ed. *Illuministi e riformatori salentini: Giuseppe Palmieri, Astore, Milizia e altri minori*. Lecce: Milella, 1984.
- Varro, Marcus Terentius. *On Agriculture*. Translated by William Davis Hooper. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.
- Vasari, Giorgio. *Le opere di Giorgio Vasari*. Edited by Gaetano Milanesi. 9 vols. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1878–85. Reprint, Florence: Sansoni, 1981.
- Venditti, Arnaldo. "La costa vesuviana da Napoli a Torre del Greco e la mappa del Duca di Noja." In *Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, edited by Roberto Pane et al., 19–51. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1959.
- . *L'opera napoletana di Luigi Vanvitelli*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1974.
- Venturi, Franco. "L'Italia fuori d'Italia." In *Storia d'Italia*, edited by Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti. Vol. 3, *Dal primo Settecento all'Unità*, 985–1481. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1973.
- . *Settecento riformatore*. Vol. 5, pt. 1, *L'Italia dei lumi*, 1764–1790. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1987.
- Venturi, Gianni. "Picta poësis: Ricerche sulla poesia e il giardino dalle origini al Seicento." In *Storia d'Italia: Annali*, edited by Ruggiero Romano and Corrado Vivanti. Vol. 5, *Il Paesaggio*, edited by Cesare de Seta, 665–749. Turin: G. Einaudi, 1982.
- Venturi, Gianni, and Francesco Ceccarelli, eds. *Delizie in villa: Il giardino rinascimentale e i suoi committenti*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.
- Venturi Ferriolo, Massimo. *Nel grembo della vita: Le origini dell'idea di giardino*. Milan: Guerini, 1989.
- . "L'arte dei giardini tra pittura e realtà." In *Il giardino dipinto nella pittura lombarda dal Seicento all'Ottocento*, edited by Paolo Biscottini, 13–16. Milan: Skira, 1995.
- . "Mater herbarum: Il giardino dei semplici dall'antico mondo mediterraneo alla Scuola Medica Salernitana." In *Mater herbarum: Fonti e tradizione del giardino dei semplici della Scuola Medica Salernitana*, edited by Massimo Venturi Ferriolo, 13–27. Milan: Guerini, 1995.
- . *Giardino e paesaggio dei romantici*. Milan: Guerini, 1998.
- . *Etiche del paesaggio: Il progetto del mondo umano*. Rome: Editori Riuniti, 2002.
- Venuto, Francesca, ed. *Agricoltura e villa nelle campagne friulane: Possidenti, operatori e sperimentazioni colturali dall'età veneta all'annessione al Regno d'Italia*. Turin: U. Allemandi, 2004.
- Vezzosi, Alessandro, ed. *Il giardino d'Europa: Pratolino come modello nella cultura europea*. Milan: Mazzotta, 1986.
- . *Il giardino romantico*. Florence: Alinea, 1986.
- Vicente Maroto, M. I., and Mariano Esteban Piñeiro. *Aspectos de la ciencia aplicada en la España del siglo de oro*. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Bienestar Social, 1991.
- Vidler, Anthony. *The Writing of the Walls: Architectural Theory in the Late Enlightenment*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Villani, Stefano. "I consoli della nazione inglese a Livorno tra il 1665 e il 1673: Joseph Kent, Thomas Clutterbuck e Ephraim Skinner." *Nuovi studi livornesi* 11 (2004): 11–34.
- Virgil. *Virgil's Husbandry, or an Essay on the Georgics*. Translated by William Benson. London: William and John Innys, 1724.
- . *The Eclogues and Georgics of Virgil*. London: Everyman's Library, 1950.
- . *The Georgics*. Translated by John Dryden. Ashington, Northumberland: Mid-Northumberland Arts Group, 1981.
- Visceglia, Maria Antonietta. *Territorio, feudo e potere locale: Terra d'Otranto tra Medioevo ed età moderna*. Naples: Guida, 1988.
- Visceglia, Maria Antonietta, and Gianvittorio Signorotto, eds. *La corte di Roma tra Cinque e Seicento: Teatro della politica europea*. Rome: Bulzoni, 1998. Translated as *Court and Politics in Papal Rome: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Viviani, Giuseppe Franco, ed. *La villa nel veronese*. Verona: Banca Mutua Popolare di Verona, 1975.
- Viviani della Robbia, Enrica. *Bernardo Tanucci ed il suo più importante carteggio*. Florence: G. C. Sansoni, 1942.
- Wacquant, Loïc J. D. "Sociology as Socioanalysis: Tales of Homo Academicus." *Sociological Forum* 5, no. 4 (1990): 677–89.

- Warburg, Aby. *La rinascita del paganesimo antico*. 1932. Reprint, translated by Emma Cantimori. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996.
- Ward, Alastair. *The Architecture of Ferdinando Sanfelice*. London: Garland, 1988.
- Warnke, Martin. *Bau und Überbau: Soziologie der mittelalterlichen Architektur nach den Schriftquellen*. Frankfurt: Syndikat, 1976.
- . *Politische Architektur in Europa vom Mittelalter bis heute: Repräsentation und Gemeinschaft*. Cologne: DuMont, 1984.
- . *Politische Landschaft: Zur Kunstgeschichte der Natur*. Munich: C. Hamer, 1992. Translated as *Political Landscape: The Art History of Nature* (London: Reaktion, 1994).
- Weber, Max. *Die römische Agrargeschichte in ihrer Bedeutung für das Staats- und Privatrecht*. Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1891. Translated by S. Franchi as *Storia agraria romana dal punto di vista del diritto pubblico e privato* (Milan: Il Saggiatore, 1967).
- Webster, Charles. *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine, and Reform, 1626–1660*. London: Duckworth, 1975.
- Wescoat, James L., Jr., and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn, eds. *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996.
- Wharton, Edith. *Italian Villas and Their Gardens*. 1904. Reprint, with introductory notes by Arthur Ross, Henry Hope Reed, and Thomas S. Hayes. New York: Da Capo Press, 1988.
- Wilkinson-Zerner, Catherine. *Juan de Herrera, Architect to Philip II of Spain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993. Translated by Isabel Bal Sinde as *Juan de Herrera, arquitecto de Felipe II* (Madrid: Ediciones Akal, 1996).
- Williams, Raymond. "Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory." *New Left Review* (November–December 1973): 3–16.
- . *The Country and the City*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1973.
- . *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- . "Plaisantes perspectives: Invention du paysage et abolition du paysan." *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 17–18 (November 1977): 29–36.
- . *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. 1976. Reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Williamson, Tom. *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995.
- Witte, Arnold A. *The Artful Hermitage: The Palazzetto Farnese as a Counter-Reformation Diaeta*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 2008.
- Wölfflin, Heinrich. *Renaissance und Barock: Eine Untersuchung über Wesen und Entstehung des Barockstils in Italien*. Munich: T. Ackermann, 1888. Translated by Kathrin Simon as *Renaissance and Baroque* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966).
- Wollheim, Richard. *Painting as an Art*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim, with contributions by Angeliki E. Laiou and Michel Conan. *Twenty-Five Years of Studies in Landscape Architecture at Dumbarton Oaks: From Italian Gardens to Theme Parks*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1996.
- Wotton, Henry. *Letters and Dispatches from Sir Henry Wotton to James the First and his Ministers, in the Years MDCXVII–XX*. London: Printed by W. Nicol, 1850.
- . *The Elements of Architecture, Collected by Henry Wotton, Knight, from the Best Authors and Examples*. London: Longmans, Greene, 1903.
- Yates, Francis A. *L'art de la mémoire*. Translated by Daniel Arasse. Paris: Gallimard, 1975.
- Zach, Anton von. *Kriegskarte, 1798–1805: Il ducato di Venezia nella carta di Anton von Zach = Herzogtum Venedig auf der Karte Antons von Zach*. 2 vols. Treviso: Fondazione Benetton Studi Ricerche, 2005.
- Zalum, Margherita. "La storia del giardino italiano: Lineamenti ed evoluzione di una giovane disciplina." In *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005*, edited by Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Luigi Zangheri, 1–14. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.
- Zangheri, Luigi. *Pratolino, il giardino delle meraviglie*. 1979. Reprint, Florence: Gonnelli, 1987.
- . "Il restauro dei giardini storici in Italia dal 1980." In *Bibliografia del giardino e del paesaggio italiano, 1980–2005*, edited by Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi and Luigi Zangheri, 135–59. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2008.
- Zangheri, Luigi, Brunella Lorenzi, and Nausikaa M. Rahmati. *Il giardino islamico*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 2006.

Index

Note: Illustrations are indicated by page numbers in *italic* type.

