

FIG. 39

Fig. 39. Cornelis Cort (1533–before 1578), after Federico Zuccaro, *Calunnia* (*Calumny of Apelles*), 1572. Engraving. Rome, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

The Original Setting of the Early Life of Taddeo Series: A New Reading of the Pictorial Program in the Palazzo Zuccari, Rome

IN 1572 AN ENGRAVING APPEARED IN ROME THAT CAUSED a considerable sensation. Entitled *Calunnia*, the print was based on a large-format painting of the same name by Federico Zuccaro and was understood to be a satirical jab at Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, occasioned by the artist's disgruntlement over the painting of Farnese's country estate in Caprarola.¹ An examination of *Calunnia* (fig. 39) can help us to better understand both the pictorial program of Rome's Palazzo Zuccari and Federico's cycle of drawings illustrating the life of his brother Taddeo.

Calunnia, the "Jaws of Hell," and the Frescoes of the Palazzo Zuccari

Taddeo Zuccaro, his younger brother Federico, and their workshop worked on the frescoes in Caprarola from 1561 until Taddeo's premature death in 1566. Federico managed to take over the commission but was finally ousted in 1569.² His annotations in the 1568 edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* show that he saw both Taddeo and himself as insufficiently appreciated (by Vasari as well as by Cardinal Farnese);³ for example, he claimed that Taddeo never received the payment agreed upon.⁴ *Calunnia*, based on an allegorical composition by the classical painter Apelles, was meant to salvage the honor of both brothers.

On the right side of the engraving, Mercury and Innocence accompany a youthful figure that scholars have frequently taken to be a representation of Federico Zuccaro—however, comparison with verified portraits of the Zuccaro brothers suggests that the protagonist is in fact Taddeo.⁵ At left, the personification of Calumny whispers its intrigues into the ear of King Midas (Farnese or perhaps Vasari).⁶ Like the serpent-bodied central figure of Fraud, the picture in the background seems to allude to the payments withheld from Taddeo, as it represents a farmer whose harvest is being destroyed by a windstorm. The motto "Impavidum Ferient," borrowed from Horace, suggests that the just man will prevail against all adversity—a concept further clarified by the four scenes that appear in medallions adorning the borders of the print.⁷

The large-format painting from which the *Calunnia* print was drawn remained in Federico Zuccaro's Roman palace up until his death in 1609⁸ and was interpreted in detail by his son Ottaviano in a 1628 publication.⁹ To a certain extent it anticipates the narrative structure of the Early Life of Taddeo series, as both works accentuate the surmounting of obstacles by the virtuous artist.¹⁰ Moreover, the central themes and motifs of the *Calunnia* reappear in the fresco program of the stately palace that Federico built during the last decade of the sixteenth century in order to assert his position as one of Rome's leading artists.¹¹

The extravagant garden portal of the Palazzo Zuccari, reminiscent of medieval depictions of the Jaws of Hell and flanked by two equally grimacing windows, continues to fascinate viewers and scholars alike.¹² Additional monsters are found at the beginning of the corridor leading to the painted rooms of Zuccaro's residence (fig. 40, no. 8). Since the pictorial program celebrates the triumph of virtues over vices ("monsters"), Philipp Fehl established a connection between the monster portal and the interior frescoes.¹³ Until now it has remained unnoticed, however, that Virgil's *Aeneid* was the central, unifying source of inspiration for both the *Calunnia* and the monster portal, as well as for the frescoes on the main axis of the palace.

The discovery of the Golden Bough, a scene shown in a medallion on the left-hand edge of the *Calunnia* (fig. 39), preceded Aeneas' descent into the underworld. Virgil describes the entrance to Hades as a "gorge" inhabited by monsters¹⁴—a setting that even in paintings of the seventeenth century still resembled medieval depictions of the jaws of hell.¹⁵ But Virgil's underworld encompasses places of both torture and of joy. Like Aeneas, in passing the threshold of the Palazzo Zuccari, the visitor leaves the hellish monsters behind and arrives at a spot where he can choose which way to pursue.¹⁶ The corridor vault is dominated by a scene that shows Aeneas, carrying the Golden Bough, seeking to climb the "Mountain of Virtue"¹⁷ (fig. 41; compare fig. 39, lowermost medallion), while the accompanying inscription identifies the valley as a representation of hell, thus confirming the "Virgilian" reading of the fresco.¹⁸ That the mountain seeks to evoke Virgil's Elysium becomes even clearer from the placement of the painting in the

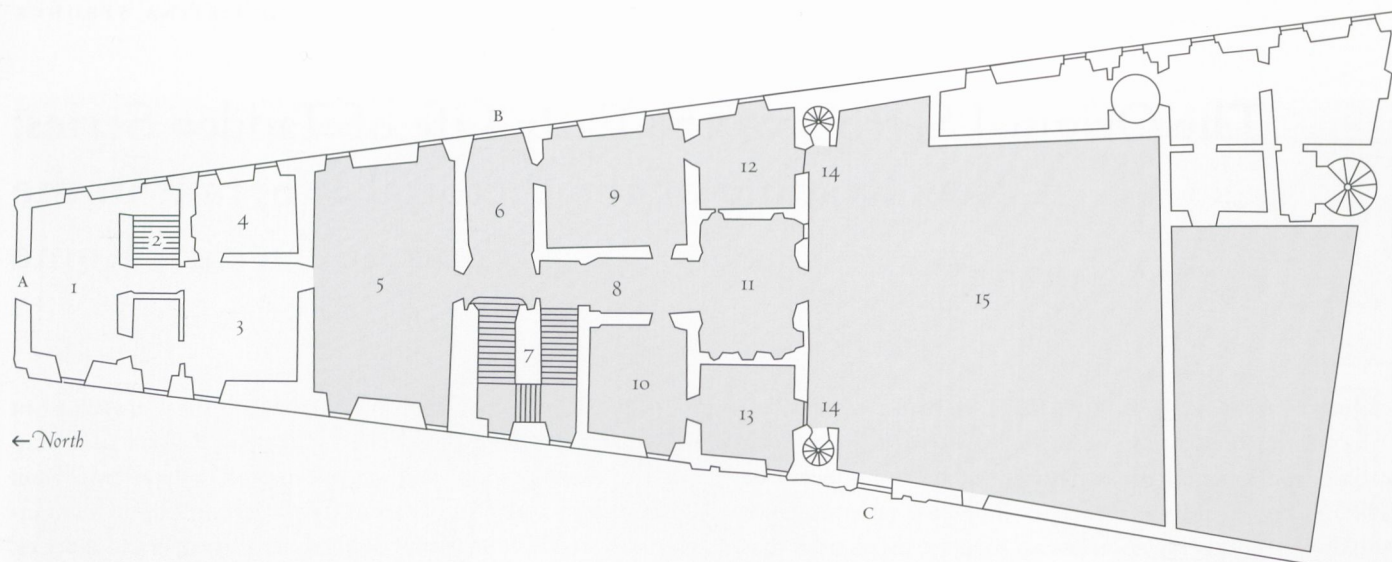


FIG. 40

Fig. 40. Reconstruction of the original ground-floor plan of the Palazzo Zuccari (from Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 200).

- A. entrance to the atelier building
- B. entrance to the residence
- C. "Jaws of Hell" garden portal
- 1. vestibule
- 2. stairs leading to Zuccaro's atelier
- 3, 4. secondary rooms linked to the atelier
- 5. *sala grande* (part of it later became the Sala di Ganimede)
- 6. corridor
- 7. stairs
- 8. corridor with *The Labors of Hercules*
- 9. Sala del Disegno
- 10. Sala degli Sposi
- 11. Sala Terrena
- 12, 13. vaulted rooms without frescoes
- 14. stairs leading to the gallery on the first floor
- 15. garden

114 corridor that leads to the Sala Terrena and ultimately to the garden (fig. 40, nos. 8, 11, 15). The latter is a virtual image of the idyllic abode of the blessed, and just as Aeneas is confronted in Elysium with his own fate, his ancestors, and his progeny,¹⁹ in the lunettes of the Sala Terrena—which with its painted rose arbor seems to be a portion of the Elysian garden—Zuccaro pictured himself, his forebears, and his children.²⁰ In analogy to Virgil's Elysium, where virtue is rewarded with a state of blissful happiness,²¹ Zuccaro visualized the positive qualities of the ideal artist, which earned him his apotheosis (in the center of the vault, fig. 42).²² As in the *Calunnia*, the artist triumphs over Envy and Calumny by way of his virtue.²³ He cannot be dissuaded from his path, just as Aeneas makes his way

through the underworld most courageously. Thus the Palazzo Zuccari "jaws of hell" evoke the exclamation pronounced by the sibyl at the start of Aeneas' descent, stressing both the arduousness and the sacrality of his task: "Procul o procul este, profani."²⁴

The Sala degli Sposi, the Sala del Disegno, and the Sala di Ganimede

The Palazzo Zuccari fell into two separate sections, a residential wing and another containing the artist's atelier and related rooms. Although the atelier section (fig. 40, nos. 1–4; fig. 45, no. 1) was identified as the nobler, more public element of the ensemble,²⁵ the residential area should not be thought of as a purely private realm. Before work on the palace came to a halt in 1603 owing to financial problems, only the rooms on the ground floor of the residence had been painted with frescoes. Their very elaborate design and explicitly didactic conception suggest that they were accessible to a broader public,²⁶ while the family's actual private rooms were located on the second floor (*piano nobile*).

The Sala degli Sposi (fig. 40, no. 10) probably did not serve as the Zuccari's bedroom—as has frequently been claimed—but with its decoration was rather intended to illustrate the couple's domestic virtues. In the center of the vaulting (fig. 43), Federico Zuccaro and Francesca Genga are linked together by their guardian angel with a yoke of flowers. The framing allegorical figures elucidate the characteristics of a Christian marriage. Particularly prominent are *Concordia* (Harmony) and *Castitas* (Chastity), the subjugation of the base desires symbolized by the boar peeking out from beneath the woman's skirt.

The smaller oval pictures show *Continentia* (Moderation), identifiable from her harness, and *Felicitas*, marital happiness crowned by the children appearing on top of a cornucopia.²⁷

In the Sala del Disegno (fig. 40, no. 9), Zuccaro illustrated his doctrine of *disegno*, which he first presented in a lecture at the Accademia di San Luca in 1594 and later put into writing in his treatise *L'idea de' pittori, scultori e architetti*, published in 1607. Like Thomas Aquinas, in whose writings the “*verbum interius*” is contrasted with the “*verbum exterius*,” Zuccaro distinguished between “*disegno interno*” and “*disegno esterno*.” The traditional definition of *disegno* as “drawing” corresponds roughly to Zuccaro’s notion of *disegno esterno*, although his conception is considerably broader. For him all visible expressions of mental images fall into this category: letters, figures, ciphers, notes, etc. But beyond this, *disegno esterno* also encompasses the external forms of natural objects, which forms Zuccaro understood to be the visible guise of the divine *disegno interno*, the archetypal ideas according to which God created the things of this world. *Disegno interno* also gives rise to the mental images prerequisite to both artistic and practical activity.²⁸

The theological component of Zuccaro’s theory manifests itself in the godlike form of the male personification of *Disegno* that occupies the central area of the vault (fig. 44). The nimbus behind the figure’s head, made up of three wreaths, is based on the seal of Florence’s Accademia del Disegno and symbolizes the equality of the arts of architecture, sculpture, and painting, all three of which are based on *disegno interno*. Personifications of these “sister arts” take up the three remaining sides of the rectangle. But the actual protagonist of the painting is the divine light that appears in the center and is identified in the inscription “*Scintilla Divinitatis*,” that is, the divine spark that makes possible and informs all human activity. Thus representations of other fields of human activity (*Scientia*, *Militia*, *Medicine*, and *Music*) surround the central painting.²⁹

Zuccaro’s particular formulation of the *disegno* concept, which was based on earlier Renaissance treatises on art,³⁰ explains why depictions of virtue play such an important role in the Palazzo Zuccari: Since *disegno* determines not only artistic accomplishment but also practical and ethical actions, an artist can be fully accomplished only when he does his best in each of these areas. The Sala degli Sposi is therefore complementary to the Sala del Disegno, in that it illustrates aspects of “*disegno morale*.”³¹

Just as the doors of the Sala degli Sposi and Sala del Disegno lie opposite each other, the entrance to the corridor (fig. 40, no. 8) and the Sala Terrena was originally on the same axis as the door to the Sala di Ganimede (fig. 40, no. 5), which served as the *sala grande*, or ceremonial and assembly room, of the palace.³² These spaces also complement each other in terms of content: Whereas the theme in the corridor and the Sala Terrena is the laborious rise of the artist thanks to his own

strength, his own virtue, in the Sala di Ganimede the emphasis is on the divine grace that illuminates the artist and effortlessly lifts him up to visions of the sublime. Using the example of Zeus’ rapture of Ganymede into heaven in the form of an eagle, Zuccaro shows how one should conceive of the vertiginous flight in which man transcends himself.³³ Appropriately, he associates an abstract, idealized architecture with divine inspiration (*disegno interno*),³⁴ while the realm of the earthly, where the *idea* is painstakingly realized, brought into flower through virtuous labor, is sheltered by a rose arbor with all the graceful imperfection of nature, or *disegno esterno* (see figs. 41 and 42).



FIG. 41



FIG. 42

Fig. 41. View of corridor vault, ground floor, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome (detail).

Fig. 42. View of the vault of the Sala Terrena, ground floor, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome (detail).



FIG. 43

Fig. 43. View of the vault of the Sala degli Sposi, ground floor, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome.



FIG. 44

Fig. 44. View of the vault of the Sala del Disegno, ground floor, Palazzo Zuccari, Rome.

The Intended Setting for the Early Life of Taddeo Series: Preliminary Considerations

Although it is universally agreed that the twenty drawings of the Early Life of Taddeo were preliminary studies for the decoration of a room (the unusual shapes of the panels suggest their planned incorporation into a larger ornamental framework), the dating of the series is disputed—and consequently the question arises as to whether they were produced in 1575–79 for Federico’s house in Florence or for his Roman palazzo, which was begun in 1590.³⁵

Zygmunt Waźbiński was the first to present in graphic form a hypothetical arrangement of the individual scenes.³⁶ His notion that the square narrative scenes were each framed by four dumbbell-shaped compositions is highly plausible and was later taken up, with modifications, by Cristina Acidini Luchinat.³⁷ Both authors assumed that the scenes were to be executed in fresco technique on a ceiling—according to Waźbiński in Zuccaro’s Florentine atelier, according to Acidini Luchinat in some unspecified room of his Roman palazzo. One problem with Waźbiński’s reconstruction is that he was required to assume that all the rectangular narrative panels were the same

size, so as to achieve a symmetrical distribution of scenes on the four sides of the vaulting. In fact, however, three of the scenes are roughly square in shape, while the fourth is clearly a long rectangle.³⁸ For that reason Acidini Luchinat shifted that fourth scene to the center of the ceiling (where Waźbiński had placed a *tondo* with an allegory of *Disegno*).³⁹ Yet this means that in Acidini Luchinat’s reconstruction a square panel is “missing” and that the artist’s own numbering on the drawings no longer makes sense.⁴⁰

Both Waźbiński and Acidini Luchinat place in the corners of the ceiling the four portraits of exemplary artists, each of which was to be framed (as some of the drawings suggest) by four smaller allegorical panels.⁴¹ Such a reconstruction contradicts cinquecento conventions of ceiling painting, for it was customary to emphasize the ceiling’s architectural structure by having groins or bands rising up diagonally from the room’s corners to the center panel (see figs. 43 and 44). It is therefore difficult to imagine the four artists, seemingly seated in niches, in such locations.⁴² Moreover, it is questionable whether a total of forty-one narrative and allegorical panels, which both writers place on the ceiling, could have been legible to the viewer. The ceiling frescoes of the Palazzo Zuccari are distinguished by an abundance of ornamental motifs, to be sure, but always consist of relatively few main pictures reduced to large forms that are easily read from a distance (see figs. 41–44). In contrast, the numerous, highly detailed compositions of which the Early Life of Taddeo series consists would seem to have been designed to be seen up close (on a wall). Moreover, on a wall it

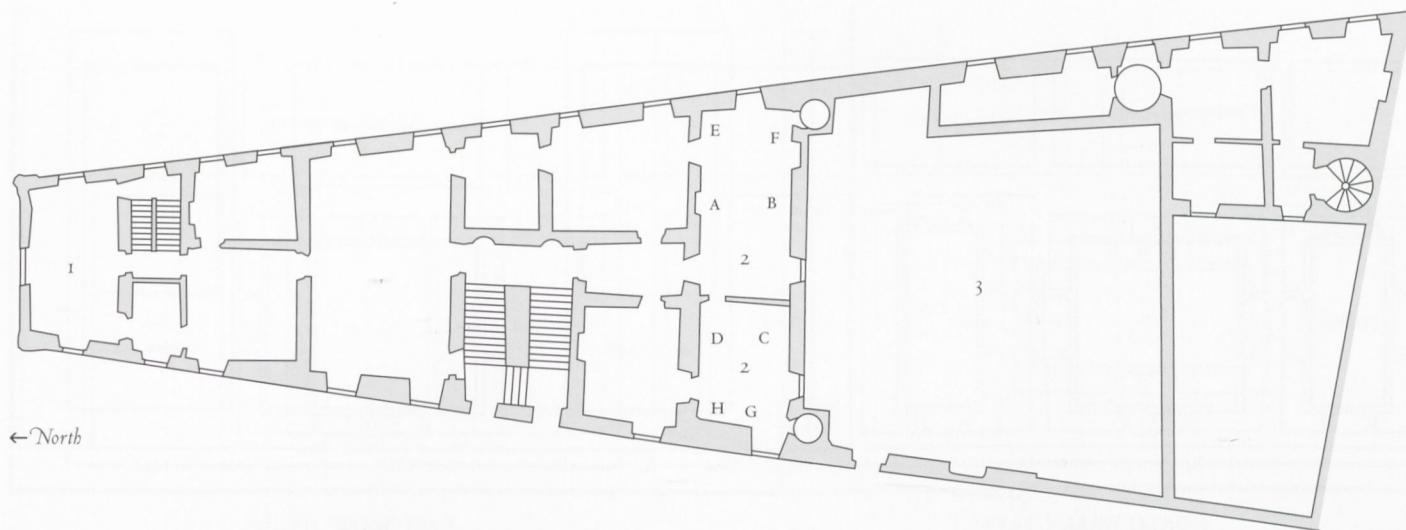


FIG. 45

would have been possible to include the rhymed commentary that Federico appended to the series.⁴³ The existence of nine paintings on leather (see cat. nos. 25–31), apparently produced by Zuccaro himself or his workshop after the drawings, supports this theory since leather panels were usually intended as wall hangings.⁴⁴ But what room were they meant for?