- Accademia delle Arti del Disegno, Florence, 1
Accademia Reale d'Italia, 57
Acidini Luchinat, Cristina, 68
Ackerman, James S., 21, 22, 24, 26–27, 34–36, 43n8, 44n16, 50n99, 51n110, 139n2, 224; *The Villa*, 35
Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales (journal), 30, 33
Ad Herrenium, 210
Adorni, Bruno, 227n21
Adorno, Theodor, 32, 33, 37
Aesculapius, 195
Aesop, 210
agency, 6–7
Agliè, Turin, 91
Agnese, Battista, nautical chart, 108
Ago, Renata, 39
agriculture: English interest in Italian, 159–61; erosion and flooding problems in, 157, 159, 164; in Neapolitan region, 116, 129, 133, 137–38; in nineteenth century, 164; politics and, 154, 160–62; royal villas and, 106; Sereni and, 69–70; in sixteenth century, 152–57; tools for, 157; traditional means of, 146, 148–49, 150, 151; villas in relation to, 174; Virgilian husbandry, 161, 162
Agucchi, Giovanni Battista, 95, 208
Alban Hills, Latium, 83, 83, 84, 106
alberate (rows of trees), 151
Alberti, Leandro, *Descrittione di tutta Italia*, 146
Alberti, Leon Battista, 146
Albunea, 83
Aldobrandini, Pietro, 89, 90
Alezio, 131, 132
allées, 5, 149, 220, 221, 221
Alpers, Svetlana, 30
Alps, 96, 156–57
Alsace, 148
Altopascio, 149
L'ambrosiano (newspaper), 57
Ambrosoli, Mauro, 4, 6, 8, 41, 145–68
Ammannati, Bartolomeo, 208
Ammirato, Scipione, 128
Ancona, 149
Aniene River, 214–15
Annales (journal), 33, 48n69
Annales historiography, 28–33, 37, 39, 40, 48n69, 49n78, 49n79, 52n119, 71, 204
Annals of Agriculture (journal), 162
antiquarian scholarship, 7, 61, 188
Anzio, 87
Aphrodite, 191
Aranjuez park, Spain, 106, 107–8, 107
archaeology of the gaze, 7, 205, 213, 229n63, 230n64
architectonic garden design, 55–56, 59–61, 64–65
The Architectural Review (journal), 27
archival research, 22, 28
Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria (ASRSP) (journal), 27
Ariccia, 28, 52n125, 87
Ariosto, Ludovico, *Orlando furioso*, 189
Aristotle, 210
Armenini, Giovanni Battista, *De' veri precetti della pittura*, 222
Artemisia, 190
Artemis of Ephesus, 189–90, 189, 194, 195, 195
art history: American, 21, 23, 30; German, 21–23; intellectual foundations of, 23; Italian, 21–22; mainstream, 21–27; outside mainstream of, 27–29; social history of art, 23; social sciences in convergence with, 17, 20; structural approaches in, 23–24

- Artifici d'acque e giardini* (conference proceedings), 197
- asse acquatico* (water axis), 85
- Assunto, Rosario, 8, 190, 196
- Astarita, Giuseppe, 120
- Atlante delle grotte e dei ninfei in Italia*, vol. 2, *Italia settentrionale, Umbria e Marche* (conference proceedings), 197
- Attanasio, Fidora, 123
- Audebert, Nicolas, 205–6, 208, 220
- Augusta Civitas Taurini* (*The August Town of Turin*), 93
- Avenue of the Hundred Fountains, Villa d'Este, 85, 209, 210, 213, 215
- Avesa, 150, 155, 158
- Azzi Visentini, Margherita, 3, 4, 10n3, 27; "The Gardens of the Veneto and Friuli, Thirty Years of Studies," 2
- Bachofen, Johann Jakob, 191
- Bagetti, Giuseppe Pietro, *Mowing the Hay in Piedmont*, 163
- Bagheria, 83, 103–5, 104. *See also individual sites and villas by name*
- Baltrušaitis, Jurgis, 28
- bandite* (reserves), 70–71
- Barbaro family, 152
- Barbera, Filippo, 124
- barchi* (hunting enclosures), 38
- Bardi, Pietro Maria, 57, 63
- Baroque Garden Cultures* (symposium acts), 3, 4
- Baroque gardens, 20, 28
- Barrell, John, 49n82
- Barrière, Dominique, view of the entrance to the Villa Pamphilj, Rome, 36
- Barthes, Roland, 32; *Mythologies*, 37
- Bartolomeo, Michelozzo di, 70
- Baths of Caracalla, 105
- Baths of Diocletian, 105
- Battisti, Eugenio, 2, 27–29; *L'antirinascimento*, 188, 198; *Iconologia ed ecologia del giardino e del paesaggio*, 198; *Rinascimento e Barocco*, 28
- Baxandall, Michael, 30, 33, 37, 49n82
- Bay of Naples, 101
- Beale, John, 160
- Belli Barsali, Isa, 21, 22
- Belvedere Court, Nicchione del Belvedere, Rome, 208
- Benavides, Marco Mantova, 208
- Beneš, Mirka, 1–13, 4–6, 8, 10n3, 17–54, 203, 226n8; "Landowning and the Villa in the Social Geography of the Roman Territory," 37; "Pastoralism in the Roman Baroque Villa and in Claude Lorrain," 38; "The Social Significance of Transforming the Landscape of the Villa Borghese, 1606–1630," 37; "The Villa Pamphilj (1630–70)," 37
- Benjamin, Walter, 32, 37
- Benocci, Carla, 42, 54n150
- Benson, William, 161
- Bentmann, Reinhard, 35, 50n93, 224; *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur* (with Michael Müller), 34
- Berenson, Bernard, 61–62
- Berenson, Mary, 62
- Berger, John, 213
- Bergmann, Bettina, 224
- Bermingham, Ann, 49n82
- Bernini, Gianlorenzo, 23, 91, 96–98
- Berque, Augustin, 8, 220
- Bertoldi, Vittorio, 191
- Besse, Jean-Marc, 8, 216, 224
- Biagio Amico, Giovanni, 105
- Bibliotheca Hertziana, 21, 22
- Biondo, Flavio, 146
- Bloch, Marc, 29, 31, 37, 48n69
- Boboli Gardens, Florence, 176, 196, 198
- Boffrand, Germain, 98
- Bologna, 163
- Borbone, Carlo di, 91, 100–102, 115, 118, 119
- Borbone, Ferdinando IV di, 103
- Borchardt, Rudolf, *Città italiane*, 174
- Borghese, Scipione, 89, 90, 151
- Borghese family, 111n15
- Borghese villas, 35
- Borgonio, G. T.: Vigna del Cardinale, Turin, 95; Vigna di Madama Reale, Turin, 95
- Borromeo, Carlo, 208
- Borromini, Francesco, 23, 105
- Boschini, Marco, *La carta del navigar pittoresco*, 24
- bosco* (woodland), 86, 101
- Bosio, Gherardo, 63
- Boswell, James, 162
- Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation, and Cultural Change* (symposium acts), 4
- Botero, Giovanni, 23
- Bourbon dynasty. *See* royal sites of Bourbon dynasty, Naples
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 30, 32, 33, 37, 40
- Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850* (symposium acts), 4
- Bramante, Donato, Cortile del Belvedere, 24, 86, 97
- Braudel, Fernand, 31, 32, 40, 49n78; *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, 29, 31
- Braun, George, *Civitates orbis terrarum*, 203
- Brinckmann, Albert E., 24, 26, 45n32, 45n35
- Brown, Peter, 53n29

- Brucker, Gene, 34
- Brunon, Hervé, 10n3, 32, 70–71, 203; “La chasse et l’organisation du paysage dans la Toscane des Médicis,” 70–71; “Les mouvements de l’âme,” 198
- Buontalenti, Bernardo, 198
- Burckhardt, Jacob, 44n26, 46n45, 188; *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, 23
- Burke, Peter, 50n90
- Butters, Suzanne, 71
- Calabria, 163, 164
- Camillo della Monica, Fulgenzio, 128
- Camillo della Monica, Giovanni, 128
- Campania, 106, 191
- Campitelli, Alberta, 42, 54n150
- Canevari, Antonio, 101
- Cantimori, Delio, 37, 49n78
- Capodimonte, 101, 101
- Caprarola, Barco di, 208
- Capua, 151
- Carafa, Giovanni, 101; detail of *Mappa topografica della città di Napoli e de’ suoi contorni*, 118, 121, 122
- Caravilla, Frascati, 88, 89, 90, 111n15
- cardinalate villas, Frascati. *See* Tusculan villas, Frascati
- Cardini, Giulio Cesare Lensi Orlandi, *Le ville di Firenze*, 64
- Carditello, 103
- Carlo Emanuele I, Duke, 91
- Caro, Annibale, 88, 90, 121
- Carta dei giardini storici*, 172
- Carta del Restauro*, 169
- Cartari, Vincenzo, 190
- cartography, 109
- Casabella* (journal), 56
- casale* (farmhouse, fortified farm), 21
- Casali, Giovanna, 71; *I Medici nel contado fiorentino* (with Vittorio Franchetti Pardo), 70
- Caserta, 101–2, 102, 106, 123
- Casey, Edward, 216; *Representing Place*, 212
- casini di delizia* (villa palaces of delight), 119
- casino, 38, 116, 128, 129, 131, 133, 134, 134. *See also* villas
- Casino Ceddhe, Presicce, 135
- Casino degli Angeli at Presicce, 134
- Casino del Baloardo Verde, 94
- Casino de Virgiliis, Salento region, 129
- Casino Lazzarello, 133
- Casino Mimmo, 133
- Casino of Pius IV, Vatican, 86, 208
- Cassirer, Ernst, 44n16
- Castellammare, 102
- Castellamonte, Amedeo di, 91, 96, 98, 106–7
- Castelli Romani, 27, 28
- Castelli Romani* (journal), 28
- Castello di Lucento, Turin, 91
- Castello di Mirafiori, Turin, 91, 96–98, 112n28
- Castello di Moncalieri, Turin, 91, 96
- Castello di Pollenzo, Bra (near Turin), 91
- Castello di Rivoli, Turin, 91, 96–98
- Castello di Valentino, Turin, 91, 95
- Castelnuovo, Enrico, 30
- Castel Otricoli, 151
- catalogue raisonne, 21
- Cato, Ercole, 210
- Cato, Marcus Porcius, 88
- Cavallino, 130
- Cazzato, Vincenzo, 5–6, 8, 115–41; *La memoria, il tempo, la storia nel giardino italiano fra ‘800 e ‘900*, 179
- Ceccarelli, Francesco, 8
- Celano, Carlo, 121
- Cenate, 131
- Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), 8
- Centro di Documentazione Storica di Cinisello Balsamo, 181n14
- Cesarini, Giuliano, 86–87
- Charles I, king of England, 154
- Charles VI, Emperor, 105
- Chastel, André, 8, 34, 188
- Chatenet, Monique, 8
- Chays, Louis, view of the royal palace of Portici, 120
- Cherubini, Giovanni, 35
- Child, Robert, 160
- Chioggia, 149
- Christian, Kathleen W., 4, 10n3
- Christianity, urban planning and, 91, 94
- Christina, queen of Sweden, 27
- Church of the Capuchins, Genzano, 86–87
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, 88, 210
- Citadel, Turin, 94
- Clark, T. J., 30, 49n82
- class: casinos and, 129; and residences in southern Italy, 115–38; villas and, 43n5
- classical studies, 61, 188
- Claude Lorrain, 40, 41, 164
- Claudianus, Claudius, 197
- Clement VIII, Pope, 89, 90
- Clüver, Philipp, map of Italy, 2
- Coffin, David R., 2, 7, 21–24, 26, 27, 34, 35, 43n8, 43m10, 52n124, 193, 199, 213, 227n21; *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, 35