Whereas in Federico Zuccaro's house in Florence the self-aggrandizement of the still-young painter was limited to the "secondary" fields of the decoration,⁴⁵ in the painting of his Roman palazzo at the height of his career he no longer shied away from making himself and his family members the principal subjects of the pictorial program (see fig. 43). As Claudio Strinati has noted, the particular mode of the Taddeo series, the successful combination of the everyday with the eternal, accords more properly with Federico's Roman period than with his earlier time in Florence.⁴⁶ The Early Life of Taddeo cycle would have seemed "foreign" in the context of the Florentine Casa Zuccari, especially since it deals only with Taddeo's relationship to Rome.⁴⁷ In Rome, however, the Taddeo cycle would have rounded out Zuccaro's autobiographical reflections (as first evidenced on the vaults of the corridor and the Sala Terrena) and supplemented by actual example his meditations on the artist's arduous path to fame. That the Taddeo cycle was destined for the Roman palazzo is all the more probable inasmuch as in essential portions the palace program was developed out of the *Calunnia*, painted in defense of Taddeo. The apotheosis of the artist in the Roman Sala Terrena (see fig. 42) has even been interpreted as Taddeo's apotheosis;⁴⁸ as it happens, it parallels in some details the concluding picture from the Taddeo series (cat. no. 19).⁴⁹

From Federico Zuccaro's 1603 testament we learn that he wished to establish a hospice in his Roman palace for needy young artists from abroad, one providing them with a place

Fig. 45. Palazzo Zuccari, *piano nobile*, plan (before 1711) (from *Sisto V*, vol. 1, 1992, fig. 3).

1. Zuccaro's atelier
 2. gallery (dividing wall not original)
 3. garden
- A, B, C, D. walls on which the leather panels depicting the Early Life of Taddeo could have been placed
E, F, G, H. possible sites for the four artists' portraits belonging to the Taddeo series

to live and study in Rome.⁵⁰ The Early Life of Taddeo with its commentary in didactic verse, which is oddly confined to his arduous apprentice years up to the time of his first success, could have been conceived as an ideal for these youthful artists to follow. The episode in which the painter Francesco il Sant'Angelo, a relative, turns Taddeo away (cat. no. 5) would even appear to provide the motivation behind Federico's proposed endowment.⁵¹ It is therefore likely that the Taddeo cycle was meant to decorate a space readily accessible to Zuccaro's Roman pupils and the residents of his hospice. Thus, in addition to the elaborately painted rooms on the ground floor already discussed, it is possible that the gallery on the *piano nobile* was the work's intended location.⁵²

The gallery, mentioned in a document from 1610 as still unfinished, can be seen in a floor plan of the *piano nobile* dating from before 1711 (fig. 45, no. 2).⁵³ As befits the architectural type of a gallery, it is a long, well-lit room, lying above a loggia-like space (the Sala Terrena) and with a view of the garden.⁵⁴ Because of its size, its good lighting, and its spectacular view of the Roman skyline, the gallery would have been an ideal place to study. The existence of "study galleries" is documented in various Roman artists' residences of the seventeenth century.⁵⁵ The idea of decorating his gallery with a cycle narrating the

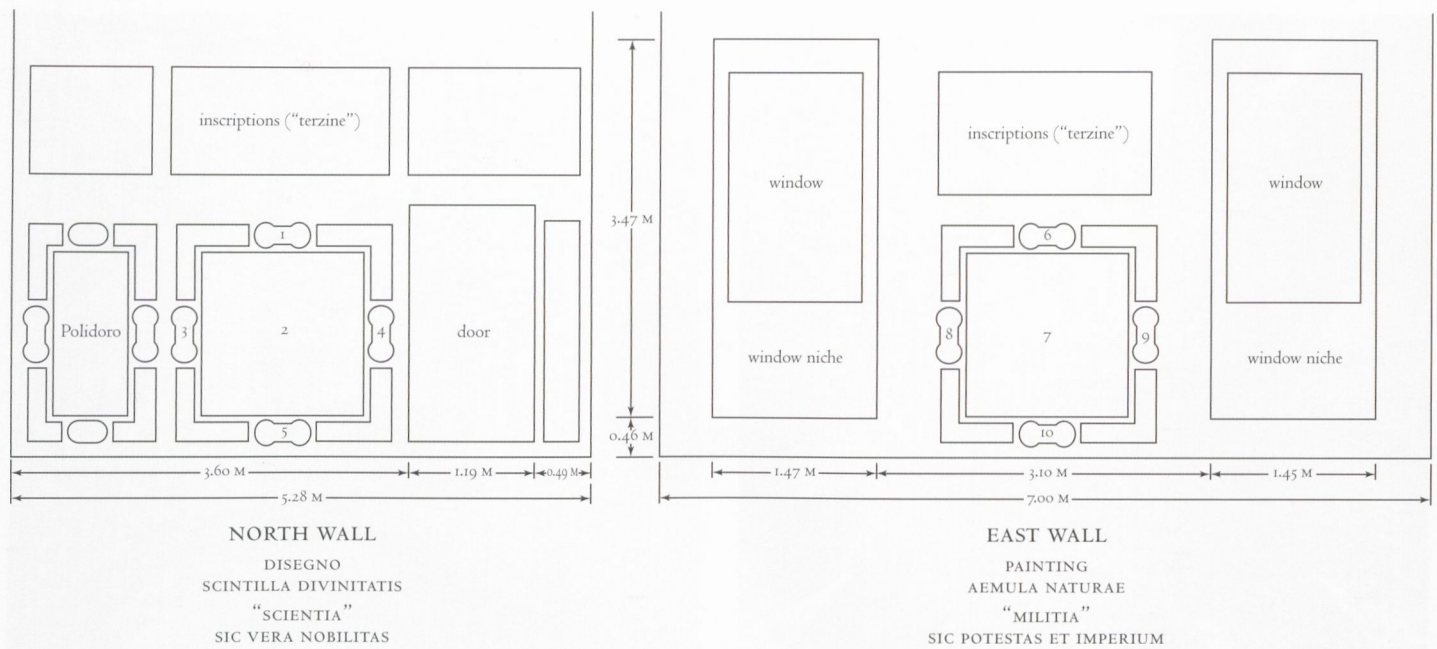


FIG. 46 SCALE: 1:25

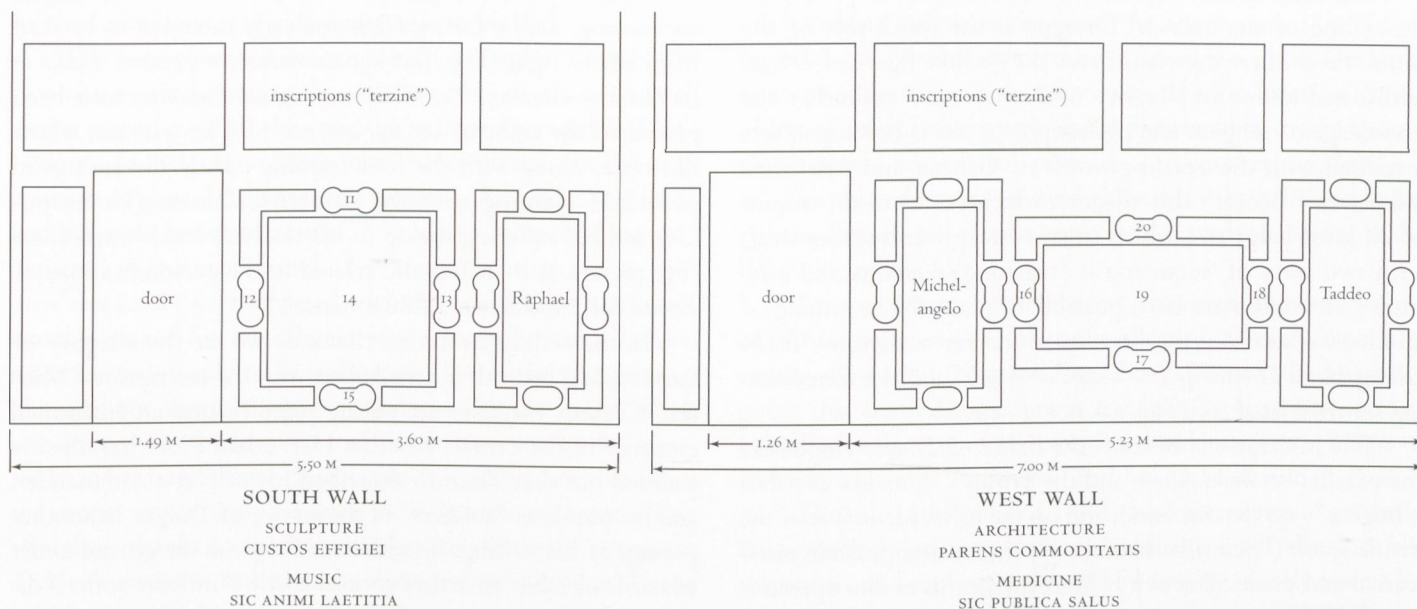
family history might have been inspired by Zuccaro's experiences in France in 1573–74, when he was commissioned by Cardinal Charles de Guise to paint his gallery with episodes from the cardinal's life.⁵⁶ If the Early Life of Taddeo was intended for the gallery, this could explain its role as a model for the gallery of the Casa Buonarroti in Florence.⁵⁷