- Collecini, Francesco, 103
- Colonna Francesco, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 192, 192
- Columella, 161
- Columns of Hercules, Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, 20, 90
- Committee on Cultural Landscapes ICOMOS-IFLA, 172
- Conan, Michel, 3–4, 8, 10n3, 17, 145, 193, 214, 224; “Jardins et métaphysiques de l’eau,” 192
- Conegliano, 148
- Connors, Joseph, 37
- conservation, 6, 170, 171, 172, 175–76, 178. *See also* preservation of gardens
- Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche (CNR), 8
- Construction of Tibur, fresco, Tiburtine room, Villa d’Este, 217–18, 217
- Conti, Torquato, 88, 121
- Coolidge, John, 43n8
- Cornaro, Caterina, 62
- Corn Laws, 162
- corona di delitie* (crown of delights), 91, 96
- Corrado, Vincenzo, “Sul ritiro in campagna,” 133
- Corsica, 162
- Cortesi, Paolo, *De Cardinalatu*, 209, 210
- Cortona, Pietro da, 23
- Cosgrove, Denis, 49n82, 213, 224; *The Palladian Landscape*, 34
- Coste, Jean, 39, 41
- Cotte, Robert de, 112n30
- Council of Europe, 171
- Council of Trent, 209
- court residence, 83
- Crescenzi family, 207
- Criteri per la tutela, la conservazione e l’uso delle architetture vegetali* (Principles for the Protection, Conservation, and Use of Works of Vegetal Architecture), 172
- cross plowing, 161, 162
- Ctesibius, 209
- Cupa, 129–30
- Curtius, Ernst Robert, 197
- Cutting, Sybil, 62
- Cybele, 188, 190, 197
- Cypress Rotunda, Tivoli, 85
- Cyprus, 193
- Cythera, 192
- Dal Re, Marc’Antonio, 212
- Dami, Luigi, 45n37, 56, 73n2; *The Italian Garden*, 24, 68
- Daniels, Stephen, 41, 49n82
- Dante Alighieri, 105; *Commedia*, 74n30
- D’Aquino, Giacomo, 123
- D’Aquino, Tommaso Nicolò, 133
- Darnton, Robert, 32, 49n79, 53n129
- Davis, Natalie, 53n129
- De Beer, Esmond, 154, 167n36
- Del Duca, Giacomo, 222
- Della Gatta, Saverio Xavier: *Naples, vue du port de Portici*, 117; *Vue du Palais Royal de Portici, avec le Vésuve en éruption*, 117
- Della Pergola, Paola, 21–22; *Villa Borghese*, 22
- Della Porta, Giacomo, 86, 89
- Del Re, Antonio, 85
- Delumeau, Jean, 23, 39; *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIIe siècle*, 32
- Del Vaga, Perino, 24
- Demeter, 191
- Descartes, René, ideogram of the vortex theory, 100, 108, 109
- descriptio*, epideictic category of, 193, 208–9
- Deseine, François-Jacques, 91
- De Seta, Cesare, 32, 117–19, 121–23, 136–37, 165
- Devoti, Luigi, 27–28
- Diana, 195
- Di Gaddo, Beata, 27, 46n52; *Villa Borghese*, 27
- Di Mauro, Leonardo, 117, 121
- Di Savoia, Maurizio, 94
- disegni*, as design concept, 204, 206, 208
- Doni, Anto Francesco, *Le ville*, 70
- D’Onofrio, Cesare, 27, 28; *Le fontane di Roma*, 28; *Roma nel Seicento*, 28; *Il Tevere e Roma*, 28; *La Villa Aldobrandini a Frascati*, 28
- Dossi, Dosso: *Alcina*, 188; *Circe*, 188
- Dryden, John, 161
- Dubbini, Renzo, 224; *Geography of the Gaze*, 213
- Duby, Georges, 29
- Il Duce, Benito Mussolini, 56–58
- Dughet, Gaspar, 24
- Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., 1, 21
- Dupérac, Étienne, projected design for Villa d’Este, 205, 205, 208, 211
- Eco, Umberto, 28, 37
- École Française de Rome, 32
- Eden, 190, 195, 198
- Ehrlich, Tracy L., 4, 10n3, 35, 37, 41
- ekphrasis*, 208–9
- Eliade, Mircea, 190, 197
- Elizabeth I, queen of England, 154
- Elsner, Jás, 224
- England, and Italy, 154, 159–61, 165

- English gardens, 61, 64, 65, 76n74, 161
- Enlightenment, 119
- erosion, 157, 164
- Esposito, Daniela, 41
- Esposizioni di Architettura Razionale Italiana, 63
- Esquivel, Pedro de, 109
- Este family, 82
- Este, Ippolito, II, de, 193, 213
- Eugenio, prince of Savoy, 105
- Europe, garden studies in, 8–9
- European Landscape Convention (Florence, 2000), 171, 172, 179, 181n11, 183n38
- Eustis, Elizabeth, 208
- Evelyn, John, 154–56, 159–61, 165, 167n36; *Pomona*, 160
- “Evolution and Perspectives of the Study of Garden History” (colloquium), 3
- Fabiani Giannetto, Raffaella, 4–5, 10n3, 55–77
- Fagiolo, Marcello, 5–6, 8, 81–114, 193, 198, 224, 227n21
- Fagliari Zeni Bucchichio, Fabiano Tiziano, 227n21
- Falda, Giovanni Battista, *Le fontane di Roma*, 90
- Fariello, Francesco, *Arte dei giardini*, 64
- Farnese, Alessandro, 208
- fascism, 55–58, 63–64, 69, 72
- Fasolo, Furio, 44n20
- Febvre, Lucien, 31, 37
- feminine, the. *See* women and the feminine
- Ferrara, 82, 149, 157, 163
- fertility, 190, 195
- festivals, 57–58
- Fichera, Francesco, 59–60
- Ficino, Marsilio, 188, 193
- Filiberto, Emanuele, 91
- Fiorani, Camillo, *Giardini d'Italia*, 65
- Fiorenzuola, Girolamo, 222
- Fischer von Erlach, Johann Bernhard, 98, 105
- fishing, 120
- flooding, 157
- Florence, 57–58, 63, 74n30, 149, 154. *See also individual sites and villas by name*
- Florentine Exhibition Committee, 57, 60, 63
- Fondi, 151
- “*Fons Sapientiae*: Renaissance Garden Fountains” (symposium), 2–3
- Fontana, Carlo, 105
- Fontana, Domenico, 86
- Fontana, Giovanni, 89, 90
- fontanina, Villa d'Este, 216
- forests. *See* trees; woods
- Formia, 151
- Forster, Kurt W., 35
- Forte Madruzzo, Soriano nel Cimino, 83
- Forum of Augustus, Rome, 105
- Foucault, Michel, 32, 40, 188, 189, 204, 229n63
- Fountain of Artemis of Ephesus, Villa d'Este, 195
- Fountain of Pegasus and the Muses, Villa Lante, 196
- Fountain of Rome, Villa d'Este, 85, 213
- Fountain of the Dragon, Villa d'Este, 213
- Fountain of the Great Flood (Fontana del Diluvio), Villa Lante, 86
- Fountain of the Organ, Villa d'Este, 194, 195, 209, 215
- Fountain of the Owl, Villa d'Este, 209
- Fountain of Tivoli (also known as Oval Fountain or Fountain of the Sybil), Villa d'Este, 85, 194, 213, 215
- fowling, 70–71
- Franchetti Pardo, Vittorio, 34–35, 71; *I Medici nel contado fiorentino* (with Giovanna Casali), 70
- Franck, Carl Ludwig, 22, 23, 44n21; *The Villas of Frascati, 1550–1750*, 22
- Frankfurt School, 32–34
- Frascati, 22, 28, 111n14, 151. *See also individual sites and villas by name*; Tusculan villas, Frascati
- frescoes: construction of Tibur, Tiburtine room of Villa d'Este, 217; Fontanina, salone of Villa d'Este, 215; *Hercules at the Feast of the Gods*, salone of Villa d'Este, 215; projected design of villa gardens, loggia of Palazzina Gambarà, Villa Lante, 206–8, 206; project for the gardens, garden pavilion of Villa Medici, 207; salone, Villa d'Este, 214; view of a project for the upper gardens at the Palazzo Farnese, loggia of the palazzina at the Villa Farnese, 222–23, 222; view of a project for the upper gardens showing the uppermost terrace behind the palazzina, loggia of the palazzina at the Palazzo Farnese, 223, 223; view of the Avenue of the Hundred Fountains, salone of Villa d'Este, 210; view of the Fountain of Tivoli, Tiburtine Room of Villa d'Este, 217; view of the Monti Corniculani, Mount Soratte, and Santa Maria di Quintiliolo, Villa d'Este, 219, 220; view of the Porta Settimiana and the Villa Farnesina between the fictive columns, Sala delle Prospettive of Villa Farnesina, 218–19, 218; view of the summer garden under construction, Room of the Farnese Deeds of Palazzo Farnese, 219
- Friuli, 149
- Frommel, Christoph L., 35, 45n32, 227n21
- Frommel, Sabine, 8, 26, 37; *Bomarzo*, 8; *Villa Lante a Bagnaia*, 8
- Fuga, Ferdinando, 101, 120
- Furet, François, 37

- Gagliardi, Rosario, 105
- Galanti, Giuseppe Maria, 120–21, 127
- Galen, 115
- Gallery of Maps, Vatican, 216
- Gallipoli, 129, 131
- Galloro, 87
- Gambara, Giovan Francesco, 110n8, 206, 208
- Garden of Statues, Masseria Brusca, 135–36, 137
- gardens: accumulated history of, 176; changing nature of, 170–71; concept of, 171–72, 190; defined, 145; feminine aspects of, 190; fragments/remains of, 177–79; landscapes in relation to gardens, 172; meanings and values of, 179–80; Neoplatonic conception of, 192–93; as open-ended works, 6–7, 170–71, 177–78, 180; theories of preservation of, 169–73. *See also* garden views; Italian gardens; Italian garden studies
- Gardens and Imagination* (symposium acts), 3, 4
- garden views, 203–25; archaeology of the gaze and, 212–13; combination of real and painted, 222–23; ideological foundations of, 212, 221, 223–24; methodological approaches to, 224–25; mnemonic and didactic function of, 208–10; movement and, 210–24; phenomenological reception of, 213–24; pictorial themes of, 209–10; as projects, 205–8; recent treatments of, 203–4; riddles in, 210; traditional treatment of, 203; Utens's paintings of Medici Villas, 211–12; Villa d'Este, Tivoli, 213–17
- Garin, Eugenio, 188
- Grove, Michelangelo, 112n30
- Garzoni, Quirino, 207
- Garzoni family, 207
- Geertz, Clifford, 30, 32, 33, 37, 39, 40, 53n129
- Gennaro, Clara, 37
- Genoese villas, 82
- Genzano, 86–87, 87
- geography: murals and, 213–17; as scholarly topic, 9–10
- German aesthetics and art history, 21–23
- Ghinucci, Tommaso, 85, 110n8, 208, 227n21
- Giambologna, 198
- “Giardini, Contesto, Paesaggio,” 181n14
- Gimbutas, Marija, 191
- Ginzburg, Carlo, 29
- Gioffredo, Mario, 120, 123
- Giovannoni, Gustavo, 27
- Giustiniani, Michelangelo, 120
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von, 120
- Golden House of Nero, Rome, 38
- Golden Mile, Bay of Naples, 6, 115, 123
- Goldthwaite, Richard, 34
- Gonzaga family, 62
- Gradi, Adriano, 68
- Gramsci, Antonio, 28, 30
- Gravier, Giovanni, view of the royal palace of Portici, 119
- Great Mother, 7, 189–98
- Gregory XIII, Pope, 88, 94, 207, 216
- Gregory XV, Pope, 88
- Greuter, Matteo, Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati, 89
- Grimal, Pierre, 224
- Grotta Grande, Boboli Gardens, 198
- grottoes, 197–98
- Grotto of Diana, Villa d'Este, 193
- Grotto of Venus, Villa d'Este, 193
- groves. *See* trees
- Guarini, Guarino, 96, 105
- Habermas, Jürgen, 33
- Hadot, Pierre, *Le voile d'Isis*, 189–90
- Hadrian, emperor of Rome, 190
- Hadrian's Villa, Tivoli, 9, 85, 87
- Halpern, Linda Cabe, 203
- Hardwicke, Junius, *The Gulf of Policastro in Calabria*, 164
- Harris, Dianne, 10n3, 37, 203, 212, 225n2
- Hartlib, Samuel, 160, 165; *Legacy of Husbandry*, 160
- Harvey, William, 160
- Haskell, Francis, 33, 49n82; *Patrons and Painters*, 49n86
- Hauser, Arnold, 23
- Haydn, Hiram, 28
- Heilmann, Christoph, 22, 44n22
- Hera, 191
- Herbert, Robert L., 30
- Hercules, 90, 93, 193, 213–14
- Hercules Saxonus, 83, 193
- Herrera, Juan de, project for the Huertas de Picotajo in the park of Aranjuez, Spain, 106, 107–8, 109
- Heydenreich, Ludwig, 45n32
- Hibbard, Benjamin H., 44n26
- Hibbard, Howard, 23, 44n26; *Carlo Maderno and Roman Architecture*, 23
- historical gardens. *See* gardens
- historiography. *See* Italian garden studies
- history: absent from earlier Italian gardens studies, 26–27; *Annales* approach to, 31; local, 27–28
- Hocke, René, 28
- Homer, 191
- Hoskins, William George, 27, 49n78
- Huertas de Picotajo, park of Aranjuez, Spain, 106, 107–8
- Hunt, John Dixon, 3, 203, 230n65; *The Italian Garden*, 11n8
- hunting, 70–71, 83, 96, 98–103, 106–7, 120
- Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, 60

- ICOMOS-IFLA. *See* International Committee on Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes ICOMOS-IFLA; International Committee on Historic Gardens and Sites ICOMOS-IFLA
- iconography, 23, 24, 26, 28, 35, 215
- iconology, 23, 24, 28, 188, 193, 199
- ideograms, and the conceptualization of villa systems, 5, 82, 83, 83, 87, 100, 104, 104, 108, 109, 109
- Le immagini degli dei*, 190
- Innocent X, Pope, 38
- Ino. *See* Leucothea
- interdisciplinarity, 8–9, 37, 82–83
- International Committee on Historic Gardens and Cultural Landscapes ICOMOS-IFLA, 172, 176
- International Committee on Historic Gardens and Sites ICOMOS-IFLA, 169–71
- International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), 169
- International Federation of Landscape Architects (IFLA), 169
- intersubjectivity, 224
- Isis, 189
- Italian art history, 21–22
- Italianate landscape, 6, 145–65; changes in, 146; concept of, 145–46; in eighteenth century, 161–63; farming tools/methods and, 156–57, 159; foreign observers of, 145, 146, 148–49, 151, 154–56, 159, 163–64; fruitfulness of, 145, 146, 148–49, 151–54, 162; painting and, 159–60, 165; politics and, 160, 165; symbols for, 149; as wild, 161. *See also* Italian gardens
- Italian Charter of Historic Gardens, 176
- Italian Committee for the Study and Conservation of Gardens and Historical Parks, 81
- “The Italian Garden” (symposium), 2, 29
- Italian Garden Exhibition. *See* Mostra del Giardino Italiano (Florence, 1931)
- Italian gardens: design of, 55, 60–61, 64–69; feminine aspects of, 187; formality of, 60–62, 64–65, 68, 69; geometry of, 55, 60, 61, 64–65, 68, 71; ideal of, 9, 64–65, 68–69; mythological aspects of, 187–99; national concept of, 55–61, 72; 1931 exhibition on, 55–60, 65, 68, 69; northern, 64; social history of, 145–46; timelessness of, 55, 61, 64–67, 69. *See also* Italianate landscape; Renaissance gardens; villa gardens
- Italian garden studies: *Annales* approach to, 31–32; history and historiography in, 4–5, 173–79, 204; internationalism in, 29; mainstream art history and, 21–27; methodology of, 17–42, 145–46, 173–74, 224–25; misconceptions/distortions in, 64–69; nationalism and, 55, 57, 59–60, 63–64, 69, 70, 72; 1931 exhibition and, 68–69, 73n2; preservation concerns and, 174–79; recent developments in, 1–4, 8–10, 17, 20, 40–41; social histories of, 33–37
- Italian Wars (1494–1559), 151
- Italy: and garden preservation/restoration, 170, 172; map of, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, 2, 147
- Jacovacci, Domenico, view of Genzano and its streets, 87
- James I, king of England, 154
- Jardin des Plantes, Paris, 161
- Jashemski, Wilhelmina, 224
- Jedin, Hubert, 49n78
- Johnson, Marion (Babs). *See* Masson, Georgina
- Julius II, Pope, 36
- Juvarra, Filippo, 91, 96, 105, 112n30
- Kant, Immanuel, 44n16
- kepos* (secret garden of miraculous plants), 190, 193
- kitchen gardens, 70, 149, 175
- Klingender, Francis D., 33
- Krautheimer, Richard, 21, 26, 43n8, 45n32
- Kristeller, Paul Oskar, 188
- Labrot, Gerard, 119
- Lacan, Jacques, 4, 7
- Lamb, Carl, 22, 44n20, 231n86; *Die Villa d’Este in Tivoli*, 44n20
- Lanciani, Rodolfo, 27
- “Landscape Design and Experience of Motion” (symposium), 224
- landscapes: European convention on, 183n38; fragments/remains of, 177–79; gardens in relation to, 31–32, 172; meanings and values of, 179–80; methodological approaches to, 224–25; as open-ended works, 6–7, 170–71, 177–78, 180; purity of, 225; as representations, 219–22; spectators’ experience of, 216. *See also* Italianate landscape; nature; systems, villa/landscape
- Langdale, Allan, 52n121
- Lanuvio, 87
- Lapi Ballerini, Isabella, “Niccolò Tribolo e la Grotta degli Animali a Castello,” 190
- La Quintinie, Jean de, 161
- Lasansky, D. Medina, 58
- Lassus, Bernard, 3
- Latium, 83–84, 83, 87, 87, 104, 175
- La Villa, Bagni di Lucca, 148
- law, and preservation of historical gardens, 169
- Lazio ieri e oggi* (journal), 28
- Lazzaro, Claudia, 10n3, 36, 43n10, 52n126, 203, 221, 227n21; “Italy is a Garden,” 9, 41, 76n74; “Politicizing a National Garden Tradition,” 68–69
- Leader, John Temple, 73n11
- Lear, Edward, 164