Judging from the subject matter and chronology of the events depicted in the Taddeo drawings, the series is structured in four units, each consisting of one square or rectangular and four dumbbell-shaped compositions.⁵⁸ The surviving pictures on leather give us an idea of the cycle's dimensions. The dumbbell-shaped paintings, each about 45×16.5 cm ($17\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ in.), are precisely as large as the matching preliminary drawings. However, the square and rectangular narrative pictures were not reproduced at a 1:1 ratio, as is clear from the episode *Taddeo Decorating the Facade of the Palazzo Mattei* (cat. no. 31), which measures a full 81.4×173 cm ($32\frac{1}{16} \times 68\frac{1}{8}$ in.) as compared to the drawing's 25×42.2 cm ($9\frac{13}{16} \times 16\frac{5}{8}$ in.) (see cat. no. 19).⁵⁹ It therefore seems probable that in each of the four units a large-format central picture was to be framed by four small secondary episodes, all incorporated into a system of ornamental borders (or wood paneling?), much as in the *Calunnia* (fig. 39). Such an arrangement is documented by three drawings linked to the Taddeo series.⁶⁰ The relative sizes indicated in these drawings are confirmed by the two portraits of Michelangelo and Raphael painted on leather, each of which measures 150×65 cm ($59 \times 25\frac{5}{8}$ in.).⁶¹

Since as yet there are no known paintings on leather reproducing the three square narrative scenes, one can only guess what their dimensions might have been. To achieve a harmo-

nious overall effect, their height should have corresponded to either the height of the rectangular Mattei narrative or that of the artists' portraits, which would have made them either 85×85 cm ($33\frac{1}{2} \times 33\frac{1}{2}$ in.) or 150×150 cm (59×59 in.).⁶² The more plausible dimensions are 150×150 cm, for in that case not only would they have matched the artists' portraits in height but also, roughly, the painting of the Mattei episode in width. The fact that the latter is rectangular rather than square might be explained by the assumption that a specific piece of furniture was expected to stand below it, perhaps a bench, a *cassone*, or a *credenza*.

Because the Taddeo cycle proceeds chronologically, one must assume that the paintings were to be presented clockwise, beginning with Taddeo's departure from Sant'Angelo in Vado (cat. no. 2) to the left of the gallery's main entrance (fig. 45, no. 2, A).⁶³ The following two square narratives (cat. nos. 7 and 14) could have been presented on the wall facing the garden (fig. 45, no. 2, B and C), appropriately framed by small scenes showing Taddeo sketching while seated at a window or beneath a windowlike arch⁶⁴—a suitable model for the art students who were to practice their drawing in this very spot. The triumphant climax of the series, Taddeo's first major success (cat. no. 19), might have been placed to the right of the main entrance (fig. 45, no. 2, D),⁶⁵ where the divergent format of this episode would have been to some extent "masked" because it could not be immediately seen from the entrance. The four artists' portraits could have been meant for the gallery's two end walls (fig. 45, no. 2, E–H),⁶⁶ while one can imagine frescoes after two of Zuccaro's allegorical drawings as *quadri riportati* on the room's ceiling: *The Garden of Vice* and *The Garden of Virtue* would



have fitted perfectly in this gallery, which overlooked the garden, further developing the theme already introduced on the ground floor in that they presented the artist's possible choice between dissolute idleness and the arduous path toward virtue.⁶⁷

The Early Life of Taddeo in the Sala del Disegno?

Of the ground-floor rooms, only the Sala del Disegno can be considered as the intended location of the Taddeo series. In the Sala di Ganimede fragments of painted architecture have been exposed on the walls,⁶⁸ and the walls of the corridor are adorned with frescoed herms, pilasters topped by busts of philosophers.⁶⁹ The Sala degli Sposi must be excluded because of its concentration on Federico and his wife. Although the Life would have been appropriate for the Sala Terrena in terms of its content,⁷⁰ it would have been difficult to accommodate the series in the symmetrical design of this relatively small space (fig. 40, no. 11). Werner Körte's theory that the series was intended for the Sala del Disegno, though not further substantiated, would appear to be the most plausible of those put forward.⁷¹

The selection of the allegories in the Sala del Disegno, which appear in pairs, and the links between them, constitute an unsolved riddle: *Scientia* appears beneath the personification of *Disegno*, *Militia* beneath Painting, Music beneath Sculpture, and Medicine beneath Architecture (see fig. 44). This "unorthodox" selection does not follow any encyclopedic scheme.⁷² In my view the reasons behind the choice of precisely these allegories and the connections between them become more

Fig. 46. Hypothetical placement of the Early Life of Taddeo on the walls of the Sala del Disegno. Numbers correspond to the original numbering of the drawings, which are also the numbers used to identify them in this volume.

1. *Allegories of Faith and Hope*
2. *Taddeo Leaving Home Escorted by Two Guardian Angels*
3. *Pallas Athena Shows Taddeo the Prospect of Rome*
4. *Taddeo Greeted by Toil, Servitude, and Hardship*
5. *Taddeo Rebuffed by Francesco Il Sant'Angelo*
6. *Allegories of Fortitude and Patience (Toil and Servitude)*
7. *Taddeo in the House of Giovanni Piero Calabrese*
8. *Taddeo Sent on an Errand by Calabrese's Wife*
9. *Taddeo Drawing by Moonlight in Calabrese's House*
10. *Taddeo Employed on Menial Tasks at Calabrese's House*
11. *Two Child Angels, Symbolizing Patience and Industry*
12. *Taddeo Drawing after the Antique*
13. *Taddeo Copying Raphael's Frescoes*
14. *Taddeo's Hallucination*
15. *Taddeo Returning Home*
16. *Taddeo Returns to Rome Escorted by Drawing and Spirit*
17. *Taddeo in the Belvedere Court*
18. *Taddeo in the Sistine Chapel*
19. *Taddeo Decorating the Facade of the Palazzo Mattei*
20. *Allegories of Study and Intelligence*

comprehensible if one postulates that the scenes of the Early Life of Taddeo were to be placed on the room's walls as integral elements of the painted program (see fig. 46; the numbers inserted in my reconstruction correspond to the original numbering on the series of drawings and to the numbering of the works in this volume).⁷³

The ideal spot from which to view the center picture on the ceiling of the Sala del Disegno is the south side of the room. From there the visitor sees the godlike figure of *Disegno* enthroned above an allegory of *Scientia*, who embodies the knowledge of religion and philosophy, as she is holding tablets inscribed with the opening words of Genesis and Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.⁷⁴ Beneath this allegory, which points to the origins of all knowledge and which in two background scenes deals with two ways of acquiring it (teaching/sermons and self-study), it would have been possible to place the beginning of Taddeo's education: the first square narrative picture (*Taddeo Leaving Home Escorted by Two Guardian Angels*) and the four framing scenes related to it (fig. 46, nos. 1–5).

The inscriptions beneath the figure of *Disegno* emphasize the parallel between *disegno* and the Trinity (“Una lux in tribus refulgens”) on the one hand, and on the other identify it as the divine spark (“Scintilla divinitatis”) that makes possible intellectual and practical activity (“Lux intellectus et vita operationum”).⁷⁵ Just as in the background scenes of the *Scientia* allegory, where the cross adorns both the pulpit and the scholar's writing table, in the first pictures of the Early Life of Taddeo cycle Federico Zuccaro stressed allusions to religion: under the auspices of *Fides* and *Spes*, Taddeo is accompanied by two angels. The associated tercets identify these heavenly beings as “helpers” sent by God and emphasize that the wanderer should place his hopes on God alone.⁷⁶ But for Zuccaro such trust did not preclude a classical orientation: Just as *Scientia* is seen to be studying not only the Bible but also texts from pagan antiquity,⁷⁷ Taddeo is guided not only by angels but also by Pallas Athena, goddess of the arts and sciences (fig. 46, no. 3).