- Lecce, 128, 129, 129
- Lee, Michael, 1–13
- Lee, Vernon (pseudonym of Violet Paget), 60–61, 68
- Lefebvre, Henri, 32
- Lefevre, Renato, 27–28
- Leghorn, 159
- Le Goff, Jacques, 29, 32, 204
- Leninism, 29, 32
- Le Nôtre, André, 30, 65, 96, 107
- Leonardo da Vinci, 224
- Leopardi, Giacomo, 117
- Lêto, 191
- Leucothea, 194
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 32, 37, 212
- Libro delle antiche ville tiburtine*, 215
- Ligorio, Pirro, 84, 85, 193, 195, 208, 215
- Ligustri, Tarquinio, plan of Villa Lante and town of Bagnaia, 86
- Lillie, Amanda, 35
- Lombardy, 163, 172
- Longfellow, Henry W., 74n30
- Longhi, Roberto, 28
- Loreto, 149
- Lotz, Wolfgang, 21, 24, 26, 43n12, 45n32
- Louis XIV, king of France, 107, 221
- Lowell, James R., 74n30
- Lucca, 148
- Lucian of Samosata, *Dialogues*, 210
- Lucretius, 191–92
- Lucullus, Lucius Licinius, 88
- Ludovisi, Ludovico, 90
- Ludovisi family, 90
- Lukács, György, 30
- Lunario romano* (published series), 28
- Lusini, Enrico, model of Quattrocento Florentine garden exhibited in Mostra del Giardino Italiano, 59
- Mabil, Pier Luigi, 73n2
- MacDougall, Elisabeth Blair, 2–3, 21, 24, 26, 29, 34, 35, 43n8, 46n44, 52n24; *Fountains, Statues, and Flowers*, 3
- Macrobius, 190
- Maderno, Carlo, 23, 89, 90
- Madonna, Maria Luisa, 104, 193
- magic, 188–89
- Magnani, Lauro, 4, 10n3
- Maire-Vigueur, Jean-Claude, 39
- Malta, 195
- La manière de montrer les jardins de Versailles*, 221
- Mannerist gardens, 196–98
- Manuzio, Aldo, 192
- Marches, the, 163
- Marconi, Momolina, 191
- Maria Cristina of France, 95–96
- Marignano, 155
- Marin, Louis, 4
- Marino, 87
- marshes, 146, 149, 152–53, 157
- Marx, Karl, 30
- Marxism, 2, 20, 29, 32, 33, 37
- Masseria Brusca, Nardò, 129, 130, 135–36, 137
- Masseria di San Biagio, Salve Lecce, 128
- Masseria Lo Spagnulo, Ostuni, 129
- masseria* (farm compound), 6, 128–29, 129, 130, 138
- Masseria Torre Pinta, Galatina, 129
- Masson, Georgina (pen name of Marion [Babs] Johnson), 2, 27, 29, 46n50; *Italian Gardens*, 27, 65–66
- matriarchy, 191
- Maximilian II of Austria, 208
- Maxwell, Hamilton, *Cadore–La Venegia di Paneveggio*, 156
- meadows, 38, 39, 85, 148–49, 155–56, 163, 182n33, 182n34
- mediating structures, 20, 33, 36, 38, 40, 43n4
- Medici, Catherine de', 208
- Medici, Cosimo de', 70
- Medici, Ferdinando de', 58, 207, 209–10, 212, 229n51
- Medici, Francesco I de', 198
- Medici, Lorenzo de', 62, 63, 70, 197
- Medici family, 63
- Medici gardens, 64, 69–70. *See also* Medici villas
- Medici villas: Artimino, 67, 211–12, 216, 229n51; Boboli, 196, 198; Cafaggiolo, 59, 65, 66, 67, 67, 68, 69, 70; Careggi, 64; Castello, 66, 67, 190, 196, 198, 211, 221; Fiesole, 62; Florence, 7, 63; ideological foundations of, 212, 229n51; Poggio a Caiano, 63, 70, 197, 197, 221; Pratolino, 64, 71, 196, 198; as prototypes, 72; Rome, 207, 209–10; scholarship on, 65–66, 68, 70; system of, 82; Trebbio, 59, 64, 65, 66, 66, 67, 68, 70; Tuscany, 34; Utens's views of, 211–12. *See also* Medici gardens
- Medrano, Giovanni Antonio, 101
- Melfi, 164
- memory, garden views and, 208–10
- Mercatelli, Carlo, 58
- Meriggi, Piero, 191
- methodology: art historical, 21–29; for garden studies, 17–42, 145–46, 173–74, 224–25; Mezzogiorno and, 138; recent developments in, 37–42, 199, 224–25; social scientific in convergence with art historical, 17, 20, 29–37
- Meuvret, Jean, 49n78

- mezzadria* (sharecropping contract), 156–57
- Mezzogiorno. *See* Salentine residences; southern Italy; Vesuvian villas
- Michelangelo Buonarroti, 208
- Miglio, Massimo, 37
- Milan, 155
- Milanese Mediterranean school, 191, 193
- Milanese villas, 82
- Milton, John, 60
- Mitchell, W. J. T., 225
- Modena, 157
- modernism, 69
- Molho, Anthony, 34
- Monselice, 148
- Montaigne, Michel de, 23, 146, 148–49, 166n11
- Mont Cenis, 159
- Montecchio di Negrar, 151
- Montesquieu, Baron de la Brède et de, 209
- Monti Corniculani, 84, 85, 219
- Monti Sibillini, 163, 163
- Moos, Stanislaus von, *Turm und Bollwerk*, 35
- Moryson, Fynes, 149, 151, 154
- Mostra del Giardino Italiano (Florence, 1931), 55–60, 57, 65, 68, 69, 73n2
- Motte, André, 191–93; *Prairies et jardins de la Grèce antique*, 190
- Mount Cavo, 87
- Mount Cimino, 83
- Mount Soratte, 83, 84, 85, 219
- Mount Tusculum, 88
- Mount Vesuvius, 101, 115–19, 122, 125, 127
- Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionalista (MIAR), 56
- Müller, Michael, 35, 50n93, 224; *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur* (with Reinhard Bentmann), 34
- Muraro, Michelangelo, 21, 34, 50n93
- Muziano, Girolamo: projected design of gardens at Villa d'Este, 204, 205; *salone*, Villa d'Este, 214–15
- mystery cults, 197
- mythology, Italian gardens and, 187–99
- Naples, 91, 101, 116, 120, 129, 151, 159. *See also* royal sites of Bourbon dynasty, Naples
- Napoli, Tommaso Maria, 104
- Nardò, 129, 131
- Narni, 148, 151
- nature: Artemis of Ephesus and, 189–90; feminine aspects of, 191; generative aspect of, 195, 197, 198; Greek attitude toward, 191; mythological aspects of, 188; Renaissance vs. Mannerist conceptions of, 197–98; Vesuvian villas and, 116–19. *See also* landscapes
- Naclerio, Giovan Battista, 120
- Navagero, Andrea, 9
- Neapolitan region, 115, 120–21. *See also* Vesuvian villas
- Negrar, 158
- neo-Marxism, 21, 33, 34, 36, 50n93, 50n95
- Neoplatonism, 188, 192–93, 197, 198
- Nero, emperor of Rome, 38
- Nichols, Rose Standish, *Italian Pleasure Gardens*, 68
- Nocerino, Nicola, 115, 123
- Norberg-Schulz, Christian, 83
- Norton, Charles E., 74n30
- Novara, 149
- Nussdorfer, Laurie, 39, 40, 41
- nymphaeum, 89–91, 197
- nympha loci*. *See* Sleeping Venus
- Ojetti, Ugo, 56, 58, 60; *I palazzi e le ville che non sono più del re*, 65
- open-ended works, gardens and landscapes as, 6–7, 170–71, 177–78, 180
- orchards. *See* trees: fruit trees and orchards
- orti* (kitchen gardens), 70
- Ossola, Carlo, 188
- Ostia Antica, 87
- otium*, 106, 116, 139n2, 197
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 193–94, 196
- Paciotto, Francesco, 91
- Padua, 152, 154–55
- paganism, 188, 195
- Paget, Violet. *See* Lee, Vernon
- Palazzo Baronale, Genzano, 86
- Palazzo Chigi, Rome, 28
- Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola, 7, 208, 219, 221, 223, 223. *See also* Villa Farnese, Caprarola
- Palazzo Madruzzo, Soriano nel Cimino, 83
- Palazzo Sforza Cesarini, Genzano, 87
- Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, 58
- Paleotti, Gabriele, 209
- Palermo, 103–4
- Palestrina, 87
- Palladio, Andrea, Teatro Olimpico, 91
- Palmieri, Giuseppe, 133
- Pamphilj family, 41
- Pane, Roberto, 116
- Panofsky, Erwin, 2, 23, 24, 28, 33, 43n8, 44m6, 204, 213