The inscription Zuccaro assigned to his *Scientia* reads: “Sic vera nobilitas.” True nobility is accordingly not nobility of birth, but nobility of mind acquired through study.⁷⁸ This motto is also appropriate to Taddeo's departure from Sant'Angelo in Vado, for the young man leaves his family, considered “noble,” to attain a yet higher goal.⁷⁹ He does not allow himself to be discouraged by setbacks and does not balk at any kind of toil (fig. 46, nos. 4 and 5)⁸⁰—like the scholar on the right in the background of the *Scientia* picture, who pursues his studies even at night by the light of a lamp. If the motto “Sic vera nobilitas” refers to both the *Scientia* and the beginning of the Early Life of Taddeo, it follows that the art of painting forms part of the noble sphere of the sciences, corresponding to Federico Zuccaro's efforts to enhance the status of his art. Indirectly, Federico thereby justifies his own choice of profession, for initially he was meant to embark on a scholarly career;⁸¹ now he presents scholarship and the fine arts as equally valid manifestations of *disegno*. The Zuccari coat of arms, a sugarloaf studded with *fiori di zucca*, which appears in both the ceiling frescoes and in the Taddeo series, illustrates in an ingenious manner the artist's intellectual powers.⁸²

With the parents' gestures and the direction the angels are moving, *Taddeo Leaving Home* is clearly intended to be read from left to right. The next square narrative picture, *Taddeo in the House of Giovanni Piero Calabrese*, would therefore have been placed to the right of it (fig. 46, no. 7). This picture, which illustrates along with the four framing panels Taddeo's grim period of training with the painter Calabrese (Condopulos) and his suffering owing to his teacher's hard-heartedness (fig. 46, nos. 6, 8–10), is also related to the personifications of *Fatica* (Toil) and *Servitù* (Subservience).⁸³

In the ceiling fresco on that side we see the allegory of Painting and beneath it a medallion with the inscription “Militia.” Combat exercises are taking place behind an enthroned emperor in the center. Kristina Herrmann Fiore has already pointed out that Zuccaro described himself as a commander, and his pupils as “soldiers” in the service of *Disegno*; in another passage of his writings he addresses *Disegno* as the general under whose leadership all artists go into battle (“militare sotto il disegno”).⁸⁴ The rigorous military training in the *Militia* medallion can thus be seen as an analogy to Taddeo's rigorous apprenticeship. The motto “Sic potestas et imperium” would mean in this context that only the person who steels his strength in tenacious struggle and has prevailed against all obstacles can attain power (influence, special abilities) and status—just as Taddeo persisted at his studies, despite Calabrese's chicanery, even drawing at night.

Continuing clockwise, the next phase of the Early Life of Taddeo could have been meant for the Sala del Disegno's south wall (fig. 46, nos. 11–15). While the two framing tall-format panels are devoted to Taddeo's autodidactic studies after the end of his apprenticeship, the center square narrative pictures the low point in his biography: his discouraging return to Sant'Angelo in Vado. Awakening from a feverish dream along the way, Taddeo imagines in his delusion that he sees exquisite facade paintings on the stones by the side of the road and gathers them up like treasures. The third framing episode shows him arriving at his parents' house with a sack full of stones and being nursed back to health.

If the reconstruction proposed here is correct, then Taddeo's hopeful departure from Sant'Angelo in Vado (on the north wall) should have stood precisely opposite the depressing return to his hometown (on the south wall). This hypothesis is supported by the two-fold formal parallels Zuccaro created: the two square narratives (cat. nos. 2 and 14) are both characterized by a dynamic compositional axis running from left to right, whereas in the secondary episodes below them (nos. 5 and 15) this direction is reversed. Just as in Taddeo's departure, in his return the church of Sant'Angelo in Vado is prominently visible in the background (nos. 2 and 15). The religion-steeped atmosphere that characterizes the depiction of his departure

thus finds an echo in his homecoming, especially since a picture of the Crucifixion is seen hanging next to his bed.

The accompanying tercets clarify the significance of the two virtues surmounting these scenes (fig. 46, no. 11) as well as the meaning of all the episodes grouped around Taddeo's journey home: "If a noble man loves virtue, he harvests through diligence (*Industria*) and patience (*Patientia*) sweet fruits and deserved honorable fame."⁸⁵ Taddeo's deceptive "harvest" depicted in the main panel, the "treasures" that are in truth mere stones, is thus countered with the prospect of a genuine, worthy reward for his diligent study. First, however, Taddeo must learn not only to be industrious (as in the two framing pictures) but also to practice patience—like the spider whose web adorns the shield of one of the virtues: she works ceaselessly on her fragile snare, then patiently waits for her prey. Once the proper opportunity presents itself, her success is seemingly effortless, thanks to the hard work with which she prepared. Taddeo's excessive ambition, however, ruined his health⁸⁶ and led him to a dead end, out of which he emerged only through the loving ministrations of his parents.

Thus Taddeo has to learn moderation, to husband his strength—in this sense there exists a connection between the episodes of his biography already discussed and the ceiling picture of Music, which is simultaneously an allegory of *Temperantia* (Moderation).⁸⁷ Taddeo has to leave his delusions behind and recover his inner balance: Music, a traditional symbol of harmony, can serve him as an aid and a model to achieve this. Appropriately, in Zuccaro's fresco, Music is paired with the motto "Sic animi laetitia." According to Herrmann Fiore this sense of measure and harmony provides the *tertium comparationis* that explains Zuccaro's linkage of Music with the personification of Sculpture that appears in the ceiling painting above it: both arts deal with "just proportions." An inscription defines Sculpture, moreover, as "Custos effigiei," guardian and preserver of the effigy.⁸⁸ The above-mentioned episodes from Taddeo's biography appear to refer to this in a two-fold sense: Taddeo's feverish delusion, in which he imagines he sees stones adorned—"enlivened"—with pictures,⁸⁹ contrasts with his study of works of classical sculpture (fig. 46, no. 12), which have truly preserved their chiseled portraits through the millennia.⁹⁰

After his illness, which is compared with the agonies of Christ via the Crucifixion presented as a picture within the picture, in the last scenes of the cycle Taddeo virtually experiences a resurrection. He returns to Rome, sketches the death struggle of the *Laocoön* and the risen souls in the Sistine Chapel, and finally wins recognition in Roman art circles with his frescoes on the facade of the Palazzo Mattei (fig. 46, nos. 16–20). Michelangelo, whose Sistine frescoes Taddeo had studied only a short time before, comes by to examine Taddeo's work (cat. nos. 18, 19). The associated fourth pair of virtues, finally, illustrates the qualities to which Taddeo primarily owes his success: Assid-

uous effort ("fatiga assidua") and application ("diligentia") are not alone sufficient; they must be accompanied by "Intelligentia" and "Amore vole Studio" (fig. 46, no. 20).⁹¹ The latter concept, suggesting a passionate work ethic or "passion for the object of study," is very graphically illustrated by a naked youth clutching at a nude torso's pudenda. His counterpart, *Intelligentia*, is associated by way of her helmet with the helmeted Pallas Athena (fig. 46, no. 3), who took Taddeo under her wing at the beginning of the Life.

If my reconstruction is correct, these two personifications of virtues function as a link to the allegory of Medicine on the ceiling above. As Herrmann Fiore has explained, the four allegories that frame *Disegno* hint at the four Cardinal Virtues: *Scientia* alludes (by way of the open law book) to *Justitia*, *Militia* to *Fortitudo*, Music to *Temperantia*, and finally Medicine to *Prudentia*.⁹² Thus the *Intelligentia* of the Taddeo series would properly fall beneath the ceiling picture of Medicine, especially since her serpent-wound staff, an attribute of Mercury, closely resembles that of Asclepius in the fresco. On the right behind Asclepius one sees the dissection of a corpse, and on the left a scholar contemplating a skeleton and an *écorché*, or flayed figure. An anatomical model quite similar in pose stands on *Intelligentia*'s writing table.

Knowledge of human anatomy was such an important part of an artist's training for Federico Zuccaro that he caused a corpse to be dissected in the Accademia di San Luca and subsequently cast in plaster.⁹³ Not only the virtues but also the final narratives of the Taddeo series are linked to the allegory of Medicine by way of anatomy, for the scenes in which he makes drawings after the *Laocoön* and Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* show how he schooled himself on the most celebrated painted and sculptural depictions of the body. Taddeo's frescoes on the facade of the Palazzo Mattei have been destroyed, but the surviving preliminary drawings attest that there as well—appropriately, given the primarily martial subject matter—muscular, partially unclothed bodies were presented in a variety of poses.⁹⁴

The association of Medicine with Architecture in the ceiling fresco of the Sala del Disegno, which Herrmann Fiore explains by pointing out that both have to do with "bodies" (structures),⁹⁵ is further developed in combination with the Taddeo series, for the subject matter of the last main picture (cat. no. 19) is the decoration of Architecture with paintings of bodies. The motto placed beneath the allegory of Medicine, "Sic publica salus," possibly refers not only to the profession of healing but also to the public, salutary function of painting: By immortalizing the exemplary deeds of Furius Camillus on the facade of the Palazzo Mattei Taddeo in a sense contributed to the health of the Roman public, inasmuch as he inspired them to emulate Rome's "second founder."⁹⁶ Taddeo not only has conquered his own illness but has now become something of a "physician" himself.

Kemal Demirsoy argues that the Sala di Ganimede was intended as a study space for the academy, and that the neighboring Sala del Disegno was especially meant as a place for drawing from life.⁹⁷ If so, the numerous scenes of the Early Life of Taddeo illustrating the act of drawing (*disegnare*) perhaps establish a connection not only to the main theme of the Sala del Disegno but also to its function. Whereas the room's center ceiling fresco pictures *disegno interno*, the episodes from Taddeo's biography illustrate the practical realization of his artistic ideas, *disegno esterno*. In one of the last pictures the personification of that very *Disegno* appears: He accompanies Taddeo to Rome, where the Graces await them (fig. 46, no. 16).⁹⁸

Disegno and the Graces figure not only in the above-mentioned scene from the Taddeo series, however, but also in the framing panels of the artists' portraits. They are even repeated several times⁹⁹—just like *Architettura*, which is presented twice, next to Michelangelo and again next to Raphael.¹⁰⁰ Since the two known copies of the Raphael portrait clearly diverge from the large painting on leather, which is much simpler in composition, one must assume that Zuccaro's pupils embellished his inventions and even added marginal scenes that did not belong to the original program.¹⁰¹ Federico would surely have avoided duplications within a cycle. For that reason I have indicated in the reconstruction drawing only where each portrait might have been placed,¹⁰² without making any conjectures about the subject matter of the respective framing pictures.