- Paoli, Pascal, 162
- papal Rome, 30–32, 35, 39
- papal villas, Frascati. *See* Tusculan villas, Frascati *parchi*. *See* *barchi*
- park landscapes, definition of, 38
- park villas, 27
- Parma, 157
- Pasolini Ponti, Maria, 73n2
- Pastor, Ludwig von, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 32, 46n45
- pastoral, the, 40–41, 136, 159–60, 222
- pastures, 38, 149, 149, 153, 156–57, 160, 163, 175
- Patroni, Giovanni, *Commenti mediterranei all'Odissea di Omero*, 191
- Paul III, Pope, 88
- Pausania, 195
- Pavolini, Alessandro, 58
- Pax Hispanica, 151
- peasants: contribution of, to Italian landscape, 145, 159, 162, 165; economic crises of fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and, 151; new working arrangements for, 156; tools used by, 157
- Pelissetti, Laura Sabrina, 8
- perception, garden views and, 7, 210, 217–24
- Peretti di Montalto, Alessandro, 206
- Perone, Maria, 117, 121
- Persano, 102–3
- Persephone, 191
- personifications of nature, 189–91, 194–98
- “Perspectives on Garden Histories” (symposium), 3
- Perspectives on Garden Histories* (symposium acts), 3
- Peruzzi, Baldassare, 222; view of the Porta Settimiana and the Villa Farnesina between the fictive columns, fresco, Sala delle Prospettive, Villa Farnesina, 218–19, 218
- Pesaro, 149
- Pestalozza, Uberto, 190–92, 193
- Petrarca, Francesco, 188
- Philip II, king of Spain, 109
- Philostratus, 209
- Piacentini, Marcello, 27
- Piana dei Colli, 103, 104, 115
- Piana, Juan Domingo, 102
- piantate* (tree-lined arable fields), 153, 153, 157
- picturesque gardens, 60
- Piedmont, 106, 162
- Pietrabanca, 121
- Pietrogrande, Antonella, 4, 7, 9, 187–202
- Pindemonte, Ippolito, 60, 73n2
- Pinsent, Cecil, 61, 64
- Piperno, 151
- Pisani, Vittore, 191
- Pistoia, 148
- Pius II, Pope, 84
- Pius IV, Pope, 88, 208
- plague, 156
- Platt, Charles A., *Italian Gardens*, 61
- Pliny the Elder, 146, 162, 213
- Pliny the Younger, 9, 220
- poderi* (intensive farms), 153
- Poli, 88
- Politecnico di Milano, 181n14
- politics: and agriculture, 154, 160–62; and Italian landscape, 160, 165
- Poliziano, Angelo, *Stanze*, 193
- polycentrism, 103, 107–9
- Pompeii, 177
- Pompey, emperor of Rome, 88
- Poni, Carlo, *Gli aratri e l'economia agraria*, 157
- Pontebba Veneta, 149
- Po River, 91, 93, 94, 96, 155, 157
- Portal of the Giants, Bagheria, 105
- Porta Nuova, Turin, 95, 97
- Portici, 101–2, 115, 119–21; royal palace, 119, 120, 121
- Porto, 87
- Potnia, 190–95, 197
- Poussin, Gaspard, 164
- Poussin, Nicolas, 24, 164
- Po Valley, 151–53, 157, 159, 160, 165
- Pozzana, Mariachiara, 66–67
- Preneistine Mountains, 87
- preservation of gardens: accumulated history as consideration in, 176; conservationist approach to, 175–76; developments in, 171–73; historiography and, 173–79; reconstructionist approach to, 176–77; theories of, 169–71
- Presicce, 129, 133
- Presta, Giovanni, 133
- Primavera Fiorentina, 57–58
- Primo, Roberto, 91
- Princeton University, 23
- Procopius, 115
- prospettiva* (perspective), 96, 100
- public, their role in meaning/value of sites, 179
- Puppi, Lionello, 2, 29, 50n95
- Quaini, Massimo, 230n64
- Quintilian, Marcus Fabius, 210

- Quirinale, vigna on, 208
 Quisisana palace, Castellammare, 102
- Racconigi Castle, Turin, 91, 96
 Ragionieri, Giovanna, *Il giardino storico italiano*, 75n47
ragnaie (fowling structures), 70, 71
 Rainaldi, Carlo, 23
 Ranke, Leopold von, 46n45
 Raphael, 189
 Rationalism, 56, 63
 rationalists, 56–57
Raum (space), 23–24, 45n32, 45n35
 Ravenna, 149
 Ravenna, Bartolomeo, 131
 Raymond, John, 154–56, 159
 “Recent Issues in Italian Garden Studies” (symposium), 1–3, 10n3
 reconstruction, 171, 176–77. *See also* preservation of gardens
 Regio Parco, Turin, 91–94, 93
 Reinhard, Wolfgang, 39, 40, 41
Rei rusticae, 161
 religion: and feminine deities, 190–93; Greek, 191; persistence of ancient, 192–93; villa chapels as evidence of, 134
 Renaissance gardens: antiquarian scholarship and, 61, 188; characteristics of, 64; design principles of, 61–62; influences on, 9–10; as national symbol, 58, 60–63, 68; Roman, 34–35; social and cultural approaches to, 36. *See also* Italian gardens; villa gardens
 restoration, 170, 171, 172, 176–78, 181n6
 Riario family, 85
 Ribouillault, Denis, 4, 7, 10n3, 32, 203–32
 riddles, 210
 Ridolfi, Cosimo, 157
 Ridolfi, Nicolò, 110n8
 Riegl, Alois, 7, 23–24, 26, 45n29, 45n32, 179
 Rifkin, Adrian, 49n82
 Rocca Pia, Tivoli, 84, 85
 Roger, Alain, 8
 Roman Campagna, 21, 27, 30, 38–39, 159
 Romano, Giovanni, 165
 Romanticism, 61
 Roman villas, 34–35, 38, 43n14
 Rome: fascism and, 63–64; geographical orientation toward, 85, 87, 88, 89, 213–15; papal, 30–32, 35, 39; Sixtus V’s design for, 109; sociopolitical context of, 30; three rings around, 38. *See also* individual sites and villas by name
 Room of Hercules, Villa d’Este, 213, 214
 Rosa, Salvatore, 164
 Rovereto, 148
 royal sites of Bourbon dynasty, Naples, 83, 100–103, 100, 113n41, 119–20
 Rudiae, 130
 Rufini, Alessandro, 88
 Ryle, Gilbert, 33
- Saalman, Howard, 34
 Sacred Wood, Bomarzo, 196
 Saint Peter’s, Rome, 87, 97, 105, 208
 Sala delle Prospettive, Villa Farnesina, 218–19, 218, 224
 Salentine residences, 6, 115, 128–38; agriculture and, 129; design of, 133–35; gardens of, 133, 135–36; geographical locations of, 129–31; masserias, 128–29; Vesuvian villas compared to, 137–38
 Sallust (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), 88
 salone, Villa d’Este, 214–15, 214, 216, 224
 Sambucus, Johannes, *Emblemata*, 190
 Sanctuary of Jupiter/Latium, 84
 Sanfelice, Ferdinando, 101, 120, 133
 Sangallo, Giuliano da, 70
 San Germano Vercellese, 149
 San Gimignano, 209
 San Giovanni a Teduccio, 121
 San Paolo, Albano, 87
 Santa Flavia, 104, 113n47
 Santa Maria di Quintiliolo, Tivoli, 219
 Sant’ Andrea al Quirinale, 222
 San Vitale, 222
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 216
 Saslow, James, 212
 Saussure, Ferdinand de, 32
 Savoy villas, Turin, 83, 91–100, 92, 106–7
 Saxl, Fritz, 24
 Scazzosi, Lionella, 4, 6–7, 8, 10n3, 169–83
 scenographic elements, 125, 129, 134
 Schiantarelli, Pompeo, 120
 scholarship. *See* antiquarian scholarship; Italian garden studies
 Schwager, Klaus, 22, 24, 44n22, 45n32
 Scott, Geoffrey, 61; *The Architecture of Humanism*, 61
 Scully, Vincent L., 30
 Sereni, Emilio, 29, 35, 41, 71, 165; *Storia del paesaggio agrario italiano*, 29, 31, 69–70
 Serlio, Sebastiano, 98
 Sermoneta, 151
 Settis, Salvatore, *Futuro del “classico,”* 188
 sharecropping, 156, 162