Presumably the leather paintings were meant to be fitted into a wooden framework.¹⁰³ As can be seen from the reconstruction drawing, this paneling would have risen only to the height of the tops of the doors, or slightly higher. The remaining wall surface below the onset of the ceiling could have been adorned with a frieze in which the verses belonging to the Early Life of Taddeo could have appeared in cartouches. They were composed in such a way as to produce a continuous poem.¹⁰⁴

It is to be hoped that the exhibition "Taddeo and Federico Zuccaro: Artist-Brothers in Renaissance Rome" will attract a large audience and thereby contribute to the eventual discovery or identification of additional relevant materials—whether the originals of the artists' portraits, unknown leather paintings, or sketches showing the series in situ—either in private collections or in museum storerooms. From such discoveries we might be given further clues that would help settle once and for all the question of whether the Taddeo series was intended for the gallery of the Roman Palazzo Zuccari or its Sala del Disegno. Given the present state of our knowledge, both sites are hypothetically plausible—though the latter has a greater claim to probability owing to the numerous links between the Taddeo series and the ceiling frescoes and the astonishingly precise correlation between the dimensions of the paintings on leather and the room's dimensions. ❖

I would not have written the present article if I had not had the opportunity to see Federico Zuccaro's frescoes almost daily for a period of years, as my office was in his former residence (fig. 40, no. 13). For such ideal surroundings I wish to thank not only the present directors of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Elisabeth Kieven and Sybille Ebert-Schifferer, but also the previous directors Matthias Winner and Christoph Luitpold Frommel, on whose researches relating to the Palazzo Zuccari I have relied with great respect. Further, I would like to thank Russell Stockman for his faithful translation of my text from German to English. Last but not least I would like to thank my friends and colleagues Cristina Ruggero, Jens Niebaum, and Hermann Schlimme, with whom I have had many a fruitful exchange of ideas over the past few years and who graciously helped to measure the Sala del Disegno.

NOTES

1. Heikamp 1957, p. 179. Numerous versions of the print are listed in Massing 1990, pp. 356–84. The one reproduced here is (except for the publisher's name) identical to Massing's cat. no. 26.E.c (pp. 366–68).

2. See Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, pp. 156–226; and Partridge 1999, pp. 159–84, esp. pp. 169, 179–82.

3. Vasari 1568, vol. 7, pp. 88 (note 3), 97 (note 2), 98 (notes 1–3), 109 (note 1), 114 (note 3), and 129 (note 1). The problematic relationship between Federico Zuccaro and Vasari is analyzed in Waźbiński 1985, pp. 275–346, esp. pp. 283–306; and Hochmann 1988.

4. Vasari 1568, vol. 7, p. 88 (note 2); and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, p. 158.

5. This thesis was already argued by Tristan Weddigen (2000a, p. 203). Taddeo is always depicted as a young curlyhead, while Federico appears with smooth hair and more severe, more pointed features. See the reproductions in Waźbiński 1985, p. 282; Graf 1999, pp. 58, 63–69; and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, pp. 5, 6, 7, 11, 13, 15, 16, 279, figs. 4 and 5 (it appears that Taddeo and Federico are erroneously transposed in the picture caption), and vol. 2, pp. 35 (the *Calunnia* painting), 213, 225, figs. 72, 102. Ottaviano Zuccaro identified the protagonist as simply "un Giovane calunniato" (Heikamp 1957, p. 220). The title of his text ("Parallelo tra la Calunnia d'Apelle e del Cavalier Federico Zuccari") refers not to the protagonist but rather to the author of the picture.

6. On the interpretation of the print, see Heikamp 1957, pp. 219–21; and Massing 1990, pp. 197–205.

7. The Latin motto "Impavidum Ferient" that appears in the painting was replaced in the print by a Greek motto of equivalent meaning; see Massing 1990, pp. 203, 209. The four border scenes were explained by Ottaviano Zuccaro (Heikamp 1957, pp. 220–21): To the left of the main picture Aeneas is seen with the Golden Bough, interpreted by Ottaviano Zuccaro as a symbol of longing for the pursuit of virtue. In the oval picture at the bottom edge of the painting the same hero, again recognizable from his Golden Bough, is about to climb the Mountain of Virtue. Accordingly, in the third oval picture (to the right of the central scene) he triumphs over Vice. As a counterpart to the devastating storm that robs the farmer (artist) of his deserved reward, in the center of the top border a depiction of the halcyon days symbolizes the tranquillity that the virtuous enjoy.

8. Tempera on canvas, 335 × 490 cm (11 × 16 ft.), now in the Caetani Collection, Rome. See Massing 1990, pp. 360–61; Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 32–37 and p. 41n65. According to Baglione, the *Calunnia* was still in Zuccaro's house in 1630: Galanti 1997, pp. 71–88, esp. p. 84.

9. Ottaviano's text is reprinted in Heikamp 1957, pp. 219–21; and Massing 1990, pp. 197–200.

10. The Taddeo series emphasizes the overcoming of adversities in that it concentrates only on the early, difficult years of his artistic career and ends

with the moment of his first public recognition, completely suppressing his later celebrated commissions.

11. For the building history of the Palazzo Zuccari, see esp. Körte 1935, Frommel 1991, and Frommel 1992.

12. Guldan argued that Zuccaro's design of the monster portal derived from depictions of the jaws of hell is a mannerist "capriccio," which deceives the viewers' expectations (inasmuch as they discover behind the portal a paradisaical garden instead of hell) and presents its creator as an inventive *pictor doctus* who draws on Dante's description of hell; see Ernst Guldan, "Das Monster-Portal am Palazzo Zuccari in Rom: Wandlungen eines Motivs vom Mittelalter zum Manierismus," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 32 (1969), pp. 229–61, esp. pp. 253–55. The link between the jaws of hell and the entrance to a place of pleasure was explored by Horst Bredekamp, *Vicino Orsini und der Heilige Wald von Bomarzo: Ein Fürst als Künstler und Anarchist*, 2nd ed. (Worms, 1991), pp. 141–43. Fehl suggested that the facade illustrates how the monster was tamed through the virtuousness of the pope, Federico Zuccaro, and his wife, Francesca Genga; see Fehl 1999, pp. 266–71, 275–80.

13. Fehl 1999, pp. 278, 282–87, fig. 2, no. 13. Fehl's hypothesis is all the more plausible given the fact that the left-hand monster window was originally part of the house; it framed the window of the southernmost room on the ground floor. It was only during alterations carried out by Henriette Hertz beginning in 1904 that the three monster maws were shifted one axis to the right; see Frommel 1991, pp. 45 (fig. 29), 46, 49; Fehl 1999, pp. 271–73.

14. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Sixth Canto, verses 262–89.

15. Guldan 1969 (note 12 above), pp. 247, 249.

16. Compare Virgil, *Aeneid*, Sixth Canto, verses 540–665.

17. Ottaviano Zuccaro, quoted in Heikamp 1957, p. 220; see also Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 48–49. Herrmann Fiore refers to the *Calunnia* but does not connect it with the monster portal and Virgil's description of Elysium. For a color illustration of the complete corridor vault, see Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 202.

18. Although the left-hand portion of the fresco is too small to be properly "read," the inscription makes it clear that it is to be understood as a representation of hell: "Laboriosus arduam haeros per viam virtutis, hospes, aureum culmen subi. Valle e caduca diffuge, orci gurgis est." On the inscription, see Heikamp 1967, p. 29; and Julian Kliemann, "Die Virtus des Zeuxis," in *Die Virtus des Künstlers in der italienischen Renaissance*, ed. Joachim Poeschke, Thomas Weigel, and Britta Kusch-Arnhold (Münster, 2006), pp. 197–229, esp. p. 198.

19. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Sixth Canto, verses 679–718, 752–892.

20. Reproductions of these Zuccaro family portraits can be found in Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 212–14.

21. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Sixth Canto, verses 637–65, and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 208–11.

22. The virtues of the ideal artist that appear in the six allegorical compositions framing the apotheosis are *Perseverantia*, *Sapientia*, *Labor*, *Diligentia*, *Spiritus*, and *Animi Candor*. That the virtues account for the artist's success is confirmed by the inscriptions "Virtute Duce" beneath the artist's apotheosis, and "Amor Virtutis" beneath Eros and Anteros. See Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 45, 59, 62–65.

23. The subject of the main scene of the *Calunnia* engraving is summarized in the medallion to its right: The virtuous youth holds a palm branch "per segno della vittoria" and a lance "con la quale percote vari mostri, che tiene sotto de i piedi figurati per gl'inimici della Virtù." Beneath this appear two putti with trumpets as symbols of the fame and honor the world owes to the "virtuoso" (Ottaviano Zuccaro, quoted in Heikamp 1957, p. 221). A comparable combination of motifs is found in the center picture in the Sala Terrena: The hideous figures that cower at the bottom edge of the picture represent Envy and Calumny, while two figures of Fame blowing trumpets proclaim the artist's renown. Both in terms of composition and in the styl-

ization of the accompanying figures of Apollo and Minerva, the main grouping of the artist's apotheosis borrows from a rejected preliminary drawing for the upper-border medallion of the *Calunnia*; see Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 60–62; Massing 1990, pp. 206, 358–59; and Fehl 1999, p. 283. Some secondary motifs reinforce the connection to the *Calunnia*. The depiction of the battle between Eros and Anteros in the Sala Terrena resembles the border scene beneath the left-hand medallion of the *Calunnia*. Moreover, at the bottom edge of the border appear "un Giovane, che abbraccia il bove, e... uno che rompe un giogo, che tutti dui denotano la fatica per la quale si acquista la virtù"—attributes that are assigned to the allegory of *Labor* in the Sala Terrena; see Heikamp 1957, pp. 220–21; Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 62–63; and Massing 1990, p. 205.

24. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Sixth Canto, verse 258.

25. Frommel 1991, pp. 43–49; and Frommel 1992, pp. 451–52.

26. Two inscriptions in the corridor (fig. 40, no. 8) are addressed especially to young viewers (Zuccaro's students?), encouraging them to reflect on the daunting path of virtue ("O giovenil pensier / ferma qui il corso"). For the inscriptions, see Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 56–57; and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 207.

27. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 90–99. See also Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 219–22.

28. Demirsoy 2000, pp. 52–57. See also Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 109–10.

29. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 72–90. The program is discussed in detail in the last section of the present text.

30. Wolfgang Kemp, "Disegno: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Begriffs zwischen 1547 und 1607," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 19 (1974), pp. 219–40.

31. Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 99.

32. Figure 27 is based on an old floor plan (see Fehl 1999, fig. 15). The original position of the door is also clear from the structure of the ceiling system in the Sala di Ganimede itself, which can be correctly appreciated only from the position of the former door, whereas from the present door the central figure appears upside-down.

33. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 108–10; Demirsoy 2000, pp. 58–59, 101–2.

34. For a color illustration of the Sala di Ganimede fresco, see Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 223.

35. Since assigning periods to Federico Zuccaro's graphic oeuvre involves major difficulties, the dating in the literature is based on "topographical" arguments rather than stylistic ones. The majority of writers argue for a dating to the 1590s, associating the drawings of the Life with the decoration of the Roman palazzo. This idea was put forward by Heikamp (1957, p. 176), who later, however, adopted Ważbiński's view that the cycle had been conceived earlier for Federico's house in Florence; see Heikamp 1996, p. 9.

36. Ważbiński 1985, p. 288, fig. 12.

37. Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 225.

38. The dimensions are: no. 2 (27.1 × 26 cm [$10\frac{11}{16} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in.]), no. 7 (27.5 × 26.6 cm [$10\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.]), no. 14 (27.5 × 27.3 cm [$10\frac{13}{16} \times 10\frac{3}{4}$ in.]), and no. 19 (25 × 42.2 cm [$9\frac{7}{8} \times 16\frac{5}{16}$ in.]).

39. Ważbiński 1985, pp. 296, 307, fig. 37.

40. Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, pp. 9–17, esp. pp. 16, 21n53, 22nn60, 61, 67, 68.

41. The collector Pierre-Jean Mariette attested that the portraits of Polidoro, Raphael, Michelangelo, and Taddeo were part of the Taddeo series and bore inscriptions consisting of imaginary dialogues with the given masters: "Zuccherò y adrese la parole, en trois vers italiens, a chacun des dits maîtres qui lui repliquent en d'autres vers d'une manière tres flateuse sur l'excellence de ses talens" (quoted in Ważbiński 1985, p. 292). On the four framing panels of each artist's portrait, see note 60 below.

42. See Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 225, figs. 100, 102.

43. The verses, copied later, appear to be in his own hand; see Gere 1990, introduction; and Gere 1993, p. 55.

44. For the leather paintings in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, see the catalogue entry by Benedetta Montecchi in Cleri 1993, pp. 154–57. The paintings in Macerata were first published by Weddigen (2000a, p. 212 [Michelangelo] and p. 213 [Raphael]). Weddigen gives the dimensions of both paintings as 150 × 65 cm. The provenance of the nine pictures cannot be traced without gaps. They are not included in the inventory of the Palazzo Zuccari made in 1609, yet this may be explained by the fact that fixed decorations were not normally inventoried. Gere affirmed in 1990 that the coat of arms on the back of the pictures preserved in Rome is not the Zuccaro coat of arms (Gere 1990, introduction); but this is recanted in Gere 1993, p. 52. Julian Brooks confirms that there are two seals on the back of the paintings; one with a simple cross of Malta surmounted by a crown, and the other with the cross of Malta quartered with a tower, also surmounted by a crown.

45. The facade of the Florentine atelier wing is, to be sure, decorated with allegorical allusions to the arts; however, the Zuccaro coat of arms is included in only a subordinate position (in the window grate). Likewise, the self-portrait of the painter with his family in the Florence Sala Terrena appears only as a genre-like lunette picture, while the higher sphere of the ceiling decoration is reserved for mythological and literary subjects from antiquity; see Heikamp 1967; Ważbiński 1985, pp. 277–82; Heikamp 1996; and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 103–21.

46. Strinati 1993, pp. 37–48.

47. Ważbiński's argument that the existence of a copy of the Taddeo cycle in the Uffizi suggests a connection to the house in Florence is invalid, for there was also a copy of the Taddeo series (probably the original) among Federico's possessions in Rome; Galanti 1997, p. 84. See Ważbiński 1985, p. 281; and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 272n163.

48. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 57–60 (with reference to Strinati).

49. In both works trumpet-playing figures of Fame are symmetrically placed thrusting out of the picture plane.

50. Körte 1935, pp. 81–82. The question of where this hospice was meant to be located is discussed in Olbrich 1998, pp. 157–66.

51. The matching inscription decries the failure of the network of familial ties and thereby implies the necessity of an independent aid organization. All the inscriptions are transcribed in Gere 1990.

52. Federico Zuccaro's atelier (fig. 45, no. 1) was presented as a shrine, but at the same time it served as a workplace. It is therefore questionable whether Zuccaro would have wished during his lifetime to apply expensive wall decorations that were potentially subject to splashes of pigment, etc. After Zuccaro's death this room was to be used for meetings of the Accademia di San Luca (Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 72). Would Federico have wished to preserve there in wall paintings only the deeds of Taddeo and not his own? Moreover, the Early Life of Taddeo appears to address mainly art students, not credentialed academicians. For these reasons I do not consider the atelier as the place where the cycle was meant to be placed.

53. The original plan is reproduced in Olbrich 1998, fig. 119. The thin partition that divides the gallery into two rooms was in place before 1711 but was not part of the original design. During restoration work in the 1990s it was possible to determine that there is a continuous vault across the entire gallery space (information graciously provided by Elisabeth Kieven and Georg Steinmetzer); see Olbrich 1998, p. 160n529. The wholly asymmetrical placement of the niche next to the main entrance (fig. 45, no. 2, A) suggests that it, too, was a later alteration.

54. Leuschner's argument that the documented gallery was the corridor on the ground floor accords neither with the typology of a gallery (see Wolfram Prinz, *Galleria: Storia e tipologia di uno spazio architettonico*, ed. Claudia Cieri Via [Modena, 1988]) nor with the wording of the document, in which the gallery is mentioned as being "di sopra" (on the first floor); see Körte 1935, p.

84; and Leuschner 2000, p. 177. The area of the *piano nobile* facing the garden is identified as a gallery by Frommel 1992, p. 451; Olbrich 1998, p. 160; and Fehl 1999, p. 286. In the Villa Montalto, which Leuschner considers the pattern for the floor-plan arrangement of the Zuccaro residence, the gallery is also on the *piano nobile*; see Matthias Quast, *Die Villa Montalto in Rom: Entstehung und Gestalt im Cinquecento* (Munich, 1991), pp. 150–51, fig. 35; and Maria Luisa Madonna, ed., *Roma di Sisto V: Le arti e la cultura* (Rome, 1993), p. 154.

55. Galleries in the houses of Gianlorenzo Bernini, Martino Longhi, Mattia de' Rossi, and Carlo Maratta, among others, are discussed in my as-yet-unpublished catalogue of Roman gallery structures.

56. Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 53–55.

57. Heikamp (1957, p. 177, and 1996, p. 9) was the first to identify the Early Life of Taddeo as a key model for the Florentine gallery, which celebrates the successes of Michelangelo in large wall paintings.

58. The meaning of the single scenes is clear from their inscriptions and Federico's annotations to Vasari's biography of Taddeo; see Heikamp 1957, Ważbiński 1985, Gere 1990, Acidini Luchinat 1998, and Julian Brooks's contribution to the present catalogue. The four units of which the cycle is made up are illustrated in Acidini Luchinat's reconstructions (vol. 1, pp. 11, 13, 15, 16). My criticism of these reconstructions concerns the placement of the scenes (on a wall rather than on a vault), their proportions (the central panels of each unit were probably much larger), and the center image of the last unit (see note 40 above and note 65 below).