- Sibyl Albunea, 195
- Siculo, Diodoro, 195
- Sicuro, Francesco: view of the Villa Favorita at Ercolano from the road, 123, 124; view of the Villa Favorita at Ercolano from the sea, 123, 124
- Siena, 221
- sight, primacy of, 210
- Sitwell, George, *On the Making of Gardens*, 61
- Sixtus V, Pope, 26, 35, 109
- Sleeping Venus, 195
- sleeping woman theme, 195
- Sloane, Francis, 64, 73n11
- Soave, 153, 154
- social history of art, 23, 33, 145–46
- social meanings, 32–33
- social reception of gardens, 4
- social sciences, art history in convergence with, 17, 20, 29–37
- soil erosion, 157, 164
- Solanto, 104
- Solkin, David, 49n82
- Soranus, 83
- sorceresses, 188–90
- southern Italy, 115–38
- Soviet Union, 32
- speculum sapientiae*, 91–94
- Spini, Giorgio, 34
- Spoletto, 148, 151
- Stalinism, 32
- Stefaniak, Regina, 230n64
- Stibbert, Frederick, 73n11
- Stone, Lawrence, 53n29
- stone walls and terraces, 158
- Storia d'Italia* (published series), 32
- Strabo, 115, 146, 195
- Strenna dei Romanisti* (journal), 28
- Strong, Charles Augustus, 62
- structural approaches, in art history, 23–24, 32–33
- Studies in Landscape Architecture program, Dumbarton Oaks, 2, 21
- Stupinigi, Turin, 91, 96, 98–99, 98, 99
- Symonds, John, 162
- Symonds, Richard, 159
- systems, villa/landscape, 5–6, 81–109, 115–38; and agriculture, 116; *Annales* historiography and, 31; common characteristics of, 82; as ensembles, 172; extension of concept of, 138; failures to understand, 138, 182n24; and fragments/remains, 178; ideogrammatic map of, 82, 83, 88, 92, 100, 103; methodologies involving, 174–75; royal sites of Bourbon dynasty, Naples, 100–103; Salento region, 128–38; Savoy villas, 91–100, 182n24; spatiality of, 105–9; Tusculan villas, 88–91; Vesuvian villas, 116–27; villas as territorial barycenters, 84–87; villas of nobility, Bagheria, 103–5
- Szafranska, Malgorzata, 221
- Tafari, Manfredo, 30, 36, 40, 52n19; *Teorie e storia dell'architettura*, 37; “Via Giulia,” 36–37
- Tagliolini, Alessandro, 27, 28, 47n55, 66–67
- Tarchiani, Nello, 56
- Tasnère, Georges, palace and gardens of the Venaria Reale, 97
- Tasso, Torquato, 60; *La Gerusalemme liberata*, 189
- Temple of Diana Nemorensis, 87
- Temple of the Sybil, Tivoli, 85, 215
- tenants, 156
- Tenenti, Alberto, 34
- Terracina, 151
- Terracini, Benvenuto, 191
- Terra di Lavoro, 151
- Terra d'Otranto, 130
- territorial control, 83, 84–87
- Testa, Fausto, *Spazio e allegoria nel giardino manierista*, 198
- theatricality, 90–91, 96, 100, 214
- Theatrum sabaudiae*, 97–98, 107
- Theocritus, 188
- Thompson, E. P., 27
- three rings of land around Rome, 38–41
- Tiber River, 85, 151, 213
- Tiberius, emperor of Rome, 88
- Tiburtine Sibyl. *See* Sibyl Albunea.
- Tiepolo, Giandomenico, *Peasants at Rest*, 152
- Tivoli, 84, 84, 130–31, 151, 193, 194, 213–16. *See also individual sites and villas by name*
- Toledo, Don Pedro di, 137
- Tomasini, Gregorio, visit of Pope Alexander VII to Genzano, 87
- Tomassetti, Giuseppe, 27
- Tongiorgi Tomasi, Lucia, 1, 3
- topiaria opera, 222
- Torlonia family, 90
- Torre dell'Aquila, Trento, 218
- Toscano, Bruno, 229n64
- Tosi, Alessandro, 10n3
- Toubert, Pierre, 39; *Les structures du Latium médiéval*, 32
- Tower of the Winds, 94
- traditionalists, 56–57
- travelers. *See* Italianate landscape: foreign observers of

- trees: and the definition of the garden/park landscape, 24, 38–39, 149, 149, 171, 175; avenues lined with, 64, 86–87, 87, 220; and the creation of the ideal Italian garden, 55, 60, 64, 157; cultivation of, 156, 160, 164–65; deforestation, 164; fruit trees and orchards, 34, 38, 71, 85, 119, 122, 129–31, 146–55, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 155, 15, 159–61, 163, 167n36. *See also* alberate; piantate; vineyards
- Treviso, 149, 151
- triangulation, 84, 104, 106, 109
- Tribolo, Niccolò, 67, 221; *Allegory*, 190; *Nature*, 189
- triclinium*, 209
- Triggs, Inigo, 68
- Troyli, Placido, *Istoria generale del reame di Napoli*, 119–20
- Tufo family, 133
- Tull, Jethro, 161
- Turin, 64. *See also individual sites and villas by name*, Savoy villas, Turin
- Tusculan villas, Frascati, 83, 88–91, 88
- Tusculum, 84, 87–89
- Tuttle, Richard, 227n21
- Tyrrhenian Sea, 87
- United States: art history in, 21, 23, 30; garden studies in, 8–9
- Untersteiner, Mario, 191
- Utens, Giusto, 58, 64–67, 69, 70, 211–12, 221; *Cafaggiolo*, 67; *Castello*, 56, 211; *Il Trebbio*, 66
- Vaccarini, Giovan Battista, 105
- Vaccaro, Domenico Antonio, 120
- Valentino Castle, Turin. *See* Castello di Valentino, Turin
- Vanvitelli, Luigi, 101, 103, 120, 123
- Varro, 146, 162
- Vasanzio, Giovanni, 91
- Vasari, Giorgio, 70, 221
- Vatican Secret Archives, 22
- Vaucluse, 188
- vegetal architecture, 6, 171–72
- Venaria Reale, Turin, 91, 96, 97, 98, 112n30, 177
- Veneto, 163
- Veneto villas, 34, 82
- Venice, 154
- Venice Preservation Charter, 169, 170, 171, 180n2
- Venturi, Adolfo, 21
- Venturi, Gianni, 8, 32, 188
- Venturi, Lionello, 21, 28
- Venturi Ferriolo, Massimo, 8, 10n3, 195–96; *Etiche del paesaggio*, 193; *Nel grembo della vita*, 190
- Venturini, Giovanni Francesco, view of pedestal fountain at Villa Borghese, Rome, 25
- Venus, 191–93, 195, 198
- Vercelli, 149
- Versailles, 161, 221
- Vesuvian villas, 115–27; design of, 123–27; highway setting for, 120–21; landscape setting for, 116–19; productive, 122; proliferation of, 119–21; recreational, 122–23; Salentine residences compared to, 137–38
- Via Appia, 131
- Via Flaminia, palazzina on, 208
- Via Sallentina, 131
- Viboccone, Turin. *See* Regio Parco, Turin
- views. *See* garden views
- Vigna Crescenzi, Rome, 207
- Vigna del Cardinale, Turin, 91, 94–95, 95
- Vigna di Madame Reale, Turin, 91, 95–96, 95, 99–100, 99
- vigne* (villas with vineyards), 38, 39, 41, 43n5, 91
- Vignola, Jacopo Barozzi da, 85, 110n8, 111n10, 206, 208, 227n21
- Villa Acquaviva, Frascati, 111n15
- Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati, 20, 22, 24, 86, 89, 89, 90, 91, 94–95, 154, 208
- Villa Artimino, Artimino, 67, 211–12, 216, 229n51
- Villa Barbaro, Maser, 18, 19, 34
- Villa Bifulco, Terzigno, 122, 125
- Villa Bisignano, Barra, 127
- Villa Borghese, Frascati, 89, 89, 90
- Villa Borghese, Rome, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 38, 39
- Villa Butera, Bagheria, 104
- Villa Cafaggiolo, Mugello, 59, 65, 66, 67, 67, 68, 69, 70
- Villa Campolieto, Ercolano, 120, 123, 125, 126
- Villa Caravita, Portici, 119
- Villa Castello, Florence, 66, 67, 190, 196, 198, 211, 221
- Villa Cattolica, Bagheria, 104, 105
- Villa Cerbone, San Giorgio a Cremano, 125
- Villa Cerulli Bozzicorso, Lecce, 129, 131
- Villa d'Ambrosio, Cenate, 135, 136
- Villa d'Aquino, San Giorgio a Cremano, 123
- Villa de Gregorio, Barra, 120, 123
- Villa de la Ville, Ercolano, 125
- Villa d'Elboeuf, Portici, 119, 120
- Villa del Cardinale, Torre del Greco, 123, 125, 127
- Villa d'Este, Tivoli, 7, 10, 22, 24, 83–85, 84, 151, 193–96, 194, 195, 205, 207–10, 213–20, 214, 216, 217, 220, 221. *See also individual villa and garden elements*
- Villa di Belvedere, Frascati, 89. *See also* Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati
- Villa Falconieri, Frascati, 88