59. The precise dimensions were provided by Anna Maria Brignardello, to whom I am grateful for an informative conversation about the leather pictures she restored.

60. In the Uffizi copies of the Taddeo series, the portraits of Michelangelo and Taddeo have a framing of four small panels each; see fig. 2 and cat. no. 24 in this volume. A drawing auctioned at Christie's, London, on December 8, 1987, shows the same system of framing for the Raphael portrait as well (see fig. 4). Since in these three drawings the framing scenes are included but not the borders, this could indicate that the leather pictures were meant to be inserted into wooden wall paneling.

61. Weddigen 2000a, p. 211. The difference in size between the main picture and the secondary scenes apparent in some drawings (see note 60 above) suggests that the two pictures flanking the artists' portraits, just like the analogous framing pictures for the narrative pictures, were to measure 45 × 16.5 cm (17¹¹/₁₆ × 6¹/₂ in.).

62. The *Taddeo Decorating the Facade of the Palazzo Mattei* painting has been cut down at the top, as comparison with the preliminary drawing shows. Accordingly, the original height was somewhat greater than the present 81.5 cm (32¹/₁₆ in.). See cat. no. 31.

63. This picture (unfortunately reversed) is reproduced together with the related four framing scenes in Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, p. 11. The proportions of the five panels can be conceived as in fig. 46, nos. 1–5.

64. Section B corresponds to fig. 46, nos. 6–10 (Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, p. 13); section C: fig. 46, nos. 11–15 (Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, p. 15).

65. See Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, p. 16 (one is to imagine the illustration on p. 17 where the center picture has been omitted). See fig. 46, nos. 16–20.

66. The symmetrical pictures of Michelangelo and Taddeo could have framed the gallery's east window (fig. 45, no. 2, E and F). The west window does not, however, appear to have been in the middle of the opposite end wall. Instead, the depiction of Polidoro could have occupied the center of the wall (fig. 45, no. 2, G): It is the only one of the four artists' portraits to show a standing figure, and it is also not framed by four small narratives and thus could have been executed in somewhat larger dimensions than the rest of the artists' portraits. Raphael would then have served as a kind of counterpart to the window (fig. 45, no. 2, H) and, in the way his body is turned

to the left, could have “answered” Polidoro’s gaze to the right; see cat. nos. 22–24, figs. 2–4, in this volume.

67. On these drawings, see Heikamp 1967, pp. 28–29; and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 141. The placement of two long rectangular *quadri riportati* in the vault of an elongated space could have been inspired by Raphael’s Loggia di Psiche in the Villa Farnesina, which appropriately appears as one of Taddeo’s objects of study in the Life cycle (cat. no. 13).

68. Demirsoy 2000, p. 72.

69. Leuschner 2000, pp. 177–79.

70. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 59–60; and Müller 1985, p. 115.

71. Körte (1935, pp. 68–70) assumed that each of the artists’ portraits stood in the center of a wall, framed by four cartouches.

72. Winner 1991, p. 60. See also the drawing in Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 73, and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, pp. 216–18.

73. As discussed in the previous section, the format of the square narratives is assumed to have been 150 × 150 cm (59 × 59 in.). The position of the door in the south wall reflects not the present situation but rather the one documented by a historic floor plan (see Fehl 1999, fig. 15).

74. Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 81.

75. Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 78.

76. Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 2, p. 280, nos. 2 and 5.

77. In addition to Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*, a work with the title “Ius Gentium et Civile” is propped against the base of the *Scientia*; see Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 81.

78. Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 83.

79. The Zuccaro brothers were “nobili familia ortus” (Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 37). According to Federico’s verses, Taddeo set himself a moral goal: “e[gl]i non teme / Fatica alcuna, ch’a Virtude l’ porta.”

80. For the degree to which the Sant’Angelo scene is true, see Rossi 1997, pp. 54–55, 58.

81. Vasari 1568, vol. 7, p. 79.

82. The Italian word *zucca* has a double meaning: It denotes a type of vegetable (pumpkin) and a human head. “Fiori di zucca” thus alludes to the blossoming of the artist’s creative mind. See Kliemann 2006 (note 18 above), p. 202.

83. Here I am following the interpretation of the virtues suggested by Acidini Luchinat (1998, vol. 1, p. 13 and vol. 2, p. 201, no. 6) based on Zuccaro’s tercets. For the person of Condopulos, see Rossi 1997, p. 55; and Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, p. 12.

84. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 88–89.

85. “Se amore di virtù bell’alma cinge / Industria, e Patientia le procura / Frutti suavi, e degna gloria attinge.”

86. See the inscription that accompanies cat. no. 13.

87. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 83–85, 89. In the sixteenth century the tuning of stringed instruments was called “temperare cordas.”

88. Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 80.

89. Tercet accompanying no. 14: “Crede svegliato le pietre historiate.”

90. Interestingly enough, the busts at the top edge of the picture and the figural relief on the left side are cut off in such a way that Zuccaro to some extent qualifies the power of sculpture.

91. See the inscription that accompanies cat. no. 20.

92. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 88–89.

93. Herrmann Fiore 1979, pp. 85–86.

94. Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, pp. 17–20.

95. Herrmann Fiore 1979, p. 86.

96. On the Camillus frescoes, see Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, pp. 17–18; and cat. nos. 32–36 in this catalogue.

97. Demirsoy 2000, pp. 110–14.

98. The Graces reappear in the large final rectangle (fig. 46, no. 19), where they keep Taddeo company on the scaffolding, unambiguously identifiable from the labels within the drawing. Thereby Federico likens his brother—as

in the *Calunnia* (fig. 39)—to Apelles, who according to Pliny and Quintilian was celebrated above all for the *charis* (grace) of his art, instituting moreover a parallel between Taddeo and the “modern Apelles,” Raphael; see Winner 1999b, pp. 136, 144. For parallels between Taddeo and Raphael, see also Acidini Luchinat 1998, vol. 1, pp. 279–80. As in Italian *grazia* means not only “grace” in the sense of “charm” or “ease of movement” but also “divine grace,” the Three Graces of the Taddeo series symbolize moreover the heavenly assistance on which he can rely. Just like *disegno* (“scintilla divinitatis”), *grazia* is ultimately a spiritual quality, a divine gift—a notion visualized in the adjacent Sala di Ganimede, where the eagle embodies the divine grace (*grazia*) by which the artist finds inspiration.

99. The drawing of Raphael auctioned at Christie’s on December 8, 1987 (fig. 4 in this volume), identifies the framing allegories, in inscriptions, as *architettura*, *gratie*, *inventione e colorito*, and *disegno*. In the portrait of Taddeo, the placement of *Disegno* and the Graces is switched and the compositions are mirror images of the ones on the other drawing. *Disegno* appears a third time in the framing of the Michelangelo portrait; see Heikamp 1957, pp. 213–14.

100. See note 99 above (*architettura* in the portrait of Raphael). For the portrait of Michelangelo, see Heikamp 1957, p. 213n103. On the newly discovered original version of the drawing, see Julian Brooks in the present catalogue, p. 36.

101. None of the drawings representing artists’ portraits with surrounding cartouches is considered autograph. For a discussion of these drawings see p. 36 in this volume. On the two Raphael drawings, see note 99 above. For the copy in the Uffizi, see Heikamp 1957, p. 215; the leather picture is reproduced in Weddigen 2000a, p. 213.

102. The portraits of Raphael and Taddeo are too similar in composition to be placed on the same wall. Michelangelo would have been well placed on the left next to the scene in which he rides by to appraise the facade of the Palazzo Mattei (fig. 46, no. 19). The portrait of Taddeo was probably meant as its companion piece, thereby standing as the triumphal conclusion to the cycle. In their poses and the turning of their heads Michelangelo and Taddeo are mirror images of each other and accordingly create a harmonious frame for the last center picture. Polidoro, the least prominent of the four artists depicted and the only one presented in a standing position, fits well in terms of composition at the beginning of the cycle, for on the one hand he would there gaze in the direction of Taddeo’s departure from Sant’Angelo in Vado and on the other would appear to be handing the torch (a symbol of inspiration in the sense of the “scintilla divinitatis”?) over to the Taddeo portrait on the adjacent west wall, which would be especially logical given Polidoro’s specialization in facade painting and the fact that Taddeo’s design for the Mattei facade drew its inspiration from Polidoro. Since Raphael is holding a drawing of a sculpture of the Ephesian Diana, he can be assigned to the south wall, which stands beneath the allegory of Sculpture; appropriately, Raphael would then be placed directly next to the secondary episode in which Taddeo is sketching Raphael’s Farnesina frescoes (fig. 46, no. 13). Perhaps the Diana of Ephesus (a symbol of creative, generative nature) was also meant to be a counterpart to Taddeo’s delusions (fig. 46, no. 14): Nature, not feverish delusion, is the source of art.

103. See note 60 above.

104. Acidini Luchinat (1998, vol. 2, pp. 280–81) presents the verses in a questionable sequence based on her reconstruction. From the specific rhyme scheme of the tercets (aba / bcb / cdc, etc.), it is possible to determine the sequence of the verses. In some places verses appear to be missing, to be sure, since the middle line of the previous strophe is not taken up again. It is possible that the verses that Mariette tells us went with the artists’ portraits (see note 41 above) filled these gaps.