- Villa Farnese, Caprarola, 90, 222–23, 222. *See also* Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola
- Villa Farnesina, Rome, 218–19, 218, 224
- Villa Favorita, Ercolano, 120, 122, 123, 125, 125
- Villa Figliola, San Sebastiano al Vesuvio, 122
- Villa Filangieri, Santa Flavia, 113n47
- villa gardens: concept of, 20–21; design of, 52n124; as geographical models, 213–14. *See also* Italian gardens; Renaissance gardens
- Villa Gelliana, Tivoli, 85, 215
- Villa Giulia, Rome, 208
- Villa Giusti, Verona, 155
- Villa I Tatti, Settignano, 61–62, 62
- Villa La Magliana, near Rome, 22
- Villa Lante, Bagnaia, 36, 83, 85–86, 86, 90, 110n8, 182n24, 196, 196, 206–9, 206, 227n21
- Villa Lardereria, Bagheria, 104
- Villa Le Balze, Fiesole, 62, 64
- Villa Letizia, Barra, 127
- Villa Ludovisi, Frascati, 89, 90
- Villa Ludovisi, Rome, 38
- Villa Madama, Rome, 10, 28, 209
- Villa Maltese, 120
- Villa Mattei Celimontana, Rome, 86
- Villa Medici, Careggi, 64
- Villa Medici, Fiesole, 62
- Villa Medici, Rome, 19, 26, 26, 209–10
- Villa Mellone, Cupa, 129
- Villa Menna, Portici, 125
- Villa Meola, Portici, 119, 125, 127
- Villa Mondragone, Frascati, 41, 89, 89, 90–91, 90, 151
- Villa Montalto-Peretti, Frascati, 26, 35, 38, 86, 89
- Villa Musitano, Calabria, 164
- Villa of Augustus, Tivoli, 85, 215
- Villa of Horace, Tivoli, 85, 215
- Villa of Manlius Vopiscus, Tivoli, 85, 215
- Villa of Quintilius Varus, Tivoli, 84, 85
- Villa Orsini, Bomarzo, 83
- Villa Palagonia, Bagheria, 104–5, 104
- Villa Pamphilj, Rome, 30, 31, 31, 35, 36, 38, 39
- Villa Pasca-Raeli, Sannicola, 132
- Villa Picciotti, 131
- Villa Pignatelli di Montecalvo, San Giorgio a Cremano, 125, 127
- Villa Pignatelli di Monteleone, Barra, 119, 120, 123, 124, 125
- Villa Pisani, Strà, 176
- Villa Poggio a Caiano, Prato, 63, 70, 197, 197, 221
- Villa Prandico, Alezio, 132
- Villa Pratolino, Vaglia, 64, 71, 196, 198
- Villa Prota, Torre del Greco, 122, 125, 127, 127
- Villa Ravenna, Sannicola, 133
- Villa Renna (Consiglio), Ercolano, 127
- Villa Rota, Cercola, 122
- Villa Rufina, Frascati, 88, 89
- Villa Rufinella, Frascati, 89
- Villa Ruggiero, Ercolano, 125
- villas: Alberti's theory of, 146; class and, 43n5; defined, 43n5; Genoese, 82; Milanese, 82; origins of, 151; park, 27; productive, 122; recreational, 122–23, 131, 133 (*see also* villeggiatura); Roman, 34–35, 38, 43n14; rural landscape in relation to, 151–52; Veneto, 34, 82; Vesuvian, 116–27. *See also individual villas by name*; Medici villas; Savoy villas, Turin; systems, villa/landscape; villas of nobility, Bagheria
- Villa Salvatore, Torre del Greco, 127
- Villa San Gennariello, Torre del Greco, 119, 127
- Villa Serego-Alighieri, Gargagnago, 150
- Villa Signorini, Ercolano, 124, 127
- Villa: Siti e contesti* (collection of seminar papers), 151
- villas of nobility, Bagheria, 83, 103–5
- Villa Sora, Frascati, 89
- Villa Spirito, Sannicola, 130, 137
- Villa Taverna, Frascati, 89, 89
- Villa Trabia, Bagheria, 104
- Villa Trebbio, Mugello, 59, 64, 65, 66, 66, 67, 68, 70
- Villa Tufarelli di Sotto, San Giorgio a Cremano, 122
- Villa Valguarnera, Bagheria, 104–5
- Villa Valmarana ai Nani, Vicenza, 155
- Villa Vecchia, Frascati, 89, 89
- Villa Vescovile, Cenate, 131
- villeggiatura* (sojourns and life in the villa), 82, 83, 88, 91, 131, 133. *See also* villas: recreational
- Ville vesuviane del Settecento*, 116–17
- vines, use of trees for cultivating, 146, 148–49, 150, 151, 152
- vineyards, 38, 71, 119, 122, 129, 131, 148–55, 149, 150, 155, 158, 159, 164
- Virgil, 146, 161, 188; *Bucolics*, 157; *Georgics*, 157, 161
- Virgilian husbandry, 161, 162
- vision, primacy of. *See* sight, primacy of
- visual games, 218
- Vitozzi, Ascanio, 91, 93, 94
- Vitruvius, 209
- Vittorio Amedeo, crown prince of Savoy, 95
- Vittorio Amedeo II, of Savoy, 98
- Warburg, Aby, 188
- Warburg Institute, London, 28

- Warnke, Martin, 35; *Politische Landschaft*, 34
- Washington, D.C., ideogram of, 109, 109
- water axis, 85
- water theaters, 89–91, 90
- ways of seeing, 213
- Weber, Max, 30, 33
- Weise, Georg, 44n22
- wells, 135, 136, 137
- Wharton, Edith, *Italian Villas and Their Gardens*, 61
- wheat, 146, 148, 149, 151, 153, 154
- Williams, Raymond, 32, 33, 41, 43n4, 49n82; *The Country and the City*, 30, 33
- Wind, Edgar, 24
- witchcraft, 188
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 33
- Wittkower, Rudolf, 23, 26, 37, 43n12
- Wölfflin, Heinrich, 22, 23–24, 26, 44n28, 45n29; *Renaissance and Baroque*, 24
- Wolschke-Bulmahn, Joachim, 3
- women and the feminine: gardens and, 187, 190; generative aspect of, 188, 191, 198; Great Mother, 189–98; nature and, 191; pre-Olympian deities, 187–88; in Renaissance culture, 188–89; as sorceresses, 188–90
- woods, and hunting, 81, 96–97, 101, 101, 106–7, 120. *See also trees*
- Wotton, Henry, 154
- Young, Arthur, 162
- Zach, Anton von, *Kriegskarte (Military Map) of the Duchy of Venice*, 148, 149, 153, 154, 155
- Zangheri, Luigi, 1, 29; *Pratolino, il giardino delle meraviglie*, 198
- Zanzotto, Andrea, 187
- Zuccaro, Federico, 91–94; *Hercules at the Feast of the Gods*, 214, 215
- Zucchi, Jacopo, project for the gardens of Villa Medici, 207, 207

Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture

PUBLISHED BY DUMBARTON OAKS RESEARCH LIBRARY AND COLLECTION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Dumbarton Oaks Colloquium on the History of Landscape Architecture series volumes are based on papers presented at scholarly meetings sponsored by the Garden and Landscape Studies program at Dumbarton Oaks. These meetings provide a forum for the presentation of advanced research on garden history and landscape architecture; they support a deepened understanding of landscape as a field of knowledge and as a practice carried out by landscape architects, landscape artists, and gardeners.

Further information on Garden and Landscape Studies publications can be found at www.doaks.org/publications.

- 1 *The Italian Garden*, edited by David R. Coffin
- 2 *The Picturesque Garden and Its Influence Outside the British Isles*, edited by Nikolaus Pevsner
- 3 *The French Formal Garden*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall and F. Hamilton Hazlehurst
- 4 *The Islamic Garden*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Richard Ettinghausen
- 5 *Fons sapientiae: Renaissance Garden Fountains*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall
- 6 *John Claudius Loudon and the Early Nineteenth Century in Great Britain*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall
- 7 *Ancient Roman Gardens*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall and Wilhelmina F. Jashemski
- 8 *Beatrix Jones Farrand (1872–1959): Fifty Years of American Landscape Architecture*, edited by Diane Kostial McGuire and Lois Fern
- 9 *Medieval Gardens*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall
- 10 *Ancient Roman Villa Gardens*, edited by Elisabeth B. MacDougall
- 11 *Prophet with Honor: The Career of Andrew Jackson Downing, 1815–1852*, edited by George B. Tatum and Elisabeth B. MacDougall
- 12 *The Dutch Garden in the Seventeenth Century*, edited by John Dixon Hunt
- 13 *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods*, edited by John Dixon Hunt
- 14 *The Vernacular Garden*, edited by John Dixon Hunt and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn
- 15 *Regional Garden Design in the United States*, edited by Therese O'Malley and Marc Treib
- 16 *Mughal Gardens: Sources, Places, Representations, and Prospects*, edited by James L. Wescoat, Jr., and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn
- 17 *John Evelyn's "Elysium Britannicum" and European Gardening*, edited by Therese O'Malley and Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn
- 18 *Nature and Ideology: Natural Garden Design in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn
- 19 *Places of Commemoration: Search for Identity and Landscape Design*, edited by Joachim Wolschke-Bulmahn

- 20 *Theme Park Landscapes: Antecedents and Variations*, edited by Terence Young and Robert Riley
- 21 *Perspectives on Garden Histories*, edited by Michel Conan
- 22 *Environmentalism in Landscape Architecture*, edited by Michel Conan
- 23 *Bourgeois and Aristocratic Cultural Encounters in Garden Art, 1550–1850*, edited by Michel Conan
- 24 *Landscape Design and the Experience of Motion*, edited by Michel Conan
- 25 *Baroque Garden Cultures: Emulation, Sublimation, Subversion*, edited by Michel Conan
- 26 *Sacred Gardens and Landscapes: Ritual and Agency*, edited by Michel Conan
- 27 *Performance and Appropriation: Profane Rituals in Gardens and Landscapes*, edited by Michel Conan
- 28 *Botanical Progress, Horticultural Innovation, and Cultural Change*, edited by Michel Conan and W. John Kress
- 29 *Contemporary Garden Aesthetics, Creations and Interpretations*, edited by Michel Conan
- 30 *Gardens and Imagination: Cultural History and Agency*, edited by Michel Conan
- 31 *Middle East Garden Traditions: Unity and Diversity; Questions, Methods, and Resources in a Multicultural Perspective*, edited by Michel Conan
- 32 *Clio in the Italian Garden: Twenty-First-Century Studies in Historical Methods and Theoretical Perspectives*, edited by Mirka Beneš and Michael G. Lee